

A Long-Term Tourism Strategy within a Networked Urban Regeneration Process for Historical Quarters

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Abstract

■ During 1970s, the de-industrialization in many western countries caused large unemployment and decay of industrial cities. Accordingly, as an urban revitalization strategy, tourism was initiated in many urban historical quarters to revitalize the economy and to improve the decaying city image. Many de-industrialized cities witnessed the rise of place marketing-led tourism in historical quarters. Many quarters have removed and replaced the existing residents and original functions which were thought to convey negative images. Meanwhile, new images and attractions, including museums, crafts, arts, cultural heritage, and festivals have been introduced in these empty physical fabrics to attract investors and tourists.

More recently, the strategy of tourism development tends to be closely related with other urban planning strategies, especially in historical quarters' revitalization process, which usually link tourism with other development strategies such as cultural industry and creative industry (Tiesdell et al., 1996, Cunningham, 2002) to transform these quarters into cultural hubs or creative dismissions (Roodhouse, 2010), aiming to attract not only tourists but also local people, enhance the quarters' cultural ambience, and promote local cultural production consumption without emptying all the residents and functions.

In recent decades, many Chinese cities have experienced huge urban changes. With many urban historical quarters being demolished to gain development profits and new city image, many old neighbourhoods collapsed with their residents relocated to frontier areas. This paper conducts a comparative study on recent creative hub initiated by Shanghai government—Tianzi Fang and the Xi'an Muslim Quarter. It analyzes the recycling mode, the everyday life, the experience of uniqueness, and social network based on the two cases. It also explores the tensions, conflicts, and cooperation within the network of disciplines, governmental agencies, institutions, stakeholders, and local residents. This paper highlights that for urban historical quarters, instead of replacing all the community and functions, a long-term tourism should adapt into an integrated and participatory network of urban regeneration process, which is largely beyond its physical aspects and would provide a new perspective for urban tourism.

Key words:

sustainable tourism, urban historical quarters, everyday life, social network

Introduction

■ Tourism has its root in the term travel, which as an activity performed by aristocrats and elites can be traced back to thousands of years ago for military as well as leisure interest. It is not until the 20th century, especially after World War Two that mass tourism has largely prevailed. Tourism is travel for recreational, leisure or business purposes. The World Tourism Organization (1995) defines tourists as people “traveling to and staying in places outside their usual environment for not more than one consecutive year for leisure, business and other purposes”. Nonetheless, tourism today is very complex in terms of organizations, services, and specialists, reaching into every corners of the world. The huge change in travel mobility (Girard and Nijkamp, 2009) and the great improvement of leisure time in public sector extensively stimulated the public’s interest in exploring the marvels of nature and culture. Nowadays, tourism has become an important industry, especially in developing countries, in terms of providing employment opportunities, economic income and urban regeneration.

Tourism could be divided into two main categories, including natural tourism and culture tourism. Comparing to natural tourism, culture tourism attracts more attention in this globalization age. However, culture is a complex conception, which includes tangible and intangible aspects. For tourists, comparing to the tangible physical urban fabrics, sometimes the intangible aspects, such as, local activities, festivals, even everyday life of local residents are more attractive. Because most travellers want to explore the different lifestyles in order to enrich their own personal life experience. Obviously, conserving the historical buildings and townscapes is essential for tourism oriented planning. However, most importantly, the culture, tradition, and identity of the historical cities should be well conserved.

In the process of tourism development, inevitably, the activities of developers and tourists could result in a certain level of destruction of ecological environment and sociological culture. Therefore, recent decades, sustainable development as an approach to tourism planning (Gunn and Var, 2002, Hall, 2008) has been acknowledged and sparked academic interests, which generally means the impacts arising from tourism activities and development are recognized, managed and mitigated (Page and Thorn, 1997). Nowadays, most of the schemes in developing countries which intend to attract tourists, which could be called tourism oriented development, cannot be considered as sustainable development, especially in urban contexts. Because in urban contexts, especially in historical quarters, there are some many players involved, such as governmental agencies, NGOs, institutions, local residents, shop owners and tourists. Due to the complexity of this kind of developments, the most important issue might be who will benefit from the tourism development.

In China, local governments had realized that tourism could bring prosperity to the cities, especially to the historical quarters, which resulted in a number of redevelopments were carried out in urban historical quarters during the past decades. In the beginning, it seemed that these regeneration projects did attract many tourists and brought some opportunities in terms of economic growth. However a few years later, the negative impacts of these projects began to appear, which is that the lost of local identity, tradition activities and the essences of the local everyday life. The main reason causes this situation, which we believe is that developments concern too much about the need of tourists and in a way ignore the needs of local residents. In this paper two cases will be discussed and compared in order to discover the proper approach to develop sustainable tourism in urban context and conserve the urban historical quarters at meantime.

Place marketing and place making initiated by urban tourism

■ With rapid economic growth and urban change, many centre of production have transformed into centre of consumption. Meanwhile, many historic quarter and buildings lost their original functions. In this process, based on the life-circle of buildings, historic quarters in China are usually facing the problems of obsolescence, which shows the extent of uselessness. (Lichfield, 1988, Larkham, 1996) Accordingly, a physical revitalization and an economic revitalization are widely adopted, aiming to find active economic use for the buildings and space (Tiesdell et al., 1996) New activities are introduced to historic urban revitalization in order to beat the increasing obsolescence. Tourism provides an opportunity to reuse the physical fabrics and stop obsolescence. Tourism is usually accompanied with the idea of heritage or leisure and conducts a place marketing process (Kearns and Philo, 1993) in the historic urban quarter, aiming to promote the area’s economic growth, to increase the use of its historic legacy, and to reduce the image obsolescence. Tourism-led revitalization usually uses the functional diversification or functional restructuring methods to change the area’s economic base. As a result, tourism may totally “replace or compliment” the traditional local use and activities. (Tiesdell et al., 1996) In addition, although tourism can provide considerable opportunities for the local economy, it will also cost potential negative impacts on local economic, social together with environmental context (Law, 1993).

Compared with the widespread tourism-led development method---place marketing, place making is to “reconstruct the image of a place for both visitors and local people, and to encourage the local residents and business community to achieve regeneration” (Tiesdell et al., 1996). Through the enhancement of the quarter’s cultural atmosphere and unique character in architecture and activities, the cultural area can attract both tourists and local people, which not only promote local cultural production, but also stimulate the cultural consumption, such as accommodation, catering and traditional retails of local handcraft.

A long-term tourism in historic quarters-reflection on the loss of uniqueness

■ Most urban regeneration and redevelopment practices are focused on the physical and economic revitalization, while failing to consider the enhancement of cultural and social values. As has mentioned above, a short-sighted recycling process initiated by tourism raises many tensions in the long run such as the environmental impact, the tourism competition, and the conflicts between the interests of tourism and local community, as shown later in the case of Tianzi Fang. Particularly a loss of uniqueness is a serious problem in many historic quarters.

From a simple perspective of tourism development, usually in a historic urban quarter, the attractions to visitors lie in the merits of historic characters, the values and styles of architectures and urban fabric, all of which are in common with that of heritages in rural places. However, as a living community in a changing situation, the historic quarters differentiate with other tourist spots, as can be seen from the conservation guidance of The UK department of the Environment addressed as followings: “to preserve their character, but not at the cost of setting them apart; they must be seen as part of the living and working community”. (Tiesdell et al., 1996) The uniqueness of tourism in urban historic quarters should highlight the people who live and work in the quarter, and whose collective everyday life shapes the collective uniqueness of the place.

1. Everyday life and collective uniqueness

Lefebvre (2009) elaborates the critiques of everyday life in eight aspects, among which, he identifies everyday life as a repetitive and cyclical time and process, as well as a linear time and process of ever changing and developing, which means everyday life is a mixture of two distinctive repetitive configurations of time. In a traditional society, everyday life is a repetitive and recycled time cycle, while a modern society highlights the process of linear development. Lefebvre argues that in fact, the existence of its repetitive, cyclical rhythm will never be replaced by the linear historical progress. To Lefebvre, everyday life represents a series of relationship between time and space: such as closeness and proximity; alienation and distance. It also includes the lifelong relationship between individual and group; and the cyclical relationship of interaction and sense between the human body and natural time and space. In the end, he also identifies that as a social space-time relationship everyday life also embraces religion, daily life and region. The complexity of everyday life lies in that, no matter whether in the historical, philosophical, economic or social process, it can’t be understood as a single liner process of accumulation and development. Everyday life is the intersection of different aspects and bears the richness of every part. In this case, it is difficult to categorize everyday life into any specific way of production, and everyday life belongs to collective culture civilization. (Liu, 2008) In light of this, everyday life provides a way to understand the totality of a historic quarter, especially the existence of uniqueness.

2. Tourists’ experience and the reproduction of social space

Lefebvre points out that everyday life contains every types of social time such as working time and non-working time. For a visitor, to explore the uniqueness of a historic quarter is to explore the mixture of tradition and modernity in every aspect. Of course, when visiting a place, a visitor consumes his leisure time which has a value-in-use, and he enjoys the production and surplus value of others’ working time, such as arts and cultural industry. he himself involves in an economy activity and enrich his everyday life as experiencing the intersection of value-in-exchange and value-in-use. Through visitors’ activity of spending leisure time, the tourist space and the community space are permeable to each other and merged together, reproducing a unique social space. Meanwhile as Lefebvre (2009) claims that the value-in-exchange is not prior to value-in-use, how a visitor enjoy his leisure time in the historic quarter can’t be simply measured by how much he consumes the value-in-exchange of others’ working time. How he experiences them become a important reflection of a historic quarter’s uniqueness.

Huntington (1971) identifies “revolutionary”, “complex”, “systemic”, “global”, “lengthy”, “phased”, “homogenizing”, “irreversible”, and “progressive” to be nine key characteristics of the modernization process, especially “revolutionary”, “global”, “homogenizing” and “irreversible” have caused dramatic changes to cities. Harvey (1989) once criticizes the uniformity of city image had largely reduced their distinctiveness and argues that a similar

experience which a visitor can experience in other place is less attractive. In light of this, Tiesdell et al. (1996) suggest that since each quarters are unique in economic and social backgrounds, when recommending tourism proposals, it is very important not to transfer and adapt directly from one experience to a totally different one.

Nowadays, with the increasing demands to experience the distinctiveness, here grows an interpretation of “experience” in tourism. However, in concerns of historic quarter, visitors will have different experience based on the different way of interpretation of the historic quarter. The interpretation of a hollowed historic quarter can't be as real as an original one. In an empty historic quarter, the physical fabric is only kept as a heritage of past; the space no longer produces authentic sense of place because there is no original people and activities; and the chain retails and other mass productions of tourism will provide a similar experience for tourists which they can easily experience elsewhere; while an original historic quarter with a vibrant community interprets itself with real everyday life which generates attractive distinctiveness. Just as Orbasli (2000) pointed that for the interpretation of experience, “more significant is retaining the boundaries between experience fake and urban real”.

3. Everyday life and social network

In a rapid step of modernization, the destruction of human and spiritual values (Huntington, 1971), together with a feeling of uncertainty under dramatic changes raised a worldwide concerns of “a lost world”, among which, “community lost” is a common problem. Aside from the physical and economic aspects which are either visible or measurable, the “community lost” in an invisible social aspect is usually ignored.

As mentioned above, the community's collective everyday life generates the inner dynamics of a community's uniqueness; However, as Simmel(1950) argues that for humans as social beings, social interactions in close proximity among people are their most everyday practices; the social relationships and social life in a community are also significant in maintaining the everyday life, and in turn conserving the community's uniqueness. For example, in a vibrant traditional urban quarter, there usually exists a well maintained social network. People usually know about others. Through “nodding hello, admiring a newborn baby, and asking where someone's nice pearls come from”(Scott, 1998a), there formed a network of familiarity and a shared sense of belonging. The mingling of activities, diversity of buildings, and crowd of people are regarded as the signs of dynamic vitality (Jacobs, 1992, Scott, 1998b).

Nevertheless, in a hollowed historic urban quarter, even though the proximity remains the same in a spatial sense, people don't feel the closeness in a social sense as compared with an original historic quarter whose community members are bonded with a close social network. Even though in contemporary society people can have close social network at a geographic distance through email or other media(Larsen et al., 2006), Taking the physical features of a historic quarter into consideration, it is the everyday practice of interaction within a local area that has dominant influences on social network.

Case study of Tianzi fang, Shanghai

■ The first case discussed is Tianzi Fang in Shanghai, China. Shanghai was one of the first Treaty Ports in 1840s after Sino-British Opium War, since then it had been called as “Paris of East” and integrated Eastern and Western cultures. Subsequent to China's ‘Open and Reform’ policy in 1980s, Shanghai might become the most important economic centre in China and a hotspot of tourists' destination. However, rapid economic growth and urbanization have intense impact on the lifestyle, urban image and historical culture of Shanghai. Especially in 20th century, as an important global economic hub, Shanghai had become a modernized metropolis in China; and ever since the urban regeneration and sprawls have been threatening the urban historical fabric and traditional culture values.

Tianzi Fang, the representative of Shikumen and Nongtang Culture in Shanghai

In Shanghai, the most significant architecture heritages are Shikumen and Nongtang. In 1850s, attempting to avoid the civil war, numerous Chinese refugees swarm into the foreign concessions. Foreigners invested into real estate business and sell houses with western architecture elements to Chinese. Consequently, the individual building characterized by a stone-frame and wooden doorway was called Shikumen. Meanwhile, Nongtang, sometimes called Linong, is the collective term to particularly refer to the neighbourhoods constituted by rows of Shikumen buildings and narrow lanes and alleys. Nongtang and Shikumen reflect the integration of western and eastern culture. Meanwhile, they nurture and bear specific tradition dwelling culture of Shanghai. More importantly, Nongtang can be seen as the unique space where close neighbourhood relationships are fostered.



Figure 1(left). The typical architecture style of Shikumen. Source: <http://zixun.dujiala.com/76251>

Figure 2. (right) Traditional space of Nongtang.

Source : <http://www.nipic.com/show/1/48/3235ffa06de714cc.html>

Tianzi Fang is a historic neighborhood located in the inner city (Luwan District) of Shanghai, which is characterized by the typical Nongtang and Shikumen architecture. The total areage of Tianzhifang is 7.2 ha. Four roads enclose the whole area, which are Taikang road in the south; Jianguo Middle Road in the north; Sinan Road in the east; and Ruijin Second Road in west. Tianzi Fang is a significant Nongtang neighborhood with distinctive traditional characteristics. It was shaped in 1920s by France concession administrative region, Shikumen Linongs, and Linong factories.

Redevelopment Process of Tianzi Fang

With the rapid economic growth and urbanization, many traditional neighborhoods like Tianzi Fang were demolished and gave up the space to the high-rise modernized buildings. However, after realizing the significant attraction for tourists, Municipal government started to preserve those traditional Shikumen and Linong neighborhoods and redevelop them for tourism purpose. Tianzi Fang is one of these neighborhoods and its redevelopment process could be generally divided into three phases.

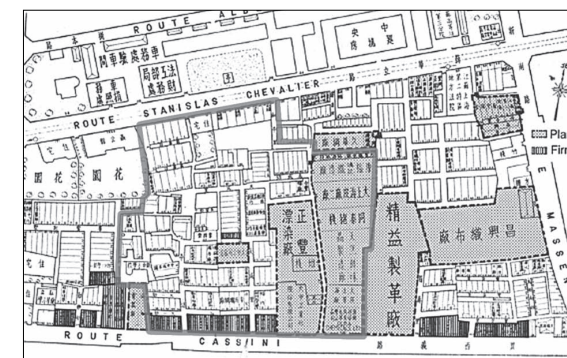


Figure 3(left) Map of Foreign Settlements in Shanghai (1845-1943). Tianzi Fang highlighted in red. Source: Government Office of Shanghai Chorography, edited by Edison Pwee.

Figure 4(right) Nongtang Styled Fabric and Diverse combination. Source: Wen Qing. “Tianzi Fang: One House One Style,” *Architecture&Culture* 42, (August 2007).

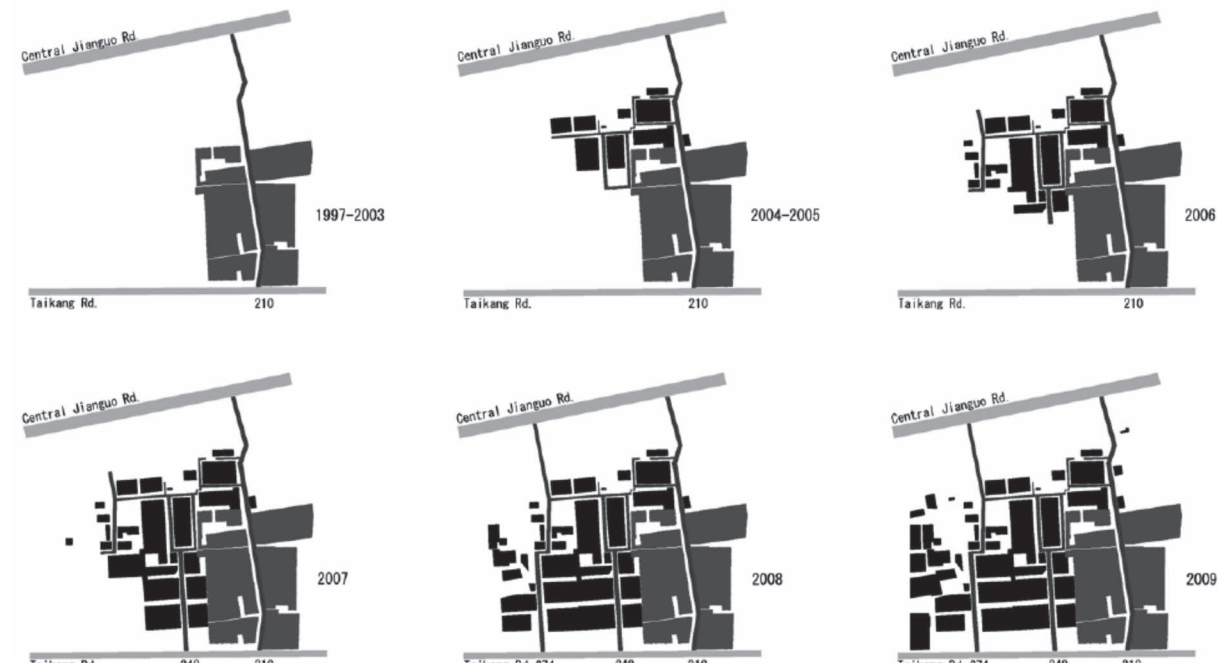


Figure 5. Tianzi Fang – Factories area: layout diagram and format analysis. Source: YANG, J. 2008. Study on Culture Catalysis of Urban Regeneration. PhD, Tongji University. 2008. p.259-262.

The urban regeneration movement was firstly stimulated by the industrial restructuring. Most of the factories located in downtown were either relocated or closed down. Meanwhile the abandoned industrial buildings became the focus of the redevelopment. In this process, in one hand, some vacant factories were demolished and replaced by modernized buildings; on the other hand, some buildings with good construction qualities and locations were renovated and rent out to small businesses. In 1990, the abandoned Nongtang factories face the threat to be demolished and replaced by gated communities, which had happened in adjacent blocks. However, a business man, Wang Meisen, recognized the cultural value, historic accumulation and relatively low rents of these industrial buildings. He rented all these industrial buildings with very low rent. And then he held a party and invited lots of artists in order to introduce these factories to them. With so many advantages, these factories were totally rented out and renovated by artists as studios in 1996. In March of 1998, a neighbourhood administrative committee was set up to manage these buildings and provided services. Later on, the famous painter Chen Yifei and Deke Erh, famous photographer in China also run their studios in Tianzi Fang. It became a well know place of creative industry and attracted the attention of both foreign and domestic artists. And some galleries, cafes and exhibition space were provided for these art and design enterprises.

In a way, this phase could be considered as a process of gentrification though a bottom-up approach. The Nongtang factories were well conserved and transformed without the funding support from municipal government. However, in this process, the culture value of residential buildings, Shikumen was not recognized or even neglected so that government attempted to demolish the precinct neighbourhoods and build up the modernized buildings in order to act in concert with the gentrification.

After admitting the success of the regeneration of Nongtang factories in Tianzi Fang, in 2003, Shanghai Government planned to demolish the adjacent residential buildings and replace them with high rise buildings. A planning project had been actually draw out and the local residents were also asked to move out. A campaign called "Save the Tianzi Fang" was organized by Wu Meisen, a business man was called the father of Tianzifang, and other artists. They appealed that these Shikumen-Nongtang residential buildings were more important than the Nongtang factories. Meanwhile, some research institutions were also involved. The college of architecture and Urban Planning in Tongji University carried out a research to investigate the architectural characteristics and historical significance of Tianzi Fang area. The researchers of Tongji University concluded that there are three Nongtang styles in this area which made Tianzi Fang was more representative in terms of historical value. With the efforts of business men and researchers, the government was finally convinced and agreed to preserve the whole area and enhance the creative industry.

Following this victory, Tianzi Fang became even more popular than before and became the creative industry hub in Shanghai. More than 200 shops, cafes and galleries were run up by people from more than 20 counties which attracted both tourists and more artists. However, the limited Nongtang factories were not enough for the development of creative industry. Therefore, in 2004, one local resident, Zhou Xinliang, leased his Shikumen house to a fashion designer and rent a room nearby. He gained considerable profits from the difference of the rents. Other residents and the community administrative committee both recognized the advantages. So, the neighbourhood administrative committee acted as a facilitator to help the local residents lease their Shikumen houses to artists and designers. However, some houses were not bigger enough for the studios or exhibition halls. Instead of creative enterprises, some people rented these Shikumen houses and ran businesses to serve the increasing tourist and artists, such restaurants, bars, retails and cafes.

In this phase, with the effort of business men, artists and research institutions, the traditional residential buildings—Shikumen houses were conserved and their function were changed in a large extent. In terms of saving the traditional tangible architectures, it is a good example of bottom-up approach. However, in this process, local residents were more inactive and many of them moved out for profits. Therefore, the intangible culture of Shikumen became fragmented.

The third phase started form 2009, when the local government took over the development of Tianzi Fang. Since the first resident lease out the Shikumen building, the expansion of transformation had reach Lane 274, which located the back of Tianzi Fang. Based on this situation, local government's intention was to develop this area as a tourist's destination in order to act concert with the Shanghai 2010 Expo. Therefore, local government invested 10 million RMB to renovate the traditional buildings and upgrade the infrastructures. However, in this process, through the top down approach, some resident were forcibly moved out. Until now, only a small part of original inhabitants stay, who are protected just like rare species. They live in a corner of Tianzi Fang and their lives ware strongly interrupted by the activities of tourists.

Due to the government's strong intervention and propaganda, the objective of developing tourism in this area was achieved in a short term. Presently, Tianzi Fang is designated as national AAA-level Tourism Destination. To some extent, government dominated the transformation of Tianzi Fang in this phase. Objectively speaking, the historical architectures and townscapes were strictly conserved through governmental regulations. Meanwhile, investment from Luwan district government does improve the physical environment. For example, allies and lanes were repaved; facades were repaired and unified; and some infrastructures, such as public toilets were installed. However, due to neglecting the intangible historical value of Tianzi Fang, this top down approach broke the social structure of the traditional neighbourhood, which resulted in the loss of the original culture of Tianzi Fang. In another word, the unique life style of Tianzi Fang is depleting, which is more important than the tangible urban fabrics.

The missing of conservation of intangible culture

In general, the development of Tianzi Fang in recent decades has made some achievements. For instance, the top down approach and bottom up approach are well combined. Meanwhile, the tangible aspects of Shikumen and Nongtang were relatively completely conserved except few buildings are over-modified. More importantly, the introduction of creative industry could be seen as a pioneering in conservation of historical quarter in China. Because of these achievements, the conservation of Tianzi Fang has become an example for the other cities with the intention to attract tourists.



Figure 6. The commercialization of traditional Nongtang space. Source: Photographs by the Edison Pwee. However, it also raises some questions. Firstly, we believe the function change is too much and too rapid. As mentioned above, most of the residential buildings become commercialized. Although, these new functions are very helpful for the development of tourism, this significant change is bound to affect the transformation of social culture. Secondly, along with the shift of function, the spatial characters are also changed. The previous private or semi-private space becomes public space during the process of place marketing. The result of it is that the conflict between the inhabitants and tourists become a potential obstacle of tourism development. At last but not least, during the whole process, too many original inhabitants moved out, both actively and passively. The close social bonds formed in several generations become fragmented during the redevelopment. Consequently, the sense of belonging is missing in the neighbourhood. In 2010, the community administrative committee conducted a survey in lane 210, 248 and 247, in which 671 households were investigated (Table 1). As of October 2010, 37 percent (248 households) had already lease out their houses; 17 percent (115 households) ran small business by themselves; meanwhile, almost 45 percent (301 households) lived in their own house and never changed the function. Among the 301 households, more than half of them would like to move out because of economic profit or avoiding the interruption. That means totally 77 percent of the households were willing to change their lifestyle. And only 97 (14.6%) household chose to continue living in Tianzi Fang. Recently, Pwee (2011) carried out a survey in Tianzi Fang, and result shows that only 100 household remains as residents until July 2011. According to the statics, it is quite obvious that the sense of place in Tianzi Fang is missing and the intangible culture is not well conserved through this commercialized redevelopment.

Type	Households	%	
Leased out	248	37	
Ran business by original inhabitants	115	17	
Unable to contact	7	1	
Keep the residential function	Willing to release through intermediaries	84	12.5
	Willing to release by themselves	30	4.5
	Willing to sell out	34	5
	Don't have clear intention	56	8.4
	Continue to stay	97	14.6
Total	301	45	
Total	671	100	

Table 1. Procession of Shikumen buildings in lane 210, 248 and 247 (October, 2010). Source: <http://blog.sina.com.cn/xuyincaixuyincai>, edited by Author

Xi'an drum tower muslim quarter

■ Xi'an is the ancient capital of China and has 6000 years history. As one of the candles of ancient Chinese civilization, the city of Xian attracts millions of tourists every year around the world and tourism is one of the economic pillars of the city. Just like Shanghai, since 1980s, the city has experienced huge urban regeneration. Traditional culture, as the essence of the attractiveness is seriously threatened by the rapid economic growth and urbanization.

Located in the center of the city, Xi'an Drum Tower Muslim Quarter is located within a wider Bell-Drum Tower Muslim District. (Figure 7) It ranges from Beiyuanmen Street to the east and Guangji Street to the west, and is bounded by Huajuexiang Street in the south and Xiyangshi Street in the north. (Figure 8) The quarter amounts for nearly 4 hectares. In a wider range of Muslim district, there include four traditional pedestrian streets, namely Beiyuanmen, Huajuexiang, Xiyangshi and Dapiyuan, generally named after "Huimin Street" (Muslim Street). As the most popular representative of Huimin Street, Beiyuan Gate Street runs north south, and meets the Drum Tower in the southern end, as well as Xinhua Gate Street in the northern end.

The history of this area as a Muslim concentrated district can be traced back to Song Dynasty (960-1279). (Bi, 2004, Chen, 2005) Due to religious requirements such as worship and prayer, the settlements for Muslim people usually surround a Mosque, forming a unique social-spatial unit "Mosque-Neighborhood". Within this district, there are two famous Mosques, which were distributed among traditional "Guanzhong" narrow courtyard houses.

In Ming Dynasty (1368-1644) the gathering of ethnic minorities was largely enhanced. (WU, 2008)

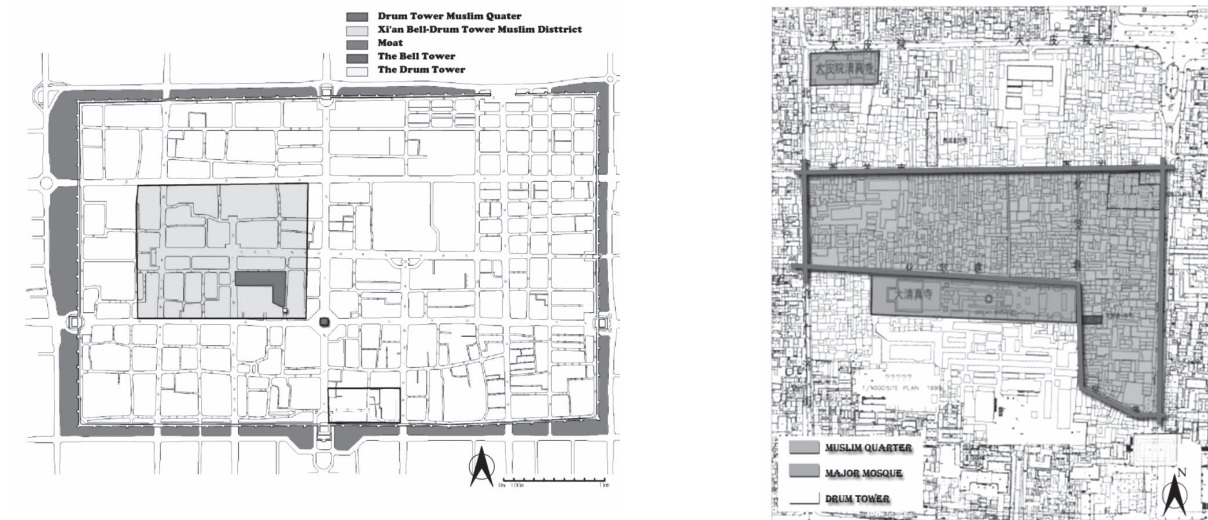


Figure 7(left), The location and boundary of the Muslim Quarter within the city wall area, Map Source: ZHANG, Y. 2008. Xi'an Muslim Quarter: opportunities and challenges for public participation in historic conservation. HKU Theses Online, edited by Authors.

Figure 8 (right), The location and boundary of the Muslim Quarter, Xi'an; Map Source: BI, J. 2004. Reuse of the Courtyard Homes Protected as the Heritage in Drum Tower District of Xi'an. Xian University of Architecture and Technology, edited by Authors.

Mosque-Neighborhood

Muslim people usually surround a Mosque, forming a unique social-spatial unit "Mosque-Neighborhood". Within this district, there are two famous Mosques, which were distributed among traditional "Guanzhong" narrow courtyard houses. In Ming Dynasty (1368-1644) the gathering of ethnic minorities was largely enhanced. (WU, 2008)

For Muslim people, it is a tradition to operate a small-scale business as livelihood. Accordingly Muslim quarters usually contain market streets in the neighborhood, where Muslim people share economy activities together with everyday life. The unique religious and economic tradition shaped the distinctive "Mosque-Neighborhood-Market Street" social and economic structure in Muslim Quarter. Muslim people's religious life is dedicated to Mosque; while these streets function well not only as manifestations of economic life but also as mix-used public places, rich in street lives and social activities.

After a long term stable development, there gradually formed a strong social capital within this quarter, which contributes to a vibrant local economy. However, during the late Qing Dynasty (1840-1911) and MinGuo Period(1911-1949), Muslim people suffered from discrimination and oppression from the government and gradually declined. However the "Mosque-Neighborhood-Market Street" structure managed to retain since people continued to gather in this area and refused to move out. To accommodate the growing population, self construction activities were largely adopted (Zhang, 2008). Consequently, the traditional courtyard houses were destructively subdivided, and public spaces such as streets and courtyards were largely invaded, which caused many problems such as jam and low sanitary standard. By late 1980s, this situation of physical degradation grew even worse: the poor infrastructure and hygiene system have become the major problems which urgently need to be solved.

Redevelopment process of Muslim Quarter

In 1991, according to Xi'an city's Master Plan (1980-2000), which is to enhance the light industry and mechanical industry development as well as to conserve of historic townscape and to promote tourism and cultural industry, the People's Government of Lian Hu District initiated an urban redevelopment project in Beiyuanmen historic Street, aiming to promote tourism development in this historic street. The tourism-led urban renewal project adapted a short-time physical-led revitalization strategy (Tiesdell et al., 1996) plus functional diversification

economic revitalization approach. In physical aspects, the project focused on the Ming/Qing Dynasty style façade restoration, the re-pavement of the pedestrian street and the improvement of other infrastructures such as water supply and drainage system. To cater for tourism, the project introduced new business into this street such as souvenir shops, while in the same time part of the previous functions were maintained and enhanced.

Nearly in the same period, the local government of Xi'an appointed Two Universities, namely Xi'an Jiaotong University and Norwegian University of Science and Technology to conduct a cooperative study on the conservation of Muslim Quarter. (Zhang, 2008) This cooperative study group engaged themselves in fieldworks, interviews and document studies, which after several years' study in 1995, proposed a protection plan, including the following three objectives: historical and cultural study, district conservation control principles and pilot courtyard house restoration. Afterwards, the agreement of "Sino-Norwegian Cooperative Plan for the Protection of Xi'an Muslim Historical District" was issued by the central government of China in 1997 and subsequently an official sub-district agency (Zhang, 2008) for the "Xi'an Muslim Historic District Protection Project" was founded by the local government of Xi'an, which is aimed to promote collaborations between different groups.

In 2000s, the local government launched a redevelopment plan for the West Avenue area, which proposed to acquire the Muslim quarter at a low land price. Partly because of the low compensation while mostly because of their deeply embraced tradition to center around the Mosque, the Muslim community refused to accept the redevelopment plan (XU and WAN, 2009). In 2006, the Muslim Trade Union was established on behalf of all the Muslim businessmen, which negotiates between the official sub-district office and the business community. All the businessmen participated in decision making on towards the business and physical development of the business street. In order to enhance their community image and confidence, they also spontaneously devoted themselves into the physical renovation and infrastructure improvement activities.

Enhancement of place identity

After a series of urban regeneration projects on Xi'an Muslim Quarter, especially on the Beiyuanmen historic street, the historic functions and local communities have been largely conserved and enhanced, which in turn, have created a distinguished place identity and attracted tourists from all over the world to explore this dynamic area.

To conclude, the urban revitalization of Beiyuanmen Historic Street project in 1991 can be seen as a top-down demonstration project to beat the increasing image obsolescence and to attract more tourists through the process of place marketing. Its limitation lies in that the issues of functions and community needs were marginally considered. The later Sino-Norwegian Cooperative Plan for the Protection of Xi'an Muslim Historical District is a university-led conservation approach. Many technical issues such as building restoration, building height, and flat ratio are well addressed. In addition, some pilot courtyard, after restoration, changed their function from residence to culture centre, which reduced the function obsolescence and provided a potential for functional regeneration. The establishment of the sub-district official agency is a good approach to assist the implementation of the protection plan. Its limitation lies in that the plan was dominated by experts' architectural perspective without considerable concern on the social and economic enhancement of this area. The Muslim Trade Union and self-renovation, however, is a bottom-up approach, which lead the whole process into functional regeneration and place promotion. Obviously, it is the strong social bonds and trust in the community that contributes to survive from being demolished, to promote the negotiation and collaboration between community and official agencies, and to maintain a dynamic economy and a unique sense of space. Finally, the success can be seen as a collective contribution of the three planning periods, which shows that the collaboration and cooperation between government, community, trade union, experts and users are significant to achieve a sound urban revitalization.

Comparison

An Active Recycling the Historic Quarter Initiated by Urban Tourism—Rethinking of Place marketing and Place making

Place marketing and place making strategy will have different influence on the whole recycling process of historic quarter from different aspects and raise different tensions in the long term. The following analysis is done based on the case of Tianzi Fang and Xi'an Muslim Quarter.

1. Tianzi Fang

The Linong Factories become redundant during the modern economic change and restructure of industry. Rather

than leaving them vacant or demolition, these buildings are adapted to new economic activity, which are not only recycling the physical remnants of a quarter but also introducing emerging industries, which revitalizes the local economic. Through this process of economic recycling, the redevelopment of Tianzi Fang put the Linong factories into the recycling of urban economic rather than separate them as an industrial-factory area without accommodation. Adopting a bottom up approach, the first and second phases of Tianzi Fang's development are largely influenced by free market economy which pursues the highest land use value based on the relationship of supply and demand, and the concern of the highest private gains is overwhelming. Social needs and the problem of community obsolescence are largely ignored.

While in the third phase, local government uses a top down strategy and moves some residents out, whose houses are aimed to serve tourism. This has separated tourism with the local community and leads to a recycling their buildings rather than recycling the communities. While, the historic urban area is considered to convey many intangible and tangible values such as the mutual cultural memory, the identity, the aesthetic of history, and diversity of architecture and townscape. the destruction of historic urban areas usually caused the loss of welfare. (Tiesdell et al., 1996)

2. Xi'an Muslim Quarter

Xi'an Muslim Quarter, however, presents a more advanced self-recycling model. Rather than kicking out the community and changing this place into an overwhelming tourism spot, the community revived itself by embracing and adapting to new economic activities and physical changes. The classic courtyard houses have been restored and reused as heritage museums and cultural centers, which recycles the decayed physical form and reduced its environmental impact compared with new buildings. Furthermore, the community's social structure has been well maintained, along with which the network of traditional economic production-- handicraft industry has not only survived but also been upgraded and merged into the city's modern economic activities. The blending of traditional production with modern consumption in contemporary Xi'an city attracts many tourists and enhanced the small business and local economic condition, which in turn has supported the community to carry on community upgrading, in terms of physical fabric and quality of life. They set up the Muslim Trade Union, which help to bond the community member closely and make a collective community development decision. For example, the community now can provide more funds to Muslim School. Meanwhile, as the community adapt themselves and embrace the tourism economy and modern life, it didn't put itself in a dangerous situation which usually ends up by hollowing itself to gain short-term profit; on the contrary, through the merging of community's everyday life with tourists' activities, the urban space has recycled itself under new social order and has been reproduced as a dynamic urban public place; and the cultural identity has also been enhanced by the actively recycling the social, economic and physical aspects.

The social network analysis

Putnan (1993) defined social capital as following: "features of social organization, such as trust, norms, and networks, that can improve the efficiency of society by facilitating coordinated actions." As can be seen from the above case study, the social capital of Tianzi Fang is not as rich as that of Xi'an Muslim Quarter. In Tianzi Fang, there reveals a loose social bonds within the group of residents, which reduces their strength of resistance. In addition, their linkage to other different groups such as shop owners and official agencies are weak, which influences their access to the decision making. As in the case of Xi'an Muslim Quarter, the bonds within the Muslim group are very close, which contributes to draw many concerns of outside, and the relationship link with other groups such as institutions, souvenir shop owners and official agencies are comparatively denser and better connected, which contributes to the community's access to decision making and its power of influencing decision making.

Conclusion: a integral tourism within a networked urban regeneration process

■ Although the rich stock of social capital can contribute public familiarity, trust, and a well-maintained network, which in turn helps to maintain the community bonds, traditional and cultural features and sense of belonging, social capital does have the character of spatial exclusion (Blokland et al., 2008) namely bonding social capital, which means within a system, the social capital of a sub-group is too strong and too closed, it is easier for this sub-group to exclude other group out, geographically or socially. In this case, to enhance the bridging social capital, which is to build up a connection of link to other groups in the whole system through identifying the key node of the sub-group's relationship graphic (Scott, 1991a), and as well as to control the bonding social capital are vital to achieve a collective action in the process of tourism development as well as the urban regeneration.

As mentioned above, social capital and social network will influence the whole process of urban change, in turn; urban changes also affect the forming of social capital and social network in a local and global way. In fact, many elements involve and interconnect in a contemporary historical urban quarter and should all be taken into consideration. For example, physical fabric, community, local business, culture, tourism, and investment have all interrelate within a network, tangibly or intangibly, part by part and layer by layer.

The dilemma of urban historic quarter lies in that it can't be kept untouched physically and with its community bonds unchanged at the same time socially, taking the more and more interlinked affecting issues from both inside and outside the community into consideration. Then how to reach collective benefits? In his famous comparative study on Italy Institutional development, Putnam et al. (Putnam et al., 1994) identify the network structure as ideal "horizontal", which is "bringing together agents of equivalent status and power"; and ideal "vertical", which is "linking unequal agents in asymmetric relations of hierarchy and dependence". They argue that no matter how dense and how important, in a primarily vertical network, for example, a top-down or bottom-up, social trust and cooperation can't sustain; and that horizontal and intense networks are more likely to build up social capital and to reach cooperation and mutual benefit. Putnam's study largely promotes the development of urban management.

"We need to base our understanding of social capital, not on a notion of what community used to be like but on an elaborated understanding of contemporary urban forms, which we call 'networked urbanism'" (Blokland et al., 2008) Therefore, adapting the method of social network analysis into the contemporary urban regeneration system will help to understand the network situation of contemporary historical quarter. By identifying the structure of this network and its link pattern, it is easy to find out how many groups involves in the horizontal network system? where the bridging and bonding social capital lie in (Scott, 1991b), who is the central person or agency in different relationship and negotiation level, which one (institution, agency, organization, group leader) is the bridging components, etc.

Historic quarter, as a unique community heritage is confronted with a complex urban regeneration process, where tourism is only one affecting factor. Just as Karski(1990) mentions: tourism is only one component of a wider set of economic and planning initiatives", there are many influencing factors. A single focus such as tourism development or housing development is usually criticized to have caused many problems in the long run. Even though in the recent creative industry and cultural quarter practices, social cohesion and participation are initiatively addressed, without an integral networked urban regeneration method and a collaborative urban policy as well as a resilient urban management, problems will still be inevitable.

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