

# Heritage Conservation in Chinese Colonial Port Cities

Xiaolin Zang





# **Heritage Conservation in Chinese Colonial Port Cities**

**Xiaolin Zang**

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# Heritage Conservation in Chinese Colonial Port Cities

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(met een samenvatting in het Nederlands)

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# Preface

“古为今用, 洋为中用.”

(Zedong Mao)

This sentence captures the essence of my research. In 1964, the then chairman of the People's Republic of China, Zedong Mao, encouraged the cultural field to embrace heritage with critical thinking, and to learn from the Western culture and apply it in a Chinese context. Today, I wonder about heritage conservation ideas and practices in Chinese colonial cities. To what extent are colonial remains actually inherited and embraced? How have heritage policies developed and is there an exchange of ideas between international scholars, institutions and Chinese heritage experts and professionals? These questions formed the starting point of this research project on heritage conservation in Chinese colonial cities. This thesis focuses on three key heritage discussions: firstly, the evolution of ideas about conserving heritage in China; secondly, the contested nature of heritage, which is a consequence of using historical resources to satisfy various needs among stakeholders; and thirdly, public participation as a way to involve different perspectives in heritage conservation and management.

My interest in colonial heritage started when I was a little girl. I used to spend weekends with my parents in Zhongshan Street, which is full of Western-style buildings. I appreciate the distinctive landscape in my home town – Qingdao – and am very interested in exploring the history of these remaining buildings in books, museums and TV programmes. Moreover, I love listening to the stories about the buildings and the past. It was this passion that made me choose colonial heritage as my PhD research topic. Without this strong passion, I probably would not have dared to go beyond my home town and carry out research in three other colonial cities that I barely knew, never visited and where I did not have a personal network.

Xiaolin Zang  
March 2019  
Utrecht, the Netherlands





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# CHAPTER

# 1

## **Introduction**

## 1 Introduction

In November 2006 the Hong Kong government announced the demolition of two piers to make way for commercial and business development (Lu, 2009; Lee & DiStefano, 2016). The Queen's Pier, the original landing spot for governors and royals, was built on the North coast of Hong Kong Island in 1953. The Star Ferry Pier had been used as the main public transportation facility between Hong Kong Island and Kowloon since 1958. The announcement led to public protest that lasted for eight months and which received a great deal of media coverage. Media, internet fora, NGOs and political parties were all involved in the discussions (Lu, 2009). Nevertheless, the two piers were eventually demolished as they were not deemed old enough to qualify as official heritage (Lu, 2009). The protest was viewed as an incident by the government, which was caught by surprise by the changed public attitude towards heritage (Lee & DiStefano, 2007; 2016). The public appeal for heritage conservation is not restricted to Hong Kong, and similar public outcries can be found in other Chinese cities, for example against the demolition of a Western-style villa on Jinkou Road in Qingdao, and of the first modernist casino, Hotel Estoril in Macao.

The examples show that heritage conservation is not an issue solely for experts, professionals and cultural communities, but that parts of the general public also participate. The general public keeps a watchful eye on heritage, such as port facilities, abandoned factories and hotels, as has become clear from the protests around the Queen's Pier and Star Ferry Pier in Hong Kong. However, some of this heritage valued by the public is considered by professionals to be of less heritage value. The differing opinions of experts and of the wider public may become an ever more important issue in future heritage management.

Only after the signing of the Convention Concerning the Protection of the World Cultural and Natural Heritage in 1985 did heritage conservation start to become a popular issue in China, and particularly so in the past few decades. Since 1985, China has listed 53 World Heritage sites, about 700 national historic areas, and millions of historic buildings and sites. Meanwhile, there has also been a huge growth in academic research on heritage, as is witnessed by the number of academic publications available in the China National Knowledge Infrastructure (CNKI): the number increased from 6 on 1 January 1985 to over 40,300 on 8 January 2019. Furthermore, China has become a more visible member of the international heritage community, and Chinese cities have hosted a number of UNESCO conventions, giving their names to the Beijing Charter (1999), the Xi'an Declaration (2005) and the Qufu Declaration (2005).

The growing awareness and popularity of heritage in China has not led to a similar surge in international publications on heritage thinking and practices in China. Smith's (2006) critical discourse analysis demonstrated how international heritage conventions, charters and policies were for a long time dominated by a Eurocentric perspective. Since the end of the twentieth century, other perspectives have gained ground in heritage practices, as is evidenced by the Nara Document (1994) and the Hoi An Protocols (2005). However, the international heritage field is still dominated by Western perspectives, and European objects on the World Heritage List still greatly outnumber those from Latin America, Asia, Africa and the Arab States (ICOMOS, 2014). This research aims to fill part of this knowledge gap by focusing on the evolution of heritage thinking and practices in Chinese colonial port cities.

Chinese colonial port cities offer interesting case studies. Colonialism is a form of foreign domination that involves the subjugation of a territory and its people through political control, economic exploitation and cultural transformation (Horvath, 1972; Osterhammel, 2010). Thus, physical remains from colonizers have been viewed as relics of formal occupation and unequal social-economic relationships (Horvath, 1972; Hughes, 2006; Jones & Shaw, 2006; King, 2009). As a consequence, colonial remains may be specifically prone to cause dissonance in the processes of identity construction of post-colonial societies (Cartier, 1993; Tunbridge & Ashworth, 1996; Yeoh, 2001; Graham, 2002). This means that post-colonial societies may have different opinions about the future of colonial remains, about appropriation and about viable uses.

In China, colonialism has not been a national experience. European colonizers focused on port cities, whilst Japanese colonization reached further inland but never conquered the whole country. Reconciliation and renegotiation of the colonial past is therefore mostly a local issue, especially as port cities all had very different colonial experiences. Hong Kong and Macao are unique because sovereignty was 'reverted' or 'handed over' peacefully rather than after liberation by force, although at a much later date than most countries in Asia gained independence (Porter, 1993; Lee & Lam, 1998; Henderson, 2001; Yeoh, 2001). Nowadays, these cities try to find ways to redefine their identity in a 'One Country, Two Systems' policy. Of the two cities, Macao seems to use its colonial past most obviously as a World Heritage Site and thus as a tourist attraction. Qingdao is included as a case city as it was the first German colony in the Far East and was subsequently under Japanese rule for two periods in the twentieth century. Taipei is included because the city experienced European influences and was under Japanese rule for half a century. Although the city is part of a separate political administrative unit, it shares a Chinese cultural context, which may influence the outlook on heritage.



**Figure 1.1** Locations of Macao, Hong Kong, Qingdao and Taipei

*Source: Map created by Ton Markus, Faculty of Geosciences, Utrecht University*

This research focuses on heritage thinking and practices in these Chinese colonial port cities. Ideas about heritage are grounded in local cultures, administrative contexts and historic urban developments, but are also influenced by international perspectives and practices. Moreover, these practices take place within dynamic urban contexts, balancing the demands of heritage conservation with the demands of booming economies, rapid urban expansion, shortages of land and housing, and infrastructural improvements. Meanwhile, these cities were also confronted with several political administrative transformations, the reform in and opening up of China, the handing back of Hong Kong and Macao, and also the forces of neoliberalism and decentralization, which require urban governments to take more entrepreneurial positions. It is in this highly dynamic and challenging context that colonial remains can be regarded as sources of income or as painful reminders of colonial pasts, as opportunities for strengthening the urban brand or as objects that stand in the way of redevelopment. Plenty of opportunities for dissonance are hidden in the depths of different interpretations and uses that stakeholders have in such complex urban contexts. A systematic comparison of the four cities sheds light on common developments as well as on specific local processes.

The overarching research question for this thesis is therefore formulated as follows: How have ideas of heritage conservation evolved in the contexts of urban development in Chinese colonial port cities since the end of the nineteenth century?

## 2 Theory

In this thesis, heritage is seen as a social construction (Graham, 2002). It is too simplistic to understand heritage only as a group of objects, and scholars are increasingly regarding heritage as a process transforming the past into present experiences and as an outcome created under the current political, social and economic needs (Tunbridge & Ashworth, 1996; Ashworth & Graham, 2005; Ashworth, 2011; Johnson, 2014). Heritage is therefore potentially understood, interpreted and valued differently within specific contexts, for particular needs, between local cultures and philosophies, and through time (Tunbridge & Ashworth, 1996; Taylor, 2004; Derde, 2010). When heritage is shaped by contemporary purposes, there is no 'streamlined or standardized' definition of heritage and heritage concepts (Blake, 2000; Ahmad, 2006), as values of heritage are not intrinsically authenticated but extrinsically ascribed (Tunbridge & Ashworth, 1999; Ashworth & Tunbridge, 2000; Ashworth, 2012). Heritage is therefore dynamic and value-laden; in short, it is a social construction.

Seeing heritage as a social construct also draws attention to the processes and stakeholders that shape the ideas and practices of heritage conservation and management. Critical Discourse Analysis (CDA) has been used by Smith (2006) and Waterton et al. (2006) to illustrate that an Authorized Heritage Discourse (AHD) exists which legitimates the role of experts as the ones who define and select heritage in traditional ways that obscure the power relations in the selection process. Moreover, they argue that these authorized discourses were disseminated from European to non-Western societies, and have come to dominate global institutions, like UNESCO and ICOMOS (Smith, 2006; Waterton et al., 2006). Today, many scholars criticize this Western hegemony, as it can be viewed as a new cultural colonization (Byrne, 1991; Lowenthal, 1996; Li, 2005; Hou & Wu, 2012). Critics state that such Eurocentric discourse restricts the perceptions and practices of heritage and heritage conservation in non-Western countries (Lowenthal, 1996; Logan, 2001; Taylor, 2004; Smith, 2006; Waterton et al., 2006; Hou & Wu, 2012).

One example of an important heritage concept that was restricted in its meaning by the prevailing Eurocentric AHD is authenticity. The contents and meanings of authenticity have diverged through time and among communities. However, in the AHD it is mainly defined in terms of 'original' material substance, and consequently new developments have to be recognizable and reversible (Ashworth, 2011; Wang & Liu, 2012; Akagawa, 2016). Preservationists, such as John Ruskin and William Morris, insisted on the intrinsic qualities of age, rarity, aesthetic and historical importance of the buildings (Waterton et al., 2006). In their view, changing and using heritage are potential enemies of preservation and authenticity (Tunbridge &

Ashworth, 1996; Ashworth, 2012). However, in the past few decades this meaning of authenticity has been challenged in Europe and elsewhere from various points of view. On the one hand, freezing an object does not fit in with the dynamic nature of heritage. Also, Lowenthal and others emphasized that authenticity is not a property of heritage but rather something that is constantly being redefined (Lowenthal, 1985; Tunbridge & Ashworth, 1996; Ashworth & Tunbridge, 2000). Moreover, as international heritage conventions and principles were 'decolonized', so too was the concept of authenticity. Material authenticity is no longer the only valid or taken-for-granted interpretation of authenticity in heritage management worldwide.

When heritage is seen as a social construction, it becomes prone to contestation and dissonance. Dissonance is a condition that results from multiple and sometimes competing interpretations and uses to fulfil a variety of interests. In 1996, Tunbridge and Ashworth introduced the notion of dissonance, claiming that as heritage is value-laden and can be used to meet contemporary cultural, political and economic needs, there is room for controversies. Dissonance is the nature of these controversies, and more specifically dissonance is the underlying cause of differences and fragments in heritage issues, which potentially lead to social exclusion and disintegration (Tunbridge & Ashworth, 1996; Ashworth, 2012). The inevitably contentious nature of heritage can lead to significant dissonance or disagreement in multicultural societies, as is evident from many examples all over the world, especially in the context of colonial pasts (Cartier, 1993; Tunbridge & Ashworth, 1996; Harvey, 2001; Yeoh, 2001; Graham, 2002; Ashworth et al., 2007; Graham & Howard, 2008; Leach, 2008; Pendlebury et al., 2018). The dissonance derives from selecting what to forget and what to remember from the era of occupation, and then determining how that past will be represented and renegotiated into a post-colonial identity. Ashworth and other heritage scholars have pointed at the intentional rejection, demolition and replacement of colonial remains as these structures were seen as symbols of unequal power relations and/or social and spatial divisions (Tunbridge & Ashworth, 1996; Simon, 1998; Hughes, 2006; King, 2009; Lee, 2015). Furthermore, rediscovering indigenous architecture is also a way of renegotiating the colonial past by recognizing and revaluing the pre-colonial histories of communities and their places (Simon, 1998; Graham, 2002; Glover & Bellwood, 2004; King, 2009).

In addition, economic considerations in heritage conservation also act as potential generators of dissonance. According to some stakeholders, ever-growing numbers of listed heritage sites have been fossilized in the context of preservation in the past few decades, and the open-ended cost of such heritage maintenance, renovation and protection is a financial burden for the governments responsible (Graham et al.,

2000; Bendix, 2009; Shipley & Snyder, 2013). These perceived costs are weighed against the potential profits of selling the land to developers to bring quick returns – especially when urban land is scarce and property values high. From the 1990s onwards, scholars have also begun to emphasize the potential economic benefits of heritage – in addition to its social, political, cultural or historical value. Nowadays, heritage is exploited as an economic resource for tourism and developed into a wide range of cultural and consumption activities (Tunbridge & Ashworth, 1996; Henderson, 2001; Graham, 2002). Furthermore, heritage is part of the unique characteristics of the urban fabric and can thus contribute to the creation of a distinctive place brand (Tunbridge & Ashworth, 1996; Shan, 2006; Zhang, 2008; Tiesdell et al., 2013). In the context of major economic and social changes such as neoliberalism, decentralization and deindustrialization, governments have taken a more entrepreneurial stance, which has stimulated market-led policies on heritage conservation. Economic considerations have thus set in motion a shift in heritage practice: from the prevention of change to the integration of heritage regeneration and sustainable development (Wu, 2005; Pendlebury, 2013; Tiesdell et al., 2013; Janssen et al., 2014). This notion may already have started during the 1960s, when the idea of area conservation took hold in a number of European countries, such as the Netherlands (1961), France (1962), the United Kingdom (1967) and Italy (1970) (see Ashworth, 2011). From its beginnings, area conservation went beyond strict preservation and was connected to planning instruments.

However, most projects for heritage development are guided by economic aspects, and this has led to criticism. Scholars point to many examples around the world where commercialization has eventually outstripped heritage values, authenticity and in fact conservation in general. Complaints about commodification, Disneyfication and facadism are abundant in the literature (Ashworth, 1997; Du Cros, 2001; Graham, 2002; Ruan et al., 2003; Pendlebury, 2013; Dai et al., 2014). Moreover, critics fear that if different values of heritage are reduced to or calculated only in monetary terms, heritage with low market value may be at risk.

A major source for contesting the use of heritage for contemporary needs lies with its various users and stakeholders. The same heritage can be interpreted in different ways by different groups. This situation has become more marked in recent decades, as heritage management has entered into the discussion of involving multiple stakeholders (Schofield, 2014). The public is increasingly involved in heritage and heritage conservation, areas that were previously confined to experts and governments. Collaboration between several stakeholders is increasing nowadays and is closely related to the idea of integrated heritage conservation and public participation (Coeterier, 2002; Hampton, 2005; Robertson, 2008; Nicholas et al., 2009; Nyaupane, 2009; Yan, 2015).

A prerequisite for public participation is public awareness of the value of heritage. Scholars adhere to the idea that the local public acknowledges heritage. Generally, the value residents place on heritage follows from their daily encounters with it. Subsequently, their knowledge consists more of emotional interpretations from personal experiences and memories, and this differs from the 'authorized' historic, aesthetic and cultural value that experts traditionally focus on (Lalli, 1992; Carter & Grimwade, 1997; Townshend & Pendlebury, 1999; Coeterier, 2002; Smith, 2006; Tweed & Sutherland, 2007; Ashworth, 2013; He & Li, 2016). The advantages of involving personal and local heritage interpretations are, however, acknowledged. This involvement may promote social renewal and change (Bonnett & Alexander, 2013; Parkinson et al., 2016), enhance local distinctiveness (Ludwig, 2013), and improve the attachment of people to their heritage (Ashworth & Graham, 2005). This has led to yet another shift in the authorized discourse – one that emphasizes the value of other types of knowledge and promotes participatory, bottom-up approaches in heritage decision-making (Marc, 1994; Coeterier, 2002; Nyaupane & Timothy, 2010; Schofield, 2014).

So far, the increasing awareness of the value of public participation does not mean that public interpretations are effective in heritage decision-making. Some scholars argue that professional knowledge is still employed as a technique of power to keep the public at a distance in heritage issues (Arnstein, 1969; Foucault, 1991; Timothy, 1999; Robertson, 2008; Chirikure et al., 2010; Li, 2014; Yan, 2015). Elites claim to know best how to improve the environment and how to value heritage, and it then seems to follow that the public does not need to be involved (Din, 1993; Timothy, 1999; Zhu, 2015). Some critics thus claim that public participation, to date, is often an organized ritual which includes only the most educated and experienced residents, who are skilled in employing professional concepts and terminology (Pendlebury & Townshend, 1999). The knowledge and perspectives of the silent majority remain marginalized and the narratives of elites still prevail in heritage issues (Kong & Yeoh, 1994; Chirikure et al., 2010; Yan, 2015).

Stakeholder involvement in heritage conservation does not refer to public participation alone. There are many more potential stakeholders with their own specific interest in heritage sites. Moreover, the public and their role is not homogeneous either, which may also cause dissonance (Mason & Cheyne, 2000; Andriotis & Vaughan, 2003; Nicholas et al., 2009). For example, privatization may ease the government's financial burden of investing in heritage conservation (Larkham, 1996; Yúdice, 2003; Palumbo, 2006; Shin, 2010), but owners may view heritage conservation as an obstruction to profitable development. Moreover, economic exploitation of heritage by private owners may result in gentrification,



which in turn may lead to class conflict or displacement of original inhabitants (Franzén, 2005; Donaldson et al., 2013; Arkaraprasertkul, 2018).

The shifts in heritage discourses run parallel with the changing contexts and needs among users through time and space. The potential contestations and conflicts among using colonial heritage as economic and cultural capital provide an interesting example of dissonance, which will be illustrated in the following chapters.

### 3 Research questions, methodology and structure of the thesis

As mentioned above, the overarching research question is:

*How have ideas of heritage conservation evolved in the contexts of urban development in Chinese colonial port cities since the end of the nineteenth century?*

Three sub-questions have been defined, and these will be dealt with in different chapters in this dissertation:

- [1] How did Chinese heritage ideas and practices develop in relation to international heritage thinking?
- [2] What is the place of colonial heritage in post-colonial Macao, Hong Kong, Qingdao and Taipei, and how does this lead to dissonance?
- [3] What are the main stakeholders in heritage management in Macao, Hong Kong, Qingdao and Taipei, and to what extent are there shifts in the relative importance of these stakeholders?

This study applies a mixture of methods. Several methods were adopted in the course of this research project to gain an understanding of the ways in which heritage notions and practices developed in the colonial port cities of Macao, Hong Kong, Qingdao and Taipei. Extensive desk research, literature reviews, analysis of historical maps, fieldwork in all four cities, a survey among inhabitants of Qingdao, in-depth interviews with 24 experts and professionals working in the field of heritage in the four cities and text analysis were applied to answer the research questions. The thesis is divided into 10 chapters.

**Chapter 2** aims to answer Sub-question 1 and thus focuses on the evolution of heritage thinking in China. It sheds light on the role of pioneers and the international exchange of ideas. Desk research formed the basis of this chapter. In order to trace the evolution of Chinese heritage ideas, a literature review was combined with a reading of original texts by Chinese heritage pioneers and of the interpretations

of their ideas in Chinese academic publications. Desk research also focused on policy documents, on international heritage charters and principles, as well as on national and local heritage lists from official government websites, such as the Antiquities and Monuments Office, Leisure and Cultural Services Department and Instituto Cultural do Governo da R.A.E. de Macau.

The starting point for answering Sub-question 2, regarding the place of colonial heritage in the case-study cities, were reconstructions of the way in which the colonizers shaped the urban landscape. These reconstructions gave a first impression of the possible locations of colonial heritage. Desk research, a literature review and an analysis of historical maps and fieldwork gave insight into the spatial development of the four cities. Visits to the four cities provided additional local information, such as historical maps, published heritage and planning regulations, and books about local heritage from public and university libraries, archives and bookstores. As a result of the colonial past, the library of Utrecht University owns a series of valuable historical maps of Taiwan. In addition, some research materials were collected from my private network.

In **Chapter 3**, the results of this analysis are presented in the form of a description of the urban morphology. To this end, Hoekveld's (1990) core notions of the layer-model for the North-Western European city (1990) were translated to the Asian colonial context. The resulting layer model of the colonial port city distinguishes three layers or eras: the pre-colonial period, the period of mercantile colonialism and the period of modern imperialism, as introduced on page 36. The transformations and extensions, key spatial elements and important spatial patterns of the colonial port cities are visualized in 21 maps that illustrate how these urban landscapes transformed and how such transformations reflect the changing social-spatial and economic-spatial relationships.

This exploration of the urban morphology gave insight into how the colonizers shaped the city. However, to know more about the place of colonial heritage, fieldwork was needed to understand which buildings and structures created in colonial times are still present, in what state of maintenance they are, and how visible or recognizable they are. Results from this fieldwork are incorporated in several chapters (**Chapters 4–9**), but do not form a descriptive chapter on their own. Twenty-four semi-structured interviews with heritage experts and professionals working in the four cities shed further light on the place of the colonial remains in these cities (see Appendices A-B). Selected for the interviews were experts and professionals in the field of heritage who worked at universities, government agencies (Archives, Planning, or Culture Departments), non-profit cultural communities and construction companies, and who combined insight into the practice of heritage conservation

with an academic outlook (see Appendix A). They had educational backgrounds in various disciplines related to heritage conservation and management, such as Architecture, Urban Planning, Conservation, and Tourism Geography. The topic list of the interviews is included in Appendix A and focuses on topics related to the place that heritage occupies in the city, such as national and local heritage strategies and principles, authenticity of heritage, the interpretation of colonial heritage and public awareness of heritage. Interviews took 1-3 hours and were held in offices, conference rooms or quiet cafés. The interviews were recorded in the original language of the interviews (23 Chinese, 1 English) and coded with the help of Nvivo 11 (see Appendix B). Excerpts from the interviews used in the chapters were translated into English. The interviews gave an in-depth understanding of the extent to which the colonial remains are recognized as heritage, and how this interpretation can be explained (**Chapters 4 & 6**).

As set out in the theoretical framework, dissonance can occur in many ways. **Chapter 6** illustrates how colonial remains are renegotiated today, while **Chapter 5** analyses whether there is evidence of a shift in heritage conservation from cultural-led conservation to economy-led regeneration in the case study cities; moreover, the chapter highlights several instances of dissonance that coincide with this changing discourse. **Chapter 7** presents a specific case in Qingdao: the International Beer Festival, which illustrates how one particular element of colonial history can be used today in city marketing and tourism. In addition to desk research, literature review and fieldwork, this chapter applies text analysis on the three types of communication of city images as distinguished by Kavaratzis (2004), namely policy papers, official websites of the city and of the festival, and tourist reviews on Tripadvisor and Mafengwo (see Appendix C).

Dissonance also arises when heritage is used by multiple stakeholders, which is the focus of Sub-question 3. Both a small-scale survey and semi-structured interviews were used to provide insight into this topic. **Chapters 8 and 9** explore the potential for resident participation in heritage issues based on the results of questionnaires. The survey was carried out in the winter of 2014–2015, when 382 questionnaires were collected from residents and local visitors of historic neighbourhoods in Qingdao. The questionnaire focused on the respondents' knowledge of local heritage (in terms of age, function and building styles), on their opinions of the importance and development of heritage, and on their perceptions of government heritage policies and practices (see Appendix D and the detailed analysis of the questionnaires in Appendix E). Both fieldwork and semi-structured interviews were carried out between November 2014 and August 2016 in Macao, Hong Kong, Qingdao and Taipei.

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# CHAPTER

# 2

## The Evolution of Heritage Conservation in China

This chapter is based on a manuscript under review of a peer review journal.

**Xiaolin Zang**, Bouke van Gorp, Hans Renes. The Evolution of Heritage Conservation in China, *Planning Perspective*. under review

# 1 Introduction

Heritage has become an important issue in China over the past few decades. In 1985, China signed the Convention Concerning the Protection of the World Cultural and Natural Heritage, and it is now home to 53 World Heritage sites (with another 61 on the Tentative List), second only to Italy with its 54 sites. Until 2015, an additional 30 historic and cultural areas were listed by the State Council, and 135 cities, 254 towns and 276 villages were designated as ‘Cities, Towns and Villages of Recognized Historic and Cultural Value’. Furthermore, a mere 4,000 cultural heritage sites have been listed as national heritage. Besides heritage listing, national regulations and principles have been published, and local and regional administrations have formulated their own heritage lists. It is therefore safe to say that heritage has gained in importance in the past few decades. Meanwhile, the academic debate has also spiralled. A search of the key theme ‘heritage conservation’ in the China National Knowledge Infrastructure (CNKI)<sup>1</sup> demonstrates how the number of publications has increased from 6 on 1 January 1985 to over 40,300 on 8 January 2019.

However, the development of heritage policies and the increasing number of academic publications do not imply that China holds an important position in the still strongly Eurocentric mainstream international heritage world. According to authors such as Smith (2006), Smith and Akagawa (2008), Waterton (2010) and Hou and Wu (2012), the Authorized Heritage Discourse (AHD), as embodied in the Athens and Venice Charters, mainly represents Western views and traditions in cultural heritage politics. The Eurocentric views became central in the global heritage discourse to interpose and manage values and meanings of heritage (Smith, 2006; Wu, 2012). Today, more and more scholars question this domination of Western perspectives in heritage policies (Logan, 2001; Li, 2003; Zhu, 2017). They argue that as heritage is closely related to national identity, its conservation can never be guided by ‘neutral’ international guidelines or charters that leave little room for the specific context and for cultures to arrive at their own interpretations of heritage.

The World Heritage List has been instrumental in widening perspectives on heritage towards truly international discourse. An important first step was the Nara Document of 1994, which proposed using a broad understanding of heritage and exploring “*an ethos that acknowledged local traditions and intangible values*” (Taylor, 2004: 430). Subsequently, the Hoi An Protocols (2005) stressed the specificity of Asian

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<sup>1</sup> The key resource construction project of the CNKI is the China Integrated Knowledge Resources Database. The database ranges from journals, dissertations, newspapers, proceedings, yearbooks, reference works, encyclopedias, patents, standards, and S&T achievements to laws and regulations. Most publications were written in Chinese by Chinese scholars.

contexts. Both the Nara Document and the Hoi An Protocols understand and define heritage less in terms of Western heritage paradigms and instead relate to various indigenous philosophies (Derde, 2010).

Chinese scholars and professionals have been developing their interpretations of heritage for some time now, trying to find ways to combine established international or Western notions of heritage and conservation with Chinese ones. Illustrative of these attempts are the Principles for the Conservation of Heritage Sites in China. In 2002, when drafting these Principles, Chinese professionals and policymakers consulted experts from the Getty Conservation Institution (USA) and parts of the Burra Charter (Taylor, 2004; Qian, 2007). The Burra Charter was published by the Australia ICOMOS branch in 1979 and emphasized the cultural significance of places. The Principles for the Conservation of Heritage Sites in China differs from Western practices, as a consequence of differences in legal frameworks, culture, economics and history (Zhu, 2011). Firstly, in listing heritage in China, more attention is given to the cultural significance of sites, such as poems which interpret the story of local people and life, and the philosophy of harmony between man and nature in city and landscape planning and design (Zhu, 2011). Secondly, the Principles for the Conservation of Heritage Sites in China reflect both the bureaucratic framework and the operational principle in the conservation process (Qian, 2007). Chinese heritage professionals, policymakers and academics have found ways to combine international heritage conventions with Chinese cultural and political values.

This paper analyses how Chinese heritage thinking has evolved over time and claims that this development has not taken place in isolation from international heritage thinking. The paper focuses on the development of heritage thinking in China from the onset of conservation practices until the present day, based on a systematic literature review. It has become clear that Chinese notions on heritage and heritage conservation have interacted with emerging international heritage debates.

In the evolution of the Chinese heritage framework, a number of individual Chinese scholars had a huge influence on heritage thinking. Their role as pioneers is confirmed not only by their own publications but also by the number of analyses of their works. A good example is Sicheng Liang, who is mentioned in over 1,000 articles in the CNKI (8 January 2019). However, there has been little research into these pioneers as a group promoting scientific advancement in Chinese heritage conservation thinking or into the ways their ideas related to international ideas. The main research question in this paper is how Chinese Heritage ideas developed in relation to international heritage thinking, and why they did. As such,

this paper analyses [1] how Chinese heritage thinking has changed over time, and [2] what the differences are between Chinese and Western ideas on heritage.

This paper begins with a brief review of key scholars and their contribution to heritage conservation in China, structured by chronology and by type of heritage. The earliest examples of collecting, studying and conserving of what we now call heritage objects date from the fifth century (Xia, 1982). The review therefore starts with relics conservation before turning to other types of heritage.

## **2 Brief historical overview – from personal collections of artefacts to scientifically inspired heritage conservation**

This historical review of the development of heritage thinking in China covers a long-time span, from the first appreciation of historical artefacts for their historical and aesthetic values until current debates. The focus in this brief historical review is on the development of ideas, on key authors who introduced new ideas and on the international exchange of ideas. It highlights times of innovation in heritage thinking in China. In this development, the 1960s and 1970s were a low point owing to the Cultural Revolution. The overview demonstrates how Chinese heritage conservation developed from Chinese traditions and scholars but was also open to international ideas. The 1980s saw Chinese heritage conservation move increasingly towards international practices. However, in recent years, Chinese scholars have become dissatisfied with the Western-dominated Authorized Heritage Discourse and have argued that it is time for China to draw up its own interpretations and develop a Chinese philosophy of heritage conservation that can be used to develop Chinese understanding and standards in practice.

### **2.1 Relics conservation**

The earliest expression of what resembles heritage conservation in China are the private collections of relics, and these began in the fifth century. Chinese royalty, nobility and educated people collected relics such as bronzes, jade wares and paintings for their own pleasure and according to their own tastes and preferences. They did not consider those objects to be materials for historical study. This changed during the Northern Song Dynasty (AD 960–1127) with Song Renzong (emperor from 1022–1063), who strongly contributed to the development of Epigraphy, the study of inscriptions in bronze or stone. Renzong was in charge of rubbing, proofreading and identifying the seal characters from inscriptions (Shi, 2013). This work laid the foundation for subsequent studies that tried to uncover the meaning of other stone inscriptions (Shi, 2013). Furthermore, Renzong instructed craftsmen

to recreate musical instruments from old texts and ancient examples (Shi, 2013). Many authors now consider this as an early attempt to conduct research from literature to practice (Shi, 2013). Over time, the scope of Epigraphy broadened to include all objects that were considered worthwhile of study and collecting, such as animal bones, tortoise shells, pottery or bamboo slips (Fang, 2015).

Western-inspired archaeology was introduced in China during the latter part of the Qing Dynasty, from the 1840s to 1912. Scholars who had learned a modern, scientific approach to relics during their education in foreign countries started to challenge original Chinese notions and to promote the reformation of Epigraphy. Over time, Chinese Epigraphy and Western Archaeology, although very different, blended with each other. Chinese traditional views and practices of conservation dominated Epigraphy. These practices were mainly based on Chinese ideologies and philosophies, for example a personal interest in inscriptions (Fang, 2015). European archaeology, on the other hand, focused on relics, their contexts and the stories that they could tell about past societies (Ma, 2012).

The main pioneer in the development from stone and bronze textual research to field archaeology was Heng Ma (Pang, 2015). In January 1922, Ma took the position of archaeology adviser in the Chinese Classics Department at the Research Institute of Peking University. The Chinese Classics Department aimed to combine traditional Chinese academic culture with Western thoughts. Ma recruited outstanding scholars, who either came from or were trained in Russia, France, Japan, Denmark and Germany (Xu, 2012). These scholars had a background in the traditional Chinese academy and culture and subsequently introduced innovative Western ideas about archaeology. They investigated cultural relics and ancient bronzes and documented their excavations in great detail to support future research (Xu, 2012).

Similar to private collections of elites in the West, the early beginnings of heritage conservation in China focused on personal interest and taste rather than academic study of heritage. Scholars who were trained in archaeological institutes now brought more scientific methods for relics conservation, exploration, collection and appreciation to the Chinese Classics Department. Chinese conservation thus adopted Western ideas and methodologies in archaeology; however, there is little evidence of influence in the opposite direction.

## **2.2 Early architecture conservation and urban planning (1920s-1950s)**

In the early twentieth century, the range of heritage objects expanded from antiques, such as weapons and bronzes and stone inscriptions, to relics, tombs and ruins (Wen & Wang, 2007). During the 1920s, a further expansion took place

when architecture conservation gained attention from Chinese scholars (Wen & Wang, 2007). The Society for the Study of Chinese Architecture (中国营造学社; below referred to as the Society) is often seen to mark the beginning of architecture conservation (Qian, 2007; Shan, 2008).

Yingzaofashi (营造法式), an official professional book about traditional Chinese architectural technology (Cui, 2006), was rediscovered and revised in 1925; this is considered to be the beginning of the study of Chinese ancient buildings (Wen & Wang, 2007). In 1921, Qiqian Zhu, president and the founder of the Society, went to Europe on official business. During the trip, Zhu recognized that in Europe, both old and new buildings had been recorded in detail for future repair and rehabilitation (Cui, 2006). On his return to China, Zhu and his group devoted themselves to revising the contents of Yingzaofashi and subsequently reprinted the manuscripts.

The collections and compilations of construction works, figures and building models in Yingzaofashi drew worldwide attention. In 1930, the international response encouraged Zhu to start the Society to record and study valuable ancient Chinese buildings. The work of the Society included both literature study and field investigation, using modern scientific methodology (Cui, 2006). The Society's influence was extensive, despite its private nature and its short lifespan – it existed for only 16 years until 1946. The works of the Society have facilitated the scientific study of Chinese architecture in a number of ways. From 1932 to 1937, researchers of the Society investigated 1,823 ancient buildings in 137 Chinese cities and drew 1,898 maps of 206 building groups (Shan, 2008). These valuable records and drawings provided a solid basis for the first survey of important relics and buildings in China and the Brief Index of Ancient Architectural Monuments throughout China (全国重要建筑文物简目) (Lin & Zhang, 2012). Buildings with outstanding historic, aesthetic and scientific values were described in the Bulletin of the Society for Research in Chinese Architecture (中国营造学社汇刊), which reached an international audience (Shan, 2008).

The Society laid the foundations for future research into the conservation of traditional Chinese architecture and was also influential abroad. Until then, Chinese architecture was studied by foreign researchers using Western perspectives and interpretations. The Society published its own works to reach audiences in Europe and Japan. The earliest comments on Yingzaofashi were written by the French author M.P. Demieville, who gave a summary of the texts of the photo-lithographed version in 1920 (Yetts, 1927). In Britain, the Bulletin was recognized as an academic journal for scholars studying Chinese architecture (Cui, 2006). Chuta Ito used a multi-disciplinary perspective to introduce Chinese architecture to Japan, providing new insights into the Chinese sources of Japanese architecture (Zhang, F., 2013).

The modern academic studies of architecture also changed traditional thoughts on architecture conservation in China. A number of Chinese scholars who graduated from Japanese, American, French, German and Italian architectural institutes founded nearly twenty Architecture schools in China. The theories and practices introduced by these returned scholars reflected Western notions of architecture (Qian, 2007). One of these scholars was Sicheng Liang, a postgraduate of Architecture at the University of Pennsylvania, who established the Department of Architecture at Tsinghua University. Sicheng Liang played a leading role among these pioneers, and his ideas still influence Chinese heritage conservation today. Firstly, Liang was in charge of cataloguing the Brief Index of Ancient Architectural Monuments throughout China (全国重要建筑文物简目), based on the collected reports, maps and photos by the Society. The Index was published in 1949, and it contained more than 450 sites and buildings. The list became the foundation and guideline for the first survey of important relics and buildings in China during the second half of the 1950s (Shan, 2008; Yu & Wang, 2008; Lin & Zhang, 2012). Secondly, in 1955 Liang introduced the notion of 'restoring the old to its historical condition' (整旧如旧). This idea refers to preserving, restoring or maintaining the original form through historical time, but there were difficulties in applying this idea to Chinese wooden or timber architectures (Zhu, 2017). As opposed to repairing brick and stone structures, it is difficult to tell which structures are new and which are original if the residual wooden or timber structures have to be wholly replaced, or even complete buildings should be integrally reconstructed (Lin & Zhang, 2002; Zhu, 2017).

Thirdly, Liang stated the importance of integrated historical city conservation and of local identity (Liang, 1986; Gao & Wang, 1991b). Taking Beijing as an example, he emphasized the importance of keeping the whole layout of the city, as this reflected the Chinese vision on urban planning rather than just focusing on individual buildings (Gao & Wang, 1991b). In Liang's ideas, conservation of old constructions that showed Chinese identity was as important as establishing new buildings (Gao & Wang, 1991b). According to Liang (1986), another way of strengthening local identity was not by imitating ancient Chinese or modern Western building styles, but by showing local and national characteristics with modern skills and materials. Architecture in European and Arab countries also emphasized the use of advanced technology in producing local cultural identity in order to challenge the homogeneity resulting from cultural globalization (Delanty & Jones, 2002; Eldemery, 2009)

Many Western concepts were introduced to Liang when he studied at the University of Pennsylvania (USA) in 1924. To arrive at a more effective conservation of the old town of Beijing as an integrated cultural and tourist centre, he proposed a new administrative centre and a number of independent neighbourhoods in the Western suburbs of Beijing (Gao & Wang, 1991a). The newly built neighbourhoods,

each functioning as a unit with work, residential and entertainment districts, were connected by walkways (Gao & Wang, 1991e). Liang regarded a city as a working organizational mechanism, a framework borrowed from the theory of organic decentralization by Eliel Saarinen and the Athens Charter on the Functional City (Gao & Wang, 1991a, 1991e). Another proof of the way he was influenced by Western philosophies is found in Liang's design proposals for Tianjin and Beijing. He viewed the city as an integrated building group, a notion inspired by the Beaux-Arts tradition (Gao & Wang, 1991e). Taking the renovation of Tiananmen Square as an example, Liang paid attention to spatial pattern, form, appearance and harmony between building and environment (Gao & Wang, 1991e). Among the Western ideas Liang brought to Chinese urban planning were living conservation of historical cities as well as conservation on different levels according to values (Gao & Wang, 1991b, 1991d). Living conservation refers both to the significance of construction, the current situation, material and technology, as well as to the requirements of local citizens. All these aspects should be considered when drawing up conservation plans, to be followed by suggestions for reuse, removal, rehabilitation or destruction of old constructions. Liang's views concur with developments elsewhere that enlarged the scope of conservation projects from single buildings to series of constructions and their environment. The whole historical cities could be 'collected' as an integrated object for cultural use (Tunbridge & Ashworth, 1996).

Facilitated by the close relations between Liang and American scholars, his work quickly spread in American architectural journals (Rujivacharakul, 2010). For American scholars, these articles provided a new understanding of Chinese architectural history (Rujivacharakul, 2010). However, in the early stages of new built China (from 1949), Liang and his ideas were criticized for the heavy strain that they posed on development and finance. Liang's designs hardly considered the costs or the burden on budget that his ideas and requirements meant (Gao & Wang, 1991e). The new government placed great political significance on the development of a productive capital city in a socialist country that was influenced by the planning concepts and methodology of the Union of Socialist Soviet Republics, rather than building a consumer city similar to the cities in capitalist countries (Gao & Wang, 1991c; Sit, 1996). As a result, not all of Liang's plans were put into practice. Thus, modern urban planning for China's centuries-old national capital started under the sway of architectural science (Zhang & Liu, 2018).

### **2.3 The period of stagnation (1960s and 1970s)**

Although ideas kept developing in the 1940s and 1950s, practice was more difficult. From the 1930s onwards, subsequent wars and large-scale urban development posed considerable threats to the conservation of historical artefacts and cities (Li, 2003). However, the 1960s and 1970s proved most difficult. The dramatic



loss of its cultural roots that the country experienced in the phase of the Cultural Revolution (1966–1976) is well known (Qian, 2007). In an attempt to modernize the country according to new Maoist principles, a break away from traditional culture was presented as inevitable. Feng (2007) stated that the Cultural Revolution was the worst disaster for traditional Chinese cultural heritage because the past became the target of criticism and even destruction. During these ten years, most research and conservation projects were cancelled, institutions of urban planning were withdrawn, and scholars had to search for other jobs. Many monumental buildings were reused, reconstructed, partly destroyed or lost their historical significance due to the deliberate break with old customs, cultures, habits and ideas (Huang, 2006; Xiao, 2013; Zhong et al., 2015).

The main threats to cultural heritage conservation came from a contempt and antagonism towards original Chinese culture (Feng, 2007). However, many significant sites, such as the Forbidden City and the Summer Palace, were saved during this movement, as these sites were listed in the first version of national protected historical and cultural sites (第一批全国重点文物保护单位) in 1961 and were inaccessible to the public (Zhu, 2012).

Although the Cultural Revolution is seen by some as a time of dramatic loss of heritage, some authors point out that subsequent rapid urbanization, large-scale projects and heritage site renovation have had a more profound impact (Wu, 2005; Yang, 2010).

#### **2.4 Heritage conservation from the 1980s to the 2000s**

The open-communication period started in the 1980s, and this reconnected Chinese heritage conservation with international efforts. China joined the UNESCO Convention Concerning the Protection of the World Cultural and Natural Heritage in 1985. The first group of Chinese world heritage sites was designated in 1987, including the Imperial Palaces of the Ming and Qing Dynasties in Beijing and Shenyang, the Mausoleum of the First Qin Emperor, Mogao Caves, Peking Man Site at Zhoukoudian, the Great Wall, and Mount Taishan (mixed cultural and natural heritage). Subsequently, many international heritage declarations and charters were published in China and named after the Chinese host cities, such as the Beijing Charter (1999), Xi'an Declaration (2005) and Qufu Declaration (2005). International conservation principles and concepts were introduced in China, such as the 'historical city', 'authenticity', 'intervention' and 'values', which emphasized the importance of restoration to the original state or conservation of the existing state (Feilden & Chen, 1986; Chen, 1989; Zhu, 2012). At the same time, the scope of conservation expanded from buildings and their immediate surroundings to entire historical inner cities and then to human settlements (Wu, 1997; Shan, 2012).

## 2.5 2000 up to the present

Since the beginning of the twenty-first century, opposition has risen against what was felt to be a Western-oriented AHD in which Eurocentric views and concepts dominated international heritage conservation notions and principles (Smith, 2006). Concepts such as authenticity were considered to be relative and contextual rather than universal or absolute. The importance of developing more diverse principles towards cultural heritage was advocated by some scholars who favoured a reconsideration of the understandings, philosophies, importance and identity of local communities (Wu, 2002; Li, 2003; Zhu, 2012; Lv, 2015). As such, alternative discourses in heritage and heritage conservation were developed. As a result, many steps have been taken in China to adhere to international standards but also to formulate a divergent approach that suits the Chinese context and culture. These new approaches deal particularly with issues of authenticity.

## 3 Authenticity in China

One of the points on which Chinese or Asian and Western notions diverge is the concept of authenticity. The idea of authenticity was introduced to China by the Venice Charter, which emphasized the importance of authentic materials and the desirability to make repairs and new additions to a building recognizable (Wang & Liu, 2012). For decades, Western heritage practitioners focused strongly on material conservation, following philosophies developed in particular by John Ruskin and William Morris (Pendlebury, 2013). This perspective rejected any changes to the original structures; even inevitable replacements to maintain the building were considered as reconstruction or excessive intervention (Akagawa, 2016).

This notion of authenticity reflected in the Venice Charter can be identified in documents on conservation all over the world, including in China. However, the Eurocentric notions on authenticity did not sit well with Chinese culture and practice. Liang's idea of 'to its historical condition' (整旧如旧), which was developed as a basic principle in Chinese heritage conservation, differs from the international notion of authenticity which emphasizes retaining the original building and/or repairing in building's historical condition without reconstruction (Shen, 2010).

For example, Chinese scholars have pointed out that timbers, used in many historical Chinese buildings, are much harder to preserve than masonry (which is the structural material of many European monuments) (Zhu, 2012; Lv, 2015). Therefore, although the timber 'carries' some architectural information, 'dismantling and reassembling' is often necessary in order to conserve the building (Ito, 1995: 43). This presents a break with the traditional Western notions of conservation and authenticity.

Even relocation of a historical structure is accepted in China. For example, in August 2017, the Grand Hall (大雄宝殿) of Jade Buddha Temple (玉佛寺) in Shanghai was shifted about 30 metres North from its original location in order to gain more public space and improve fire protection. Relocation has been applied to several historical buildings in China, especially in Shanghai. It is often justified by security issues that require attention, is considered a way to deal with pressures from urban development, and is underpinned by a perception of the technology to move and consequently conserve the objects.

Since the beginning of the twenty-first century, several Chinese scholars have attempted to formulate Chinese principles on authenticity. These formalize an indigenous notion of authenticity which centres on maintaining physical forms. In early Chinese heritage conservation, the understanding of authenticity was heavily influenced by architectural historians and craftsmen. Architectural historians emphasized restoration to the original building's form and style, while craftsmen proposed repair with recognizable contemporary skills and materials (Lv, 2015). These differences in interpreting and understanding authenticity are also obvious in heritage conservation debates. Chinese scholars have mainly understood authenticity in two ways. Some of them emphasize the importance of the original state of heritage, while others highlight the significance of historical development of heritage and the continuity of craftsmanship (Zhu, 2017). Zhu (2017) states that keeping historical conditions of heritage with both the original and subsequent characters – a notion that diverges from strict material authenticity – has now been given attention in international documents, such as the Nara Document and the Qufu Declaration.

In addition, there are important differences in appreciating cultural values in the practice of coping with heritage authenticity (Akagawa, 2016). The Nara Document has expanded the recognition of authenticity to different contexts and includes attributes of spirit and feeling to be used in identifying the contribution of heritage to local character and sense of place (Akagawa, 2016). The concept of 'spirit and feeling' illustrates that intangible elements of heritage are as important as tangible aspects. For example, China emphasized the importance of culture by replacing the term 'Relics' by 'Cultural Heritage' in the official discourse (He, 2007), and by adding cultural and social values to criteria for the selection of heritage. Social and cultural values are seen as equally important as historic, aesthetic and scientific values in the latest version of the Principles for the Conservation of Heritage Sites in China. Article 3 states:

*Social value encompasses memory, emotion and education. Cultural value comprises cultural diversity, the continuation of traditions, and essential components of intangible cultural heritage.*

From this document it becomes apparent that Chinese principles consider cultural value to be equally important as the other four values. Cultural value is different from the concept of cultural significance, which includes other values in the Burra Charter (Lv, 2015).

*Cultural significance means aesthetic, historic, scientific, social or spiritual value for past, present or future generations. Cultural significance is embodied in the place itself, its fabric, setting, use, associations, meanings, records, related places and related objects. Places may have a range of values for different individuals or groups. (ICOMOS, 2013: Article 12)*

Authenticity of heritage in China has been reflected in conserving both tangible relics and intangible cultural value (Zhang, 2006). Ancient Chinese philosophy, for example Tao Te Ching (道德经), states that intangible values are the root of relics, and relics are the containers of spirit (Zhang, 2006; Zhu, 2012).

To pay respect to such traditions, reconstruction is a measure that shows the appearance and integrity of historical objects rather than authenticity. The spiritual significance is thus deeply embedded in the cultural continuity or sense of place that current generations inherit (Lv, 2015; 2017). For locals, the reconstruction of buildings can mean continuity of life, memory and culture and a manifestation of religious belief (Lv, 2017). Reconstructions of important Chinese temples or other architectures have taken place at several times during history: whole buildings were sometimes rebuilt into totally different styles but maintaining the same names. In such cases, reconstructions are embedded in a continuity of spirit and culture, showing respect for collective traditions and memories rather than maintaining their physical forms (Lv, 2017).

The reconstruction of Mu's Residence is an outstanding example to show how cultural and social values have prevailed over physical maintenance and material authenticities in current heritage practices in China. Mu's Residence in Lijiang is the symbol of the Naxi community, embodying its culture, art and engineering (Wu & Li, 2007). Fragments of this residence survived the war and the Cultural Revolution in one piece, but no historical information about the original architecture or its predecessor is available (Yang, 1999; Zhu, 2017). The current residence was rebuilt in 1999, using local traditional material, colour and technology in order to maintain the history and authenticity of the whole ancient town (Yang, 1999). Chinese

scholars consider Mu's Residence a reproduction of the historical landscape as well as of the symbolic value of the Naxi community spirit (Mu, 2002; Zhao & Li, 2011). The reconstruction is aimed foremost at developing tourism and at keeping the authenticity of the integrated landscape rather than the authenticity of the building itself (Yang, 1999; Duan, 2002; Zhang, 2006).

## 4 Discussion and conclusion

In recent decades, Chinese scholars have focused on international examples of urban planning to inspire and guide present and future urban development in China. Meanwhile, few scholars explore historical Chinese notions and practices of urban planning, even though this might provide ideas for future development suitable to the local context and rooted in Chinese culture (Zhang & Liu, 2018). Thus, our paper not only focuses on the international influence on Chinese heritage thinking in the past, but it also emphasizes the role of Chinese pioneers in developing ideas of heritage conservation in a Chinese context and background.

The review of Chinese-language books and journals in the present paper shows the role of these pioneers in the evolution of heritage thinking and practice in the Chinese context. It also shows how positions have changed since the early acceptance and incorporation of foreign, Western principles and notions. The history of heritage practices in China started with the study of Epigraphics, followed by the study of historical architecture. This early work had limited international reach or impact beyond a small group of sinologists and architects (Sit, 1996). From the 1920s onwards, Chinese heritage practices became strongly influenced by Western scientific notions of archaeology and architecture. In the 1980s, discussions on heritage slowly became global, with the rising importance of the UNESCO World Heritage List and a number of documents, such as the Venice Charter. The Western ideas that dominated these documents, however, met with growing scepticism in other parts of the world, including China (Taylor, 2004; Derde, 2010).

After the end of the Cultural Revolution, heritage once more became a theme of discussion in China and slowly led to the development of Chinese alternatives for Western ideas. In these alternatives, heritage conservation and authenticity were to extend beyond the purely physical remains and, instead, aim at integrated preservation by learning from traditional Chinese philosophy, giving full balance to interactions among people, architecture and their environment, and stressing a continuity of cultural traces from all historical periods (Lv, 2017; Zhu, 2017).

China's 13<sup>th</sup> Five Year Plan (2016–2020) sees heritage as an important factor in nation-building and recognizes the aim of multi-level heritage conservation: the foundation of national memory, cohesiveness, image and cultural sovereignty, and a medium of international communication and competition. In the future, China's conservation movement will probably increasingly formulate its own discourse, while maintaining its participation in debates around the world.

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# CHAPTER

# 3

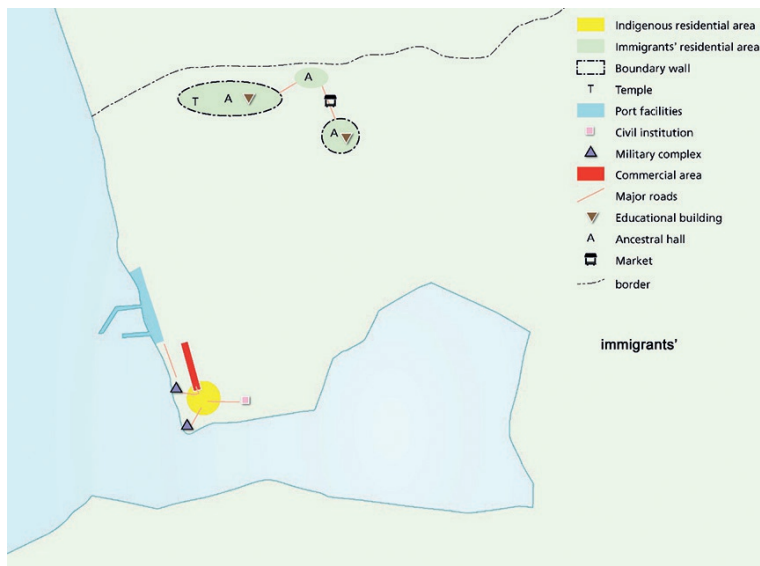
## **Spatial Development of Chinese Colonial Cities**

## 1 Introduction

Urban morphology is an integrated complex which reflects social structure, land use and physical development. The spatial pattern and buildings can be seen as tangible evidence of complex social structures, divisions and processes (King, 1976; Hoekveld, 1990; Lawrence & Low, 1990). A city will transform as a result of major social, spatial, political, economic and cultural changes, both extending the city with new built-up areas and changing the existing built-up area (Conzen, 1988; Hoekveld, 1990). A city can therefore be seen as layered: each historical era transforms the previous, as each period in urban history presents a particular kind of social division and a resulting spatial pattern (Hoekveld, 1990). Hoekveld (1990) analysed the spatial transformations of the North Western European city and proposed distinguishing the process of urban development into four eras or layers: the Medieval city, the Baroque city, the Industrial city and the Neo-industrial city. His layered model used the urban pattern of the medieval city as its base map. In the Baroque period, spatial expansion took place at the former edges, and existing built-up areas were transformed to adjust to the newly arisen social-spatial and economic-spatial relationships. According to Hoekveld, key elements are guiding these social-spatial patterns and therefore the functional composition of the city, such as the position, governmental, family, religious, economic, social and recreational institutions (King, 1976; Hoekveld, 1990). The subsequent periods repeat the process of transformation.

We propose using a similar, layered model for the analysis of the development of colonial cities in South-East Asia, in order to gain insight into the landscape of post-colonial cities. We divided the colonial history into three time periods, following the regime changes in colonial cities: the pre-colonial period, the period of mercantile colonialism and the period of modern imperialism. Like the layers in the model of the cities in North-West Europe, colonial cities had their particular social-spatial dynamics, resulting in specific key elements for each type of colonial regime and thus leading to specific transformations of the built-up area. It could be argued that the colonial cities are a heterogeneous group of cities as they were colonized by different foreign regimes, at different points in time and for different purposes (political control, economic exploitation and cultural transformation). However, treating colonial cities as a distinct group emphasizes their vital role in establishing, systemizing and maintaining colonial rule (King, 1985; Yeoh, 1996). Their colonial landscapes reflected the power and prestige of the colonialists, and they were regulated and structured in order to improve the flow of economic trade and communications (Lewandowski, 1975; Yeoh, 1996).

During the pre-colonial period, area development mainly responded to the natural environment. The proto-industry, such as fishing, pearling and quarrying, mainly relied on natural resources. Temples, especially the Tin Hau Temple which enshrines and worships the goddess of the sea, were the most important buildings in those fishing villages. Around the sixteenth century, ocean-going communication, transportation and trade led to the increased importance of these fishing communities; as a result, early forms of trading markets, ports, shipyards, and piers were developed. Moreover, as in other Chinese cities, the growing power of the national government was reflected in both military and political needs (Wu, 1993). The urban morphology resulting from the symbolic authority presented itself in barracks, forts and town halls. Furthermore, indigenous settlements living from fisheries were located at the capes, while Chinese immigrant families built walled towns inland, following Feng-shui design principles. Some factors contributed to the morphological distinctiveness of the traditional Chinese settlement: ancestral halls, study halls and shared markets, as were found in for example Hong Kong and Macao. This pattern reflects the subconscious social segregation at the earliest time of urbanization (Figure 3.1<sup>2</sup>).

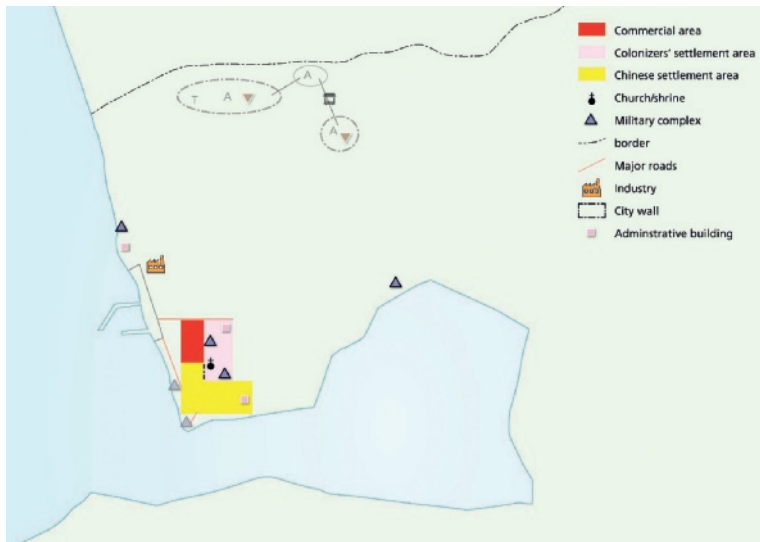


**Figure 3.1** The urban morphology at an early stage of urbanization

The economic character and the importance of trade were stressed in the early origins of colonial cities (Figure 3.2). Port cities, among the most typical colonial cities (Telkamp, 1978), were essential for export and import between the colonies

<sup>2</sup> All maps in this chapter were created by Ton Markus, Faculty of Geosciences, Utrecht University. It is difficult to find accurate historic maps for the early era. For operationalization, key characteristics have been illustrated and adjusted on recent or current maps.

and the colonizers. They also served as a point of contact between Western institutions and values and traditional Asian societies (Reeves et al., 1989). Along the coasts and waterways, enclosed commercial stations and trading factories were erected which were subsequently connected to inland cities (Kosambi & Brush, 1988). During the time of mercantile colonialism, the expansion was dominated by mercantile relationships. Overseas trade was an important part of proto-national political projects, and it warranted protection by the national military (Weaver, 2018). Ships and cannons were an integral component of the Europeans' success in Asia (Weaver, 2018), and for this reason colonial cities contained spatial elements such as ports and fortifications (Spodek, 1980). Overseas companies in Europe gained revenue by expeditions and taxation, while at the same time the exotic commodities from Asia, such as Chinese silk and porcelain and Indian calicoes, whetted European appetites. Increased European demand for sugar, cacao and tobacco introduced the slave plantation economy in colonized areas (Weaver, 2018). These trade-based colonies entailed a spatial division which, at the early stage of the colonial period, often followed a grid pattern with built elements, such as service institutions, industrial establishments, stately public buildings, and cathedrals with plazas (Lewandowski, 1975; Spodek, 1980; Reeves et al., 1989).



**Figure 3.2** The urban morphology at the mercantile colonial stage

During modern imperialism, as the colonizers shifted their role from traders to dominators, the city plan was based on a clearly functional division (Spodek, 1980). The military presence became more pronounced and played a fundamental role in spatial segregation in these cities (Beverley, 2011). Military presence advanced and consolidated the governance of the colonizers, combining with civil stations were

the inviolable characteristics during the early colonial time (Beverley, 2011). Similar to the way European cities were developing, spatial differentiation of the urban population was mainly based on racial distinctions (King, 1976; Fuller, 1988). Figure 3.3 indicates that the colonial elites built their settlements with low-density housing around the economic, cultural and political cores, applying Western urban design and planning. The new colonial centres were segregated from the indigenous inhabitants who were settled at an increasing distance from the core and in the vicinity of factories, yards and storage facilities (Sjoberg, 1965; Lewandowski, 1975; King, 1976; Norton, 1984; Hoekveld, 1990). The border of race segregation was gradually broken through because of the increased population and trade communication; the commercial and business centres quickly developed between the colonizers and the Chinese, as is shown in Figure 3.4. After the Industrial Revolution, industries were located in the city centre with nearby settlements for workers (Lewandowski, 1975; Hoekveld, 1990). Owing to advanced transport facilities such as railways, from the end of the eighteenth century onwards these colonial cities became significant transport hubs for the transportation of economic resources, the deployment of soldiers for the colonial armies, and the connection between the coast and the hinterland (Schultz-Naumann, 1985; Lu, 2008; Ho, 2016). In addition, a spatial transformation arose in the nineteenth century due to both the surplus economic values and the institutionalized leisure time among the colonial community (Norton, 1984; Antrop, 2000). With the improved transport facilities, the upper-class moved to the recreational periphery (Lewandowski, 1975; Hoekveld, 1990) where theatres, museums, hotels, sports complexes, and botanical gardens were situated (Fuller, 1988; Yeoh, 1996). After the second half of the twentieth century, the post-colonial societies saw a series of socio-economic transformations, such as neoliberalism, decentralization, de-industrialization and entrepreneurial governance; during the same period, urban spaces were extended and developed by land reclamation, cross-sea transportation, and polycentric planning. Nowadays, heritage is increasingly becoming the object of planning (Ashworth, 2011). On the one hand, old buildings are being replaced by modern ones for the potential economic profits of development (Lee & DiStefano, 2015); in particular those less-valued industrial complexes have been redeveloped into the most attractive destinations in the city (Giovinazzi & Moretti, 2010) (Figure 3.5). On the other hand, heritage discourse has shifted from the prevention of change to emphasizing that heritage can be used as a political, cultural and economic resource (Tunbridge & Ashworth, 1996; Ashworth, 2011). The significance of area-based conservation has been recognized in both heritage policies and practices (Tiesdell et al., 2013). In addition, instead of further extension, under the influences of socio-economic changes, such as neoliberalism and de-industrialization, large urban industrial areas have been redeveloped into high-rise buildings and have been transformed into new functions, for example into creative cultural parks.

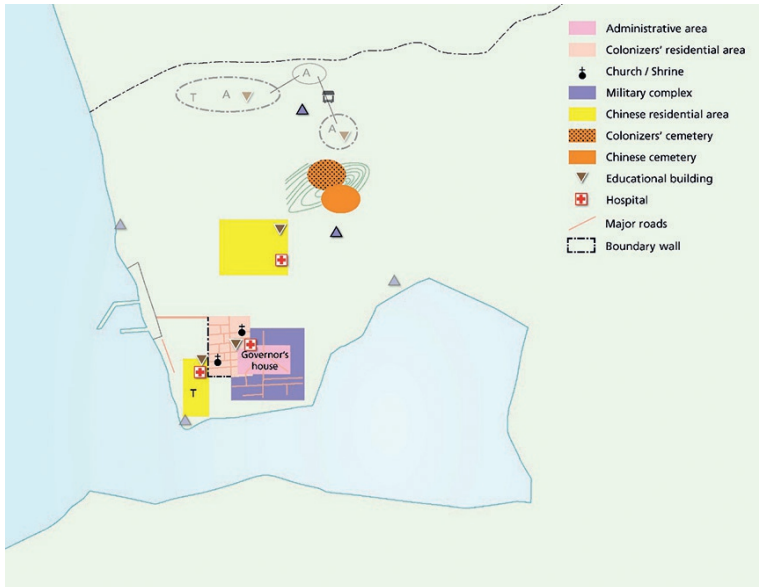


Figure 3.3 The urban morphology at the early stage of modern imperialism

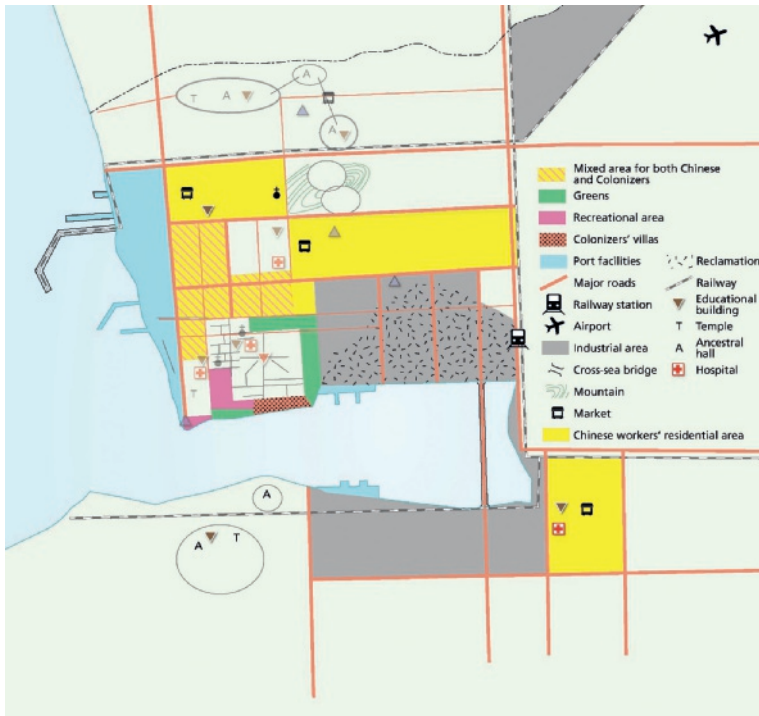


Figure 3.4 The urban morphology of colonial port cities in South-East Asia after the Industrial Revolution





**Figure 3.5** The spatial expansion and transformation in the late colonial period and the post-colonial period

Similar to other colonial port cities elsewhere in the world, Hong Kong, Macao, Taipei and Qingdao functioned as bases for overseas trades. Taipei was occupied by the Spanish and the Dutch for about 40 years in the first half of the seventeenth century, the Portuguese governed Macao for more than 440 years from 1557, Hong Kong was under British rule for a century and a half, and Qingdao was a German colonial trading port for nearly two decades. Interestingly, our cases show the urban patterns and spatial segregation not only resulting from Western regimes, but also resulting from Eastern imperialism, as Taipei, Qingdao and Hong Kong were also colonized by the Japanese for 3 to 50 years.

We started our analysis with the historical maps that we collected in local and Dutch universities, archives and bookstores. Because nowadays there are only a small number of written references to the pre-colonial urban pattern left, official lists of monuments and declared historical buildings have become important. Remaining historical sites and buildings are the first visual evidence of a city's past. We compared the first two time periods to understand how the city pattern expanded and transformed under colonial rule. Fieldwork in these four cities supported our analysis of the remaining colonial landscape.

## 2 Hong Kong

### 2.1 Early beginnings

Some Neolithic Age relics, such as seafood debris, potteries and rock carvings, have been found along raised sandbanks in Hong Kong. These traces are from the earliest people who lived in Hong Kong 6,000 years ago as hunters and fishermen. Agricultural traces, such as granaries and ovens, were found in the Lee Cheng Uk Han Tomb, which was built in Donghan (AD 25–220). Archaeological finds indicate that during the Tang Dynasty (AD 618–907), small settlements were located along the coastal lines. During the Song Dynasty, settlements around Kowloon Bay were continually developed and expanded into a trading port and market (Chen, 2014). However, the population in Hong Kong did not exceed 4,000 inhabitants (Situ, 1997) because of the remoteness of the area. The population increased with migrants from the North who fled the constant warfare there. These migrants built a few walled villages in the New Territories (Figure 3.6). The ‘Five Great Clans’ are the largest five families who migrated to the New Territories, and their descendants have lived in Ho Sheung, Sheung Shui, San Tin, Tai Po and Fanling for over 30 generations since the twelfth century (Situ, 1997). These walled villages shared the following common characteristics: an ancestral hall, a temple, a shrine, a pagoda, and a study hall as representative icons of the traditional rural life in Hong Kong (Cheung, 1999). In addition, fairs were developed to improve the trading among these large villages.



Figure 3.6 Pre-colonial Hong Kong

Proto-industries were located near natural resources. Hong Kong struck it rich with pearl divers in Tai Po, the salt industry in East Kowloon, and the incense and quarrying industries in Sha Tin and West Lantau Island (Situ, 1997). Hong Kong's most noticeable feature, however, was its advantageous natural condition as a deep harbour. As a result, Hong Kong found itself at the junction of routes between South Asia and South-East Asia. These ports and Tin Hau temples (Tin Hau is the goddess of the sea and patron saint of fishermen) were important features in pre-colonial Hong Kong.

To protect the harbours at this strategic point, professional armies became important. Many batteries were located on the outlying islands to fight off pirates and halt the opium trade. For example, Tuen Mun, the outer harbour of Guangzhou, which served as an important trans-shipment port, was guarded by more than 2,000 soldiers in the eighth century (Chen, 2014). After losing the battle at Tuen Mun with the Ming Government in 1521, a Portuguese armada muscled in on the seaborne trade in Macao (Situ, 1997).

Pre-colonial Hong Kong was not the barren island described in some colonial records (Carroll, 2007). During the pre-colonial period, social segregation and cultural differences were limited. Hong Kong was a peripheral administrative region under the Chinese government, and it lacked the administrative grandeur that was found in the massive town halls of other Chinese cities. Settlements along the coastal lines were formed as a result of the success of fishing, salt and other trades, and developed with the formation of fairs and neighbourhoods. Large immigrant families built walled towns in the New Territories. The urban plans follow their original beliefs and customs. The clans chose their settlements in strict adherence to Feng-shui principles. Compared to the rich traces that were found in the Northern part of Hong Kong, the population was sparse on Hong Kong Island (Carroll, 2007). Hong Kong was thus a place with dispersed settlements or neighbourhoods rather than an individual town. Most traffic relied on transport overseas, along coastal waters.

## 2.2 Colonial Hong Kong

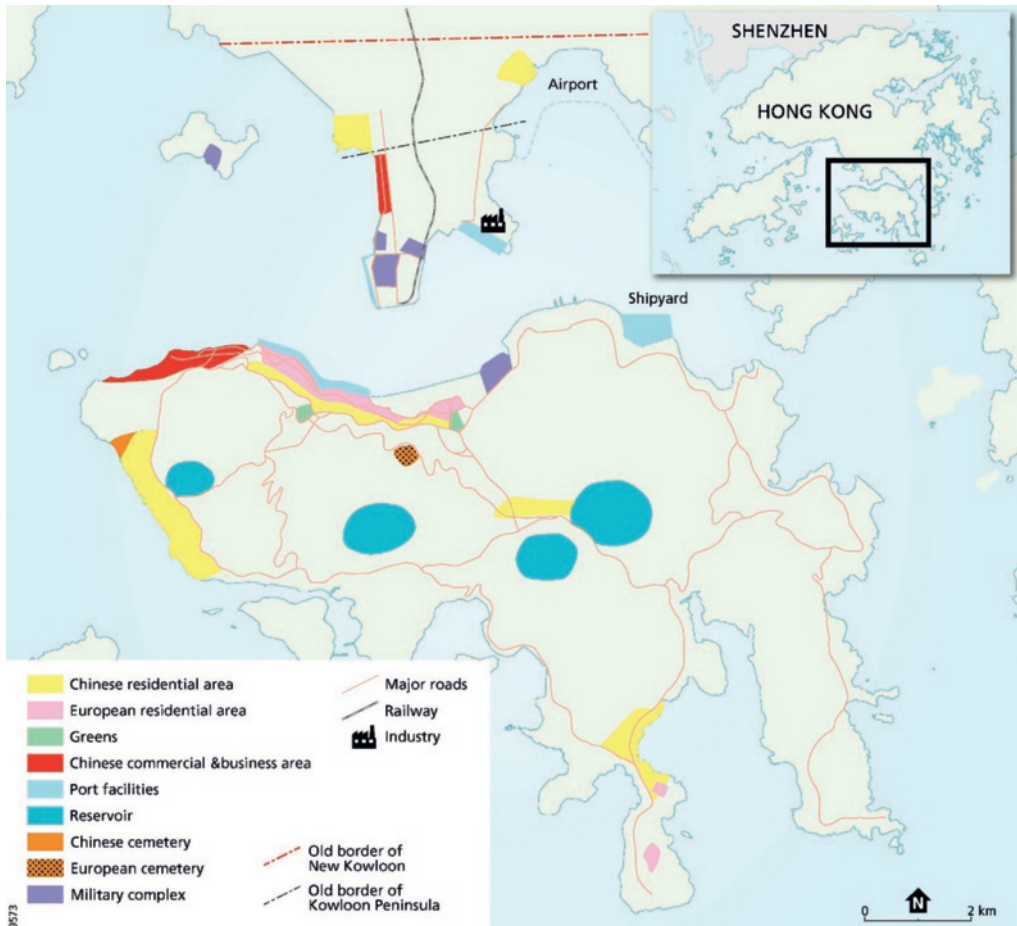
The colonial period of Hong Kong started with modern imperialism. The British took possession of Hong Kong in 1841 and in 1898 signed *The Convention between Great Britain and China Respecting an Extension of Hong Kong Territory* (展拓香港界址专条), which would last for 99 years until 1997 and which included Hong Kong Island, the Kowloon Peninsula, and the New Territories of around 230 outlying islands. Thus, the British governed Hong Kong for 155 years, with the exception of the years between 1941 and 1945, when the Japanese occupied Hong Kong.

Hong Kong Island was founded primarily as a port city for international trade by the British. The British Grand Model of urban planning, characterized by function division, infrastructure construction, architecture and reclamation, was adopted in Hong Kong (Li & Zou, 2011; Ho, 2016). Under the colonial authorities, the City of Victoria was quickly established on Hong Kong Island (Li & Zou, 2011). The City of Victoria was characterized by many British military, administrative, social, cultural, religious and economic buildings (Figure 3.7). Governmental institutions, such as the Governor’s House, Flagstaff House, Victoria Prison and Central Police Station, were built in the Central and Middle-level district. Primary cultural and recreational constructions, such as gardens, theatres, music studios and public libraries were also set around the central area. The district located to the East of the centre was designated as a military area; it included several barracks, parade grounds and hospitals. Warehouses and docks built for trade could be found on both the East and the West sides of the centre (Huang, 2015). The Wan Chai district, close to the East boarder of the City of Victoria, was planned to contain the cemetery, as well as religious and educational buildings. Sai Ying Pun and Kennedy Town, located West of the City of Victoria, were developed as commercial and trading areas by Chinese capitalists, including insurance and telegraph companies (Yu et al., 2015) (Figure 3.8). Meanwhile, Stanley, Wong Nai Chung, Pok Fu Lam and Shau Kei Wan were developed and extended to function as Chinese residential areas (Huang, 2015; Ho, 2016). In 1888, more and more Europeans moved to the Middle-level area when the cable car station was built. Later, the European District Reservation Ordinance formulated a line of demarcation to segregate the Europeans living in the main area of the City of Victoria from the Chinese (Ho, 2016).



Figure 3.7 The City of Victoria

The terrain of Hong Kong island has some steep slopes and over 82% is mountainous (Ho, 2018). There is only a narrow strip of flat low lands on the island (Ho, 2018). As a result, land reclamation on the coastline was one of the most important issues during the early stages of colonial Hong Kong (see Chapter 4). At the same time, the colonial government also invested in constructing roads, wharfs and reservoirs to transform Hong Kong into an international port city (Ho, 2016) (Figure 3.8). The newly-built roads were parallel to the coastline, while the older roads were perpendicular to the coastline, forming a criss-cross structure (Li & Zou, 2011). At the same time, the port facilities were designed so as to maximize the deep-water port function. Firms, docks, piers and warehouses were situated along Victoria harbour. Additionally, reservoirs were the largest and most difficult infrastructures the British had to build to provide the increased population with water (Ho, 2016).



**Figure 3.8** An overview of Hong Kong Island and New Kowloon in the early twentieth century

The years 1842–1898 were a period of important urban expansion in Hong Kong. Both the Kowloon Peninsula and the New Territories were leased to the United Kingdom, and the population increase could then be directed away from Hong Kong Island, which had become densely populated. The indigenous inhabitants of the New Territories consisted of eight alliances, 48 rural townships and several villages with 918.3 km<sup>2</sup> land (Ho, 2016). However, developing the New Territories was against the will of the locals, and it was also obstructed by the government because of the huge construction costs in remote areas (Ho, 2016). Therefore, New Kowloon was developed in the early stages of the twentieth century (Ho, 2018).

New Kowloon had four different functions: civilian, military, maritime and transportation (Ho, 2018) (Figure 3.9). The early reclamation in New Kowloon was part of Sham Shui Po village, which was used to resettle indigenous residents. Three-story buildings were popular in Sham Shui Po, with the ground floor used for business and the upper floors for living (Ho, 2016). This area developed as a commercial and residential centre. Later, Kowloon Tong was designed as a comprehensive middle-class community with primary and secondary schools, colleges, gardens and churches (Ho, 2016). Spatial segregation by race is not evident in the new built-up areas, since the division of district was the result of economic development and the settlement characteristics of Chinese groups rather than a deliberate managerial intervention with different ethnicities (Ho, 2016). As for commerce, Yau Ma Tei developed into a cluster for Chinese trade, while many foreign companies were also located in New Kowloon, for example the Standard Oil Co., C.P.R. Holt's Co., Hong Kong and Kowloon Wharf and Godown Company, Union Dock, and Taikoo Dockyard & Engineering Co. (Yu et al., 2015; Ho, 2016). Batteries, armouries and barracks were established in Tsim Sha Tsui, and warehouses and docks in Yau Ma Tei and Hung Hom in the early stages of the twentieth century. In the first half of the twentieth century, both large-scale industries, a railway station and an airport were planned in Kowloon.

Urban development was interrupted between 1941 and 1945 during the Japanese occupation. At the same time, the Japanese made a significant change to the urban morphology by using Hong Kong as a resource base to aggressively develop agricultural and forestry industries (Yu et al., 2015). Kai Tak Airport became the vital transport hub for deploying resources for the Japanese army (He, 2016). Land was expropriated for expansion of the airport into 152.3 hectares, which is more than twice the size during British rule; among other facilities, it included two runways, a control tower and U-shaped mobile hangers (Ho, 2018). The airport played a role in main air transport until 1997. The Japanese rulers rented out streets and also re-zoned lands in order to reflect their power (Yu et al., 2015; Ho, 2016). Land use in Hong Kong transformed from trade and industry to agriculture. Transportation

over land was disrupted, and, to achieve self-sufficiency, the Japanese government paid more attention to producing food and planting forests (Ho, 2016). Most areas of the island and the New Territories were engaged in cultivating rice, vegetables, grains and timber (Ho, 2018).

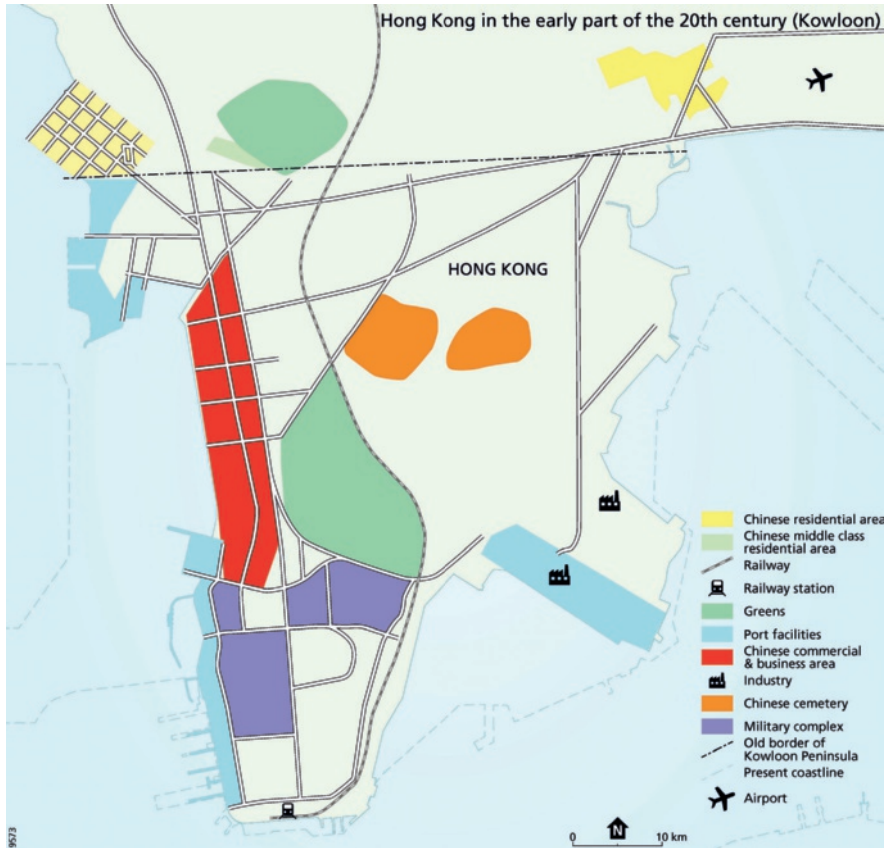


Figure 3.9 Early development in New Kowloon

After the war, the rapidly growing population was a major issue due to the lack of land, and this resulted in the spatial transformation of the old city town and expansion to the empty areas (Figure 3.10). The colonial town was redeveloped and designated to different functional divisions (Figure 3.11). In the new urban plan, the central area of the island and Tsim Sha Tsui in Kowloon were not only designated for political and economic use, but also served culture and tourism. Barracks, parade grounds and naval yards in the centre were replaced by new government offices. Kowloon Railway Station was moved to Hong Hom, and the original site was transformed into history and science museums. The Whitfield Barracks were redeveloped into Kowloon Park, open to the public. Chai Wan, Ma Tau Kok, Tai Kok Tsui, Kwun Tong, Cheung Sha Wan became light industry areas in Hong Kong, whereas Hong Hom

was an area for large-scale industries, such as the Hong Kong and Whampoa dock, the China Light and Power Co. power station, and the Green Island cement works (Ho, 2016). Lai Chi Kok was used for offensive trades, while areas of Ho Man Tin and Sham Shui Po were transformed into lower-class settlements (Ho, 2018). To develop new space, reclamation increased by 1,091 hectares from 1946 to 1979 (He, 2016). Moreover, a series of multi-functional satellite towns were developed to divert population away from the high-density area, such as Tsuen Wan, Sha Tin, Kwun Tong and Hung Hom (Ho, 2018). The enlarged airport hoped to improve the competitiveness of Hong Kong as an international transit port, while the subsea tunnel and metros improved daily travel throughout Hong Kong (Ho, 2016).

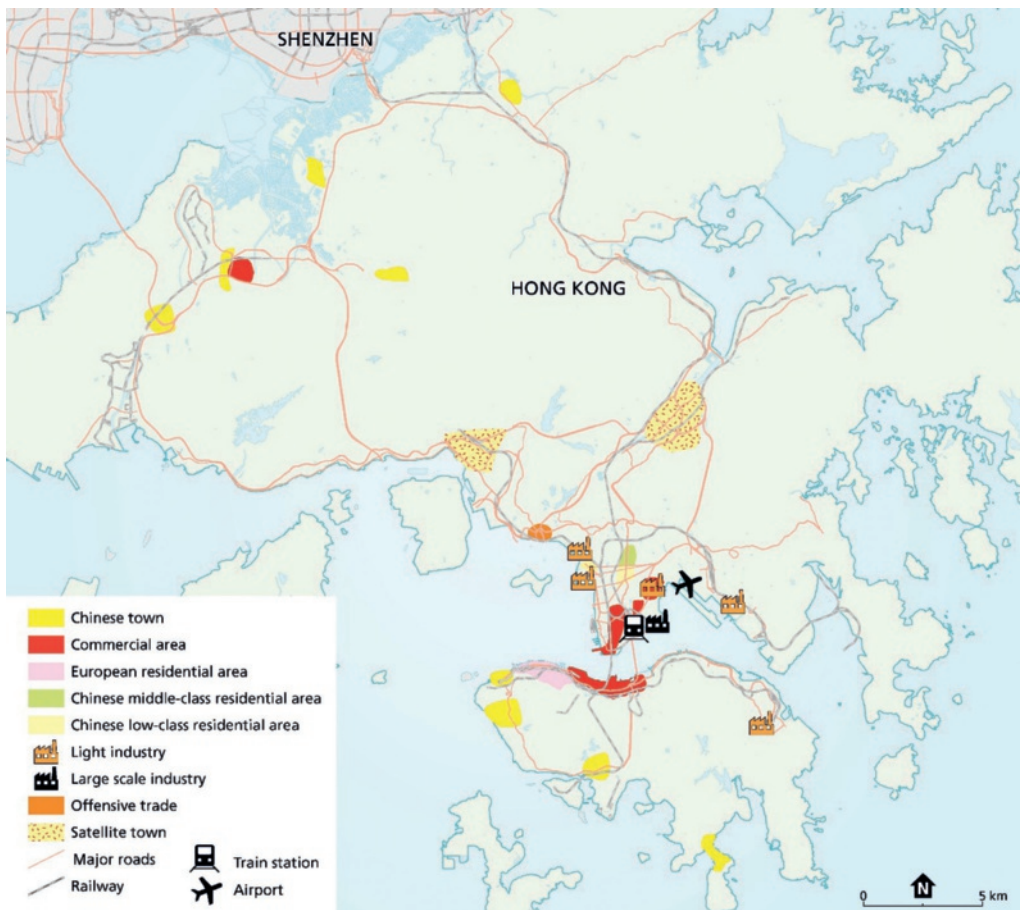


Figure 3.10 An overview of Hong Kong in the 1970s



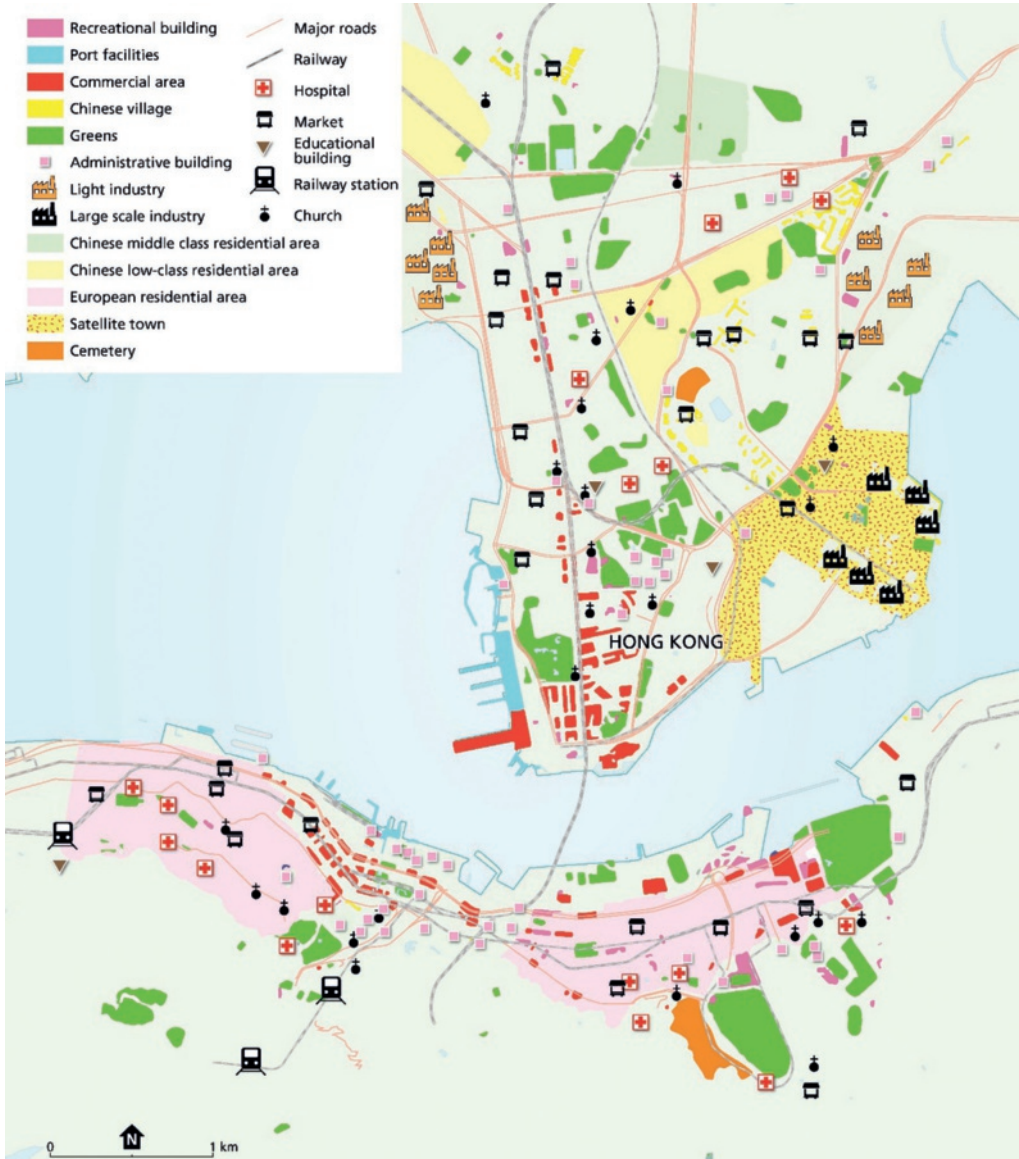


Figure 3.11 The redevelopment of the colonial town in Hong Kong in the 1970s

The 1984 Sino-British Joint Declaration is considered to be a turning point and a catalyst for further rapid urban development as it marked the beginning of the end of Hong Kong as a British colony (Interview 2, Hong Kong). Since the 1980s, the economic position of Hong Kong has changed from labour-intensive to capital-intensive industry (Ho, 2016). The Territorial Development Strategy aimed at redeveloping lands in the central town. Land price policy and the selling of land by the British Government led to huge development (Wang & Lee, 2008). As a result,

only a few Victorian and Edwardian buildings now remain, scattered in the central area of Hong Kong island – often surrounded by modern high-rise buildings.

### **2.3 Post-colonial**

Hong Kong was handed over to China in 1997, as the first ‘Special Administrative Region’. It received a degree of autonomy under the principle of ‘One Country, Two Systems’. The city extended fast owing to improved transportation, town redevelopment and land reclamation. Potential profit from commercial development proved a much stronger argument than heritage preservation (Lee & DiStefano, 2015). ‘Heritage’ was used to refer to monuments without any potential for redevelopment (Interview 2, Hong Kong). These monuments were of higher quality and less disputed for property rights, and therefore they were able to withstand economic pressure (Interviews 1 & 2). However, people in Hong Kong made clear on numerous occasions that they wished to formulate their own cultural identity, an identity which is related to but separate from mainland China (Cheung, 1999; Hong Kong Tourism Commission Website, 2000; Henderson, 2001). Nowadays, public awareness of functional structures and local heritage is more pronounced, as is illustrated by citizens’ struggles to conserve the Star Ferry Pier and the Queen’s Pier (see Chapter 4), and Lee Tung Street (see Chapter 5). Around half of the newly pronounced monuments were designated after 1997, and 28 of these are colonial buildings. The glorious structures and government properties, such as the Old Supreme Court, Government House and the Former French Mission Building, have been preserved and connected through several heritage trails. The objective of these heritage trails is to form a continuing historical landscape in Hong Kong, albeit by linking separate buildings rather than by integrated historical area conservation. Through heritage trails, scattered heritage buildings and sites are linked together by a theme or narrative. Such trails provide visitors with a better understanding of how the area has developed. However, there are no designated sites from the Japanese period. As Hong Kong was a resource supply station to Japan, few grand edifices were constructed in the relatively short time period. The Governor’s house which represents the political centre was the only building that blends Japanese and Western styles. There is thus very little room for the Second World War in Hong Kong heritage tourism, which could be considered a valuable yet overlooked resource (Henderson, 2001).

## 3 Macao

### 3.1 Early beginnings

Relics from the Neolithic Age imply that the history of Macao goes back more than 5,000 years (Yan, 2013). The first inhabitants built their homes from bamboo and covered them with straw in Barra, Mong-ha, and Patane (Yan, 2013; ICM, 2019a) (Figure 3.12). A-Ma Temple, a shrine for Matzo, the Taoist goddess of fishermen, was constructed at the South-Western tip of the Macao Peninsula. This temple, which was built around 1488, is considered to be the oldest temple in Macao (Yan, 2013).



Figure 3.12 Macao Peninsula in pre-colonial times

### 3.2 Colonial Macao

Although Portuguese sailors arrived in Macao as early as in 1557, Macao was governed by China for approximately 300 years, until the Queen of Portugal unilaterally declared Macao a free port in 1845. The current urban landscape of



**Figure 3.13** Macao Peninsula in the sixteenth century

Macao is the result of parallel Portuguese and Chinese constructions (Wu, 1996; Tang, 2015; Zhu, 2015). At the very early stage, the socio-political relationship between Chinese and Portuguese was recognized, and the importance of trade was also stressed in the spatial structure (Figure 3.13). The Chinese government designated Macao as a transit port for the Portuguese to do business in Japan; in return, the Portuguese in Macao were in charge of managing foreigners and defending the port against attacks (ICM, 2019b). The Portuguese built temporary wood and straw warehouses, residences and churches, and forts in Patane and Palanchina; their settlement was bordered by a wooden palisade (ICM, 2019b). With more and more Catholics living in Macao, a Catholic city was established in the South and central parts of Macao Peninsula. Eight churches were built in the higher grounds between 1562 and 1634, and the city was accordingly divided into Cathedral parishes, St. Lawrence's Church and St. Anthony's Church (Yan, 2013). R. de Santo Antonio was one of the oldest roads in Macao, built to connect the churches of St. Paul and St. Anthony, and to move goods and materials between the Rua Do Tarrafeiro wharf and the churches. The street underlined the spatial separation of races (Wen et al., 2013). Settlements for the Portuguese were located

around the East of the R. de Santo Antonio, while the Chinese lived in the lowlands, including the R. da Tercena, Tv. do Armazem Velho, Patio da Eterna Felicidade, and Beco dos Faitioes. At this time, the port area was gradually developed into a trade centre for both the Portuguese and the Chinese, and a Chinese custom house was set in 1597.

The spatial separation was further aggravated in 1622 (Figure 3.14). To defend against attacks from the Dutch, a series of batteries and city walls were constructed, which also gave the city a geographical boundary. The Portuguese lived in the walled area, while the Chinese population was located West of the wall. The whole city was developed into a model called 'Double-Core and Triple-Community' (Yan, 2005; Yuan, 2011). As in other Portuguese cities, the colonizers' areas in Macao were governed by congress, governor and church (Yan, 2015). The Portuguese community was established around the Monte Fort, the Cathedral, the Leal Senado Senate building, and 'Cidade do Nome de Deus', which was the governor's office, and this area imitated the planning and constructions of medieval Portuguese upper-class neighbourhoods (Yan, 2013). The area stretching from the North of the city wall to the border gate was developed into a political and residential area for the Chinese, while the area around the A-Ma temple and five other small areas housed traditional Chinese communities (Yan, 2005; ICM, 2019b). The massive growth of trading pushed the area closer to the inner harbour, and the trading area were further developed into a mixed commercial cluster (Yan, 2005). The Portuguese owned triplex apartments in this area, while the lower-class Chinese lived in high-density one-story apartments (Dai et al., 2014). In the 1860s, the Portuguese removed the North city wall and extended their community into the agricultural lands in the North of Cidade do Nome de Deus (Yuan, 2011). A factory for making lime from oyster shells was established in the South-East, and from the middle of seventeenth century a bronze foundry of Manuel Tavares Bocarro was situated on Penha Hill (ICM, 2019a). Although Macao was still under Chinese control, the spatial pattern that was developing provided a dual landscape for both Portuguese and Chinese communities. Before the nineteenth century, the islands of Taipa and Coloane were uncultured places with fragmentary fishing villages and forts.

The position of Macao changed after the first Opium War, when the Portuguese gained the governance of Macao and shifted their role from traders to colonizers. The scarcity of land and the poor natural harbour conditions, however, became an obstacle to the development of long-haul shipping, and Macao lost the competition with Hong Kong for attracting international maritime trade (see Chapter 4). The declining economy pushed the Portuguese government to seek new opportunities, which included destroying the city wall, starting with land reclamation on the Macao

Peninsula, and expanding the city to the islands of Taipa and Coloane. The physical segregation was broken by pulling down the city wall (Yan, 2005; Yuan, 2011).

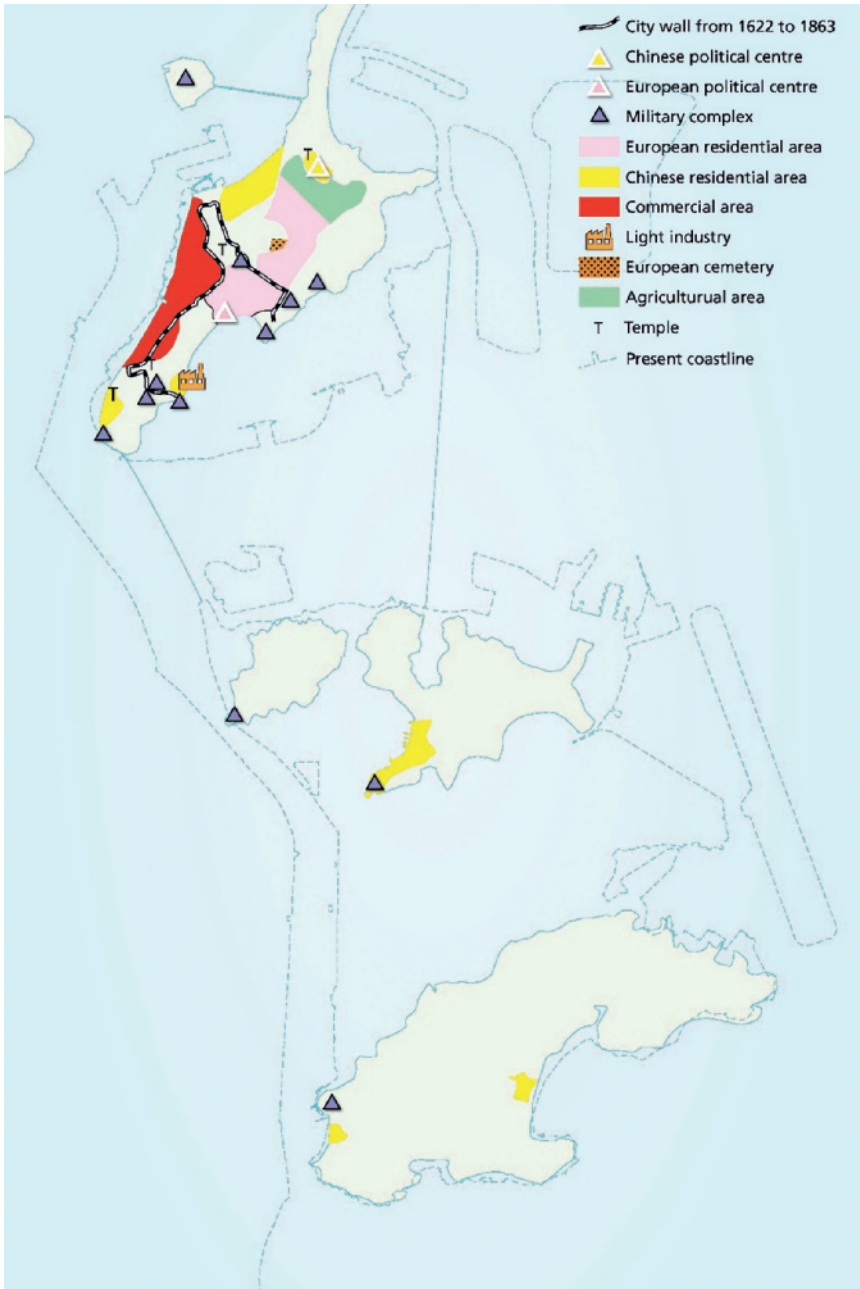


Figure 3.14 Macao in the first half of the nineteenth century

Urban space has since been transformed to servicing the gaming industry, tourism, processing and financial industries; financial, commercial, residential and industrial districts have formed (Yan, 2005; Yuan, 2011). At the beginning of the twentieth century, the Avenida de Almeida Ribeiro served as the city's financial and commercial district, entertainment constructions were built in the centre, and Praia Grande developed into a holiday destination with luxury lake view villas. However, the inner harbour area was still used for small handicrafts and stalls. Eventually, the North of the Macao Peninsula was developed and expanded into a Chinese residence (Yuan, 2011; Yan, 2013). Land reclamation and infrastructure construction became the key works in urban development in the 1970s. High-rise buildings were erected in the reclaimed lands of the Macao Peninsula; meanwhile, the North lands on the islands of Taipa and Coloane were transformed into industrial areas, especially for developing firecrackers and shipbuilding (Yuan, 2011). Since 1974, urban growth has largely depended on the establishment of cross-sea bridges and motorways. Improved transportation was an important condition for economic development and communication among the Macao Peninsula and the islands of Taipa and Coloane (Yuan, 2011).

The Portuguese recognized the importance of heritage conservation, and they adopted their heritage idea to the old town of Macao (Zhu, 2015). The first committee in charge of designating architectural relics was established in 1953, and this event marks the beginning of attention for conservation from the government in Macao (Chen, 1999). It is important to note that at this time conservation projects focused mainly on Portuguese architecture, such as churches, palaces, fortresses and batteries (Zhu, 2015).

### 3.3 Post-colonial

The reclamation of land between the islands of Taipa and Coloane was the largest infrastructural work in Macao's urban construction. Macao formed a new spatial pattern with two city centres (Yuan, 2011). The reclaimed land is characterized by large-scale neighbourhoods and multifunctional buildings, while the historic town of Macao has maintained its colonial appearance. The historic centre of Macao has been well preserved, and it has been listed as World Heritage since 2005. For decades, Macao's historic centre has been appreciated for its clear mixture of East and West. However, the current government seems reluctant to identify itself as having formerly been under Portugal's influence. Narrations of 'former colony' and 'colonial rule' are sanitized and their exposure is reduced to a minimum (Wong, 2013). It is emphasized on the official website (the Cultural Bureau) that Macao's European appearance shows the cultural exchange between the East and the West, and it is famous as the earliest global trade centre in ancient China. "[C]olonial history is largely eschewed and instead vague and innocent ideas such as

*‘cultural exchange between the East and the West’ or the city’s role as the ‘very first international trading hub in ancient China’ are profiled.”* (Wong, 2013:920) The dominant state-endorsed perspective of Macao prefers to use neutral words, such as ‘cultural diversity’ and ‘exchanges between the East and West’, to avoid the potential conflict among multiple cultures and groups of people (Williams & Chrisman, 1994; Wong & McKercher, 2012; Wong, 2013).

## 4 Taipei

### 4.1 Early beginnings

According to historical material, indigenous people have lived in Taiwan for at least 3,500 years (Wei, 2016). The first record of Taiwan dates from 1554, when the island was named Formosa by Lopo Homem, who created its first map (Wei, 2016). Maps from the seventeenth century indicate that there were more than 87 indigenous villages in Taiwan, with a few Han people as well (Wei, 2016). From 1624 to 1661, the Dutch government, well aware of Taiwan’s importance as a transport hub between Batavia and Japan, occupied the South of Taiwan as a colony (Wei, 2016). After defeating the Spanish, who maintained the North of Taiwan (especially in Keelung and Tamsui) from 1626 to 1642, Taiwan became a military and economic stronghold for the Dutch.

At first, the form of Taipei city was based on water transport along the Tamsui River. The original Ketagalan people inhabited the basin along the river downstream, which was ideal for hunting and fishing (Chen, 1997). In 1709, Han people moved into this area, introducing agricultural technology (Chen, 1997). They constructed the first settlement and commercial centre in Mengjia (Chen, 1997). Around the 1850s, the river downstream gradually silted up, and the trading activities moved from Mengjia to Dadaocheng in the North. The United Kingdom, France and the Qing government signed treaties in 1858, in which the Qing government opened Tamsui as a treaty port. Then, Dadaocheng, the most important port along the Tamsui River, was opened to the outside world and developed into the largest tea and camphor trade centre for local and foreign merchants (Chen, 1997). Between 1884 and 1891, Dutch, German and American embassies were built in the Dadaocheng area, and these were the first Western buildings in Taipei. The land between Mengjia and Dadaocheng was planned by the Qing Government in the late nineteenth century as the administrative Taipei town with a city wall and five gates (Chen, 1997; Huang, 1997). The area close to the South Gate was home to a Confucian Temple, to Xingtian Temple and to Tin Hau Temple. The military and educational institutions were seated in the East, and governmental buildings were located in the North. The train station and factories were built outside the



North Gate. To the West of the town, the land was designated as commercial and recreational areas. Figure 3.15 shows the early urban form of Taipei City, consisting of Mengjia, Dadaocheng and the old administrative town. Taipei was the political, military and economic centre of Taiwan at the end of Qing Dynasty (Huang, 1997).

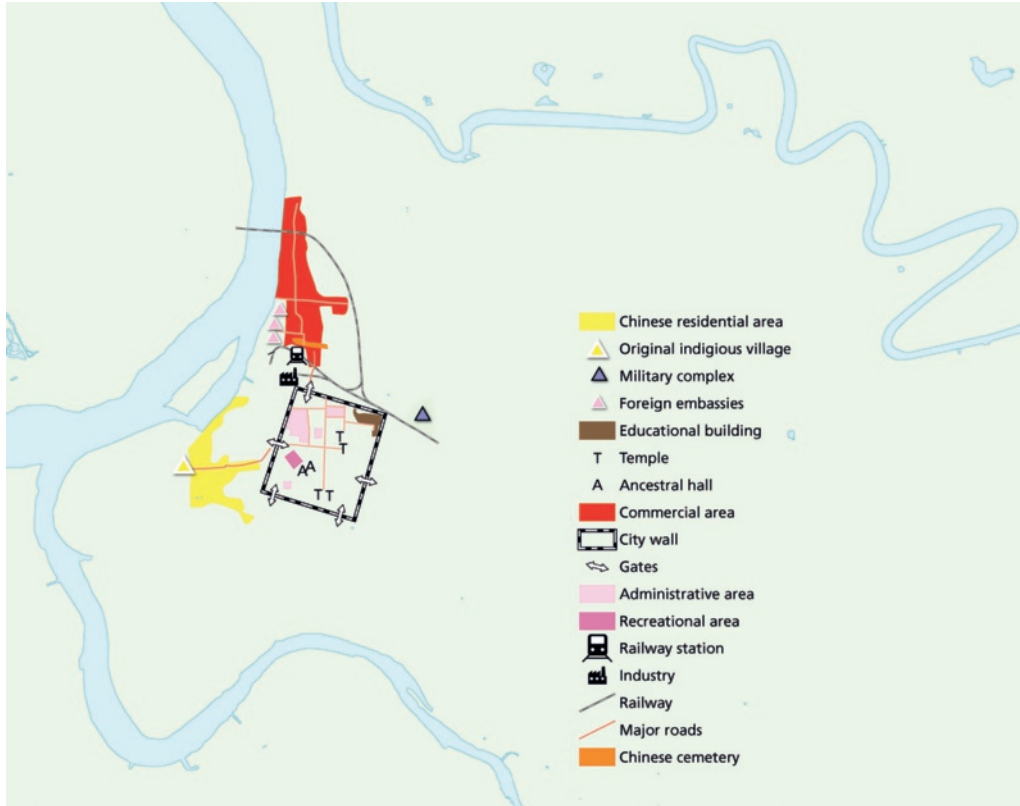
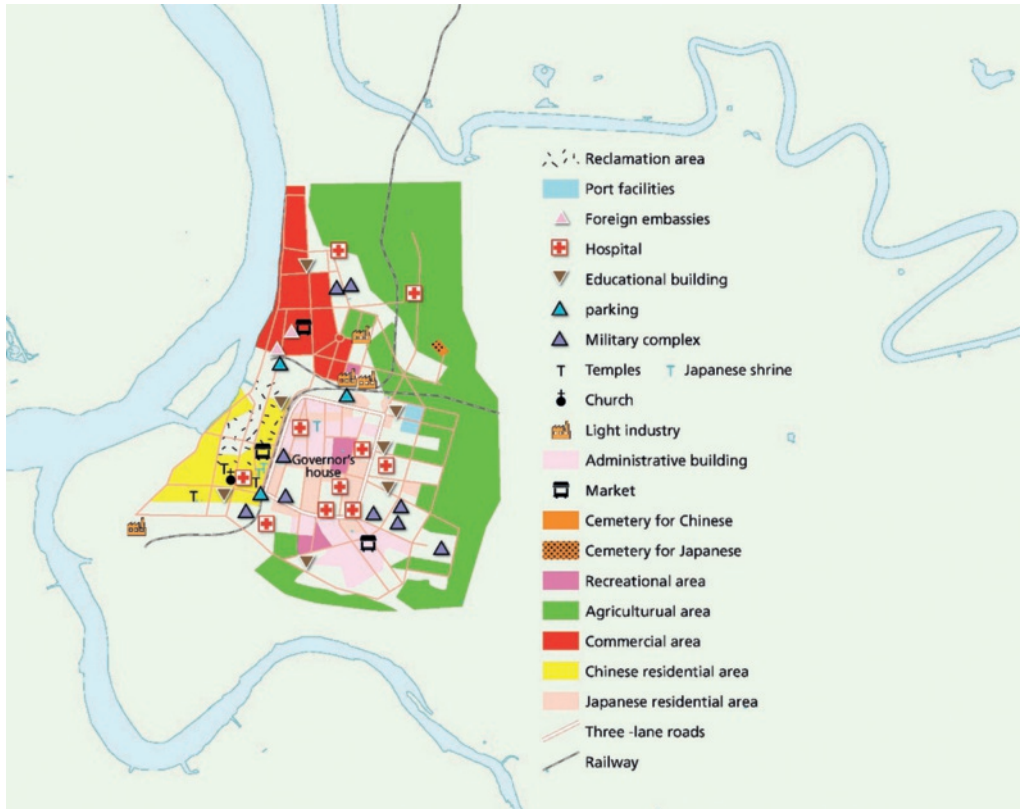


Figure 3.15 The early urban form of Taipei City

## 4.2 Colonial Taipei

Following the Treaty of Shimonoseki in 1895, Taiwan became the first Japanese colony. In the beginning of the twentieth century, many residences in Old Taipei were destroyed by a typhoon and flood; meanwhile, the population had almost reached saturation point (Chen, 1997). The development of Taipei during the Japanese period witnessed a huge morphological expansion and transformation that resembled European experiences (Huang, 1997). The first urban plan was published in 1900, followed by the second plan in 1905, which expanded the total area of Taipei to 720 hectares, creating room for about 150 thousand inhabitants in the following 25 years (Huang, 1997). To optimize the design for long-term city development strategies, the city wall was demolished and replaced by a

three-lane circular road (Huang, 1997; Gao, 2014). The three-lane road plays an important role as a transport node in integrating the three separated settlements and increasing the accessibility of other undeveloped lands. Thus, the early three-cores urban forms disappeared, and an integrated Taipei city was established in 1920.



**Figure 3.16** Urban pattern of early Japanese Taipei

In the early stages of the twentieth century, centralization of governmental buildings had laid the foundation for the Japanese power centre in Old Taipei (Huang, 1997). As increasingly more Japanese people moved to Taipei, a number of Japanese residential zones with ancillary facilities such as schools, hospitals, and markets were built in the South-East of the old town, close to military complexes, such as the jail, the parade ground and the weapons factory (Huang, 1997; Gao, 2014). Furthermore, convenient railways and motorways provided positive conditions for developing industries at the new planned block between Dadaocheng and Taipei Parking. To create a connection with Taoyuan, Tamsui and Keelung, the railway cut through the North-Western city wall (Huang, 1997). The North-South railway had a significant influence on urban morphology with the spatial segregation of Japanese

and Chinese settlements (Figure 3.16). Mengjia and Dadaocheng were connected by the reclaimed marshlands (Huang, 1997), and gradually developed into a large-scale mixed residential and commercial area. With the influence of foreign culture, extraneous facilities emerged in the traditional Chinese neighbourhood, for example modern schools, markets, police stations, churches and shrines.

The built-up areas were unable to meet the needs of the growing population and booming industry, and as a result, the territory of Taipei was further extended to the East and North. By the 1930s, it was about ten times as large as in 1905 (Chen, 1997; Huang, 1997). The pattern of urban transportation differed strikingly from the traditional Chinese street grid pattern with its radial roads. Urban planning during this period not only formulated the main transportation networks, but also projected various functional zones (Figure 3.17). Although several regional projects took place in Taipei (Huang, 1997), the overall urban programme eventually stagnated due to the outbreak of war in July 1937.

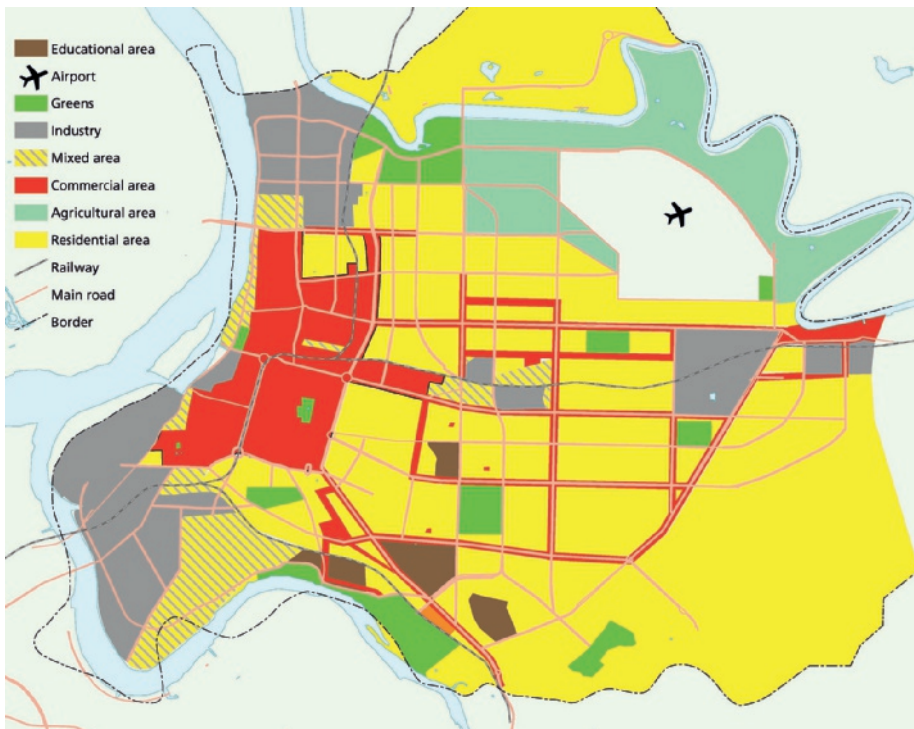


Figure 3.17 Urban Plan of Taipei in the 1930s

### 4.3 Post-colonial

Post-war reconstruction of Taipei was difficult during the Kuomintang period, due to the Chinese Civil War, a lack of planners and a shortage of funds (Gao, 2014).

Although the grand buildings were reused by the new governments, many Japanese sites which were called ‘poisonous leftovers of Japanese imperialism’ were destroyed (Chiang, 2012). According to the Bureau of Cultural Heritage, today more than half of Taiwan’s historical sites (1,051) are Japanese, while before 2000 only 57 of these had been listed (BOCH, 2019). During the martial law era, the Kuomintang government was desperate to sever the connection with Japanese colonial rule. It went on to gradually develop a new collective identity. A ‘memory boom’ emerged in the 1990s (Chang, 2015), which reappreciated Chinese local history as well as Japanese and European colonial histories in Taiwan, and as a result many former Japanese colonial sites were preserved and listed as historical structures by the Cultural Heritage Preservation Act (文化资产保存法) in 2000 (Taylor, 2005; Amae, 2011). Nowadays, the remaining Japanese landmarks, ranging from individual residential buildings and industrial complexes to historic areas, were revalued and reused under the ideas of sustainable development and the tourism industry (see Chapter 4). Furthermore, the government actively redeveloped the former large-scale industrial sites into creative parks (see Chapter 6).

## 5 Qingdao

### 5.1 Early beginnings

According to the family genealogy of Hu, the family built the early village named Qingdao village in 1403 (Pei, 2012). These migrants came from Yunnan, in the South of China. As the population grew, a second village was erected in the South-West (Pei, 2012). The former village was called Shang Qingdao village, while the latter one was Xia Qingdao village. To the East of the Qingdao villages, another village could be found at Huiqian (in today’s Zhongshan Park), where more than 360 households lived off the fishing trade (Taidongzhen, 2015). Other fishing settlements were formed along the coastline to the North, such as Shazikou, Dengyingkou, Cangkou and Dabaodao (Lu, 2008). The Tin Hau Temple was erected in 1467 near Xia Qingdao village and today this is the oldest existing architecture in urban Qingdao (Lu, 2008), representing the key religious and residential pattern of the early stages of Qingdao (Figure 3.18).

Yamen (the general government office), located between Tin Hau Temple and Xia Qingdao village, was created as an administrative centre in 1891 with a series of barracks and forts housing 3,000 soldiers. This marked the establishment of Qingdao city (Qingdao Archives, 2002; Lu, 2008). A year later, the government built Zhanqiao Pier, where military supplies were loaded and unloaded (Qingdao Archives, 2002; Lu, 2008).

Until 1897, Qingdao further developed into an important trading town with a concentration of over 65 shops and other intensive commercial activities (Lu, 2008; Shi, 2012). Transportation in early Qingdao relied mainly on horses and mules, as three main roads connected Huiqian village, Qingdao village, Yamen, Zhanqiao Pier and the shops (Qingdao Archives, 2002; Shi, 2012). In addition, four long-distance roads were built, starting in Yamen, to serve trade with Cangkou, Licun and Shazikou (Qingdao Archives, 2002).

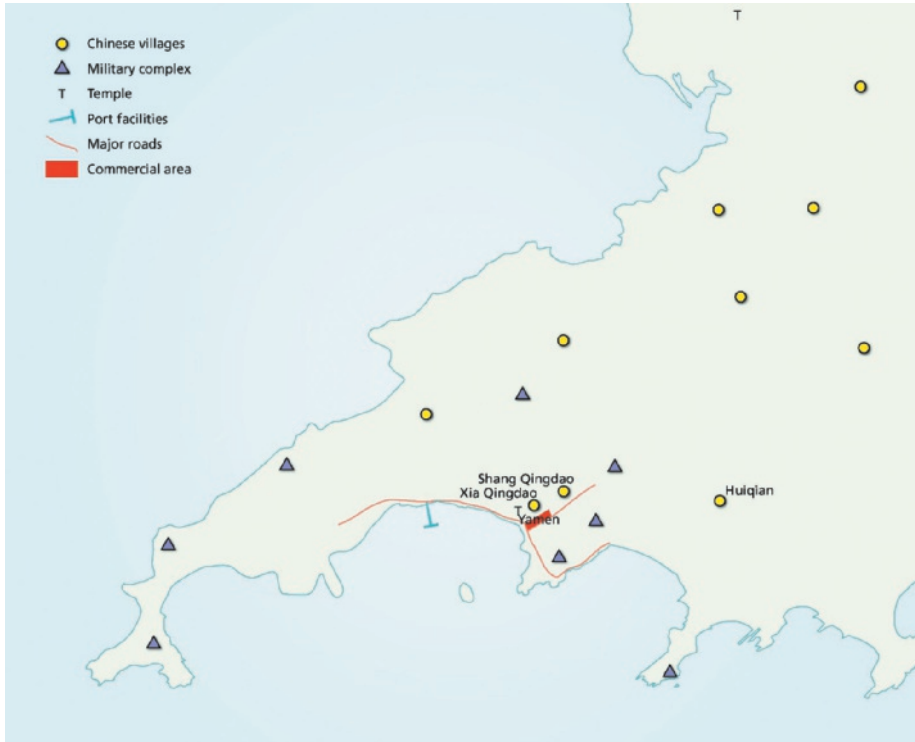


Figure 3.18 The early Qingdao town

## 5.2 Colonial Qingdao

Qingdao is located on China's East coast, and its formidable harbour conditions made Qingdao a sought-after site for colonial powers. In 1897, Qingdao was the earliest German colonial port in Asia. The German colonial period was followed by two periods under Japanese governance (1914–1922 and 1938–1945).

The German government developed an urban planning programme in 1900 to transform Qingdao into a model colony based on European principles of modern city planning (Qingdao Archives, 2002; Li & Zhou, 2005; Lu, 2008). The spatial segregation between the Europeans and the Chinese was clearly marked by Dexian Road. The European settlement was characterized by a cluster of grand Western-

style administrative, commercial, residential, educational and religious buildings, and it was connected by wide, radiating roads (Qingdao Archives, 2002; Lu, 2008). This was in marked contrast to the Chinese residential areas to the North of Dexian Road, such as Liyuan (see Chapters 5 & 9) and Pichaiyuan (see Chapter 5), which were lined with narrow roads and poorly structured shops (Seelemann, 1985; Steinmetz, 2009) (Figure 3.19). The indigenous Chinese residents who were removed from the Qingdao and Huiqain villages received either monetary compensation or job arrangements, and they were resettled in the densely populated Chinese communities in Taidongzhen and Taixizhen (Huang, 2012). After 1910, Qingdao extended North, connecting with the Haibo River in Sifang.

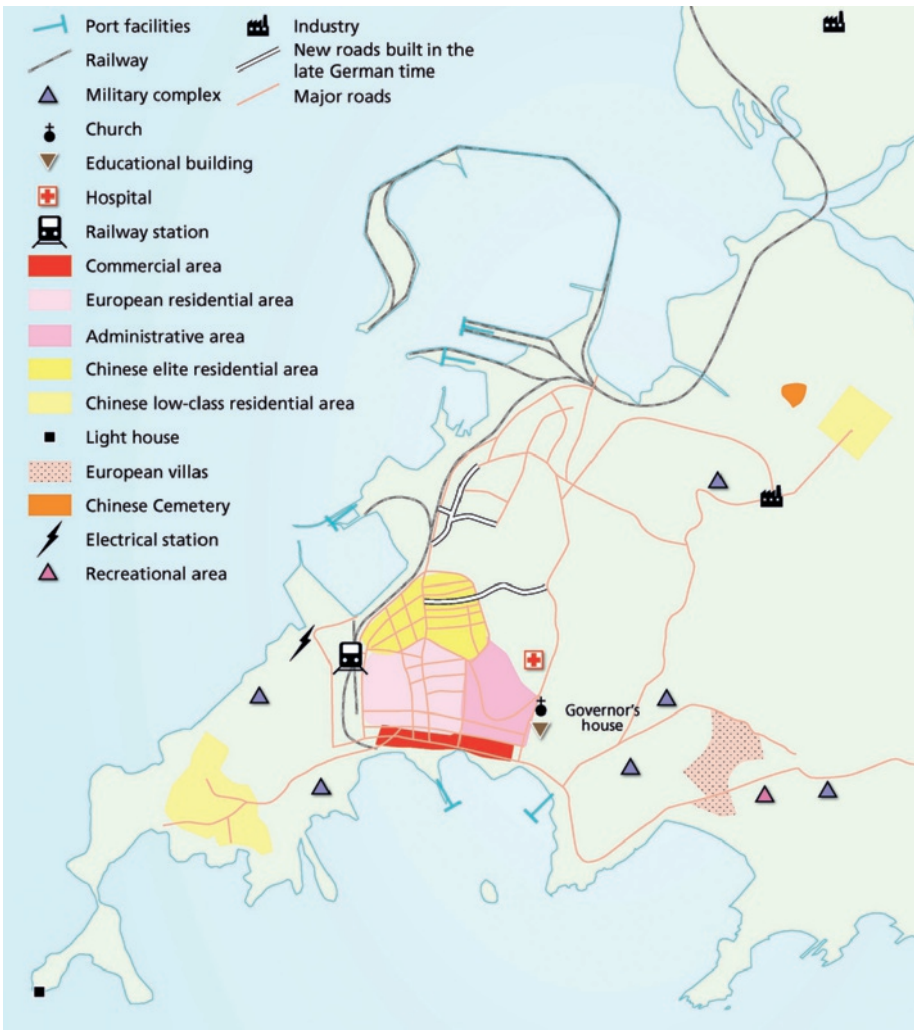
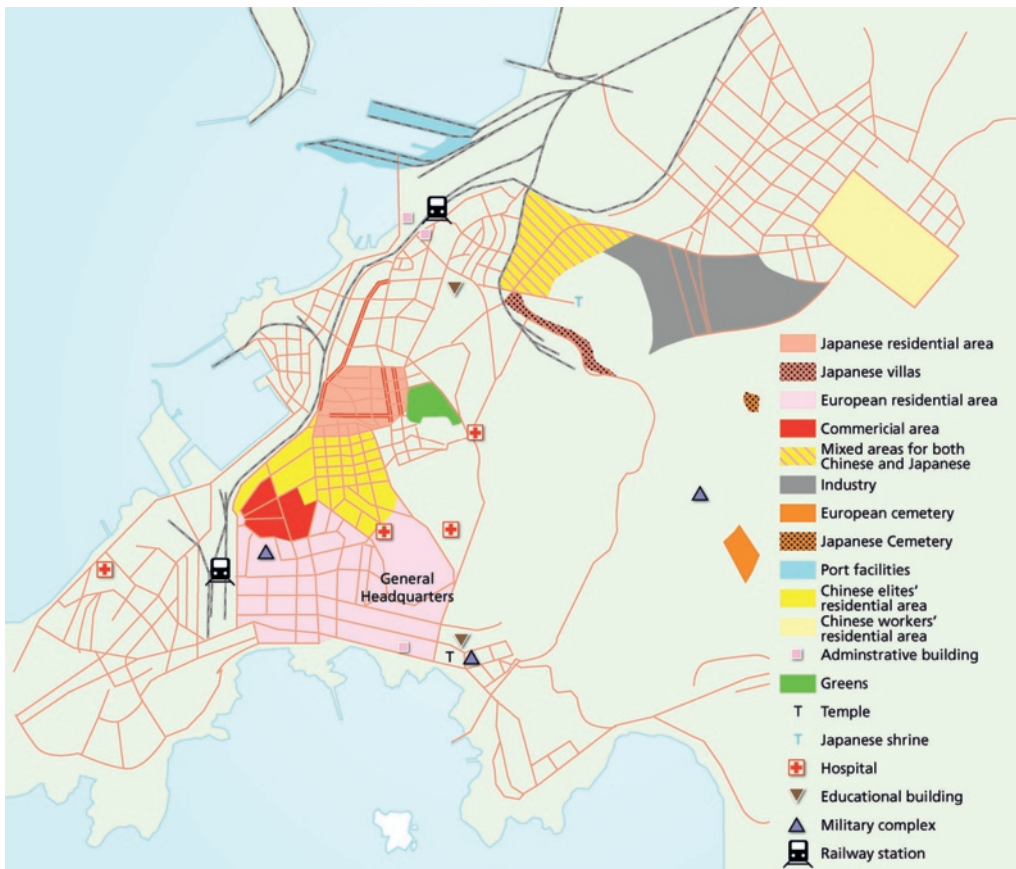


Figure 3.19 Qingdao in the German period

The German government invested heavily in infrastructure and military structures. Batteries and barracks were erected along the coastline and surrounding the European settlement (see Figure 3.16). The transportation facilities, consisting of four ports, 4,000 metres of seawall, and six railways, reflected the economic exploitation of the area (Li & Xu, 2003; Li & Zhou, 2005; Lu, 2008). The main economic focus of the Germans was mining. Railways and locomotive works were constructed to exploit reserves of minerals and other resources. Moreover, this allowed the German power to expand from Kiautschou to the provincial capital of Jinan (Lu, 2008).



**Figure 3.20** The tripartite landscape in the colonial town of Qingdao

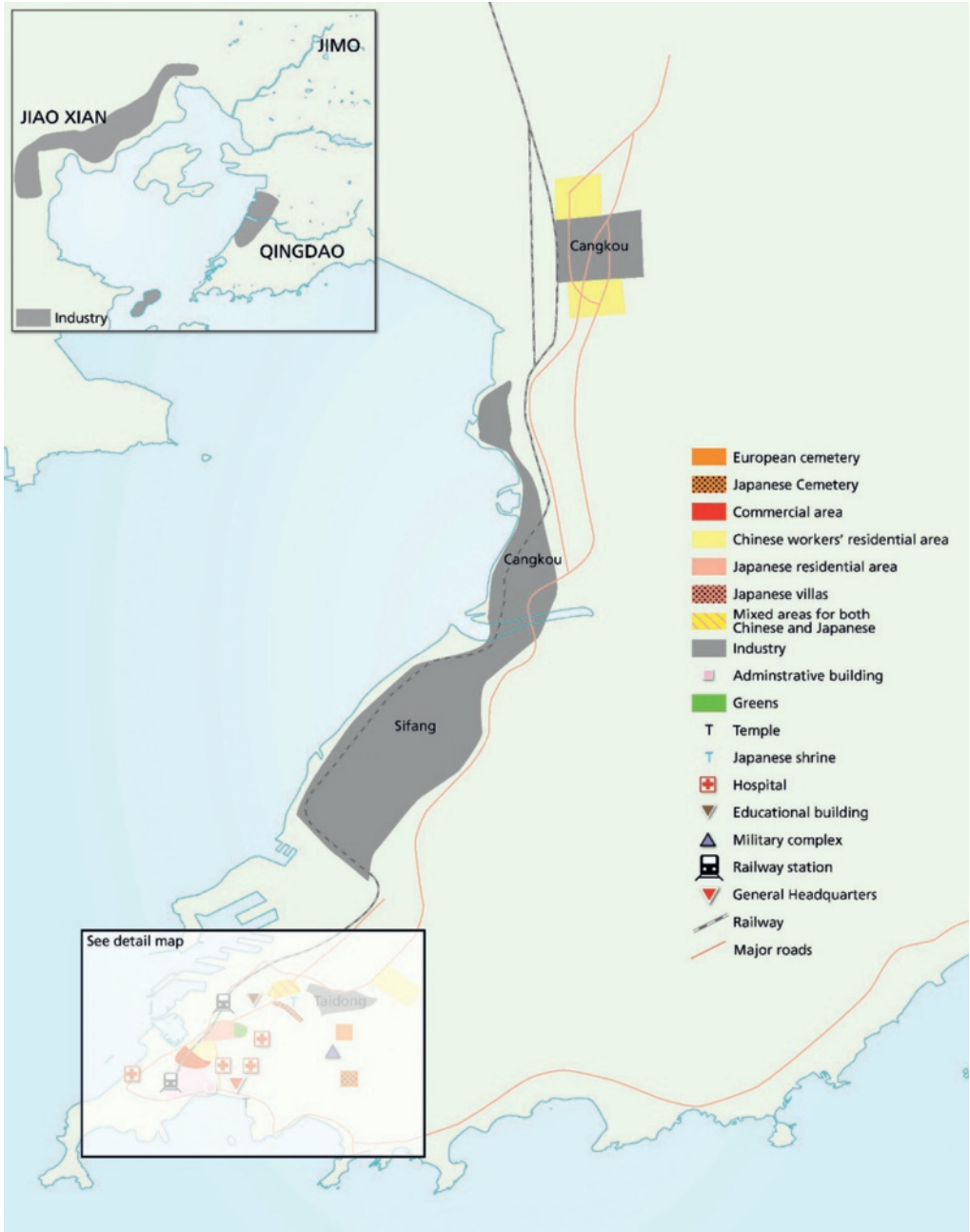
Qingdao fell into Japanese hands on 10 November 1914, and the Japanese governed Qingdao by martial law (Lu, 2008). The Japanese occupation of Qingdao caused a major shift in the city's development strategy. Qingdao became a military stronghold with significant strategic value for the Japanese in terms of territorial and economic exploitation. Therefore, the Japanese developed a new area close to the

ports and railways rather than transform the well-constructed German settlement. The traditional linear spatial division was replaced by a Japanese block pattern. As the Japanese population was rapidly growing, the empty lands in the North were developed into a mixed settlement for both Japanese and Chinese families (Lu, 2008). Thus, the landscape from South to North now consisted of a European town, a Chinese settlement and a Japanese settlement, while light industry formed the landscape in the East of Qingdao (Figure 3.20).

During the Japanese period, the East and North of Qingdao saw more significant development than other areas (Figure 3.21). To the North-West of Chushui Mountain there was a centre of light industries with five oil mills, a flour mill and a cannery, while lands around Jiaozhou Bay evolved into a cluster of salt industry (Lu, 2008). The humid climate and abundant labour were the prerequisites for developing the textile industry in Qingdao (Lu, 2008). Sifang and Cangkou, both located near railway junctions, were designated production grounds for spinning and housed nine Japanese textile mills. This made Qingdao one of the most important textile production centres in China until the 1990s (see Chapter 6). Meanwhile, Japanese entrepreneurs also invested in building cement, ceramic and steel industries in Cangkou (Lu, 2008). More than 30,000 Chinese workers lived in housing close to the factories of Taidongzhen, Sifang and Cangkou (Lu, 2008). The urban area tripled in size compared to during the German period (Qingdao Archives, 2002; Lu, 2008). However, road construction during the Japanese occupation only focused on the main transportation lines between factories and railways, with no focus on creating an integrated urban traffic network (Huang, 2012).

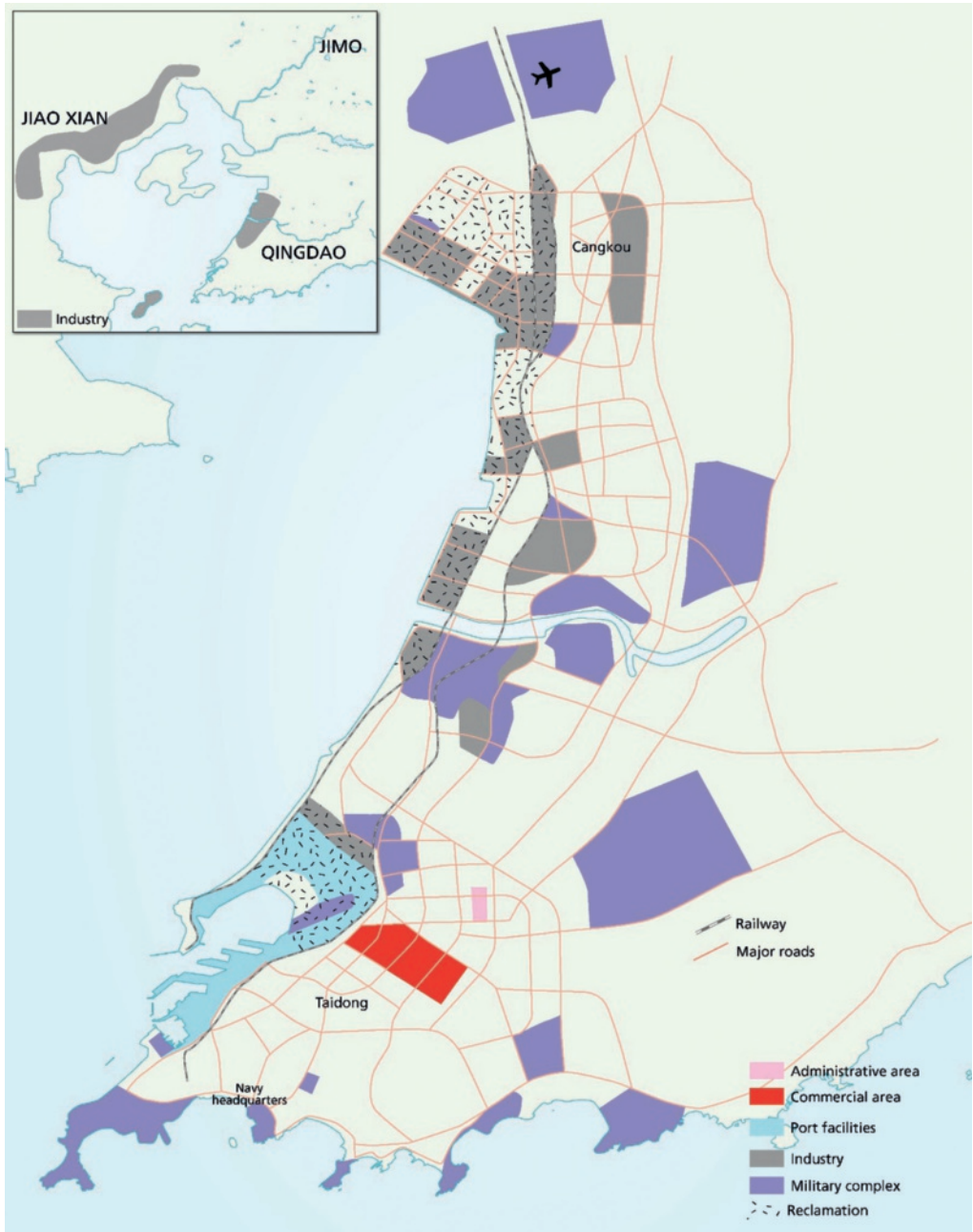
The development of Qingdao reached its peak between 1931 and 1938. The Chinese government focused on cultural and educational development, and with government stimulation over 100 educational institutions, literature societies, news agencies, publishers, drama clubs and film studios were established in Qingdao (Li & Xu, 2003; Lu, 2008). Chinese elite neighbourhoods were created in two phases, firstly by renovation of former European settlements for recreational activities, and secondly by the development of villas for Chinese grandees in Badaguan (Lu, 2008). From 1933 to 1935, the first Chinese urban plan in Qingdao provided sufficient space for further development of Cangkou and Licun in the North, and Xinjiashuang and Maidao in the East. This extended the urban area by 138 km<sup>2</sup> to provide for a population of over one million inhabitants and was followed by the construction of roads, ports and an airport. The war launched by Japanese militarists in 1937 threatened the development of the city. Although the official Kuomintang policy was non-resistance, before the Chinese troops left Qingdao, Honglie Shen, the major, commanded to bomb the textile mills and ports (Lu, 2008).





**Figure 3.21** The main developed and planned areas of Qingdao in the first Japanese period

From 1938 to 1945, Qingdao, with its location at the throat of North China, served as an important military and industrial base and a transport hub under Japanese military rule (Qingdao Archives, 2002). The military presence in the city was strong and many existing buildings and sites were reused for military purposes;



**Figure 3.22** The main developed and planned areas of Qingdao in the second Japanese period

for example, the National Qingdao University and Qingdao Middle School were occupied as barracks (Lu, 2008). A new Navy headquarters and club were built close to the Zhanqiao Pier (Lu, 2008). The Japanese carried out a policy of ‘burn

all, kill all, loot all' in the conquered rural areas, and over 300,000 people were shipped to Japan and Manchukuo from Qingdao as slaves (Lu, 2008). In 1941, the colonial Japanese government formulated the urban plan to extend 'Great Qingdao' into the centre of North China (Qingdao Archives, 2002; Lu, 2008).

The Japanese first extended the territory of great Qingdao to Jiaoxian in the West and Jimo in the North, and further enlarged the centre of Qingdao in a belt shape to areas in both the North and the East (Qingdao Archives, 2002; Lu, 2008) (Figure 3.22). Zoning regulation was central to the Japanese urban plan, and this resulted in monofunctional areas for ports, and commercial, educational, cultural, recreational and residential functions (Qingdao Archives, 2002). For the economic exploitation of the area, the airport, ports, railways, roads and motorways were reassigned in accordance with the industrial developments in Sifang, Jiaozhou and Huangdao (Qingdao Archives, 2002). However, most of these proposed constructions were interrupted by the outbreak of war (Qingdao Archives, 2002).

### 5.3 Post-colonial

Today, the landscape of the German colonial town is still largely intact and relatively undisturbed. Qingdao was designated as a national historic city in 1994, including 13 historic districts which extend over 28 km<sup>2</sup>, on a similar latitude as Macao. The designated area includes the former political and commercial centre, the harbour and part of the green districts. Meanwhile, the industrial districts, batteries and residential areas developed by industrial companies are not included (Qingdao Urban Planning Bureau, private material; Qingdao Archives, 2002). Japanese industrial constructions nowadays face more pressure from redevelopment, and this could lead to their demolition (see Chapters 3, 5, 6, 7, 8 & 9).

## 6 Discussion and conclusion

This paper adapted Hoekveld's layer model of the city in North-West Europe to Chinese colonial port cities. We have learned that the urban landscape has resulted from social structures, divisions and processes within changing social, spatial, political, economic and cultural contexts. Our paper extracts commonalities on how urban patterns developed under colonial rule, and what key elements and spatial transformations were decisive in their development. Furthermore, the in-depth analysis of developments in Macao, Hong Kong, Taipei and Qingdao has demonstrated the value of the model as it helps to break down the current landscape in these four cities and explains why their urban morphology is so distinctly different from that of traditional Chinese cities.

Each layer of the model represents an era and a typical landscape that results from new dominant key elements, where the form, function and location of these new elements are determined by specific social and economic transformations, and which thus provide a rationale for differences between layers. Morphologically, the colonial landscape of mercantilism and imperialism differ. Macao represents both patterns from its mercantilist and imperialist periods; however, in the other three cities only imperialism left a clear imprint on the urban landscape. Although the analysis of the urban morphology of the Chinese colonial port city focuses on general socio-spatial patterns and processes, the model is not deterministic and therefore helps to uncover local differences that result from differences in spatial patterns caused by differences in the urban planning philosophies of the colonizers. Generally, British, German and Japanese modern imperialism have much in common, but there are also marked differences which result from the different roles of the colony in the different empires and the divergent notions about urban planning.

The model can also be used in conservation, management and education. The model and the analysis of the city presented in this chapter are an inventory of the colonial landscape. It could be used for further visible today (see Chapter 4). Moreover, the models provide insight into how colonial buildings and sites are part of functioning post-colonial port cities (see Chapters 5, 6 & 7). The model can also be used in conservation, management and education.

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# CHAPTER

# 4

## **Visible or not? A Comparison of Historic Area Conservation in Colonial Chinese Cities**

This chapter is based on the article:

**Xiaolin Zang**, Bouke van Gorp, Hans Renes. 2017. Visible or not? A Comparison of Historic Areas Conservations in Colonial Chinese Cities, *3<sup>rd</sup> International Conference on Preservation, Maintenance and Rehabilitation of Historical Buildings and Structures*, Braga, June 14-16.

# 1 Introduction

With industrialization and increasing class-segregation, the social structure of European as well as colonial cities became more pronounced in the spatial and built environment during the nineteenth and twentieth centuries (King, 1985). Colonial regimes regulated and structured the urban fabric in order to improve the flow of trade and communication. The built environment thereby reflected the power and prestige of the colonizer (Yeoh, 1996). Today, the old towns of these former colonial cities are conserved as historic areas for their architectural, cultural and historic values and as memories of their leading role in the early stages of the city's history. With economic and demographic growth, however, land becomes scarce and real estate is potentially a strong economic force (Haila, 2000), threatening the integrated conservation of the old town. Therefore, the degree of preservation of these urban historic landscapes with their mixture of Eastern and Western features is different for each town.

In our analysis of the conservation of colonial urban landscapes, we focus on the colonial ports. All four cities were important trading ports in the past. The port was a vital part of the colonial city, not only because it was essential for trade between the colonies and the colonizing countries but also as it was the economic and cultural point of contact (Reeves et al., 1989). As a result, it is important to explore the value of these port areas today. The colonial port, an often blighted or inaccessible area, is a vital part of colonial cities (Ross & Telkamp, 1985; Giovinazzi & Moretti, 2010). Giovinazzi and Moratti (2010: 58) describe former colonial ports as places "*where memory is preserved and the historical legacy is protected*". Rejuvenated port areas can also simulate a new representation of the selected past and local identity.

Port areas are a particular type of industrial heritage, a heritage category that has been the focus of attention for some decades now (Hein, 2011). Large numbers of abandoned traditional industrial areas worldwide have been rapidly redeveloped into new built environments since the demise of the industrial economy in the 1970s (Szili & Rofe, 2012).

The recent development of port cities, characterized by scale enlargement and technological development (such as container shipping), is important for the position of urban heritage and the possibilities for urban heritage. In some cities, port activities stayed in the old location and were constantly adapted. In these cases, the position of port heritage is difficult, because of dynamics, high land prices and often poor architectural value. In a second group of cities, the old port areas became redundant when port activities moved to new locations. In a third

group of cities, the ports lagged behind and became partly deserted and in decay. In these last two groups of cities, there have been possibilities for redevelopment of the old port areas and many historic structures have survived. Moreover, these port areas, which have always been closed to the local population, are often near the old towns and offer highly valued waterfronts. After redevelopment, they offer many possibilities for living and leisure.

In the present paper, we compare the four harbour towns of Macao, Hong Kong, Qingdao and Taipei. For the aspect of heritage, they offer a wide variety: from the preserved World Heritage town of Macao to the scattered colonial remains in Hong Kong. The four cities share the Chinese culture but have been ruled by different colonial powers in the past and have found themselves in different administrative and economic systems in both the past and the present. All four were important trading ports for European and/or Japanese regimes, albeit in different eras. They have all found a way to negotiate the Western and/or Japanese colonial past in their current urban landscape. However, their decolonization was different: Hong Kong and Macao were only 'reverted' or 'handed over' to China in the 1990s, whereas Qingdao was a German concession (1898-1914), was conquered by British and Japanese forces in 1914, became Japanese in 1919 and became part of China from 1922 onwards with a temporary second Japanese period during the Second World War. Taipei was Japanese from 1895 until 1945 (Porter, 1993; Lee & Lam, 1998; Yeoh, 2001). As such, these cities have been subject to different heritage policies. The first three now share a common administrative context. The present use of the port areas in the four cities is also different. They vary in the degree to which they were willing and able to adapt to modernization, globalization and rising land prices.

To gain insight into the survival and management of port areas as heritage, this study combined desk research (literature and maps) with fieldwork and interviews with 24 heritage professionals. Fieldwork and interviews were carried out in the period between April and August 2016. The professionals interviewed are involved in heritage research, conservation or planning, and they work in academic institutions, local official departments or other related organizations. They are in charge of formulating, designating and managing heritage directly. Therefore, interviewing these people provided valuable insight into remaining colonial structures, their present state and the main obstacles to conservation.

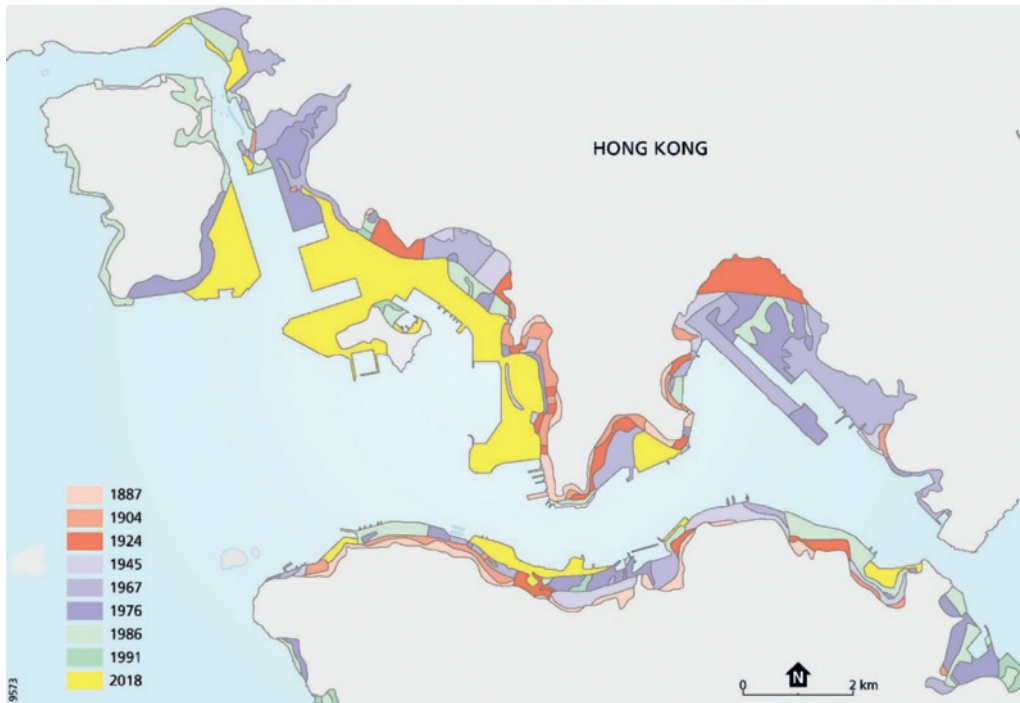
## 2 Literature review

Today, many cities have a historic quarter which is full of historic and cultural associations and which provides a sense of place and identity (Tiesdell et al., 2013). The significance of area-based conservation, both in policies and practices, has been recognized in many countries since the 1970s, including the Netherlands, France, Britain, Italy, Turkey and the US (Tiesdell et al., 2013). Historic area conservation emphasizes integrity and expresses the local context through continuity of historic character, fabrics and patterns that make areas distinct and diverse (Shan, 2006a; Zhang, 2008; Tiesdell et al., 2013). The concept and scale of such integrated area development have been extended in recent decades. The scope of area-based conservation projects expanded from historic quarters, historic urban areas and architectural areas to historic urban landscapes and even into the complete natural and man-made environment (Van Oers, 2010). At the same time, strategies changed from restrictive preservation of heritage to flexible revitalization and enhancement (Tiesdell et al., 2013). Currently, heritage conservation is an economic development strategy to provide opportunities for area rehabilitation, housing, heritage tourism and revitalization (Listokin et al., 1998).

Industrial buildings were long considered technologically, architecturally and aesthetically less impressive, but in the 1990s they became the subject of academic research (Smith, 2006; Leung & Soyez, 2009; Shackel et al., 2011; Cho & Shin, 2014). Ongoing de-industrialization posed new questions regarding the place of these industrial remains. Particularly in one type of industrial heritage, port areas, scholars began to reconsider the interpretation and conservation of heritage in waterfront redevelopments connected to the change from a run-down, inaccessible area to some of the most valuable sites in the city (Giovinazzi & Moretti, 2010). In coastal cities, the increasing value of land and property led to new developments on former agricultural land and to new coastal reclamations (Figures 4.1-4.2) as well as to redevelopment of unused land in obsolete industrial areas (Delgadillo, 2016). At the same time, a positive and consumptive narrative is employed in making post-industrial landscape, with a critical reading of the past version which alludes to capital accumulation and colonization (Waitt & McGuirk, 1997; Szili & Rofe, 2012).

Meanwhile, some authors also point at the practical limitations for area conservation. Conserving a listed historic area implies a constant investment in maintenance, renovation and rehabilitation (Ashworth & Tunbridge, 2000). The open-ended costs lead to governments adopting entrepreneur-friendly policies in order to encourage multi-investment (Gunay, 2008; Janssen et al., 2014). Therefore, it is an important

question whether private property owners agree with rehabilitation and are willing to invest in it (Listokin et al., 1998).



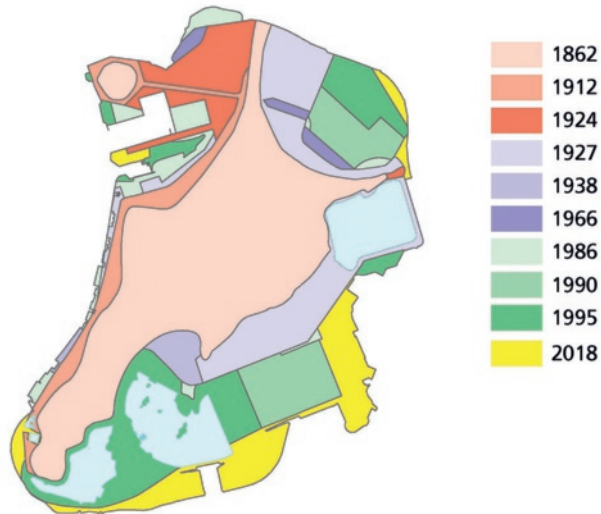
**Figure 4.1** Stages of coastal reclamation in Hong Kong

*Source: Map created by Ton Markus, Faculty of Geosciences, Utrecht University*

In China, the first historic city conservation proposal was drawn up in 1950; however, limited economic capability prevented the operationalization of these plans in the early years of the People's Republic of China (Shan, 2006b). Only half a century later, conserving historic areas became a strategy in China, after many old cities had already witnessed considerable transformation and renewal, particularly after the 1980s (Shan, 2006c). Nowadays, the importance of conserving historic areas is stressed, although at the same time the tensions between old and new, economy and culture, demolition and conservation, government intervention and conservation regulations remain (Shan, 2006c). Heritage conservation of industrial areas competes with plans for urban renewal, real estate development and modernization.

The situation has changed since 2006 with the Wuxi Declaration (无锡宣言), in which Chinese scholars proclaimed the conservation of integral industrial areas rather than of individual factory sites, taking waterfronts and port areas as their examples (Lu, 1999; Lu, 2006; Shan, 2006d). Nowadays, adaptive reuse is considered as a way

of industrial heritage conservation, developing old industrial sites into urban open spaces, tourist resorts, conference and exhibition centres and creative industry parks (Lu, 2006; Yu & Fang, 2006; Shan, 2006d). All these types of development can be found in our four case-study cities.



**Figure 4.2** Changing coastlines of the Macao Peninsula

*Source: Map created by Ton Markus, Faculty of Geosciences, Utrecht University*

### 3 Visibility of the historic landscape

Of the four cities, Macao seems to have realized the importance of heritage conservation earlier and faced less stress of redevelopment than the other three, and consequently the historic centre of Macao was put on the World Heritage List in 2005. The World Heritage status implies that the integrity of the major buildings is intact and that the original urban fabric is still readable (Figure 4.3). These historic remains result from one of the earliest and longest-lasting social and cultural encounters between China and Europe and include the first Western-style theatre, university, hospital, church and fortress in China. UNESCO (2005) wrote that *“the core value of the historic centre is not solely its architecture, the urban structure, the people or their customs, but a mixture of all these. The coexistence of cultural sediments of Eastern and Western origin, along with their living traditions, defines the essence of the historic centre.”* Thus, the intangible context and urban landscape is as important as the tangible buildings and urban landscape in the conservation of the historic centre.



**Figure 4.3** Church and square representing a Catholic urban form in Macao

*Source: Xiaolin Zang*

In Qingdao, integral preservation of the urban landscape has been managed on different levels, from the historic areas and groups of buildings to individual buildings. Almost the whole historic town with its cultural and natural environment has been kept as a relatively integrated ensemble, according to the 2011–2020 Qingdao Overall Historic City Plan. During our interviews in Qingdao, one of the professionals suggested that Qingdao could apply for World Heritage status like Macao for its integrated historic landscape and original Western buildings, and as a witness to important historic events.

In Taipei, awareness of historic area conservation started in the late 1980s with the start of the conservation of the Dadaocheng Area. The regeneration projects in Dihua Street – the oldest trading street in Dadaocheng – have taken more than 20 years. After that, large-scale historic area conservation was stagnated for many years. A few small-scale settlements and cultural landscapes were included in the heritage list since the publication of the Cultural Heritage Preservation Act in 2005, such as Beitou Heart village and Yangmingshan American Military Housing (BOCH, 2017). However, our interviewees in Taipei stated that preserving the setting or the environment of heritage objects is still considered a tentative suggestion rather than a legal option. Even so, professionals revealed that there have been several attempts of landscape conservation in



**Figure 4.4** Scattered buildings are surrounded by high-rise tower blocks in Hong Kong  
*Source: Xiaolin Zang*

Taipei, such as the regeneration of the Qingtian Japanese dormitories area and the North Gate area. One of the professionals explained the importance of conserving ensembles rather than individual buildings:



*“Talking about landscape conservation, we consider the whole space and environment rather than individual buildings. We are looking for trails or settings which change with daily life during a long time period. Recognizing the old Taipei means experiencing how the area was formed, changed and developed within the living environment from the past to the present.”*  
(Interview 20, Taipei)

Of the four cities, Hong Kong has the least readable past. According to our interviewees, one reason may be that, compared to the scattered and isolated remains of colonial heritage, the modernist urban landscape is more appreciated by many local citizens as well as by tourists (Figure 4.4). Another reason may be the pattern of growth of Hong Kong, as the city was not extended block by block but streetwise. Therefore, it is difficult to conserve an integrated landscape of groups of buildings in a small area. In addition, Wang and Lee (2008) pointed out that it is hard to designate a conservation area in Central Hong Kong because of the free market policies in land ownership and land use. In Hong Kong, a detailed survey of all historical sites was carried out in 1997–1999 to provide comprehensive protection measures against the pressure of land development (Wang & Lee, 2008).

So, although the historic and administrative contexts are different in the four cities, the ‘foreign’ urban landscapes that developed during the colonial periods are important parts of their local identity and attraction. All four cities have legislation in place that protects not just individual historic buildings but also ensembles. As a result, the colonial past is still visible in the present urban landscape.

Although areal heritage values are acknowledged in policies, the actual preservation is more complex. Some obstacles threaten the conservation of historic areas, the most important being a lack of institutional cooperation, a strong orientation on tourism, a lack of awareness and a lack of investment. The successful designation and conservation of historic urban areas rely on the cooperation of cultural and planning departments that may have conflicting interests in area preservation and revitalization. One professional claimed that *“[i]t is very difficult to conserve historic landscape in Taipei since the negotiation and cooperation between Cultural Relics and Planning departments are hindered by too many interests”* (Interview 19, Taipei). The local cultural department is in charge of designating individual buildings or groups of buildings, while the planning departments designate historic areas. In Qingdao, on the other hand, the Cultural Relics Bureau cooperates smoothly with the Planning Bureau in designating heritage and historic areas. A series of policies and plans ensures the urban landscape conservation and designates different levels of conservation areas. As one officer explained:

*“Qingdao has been listed as one of the National Historic and Cultural Cities which conserved the whole urban town in 1994. And then, within the town as a whole, we have designated groups of buildings as Major Historical and Cultural Sites Protected at the National Level. Next, 13 Historic and Cultural Areas were planned together by both the Cultural Relics Bureau and the Planning Bureau.”* (Interview 14, Qingdao)

Although two types of protection are in place, sometimes owners find loopholes and are able to legitimize the demolition of old buildings. In such cases, cultural and planning departments may blame each other for not properly protecting the building. Our interviewees stated that more cooperation and discussion between these two departments is necessary for successful historic area conservation in Taipei.

The second obstacle is tourism, which is not only a resource of the historic area but also provides challenges to the places, locals and governments. First, the modernist landscape may be more attractive to locals and tourists, which is the case in Hong Kong. Moreover, since the integral context was no longer in existence (again as in Hong Kong), the political and economic values of heritage trails may be emphasized over the cultural value. Although some interviewees in Hong Kong stated the significance of the Heritage Trails, which connect individual buildings and thereby raise heritage above the level of objects, other professionals criticized heritage trails, for showing historic buildings and sites as part of a story line and using them as a tourism promotion device. They pointed out that it is ironic to set up a sign in the original location of the building as part of the rich stories of the heritage trail. As one interviewee stated:

*“[The context of] the trail or building group was broken when high and new buildings were developed between historic old ones. It is meaningful from maps (rather than daily experience). [...] While, in my opinion, the continuing changes and development of Hong Kong is appreciated as another attraction.”* (Interview 1, Hong Kong)

Also, rising tourist numbers, resulting in overcrowded streets, traffic jams, pollution and noise, cause problems for the local population (Interviews 9 and 10, Macao). Furthermore, these problems are often worse in some of the popular historic sites (Russo, 2002). One of professionals stressed that:

*“According to the vicious circulation scheme, the congestion might be predictable [...]. There is an urgent need for policies to reduce congestion and overcrowding in the HCM (heritage centre of Macao), caused by the*

*prevalence of short-stay tourists who tend to visit one or two key landmarks in the HCM for approximately 2-3 hours, and the limited availability and accessibility of tourism information.” (Interview 9, Macao)*

The third obstacle is a lack of investment and awareness of heritage. Both are necessary in area conservation. To take one historical area in Qingdao as an example, Xinhaoshan Historic Area, located near the original campus of Ocean University, is famous for its concentration of German dwellings. Upon finalizing the master plan for 13 historic areas in Qingdao, the limited government investment went to a few important buildings in this area, such as the former dwellings of famous people (Figure 4.5). Meanwhile, some buildings in the area are overpopulated, with three to five times the original number of residents. Figure 4.6 shows a building that by using many illegal constructions has been divided into several family residences. It is quite difficult to revitalize these kinds of buildings, since “*residents who live in them are unwilling to pay the revitalization costs themselves*” (Interview 20, Qingdao). Therefore, rehabilitated historic areas may need investments from other channels.



**Figure 4.5** Revitalization project of Zhaotaimou's former home

*Source: Xiaolin Zang*



**Figure 4.6** German house with illegal constructions

*Source: Xiaolin Zang*

Awareness among private owners plays a significant role in historic urban area conservation. Critics argue that on the one hand, due to limited governmental financing, revitalization in historic areas should be supported by private investments. Larkham (1996) illustrated that local communities, especially middle-class residents, might support conservation of long-standing intact historic areas rather than redevelopment; examples can be found in the Xinhaoshan area in Qingdao. Individual pioneering entrepreneurs have begun to open trendy hostels and cafes, targeting foreigners and university students (Figure 4.7). Our interviewees confirmed that this reuse has been generated by private owners who recognized the neighbourhood's cultural and business potential (Interviews 11, 12, 15 & 17, Qingdao; Shin, 2010).

Not all private owners will support area conservation, as it may constrain profitable land redevelopment. They may even overthrow former conservation decisions, such as in the case of Qingtian Street in Taipei. As a professional explained, this shows how ideas differ between different generations of residents, from conserving the whole area to conserving individual buildings.

*“With the high appreciation of former local residents, Qingtian Street, which is full of Japanese dormitories, has been nominated by the government as the*

*historic district. However, nowadays, new residents move into this area and complain about the restrictions of this designation [...] because designated as an area, the policy not only conserves historic buildings, but also limits the development of new buildings.” (Interview 23, Taipei)*



**Figure 4.7** Building revitalized as a café

*Source: Xiaolin Zang*

## 4 Readability of colonial port areas

According to our interviewees, the old shipping districts in Hong Kong have been badly hit by the rapid development of modern ports on reclaimed land. As a result, most former warehouses and docks have been replaced by new commercial functions or real estate development. One professional in Hong Kong explained: *“Old ports which occupied large tracts of coastal land were seen as one of the biggest obstacles to economic development. These have inevitably suffered from redevelopment”* (Interview 2, Hong Kong). Wharf Holdings, for example, used to be the largest deep water and international trading port in Hong Kong (Figure 4.8). Between 1966 and the 1980s, it was transformed into a shopping mall and into commercial office buildings (Figure 4.9). Nowadays the awareness of port conservation is more pronounced in Hong Kong. Our interviewees in Hong Kong mentioned the significant struggle by parts of the public to conserve the Star Ferry Pier, its associated Clock Tower and the Queen’s Pier in 2006. The government

described this event as an incident because they were surprised that the public felt so strongly about conserving functional structures which lack historic and aesthetic values from a traditional heritage perspective (Lee & DiStefano, 2015).



**Figure 4.8** The former Wharf Holdings

*Source: [www.gov.hk](http://www.gov.hk)*

Nowadays, the port of Qingdao is developing into one of the largest modern ports in the world. Qingdao was established as an important international trading port in the German period. From 1898, the German colonial administration invested in port development in three neighbouring areas in Qingdao, and the port of Qingdao became one of the largest in East Asia (Zhao, 2008). Nowadays, Qingdao port, part of which is still in its original location, is the world's seventh busiest port and it is continually developing (World Shipping Council, 2017). This results in a modernist portscape with container terminals and high-rise residential buildings. Today, in the port area only the former Customs Building and Dagang Railway Station have been conserved. Our interviewees in Qingdao showed different opinions regarding the future of the old port area, on whether the old port area in Qingdao should be conserved or listed, on what would be needed to conserve parts of the historic port area and on how this could be realized. Five of the interviewees argued that the whole area should be included in the historic town, and that the important remains which should be kept are berths, location, the urban pattern, and the shape of the coastline rather than built architecture. As one of them explained:

*“Port constructions are of less historic, aesthetic and scientific value. And conserving the whole port area is more significant than individual buildings. In addition, one of the important principles of heritage conservation is whether the heritage is in danger. Our port is developing well and it is therefore not necessary to be listed now.”* (Interview 14, Qingdao)

Another interviewee stated that *“[t]he vital consideration of Qingdao port is how to reuse this area. If we prefer to develop tourism or cultural industries here, then the problem is how to operate and manage this.”* (Interview 13, Qingdao)



**Figure 4.9** Harbour City Shopping Mall located in the area of former Wharf Holdings

*Source: Xiaolin Zang*

The position in the global port system and the location of the colonial harbour clearly influence the opportunities for conservation of the colonial port. The ports of Macao and Taipei, important in colonial times, are less significant in present global trade flows. The inner harbour of Macao was already used as a stranding harbour before the arrival of the Portuguese. Later, during the early stages of the Portuguese period, the inner harbour was the most important transfer station for East-West trade, including shipping routes to India, Japan, the Philippines and Mexico (Chen, 1999). The poor natural conditions, however, gradually limited the

further development of the inner harbour to short-sea shipping lines; in 1842, Hong Kong outgrew Macao as the main international trading port on the Chinese coast. Nowadays, the inner harbour looks like a group of small docks (Figure 4.10) and no warehouses or other old buildings remain. The interviewees explained that the oldest port structures were built in colonial times, but that many of these colonial structures have now disappeared (Interview 10, Macao). As one of the interviewees explained, “[a]ctually, because there were no territorial waters before 2015, building docks in Macao is illegal. Owners established their docks in the intertidal zones and applied for a temporary occupation licence once a year” (Interview 8, Macao). As a result, a great deal of ‘dark’ trade occurred in this area, such as drug and human trafficking and smuggling. Fábrica de Ópio, which was called the House of Opium by locals, is still conserved in the inner harbour. From 1802, the building was used as the largest Opium Authority in the Far East for transporting, storing and selling opium in Macao.



**Figure 4.10** Inner harbour with small docks in Macao

*Source: Xiaolin Zang*

In addition, the interest in heritage was unbalanced, as was confirmed by local professionals and literature (Interviews 9 & 10, Macao; IO, 1992). On the whole, most designated heritage in Macao is prestigious rather than functional architecture. According to Decree No. 83/92/M, built heritage in Macao was classified into



monuments, buildings of architectural interest, ensembles, and classified sites (IO, 1992). One interviewee argued:

*“As noted in the criterion of valuing heritage, attention of the Cultural Bureau is still limited to commemorative buildings of famous people, government buildings and attractive buildings rather than buildings which are valuable for the public or community. This unwritten law has been in existence since the establishment of the Cultural Bureau. Furthermore, almost all of the former chairmen of the Cultural Bureau were painters, artists and architects who preferred to conserve grand buildings and beautiful landscapes.”* (Interview 8, Macao)



**Figure 4.11** River landscape of Dadaocheng in the early Japanese time

*Source: Private material, provided by Te-wen Wei*

The early development of Taipei was based on water transport along the Tamsui River (Chen, 1997). During the Qing dynasty, the Mengjia port was the key channel for intercity trade as transportation by land was difficult. After 1860, due to gradual siltation, the Mengjia port was replaced by Dadaocheng in the North of Mengjia. In the Japanese period, a railway was established in Taipei, and Keelung port was built, now the second largest port in Taiwan. The Dadaocheng port landscape in Taipei has been developed from a small dock into a waterfront park along the Tamsui River (Figures 4.11-4.12). According to interviewees, port development and conservation seem to have received little attention in Taipei over the years. Taipei

city was built as the political centre in Taiwan rather than as a port city; therefore, the port remains were less present in the minds of experts and the population. Two experts criticized the lack of attention for port heritage in Taipei. As one of them explained:

*“The conservation of port heritage has been noticed as now, for example, a port from the Qing dynasty has been listed as cultural heritage in the Tamsui district, New Taipei City. Actually, in Taipei there are many archaeological remains under the ground which are not in danger. From a cultural heritage perspective, we are waiting for an opportunity to investigate, manage and conserve these. However, the management is not the responsibility of the Cultural Relics Department because it is unlisted. From the perspective of river management, being listed as heritage may be a challenge and a burden.”* (Interview 20, Taipei)



**Figure 4.12** Night scene of New Dadaocheng Waterfront Park

*Source: Xiaolin Zang*

Furthermore, one of the interviewees agreed with professionals from Qingdao that heritage management should look at a much wider area than the port alone. *“I think conservation of the port should not only focus on the port itself but also on the area*

*around the port. It is interesting to discuss the relationship between the port and storage facilities, and the network between the port and the city.” (Interview 22, Taipei)*

To conclude, revitalization of port areas is an important part of the urban conservation efforts in the four case-study cities. Developments follow two directions: developing into large-scale modern trading ports and functional transformation.

## 5 Discussion and conclusion

Each of the four port cities described in this paper have seen redevelopment in their former port areas during the de-industrialization period. Ports can be considered as unique historic areas which represent changing identities from inaccessible working areas to highly valued – and valuable – parts of the city (Giovinazzi & Moretti, 2010). Our fieldwork shows that there are relatively few physical remains of the colonial ports. It has also become clear that two main strategies were used in redeveloping port areas. On the one hand, there are Hong Kong and Qingdao, which have sustained an important function in international trade networks over the last decades; these cities have prioritized economic arguments and the ports have been constantly modernized to be able to compete on the global market of container shipping. Macao and Taipei, on the other hand, were not able to compete on this global stage and their port areas have been turned to other uses. In the latter two cities, adaptive reuse has provided economic benefits and enhanced urban vitality (Zhang, 2008). However, conserving port areas is still difficult, particularly in terms of the designation and evaluation in the face of modernization. Moreover, the interest in non-elite buildings with less aesthetic value seems to have lagged behind in both Macao and Hong Kong.

The study of the four cities demonstrates to what extent the former colonial urban landscape and remains can be found in historic areas, especially port areas. A historic area is full of historic and cultural associations; it provides a sense of place and identity, and scholars emphasize its role in identifying and enhancing the distinct and diverse character of the area (Tiesdell et al., 2013; Shan, 2006a; Zhang, 2008). However, as Zhang (2008) stated, integrity is an important requirement for designating a historic area. In our cases, both Macao and Qingdao show an integral landscape that has been designated as a historic centre or town. Places with scattered individual historic buildings may lack the ability to read the area as a historic landscape. In Hong Kong, heritage trails are used to reconnect the scattered historic remains that are today surrounded by modern high-rise buildings. In this city, it is not the environment that integrates, but the narratives.

Some stakeholders seem to fear that area conservation will equal museumification of the area and that it will freeze the area. For example, in the Qingtian case in Taipei, residents worry about the possibilities for future development in the designated area. As Ashworth and Tunbridge (2000: 22) critically observed, restrictive planning controls “*would have frustrated the creation of most of the historic buildings they now protect.*” Chinese professionals, however, stress that area conservation should start from the notion of a ‘living organism’ (Wu, 2005: 68), which is in line with recent international definitions of heritage planning as ‘management of change’ (Jamieson, 2000: 3; Nasser, 2003). ‘Living organism’ is aimed at the sustainable development of Chinese historic areas (Wu, 2005). For a ‘living organism’ to play a major role in the ‘physical’ revitalization of historic areas, the economic situation has to be improved to ensure future development and maintenance (Tiesdell et al., 2013). Moreover, such revitalization needs to include local life and perspectives as well (Shan, 2006a). This principle has been applied in Qingdao, Taipei and Macao, where historic areas were revitalized and now attract visitors (for example, for shopping, relaxing, travelling and staying) and accommodate house residents.

Although area conservation has been put into practice in these cities, it also encounters obstacles. One is that with the growth of the number of designated buildings and areas, financial pressure on the governments is also growing, as they bear most of the costs for revitalizing. To deal with this issue, scholars emphasize the importance of involving government and private investors as well as improving public awareness (Larkham, 1996; Listokin et al., 1998; Wang & Lee, 2008). We can see the same trend in our four cities, where private investors have renovated old buildings into cafés, hotels, and restaurants.

Another problem is posed by over-use of historic areas. Today, some buildings are over-populated as a result of a shortage of available housing. This poses problems in conservation as buildings may degrade quickly through this use. Moreover, Qingdao and Taipei find it difficult to renovate these buildings as all residents need to concur with the plan. Chinese scholars and professionals in the cities also worry about pressures created by tourism (Shan, 2006a; Zhang, 2008). Many see heritage tourism as an important source of income and see a tourist potential for former ports. However, too many tourists harm heritage and the liveability for locals, and it may be argued that this is already happening in parts of Macao.

Lastly, our research illustrated the difficulty of achieving daily cooperation and negotiation between the stakeholders involved. Even when both stakeholders are governmental institutions, their cooperation may be hindered by conflicting interests.

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# CHAPTER

# 5

## **Moneyments – The Economic Aspect of Heritage**

## 1 Introduction

Over the last two decades, renovation and adaptive reuse of historic buildings and sites, aimed at capturing both their heritage and their economic value, has become a new branch of heritage conservation. One example of such a project is Pichaiyuan in Qingdao, which originally was a lower-class Chinese neighbourhood and which showed evidence of spatial segregation at the beginning of German occupation. During 1940s, the neighbourhood further developed as a marketplace with restaurants, stores and story-telling houses. It went to decline 50 years later. The government planned the Pichaiyuan rehabilitation project in 2008 to create a visitor attraction with restaurants, hostels, folk-custom performances and souvenir shops (Liu & Zhang, 2017) (Figure 5.1). The project was a success; it received a great deal of media coverage, and earned several travel industry awards. On its first operational day, it received over 50,000 visitors (Liu & Zhang, 2017). In this particular example, commercial and tourism benefits merged with the government's aim to use heritage as an economic resource. Such projects are not restricted to this particular example, and similar developments can be found in cities all over the world, including the Henry Jones Art Hotel in Australia, the Van Nelle Factory in the Netherlands, and the Nanluoguxiang Commercial Street in China.



**Figure 5.1** The renovated hall for folk-custom performances in Pichaiyuan

*Source: Xiaolin Zang*

The economic use of heritage had long been ignored by experts who described heritage as ‘priceless’ because of its cultural, social and political uses (Grefe, 1999; Ruijgrok, 2006; Ashworth, 2014). Heritage, in this perspective, was seen as a merit good, and its protection served the public interest rather than generating monetary value or economic benefit (Pendlebury, 2013). In recent decades, however, heritage conservation practices have gradually shifted from an approach in which economic arguments have been excluded from heritage evaluations towards an integrated approach in which heritage conservation and sustainable development are no longer seen as mutually exclusive urban policy aims (Silberman, 2012; Pendlebury, 2013; Janssen et al., 2014). Moreover, economic value is increasingly being seen as an additional profit of heritage, alongside its purely cultural or social value (Noonan, 2007; Bowitz & Ibenholt, 2009; Lazrak et al., 2009, 2012; Dümcke & Gnedovsky, 2013; Ashworth, 2014). This shifting approach has opened up opportunities for stakeholders to grasp the economic value embedded in heritage-led urban regeneration projects, such as increased employment opportunities and increased regional income through tourism, as well as an enhanced local investment climate (Loulanski, 2006a; Gunay, 2008; Bowitz & Ibenholt, 2009; Lazrak et al., 2012; Dümcke & Gnedovsky, 2013; Ashworth, 2014).

These developments reflect a shift in heritage thinking and practices that has been documented by Loulanski (2006b) for Japan, by Pendlebury (2013) for the UK and by Janssen et al. (2014) for the Netherlands. Similar analyses have thus far been lacking for other Asian countries. Heritage practices worldwide were by Western perspectives for many years. Smith (2006) and Waterton et al. (2006) used Critical Discourse Analysis (CDA) to illustrate the development of an Authorized Heritage Discourse based on European cultural notions of heritage values, authenticity, restoration and conservation (Lowenthal, 1996; Hou & Wu, 2012). Nowadays, international heritage practices and policies have diversified and encompass non-European notions of for example authenticity as well. This made us to wonder how the economic value and economic arguments form part of heritage conservation thinking and practices in the urban areas of East Asia, in particular in the cities of Macao, Hong Kong, Qingdao and Taipei. Since the second half of the twentieth century, economic growth, property development and profit-making have occupied an important position in Asian areas (Hofstede & Bond, 1988; Yung & Chan, 2011). Together with Singapore and South Korea, Hong Kong and Taiwan were known as the four Asian Tigers (Barro, 1998). Today these urban economies have further evolved from places of production into places of consumption and services. Macao also serves as a place of (symbolic) consumption – the city thrives on gambling tourism and to a lesser degree on heritage tourism. Growth rates of mainland China had been closely behind the Asian Tigers since the 1960s (Barro, 1998). The fundamental transition of China set in in 1978, when it started to change from a centrally

planned economy to a neoliberal and decentralized open-market economy, which involved bringing in private investors to ease the government's financial burden (Yúdice, 2003; Dredge, 2004; Cheng, 2005; Palumbo, 2006; Lazrak et al., 2012; Yu, 2016). These developments resulted in rapid urban expansion and soaring real estate prices, which are processes that potentially threaten the survival of heritage in historical inner cities.

These processes have had an impact on historic inner cities, albeit in different way for different cities. As a result, the cities are faced with the challenge of finding a balance between conservation and development (Wong, 2007). The context in which this challenge presents itself is not just one of economic growth and population increase: political administrative transformations influence governance structures. Entrepreneurialism is on the rise and dictates that cities have to fend for themselves and compete for tourists, government subsidies and private investment. In such a context, the economic potential of heritage may become important. Both heritage tourism and adaptive reuse may therefore be regarded as a way forward for heritage conservation – although both strategies have their pitfalls. Taipei thus aims at the growing market of Japanese nostalgia travellers and Macao hopes to make its tourism industry less dependent on gambling. Meanwhile, the reuse of the 1950s modernist Camphora building in Hong Kong and the demolition of the modernist casino hotel Estoril in Macao have gained a great deal of attention from the public (Interview 2, Hong Kong; Xie & Shi, 2019).

The four cities share another commonality; their colonial past. Hong Kong was a British crown colony from the middle of the nineteenth century until 1997. Macao was under Portuguese rule until 1999; its historic town was proclaimed World Heritage in 2005 and is now marketed as 'East meets West'. Qingdao was a German 'model colony' for approximately two decades, and this was followed by Japanese occupation. Taipei was under Japanese rule for more than half a century. The Japanese influence in Taipei is visible both in the built environment and in its Japanese-inspired heritage conservation. These colonial pasts have not only been influenced the built-up environment, but they also partly shaped heritage conservation policies and practices. Nowadays, contestation over colonial heritage in these four cities is mainly covert: interviews with local experts demonstrated that the concept of being 'colonial' was contested (see Chapter 6). At the same time, the economic potential of these remains is clearly recognized, both as a tourist attraction and as a brand image (see Chapter 7).

This paper is based on a mixed-method approach. Desk research provided insights into the economic development of these cities during colonial times, and field work was used to record the present status of colonial remains. A further 24

semi-structured interviews were conducted to gain an understanding of potential dissonances that might occur from a focus on the economic use of heritage. The interviewed experts and professionals are involved in the actual practice of heritage conservation, rehabilitation and tourism, and most of them also have an academic background. We anticipate that they will be able to provide both an overview and insight into local uses, issues and challenges of heritage and connect these to wider social developments. Both fieldwork and interviews were carried out between November 2014 and August 2016.

## 2 Literature review

Concepts such as AHD (Smith, 2006) or assemblage (Pendlebury, 2013) provide a lens for a critical view of heritage conservation. Both concepts emphasize how a specific configuration of ideas, policies, stakeholders and practices become naturalized as the ‘proper’ way of dealing with heritage issues. The strength of any discourse is that it defines knowledge and therefore also defines who the knowledgeable people are. Some stakeholders who have a say in heritage matters are considered experts whereas alternative voices or definitions are excluded (Hajer, 1995; Graham, 2002; Waterton et al., 2006; Harrison, 2010). A discourse masks such power relations.

Although discourses are powerful, they are never entirely static. Heritage discourse may transform as a consequence of changes in the power balance between stakeholders, as a result of alternative voices being heard, or may be instigated by changing social, political and economic contexts (Tunbridge & Ashworth, 1996). In the case of heritage conservation, several challenges in combination posed new demands with regard to the way heritage was dealt with. The fast-growing ‘stock’ of heritage was important. In the second half of the twentieth century, more types of objects received recognition as potential heritage: from churches to factories, from castles to middle- and lower-class housing and from Stone Age and Middle Age to Industrial and Modern objects (Lowenthal, 1996; Renes, 2018). In the meanwhile, de-industrialization led to large numbers of abandoned factories, warehouses and wharfs which were at risk of demolition. Located in cities and comprising extensive areas of urban land, the real estate value of these lands was high in cities that succeeded in redirecting the economy from production to services and consumption. Other towns were hit much harder by the de-industrialization, and in these places not only former factories but also the economy lay in ruins.

While the number of objects which were regarded as heritage thus grew rapidly, so too did concerns about how society would be able to pay for the conservation of this increasing collection of protected but oftentimes empty complexes (Janssen et al.,

2014). Growing state subsidies necessary to conserve heritage were criticized as they competed with other municipal demands (Carter & Grimwade, 1997; Graham, 2002; Ruan et al., 2003; Bowitz & Ibenholt, 2009; Dümcke & Gnedovsky, 2013; Ashworth, 2014). This kind of competition for funding was felt more intensely as governance changed. De-industrialization was accompanied by shifts in the economic and institutional structures as a result of the widespread ideologies of neoliberalism, decentralization, deregulation and privatization (Dredge, 2004; Gunay, 2008). In these new institutional arrangements, the open-ended costs of heritage maintenance, renovation and protection were increasingly considered a burden on government budgets (Graham et al., 2000; Bendix, 2009; Shipley & Snyder, 2013). At the same time, market-oriented economic development policies transformed cities, as governments actively sought to create conditions that would make the city successful in the intensified international competition (Gunay, 2008; Janssen et al., 2014). In this way, these entrepreneurial urban policies provided a new perspective on heritage conservation. Established ways of dealing with heritage and heritage conservation no longer seemed to suit the challenges posed by the changing context and the mounting costs of heritage conservation.

Economic considerations, as a result, gradually became part of heritage practices. Up to this time, the prevalent heritage discourse neglected the potential economic benefits of heritage. Other values prevailed in discourses over heritage and heritage conservation (Greffe, 1999). Heritage was seen as a non-economic and non-reproducible commodity, a merit good, and conservation of heritage was considered a public interest. The potential economic use of heritage was perceived as an extrinsic value of heritage which may even prey on its traditional core values: its cultural, social or political meaning. Without these core values, historic objects have little meaning and may contribute nothing – they may not even be considered heritage (Greffe, 1999; Ashworth et al., 2007).

Gradually, economic benefits of heritage became more important. A vast number of heritage sites were turned into tourist attractions (Millar, 1989; Prentice, 1993; Nuryanti, 1996; Ismagilova et al., 2015). However, not all objects can be turned into museums and heritage attractions, and new uses had to be found. As a consequence, notions of authenticity and restoration that dated back to John Ruskin and William Morris no longer sufficed. To withstand large-scale erasure of heritage, a new discourse evolved: adaptive reuse as a strategy for heritage conservation. It offers old structures new functions which often differ considerably from the original use (Plevoets & Van Cleempoel, 2011). Adaptive reuse of heritage can contribute to maintaining a building's intrinsic cultural and historic values (Langston et al., 2008; Bullen & Love, 2011). However, adaptive reuse is also an economic choice. Many adaptive reuse projects assume that the new function should sustain itself,

provide for its own upkeep and even yield profits. As a result of the processes mentioned above, heritage discourses in Europe have shifted from a focus on heritage conservation to heritage planning, and from conservation strictly based on cultural reasons to development based on economic reasons. More importantly, conservation and development are no longer seen as complete opposites in urban planning (Janssen et al., 2014). Conservation is seen as complementary to attempts to achieve heritage regeneration and economic development (Pendlebury, 2013; Tiesdell et al., 2013; Janssen et al., 2014). This is illustrated by the slogan of the Belvedere Memorandum (1999) in the Netherlands, which points at a reciprocal relationship between development and conservation. Janssen et al. (2014: 11) describe this shift as follows: “*from preservation by protection to preservation by development.*” This economy-led discourse sees heritage as an asset, as part of the regional identity, as an important element of the place brand, as a tourist attraction or as a sought-after amenity. Heritage conservation from this perspective can help to generate jobs and profits, and support place marketing (Xu & Yeh, 2005; Bowitz & Ibenholt, 2009; Lazrak, et al., 2009, 2012; Botti et al., 2016).

Discourses do not shift overnight or without resistance and debate. Several authors are critical of economy-led heritage development. For some critics, a strong focus on economic value poses a threat to heritage conservation, as it potentially leads to commercialization, gentrification, lack of authenticity and even destruction of heritage (Ashworth, 1997; Carter & Grimwade, 1997; Ruan et al., 2003; Wong, 2007; Gunay, 2008; Pendlebury, 2013). The use of the past as a saleable product has been criticized, as commodification marginalizes the cultural importance of heritage (Ashworth, 1997; Graham, 2002; Ruan et al., 2003; Pendlebury, 2013; Dai et al., 2014); it dilutes the original meaning and as such may put authenticity at risk. Facadism is an illustrative example where a recreated historic atmosphere and appearance rule over authenticity. The economic value of heritage is exploited when new buildings hide behind facades that mimic an idealized past that suites market tastes (Zukin, 1987; Gunay, 2008). Meanwhile, other authors responded to the increased economic focus by attempting to calculate social, political, historic and aesthetic values also in monetary terms; in other words, to balance the economic use with other uses of heritage (Van Dommelen & Pen, 2013). Others question the possibility of measuring different values in terms of price. Mason (1998) argues that the relative worth of heritage is too complex and thus too difficult to measure. Some authors also fear that if heritage is monetized and traded, heritage with a relative low market value will run the risk of destruction, degradation or replacement (Logan & Molotch, 1987; Carter & Grimwade, 1997; Ruijgrok, 2006; Mason, 2008; Donaldson et al., 2013).

Adaptive reuse is also criticized, especially the expectation that reused heritage will generate enough ‘income’ to sustain itself. However, some scholars state that reusing buildings can be more expensive than demolition, as it is hard to estimate the increase in the financial cost of revitalizing and maintaining a historic building with a reduced physical life (Langston et al., 2013; Conejos et al., 2016). Owners and developers often view adaptive reuse projects as investment sinkholes because they feel the planning and building regulations are too strict. According to these stakeholders, this increases the budgets but limits potential functions and thus future development of the buildings (Graham, 2002; Mason, 2008; Plevoets & Van Cleempoel, 2011; Yung & Chan, 2012; Lazrak et al., 2014; Elsorady, 2014). Some authors claim that in practice, restricted reuses may eventually differ little from museumification, which may result in economic unsustainability (Botti et al., 2016). Such debates are especially intense in large-scale heritage complexes which are hard to reuse profitably and thus have to rely on government support (Carter & Grimwade, 1997). In such cases, the revenues after reuse tend to drop quickly and investment returns are meagre (Graham et al., 2000; Silberman, 2012).

In short, heritage conservation discourses have shifted to an integrated approach that connects heritage conservation to dynamic and sustainable developments with multi-stakeholder involvement (Janssen et al., 2014). As Asian urban contexts are different from European, the next section will illustrate how experts and professionals in Macao, Hong Kong, Qingdao and Taipei view the role of economic values and economy-led regeneration in heritage conservation.

### **3 Development versus conservation**

As explained above, the dilemmas associated with heritage conservation were aggravated by major social, political and economic changes such as globalization, neoliberalism, decentralization, privatization and participation. Although the exact political, economic and social contexts differed, all four cities experienced extensive growth from the second half of the twentieth century onwards (see Chapter 3). This was accompanied by a more entrepreneurial style of urban governance as cities had to balance limited government funding with booming urban development (Wu, 2011; Yu, 2016), and had to enhance their competitiveness to attract capital, inhabitants and visitors (Xu & Yeh, 2005). The development boom was partly at the expense of historic buildings and landscapes in inner cities. According to Wong (2007), capital accumulation in Asian cities was accompanied by large-scale demolition in historic inner cities.



Governments responded to the emerging global economy by redeveloping inner-city land for new economic purposes (Interview 22, Taipei) and by developing a series of expansion schemes to accommodate the rapid economic expansion. Apart from the need to accommodate a growing urban population and new economic functions, land development was thought to be more profitable than heritage conservation. The booming economy increased land prices and governments responded by selling land. According to the interviewees, land sales proved to be an important source of income for local governments. *“The strained incomes push the government to sell land for improving the economy. For the government, selling land is the fastest and simplest way to earn money”* (Interview 15, Qingdao). This is also the case in Hong Kong because of the limited land resources. *“Both the central and local governments try to increase the revenue by selling lands”* (Interview 3, Hong Kong). Moreover, investments in city reconstruction, both private and public, was considered to be the easiest way to promote new housing estates and commercial complexes (Wong, 2007). At other instances, heritage and economic interests were renegotiated in such a way that it was considered acceptable to relocate heritage. For example, Murray House in Hong Kong was relocated to Stanley to make way for the new China Bank building. This renegotiation conserves the actual structure but removes the building from its original context.

In short, heritage conservation, in effect, had to compete with the monetary profit which results from redeveloping land. One interviewee explained how selling land for redevelopment was at the expense of heritage conservation:

*“After signing the Sino-British Joint Declaration in 1984, Hong Kong encountered a period in which land prices shot up. The price of scarce land in urban areas was pushed up higher and higher by the British government, therefore colonial buildings were replaced by skyscrapers.”* (Interview 2, Hong Kong)

Whereas land may be most scarce in Hong Kong due to its location, land speculation is not unique to Hong Kong. One interviewee from Taipei fears the consequences of scarcity of land as well:

*“In my opinion, the biggest threat is land speculation. In the past decades, the price of land in Taipei has been relatively high. The developers aim at redeveloping large public or private areas for huge profits. [...] Under the pressure of land exploitation, the Taipei central government struggles between conservation and development. They make the decision according to the value and meaning of heritage and whether the heritage is a hindrance to urban development.”* (Interview 21, Taipei)

The economic pressure of development is similarly felt in Macao where, despite its World Heritage status, heritage has to compete with development. In 2005, the Macao Government abolished two guidelines for height restriction, and allowed land redevelopment around the Guia mountain (Figure 5.2). The new constructions breached the buffer zone requirements of UNESCO and led to the removal of the Guia sites from the World Heritage List.



**Figure 5.2** Some high-rise buildings spoil the view from up above the Guia mountain

*Source: Xiaolin Zang*

## 4 Involving more stakeholders

The shift from managerial governance towards entrepreneurial governance encourages the private sector to become involved in urban development and heritage conservation under market conditions (Gunay, 2008; Lazrak et al., 2012). Interviewees point at the role of stakeholders in the resulting debates over conservation versus redevelopment. The expected profits make developers, owners and investors were more inclined to demolish and redevelop. They often oppose to large-scale conservation plans. *“Thus, in order to pursue maximum profit, the developers always lobby to the councillor or mayor to demolish heritage for new*

*developments*” (Interview 21, Taipei). Similarly, developers in Hong Kong express concerns over planning restrictions imposed by heritage conservation (Interview 2, Hong Kong). This interviewee feels that developers have become powerful stakeholders in the city and that government wants to avoid any conflict with them:

*“Although a great number of people expressed their objections [to demolishing Lee Tung Street], [their power was limited] compared to the developers. The developers have had sufficient power to demolish and redevelop the street because of property rights. We do not have any laws or regulations to stop the developers.”* (Interview 2, Hong Kong)

As a result, economic values have become more important: *“In a word, heritage without economic potential will be demolished. It is clearly stated in the 1980s conservation policy that we should conserve heritage with historic value which does not conflict with future development”* (Interview 2, Hong Kong).

The significance of heritage has gained quite some attention from the government and the public; nevertheless, there is sometimes relatively little they can do against private property owners. In 2011, Ho Tung Garden was listed as a Grade One historic building by the Hong Kong Antiquities Advisory Board and was declared a proposed historic monument. However, negotiations between the owner and the government failed because of a 40 billion Hong Kong dollar difference between what the government was willing to pay and what the owner was asking for it. In the end, the mansion was sold for 51 billion Hong Kong dollars to a developer, who demolished it completely in October 2013.

However, not all heritage is lost to such financial considerations. Planning and heritage policies are in place and they may be effective, even in Hong Kong, where land has become scarce, especially when planning ordinances do not allow new functions: *“The government firstly conserved heritage which cannot be used for redeveloping. For example, it is clearly written in the contract that this land can only be used for certain things, such as temples”* (Interview 2, Hong Kong).

Developers have thus become powerful stakeholders, but other stakeholders have become more involved in heritage issues as well. In the past, the centralization of decision-making powers had a significant impact on heritage issues, and the citizens’ perspectives are still far from being totally accepted (Interview 5, Hong Kong; Interview 7, Macao). *“At that time, the powerful paternalism of the government was dominant over the immature discourse of civil society. The governments absolutely controlled the discourse on public decision-making”* (Interview 5, Hong Kong). Demolition of heritage has met with growing resistance from experts, social

movements and the public. Such processes were also witnessed in European cities from the 1970s onwards. In Macao, experts campaigned against plans for the demolition of the Hotel Estoril, its first Western-style casino hotel (Figure 5.3). Their protests eventually turned out to have been in vain, but they did gain quite some attention from media, public, community and academia. In Hong Kong, the public objected to the demolition of the Star Ferry Pier and the Queen’s Pier. Although the protest failed to make a change, the government noticed the changing public aspirations for conserving structures which may be architecturally and historically poor, but which were considered a symbol of local history and culture (Lu, 2009; Lee & Distefano, 2015). The public in Qingdao responded to government plans to demolish a historic Western-style villa on Jinkou Road. As in the cases of Macao and Hong Kong, the villa was eventually demolished and replaced by a new-built sci-tech company building. Although more stakeholders have become involved, one interviewee is actually rather dismayed about the power the public has: *“The public has very limited rights. [...] There is nothing the public can do if the local government is opposed to conserving heritage. [...] The public has just been vocal about their objections which has no practical significance”* (Interview 7, Macao).



**Figure 5.3** The controversy of reuse and redevelopment of the Hotel Estoril in Macao is far from over

*Source: Xiaolin Zang*

Similarly, one interviewee in Hong Kong feels that the public lacks power in comparison to investors who control how to reuse heritage (Interview 4, Hong Kong). *“The financial resource, coming from the government, from an individual or from a donation, decides whom the heritage will service, the public, private enterprise or non-profit organizations”* (Interview 4, Hong Kong). Dissonances

among these interest groups make it hard to reach a consensus on heritage conservation. *“Consensus is hard to be reached after several rounds of discussion”* (Interview 5, Hong Kong). One researcher in Hong Kong explains this issue further: *“An eclectic decision under a democratic system may constantly undergo iterative arguments and discussions. [Projects] cost a great deal of time and money in Hong Kong. For example, after years of discussion, a million-dollar project may end up costing ten times as much in the end”* (Interview 4, Hong Kong).

## 5 Changing practices: The reuse of heritage

Adaptive reuse seems to combine the virtues of conservation and those of development. Instead of freezing objects in time and limiting the range of possible uses (Gunay, 2008), old structures that have lost their original function are revitalized by creating new activities. Vacated factories, power stations, and wharfs experienced transformations into cultural or industrial parks, museums, and squares (Botti et al., 2016). The Convent Garden area in London, the Zeche Zollverein coalmine industrial complex in Essen (Germany), and the circular Buiksloterham community in Amsterdam are a few-well known examples in Europe. Similar adaptive reuse projects can be found in Asia, such as the Tomioka Silk Mill and the Meiji iron and steel, shipbuilding and coalmining sites in Japan, Camp Mare shipyard area in South Korea, and 798 District in Beijing. Adaptive reuse was also introduced in our case-study cities. The Cattle Depot Artist Village in Hong Kong, which used to be a livestock quarantine depot and slaughterhouse, was renovated and developed into a village for artists. In 2011, Songshan cultural and creative park was created in Taipei in the former tobacco factory (Figure 5.4). More recently, the central police station has been restored and converted into the Centre for Heritage and Arts. It was revered by many as a flagship of regeneration in Hong Kong.

Consequently, strategies of heritage conservation seem to be shifting towards an integrated conservation-development discourse (Loulanski, 2006a; Pendlebury, 2013). *“Conservation and restriction can coexist in a listed building”* (Interview 20, Taipei). One pioneer in Taipei states that:

*“From the perspective of urban conservation, I believe that conservation is the right way for urban development. Conservation can be seen as a process that attempts to sustain outstanding heritage within the continuously changing city while development is a process of adding value to avoid freezing culture and heritage. Conservation and development can work together rather than contradict each other. [...] This has been important in the current*

*instrumental role of heritage conservation as being complementary to urban regeneration and economic development.” (Interview 18, Taipei)*



**Figure 5.4** The public space in the Songshan cultural and creative park, Taipei

*Source: Xiaolin Zang*

Another interviewee states that living historic buildings are preferred to frozen heritage objects. *“What most people do not realized is that [those historic buildings still existed or worked as before]. [...] Keep it working is more important than listing, which may be an obstacle for the future reuse”* (Interview 4, Hong Kong). The interviewee feels that heritage should be able to accommodate with new uses to be ‘alive’ and thus conserved, and that new uses are a better guarantee of preservation than strict conservation policies.

However, another interviewee from Taipei is more hesitant about the eminent success of adaptive reuse. The interviewee discusses the difficulty of combining restoration and reuse. Reuse requires changes to the original building, whereas restoration policies inhibit changes (Interview 20, Taipei). This interviewee also feels that adaptive reuse requires more fundamental discussions between planners,

heritage experts and developers for each site to establish how the heritage values can be used or maintained in the new uses.

*“When we talk about reuse heritage in practice, normally we forget to explore what is the best new function, what kind of relationship can exist between the new function and the building, and which part of the history is represented in the reused project.”* (Interview 20, Taipei)

Large-scale urban heritage projects are often accompanied by narratives about the benefits of cultural regeneration for the local economy. Such narratives revolve around attracting creative classes, around accommodating the needs of highly-educated urban professionals and improving place image, and around the social benefits of reconstructing industrial plants into museum clusters or exhibitions sites (Pendlebury, 2013; Janssen et al., 2014; Botti et al., 2016). According to the interviewees, potential tourism revenues and positive effects on place image may be a consideration in the reuse of monumental buildings (Interviews 1, 2 & 4, Hong Kong; Interview 10, Macao; Interviews 15 & 17, Qingdao; Interview 20, Taipei). *“From the perspectives of the government, the [Heritage 1881] project was used to build up a positive Hong Kong image”* (Interview 4, Hong Kong). As one interviewee in Macao explained, heritage can be used to diversify tourism: *“Tourism promotes both the economy and city image in Macao. Macao is a city with valuable heritage rather than solely a gambling town”* (Interview 10, Macao).

## 6 New challenges

As the costs of heritage conservation are often higher than expected (Janssen et al., 2014), concerns frequently arise about the long-term economic sustainability of investment in cultural heritage (Graham et al., 2000; Bendix, 2009; Shipley & Snyder, 2013; Botti et al., 2016). Similar concerns are voiced by the interviewees. The costs of conserving, repairing and operating many old buildings is too heavy for governments to finance by themselves. Interviewees in Qingdao refer to the huge number of historic buildings that were renovated and converted into museums. Following the 2015 Museum Ordinance, over 80 museums in Qingdao gradually became free to the public. If a monument is transformed into a museum, government money is made available to support its maintenance (Interview 15, Qingdao). It has therefore become a popular new use of heritage, especially for industrial heritage in locations that to this date lack high commercial value or that prove difficult to change into residential uses (Interviews 15 & 17, Qingdao). Transforming these restored buildings into museums does not mean they are economically sustainable

(Interview 17, Qingdao). Visitor numbers are low and government funding needs to be divided among many museums:

*“Qingdao government gains 200 million yuan for heritage issues per year from the Central Government while it costs 10 million yuan per year to run a [heritage] museum. The income of a revitalized project is just a drop in the ocean”* (Interview 14, Qingdao).

Some projects that were planned to take place in three stages were therefore stalled after the first stage for a fear of a lack of return on investments (Interview 17, Qingdao). Similarly, one interviewee in Hong Kong points at the difficult task of making heritage financially sustainable, even when reused:

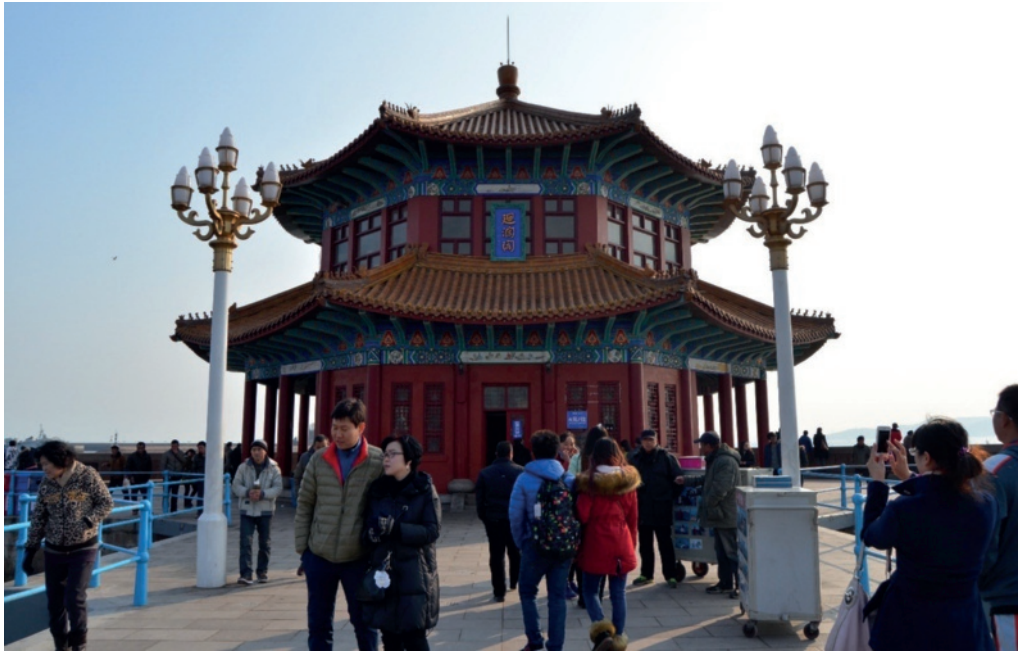
*“With an excellent proposal, technology and social benefit, a historic building could win revitalizing funding from the government, but the building has to successfully sustain itself after revitalization. If not, there is insufficient money to operate continuously. I heard that only one building proves its economic potential among the whole first-phase revitalization projects, while the others have difficulty [surviving].”* (Interview 1, Hong Kong)

Whereas privatization can ease the financial burden of conserving heritage for the government (Yúdice, 2003; Palumbo, 2006), it does not solve the problem of finding economically sustainable form of reuse. Moreover, if heritage has to make money, new challenges arise. The increased reliance on private investment in heritage comes with an increased focus on financial rewards. Meanwhile, this commercial logic may lead to commodification and questions of authenticity. The professionals interviewed in Hong Kong talk in some detail about the issues of authenticity with regard to facadism and pseudo-classic architecture. *“Facadism and pseudo-classic architecture are popular in China”* (Interview 3, Hong Kong). Interviewees point at Lee Tung Street in Hong Kong, where the original buildings were demolished and redeveloped by imitation-historical facades (Interviews 2 & 4, Hong Kong).

*“I would like to show you the ‘best’ pseudo-classic street in Hong Kong. In the past, the Lee Tung Street was full of printing workshops in the Tong Lau style. After revitalization, the appearance of the whole street was a nondescript British style which Hong Kong had never had before. [...] It is not conservation at all. The authenticity of buildings may dilute. It becomes worse and worse if our future generations regard these pseudo-classic buildings as the original ones.”* (Interview 2, Hong Kong)



Interviewees are divided in their opinion on authenticity, especially when it concerns pseudo-classical architecture. Whereas one interviewee sees these buildings as fake, another interviewee feels it reflects the popularity of the past to provide new developments with a recognizable identity. Complicating such debates is the matter of Chinese Renaissance Architecture, in which newly erected buildings are decorated with a number of traditional Chinese elements (Figure 5.5). In the 1950s, this architectural style had a clear symbolic meaning and political significance. During the Kuomintang period, Chinese Renaissance Architecture was used as an important symbol of patriotism, referring to lost cultural roots (Interview 4, Hong Kong; Interview 11, Qingdao; Interview 22, Taipei). One may wonder to what degree recently-built Chinese Renaissance Architecture is similarly political. According to one interviewee, the idea of Chinese Renaissance Architecture is likely to be about imitation with respect for the original Chinese culture in order to boost national self-confidence (Interview 11, Qingdao).



**Figure 5.5** The Qingdao Huilan pavilion structured with octagonal double cornices, built in 1933

*Source: Xiaolin Zang*

However, pseudo-architecture does not result from patriotism alone. These styles are seen as commercially interesting as well, as they help to create attractive landscapes for tourists. Interviewees refer to recently developed pseudo-classic streets, such as Songduyujie in Kaifeng and Xiangxijie in Shennongjia, that attract

nostalgia travellers (Interview 4, Hong Kong; Interview 8, Macao; Interview 15, Qingdao).

*“Many historic buildings were completely removed in the process of growth. This situation has changed a lot in the past decade due to the rising awareness of Chinese people who would like to experience the past. The new-built archaistic architectures is the easiest way [to achieve economic and tourism results].”* (Interview 4, Hong Kong)



**Figure 5.6** Part of the former marine police headquarters was removed and replaced by a sunken shopping plaza

*Source: Xiaolin Zang*

Interviewees feel that local authorities may let tourism or market-oriented arguments prevail in their adoption of heritage policies (Interviews 4 & 5, Hong Kong). An example can be found in Figure 5.6, a photo of the 1881 Heritage in Hong Kong: the area of the former headquarters of the Hong Kong marine police has been preserved, restored and made into a shopping mall, a heritage hotel, and

an exhibition hall. Some parts of the 1881 Heritage are the original buildings, while other parts are new buildings which imitate the Victorian style.

*“Though the 1881 Heritage still has the same beautiful outside, the inside of the place has been restored and redeveloped. The original group of buildings was the former marine police headquarters, [...]. Part of the architecture was removed to build the dramatic shopping plaza. [...] Although details are different, the public will find it hard to distinguish the authentic buildings from the elaborate imitations.”* (Interview 1, Hong Kong)

One expert therefore argues that debates should perhaps not focus on establishing whether an object is authentic, but on the heritage eligibility of the building.

*“Both the originals and the new imitations are real objects. It is important to recognize the new ones without heritage value at present. In 500 years, the imitations will also be heritage. [...] It is meaningless to discuss what is real or fake.”* (Interview 20, Taipei)

Gentrification creates its own dynamics. It may be difficult for house owners to resist selling their properties to affluent outsiders for high prices. This may lead to small-scale, private-led gentrification. Gentrification has been under scrutiny by scholars as it may potentially result in class conflict and displacement (Franzén, 2005; Donaldson et al., 2013; Arkaraprasertkul, 2018). However, gentrification takes on different forms in different places (Schaffer & Smith, 1986). Arkaraprasertkul (2018) for example describes a flexible form of gentrification that occurred in the Tranquil Light area in Shanghai. The original working-class residents have gentrified their neighbourhood spontaneously, as they discovered economic activities which they geared towards middle-class tastes (Arkaraprasertkul, 2018). Some individual projects in the Xinhaoshan Historic Area in Qingdao can be understood as similarly spontaneous gentrification. Buildings have been renovated and reused as cafés, creative shops and hostels (Figure 5.7).

However, such private redevelopment cannot be applied as a heritage conservation strategy to all historic areas in the inner city of Qingdao. Notably, the traditional Liyuan neighbourhoods will prove difficult to gentrify – even though the areas are unique to the city. Liyuan housing was developed in the German era as residences for Chinese labourers. The buildings have a typical court layout and are made of wood. Current overpopulation (three generations living in apartments of less than 10m<sup>2</sup>), poor servicing (one old-style squat toilet per 30 households) and lack of maintenance means that many Liyuan are run down (Han & Kuang, 2012; see

Chapter 9) (Figure 5.8). Thus, it seems impossible for the current residents to gentrify Liyuan themselves.



**Figure 5.7** A renovated café in the Xinhaoshan Historic Area in Qingdao  
*Source: Xiaolin Zang*

Potential economic benefits of gentrification may even lead property owners to question former conservation decisions. The Qingtian project in Taipei, as an interviewee explained, illustrates how different generations of residents have different ideas about conservation. In the past, residents lobbied for the conservation of the area (Figure 5.9), while today residents fear the heritage designation of the street hinders further development.

*“With the high appreciation of former local residents, Qingtian Street, which is full of Japanese dormitories, has been nominated by the government as a historic district. However, nowadays new residents move into this area and complain about the restrictions that are a consequence of the designation [which has become a hindrance for future development].” (Interview 23, Taipei)*



Figure 5.8 Poor living conditions in Liyuan

Source: Xiaolin Zang



Figure 5.9 The introduction of 17 theme trails in the historic Qingtian district

Source: Xiaolin Zang

## 7 Discussion and conclusion

In the last two decades, a notable shift in the dominant heritage discourses has been visible in a number of countries. Economic values have been redefined as an important asset, and work next to and sometimes in opposition to the core cultural and social values of heritage in new types of heritage conservation management. Adaptive reuse projects are a new strategy for sustainable heritage management, as such projects attempt to reconcile conservation and development rather than choosing between them (Graham et al., 2000; Pendlebury, 2013; Janssen et al., 2014). By interviewing experts and professionals in the four Chinese colonial cities, we found evidence that an increasing emphasis on economic development also influenced debates and practices of heritage conservation and planning in these cities.

The interviews provided insight into several phenomena that influence this changing discourse. Firstly, the urban boom has led to housing shortages and scarcity of land in a context of increasingly entrepreneurial governments. This development poses serious challenges to heritage conservation, as quick financial returns beckon as a result of increased property values. This could easily lead to selling and demolishing heritage in order to make room for new developments. However, the same neoliberal and decentralized open-market economy can also stimulate heritage by emphasizing the economic value it embodies, in addition to its original heritage values. Interviewees explain that the governments of the four cities try to avoid conflict with powerful developers, and as a result even listed buildings are not always safeguarded. However, there are also examples of projects in which the government encourages redevelopment of heritage as an important marketing strategy to attract nostalgia tourists.

However, the focus on economic value is challenged in the practice of heritage management. Adaptive reuse of heritage does not automatically mean sustainable maintenance or economic profits, as few new functions generate enough revenue (Botti et al., 2016). Our interviewees concur with findings by Carter and Grimwade (1997), who demonstrated that reusing industrial heritage is more often economically unsustainable, especially sites in poor locations. In addition, concerns have been voiced about the question whether adaptive reuse actually leads to the conservation of the heritage values. These concerns mostly focus on ‘commercial tastes’ in architecture, especially the popularity of pseudo-classic architecture in Chinese cities, and lead to a discussion on authenticity. Preservationists view pseudo-classic building as fake and without any heritage value; however, part of our interviewees indicate that there is a shift in the concept of authenticity: it is no longer an argument to shield heritage from changes and uses, but it provides

new developments with a recognizable identity. A third concern about the focus on the economic value of heritage relates to the role of private property owners. Small-scale, owner-driven gentrification can upgrade neighbourhoods and create attractive places for inhabitants and visitors, as can be witnessed in the Xinhaoshan area in Qingdao. However, these restoration activities often do not involve experts or follow procedures that conserve heritage values. Moreover, new inhabitants attracted to the area may question conservation policies, as they think these hinder the development of the area. However, it is hard to refer to the Xinhaoshan project as a general strategy for other areas, as the potential form of gentrification also depends on the context (Schaffer & Smith, 1986), as is clear from Liyuan in Qingdao.

Changes in discourse often come with conflicts: overt or covert. The new prominence of economic values over other purely cultural or social values has led to dissonance in the recent past and will continue to do so in the future, as shifts in discourses coincide with shifting balances of power between stakeholders and the introduction of new concepts. Stakeholders need to discuss what adaptive reuse means and where conservation and development strike a balance or harm each other. In recent years, new stakeholders have entered the heritage field that is no longer the sole domain of experts and government officials. These stakeholders bring new ideas, concepts and other kinds of knowledge. This may lead to conflicts over the meaning of heritage and the best way to conserve it. Sometimes the new participants in the discussion are in favour of protection, but in other cases they may prefer development. Future research should attempt to gain more insight into the interaction and cooperation of the different stakeholders in heritage conservation, management and development, as well as in to the role of both traditional heritage values and economic values in these interactions.

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# CHAPTER

# 6

## **The Role of Colonial Heritage in Urban Identity – Experts’ and Professionals’ Perspectives on Four Cities**

This chapter is based on a manuscript under review of a peer-review journal.

**Xiaolin Zang**, Bouke van Gorp, Hans Renes. The Role of Colonial Heritage in Urban Identity – Experts’ and Professionals’ Perspectives on Four Cities, *Urban Studies*. under review

# 1 Introduction

Since decolonization set in during the 1940s, there has been an ongoing academic debate about the way post-colonial states and cities have positioned themselves since independence. The transition that newly independent states went through was as much about identity construction as it was about sovereignty (Wong, 1999). Heritage is instrumental in this process of nation building. However, dissonance may emerge when different stakeholders explore the relationship between their post-colonial society and its past, and select what to forget and what to remember (Tunbridge & Ashworth, 1996; Harvey, 2001; Ashworth et al., 2007; Pendlebury et al., 2018). Although selectively forgetting and remembering is always part of heritage construction, colonial pasts may lead to extremely fierce debates (Cartier, 1993; Yeoh, 2001; Graham, 2002). Former colonial remains can be perceived as imprints of suffering by those who were colonized (Hughes, 2006; Jones & Shaw, 2006). As a consequence, some newly independent states have initially deployed strategies aimed at erasing the influence of erstwhile imperialism and colonialism by means of demolition, neglect, reinterpretation or repossession. However, as time has moved on, negative connotations may have lessened, opening up new opportunities for the reuse of these remains.

China offers an interesting case study, as colonialism is not a national but a local experience. Following the Opium Wars, some Chinese trading ports were turned into colonies (e.g. Hong Kong), semi-colonies (e.g. Shanghai, Tianjin, Hankou) or concessions (e.g. Wuhan, Guangzhou, Zhenjiang) (Tan, 2005; Zhang, 2006). There is no national way of dealing with decolonization in China since most of the country has never been colonized. Moreover, the breakaway from the colonial past was unique, especially for Hong Kong and Macao because sovereignty of these cities was 'reverted' or 'handed over' peacefully and they became Special Administrative Regions after the lease period was over (Porter, 1993; Lee & Lam, 1998; Henderson, 2001; Yeoh, 2001). This shows a sharp contrast with the liberation wars in some neighbouring countries, such as Vietnam and Indonesia.

This article focuses on Macao, Hong Kong, Qingdao and Taipei, four cities that share a Chinese cultural context and a colonial past, albeit by different nations, under different arrangements and for different periods. As a result, the present position of colonial heritage may differ between the four cities. From their common Chinese cultural background, they may share similar philosophies regarding heritage. Whereas Macao was governed continuously by Portugal from the sixteenth to the late twentieth century, Hong Kong was a British crown colony for almost one century and a half, Qingdao was governed by Germany for nearly two decades and Taipei was under both Dutch and Spanish rule (Table 6.1). Hong Kong, Macao and

Qingdao were all established by force as European trading bases on the Chinese coast (Bond & King, 1985; Reeves et al., 1989; see Chapter 4).

**Table 6.1** Colonial history of four case cities

Town	Hong Kong	Macao	Qingdao	Taipei
<b>Colonial History</b>	British 1841–1941	Portuguese 1557–1999	German 1897–1914	Spanish (North of Taiwan) 1626–1642
	Japanese 1941–1945		Japanese 1914–1922	Dutch (South of Taiwan) 1624–1661
	British 1945–1997		Japanese 1938–1945	Dutch (Whole of Taiwan) 1624–1662
				Japanese 1895–1945
<b>Present System</b>	A Special Administrative Region under the People's Republic of China	A Special Administrative Region under the People's Republic of China	The People's Republic of China	Taiwan

Source: Xiaolin Zang

Taipei, Qingdao and Hong Kong also share a history as a Japanese colony. Whereas Hong Kong only lived through a rather short Japanese occupation during the Second World War (1941–1945), Qingdao was a Japanese colony for two periods (1914–1922 and 1938–1945) and Taipei was part of the Japanese Empire for half a century, as was the rest of Taiwan (1895–1945). The Japanese colonization reached much further inland than the European colonies did. Nowadays, the Japanese period still invokes national sentiments that influence Chinese popular opinion on the conservation of Japanese colonial remains. Immediately after independence, Japanese sites were regarded as “*poisonous leftovers of Japanese imperialism*” (Chiang, 2012: 13) and some were wilfully destroyed. However, pragmatism also ruled, and for example in Qingdao factories built by the Japanese remained in use. Since the 1990s, in its search for a new collective identity, Taiwan has been reevaluating its Chinese, Japanese and European pasts (Chiang, 2012; Chang, 2015). However, several anti-Japanese demonstrations show that not all Taiwanese, especially those loyal to Chinese Nationalists, agree with the recognition of Japanese heritage (Amae, 2011).

This article analyses the current place of colonial remains in these four cities. We want to analyse to what degree these colonial remains have led to dissonance. Two questions are central to this analysis. First, how is the past occupation perceived and to what degree does this perception of the past lead to dissonance? The second

question is: what is the place of colonial heritage in identity construction in Macao, Hong Kong, Qingdao and Taipei today?

To gain insight into the current place of colonial remains in these four cities, 24 in-depth interviews were conducted with heritage experts and professionals involved in valuing, designating and managing heritage. Their understanding and interpretation of colonial remains are likely to influence the future of these remains. Moreover, these experts and professionals will be able to reflect upon local debates on the conservation of colonial remains. Of these 24 interviewees, five worked in Hong Kong, five in Macao, seven in Qingdao and seven in Taipei. The majority (16) hold a position in university, sometimes combined with heritage projects. The remaining eight interviewees work in the field of heritage conservation, for government agencies (Archives, Planning, or Culture Departments), for a non-profit cultural community, and for a construction company. The respondents hold degrees in different fields related to heritage, including architecture, conservation, built environment, urban planning, tourism and history. With one exception (a foreign researcher), all were born in the country they work in. The interviews were conducted between April and August 2016 and were complemented by field observations which focused on the presence, visibility and state of repair of colonial remains in the four cities.

The present article starts with a literature review on heritage as an interpretation of the past in relation to identity. Next, we will take a closer look at how the interviewees understand ‘colonial heritage’, and how they perceive the current position of colonial remains in the four cities. The analysis will demonstrate how colonial remains have been renegotiated over time.

## 2 Definition and typology of colonial heritage

Tunbridge and Ashworth (1996: 6; 34) define heritage as the contemporary use of the past for a variety of purposes; it serves present economic, political or cultural goals. Heritage is therefore about what we create rather than what we preserve (Lowenthal, 1985; Waterton et al., 2006; Ashworth, 2011). As a consequence, heritage is dynamic. The content and meaning of heritage may vary through time, between communities and contexts. Heritage should therefore be seen as a process of understanding, using and interpreting the past rather than as an artefact or site (Ashworth & Graham, 2005; Ashworth, 2011; Johnson, 2014).

As heritage is negotiated in the present, dissonance is intrinsic to heritage. Dissonance may occur in relation to interpretations of the past, between its present



uses and users, and in relation to envisaged futures of heritage (Hardy, 1988; Tunbridge & Ashworth, 1996; Graham, 2002; Šešić & Mijatović, 2014).

Heritage is used to create an identity and legitimate rule (Tunbridge & Ashworth, 1996; Ashworth et al., 2007). The value-laden nature of heritage can especially be recognized in its use as a political resource. Identity building involves a process of defining one's own characteristics, in comparison to those of others. It involves a selective reading of the past; history and heritage are instrumental in constructing a narrative of 'self'.

Identity formation is a deliberate process used by stakeholders to achieve certain purposes which may be social, cultural and/or economic. One of the most critical issues for post-colonial states is reinterpreting and reorganizing their past, and the place of the colonial episode in this past (Cartier, 1993; Sarkissian, 1997; Leach, 2008; Pires, 2014). By renegotiating the past, post-colonial societies break away from the colonial past and explore characteristics that define their new identity (Yeoh, 2001; Leach, 2008).

The position of colonial remains in post-colonial societies is complex (Yeoh, 2001; Graham, 2002). Colonialism is a form of foreign domination in which a distant foreign power controls a territory and its people with the purpose of economic exploitation (Horvath, 1972: 46). Convinced of their cultural superiority, colonizers reject acculturation with indigenous values and customs, and they feel that it is their duty to rule the indigenous majority (Osterhammel, 2010: 16-17). Colonial remains may thus be seen to reflect these former unequal power relationships; for this reason, the colonial remains may have originally been rejected by the post-colonial societies. Consequently, in the wake of independence and the process of nation-building, colonial remains have been "*subject to damage, distortion, bowdlerization, or just depletion*" (Tunbridge & Ashworth, 1996: 4; King, 2009). In some instances, colonial remains were rejected and even demolished because the former physical colonial structures were regarded as important symbols of occupation and/or unequal social and spatial divisions (Hughes, 2006; King, 2009). An example of a post-colonial state that demolished physical evidence of the colonial past is South Korea after it was liberated from Japanese rule in 1945 (Lee, 2015).

Another way in which newly independent states have dealt with colonial landscapes is by symbolically reinterpreting them. According to Simon (1998), erstwhile imperialism and colonialism could be erased by adopting new symbols that reflect the new identity of the post-colonial state. Practices such as the renaming of streets, reassigning of the capital, and changing the landscape were adopted

to reappropriate the landscape and thus the past (Western, 1985; Simon, 1998; Yeoh, 2001; Alderman, 2016; Förster et al., 2016). Renaming is a specific way of forgetting the colonial past and meanwhile celebrating new heroes or primordial roots. For example, the colonial capital of the Dutch East-Indies, Batavia, regained its pre-colonial name of Jakarta following Indonesian independence (Parani, 2006). The recent renaming of streets in Macao from Portuguese into Chinese characters could be seen in the same light.

Rediscovering pre-colonial heritage is another way of symbolically reclaiming the past from former colonial powers and shaping a new identity. Many post-colonial states have rediscovered and reevaluated native architecture; in the process of rediscovery these states even presented the native remains as victims of long-time neglect and marginalization by the former colonial powers (Graham, 2002; King, 2009). Creating a new identity may thus lead newly independent states to focus on an ancient golden age or pre-colonial times to promote new national pride (Simon, 1998; Glover & Bellwood, 2004). Cheung (1999, 2003) describes an example of such a rediscovery: the case of the Ping Shan in Hong Kong, which was redesigned and reinterpreted from ancestral monuments into a heritage trail to showcase early Chinese traditional life in the countryside.

Contestation over the demolition or conservation of colonial heritage has coincided with changing notions of the purpose of heritage. With cultural tourism identified as a potential source of income, the perceived economic benefits may have helped to erase some of the sharp edges of colonial heritage – as has the passing of time since independence. In many countries around the globe, the colonial landscape has been developed into a tourist attraction, as for example in Santo Domingo (Caribbean) and Guanajuato (Mexico). Such countries went through a transformation process from “a rejection of the colonizer’s culture” to a “relatively unproblematic identification with the colonizer’s culture” (Kusno, 1998: 550).

### **3 Renegotiating colonial heritage in Macao, Hong Kong, Qingdao and Taipei**

Walking through the four cities today reveals that in each of the cities some colonial remains have been preserved. Some colonial buildings are legally protected monuments, such as the Government House and the Central Police Station Compound in Hong Kong, the Ruins of St. Paul’s Cathedral and Moorish Barracks in Macao, the Control Yuan and Hall of Justice in Taipei, and the Tsingtao Brewery and the Germany Building Group (青岛德国建筑群) in Qingdao. Heritage trails connect several colonial sites in Hong Kong, and former Japanese factories were turned

into creative places in Taiwan. Today, people seem to have chosen to remember this part of their city's past. Interviewees in Macao even felt that the Portuguese period was an intricate part of local history: *"Crucial in heritage conservation is to be honest about the whole history of the place"* (Interview 9, Macao). *"Over 80% of the history of Macao is connected to the Portuguese period. We can separate it from the whole history, but that is meaningless. All heritage sites are treasures of Macao"* (Interview 7, Macao).

During the interviews we further explored professionals' opinions about how these remains have been renegotiated. To be able to understand their perspectives, we first asked them to consider the meaning of heritage in general. They said that an important purpose of heritage is to create new narratives, which can be achieved by revaluing, rethinking and reinterpreting heritage. As two professionals explained:

*"When deciding to conserve or destroy heritage, the present generation reconstructs its own narratives to tell the story of the city. Our grandfathers made their story, we make ours, and the next generation will make their choices. We cannot decide for others what is valuable to preserve and what is not. The key point of conservation is what we would like to pass on from our heritage to future generations. Sometimes we pass both the complete building and the whole story that we received from our ancestors to our descendants. At other times we select the part that we would like to tell. Selection should be a rational and relatively objective process because everyone has different interpretations and considerations of the same issue. Decisions made yesteryear may no longer be fit for today's situation. It is important to reconsider and rethink the meaning and value of heritage conservation again and again."* (Interview 5, Hong Kong)

*"Conserving heritage is not always a straightforward process. The most important aspect is revaluing and reconsidering what we have done and what we can do in another way."* (Interview 6, Macao)

These discussions also touch upon questions of appropriation and decision-making. *"Questions may arise when heritage is designated and valued, and such selections can often be further discussed by who decides, who will benefit from heritage, and then how to conserve"* (Interview 18, Taipei). In this context, one interviewee criticized restricted, authorized criteria.

*"Some places do not follow the UNESCO criteria to conserve heritage, and therefore they were removed from the list. Local experts repair heritage using their own methods and skills without checking authorized requirements, and*

*locals benefit from these projects rather than tourists, which I appreciate very much.”* (Interview 3, Hong Kong)

Interviewees point at processes in which heritage becomes imbued with meaning or loses its meaning. They also show the roles of different stakeholders. Colonial remains have been conserved and turned into heritage in these four cities. For some interviewees this seems rather ‘straightforward’. *“In my opinion, the most valuable architecture in Qingdao consists of buildings from the colonial periods. Most of the old town of Qingdao was built during those periods and, therefore, much cultural heritage was too”* (Interview 13, Qingdao). Meanwhile, some colonial buildings that were constructed during the late part of colonial period are viewed as exemplary of contemporary architecture (Xie & Shi, 2018; Interview 2, Hong Kong).

However, the actual presence of colonial remains does not mean that these remains are not at all contested. Although the renegotiations of the past today do not seem to take the shape of overt conflicts or fierce debates, talking with professionals and experts about colonial heritage provided insight into the various ways of renegotiating colonial heritage. For example, one interviewee from Hong Kong depoliticizes heritage: *“Colonial remains are part of our culture. They are a vital part of our history rather than a political consideration”* (Interviewee 5, Hong Kong). In a similar vein, German remains in Qingdao are described as cultural, rather than colonial:

*“We are proud of the landscape with red roofs, green trees, blue seas and clear skies in Qingdao. And we also consider this as Qingdao’s identity and city image. However, this kind of urban landscape was formed during the colonial period, but even after independence, we still built houses in European styles (Figure 6.1). Therefore, for Qingdao people, it is our cultural identity rather than our colonial past.”* (Interview 12, Qingdao)

The interviews uncovered several of such subtle ways of renegotiating the colonial past and dealing with potentially contested heritage. First, interviewees had different opinions about the term ‘colonial’. Four professionals questioned the appropriateness of the concept ‘colonial’ to describe the European or Japanese influences. As one of them clarified:

*“I advise not to highlight ‘colonial’ deliberately. We appreciate heritage as a treasure of human beings. Ideology or national sentiment is not cause for conserving or destroying. [...] Conserving colonial heritage is a continuation of local history and context, and a characteristic of Qingdao.”* (Interview 14, Qingdao)



Figure 6.1 Streetscape in Qingdao

Source: Xiaolin Zang

This interviewee thus emphasized the local history and culture of Qingdao, describing the remains as part of the local past. Similarly, some interviewees preferred to use alternative terminologies, and suggested speaking of German and Japanese buildings instead of ‘colonial heritage’ in Qingdao, and to present the case-study cities as leased territories rather than colonies. In Taipei, two interviewees used the word governance instead of occupation or colonization. *“The government adopts the concept of Japanese governance instead of occupation”*, as one interviewee explained (Interview 18, Taipei). All these examples attempt to frame the remains in a certain way, avoiding the word ‘colonial’. The word ‘colonial’ therefore seems to be more problematic than what might be concluded from the continued presence of the objects in today’s landscape. *“The term ‘colonial’ should be used very deliberately and carefully. There were three foreign periods in Qingdao which should be considered separately”* (Interview 15, Qingdao).

A second way of renegotiating the past is by emphasizing the short duration of colonial times. The colonial past is then presented as a short episode within a long history, denying it much importance. This idea was mainly voiced in Qingdao (Interviews 11, 12, 13, 14 & 17, Qingdao). *“Buildings carry historic information about a certain time period”* (Interview 12, Qingdao). As the colonial past is seen as

a short disruption of a long historical path, colonial heritage cannot represent the whole history of Qingdao, according to one of the interviewees:

*“It is important to value heritage according to different times and locations. For example, German and Japanese buildings are almost the only buildings in the old urban town of Qingdao. Therefore, they are very important evidence in exposing the colonial past. However, German and Japanese buildings cannot reveal the history before or after the colonial time.”* (Interview 14, Qingdao)

Another way of neutralizing the contested character of colonial heritage is by emphasizing the coexistence of cultures and therefore the shared nature of colonial heritage.

*“Generally, we emphasize diverse cultures coexisting with each other in Taiwan. It means we appreciate and respect heritage from each time period.”* (Interview 23, Taipei)

*“When Hong Kong was handed over to China, locals were confused about who we are, Chinese, British or Hongkonger. We may partly be British [since we were governed] and we may partly be Chinese [because of descent]. Our identity and values are neither British nor Chinese”* (Interview 5, Hong Kong)

*“All of this colonial heritage shows the specific identity which has been fused during the past 400–500 years between the Portuguese and the Chinese.”* (Interview 10, Macao)

This mixture of cultures can be used as a unique selling point, and it seems to serve an economic purpose. In its projected images for tourists, Macao stresses the mixture of cultures, and tourist brochures for Qingdao likewise quoted a poet’s description of the city as a mixture of red roofs, green trees, blue seas and clear skies (Ji, 2011). The mixture of cultures from East and West has thus resulted in a unique local identity. *“The indigenous people, especially those who have lived in Macao for more than 20 years, recognize the significance of distinguishing Macao from other Chinese cities through her unique landscape”* (Interview 10, Macao). This interviewee stated that without the Portuguese remains, Macao would have been an ordinary Chinese city – without any specific characteristic to make it stand out from other cities. Three other interviewees concurred, saying that the visible mixture of cultures in the landscape of Macao and Qingdao is a unique trait that can be of value in the branding and marketing of the city (Interviews 6, 9 & 10,

Macao; Interviews 12 & 14, Qingdao). According to one interviewee, the mixture of cultures in Macao is part of the reason why it is a World Heritage Site:

*“Without these Portuguese remains, Macao would not be listed as World Heritage. Tourists treasure the European landscape and architecture which are distinguished from the Chinese style in Macao, even though the Chinese tourists are in the majority.”* (Interview 9, Macao)

Colonial remains thus serve economic purposes; they have become economically valuable assets as brand markers and as tourist attractions. Two interviewees highlighted the heritage trails in Hong Kong which, they felt, cater mostly for tourists’ needs (Interviews 2 & 3, Hong Kong). Promoting heritage tourism encourages visitors to imagine Macao as a cultural city rather than a gambling town (Interviews 8, 9 & 10, Macao), and this will diversify its tourism industry.

Although colonial remains serve economic purposes, they may still be contested. Wong (2013) and Wong and McKercher (2012) noted that while official websites emphasize that Macao’s appearance is the result of a cultural exchange between the East and the West, the word ‘colonial’ is largely avoided, as are notions of Portuguese rule. *“Colonial history is largely eschewed,”* Wong (2013: 920) concluded. Words such as ‘cultural diversity’, ‘exchanges between the East and West’ and ‘shared heritage’ should thus foremost be interpreted as attempts to renegotiate the past – as the following quote illustrates: *“The term ‘colonial’ implies discrimination. These remains are regarded as ‘shared heritage’ rather than colonial heritage”* (Interview 19, Taipei).

During the interviews it became apparent that not every era of foreign rule is perceived in the same way. Some interviewees in Qingdao seemed to prefer German buildings over Japanese:

*“Most German buildings have been listed, and more than twenty of them on a national level; the others have been put on the waiting list. While hardly any buildings from the second Japanese time have been listed [...]. Buildings with foreign characteristics are quite different from buildings from the colonial period. In Qingdao, we value buildings in the German style.”* (Interview 15, Qingdao)

This shows that both periods of foreign rule are interpreted differently. The German remains from the late nineteenth century are seen to represent the major efforts and investments made to turn the fishing town into a modern model colony. By contrast, the Japanese period is perceived as a military campaign and as a time

of economic exploitation, even though in some respects, the Germans actually paved the way for the subsequent Japanese exploitation of the area (Lu, 2008). The German occupation, however, is evaluated more or less positively, while the Japanese remains receive more critical attention.

*“The occupation by Germany makes Qingdao different from other colonies. I would say the infrastructure from that period helped Qingdao develop from a small fishing village into a large urban city. The most severe criticism on conserving such remains would be concentrated on the social contradictions between the colonizer and the colonized. However, this kind of social conflict was less antagonistic during the German period than during the Japanese period; remember how cruel the Japanese aggression, plunder and damage were in Qingdao and in China. Most Japanese buildings in Qingdao were temporary, and they were aimed at transporting [resources to Japan].”* (Interview 14, Qingdao)

However, opinions about the German period differ, also among local experts. Lu Hai, a historian who wrote extensively on the history of Qingdao, has argued that the dark side of the German period should be also remembered (Lu, 2008). The German occupation came with forms of aggression as well, such as forced displacement of inhabitants in parts of the colony (Mühlhahn, 2000).

In Taiwan, the perspective on the Japanese occupation differs from mainland China. One interviewee explained that some Taiwanese people actually identify with the Japanese past: *“I can understand that there is a long-standing agreement of some Taiwanese people that they are Japanese, since their nationality, native language and education were all Japanese for 50 years”* (Interview 18, Taipei). Moreover, interviewees point at the multinational nature of Taiwan as a result of the many waves of immigration that came to the island over time, and that have led to a diversity in cultures and values:

*“Sometimes, people question why the relationship between Taiwan and Japan is different from the relationship between Japan and mainland China. Let me answer you. In Taiwan, [national sentiment] is not a strong issue. For the indigenous people, all the Han people, Dutch, Spanish, Japanese and Kuomintang are immigrants. [...] It is the distinguished characteristic of Taiwan. So we value heritage from the historic perspective rather than use it to criticize the colonial past.”* (Interview 20, Taipei)



## 4 Rediscovering Chinese heritage

The complex issues of identity formation in former colonial areas has resulted in the rediscovery of local Chinese heritage. Going back to ethnic roots, celebrating pre-colonial times is a way of making the colonial past less significant. In the years up to the transition of Hong Kong and Macao to China, their Chinese past gained importance. The governments supported the designation and conservation of Chinese architecture. For example, the Ping Shan Heritage Trail was established in 1993 as the first of its kind in Hong Kong. The traditional Chinese character is stressed in the official introduction of the trail: *“It connects a number of traditional Chinese buildings within easy walking distance of each other to provide visitors with an opportunity to learn more about traditional life in the New Territories in a convenient half-day excursion”* (AMO, 2018).

As a result, more and more Chinese buildings and sites have been listed in recent decades (Figure 6.2). For example, fifteen traditional Chinese temples were listed in 1992, including the Tin Hau, the Kuan Tai, the Pak Tai and the Tai Wong (Hac Sa) Temple (IO, 1992). The same is true for Hong Kong, where old Chinese constructions, such as village houses, study halls, ancestral halls and Tin Hau temples were listed (AMO, 2018). Our interviewees indicated that there is evidence of attempts to diminish colonial influence since the hand-over (Interview 1, Hong Kong; Interview 10, Macao). *“The (current) government tends to position its Chinese identity by weakening the Portuguese past”* (Interview 10, Macao). Some interviewees also explored the opportunities for conserving traditional vernacular Chinese residences, like Liyuan in Qingdao, Tong Lau in Hong Kong and indigenous houses in Taiwan. As an interviewee from Taipei explained:

*“The indigenous houses are projects that we have to pay more attention to nowadays. Although this kind of building may be poor in quality and aesthetic value, it also represents an irreplaceable culture, history and memory of a group of people in Taiwan.”* (Interview 22, Taipei)

Renaming streets is another way to reclaim the present landscape from the colonial past. Regime change often results in streets being renamed to display the new rule and identity (Huang, 2014). Colonial street names have been replaced by neutral names (for example Wilhelm Straße into Qingdao Road in Qingdao), or by names that refer to Chinese nationalist ideology (part of Yamatochō into Zhonghua Road in Taipei).



**Figure 6.2** Lo Pan Temple was listed as a Grade One Historic Building in Hong Kong in 2009

*Source: Xiaolin Zang*

## 5 Neglect

Not all colonial remains have been conserved. The interviewees first of all hint at ‘unintentional’ neglect of colonial heritage. Heritage has to compete with other urban issues for attention and funding from local government. Governments tend to prioritize other issues such as political stability or economic development rather than heritage conservation (King, 2009). In these booming cities with housing

shortages, heritage conservation may prove difficult. One interviewee mentioned the example of an overpopulated and worn out historic house.

*“Those renters have lived in the building for more than 40 or 50 years although they do not have property rights. Taking back the house [for the sake of conservation] and dealing with resettlement has to be done in a proper way.”* (Interview 11, Qingdao)

Furthermore, our interviewees’ comments indicate that house owners prefer to pursue economic benefits over conservation. For example, residents of Qingtian Street in Taipei may not support the designation of this area as a historic district since they feel it may limit development opportunities (Interview 23, Taipei). Moreover, interviewees from Macao mention the lack of public interest in heritage as many inhabitants are temporary residents of Macao (Interviews 8 & 10, Macao). These labour migrants from mainland China stay in the city for a few years, which is too short to form a place attachment or feel the value of heritage. However, it should be remembered that neglect is an expression of priorities and is therefore not neutral.

Wilful neglect of colonial remains seem to have taken place as well, and this has affected a specific category of colonial remains more than others. Interviewees referred to the ‘national sentiment’ in China regarding Japanese rule. Japan occupied large parts of mainland China from 1931–1945, which caused trauma and strong national sentiments (民族情结). This national sentiment partly explains the current state of Japanese colonial remains. Immediately after liberation, most of the Chinese rejected Japanese buildings, and de-Japanization (去日本化) was obvious everywhere in China, and also in Taiwan, as a consequence of the large number of immigrants from the mainland. Street names were changed back and some objects were destroyed. In Taipei, the Japanese rulers had tried to put their stamp on local identity and therefore had demolished some indigenous temples and had replaced them by Japanese temples. The Japanese had also changed street names, naming them by blocks instead of in the Chinese way which names streets by linear paths (Gao, 2014). After the Japanese left Taiwan, most streets were reverted back to characteristic Chinese names. Similarly, when the Japanese occupied Hong Kong, they attempted to overshadow the remains of the British past by renaming streets, forbidding English signs and building a memorial to commemorate the Asian War (Yu et al., 2015). These changes were reversed when Hong Kong was returned to the British.

One interviewee from Qingdao explained how this sentiment may have influenced planning policy.

*“In my opinion, so far the national feeling against the Japanese is still strong in Qingdao. There are many Japanese architectural remains in Qingdao, but both scholars and planners are not willing to talk about this sensitive issue. As scholars, we may stand in a neutral position to talk about the Japanese heritage as similar to German, but when we formulate a city plan as planners, we serve the government, which cannot be neutral as it is influenced by politics and ideology.”* (Interview 17, Qingdao)

Our own fieldwork showed that the situation of the Japanese colonial remains nowadays differs considerably between Hong Kong and Qingdao on the one hand and Taipei on the other hand. In Qingdao and Hong Kong, Japanese colonial heritage seems to be in a poor state of maintenance compared to European heritage. In Qingdao, for example, most Japanese factories were destroyed and the few remaining buildings have been abandoned and are overgrown with weeds (Figure 6.3). By contrast, Taipei represents a relative coherent landscape, which it inherited from Japanese times.



**Figure 6.3** An abandoned Japanese cotton and textile factory in Qingdao

*Source: Xiaolin Zang*

The Songshan Tobacco Factory and the Taipei Distillery and Camphor Factory have been restored and redeveloped into creative parks (Figure 6.4). The interviewees suggest that the different attitudes towards Japanese remains can be understood within the context of the purpose and strategies of Japanese colonization.



**Figure 6.4** The old plant was redeveloped into the Huashan 1914 Creative Park in Taipei

*Source: Xiaolin Zang*

Apart from some repression in the early stages of the Japanese period, the Japanese government considered Taiwan as part of their country, and as a result constructed modern infrastructure in Taiwan, including grand government buildings, residences, schools, universities, factories and railways. In contrast, Qingdao served mainly as a resource base and an economic stronghold. This may have left the impression of economic exploitation that is reflected in the national sentiment.

Moreover, a large part of the Japanese remains in Qingdao consist of textile mills, most of which kept functioning until the 1990s. Now abandoned, these factories represent a type of building that is less easily renovated and reused, and that is therefore more difficult to conserve. Brick buildings which are appreciated for their architectural and aesthetic value have proven easier to conserve than wooden buildings or poorly constructed factories. Although professionals explain that nowadays industrial heritage is valued, local governments, enterprises and citizens prefer to redevelop the areas rather than preserve the old factories.

Another explanation for the position of Japanese heritage can be found in the criteria set in heritage legislation, stating that buildings can qualify as national heritage if they are more than 100 years old. A Taiwanese professional explained the heritage criteria in place during the Kuomintang governance (up to 2000): "*Purposely, one*

*rule of decree states that a building which is less than 100 years old cannot be listed as national heritage. This means none of the Japanese buildings can qualify* (Interview 21, Taipei).

However, in practice, we have also learned from the interviews that the rule is flexible enough to be changed or broken if people persist in trying to conserve important buildings. To illustrate this, before the Democratic Progressive Party was in power in Taiwan, no Japanese building was listed. Japanese buildings, especially spiritual architecture such as the Yasukuni Shrine were deliberately removed or destroyed. However, over the last decade Japanese heritage has been listed. *“This shows that political considerations have priority over valuing heritage”* (Interview 21, Taipei). The change is especially strong in Taipei, where the tendency to use demolition to erase painful memories has been reconsidered in recent years. Since 2000, large Japanese buildings that were in continuous use during the Kuomintang period, when resources were scarce, have been listed as monuments. However, Taiwanese society is divided on this matter. One interviewee explained: *“Immigrants to Taiwan, most of whom came from mainland China, and their descendants have strong national sentiments, caused by the cruel past they experienced during Japanese times. The original inhabitants know less of such national feelings”* (Interview 24, Taipei).

Japanese remains have been classified and conserved not for their colonial reference but for their architectural style. This way of listing heritage diminishes possible dissonance.

*“The government releases the colonial influence intentionally and unintentionally when classifying heritage. For instance, a nice distillery was listed because of its value rather than its Japanese origin. The same goes for the Japanese dormitory that has been conserved because we appreciate the Japanese building style. It is really ironic, because we cannot ignore the public opinion which is in favour of erasing the Japanese colonial past.”* (Interview 23, Taipei)

## 6 Discussion and conclusion

Heritage refers to the use of remains from the past for present purposes. Discussing colonial heritage with professionals and experts in the four cities provided us with opportunities to investigate how the meaning and value of heritage is renegotiated and how heritage obtains its place in the local identity.

At surface value, colonial heritage seems accepted in the four cities. Colonial remains such as churches, fortresses, government buildings and schools still exist in today's urban landscape. Moreover, the mixture of building styles is presented as an asset, enhancing a unique local cultural identity that distinguishes these former colonial cities from other Chinese cities and attracts tourists.

The interviews provided further insight into the processes of renegotiation of the colonial past. While episodes of blatant neglect and demolition occurred in the past, most renegotiations today are much more subtle. The term 'colonial' has turned out to be a sensitive word, and professionals are cautious in using it. They suggest using alternative words which do not carry the hint of subordination to foreign rule. Renegotiation also took the shape of a focus on the architectural and historic value of remains, avoiding their political or ideological value. Colonial remains are also interpreted as signs of the coexistence of cultures, which implicitly suggests an equal footing. Meanwhile, the Chinese roots in a long local history are also emphasized, deliberately lessening the importance of brief colonial episodes.

Although dissonance is not overt today, colonial remains are still contested. Time may have lessened fierce emotions, and colonial heritage may prove to be an economic asset; however, the way interviewees speak about these remains and how these are renegotiated today demonstrates there is dissonance. However, this does not mean that the colonial past is not used as part of the local identity. In all four cities there is a narrative of coexistence, of East meets West or of a shared past. There are subtle local differences in the way this 'shared' narrative pans out. The local political, historic and economic background influence the renegotiation of colonial heritage today. In Macao, the narrative of East meets West is strong, and interviewees emphasize its importance in the designation of the historic town as World Heritage and as a tool to diversify tourism. In Qingdao, German remains are valued for their architectural value, and after German rule many buildings were still constructed in European architectural styles. In Hong Kong, the handover to mainland China has led to new questions of identity, reaffirming not only Chinese roots but also a distinct identity. A history of migration along with national politics have influenced the way Taiwan deals with remains from all its foreign rulers, European as well as Japanese.

The marked differences in the views on European and Japanese remains show that different episodes and colonizers are valued and renegotiated differently. Although colonialism is not a national experience in China, there is a strong national sentiment against Japanese rule. Even today, this sentiment causes unease when Chinese people are confronted with Japanese remains. Since the Second World War, Japanese remains have thus been destroyed, neglected and forgotten. However,

pragmatism has also ruled, and Japanese-built factories were kept running until the early 2000s. This situation regarding Japanese remains seems to be changing now: although the Japanese occupation is still a sensitive subject, the heritage of that period is becoming more accepted, especially in Taipei.

This research focused on experts' and professionals' perceptions of colonial heritage. It discussed colonial heritage conservation in the context of identity construction. Although the focus was on renegotiations of the past and the place of colonial heritage in identity, it has become clear that economic considerations are equally important as political or ideological ones.

This research also focused on the opinions of one specific group of stakeholders – a group with expert knowledge on heritage and insider knowledge on how heritage conservation works in practice in these four cities. Although they can speak from their experience about popular perceptions of colonial heritage, further research into the perspectives of inhabitants would be important. Heritage can be conserved sustainably if local stakeholders participate in the process of conservation, restoration and reuse. In Chapter 9, we claim that for heritage conservation and management in Qingdao to be successful, more groups should be involved. Al-Kodmany (1999) emphasizes the importance of collecting community expertise and local knowledge. One important local group consists of the people that live in the city, among old buildings and memories. Local private investors are similarly important as they share the economic pressure of heritage conservation with governments (Ashworth & Tunbridge, 2000). In the context of rapid urban development, housing shortage and limited space, these local stakeholders may have other priorities or may seek opportunities to profit from the tourist potential of heritage.



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# CHAPTER

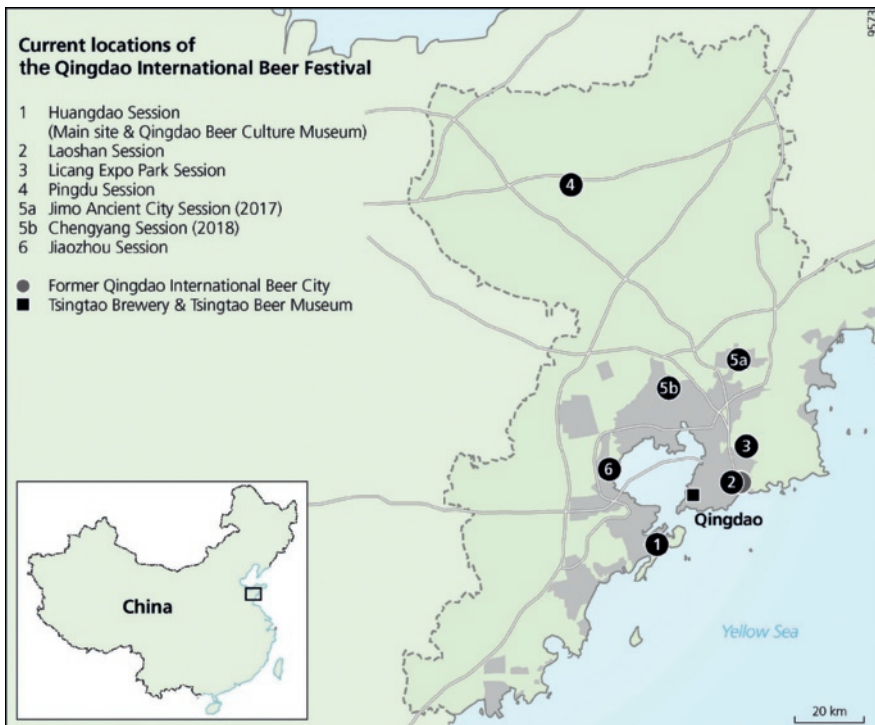
# 7

## **Qingdao International Beer Festival: Place Identity and Colonial Heritage**

A shortened version of this paper will be published in: N. Wise & J. Harris (eds.). *Events, Places and Societies*.  
For this paper, **Xiaolin Zang** and Bouke van Gorp analysed the reviews and websites. Bouke van Gorp performed the literature review on events, Hans Renes wrote the historical paragraph on colonial Qingdao.

# 1 Introduction

Tsingtao Brewery opened in 1903 as the *Germania Brauerei* and was part of the German colonial enterprise on the Chinese coast. It is now the second largest brewery in China, claiming about 15% of the domestic market share and selling beer in over 50 countries worldwide. Almost a century after the founding of the brewery, the Qingdao International Beer Festival was launched in 1991. The festival was conceived to promote beer sales both domestically and internationally. However, the local authorities, who supported the festival, recognized the opportunity this festival offered to brand the city as well. Since 1991, the beer festival has expanded into the largest of its kind in Asia and is now a major tourist attraction for Qingdao (Rogerson & Collins, 2015). The festival is modelled after the archetypical Bavarian beer festival: the Munich *Oktoberfest* and is often referred to as ‘China’s *Oktoberfest*’<sup>3</sup>. The Qingdao festival lasts a fortnight and is hosted at six different sites dispersed throughout the city of Qingdao (Figure 7.1), attracting over 4 million visitors, who consume kilotons of beer during the festival. The majority of



**Figure 7.1** Map of the city showing the locations of the festival, brewery and museum

Source: Map created by Margot Stoete & Ton Markus,  
 Faculty of Geosciences, Utrecht University

<sup>3</sup> For example: Cheers for summer at Asia’s ‘Oktoberfest’, in China Daily, 2 August 2018. (<http://www.chinadaily.com.cn/a/201808/02/WS5b626fe9a31031a351e91a28.html> [accessed 8 February 2019]).

these visitors come from China, but international tourists also find their way to the festival. The slogan of the event ‘Ganbei with the World!’ reflects its international aspirations.

Festivals and hallmark events like the Qingdao International Beer Festival have been implemented as part of larger marketing and branding efforts. Events and festivals are recognized as opportunities to draw visitors, redevelop/regenerate cities and reimagine the brand of a city (Getz, 2008; Richards & Palmer, 2010; Smith, 2012; Wise & Harris, 2017). Apart from the expected economic benefits and improvements in infrastructure, such events offer the possibility to reframe the narrative of a city. Black (2007) describes events and festivals as “unrivalled place promotion opportunities”, and this is also true for the Qingdao International Beer Festival.

However, the transformation of local celebrations and traditions into festivals that can accommodate many tourists has come with concerns about commodification of the local culture, raising questions about the authenticity of the rituals performed on stage. This involves issues of ownership and the economic exploitation of cultural events (Hall, 2005). Ma and Lew (2012) state that concerns raised by increasing festivalization are particularly acute in China since every city in China hosts several events as part of their marketing efforts. Despite the popularity of festivals as marketing and branding instruments, not all festivals in China are actually successful. After government involvement ceases, many festivals fade away. Ma and Lew (2012) explain the success and failure from the perspective of contextualization: to what extent is a festival rooted in the local history and a local sense of place? Local roots and a local atmosphere are what makes a festival unique, and they also provide opportunities for branding a city (Hernández-Mogóllon et al., 2018). From this perspective, the Qingdao International Beer Festival proves an interesting case study on city branding. On the one hand, the beer itself is rooted in local history; on the other hand, although the beer festival is slowly receiving the status of a tradition, it is still an invented tradition – copied from beer festivals elsewhere in the world (notably Germany).

Questions about the suitability of a festival as a branding instrument may be raised if the celebrated product unmistakably has a colonial history. The brand, the custom of beer drinking and the beer festival all relate to the history of Qingdao as a former German colony. During the First World War, the colony changed hands from Germany to Japan, and so did the brewery. The brewery thus reflects both the German and Japanese colonial history in Qingdao. In Chapter 6 it was made clear that in Qingdao, the Japanese colonization evokes stronger and more negative feelings than the German period. Moreover, in the past the ‘German-ness’ of the

beer has been used as part of the city's brand, and as a measure of the quality of the beer. The historical connection with Germany can be used as a unique characteristic of the city – something that has shaped not only its drinking culture (beer) but also the landscape of the city. Yet, the colonial nature of the connection between Qingdao and Germany can also be seen as part of a past that is unwanted and that should therefore be discarded.

When combined, these issues, from dissonant heritage to lack of authenticity, make the Qingdao International Beer Festival an interesting case to study, the more so as the festival has been successful in attracting huge crowds. This chapter focuses on the following questions: how is the beer festival represented and to what degree is it seen as part of the Qingdao brand? It considers how the colonial origins are negotiated in projected images and analyses the way the festival is officially promoted on the festival's website and in policy documents. This study also considers how visitors describe the festival in their reviews. The main method applied is textual analysis, combined with fieldwork and desk research. The chapter starts with an introduction to the themes of city branding and the role of festivals in city branding. It then continues with a brief description of the colonial history of Qingdao and of the Tsingtao Brewery. This is followed by an introduction to beer tourism and an analysis of the Qingdao International Beer Festival as a part of the city's branding strategy.

The present city of Qingdao was known in the early twentieth century as Tsingtao, which is still the name of the brewery. The whole German concession was known as Kiautschou. In this chapter, Qingdao is used to refer to the city and Tsingtao to refer to the brewery.

## 2 Place branding and festivals

City marketing has become increasingly popular since the 1980s. Boisen et al. (2011: 139) note that "*the marketing and branding of cities, regions and countries is positioned firmly on contemporary policy agendas.*" They further claim that in Western Europe, rising entrepreneurialism and re-scaling of statehood has led to a quest for the marketing-driven development strategies of cities (see Boisen et al., 2011; Boisen et al., 2018). Policymakers and consultancy firms alike perceive place marketing as instrumental in attracting tourists and investors in order to achieve economic growth (Maheshawari et al., 2011). Similarly, branding has increasingly been applied to places, as a consequence of the perceived to be increased competition between cities (Boisen et al., 2011; Sneed et al., 2011).



Marketing and branding policies are aimed at strengthening the competitiveness of a place on a regional, national and global scale (Boisen et al., 2011). Although strongly associated with promotional activities, marketing is more than just advertising. It encompasses a variety of initiatives aimed at improving the competitiveness of a city, such as urban planning and design, regeneration schemes, infrastructural improvements, restoration of heritage, and hosting of mega-events and cultural festivals (Maheshwari et al., 2011; Wise & Harris, 2017).

Although place marketing and place branding are often used in combination, the two differ. Place marketing is defined by Maheshwari et al. (2011: 199, after Kotler et al., 1999) as “*the strategic planning procedure undertaken by a place’s brand developers with the main aim of satisfying diverse needs of target markets.*” Place branding is an element of place marketing strategies that aims at adding value to the brand, in this case the city. It attempts to influence the perceived qualities of the city (Boisen et al., 2011). Perceptions that target audiences have of a city are important as these influence spatial behaviour (whether people visit or not) and how the place is experienced. Kavaratzis (2004: 66) adds that “*all encounters with the city take place through perception and images.*” As a consequence, place marketing and branding should revolve around planning and managing the image of the city (Vanolo, 2015). Of course, places are different from consumer goods, and therefore branding a city is not the same as branding shampoo, beer or cars. However, many scholars in the field of place marketing and branding have explained how place branding can use insights from product branding (Runyan & Huddleston, 2006). A brand consists of two elements: its image and its positioning. Positioning refers to the way the brand is communicated to target audiences such as stakeholders and customers (Runyan & Huddleston, 2006). Image, on the other hand, comprises the overall impression; it is what differentiates a city from other cities (Runyan & Huddleston, 2006). Brand image is thus represented through positioning statements such as symbols, slogans and logos, all meant to communicate the uniqueness of a place (McDaniels & Gates, 2010 in Sneed et al., 2011).

Kavaratzis (2004: 67-69) distinguishes three types of communication through which the image of the city is communicated: primary, secondary and tertiary communication. Primary communication results from landscape strategies, infrastructure projects, the city’s governing structure and what he terms the city’s behaviour: the vision and strategy of the city’s leaders and the resulting services provided by the city. Image communication is the effect of whatever measures the city thus takes. Events and festivals are part of this primary communication. Secondary communication refers to the intentional representation of the city through promotion by the formal marketing organization. Here, we would expect to find the positioning statements mentioned above. Tertiary communication relates to

all ‘unintentional’ communication – image communication that is not controlled by the formal marketing organizations, such as news media representations, tourism guidebooks and word-of-mouth. Increasingly, internet and social media (particularly blogs, vlogs and reviews) play an important part in these tertiary communications.

As part of the primary communication, events and festivals have become a prominent instrument in branding and marketing strategies, to such a degree that some authors speak of ‘event strategies’ and ‘the festivalization of city politics’ (see Preuss, 2007, 2015; the term was originally coined by Haußermann & Siebel (1993)). Events and festivals are organized and supported to attain a variety of goals, such as attracting tourists and fostering a positive city (place) image (Richards & Palmer 2010; Smith, 2012; Wise et al., 2015). When carefully planned, events and festivals can yield intangible legacies such as enhanced reputation, opportunities for community building, shared memories, and strengthened cultural identity (Getz, 2008; Richards et al., 2013; Preuss, 2015). However, using events and festivals for development and urban regeneration or as marketing strategy can be problematic. Upscaling events to host larger crowds can lead to (temporary) displacement, overcrowding, excess noise and pollution. Furthermore, transforming local cultural festivals into tourist attractions may lead to commodification of culture and may change traditions and rituals into staged performances that consequently lose local meaning (Backmann, 2018).

Ma and Lew (2012) distinguish four types of festivals, based on how they rank on a spatial and temporal scale. Their study considers to what extent a festival is based on local tradition, on local history and on a local sense of place. Their framework then discerns four types of festivals that each score differently on local identity and uniqueness, authenticity and liminality: local heritage festivals, local modern festivals, national heritage festivals and global modern festivals. The Qingdao International Beer Festival is considered a ‘local modern’ festival: “*being local, these events still contribute to local identity, but instead of focusing on authentic replications of traditions, there is more of a focus on entertainment and the experience of fun or liminality*” (Ma & Lew, 2012: 5). As with many contemporary festivals in China, the development of the Qingdao International Beer Festival mainly relied on sponsorship from national and municipal authorities (Ma & Lew, 2012). This raises questions about the sustainability of festivals, and particularly about the extent to which festivals can connect to the local population. In this case of an event with German roots and a beer-drinking culture, Ma and Lew (2012) claim that the festival is loosely related to a sense of place, as there was no prior tradition of a beer festival. The festival may simply be a clever attempt to increase sales and conquer a position in the growing international market of beer tourism (Rogerson & Collins, 2015). This case raises questions as to how the festival is

perceived both by locals and by tourists, and how it is embedded and received by the local community.

### 3 Methodology

This chapter includes all three types of communication which were described by Kavatzis (2004). Our starting point was policy papers. We wanted to analyse how the municipality positions the festival in its branding policies. However, there are few policy papers available online from Qingdao municipality in general, and on its branding efforts in particular. One relevant document was available on the website of the Qingdao department of travel and tourism ([www.gdta.gov.cn](http://www.gdta.gov.cn)): the Tourism Planning document 2013-2020 (青岛市旅游总体规划 (2013-2020)).

In addition, we analysed promotion material of the festival, in particular from its website. This analysis comprises both the Chinese website ([www.qdgjbeer.com](http://www.qdgjbeer.com)) and the international website aimed at overseas tourists ([www.qdbeerfest.com](http://www.qdbeerfest.com)). This is part of what Kavatzis referred to as secondary communication. Our analysis took place in the spring of 2018 and focused on the festival's 2017 website, as the 2018 website did not appear online before early July – a few weeks before the start of the festival.

When planning a trip, tourists usually rely on several sources of information such as guidebooks, brochures and websites to deal with the 'risks' inherently involved in purchasing a holiday (McGregor, 2000; Osti et al., 2009; Wong & Liu, 2011). With the rise of Web 2.0 and the abundance of User Generated Content, potential tourists increasingly use review sites to plan their trip and to select accommodation, restaurants or sights to visit. Tourists place high levels of trust in such reviews as they consider the authors of these reviews to be reliable sources. These authors have first-hand experience and no vested interest in selling the destination, attraction or hotel (Leung et al., 2013). Such reviews belong to what Kavatzis (2004) calls tertiary communication, and they form the third part of our analysis.

We performed a text analysis on reviews posted on Tripadvisor (both English and Chinese reviews) and on Mafengwo (a large Chinese review site). The search queries used to identify relevant reviews were 'Qingdao Beer Festival' and 'Qingdao International Beer City'. This resulted in 138 entries on 'Qingdao International Beer Festival' in Mafengwo, and 16 entries in Tripadvisor on 'Qingdao International Beer Festival' and another 76 entries on 'Qingdao International Beer City'. Only written reviews were included in the analysis. Entries that solely consisted of ratings, only included a selfie or that simply copied part of the website of the festival were

excluded from the analysis as they do not give information about the reviewers' associations with the brand of the festival and city.

## 4 Colonial Qingdao and Tsingtao beer

Today, Qingdao as a brand is associated with beer and German architectural heritage (Figure 7.2). Ji (2011) analysed the projected image of the city in 2009 and found that the main ingredients of the brand Qingdao were natural scenery, urban landscape (both the modern skyscrapers and the European architecture), and events. These associations come together in the positioning statement that has been used for several years to promote the city: *“red roofs of buildings, surrounded by green trees with green sea and blue sky as natural backdrop”* (Ji, 2011: 77). The events the city hosted were not part of this slogan but were definitely part of the promotional materials analysed by Ji (2011): the sailing competition in the 2008 Olympics and the International Beer Festival.



**Figure 7.2** The original site of the Tsingtao Brewery

*Source: Jichuan Zang*

Ji (2011) also found that the projected image of the city was reflected in the perceived image. Over 500 visitors and 300 residents completed a questionnaire on their perception of the city. When asked what came to their mind when they

thought about Qingdao as a tourist destination, the visitors interviewed referred to scenery, beauty, the atmosphere of the city, local people, seafood, and beer. The residents mentioned similar associations: scenery, local people, seafood and Taoist culture. These respondents also mentioned beer, but less frequently than the visitors (Ji, 2011).

Perhaps one of the most interesting aspects of the association of the city with beer is its colonial connection. Qingdao was founded by the German navy as part of its efforts to bring the unified German state in line with its European rivals by building a colonial empire. At the end of the nineteenth century, Germany had built its colonial empire from a few scattered parts of Africa, some islands in Oceania and a concession on the Chinese coast. Searching for a foothold on the Chinese coast, the German government followed the advice of the geographer Ferdinand von Richthofen, who had travelled widely in China and had written a standard reference work in four volumes on the country (see Von Richthofen, 1882; Gründer, 2018a). He was particularly interested in exploitable resources such as coal, but at the same time also kept a keen eye out for any possibilities for a German colony and consequently indicated Kiautschou Bay as a good location (Schrecker, 1971). The bay provided an excellent harbour and was close to exploitable coal reserves (that, however, proved of disappointing quality) (Conrad, 2016). The natural harbour had lost its former importance but had potential for development into a commercial harbour, particularly if railways could connect it to the hinterland (Von Richthofen, 1882). It would give Germany a foothold on a coast that during the final decades of the nineteenth century gained importance for international trade and, hence, for European expansion. Kiautschou might be seen as the German reaction to the British foothold in Hong Kong (Schrecker, 1977). German Catholic missionaries, based in the Dutch village of Steyl, had already been active in the region since 1879 and were advocates of a German colony (Schrecker, 1977: 186). In the midst of the preparations for a military intervention by the German navy, the deaths of two of these missionaries by local gangs provided a justification for a successful German attack in May 1897 (Schrecker, 1971: 33). The following year the Qing Empire was forced to concede the area, afterwards known as the Kiautschou Bay Concession, to Germany for 99 years.

Within the German colonial enterprise, Kiautschou was exceptional, as it was a project of the German navy. Qingdao was administered by the German Naval Ministry (*Reichsmarineamt*) in contrast to the other German colonies, which were all governed by the Colonial Office (*Reichskolonialamt*). Owing to its increasingly world-wide ambitions, the navy was interested in a supply harbour and used the bay as a home base for its East Asia Squadron. While the navy was instrumental in the development of the colonial empire, this colonial empire also emphasised the

need for a strong navy and thus simultaneously provided political support for the navy itself (Schrecker, 1977).

Large-scale urban construction began in 1898 with the relocation of Chinese dwellers along the coast (Figure 7.3). Having sold their property, the dwellers resettled in villages further to the East (Matzat, 2003a). Wharfs were constructed, and between 1899 and 1904 the Jiaoji Railway between Kiautschou and the provincial capital of Jinan was built, together with Tsingtao Railway Station and locomotive works.<sup>4</sup> With the railway works, the mining of coal started by the Shantung-Bergbau-Gesellschaft (Schultz-Naumann, 1985: 182).



**Figure 7.3** Tsingtau as depicted in a German atlas in 1912

Source: Hermann Julius Meyer. 1912. *Meyers Geographischer Handatlas*, [Meyer's Concise Geographical Atlas] 4th. Leipzig / Wien: Bibliographisches Institut: 86

<sup>4</sup> Wikipedia (English) 'Qingdao' (accessed 24 June 2018).

The navy was determined to turn Kiautschou into a model colony. The earlier town of Tsingtao was developed as the administrative centre of the concession. To this end, the town was rebuilt with wide streets, solid housing areas, government buildings, electricity throughout, a sewer system and a safe supply of drinking water. Planning was facilitated by the pre-purchase right on land that the German occupiers obtained and this was meant to prohibit the large-scale land speculation found in other European colonies (Warner, 1996). Schools were founded by the German state as well as by Protestant and Roman Catholic missionaries that were closely connected to the colonial project during this period (Schultz-Naumann, 1985; Gründer, 2018b). The layout of the town shows the connections to the harbour and the railway, and the site was sheltered from the cold northerly winds. Although large-scale immigration by Europeans was never expected, the town's governmental buildings and other infrastructure indicate that Germany intended to stay for a long time (Steinmetz, 2007). A division was made between the European and Chinese quarters (Warner, 1996). Whereas the European town was characterized by European-style houses, the old Chinese quarter (Dabaodao) was made up of courtyard houses that nowadays receive less attention from planners and heritage specialists (Demgenski, 2017; see Chapters 3, 4 & 5).

Germany invested more in Qingdao than in any other of its colonies. Both the town and the harbour developed quickly, although the German colonizer itself derived little profit from its investment (Conrad, 2016).

In general, the position of the colonial powers on the coast of the huge, populous and well-organized Chinese Empire was much weaker than for example in Africa. This does not mean that the colony was unproblematic. During the German period there were many conflicts between the German government and the local Chinese population, which were worsened by continuous tensions between the Catholic missions and Chinese civilian authorities (Steinmetz, 2007; Lu, 2008). The Boxer Rebellion of 1900 was met with brutal force by German relief troops (Conrad, 2016).

In November 1914, after Japan's declaration of war on Germany, Japanese troops conquered Qingdao. In the Treaty of Versailles (1919), the old concession was not restored to Chinese rule but was left to Japan. The city reverted to Chinese rule (the Republic of China) in December 1922, but Japan maintained its economic dominance of the railway as well as of the brewery.<sup>5</sup> Japan re-occupied Qingdao in 1938. In 1945, the town was returned to the Republic of China and in 1949 it became part of the People's Republic of China.

<sup>5</sup> After the Chinese takeover, the European missionaries were allowed to return (Schultz-Naumann, 1985). The German historical geographer Wilhelm Matzat (1930–2016), who conducted research in Qingdao, was born into a family of German protestant missionaries.

Today, Tsingtao beer is seen as quintessentially Chinese, but its roots are colonial. In 1903, a German-style beer brewery, operated by the Anglo-German Brewing company, started to produce German-style beer called Germania, or Tsingtao Beer in Chinese (Matzat, 2003b). The brewery mainly catered for Germans and other Westerners living in Qingdao and other Chinese cities (Yang, 2007). The factory was originally equipped with German machinery, and even the brewing process followed the German *Reinheitsgebot* (the German beer purity law) to ensure the quality and taste of the beer. As a consequence, ingredients were brought in from Germany (Yang, 2007). According to Yang (2007: 32), the beer was adopted by the German colonial authorities “*as part of their effort to promote the city of Qingdao.*”

Yang (2007) has demonstrated how over time the meaning of beer was renegotiated to attract Chinese customers not used to drinking beer. After the First World War, the German client base dwindled, so the new owners of the brewery had to find new markets for the brewery. These consumers were found partly in Hong Kong. However, the new Japanese owners of the brewery also attempted to brand the beer as Asian to attract Chinese customers. When the brewery was handed over to Chinese management in the aftermath of the Second World War, it became even more important to brand the beer as Chinese. The source of water used to brew the beer (Laoshan mineral water) became an important element in the advertisements, although the German origin was also still mentioned as proof of its authenticity (Yang, 2007).

While in the brewery’s early days the survival of the brand was at stake a number of times, today Tsingtao is a major brand selling over 7 million kilolitres of beer annually to local, national and international markets. The subsequent owners of the brewery have found ways to encourage Chinese consumers to drink beer and have also established the brewery’s position in the international beer market. The brand has withstood allegations of poor quality, even after in the 1990s the barley cultivated in China was said to contain unsafe quantities of fertilizer and pesticides. Tsingtao has become a global brand that has a high level of international familiarity and is seen as an ambassador product of China (Ille, 2009). The international recognition of the brand is not only the result of exporting the beer to over 50 countries, but also of sponsoring mega-events such as the Olympics in Beijing and other events such as the Asia-Pacific Economic Cooperation (Finance People, 2017). Moreover, the International Beer Festival is another important platform that showcases the brand.



## 5 The Qingdao International Beer Festival

### 5.1 Beer tourism

Tsingtao beer has been brewed for more than a century in Qingdao, and part of the production is still carried out at the original location of the Germania Brewery. A beer museum opened in 2003 to mark 100 years of beer brewing in Qingdao, tapping into the new niche market of beer tourism (Rogerson & Collins, 2015). According to Plummer et al. (2003), beer tourism fits into the broader development of food and beverage tourism which allows tourists to acquire a taste of local culture, and to have a unique and authentic experience. Bujdoso and Szucs (2012) distinguish between beer tourists who travel to taste specific beers and beer tourists who travel to places connected to brewing and drinking beer. Whereas the first group will join beer-themed meals, beer routes and beer tasting events, the latter will visit breweries, beer museums and brasseries to acquire a taste of local culture or heritage. The museum and the Qingdao International Beer Festival mainly seem to cater to the latter group of beer tourists.

The Tsingtao beer museum received over 750,000 visitors in 2016 (www.dailyqd.com, 2017). It offers visitors a tour which explores the history of the brewery, explains the ingredients and brewery process and then concludes with a beer tasting opportunity (www.tsingtaomuseum.com, 2012). The museum is housed in two original plants which still contain part of the original, now century-old, equipment, next to a modern production line (www.tsingtaomuseum.com, 2012). Tourists' reviews reflect the historic focus of part of the brewery tour. In their reviews, tourists explain the history of the brewery and revel at the quality of the equipment. *"A nice historic beer-making brewery that the Germans built in the early colonial years. The Chinese have expanded it into a major brewery and it is worth a visit if you are interested in brewing and German history in Qingdao"* (Review 1). Another reviewer on Tripadvisor explained the history further: *"The world-renowned Tsingtao Beer started in the German colonial time. The German infrastructure and industry can withstand the test of time. The museum was built in the original location of the brewery and still produces beer"* (Review 2). This entry seems to connect the German origin with a mark of quality – a brand association that is more common. The original Siemens motor is mentioned several times in tourists' reviews of the Tsingtao Brewery Museum. *"The one-hundred-year-old plants and equipment are well preserved. The tour guide told us the German Siemens motor is still working"* (Review 3). *"I am so surprised to see a German-made, working one-hundred-year-old motor"* (Review 4). The comments in the reviews reflect the perceived high quality of German engineering that has gained wide appreciation in China.

The beer museum reflects the municipality of Qingdao's recent focus on tourism. In its Tourism Planning document 2013–2020 (青岛市旅游总体规划 (2013–2020)), the city recognizes the potential of heritage, and in particular industrial heritage, to attract tourists. The industrial past of the city captured in old factories and industrial sites, as the planning document states, can be used to represent the city. The document thus calls for an inventory of industrial heritage and the subsequent preservation and development of industrial museums.

The first beer festival in Qingdao was hosted in 1991. Its aim was to market Qingdao, promote the brewery's products, explore potential markets, increase sales, foster relationships with customers and attract tourists (Yang, 2007; Du & Qu, 2011). The first edition of the Qingdao International Beer Festival hosted several Chinese brewing companies and organized beer tasting and drinking contests. The success of the first edition of the festival led to the decision to turn it into a yearly event. The city immediately recognized the festival as a way to communicate its image to its target audiences. The latest tourism plan states that the beer festival, together with the sailing festival and large international conferences, can be used to attract especially Western visitors to the city. The International Beer Festival has grown to become the largest beer festival in Asia. Figure 7.4 displays an image of one of the main gathering points at the festival. According to Ille (2009), the festival



**Figure 7.4** The Qingdao International Beer Festival by night in 2017

*Source: Ruizheng Gao*

received 3.4 million visitors in 2005. Between 2010 and 2013, the number of out-of-town visitors to the festival increased dramatically, and the festival also attracted relatively more overseas tourists (Yu & Fu, 2010; Travel Sina, 2013). The large number of visitors is said to have generated a revenue of 3.8 billion yuan for the city, and according to estimates, this attributed to a GDP growth of 0.52% (Travel Sina, 2013). The success of the festival has also resulted in the development of the International Beer City, a permanent theme park in the Laoshan district (Yang, 2007). In recent years, the festival has moved to a site in the Huangdao district of 1,115 acres (Xinhuanet, 2018), in order to accommodate the increasing number of visitors. On the site of the Huangdao theme park, a second beer museum was opened, showcasing architectural settings resembling a small Bavarian town (www.qdgjbeer.com, 2017a).

## 5.2 German roots, international standing, local flavour

As mentioned above, the Qingdao International Beer Festival was modelled after the famous *Oktoberfest* in Munich. Several ‘traditional’ activities were adopted from the Munich *Oktoberfest*, such as tapping the first barrel of beer, beer tents with long tables where people sit in rows, barbeques and a carnival. For those who want a reminder of their time at the festival, a variety of souvenirs are on sale, including Bavarian style stone mugs and a pet rooster in lederhosen. On closer inspection, these items present an interesting mixture of Bavarian and Chinese signs and symbols. The pottery may be Bavarian in its shape and size, but the landscape depicted on the mugs is Chinese. Similarly, the pet rooster is an interesting mix of cultures: its lederhosen are an example of traditional Bavarian dress, while the rooster itself represents the Chinese year of the rooster (2017). References to the *Oktoberfest* can also be seen in pictures from TripAdvisor reviews and on the festival website. Images show festival sites with several beer tents, each marketing different national and international brands. The front entrances of the tents are decorated with brand-specific logos and symbols and Chinese characters, with neon lights and laser beams lighting up the area. Bavarian elements are evident in the decorations. The Paulaner tent, for example, has a Bavarian-style theme, with the Paulaner logo and blue and white Bavarian flags. The decoration of the event site also evokes a Bavarian atmosphere, for example through the *Maibaum* which is placed on a green area between the tents. A *Maibaum* (maypole) is a Central-European symbol for spring (a fertility symbol) that is usually put on the village green around 1 May each year. The maypole’s relationship to beer is unknown, but it is a strong Bavarian tradition that has been adopted by the Qingdao Beer Festival.

Looking at the TripAdvisor and Mafengwo comments, one entry literally compares the two festivals: “[*The Qingdao Beer Festival is*] touted to rival the one in Munich. While it isn’t necessarily the same, the venue is great!” It also notes the visible

references to the *Oktoberfest*: “Everything, lookwise, is German-styled” (Review 5). Another reviewer also makes the comparison, but feels the comparison falls short: “It is not like the *Oktoberfest*, just a pearl chain of big tents with stages and seatings on benches” (Review 6). Few Chinese reviewers mention that the festival is a copy of the Munich *Oktoberfest*. One reviewer draws a connection between the *Oktoberfest*-style arrangements and German colonial rule: “The colonial German culture still embedded in the Qingdao Beer Festival as the festival imitates traditions from the Bavaria *Oktoberfest*” (Review 7). Few other reviewers (Chinese or international) mention this connection in their reviews. “Beautiful German architecture still found in this part of Qingdao, which used to be a German enclave until 1919” (Review 8) and “Nice place to visit. To know the history of Germany and Japan who started their beer business in Qingdao” (Review 9).

Although the German connection seems to be present in the decoration of the festival, it is a superficial hotchpotch of generic Bavarian stereotypes rather than the local German colonial history that is expressed in this way. However, the colonial history of the beer is mentioned on the official website of the Qingdao International Beer Festival. One item of the main menu of this website, called ‘About Tsingtao Beer’ (关于青岛啤酒), explains the history of the city and the brewery in detail (www.qdgjbeer.com, 2017b). It states that Qingdao was ‘occupied’ (占领) by the Germans. It also explains how at the beginning all ingredients and machinery were imported from Germany. The website also mentions the subsequent Japanese occupation.

Overall, there are relatively few references to the colonial past in the reviews (2 in English and 36 in Chinese on Tripadvisor, and 20 in Chinese on Mafengwo). However, it is interesting to note that tourists who visited the brewery museum were more likely to mention the colonial past, as the brewery museum pays attention to the historical development of the brewery<sup>6</sup>; for example: “(Tsingtao Brewery) was founded in 1903. To meet the beer need of German occupation army, the Anglo-Teutonic Beer Company built this brewery. Later on, it was governed by the Japanese” (Review 10).

From the perspective of branding, we used the reviews to discover whether the festival leads to particular associations with the city. Our analysis of the reviews reveals that people associate the beer and the festival with the city. One reviewer claims that “if you want to visit Qingdao, you have to explore its beer culture” (Review 11), and another adds that “if you want to visit Qingdao city, you have to visit the May Fourth Square and the Beer Festival” (Review 12). Other reviewers

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<sup>6</sup> Note that reviews of the beer museum, which is a permanent tourist attraction, outnumber the number of reviews of the beer festival. In total 745 entries on Qingdao Beer museum were found on TripAdvisor and 1,165 on Mafengwo.

see Qingdao as the birthplace of Chinese beer: *“Tsingtao beer is authentic beer”* (Review 13) and *“Qingdao as original place of Chinese beer”* (Review 14). The brand Tsingtao apparently has international recognition and international visitors call Qingdao *“home of the Tsingtao beer”* (Review 15). One reviewer elaborates on this and explains: *“Finally saw the place where Tsingtao beer is brewed, which my friends in China enjoy drinking so much”* (Review 16).

Some reviews even go as far as to compare the people of Qingdao with the Tsingtao beer. *“We took pleasure in the Beer City, and admired to the kind-hearted and straightforward Qingdao people as the same as the cold and refreshing beer”* (Review 17), and some equate beer with the culture of the city *“I like this kind of industrial tour. Beer became the culture of the beer city and Qingdao”* (Review 18). Such local connections linking beer, festival and city are strengthened by the opening show of the beer festival which is performed every year. This huge spectacle narrates the history of the city. Some local reviews even express an attachment to the festival and the beer: *“I am a native-born Qingdao resident. I have visited the Beer Festival every year ever since I can remember. [...] I feel a very strong personal attachment to the beer festival”* (Review 19).

Besides the festival as a way to connect with local culture, reviewers also emphasize the international character of the festival. Chinese reviews repeat the slogan (*‘Ganbei with the world’*), and they mention the international audience and the international experience: *“People from all over the world get together to explore beer culture”* (Review 20) or *“taste beers from around the world, and experience cultures around the world”* (Review 21). Some overseas visitors also hint at the international experience, for example through the presence of many brands of beer.

For overseas visitors, the language barrier they experience is part of their international experience, as is the tasting of unknown food items. Some revel in this experience: *“If you don’t speak Mandarin, it is no problem. People around us helped to order if the waitress didn’t understand”* (Review 22), or *“the local people are so friendly, constantly offering you food and drinks. Great time, even with the language barrier”* (Review 23). However, there appear to be limits to the extent of the intercultural experience sought by visitors. Some tourists had hoped to find more familiarity: *“The meat sticks are not real meat. I really don’t know what they were made of [and I am afraid to know]”* (Review 24). Some solved this issue by eating only at a place where they recognized the food (Review 22).

Interestingly, the same characteristics (such as the language barrier) that some international visitors enjoy are an annoyance to others. This demonstrates the

complexity of using a festival to brand the city. Differences in the evaluation of their experiences are even more pronounced in the reviews that touch upon the purpose of the festival. One reviewer recommends the festival to those who do not love beer. *“Go, even if you do not drink beer, as you will be exposed to a variety of Chinese entertainment”* (Review 25). Others, however, warn the readers: *“I am not a big beer drinker and that is what this is all about”* (Review 26). This last warning seems related to an annoyance not so much with people drinking, but with what it might lead to: drunken people, or more specifically drunken local people, as these complaints are mostly found in international reviews. *“I have never seen so many people vomiting in the night time. I do not think the locals are used to so much beer”* (Review 27). Another reviewer feels that the drunken visitors embarrass *“many of the Chinese that are trying to have a nice experience”* (Review 26). One of the reviewers therefore feels that the festival does not enhance the image of the city: *“Does not give a good representation of Qingdao with all the drunk people with pitchers of beer”* (Review 28).

The above comments show how the festival contributes to the image of the city. Branding is not only about the associations people have with the city but also how these are evaluated. Overall, reviews of the festival are positive and recommend others to visit: *“When in China, definitely a must-do if you can make it in the area by August”* (Review 5) or *“Well, it is one of those places that is really compulsory”* (Review 29). Other reviewers would not recommend adjusting the itinerary with the sole purpose of visiting the festival: *“It is fun in a way and worth to visit once, but not worth it to come to Qingdao only for that”* (Review 6). Domestic tourists mainly express a desire to experience the festival in their reviews: *“Qingdao is my dream destination. [...] I want to visit the Beer City”* (Review 30) or *“I have been to Qingdao out of the festival, it was interesting. I can imagine how lovely it would be during the festival”* (Review 31). In the reviews of the festival, visitors praise the opportunity to taste different brands of beer, the entertainment (singing, dancing and acrobatics) and the overall atmosphere: *“it was amazing overall because of the atmosphere”* (Review 32) and *“at night through EVERYTHING is lit up like the Northern Lights”* (Review 5).

However, there are also critical comments on the review websites. Some reviewers tried to persuade readers not to go there, and complained about the food quality, the prices, sanitation and noise. One reviewer is unpleasantly surprised by the price of beer at the festival and proclaimed: *“And Qingdao has a beer factory, so I really don’t get how they can have the most expensive beer ever”* (Review 24). Others seem to have had an overall bad experience: *“loud, irritating and crowded”* (Review 28) and *“The area is generally crowded, and the smells are unpleasant and the atmosphere is no different than a very average county fair”* (Review 33).

The last two reviews seem to voice concerns that resonate with potential negative impacts mentioned in the academic literature on festivals. There are several reviews, international and domestic, that feel that the festival is overcrowded or too commercial. One review sees this as a recent problem: “*Before, the beer festival was quite a nice place. In the last 3–4 years more and more people are coming from all over China*” (Review 34).

## 6 Discussion and Concluding Remarks

This chapter started with a question concerning how a product deeply connected with its colonial history is negotiated today. Heritage in general has been known to cause dissonance, and colonial heritage is particularly prone to different readings and meanings for different stakeholders (Yeoh, 2001; Graham, 2002; Jones & Shaw, 2006). Such issues may be aggravated when they become part of a large-scale commercial festival catering to outside consumers who may be unaware of local history. This chapter has demonstrated that the ‘German-ness’ of the beer festival is clearly present in the way it refers to the *Oktoberfest*. The beer festival mimics the Munich *Oktoberfest* both in decoration and in the activities organized. References to Germany are mainly there to provide a themed experience: invoking a ‘generic’ Bavarian atmosphere by using Bavarian flags, lederhosen and symbols like maypoles. Such Bavarian stereotypes, used to decorate the beer festival and the theme park, are wholly unconnected to the German architecture and urban planning in the city. As such, the festival sites are rather placeless, themed areas that are not rooted in a local sense of place (Ma and Lew, 2012).

The original brewery museum is the only clear connection between Tsingtao beer, the festival and colonial times. The museum is housed in the original brewery. In this museum, visitors learn about the history of the beer and the brewery, and thus the German and Japanese ‘occupation’ are mentioned. Visitors share these insights on review sites, thus creating an awareness of this part of Qingdao’s history. However, the reviews do not evoke the impression of a contested heritage. On the contrary, the German history is seen partly as a positive quality assurance for the beer. Visitors today marvel at the fact that the original German equipment is still in operation one hundred years later. In the past, the German origin of Tsingtao beer was used in marketing as proof of the beer’s authenticity (Yang, 2007). The new beer museum lacks this authentic connection and is a hotchpotch of Bavarian references.

Associations with the colonial history of the city and beer are limited. There are parallels here with how the city deals with its colonial past. The German architecture

is used in projected images of the city (Ji, 2011) and may contribute to what makes the city stand out from other Chinese cities. Professionals stress this unique selling point. German architecture and urban planning in Qingdao are valued by experts and residents alike (see Chapters 4, 6, 8 & 9). It is still clearly present in the historic city, partly because Western building styles continued to be used after the German occupation had ended. On the other hand, professionals are somewhat reluctant to deliberately call this colonial heritage. They prefer simply ‘German heritage’ to colonial heritage and stress how objects represent local history and not some national ideology. The German colonial rule meanwhile is also described as a rather short interval in a long history of the city. This is in sharp contrast to the Japanese colonial remains in the city. Factories built under Japanese rule are abandoned and decaying (see Chapter 9). Professionals hint at the national trauma that is still felt with regard to the Japanese occupation of parts of China. However, the latest tourism development plan sees opportunities for industrial tourism in Qingdao and calls for an inventory of industrial heritage. Time will tell what this will mean for the textile mills erected during Japanese rule.

Ma and Lew (2012) label the beer festival a ‘local modern’ festival: a festival that contributes to local identity, while at the same time mainly focusing on entertainment and fun rather than on authentic tradition. There was no *Oktoberfest* tradition before the 1990s, and the festival clearly has a commercial interest. The reviews that we analysed confirmed this impression of the festival. Locals feel an attachment to the festival and several reviewers express a notion of how the festival and the beer culture that it represents are part of the local place identity. Meanwhile, the festival is mostly about entertainment and, unsurprisingly, drinking beer. The German references at the festival lack authenticity: they merely mimic some generic Bavarian atmosphere and are unconnected to the local German history.

To conclude, events and festivals are being increasingly used as part of city marketing and branding strategies. The Qingdao International Beer Festival may have originated in the early 1990s as a Bavarian-style *Oktoberfest* imitation to promote the sales of beer, but it has since developed into Asia’s largest beer festival which draws huge crowds to the event areas (Rogerson & Collins, 2015). Similar to the Munich *Oktoberfest*, the festival caters both to local inhabitants that come to drink beer with family and friends, and to domestic and overseas tourists. Early on, the municipality recognized the potential of the festival to brand the city. It has therefore not just facilitated the hosting of the festival but also allocated space in the city for the event. A permanent theme park has been developed from the festival. In the primary communication of the city image, the beer and the festival are important. With the beer brand internationally established (Ille, 2009) and the festival grown into Asia’s largest beer festival, these associations can be valuable



for the branding of the city. Earlier research by Ji (2011) demonstrated how beer is part of the associations with the brand Qingdao. These findings are reflected in this research: a number of the reviews explicitly express these associations between the city, the beer or beer culture and the festival. Most of these associations are positive, which means that the festival indeed offers opportunities for place promotion.

Media attention and word of mouth generate exposure for cities and as such can increase the visibility of the city brand. However, tertiary communication poses challenges – and this case is no exception. Kozma and Ashworth (1993) have labelled it ‘unintentional’ projected images for a reason: these representations are not controlled or steered by the official marketing organization or destination marketing organization (DMO). Such images may thus be different from how the municipality perceives its brand and may even convey negative associations. This is clearly the case with the electronic word-of-mouth (e-WoM) related to the festival and beer city. Many of the visitors enjoyed their visit to the beer festival, as can be concluded from their positive reviews. However, some reviewers are very harsh in their criticism. The associations that these reviews raise are not of authentic or high quality beer but of a beer culture that means getting blind drunk and vomiting, and of low hygienic standards and questionable food – hardly a picture considered helpful in consolidating the brand of the city. Nevertheless, other reviewers have responded to the negative reviews and said they had other experiences; these claims are out there on the review sites for everybody to read. With Web 2.0, e-WoM has become incorporated in all three phases of the tourism experience. Tourists use e-WoM in preparation of their trip and share their experiences in real time during their holiday and afterwards in reviews and blogs (Leung et al., 2013). It is therefore important for the official marketing organization to be aware of this particular strand of tertiary communication and whatever unintentional images are projected through it, as it may have an unexpected impact on the brand (Zeng & Gerritsen, 2014).

## Quotes from review websites

**Review 1:** *Interesting history site with a German twist*, Tripadvisor on Qingdao Beer museum, 20 April 2018.

**Review 2:** 享誉世界的青岛啤酒, 源于德国殖民时期的工业基础。青岛这座城市, 德国人留下了太多经得起历史考验的基础设施和工业。啤酒博物馆就在原德国人厂区 (目前还在正常生产) 建成, [...]。 Tripadvisor on Tsingtao Beer Museum, 13 September 2016

**Review 3:** 青岛啤酒百年前的老厂房、老设备都完好保存! 德国西门子电机导游说还可以用! Mafengwo on Qingdao Beer Festival, 16 June 2017

**Review 4:** 同样感叹德国货的质量! 100多年的电机了, 还可以运作。 Mafengwo on Tsingtao Beer Museum, 26 March 2014

**Review 5:** *Chinese Oktoberfest.....in August*! Tripadvisor on Qingdao International Beer festival, 20 August 2017

**Review 6:** *It is big, but do not expect too much....* Tripadvisor on Qingdao International Beer festival, 18 August 2016

**Review 7:** 模仿德国巴伐利亚十月节的传统, 彰显青岛这座老牌德国殖民地文化遗风。 mafengwo on Qingdao Beer Festival, 24 December 2013

**Review 8:** *Home of Tsingtao beer*, Tripadvisor on Qingdao International Beer City, 5 October 2015

**Review 9:** *Nice place to visit*, Tripadvisor on Qingdao International Beer City, 8 December 2012

**Review 10:** 始建于 1903 年。 盎格鲁 — 日耳曼民族啤酒公司为了适应当时德国日耳曼占领军的啤酒需求, 在此设厂。 Mafengwo on Tsingtao Beer Museum, 25 July 2014

**Review 11:** 来青岛一定更要感受它的啤酒文化! Mafengwo on Qingdao Beer Festival, 7 November 2015

**Review 12:** 去青岛就是要去五四跟啤酒节。 Mafengwo on Qingdao Beer Festival, 21 August 2015

**Review 13:** 这里不仅可以品尝地道的青岛啤酒, [...]。 Mafengwo on Qingdao Beer Festival, 1 August 2016

**Review 14:** 这里是中国啤酒产业的诞生地, [...] Tripadvisor on Tsingtao Beer Museum, 18 November 2016

**Review 15:** *Great city, clean, interesting, home of Tsingtao beer*, Tripadvisor on Qingdao Beer City, 2 September 2014

**Review 16:** *Home of Tsingtao beer*, Tripadvisor on Qingdao Beer City, 5 October 2015

**Review 17:** 在这我们一行人领略到了青岛人的婉约与啤酒一样的豪爽与畅快淋漓。 Tripadvisor on Qingdao International Beer City, 19 May 2011

**Review 18:** 喜欢这种工业游, 它让啤酒城和青岛都有了文化。 Tripadvisor on Qingdao International Beer City, 13 May 2011

**Review 19:** 我是土生土长的青岛人，似乎有印象了就开始年年去啤酒节玩了，[...]，总之啤酒节对于我而言有很深的情感。 Tripadvisor-Qingdao International Beer City, 25 September 2010

**Review 20:** [...], 你可以一边了解啤酒文化的。 Tripadvisor on Qingdao International Beer City, 20 April 2011

**Review 21:** [...], 喝到世界各地的酒, 品到世界各地的文化, [...] Tripadvisor on Qingdao International Beer City, 18 May 2011

**Review 22:** *Amazing*, Tripadvisor on Qingdao International Beer Festival, 14 October 2016

**Review 23:** *Qingdao international beer festival*, Tripadvisor on Qingdao International Beer Festival, 17 August 2014

**Review 24:** *Don't go!!! It's a joke!!*, Tripadvisor on Qingdao International Beer Festival, 2 September 2014

**Review 25:** *Not only for beer lovers!*, Tripadvisor on Qingdao International Beer Festival, 1 September 2015

**Review 26:** *Once is enough*, Tripadvisor on Qingdao International Beer Festival, 6 October 2013

**Review 27:** *Be early to avoid messy people*, Tripadvisor on Qingdao International Beer City 29 June 2012.

**Review 28:** *Can I take back the wasted time?*, Tripadvisor on Qingdao International Beer Festival, 12 August 2013

**Review 29:** *Qingdao and beer*, Tripadvisor on Qingdao International Beer City, 1 December 2011

**Review 30:** 青岛市我一直向往的一个海滨城市, [...] 逛逛那里的啤酒城, [...]。 Tripadvisor on Qingdao International Beer City, 6 May 2011

**Review 31:** 没有到青岛啤酒节的时候去那里已经足够有趣了, 想象一下要是过啤酒节的时候将会是怎样有趣的场面。 Mafengwo on Qingdao Beer Festival, 17 November 2016

**Review 32:** *This is one the best festivals / events to go to!! Oct 2011*, Tripadvisor on Qingdao International Beer Festival, 3 April 2017

**Review 33:** *Reviewers are making mistakes*, Tripadvisor on Qingdao International Beer City, 27 March 2014

**Review 34:** *Overcrowded, expensive, low quality*, Tripadvisor on Qingdao International Beer City, 9 August 2015

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# CHAPTER

# 8

## Residents' Perceptions of Heritage Conservation in Urban Qingdao, China

This chapter is based on the article:

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## 1 Introduction

There is a growing awareness of the possible roles of public participation in heritage conservation. The importance of residents' involvement in heritage conservation was put firmly on the international agenda by the 1987 Charter for the Conservation of Historic Towns and Urban Areas (the 'Washington Charter'). It states that "*the conservation of historic towns and urban areas concerns their residents first of all*" (ICOMOS, 1987: 2). The Australian ICOMOS Burra Charter, a document that has had substantial international influence, states that "*conservation, interpretation and management of a place should provide for the participation of people for whom the place has significant associations and meanings, or who have social, spiritual or other cultural responsibilities for the place*" (ICOMOS, 2013, art. 12).

Residents' perceptions have been understood as a fundamental necessity for sustainable development in planning (Dyer et al., 2007). In a growing number of publications, residents are described as co-creators of heritage (Janssen et al., 2014). The role of public participation in heritage conservation and management has been extensively discussed in China in the last few decades. Much of the ensuing debate has concerned issues such as how to involve the public in Chinese heritage management, how to engage them in heritage conservation and renovation projects, and how to utilize theories from sociology, management and economics to improve the outcome of public participation in heritage planning (She, 2014).

However, the notion of public participation has been questioned as well. Research has illustrated the predicaments faced by public participation projects in Chinese heritage conservation. Because of the lack of formal policy and regulation, public participation is often an ideal rather than a working system (Ruan & Ding, 2006). The role and importance of public participation have been emphasized in heritage documents, but there is no legislation to guide how, in what ways and to what extent the public should be involved. Developments in public consultation have not substantially changed the power division towards more collaborative planning (Wu, 2014). Potter (2012) pointed out that public participation is often seen as symbolic, which in turn may influence the public's willingness to participate.

Second, even when participation is organized, only a small part of the whole population usually participates. Mo and Xia (2012) estimate that only around one percent of the population of an area is truly involved in the projects. This is not only the case in China; participation studies in Western cities have also demonstrated that only a small minority participate (Uitermark & Duyvendak, 2008). As a result, public consultation is usually dominated by a few 'experienced' people who are well educated and who have similar opinions as other professionals (Townshend &

Pendlebury, 1999). Low-income and ethnically mixed neighbourhoods are usually underrepresented (Uitermark & Duyvendak, 2008). Several explanations for the lack of involvement in public participation are offered. Some suggest that people are mainly interested in their own property rather than in public property (Hao, 2008; Mo & Xia, 2012; She, 2014). McDonald (2011) suggests that the general public are more motivated to participate in heritage activities that connect with their own interests, culture and history.

Limited public participation raises questions of legitimacy for politics (Hao, 2008). This is also true for the politics of heritage. For a long time, heritage issues were in the hands of professionals: particularly experts and to a lesser degree politicians. Elites and experts doubted whether the public had the proper knowledge and associated values to determine what was worthy of conservation (Yung & Chan, 2011). There is certainly a knowledge gap between experts and residents. Most residents lack the knowledge of professional concepts, discussions and terminology, and find it difficult to read planning drawings. On the other hand, they also have unique knowledge. Residents experience heritage in their everyday lives in a more subjective way and their opinions are more emotional, detailed and specific (Hao, 2008). Therefore, residents' perceptions have been understood as a fundamental necessity for sustainable planning (Dyer et al., 2007). For good decision-making on heritage for the whole society, the knowledge of authorities, experts and residents should be combined.

The main research question in the present paper focuses on the extent to which resident have knowledge of, awareness of, and opinions about heritage conservation. We conducted a survey that explored the degree to which Qingdao residents are familiar with heritage, the way in which they express and understand the values of both colonial and indigenous heritage, the knowledge that residents have about their heritage, and the way in which residents assess conservation, development and plans. Our study will be illustrated by two parts of the Chinese town of Qingdao: Zhongshan Commercial Street and the Haiyunan Temple area. Following a literature review and an introduction into the case-study areas, empirical findings are presented. A quantitative approach is used to obtain an overall picture of residents' perceptions in Qingdao.

## **2 Importance of residents' perceptions in heritage conservation**

In planning in general, there has been a shift from control towards co-evolution, and this is also evident in heritage conservation (Janssen et al., 2014). In the past, top-

down planning left little room for public participation in local heritage issues (Alumäe et al., 2003), and local stakeholders were often excluded from conservation practice (Kong & Yeoh, 1994; Chirikure et al., 2010). However, heritage conservation in the ‘West’<sup>7</sup> has been extended to everyday neighbourhoods and everyday encounters with heritage (Lowenthal, 1985; Tunbridge, 1989), partly as a result of the activities of local residents to protect their neighbourhoods against large-scale demolition. These processes have resulted in a growing awareness of the roles of residents in urban heritage conservation and management practices. In turn, the public could be involved in several aspects of cultural resource management, such as project design, application, excavation, interpretation, education, site management, and conservation (Phillips, 2008). However, when the public is involved in these activities, it is not only about engagement but also about empowerment of the local communities (Pendlebury et al., 2004; Chirikure & Pwiti, 2008). Therefore, public participation has stimulated awareness of heritage, ensuring an effective implementation, enhancing satisfaction of users, collecting community expertise and local knowledge for future local development, and building trust (Al-Kodmany, 1999; Caspersen, 2009). The position of residents has been strengthened further as they have developed ever more expertise, in contrast to local authorities that have become ever more dominated by general managers instead of experts.

One of the primary aims of heritage conservation is to strengthen the idea of continuity and the connection between individuals and their environment (Maguire, 1982; Ashworth & Graham, 2005). Residents are local experts and they can be seen as the ultimate guardians and legatees of urban heritage (Ennen, 1999; Johnston & Buckley, 1999; Nyaupane & Timothy, 2010). Townshend and Pendlebury (1999) state that it is important to involve the knowledge, attitudes and values of people who live and work in conservation areas. Hence, several studies have highlighted the need to gain insight into local interests and opinions of the management and development of heritage sites (Marc, 1994; Nyaupane & Timothy, 2010), as these perceptions have an important influence on sustainable development and heritage conservation (Wager, 1995; Thapa 2007; Shuib et al., 2008; Tilden, 2008; Nicholas et al., 2009; YokeMui et al., 2014; Jaafar et al., 2015).

From this perspective, experts’ value judgements, heritage definitions and management have been challenged for not reflecting the opinions of society as a whole (English Heritage, 1997). Public understanding of heritage has emerged from daily usage and contains much broader information than the official definitions of conservation legislation (Townshend & Pendlebury, 1999; Tweed & Sutherland, 2007). Such personal experiences and memories can be important for

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<sup>7</sup> Although this term is problematic, we use it to refer to Europe, North America and Australia and New Zealand, parts of the world that have a shared tradition in heritage management and planning.

the appreciation of specific buildings or sites (Lalli, 1992; Ashworth, 2013), which may differ from the tastes of experts. This does not mean that laypeople have no understanding of conservation (Datel & Dingemans, 1984; Hubbard, 1994). Residents pay more attention to the societal and cultural values of heritage and to aesthetic and functional arguments than to the architectural and historical characteristics that require expert knowledge (Coeterier, 2002; Hobson, 2004; Yung & Chan, 2013).

Moreover, residents, as users of a historic city centre, are preoccupied with preservation from the perspectives of their daily lives. Their reference is their daily needs and the importance of places in their daily lives (Stephenson et al., 2004; Fletcher et al., 2007). They live in historic buildings, walk through old streets and visit old churches or shops. Repeated encounters with heritage and the way heritage becomes part of personal or family memories lead to a specific type of knowledge about it (Hoch, 2002; Prentice, 2006; Swensen et al., 2012). These daily encounters, whether they are superficial (just seeing buildings) or have more depth (creating memories), familiarize residents with heritage (Smith et al., 2003; Smith, 2006). Even when residents do not recognize them as their own personal heritage, these daily encounters may create an 'attachment' to particular buildings and streetscapes, and may make these part of the residents' mental maps. Historic buildings may serve as landmarks, helping people navigate through the city, which they can become attached to or identify with (MacKay & Fesenmaier, 1997; Andsager & Drzewiecka, 2002; Prentice & Andersen, 2007). Ennen therefore states that "*[h]istoricity is an important part of residents' feeling at home. Heritage forms part of daily life and influences welfare directly. Many different studies suggest that historicity aspects such as heritage, monuments and remarkable buildings are highly valued social wellbeing indicators*" (Ennen, 1999: 76).

In earlier studies, residents' perceptions were usually regarded as relatively homogeneous, but that has recently been questioned (Mason & Cheyne, 2000; Andriotis & Vaughan, 2003; Nicholas et al., 2009). Recent studies have recognized a diversity of attitudes and perceptions among residents. The way residents connect with their surroundings, how often they visit historic streets or buildings and how interested they are in these places influences their knowledge and attitudes. More interest in local history and heritage usually means more knowledge, and more knowledge implies a stronger connection with the place (Alumäe et al., 2003). Additionally, personal characteristics, such as age, education level and overall cultural participation, may also influence residents' perceptions of and participation in heritage conservation (Ganzeboom, 1982; Haan, 1997). Hardy (1988) pointed out that heritage is interpreted differently according to class, gender and locality. In addition, Ennen (1999) demonstrated that residents' perceptions of heritage are

strongly related to their appreciation of living in a historic town. Those who actively choose to live in a historic city centre value its historic fabric more than those who have no choice about where they live.

It could thus be beneficial to include residents' knowledge and appreciation of heritage in conservation plans. Public participation is one way of doing this, as it gives residents some influence in the plans. Although public participation is important for the legitimacy of policy and may contribute to other aspects of knowledge in conservation, some issues are still hard to overcome. As we pointed out in the introduction to this chapter, only a small percentage of the population takes part. The typical resident participating in local planning is highly educated and has the time to join in long-term planning projects. Some of these residents participate very often and are thus experienced (Townshend & Pendlebury, 1999). These 'model' citizens are skilled in concepts and terminology and are able to debate conservation issues with professionals (Townshend & Pendlebury, 1999). Participation is often low in poor and ethnically mixed neighbourhoods in which people often lack the connections and skills to organize themselves and articulate their claims (Uitermark & Duyvendak 2008).

Furthermore, not only the planners and experts but also the participating elites may question the need to involve the less knowledgeable residents (Yung & Chan, 2011). The lack of knowledge is regarded as a threat to heritage which makes heritage managers less eager to involve communities (Chirikure et al., 2010). Hao (2008) argues that without a full understanding of the new plan, it is hard for residents to make a rational judgment about a planning scheme. Participation may therefore not be as inclusive as it seems. This can be worsened by the use of technical or complex language by experts and professionals (Chirikure et al., 2010). As research by McDonald (2011) demonstrated, lack of expertise makes people feel they are spectators in the planning process, hampers them in presenting their ideas in discussions, and eventually means that residents expect some 'experts' to make important decisions and determine what is important and how to preserve and experience it. Therefore, education is viewed as a tool to help residents participate in conservation issues (Spennemann, 2003; Assari et al., 2011). Education may give people an understanding of the history, geography and design of heritage, and may encourage people to engage in planning their environment (The Historic Environment: A Force for Our Future, 2001 in Pendlebury et al., 2004).

### 3 Zhongshan Commercial Street and the Haiyunan Temple area

The ongoing and unprecedented urbanization of China affects not just the urban fringe, where new extensions are built. The creation of suburbs has led to outmigration of the middle classes from the inner-city areas. The middle classes in these old urban blocks have been replaced by migrant workers from inland areas (Shan, 2013). In China, rapid urban development, a strong focus on economic growth and an increasing population often result in the demolition of historic buildings to make way for high-rise buildings and the pursuit of economic profit (Liu, Q., 2010; Yung & Chan, 2015). Qingdao is no exception to this rule. For example, both the Antique Store and the Red Star Cinema were replaced by high-rise buildings. Figure 8.1 shows the high-rise shopping mall that was built behind the former Navy Hotel. The city's population grew from 7,066,481 in 2000 to 7,695,585 in 2016, and the city now spans an area of 11,282 square kilometres. Also, the old town in Qingdao lost parts of its cultural and economic significance with the relocation of the municipal government.



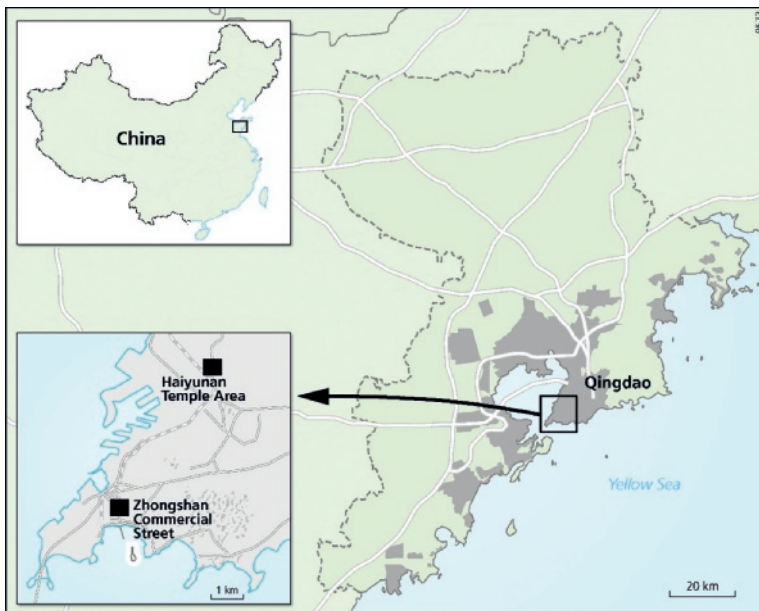
**Figure 8.1** The former Navy Hotel in Zhongshan Commercial Street with Baisheng Shopping Mall in the background

*Source: Xiaolin Zang*

However, Qingdao's inner city has a unique colonial history and heritage. Colonialism in China has been a very localized phenomenon, mainly influencing a number of coastal cities and lasting only for a short period. In the early twentieth

century, some of the Chinese coastal cities were occupied by European states and later by Japan. The present urban fabric in these towns may contain remnants from both periods, which may be valued differently from ethnic Chinese heritage. Colonial heritage is often contested as it reminds people of the traumas of former oppression. When not a reminder of trauma, colonial heritage in Qingdao may be less familiar or even unknown to residents. Although Qingdao residents may often see these colonial traces, they may not ‘understand’ them clearly. Colonial heritage may also be an opportunity for tourism, both domestic and international. It also bestows on the city of Qingdao some unique qualities as it provides ‘other’ experiences.

Qingdao is located on the Eastern coast of China, in an excellent location naturally suited for development as a major port (Figure 8.2). Qingdao was called Jiao’ao under the Qing government, which from 1881 onwards developed the town as a defensive base against naval attacks. The fortification was conquered by German troops in 1897 and in the following year China leased the area to Germany, the ‘Kiautschou Bay concession’. A period of large-scale urban construction followed during the German colonial period (1897–1914) and further expansion took place after the town was conquered by the Japanese in 1914. Since then there have been two periods of Japanese occupation: 1914–1922 and 1938–1945.



**Figure 8.2** Locations of Zhongshan Commercial Street and the Haiyunan Temple area

*Source: Map created by Margot Stoete & Ton Markus,  
Faculty of Geosciences, Utrecht University*



Zhongshan Commercial Street was built at the beginning of the German period, and the Haiyunan area was a primary site for the developing Japanese industry in Qingdao. Therefore, in addition to its traditional Chinese architecture, Qingdao is characterized by colonial buildings from the first half of the twentieth century. The State Council of China recognizes the cultural and historical importance of Qingdao, as is shown by the city's listing as one of the National Historic and Cultural Cities in China. Qingdao is listed for its special semi-colonial context, its important role in Chinese modern history and its blending of Western and Asian culture (Zhang & Wei, 2005).

From 1897, Zhongshan Commercial Street, the site of our first case study, developed into the main commercial, administrative, cultural and religious centre, with banks, shops, trading offices, churches, theatres, and the privately-owned residences of foreigners and Chinese elites. From 1914 onwards, the new Japanese rulers extended the Zhongshan Commercial Street area. At the time, Zhongshan Street was the most prosperous street and the only commercial centre in Qingdao. Today, a mixture of architectural styles, such as eclectic classicism, art deco, modernist and Chinese retro style, can still be found in the area (Figure 8.3).

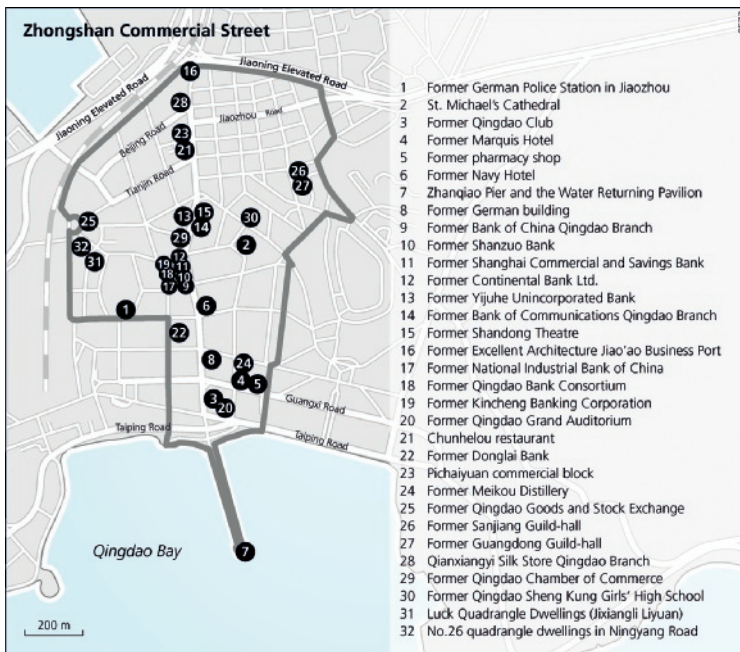


**Figure 8.3** Streetscape of Zhongshan Commercial Street with St. Michael's Cathedral

*Source: Xiaolin Zang*

The historical districts of Qingdao face pressure from urbanization nowadays. Zhongshan Street's fortunes changed in 1992 when the government of Qingdao moved to the East of the city. Development of multi-commercial centres elsewhere in the city further worsened the economic situation of Zhongshan Street (Gao & Liu, 2014; Jiang, 2015). Other threats to the historic townscape of Zhongshan Commercial Street include ambiguous conservation policies, an ageing and

vulnerable population, poor transportation and infrastructure, and inferior quality of housing (Jiang, 2015). Figure 8.4 shows the Zhongshan Commercial Street area, which covers approximately 95 hectares (Gao & Liu, 2014; Jiang, 2015), and presents the locations of historic buildings. Many original buildings and sites are still maintained, while a few buildings have either been renovated or demolished. Since 2006, 32 buildings and sites in Zhongshan Commercial Street have been listed as heritage by the central and local governments (Qingdao Bureau of Cultural Relics, 2014).



**Figure 8.4** The listed buildings of the Zhongshan Commercial Street area

*Source: Map created by Margot Stoete & Ton Markus, Faculty of Geosciences, Utrecht University*

The architecture of the Haiyunan area (case study 2) is a combination of ancient Taoist buildings (Figure 8.5) and Japanese industrial sites (Figure 8.6). The existing literature on the area’s heritage focuses on folk culture influenced by the Haiyunan Temple and the Sugar Ball Fair. The Sugar Ball Fair, which is held in the Haiyunan area at the beginning of the Chinese Lunar Year, has developed into a major tourist attraction. The fair shows more than 500 years of history, starting during the Ming Dynasty. In 2015, it was visited by approximately 3.21 million tourists, and its turnover was about RMB70 million (about €10 million) in ten days. For the rest of the year, Haiyunan is a quiet neighbourhood.



**Figure 8.5** The square in front of Haiyunan Temple

*Source: Xiaolin Zang*

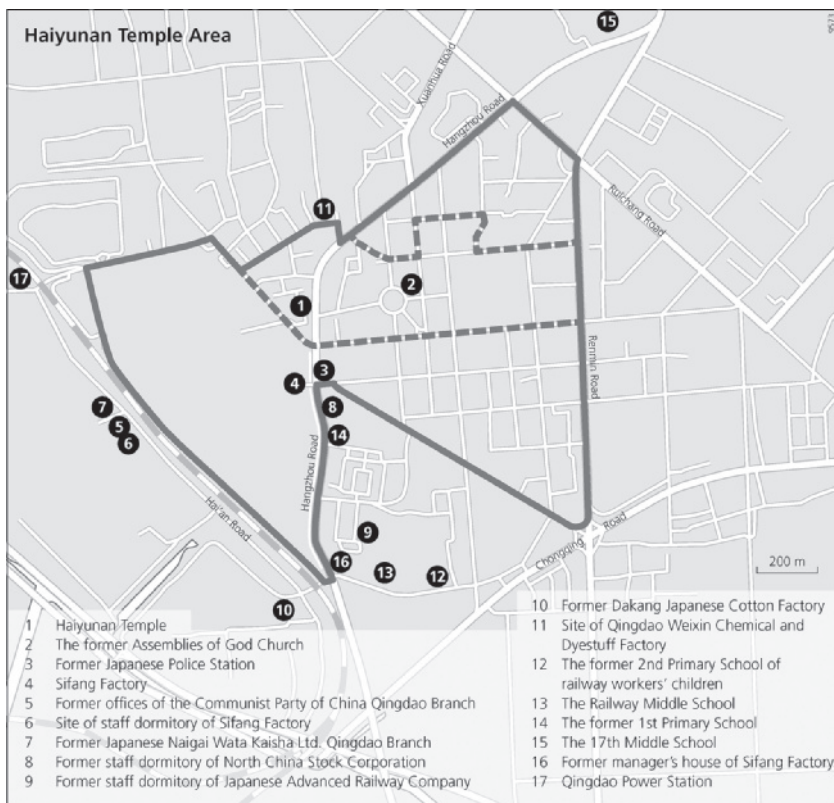


**Figure 8.6** Plant and well in the former Japanese Naigai Wata Kaisha Ltd. Qingdao Branch

*Source: Xiaolin Zang*

Haiyunan’s other important features are a number of industrial sites that were built during the Japanese colonial periods. These include nine cotton mills and related buildings, such as factories, a power station, schools and residences. With government support and technological innovations, this factory complex made Qingdao one of the main Chinese textile production centres, a position it held until the 1990s. Since then, the industry in the Haiyunan area has come under pressure for different reasons, including insufficient cotton supply, obsolete equipment, foreign competition and national macro-economic adjustment and control policies (Zhang, 2009). Recovery of the area has been hampered by inadequate planning and infrastructure, poor transportation and low construction quality (Guo, 2012; Ji & Sun, 2013).

The Haiyunan area is situated in the geographic centre of Qingdao and covers some 138 hectares within four protected sites (Figure 8.7). The core area (the dotted line in Figure 8.7) measures 35 hectares. Another thirteen sites with conservation value



**Figure 8.7** Listed buildings of the Haiyunan Temple area  
*Source: Map created by Margot Stoete & Ton Markus, Faculty of Geosciences, Utrecht University*

are situated close to the Haiyunan area. Our fieldwork revealed that these sites were poorly protected, compared to the sites in Zhongshan Commercial Street (Figure 8.8). Researchers are concerned that the rich historic and cultural value of the old buildings in this district have not been fully explored, for example their relation to the folk temple fair culture, the importance of Qingdao's modern industry and the revolutionary history of the Communist Party of China, (Xiu, 2009; Liu, W., 2010).



**Figure 8.8** Former staff dormitory of the Japanese Advanced Railway Company in the Haiyunan Temple area

*Source: Xiaolin Zang*

The two case-study areas show an interesting mix of colonial and local heritage. In the recent past, the government, scholars and planners have spent considerable energy on reviving these two areas. However, their labour has borne little fruit. Previous studies and proposals for heritage conservation were carried out by external organizations. Chinese planners are accustomed to following a series of procedures: field exploration, data collection, project design, reports to leaders, data plan design and submission for approval (Dai, 2000). During the whole process, residents' perceptions are rarely considered, mainly because taking perceptions into consideration is thought to be time-consuming (Dai, 2000).

## 4 Method and sample

Fieldwork was carried out in Zhongshan Commercial Street and the Haiyunan Temple area in the winter of 2014-2015. We aimed at understanding whether local

residents had the necessary skills and interest to become involved in heritage conservation discussions. The specific questions for the survey were:

[1] Are residents interested in and knowledgeable on their local heritage?

[2] What are residents' attitudes towards heritage and heritage conservation?

For several reasons, we were interested in the group who live in Qingdao city. First, these residents are likely to encounter heritage in their daily lives. These encounters may lead to an appreciation of the heritage. According to Lynch (1960: 1), "[e]very citizen has had long associations with some part of his city, and his image is soaked in memories and meanings." People may therefore recognize the importance of protection and preservation of heritage since they feel a personal connection with a given heritage element (McDonald, 2011). Moreover, heritage is potentially benefitting for the whole community.

To draw more generalized conclusions and explore the perception of heritage among residents, questionnaires were used for collecting data. Previous studies on residents' perceptions, by Ennen (1999), Ganzeboom (1982) and Olsson (2008), had also successfully applied this method. Questionnaires are a good method of obtaining an overall impression of people's opinions. When the number of questionnaires is large enough, it is even possible to distinguish between the opinions of different types of residents, particularly those who have chosen to live in a certain neighbourhood and those who had few other options.

Altogether, we handed out 450 questionnaires, 382 of which were completed and returned. We started on the street, but non-response proved substantial, mainly due to the cold. For this reason, we took our survey indoors, and interviewed residents at home, in shops and in restaurants, such as the Parkson shopping centre and Chunhelou restaurant.

The questionnaire consisted of three parts. First, some basic data of the respondents were collected, such as age, education and income. Second, we provided a series of questions to test the knowledge of our residents, as compared to experts. The respondents were asked to answer two knowledge questions: [1] to indicate their familiarity with heritage (had they visited the heritage before, for what purpose, and did they know of historic sites that were prioritized for conservation?), and [2] to test their knowledge of heritage in terms of age, function and building styles. Knowledge about heritage is an indication of people's awareness (Poria et al., 2003). Because a stronger awareness of local heritage usually translates into more knowledge, accuracy of knowledge in our cases is considered one of the criteria for testing awareness. To minimize the information bias, we used photos in these questions, a technique adopted from Ganzeboom (1982) and Van Gorp (2003). Last,

our questions tested whether residents tended to follow government proposals in heritage issues. We studied residents' perceptions of government heritage activities and their opinions on the importance and development of heritage and heritage conservation by means of a 5-point Likert scale from 'totally agree (=A)' to 'totally disagree (=E)'.

Valid questionnaires were collected from Zhongshan Commercial Street, the Haiyuan Temple area and other places in the city of Qingdao (N=127, 127 and 128, respectively). A quarter of the overall respondents (N=94) were residents of the Zhongshan area, while one-third of the respondents (N=115) lived in the Haiyuan area. Of the total group of respondents, only 24 respondents resided and were interviewed in the area of Zhongshan Commercial Street; in the area of Haiyuan, this number was 21. A large number of respondents thus either lived in or frequented the two case-study areas for shopping, leisure or work. Only 5.8% of the respondents had never visited Zhongshan Commercial Street, and 15.7% had never visited the Haiyuan Temple area.

The majority of our respondents were female (59.4%). Overall, respondents were relatively young (30.9% were aged 21–30 years). Furthermore, 80% of respondents received a low monthly income (less than RMB 4000), which may be partly due to the large percentage of women and younger residents. Service workers or those working in education accounted for 34.9%. We expected a considerable number of cotton spinners among the residents of the Haiyuan area, since nine cotton mills, alongside other industries, have operated there. A quarter of the residents in the Haiyuan area still work as industrial workers. The data above support evidence that a social and economic transformation is taking place in the Haiyuan Temple area – similar to that of the whole city of Qingdao – from a largely industrial economy to a service economy.

## 5 Residents' familiarity with and preference for heritage

The survey showed that over 88.74% of the respondents thought that they were (a little to very) familiar with Zhongshan Commercial Street, while this number is lower for the Haiyuan area (77.49%). The familiarity was highest among residents who live in historic areas (99.48% in Zhongshan Commercial Street and 97.38% in the Haiyuan area). Respondents gained their knowledge of the two areas by visiting these places mainly for shopping or entertainment purposes. The average frequency of their visits was low, but it seems that the places hold some attraction for the residents of Qingdao.

This could imply that our respondents were of the opinion that they were closely connected to heritage. When asked how many listed buildings residents knew in our research areas, a few heritage buildings seemed to stand out. Zhanqiao Pier, the Christian Church and Pichaiyuan were considered landmarks in Zhongshan Commercial Street by most of the respondents, and Haiyunan Temple in the Haiyunan area. Notably, the Sugar Ball Fair was mentioned 155 times as a meaningful, non-material feature. The Sugar Ball Fair may play an important role in drawing residents to the Haiyunan area.

People pay more attention to heritage that they relate to most closely. In this context, ‘closely’ does not only refer to a direct connection but also to places that are well known for visiting with family and friends (McDonald, 2011). Around half of our respondents could describe their personal or family attachments to heritage in Zhongshan Commercial Street or the Haiyunan area. Heritage acts as a medium through which a family story is handed down from generation to generation (McDonald, 2011).

Evaluation of heritage is often based on expert criteria. In China, such standards include historical, artistic and scientific values which are incorporated in laws and regulations at different scales. The cultural value is stressed in local regulations regarding the conservation of the urban landscape of Qingdao. The expected gap between expert notions and criteria for heritage appropriation was visible in the survey. Respondents valued heritage not according to experts’ criteria but from their own personal experience and from daily life. They pointed to the beautiful architecture, the nice food sold in a building and the old shops in general. Their answers also indicated the importance of these sites within the city. Respondents described them as ‘symbols of Qingdao’, ‘an economic and cultural centre’ or ‘a traditional industrial area’. These answers have been coded as ‘social values’ in Table 8.1. Respondents also stressed the cultural value of the sites in terms such as ‘a showcase of cultural connotation’ or ‘the embodiment of Western or folk culture’. In the Haiyunan case, the answer ‘Haiyunan Temple’, which was mentioned more than twenty times, could be viewed as a kind of cultural value. However, it also shows the important position of local Taoism, hence we classified it among the answers which strongly emphasize the significance of religion.

Table 8.1 shows that residents appreciated heritage for various reasons. In the Zhongshan case, respondents paid more attention to architectural and historic values, such as a specific building style and appearance, probably since these differ from traditional Chinese buildings. It is important to recognize that residents appreciate cultural, social and aesthetic values of heritage rather than the purely commercial benefits. This coincides with McDonald (2011: 790), who notes that



*“the long-term importance of heritage is valued over short-term economic gains.”* In the Haiyuan area, cultural values, such as folk culture and the cultural importance of the Sugar Ball Fair, were by far the most frequently given reasons for preserving heritage.

**Table 8.1** Comparisons of heritage values in Zhongshan Commercial Street and the Haiyuan Temple area

Zhongshan Commercial Street		Haiyuan area	
Types of value	Mentioned	Types of value	Mentioned
Architectural	154	Cultural	243
Historic	103	Religious	32
Commercial	74	Commercial	27
Social	60	Social	21
Aesthetic	43	Aesthetic	14
Cultural	16		

Source: Xiaolin Zang

## 6 Residents' knowledge of heritage

So far, we have seen that our respondents value heritage but for slightly different reasons than the experts. This might be the result of a lack of knowledge, or at least of expert knowledge. To test this, we asked a number of questions. The first question was about the number of important and valuable buildings in Zhongshan Commercial Street that residents knew of. Over 41% of the respondents indicated that they knew at least three historic buildings in Zhongshan Commercial Street, although this number was higher for residents who lived in this area than for respondents who did not. When respondents were asked to name the three most important listed buildings in the area of Zhongshan Commercial Street, a total of 220 different buildings were mentioned. This implies that a huge variety of buildings and sites are considered important and valuable by residents. The buildings most frequently mentioned were popular for their representation of Western styles and predated the Japanese periods; these buildings were seen as symbolic of the image and identity of Qingdao. Most of the seven historic buildings and sites that were mentioned most often are also listed by the central and local governments (Table 8.2). Our respondents thus had an understanding of what buildings are designated as heritage. Other buildings that were often mentioned were some decades-old shops, such as the Hengdeli glass shop and the Shengxifu hat shop. Some of the buildings mentioned are located inside or just outside Zhongshan Commercial Street.

**Table 8.2** Most frequently mentioned historic sites in Zhongshan Commercial Street

Sites	Mentioned	Location (in / close to Zhongshan Commercial Street)	Listed/not Listed
St. Michael's Cathedral	215	In	Listed
Zhanqiao Pier	191	In	Listed
Pichaiyuan	149	In	Listed
Chunhelou restaurant	38	In	Listed
Government house	19	Close to	Listed
Central Station	16	Close to	Listed
Hengdeli glass shop	15	In	Not Listed
Shengxifu hat shop	14	In	Not Listed
Heaven Queen Temple	11	Close to	Listed

Source: Xiaolin Zang

Overall, the respondents mentioned fewer historic sites in the Haiyunan area than in Zhongshan Commercial Street. This may be partly due to the smaller number of listed buildings (only 4 buildings and sites in Haiyunan). Over half of the respondents (59%) thought that they knew one or two buildings, while 31% of respondents said that they had no idea of any historical buildings in the Temple Area. Even the residents of the Haiyunan area did not know many heritage sites or may have had a different definition of heritage in their area. Six historic sites were mentioned more than ten times (Table 8.3). Haiyunan Temple was the best-known site in this area. Many respondents also mentioned the nonmaterial Sugar Ball Fair as heritage.

A series of pictures was used for a further exploration of the residents' knowledge of heritage in the two research areas. First, we wanted to determine their knowledge of specific building styles. In Zhongshan Commercial Street, respondents were shown pictures of four listed buildings and were asked which building was not built during the German occupation (1987-1914). Less than half (47%) gave the correct answer. Next, we showed four typical Chinese dwelling styles in different cities and asked residents to select the one built in the typical Qingdao style. Over half of the respondents (53.9%) selected the correct building. We were also interested to see whether the residents had knowledge of the history of heritage objects. All residents were asked for the original functions of eight buildings (four in each study area) that were shown in modern photographs. In Zhongshan Commercial Street, 27.5% gave the correct answer, and in Haiyunan this was 46.3%. Only a small percentage had no idea (less than 3%).

**Table 8.3** Most frequently mentioned historic sites in the Haiyunan Temple area

Sites	Mentioned	Location (in / close to Haiyunan Area)	Listed/not Listed
Haiyunan Temple	127	In	Listed
Sugar Ball Fair	111	In	Not Listed
Sifang Factory	18	Close to	Listed
The former Assemblies of God Church	13	In	Not Listed
Former offices of the Communist Party of China Qingdao Branch	11	Close to	Listed
Dakang Cotton Factory	11	Close to	Not Listed
Railway Middle School	10	Close to	Listed

Source: Xiaolin Zang

The pictorial tests showed that around half of the respondents had a certain knowledge of local heritage. The other half seemed to lack exact knowledge and education on local heritage. There was a difference between the residents' own perception of their knowledge and their scores on the picture tests. This may be explained by the fact that the pictures tested factual knowledge and not actual experiences. Residents seemed familiar with heritage sites with traditional functions, such as Haiyunan Temple or the local high school. This may be due to their personal connections with these buildings. Overall, knowledge of and familiarity with this heritage seemed related. The scores for the pictures test were influenced positively by where respondents lived, whether they visited these areas and how familiar they were with the heritage of the area.

## 7 Residents' attitudes towards heritage

A set of nineteen questions with a five-point scale as well as several multiple-choice questions were used to investigate attitudes towards heritage conservation, government policies and future development. Although this set of questions focused on a limited number of themes, Cronbach's alpha indicates that the five-point questions do not translate into three or four statistically valid constructs.

This survey revealed that conservation of heritage has become important to the residents. Almost all respondents claimed to appreciate heritage conservation (Table 8.4). Moreover, respondents felt that historic buildings added something positive to their living environment. Overall, respondents strongly agreed with the first four statements, which translate into a strong appreciation of heritage as part

of built identity and living environment. The subsequent three negatively posed statements scored lower means (less than 2.85), which also implies support for heritage conservation from respondents, as they disagreed with the demolition of valuable historical buildings and sites. However, with these last statements the standard deviation is much higher, showing less agreement between the respondents.

**Table 8.4** Residents' attitudes towards heritage conservation

<b>Attitudes to Heritage Conservation</b>	<b>Mean</b>	<b>Std. Deviation</b>
The streetscape of Zhongshan Commercial Street must be preserved.	4.36	.848
Historic buildings improve the atmosphere in Qingdao.	4.41	.861
If many characteristic historic buildings in the city were demolished, I would not feel it is Qingdao anymore.	4.27	1.034
It is a pleasure to live in a historic environment.	3.93	1.041
The Liyuan buildings should be demolished because they are poorly serviced.	2.34	1.246
Modern buildings upgrade the image of the city centre more than historic buildings.	2.59	1.333
Besides Shinan District, there are no typical historic buildings in Qingdao.	2.85	1.470

Value format: 1 = strongly disagree, 5 = strongly agree

*Source: Xiaolin Zang*

The survey further explored residents' attitudes towards government policies. Respondents highly appreciated government-listed heritage. They almost unanimously agreed that the government plays a dominant role in heritage conservation and management. Although over 64% of residents complained that they were not familiar with renovation plans in the two study areas, half of the residents strongly supported the present government plans. It is interesting to note that many residents agreed with experts in their analysis of the main threats causing the demise of heritage in our two research areas. Respondents felt that the polycentric nature of the city and the relocation of the political centre caused the accelerating decline of Zhongshan Commercial Street. Respondents identified diminished governmental support, poor infrastructure, low household consumption and outdated industrial facilities as the main causes of the decline of the Haiyunan area.

In general, respondents preferred the development of Zhongshan Commercial Street and the Haiyunan area into comprehensive modern centres with distinctive cultural and regional characteristics. Residents favoured the redevelopment of Zhongshan Street into a characteristic folk street, and the Haiyunan area into a market to show folk customs and antiques. Most respondents wanted to see the development of

sustainable tourism in Zhongshan Commercial Street and the expansion of the brand of the Sugar Ball Fair in the Haiyuan area.

## 8 Discussion and conclusion

Overall, respondents have a positive attitude towards heritage conservation. They like to live in a historic environment and appreciate the roles of heritage on enhancing city image and identity. They recognize several values that heritage may have, such as 'symbol of Qingdao', 'showcase of cultural connotation', 'old buildings' or 'nice landscape'.

Although experts and political elites often question the knowledgeability of residents, our research showed that approximately half of the respondents had some knowledge of local heritage, such as site names and functions. Moreover, they agreed with experts on possible threats to heritage. However, our results also confirm the results of previous studies, showing that respondents evaluate heritage from a broader perspective than the experts' 'authorized heritage discourse' that focuses on historic, aesthetic and scientific values (He & Li, 2016). For example, decades-old shops were mentioned as heritage by many respondents.

Another important finding is that people who have lived among heritage buildings and sites for a long period and who frequently encounter such buildings and sites seem to have a stronger connection with their surroundings. The results show that those who live close to heritage sites, or frequently visit them, are more familiar with them and possess greater knowledge. They are also better able to connect heritage sites with personal and family memories and stories.

To conclude, residents are certainly able to contribute to planning processes. They can provide their own knowledge and stories that complement the input from experts and authorities. Many respondents are clearly aware of and generally satisfied with many of the proposed government plans. These findings suggest that involvement of residents in the design and protection of heritage is viable. However, there are also two potential pitfalls for public participation in heritage planning. First, although residents agreed with government plans, they claimed to have little knowledge of them. Second, they saw heritage as a task for authorities and left heritage policies to government and experts. This casts doubt on the willingness of residents to participate in heritage conservation.

For the future, this research can be extended to other cities, particularly to the other cities that are discussed elsewhere in this thesis, to gain more insight into the

representativeness of Qingdao. The present study shows that in China, together with a strong economic development and the growth of a well-educated middle class, a civil society is developing that increasingly participates in spatial processes, including heritage management.

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# CHAPTER

# 9

## **Potential of Resident Participation in Local Heritage Conservation in Qingdao: Experts' and Residents' Perceptions**

This chapter is based on the article:

**Xiaolin Zang**, Bouke van Gorp. 2008. Assessing the Potential of Resident Participation in Local Heritage Conservation, the Case of Qingdao, China, In Julie Clark & Nicholas Wise (Ed.), *Urban Renewal, Community and Participation*, Cham: Springer

# 1 Introduction

When considering sustainable heritage management and conservation, it is important to involve all stakeholders, such as experts, policymakers and the general public. Involving different stakeholders may also mean including different perceptions and knowledge. Scholars state that involving personal, less official and local interpretations can also be productive in promoting social renewal and change (Bonnett & Alexander, 2013; Parkinson et al., 2016) and in creating attachment between individuals and their environment (Ashworth & Graham, 2005). Listing heritage is seen as a tool for celebrating local distinctiveness and bringing communities together (Ludwig, 2013), it may require nomination from local residents' perspectives. The increasing awareness of the importance of heritage has led to positive attitudes of residents towards heritage preservation (Tilden, 2009). Therefore, heritage management and conservation have been challenged by a participatory, bottom-up approach of heritage conservation, which involves local communities (Schofield, 2014).

However, this participatory approach may not be easy to organize. On the one hand, an effort is needed to involve the public (Nyaupane, 2009), although involving more stakeholders may raise experts' awareness of the dissonant nature of heritage. According to Tunbridge and Ashworth (1996), heritage is a value-laden concept, which can be dissonant in context and purpose; in other words, residents' values and perceptions of heritage may differ from those of experts. Whereas experts may primarily appreciate heritage for its historical, aesthetic and scientific value (He & Li, 2016), residents may value heritage from their actual experience and daily life (see Chapter 8). Moreover, experts pay attention to age and rarity while residents focus on emotional ties and place identity (Carter & Grimwade, 1997; Coeterier, 2002; Smith, 2006) or upkeep and function (Coeterier, 1996). Heritage has been considered an object of both personal and collective pride (Silva, 2014). Recognizing the differences between the heritage perceptions of residents and of experts is important for enhancing people's understanding of planning and/or conservation decisions (Coeterier, 2002). Experts need to be aware of the way the public values heritage in order to communicate better with residents and involve them in the decision-making process. However, traditionally, the public finds it difficult to understand professional language, causing the public voice to be heard very little; as a result, elites have played a dominant role in heritage issues for decades (Lowenthal, 1985; Al-Zoabi, 2004; Schofield, 2014; Parkinson et al., 2016). In this context, there is a risk that residents' understanding of heritage is ignored or dismissed.

In contemporary China, public participation has recently been on the rise and, as a result, a large number of studies on public involvement have been published, both in academic and in political circles, for example by Ruan and Ding (2007) and Li (2014). Surveys, forums and public meetings have been carried out in heritage conservation and revitalization projects in order to explore the immediate needs of local residents. However, there has been little awareness and enthusiasm from local people since from their perspective heritage is a top-down (Ding & Ruan, 2016), technocentric project which pays little concern to the general public (Acharya, 2005). This means that in practice, heritage is still strongly dependent on the professional discourse, as we found in our research in Qingdao.

Qingdao is a valuable city for a study. Articulating the achievements of planning in the city, Tian (2000) and Pei et al. (2005) stated that since 1985 Qingdao has formulated an integrated and unique system, which includes regulations, seminars and exhibitions designed to enhance public participation in urban planning and heritage conservation. However, while prior research focused on efforts that enhance public participation in heritage issues, our chapter's foremost concern is discussing potential obstacles or difficulties in resident involvement in heritage conservation and resident participation in heritage management. The town has many heritage sites. The Qingdao Overall Plan (2011-2020) distinguishes thirteen historic areas. Detailed regulatory plans are formulated step by step. At present, many old buildings have been reused, regenerated, renovated or repaired. During these processes, professionals may cooperate and clash with residents. Therefore, this chapter explores whether there is a basis for communication and negotiation between experts and residents. Based on the tenets of dissonant heritage and multi-participation theories, the most important objective concerning this research is to establish how professionals consider the potential of resident involvement in heritage issues.

This chapter begins by examining the previous literature concerning the importance of resident involvement in expert-led discourse of heritage to contextualize this research. The chapter then outlines potentials and barriers of involving residents in heritage conservation policymaking and practice. This is followed by a brief introduction to Qingdao and an outline of the research approach, which involved fieldwork, semi-structured in-depth interviews and photo-elicitation questionnaires.

## 2 Dissonance of resident participation

There is no standard definition of heritage (Blake, 2000; Ahmad, 2006). Lowenthal (1985) argued that heritage is what we create rather than what we preserve. Graham

(2002) stated that contents, interpretations and representations of the past are the result of selection for contemporary use. Interpretation of heritage is thus context-dependent. Communities, cultural groups and stakeholders may each develop their own definition or perspective of heritage. Ashworth and Graham (2005: 5) stated that *“thus heritage is seen here as a much more diverse knowledge in the sense that there are many heritages, the contents and meanings of which change through time and across space.”* In this chapter, which focuses on the differences between residents’ and professionals’ perceptions of heritage, the concept thus involves all the remains of the past that society values.

At the basis of this research is Tunbridge and Ashworth’s (1996) approach to dissonant heritage, which is to understand the ways that different groups of people interpret heritage – where dissonance is deemed to be the nature of heritage. Such an understanding of heritage provides a lens to explore possible conflicts that may arise when people interpret, use and value heritage (Ashworth, 2011; Ludwig, 2013; Harvey, 2015). Interpretations of the value and meaning of heritage can be dissonant in terms of what is interpreted, how it is interpreted, by whom it is interpreted (Šešić & Mijatović, 2014), and even at what time, in which context and for what purpose it is interpreted (Tunbridge & Ashworth, 1996; Ludwig, 2013). Stakeholders may have multiple interests, *“any combination of which may act as a motivation in their arguments”* (Parkinson et al., 2016: 269). Current purposes of heritage vary between political and cultural aims, in particular the construction of local identity and legitimization of government (Tunbridge & Ashworth, 1996; Ashworth et al., 2007), and economic purposes, focusing on tourism and regeneration (Graham, 2002). Dissonance may thus arise when different stakeholders see heritage as a resource for different purposes.

Representations of heritage may thus be different for each stakeholder. As a consequence of their different social, political and economic backgrounds, the way the public values heritage may differ starkly from how professionals value it (Parkinson et al., 2016). Locals tend to have different viewpoints about what heritage is, how and when heritage is created, and to whom heritage belongs (Sykes & Ludwig, 2015). Residents do not appreciate heritage based on authorized standards, norms or laws, but based on their own practice, personal experience and appreciation (Zhu, 2012; see Chapter 8). According to Ashworth (2011), the public consequently does not always agree with the government or the developers, as each stakeholder may even utilize policies to meet their own targets.

Professionals may tolerate the competing interpretation of non-experts, but the lay perspective is far from being totally endorsed (Parkinson et al., 2016). Nevertheless, there is an ongoing shift from the authorized heritage discourse to



a more community-led process which emphasizes intangible aspects of heritage, such as collective memory of a place, identity, distinctiveness, social inclusion and interaction and coherence (Vecco, 2010; Ludwig, 2013; Parkinson et al., 2016). According to Carter and Grimwade (1997: 45), “*the extent of the resource, its significance, rarity and existing status are value-laden factors, but provide the basis of a defensible rationale for adopting a particular use-preservation balance.*” However, such a shift cannot avoid the potential threat of demolition or redesign which are driven by other demands (Al-Zoabi, 2004). Valuing heritage based on intangible criteria, such as architectural merit, aesthetic appeal and neighbourhood stability, has proved difficult as a principle since environment and personal attitudes are constantly changing (Al-Zoabi, 2004). Building on this context, Parkinson et al. (2016) critically concluded that experts only accept representation from others when they seek support for the protection of heritage that matches their own professional judgement; as a result, the interaction between experts and the public seems ritualized.

Heritage conservation is related to the knowledge-power nexus, because knowledge is considered as a technique of power (Foucault, 1991; Robertson, 2008; Yan, 2015). Scholars have raised the concern that residents’ limited knowledge may be an obstacle to successful involvement in planning. As Smith (1964: 85) explained, “*the community that simply goes through the motions of the master planning process with little knowledge of what is involved is doing itself as well as planning a disservice.*” Timothy (1999) has also stated that a lack of education keeps residents at a distance when trying to involve them in the planning process. Therefore, local voices are often dismissed by discourses of elites (Hall, 1999; Hampton, 2005) and excluded from political and economic processes in heritage issues (Arnstein, 1969; Li, 2014). It has often been taken for granted that it is unnecessary to involve the ideas of local people, as elites know best how to improve the environment (Din, 1993; Timothy, 1999) and how to value heritage based on their technical and aesthetic knowledge (Zhu, 2015).

There is a more recent trend in integrated heritage interpretation, conservation and management that emphasizes the collaboration between residents and professionals (Coeterier, 2002; Hampton, 2005; Robertson, 2008; Nicholas et al., 2009; Yan, 2015). Cultural heritage is no longer exclusively a topic for those who are in charge or the minority who works with cultural heritage, but also for residents. Local residents can be considered the ultimate users, as they encounter, concern, involve, own and do business in a heritage surrounding (Hampton, 2005). As a result, understanding the interests and awareness of local residents is helpful, in order to avoid the cost of resolving conflicts of interests, to promote the heritage identification and protection process, and to build on the knowledge and capacities

of the different stakeholders (Yuksel et al., 1999; Nyaupane, 2009). Therefore, resident involvement should be given significantly more weight in heritage planning, conservation and management (Coeterier, 2002; Nyaupane & Timothy, 2010; Ludwig, 2013).

In response to successful examples of public participation, Ebbe et al. (2011) suggested that it can be widely carried out in China. In recent decades, residents have taken part in Chinese heritage conservation in several different ways (Ruan & Ding, 2007). However, public participation in practice seems difficult according to some Chinese scholars. Li (2014: 655) considered that the government might not be willing to involve residents as they may want to share power and pose an obstacle to the use of *“urban heritage as an economic resource to foster economic development as capital for political promotion or grey income.”* Qian (2007) introduced the notion that the Western and the Chinese heritage discourses are different, that the Western discourse emphasizes the cultural significance of heritage from the public perspective, whereas the Chinese principles highlight the role of heritage laws and the intervention of the state in decision-making processes. For example, Qian (2007: 258) stated that in the Chinese context *“any conservation mechanism must be established within the framework of the law, and conservation practices must be operated in compliance with the law.”* Conservation is considered government work, and residents are informed when planning decisions have been made (Timothy & Wall, 1997; Timothy, 1999). As a result, residents forget or ignore their responsibilities when it comes to planning their living environment (Smith, 1964). Furthermore, because the law lacks clear procedures for multi-participation (Ruan & Ding, 2007; Ni, 2013), civic responsibility is emphasized in a series of heritage documents. However, it seems that decisions are mostly made from a top-down perspective are often imposed (Yan, 2015). In some heritage regeneration projects in China, residents are forced to keep to the narratives of elite groups (Yan, 2015). They have come to accept the authorized knowledge and have a way of living that follows this authorized discourse, rather than preserve the heritage from their own perspective (Yan, 2015), even when this implies giving up their former economic activities and social habits (Yan, 2015). In short, there is a clear difference between what is theoretically expected with regard to involving residents in heritage issues and what room is left in reality by professionals or government.

There has been growing support for public participation in heritage issues. However, dissonance arises between the Western and the Chinese contexts, and between theory and practice. In this sense, how Chinese professionals view resident participation is an important issue of study. On the one hand, professionals, as intermediaries, provide services for both the public sector (government) and residents whereas on the other hand, professionals are among the most involved

stakeholders when it comes to planning and management, who know and have contact with residents, and who will treat residents according to the preferences of residents.

### 3 Research method

In order to explore how professionals perceive resident involvement in heritage issues, research material was gathered using a variety of methods, including fieldwork, questionnaires and semi-structured interviews in Qingdao between November 2014 and August 2016. Fieldwork was carried out in the designated historic town of Qingdao, as defined in the Qingdao historical and cultural city conservation plan (2011–2020). From a review of local heritage, we gained a general idea of the status quo with regard to conservation and management, and the main questions for the interviews and questionnaires were identified. Interviews were held with five professionals with a good knowledge of heritage and heritage conservation. These individuals played a role in designating, formulating and managing heritage projects, and they knew about both public involvement and the main obstacles to it. The semi-structured interviews took 1–2 hours and were held in a quiet office. The professionals were asked a series of questions, such as whether the interest in heritage is growing and whether heritage conservation is difficult in Qingdao. To add to the perspective of experts, we asked local residents to take part in our survey. The questionnaires aimed to explore how residents recognize, understand and interpret their heritage (see Chapter 8). In total, 382 questionnaires were completed in several locations in Qingdao.

### 4 Qingdao heritage

Qingdao lies in the East of China and the urban area is home to some three million people. The city contains thousands of historical sites recognized by national, provincial, municipal and regional governments. Qingdao city was designated a Historical and Cultural City at a national level in 1994 and now contains 515 protected historical and cultural sites (文物保护单位; in the remainder of this article abbreviated as ‘protected sites’), 206 outstanding historic buildings, 1,568 historic buildings and 13 historic areas (Qingdao Cultural Heritage Administration, 2014; www.Qingdao.gov.cn, 2014; Qingdao Urban Planning Administration, 2016). Built heritage makes an important contribution to the urban fabric, society, culture and economy of Qingdao. Built heritage consists of Western, Japanese and Chinese architecture. The historic landscape in the urban area is a reminder of the colonial history. From 1897–1914, Germany extended the fishing town in Qingdao, which

was exposed to Chinese and German cultures for 17 years. Further urban expansion took place during the two periods of Japanese occupation (1914–1922 and 1938–1945). The most important heritage sites are churches, schools, embassies, government/public buildings, factories and residences (Figure 9.1).



**Figure 9.1** The location of main protected sites and historic buildings in the historic areas of Sifang Road and Zhongshan Road

*Source: Map created by Margot Stoete & Ton Markus, Faculty of Geosciences, Utrecht University*

The majority of protected sites, historic buildings, and all historic areas are located in the historic town of Qingdao. All protected sites are administrated by the Cultural Heritage Administration from national to country levels, while the local Urban Planning Administration is in charge of historic buildings. Moreover, the sites are immovable cultural relics, while the buildings emphasize architectural and local characteristics. The principles and strategies for protected site conservation are stricter than for historic buildings. In Qingdao, historic buildings are divided into outstanding and general levels. Some protected sites also included in a plan for 2011–2020 that was adopted by the Qingdao Urban Planning Administration to list historic buildings (e.g. Zhanqiao Pier and the Christian Church). Recently, these

heritage sites have begun to be regarded as an important resource for attracting tourists and for building local identity.

## 5 Potential of resident participation in heritage according to professionals

In this chapter, heritage is considered dissonant (Tunbridge & Ashworth, 1996). This dissonance approach provides a framework for exploring the differences between the perceptions of professionals and those of residents. These differences were the subject of the interviews with professionals in Qingdao. We discuss three themes from the issues raised by the professionals: residents' awareness of the importance of heritage, residents' knowledge of heritage, and residents' priorities regarding conservation.

### 5.1 Residents' awareness of the importance of heritage

Interviewees state that with the improvement of the economy and cultural education, public awareness of the importance of heritage has risen. According to our interviewees, residents appreciate heritage as a significant sign of the origin and development of the city and its population. This, for example, is reflected by the Proposal of Improving Conservation and Utilization of Qingdao Historical and Cultural City (关于加强青岛历史文化名城保护和利用的议案) that was approved by the People's Congress in 2011. This proposal can be understood as a way of respecting the voice and aspirations of the public. Interviewee 4 stated that *"compared to other cities, professionals in Qingdao are very proud of the high public support for conserving heritage. And Qingdao citizens show a high level of recognition and a sense of honour towards their city and heritage."* Likewise, some interviewees maintain that residents feel an emotional bond with heritage. Interviewee 1 explained this in more detail:

*"Although the history of Qingdao city is relatively short, the public shows strong emotional ties to their cultural heritage. To some extent, everyone may want to trace their sources, including some of the West's family, they compile their genealogy, it is both a tracing process and emotional sustenance. Cultural heritage is both a personal memory of the city and a very important part of the city memory."*

This corresponds with the results of the 2014 questionnaire, which demonstrated that residents who live close to heritage sites or visit them frequently are more aware of the importance of heritage and are thus better able to connect heritage sites with personal and family memories and stories. We asked respondents whether they felt

a personal connection with the heritage, on a five-point Likert Scale ranging from totally agree (5) to totally disagree (1). The mean score of respondents who visit historic areas regularly was higher than the mean score of respondents who did not encounter heritage regularly (3.68 and 3.23, respectively). Moreover, about 80% of respondents indicated that they knew at least one historic building in Qingdao. The majority of the most frequently mentioned buildings and sites are indeed listed by the central and local governments. Our respondents did show an understanding of which buildings are eligible to be designated as heritage. Some decades-old shops, such as the Hengdeli glass shop and the Shengxifu hat shop, were also considered heritage by our respondents. This concurs with the notion that local residents tend to evaluate heritage from their daily experience (see Chapter 7).

However, the professionals that we interviewed were also critical of residents' awareness of heritage issues. According to Articles 7 and 12 in the Interim Administrative Measures for the Recognition of Cultural Relics (文物认定管理暂行办法), citizens, legal persons or other organizations can apply for designation and listing of immovable cultural relics themselves (China's Ministry of Culture, 2009). With the exception of a few of the local enterprises, for instance the Winery, no individual resident of Qingdao has since nominated or contributed his or her own historic building as heritage. This, on the one hand, implies that the Chinese government provides an open channel for the public to enrol in some areas of decision-making in heritage topics. On the other hand, it also reveals that residents may not be aware of their responsibilities in heritage conservation, that they may lack knowledge of official regulations, that they may lack confidence in the value of their building, or that they may have other priorities than conservation.

Recently, one example of a bottom-up initiative by local people to conserve heritage gained much media attention. Local residents worked collectively on a call to protect built heritage and staged mass protests over the demolition of a historic villa in the Yushan historic area. The scale of the protest and the societal influence were great, and the protest was covered by blogs, newspapers and news websites. Residents were fighting for conservation of the building and the integrated landscape of this area because of their collective attachment, which was embodied in memories and stories about this building and area. The building was to make way for the construction of a new science park, which had in fact been approved by the Qingdao Urban Planning Administration in 2015. What the government had not foreseen were the improved societal aspirations and expectations for conserving Qingdao's old buildings and built environment.

However, the professional interviewees show a different opinion regarding the Yushan case. They appreciate the support for heritage conservation by the public

and also show their regret about the demolition. However, they question the capacity of the public to judiciously support heritage conservation. Interviewee 4 reflected that “*the building is not listed as a protected site, which means there is no restrictive law to protect it.*” Professionals feel that at times the public simply want to protect old buildings without giving it serious thought. The public may mistakenly perceive some old buildings as protected sites; moreover, they often ignore the private ownership of such buildings. Interviewee 5 stated that “*if demolition of the building was considered and discussed adequately, the government should insist on their opinion.*” Interviewee 5 also asked the question, “*do we need to keep all the old buildings in Qingdao?*”

This example is in accordance with Parkinson et al. (2016), who stated that there may be vigorous opposition if members of the public experience a deep personal connection to and a strong sense of local identity with a threatened building. In such cases, professionals may focus less on social or cultural values if the building has little historic, artistic or scientific value. Professionals recognize that residents value heritage from emotional and social perspectives, but in practice, professionals question the ability of the public to designate and evaluate heritage, as they feel that these actions rely on expert and official criteria. In this particular case, the professionals did not see the public outcry as a reason to start protecting the building; instead they decided to keep to the official laws and plans. However, the Chinese principles would have allowed conservation. Even for protected sites or listed buildings, Chinese principles allow for flexibility in the case of special circumstances, for example, important national developments (Qian, 2007).

A second issue where some interviewees criticize public awareness of heritage is the case of pseudo-classic architecture, which is currently popular in China. Professionals feel that pseudo-classic architecture is fake, but that the public does not seem to see it that way. As Interviewee 3 remarked, “*the Chinese clearly recognize fake artefacts. They acknowledge that the fake bronze ware is valueless.*” However, the same cannot be said for ‘fake’ buildings. Pseudo-classic architecture is valued and accepted by the public, who do not care about ‘fake’ or ‘real’ architecture. This statement strongly stresses the authenticity of relics from a professional perspective. However, common acceptance by the public implies different criteria by which residents value heritage. Such differences in the evaluation of heritage were also noted in another instance.

A widely accepted norm in the way professionals value heritage in Qingdao is that built heritage relates to objects constructed before 1949<sup>8</sup>. As such, professionals

<sup>8</sup> In Chapter 6, we stated that this criterion also implies a way to renegotiate the colonial heritage in post-colonial cities.

emphasize historical, artistic and scientific values (Qingdao Cultural Heritage Administration 2014). As a consequence, some old buildings are not considered valuable. One professional, Interviewee 5, stated that *“values of the simple structured Japanese workers dormitory cannot be compared with the stone German Christian church. [...] Nobody, including the owner, is willing to pay for the revitalization of such poor buildings. They are valueless.”*

The public, however, may indeed value such ‘poor buildings’. The questionnaire reveals that respondents value heritage based on three aspects: cultural, social and aesthetic values. Residents emphasize intangible heritage qualities and the integral natural environment of built heritage, such as a ‘showcase of cultural connotation’ or the ‘embodiment of Western or folk culture’. This raises an important issue, namely that non-physical values are as significant as physical structures to historic towns or to the conservation of buildings from residents’ perspectives. As a result, dissonance may arise between experts and residents.

## 5.2 Residents’ knowledge of heritage

The knowledge (or lack of knowledge) that residents have of heritage is also considered a factor that may hinder resident involvement in heritage conservation. Some professionals further emphasize the knowledge gap between residents and experts. As one interviewee stated:

*“The public has very little knowledge. The people in Qingdao lack education about local history, and then it leads to several problems when we talk about the urban development in Qingdao. From 1940s–1990s, there were no professional institutions, such as university departments of history or architectural conservation, to teach the history and the architecture of Qingdao to the public. Moreover, a great number of immigrants who live in Qingdao now know little about the city.”*

For this reason, the experts feel that residents have limited knowledge of local history, which the experts consider important in heritage conservation. The questionnaire revealed that local knowledge may indeed be limited. When we asked respondents more detailed factual knowledge about old buildings, they struggled. Less than half (47%) of the respondents could tell which picture out of four presented a building that had been built during the German occupation (1987–1914). In a similar vein, little over half of the respondents (53.9%) could select the correct typical Qingdao dwelling style (Liyuan). All respondents were also asked to identify the original functions of eight buildings that were shown in modern photographs (see Appendix D). In the first set of pictures, where respondents had to match current buildings with their original names, 27.5% gave the correct answer. In the



set of matching names and pictures in the old industrial area, this was 46.3%. Only a tiny percentage (less than 3%) had no idea at all. Old buildings with a long history or with original public and social uses, such as Haiyuan Temple or the local high school, were recognized more frequently than other buildings. This again may be due to respondents' personal connections with these buildings through the use of them in their daily lives.

The questionnaire thus demonstrates that at least a part of the respondents have some knowledge of heritage. However, it is not certain that these outcomes can be generalized to the whole population of Qingdao. The questionnaire may be self-selective, as respondents may be more confident about their heritage knowledge than the people who refused to partake in the questionnaire, even though the latter mentioned other reasons for not taking part, such as the cold weather or being busy.

Our research also showed that knowledge of and familiarity with heritage seem related. The scores for the detailed factual knowledge were positively influenced by where the respondents lived, whether they visited these areas and how familiar they were with the heritage of the area. As part of the process of improving awareness of local heritage, visiting heritage sites is commonly perceived as a positive method for the public to acquire knowledge, connect with the past, foster appreciation, support conservation and experience heritage (Urry, 1990; Moscardo, 1996; McIntosh & Prentice, 1999; Smith et al., 2003; Al-Zoabi, 2004; Smith, 2006; Nyaupane & Timothy, 2010; Silva, 2014).

In Qingdao, attempts have been made by both central and local governments to increase public visits and to educate the public about heritage values through several channels. In recent years, theme activities have been held on the China Cultural Heritage Day and a series of themed museums have been built in Qingdao. More than 80 public and private museums have been created recently. Our interviewees stated that through reuse and revitalization into museums, the old buildings are being conserved and this helps to promote the cultural quality of the city. However, professionals also noted that the heritage activities do not seem to be appreciated by the general public. The turnout of the public at these activities is low, in their opinion. This is clearly expressed by Interviewee 4:

*“As professionals, we notice the increasing awareness of the public of heritage. But we wonder how we can effectively transform our knowledge from academic to popular. [...] We want to let the public know why heritage is important, how to protect it and what the significance is of conserving heritage. We expect that by taking part in heritage activities, the public will*

*become more aware of the significance of heritage. It is difficult. The way that we tried is not accepted by the public. For example, TV programmes on Cultural Heritage Day are not attractive to the majority who have difficulty to relate to professional language. [...] Moreover, future research should address why populations do not visit museums and what constraints prevent them from visiting.”*

Experts acknowledge the increasing public awareness of heritage, and they encourage the public to experience heritage. This concurs with notions that visiting museums may help people to become more interested and start exploring the stories behind the artefacts, and then build their own interpretations of heritage (Hooper-Greenhill, 1999). However, when we further explore ideas of public participation with professionals, there are signals of authorized heritage discourse, which implies that the professionals feel that the knowledge of residents is inappropriate or too limited. Experts explain that they are struggling to find a way to attract visitors to heritage and to educate residents about heritage. This focus on trying to educate or transfer knowledge does not correspond with the idea of using public participation as a means to include more perspectives and different types of knowledge.

### **5.3 Priorities over conservation**

According to interviewees, despite the general support for heritage conservation, there are groups in society who do not care much about heritage. A significant number of inhabitants of the historic town struggle to make ends meet and simply have other priorities in life than conserving heritage. Official statistics are hard to obtain. However, the questionnaire shows that 84% of the 209 respondents who live in the Zhongshan historic area or the Haiyuan Temple area receive a low monthly income (less than RMB 4,000). Furthermore, respondents who live in historic areas generally consider a nice modern city centre to be much more pleasant than a historic one. People from this area are also more inclined to call for the demolition of Liyuan than the other people interviewed. Interviewee 1 used a typical Chinese proverb to express that poorer residents may have other priorities: *“We recognize manners when we have enough food. We notice honour or disgrace when we have enough clothing.”*

For many residents, meeting basic needs is still the main priority in daily life. During interviews, words commonly used by professionals to describe the residents living in old buildings were ‘low-income’ and ‘vulnerable groups’. Taking Liyuan as example, three generations often live together in a room of less than 10 m<sup>2</sup> (Han & Kuang, 2012), and they have to share one old-style squat toilet with between 30 and 100 households (Figure 9.2). Because of restrictive regulations in historic areas, building extensions is impossible. If the family expands, residents are unable

to find a place for new family members to live. Therefore, residents who live in old buildings are not opposed to regeneration, they are opposed to a lower quality of life.



**Figure 9.2** Poor living conditions in Liyuan

Source: Xiaolin Zang

According to the Law on the Protection of Cultural Relics, the person who owns or uses a building is responsible for its maintenance. On the basis of interviews, it can be tentatively assumed that there are not many residents who are willing to pay the costs of the maintenance of old buildings, even if they are listed as heritage. Interviewee 1 referred to an old house that now accommodates several families:

*“It is very difficult in China. [...] The government should persuade every family (if one of them disagrees to pay the cost, the regeneration project cannot be carried out). For example, some of the inhabitants prefer to use a gas tank rather than installing a new gas pipe. Because they are not willing to pay for it themselves.”*

Lack of private investment may be aggravated if several families live in a building. This means that the cost of revitalization and renovation of heritage will have to be taken on by the local government rather than by the direct users. Residents do not regard the cost of maintenance as their responsibility. This is confirmed by the results of the questionnaires: respondents unanimously agree that heritage

conservation and management are a task for the authorities, and they leave heritage policies to the government and experts. However, as heritage rehabilitation and conservation may require constant investment, the government may hope to share these expenses with other stakeholders, such as private investors or property owners (Lichfield, 1997; Ashworth & Tunbridge, 2000). For example, operating a museum costs 10 million yuan per year, according to Interviewee 4.

Private investors have become involved in revitalization in one neighbourhood, namely the Xinhaoshan historic area, which is located near to the original campus of Ocean University. Although most buildings in this area were formerly used as residences, some of them have been converted into tourism-related businesses, such as hostels and cafés (Figure 9.3). However, these developments may be specific to this area. Similar developments cannot automatically be expected elsewhere, according to Interviewee 2:

*“Converting into bars or cafés is bound up with the setting or environment. The Xinhaoshan historic area is near Ocean University. Foreigners and college students are prospective customers. This strongly relies on the market orientation, or a clustering effect.”*



**Figure 9.3** A regenerated café located in the Xinhaoshan historic area

Source: Xiaolin Zang

Besides the economic interests of living in a historic area, interviewees also emphasized that beautiful landscapes and positive experiences attract some residents, such as inhabitants who own a whole or half a house, or residents who have lived in this neighbourhood for a long time. Interviewees also mentioned schooling as a common reason for people to want to live in some historic areas in Qingdao. According to the Chinese Nearby Enrolment Policy (就近入学政策), school-age children should enrol in the nearest school where their residence is registered. Therefore, when famous schools are located in the historic town, houses and rooms in this area become attractive. As Interviewee 2 explained:

*“There is a couple and their child who live in a loft with much sunshine. But they do not want to move (because of the Nearby Enrolment Policy).”*

Although professionals know the example of the Xinhaoshan historic area, where private investment has renewed the neighbourhood, they are also well aware of the downside of private ownership: it may complicate heritage conservation. These problems relate to, on the one hand, limited budget, and on the other hand, fragmentary ownership. In the Chinese context, the majority of protected sites and listed historic buildings are owned by different levels of government. However, there are a considerable number of private buildings in Qingdao. According to the professionals interviewed, two main strategies are used to ensure conservation of private buildings. Government officials prefer to negotiate with private owners to open their houses to the public at a stipulated time with governmental compensation. For buildings in danger of not being conserved or with high values, governments prefer to exchange or buy the property straight from private owners. However, the budget of 200 million yuan from the national government is not sufficient for the great number of private historic buildings in Qingdao, as noted by Interviewee 3:

*“For example, in the Zhongshan neighbourhood, there is too much and too complex private ownership. When the government came to investigate, some unapproved construction (in the yards or corridors) had gained property rights in the past. Residents also required compensation for these extra areas. It is very common. [...] Under the circumstances, the Qingdao government cannot afford the immense expense.”*

This is especially the case if a building includes several households. According to Interviewee 1, when a former Laoshe house was bought, which included a 400 m<sup>2</sup> three-layer building and a 600 m<sup>2</sup> garden, the government paid 1.3 million yuan to each of the ten or eleven households. The large investment was paid by national, city and district governments together. Such a multi-departmental participation often leads to management fragmentation. As Interviewee 1 explained:

*“The management of this house should show the power of each level of governments. As a result, while the Qingdao Cultural Heritage Administration is authorized to supervise building conservation, the district government is the practising manager.”*

Furthermore, there are too many conflicts of interest in heritage regeneration projects. As Interviewee 2 stated, *“It is too complex. If one of the owners disagrees (with the compensation), it is impossible to carry out a regeneration project of the whole building.”* In practice, carrying out heritage conservation and regeneration projects has become an expensive, difficult and complex issue. Owners and residents who live in old buildings often have other priorities and leave heritage conservation to governments and experts.

## 6 Conclusion

We asked professionals in Qingdao about their experiences and views on public awareness and participation in heritage conservation. This study reveals that professionals recognized an increasing awareness of heritage among residents. The intangible personal and family connections with heritage sites are emphasized by our residents and mentioned as a significant aspect of the importance of heritage by the professionals interviewed. In Qingdao, a series of activities, such as surveys, forums and public meetings were organized by the administration, but public participation has not yet become a spontaneous bottom-up process to promote governmental decision-making. However, public awareness of the importance of heritage does not automatically lead to participation.

There are obstacles to overcome before public participation in heritage issues can really take place in Qingdao. First, professionals feel that residents lack sufficient knowledge of history, authenticity and legislation. This hinders resident participation in heritage matters. Professionals partly see it as their duty to reduce the knowledge gap. They are struggling to find an attractive way to increase public visits to heritage sites and improve public understanding of the significance of heritage. However, the aspiration to involve residents resembles the authorized heritage discourse, which favours expert knowledge and understanding over local knowledge. Local residents are educated with professional knowledge and the language of valuing heritage through watching official TV programmes or visiting museums. As a result, residents can communicate and negotiate with professionals by using the same concepts and criteria. The perceived need to educate residents also follows from expert observations that the public does not value heritage for the ‘right’ reasons. While residents value and conserve heritage from their personal

experiences, the emphasis of professionals is on heritage laws and regulations. This implies a top-down system is still firmly in place (Qian, 2007). In the case of Yushan, professionals carefully explained that the demolition was in accordance with the official laws and suited government-decided projects. The residents' perspective, embodied in intangible values such as stories and associations which are difficult to justify, was thus not enough to save the building (Ludwig, 2013). Second, professionals also identified another difficulty in heritage practice, namely that residents who live in heritage or own heritage have other priorities than conservation, such as better living conditions and tourism development. The direct users regard heritage maintenance and regeneration as a responsibility of the government rather than of themselves. There is also little evidence that residents are willing to invest in heritage with complex ownership.

In the future, it would be advisable for professionals to help residents recognize and understand their responsibilities when it comes to heritage designation and management. In addition, we suggest that in the future, Chinese professionals give residents' ideas more credit and recognize the value of heritage from lay understandings of cultural significance rather than from technocentric or restrictive official principles as argued by Acharya (2005) and Qian (2007).

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# CHAPTER 10

## Conclusion and Discussion

# 1 Conclusion

Heritage is a topic of growing importance in China. The interest in remains from the past, particularly of inscriptions, has a long history. In the course of the twentieth century and under the influence of Western and Chinese scholars who had studied at Western universities, an interest in archaeological research and in old buildings grew. From the 1980s onwards, and particularly after 1985 when China joined the UNESCO Convention Concerning the Protection of the World Cultural and Natural Heritage, international conservation principles and concepts were introduced in China, and these greatly influenced Chinese heritage conservation thinking and practices. However, in the last few decades, new generations of Chinese scholars have started to challenge predominantly Western discourses on heritage, including notions of authenticity.

At the same time, heritage in China is facing similar challenges as heritage elsewhere, as a result of worldwide developments such as the neoliberal ideology and entrepreneurial urban strategies. As a consequence, heritage is increasingly being seen as an economic resource, for example in tourism. The growing importance of adaptive reuse in Chinese cities mirrors developments elsewhere. This is also the case with the involvement of the growing number of stakeholders in heritage management. With the development of a civic society in China, there is a growing awareness of – and participation in – discussions on heritage.

In this thesis, heritage is seen as a social construction, as a way in which contemporary society relates to its past, as a process that transforms the past into current experiences, and as an outcome created in relation to contemporary political, social and economic requirements in different communities, groups and stakeholders (Lowenthal, 1996; Tunbridge & Ashworth, 1996; Graham, 2002; Ashworth & Graham, 2005; Ashworth, 2011; Johnson, 2014). Thus, preservation and destruction, in other words remembering and forgetting, can all be understood from this perspective (Tunbridge & Ashworth, 1996). History and heritage are used and interpreted with different objectives by different stakeholders through different times and contexts, and such uses and interpretations are always contested, as Ashworth and Tunbridge (2000) emphasized as early as twenty years ago. The dissonance of heritage is one of the key themes of this thesis, and it is particularly relevant in the case studies of the four Chinese port cities. Each of these cities has a colonial past, which in itself is exceptional in China. The colonial period has left its mark on the modern towns, and some experts contest what these marks actually mean, whilst others regard them as assets and as unique selling points.

The primary purpose of this study was to explore what kind of ideas are behind current heritage interpretations in Chinese post-colonial cities, and to what extent heritage has led to dissonance among users. To achieve this purpose, the following overarching question and three sub-questions have been answered:

*How have ideas of heritage conservation evolved in the contexts of urban development in Chinese colonial port cities since the end of the nineteenth century?*

- [1] How did Chinese heritage ideas and practices develop in relation to international heritage thinking?
- [2] What is the place of colonial heritage in post-colonial Macao, Hong Kong, Qingdao and Taipei, and how does this lead to dissonance?
- [3] Who are the main stakeholders in heritage management in Macao, Hong Kong, Qingdao and Taipei, and to what extent are there shifts in the relative importance of these stakeholders?

The answers to the first sub-question provide insight into the shifting discourses of heritage. Chapter 2 illustrated how the Chinese trailblazers played an important role in, on the one hand, accepting and incorporating Western concepts to formulate Chinese heritage principles, and on the other hand, transforming and developing the Eurocentric heritage discourse towards a Chinese alternative. The reconstruction of Mu's Residence in 1999 (Chapter 2) exemplifies the mismatch between views on heritage authenticity in existing Authorized Heritage Discourse and alternative philosophies that stress the importance of social, cultural and spiritual values (Zhang, 2006). In this case, reconstructions took place on the original site, making the new Mu's Residence eligible for heritage, and ensuring the continuity of local life, memory and culture. The authenticity is emphasized by reconnecting the people and their past rather than focusing on the authenticity of the form. The issue of authenticity has also been raised in relation to pseudo-classic architecture in our case cities. Experts read pseudo-classic architecture, such as found in Lee Tung Street and 1881 Heritage in Hong Kong (Chapter 5), in different ways. Some view it as fake and without any heritage value, whereas others regard it as a significant marketing strategy by local authorities to attract nostalgia tourists. However, our interviewees differ in opinion towards one particular kind of pseudo-classic architecture, namely Chinese Renaissance Architecture. Here, new buildings are decorated with traditional Chinese architectural elements, and this is considered a new development of authenticity which provides a recognizable identity, a strong symbolic meaning and political significance, and which implies a patriotism aimed at boosting national self-confidence (Chapter 5).

Furthermore, Chapter 4 provided evidence that the contemporary discourse of heritage conservation, in contrast to previous notions focusing on the preservation

of individual buildings and the maintenance of buildings in their original state, regards heritage as a policy instrument in area conservation, renovation and regeneration (Ennen, 1999; Ashworth, 2011). As described in Chapter 4, Macao, Qingdao and Taipei have all realized the importance of area conservation, and have listed areas both under local, regional and national heritage policies and as UNESCO World Heritage Sites. In Hong Kong, area conservation is dominated by the importance of integrity (Tiesdell et al., 2013) that constructs an integrated narrative to reconnect scattered historic remains. However, in practice, our results reveal that area conservation is still a suggestion rather than a legal option. As exemplified by the Qingtian area in Taipei (Chapter 3) and the Guia case in Macao (Chapter 5), both governments and residents who live in historic areas tend to pursue economic benefits and view restricting regulations as an obstacle to the potential development of the protected areas.

In contrast to the literature, the experts interviewed indicate that market-led policies offer a new perspective on heritage practices worldwide, gradually leading to an emphasis on the economic value of heritage and an integrated approach to heritage regeneration and sustainable development (Loulanski, 2006; Silberman, 2012; Pendlebury, 2013; Tiesdell et al., 2013; Janssen et al., 2014). In the Chinese context this approach is labelled 'Living Organism' (Wu, 2005: 68). Adaptive reuse as a strategy is popularized under market-led policies, not only to revitalize large-scale abandoned complexes with new functions but also to maintain their intrinsic heritage values (Langston et al., 2008; Bullen & Love, 2011; Plevoets & Van Cleempoel, 2011). There are several successful reuse projects in the four case cities. For example, in Taipei, the former Dadaocheng port area was converted into a modern waterfront park, and an abandoned tobacco factory was recreated into a creative park. In Hong Kong, the colonial police station was renovated into a heritage and art centre (Chapters 4, 5 & 6). However, such successes are not always guaranteed, as our interviewees state that few of the adapted projects proved capable of making a profit, and that other projects were stalled after government funding that should have ensured their long-term economic sustainability was substantially reduced. Thus, local experts and professionals stress that more debate about reuse projects is necessary to decide what adaptive reuse means and in order to find sustainable new uses.

The second sub-question – regarding dissonance within the context of identity building and economic use in post-colonial port cities – was dealt with in Chapters 3 to 7. According to authors such as Tunbridge and Ashworth (1996) and Graham (2002), dissonance is inevitable when we select the past to serve contemporary cultural, political and economic needs. Colonial remains may imply former occupation and unequal socio-economic relationships; as a result, colonial heritage



is a potential dissonant in post-colonial societies. In Chapter 6 it became clear that strong national sentiments have led to the intentional neglect of Japanese colonial remains. Immediately after liberation, the Kuomintang government limited any motivation to protect and list Japanese colonial remains in Taiwan. The experts further reveal a negative outcome for the Japanese constructions in the current heritage planning in Qingdao due to political and ideological considerations. Other colonial remains have seemingly been treated more gently and subtly, as part of a narrative of coexisting cultures or as an asset for tourism and city branding. The mixture of cultures is used as a narrative to renegotiate the colonial past as a cultural exchange between East and West. This is presented as a unique characteristic of the historic towns of Macao and Qingdao. Such a narrative implies the political and ideological significance of the colonial past, and it masks covert dissonance. Interviews with local experts also reveal that colonial history is renegotiated by avoiding the term 'colonial', by stressing the architectural appearance, by reaffirming local roots and by emphasizing the short duration of this episode in a long history. Thus, on the surface, colonial remains may be perceived as accepted in our case cities, but when these remains are represented in identity building, dissonance arises subtly.

Our interviewees also indicate that economic considerations are a way of renegotiating the past, but this is also a generator of heritage dissonance, as was illustrated in Chapters 5 and 7. 1881 Heritage in Hong Kong and the Historic Centre in Macao serve as examples that illustrate the most obvious economic use of heritage, namely as the basis for developing tourism (Chapter 5). In Chapter 7, the Qingdao International Beer Festival is an example of how the former German brewery and the beer culture have been used as important tourism factors to generate a distinctive place brand. Economic pressures resulting from increased property values pushed the government to sell land and demolish heritage, especially functional historic structures in port areas that are deemed less valuable. In these cases, economic arguments have taken priority over heritage significance. In Hong Kong and Qingdao, the ports were modernized in order to be able to retain their important position in the global trade networks (Chapter 4). In addition, the commercial logic in heritage management may have also led to over-commercialized heritage and questions of authenticity, as was discussed above. One interviewee indicated the need for further discussion on where reuse and authenticity strike a balance.

Answers to the third sub-question on stakeholders show the shifting power relationship in heritage conservation and management, which coincides with similar attempts to value more types of knowledge and opinions and to facilitate multi-stakeholder participation. It became clear from the interviews that the last few decades have seen the decentralization of the former patriarchal government

and the empowerment of developers and private investors. In order not to stand in the way of economic interests, governments tend to avoid conflict with developers and are persuaded to demolish historic buildings to make room for new developments. Meanwhile, our interviewees point out that if private owners insist on redeveloping heritage, the government is one of the least powerful stakeholders in heritage conservation, as was illustrated by the demolition of Ho Tung Garden in Hong Kong. Moreover, the cost of buying, conserving and repairing heritage is often considered to be too much for the government to finance on its own; therefore, governments may not be willing to own many heritage objects and may adopt entrepreneurial policies to involve multi-investment (Gunay, 2008; Janssen et al., 2014).

Our research states that members of the public who encounter heritage in their daily lives are not powerful enough to have a voice in heritage decision-making. Still, many examples in this thesis show the increasing awareness and the positive attitude towards heritage among the public in Chinese cities, as is clear from the protests against the demolition of the Queen's Pier and the Star Ferry Pier in Hong Kong (Chapters 3 & 4), the Western-style villa in Qingdao and the Hotel Estoril in Macao (Chapters 5). It has also been shown that the public values heritage from a more emotional perspective than the experts. From the results it becomes evident that the residents of Qingdao possess a certain knowledge of heritage and that such knowledge is related to familiarity with heritage. The people who are more in contact with heritage, such as the people who live or work in historic buildings, have the most historical knowledge. However, strong personal or collective attachment have not been enough to have the public voice heard in redevelopment projects. Experts recognize and emphasize the importance of personal attachment from the public, but only when they are looking for public support against the demolition of heritage. Therefore, it is possible to conclude that in Chinese colonial port cities the cooperation between experts and the public seems just as ritualized as authors such as Pendlebury and Townshend (1999) and Parkinson et al. (2016) have argued for cities in North-East England and Ireland.

Moreover, the results also highlight that although the public increasingly recognizes the importance of heritage, it is still excluded from heritage issues because awareness does not lead to a spontaneous bottom-up processes in decision-making, and residents see heritage conservation as a responsibility of governments and experts who are expected to know best how to enhance heritage and its environment. At the same time, the experts interviewed feel that the lack of expert knowledge is an obstacle to public participation in heritage issues, following previous studies that have drawn attention to the knowledge gap between professionals and the public (Timothy, 1999; Coeterier, 2002; Zhu,

2012; Sykes & Ludwig, 2015; Parkinson et al., 2016). This idea of a knowledge gap actually demonstrates that there is an authorized heritage discourse at work that has a knowledge/power nexus embedded in it, and local knowledge is valued as inappropriate or too limited. Experts therefore put in considerable effort to educate the public to understand and value heritage in the 'right' way before they can meaningfully participate. One example of ways in which tourists learn about authorized history is from their visits to the beer museum in Qingdao. Their reviews give very little evidence of feelings of contestation (Chapter 7).

Furthermore, in the context of our vision of heritage as an instrument for meeting current needs, this study has demonstrated that the public's role in heritage conservation is heterogeneous. The public must, in fact, be seen as a large mixed group of stakeholders who in this study consist of private property owners, residents and tourists. In the increasingly neoliberal and decentralized open-market economy, private property owners are more inclined to redevelop heritage, even overturning former conservation decisions, as is illustrated by the cases in the Qingtian neighbourhood (Chapter 5). Authors such as Franzén (2005), Donaldson et al. (2013) and Arkaraprasertkul (2018) have been critical of gentrification as it may lead to the displacement of the original inhabitants who have a stronger connection with and possess greater knowledge of their surroundings. Small-scale gentrification was instigated by inhabitants in Qingdao and Taipei, but as our interviewees explained, it would by no means be advisable to implement it as a general strategy in Qingdao. This is consistent with the results of the questionnaires. The poor living conditions of certain groups of inner-city inhabitants may lead directly to unwillingness to invest in heritage conservation, even though these residents are strongly attached to their heritage. Furthermore, it is difficult to reach agreement on how heritage projects with fragmentary ownerships should be regenerated (Chapter 9).

## 2 Reflection

The methods adopted in this research have advanced our knowledge of heritage thinking in four colonial Chinese port cities by exploring the interpretations of heritage in the context of urban development by several stakeholders. The four case-study cities are in many ways unique and the findings have once again demonstrated the importance of local (political, administrative, social, cultural and economic) studies in heritage conservation and management. At the same time, the research has also found several commonalities in the shifting heritage discourses in these cities. Whether the results provide insights that can be generalized beyond these case studies will be reflected upon in this section. For the different elements

of the research project, it will be discussed to what extent the outcomes relate to other Asian cities, particularly port cities with a colonial past.

The method of urban morphology has been used to analyse the way in which the urban landscape of port cities developed in colonial times, by tracing the key spatial transformations and elements which result from changing social, political, economic and cultural contexts (Conzen, 1988; Hoekveld, 1990). Our research follows Hoekveld's (1990) idea of a layered city and divides the colonial landscape into three distinctive layers: the pre-colonial period, the period of mercantile colonialism and the period of modern imperialism. In each era, the landscape is shaped and reshaped in accordance with the particular key elements that emerge as a result of the new social-spatial and economic-spatial relationships. This study translates the layer-model from its original application to North-Western European cities into the Asian colonial context which exhibits certain differences, notably a dual landscape between the ideas of the European and Japanese colonizers and Chinese philosophies. The model focuses on the way colonization has shaped the landscape, which is justified from the perspective that colonizers planned the colony according to their philosophies and their needs. In this way, our model leaves room for local variations while painting the bigger picture of how colonizers shaped the landscape to their uses and preferences. However, the model could itself be criticized for being neo-colonial as it pays limited attention to how local stakeholders negotiated their place in the colonial city.

The analysis of colonial urban morphology, with the use of the layered model, delimited the areas on which fieldwork should focus to see whether colonial remains were still present, visible and in what state of repair in today's vast urban areas. Desk research included analysis of literature and historical maps; the latter with the advantage of showing changing spatial patterns of our case cities. However, historical maps are not abundantly available for these cities. Thus, literature study, including local heritage publications, Chinese academic papers and international publications, complemented by official heritage lists and reports (in so far as they are publicly available) were also important research methods.

Second, to explore how the past is selected, represented and renegotiated into heritage narratives in Chinese colonial cities, semi-structured in-depth interviews were carried out with 24 experts and professionals. These interviewees are involved in valuing, designating and managing heritage, thus the empirical data generated from our interviews may contribute to the in-depth exploration of the dissonances in using heritage as an economic resource, in placing of colonial heritage in identity building, and in evaluating the potential of resident participation in heritage issues. We have conceptualized the renegotiation of heritage from the professionals'

perspectives largely through the notion of dissonance, and the interviewees, partly because of their academic background and their practical experience, could reflect on such dissonance. They had an overview and oversight of developments, projects, examples and stakeholders. This means that the research strongly leans on expert perspectives – whereas part of the potential for dissonance in heritage results from the diverging ways in which the various stakeholders view heritage. At times, we noted that the interviewees implicitly confirmed the existence of an authorized heritage discourse where the public needed to be educated before they could successfully participate in heritage conservation. As heritage may lead to multiple conflicts with and between stakeholders, further research is necessary to gain the perspectives of other stakeholders, especially residents who own a private historic house: on the one hand they may feel a strong personal attachment to their building and its environment, but on the other hand they may prefer redevelopment rather than conservation of heritage.

Although the research focuses on colonial heritage in general, and the layered models pay attention to different kinds of key elements (grand government edifices, churches, industrial complexes, port facilities, railways, bastions and barracks), our interviewees did not discuss all remains in equal detail or openness. Our interviewees (un)intentionally tried to avoid illustrating military complexes in too much detail. The batteries in Macao and Qingdao serve as an important characteristic of patriotism, while in Hong Kong these objects receive little attention from heritage professionals. At the same time, interviewees in Qingdao and Taipei made clear that the local government has a very limited influence on military heritage conservation due to the military ownership of land.

The questionnaire has provided insight into residents' awareness and knowledge of heritage. The results show that residents have a certain level of heritage awareness and knowledge, and there are strong suggestions that familiarity with heritage results from encounters with heritage objects in daily life. Although our results confirm other research that states that residents value heritage more from their personal emotional ties (Carter & Grimwade, 1997; Coeterier, 2002; Smith, 2006), it was hard to design discriminating knowledge questions. The outcomes of the questionnaire thus present an impression of much more complex resident perceptions of heritage. However, as a first exploration and a basis for the interviews with experts (regarding to what extent public participation can contribute to heritage issues), these questionnaires proved valuable, and also provided insight into local Qingdao heritage issues and values. The questionnaires were collected randomly on the streets in historic areas in the inner city of Qingdao – the outcomes can therefore not be generalized to all inhabitants of the vast urban area of Qingdao. First, the respondents in our survey may encounter heritage

more frequently because they live in or visit these historic areas. Second, non-response may be biased as well: an often-heard reason for not participating was a professed lack of knowledge. These individuals may have felt that their personal knowledge was not sufficient, or they may have lacked any interest in heritage issues. However, interviews with professionals and experts, and results from previous research concur with the results of the 382 completed questionnaires from the general public.

Our insight into residents' participation in heritage and heritage conservation are primarily based on our results from Qingdao. The results may be different in the other three cities with their own specific contexts. For example, the cities come from very different political administrative systems, which may influence the experience with public participation.

Text analysis was adopted in Chapter 7 to illustrate how the colonial roots of Tsingtao Beer are commercialized as a tourist selling point in promoting the Qingdao International Beer Festival nowadays. We first explored how official narratives position the beer festival in local policies and strategies towards heritage tourism and city branding. Regrettably, only a limited number of official documents were available. Second, we analysed online comments from two of the largest tourism review websites (Tripadvisor and Mafengwo) because of the influence of e-WoM (Electronic Word of Mouth) in the process of decision-making when tourists prepare their trip, choose what tourist attractions to visit, book hotels, and look for restaurants or bars. However, these reviews are labelled as 'unintentional' projected images, and the DMO cannot influence them but certainly needs to be aware of them, especially when possible negative reviews strongly diverge from how the DMO represents the city brand (Kozma & Ashworth, 1993).

The analysis focused on e-WoM, and particularly on reviews available online. However, these do not fully represent the opinions and advice of all visitors, and it cannot be generalized to offline WoM. There may be a bias in the type of visitor that writes online reviews. Writers of online reviews, of User-generated content (UGC), may well be a specific group of tourists that have other experiences than those who do not write a review. Therefore, a survey of visitors at the International Beer Festival could provide further insight into the visitors' experiences and into how they see the connection between the festival and the city's colonial past.

### 3 Policy outlook

In view of the heritage discourses that shift with contemporary socio-economic contexts, in this section we consider the key implications for integrating emerging governance efforts with heritage policy-making.

To begin with, Chapter 2 concluded that the authenticity of the local traditions and culture are as important as authentic physical forms in Chinese philosophies. The reconstruction of Mu's Residence, for example, aims at keeping the authenticity of an integrated landscape, as well as keeping the continuity of the Naxi community spirit. However, our interviewees (Chapter 5) strongly express their objections to the increasing number of commercial and tourism projects with facadism and pseudo-classic architecture, as they wonder whether future generations will confuse pseudo-classic buildings with the original ones. However, as was stated by Tunbridge and Ashworth (1996: 265), 'authentic' heritage does not exist; planners should realize the importance of the contextualization of heritage authenticity. Authenticity, according to these authors, is a notion which itself commercializes and is created by different needs. Thus, experts could stop worrying about facadism and pseudo-classic architecture because even authenticity is relative in the construction of narratives. The efforts in policy-making should focus on the eligibility of designating a building as heritage, while clearly showing to the public what is authentic and what is new.

Moreover, there has been a shift in the discourse, due to the growing importance of economic value as a consequence of the assumption that heritage can and should pay for its own maintenance. As a result, the focus is now on finding uses that produce this money. Some reuse projects are showing a decline, especially those that lost the long-term financial investments from the government (Chapter 5). In addition, our interviewees reveal that listing or designating as heritage is not always a good strategy for conserving heritage. Restriction policies may hinder future development and divert potential entrepreneurial investment away from heritage maintenance and conservation, as was illustrated in Chapters 4 and 5. In this context, policy suggestions are made to encourage more economic activities in reusing buildings and sites. However, in heritage planning and management, policymakers need to ensure that equal importance is given to social, political, historic, aesthetic and economic values in order to avoid reducing sustainable development to narrow economic development (Chan & Ma, 2004). In Chinese policy, improving the quality of living standards and national strength has largely prevailed over heritage conservation (Chan & Ma, 2004). However, heritage plays an important role in maintaining cultural diversity and representing local identity. Therefore, both policy-makers and planners need to keep in mind that the social

and cultural relevance of heritage should be integrated with economic development rather than treating it as a trade-off. Our research provides several instances of reusing heritage with different degrees of success in economic or heritage terms; for example the renovated museums in Qingdao which receive few visitors are in stark contrast with the attractive, rehabilitated industrial creative park in Taipei, as well as to 1881 Heritage, a commercial shopping centre which only refers to the past as a scenery. This suggests that among the stakeholders involved, a broader discussion needs to be held on what adaptive reuse actually entails, what is the best practice, and what guidelines should be formulated towards adaptive reuse. At the same time, the government and experts may play a role in balancing the economic interests and heritage values when reusing historic remains by different stakeholders.

Another policy implication raised by our findings relates to the shifting power relations in heritage issues. O’Faircheallaigh (2009: 24) argued that the key issue of involving public participation is “*the question of control over decision-making.*” Our research illustrates that professionals recognize the increasing awareness of conserving heritage among the public. Professionals appreciate the positive heritage attitude of the public and encourage the public to join in heritage seminars and exhibitions. However, recognizing the importance of participation does not mean sharing the decision-making with other stakeholders. The failures of public protests, such as conserving the Queen’s Pier and the Star Ferry Pier in Hong Kong, the Western-style villa in Qingdao and the Hotel Estoril in Macao, indicate that the dominant and crucial power still lies with the policymakers and planners, who can enforce their redevelopment plans even if the public opposes them (Chapters 4 & 5). Furthermore, experts prefer to educate the public by encouraging visits to museums and participation in theme activities on the China Cultural Heritage Day, so that the public understand heritage and heritage conservation with professional language and from official heritage criteria. Thus, public participation is seen as ritualized in our study, in concurrence with earlier works by Pendlebury and Townshend (1999) and Parkinson et al. (2016). It is a moot point whether this explains the lack of willingness of the residents who completed the questionnaire to participate in heritage conservation, and why they continue to see heritage as a task for the government and experts (Chapters 8 & 9). Policymakers need to be aware that public involvement should result in the recognition and inclusion of different perspectives and knowledge, with benefits in filling information gaps. Our respondents in Qingdao are knowledgeable about their heritage, and they value heritage from a broader perspective. Thus, for heritage planners and decision makers, efforts need to be made to share power with the public in the decision-making of heritage nomination, investment, interpretation and management. This



effort begins by recognizing knowledge gathered through daily encounters and uses of heritage.

Furthermore, problems in the relationship between organizational structures are evident in three cases in this thesis. So far, government has often been referred to as one body; however, tasks and responsibilities in heritage conservation and management may be shared by different sectoral offices or across local, regional and national scales. First, in Chapter 9, the large cost of buying the former Laoshe house was afforded as a result of an investment by both national, city and district governments. The Qingdao Cultural Heritage Administration was subsequently in charge of the supervision of building conservation, while the district government was authorized to carry out the practical management. Such a multi-departmental participation results in management fragmentation. Second, Chapter 4 confirmed that even though the importance of area heritage values is documented in heritage policies, area conservation is more complex in practice. Both the Cultural Relics Bureau and the Planning Bureau are responsible for various components of area conservation. However, in practice, there is little cooperation between the two departments, and with a conflict of interests lurking, they may show reluctance in cooperation and renegotiation, as the Taipei interviewees complain. In addition, private property owners sometimes find loopholes in these two types of protection and then demolish the heritage. In such cases, the two departments involved may hold the other responsible. However, there are also examples of successful cooperation and integration: in Qingdao, our interviewees emphasized that the designation and management of 13 historic and cultural areas strongly relied on organizational integration. A series of policies and plans ensures the urban landscape conservation and enhances the cooperation and renegotiation between the Cultural Relics Bureau and the Planning Bureau. This demonstrates the challenge for governments to deal with heritage in such a complex multi-stakeholder context. Government officials, developers, private owners and individual residents all have fundamental conflicts of interest, which may make it hard to reach an agreement on heritage projects, and may cost extra time and money, as can be seen in the case of Hong Kong (Chapter 5). Heritage planners and decision makers need to make efforts to improve cooperation among multi-level instruments and organizations, but there is no general strategy that emerges from the findings of this dissertation as local contexts vary widely.

Last, new insight can be generated from Chapter 7: official marketing organizations need to notice the importance of the Electronic Word of Mouth (e-WoM), as the tourists' experiences may have a significant influence on the sustainability of a heritage attraction. Tertiary communication, in particular the internet and social media, is considered as 'unintentional' image communication as it not controlled

by the formal marketing organizations (Kozma & Ashworth, 1993). On the positive side, reviews increase the visibility of the city brand, as reviewers provide satisfying experiences which are telling signs of the connection between the city, Tsingtao Beer and the Qingdao International Beer Festival. However, we also found that some reviewers convey negative opinions, and these negative comments may also influence potential tourists when preparing a trip. Thus, official marketing organizations need to be aware that tertiary communication, like Electronic Word of Mouth and web-based sources, generally reflect visitor satisfaction, and they should explore opportunities to use social media and user-generated content to “*generate incremental business and build customer loyalty*” (O’Connor, 2010: 769; Zeng & Gerritsen, 2014; McGrath et al., 2017).

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## Appendices

# Appendix A

## In-depth interviews

The main purpose of this study is to obtain insights into whether and how international heritage discourses influence current heritage interpretations in Chinese colonial port cities, and to what extent, the colonial pasts led to dissonance in using heritage among stakeholders in these cities. To achieve this purpose, our thesis is going to answer the following overarching question and three sub-questions.

*How have ideas of heritage conservation evolved in the contexts of urban development in Chinese colonial port cities since the end of the nineteenth century?*

- [1] How did Chinese heritage ideas and practices develop in relation to international heritage thinking?
- [2] What is the place of colonial heritage in post-colonial Macao, Hong Kong, Qingdao and Taipei, and how does this lead to dissonance?
- [3] What are the main stakeholders in heritage management in Macao, Hong Kong, Qingdao and Taipei, and to what extent are there shifts in the relative importance of these stakeholders?

According to Hollway and Jefferson (2000), face-to-face interviewing is a method that can give insights in perceptions and experiences of the person interviewed. In our research we used in-depth interviews to gain insights into heritage issues, such as shifting discourses, dissonant heritage and public participation, by exploring experts' and professionals' knowledge and experience in Chinese post-colonial port cities. Particularly, interviewing was carried out following semi-structured interview guidelines, which designated a general structure with main research question, but left a fair degree of freedom to interviewees in what they would like to talk about and how they would express their stories (Drever, 1995).

### **Selection of respondents**

In order to gain the in-depth insights on how the Chinese interpret international heritage discourses, to what extent the colonial past is renegotiated, and how heritage is used as resources in post-colonial Chinese port cities, I want to talk with experts and professionals who are active in field of heritage, heritage conservation, urban plan and tourism. I emailed potential interviewees that I found from websites of local universities and colleges, and from lists of committee members in local heritage organizations. 13 of 35 replied my emails and agreed to offer their opinions of heritage conservation and management to us. 12 did not respond.



to the invitations of interviews and 10 declined the invitation mainly because they were not available in the summer time. The other 11 interviewees were introduced by respondents (snowball method) and our own personal networks.

In total, 24 interviews were conducted in Macao, Hong Kong, Qingdao and Taipei. 16 of the interviewees are professors in universities, some of whom are also in charge of heritage projects. The other 7 interviewees have a position in administrative departments concerned with heritage issues, such as Archive, Planning and Culture bureaus and Heritage communities. The remaining one is a practitioner who works in a construction company. All of the interviewees are involved in heritage repair, designation, evaluation, conservation, renovation and management. The majority, 17 of the 24 interviewees, hold degrees in interdisciplinary programs on Architecture, Conservation, Urban planning, Built environment, History and Tourism during their university/college educational backgrounds. At least 12 of them studied abroad (e.g. USA, Europe and Singapore). Of all interviewees, four are female, all but one respondent are natives to the country they work in.

### **Topic Lists**

Interviews took between 1 and 3 hours and were conducted in places suggested by the interviewees: their offices, conference rooms and quiet café in the period between April and August 2016. All 24 interviewees were interviewed by a series of open-ended and scripted questions, with some differences according to points of interest noted during our fieldworks (inventory of visibility of colonial heritage in the city). The interviews start with one open question about general awareness among different stakeholders towards heritage conservation, in particular the main obstacles to hinder public participates in heritage issues. Next, I invited the interviewee to dwell on significant turning points towards heritage conservation in their city: who played a leading role, did public protests occur and under which contexts and backgrounds. With these questions, we mainly explore the power relations among stakeholders, and to what extent the concept – public participation – can be understood with Chinese contexts (Sub-question 3).

Subsequently, I asked a series of questions on official strategies, principles and criterions towards heritage conservation and evolution, followed by questions on area conservation and pseudo-classic architecture. These questions helped to explore whether there are shifting discourses towards authorized heritage concepts, such as heritage values, authenticity and integrated conservation (Sub-question 1).

Then, dissonant heritage was discussed as a concept to explore the discordances that potentially occur when different kinds of heritage are conserved, and when heritage is used as different resources (Tunbridge & Ashworth, 1996). Interviewees

were, firstly, asked whether colonial heritage is perceived differently from other kinds of heritage. Secondly, a set of photographs were used to ask why the conserved status and uses varied among heritage building from different colonial regimes, located in different districts, between elite and non-elite heritage objects (industrial, port and military remains), under different ownerships and so on (Sub-question 2). The interview ends with a question: “Whether you feel that your opinion is representative of a broader public or expert opinion?”, to explore to what extent, the interviewees felt that their opinions concur with other people – notably other professionals and experts in the field.

The semi-structured interview guidelines are included below, with slight variations for each city (which resulted from the observed status of (colonial) heritage).

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## Semi-structure Interview in Hong Kong

### 香港文化遗产访谈提纲

- [1] Has the interest in colonial heritage grown in recent years? Do experts, government, businesses and the general public have different opinions on this matter?  
(最近几年, 对殖民遗产的关注是否有增加? 对这个问题, 专家、政府、商业人士和普通大众的意见是否有不同? )
- [2] During the 1980s, especially with the catalysis of the 1984 Sino-British Joint Declaration, most the Western buildings demolished to make way for the new. What the consideration of government? What is your opinion towards this time period?  
(20世纪80年代, 在《1984年的中英联合声明》的催化作用下, 大量的西式建筑被大型的高层现代建筑取代。当时的政府是出于什么角度考虑? 您对于当时的这种变化是如何看待的? )
- [3] There are several heritage trails in Hong Kong, but when I visited there, especially those locate in the Central, I feel it just some individual buildings among soaring skyscrapers. What do we do for keeping historic landscape in Hong Kong?  
(香港有很多条文物径, 但是当我身临其境, 我更多的感受是单独的几座殖民建筑零零碎碎的夹杂在摩天大厦当中。所以请问, 香港在针对塑造历史街区或者区域性的历史景观方面是怎么做的? )
- [4] After checking lists of declared monuments and Grade 1-3 historic buildings, we found that most listed buildings are governmental and public buildings and official residences, what is your opinion towards conservation of other kinds of colonial heritage, such as Industrial, Port and Military heritage, especially after the against of demolishing the Queen's pier?  
(仔细查看香港的法定古迹和三级历史建筑列表之后, 不难发现, 尤其是法定古迹的名单中, 政府、公共建筑以及官邸占据了一定程度的比重, 请问您对于其他类型的殖民遗产, 例如工业、港口和军事遗产保护的看法是怎么样, 尤其是在香港皇后码头事件之后? )
- [5] As we know, Hong Kong has been governed by the Britain for a long time. However, Japanese had occupied Hong Kong from 1941 to 1945, there is less information about this time period. What the main strategies of heritage during the Japanese time? Is there still remaining any important Japanese colonial heritage in Hong Kong now? Is there any difference when we consider to conserve buildings which was built under different colonial regimes?

(据我们所知， 香港一直在英国的统治和管理之下，然而1941-1945年，香港短暂的被日本侵犯。关于日本时期的记载和信息比较少，我们想要了解日本时期对于香港文化遗产的主要政策是什么？现在香港是否还有重要的日本时期或者日本特色建筑遗存？针对不同殖民时期的历史遗存，香港在保护方面是否存在不同的保护标准？ )

[6] What is your opinion on the value of pseudo-classic architecture?

(您是怎么看待仿古建筑的？ )

[7] Whether you feel that your opinion is representative of a broader public or expert opinion?

(您认为你的观点可以代表大多数大众和专家的看法吗？ )

## Semi-structure interview in Macao

### 澳门文化遗产访谈提纲

- [1] Why would we pay attention to heritage? Is the interest in heritage growing? If yes: why?  
(为什么我们要关注文化遗产? 对文化遗产的关注是否有增加? 如果是: 为什么? )
- [2] What are the main strategies of government for heritage in Macao? Do you feel that heritage conservation is difficult in Macao? How does this relate to other actors, like businesses, inhabitants and experts? Do they have different strategies?  
(澳门文化遗产的主要原则是什么? 您认为遗产保护在澳门是否存在一定的困难? 商业人士、普通百姓和专家学者是否和政府具有相同的态度? )
- [3] What are basic principles of government in dealing with colonial building? Do you think it is important to preserve and protect colonial heritage? Why? Has the interest in colonial heritage grown in recent years? Whether colonial heritage is more or less valued than other heritage? Do experts, government, businesses and the general public have different opinions on this matter?  
(澳门对于殖民遗产的基本准则是什么? 您认为保存和保护殖民遗产是否重要呢? 为什么? 最近几年, 对殖民遗产的关注是否有增加? 殖民遗产是不是比其他类型的遗产更加有价值? 对这个问题, 专家、政府、商业人士和普通大众的意见是否有不同? )
- [4] What are key principles and evaluation criterion of government among buildings in the historic centre of Macao and general cultural heritage? And what are differences?  
(对澳门历史城区的建筑和《澳门文物名录》里的建筑的主要的原则和评价标准是什么? 主要的区别又是什么? )
- [5] Who, why, when, how these strategies used for colonial heritage in Macao?  
(这些战略是由谁主导、什么时候开始、主要目标以及如何应用到澳门的殖民遗产中的? )
- [6] What do we do for keeping historic landscape in certain areas, like the Historic Centre of Macao?  
(如何保护整片区域的历史风貌, 比如澳门历史城区? )

[7] What is your opinion on the value of Military heritage?  
(您是怎么看待军事遗产的?)



[8] What is your opinion on the value of Industrial and Port heritage?  
(您是怎么看待工业遗产和码头遗产的?)



[9] What is your opinion on the value of pseudo-classic architecture?  
(您是怎么看待仿古建筑的?)

[10] Whether you feel that your opinion is representative of a broader public or expert opinion?  
(您认为您的观点可以代表大多数大众和专家的看法吗?)

## Semi-structure interview in Taipei

### 台北文化遗产访谈提纲

- [1] Why would we pay attention to heritage? Is the interest in heritage growing? If yes: why?  
(为什么我们要关注文化遗产? 对文化遗产的关注是否有增加? 如果是: 为什么? )
- [2] What are the main strategies of government for heritage in Taipei? Do you feel that heritage conservation is difficult in Taipei? How does this relate to other actors, like businesses, inhabitants and experts? Do they have different strategies?  
(台北文化遗产的主要原则是什么? 您认为遗产保护在台北是否存在一定的困难? 商业人士、普通百姓和专家学者是否和政府具有相同的态度? )
- [3] What are basic principles of government in dealing with colonial building? Do you think it is important to preserve and protect colonial heritage? Why? Has the interest in colonial heritage grown in recent years? Whether colonial heritage is more or less valued than other heritage? Do experts, government, businesses and the general public have different opinions on this matter?  
(台北对于殖民遗产的基本准则是什么? 您认为保存和保护殖民遗产是否重要呢? 为什么? 最近几年, 对殖民遗产的关注是否有增加? 殖民遗产是不是比其他类型的遗产更加有价值? 对这个问题, 专家、政府、商业人士和普通大众的意见是否有不同? )
- [4] What are key principles and evaluation criterion of government among buildings in the different conservation levels? And what are differences?  
(对台北不同等级历史建筑的主要的原则和评价标准是什么? 主要的区别又是什么? )
- [5] Who, why, when, how these strategies used for colonial heritage in Taipei?  
(这些战略是由谁主导、什么时候开始、主要目标以及如何应用到台北的殖民遗产中的? )
- [6] What do we do for keeping historic landscape in certain areas, like the historic area: Dadaocheng, Meng Cape, and Dihua Street?  
(如何保护整片区域的历史风貌, 比如台北历史城区(大稻埕、艋舺、迪化街)? )



[7] Why many of historic buildings are not open accessing?  
(为什么许多历史建筑是不对外开放的?)



[8] Why there is different level on redeveloping industrial heritage in Taipei?  
(为什么在发展工业遗产上是存在不同的阶段的?)



[9] Why there is difficult to find military heritage in Taipei?  
(为什么在台北比较难找到军事遗产?)

[10] What is your opinion on the value of Port heritage?  
(您是怎么看待码头遗产的?)



[11] What is your opinion on the value of pseudo-classic architecture?  
(您是怎么看待仿古建筑的?)

[12] Whether you feel that your opinion is representative of a broader public or expert opinion?  
(您认为你的观点可以代表大多数大众和专家的看法吗?)

## Semi-structured interview in Qingdao

### 青岛文化遗产访谈提纲

- [1] Why would we pay attention to heritage? Is the interest in heritage growing? If yes: why?  
(为什么我们要关注文化遗产? 对文化遗产的关注是否有增加? 如果是: 为什么? )
- [2] What are the main strategies of government for heritage in Qingdao? Do you feel that heritage conservation is difficult in Qingdao? How does this relate to other actors, like businesses, inhabitants and experts? Do they have different strategies?  
(青岛文化遗产的主要原则是什么? 您认为遗产保护在青岛是否存在一定的困难? 商业人士、普通百姓和专家学者是否和政府具有相同的态度? )
- [3] What are basic principles of government in dealing with colonial building? Do you think it is important to preserve and protect colonial heritage? Why? Has the interest in colonial heritage grown in recent years? Whether colonial heritage is more or less valued than other heritage? Do experts, government, businesses and the general public have different opinions on this matter?  
(青岛市对于殖民遗产的基本准则是什么? 您认为保存和保护殖民遗产是否重要呢? 为什么? 最近几年, 对殖民遗产的关注是否有增加? 殖民遗产是不是比其他类型的遗产更加有价值? 对这个问题, 专家、政府、商业人士和普通大众的意见是否有不同? )
- [4] What are key principles and evaluation criterion of government among Protected Historic Sites, historic buildings, and buildings in traditional architectural styles? And what are differences?  
(在对法定古迹和三级历史建筑的保护原则和评价标准中主要的原则和评价标准是什么? 主要的区别又是什么? )
- [5] Who, why, when, how these strategies used for colonial heritage in Qingdao?  
(这些战略是由谁主导、什么时候开始、主要目标以及如何应用到青岛的殖民遗产中的? )
- [6] What do we do for keeping historic landscape in certain areas, like historic districts and blocks?  
(如何保护整片区域的历史风貌, 比如历史城区、历史文化街区? )

[7] Why do buildings which the same level of protection face different situations, such as renovation or unused?  
(为什么同级的文物保护单位面对不同程度的保护和使用情况, 比如重新利用或者闲置?)



[8] Why do buildings in the same area face different situations?  
(为什么同一区域的历史建筑面对不同程度的保护和使用情况?)



- [9] Why do buildings which built in different colonial time face different situation?  
(为什么不同殖民时期的历史建筑面对不同程度的保护和使用情况?)



- [10] What is your opinion on the value of pseudo-classic architecture?  
(您是怎么看待仿古建筑的?)



- [11] Whether you feel that your opinion is representative of a broader public or expert opinion?  
(您认为您的观点可以代表大多数大众和专家的看法吗?)

**List of interviewees in four cities  
(in order of appearance in Chapters 4, 5 & 6)**

<b>Cities</b>	<b>Number of interviewees</b>	<b>Positions</b>
<b>Hong Kong</b>	1	Academic
	2	Academic
	3	Academic
	4	Academic
	5	Academic
<b>Macao</b>	6	Secretary general of NGO
	7	NGO
	8	Construction company
	9	Academic
	10	Academic
<b>Qingdao</b>	11	Director general of government agency
	12	Policy official
	13	Academic
	14	Director general of government agency
	15	NGO
	16	Academic
	17	Academic
<b>Taipei</b>	18	Academic
	19	Secretary general of NGO
	20	Academic
	21	Academic
	22	Academic
	23	Academic
	24	Academic

**List of interviewees in Qingdao  
(in order of appearance in Chapters 8 & 9)**

<b>City</b>	<b>Number of interviewees</b>	<b>Positions</b>
<b>Qingdao</b>	1	Director general of government agency
	2	Policy official
	3	Academic
	4	Director general of government agency
	5	NGO
	6	Academic
	7	Academic

# Appendix B

## Coding systems

After completion of the interviews, all records were transcribed and analysed using open and axial coding with the assistance of Nvivo software. There are separate coding trees for the different topics dwelt on in the interviews: heritage definitions, dissonant heritage and potential of public participation. Quotes were translated to English when used as explanations and illustrations in the chapters. These quotes were non-literal translations to create grammatically correct English sentences.

The coding systems are included below.

### 3.1 The coding system of heritage definitions

Family codes	Codes	Sub-codes	Examples of relevant descriptions
<b>Definition</b>	Heritage	Meaning of heritage	reconstruction of new narratives; select the past; different interpretations and considerations; rethink the meaning and value of heritage conservation
		Purpose of heritage	tourism; identity; city image
<b>Criteria</b>	Authorized criterions		historical interest; architectural merit; authenticity; rarity; simple structured Japanese workers' dormitory is valueless
	Local criterions		local methods and skills; collective attachment
<b>Type of conservation</b>	Single object		only conserve the building itself
	Integrate	Integrated landscape	whole space and environment rather than individual buildings; historic centre of Macao (World Heritage Site); Qingdao Overall Historic City Plan
		Integrated narrative	linked together with a theme or narrative; experiences how the area was formed, changed and enveloped within the living environment
<b>Authenticity</b>	Debate	Real	just the revolving observatory is a real one
		Fake	it is fake; without heritage value
		Threat	distinguish between the old and the new; the authenticity of buildings may dilute
	Context	Identity	patriotism; national self-confidence
		Tourist attraction	attract nostalgia travellers

3.2 The coding system of dissonant heritage

Family codes	Codes	Sub-codes	Sub-sub-codes	Examples of relevant descriptions		
Heritage as a political Resource	Places of colonial heritage	Equal to general heritage		as same as others		
			Asset	unique landscape; specific characteristic the branding and marketing of the city; tourist attractions		
		Renegotiation of colonial past	Identity	Tourism	a vital part of our history rather than a political consideration; ideology and national sentiment is not cause; appreciate to the Japanese building style	
			Depoliticizes heritage	Replacement of the term 'colonial'	German and Japanese buildings instead of 'colonial heritage'; adopts the concept of Japanese governance instead of occupation; buildings with foreign characteristics	
		De-Japanazition		Short duration	as a short episode; a certain time period; German and Japanese buildings cannot reveal the history before or after the colonial time	
				Coexistence of cultures	diverse cultures coexisting with each other	
		Conservation versus development		Rediscovering Chinese heritage	position its Chinese identity; represent an irreplaceable culture, history and memory of indigenous	
				National sentiment	national feeling which is against Japanese is still strong; planner who serve to the government cannot be neutral without political and ideological influence	
		Heritage as an economic Resource		Conservation	Criteria of heritage legislation	less than 100 years old cannot be listed; none of Japanese buildings can qualify
						the land is only using for a fixed usage



Family codes	Codes	Sub-codes	Sub-sub-codes	Examples of relevant descriptions
		Demolition		the price of scarce land in urban areas is pushed up; increasing the revenue by selling lands; replaced by skyscrapers
		Redevelopment	Industrial heritage	industrial remains have been redeveloped
			Port heritage	old ports have inevitably suffered from redevelopment; less historic, aesthetic and scientific values
	Conservation with development	Tourism industry		tourism promotes both the economy and city image; tourism project builds up a positive image
		Adaptive reuse		reused into cafes; referenced from the Ruhr in German to reuse industrial heritage into creative cultural park; explore what is the best new function, which kind of relationship between the new function and the building, which part of the history is represented in the raised project; keep the building works is more important than listing; how to operate and manage
		Integrated conservation and development		conservation and restriction can coexist; conservation is the exact way for urban development
<b>Stakeholders</b>	<b>Who</b>	Government (local, national)		governmental institution, like AMO; the government
		Developers		the developers contribute a lot in heritage conservation
		Property owners		private owner
		Public		the general public
		Non-Governmental Organization		Museums Association; Docomomo
	Power relations	Position of government	Paternalism	the powerful paternalism of the government
			No conflict with powerful developers	developers always lobby to the councillor or mayor; the developers have had sufficient power

Family codes	Codes	Sub-codes	Sub-sub-codes	Examples of relevant descriptions
		<p>Limited rights of public</p>	<p>Limited influence in selling of private property</p>	<p>it is nothing to do if the private property owner wants to sell the building</p> <p>the public has very limited rights</p>
<b>Challenges</b>	<p>Economic unsustainability</p> <p>Lack of cooperation</p>	<p>Lack of investment</p> <p>Lack of revenue</p> <p>between general stakeholders</p> <p>within buildings</p> <p>between governmental agencies</p>	<p>Lack of consensus</p>	<p>just a drop in the bucket; nobody, including the owner, is willing to pay for revitalization of such kind of poor building</p> <p>a lack of return of investments; only one building proves its economic potential</p> <p>consensus is hard to be reached; iterative arguments and discussions; new residents complain about the restrictions of the designation</p> <p>fragmentary ownership</p> <p>management fragmentation; hindered by too much interests; the management of port remains is not in charge of the Cultural Relics Department because the remains are unlisted</p>

### 3.3 The coding system of potential of public participation in Qingdao from perspectives of experts and professionals

Family codes	Codes	Examples of relevant descriptions
<b>Increasing awareness of the importance of heritage</b>	Public support	high public support
	Recognition	a high level of recognition and sense of honour
	Attachment	emotional sustenance
<b>Authorized heritage discourses</b>	Public protest against demolition	the public protest toward the demolition of the Western-style villa in Jinkou road
	Criteria & values	lack education about local history
	Rules & regulations	there is no restrictive law to protect unlisted building; if demolition of the building was considered and discussed adequately, the government should insist their opinion; do we need to keep all the old buildings
	Educating the public	we want to let the public know why heritage is important, how to protect it and what the significance is of conserving heritage. We expect through taking part in heritage activities, the public recognition of heritage significance can be reached at a general level
<b>Question to the willingness of Participation</b>	Question to the eligibility of the public	the public has very limited rights; we tried to organize the community participation, however, it is helpless because most participants are elder ladies
	Question to the knowledge of the Public	learned little about the city
		no individual nominates his or her own historic building as heritage
<b>Priorities over heritage conservation</b>	Financial challenges	government spent 1.3 million Yuan to each of 10 or 11 households; 40,000 million Hong Kong dollar difference
	Priorities improvement of living conditions	improving living quality
	Social cultural priorities such as education	the Nearby Enrolment Policy
<b>Heritage is responsibility of governments and experts</b>		leave heritage conservation to governments and experts

# Appendix C

## Content analysis of reviews

Chapter 7 zooms in on one illustrative example of colonial heritage and how it is negotiated today, it focused on the place of the Tsingtao Brewery and its colonial roots in Qingdao identity and tourism, mainly by studying the International Beer festival.

To gain insight into how visitors perceived the festival and connect it to Qingdao identity or to its colonial past, a text analysis was performed on both English and Chinese reviews that were posted on Tripadvisor and Mafengwo (a large Chinese review site). Reviews are collected with search queries: Qingdao Beer Festival (青岛国际啤酒节), Qingdao International Beer City (青岛国际啤酒城). Keyword – Qingdao International Beer Festival – resulted in 16 entries in Tripadvisor, 138 entries in Mafengwo. 76 entries were found on Qingdao International Beer City in Tripadvisor, while 74 in Mafengwo. Initially the text analysis focused on the beer festival, but later on we also included Tsingtao beer museum (青岛啤酒博物馆) for a comparison (whether the colonial past was mentioned in those reviews). This resulted in another 1165 entries were collected on Qingdao Beer Museum in Mafengwo, and a further 745 entries in Tripadvisor. Entries that only included selfies, or simply copied texts from websites of the festival or museum were excluded from our analysis.

The coding manual includes four parts. First, we collect the basic information of reviews, such as date and word count. Second, we analyse how the reviewer experience the beer festival, city and museum. Then, we explore how the reviewer perceives the colonial past. Lastly, we wonder what kind of pictures that reviewers would like to share. Here, we give two examples to show how we analysis the reviews.

**Example 1:**

<b>Basics</b>		Website: <a href="#">Tripadvisor – Qingdao Beer Festival</a>	
Date: <a href="#">14 Oct 2016</a>		Title: <a href="#">Amazing</a>	
Author country: <a href="#">Australia</a>		Topic: <a href="#">Evaluation</a>	
		Practical advice: <a href="#">Facts &amp; Figures</a>	
		Background: <a href="#">Else: responds to previous reviews</a>	
Pictures:	Word count:		
<a href="#">No</a>	< 50		
Number:	50-100		
	> 100		
<hr/>			
<b>Experience</b>			
What?	<a href="#">Beer</a>	Tasting varieties	
		<a href="#">Drinking</a>	
		<a href="#">Having cheers (Ganbei)</a>	
	<a href="#">Food</a>	<a href="#">“Everything is on a stick and its pretty much mystery meat”</a>	
		<a href="#">“eating food”</a>	
	<a href="#">Fun</a>		
	<a href="#">Social</a>	Meeting Friends	
		Meeting Family	
		Making new friends	
		Local community	
		<a href="#">Everyone was in a great mood in every tent</a>	
	<a href="#">German Experience</a>		
	<a href="#">Venue</a>	<a href="#">“So many different countries were represented”</a>	
Satisfaction rated	0-5 stars	5	
Satisfaction		Sub codes +	Sub codes -
	<a href="#">Comparison other beer festivals</a>	<a href="#">Better “this was one of the best”</a>	worse
	<a href="#">Other visitors</a>	<a href="#">Friendly</a>	<a href="#">Drunk</a>
		<a href="#">Hospitable</a>	<a href="#">Disorderly</a>
		<a href="#">“if you don’t speak mandarin it is no problem. People around us helped to order if the waitress didn’t understand”</a>	<a href="#">Responds to reviews that wrote about this – has seen noting of this (vomiting, going to toilet in public, fighting).</a>
	<a href="#">Beer</a>	<a href="#">Tasty</a>	<a href="#">Disgusting</a>
		<a href="#">Good quality</a>	<a href="#">Poor quality</a>
		<a href="#">Variety of brands</a>	<a href="#">Served too warm</a>
		<a href="#">Cold, refreshing</a>	
<a href="#">Neutral: “Beer prices vary, but at the Tsingtao tent we paid 100 rmb for a 1,25l mug”</a>	<a href="#">Costs</a>	<a href="#">Good value for money</a>	<a href="#">Expensive</a>

“We ate at the Aussie tent because we recognized the food”	Quality of food	Tasty Variety	Disgusting Unhygienic Poor quality
	Venue	Good atmosphere “The best, most pumping tent, was of course the Tsingtao tent” Authentic	No atmosphere Poor location  Tourist trap overcrowded
	Else	Home “we really enjoyed the Australian tent. It was a great taste of home with meat pies, legs of lamb and coopers”	Drinks menu “I know it is a beer festival, but it would have been nice to have a cider or wine option”
Overall judgement	Recommended to visit?	Not worthwhile Worthwhile if in city Worth a detour Travel to be there No explicit recommendation	

**Colonial origins: NO**

Reference to type of beer	Is the beer referred to as German, German style?
Reference to history of beer or brewery?	German:  Japanese:
Is there a hint at colonial past? References to foreign rulers of city?	
Else	

**Pictures (circle what is relevant, for each picture)**

Topic:	Beer (close up picture of glass, bottle, bag etc)	German references	clothing
	People drinking together		Attributed & decorations
	Venue (tent, square)		German brands
	Entertainment (performance, shows)	Chinese references	Chinese zodiac
	Else		

**Example 2:**

<b>Basics</b>		Website: <a href="#">Mafengwo - Tsingtao beer museum</a>	
Date:		Personal Account: ..... <sup>9</sup>	
<a href="#">31-05-2016</a>			
Level: 5		Topic: <a href="#">Evaluation</a>	
Like: 1		Practical advice: <a href="#">Facts &amp; Figures</a>	
		Background: <a href="#">Else</a>	
Pictures:	Word count:		
<a href="#">Yes</a>	< 70		
Number:	70-100		
<a href="#">4</a>	> 100		
<b>Experience</b>			
What?	Beer	Tasting varieties drinking	
	Food		
<p>B馆的有趣点在于百年前啤酒厂的展示。整座楼就是百年前的酿酒厂房，现今一部分保持原样展示，一部分重新规划成适于展示历史和酿酒工艺的区域（为了保持一下今后大家观看的神秘感和新鲜感，我就上一张无关紧要的图5吧，剩下的真的值得自己去看看）。除了原物展示，还配有视频讲解酿酒过程，让酿酒变得不再那么神秘。后三分之一展厅是新厂房展示，展示部分为：啤酒的装瓶和装箱过程，让大家感受一下电视里的流水作业。</p>			
	Social	Meeting Friends Meeting Family Making new friends	
	Entertainment	Local community	
	German Experience		
Satisfaction rated	0-5 stars	<a href="#">4</a>	
Satisfaction		Sub codes +	Sub codes -
	Comparison other beer festivals	better	worse
	Other visitors	Friendly Hospitable	Drunk Disorderly
	Beer	Tasty Good quality Variety of brands Cold, refreshing	Disgusting Poor quality Served too warm

<sup>9</sup> Personal account was recorded to identify individual reviews but as an example the review is made anonymous.

普通票六十元，基于博物馆自身内容价值加上赠品，我认为还算合理，相对于其他博物馆稍微贵一些，毕竟它不属于国字头博物馆，需要产生利益自给自足坐展陈维护的。如果对啤酒有极大乐趣，可以试试嘉宾票A。	Costs	Good value for money	Expensive
	Quality of food	Tasty Variety	Disgusting Unhygienic Poor quality
	Venue	Good atmosphere  Authentic	No atmosphere Poor location  Tourist trap overcrowded
青岛啤酒的发展历史几乎等同于青岛的历史，它与青岛同呼吸共命运。展陈分为两栋楼：A馆和B馆。A馆主要讲解青岛与青岛啤酒的历史变迁，青岛啤酒随着青岛的易主而易主：德军、日军、新中国。展陈包括了各个时段的历史概况、契约书、获奖情况、不同包装和海报、历史物证（见图2-4）等等，当然还有目前企业概况。	Else	History	
Overall judgement	Recommended to visit?	Not worthwhile Worthwhile if in city Worth a detour Travel to be there No explicit recommendation	

### Colonial origins: YES

Reference to type of beer	Is the beer referred to as German, German style?
Reference to history of beer or brewery?	German: 青岛啤酒随着青岛的易主而易主：德军、日军、新中国  Japanese:
Is there a hint at colonial past? References to foreign rulers of city?	青岛啤酒随着青岛的易主而易主：德军、日军、新中国
Else	

### Pictures (circle what is relevant, for each picture)

Topic:	Beer (close up picture of glass, bottle, bag etc)	German references	clothing
	People drinking together		Attributed & decorations
	Venue (tent, square)		German brands
	Entertainment (performance, shows)	Chinese references	Chinese zodiac
	Else gallery		



# Appendix D

## Operationalization of questionnaires

A questionnaire is mainly used to explore whether local residents possessed the necessary skills and interest to get involved in heritage conservation discussions which was the topic of chapters 8 and 9, with two specific questions.

[1] Are residents interested in and knowledgeable on their local heritage?

[2] What are residents' attitudes towards heritage and heritage conservation?

Qingdao is listed as the National Historic and Cultural Cities in China since 1994. The Questionnaire focused on two historic areas in inner city Qingdao – areas that contain colonial heritage but from different colonizers (German versus Japanese) and that contain heritage objects with different functions. We choose Zhongshan Commercial Street as one of our case studies as this area is the former town centre with a large number of historic remains which were built at the beginning of the German period. Like Zhongshan Commercial Street, Haiyunan Area was a main district in the emerging Japanese city where a lot of industry (textile mills) were developed. Meanwhile, this area is also a primary site influencing by traditional Taoist culture of Haiyunan Temple and the Sugar Ball Fair which have more than 500 years of history.

We adopted questionnaires with a series of photos to explore residents' perceptions, knowledge, awareness and personal connection with heritage (Ganzeboom, 1982; Van Gorp, 2003). The questionnaire was divided into six parts. First, we collected respondents' profiles, such as age, gender, job, education level, monthly income, and residence as these demographic characteristics may influence the knowledge and evaluation of heritage.

Secondly, we included some questions to test to what extent our respondents thought they are connected to and familiar with heritage based on their personal experience. Prior research has shown that people may recognize the importance of heritage conservation because they had a strong personal connection with heritage (McDonald, 2011). We asked questions, like: "Are you familiar with Zhongshan Commercial Street / Haiyunan Area?", "Can you tell a story on Zhongshan Commercial Street / Haiyunan Area, such as a historical tale, a family tale or a personal experience?". We further asked our respondents to indicate how many times and to what purposes they visit the two historic areas and heritage.

Third, according to Poria et al. (2003), knowledge is an indicator to show people's awareness towards heritage. To gauge the factual knowledge that residents have towards local heritage, the following questions involved picture selection. Respondents were firstly asked to pick the correct buildings which was not built during the German occupation (1897–1914), and which was the typical Qingdao dwelling – Liyuan – from four pictures. Then, two sets of four photographs were presented and respondents had to link the original name to each of these buildings – they would need a certain historical and architectural knowledge to be able to do so. Moreover, respondents were asked how many listed buildings that they know in our case areas, and then had to name the most important three buildings. With these three groups of questions, it is possible for us to measure to what extent, our respondents have some knowledge about their heritage.

In addition, scholars state that the public tend to value heritage from a different perspective than authorized standards, norms or laws (Sykes & Ludwig, 2015; Parkinson et al., 2016). In the next three open questions and two multiple-choice questions, we asked about the attractiveness of historic areas and heritage, and the specific values of these, such as “What do you think is specific in Zhongshan Commercial Street / Haiyunan Area?” and “What is the main reason to keep the old buildings?”.

Subsequently, statements with 5-point Likert scale (5-totally agree, 1-totally disagree) aimed to explore how the respondents perceived the importance of heritage conservation in constructing local identity, improving city image and developing heritage tourism, as heritage could be used as both political and economic resources (Tunbridge & Ashworth, 1996; Henderson, 2001; Graham, 2002; Ashworth et al., 2007; Ji, 2011).

Lastly, we asked one statement to measure residents' attitudes toward the role of governments in heritage conservation, management and planning: “The preservation of historic buildings is government business”. After this statement, we further explore whether respondents noticed the reasons of the declines of Zhongshan Commercial Street / Haiyunan Area, and whether they recognized and agreed with the official renovation plans, or whether they show different opinions to redevelop historic areas in Qingdao. This offers some insights into their ideas about the areas today and for the future and how they perceive urban planning proposals for these areas.

The aim was to collect 450 valid questionnaires as street interviews approximately one third in each case areas, and one third was handed out in the other districts of Qingdao. As we aimed at respondents who either live in or visit the historic areas

and heritage, we planned to interview people on the street rather than door-to-door. Meanwhile, questionnaires help us to capture a larger number of people in a short time period (in comparison to in-depth interview), to gain the insights on heritage issues of the public in a general level.

The Chinese questionnaire is included below.

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# 青岛历史文物保护现状调查问卷

编号:

亲爱的朋友:

你们好! 为了保护青岛历史文物, 延续地方民族特征, 协调保护与发展的关系, 现进行有关青岛地方历史文物保护现状的调查活动。我们非常荣幸能够得到您的帮助, 配合我们调查。

本次调查采取不记名方式, 数据由计算机统一处理。您的资料和观点均予以保护, 请不必有丝毫顾虑, 只需如实填写您的想法与意见即可。感谢您的合作。

## 基本信息

1. 您的年龄?

11-20  21-30  31-40  41-50  51-60  60-70  71及71以上

2. 您的性别?

男  女

3. 您的职业?

学生  农业  纺织业  医疗  工业  教育  服务业  
 建筑  新闻/ 媒体  城市规划  其他

4. 您的文化水平?

小学及小学以下  初中  高中  大专或本科  硕士  博士及博士以上

5. 您的月收入(以人民币为单位)?

0-1000元  1001-2000元  2001-3000元  3001-4000元  4001元及4001以上

6. 您的现居住地?

靠近中山路区域  靠近海云庵区域  其他

7. 您熟悉中山路区域吗?

非常熟悉  了解  一点点  不清楚

8. 您熟悉海云庵区域吗?

非常熟悉  了解  一点点  不清楚

9. 请问您去中山路区域的原因是什么? (多选)

日常生活(居住、上学、工作)  购物  旅游 (包括给朋友做向导)  休闲娱乐  其他

10. 您每年去中山路区域多少次?

从来不去  每天  每周  每月  1年3-4次  1年2次  1年1次

11. 请问您去海云庵区域的原因是什么? (多选)

日常生活(居住、上学、工作)  购物  旅游 (包括给朋友做向导)  休闲娱乐  其他

12. 您每年去海云庵区域多少次?

从来不去  每天  每周  每月  1年3-4次  1年2次  1年1次

13. 假如您的朋友或亲戚从远方来拜访您, 您会带领他们去哪里? 您觉得在青岛哪里是值得看看的?

14. 您认为中山路区域的特别之处是什么?

15. 您认为海云庵区域的特别之处是什么?

16. 中山路区域的历史文物您知道多少处?

0  1-2  3-4  5-8  9个及9个以上

请写出您认为最重要的3处。

17. 海云庵区域的历史文物您知道多少处?

0  1-2  3-4  5-8  9个及9个以上

请写出您认为最重要的3处。

图片识别

18. 请问，以下图片中您会选择哪一张来代表中山路区域？



A



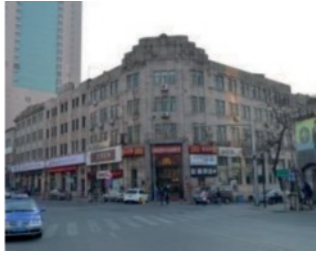
B



C



D



E



F

19. 请问，以下哪一栋建筑不是建造于德国占领青岛时期(1897.11-1914.11)?



A



B



C



D

20. 请将左图的照片与右边的原始建筑名称相对应。



A



B



C



D

- A 青岛物品证券交易所旧址
- B 青岛圣功私立女子中学旧址
- C 青岛国际俱乐部旧址
- D 胶澳商埠电器事务所旧址

21. 请问，以下哪一张图片是青岛的传统民居-里院?<sup>10</sup>



A



B



C



D

<sup>10</sup> 图片A、B和C来源于网络，版权归原作者所有。因条件限制，无法找到来源和作者从而未进行标注。如有侵犯您的版权，请及时联系我们。我们将立即改正，并向所有持版权者致以最深的歉意。

图片D归黄击拳先生所有。



22. 请将左图的照片与右边的原始建筑名称相对应。



A



B



C



D

A 海云庵  
B 内外棉纱厂旧址  
C 中共青岛地方支部  
旧址  
D 胶济铁路四方工场总  
经理住宅旧址

您对于以下陈述的意见

我们想要了解您对于以下观点的看法。您可以根据您的意见选择不同的程度：

A=完全同意 B=同意 C=一般 D=不同意 E=完全不同意

23. 政府列为保护文物的老房子必须保护。 A B C D E
24. 中山路区域的街景必须保护。 A B C D E
25. 设施差的里院建筑必须拆毁。 A B C D E
26. 历史建筑有益于提升青岛的地方特征。 A B C D E
27. 现代建筑比历史建筑更加能提升城市的形象。 A B C D E
28. 如果城市中大量有特色的历史建筑被拆毁，我会觉得这不再是青岛了。 A B C D E
29. 除了市南区以外，青岛再就没有什么典型的历史建筑了。 A B C D E
30. 保护历史建筑是政府的工作。 A B C D E
31. 旅游业对城市产生了积极的影响。 A B C D E
32. 旅游业是振兴中山路区域的最佳方案。 A B C D E
33. 完善的现代城市中心比完善的历史城市中心更加使人愉悦。 A B C D E

- 34. 住在历史城区是一件令人愉悦的事情。 A B C D E
- 35. 海云庵庙会会对发展海云庵地区起着重要作用。 A B C D E
- 36. 我可以讲述一小段关于中山路区域的故事，比如历史故事，和我们家有关的故事或者我自己的体验。 A B C D E
- 37. 我可以讲述一小段关于海云庵区域的故事，比如历史故事，和我们家有关的故事或者我自己的体验。 A B C D E
- 38. 我非常了解政府对于中山路区域的整治规划方案。 A B C D E
- 39. 我非常了解政府对于海云庵区域的整治规划方案。 A B C D E
- 40. 我同意政府对于中山路区域的整治规划方案。 A B C D E
- 41. 我同意政府对于海云庵区域的整治规划方案。 A B C D E

您对于以下观点的看法

我们想要了解您对于以下观点的看法，请选择您认可的选项，或者给与补充，谢谢。

- 42. 您认为造成中山路区域衰退的原因是什么？(多选)  
A 偏僻的地理位置 B 交通的不便 C 多中心的竞争 D 政治中心的东移 E 其他
- 43. 您认为造成海云庵区域衰退的原因是什么？(多选)  
A 低消费水平 B 破旧的基础设施 C 政府支持力度不够 D 老工业区 E其他
- 44. 请问您是否到访过以下地方？(多选)  
A 青岛天主教堂 B 栈桥和回澜阁 C 中国电影院 D 青岛音乐厅 E 春和楼饭店  
F 劈柴院 G 海云庵

## 45. 您每年到访以下区域多少次?

	从来不去	1年1次	1年2-3次	1年4-5次	1年6-10次	1年11及 11次以上
青岛天主教堂						
栈桥和回澜阁						
中国大剧院						
青岛音乐厅						
春和楼饭店						
劈柴院						
海云庵						

## 46. 您认为保存老建筑的主要原因是? (多选)

A 对该区域的情感依赖 B 珍贵的文化价值 C 赏心悦目的造型 D 提升城市特征 E 其他

## 47. 就您的观点而言, 中山路区域的未来发展应该是怎样的?

A 全新的区域 B 文化艺术街 C 特色民俗街 D 基于老城区面貌的综合性商业街区 E 其他

## 48. 就您的观点而言, 海云庵区域的未来发展应该是怎样的?

A 全新的区域 B 民俗文化与古玩市场 C 基于老城区面貌的综合性商业街区  
D 工业历史街区 E 其他

我们期待与您的深入探讨。如果您愿意参与到我们的讨论当中, 请留下您的联系电话。  
电话:

如果您对于我们的调查有任何建议与意见, 恳请予以告知。

非常感谢您的合作!

# Appendix E

## Questionnaire for Qingdao Historic Areas – descriptive analysis of survey

The questionnaires were collected in the first half of February 2015. The plan was to approach potential respondents randomly on the street during daytime (between 10:00 and 17:00). We asked everybody who was free on that moment, or people who passed by us. However, after 3 days, this strategy was changed. The non-response was very high, even for a survey held on the streets, only one in four people approached was willing to complete the questionnaire. Potential respondents refused to participate partly because of the weather conditions (cold, -3-degree, rain/wind), because they felt that they lacked the knowledge, because they were unwilling to do questionnaire for free, and because they said they were busy. To prevent further non-response due to the weather conditions, respondents were then approached at home, in shops, cafés and restaurants located in the selected neighbourhoods.

	Place of Residence	Location of Questionnaire	Interviewed in their own neighbourhood
Zhongshan Commercial Street	94	127	24
Haiyunan Area	115	127	21
Elsewhere	173	128	
<b>Total</b>	<b>382</b>	<b>382</b>	

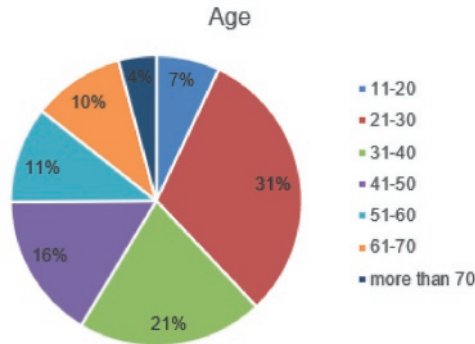
There are 382 completed, valid questionnaires as a whole. 127 questionnaires were collected in Zhongshan Commercial Street (case one), another 127 questionnaires in the Haiyunan area (case two), and the remaining 128 were collected in other parts of the city, such as Laoshan and Shibe Districts. Of the total group of respondents 94 live in Zhongshan Commercial Street and 115 live in the Haiyunan area and the remaining respondents live in other parts of the city of Qingdao. Because respondents were mainly approached on the street (and not door to door) only a small group was actually interviewed in their own neighbourhood. We found that the male-female ratio, education level and income of our sample are quite different from the population statistics provided by statistical yearbook of Qingdao in 2015.

Therefore, the sample is not representative of Qingdao inhabitants, and the results therefore represent solely the opinions among these 382 respondents.

### Personal information

#### ■ What is your age? (Q1)

11-20  21-30  31-40  41-50  51-60  61-70  more than 70



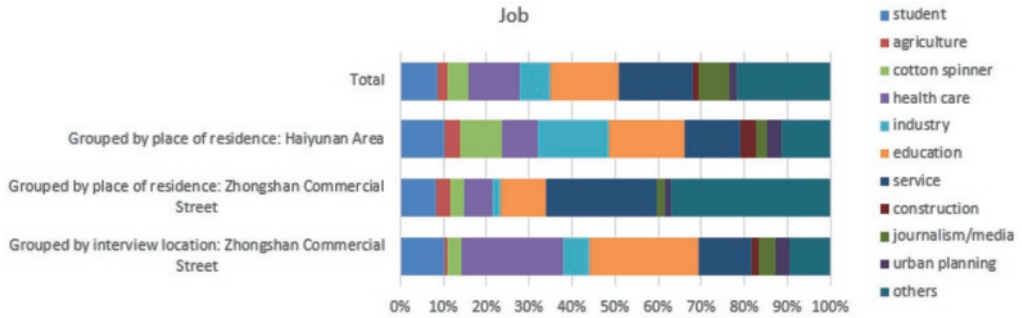
In total, the respondents are relatively young: the largest group is the 21–30 age bracket (30.89%), followed by 31–40 (20.68%) and 41–50 (16.23%). Two thirds of the respondents fall within these three age brackets. And there are 7.07% of respondents are less than 20 years old, while 25.13% of the respondents are over 50 years old.

#### ■ What is your gender? (Q2)

The respondents were given two options to choose from: male or female. The number of female respondents is higher (59.42%) than the male (40.58%). This bias occurs on all three locations where respondents were interviewed or live in. During fieldwork females seemed more inclined to help by completing the questionnaires and therefore there is a lower non-response rate for females than males.

#### ■ What is your job? (Q3)

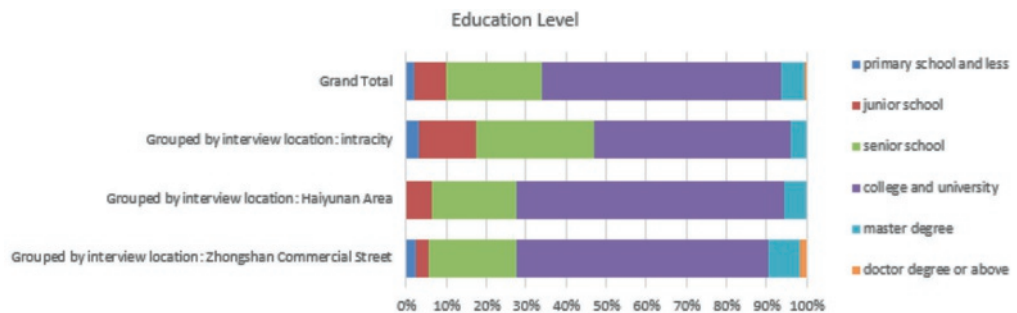
student  agriculture  spinner  health care  industry  
 education  service  construction  journalism/media  urban planning  
 others



Respondents are employed in a variety of economic sectors. Service sector and education are the largest categories, but each take still only take 18.06% and 16.75% respectively. Note that 9.16% were still studying, which is partly reflected in the large number of respondents younger than 25 years old. We explicitly asked for cotton spinners as there used to be 10 cotton mills and many other industries from Japanese period onwards in the Haiyunan area. However, cotton spinner and industry only took 12.3% together. These outcomes could be explained by the many workers that were laid-off from textile when cotton mills closed down during the past decades. But cotton spinners who live in the Haiyunan area still occupied a considerable percentage. A considerable number of respondents who were interviewed in Zhongshan Commercial Street took health care and education jobs. This may be because many primary and middle schools, and two hospitals are located in or close to Zhongshan area. While respondents who live in that area do much more service work than other kinds of jobs as they may work in restaurants and shops in this area.

■ What is your education level? (Q4)

- primary school and less
- junior school
- senior school
- college and university
- master degree
- doctor degree or above

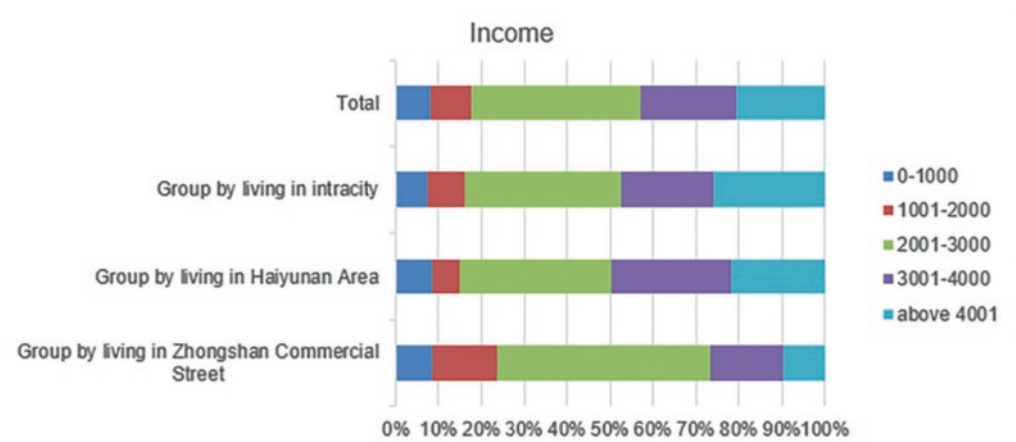


Overall, the respondents are rather highly educated, with two thirds having a college degree or over. Unintentionally, the sample may be biased through

selective non-response: there appeared to be some reluctance of respondents with less education to be interviewed, whereas the better educated and younger people were more interested in the topic of the questionnaire. When comparing the levels of educational attainment for place of residence of respondents, it becomes clear that the respondents who live in the Haiyunan area overall have lower educational levels (5.22% primary school and less, 13.04% junior school, 31.3% senior school and 50.43% college degree or over).

■ What is your monthly income? (Q5)

0-1000  1001-2000  2001-3000  3001-4000  above 4001



Correlations				
			Correlation Coefficient	Sig. (2-tailed)
Spearman's rho	Income Range	Education Level	,338**	,000
		Age	,337**	,000
		Job	,118*	,021

\*\* . Correlation is significant at the 0.01 level (2-tailed).

Almost 60% of our respondents earned 3000 Yuan or less a month, with the largest group (39.53%) earning between 2000 and 3000. According to the Qingdao statistical yearbook, the average monthly income in Qingdao is 4037.75 Yuan in 2014 (1Euro = 6.9057 Yuan, 15:48, 5th March, 2015).

In our study, nearly 79.32% of respondents earned less than the average income in Qingdao. This difference can potentially be explained by other personal characteristics of the sample. In our sample, income moderately correlates with age, job and level of educational attainment. As there are quite a lot of younger respondents in the sample, this may explain the lower income levels. And it is clear

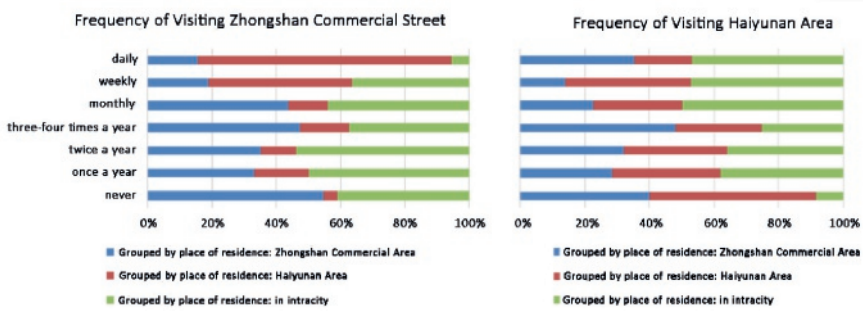
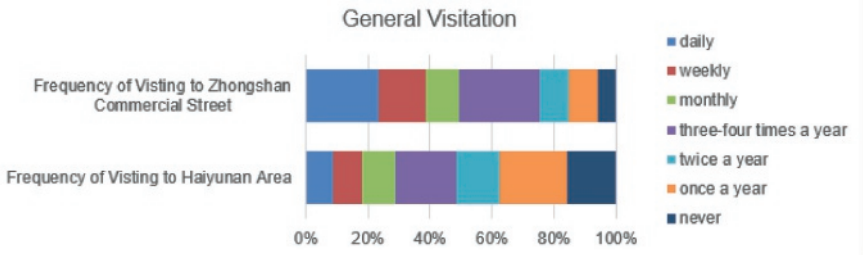
a comparison between the places of residence of respondents reveals that almost 75% of respondents who live in Zhongshan Commercial Street earn no more than 3000 Yuan.

**Familiarity with the areas**

The second theme of the questionnaire was familiarity with the areas and heritage. Respondents were asked how familiar they felt they are with the neighbourhood, how often they come there and for what purposes.

■ How many times do you visit Zhongshan Commercial Street / Haiyunan Area per year? (Q10 & 12)

- never
- once a year
- twice a year
- three-four times a year
- monthly
- weekly
- daily



Overall, respondents visit Zhongshan Commercial Street more often than Haiyunan Area. In general, approximately 26% of respondents visited Zhongshan Commercial Street 3-4 times a year, and half of them came here each month or more frequently. Part of this can be explained by respondents who live in this area and responded that they made daily or weekly visits. Interestingly, respondents



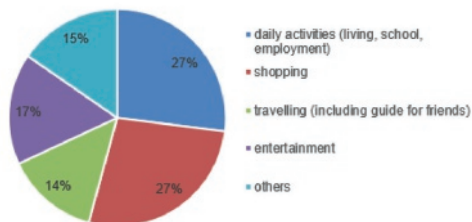
who were interviewed in the Haiyunan area visit Zhongshan Commercial Area more frequently. This maybe because some respondents in the Haiyunan area live and shop in Zhongshan Commercial Street. Meanwhile, the Haiyunan area was less frequently visited, 21.99% of the respondents visited the Haiyunan area once a year, followed by almost 19.63% who visited 3–4 times a year.

Remarkably, 5.78% of respondents who were interviewed in Zhongshan Commercial Street and almost 15.71% of the total respondents chose ‘never visit’ for the areas where they were actually interviewed. This may be caused by some misunderstanding between Zhongshan Commercial Street and Zhongshan Road, between Haiyunan Area and Haiyunan Temple.

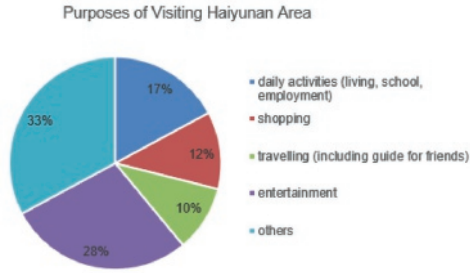
■ When asked what the purpose(s) for their visits to the areas were, respondents could indicate several of the following options: (Q9 & 11)

- daily activities (living, school, employment)
- shopping
- travelling (including guide for friends)
- entertainment
- others

Purposes of Visiting Zhongshan Commercial Street

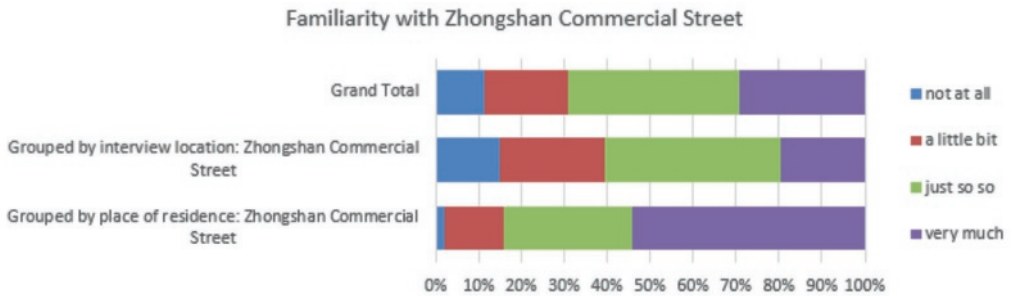


Respondents mainly visited Zhongshan Commercial Street for ‘Shopping’ (122 times) or ‘Daily activities’ (121 times). Of the 94 respondents who live in the area, 73 selected daily activities, this means that also respondents who live elsewhere in the city came here for the purpose of daily activities, but the majority of them came for shopping and entertainment purposes. It partly demonstrates that Zhongshan Commercial Street is still an attractive place.



It seems that the Haiyunan area attracts visitors for other purposes. Most respondents selected ‘Other purposes’ (134 times) or ‘Entertainment’ (115 times). Perhaps the Sugar Ball Fair is a main reason for people who live outside the area to visit it.

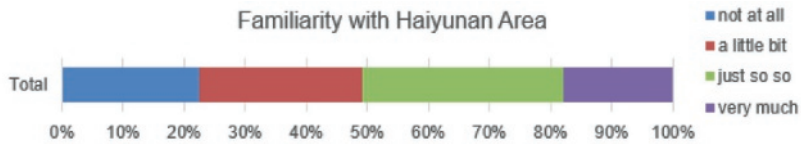
- Are you familiar with Zhongshan Commercial Street? (Q7)
- very much  just so so  a little bit  not at all



Approximately 90% of respondents think that they are familiar (a little bit, just so so, very much) with Zhongshan Commercial Street. ‘Just so so’ (39.79%) was dominant, with ‘very much’ (29.32%) following closely. Of those respondents who live in the surroundings of Zhongshan Commercial Street half of them states they are very familiar with the area (51 of 94 respondents). Interestingly, the respondents who took the questionnaire on the Haiyunan area felt so familiar with Zhongshan Commercial Area partly because they visit to Zhongshan Commercial Area more frequently.

■ Are you familiar with Haiyunan Area? (Q8)

very much  just so so  a little bit  not at all



Only 22,5% of the respondents claim they are not familiar with the area. However, of the respondents that claim some familiarity with the area, the largest groups only claim to be modestly familiar with the area (32.72%). Only 69 respondents said to be very familiar with the area. Of these 69, 44 live in the area and another 25 claim to come here often.

Following Q7 and Q8, it seems that place of residence and frequency of trips to the place influence the perceived familiarity with the place. The correlation index shows that residence of respondents and frequency of visitation have the positive relationship with to what extent our respondents familiar with their historic areas.

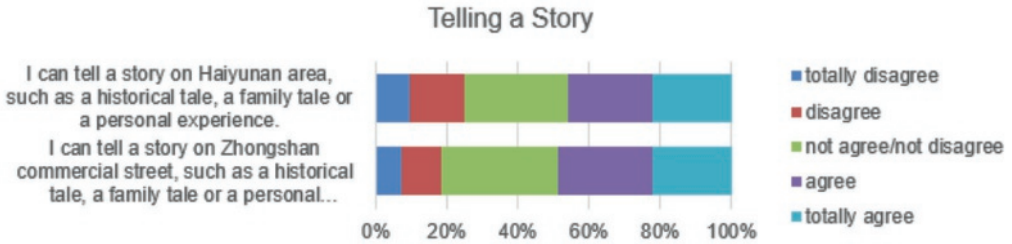
<b>Correlations</b>				
			<b>Correlation Coefficient</b>	<b>Sig. (2-tailed)</b>
Spearman's rho	Familiar with Zhongshan Commercial Street	Live in Zhongshan Commercial Street	,301**	,000
		Visitation Frequency	,420**	,000
	Familiar with Haiyunan Area	Live in Haiyunan area	,302**	,000
		Visitation Frequency	,435**	,000

\*\* . Correlation is significant at the 0.01 level (2-tailed).

\* . Correlation is significant at the 0.05 level (2-tailed).

Then we asked our respondents whether they can tell their stories or experiences with historic areas.

- I can tell a story on Zhongshan Commercial Street / Haiyunan Area, such as a historical tale, a family tale or a personal experience. (Q36 & 37)
- totally agree □ agree □ not agree / not disagree □ disagree □ totally disagree



One third of respondents opt for the neutral answer – being the largest single category. However, approximately half of the respondents agree or totally agree with the statement which means that a certain number of our respondents have personal or official historical knowledge about these areas.

**Attractiveness of the areas**

The questions regarding familiarity with the two historic neighbourhoods were followed by a number of questions regarding the attractiveness of these areas. Respondents were firstly asked where they would take a friend or relative from far away that would visit them; what part of town would they need to see according to the respondents (Q13). The respondents mention 55 unique sites, of which 6 are located in one of our two research areas, and 19 are listed by central and local governments. In general, people tend to take their friends along the coastline (mentioned 84 times), and scenes close to the coastline have been mentioned a lot, such as Lao Mountain (107 times), Wusi Square (79 times) and Badaguan (74 times, listed). Six of all the sites respondents mention are both within one of the two case study areas and are listed: Haiyunan Temple (mentioned 5 times), Jiaotang (the church, 12 times), Pichaiyuan (10 times), Zhanqiao pier (158 times), Germany buildings (twice), and China Movie Theatre (once).

The questionnaire then continued by asking what the respondents’ thought was specific in Zhongshan Commercial Street (Q14). Because this is an open question, respondents could give as many answers as they chose. There are over 90 unique answers which we grouped into categories based on the kind of value they represent. Architectural values were mentioned most (154 times). The answers are diverse, such as special building styles and some specific constructions. Historic value, such as historic culture and long history, has been given 103 times. And then, ‘Commercial value’ is 74 times (e.g., snack, shopping), ‘Social value’ is 60 times (e.g., former Qingdao centre, symbol of Qingdao), ‘Aesthetic value’ is 43

times (e.g., nice landscape, beautiful) and ‘Cultural value’ is 16 times (e.g., culture deposits, traditional culture).

The same question was also asked for the Haiyunan area (Q15). This resulted in over 60 unique answers. Cultural values were mentioned most (243 times), respondents refer to cultural feature and folk culture. Sugar balls fair is mentioned 155 times as a kind of cultural value. It shows that the fair is an important association respondent have with the Haiyunan area. A further 32 respondents talked about ‘Religious value’, for example religious place and Taoist culture.

Respondents were then shown 6 pictures of sites located near Zhongshan Commercial Street and asked which of there they would choose as a landmark of Zhongshan Commercial Street (Q18).



A



B



C



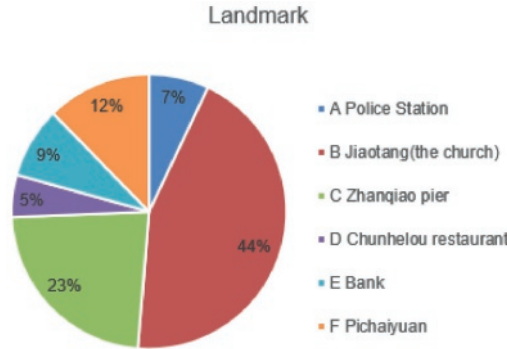
D



E



F



The most frequently selected landmark was Jiaotang (the church in picture B, mentioned 169 times), getting a little less twice as much answers than the next landmark: Zhaoqiao Pier (C, 88 times) and Pichaiyuan (F, 47 times). Although this Christian church is not part of typical Chinese culture, it is a local landmark: the church is taller than other buildings and placed on a high slope. On the large square in front of the church many newly-wed couples take their wedding pictures. Zhanqiao Pier is an old and famous symbol of Qingdao. It is very close to Qingdao train Station, and convenient for people to visit for free. As a result of reports by various media, Pichaiyuan, has become a tourist attraction to experience local Qingdao food and life style.

The respondents were then asked whether they had visited the following seven listed historic buildings located in our case areas (Q44 & 45).

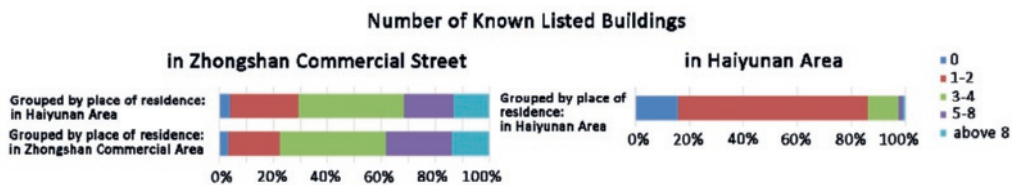
Sites	Been there but not this year	Never	Once a year	2-3 times a year	4-5 times a year	6-10 times a year	Above 10	Over one time per year
Church	45	74	124	59	27	14	39	263
Zhanqiao Pier	26	15	114	116	55	24	32	341
Zhongguo Movie Theatre	66	122	91	57	21	8	17	194
Qingdao Concert Hall	32	209	60	38	24	9	10	141
Chunhelou Restaurant	30	120	69	94	35	9	25	232
Pichaiyuan	20	51	93	110	50	22	36	311
Haiyunan	19	66	126	69	37	17	48	297

Of these seven sites, Qingdao Concert Hall, Zhongguo Movie Theatre and Chunhelou Restaurant received the most on never visit (209 times, 122 times and 120 times),

suggesting that more than half of our respondents never visited these places of consumption and entertainment. The other sites are open for visitation without the need to take a consumption. Most of our respondents visited Haiyunan, Church, Zhanqiao Pier and Pichaiyuan 1-3 times a year.

## Knowledge of Heritage

We started by asking how many listed buildings the respondents thought they knew in each of the case study areas (Q16 & 17). The question then continued with the opportunity for the respondents to mention the most important three buildings they could think of. Our result shows that 62% of respondents felt confident that they could mention at least three sites in the Zhongshan area, especially those that lived there. But that even those respondents that lived in the Haiyunan area in majority (70.43%) felt they could only mention 1 or 2 protected buildings in the Haiyunan area. This may be because when we look at buildings that are listed according to government documents, only 2 designated heritage sites are located in the Haiyunan area with more than seven sites located close to this area.



## Correlations

			Correlation Coefficient	Sig. (2-tailed)
Spearman's rho	Number of Known Listed Buildings in Zhongshan Commercial Street (Q16)	Live in Zhongshan Commercial Street	,254**	,000
		Visitation Frequency (Q10)	,381**	,000
		Familiar with Zhongshan Commercial Street (Q7)	,345**	,000
	Number of Known Listed Buildings in Haiyunan Area (Q17)	Live in Haiyunan Area	,215**	,000
		Visitation Frequency (Q12)	,239**	,000
		Familiar with Haiyunan Area (Q8)	,248**	,000

\*\* . Correlation is significant at the 0.01 level (2-tailed).

The correlation index shows that respondents who encounter heritage in these areas more frequently and feel more familiar with these areas, think they know more listed buildings.

The questionnaire continued with an open question, asking the respondents to list the three most important buildings in each of the case study areas. In total, respondents mentioned 220 buildings in Zhongshan Commercial Street and 29 buildings in the Haiyunan area – that is on average 2.34 buildings for the first case study area and 0.96 for the latter. Remarkably, 37.17% of the respondents mention less than three buildings in Zhongshan Commercial Street while this number is much higher in the Haiyunan area (92.15%). 38 respondents did not write down any buildings or sites for Zhongshan Commercial Street and 117 could not name any important building in the Haiyunan area. Some respondents actually mentioned more than 3 buildings, but we included only the first three mentioned buildings in our results.

■ Please write the most important three in Zhongshan Commercial Street. (Q16)

Place (mentioned over 10 person-time)	Total	Location (in/ close to case one)	Listed/ not listed	Built period
Jiaotang (the Church)	215	Yes	Listed	1922-1937 (1 <sup>st</sup> Kuomintang Time)
Zhanqiao Pier	191	Yes	Listed	Before 1897 (Before German Time)
Pichaiyuan	149	Yes	Listed	1897-1913 (German Time)
Chunhelou Restaurant	38	Yes	Listed	Before 1897 (Before German Time)
Governor’s House	19	Close	Listed	1897-1913 (German Time)
Central Station	16	Close	Listed	1897-1913 (German Time)
Hengdeli	15	Yes	Not Listed	1922-1937 (1 <sup>st</sup> Kuomintang Time)
Shengxifu	14	Yes	Not Listed	1914-1921 (1st Japanese Time)
Temple of Heaven Queen	11	Close	Listed	Before 1897 (Before German Time)

We listed the sites that have been mentioned more than 10 times here. For Zhongshan Commercial Street, respondents in total mentioned 220 unique buildings. The Church, Zhanqiao Pier, Pichaiyuan and Chunhelou are the most frequently given answers (215, 191, 149 and 38 times.). All of these four buildings are listed by central and local governments and located in research area. In the top nine, only two shops Hengdeli (mentioned 15 times) and Shengxifu (14 times) are



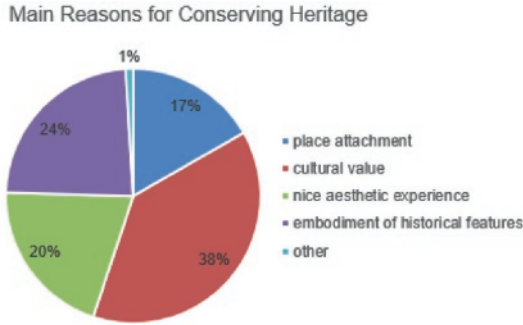
not listed. Another three buildings from the top nine are close to but not actually in the research areas: Governor’s House (19 times), Central Station (16 times) and Temple of Heaven Queen (11 times).

■ Please write the most important three in the Haiyunan area. (Q17)

Place (mentioned over 10 person-time)	Total	Location (in/ close to case two)	Listed/ not listed	Built period
Haiyunan Temple	127	Yes	Listed	Before 1897 (Before German Time)
Suger Balls Fair	111	Yes	Not Listed	Before 1897 (Before German Time)
Sifang Factory	18	Close	Listed	1897-1913 (German Time)
Jiahelu Church	13	Yes	Not Listed	1922-1937 (1 <sup>st</sup> Kuomintang Time)
Site of the Party	11	Close	Listed	1897-1913 (German Time)
1 <sup>st</sup> Cotton Factory	11	Close	Not Listed	1914-1921 (1 <sup>st</sup> Japanese Time)
Railway Middle School	10	Close	Listed	1922-1937 (1 <sup>st</sup> Kuomintang Time)

Respondents named 73 unique buildings. Haiyunan Temple and the Sugar Balls Fair are mentioned most frequently (127, and 111 times). Haiyunan Temple, Site of the Party and Railway Middle School are listed by central and local governments. Of the top seven, only Haiyunan Temple and Jiahelu Church are located in our research area, and the other four buildings are close to our research area.

A final question that relates to personal knowledge of heritage asks: “what is the main reason to keep the old buildings?” (multiple choice) (Q46). Respondents could choose between place attachment, cultural value, nice aesthetic experience, embodiment of historical features and Other. This question provides some background on how they value heritage and what criteria they would apply.



Correlations			Correlation Coefficient	Sig. (2-tailed)
Spearman's rho	Place Attachment	Familiar with Haiyunan Area	,117*	,023
	Cultural Value	Interviewed in Historic Areas	-,106*	,038
		Interviewed in Haiyunan Area	-,121*	,018
	Nice Aesthetic Experience	Overall Correct Rate	-,103*	,044
	Embodiment of Historical Features	Interviewed in Historic Areas	-,126*	,014
		Interviewed in Haiyunan Area	-,213**	,000
		Education Level	,104*	,042
		Visitation Frequency in Zhongshan Commercial Street	-,134**	,009
	Others	Live in Historic Areas	-,118*	,021
		Live in Zhongshan Commercial Street	-,112*	,028
Number of Known Listed Buildings in Haiyunan Area		-,103*	,044	

\*\* . Correlation is significant at the 0.01 level (2-tailed).

It is clear to see from the graph that ‘cultural value’ is the most important reason (319 times) to keep old buildings by our respondents, followed by ‘embodiment of historical features’ (196 times), ‘nice aesthetic experience’(169 times), ‘place attachment’ (139 times) and others, such as low awareness of citizen, the need of urban development and cultural deposits. We found that our respondents who are familiar with the Haiyunan area consider ‘place attachment’ as the most important

reason to conserve heritage. Respondents with higher correct rate in picture part (see below) have low-selectivity in choosing ‘nice aesthetic experience’, and higher-educated respondents are more emphasizing on ‘embodiment of historical features’. Meanwhile, respondents who were interviewed or live in historic areas are less choosing ‘cultural value’ and ‘embodiment of historical features’. Respondents known more listed buildings in the Haiyunan area seem more concurring with our options.

The knowledge of heritage that respondents have was further tested by a number of questions that used pictures. These questions about historical and architectural knowledge test factual knowledge.

■ Which building does not build in the occupation of German (1897.11-1914.11)? (Q19)



A



B



C



D

The first knowledge question showed 4 buildings found in Zhongshan Commercial Street. Respondents were asked to pick the building that was not built during the German occupation (1897-1914). The correct answer was picture D and this option was chosen by 47% of the respondents. Picture D was the site of Qingdao Grand Auditorium, and it has been renovated as Qingdao Concert Hall at present. The building was built in 1934 during the first Kuomintang time and locates as

the southern boundary of Zhongshan Commercial Street. For people with some architectural knowledge, it is relatively easy to tell the difference from D and other three options with their pediment styles. Picture B was more often chosen by respondents who live and were interviewed in commercial street. Picture B was the site of Guangdong Guild-hall, and now it is part of Qingdao Sanjiang School and opens to the public at certain times. As a result, it is a less familiar object compared to A and D. Picture A was the site of the Navy Hotel which held many activities for western sailors in the past. Now, the main building is lying idle, blocked by storefronts. Picture C was the site of Qianxiangyi Silk Store Qingdao branch, and it fell into disuse nowadays. It sits in the northern part of the area.

The subsequent questions asked respondents to identify the typical Qingdao dwelling – Liyuan from 4 pictures.

■ Which one is the traditional Qingdao Dwelling – Liyuan? (Q21)<sup>11</sup>



A



B



C



D

<sup>11</sup> Images A, B and C were found from the Internet, copyright of these images is reserved by the original authors. Due to limitations, the sources and authors cannot be found, therefore, are not labeled. If we violated your copyright, please contact us. We will correct it immediately, and to all the copyright of the deepest apologies.

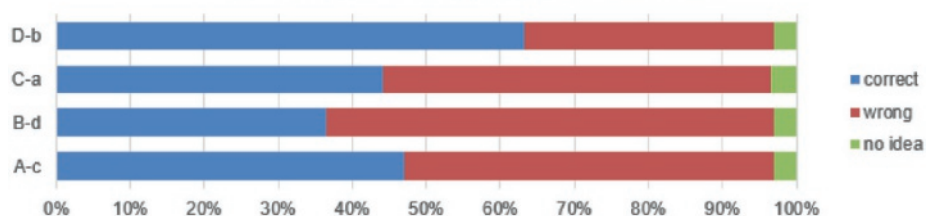
The copyright of image D is owned by Jiquan Huang.

More than half of the respondents (53.9%) chose the correct answer A. It is a typical Qingdao square which has red tiles with two or three floors high. The ground floor which is towards the road was used for shops in the past. This is markedly different from the other quadrangle courtyard. Option B was chosen by about 26% of respondents. It is a specific Beijing quadrangle courtyard with single-storey house. This is a national representation of typical Chinese dwellings. Picture C and D were chosen by a small minority of the respondents (8.9% and 10.73% respectively).

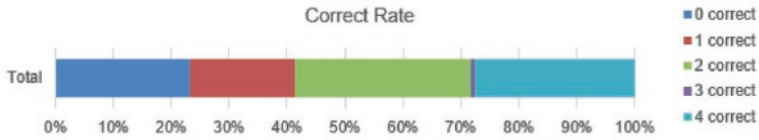
■ The respondents were then asked to match the original names of the buildings with the right pictures. (Q20 & 22)



Name-to-picture in Zhongshan Commercial Street



Picture A was the site of Qingdao Club which was highly popular and is used as a relatively high consumption restaurant at present. B was the site of Jiao'ao Business Port which was out of daily life for most inhabitants and is now left completely unattended. C was the site of Qingdao Goods and Stock Exchange and was renovated as a multi-storey restaurant. And then, D was the site of Qingdao Sheng Kung Girls' High School and continues to operate as usual. Perhaps this is the reason why D took the highest correct rate in the four pictures.



The highest scores were obtained for picture D, with 63.35% who matched the name correctly to the picture. Respondents struggled a bit more with picture B, that was only matched correctly by 36.39% of the respondents. Respondents who were lived in this area scored best for this question.



A



B

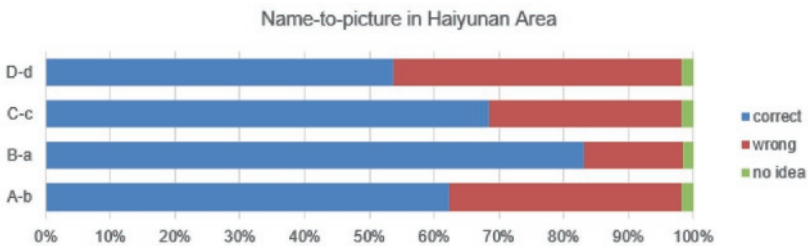


C



D

A Haiyunan Temple  
 B The site of Naigai Cotton Mills  
 C The Site of Qingdao branch of the Communist Party of China  
 D The Site of general manager house in factory of Qingdao Sifang Locomotive & Rolling Stock



Overall, the scores for the name-to-picture question were higher for the Haiyunan area than the Zhongshan Commercial Street. A mere 83% of respondents rightly pointed out Haiyunan Temple. Although the respondents may actually be familiar with the temple, the looks of the building do provide a tell of its functions as well. The building of the Qingdao branch of the Communist Party was named correctly by

69% of the respondents. Although its architecture does not stand out, respondents may know it because it is used for patriotic education. The Naigai factory was correctly named by 62% of the respondents, even when this cotton mill has been closed down for a long time. D was the site of general manager house in the factory of Qingdao Sifang Locomotive & Rolling Stock, and now it rents as a small office. It was correctly named by 54% of the respondents.

We then tested for any correlation between the scores for the question and other variables that could explain these scores.

		<b>Correlations</b>		
			<b>Correlation Coefficient</b>	
			<b>Sig. (2-tailed)</b>	
Spearman's rho	Overall Correct Rate	Interviewed in Historic Areas	,141**	,006
		Familiar with Zhongshan Commercial Street	,133**	,009
		Familiar with Haiyunan Area	,124*	,015
		Number of Known Listed Buildings in Zhongshan Commercial Street	,172**	,001
		Number of Known Listed Buildings in Haiyunan Area	,156**	,002
	Correct Rate of Name-to-picture Question in Zhongshan Commercial Street	Live in Zhongshan Commercial Street	,170**	,001
		Interviewed in Zhongshan Commercial Street	,127*	,013
		Visitation Frequency in Zhongshan Commercial Street	,154**	,002
		Familiar with Zhongshan Commercial Street	,162**	,002
		Number of Known Listed Buildings in Zhongshan Commercial Street	,189**	,000
	Correct Rate of Name-to-picture Question in Haiyunan Area	Interviewed in Haiyunan Area	-,210**	,000
		Number of Known Listed Buildings in Haiyunan Area	,102*	,045

\*\* . Correlation is significant at the 0.01 level (2-tailed).

After SPSS analysis, we find that, generally, familiarity, buildings number that people know and where they took the questionnaire correlated with their correct

rates. The others, such as job, education level, visitation frequency and residence do not have significant correlation with their correct rates.

The scores for name-to-picture question in Zhongshan Commercial Street shows a significant but weak correlation with place where respondents live, location where they were interviewed, their expressed familiarity with the area, the frequency of visitation and how many listed buildings they know – all variables that refer to some kind of encounter with the area in daily life.

However, the same correlations are not confirmed in the case of the Haiyunan area: they are not significant, very weak or even negative (between correct rate and whether respondents were interviewed in the Haiyunan area). This maybe because the overall correct rate for the Haiyunan area is higher than Zhongshan Commercial Street and the question may actually not have differentiated enough.

### Attitudes towards heritage conservation and management

The respondents were asked to react to a number of statements about the role of heritage in the city. Respondents could respond on a 5-point likert scale where 5 represented totally agree, and 1 totally disagree. Although the several cronbach’s alphas do not show a strong connection between these attitude statements, we still divided and explained them into 5 themes to explore how respondents value heritage and heritage in Qingdao, think about developing heritage tourism, perceive the role of governments in heritage conservation and planning.

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#### Theme 1 Value of Heritage

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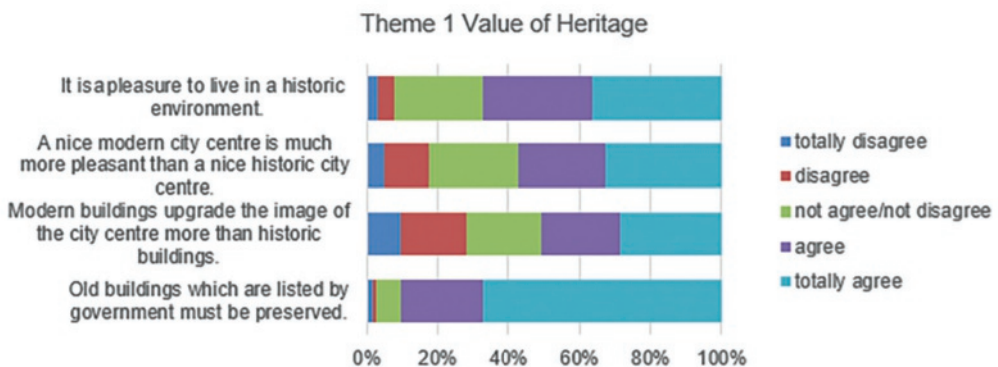
Old buildings which are listed by government must be preserved. (Q23)

Modern buildings upgrade the image of the city centre more than historic buildings. (Q27)

A nice modern city centre is much more pleasant than a nice historic city centre. (Q33)

It is a pleasure to live in a historic environment. (Q34)

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Theme 1 Value of Heritage	Theme						3,334
	Mean	Std. Error of Mean	Median	Mode	Variance	Std. Deviation	
Old buildings which are listed by government must be preserved.	4,54	,041	5,00	5	,648	,805	
Modern buildings upgrade the image of the city centre more than historic buildings.	2,59	,068	2,00	1	1,776	1,333	
A nice modern city centre is much more pleasant than a nice historic city centre.	2,32	,061	2,00	1	1,432	1,197	
It is a pleasure to live in a historic environment.	3,93	,053	4,00	5	1,084	1,041	

It is clear that our respondents recognize the importance of conserving heritage. Meanwhile, our respondents tend to perceive living in a historic environment as a pleasure no matter where they live now. In detail, respondents who live in Zhongshan Commercial Street had the highest rate on ‘totally agree’ towards preserving old listed buildings. The respondents do not agree with the statements that prefer modern developments.

## Theme 2 Value of Qingdao Heritage

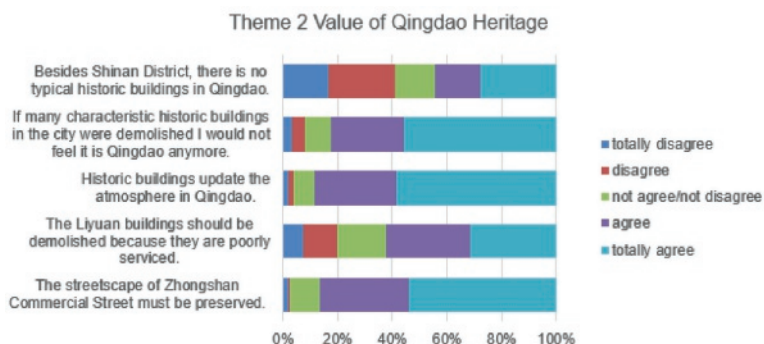
The streetscape of Zhongshan Commercial Street must be preserved. (Q24)

The Liyuan buildings should be demolished because they are poorly serviced. (Q25)

Historic buildings update the atmosphere in Qingdao. (Q26)

If many characteristic historic buildings in the city were demolished, I would not feel it is Qingdao anymore. (Q28)

Besides Shinan District, there is no typical historic buildings in Qingdao. (Q29)



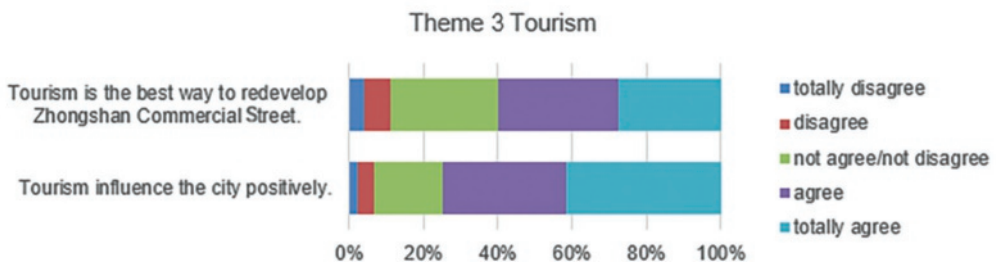
Theme 2 Value of Qingdao Heritage	Theme Mean						3,138
	Mean	Std. Error of Mean	Median	Mode	Variance	Std. Deviation	
The streetscape of Zhongshan Commercial Street must be preserved.	4,36	,043	5,00	5	,719	,848	
The Liyuan buildings should be demolished because they are poorly serviced.	2,34	,064	2,00	1	1,551	1,246	
Historic buildings update the atmosphere in Qingdao.	4,41	,044	5,00	5	,742	,861	
If many characteristic historic buildings in the city were demolished, I would not feel it is Qingdao anymore.	4,27	,053	5,00	5	1,069	1,034	
Besides Shinan District, there is no typical historic buildings in Qingdao.	2,85	,075	3,00	1	2,162	1,470	

In general, results show a positive attitude of respondents towards conserving heritage in Qingdao. More than half respondents totally agree that the streetscape of Zhongshan Commercial Street must be preserved. However, our respondents have diverse opinions on preserving Liyuan as a whole. 62.3% disagree that the poor Liyuan building should be demolished. Other 19.6% of repliers express different or even contrary ideas and opinions. Especially, opinions diverge most amongst respondents who live close to the Liyuan. In addition, our respondents seem know little about the heritage besides Shinan District where Zhongshan Commercial Street locates. From the whole, almost equal percentage of ‘agree’ (44.5%) and ‘disagree’ (40.8%) were chosen by our 382 respondents.

**Theme 3 Tourism**

Tourism influence the city positively. (Q31)

Tourism is the best way to redevelop Zhongshan Commercial Street. (Q32)



Theme 3 Tourism	Theme						3,899
	Mean	Std. Error of Mean	Median	Mode	Variance	Std. Deviation	
Tourism influence the city positively.	4,08	,051	4,00	5	,978	,989	
Tourism is the best way to redevelop Zhongshan Commercial street.	3,72	,055	4,00	4	1,151	1,073	

As a whole, our respondents support developing tourism, while 40.1% of respondents are not sure that tourism is the best way to renovate Zhongshan Commercial Street. In the other chapters, we can clearly see that heritage is an economic resource for developing tourism, as illustrated in chapter 5 the Pichaiyuan in Qingdao and 1881 Heritage in Hong Kong were developed into famous tourist destinations. Meanwhile, The Qingdao International Beer Festival in Chapter 7 is a case to show the potential tourism incomes and positive influences on place image in using heritage and its past.

#### Theme 4 Renovation Plans

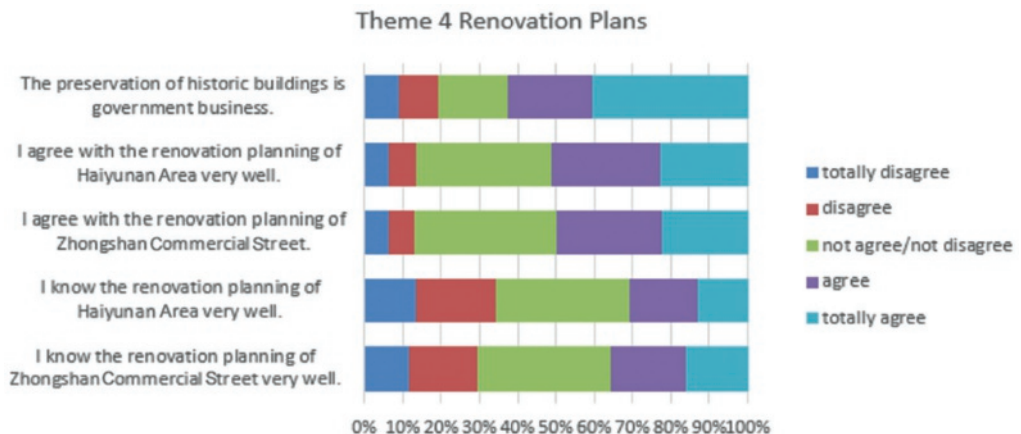
I know the renovation planning of Zhongshan Commercial Street very well. (Q38)

I know the renovation planning of Haiyunan Area very well. (Q39)

I agree with the renovation planning of Zhongshan Commercial Street. (Q40)

I agree with the renovation planning of Haiyunan Area very well. (Q41)

The preservation of historic buildings is government business. (Q30)



Theme 4 Renovation Plans	Cronbach's ,768 Alpha		Cronbach's ,779 Alpha Based on Standardized Items		Theme 3,375 Mean	
	Mean	Std. Error of Mean	Median	Mode	Variance	Std. Deviation
I know the renovation planning of Zhongshan Commercial Street very well.	3,11	,062	3,00	3	1,471	1,213
I know the renovation planning of Haiyunan Area very well.	2,96	,061	3,00	3	1,445	1,202
I agree with the renovation planning of Zhongshan Commercial Street.	3,53	,057	3,50	3	1,221	1,105
I agree with the renovation planning of Haiyunan Area very well.	3,54	,057	4,00	3	1,231	1,109
The preservation of historic buildings is government business.	3,74	,068	4,00	5	1,756	1,325

<b>Correlations</b>			<b>Correlation Coefficient</b>	<b>Sig. (2-tailed)</b>
Spearman's rho	Know Planning in Zhongshan Commercial Street	Know Planning in Haiyunan Area	,755**	,000
		Agree with Planning in Zhongshan Commercial Street	,448**	,000
		Agree with Planning in Haiyunan Area	,420**	,000
		Education Level	-,117*	,022
	Know Planning in Haiyunan Area	Live in Historic areas	,161**	,002
		Know Planning in Zhongshan Commercial Street	,755**	,000
		Agree with Planning in Zhongshan Commercial Street	,497**	,000
		Agree with Planning in Haiyunan Area	,557**	,000
	Agree with Planning in Zhongshan Commercial Street	Education Level	-,147**	,004
		Live in Historic areas	,107*	,036
		Know Planning in Zhongshan Commercial Street	,448**	,000
		Know Planning in Haiyunan Area	,497**	,000
	Agree with Planning in Haiyunan Area	Education Level	-,133**	,009
		Familiarly with Haiyunan Area	,116*	,024
		Know Planning in Zhongshan Commercial Street	,420**	,000
		Know Planning in Haiyunan Area	,557**	,000
	Heritage Conservation is Government Business	Education Level	-,189**	,000
		Familiarly with Haiyunan Area	,135**	,008
			,136**	,008
		Familiarity with Zhongshan Commercial Street	,162**	,001
Live in Zhongshan Commercial Street		,110*	,032	
Number of Known Listed Buildings in Zhongshan Commercial Street		,124*	,015	
Number of Known Listed Buildings in Haiyunan Area		,119*	,020	
Overall Correct Rate in Picture Questions		,114*	,026	

\*\* . Correlation is significant at the 0.01 level (2-tailed).

As a whole, only 35.86% of respondents said that they know the detailed plan of Zhongshan Commercial Street, while more than 30% of respondents who live or interviewed in the Zhongshan area said that they have no idea about the future plan. In general, most of our respondents (69.37%) have no idea on Haiyunan Plan. This means that the awareness of urban planning is low, while such awareness could be seen as a prerequisite to successful participation. At the same time, we can see that 62.57% of respondents consider heritage conservation as a responsibility of governments. This may lead to the result presented in questions 40 and 41, although most of our respondents thought they are not familiar with the official renovated plans, about half of our respondents agree with the government decisions. This may further indicate that the public is not willing to take part in or invest in heritage conservation.

Further statistical analysis shows that the cronbach's alpha is 0.768 which means these five statements are correlated - which is confirmed by the correlations as well. Respondents who understand more on the future planning or encounter heritage more frequency seem to be in more agreement with the governmental renovated projects. Interestingly, respondents with higher educational level have more different opinions towards heritage plans. Meanwhile, it seems like the elder people and respondents who encounter with the Zhongshan commercial area more frequently and know more information and knowledge thought heritage conservation is a responsibility of government.

### **Your opinion about a number of ideas**

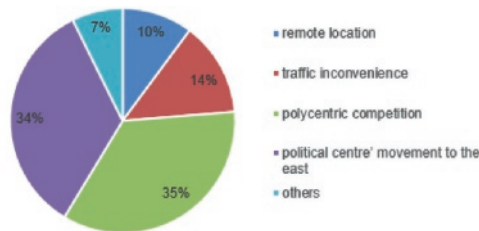
From these two questions, we would like to know whether respondents noticed these two areas have declined and why from their opinions, and what are their ideas to redevelop these two historic areas. With these results, firstly, we can compare the opinions of our respondents with the in-depth interviews of experts and professionals. Secondly, we can give suggestions for the future redevelopment and renovation of these two areas in Qingdao from a perspective of laypeople.

■ What is the reason that makes Zhongshan Commercial Street decay? (multiple choice) (Q42)

A remote location B traffic inconvenience C polycentric competition

D political centre' movement to the east E other

Reasons of Declining in Zhongshan Commercial Street

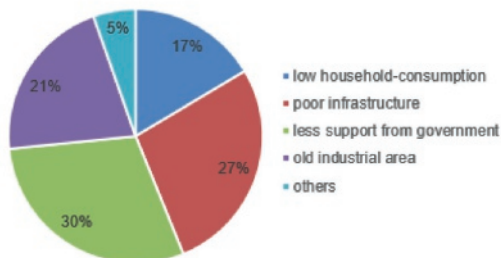


Respondents could pick more than one answer from this multiple-choice question, and 738 answers were selected. The majority of the respondents (272) selected more than 1 answer. Most frequently selected answers were polycentric competition (258 times) and political centre move to the east (251 times). Both answers refer to the developments of new towns for economic development and population increase.

■ What is the reason makes the Haiyunan area decay? (multiple choice) (Q43)

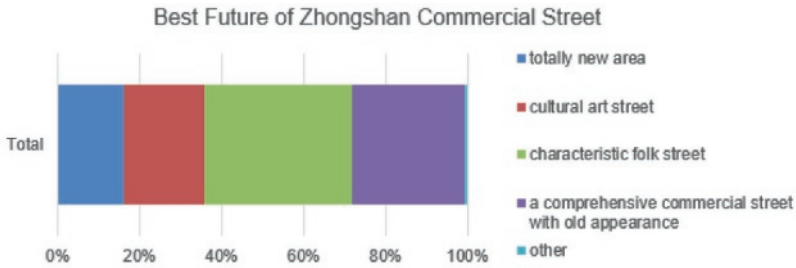
A low household-consumption B poor infrastructure C less support from government D old industrial area E other

Reasons of Declining in Haiyunan Area



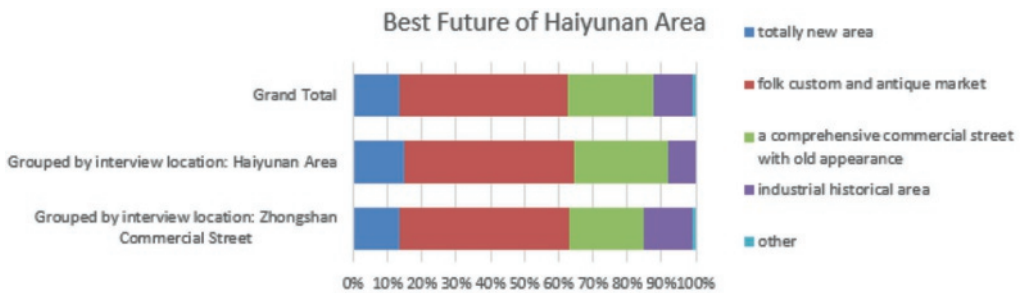
Again, respondents could pick more than one answer. In total, 741 answers were selected by respondents, and 255 respondents selected more than 1 answer – indicating that respondents feel that there are multiple reasons for the decay of the area. In general, ‘less support from government’, ‘poor infrastructure’ and ‘old industrial area’ are the most important reasons respondents indicate have led to the decline (203, 219, 157 times respectively). Many other options were mentioned as well, such as poor management, poor development, lots of immigration and lack of media presence. However, people who are interviewed in the Haiyunan area have more other ideas than people who live in this area.

- In your opinion, what is the best future of Zhongshan Commercial Street? (Q47)
- A totally new area B cultural art street C characteristic folk street  
 D a comprehensive commercial street with old appearance E other



As a whole, ‘characteristic folk street’ and ‘a comprehensive commercial street with old appearance’ are most chosen by our respondents, respectively 35.9% and 27.4%. And then, ‘cultural art street’ took 19.6% and ‘totally new area’ was 16.2% in a general. Respondents who live in the Haiyunan area have more ideas, such as commercial street and a street that combine culture and buildings.

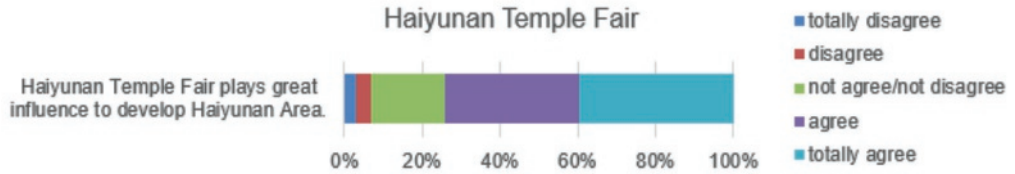
- In your opinion, what is the best future of the Haiyunan area? (Q48)
- A totally new area B folk custom and antique market  
 C a comprehensive commercial street with old appearance  
 D industrial historical area E other



It is clear to see that ‘folk custom and antique market’ is the most chosen. A larger proportion of respondents which live in the Haiyunan area have interest in keeping characteristics of historic industrial area. Respondents also propose other ideas, such as developing new characteristics, totally remove and a street that combine culture and buildings.



In addition, 74.08 % of respondents think that the Haiyunan Temple Fair has a great influence in the development of the Haiyunan area (Q35), which can be used as one of the most attractive characteristics to further develop this area.



# Summary

In the past few decades, heritage management has been characterized by a changing heritage discourse. The heritage sector has moved from restrictive protection to the management of change, from opposing development towards adjustment to adaptive reuse, and from an expert-based 'Authorized Heritage Discourse' to a more community-led process. In recent decades, the past has been treated as a resource for current cultural, political and economic needs (Tunbridge & Ashworth, 1996). However, these needs may vary through time and differ between groups and contexts (Tunbridge & Ashworth, 1996; Ashworth & Graham, 2005; Ashworth, 2011; Johnson, 2014). Heritage is dynamic, and therefore open to debate.

Similar to Western countries, heritage conservation in Chinese cities is currently experiencing both developments and challenges. As elsewhere, the theme of heritage is receiving growing attention in Chinese cities, as is being witnessed by the increasing numbers of protected objects and sites, the growing number of academic publications and the rise in public participation. Not only experts, but also society at large is showing an interest in the quality of its environment, partly as a response to the large-scale transformations of Chinese cities that came – and still come – with economic development and demographic growth. These developments in heritage conservation and management are not very well known outside China, which is one of the motivations for the present research.

This thesis focuses on Chinese port cities with a colonial past. It explores the present dynamics of heritage conservation, management and interpretation in these post-colonial Chinese cities. Colonial pasts can lead to contestation, especially when these pasts are used for contemporary purposes. In China, colonialism is a local and not a national phenomenon. By including four cities with different colonial experiences and different current political, economic and social situations, the role of the local context in heritage issues becomes apparent.

Chapter 2 explores the role of Chinese pioneers in the evolution of heritage conservation in China. Studying and recording Chinese architectural forms and technologies as well as epigraphic studies have a long history in China, they but have only gained the attention of a limited group of foreign sinologists and architects. From the 1920s onwards, Chinese heritage ideas and practices were increasingly influenced by Western scientific notions of archaeology and architecture. From the 1980s, particularly following China's ratification of the UNESCO Convention Concerning the Protection of the World Cultural and Natural Heritage in 1985,

international conservation principles and concepts were discussed more frequently in China. In recent decades, Chinese scholars have developed new understandings of heritage concepts that sometimes differ from the Eurocentric 'Authorized Heritage Discourse' and that emphasize the importance of local understandings of heritage. For example, Chinese scholars claim that authenticity of heritage not only refers to the original materials of buildings and sites but should also be extended to include the continuity of cultural traditions.

As mentioned above, our research focuses specifically on port cities with a colonial past within Chinese cultural contexts. Chapter 3 starts with Hoekveld's (1990) layer model, which analyses key characteristics of the pre-colonial, mercantile colonial and modern imperialism phases in the urban landscape of Chinese colonial port cities. The research demonstrates the common characteristics in the urban morphology of these cities, such as the natural port conditions, the settlements of the indigenous population and the colonizers, temples, centralized political centres, military complexes and spatial (ethnic) segregation. However, spatial patterns are also influenced by local political and economic backgrounds, and these are also reflected in the current urban landscape (Chapter 4). Today, Macao represents a readable mixture of urban landscape layers, which has been the basis for its listing as a World Heritage Site. Hong Kong has also undergone large-scale urban growth and redevelopment, and only a few European-style individual buildings remain. During the Japanese occupation of Taipei, a huge extension of the built-up urban area was planned that would have increased the city to ten times its size in the 1930s. The advanced transportation networks and the projected functional zones aimed to transform Taipei into a metropolis. Qingdao served as a foothold for exploiting coal reserves for both the German and Japanese administrations for most of the period between 1897 and 1945. The construction of the German town was made possible by the relocation of Chinese villages along the South coast, while the Japanese developed large industrial areas, located near ports and railway junctions, to the East and North of Qingdao.

Chapter 6 focuses on the way post-colonial societies deal with colonial remains. It argues that post-colonial cities develop new identities by renegotiating and reorganizing their colonial past. Our study indicates that on the surface colonial remains are accepted as heritage in our case cities, and the hybrid urban landscape is represented as a characteristic of the city's identity, making the city different from other Chinese cities. However, below the surface the situation becomes more complicated, and political and ideological values of colonial remains are often avoided by emphasizing the shared nature and the coexistence of cultures and by appreciating the colonial remains for their architectural value. Dissonance can also be hidden beneath an emphasis on Chinese roots that frames the colonial past as

only a short episode in a long history. This is evident particularly in the Japanese traces, which are often characterized by intentional neglect. Our fieldwork shows that compared to the European traces, many of the Japanese colonial remains were destroyed or abandoned. Strong national sentiments partly explain why the Japanese past has been selectively forgotten. However, there also seem to be other considerations that have hindered the conservation of Japanese colonial remains in practice. For example, many large Japanese industrial complexes were considered to have less architectural and historic value, and were seen as less profitable in rehabilitation.

Interviews have made clear that economic reasons may account for the intentional demolition of heritage (Chapter 5). In recent decades, the four case-study cities have been confronted with economic-political transformations, such as the Reform and Opening Up of China, the handing over of Hong Kong and Macao to China, neoliberalism, decentralization and de-industrialization. These transformations have pushed urban governments towards more entrepreneurial positions, and they coincided with a discourse shift in heritage management from conservation towards a more dynamic approach of heritage planning (Heath et al., 2013; Pendlebury, 2013; Janssen et al., 2014). Heritage, also from colonial periods, has become an economic resource for the developing tourism industry and for city branding. This point is elaborated in Chapter 7, where the example of the Qingdao Beer Festival is used to illustrate these processes.

Chapter 5 further illustrates that adaptive reuse has become a strategy for contemporary use of old structures, thus trying to create economic benefits while maintaining the heritage value. However, many large-scale complexes are difficult to reuse profitably and therefore have to rely on continued government funding, making them unsustainable in an economic sense. Furthermore, general demands on government finances may favour the selling of land, and thus the demolition of heritage. Especially in very dynamic environments, such as the modern port areas of Hong Kong and Qingdao, heritage is often seen as irrelevant (Chapter 4). On the other hand, the importance of economic considerations in heritage management may also lead to over-commercialized heritage and controversy over authenticity, as is illustrated at the end of Chapter 5. Authenticity is no longer strictly defined by the prevention of change to objects. It is in such a context that pseudo-classic architecture – as some of our interviewees explained – should be perceived in terms of a new development with a recognizable identity.

Whereas Chapters 4 to 7 discuss the place of colonial heritage in Chinese colonial port cities from political and economic perspectives, Chapters 8 and 9 approach heritage dissonance from a different angle. They focus on the inclusion of the

opinions of the general public in heritage issues. The public increasingly values heritage, as our survey demonstrates (Chapter 8). They are familiar with and know about heritage names and functions. Familiarity with heritage is closely related to knowledge of heritage. The people who encounter heritage in their daily lives, such as the people who live or work in historic buildings, may know more about it. The general public values heritage from a more emotional perspective, which is different from the authorized discourses that are dominated by experts and that emphasize the historic, aesthetic and scientific values. However, the growing academic and political valuing of public participation does not imply that the public already holds an important position in heritage practices. Chapter 9 indicates that in China, governments and experts still dominate the field of heritage management. They emphasize their efforts to educate the public to understand professional language and to value heritage from heritage criteria. As a result, members of the public are still struggling to make their voices heard in conservation projects. In addition, there is evidence that residents who own or live in old buildings are unwilling to invest in heritage conservation. Although small-scale gentrification promoted by private owners has taken place in Qingdao, experts explain that this is spontaneous market behaviour which would be hard to copy into a general strategy in Qingdao. Furthermore, the potential economic benefit of gentrification may also lead to private owners selling or demolishing their properties, or even reverse earlier conservation decisions.

Chapter 10 synthesizes the discussions of the thesis as a whole and raises some points for reflection. In general, the thesis demonstrates how heritage concepts and discourses are accommodated in Chinese contexts, and how heritage uses are contested among users. Based on our results, several suggestions have been provided for Chinese planners and policymakers. First, the meaning and understanding of authenticity in the Chinese context emphasize the authenticity of cultural practices rather than of physical buildings. This requires broader criteria for authenticity than a limited discussion of real or fake. Second, the current restricted conservation rules and regulations are not well suited for the adaptive reuse of heritage. Our thesis suggests that governments could provide more opportunities to involve external investments to develop economically sustainable heritage conservation. However, in heritage practice, over-commercialized projects which may conflict with heritage values, should be avoided. Third, area conservation is becoming increasingly important and our results illustrate that organizational integration is the key strategy towards this aim. Fourth, public participation is gaining in importance in strategic heritage discourses. Planners and policy experts also see the importance of involving the public and of helping the public understand heritage language. Planners and policymakers are advised to recognize the value of the inclusion of different perspectives, to notice the tourists'

experience within heritage activities, and to encourage the public to join in heritage nomination, investment, interpretation and management. Finally, this study may also stimulate future academic research, for example a further investigation into heritage renegotiation between larger groups of stakeholders, a study on residents' perspectives in other cities, and an examination of the different representations of public opinion towards heritage and heritage conservation.

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# Samenvatting

## Erfgoed in Chinese koloniale havensteden

Het beheer van erfgoed is in de laatste decennia gekenmerkt door discursieve veranderingen. De erfgoedsector ging van bescherming naar 'sturen van verandering'. Erfgoed bestaat uit herinneringen en geschiedenissen die bijdragen aan de huidige culturele, politieke en economische behoeften. Het erfgoed gaat daarmee over de wijze waarop de huidige samenleving zich verhoudt tot het verleden. De nadruk op het heden maakt erfgoed bijna per definitie betwist.

Net als in 'westerse' landen kent het erfgoedbehoud in China momenteel zowel ontwikkelingen als uitdagingen. Ook in China wordt de erfgoedsector gekenmerkt door een toenemend aantal beschermde objecten, een groeiend aantal wetenschappelijke publicaties en de opkomst van publieksparticipatie. Deze ontwikkelingen zijn niet erg bekend buiten China, wat een van de redenen is voor het huidige onderzoek.

Het thema erfgoed krijgt in Chinese steden steeds meer aandacht. Niet alleen experts, maar ook delen van de bredere bevolking tonen belangstelling voor de kwaliteit van de leefomgeving, tegen de achtergrond van de grootschalige transformaties van die steden, verbonden met de snelle economische ontwikkeling en demografische groei ervan. Enkele van de meest interessante arena's voor een dergelijk onderzoek zijn postkoloniale havensteden, die de huidige dynamiek combineren met een koloniaal verleden. In het proefschrift wordt de rol van erfgoed in de vier steden Qingdao, Hong Kong, Macau en Taipei, elk met een ander koloniaal verleden, vergeleken.

Hoofdstuk 2 onderzoekt de rol van pioniers in de ontwikkeling van erfgoedbehoud in China. Er zijn oude tradities in het bestuderen en vastleggen van Chinese architecturale vormen en technieken en in epigrafische studies, maar de resultaten hiervan bereikten slechts een beperkte groep van buitenlandse sinologen en architecten. Tegelijkertijd, werden Chinese erfgoedopvattingen en -praktijken vanaf de jaren 1920 in toenemende mate beïnvloed door westerse wetenschappelijke opvattingen over archeologie en architectuur. Sinds de jaren tachtig, in samenhang met de ratificatie van UNESCO verdragen, worden in China discussies gevoerd over internationale principes en concepten voor behoud. De afgelopen decennia hebben Chinese wetenschappers echter nieuwe opvattingen ontwikkeld over erfgoedconcepten die soms afwijken van de Eurocentrische 'Authorized Heritage



Discourse'; zij benadrukken dat erfgoed afgestemd moet zijn op lokale waarden. Zo werd het begrip authenticiteit niet meer alleen verbonden met originele tastbare gebouwen en locaties, maar ging het ook bijvoorbeeld de continuïteit van culturele tradities omvatten.

Zoals al vermeld, richtte ons onderzoek zich specifiek op havensteden met een koloniaal verleden binnen een Chinese culturele context. Hoofdstuk 3 past het lagenmodel van Hoekveld (1990) toe om de belangrijkste kenmerken van de pre-koloniale, mercantiele koloniale en modern imperialistische perioden in de vier steden te analyseren. Het onderzoek laat de gemeenschappelijke kenmerken van de stedelijke morfologie in deze steden zien, zoals de optimale natuurlijke condities voor een haven, de inheemse nederzettingen en de nederzettingen van Chinese migranten, Chinese tempels, Chinese politieke en militaire complexen die uitdrukking gaven aan de Chinese overheid, en de ruimtelijke (etnische) segregatie in de koloniale perioden. De ruimtelijke patronen werden echter ook beïnvloed door lokale politieke en economische achtergronden en zijn nog altijd zichtbaar in het stedelijke landschap (hoofdstuk 4). Het hedendaagse stedelijk landschap van Macao is een herkenbare mengeling van historische lagen en culturen, die de basis vormden voor de aanwijzing als Werelderfgoed. Hong Kong is sterk gegroeid en getransformeerd; er zijn maar enkele afzonderlijke gebouwen in Europese stijl overgebleven. In Taipei planden de Japanse bezetters een stedelijk gebied dat tien keer zo groot zou worden als dat in de jaren dertig. De geavanceerde transportnetwerken en de geprojecteerde functionele zones liepen vooruit op de ontwikkeling van Taipei tot een metropool. Qingdao diende als steunpunt voor het exploiteren van steenkoolreserves door zowel Duitse als Japanse bezetters gedurende een groot deel van de periode tussen 1897 en 1945. Met de bouw van de Duitse stad werden Chinese dorpen verplaatst langs de zuidkust. De Japanners ontwikkelden grote industriegebieden bij havens en spoorwegknooppunten ten oosten en noorden van Qingdao.

Zodra we erfgoed omschrijven als iets dat behoort bij het heden, wordt het bijna per definitie omstreden. Hoofdstuk 6 laat zien dat postkoloniale steden tegenwoordig hun identiteit herdefiniëren door gebruik te maken van hun koloniale verleden. We laten zien dat op het eerste gezicht koloniale sporen in onze voorbeeldsteden soepel als erfgoed worden geaccepteerd en dat het hybride stedelijke landschap wordt gezien als een bijdrage aan de identiteit van de steden, doordat het ze onderscheidt van andere Chinese steden. Onder de oppervlakte wordt de situatie echter gecompliceerder en worden politieke en ideologische waarden vaak verborgen achter termen als 'gedeelde' en 'co-existente' culturen en door waardering voor objecten om hun buitenlandse architectuur. Dissonantie kan ook verborgen gaan achter een nadruk op Chinese wortels, die van het koloniale verleden een korte

episode maken in een lange geschiedenis. Met name de houding tegenover Japanse sporen wordt vaak gekenmerkt door opzettelijke verwaarlozing. Vergeleken met Europees erfgoed, maakte ons veldwerk duidelijk dat veel Japans erfgoed werd vernietigd of verlaten. Sterke nationale sentimenten verklaren deels waarom het Japanse verleden selectief is vergeten.

Uit interviews bleek dat opzettelijke sloop van erfgoed ook economische redenen kan hebben (hoofdstuk 5). In de afgelopen decennia kregen de vier steden te maken met een reeks economische en politieke transformaties, zoals de Open Deur politiek in China, de overdracht van Hong Kong en Macao, neoliberalisme, decentralisatie en deïndustrialisering. Deze transformaties duwden stedelijke overheden naar een meer ondernemende positie. Ze vielen samen met een verschuiving in de erfgoedwereld van behoud naar de meer dynamische benadering van de erfgoedplanning. Erfgoed, ook dat uit de koloniale tijd, werd steeds meer beschouwd als een economische basis voor de zich ontwikkelende toeristenindustrie, voor cultuurfestivals en voor city branding, zoals wordt uitgewerkt in hoofdstuk 7. In dit hoofdstuk wordt het voorbeeld van het internationale Bierfestival in Qingdao gebruikt als een voorbeeld van deze processen.

Hoofdstuk 5 laat verder zien hoe herbestemming (adaptief hergebruik) een strategie werd voor hedendaags gebruik van oude structuren, waardoor economische voordelen kunnen worden gecombineerd met behoud van erfgoedwaarden. Adaptief hergebruik wordt echter ook bekritiseerd als een mogelijke bedreiging van de erfgoedwaarden en als een zware financiële last voor de samenleving. Veel grootschalige complexen zijn moeilijk opnieuw rendabel te maken en moeten daarom overeind worden gehouden met subsidies. Aan de andere kant leidt commercieel gebruik van erfgoed tot spanningen met name in relatie tot ideeën over authenticiteit, zoals aan het einde van hoofdstuk 5 wordt beschreven. Dit is nog altijd het geval, hoewel authenticiteit niet langer strikt gedefinieerd wordt door het ontbreken van verandering, maar – zoals ook tijdens interviews bleek – in termen van een herkenbare identiteit bij nieuwe ontwikkelingen.

Nadat in de voorgaande hoofdstukken experts centraal stonden, richt hoofdstuk 8 zich op publieke participatie. De respondenten blijken over het algemeen een positieve houding te hebben tegenover behoud van erfgoed in Qingdao. Ze zijn bekend met - en hebben kennis van – erfgoedtermen en -functies. De mensen die intensiever in contact komen met erfgoed, bijvoorbeeld omdat ze in een historisch gebouw wonen of werken, weten meer van de geschiedenis. Het publiek waardeert erfgoed vanuit een meer emotioneel perspectief, wat anders is dan de 'Authorized Heritage Discourse' die gedomineerd wordt door deskundigen en die de nadruk leggen op de historische, esthetische en wetenschappelijke waarden. De groeiende

discussies over het belang van publieke participatie leiden echter nog niet tot een belangrijke positie van het publiek in de erfgoedpraktijk. Hoofdstuk 9 geeft aan dat in China nog steeds overheden en experts het domein van het erfgoedbeheer domineren. Ze doen soms hun best om het publiek te helpen om professionele taal te begrijpen en erfgoed op een 'juiste' manier te beheren. Leden van het publiek worstelen (mede daardoor) nog steeds om hun stem te laten horen in de projecten. Daarnaast zijn er aanwijzingen dat bewoners die oude gebouwen in bezit hebben of er in wonen, niet bereid zijn te investeren in behoud van het erfgoed. Hoewel er op kleine schaal gentrificatie plaatsvindt in Qingdao, gestimuleerd door particuliere eigenaren, legden experts uit dat dit spontaan marktgedrag nauwelijks te ontwikkelen is tot een algemene erfgoedstrategie in Qingdao. Bovendien kan het potentiële economische voordeel van gentrificatie er ook toe leiden dat de particuliere eigenaren hun panden verkopen of slopen, of zelfs om terug te komen op een voorgenomen instandhouding.

Hoofdstuk 10 vat het proefschrift samen als geheel en biedt een aantal punten voor reflectie. De kern van het proefschrift is de wijze waarop erfgoedparadigma's functioneren in de Chinese context, waarbij veel aandacht uitgaat naar tegenstrijdige belangen. Op basis van onze resultaten doen we verschillende suggesties voor Chinese planners en beleidsmakers. Ten eerste is de betekenis van de term authenticiteit in de Chinese context eerder gekoppeld aan praktijken dan aan fysieke gebouwen. De term authenticiteit moet dan ook breed worden gedefinieerd. Ten tweede zijn de strikte regels voor behoud van beschermde objecten weinig geschikt voor adaptief hergebruik. Het zou goed zijn als overheden meer mogelijkheden bieden om externe financiering te vinden voor economisch duurzaam behoud. Daarbij moet wel worden gewaakt voor aantasting van erfgoedwaarden door overcommercialisering. Ten derde wordt gebiedsbescherming steeds belangrijker, wat organisatorische samenwerking steeds belangrijker maakt. Ten vierde is publieksparticipatie belangrijker aan het worden. Ook planners en politici vinden het van belang om het publiek deel te laten nemen aan debatten en daartoe te scholen. Planners en politici wordt geadviseerd om het belang van verschillende visies te onderkennen, om de ervaringen van toeristen met erfgoed te volgen en om het publiek te stimuleren om deel te nemen aan het aanwijzen en uitleggen van erfgoed, erin te investeren en bij te dragen aan het beheer. Tenslotte kan dit onderzoek aanleiding vormen voor vervolgonderzoek, bijvoorbeeld naar het betrekken van meer groepen en belangen bij erfgoed. Een ander vervolgonderzoek kan kijken naar de opvattingen van burgers in andere steden dan Qingdao.

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Qingdao, written on Mothers' Day, 2019

# Curriculum vitae

Xiaolin Zang was born in Qingdao, China, on 27 October 1985. She earned her Bachelor's degree in Art Design in 2008 from Central South University, China. After that, she was recommended for a Master of Design Art at the same university (2008–2012). From 2014 until 2019, she conducted her PhD research at the Department of Human Geography and Spatial Planning, Faculty of Geosciences, Utrecht University. Her research interests focus on how different stakeholders interpret and participate in heritage conservation, and to what degree these interpretations lead to dissonance.





