



**Politecnico
di Torino**

ScuDo
Scuola di Dottorato ~ Doctoral School
WHAT YOU ARE, TAKES YOU FAR

Doctoral Dissertation
Doctoral Program in Urban and Regional Development (32nd Cycle)

Rural Built Heritage Preservation and Development in Chinese ethnic area

Taking historic villages in Tongren as case studies

Qi Mu

Supervisors

Prof. Angioletta Voghera, Supervisor
Prof. Giuseppe Cinà, Co-Supervisor

Doctoral Examination Committee:

Prof. Maurizio Meriggi, Referee, Polytechnic University of Milan.
Prof. Anna Laura Palazzo, Referee, University of Rome Tre
Prof. Jiang Feng, Referee, South China University of Technology
Prof. Simona Tondelli, Referee, University of Bologna
Prof. Marco Santangelo, Referee, Polytechnic University of Turin

Politecnico di Torino
August 03, 2021

This thesis is licensed under a Creative Commons License, Attribution - Noncommercial - NoDerivative Works 4.0 International: see www.creativecommons.org. The text may be reproduced for non-commercial purposes, provided that credit is given to the original author.

I hereby declare that, the contents and organisation of this dissertation constitute my own original work and does not compromise in any way the rights of third parties, including those relating to the security of personal data.



.....
Qi MU

Turin, August 03, 2021

Acknowledgement

I would like to acknowledge with deep gratitude all the people who have helped and supported me, both practically and spiritually, during this challenging doctorate programme.

My struggles with the ethnic minority part of my identity has inspired me to conduct this research into the blurred memories, customs and the identity values I strive to conserve. It is an intrinsic part of me that I have received from my family. I would like to thank my family without whom I would never have got to the end of this milestone in both my academic carrier and personal experience. Moreover, I've learned so much from my parents about how it is important to nourish and integrate personal capacity when mentoring younger generations, as they both worked in a university in an ethnic area and have trained numerous talents in our community. In particular, I have always been so grateful for my father, who took care of me with all his love during his life and encouraged me to be a strong and positive person. Without him it would have been impossible for me to become "me".

Warmest appreciations go to my supervisors. I have enjoyed fruitful research experiences and conversations with Prof Giuseppe Cinà, with whom I created my first formal connection within the Italian academic world at the beginning of my research career. Both in the urban context and rural areas, I've learned from him the importance of 'caring' for others (other built environments, other culture and other people), from which numerous inspirations have been generated. Furthermore, Prof Cinà and Prof Voghera have supported me and shown concern for me during the most difficult times of my life. This caring has become one of my motivations to continue the research and I will always keep it in mind. The most supportive dialogues and discussions I enjoyed with Prof Voghera revealed her talent and enthusiasm for scientific research and teaching, and I have always appreciated them. I would like to thank the research team of Prof Ni Qi at Dalian Minzu University, who has constantly worked in Tongren despite difficult conditions. Within this team, Prof Jiang Naixuan and Prof Chen Xi have supported my field survey with their skills and helpful connections. The team partially funded this research project and have provided helpful conditions for my fieldwork several times from our first contact in 2017 until the final fieldwork in 2020.

Particular thanks go to the Urban Planning Bureau of Tongren. The director, Mr Zhao Zhenyang, has demonstrated both far-sighted vision for his homeland and a deep concern for the local communities and the rapidly changing built environments in fragile regions. Very interesting conversations took place too with officials from the Ethnic Affairs Bureau of Tongren, and branch offices at county level. Thanks go also to the director, Mr Luo, Mr Yang, the ethnographer Mr Wu, and Mrs Li from the

Ethnic Affairs Bureau of Jiangkou, Mr Long at the Ethnic Affairs Bureau of Songtao, and Mr Zhang at the Ethnic Affairs Bureau of Yinjiang County.

The time I have shared with my colleagues in our small research team at the Polytechnic University of Turin is unforgettable. They are PhD colleagues that have always inspired me at many critical moments. I'm quite sure that they are going to be excellent researchers. I've learned so much from Merve Demiroz, Giuditta Soccalli, and Luca Lazzarini through the many discussions, researches, and university activities we organized. Thanks also to Aimar Fabrizio, with whom we shared experiences and knowledge of working in different cultural contexts.

Last but not least, I would like to thank Prof Feng Jiang and his research team from the South China University of Technology, with whom I spent a meaningful time as an exchange researcher from June to October 2019. I think the interesting insights and reflections we've made go beyond the individual boundaries of a specific knowledge, and this is something that can lead me forward into future work.

Summary

The purpose of this research was to investigate how the historic villages in the ethnic area in China have been affected by the rural built heritage preservation policies and rural development mainstreams in the recent decades, taking the Authorized Heritage Discourse (AHD) as the lens for investigation. The research question can be dissolved into sub-questions:

- How have the historic villages in ethnic areas been preserved and/or transformed?
- Which are the stakeholders in this play? What are the tensions/coalitions among them?
- What are the results and outcomes?
- Which are the possible future development issues?

After the overall literature review on the papers and the existing case studies (Chapter 1), the review on the evolution of rural built heritage preservation policies (Chapter 2), the rural development programs searching for sustainable development in the rural ethnic area launched in the recent decades (Chapter 3), the research adopts a multi-case study analysis as the methodology, taking six villages from Tongren, Guizhou province as a case study area (Chapter 4). The case study analysis aimed to investigate the plans, and projects in labeled and not labeled villages and the stakeholders involved in the whole process.

The research found that rural built heritage preservation and development in the ethnic area has been strongly addressed by the labeling, planning, project-making, follow-up management characterized by different patterns of stakeholders. Moreover, the rural built heritage preservation and development is an instrument of power that has been incorporated into the municipal, county, and lower-level planning settings, portraying an overall top-down government-led feature. An intentional ladder development for the government's overall strategy of resource allocation and spatial reorganization has been identified. Different patterns of stakeholders are identified. This research suggests that different roles played by stakeholders tend to be inseparable and often overlapped thus forming ambiguous and difficultly controllable dynamics in shaping the rural built environment. In conclusion, insights have been provided based on the debates of AHD and positioning rural built heritage preservation within the public governance. A shared platform among stakeholders by advocating crossing the boundaries between public institutions, government, and community and private spheres is provided. The issue of the lack of social capital and policy arrangement in rural areas should be further explored

Contents

Acknowledgements.....	i
Summary.....	iii
Contents.....	v
List of Tables.....	xi
List of Figures.....	xii
List of Acronyms.....	xvi
Introduction.....	1
Chapter 1 Literature review.....	6
1.1 Brief introduction.....	6
1.2 A systematic literature review method.....	6
1.2.1 Publication collection process.....	6
1.2.2 Focus themes.....	7
1.3 An overview based on the quantitative approach.....	10
1.4 Overall feature of Chinese rural built heritage preservation.....	11
1.4.1 Government-led approach: potentials and problems.....	11
1.4.2 Commodification in the historic villages in ethnic areas as tools of development.....	13
1.4.3 Project-making at local level, stakeholders, and tensions.....	14
1.5 Open issues based on literature review.....	29
1.5.1 Inquiry about a deepened understanding on the evolution of rural built heritage preservation in ethnic area in China.....	30
1.5.2 Inquiry about a holistic understanding on the ongoing transformations of rural built heritage.....	30
1.5.3 Inquiry about exploring a pattern of stakeholders in rural built heritage preservation and development.....	30
1.6 Conclusion.....	32
Chapter 2 The Evolution of Rural Built Heritage Preservation in China.....	33
2.1 Pre-PRC phase: Preservation of vernacular buildings at the beginning of the twentieth century.....	35
2.1.1 Summary.....	36
2.1.2 First legislations.....	36
2.1.3 Research and preservation practices.....	37
2.2 Post-PRC phase: The “Cultural Relic Protection Units” and the suspended period in the Cultural Revolution (1950s-1970s).....	38
2.2.1 Summary.....	38
2.2.2 Legislation: Establishment of Cultural Relic Protection Units.....	38

2.2.3	Initial studies on vernacular buildings and Minzu architecture.....	39
2.3	Single-track phase: From urban heritage preservation to the rural context (1980s).....	41
2.3.1	Summary.....	41
2.3.2	Legislation: The Historical and Cultural Cities and Historical and Cultural Villages and Towns.....	42
2.3.3	Research and preservation practices: national narratives, local varieties, and emerging commodification.....	43
2.4	Historic Village preservation: Initiation of practices and theoretical incentives (1990s).....	50
2.5	Double-track phase: Booming of rural built-heritage preservation (2000s-ongoing).....	53
2.5.1	Legislation: Formation of double-track system.....	54
2.5.2	Researches: towards a multidisciplinary approach.....	59
2.5.3	The rise and fall of the eco-museum and the search for sustainable development.....	60
2.6	Critiques and conclusions.....	68
2.6.1	From the perspective of legislative evolution.....	69
2.6.2	From the perspective of conceptual evolution.....	70
2.6.3	From the perspective of the relationship between preservation and development.....	71
2.6.4	From the perspective of increased interests and stakeholders.....	71
2.7	Conclusion.....	74
Chapter 3	Beyond the Heritage Preservation: policies and plans for advocating a sustainable approach of rural revitalization.....	75
3.1	Historic perspectives: productionist villages in the socialist planned economy (1950s-1978).....	76
3.2	From city planning to urban and rural planning coordination (1990s-2000s)	79
3.3	Invoking the master plan for villages.....	80
3.3.1	National mainstreams.....	80
3.3.2	Local implementations.....	81
3.4	Towards environmentalism: the “ Beautiful Villages ” and the Village Rectification Plans.....	82
3.4.1	“ Beautiful Villages ”.....	82
3.4.2	Village rectification plans.....	84
3.5	The construction of ethnic villages in an era of poverty alleviation.....	86
3.5.1	Current debates on ethnic minorities and the built heritage.....	86

3.5.2 Institutional discourse of ethnic villages Cultural resources as the solution of poverty alleviation.....	87
3.6 Critiques and Conclusions.....	94
3.6.1 A remedy to the rural decay.....	94
3.6.2 Unappropriated rationality of spatial planning for villages.....	95
3.6.3 From the environmentalism to rural beautification.....	96
3.6.4 Ethnicization and commodification.....	97
3.6.5 Different central institutions and the dislocated local project implementation.....	98
3.7 Conclusion.....	100
Chapter 4 Case study definition and methodology.....	102
4.1 Case study area introduction.....	102
4.1.1 Long-standing poverty issue in rural area.....	104
4.1.2 Abundant cultural and natural heritage assets.....	107
4.1.3 Heritage-led development policies in the Tongren's rural area.....	110
4.2 Methodology.....	113
4.2.1 Research methodology definition.....	113
4.2.2 Selection of case study villages.....	115
4.2.3 Research design.....	118
4.3 Conclusion.....	120
Chapter 5 Case study analysis. Group A Yunshe and Zhaisha.....	121
5.1 The case of Yunshe.....	121
5.1.1 Introduction.....	121
5.1.2 Initiation of heritage-led development in the 2000s.....	125
5.1.3 Booming of heritage-led development in the 2010's.....	126
5.1.4 Entrepreneurialism and the post heritage-led development.....	130
5.1.5 Implementation.....	132
5.1.6 Conclusion.....	136
5.2 The case of Zhaisha.....	139
5.2.1 Introduction.....	139
5.2.2 Government-led demolition and reconstruction in the 2010s.....	141
5.2.3 Governance and finance.....	145
5.2.4 Reconstructing the heritage discourse.....	145
5.2.5 Entrepreneurship and post heritage-led development.....	146
5.2.6 Branding and slowdown of heritage-led development: 2016-present.....	147
5.2.7 Conclusion.....	150
5.3 Conclusion.....	154

Chapter 6 Case study analysis. Group B and C.....	155
6.1 Group B: The case of Dawan.....	156
6.1.1 Introduction.....	156
6.1.2 Government-led environmental improvement.....	159
6.1.3 Labelling and planning.....	162
6.1.4 Elite-led heritage preservation.....	165
6.1.5 Conclusion.....	170
6.2 Group B: The case of Qishuping.....	172
6.2.1 Introduction.....	172
6.2.2 Heritage preservation.....	176
6.2.3 Government-led heritage preservation.....	179
6.2.4 Conclusion.....	185
6.3 Conclusion.....	186
6.4 Group C: The case of Pingsuo.....	188
6.4.1 Introduction.....	188
6.4.2 Heritage preservation.....	192
6.4.3 The pattern of stakeholders.....	197
6.4.4 Conclusion.....	198
6.5 Group C: The case of Sibao.....	199
6.5.1 Introduction.....	199
6.5.2 Government-led environmental improvement projects.....	204
6.5.3 The pattern of stakeholders.....	206
6.5.4 Conclusion.....	210
6.6 Conclusion.....	212
Chapter 7 Evidences from case studies.....	213
7.1 Positioning the case studies within the overall Chinese approach.....	215
7.2 Evidences from the case studies.....	216
7.2.1 Evidences from Yunshe and Zhaisha.....	216
7.2.2 Evidences from Dawan and Qishuping.....	217
7.2.3 Evidence from Pingsuo and Sibao.....	218
7.3 Patterns of stakeholders.....	222
7.3.1 The role of county government and SOEs.....	222
7.3.2 The role of expert groups.....	225
7.3.3 The role of village elites and village cadres.....	226
7.3.4 The role of community.....	227
7.4 Other potential issues.....	228
7.4.1 Crucial clash between tradition and the need for modernity.....	229
7.4.2 Spatial inequalities: core villages vs. marginal villages.....	233

7.4.3 Demolition and relocation for rural development.....	234
7.4.4 Core administrations vs. marginal administrations.....	235
7.4.5 Dynamic and contested ethnicity.....	235
7.5 Conclusion.....	238
Chapter 8 International insights.....	241
8.1 Experiences in Italy.....	241
8.1.1 The role of GAL.....	242
8.1.2 The government-led top-down path.....	243
8.1.3 The project approval and implementation.....	244
8.2 Experiences in the UK.....	246
8.2.1 Policies at national level.....	246
8.2.2 Insights from Cotswold.....	249
8.3 Experiences in Japan.....	252
8.3.1 Policies at national level.....	252
8.3.2 Insights from Ogimachi.....	253
8.4 Conclusion.....	255
Chapter 9 Conclusion and discussions.....	256
9.1 Theoretical reflections.....	256
9.1.1 Within the debates on the Authorized Heritage Discourse.....	256
9.1.2 Within the rational choice model.....	258
9.1.3 Within the debates on public governance.....	259
9.2 Policy implications for each case study village.....	260
9.3 Proposing a management framework.....	262
9.3.1 Management framework formation.....	262
9.3.2 Critiques and reflections on the framework.....	266
9.4 Conclusions and reflections on future works.....	266
9.4.1 The limitations of the research.....	266
9.4.2 Concluding remarks.....	267
9.5 Conclusion.....	268
References.....	270
Planning, policy documents and reports.....	282
Online sources and blog posts.....	287
Appendix A.....	290
Appendix B.....	297
Appendix C.....	306
Appendix D.....	310
Appendix E.....	313
Appendix F.....	313

List of Tables

Table 1 : Thematic table based on literature review. Source: Author's elaboration based on scientific articles.....	8
Table 2 : Decrease of administrative and natural villages from 1990 to 2016.....	67
Table 3 : A summarize on the legislation, research, and practices on rural built heritage in China. Source: author's elaboration.....	73
Table 4 : Evolution of VEMC and its origin in poverty alleviation policies after the foundation of the PRC.....	93
Table 5 : Comparison between urban and rural residents' annual income in Tongren	105
Table 6 : Number of tourists in Tongren.....	105
Table 7 : Number of residents lifted out of poverty.....	106
Table 8 : Population of ethnic minorities in Tongren.....	106
Table 9 : Basic outline of case study villages.....	116
Table 10 : Different construction periods of basic facilities in Yunshe.....	135
Table 11 : Investment for the reconstruction of Zhaisha (unit: 10,000 yuan).....	146
Table 12 : Annual revenue after the reconstruction of Zhaisha (unit: 10,000 yuan).	147
Table 13 : Type of Intervention Defined in the VRP of Dawan	160
Table 14 : Type of Intervention Defined in the OPPD of Dawan.....	164
Table 15 : Differences of construction characters between the dwellings in Qishuping and other Qiang villages out of Guizhou province.....	177
Table 16 : Definitions of the interventions Defined in the OPPD of Qishuping.....	179
Table 17 : Specific Interventions Implemented according to the OPPD of Qishuping.	180
Table 18 : Types of intervention proposed in the OPPD of Pingsuo.....	195
Table 19 : Overall feature of the case study villages.....	220
Table 20 : Tax incentives for the preservation districts.....	252

List of Figures

Figure 1 : Structure of thesis.....	5
Figure 2 : Provinces with the largest number of cases.....	10
Figure 3 : Administrative hierarchy from central to village level.....	18
Figure 4 : A pattern of stakeholders involved in the heritage-led development of historic villages defined by the current regulations and norms.....	31
Figure 5 : Diagram of the strategy for the review of policies, researches, and practices.	35
Figure 6 : Demolished and reconstructed portal of the Qiankou dwellings.....	45
Figure 7 : A meeting on New Year’s Eve between experts and villagers in Gaozeng Dongzhai.	47
Figure 8 : Soga Village in 1998 before the renovation interventions.....	53
Figure 9 : Evolution of the double-track preservation system.....	58
Figure 10 : Categories of general Chinese heritage features protected at national level.	59
Figure 11 : The “xin yi zhai” (new village No. 1).....	61
Figure 12 : The “xin er zhai” (new village No. 2).....	61
Figure 13 : Today’s Soga after the renovation interventions.....	62
Figure 14 : Upper Langde.....	63
Figure 15 : Distribution of CTVs in China based on different batches.....	66
Figure 16 : A study on rural geography shows the spatial distribution of villages in China in 1990 and 2016.....	67
Figure 17 : Evolution of Rural Built-Heritage Preservation in China.....	69
Figure 18 : Different approaches and the overlapped labelling of early preserved villages.....	71
Figure 19 : The coverage of the illustrated book about the first five-year program (1955).....	77
Figure 20 : Formulation and Approval Process of Village Plans according to the URPA.....	81
Figure 21 : Levels of Townships and Villages as Categorized by the ORCP.....	82
Figure 22 : Beautiful Villages in Anji County, Zhejiang.....	83
Figure 23 : Main steps and policies influencing the rural Built-environment in the last 20 years.....	86
Figure 24 : The distribution of VEMC in China.....	91
Figure 25 : Evolution of VEMC.....	94
Figure 26 : Renovated rural dwellings in the construction of beautiful villages along the highway in Jiangkou County, Guizhou province.....	98
Figure 27 : Newly built multi-storey residential buildings in the “new area” to relocate the villagers	98
Figure 28 : National Level Ministries and the main projects they conduct.....	99
Figure 29 : Geographic location of Tongren	102

Figure 30: Mount Fanjing and the highest peak Phoenix Mountain.....	103
Figure 31 : Guizhou Provincial Urban System (2006-2020)	103
Figure 32 : The “golden hair monkeys” in Mount Fanjing area.....	109
Figure 33: Tourism Developmen Plan of MTR.....	111
Figure 34: Territorial map of Jiangkou County and three case study villages.....	112
Figure 35: The ORCP of Jiangkou County (2017).....	113
Figure 36: The distribution of case study villages.....	117
Figure 37: Diagram of the research design.....	119
Figure 38: Overview of Yunshe.....	121
Figure 39: Yunshe and other villagers in Taiping River basin, Jiangkou county.....	122
Figure 40: Spatial layout of Yunshe.....	123
Figure 41: Preservation status of Yunshe.....	123
Figure 42: Photo and planimetry of a Bucket House in Yunshe.....	124
Figure 43: Paper-making station.....	125
Figure 44: Shenlong Tan.....	125
Figure 45: Lable of "National Agritourism and poverty alleviation Model Village..	126
Figure 46: Lable of “Historic Building Groups”.....	126
Figure 47: Land Use Plan of the Conservation and Development Plan	127
Figure 48: Master Plan of the Conservation and Development Plan	127
Figure 49: Different Projects of Restoration and Renovation in Yunshe	128
Figure 50: Infrastructure and Facilities of Yunshe in 2006.....	131
Figure 51: Infrastructure and Facilities in Yunshe in 2016.....	132
Figure 52: Dwelling of Yang family.....	133
Figure 53: Different pavement in Yunshe.	135
Figure 54: Network of key stakeholders involved in the planning and implementation process in Yunshe	136
Figure 55: Aerial view of Zhaisha.....	139
Figure 56: Location of Zhaisha, the main gate area of the Mount Fanjing and the Buddhist Cultural Park.....	140
Figure 57: Master plan of the Buddhist Cultural Park.....	142
Figure 58: Different conservation and renovation projects in Zhaisha.....	143
Figure 59: Comparison before and after the implementation of the demolition and reconstruction.....	144
Figure 60 : The greenedlane and courtyard in one of the farm resorts in Zhaisha.....	144
Figure 61: A News Reporting the “Beautiful Village of Guizhou: Zhaisha Dong village of Jiangkou County”.....	148
Figure 62: A News Reporting the “Jiangkou county has obtained a green-motor for poverty alleviation”.....	148
Figure 63: A New Reporting the “Zhaisha Dong village has explored a new tourism development approach”.....	148
Figure 64: Master plan of Mount Fanjing and Taiping river scenic area.....	150
Figure 65: Network of key stakeholders involved in the planning and implementation process in Zhaisha.....	150
Figure 66: Distance among Dawan, Panxin and the City of Miao King.....	156

Figure 67: Photo of Dawan.....	157
Figure 68: Spatial layout of Dawan.....	157
Figure 69: Mobility system of Dawan.....	158
Figure 70: Protection status of Dawan.....	158
Figure 71: Construction period of dwellings.....	158
Figure 72: VRP of Dawan elaborated by Urban and Rural Institute of Tongren.....	160
Figure 73: Tourism Development Plan of City of Miao King.....	162
Figure 74: Master Plan of Dawan in the OPPD.....	163
Figure 75: Master Plan of Dawan in the OPPD.....	163
Figure 76: Teng Jicheng's colleagues participated the construction of the new dwelling.....	166
Figure 77: Construction process led by the carpenter.....	167
Figure 78: Carpenter's drawing for teng jicheng's new dwelling.....	167
Figure 79: Different preservation and renovation projects in Dawan.....	168
Figure 80: A label of a poor family in Dawan, Songtao County.....	169
Figure 81: Painters Coming from other Provinces Make Drawing on Dawan.....	170
Figure 82: Spontaneous B&B in Dawan.....	170
Figure 83: Network of key stakeholders involved in the planning and implementation in Dawan.....	171
Figure 84: Territorial map of Qishuping.....	172
Figure 85: Aerial view of Qishuping.....	173
Figure 86: Spatial Layout of Qishuping.....	174
Figure 87: Spatial Layout of Qishuping.....	175
Figure 88: Preservation status of Qishuping.....	175
Figure 89: Terraced farmland in Qishuping.....	175
Figure 90: Aerial view of Qishuping.....	176
Figure 91: The Traditional Sheep form Pattern in the Wood Carving Wall.....	177
Figure 92: The square at the entrance of Qishuping.....	177
Figure 93: Photo showing the relation between dwellings and paths.....	178
Figure 94: The Sacrifice Event During the Qiang New year.....	178
Figure 95: Type of intervention defined in the OPPD of Qishuping.....	180
Figure 96: Conservation and renovation projects defined in the VEMCs.....	182
Figure 97: Hu Zhengyong's Dwelling and Courtyard.....	184
Figure 98: The Plastered Facade of the Toilet of Hu Zhengyong's Dwellings.....	184
Figure 99: Spatial Layout of Pingsuo and its constituent villages	188
Figure 100: Photo of Shibanzhai	189
Figure 101: Photo of Banjiujing.....	189
Figure 102: Mobility system and environment of Banjiujing.....	189
Figure 103: Preservation status of the village.....	190
Figure 104: Cemented Path in Pingsuo.....	191
Figure 105: Dwellings in Pingsuo.....	191
Figure 106: Rural Tourism Planning in the Yinjiang River Basin.....	193
Figure 107: Master Plan in the OPPD of Banjiujing.....	194
Figure 108: Location of Sibao village and Minhe township.....	200

Figure 109: Photo of Sibao.....	200
Figure 110: Spatial Location of the natural villages in Sibao.....	201
Figure 111: Mobility system in Sibao.....	202
Figure 112: Preservation status in Sibao.....	202
Figure 113: the internal paths and the historic dwellings in Sibao.....	203
Figure 114: the terraces in Sibao.....	203
Figure 115: The settlement of Dashanlin.....	204
Figure 116: The settlement of Dashanlin.....	204
Figure 117: the dilaptd dwelling with the Red Sign Showing the Dweller Has New Houses in the village.....	206
Figure 118: the dilaptd dwelling with the red sign Showing Elderly’s Children Have Jobs and Houses, and only the Elderly Live in Dilapidated Dwellings.....	206
Figure 119 : Mr. Wu is cleaning the wood carving windowof the Dong dwelling...207	207
Figure 120: The demolished wooden dwelling.....	209
Figure 121: Newly Paved Internal Paths in Sibao.....	211
Figure 122: General Characters of the Stakeholders Involved in Case Study Villages.....	228
Figure 123: Liyang village, Shangxiang. Zhejiang.....	232
Figure 124: Xiaokang Village, Shangxiang, Zhejiang.....	232
Figure 125: Jiang village, Lishang township, Chunan county. Zhejiang.....	233
Figure 126: Daijiashan village, Woshan town, Tonglu county, Zhejiang.....	233
Figure 127: A drawing of chairman Mao in place of ancester’s altar in Qishuping. 238	238
Figure 128: The process chart showing the “joint force” combining the bottom -up and top-down approaches in the rural built heritage preservation in Italy.....	245
Figure 129: Design Guideline for traditional casement windows.....	249
Figure 130: Design Guideline of traditional casement windows.....	250
Figure 131: The preservation plan of Ogimachi village.....	252
Figure 132: A Gassho house in Ogimachi village.....	254
Figure 133: Villagers of the Preservation Organization working on the straw-thatch roof.....	254
Figure 134: Case study villages and its relation with the planning setting of different levels.....	257
Figure 135: “Because of” and “In order to” model.....	259
Figure 136: A proposed pattern of stakehoders.....	264
Figure 137: A management framework integrating the OPPD and V.R.P.....	265

List of Acronyms

- AHD: Authorized Heritage Discourse
CTVs: Chinese Traditional Villages
HCTVs: Historic and Cultural Towns and Villages
CPUs: Cultural Relics Protection Unit
OPPD: Overall Plan for the Preservation and Development
MTR: Municipality of Tongren
URPA: Urban and Rural Planning Act
OPEV: Outline of the Plan for the Protection and Development of Ethnic Minority Villages
MQR: Report of Museum of Qiankou Residences' Museum.
VRP: Village Rectification Plan
VEMC: Villages with Ethnic Minority Characteristics
ORCP: Overall Rural Construction Plan
TBP: Summary Table of Project Budget for Preservation
TVA: Table of Traditional Village Archives
GURPDI: Guizhou Urban and Rural Planning and Design Institute
XTSC: Xidi Tourism Service Company
HTG: Huihuang Tourism Group
LGPR: Leading Group for Poverty Alleviation and Development
GOCVC: Guiding Opinions on the Pilot Work on the Conservation and Development of Villages with Minority Characteristics

Introduction

The rural world is a priceless part of our living environment which spans many different countries. The unique built heritage of a region reflects and supports the region's particular identity, which has been shaped by a set of values and forms an irreplaceable record of the place. It portrays local responses to the conditions of a rural society in terms of people's techniques, skills, spatial organization, symbols, cultures and relationships.

In China, the situation in recent decades has been characterized by political engagement and efforts to constantly improve the socio-economic conditions of rural communities. In spite of the immense value of the Chinese countryside, rather than remaining faithful to local conditions, it has undergone tremendous changes under the strong impacts generated by the national political mainstream and social-economic transformations. In the Chinese context, despite a relatively late start in launching official preservation measures, rural built-heritage preservation has been included in the official policy framework for the last three decades (State Council of PRC 1986, 2008a, 2008b, 2012), thereby approaching formal and informal selection and exclusion. Plenty of studies have critically analysed a government-led and ideologically socialist approach to coordinating the socio-economic development and cultural preservation of the countryside through commodification defined by plans and projects, especially in ethnic areas (Oakes 2013, 2016; Yi 2011; Hillman 2003). This approach becomes "preparation for development" (Oakes 2013: 389) as it often contains a set of overlapping and interconnected objectives, such as cultural heritage preservation, rural revitalization and built-environment improvements, and socio-economic development (Pola 2019; Lincoln & Madgin 2017). The government-led approach is performed within the so-called authorized heritage discourse (AHD), which relies on experts' claims of power or knowledge, and is institutionalized in national institutions and heritage preservation organizations (Smith 2006). On one hand, this kind of discourse generates material from the grand narrative of nation and class (which often ignores the diversified social and cultural processes present under a homogeneous discourse); on the other hand, it seeks its support from professional knowledge and aesthetic judgments (Smith 2006). One impact is that it defines who can be the legitimate spokesperson for the past. Various powers and stakeholders have been involved during planning and project-making processes, forming a series of coalitions, conflicts and tensions that have shaped the ongoing transformations in the historic villages in ethnic areas.

The research question is divided into four sub-questions:

- How have the historic villages in ethnic areas been preserved and/or transformed?
- Which stakeholders are involved? Are there any tensions/coalitions among them?
- What are the outcomes?
- What are the future development issues?

Based on critical realism, scholars in critical heritage studies have developed a critical discourse analysis, paying particular attention to the social and political backgrounds that have generated a certain kind of discourse. They emphasize the importance of how the consolidation of power and the process of legitimation have been interwoven together, and what has happened during this process (Smith 2020: 4).

Studies on AHD have been drawing on analysis of the power of discourse, emphasizing the specific social relations supporting and producing the entire discourse of social conditions in the post-colonial heritage realm (Fairclough 2003). AHD has been criticized as the value of heritage is often judged by experts, with this self-referential discourse often ignoring the multiple different social and cultural experiences in service to the construction of a national ideology; thus, different and inclusive identities cannot be tolerated. Critical heritage studies are an attempt to challenge the dominant voices coordinating and justifying the mainstreams of heritage practices by generating debates in which the means and value of heritage became contextually embodied and holistically perceived. This research takes AHD as the lens for the investigation on rural built-heritage planning processes, as a gap in exploring the development of the “Chinese” and “rural” AHD as a instrument of heritage governance that often encounters local opposition, negotiation, and appropriation in the process of preservation, heritage-based planning, and development.

The term “heritage” has been transformed from occurs or objects that represent an authentic past performed by cultural performances, buildings to cultural and economic politics related to the past (Zhu, 2020; Tunbridge and Ashworth 1996; Harrison 2013) and has been further recognized as social and cultural process that always in a state of construction. In fact, Harvey (2001) claimed that the term heritage should be perceived as a verb which involves abundant social relations that could manifest as social actions and material consequences (Smith 2020: 3). This indicates that heritage is socially and politically constructed and requires us to understand how the heritage has been constructed, both discursively and materially, by social and political dynamics. How these relations, consequences and dynamics have been performed and displayed in space is relevant, as space can be stabilized in the form of

political expression, guiding the subject to reach a specific goal (Thrift 2003). At the same time, planning discourse can be divided into two types: the first based on the procedural and rational aspects of planning; and the other focusing on the normative sphere characterized by ideological statements (Hananel 2013: 1612). The encounters and conflicts derived from making heritage and the spatial consequences are the core issue that this thesis discusses. In this study, after conducting a systematic literature review of the papers and existing case studies discussed in international academia to understand the state of the art of the topic (Chapter 1), two strands of debate on rural built-heritage preservation have emerged that “*at first glance may not appear to be related to heritage*”(Pola 2019: 64). I found how Chinese rural built-heritage preservation practices have been characterized by planning and project-making, and how the policies and plans advocating a sustainable approach of rural revitalization in recent decades that have impacted on the villages in ethnic areas are relevant to the topic. Thus, Chapter 1 is followed by a two-chapter review of the policies and practices in question, discussing how these two strands of policy have affected the historic villages in ethnic areas (Chapters 2 and 3).

Heritage is always produced by the encounter between national political streams and a variety of local forces (Harell 2013). The research selects Tongren, Guizhou Province, as the case study area for the multi-case study analysis (4.1), an area that for a long time has suffered disadvantaged conditions and generated systematic policies for heritage-led development. Planning settings at the local level have been provided to investigate how the national policies of rural built-heritage preservation and rural development have been embedded, contextualized and interpreted (Municipality of Tongren 2018). A multi-case study analysis (4.2.2) including six listed and unlisted villages based on a number of criteria has been included (4.2.3).

The main findings are listed as follows in no particular order. First, the plans and projects enacted on historic villages in ethnic areas have been characterized by mainstream and local political interpretations. In fact, an intentionally laddered development pattern of historic villages has been identified through the analysis of the planning, project-making and heritage policies at local level. This is consistent with what Oakes (2013) claimed regarding heritage as governance technology, which is therefore vulnerable to the dynamic socio-political conditions of a specific context. Concerning the plan and project-making, the managerial and financial issues in historic villages have been particularly critical due to the imbalance between departmental powers in the policy-making process. Second, different patterns of stakeholders have been identified (7.3). The first group regards the “model” villages where the pilot projects have been conducted, which portray the entrepreneurship of

county-level government and its coalitions with private enterprise through the government-led approach of project-making (5.1 and 5.2). In contrast to the first group, the second group of villages experienced fewer government-led projects, but the local elites and cadres became dominant in leading the heritage-led development (6.1 and 6.2). The third group includes two villages in disadvantaged situations. However, due to the different development layout defined by their respective county governments, the two villages are treated in completely different ways (6.3 and 6.4). In all cases, community engagement has been absent. The research finds that in the rural Chinese context, stakeholders, especially those with roles connected with the experts and/or elites, tend to become overlapped with other stakeholders, who therefore often occupy an ambiguous position in shaping the rural built environment. This should be understood within both the traditional Chinese rural governance framework and contemporary political enquiries surrounding ongoing rural construction activities. Third, this research reveals dynamic and potentially weakening ethnicity in the case study villages and the communities due to the homogeneous plans, projects and construction of cultural elements since heritage discourse is not only controlled by the actors but also acts upon the actors and is independent of them (Bourdieu & Wacquant 2000; Fischer, 2003; Smith 2006)

As briefly mentioned in the previous sections, the thesis has been developed into the following chapters (Figure 1). The first chapter contains a systematic literature review in order to better frame the state of the art and build a theoretical foundation for the research. The second chapter reviews the evolution of rural built-heritage preservation policies in China and the dynamic socio-economic and political conditions that they embedded. It reveals that a double-tracked system has formed. Representative cases and mainstream models have also been introduced. The third chapter regards the policies and plans advocating a sustainable approach of rural revitalization in the historic villages in ethnic areas. This section looks beyond the normative, practical corpus of heritage preservation in an attempt to outline the ongoing policies that have impacted on historic villages, including the introduction of master plans in the villages, the post-productivist shift to environmentalism and beautiful village construction, and especially the incorporation of ethnic culture and poverty alleviation. The fourth chapter defines the case study area and the methodology. Six villages in Tongren, Guizhou with different natural, social and cultural conditions have been selected and regrouped based on a particular set of criteria. The fifth chapter analyses the first two case-study villages, which experienced strong government-led intervention that mirrors the government-private enterprise coalition. The sixth chapter analyses the other four villages. The first two village cases demonstrate what happens when the government-private enterprise

coalition does not have a strong presence. In this case, local elites and cadres play dominant roles in heritage-led development. The latter two cases show what has happened in villages in disadvantaged situations. The seventh chapter attempts to systemize the evidence from the case study villages. The eighth chapter investigates further international experiences, taking the cases of Italy, the UK and Japan to glean insights into other models of rural built-heritage preservation and management. The ninth chapter is composed of the conclusions and discussions.

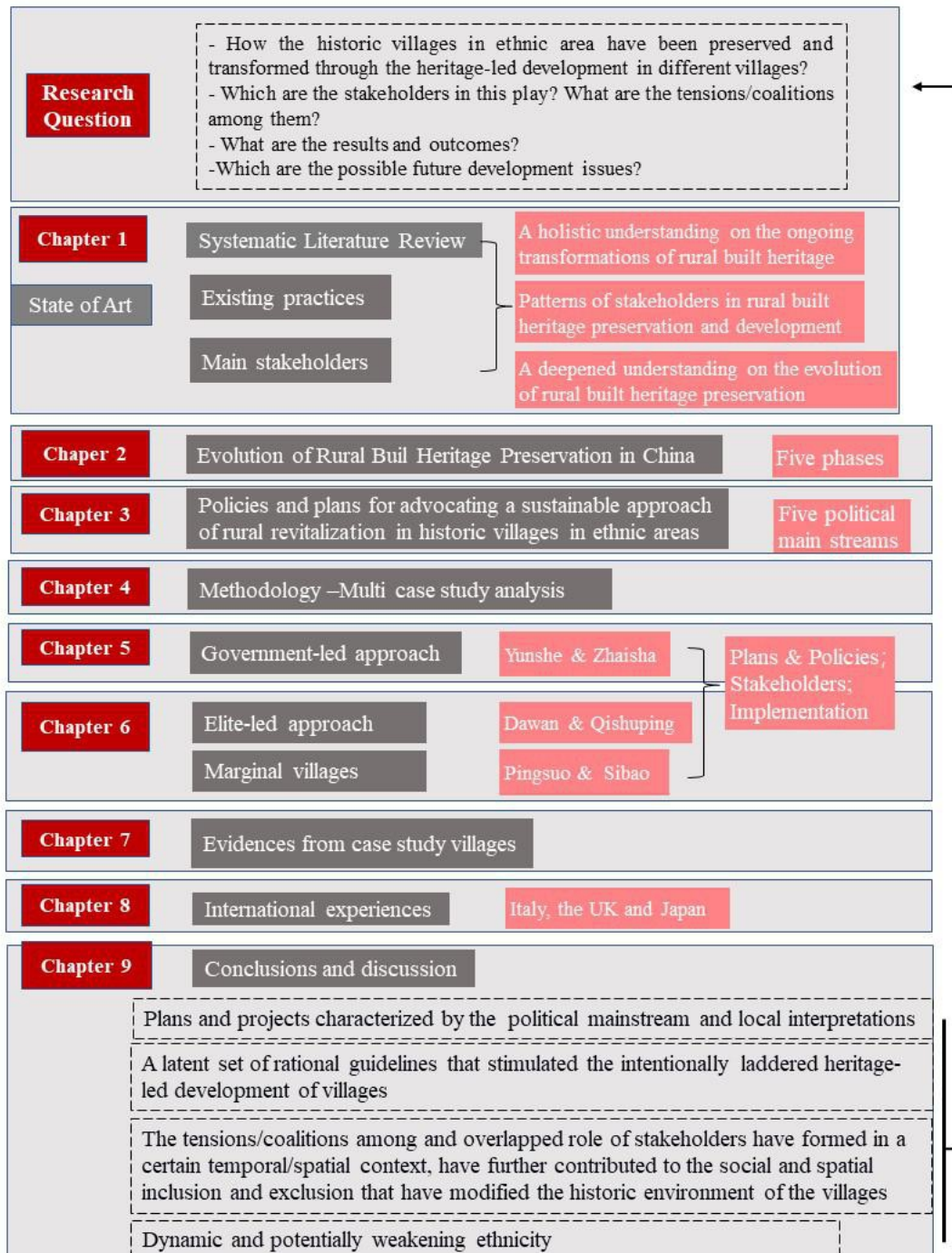


Figure 1: Structure of thesis. Source: Author’s elaboration.

Chapter 1 Literature review

1.1 Brief introduction

The literature review of the research comprises two parts. The first part consists of a systematic literature review, reviewing and analyzing the recurrent studies on the topic of Chinese rural built-heritage preservation and development. The selection and collection of articles are based on a number of criteria (see section 1.2.1). The review is supported with both quantitative and qualitative approaches based on 24 selected papers and 40 village case-studies present in international academia (see section 1.2.2). This is an attempt to trace an outline of the key issues related to the topic, paying attention to how the rural built heritage preservation has been a device for rural development, the stakeholders involved, and other important information. The systematic review has been collected and documented in Table 1. Moreover, a set of key themes has been identified, based on which the second part, the qualitative review, has been developed (see section 1.4).

1.2 A systematic literature review method

1.2.1 Publication collection process

As the first part of the research, this section commences with a systematic literature review, which has been developed through a process of literature retrieval, employing search strings in Scopus, Elsevier, and Web of Science. A set of key words related to the topic has been identified, such as Chinese, historic villages, ethnic villages, and rural heritage preservation. The selection process includes a set of criteria that each paper contains: the time of publication, keywords, relevance to the topic, language, and accessibility (Li et al. 2020). Only the articles published in the last 20 years and only English-language papers have been collected.

Through several rounds of retrieval, more than 70 papers have been selected as the final basis of the literature review. In this literature, 24 papers focused on 40 case studies of Chinese rural built-heritage preservation have been analyzed case by case. The other 50 articles are studies on rural built-heritage preservation, rural revitalization, rural governance, and cultural tourism that support a better framing of the theoretical foundation. The basic characters of the 40 case study villages have been identified and analyzed (Table 1).

1.2.2 Focus themes

To understand each publication's outcomes, the 24 papers including 40 case studies have been categorized according to the themes and key words they contain: (1) basic information each paper contains – the geographical location is the key information that the author has paid attention to; (2) heritage preservation/conservation processes – this category includes whether the case-study village is labeled, whether the preservation and the development process are characterized by the plans, project-making, demolition and relocation, and the intangible heritage preservation is present; (3) rural tourism development and management – often related to the commodification process (including both active commodification and passive), and the year of the commodification documented for each case studies.; (4) built environment transformations – includes the transformations of public spaces, infrastructural improvement, and other transformations of physical spaces occurred in the case-study villages; (5) funding issues – crucial to understanding the financial issue each case study presents; and (6) stakeholders. This category includes governments of different levels, including provincial, municipal, county and township governments; enterprises of different natures, including private business (P), the state-owned enterprises (SOEs) and the community-owned enterprises. The state-owned enterprises include the county-owned enterprises (COEs) and the township-owned ones (TOEs). The community-owned group refers to the businesses run by the village as a communal enterprise (Ying & Zhou 2007). Furthermore, the presence of expert groups has been taken into account, as their role is important in leading and impacting on the preservation and development of the case-study villages (Wang & Liu 2019). Furthermore, local powerbrokers such as elite families, social organizations, and communities have been considered as well.

Among these categories, the category (6) concerning stakeholders is particularly crucial. It includes the types of critical stakeholders involved in the built-heritage preservation process, as Wang Liu & Zhou (2019) have identified. The pattern of the stakeholders can further contribute to the heritage practices' features, including government-led, community based, or hybrid (Liu, Lin & Li 2020), and influence the performance of public participation in long-term sustainable development. Finally, the category (7) is the process stage to see whether the case studies have implemented the plans or projects of preservation and development, or experiencing the ongoing works.

Table 1: Thematic table based on literature review. Source: Author's elaboration based on scientific articles.

Paper info.		Heritage preservation/conservation									Tourism. commod. & Envir. Impro.			Fund	Stakeholders							Process stage		
%	Zhejiang 27.5; Guizhou: 17.5; Yunnan:10; Anhui: 7.5		92.5	42.5	55	92.5	27.5	40	52.5	47.5		67.5	45	42.5	47.5	55	25	45	10	37.5	75	5		
No.	Authors	No.	Case study area	Province	Label	Adv	Plans	Project making	Demo. / Relocat.	Intang.	Act.	Pass.	Year	Built enviro. improv.	Fundin g issue	P/M/C/T ¹	VOE/COE/TOE/P) ²	Expert group	Elites	Village com.	Ngo s	Pub. pa.	Finishe d	In progress
1	Gao (2016)	1	Qingkou	Yunnan	✓	-	✓	✓	-	✓	✓	✓	2000	✓	✓	C	VOE	✓	✓	-	-	✓	✓	-
		2	Nan Wuliqiao	Yunnan	✓	-	✓	✓	-	-	✓	✓	2016	✓	-	C	-	✓	-	-	-	-	✓	-
2	Fraser (2020)	3	Tuohe	Hei Longjiang	✓	-	✓	✓	-	✓	✓	✓		✓	✓	C	-	✓	✓	-	-	-	-	✓
3	Renfer (2017)	4	Sideng	Yunnan	✓	-	✓	✓	-	✓	✓	✓	2000s	✓	-	C	-	✓	-	-	✓	✓	✓	-
4	Fan et al. (2007)	5	Luzhi	Zhejiang	✓	✓	✓	✓	-	-	✓	✓	1980s	✓	-	T	VOE	✓	-	-	-	-	✓	-
5	Yi (2011)	6	Soga	Guizhou	✓	✓	✓	✓	-	✓	-	-		✓	✓	C	-	✓			-	-	✓	-
		7	Zhenshan	Guizhou	✓	-	✓	✓	-	✓	-	-	1995	✓	✓	C	✓	-	-	-	-	-	✓	-
		8	Tangan	Guizhou	✓	-	-	✓	-	-	-	-	2005	-	✓	C	✓	✓	-	-	-	-	✓	-
		9	Nandanlihu	Guangxi	✓	-	-	✓	-	✓	-	-	-	-	✓	P	-	✓	-	-	-	-	✓	-
		10	Sanjiang	Guangxi	✓	-	-	✓	-	✓	✓	-	2004	-	✓	C	-	✓	-	-	-	-	✓	-
	11	Longji	Guangxi	✓	-	-	✓	-	✓	✓	✓			✓	✓	C	-	-	-	-	-	-	✓	-
6	Verdini et al. (2016)	12	Shuangwan	Jiangsu	✓	-	✓	-	-	✓	-	-	-	-	-	-	✓	✓	-	✓	-	✓	-	✓
7	Ying & Zhou (2007)	13	Xidi	Anhui	✓	✓	-	✓	-	-	✓	-	1980s	✓	-	-	VOE	-	-	✓	-	✓	✓	-
		14	Hongcun	Anhui	✓		-	✓	-	-	✓		1980s	✓	-	C	VOE+P	-	-	✓	-	✓	✓	-
8	Pola (2019)	15	Huanglingcun	Jiangxi	✓			✓	-	-		✓	2009	✓	-	C	COE+P	-	-	-	-	-	✓	-
		16	Dazhangshan	Jiangxi	✓	-	-	✓	-	-	-	-	-	✓	-	-	-	-	-	-	✓	✓	✓	-
9	Nitzky (2017)	17	Longli ³	Guizhou	✓	-	✓	✓	D+R	✓ ⁴	-	✓	-	✓	-	C+T	-	-	-	✓	-	✓	✓	-
10	Svensson (2006)	18	Yuyuan	Zhejiang	✓	✓	✓	✓	D+R		✓	✓	2000s	-	✓	C+T	COE+P	✓	-	✓	-	-	✓	-
		19	Guodong	Zhejiang	✓	✓	-	✓	-	-		✓	✓	2000s	-	✓	C	-	-	-	-	-	-	✓

¹ The abbreviation P represents provincial governments; M represents municipal governments; C stands for county governments; T stands for township governments.

² VOE, COE, TOE and P represent the village owned enterprise, county owned enterprise, township owned enterprise, and private enterprise, accordingly.

³ A proposal to develop a new village settlement behind an ancient village was launched in 2008. And it has resulted in growing discontent among villagers and has placed greater stress on the initiative for heritage protection in Longli. For the purpose of preservation, villagers were initially supportive of the new village plan and sold to the government approximately 100 mu (16.5 acres) of agricultural land for the new settlement construction.

⁴ Jiang Huai has been designated as the village representative in Longli and received the honor of a provincial "Cultural Heritage Inheritor" in 2010 (*wenhua yichan chuancheng ren*) for his unwavering commitment to cultural heritage protection and knowledge of Longli's culture.

Rural Built Heritage Preservation and Development in Chinese Ethnic Area

11	Oakes (2012)	20	Zhuge	Zhejiang	✓	✓	-	✓	R.	✓	✓	✓	1996	✓	-	C	VOE+TOE	✓	✓	✓	-	✓	✓	-	
		21	Changle	Zhejiang	✓	-	-	✓	D.	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	✓	-	-	-	-	-	
		22	Xinye	Zhejiang	✓	-	-	✓	-	✓	-	-	-	-	-	-	M	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-
		23	Zhiyan	Zhejiang	✓	-	-	✓	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-
		24	Shangtang	Zhejiang	✓	-	-	✓	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	✓	T	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	✓
12	Ferroto & Cai (2020)	25	Mountain Cleft	Guizhou	✓	✓	✓	✓	-	-	✓	✓	2000s	✓	✓	M	P+P	✓	✓	✓	-	-	✓	-	
		26	Ox Market Fort	Guizhou	✓	✓	✓	✓	-	-	✓	✓	2000s	✓	✓	M	P+P	✓	✓	✓	-	-	✓	-	
13	Gao & Wu (2017)	28	Yuanjiacun	Shaanxi	✓	✓	✓	✓	-	-	✓	✓	2007	✓	-	T	VOE+P	-	✓	✓	-	✓	✓	-	
14	Lincoln & Madgin	29	Shuangyi	Zhejiang	✓	✓	✓	✓	D.	✓	✓	✓	2014	✓	-	T	VOE+P	-	-	✓	-	-	✓	-	
15	Oakes (2016)	30	Danjiang	Guizhou	✓	✓	✓	✓	D+R.	-	-	-	-	✓	-	C+M	-	✓	-	-	-	-	✓	-	
16	Zhang & Wu	31	Datangwu	Zhejiang	✓	✓	-	-	D.	✓	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	✓	✓	-	✓	✓	-	
17	Yunxia & Prott	32	A'er	Sichuan	✓	-	-	✓	-	✓	-	-	-	-	-	C	-	✓	✓	✓	✓	✓	✓	-	
18	Xu, Wan & Fan (2014)	33	Hongcun	Anhui	✓	✓	✓	✓	R.	-	✓	✓	1997	✓	✓	C	P	✓	✓	-	-	-	✓	-	
19	Xue, Kerstetter, & Carter (2017)	34	Chongdu Valley Village	Henan	✓	✓	-	✓	-	✓	✓	✓	1999	✓	-	T	-	-	-	Y	-	-	✓	-	
20	Wang & Tan (2018)	35	H village	Zhejiang	-	-	✓	✓	R.	-	-	-	-	✓	-	C.T	-	✓	-	✓	-	-	✓	-	
		36	S village	Sichuan	-	-	✓	✓	R	-	✓	-	2013	✓	-	-	✓	✓	✓	-	✓	✓	-	✓	-
21	Luo & Qi (2019)	37	Tangwei	Guangdong	✓	✓	✓	✓	-	-	-	✓	2016	✓	✓	M+T	-	✓	-	✓	-	-	✓	-	
22	Shen & Shen (2019)	38	Tangjiajia	Jiangsu	✓	✓	✓	✓	✓	-	✓	✓	2011	✓	✓	-	SOE+P	✓	-	✓	-	-	✓	-	
23	Hillman (2003)	39	Shangri-La	Yunnan	✓	✓	✓	✓	✓	-	✓	✓	Late 1990s	✓	-	M+C.	P	-	-	-	✓	-	✓	-	
24	Bray (2013)	40	Qinglong	Jiangsu	-	-	✓	✓	-	-	-	-	-	✓	✓	C	-	✓	-	✓	-	✓	✓	-	

1.3 An overview based on the quantitative approach

Extracted from Table 1, Figure 2 shows an overview of the geographical distribution of the case-study villages in existing case studies. It shows that the case-study villages have been concentrated mainly within two areas of China, the eastern coastal areas such as Zhejiang (27.5%) and Anhui (7.5%) provinces, and the southwestern areas such as Guizhou (17.5%) and Yunnan (10%), where a variety of ethnic minorities live. Concerning the research methodologies, multiple case-study analysis, interview, and field survey have been quite common choices (Yi 2011; Pola 2019; Svensson 2006; Wang & Tan 2018; Gao 2016; Oakes 2013).

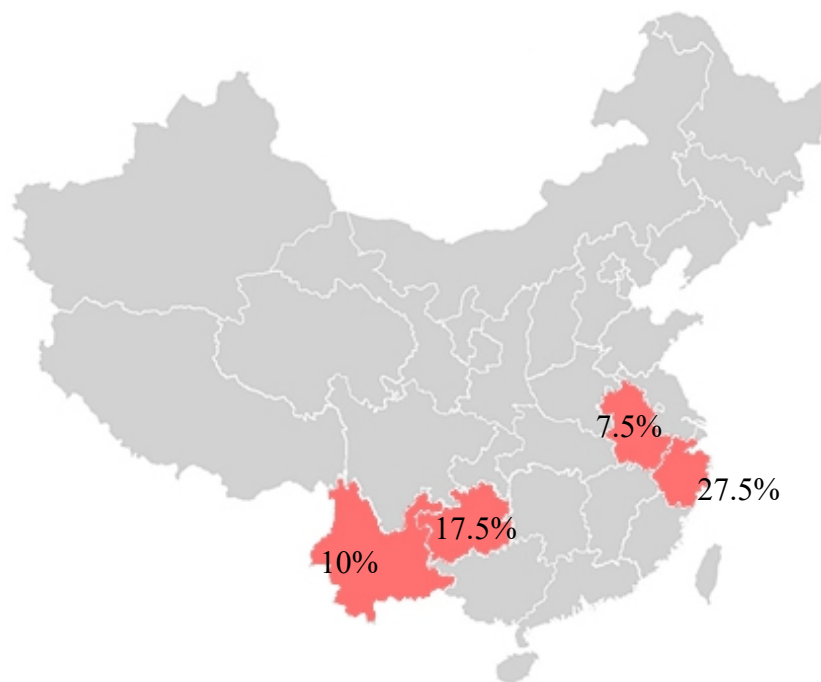


Figure 2: Provinces with the largest number of cases.
Source: Author's elaboration

It is important to take a close look at each theme in order to better understand the characteristics of current studies. According to Table 1, most of the case-study villages are labeled villages (92.5%) of different kinds for their historic, cultural, and environmental characteristics, and their potential for tourism development. Half of the case studies experienced intentional advertising as the development strategy. Moreover, half of the villages were subjected to clear spatial planning in order to guide the physical spatial transformation (55%). Most of them experienced different projects concerning both preservation and renovation (92.5%) and in some cases this was followed by a few cases of demolition and relocation (27.5%). 40% of case studies involved the issue of intangible heritage preservation.

Furthermore, more than half of the case-study villages have experienced heritage-related projects of improvements to the built environment. Almost half of the case studies exposed the issue of funding they encountered in the preservation and development processes (45%).

Regarding rural tourism and the commodification process, 60 % of case studies have been subjected to the tourism-oriented approach characterized by both active and passive commodification behaviors, and most of the commodification occurred around the year 2000.

Concerning the stakeholders involved, the expert group (55%), different types of enterprises (47.5%), and village committees (45%) are the three most frequent stakeholders involved, followed by the government at county level (42.5%) and the elites (25%). The village-owned enterprises, county owned-enterprises and private enterprise are three types of business actively involved in the planning, project-making, and commodification processes in rural built-heritage preservation in China.

It is noteworthy that only 10% of case studies have involved NGOs in their preservation and development. A minimal degree of public participation has taken place in the existing case studies (37.5%), despite the diverse degrees they perform (Verdini et al. 2017; Renfer 2017; Gao 2016; Gao & Wu 2017).

These data show that the preservation of Chinese rural built heritage has been essentially characterized by the authorized heritage discourse and government-led approach, despite some bottom-up practices emerged, involving extended stakeholders. The roles of the community and social organizations have been significantly weak. In the next section, an extended literature review on the topic has been carried out to better explore the state of art to build the theoretical foundation of the thesis.

1.4 Overall feature of Chinese rural built heritage preservation

1.4.1 Government-led approach: potentials and problems

As shown in Table 1, the Chinese heritage preservation activities have substantially followed a government-led approach (Li et al. 2020), in which the

heritage has been used as apparatus controlled by the state (Oakes 2016), this is something intrinsically associated with the political and cultural traditions.

Several debates have arisen regarding the government-led heritage approach of China's authoritarian market-socialist governance (Oakes 2013; Svensson 2006). Oakes (2013) points out that heritage has been used as governance technology to legitimize inclusion and exclusion, as objects and places can be changed from utilitarian things into objects representing the social progressive improvement (Harrison 2013). Such consciousness about heritage could greatly impact on the allocation of economic, moral and aesthetic values (Zhu 2014: 12). Svensson (2006) sees the cultural heritage preservation in China as an activity in which the conflicts and dissonance between state and the market, experts, and people outside and within communities have been constantly changing under the guise of evolving ideological circumstances⁶. This process shows what a country and those in power within it want to preserve and remember of the past through patriotic education and people's attendant imaginary. In fact, in the recent Chinese institutional narratives, the emphasis on enhancing the soft power, the modernization of the countryside, and the multi-ethnic nature of the country are the subordinations of this goal. These statements have penetrated spatial planning and policy-making, as what Harell (2013) has stated that heritage is always produced by encountering the national political streams and a variety of local forces. However, in China, where the regulatory system and networks are fragmented and often in transition, heritage barely connects to all the established regulations, and the local practices are difficultly under control (Verdini, Frassoldati, & Nolf, 2017) in a fast-transforming context (Yang et al 2017)⁷.

⁵ The government's objectives and performance in heritage preservation as part of a socialist regime can be understood through the works of Baller (1984) and Gonzales (2016). Baller (1984) quoted Lenin's ideas regarding the senses of tradition and continuity within the socialist society, exploring the theory that, according to socialist ideology, society is an evolutionary and scientific result of the historical development of human society underpinned by constant revolutionary transition and ongoing construction towards an ideal communist country. In this process, cultural heritage is important for the development of best models and traditions to support the construction of the socialist society. Therefore, different types of heritage have often been rationally evaluated in relation to the establishment of socialism, the construction of a new society and a new culture, and the education of new people (Gonzalez 2016; Baller 1984). To achieve these aims, heritage bureaucrats work on inculcating the idea, with which they make the people believe that heritage belongs to every member of the socialist society. They then educate the people, using the necessary tools of assimilation. Discussing the use of heritage at the level of individuals, the two authors claimed that its pedagogic and patriotic functions are vital (Gonzalez 2016; Baller 1984). In conclusion, in contrast to Western notions about the relations between heritage and everyday life, everyday life in socialist contexts should conform to the construction of socialist ideology. Thus, total political and ideological control of heritage is the way to achieve these goals.

⁶ By investigating the ancestral halls and preservations of several villages in Zhejiang Province, she focused on how the so-called superstitious space of the ancestral hall had become the site of patriotic education, which further integrated the space into the local narrative of the past.

⁷ Yang et al. (2017) have explored the idea that four aspects of today's Chinese rural society have been changed: i) transformations in infrastructural conditions, which have facilitated the connectivity of villages, involving them in the modern and global economy; ii) changed kinship relations and unstable social structures; iii) changes in the physical forms of villages, which host a great number of multigenerational houses where the local leadership

Moreover, it is difficult to separate the rural preservation policies from the overall rural revitalization programs in recent decades since the Chinese heritage narrative “has been reconceptualized to fit priorities that at first glance may not appear to be directly connected with heritage” (Pola 2019: 64; Lincoln & Madgin 2018), such as the campaign of poverty alleviation and different projects in rural development. In fact, Oakes (2013) claims that preservation in the Chinese context is a process of preparation for development, and can be seen as a tourism strategy (Dredge, 2004) rather than the consensus on physical conservation perceived in Western heritage discourses.

1.4.2 Commodification in the historic villages in ethnic areas as tools of development

Developing an ethnic area through heritage-led development has been an intentional decision involving both preservation of cultural heritage and development of socio-economic conditions. The initial attempts at commodification in ethnic areas can be traced to the late 1990s in Guizhou, Yunnan, and Guangxi provinces with the development of ecomuseums (Yi 2011; Nitzky 2021; Stojevik 2019). The introduction of ecomuseums was the benchmark in rural built-heritage preservation practices characterized by the hybridization of international experiences and local interpretations in Southwest China, thanks to international collaborations between cultural heritage departments in China and Norway at the time. However, critiques of commodification have arisen surrounding embedded practices (Yi 2011; Nitzky 2021; Stojevik 2019).

From the perspective of public governance, the preservation and development of ethnic villages is relevant for the construction of the national identity, the economic development of local society and the making of a new image of a socialist countryside (Schriver 2017). The commodification addressed by the government-led approach did bring economic benefits to local communities (Blumenfield 2018). However, in most cases, the villages became commodities served for urban users developing tertiary sectors in the countryside (Svensson 2006), which causes gentrification and self-gentrification in the villages (Chan et al. 2016).

is being replaced by entrepreneurs; and iv) mass labour working in cities, resulting in hollowed villages and the need to repurpose these villages to serve the nostalgic economy, make them become destinations of agritourism for urban residents' consumption. Negotiations, conflicts, and contestations have all taken place at the local level.

From the perspective of cultural identity and community, Nitzky (2021) recalled the concept of “governing by culture” (Hall 1997), taking the government-led ecomuseum practices as case studies, and explored how the ecomuseum has been situated within a larger ideological current of economic development through consumption of exotic culture (Oakes 2013), despite the realistic difficulties of smooth implementation (Yi 2011). After the gradual suspension of ecomuseums, the villages became more vulnerable to the campaigns for socialist countryside construction. For instance, the village of Soga, where the first ecomuseum was established in 1995, witnessed the application of inappropriate renovation projects (Nitzky, 2017). The commodification and re-interpretation of heritage could generate divisive thoughts towards a certain group or a specific place due to their uniqueness being highlighted, serving to empower their identity under the current political regime and the tourism promotion (Oakes 2013; Oakes 2016). In some cases, it could lead to a new modified identity and the rewriting of local heritage discourse, and it could be easily displaced or duplicated by the market demands in the authorized heritage discourse (Smith 2006; Dabezies 2018).

Moreover, the designation processes of heritage preservation mechanism in rural China have been potential for local network’s interests and tourism development. Maags and Svensson (2018) observed that the inscription of cultural heritage often relies on good connections with the experts and family clusters of practice and representing heritage practices. In this way, the experts employed can enhance the position of the heritage and the heritage practitioners. Once the villages are designated, apart from the governments’ financial support, the follow-up spontaneous commercial activities bring modest profit. Therefore, these phenomena imply that brandings, competitions, model-making, and conflicts have been highly valued by local governments in each round of the labeling and selection of villages for preservation and development.

1.4.3 Project-making at local level, stakeholders, and tensions

Some international debates are inspiring in understand the branding, competing and model-making of a certain place. The branding and competition are vital processes of commodification addressed by the authorities and dynamic power relations (Porter 2016). Through specific cases, scholars have discussed the importance of place branding within the town and village context (Cleave et al. 2016; Wei, Lin and Zhang 2019; Jiménez-Esquinas & Sánchez-Carretero 2018; Oaks 2013). Cleave et al. (2016) adopts a holistic vision about placing-making. By focusing on “branding” policies, they explore the two distinctive policy types: namely, “high

road” and “low road” policies, referring to “substantive and efficient merits” and the one that is “inefficient ... to stimulate local economic growth”, correspondingly. They found that the gaps between the high road and low road policies is characterized by the excessive dependence on visual characters and narratives, poor capacity of communication and information transmission, and excessive emphasis on presenting a sort of qualities of life, and a sense of reasonable pricing (Cleave et al. 2016). Furthermore, village branding has often targeted the implications for the sustainable development of the countryside. For instance, Taecharungroj, Muthuta and Boonchaiyaprupek (2019) summarize the core themes used in the branding of the towns related to high-quality lifestyle for local decision-makers for defining development strategies. Similarly, Jiménez (2018) discovers the importance of the naming of a place for tourism promotion and the naturalization of the branding-structuring logics of a place. Moreover, place branding is often related to the will of the state, which attempts to penetrate the local project and place making with nationalist ideology. This is Herstein’s (2012) interesting finding after examining the existence of a “thin line” that links the integral processes of branding countries, cities, and regions.

In the Chinese rural context, plenty of empirical studies provide materials that somehow overlap with the aforementioned notions (Oakes 2013; Svensson 2006; Yunxia & Prott 2016). The case of Yuanjia village showed how the regeneration and branding of a village can succeed in developing tourism and further activate local development even influencing adjacent areas (Gao & Wu 2017). Conversely, Oakes (2013) states that heritage can be viewed as “cultural display”, as a part of statecraft in the Chinese context, by critically analyzing the two Tunpu villages on a national preservation site which actively compete not only to be the representative of their cultural identity, but also to win potential resources to be allocated by the private sector and local government. However, this could cause a waste of resources and capitals.

Many of the labeled places are considered “model” and given priority by local governments. The model villages in heritage-led developments reflect and respond to the national political mainstream, becoming potential spin-offs of local government. “Model” in Chinese has multiple meanings, including “typical”, “ideal”, “exemplar”, carrying the meaning “being the example”⁸.

⁸ More specifically, *Fan* originally deriving from the moulding and casting process of manufacturing bronze artifacts derived during the Shang dynasty (approximately, 1200-1046 BC), the character *Fan* implies the process of changing the property and form of objects, so that they achieve an ideal status.

In fact, as Bakken (2009) contends, referring to China's "exemplary norm" society, model implies that the ideal type is much more than the "average". Bakken (2009) also suggests that villages in China refer both to an imagined utopia-like community and to the backward conditions that need to be improved and transformed. Furthermore, the decisions regarding which village(s) are selected for development are determined by a network of local actors. Such notion will be analyzed in this research. Building on the aforementioned studies, the research suggests that the branding, competing, and model-making of villages in heritage preservation and development should be further explored by studying the planning tools and the patterns of stakeholders at local level.

Based on the systematic literature review (Table 1), a pattern of stakeholders involved in rural built heritage preservation and development has been identified. The pattern includes governments of and above county level, townships, village committees, expert groups, local elites, and communities. The selection of the stakeholders can be further proven by Wang et al. (2019), who identified a series of "critical stakeholders" in the built-heritage preservation processes in China. Wang et al. (2019) stated that the so-defined "critical stakeholders" comprise *"local and central government, real-estate development enterprises, expert groups, administrations for architectural heritage protection, and construction companies that deal with architectural heritage"* (Wang et al. 2019, p. 16).

Regarding the project-making at local level, only few studies have discussed different stakeholders and coalitions formed in shaping the heritage-led development in historic villages (Fan et al. 2007; Shen & Shen 2019; Oakes 2012). Some debates have been emerged from the studies on Chinese rural revitalization and contemporary rural governance (Ahlers & Schubert 2009; Liu, Zhang, Lin & Li 2019), that will be reviewed in the next sections.

Rural governance at local level

After the foundation of New China, new rural governance structures and administration regulations have been gradually formed. In this framework the governance of villages is strongly reliant upon the presence of three jurisdictions at local level: the county government, township government and village committee (Chen 2017). Relying on this institutional structure, the national socio-economic development objectives set by the central government are divided among the provincial authorities, which in turn implement a vast development program transmitted to the municipalities and counties. Local governments (especially the

municipalities) began to oversee the provision of welfare and public goods due to administrative decentralization and the tax-sharing reform in the 1990s, (Sun, Lin & Chan 2017). As a result, the municipalities became the entity directly responsible for guiding counties to interpret these goals into detailed plans and projects to be implemented in the townships and villages within their administrative boundaries (Ahlers & Schubert 2009). This top-down spatial setting of “macro policies”⁹ is incorporated into the local projects and plan making via the plan formulation, the project implementation, and the evaluation of different projects and the political achievements of the cadres (Ahlers & Schubert 2009).

At the same time, informal institutions, such as kinships, have remained resilient in the contemporary economic and political context at county level and below (Peng 2004). Sometimes, local elites and governments form a consolidated alliance to disseminate the governance and interests of the state in the countryside, using networks, informal rules, and taking care of local public welfare. This typical Chinese phenomenon illustrates the connectivity of the stakeholders involved in village development, showing the importance of “guanxi” (“relationship” in Chinese), which has been further reflected in local management and the shaping of the landscape (Chen 2017). Therefore, a close look to the stakeholders and tensions is necessary to better understand and frame the existing problems.

Stakeholders and tensions in the rural built heritage preservation in historic villages

Debates on the stakeholders and tensions involved in rural built heritage preservation have gained the interest of scholars, and numerous empirical studies have been conducted (Gao 2016; Verdini et al. 2017; Wang, Liu, Zhou & Wang 2019).

Inspired by Wang (2019), the review of the existing studies has been conducted with an eye on critical stakeholders involved in rural built-heritage preservation: county administrations; enterprises; expert groups including planning, technical and design professionals; village cadres and village elites; and the communities themselves.

- “The power center of the local state”: County administrations

⁹ Ahlers and Schubert (2009) use the term “*macro policy*” to represent an arrangement system that highlights policy arrangements and rough executive guidelines launched by central government, whereby they allocate most of the concretization work to lower-level governments. This term has been used also by Schriver (2017).

Hillman (2014) systematically described the tradition and contemporary power practices in rural China, stating the importance of counties as the power center of the local state. Historically, the establishment of government levels and the division of power are an important part of the monarchy dictatorship in the ancient China. Counties have been the “front-line unit of governance” since the unification of the empire (Hillman 2014:83), and “...counties (xian) as an administrative level have existed for over two thousand years” (Yang & Wu, 2015, p. 328).

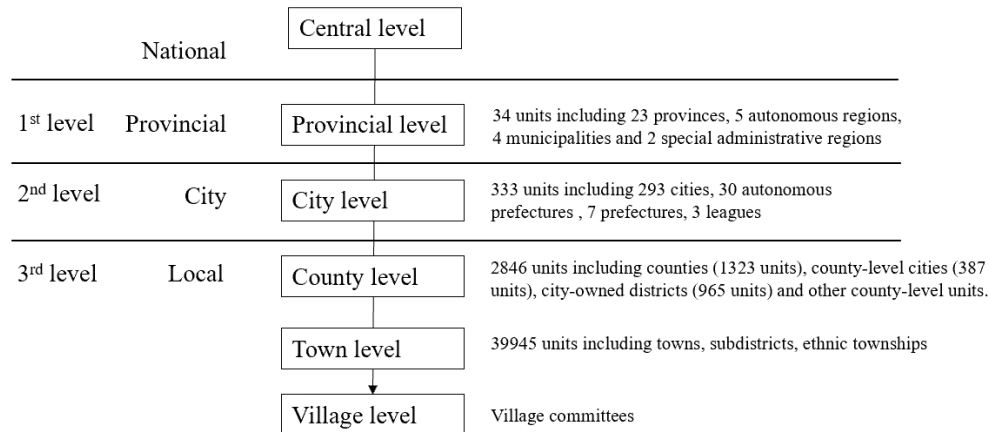


Figure 3: Administrative hierarchy from central to village level.

Source: Ministry of Civil Affairs, 2019

Today, as of the end of 2019, there are 34 provincial-level administrative units, 333 prefecture-level units, and 2,846 county-level units¹⁰.

Being a crucial actor at local level in the Chinese countryside, county governments’ performances have been varied significantly as regards rural built-heritage preservation, as shown in current studies (Ying & Zhou 2017; Yi 2011; Gao 2016; Renfer 2017). Their role should be understood from the daily socio-political and economic governance, and its functions in special programs promoted by the state government.

The daily socio-political and economic governance of county-level government in the Chinese administrative and political system has multiple levels of power distribution and characters of multiplicity and flexibility shown in a horizontal and vertical model (Deng 2011).

In a vertical political power distribution system, as the higher level administrative positions have absolute (leading) power over lower-levels, the political and working goals of higher-level governments are often dissembled and allocated to the county-level government, resulting in a hierarchical oppressive mechanism of the

¹⁰ Source: 2019 Statistical Report on the Development of Civil Affairs.

functional authorities in this system. According to the different levels of public service provision, the central government is responsible for macro and overall public services, while local governments provide corresponding public services according to identified local needs. With this in mind, the county-level government is engaged in multiple functions, such as infrastructure construction, mandatory education for children, basic sanitary services, and social security systems. Therefore, the county government decides a general development program for the whole county, strictly observing the guidelines defined at provincial and/or city level, then disassembles the plan into more detailed projects in order to respond to the local realities. It is responsible for policy implementation and the local service provide, employing townships as its agents of implementation. In a horizontal political power distribution system, multiple functions of county government are performed through the establishment of different institutional departments¹¹. Corresponding to the county-level bureaus, the next level is for townships to establish decentralized departments. However, due to the limits in human resources at township level and the independent budget heavily relied on at the county-level, the multi-functionality of townships has been seen as a mere formality.

Furthermore, as economic and social development of different regions varies greatly, the functions of the county-level governments are often flexible. County-level government can creatively set up its own governmental functions according to the guidelines and policies from the higher-level government and the actual demands of various sectors in the county, determining the specific goals and management mode at the county-level. In fact, such function has been clarified in the “Regulation on the Organization Establishment and Staffing Administration of Local Governments at All Levels” (abbreviated as ROSAG), in which it has been stated that the county-level government can set up necessary departments with the approval of the upper-level governments according to specific needs. The establishment of non-institutional organizations is evidence of this. Apart from the institutional departments, the organization and establishment of different “leading groups” and “coordination groups” portrays how the cross-departmental key projects are realized by coordinating all kinds of resources for the projects of short-term and of explicit objectives, supplementing the ordinary functions of institutional departments.

¹¹ First, decision making bodies: county-magistrate and the PPC commission at county level; second, general coordination office, including the Governmental Office, the Development and Reform office, etc.; third, functional departments, including Urban and Rural Planning Bureau, Culture Bureau, Housing and Construction Bureau, Finance Bureau, Agricultural Bureau, etc; fourth, departments responsible for surveillance, including the Audit Bureau, Statistics Bureau; fifth, public safety and social justice, including the Bureau of Public Safety.

The vertical political setting has its advantages in that it can assist in smoothly implementing different projects. However, this could potentially cause disadvantages. Firstly, the extension of the functions at county-level and the lack of necessary financial resources to fulfill specific duties is a problem; secondly, the top-down evaluation system on the county-level government highly depends on the performance of the cadres. In a horizontal political setting, isomorphic functions amongst governments of different level facilitate communications and interventions of top-down. In this political setting, the fiscal expenditure at local level (the county and township governments) face potential challenges, and the county governments are facing the challenges of improving the GDP rankings within the municipal or provincial jurisdiction and the chief officer's political promotion in the political system. As a result, county governments usually use public budget that may have been used to improve social welfare and services into large construction projects, in order to attract external investment (Yang & Wu, 2015).

The multifunctional role of the county government and the interest-seeking caused by the tax-reform has been mirrored in the county-level daily urban and rural planning and several special programs promoted by the state government. Considering the county-level daily urban and rural planning, according to Art. 59 of the ROSAG, the county government is responsible for the elaboration of the county-level land use planning to be approved by the municipal government, planning of key projects and key industries at county-level. The county is also responsible for consequential land use right transfer, approval of construction and infrastructural projects using state-owned land,¹² changes of land use,¹³ land acquisition and compensation, demolition and resettlement¹⁴. Once the county-level planning is defined, at first glance it seems that it is the township that informs villages about the permitted projects according to the county program, and the village is responsible to decide which project to implement by applying the funding (Chen 2017). However, as Ahlers and Schubert (2009) explore, the attitude of the county governments could be potentially influential when a project can help promote the cadres of county level or the county government as a whole, as county cadres and their working careers can be potentially affected by the making and promotion of the so-called model villages and star projects.

At the same time, the county governments are the entities responsible for the development plan of the whole county, the recommendation of villages into different

¹² Article 53, ROSAG,

¹³ Article 26 and 56, ROSAG.

¹⁴ Article 54 of the Land Management Act, 2019.

lists and nominations, and the detailed plans for conservation and renovation¹⁵. In this way, county governments are the party with the most influence, as they can decide which villages and projects are invested in and how¹⁶. In the implementation of the first ecomuseums in China, the hegemonic role of county government caused inefficient management and failures in long-term development. Such issues have been additionally explored by Zhang and Wu (2018), who argue that when a top-down approach ignoring the village's local necessities and conditions, it leads to many potential projects and task "failures" and a missing contact between government intervention and bottom-up innovation.

The effects of county government holding this kind of dominant role have been further discussed. First, it brings the so-called village competition (Oakes 2013), generating both economic and political pressure in villages when supporting the place-branding as villages that have good performance will benefit from the labelling and funding. Second, the development gap among different villages within the same county gradually appears (Ahlers & Schubert 2009), resulting in an imbalance in fund allocation among townships and villages and the potential risks of ignoring the non-listed/labeled villages. Third, after having decided which village to invest in, the organization of state-owned enterprises (SOEs) by county governments have been a common choice for county governments as this approach could accelerate the investment levels and enhance the fast achievement of the outcomes. This approach, in fact, can strongly influence the phases of plan formulation, implementation, construction, and upcoming management (Pola 2019; Svensson 2006).¹⁷

- Enterprises

Empirical evidence asserts that enterprises are the important presence in the rural revitalization and heritage management process. Through the review of the case-study villages, it has been found that different types of enterprises have been developed and involved in heritage-led development, including the village-owned enterprises (Ying & Zhou 2007; Gao 2016; Fan et al. 2007), private enterprise (Oakes 2013; Xu, Wan & Fan 2014), and county-owned enterprise (Pola 2019; Svensson 2006). For instance, in the provinces of Zhejiang and Anhui, where abundant social capital emerges even

¹⁵ In Xu, Wan and Fan (2014)'s work, they found that as early as 1997, the county government was able to introduce a foreign company working on Hongcun's tourism development. The county level also performed its administrative roles in the making of the conservation plan, master plan and environmental protection plans by coordinating the corresponding county-level administrations.

¹⁶ For instance, in Hongcun in Anhui Province, the county government sold the rights for Hongcun's tourism development to a Beijing-based tourism company for 30 years (Ying & Zhou 2007).

¹⁷ Therefore, despite the competent and rigid implementation of the various goals assigned by higher-level governments, current studies show that it should be noticed that the development of differentiated rural organizational structures, and the negotiation and coordination skills required for the successful realization of projects are relevant (Zhang et al. 2004).

at village level, some village-level business have appeared as they are efficient in the organization of business activities, the profit-making and local community empowerment.

The very nature of SOEs (state-owned enterprises) is revealed by the exploratory study of Ho and Young (2013), who analyzed the context and the temporal development of the SOEs' mechanism, seeing it as an innovative incentive within the Chinese socialistic market-economy despite the lack of accountability and issues over transparency (e.g. management team overlapping with administrative leaders despite the adoption of modern management principles, and the opaque buying and selling of the nationally owned assets). The SOEs have emerged to represent the will of the government while coordinating resources for an efficient project realization (Ho & Young 2013). In addition, Walder (1997) states the selectiveness of rural government's interventions in local enterprises according to the economic stakes involved. The county governments keep tight control and collaborate closely with those enterprises "whose operations have the greatest impact, positive or negative on local tax revenues." (Walder 1997: 4) Compare to the urban large state-owned enterprise, the smaller bureaucracy shows a "more direct government interventions that has done little to harm competitiveness and to unravel some of implications", thus showed most rapid growth (Walder 1997: 4).

In addition, the "iron triangle" between the Chinese state, the Party and enterprises has been discovered as shaping the political connections and administrative experiences when achieving leadership (Brødsgaard, Hubbard, Cai & Zhang 2017). This strategy appears to benefit business promotionally, and reciprocally, the leaders are promoted based on their financial performance. Ying and Zhou (2007) analyzed the management system of Hongcun as a tourist destination in terms of corporate leasing, and they propose corresponding measures for the problems existing in the current management system of the SOEs-government alliance. This exposes the crucial role of SOEs and their relationship with local government in project-making and management. A recent study focused on Upper Langde village criticized how the village is transformed from an isolated ethnic village to a tourism destiny under county government's leadership and the county-owned tourism company (Feng & Li 2020). Based on the existing studies, how county governments facilitate heritage-led development and unified management by creating county-owned enterprises (COEs) needs further explorations.

- Expert group

Internationally, debates on expertise in heritage preservation and management have emerged over the last half century. According to Fischer (1990) and Weible (2008), expert groups are important participants in the process of decision-making, and their role is to boost their impacts in different realistic conditions (Zhu & Zhang 2016). Positioning the experts in a broad understanding of heritage practitioners, some studies revised the critical relationship between expertise and endogenous knowledge. Archaeology and architecture have produced the epistemological framework on the ethics of conservation. As a result, the power of the two disciplines have been reinforced within such framework (Smith 2020: 12). Differently, Schofield (2014) looks at heritage as being a personal matter that everyone can have a say on, emphasizing the importance of community engagement. He foresees that the experts will be “guides and facilitators” who are given space to add new ways of understanding and practicing heritage, helping people with strong ties to a certain place. However, Hølleland and Skrede (2019) think that to diminish the importance of experts is paradoxical because the emergence of expertise is a natural consequence of the modernist division of labor and is what modern society requires. They suggested that the experts should be more self-critical and to make the heritage socially inclusive.

Based on the literature review of the 40 case studies, the basic features of the role of expert groups in the preservation and development of Chinese rural built heritage have been outlined. In the Chinese context, experts have been defined as responsible for “*providing intellectual support for the protection of architectural heritage*” (Wang et al. 2019, p. 5). From a narrow view, the experts involved often include the professionals who can speak with authorities and communicate with local communities using their professional knowledge, like the scholars in ethnography or anthropology, and planners and architects, who have been effecting the transformation of physical spaces through the plans and projects among the extensive construction activities in the rapidly changing countryside (Bray 2017; Gao 2016). Active attitude that the experts hold on the social engagement in heritage preservation received hot debates. Experts can perform their capacity in actively organizing cultural events (Yi 2011) and to realize the government’s objectives of protection and development of physical spaces (Fan, Wall & Mitchell 2007). With support from government and community, the expert group could be efficient in launching and coordinating the public participation (Verdini et al. 2016), and building a shared platform for reciprocal dialogue and decision-making for the sake of linking and making dialogue between the top-down and bottom-up approaches (Gao 2016; Renfer 2017). Yunxia and Prott (2016) have identified the overlapping roles of experts and NGOs in efficiently leading the post-catastrophe revitalization projects.

Another approach, taking the case of Gaobu, Ferretto and Cai (2020) criticize the historic villages in ethnic area for becoming commodities and “symptomatic of a mindset”. The authors have been involved in planning and design phases to exam how the non-listed villages could achieve resilience through an expert-led approach. By working on sites for two years, a multi-actor collaboration including professors in planning and architecture together with the students, villagers, and local authorities has defined a development strategy and design solution based on residents’ needs, which have been put through several rounds of workshops and meetings to enable mutual learning. Yet recently, several emerging practices have reflected the shifting role of experts in heritage-led development in China, which goes beyond the simple translation of socio-economic goals into planning regulations and design, turning to play the role of advocacy between public authorities and communities. The renovation project in Shaxi is an example of this, which shows the success of the architects and planners in building trust in the local community to lead the restoration and renovation projects, creating a dialogue between professional competences and the local knowledge through effective communication and phase-to phase implementation. In this case, the county government provided flexible space for the experts to perform (Renfer 2017; Schriver 2017).

Conversely, some negative impacts of expert groups have also been discovered. Fraser (2020) states that the division and classification of experts and non-experts creates divisions and impacts on the self-awareness of the heritage practitioners. Svensson (2006) states that the lists and designations of villages in Zhejiang show that despite the experts tends to put material interests before community interests in supporting the government to achieve the rural transformation, they have been somehow appreciative of rural heritage. This has also been proven in the cases where the government has a strong presence, such as the WHL site at Hongcun (Xu, Wan & Fan 2014). Oakes (2012) observes the expert-guided social transformation, the re-interpretation of knowledge and the spatial practices in heritage-making in the Chinese rural context, arguing their competences are shaping Chinese rural modernity (Oakes, 2016). Dredge (2004), by working on the cultural tourism development plan of Liangzhu, deemed that the Chinese planners are committed to consider both the economic development and value protection of a certain historic site. This phenomenon reflects local government’s response to the “centrifugal-centripetal” forces triggered by the institutional and economic restructuring and consequential budgetary pressures. From the perspective of policy-making and implementation, a huge gap remains between macro policy and local implementation, thus giving space to local interpretation and flexibility, especially in today’s rural China (Bray 2017). Bray (2017) states that in the top-down planning system, the traditional urban

planning paradigm has been forcefully transplanted in the fragmented regulatory planning system aiming at the modernization of the countryside, and rarely are planners prepared to work in such challenging and dynamic conditions. From the cultural and philosophical points of view, Sofield and Li (2003) observe the attempts to continuously modify nature are a cultural representation of planners in China because their anthropocentric position somehow reflects the Chinese philosophy of perceiving nature and human are consanguine, thus legitimizing the improvement of the imperfection of nature.

In conclusion, experts in heritage-led development play the crucial role of being delegated to realize the economic development goals by planning and design, and such a phenomenon is closely related to the specific Chinese political and cultural context. Despite some positive experiences emerging as an impetus for re-positioning the role of experts in building mutual trust and community empowerment in the heritage-led development, studies on their relationships with the authorities involved in heritage preservation networks have been limited, especially in ethnic areas.

- Village cadres and local elites

The village cadres became important during the Chinese political structural reform in the early 1990s, when the village election became the only legal channel to elect the village cadre and the village committee. Different from the leaderships of higher-level administrations who are appointed by government, the village cadres are often local people who have multiple sources of power and good reputation and are thus elected by the villagers (Li 1996).

Local elites in China, even today, are expression of local kinship and clans. Some anthropologists have clarified the main characters of local kinships in different regions. Taking the villages in southeastern China as an example, Freedman (1958) pays attention to various conceptual expressions of worship based on clan organizations and the internal structure of clans and the critical relationship with the country. He emphasized that the maintenance of common property, a highly productive farming economy, and the connection between clan elites and state bureaucrats are the basis for the existence of large clans. The complex divisions and organizations of large-scale clans bring benefits to the clan as a whole and strengthens the unity. The growth of members creates the possibility of increased cooperation, which provides a basis for further social status promotion. From a historical perspective, Faure (2007) believes that the clan became widely significant in the Ming Dynasty and was a product of the integration and interface of local society and the state. Benefiting from the Great Ritual Reform during the years of Jiajing (1522-

1566), the spread of the genealogy-writing was one of the institutional background for the increasing number of kinship and clans. Today, local elites, or new elites¹⁸, are those people or families who possess economic, social, and cultural positions in the village. Level of education, military experience and economic conditions are the three influential aspects that could enhance their positions (Gustafsson & Sai 2010). Li (1996) discovers that their personal network and potential resources, including managerial skills, access to funds and information, and their vision for the community are essential elements in leading it. Sometimes, they prefer to build close ties with local authorities, which is key to their economic success and the political stability of the village. Some of them share interests with village cadres through power consolidation like marriage or the inheritance of power, thereby receiving benefits from cohesive relationships in the decision-making process. On other occasions, conflicts occur because their ideological preference is different from those of the cadres, who represent the state's power and their rule over the rural society (Li 1996).

In heritage-led development in villages, empirical studies showed both the advantages and the shortcomings of coalitions between village cadre and local elites. Zhang & Wu (2016) observe that the main lineage has been active in conducting heritage activities and forming their own discourse of history while challenging the officially defined narratives. Moreover, such a coalition is important for being able to generate and develop social capital through the networks of their own or their families, achieving the aim of community building which reconsolidates their role of leading in the community. Wu and Liu (2019) state that despite the leadership appearing not habitually in some villages, the recruited external entrepreneurship and some active NGOs are able to provide funds and technical assists (Ahlers & Schubert, 2015: 389). Yuanjia village is an example of this kind. The village head worked in a city in the early 1990s and this experience provided him with skillful ideas about how to develop the village adopting the rural tourism approach. Following the total transformation of the village's spatial layout, it can host hundreds of shops and restaurants of local character. The village head and his personal network were successful in attracting external capital and establishing cooperatives to reduce the gap to small family-run businesses (Gao & Wu 2017), and the village has been considered a successful rural tourism model in north China.¹⁹

¹⁸ Quite separate from the flattened understanding of equating the elite with “*gentry*”, “*scholar-officials*”, or “*landlords*”, the elite today can be defined as “*people exercising dominance in local arenas*”. See Esherick et al, 1990.

¹⁹ Despite its success, the experience of Yuanjia included serious problems with homogenous development and competition in adjacent areas. In this narrative, external capital plays a dominant role for those villages with the same market position. Furthermore, Yuanjia's approach focused on creating cultural products with local character but ignored physical regeneration and the village's sense of place.

Nevertheless, negative aspects have emerged. Villagers can hardly control the village leaders (Ahlers & Schubert 2009) especially when the leaders have opportunities to make profits for themselves; thus lack of confidence and history of difficult cooperation often emerged since the villagers see the cadres as agents of the state rather than the community's representatives (Hillman 2003; Li 1996). In addition, the village cadres have demonstrated their capacity to generate profits for their families; thus, a crucial role of integrating and coordinating the responsibility of governmental agencies and empowering the family networks has been exposed. Kung et al. (2009) have discovered, as village leaders face conflicting demands from their families, the community, and the responsibilities assigned by the government, they appear to fulfill their families' demands sacrificing the community's interests but keeping the responsibility given by their political roles. As Maags and Svensson (2018: 22) point out, the cadres and experts sometimes cannot be separated, because they retain close ties to local communities, playing the role of "heritage middleman".²⁰

Building on the aforementioned notions, being grass-roots actors embedded radically in village development, how the village cadres and elites interact with other stakeholders, and what their objectives and behaviors in heritage-led development are, will be further investigated in this research.

- Communities' engagement and development

Research on the role of communities in heritage-led development has raised renewed attention recently. Li et al. (2020) systematically reviews the community participation in heritage preservation in China and abroad, claiming that despite some initiatives in recent decades, communities' engagement in heritage management is has been at a minimal degree. In rural China, the highest point of the community involvement in heritage-led development can be traced to the ecomuseum initiatives in the 1990s. Different from the initial Norwegian approach of stimulating community engagement in the eco-museum villages, the Chinese approach is characterized by the strong presence of governmental interventions and external capital; thus, the power of the community is significantly diminished. Moreover, due to the ambiguous functions and understanding of ecomuseums in the Chinese context, the necessity to "guide" the community to take part in the development of heritage sites has been frequent. This agrees with what Yi (2011) has found in nine ecomuseum villages, that all the related activities are government-led, and that villagers could hardly participate in the

²⁰ In summary, some studies showed how the role of village cadres and local elites is important in coordinating the intrinsic and extrinsic relationships in the networks in rural area, in the mechanism of creating model villages and for the smooth (or sometimes conflicted) implementation of projects.

decision-making. Many studies show the community's belief in inheriting and preserving their heritage of every type (Liu et al. 2020; Sun, Dela Cruz, Min, Liu & Zhang 2013; Verdini et al. 2017; Wu & Liu 2019; Zhang & Wu 2016), and potential benefits of using heritage (Gao & Wu 2017; Sun et al. 2013). However, due to the particular socio-economic conditions of the Chinese rural context, community participation is hardly implemented at every stage of village development (Wang & Yotsumoto 2019), and in some cases communities expressing their wishes clearly will have been registered as conflict and revolt against the authorities (Wang & Yotsumoto 2019; Svensson 2006).

In Yunnan, where a logging and hunting ban was established for the natural protection, Hillman (2003) observes that preferential policies for infrastructure improvements and tourism exploitation are important to stimulate local development. However, the situation of poor people is pessimistic due to few benefits from the tourism development. Such “trickle-down phenomenon” has been highly contested as the voice of the poor has been lacking in the decision-making, construction and management process (Hillman 2003). According to Hillman, heritage-led development includes dissonance and conflicts, which can only bring short-term benefits to villagers. The essential problem that the poverty-alleviation policies should have taken into consideration was those aspects without which the villagers would remain at the bottom in the future round of development, like long-term education and improvement of medical and sanitation conditions.

Critiques have been raised despite the economic conditions in many villages are significantly improved. The sustainable development for local community is in question. From the perspective of gentrification, Chan et al. (2016) taking the Hani rice-terrace villages, a WHL site, as a case study, states that the gentrification is not necessarily driven by outside elements but could also be down to the local communities. Thus, the phenomenon of self-gentrification has been proposed as describing the “proactive responses of residents in gentrifying the community” (Chan et al 2016, p14). Xue, Kerstetter and Hunt (2017), taking Chengdu Valley as their case study and conducting more than 50 interviews with residents, discovered the role of tourism development in changes in residents' identities. The changed aspects include the transition from the notion of *“rural hardship to rural amenity, the transition from the sense of rural shame to a sense of rural pride, the holistic rise of identity and the decreased rurality in resident's identity”* (Xue, Kerstetter and Hunt, 2017. p. 170) – for example, the changed sharing system in the contemporary labour division and loss of traditional knowledge.

Some innovative practices with Chinese characteristics testify to initiatives of community participation. For example, instead of recalling the community participation, Ying and Zhou (2007) use a communal participation framework to describe the operational pattern in two historic villages designated as WHSs, Xidi and Hongcun, in which the village-owned enterprise acts as a broker in the management and distribution of the resources to the community. Such an approach has been defined as the performance of community participation because it takes care to some extent of the community's interests. This shows that the lack of community participation in decision-making can be somehow be substituted by the latter interest-sharing strategy. In fact, the communities are involved with only limited accessibility to the decision-making stage, which has often addressed commodification by authorities and institutions. For example, Qian (2016) proposes a plural groups approach for the planning and implementation phases in Xiashantou village in Yueqing, Zhejiang Province²¹. Through on-site surveys, interviews with villagers, periodical meetings, thematic meetings, villagers' congresses and planning announcements, the will of communities are fully respected. Feng and Li (2020) take Upper Langde village as case study, analyzed its work point system and the potential benefits the community received. They suggest that the "poverty alleviation does not depend on rapid economic growth" (Feng & Li 2020, p3), emphasizing that in small scale villages, the small and slow growth can enhance both community participation and sustainable development.

1.5 Open issues based on literature review

Internationally, the preservation of the rural built heritage is an essential issue that activates the local economy and enhances the cultural identity of local communities. Several influential international debates have emphasized the importance of preserving rural heritage (ICOMOS 1964; 1975), which shows that the heritage preservation discourse has been shifted from monuments to groups of buildings in towns and villages in their natural and manmade settings (ICOMOS 1975). In addition, the importance of historical towns and villages has been highly recognized as they represent the historic settings within specific cultural context (UNESCO 1976). This part concerns the Chinese context, conducting a systematic literature review on how the rural built heritage in ethnic area have been affected by

²¹ The "plural groups" include Yueqing City Government and the villagers of Xiashantou (including ordinary villagers, the Xiashantou Village Committee and Xiashantou Village Economic Cooperative in Dajing Town), Xiashantou Village Planning Committee (VPC), the village enterprise of Xiashantou, and planners. The VPC is organized by the staff of Yueqing Municipal Government, the village enterprise of Xiashantou, and the Economic Cooperative. The planning authorities of Yueqing Municipal Government and Xiashantou Village Committee jointly commissioned planners to prepare detailed construction plans. The village planning committee was then responsible for supervising and coordinating the construction.

the heritage preservation and rural revitalization policies remain limited. After the literature review, some gaps in academic knowledge have been found as follows.

1.5.1 Inquiry about a deepened understanding on the evolution of rural built heritage preservation in ethnic area in China

Despite recent researches in rural built heritage preservation in China, a more critical and comprehensive study on rural built heritage preservation in China from legislative, practices and research perspective to develop a more rigorous discussion of its evolution have been still absent. And how has it coped with the ongoing rural revitalization campaign in recent decades (see Chapters 2-3). In light of evolving social-economic and political developments, how should the rural built heritage preservation in ethnic areas in China be characterized and catalyzed by local spatial policies, the conservation planning, project-making and follow-up management? The second chapter is addressed by these research questions.

1.5.2 Inquiry about a holistic understanding on the ongoing transformations of rural built heritage

In the existing studies, many of the labeled or model villages have been given priority by local governments in terms of heritage preservation and development. These villages reflect and respond to the national political mainstream, becoming potential spin-offs of local government. This phenomenon has been observed through the systematic literature review, but the non-labeled villages deserve academic attention as well since they face tremendous loss of heritage without being efficiently protected. Therefore, what has happened in terms of heritage preservation and development in the differently labeled and non-labeled villages, and the stakeholders and tensions involved, requires further investigations (see Chapter 6).

1.5.3 Inquiry about exploring a pattern of stakeholders in rural built heritage preservation and development

The literature review shows some hints of a pattern of stakeholders involved in heritage-led development in rural China (Figure 4) (Wu & Liu, 2019), which can be confirmed by Wang (2019)'s emphasis on the critical stakeholders involved in built-heritage preservation. This needs to be further tested with new materials and

evidences, especially in ethnic areas. For example, how local governments facilitate heritage-led development for different coalitions of different stakeholders needs further exploration. Why and how the relationship between the experts and authorities in historic-village preservation in ethnic areas has been shaped; how the village committee, cadres and elites interact with other stakeholders and what their objectives and behaviors are in the heritage-led development in ethnic areas; and the role of the local communities are the questions that will be faced in this research (see Chapters 4-6).

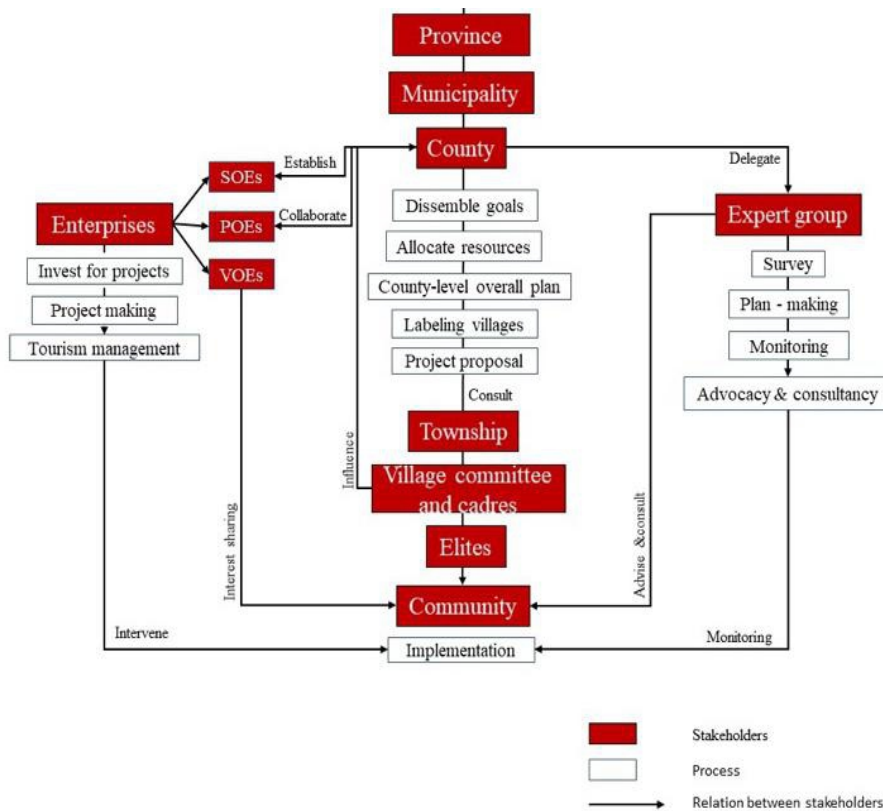


Figure 4: A pattern of stakeholders involved in the heritage-led development of historic villages defined by the current regulations and norms. Source: author's elaboration

1.6 Conclusion

This chapter outlines an overall outline of the existing studies on rural built heritage in China, and especially in its ethnic area. It has been widely acknowledged that in a majorly government-led approach, project-making has been easily characterized by commodification. In the systematic literature review, it has been found that the tensions amongst diversified stakeholders should be further understood within rural governance tradition at the local level, including county administrations, enterprises, expert groups, village cadres, and local elites, and last but not the least, the community. All these stakeholders contribute to a complex picture of ongoing rural heritage preservation in China. Moreover, it has been found that a more critical and comprehensive study on rural built heritage preservation in China from legislative, practices, and research perspective to develop a more rigorous discussion of its evolution have been still absent. And how has it coped with the ongoing rural revitalization campaign in recent decades? In light of gradually evolving social and political-economic occurs, how should the rural built heritage preservation in ethnic areas in China be characterized and catalyzed by local spatial policies, conservation planning, project-making, and follow-up management? The second chapter is addressed by these research questions. This part will be discussed in chapter 2 and chapter 3

Chapter 2 The Evolution of Rural Built Heritage Preservation in China

This chapter is dedicated to revealing the critiques and problems associated with rural built-heritage preservation by analyzing the evolving policies and understandings related to rural built heritage from the beginning of the twentieth century (Zhang 2018) until today.

In ancient China, the cultural symbolism of antiquity and the representation of political legitimacy meant there was limited accessibility to the general public (Li 2015). Experiencing the impact of international conventions and the requirement to construct new narratives for the emerging political system, the reformers in the late nineteenth century realized that heritage conservation was an instrumental tool for the construction of national identity after China was invaded by the Western powers (Liang 2009). The preservation initiative focused only on singular monumental buildings despite the fact a large part of monuments was in rural area. Although several policies on heritage preservation were established during the Republican era in the 1930s, the chaotic political conditions and destruction during World War II accelerated the loss of cultural legacies (Li 2005).

After 1949, it was necessary for the new socialist regime to attempt to construct the national identity through cultural heritage preservation; therefore, conducting a survey of identified cultural relics was on the political agenda of the New China (State Council 1956a). The nationwide survey of cultural relics was carried out, leading to the formation of Cultural Relics Protection Units (abbreviated as CPUs), which was the first official survey and labelling system for all the built heritages in socialist China. However, during the Cultural Revolution (1966-1976), all preservation activities were suspended (Zhu 2012).

At the beginning of the 1980s, China embedded the duty of heritage preservation into the Constitution (Huo 2016). Thanks to the accumulated experiences of the nationwide survey and the attention paid to the built environment instead of the individual units, in 1982 a sub-category of Famous Historic and Cultural Cities (HCCs) were identified for preservation, which was later extended to become a recommendation system for Historic and Cultural Towns and Villages (HCTVs) (State Council 2003). The conservation plan was introduced and became mandatory for villages intended for preservation. Despite delays to the initiation, those driving

the Chinese heritage preservation efforts tried to learn from the international conventions and charters drawn up since China became an executive member of UNESCO in 1972 (Zhu 2012). Several preservation practices emerged under a variety of lists and labelling systems. The dual objectives of socio-economic development and heritage preservation in rural society have been practiced involving each level of public bodies, from the national to village levels. Recommendation and labelling mechanisms involving villages with different characteristics have entered the arena, such as the HCTVs and Chinese Traditional Villages (CTVs, established later); both have provided abundant evidence showing how different entities perform in following up-to-date preservation policies and practices. Among the practices that facilitated the realization of the dual objectives for historic villages, pilot projects were crucial in the spread of preservation measures and project-making.

In conclusion, how the rural built-heritage preservation policies, regulations and projects have evolved in the Chinese countryside is the core issue that will be investigated and discussed in this chapter.

Through a systematic review of legal documents and existing studies on representative practices, five phases of the rural built-heritage preservation in China were identified (Figure 5). First, there was a pre-PRC phase characterized by emerging cultural-heritage preservation policies launched in the late Qing and Republican periods. The practices of vernacular building conservation conducted by the Western-trained masters have been identified. Second, a post-PRC phase is defined by the emerging demands into the cultural-heritage preservation of socialist China. The establishment of the CPUs is significant, despite its focus only being on single-building conservation. A variety of investigations and surveys in rural areas were conducted in response to the new rural constructions and the hotly debated question of “what national architecture is” for the new China.

Third, again in the 1980s, it was widely acknowledged that the CPU system was no longer sufficient to conserve the built environment, thus the focus was shifted from the punctual protection to the aerial protection, which stimulated the spread of HCCs and subsequently HCTVs. The “single-track” preservation system of HCTVs was formed, dedicated to preserving villages of high historic and cultural value.

In the fourth phase, the single-track system was continued and extended. Alongside rapid urbanization, several practices witnessed how the historic villages struggled in searching for harmony between heritage conservation and development.

Fifth, in the face of tremendous urbanization and rural modernization in the first decade of the twenty-first century, a new system for rural built-heritage named “Chinese Traditional Villages” was officially established based on the previous experience and lessons learned through the HCTVs. Thus, HCTVs and CTVs have co-existed, forming the “double-track system” identified as the fifth phase of the evolution of rural built-heritage preservation. Furthermore, for each phase, the three main aspects, including legislation, research mainstreams, and preservation practices, are outlined in order to holistically reconstruct their evolution (Figure 5).

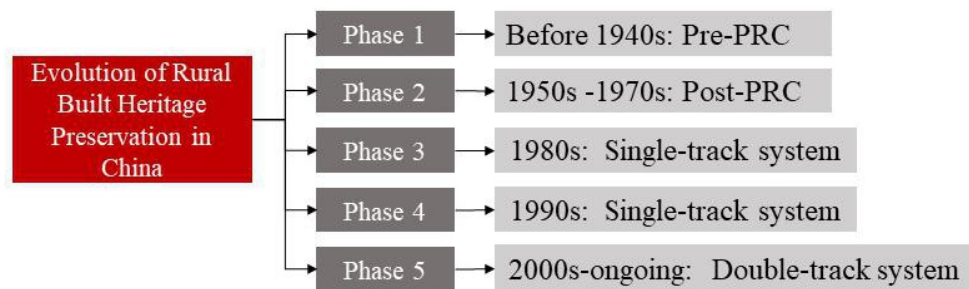


Figure 5: Diagram of the strategy for the review of policies, researches, and practices.

Source: author’s illustration.

2.1 Pre-PRC phase: Preservation of vernacular buildings at the beginning of the twentieth century

In the long-standing feudal regime of the empire, the preciousness of the antiquities²² and the cultural and political symbolism of these historic objects has contributed to limiting the understanding and restricting legal mobility of cultural relics (Schrivier 2017)²³. The admiration of cultural relics was for a long time only of interest to the affluent class. Such relics functioned essentially to represent the consolidation of the political power, social and political legitimacy (Li 2015)²⁴, and the particular interests of ruling class (Liang 1987). In China, the culturally diverse conception of "country" in modern times gave birth to a delayed awareness of the sovereignty of cultural relics²⁵ (Liang 1987). Underdeveloped understanding about

²² Permission to own metal objects and access to production techniques were strictly controlled by the royal classes.

²³ Schrivier Silvy (2017). Cultural Heritage Preservation in Regional China, Ph. d thesis, school of Social Sciences, Asian studies, University of Western Australia.

²⁴ From the Han dynasty (206 BC–220 AD) to the Tang dynasty (618-907 AD), antiquities functioned as auspicious symbols of the political legitimacy of the ruling class. An example can be found in *Wei Zheng: Sui Shu Yi*, Beijing: Zhonghua shuju, 2000, p. 25.

²⁵ According to Liang, the Chinese understanding of the term “country” could be extended far beyond the political and juridical meaning. In ancient China, the country was often referred to as *Tian Xia*, which means the “ground under the sky”, showing that the Chinese emperors thought all the territory under the sky could, to some extent, be managed by the empire, without specifying concrete geographical and cultural limitations. Source: Liang Shuming, *Essence of Chinese Culture*. Shanghai: Xuelin publisher housing. 1987. p165..

cultural heritage (especially the built heritage like historic buildings), lack of awareness of the need for protection, and almost-blank protection laws resulted in unprecedented destruction and loss of cultural relics dating from the Opium War. It was this reality and the impact of the Republican reforms at the end of nineteenth century that stimulated the gradual realization regarding heritage preservation, as people gradually understood the value of the remains of the past dynasties, realizing the necessity of protecting the historical traces of a country in a weak and fragmented condition. Liang Qichao (1873-1929) and Kang Youwei (1857-1927), two inspiring historians and reformers at the end of the Qing dynasty, declared the importance of establishing museums and schools for cultural heritage preservation, claiming that cultural relics are mandatory materials for the construction of national identity, while museums and schools in which to study ancient objects are necessary institutions for a modern civilized country (Liang 2009).

2.1.1 Summary

During this period, it was acknowledged that built-heritage conservation was essential to constructing national identity, especially in wartime when a country faces tremendous political and social changes. In the late-Qing and Republican eras, reformists promoted conservation practices based on the vernacular of individual buildings. Initial legislation emerged but was limited to the protection of individual and monumental built heritage.

2.1.2 First legislations

Based on the growing need for the protection of cultural relics so as to prohibit their illegal export, the first law in the history of China to govern this area, the "Measures for the Preservation of Historic Sites" (The Ministry of Civil Affairs, 1909)²⁶ was established, which started the legalization processes of surveying, valuing and preserving the ancient objects. It signified the launch by the authorities of the official census. With these measures, the Department of the Interior of the Qing government required administrators at provincial and local levels to conduct the survey and handle preservation, and to report the final list to the Department annually.

The survey focused on individual historic sites, which were additionally divided into five typologies with corresponding measures of protection²⁷. The survey was

²⁶ In Chinese *baocun guji tui Guang banfa*. *Guji*, literally means "historic traces", "historic places" or "historic sites".

²⁷ Article 1. For the tablets, stone buildings, and statues exposed outside, it is required that governors move them into galleries, or build fences around memorial buildings through local fundraising. Regarding the texts on the

significant from two aspects. First, it was the first law in China dedicated to cultural heritage preservation. Although the objects to be protected were limited to monumental and historical sites recognized by the official historiography, it was the first time that heritage was considered relevant to constructing national identity and historical narratives. Second, "cultural relics" were defined in this measure as public goods for all the people, which differed starkly from the previous aristocrat-centered understanding. Subsequently, the "Interim Measures for the Preservation of Antiquities" (The Ministry of Civil Affairs, 1916)²⁸, "Antiquities Preservation Law" and "Rules for Implementation" (Central Government of the Republic of China 1930a; 1930b)²⁹ were successively launched and implemented, gradually arriving at an embryonic form of legalization that would later impact on rural heritage preservation laws and policies. In accordance with the national guidance for heritage preservation, some provinces started to establish proper laws and measures to conduct the survey and provide heritage protection. In 1938, in Guizhou, the "Administrative Measures for the Protection of Famous Places"³⁰ proposed the protection of some famous scenic spots and monuments. Some of the sites are in rural areas, but attention was focused on single monumental and aesthetic sites and objects (Guizhou Provincial Government, 1938).

2.1.3 Research and preservation practices

As the first stage of rural built-heritage preservation activities, the documentation and surveying conducted by the Society for Research into Chinese Architecture (SRCA; in Chinese, Yingzao Xueshe) (Zhu 2012) made an undeniable contribution. This domestic group of scholars were aiming to understand and systematically categorize Chinese architecture by conducting research into historic buildings and sites. Among them, Liang Sicheng (1901-1972), an American-trained architect and the most influential figure within the group, investigated a large number of villages throughout China, producing numerous reports and architectural survey drawings. Thanks to the beaux-art educational background of his early career, Liang developed

stones, the government decides whether to allow them to be transcribed and copied based on their conservation status. Article 2. Ancient calligraphy and painting, ceramics, and Song and Yuan Dynasty stone tablets and books, and other categories were subjected to preservation and collection, "to establish a museum in the provincial capital, at any time, to collect and classify cultural relics". Article 3. The ancient imperial mausoleum and ancestral tombs of the sages were marked by the governor. "Those whose famous temples and temples had been dilapidated should be restored; those whose houses had collapsed should be repaired by local authorities". Article 4. The exquisite pieces of wall paintings and statues carved by famous people in ancient temples shall not be allowed to be destroyed, nor shall they be repainted to lose their true colours due to their blurred appearance. Article 5. For other historic sites, excluding the ancestral tombs, "the government should plant trees, or put-up recording tablets, so as to make a recording to avoid the collapse".

²⁸ In Chinese 《保存古物暂行办法》

²⁹ In Chinese 《古物保存法》及《实施细则》

³⁰ In Chinese 《贵州省名胜处所保护管理办法》

competences at a highly sophisticated levels in architectural surveying and drawing, with which he built the foundation for his renowned monograph, *The History of Chinese Architecture* (published in 1955) and laid down the fundamental methodologies for the architectural survey of vernacular buildings. After visiting Europe, he eventually realized how Western historic buildings were being protected and how this protection served the construction of modern national discourses (Lai, Martha & Neville 2004). Thus, he emphasized the importance of conserving the materiality of buildings (Whitehand & Gu 2007), because although cultural goods were highly admired by all social classes in China, built heritage was assigned tangible value as a container or something to be used materially (Chen 2016; Cinà 2014).

2.2 Post-PRC phase: The “Cultural Relic Protection Units” and the suspended period in the Cultural Revolution (1950s-1970s)

2.2.1 Summary

After the foundation of the New China, the CPU system was formed as the main corpus of built-heritage preservation policies and related investigations began to be led by provincial authorities. At the same time, debates on the definition of *Minzu* (*ethnic*)³¹ architecture should have stimulated the nationwide survey on vernacular architectures. In the late 1960s, however, during the Cultural Revolution, numerous built heritages were destroyed by the general public, and all preservation activities were suspended.

2.2.2 Legislation: Establishment of Cultural Relic Protection Units

³¹ A renowned professor in ethnic policy, Ma Rong has published an article on the official website of the central government, discussing the concept of *Minzu*, and how it should be translated in English. Ma stressed that *Minzu* is different from the kinship (in Chinese, *shizu*) which relies on the blood and social ties, and also different from “nation” (in Chinese *Guozu*, which implies that its people have a distinct sovereign political state, like the nations in Western context). The Chinese government refers to all *Minzu* as “ethnic groups” based on a relatively modified version of Stalin's definition and the viewpoint of the historical stage. It has been believed that “*they (ethnic groups) are very weak and economically underdeveloped in China. Many of them stagnated in the pre-capitalist stage, and did not have the characteristics of what Stalin defined, but today their historical environment has changed to capitalistic. These ethnic groups have been involved in the vortex of capitalism to varying degrees, they are different from ancient Minzu, they are modern Minzu*”... And *ethnic group*, which has been considered as the most appropriate translation for *Minzu* in China, is derived from the term of ethnology (thus the traditional studies on cultural and socially different people characterized by origins, languages, customs, and institutions, etc). Source: Ma (2000)

The second stage covers the period from the 1950s to 1970s, in which the first mechanism for protection of cultural heritage, the “Cultural Relics Protection Unit” (CPUs) was established. In 1956, at the peak of national agricultural production, the State Council issued the “Notice on the Protection of Cultural Relics in Agricultural Production and Construction” (State Council 1956a), in which the State Council proposed the concept of the CPUs, requiring cultural administrations of different administrative levels to carry out comprehensive surveys of cultural relics, including historic sites, ancient tombs, commemorative revolutionary sites and historical buildings³². In accordance with the Notice, nationwide survey and preservation activities were carried out with both central and local governments providing financial and organizational support to the CPUs. Most historic buildings were dispersed widely in rural areas, but only a few of them were identified as legally protected. From 1961 to 2019, eight batches totaling 5,058 key national CPUs were announced, of which a considerable part was in rural areas³³ (Yang & Zhou 2016).

2.2.3 Initial studies on vernacular buildings and Minzu architecture

In this period, as responses to national policies on cultural heritage preservation, scholars with architectural backgrounds actively initiated the surveying and identification of heritage sites of high historical and cultural value. They focused on monumental buildings and structures, such as temples, palaces and tombs, and archeological sites (Liu 1953)³⁴. In the early 1950s under the influence of the ideological trend of “*discussing the form of Minzu architecture*” (Lu 1998)³⁵, many

³² The working process comprised four essential elements that define a protection unit: the definition of the boundary of the protection site; the process of labelling; the elaboration of the archive for recording; and clarification of the entity responsible for the preservation. Moreover, it declared that the list of protection units shall be submitted to the Ministry of Culture for examination (State Council of PRC, 1956).

³³ The data is from official website of the State council of PRC. <http://www.gov.cn/>

³⁴ Liu Dunzhen. *Preliminary Investigation of Ancient Buildings Found in Shexian County (wannan shexian faxiande gujianzhu chubu diaocha)*, Southern Anhui Province, cultural relics reference (wenwu cankao ziliao), No. 3, 1953.

³⁵ Papers published on this topic, in Architectural Journal from 1954 to 1958 were significant as they helped foster an understanding of the emphasis on the Minzu architecture (minzu jianzhu). The core debates focused on two cultural circumstances at that time. The first is that appropriated design approaches and building forms for the New China were needed; the second was the great emergence of both public and civil buildings for the new socialist country. Wang (1954) claimed that “formalism and structuralism are all imperialism to paralyze the patriotism of the people. And we need to behave in the socialist way”. By citing Stalinist ideas about ethnicity, he affirmed that “Architecture conveys the specific feeling of people for their country, and arouses the love for their motherland. This love is the source of power for creative works”. Citing Stalin’s emphasis on the “proletarian’s substance and the national form”, Wang confirmed that the culture of the proletariat does not diminish the culture of a nation but gives it form. This led the mainstream debate about what Minzu architecture should be for socialist China in the 1950s. Such an emphasis on nationalism caused the subsequent Retroism period and the waste of resources in the construction activities, and it drew serious criticism during the Reform and Opening Up period of the 1980s. For instance, Wang (1981) stated that socialist architecture should be “people-centred” instead of searching for vague forms. Wang further confirmed that only the socialist spatial planning system could adjust and coordinate the problems of urban scale, and restructure the urban-rural relationship and different functions of buildings under unified rational planning.

architectural schools and design institutions took part in investigation of vernacular buildings, trying to find design solutions for rural construction and for Minzu buildings that would reflect the new image of the new China. Responses were provided from academia. In 1957, at the first Building Science Research Symposium, "vernacular buildings" (*min ju*) were defined as one of the prioritized sub-disciplines of architectural history as a university course.

The Great Leap Forward campaign (1958-1960) promoted the rapid merger of the original agricultural cooperatives into the People's Communes, making rural construction issues a hot topic. The "National Agricultural Development Program" issued in 1956 required architectural design agencies to conduct surveys and research into residential buildings in various regions to understand and summarize the outstanding traditions of vernacular heritage in order to guide the design of new rural construction projects (State Council 1956 b). In 1959, the Residential Standards and Architectural Art Symposium was held in Shanghai to discuss the uniformed standards established during the "*First Five-Year Plan*". The meeting decided to delegate the matter to the provinces so they would define their housing-design standards by considering local varieties (He & Xie, 2017). All the experiments further promoted the enthusiasm for surveys of vernacular buildings at local level³⁶.

In this period, the Huizhou historic villages were as one of the cases that illustrated the progresses and methodologies of that time. In 1952, Liu Dunzhen (1897-1968)³⁷ of the Nanjing Institute of Technology started the investigation on vernacular buildings in She County in the Huizhou area of Anhui Province. During the visit, he explored more than 20 historical dwellings and ancestral halls presumably built during the Ming Dynasty (1368-1644). In 1956, the Nanjing Institute of Technology and the Institute of Architectural Science jointly published a research report named *Huizhou Ming Dynasty Residences*, in which 23 ancient buildings were

³⁶ In 1957, the Guangdong Urban Architectural Design Institute and the Department of Architecture of the South China Institute of Technology jointly conducted a survey on the research topic "Typical Design of Residential Buildings in South China". Seven teams conducted the survey from July to August 1957 in the Western Guangdong and Hainan provinces, before completing their *Report on the Investigation of Some Residential Houses in Guangdong Province*. In April 1957, the Xi'an Institute of Civil Engineering and Architecture went to Guanzhong, Southern Shaanxi, and Northern Shaanxi to carry out surveys on vernacular residential houses, and completed their own survey report. In 1958, the Design Institute of Xi'an Construction Engineering Bureau completed the *Shaanxi Folk Architecture Investigation Report (Draft)* and a full set of cartographic materials. In 1958, the Civil Engineering Department of the Hunan Institute of Technology adopted "Hunan Civil Architecture Research" as a subject. Two investigation teams were sent to investigate residential buildings in the areas of Xiangxi and Xiangnan, respectively. The architectural form of the ethnic group and the characteristics of the brick houses in the mountainous area were the key objects. At the Academic Seminar on Architectural History held in October 1958, various scientific research and design institutions discussed the reports on the surveys across 13 provinces. For specific information about the survey and the results please consult Li Jing (2015).

³⁷ Liu Dunzhen (1897-1968), a renowned Chinese architectural historian, and was one of the first-generation architects and educators in architecture in modern China.

included in the survey and proposed for protection. However, by the end of the 1970s, only 13 of these buildings remained as a result of the dramatic expansion of agricultural production activities and the Cultural Revolution.

During the disastrous ten years of the Cultural Revolution (1966-1976), the traditional clans and family-based communities in countryside were dissolved as they were seen to represent the feudal regime (Svensson 2006). All traditional activities like festivals, ordinary rituals and traditional construction activities were suspended due to restrictive policies. Frequently, the state occupied ritual spaces like temples and ancestral halls and transformed them into the schools or canteens to demonstrate the new era of socialist society, and to mold and ideologically control the new citizens (Svensson 2006: 13). Many cultural relics were damaged by the general public; only a few listed CPUs were inaccessible to the public and thus, fortunately, preserved (Zhu 2012). It is difficult to obtain exact data on the destruction that occurred in this period as the related documentation is not readily available.

2.3 Single-track phase: From urban heritage preservation to the rural context (1980s)

2.3.1 Summary

Since the 1980s, thanks to the progressive Reform and Opening and inspired by the international mainstream, China has accelerated the legislative processes for cultural heritage preservation. Subsequently, cultural heritage preservation was written into the Constitution for the first time in 1982 (State Council 1982b)³⁸. At the same time, an era of rural built heritage development was initiated thanks to the following specific policy incentives and explorative practices. Built-heritage preservation was further enhanced by the spread of the HCC, which later included villages and towns based on a set of criteria for selection. The relationship between the heritage site and the overall development of the surrounding area started to be taken into consideration.

Guizhou's exploration of establishing ethnic villages showed the interest of local governments lay in future development via tourism and empowering local identities. The practices at Upper Langde village entered a phase of preparation for commodification by setting projects and spatial modification.

³⁸ Article 22. "The state protects sites of scenic and historical interest, valuable cultural monuments and relics and other significant items of China's historical and cultural heritage."

At the same time, the Qiankou and Ding village projects both took the approach of demolition and reconstruction. In Xidi, however, the innovative pattern of preservation characterized by the triangular relationship between local government, the local CCP and enterprise intervened in tourism management, which left a strong imprint on the preservation and development of the village.

2.3.2 Legislation: The Historical and Cultural Cities and Historical and Cultural Villages and Towns

In the 1980s, authorities realized that singular CPUs were no longer effective in preserving the built environment. Therefore, in 1982, the State Council announced the first batch of Famous Historical and Cultural Cities (HCCs; in Chinese, Lìshǐ wénhuà míngchéng, 历史文化名城) (State Council 1982a)³⁹. This new approach to the preservation of built heritage was more inclusive than earlier strategies. The establishment of HCCs supplemented the overall built-heritage preservation practices, contributing positive impacts on future rural built-heritage preservation due to the following effects. First, the HCC paid more attention to the historical environment and urban features around built heritage, which were usually damaged by large-scale demolition and construction. Second, the HCC focused on preventive measures, stimulating incorporation of conservation plans into urban statutory planning. Third, from an administrative point of view, the executive body concerning protection became the offices of construction and planning instead of the offices of cultural relics (Yang & Zhou 2016). The first is more efficient in coordinating the preservation of heritage assets in both urban and rural contexts and can provide spaces for incorporating heritage value into integral social and spatial development processes.

At the same time, international influence was an external factor that deserves attention. In 1985, China became a member of the UNESCO Convention on the Protection of World Cultural and Natural Heritage, which provided a platform of communication and opportunities to learn from international experiences. As a result of changed circumstances, in 1986 the State Council decided to classify those blocks, districts, towns and villages where "the traditional feature and local ethnic characters were well preserved" into a set of categories named Historic Cultural Preservation Areas⁴⁰. Based on this decision, a sub-category of Historical and Cultural Villages and

39 With the "Circular of the State Council on Approving and Transmitting the Request for Instructions of the State Construction Commission" and other departments on the protection of China's Famous Historical and Cultural Cities. In Chinese is 国务院批转国家建委等部门关于保护我国历史文化名城的请示的通知.

40 China officially proposed the protection of Historic Cultural Preservation Areas in 1986.

Towns⁴¹ (HCVT; in Chinese, 历史文化村镇) was developed (State Council 1986a), including a set of typologies of small-scale historical built environments. The HCVT concept was widely adopted in legislative documents and local practices until the late 1990s, referring to “historical districts”, “historical blocks” and “historical towns and villages” accordingly. This event is significant due to its importance in starting the legal preservation of the single track of historic towns and villages which lasted until the 2010s.

2.3.3 Research and preservation practices: national narratives, local varieties, and emerging commodification

In the mid-1980s, alongside large-scale investigations, the academic community published the first monographs on folk buildings of different geographies, often taking provinces as the geographical boundaries for the research. Classifications such as "Zhejiang Dwellings" (1984) characterized an intense period in the study of Chinese vernacular architecture. After this, the annual conference on Chinese Traditional Houses and Culture⁴² began to be held regularly. Scholars analyzed residential buildings in terms of climatic conditions and environments, and conducted in-depth research into the spatial morphological characteristics of historic villages.

Emerging legislation encouraged shifts from the singular-unit protection to the area dimension, like HCC and HCVT, and local preservation practices in the 1980s were often varied and sought alternative solutions.

Demolition and relocation of Qiankou dwellings

In the 1980s, the preservation of the Qiankou dwellings ushered in a turning point. In 1983, experts from the Chinese Society of Architectural History revised the design scheme, drawings, and overall data of the project. The demolition and relocation of 13 built heritage units of different types from the Ming Dynasty was planned, including residential buildings, ancestral halls, archways, pavilions, and stone bridges. Based on a proposal from the higher-level government, She County, it was determined that a new site should be chosen, a place with optimal mobility

⁴¹ It has been defined that the HCVTs are the “towns and villages that are particularly rich in terms of preserved cultural relics and have significant historical value or commemorative significance, that can more completely reflect some of the traditional features of the historical period and local ethnic characteristics”. Source: *Notice of the State Administration of Cultural Heritage of the Ministry of Construction on Announcement of Famous Chinese Historical and Cultural Towns (Villages) (First Batch)*.

⁴² The conference was held annually from 1988. The first conference was organized by Lu Yuanding, an architectural historian and professor at the school of architecture, South China University of Technology.

conditions that would be accessible from the adjacent provinces for the relocation of dwellings. Furthermore, termite control measures were adopted, and basic facilities such as protection against lightning and fire were set up (Report of Museum of Qiankou Residence, 2018).

The demolition-relocation/reconstruction started in 1984, and the main part of the reconstruction was completed and opened to the public in 1990 (Figure 6). In 1988, the State Council announced "Qiankou Residential Buildings" as a national key CPU.

This case demonstrates the understanding of built heritage during a certain historic period. The experts involved believed that it was an effective measure to demolish and reconstruct the ancient buildings.

These houses from the Ming Dynasty, which were on the verge of collapse, were repaired and restored. [The interventions] strengthened the structure of the houses, improved the ventilation and drainage conditions, and effective anti-fire and anti-insect measures have been adopted, so that the dwellings have continued their lives. The method of demolition-relocation/reconstruction is not only beneficial to the management of the site, but also convenient for investigation and research, so as to better develop Huizhou's splendid culture and architectural history. (Report of MQR 2018: 3)

The experiences of the Qiankou dwellings became a representative model in 1980s' architectural heritage in the adjacent area, and different institutions and experts named this approach the "Qiankou model" (Li & Meng 2012).



Figure 6: Demolished and reconstructed portal of the Qiankou dwellings
Source: Report of MQR.

Apart from the cases like Qiankou, in the same period, some provincial governments drew attention to the heritage sector as they responded to the national call for investigating and preserving heritage⁴³, especially economically underdeveloped provinces like Guizhou, who reacted actively with full consideration of its social and cultural conditions (Hu 2015) ⁴⁴.

Invention of Ethnic Villages in Guizhou Province and preparation for commodification

Heritage preservation within ethnic areas has not been a casual historical occurrence but is based on a ideologically pragmatic context and well-prepared program. Multi-ethnic unity, the most important objective for the young socialist regime when it first took shape, has been worked for more often since the period of Reform and Opening. Shortly after the Third Plenary Session of the Eleventh Central

⁴³ After the Third Plenary Session of the Eleventh Central Committee of the Communist Party of China in 1978, ethnic identification work was gradually resumed. The National Ethnic Affairs Commission issued a “Notice on Speeding Up National Identification Work” to Sichuan, Tibet, Yunnan, Guizhou and other provinces and autonomous regions in November 1979. The authorities agreed that the uncompleted ethnic identification work should be resolved as soon as possible to promote the economic and cultural construction of ethnic areas; therefore, the investigation and research work on ethnic identification in Southwest China were accelerated. Source: Hu (2015).

⁴⁴ The research on different ethnic groups started to emerge, especially studies on social structures, and the norms and daily activities of ethnic groups in Southwest China. See Hu Xinggang (2015), *Outline of the Legal History of Chinese Minorities*, China Social Sciences Press.

Committee⁴⁵, the Cultural Department of Guizhou organized an extensive investigation into different kinds of cultural relics. In the 1980s, the period began that was described by Harell as “*rapid nationalism combined with a commitment to limited ethnic and cultural diversity*” (Harell 2012, p.326).

During the investigation, Guizhou’s cultural administrations realized that Guizhou was established as a province relatively late within the historical development of Chinese civilization (first established in 974 CE before being officially governed in 1413 CE; Weinstein 2014: 32-33)⁴⁶. Therefore, it is basically a place full of ethnic minorities who were “*inculcated*” by the advanced majority. Therefore, Guizhou possesses abundant cultural relics from significantly varied cultural groups, but this fact does not conform to the commonly recognized definition of having “long history” for preservation (Yang 2008: 6). Therefore, according to the local governments, it was necessary to support the identification of “*ethnic cultural relics*” (Yang 2008: 6) to recognize Guizhou’s local varieties in tune with the national mainstream. Thus, the protection of “*ethnic villages*” (*minzu cunluo*) became significant for local authorities⁴⁷.

In January 1984, the Cultural Relics Management Department and Department of Culture and Publishing in Guizhou invited a group of experts and journalists from both inside and outside the province to participate in seminars related to cultural relic preservation in the villages where ethnic minorities were highly concentrated (Figure 6). Soon after, the “Notice on Investigation of Ethnic Villages” (1984)⁴⁸ was issued to prepare for the establishment of “ethnic village museums (村落博物馆)” (Yang 2008).

⁴⁵ A conference held in Beijing from 18 to 22 December 1978 was the important signal for the “Reform and Opening Up” policy, and the sense of “collectivity” was reinforced in production and cultural promotion. The conference tried to repudiate the Cultural Revolution by distancing from and ending practices from the previous years, and attempted to make economic reforms which addressed decentralizing some economic management power to local government so as to develop the private sectors.

Source: <http://cpc.people.com.cn/GB/64162/64168/64563/65371/4441902.html>. Accessed on 17th, May, 2019.

⁴⁶ During the Ming dynasty, the empire reinforced the control to the peripheral areas by replacing the previous local Tusi system with administrative commissioners sent directly by the court. Moreover, in order to generate more tax revenue, immigrants from other provinces were encouraged to settle down in Guizhou. For specific historic occurs see Weinstein, 2014.

⁴⁷ In Yang’s work (Yang, 2008, p. 6), the idea of Wu Zhengguang, the director of the Cultural Heritage Office, was clearly documented. Wu said: “*We think of it this way: the announcement of one or two drum towers and Huaqiao as key cultural relics protection units, hanging a sign, or erecting a stone monument is conservation of cultural relics. Moving several waterwheels and water slabs to the museum, writing instructions, and displaying them are also conservation of cultural relics. What if a typical village could be protected three-dimensionally, isn’t it also the ‘conservation of cultural heritage’?*”

⁴⁸ Cultural Administration of Guizhou (1984) Notice on Investigation and Protection of Ethnic Villages.



Figure 7: A meeting on New Year's Eve between experts and villagers in Gaozeng Dongzhai.
Source: Wu Zhengguang (2019)

The Notice was supported by requirements for investigation and protection, and a set of criteria was introduced for the villages to be subjected to the survey: i.) the selected village should have a relatively long history of at least two or three hundred years (10 generations or more), for which historical traces can be found; ii.) the buildings in the village are typical of the area so that people can see ethnic characteristics (for example, Dongzhai has its drum towers and the flower bridge ("huaqiao"), which act as symbols of the village); iii.) folk customs in the village should have ethnic characteristics, which means that in addition to buildings, the cuisine, clothes, language, and songs should have their own characteristics, and the village should properly maintain traditions in all aspects of material and spiritual life such as marriage and funeral events; iv.) the village scenery should be pleasant so that they can be shown as model villages representing Guizhou Province; v.) the transportation infrastructure of the village should be convenient in order to easily connect scenic spots and cultural relics and therefore conducive to visiting; and vi.) the local life in the village should be relatively affluent, at least achieving a medium standard of living conditions (within the province), so that it is conducive to preservation and visit.

Furthermore, the Notice pointed out:

“Guizhou is a multi-ethnic province. In the long-term historical development of the Guizhou Plateau, people of all ethnic groups have built many natural villages with local characteristics and ethnic features, which vividly reflect the historical culture of all ethnic groups in Guizhou and pertain important ethnic and folk cultural heritage value. Thus, to selectively protect a group of ethnic villages with local

characteristics and ethnic style (including Han villages) is of high significance".⁴⁹

Soon after, this policy innovation was included in provincial legislation. The fourth chapter of the "*Measures for the Administration of Cultural Relic Protection in Guizhou*" (Guizhou Provincial Government, 1986) clearly used the concept of "*ethnic cultural relics*". In the Measures, Article 21 clarified that "*for typical ethnic villages with local and ethnic characteristics and research value, with representative physical objects, representative places and places related to the living habits, cultural entertainment, religious beliefs, and festival activities of ethnic minorities, and documents of important value, should be protected.*" Interestingly, this article clarified also that cultural relics not conducive to "*ethnic solidarity*" (*minzu tuanjie*) should be reported to the government at or above the county level for appropriate treatment. Article 22 declared that cultural administrative departments, urban and rural construction, and environmental protection departments should, on the basis of investigation and research, report typical ethnic villages to higher-level government for approval and official status as an "*ethnic protection village*" (*minzú bǎohù cūnzài*, 民族保护村寨) at different levels.

In the 1980s, experiences in Guizhou around ethnic village preservation were significant and later became a prototype for developing the local economy by exploiting ethnic culture.

The Notice and the Measure significantly promoted village preservation activities in Guizhou. After the province-wide survey, the village of Upper Langde in Leishan County, where the Miao people live, was selected as one of the pilot projects as a "*village museum*" and "*ethnic protection village*", representing the advanced practices at the time. When selecting where to establish village museums, the "*long history, architectural characteristics, folk features, beautiful scenery and convenient transportation*" are important criteria for the authorities due to the required capacity for conversion into tourist sites. Therefore, in the actual operational process, the "*transportation and proximity to tourist areas seem to be priorities for authorities*" (Yang 2008: 8). Upper Langde is an example of this. After the village's designation as a village museum, a variety of projects were completed between 1985 and 1990), including improvement of the village environment, construction of a new square, a new reception building, an exhibition center, renovation of a collapsed Fengyu bridge,

⁴⁹ Cultural Administration of Guizhou (1984) Notice on Investigation and Protection of Ethnic Villages.

reconstruction of two damaged village gates and construction of two new gates (Wu 1997)⁵⁰.

Other preservation practices

Taking a global view of Chinese rural areas in the 1980s, groups of vernacular buildings were added onto different lists of CPUs. Alongside the extended recognition about the object of preservation, many of them were included in national and international debates; the cases of Ding and Xidi villages are evidence of the preservation approach at the time. In the same period, the archaeological site⁵¹ of Ding Village in Shanxi Province was a heritage site included in the first batch of national CPUs in 1961⁵². Apart from the archaeological site, the vernacular buildings in Ding village were then listed in the third batch of national key CPUs in 1988 (Jin 2010) because of the original characteristics of the residential building complexes representing the Northern Central Region of China from the Ming and Qing Dynasties there. Like the Qiankou model, beginning in 1984, more than 10 typical Ming dynasty buildings in the surrounding area were demolished and rebuilt as they had been. The work was completed in 1990.⁵³

In 1986, Xidi Village in Huo County, one of the main representatives of ancient villages in Anhui province, was designated as a provincial CPU. Xidi is a village where the first attempts of commodification occurred, and its conservation and development has gone through several phases. The first phase of conservation and development was from 1985 to 1994, when Huo County established the “*Tourism Development Leading Team*” to raise funds via different channels for restoration and conservation. The turning point arrived in 1989 thanks to some villagers who participated in village management as shareholders and received their first dividends, thanks to which the difficulties in fund-raising were reduced.

⁵⁰ Specific projects and the funds are documented in the Compilation Committee of Leishan County, Guizhou Province. *Leishan County's Chronicle*. Guiyang: Guizhou Renmin Publishing House(1992). And the work of Wu Zhengguang (1997) *The Traditional Virtue of Upper Langde Miao Village*. in *Guizhou Minzu Yanjiu*. 01.

⁵¹ In 1954, ancient human fossils were discovered in Ding village, the first human fossil found in the post-PRC era. Therefore, Ding village plays an important role in the field of Palaeolithic archaeology. Source: Jin Meijun, *China construction informatization*, 2010 (12).

⁵² There are 33 residences with a total of 498 rooms built during the Ming and Qing Dynasties, which provide important opportunities to investigate the historic spatial layout and architectural form of villages in northern China.

⁵³ By the end of 1994, three ancestral halls, five dwellings, one pavilion, and one stone archway had been relocated. The entire Qiankou residence area covers an area of nearly 20,000 square meters. In the process of demolition and reconstruction, the principles of “demolish and rebuild on the same site” and “reconstruct like the old construction” were implemented.

2.4 Historic Village preservation: Initiation of practices and theoretical incentives (1990s)

In 1996, the fourth batch of national key CPUs was announced (State Council, 1996), and “*ancient village*” as an individual category appeared in the list for the first time.

Since the end of the 1980s, domestic scholars in architecture and planning have paid attention not only to vernacular architecture in different contexts but also the cultural and geographical settings in which the dwellings are embedded. A large number of publications have witnessed such changes (Si & Zhang 1992; Zhang & Li 1994). These studies focused on physical spatial form, motif of construction, relationship with environment, and societal and humanistic factors. The study on single residential buildings in rural areas gradually developed into reporting overall physical-spatial characteristics of the settlement, including spatial analysis and the impact of culture, society, and environment on the formation and development of the settlements.

Peng Yigang’s work (1992) is a reference to this turning point. He analyzed the morphological characteristics covering representative traditional settlements dispersed across Chinese territory. Similarly, other scholars believed that the form and spatial layout of ancient villages were generally dominated by cultural traditions such as clan etiquette, religious beliefs, feng shui practices, defensive awareness, and poetic and artistic views about the landscape (Zhang 1996; Liu 1998). Dong Wei (1992) took the traditional Huizhou villages in Anhui as an example with which to study the influence of the patriarchal system on its structure and form. Lu Yuanding (2003), who organized the Chinese Vernacular Architecture conference at the end of 1980s, published a collection of conference papers from the past years. This is a period in which Chinese academia focused on developing cognition of the historic and cultural value of traditional villages, trying to form a consolidated foundation for future research and practices in value identification and preservation.

In this phase, the commodification approach initiated and the first practices of ecomuseum emerged in China. In 1991, Xidi as a tourist site received potential benefits and a village-owned enterprise (VOE) was established in the same year. In 1994, with the approval of the County’s Tourism Bureau, Xidi Village established the Xidi Tourism Service Company (XTSC), which signifies the initiation of the second phase of Xidi’s development. As the original investor, the village committee became the sole shareholder of the company during this period. The village-owned enterprise

was a collective enterprise, and the property rights of immovable assets (like the dwellings) belonged to the villagers. Some villagers delegated displaying and renovating the dwellings to the XTSC. At the same time, the XTSC oversaw the cultural promotion and collaboration with external travel agencies. Through promotion by experts and scholars, Xidi's reputation and visibility gradually increased. In 1996, villagers in Xidi received dividends, thanks to the tourism development. In this year, the Xidi Tourism Management Committee was established to better monitor the tourist market in the village and adjacent area, and tourism in Xidi continued to develop steadily⁵⁴.

The beginning of the twenty-first century was significant for Xidi and adjacent villages. In 2000, as a constituent part of the *"Ancient Villages in Southern Anhui"*, Xidi was entered on the World Heritage List (UNESCO 2000). This marked the initiation of rapid tourism development under governmental management and monitoring⁵⁵. In addition, Xidi invested in construction of public infrastructure in the scenic area, building cultural halls and a square for daily sports activities for both villagers and tourists. However, it should be noted that the village committee of Xidi, the administrative entity of the local communist party and the tourism company were led by the same leaders, and this caused a fuzzy management situation.

In the same period, in Guizhou, Upper Langde village became a hotspot of local development stimulated by the county government, thanks to which the village obtained different statuses⁵⁶, preferential policies and funds⁵⁷ in the following years. Since then, some of the Miao and Dong villages began to be included in the

⁵⁴ The director of the Tourism Management Committee was also the Town Mayor.

⁵⁵ The scenic area is mainly managed by the village office, the Xidi Tourism Service Company. The distribution of interests was divided between the Xidi Tourism Company and the county government. The Xidi Tourism Company receive 80 percent of the ticket sales revenue.

⁵⁶ After becoming a village museum, Upper Langde Shangzhai was awarded the title of "The Hometown of Songs and Dances of the Miao People" by the Culture Department of Guizhou in 1995; it was awarded the title of "Hometown of Chinese Folk Art" by the Ministry of Culture in 1997 and was listed by the State Administration of Cultural Heritage in 1998 as one of the "100 Museums of Ethnic Characteristics". It was also listed as the "National key CPU" by the State Council in June 2001.

⁵⁷ In addition to the government investment from 1985-1990, the potable water project completed in January 1993 was funded by the Zhenhua Electronics Industry Corporation and provided sanitary tap water to the village. Funded by the County's Transportation Department, the road hardening project on the Upper Langde to Baode highway was completed in July 1995, which improved traffic conditions leading to Langde Shangzhai. Funded by the County's Education Department and the public, the new Upper Langde Primary School campus was erected in 1996. Subsidized by the local government financial department, the TV satellite receiving system built by the villagers was completed in January 1997. Funded by the Post and Telecommunications Department and co-funded by the villagers, the program-controlled telephone project was completed in September 1997, allowing Upper Langde inhabitants to use the telephone system earlier than other villages. Even the Guizhou Provincial Fire Brigade directly provided the village with more than 9,000 yuan for fire prevention equipment. In 2004, after Upper Langde was awarded "National Key CPU" status, the provincial and state departments invested 1.62 million yuan in the projects like the Wind and Rain Bridge and the pavement of a highway road accessing the village (Yang 2008, p. 12).

preliminary World Cultural Heritage lists and were opened to the public under different names related to ethnic tourism, such as “*ethnic cultural village*” (*minzu wenhua cunluo*) and outdoor museums.

In the 1990s, the introduction of the eco-museum to Guizhou Province is worth a mention as it aimed at preserving rural settlements and socio-cultural and environmental value as a complex. Thanks to official China-Norway cooperation in heritage preservation, the first eco-museum, led by the experts from the two countries, was established in Soga, a Miao village composed of 12 natural villages.

In 1995, a group of eco-museum experts led by John Gjestrum were invited by national and local authorities to visit and investigate Soga. Since its exposure across different media in the early 1990s, Soga had become internationally renowned, thanks to its authentic and mysterious cultural traditions and original living conditions as a particular branch of the Miao community (Laishun & Gjestrum 1999). In 1997, the Chinese Cultural Heritage Administration and the Norwegian Cooperation Development Agency signed a cooperation agreement on the establishment in Soga of the first eco-museum in China (Figure 7). The Cultural Heritage Administration and local governments jointly funded the project, and an administrative organization was established. By 2002, more than 10 houses were restored. In this period, eco-museums projects developed rapidly throughout the country, especially in Southwestern China, where different ethnic minorities are highly concentrated.



Figure 8: Soga Village in 1998 before the renovation interventions.

Source: Wu & Huang (2018)

In conclusion, in the 1990s, the “ancient village” was set as an individual category in the fourth batch of CPUs as the mainstream academic world shifted to the contextualized approach of specific geographical and cultural contexts. In this period, in Xidi, the coalition between business and local government was formed, and villagers were gradually excluded from participation in the management of the village. The eco-museum was embedded in the Chinese context through international institutional collaboration between China and Norway.

2.5 Double-track phase: Booming of rural built-heritage preservation (2000s-ongoing)

Facing rapid urbanization and significant loss in built heritage, several more preservation policies and practices on rural built-heritage have appeared. Thus, the fifth stage emerged as the boom in rural heritage preservation from the 2000s until today, and double-track preservation of two separate recommendation and labelling systems was formed.

2.5.1 Legislation: Formation of double-track system

Inclusion of HCTVs in the Heritage Act (2002)

In 2000, historic villages in southern Anhui (including Xidi) were listed as World Cultural Heritage sites by the 24th World Heritage Committee, and this had a positive impact on the subsequent rural heritage-preservation activities. In this period, the central government began to consider the historical value of villages as an individual category in the overall Chinese cultural heritage preservation system. The review of the Act of the People's Republic of China on the Preservation of Cultural Relics (abbreviated as the Heritage Act) in 2002 is evidence of such considerations.

The Heritage Act (2002) states,

Towns, neighborhoods, or villages with an unusual wealth of cultural relics of important historical value or high revolutionary memorial significance shall be verified and announced by the governments of provinces, autonomous regions, or municipalities as renowned neighborhoods, villages, or towns of historical and cultural value. And the list should be reported to the State Council for the record (art.14).

Consequently, and to further promote rural built-heritage preservation, HCVTs were officially identified and included as one of the categories subject to preservation in the Heritage Act (2002). Moreover, conservation plans became mandatory for villages subject to protection, and this was defined within the Heritage Act (2002) ⁵⁸.

In 2003, the Ministry of Housing and Construction and the Cultural Heritage Administration selected a number of villages and towns that could “*fully reflect the traditional features and local characteristics of a certain historical period*” to be listed as “*Historical and Cultural Towns and Villages*” (abbreviated as HCTVs; in Chinese, 中国历史文化名镇名村) ⁵⁹, which marked the establishment of a separate recommendation and labelling system for HCTVs in China (State Council 2003a; 2003b). Xidi was listed as one of the first batch of HCTVs in 2003; Upper Langde was listed with the fifth batch of HCTVs in 2010.

During this period, formal and informal debates were continuously developed about vernacular building preservation. In September 2005, given the fact that vernacular architecture was suffering during a period of tremendous urbanization, a

⁵⁸ Article 32 of the Heritage Act.

⁵⁹ "Regulations on the Protection of Famous Historical and Cultural Cities, Famous Towns, and Famous Villages" and "Requirements for the Preparation of the Protection of Famous Historical and Cultural Cities, Famous Towns, and Famous Villages". In Chinese 《历史文化名城名镇名村保护条例》和《历史文化名城名镇名村保护规划编制要求》

group of cultural heritage experts jointly issued the *"Suzhou Declaration"*, calling for the protection of China's outstanding vernacular architecture. Moreover, coincidentally, a further step was made by the State Council which referred to a more specific level of rural vernacular building preservation. The *"Circular of the State Council on Strengthening the Preservation of Cultural Heritage"* (2005) clearly states, *"In the process of urbanization, we should protect the historical and cultural environment so as to preserve the excellent local architecture and other cultural heritage as an important part of the urbanization development strategy."* As an independent category in the heritage conservation system in China, policies regarding HCTVs were further developed by the *"Regulations on the Protection of HCTVs"* (2008) which were imposed on villages with great historical heritage value. It legally accelerated the process of recommendation and labelling HCTVs. In January 2009, the Ministry of Housing and Urban-Rural Development (MOHURD) and the National Tourism Administration issued the *"Notice on Carrying Out the Demonstration Work of National Famous Scenic Tourism Towns (and villages)"*, showing that the tourism departments began to participate in the preservation and development of HCTVs officially.

Internationally, the Convention for the Safeguarding of the Intangible Cultural Heritage (2003) requires that each contracting party shall draw up a list of intangible cultural heritage in accordance with its own national conditions. In February 2011, the state passed the *"Intangible Cultural Heritage Act"* (Presidential Order [2011] No. 42). The intangible heritage protection is administrated by the Ministry of Culture and Tourism. The establishment of a list composed of representative items of intangible cultural heritage value is beneficial to concentrate limited resources on the protection of the items that having historical, literary, artistic, and scientific value. The Act clearly stipulates: *"the state adopts measures such as identification, recording, and archiving of intangible cultural heritage to preserve them. Intangible cultural heritage should be protected by conservation measures."* The State Council successively announced five batches of national-level lists in 2006, 2008, 2011, 2014 and 2021, a total of 10 categories⁶⁰ including 1557 national intangible cultural heritage representative projects (hereinafter refer to "national ICH projects") and 3610 sub-items have been selected. Considering the list of intangible heritage list approved by the provincial, the case of Guizhou province is representative. In 2006, 2007 and 2008 there were in total 513 ICH items listed onto the provincial ICH list.⁶¹

⁶⁰ The 10 categories are: folk literature, traditional music, traditional dance, traditional drama, folk art, traditional sports, amusement and acrobatics, traditional art, traditional skills, traditional medicine, and folk customs. Source: <http://www.ihchina.cn/project.html#target1>

⁶¹ Source: http://www.gzfwz.org.cn/tzgg/index_1.html

More importantly, the Act emphasized the protection of the artifacts and places that are integral part of intangible cultural heritage. This means a HCTV could be considered as a constituent part of a particular intangible heritage. Thus, the Act moved from the previous focus on physical preservation of HCTVs to a comprehensive preservation that took into account the importance of the intangible dimension.

In November 2012, the MOHURD and the Cultural Heritage Administration jointly issued the *"Requirements for the Conservation Plans of HCTVs"*(2012), which proposed scientific, standardized, and operational requirements for the preparation of conservation plans. In 2014, the State Council has further promulgated the *"Measures for the Approval of the Compilation and the Approval of the Conservation Planning of Famous Historical and Cultural Cities, Towns, and Villages (2014)"* as the guidance for the main contents of conservation planning in HCTVs (Appendix A).

The establishment of CTVs

In April 2012, the MOHURD, the Ministry of Culture, the Cultural Heritage Administration, and the Ministry of Finance (hereinafter referred to as the four ministries) issued the *"Notice on Conducting Investigations of Traditional Villages"*(State Council, 2012a), which was jointly launched by the four administrations for the first time. In the investigation into Chinese Traditional Villages (CTVs), villages built before the Republic of China was founded with complete traditional architectural features, patterns that retain traditional characteristics, or live transmission of intangible cultural heritage are all included in the survey. This innovation in trying to expand the number of HCTVs (a total of 528 at the time) into a wider range of traditional villages (presumably 12,000 in total). Therefore, in addition to the HCTVs, a second system dedicated to village preservation was defined to include as many villages of historic value as possible.

Moreover, a set of systematic criteria was defined and composed of three criteria for the selection of CTVs. For each criterion, a set of sub-categories was provided for the evaluation and assignment of scores, which formed the basis on which the decision to select or exclude candidate villages were made (Appendix C).

From 2014, it was defined that for all the villages designated as CTVs, the municipality and counties were responsible for devising the *"Overall Plan for the Preservation and Development of Traditional Villages (OPTV)"*⁶², the *"Summary*

⁶² The first category is the general qualitative assessment, in which the dimensions, percentage of historic buildings and integrity are the main sub-categories that contribute to a large proportion, accounting for 45

Table of Project Budget for Preservation (TBP)", and the *"Table of Traditional Village Archives (TVA)"*. These three required documents have been abbreviated to *"two tables and one plan"* within the authorities' working processes. According to documents submitted from all over the country, the listed villages would receive financial support and concrete measures for preservation would be implemented⁶³.

The 2013 Central Document No. 1, *"Several Opinions on Accelerating the Development of Modern Agriculture and Further Enhancing Rural Development"*, includes for the first time the content of traditional village protection, which shows that the protection of traditional villages received the closest attention from the state and its role in rural development has been unprecedentedly emphasized. In June 2015, the seven administrations⁶⁴ issued the *"Notice on Doing a Good Job of Protecting CTV"* (2015), which required applications for CTV status to be included in the budget accounting of local governments⁶⁵.

In the same period, a comprehensive professional-led non-regulatory guideline on the conservation and management of heritage site has been established thanks to the international collaboration amongst different institutes, including the ICOMOS China and the Getty Conservation Institute. The *"Principles for the Conservation of Heritage Sites in China"* (the "China Principles") (ICOMOS China, 2015) for immovable heritage is of this kind. It proposed a series of working process for the conservation and daily management of the so-defined "heritage site". Despite this document shows that the conservation discipline developed towards value-based professionalism and include the historic villages as the object of conservation, there are certain difficulties in the practical operation.

percent. The second category concerns the site selection and spatial layout, in which the scientific and cultural value and the integrity of the pattern are the main sub-categories that contribute 65 percent of the whole category. The third category concerns the intangible heritage of the village, in which the degree of dependence on ceremonies, inheritors, materials, crafts and other practical activities related to the intangible cultural heritage of the village and the surrounding environment has been assigned the greatest proportion (30 percent), and the situation of the inheritance is considered crucial. For the completed translation of the assessment criteria, please see Appendix C.

⁶³ An amount of funds is assigned from central government (generally about 3,000,000 RMB). Additionally, an amount of 700,000 RMB is assigned from provincial or prefecture governments as a complementary award (Mu & Ni 2018). Concrete conservation policies and activities are implemented by the Construction Office of the County (COC), whose main funds essentially come from two sources: one is a specific fund for traditional village preservation released from upper government levels, the other is from the county's own budget.

⁶⁴ Including the Ministry of Housing and Urban-Rural Development, the Ministry of Culture, the State Administration of Cultural Heritage, the Ministry of Finance, the Ministry of Land and Resources, the Ministry of Agriculture, and the National Tourism Administration.

⁶⁵ Moreover, it requires that local governments are in charge of the annual special inspections and monitoring, manage the implementation of the preservation, establish restrictive rural planning and construction permits, and improve multi-sectorial cooperative protection mechanisms.

In conclusion, the protection of historic villages has shifted from the material forms to the cultural space, spiritual significance, and the integrity of the ecological system. The scope of preservation has been gradually expanded, types of protection have become increasingly diverse, and rural built-heritage preservation has improved over the last three decades.

Until 2019, a total of 6,819 villages were selected as CTVs across five batches⁶⁶. Guizhou ranks as the province with the highest number of the CTVs listed at national level. The double-track preservation system has been formally established (Figure 9).

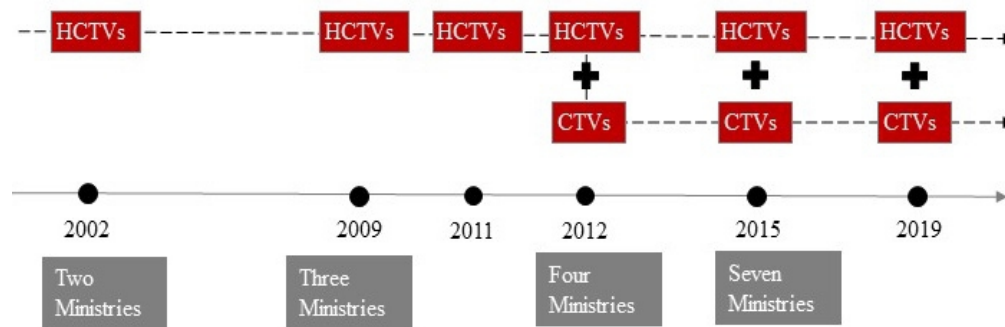


Figure 9: Evolution of the double-track preservation system

Source: author's elaboration.

In this period, the co-existence of general Chinese heritage features to be preserved and local feature have been framed. Those heritage officially recognized by the authorizations and to some extent supported with beneficial policies can be divided into different categories established at national level as it has been shown in the Figure 10.

⁶⁶ The five batches of CTVs were published in 2012, 2013, 2014, 2016 and 2019 accordingly. The data comes from the official website of the Ministry of Housing Construction and the Ministry of Urban and Rural Development. Source: www.mohurd.gov.cn.

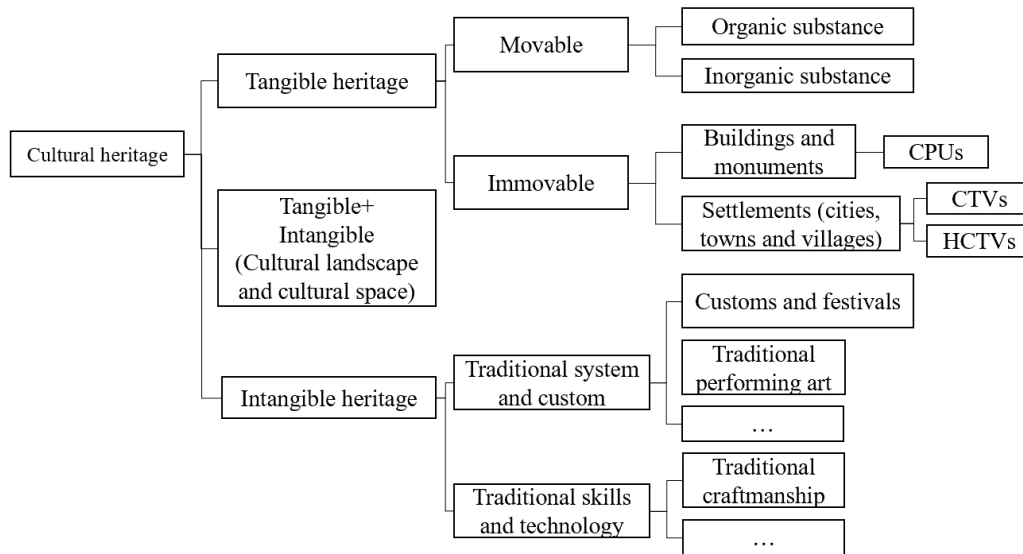


Figure 10: Categories of general Chinese heritage features protected at national level.

Source: Sun, 2020.

Considering the immovable heritage, the singular buildings and monuments are the main corpus of CPUs since 1950s. While for the settlements recognized as having heritage value, including cities, towns and villages, are designated onto CTVs and HCTVs.

In addition, at provincial and municipal level, in order to cover as many as possible villages of historic and cultural value, a variety of lists have been approved by provincial government accordingly. For instance, by the end of 2020, in Tongren, Guizhou province, there are 99 CTVs and 35 VEMCs at national level. At provincial level, there are 59 villages designated onto provincial VEMCs (including the 35 national-level VEMCs).⁶⁷

2.5.2 Researches: towards a multidisciplinary approach

After the 2000s, studies on rural heritage preservation move towards a multidisciplinary approach. Prestigious publishing houses in architecture worked on the dissemination of ambitious book series on vernacular architectures and villages (Luo 2008; Li 2005; Lin 2009).

Departing from previous large-scale investigations based on geographical boundaries, research in this period tended to focus on specific local varieties, dedicated to individual cultural and geographical contexts (Cai 2007; Yang 2003; Yang 2004 Mao 2003) and nuances among communities within certain graphical and

⁶⁷The total number of provincial VEMCs in Guizhou province is 500 villages. Source: http://www.yanhe.gov.cn/jgsz/zfbm/mzzjswj/zcwj_5675474/202101/t20210105_66040519.html

cultural units. Thus, place-based historical and geographical investigations were largely carried out to produce specific descriptions and recordings of rural life, paying particular attention to the humanist and anthropological aspects. For instance, a milestone work of Zhou (2016) examines ancient Miao songs and local chronicles for clues to help him explore the historical hints regarding the building construction and spatial evolution of mountain settlements in the Leigong Mountain area, Guizhou Province.

2.5.3 The rise and fall of the eco-museum and the search for sustainable development

During this period, based on the progressive paths and lessons developed over previous decades, a variety of experimental practices appeared. On the one side, facing the pressure of economic development, commodification has become a common choice for local governments, especially in economically underdeveloped areas. The decline of eco-museums seems to be undeniable. On the other hand, attempts to develop new methodologies emerged from preservation practices.

Decline of the eco-museum

In 2003, the provincial government decided to build a highway 1 km away from the original settlement of Soga, and build a *xin yi zhai* (literally meaning, “*new village no. 1*”) by imitating traditional Miao stone-structure houses (Figure 11). Forty individual dwellings with the same features were spread out neatly along the road in three rows to resettle the villagers of the original settlement who lived in rammed earth houses. This intervention was also intended to show to the outside world the image of the improved life of the Miao people (Wu & Huang 2018).



Figure 11: The “*xin yi zhai*” (new village No. 1)
Source: Wu & Huang (2018)



Figure 12: The “*xin er zhai*” (new village No. 2).
Source: Wu & Huang (2018)

In 2008, in order to promote local tourism, the local government renovated the original settlement and changed the flat roofs to tile roofs. In 2013, the provincial government once again worked on “improving people's livelihood”; thus, a new village for the last 40 villagers to move out from the old rammed-earth houses was erected. This second new village is called “*xin er zhai*” (literally meaning, “*new village no. 2*”) (Figure 12).

New dwellings in *xin er zhai* are all two-story brick-concrete structures. In the same year, Guizhou Province initiated a wave of cultural and ecological tourism promotion and rural landscape improvement. The local government worked on the façades of dwellings with earth-colored paint and applied shredded aluminum alloy

sheets on the sloped roofs to reproduce the appearance of the earthen walls and thatched roofs (Figure 13). However, eco-museum projects often struggled due to limited funding and many villages like Soga were alienated by the commodification approach. Since the Chinese-Norwegian cooperation expired by 2005, the expansion of the eco-museum approach was suspended (Yi 2011). Many of the eco-museums have since been integrated into overall local tourism developments (Wu & Huang 2018).



Figure 13: Today's Soga after the renovation interventions. Source: Wu & Huang 2018.

Tourism development and new management approaches

Despite its strongly commodified built environment, Xidi was listed among the first batch of HCTVs in 2003 and the first batch of CTVs in 2012.

Dealing with the fuzzy managerial issue, in 2013 the Xidi Township government proposed that Huihuang Tourism Group (HTG), a state-owned enterprise belonging to the county (who had positive experiences in the management of the other WHL village, Hongcun), withdrew the operational rights of Xidi from Xidi Tourism Service Company and bought and nationalized the operational rights on a premise that guaranteed villagers' existing dividend income would not be damaged. The villagers voted for HTG to obtain the management rights of Xidi's tourist scenic spot. HTG was mainly responsible for tourism development, while the village and town were responsible for the maintenance and improvement of the scenic environment.

In Upper Langde, tourism development has greatly improved the built environment of local community (Figure 14). A study shows the improvement in terms of livelihood since the commodification of Langde, the villagers' annual income increased from 2000 yuan to around 30,000 yuan. Moreover, a systematic “work-point system” (gongfen) has been formed to encourage villagers' participation in tourist activities⁶⁸. As with the case of Xidi, Upper Langde was listed among the first batch of HCTVs in 2003 and the first batch of CTVs in 2012 in order to enhance its reputation and tourism development.



Figure 14: Upper Langde.
Source: Liu (2019)

Moreover, the two previously mentioned demolished and relocated villages, Qiankou and Ding, were both listed the first batches of HCTVs and CTVs in 2003 and 2012, respectively.

In search of sustainable development

Despite numerous historic villages being developed towards commodification, some practices in this phase appeared to be improvements compared to the previous decades, thanks to international collaborations and the updated demands of the new-era development. For instance, a marginal town in the province of Yunnan made a strong contribution to sustainable rural development based on built-heritage preservation, as the Shaxi project, and especially the recovery and renovation projects

⁶⁸ The “work point system” was invented in Upper Langde after it totally embraced tourism. The system is based on different tourism activities that the villagers take part in, assigning points to them. Participation in the activities is not mandatory. The activities include dancing and singing, making Miao performances, wearing traditional clothes, etc. The points will be converted into village income according to equations defined by the collective.

at Sideng Village, has been hotly debated by national and international academia (Che & Wang 2010; Meier 2005).

Sideng Village in the town of Shaxi, Jianchuan County in the Dali Bai Ethnic Autonomous County of Yunnan Province has been defined as an important case by adopting a recovery plan led by a collaboration of Chinese and Swiss planners and architects. The planners and architects realized that singular restoration and tourism development were not sufficient to preserve the site (Feiner, Mi & Willy 2002). Therefore, an overall strategy of sustainable rural development was defined, comprising three objectives: to tap the potential of the Shaxi Valley by environmental and cultural preservation; to restore the Sideng village and other historic assets; to establish the Shaxi project as a model for other towns and villages in the marginalized Himalaya area.

To realize these objectives, some novelties were introduced to Shaxi: a comprehensive zoning of the whole area of the town divided the core area for preservation and for development; a plan was devised for the infrastructure including the sanitation and water treatment systems; a tourism plan was worked out to better connect the basic infrastructure and scenic tourist spot; a Preservation and Development Plan was worked out for the historic areas of Sideng Village. In the end, an investment program was devised for a phase-to-phase funding increase and a program for other investment opportunities (Feiner, Mi & Willy 2002: 84).

The advantages derived from this project are the result of close collaboration between the planners, architectural heritage practitioners, local communities, and authorities. The county government demonstrated its capacity in coordinating the project and in establishing in-time management measures for the overall control and development of the historic area. "*Measures for the Preservation and Management of Famous Historical and Cultural Town*" was approved by the county in 2002⁶⁹. Moreover, for those households who could not afford the repair and renovation, the planners and householders could reach an agreement regarding which project team would pay for the repair in order to acquire the right of use for 15 years, ensuring timely restoration and a rational use of the dwelling in future (Che & Wang 2010).

⁶⁹ The measures were a legal binding tool defining the management of dwellings. The approval of erecting new houses should be strictly controlled by the requirements of Bai ethnics' dwelling style. According to the value of the protected objects or areas, different levels of protection were proposed. Moreover, it was stipulated that the architectural form, volume, colour and so on in the first-level protection area should be maintained and those conforming with the plan should be renovated or demolished. The architectural style of the second- and third-level protections should be coordinated with the scenery of the ancient town.

It is worth mentioning that the planning of Sideng village focused on a continuous design, phase-to-phase long-term implementation strategy rather than immediate benefits (Meier 2005). The project was planned and implemented in three phases⁷⁰. The first phase was to divide the project into two parts – the pilot and the key restoration project – to obtain a processual result. After the completion of the first phase, the project was discussed and analyzed, giving impetus and reference for the design and implementation of the second and third phases to enable sustainable development of the project. In the planning and implementation of the project, the government actively cooperated in order to formulate the relevant measures, establishing beneficial policies to enhance plan's implementation. The first phase of the Shaxi revival project was awarded the Asia Pacific Cultural Heritage Protection Award by UNESCO (Renfer 2015)⁷¹.

For the implementation, specifically, a local specialized team led by masters in restoration and woodcraft played an important role, but maintenance of the technical level and a lack of professional knowledge were urgent issues. Therefore, in order to ensure a restoration of quality, Sideng Village hired a professional technician to help realize the architect's ideas and communicate with the local masters.

Moreover, protection practices were not reliant on the guidance of experts alone but also required active participation of the public. Symposiums, both formal and informal, were held to collect the villagers' opinions. Some subsidies for renovation of dilapidated housing were provided to poor households to ensure timely protection of the dwellings (Che & Wang 2010).

Multiple sources of funding are another characteristic of the project. Social donations from both domestic and international organizations, and the support of the state, province, and county governments, reached more than 4 million yuan⁷². The funds were mainly used for the purchase of housing property rights and construction of infrastructure, etc. In addition, the Swiss partners obtained funds worth 7.53 million yuan through international channels⁷³, which covered the expenses of the Swiss workers and collaborators, and the restoration of historic buildings. In 2007,

⁷⁰ The government funds the purchase of houses in the core protection area, controlling the use of the houses and avoiding excessive commercialization. Moreover, the government coordinated the restoration of the traditional buildings in the core area and improvements to the infrastructure.

⁷¹ Source: <http://www.tcvb2014.com/index.php?s=/news/s/detail/id/83.html>

⁷² Includes 1 million yuan of government subsidy, 1 million yuan of industrial and commercial bank loans, and 2 million yuan of county government money borrowed from the special fund for agriculture.

⁷³ Includes the Swiss development and cooperation agency, the American Express company, the Swiss-Chinese Cultural Heritage Protection Association, the Swiss Federal Institute of Technology, Space and Landscape Planning, etc.

Shaxi Township was designated a HCTV. Thanks to the preservation and sustainable development projects conducted in Sideng Village, it was designated a CTV in 2012.

In the double-track phase, specific legislation and selection criteria emerged for the villages subject to preservation. Various studies focusing on the social-anthropological dimension of the villages built up debates related to local communities and their relationships with heritage preservation. Preservation and rehabilitation projects like the Shaxi project witnessed a period of improvement in rural built-heritage practices characterized by coordinated plan implementation, thanks to multi-stakeholder involvement. At the same time, in Xidi, higher-level authorities intervened in the tourism management. However, villages designated CTVs represent a drop in the ocean, as scholars argued that designated villages are only about 5 percent of the total number of villages that ought to be preserved (Feng 2006) (Figure 15).

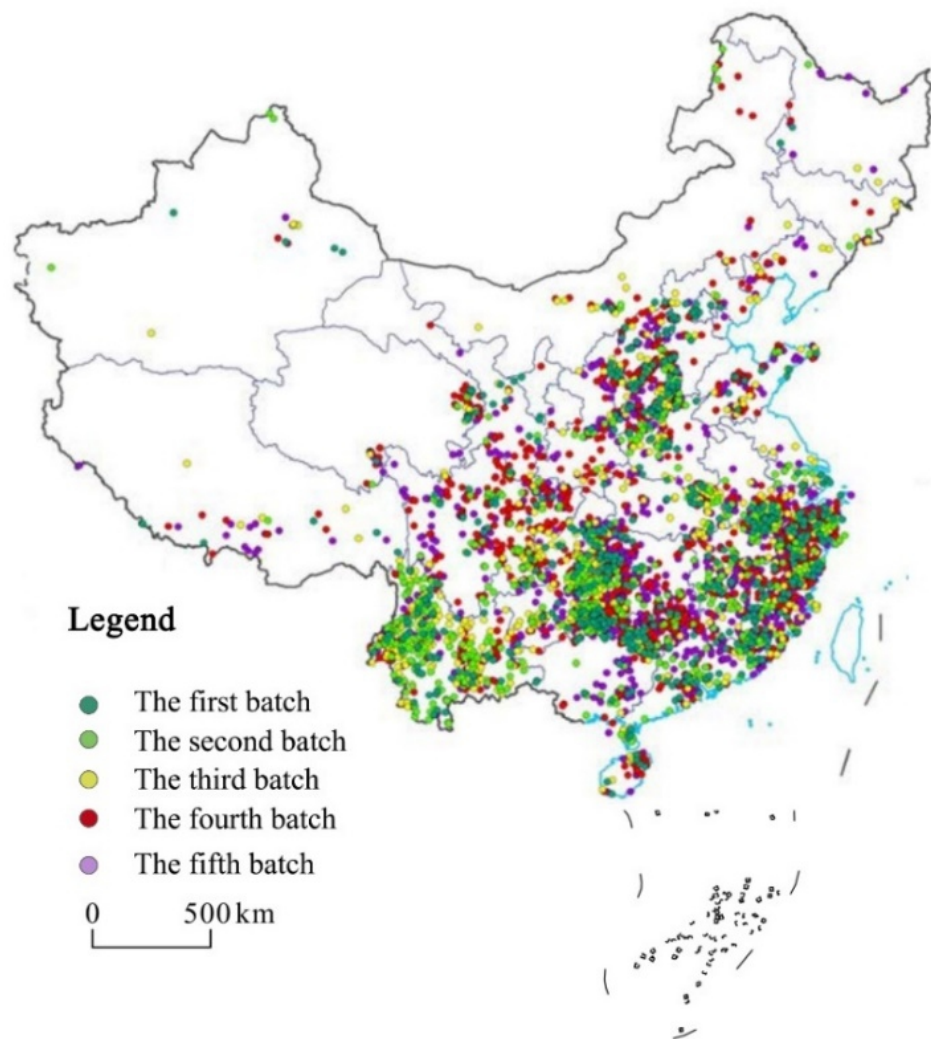
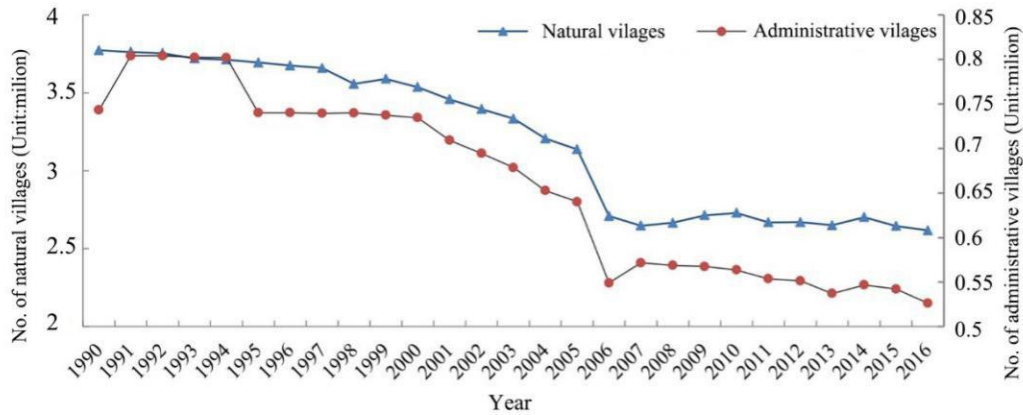


Figure 15: Distribution of CTVs in China based on different batches.

Source: Li, Wang & Li (2020).

Due to the rapid urbanization and rural decay, the number of administrative villages decreased from 743,000 in 1990 to 526,000 in 2016. The number of natural villages decreased from 3.773 million in 1990 to 2.617 million in 2016, a total of 1.156 million in 26 years, a reduction of 30.6% (Table 2).

Table 2: Decrease of administrative and natural villages from 1990 to 2016.



Source: Jueraiti et al 2021.

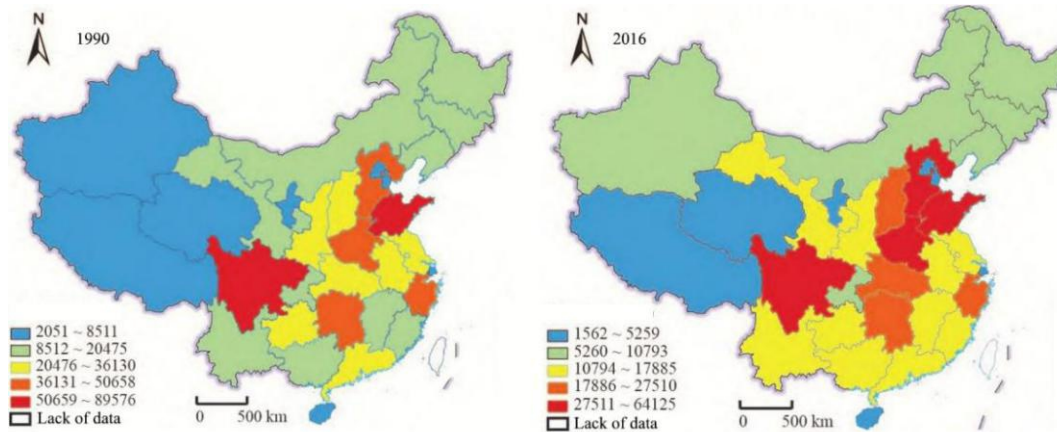


Figure 16: A study on rural geography shows the spatial distribution of villages in China in 1990 and 2016, a period of rapid expansion of urbanization occurred in China.

Source: Jueraiti et al, 2021.

Figure 16 shows there have been a significant decrease in the number of villages. In Guizhou province, more than 10,000 villages disappeared during 1990-2016. The decrease of rural villages is associated with the depopulation of rural areas. Recently, according to the seventh national census concluded in 2021, the rural population in China is 509.79 million, accounting for 36.11% of the total population. The population living in cities and towns is 901.99 million, accounting for 63.89%. Compared with 2010, the urban population increased by 236.42 million, the rural population decreased by 164.36 million (National Bureau of Statistics, 2021). Apart from natural rural decay, the situation of historic villages is paradoxical as heritage

preservation was conceived as an instrument in response to the emerging need for rural revitalization and poverty alleviation. Preservation of rural built-heritage went far beyond simple protection and became interwoven with spatial policies characterized by dynamic social development goals. This will be the focus of the next chapter.

2.6 Critiques and conclusions

This chapter systematically analyzed the transformation of rural built-heritage preservation in China, giving attention to evolving concepts related to historic villages, policies and measures, milestone studies and practices (Figure 17). Some recurrent issues have gradually appeared during the analysis.

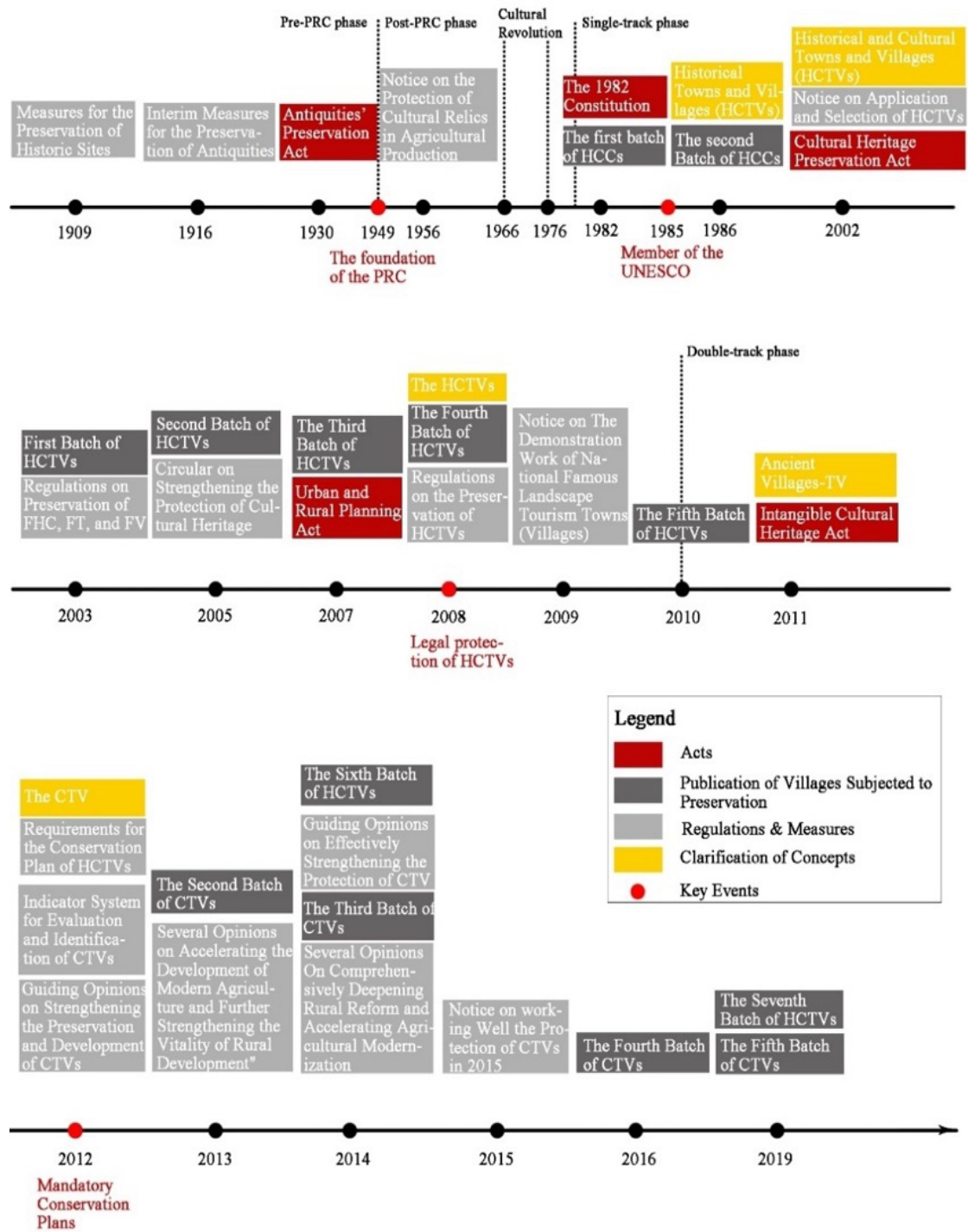


Figure 17: Evolution of Rural Built-Heritage Preservation in China. Source: Author’s illustration

2.6.1 From the perspective of legislative evolution

In China, preservation policies for rural built-heritage have evolved from genuine cultural-heritage preservation, which was characterized by single building preservation. Thus, the preservation system of CPUs was established. In the 1980s,

thanks to the Reform and Opening, the necessity of preserving the built environment became evident. In 1985, China became a member of the UNESCO convention and this accelerated the efforts to develop special laws and regulations for rural built-heritage preservation. Thus, the single-track preservation policy of HCTVs was established and became the main corpus guiding rural preservation activities in the 1990s. Envisaging the rapid urbanization and the modernization of the countryside, the necessity to further conserve historic villages emerged by the end of the 1990s. Xidi's addition to the list of UNESCO World Heritage Sites further stimulated policy formulation at national level. In 2003, HCTVs officially became legally protected by the new Heritage Act. In total, seven batches of HCTVs have been officially approved for specific preservation. Moreover, the double-track preservation policies have been established as the recommendation and labelling mechanism of CTVs since 2012. Until 2019, a total of five batches of CTVs had been listed for specific preservation and development.

2.6.2 From the perspective of conceptional evolution

The key concepts of rural built-heritage preservation went through different phases: “*old building groups*,” “*vernacular architecture*,” “*Historical and Cultural Towns and Villages*” (HCTVs) in the 1980s and today's *Chinese Traditional Villages* (CTVs). Therefore, a gradual, progressive conceptional evolution could be explored, which was characterized by the shift from single-building protection to area preservation, and further included the intangible value of the built environment. However, the definitions of HCTVs and CTVs have created epistemological barriers because i.) the double-track system includes only part of the villages that ought to be preserved due to difficulties in the survey and securing financial support; and ii.) the general public would only consider the listed villages as villages for preservation, which could potentially lead to further damage to valuable villages that are not listed. Therefore, a large number of studies nowadays prefer to return to use terms like “ancient villages”, “traditional settlements”, and “traditional villages” instead of HCTVs or CTVs in research and in practice. As a result, when the candidature for the World Heritage Site was being planned, the commissions used the wording “ancient village” for the “Ancient Villages in South Anhui-Xidi and Hongcun (ref. 1002)” and “Kaiping Diaolou and villages (ref. 1112).” The situation of using the terms unclearly often caused confusion for stakeholders, and further negatively influenced policy implementations.

2.6.3 From the perspective of the relationship between preservation and development

Concerning the “listed” villages and the related preservation practices, a paradoxical phenomenon can be observed. Listed HCTVs and CTVs included the early demolished and relocated Qiankou dwellings, the Ding village, and Xidi and Upper Langde, two villages strongly characterized by the commodification (Figure 18). One would ask why? What are the criteria that the local governments, especially the county government, consider for the recommendation of the villages?

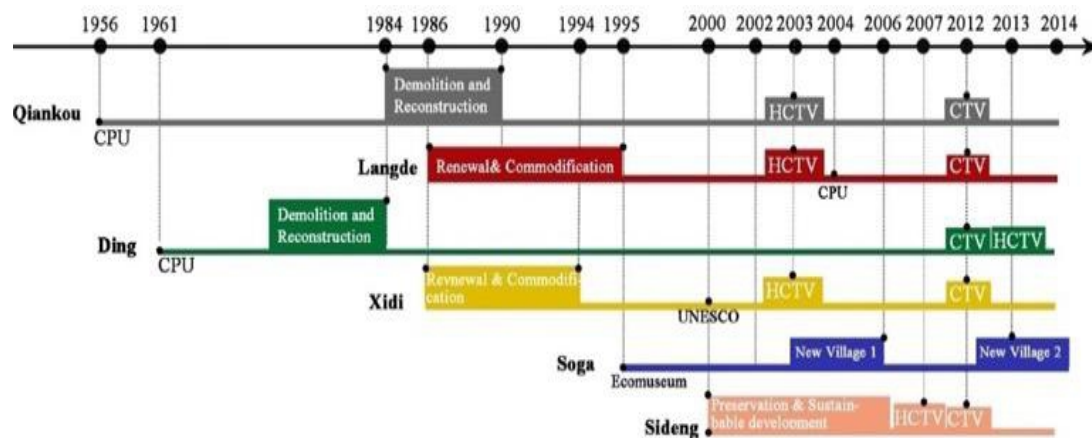


Figure 18: Different approaches and the overlapped labelling of early preserved villages
Source: Author's illustration

It is highly probable that the geographical location and mobility conditions, and economic activities were the first criteria considered at county level for local development instead of the historic feature of the villages. This idea of “using” heritage for development is an idea that we can find in early preservation practices. For instance, in the Qiankou dwellings in the 1950s, the site was modified due to the county's concerns regarding accessibility and future tourism. The designation of Upper Langde Miao Village in the 1980s is another example that illustrates the government's concern with conditions for development rather than conservation status. Moreover, these early “models” strongly influenced other practices within and beyond the region. As a negative consequence, many villages that ought to be preserved have not been listed due to their lack of development opportunities.

2.6.4 From the perspective of increased interests and stakeholders

Alongside the changing circumstances and gradually transformed consciousness regarding rural built-heritage preservation, the actors responsible for preservation

changed from the institution-centered entities to the inclusion of different social actors, including governments, private and state-owned enterprises, and ordinary villagers. In this process, a pattern of stakeholders and coalitions can be found among past experiences. In the earliest cases, like Xidi and Upper Langde, the coalition of enterprise and local government was the crucial aspect that determined the preservation and development of the villages. Expert groups played an important role as they explored the values and provided guidelines and visions, and on many occasions, they acted as the agency speaking for the authorities. Community participation has rarely been involved; therefore, resistance to any authorized heritage discourse has been challenging.

Table 3: A summarize on the legislation, research, and practices on rural built heritage in China. Source: author's elaboration.

Period	Legislation			Research	Practice
Beginning of 20th century	Year	Act & regulations	Significance	Investigations on traditional buildings and the identification of periodization were carried out by the SRCA; several reports and scientific architectural survey drawings were elaborated and conserved.	-
	1909	Measures for the Promotion of Preserving Historic Sites	The first legalization process of cultural relics' protection and national census initiated. Focused on singular monumental buildings and places		
	1916	Interim Measures for the Preservation of Antiquities	Some provinces started the local legislation and proposed the protection of famous scenic spots and monuments		
	1930	Antiquities' Conservation Law and the Implementation Rules; and special regulations in Guizhou			
1950s-1970s	1956	Notice on the Protection of Cultural Relics in Agricultural Production and Construction	"Cultural protection unit" system was established. The object for preservation in rural area remains largely singular buildings, isolated from the historic environment.	Researches focused on the survey and application of the Protection units.	Spontaneous repairing and restoration.
1980s-1990s	1982	Cultural heritage preservation as an article in the Constitution	Legal means for cultural heritage preservation	Started the systematic studies about vernacular architecture and rural settlements. Monographs on vernacular architecture taking provinces as geographical units. E.s., Anhui Dwellings, Zhejiang Dwellings. Academic conferences. Local explorations of Guizhou focusing on ethnic characters.	Vernacular buildings were inscribed into the protection unit, e.s., Xidi and Ding village. Investigations in Guizhou. Xidi later became an important part of the world heritage site inscribed in 2000.
	1982	First batch of national historical and cultural cities (HCC)	Stimulating the conservation plan into the urban statutory planning. The executive body became the construction and planning department.		
	1985	China became a member of UNESCO	Provided opportunities for the protection of domestic cultural heritage in accordance with the international experiences.		
	1986		Historical and Cultural Villages and Towns (HCVT), which was widely used in 1990s.		
1990s-2000s		The Fourth batch of national CPU	"Ancient village" became an individual category in the fourth batch of the national CPU.	Flourishing researches on vernacular buildings and traditional villages, taking experiences from other disciplines.	The projects developed into tourism villages.
2000s-today	2002	The new "Heritage law"	Requires the conservation for villages	Grand publishing houses published book series on vernacular architectures and villages. Project-based researches were largely conducted by universities. The attentions shifted to place-based specific case studies not only the large-scale analysis. The multidisciplinary approaches were often adopted.	Sideng, Shaxi renovation project -2001 to 2010.
	2003	The first batch of "Famous Historical and Cultural Towns and Villages (HCTVs)"	Initiation for the individualization of historic towns and villages in China, conducting the recommendation mechanism.		
	2008	Regulations on the protection of famous traditional villages and towns	The first mechanism for the village conservation and development, which includes four phases: survey and application, planning, financial support and implementation of the plan.		
	2012	"ancient village"- traditional village"			

2.7 Conclusion

This chapter attempts to look at the evolution of rural built heritage preservation in China, specifically by systemizing the process into five phases. First, a period of pre- PRC when the vernacular building conservation was led by the Chinese pioneer scholars and architects of the first generation. Second, a period of Post PRC period in which the first site-centered preservation legislated was established, affecting several preservation activities of vernacular buildings which were seen as having cultural and historical value. However, such initiation was suspended in the period of the Cultural Revolution. Third, in the 1980s, an era of rural built heritage development was initiated thanks to the establishment of the HCCs and HCTVs, which include villages and towns base on a set of predefined criteria. At the local level, Guizhou province actively explored how to localize the national mainstream policy to adapt to the local cultural and economic conditions. The idea of seeing the ethnicity of different minority groups as a cultural display to catalyze local development was clear. Fourth, in the early 1990s, the introduction of ecomuseum in the marginal area demonstrated such an attempt. Different milestone preservation practices showed a highly unified understanding of the rural heritage: preservation while improving the infrastructure and tourism facilities for future development. It is the phase when the so-called single-track system is formed. The fifth period emerged in the 2000s as the rural built heritage preservation started to boom. The double-track preservation of two separate recommendation and labeling systems was formed. Until 2020, a total of 7306 villages have been designated as HCTVs and CTVs according to a set of systematic predefined criteria. The research in this field went towards a multidisciplinary approach while the practices had varied performances including those in search of sustainable development and another trend of stimulating the commodification. It should also be aware that, the establishment of different lists and the designation of villages imply the exclusion of many other valuable villages and historic environments.

It can be observed that, as the legislation on rural built heritage preservation became relatively matured, the relationship between preservation and development has been the core of the debate. Tensions among stakeholders became complex and varying during the dynamic transformations of villages.

Chapter 3 Beyond the Heritage Preservation: policies and plans for advocating a sustainable approach of rural revitalization

In the Chinese rural context, the heritage narratives have been re-conceptualized to fulfill the needs that cannot be straightforwardly identified as heritage (Lincoln & Madgin 2018; Pola 2019). Yet abundant rural policies and practices regarding poverty reduction, environmental improvement, and cultural heritage preservation launched in the past have been evidence of such a phenomenon (Schriver 2017). This path has also been recognized as “*a conceptual tool for the promotion of a more inclusive range of traditional settlements within a broader strategy of rural development* (‘revitalisation’—*xiāngcūn zhènxīng*)” (Pola 2019, p. 70). A systematic review of how rural built-heritage has been incorporated into rural revitalization policies and practices in China is urgently required because a vigorously growing corpus has served both space-making and heritage-making practices in recent decades.

The urban-rural dichotomy is a historic issue in modern China (Coulter & Ivory 1982). As a response to shifts from productivism to post-productivism development paradigm after the foundation of the New China (see section 3.1), several projects were conducted with primary focus on improvement of rural living conditions (Oakes 2013). The environmental and aesthetic aspects of the villages have been highlighted to an unprecedented degree. The previous spontaneous development was transformed into an era of planned development in accordance with physical spatial and social-economic aims under the name of rural revitalization (see sections 3.2-3.4). The Urban Planning Law launched in 1990 (State Council 1990) accelerated the market-led planning approach in urban areas: in some cases, in name of the cultural preservation; in others, for the sake of improving the living environment so as to achieve poverty alleviation (Mengoni & Svensson 2017; Oakes 2016). Without previous experience of planning in rural areas, drastic transformations occurred in the countryside. Therefore, in order to control village development rationally, preparing master plans for townships and villages became a mandatory requirement in the new Law of the People's Republic of China on Urban and Rural Planning (State Council, 2008a), in which autonomous management of the village unit was proposed. Apart from close attention paid to economic development issues, the cultural and historical value of the countryside was considered in many village-transformation projects, even

if the latter values were sometimes subservient in practice to the first (Shepherd & Yu 2012). During the construction of the New Socialist Countryside, projects like village rectification (State Council 2008b)⁷⁴ represent an example exclusively dedicated to environmental improvement in order to build a new image for Chinese rural areas today.

For geographically remote and economically underdeveloped regions, and especially the ethnic areas, the political mainstream was strictly concerned with the social and political stability, construction of cultural identity and poverty alleviation. The policy for Villages with Ethnic Minority Characteristics (VEMC) is an evidence of this strategy (see section 3.5) trying to capture ethnic cultural resources and stimulating ethnic tourism in those villages with high populations of ethnic minorities. Until 2019, 370 villages were identified as VEMC and supported with national funding to conduct so-called “preservation” and revalorization projects.

Therefore, the multiplicity of the aims of heritage preservation has been strongly characterized by Chinese governmental discourses. As Bray (2016) has insightfully stated, there are two simultaneous discourses in the present village transformations in China. The first discourse is that the profit-making nature of the Chinese urban-planning tradition has been rigidly transplanted into rural areas. The second is that this is an attempt to solve long-standing social and economic problems on a short-term basis by adopting planning tools (Bray 2016) and spatial transformations. Despite the increased awareness of the rural built-environment recognizing the need to preserve the village and rural society as a dynamic and organic complex, so-called preservation, when addressed via socio-economic objectives and socialist ideology, did bring irreversible results.

The previous chapter analyzed the revolution of rural built-heritage preservation over past decades, which has been considered a key process in the construction of heritage narratives in the rural context of contemporary China, and a pivotal part of rural sustainable development (Pola 2019). The terms “protection” and “usage” have been identified as two crucial themes appearing in parallel in this debate (Gao & Wu 2017) that represent sometimes contingent and sometimes convergent approaches within the discourse of rural revitalization.

3.1 Historic perspectives: productionist villages in the socialist planned economy (1950s-1978)

Concerns about improving the living conditions for rural communities started off at the beginning of the Republican era in the 1930s (Zhang 2018). Facing to the conflicts and rural decay, the Chinese scholars initiated discussions about how to

⁷⁴ In Chinese 村庄整治. Regarding the Village Rectification Projects, the Ministry of Housing and Urban-Rural Development issued the “Village Rectification Technical Specifications” (GB50445-2008) on August 1, 2008, which has played a guiding role in the renovation of existing villages across the country.

construct the countryside from both socio-cultural and political perspectives. Liang Shuming, one of the representative scholars in sociology who had trained in Western countries, believed that the decay of Chinese rural society was caused by the drastic social changes at the end of nineteenth and the beginning of the twentieth century. According to Liang, after the Revolution of 1911, the Chinese political regime tried to simply imitate the social management model of the West. However, this idea of taking experiences from Western political and organizational philosophies could hardly be deliverable in a country ruled for thousands of years by feudalist regimes. According to Liang, an example is that despite the chaotic time of warfare between warlords, the central government did not stop extending their dominance in rural society in order that they could maintain the taxation and the political control over rural society. Their ability to exploit the countryside was significantly enhanced. Such a situation was not changed until the foundation of the New China.

This first stage refers to the period from 1949 to the eve of the Reform and Opening projects in 1978. In 1949, the new communist government abolished all previous plans and started a new era of socio-economic development to realize industrialization across China based on the experiences of the planned economy in the Soviet Union. Indeed, the state had designed five-year social-economic programs comprising socio-economic goals and addressing spatial plans (Figure 19).



Figure 19: The coverage of the illustrated book about the first five-year program (1955).
Source: the author of the illustration is missing. The book was published by Shanghai People's Publishing House.

Therefore, the state established a set of policies to extract agricultural surplus for industrialization and capital accumulation, which discriminated against rural areas and agricultural development in favor of urban areas (Yang & Cai 2000). The state had abolished private land-ownership by transferring it to collective ownership in order to facilitate resource allocation and to support the development of urban communities. At the same time, the coalition of institutions launched the Unified Procurement and Sale of Agricultural Commodities framework, thus the People's Communes started to

control the purchase and sale of agricultural products, and the distribution of food and other commodities. Since this framework brought down the cost for basic items in urban areas, the central government created the “Household Registration System” (State Council 1958)⁷⁵ intended to tightly control the movements of the rural population. That said, an urban-rural divide was intentionally maintained as an industrial development strategy, which became an important stimulus for the rural decay and high-speed urbanization in following decades.

The pre-reform period was not only marked by tight political control and discrimination against the agricultural sector, it left a strong imprint on cultural-educational aspects as well. After the foundation of New China, revolutionary movements such as the Grand Leap Forward were practiced largely in rural China in name of the construction of the Socialist Countryside. In order to “re-educate” the “urban youth”, thousands of young people with certain educational degrees were requested to engage in agricultural work and educational activities for peasants.

Due to the increasing cultural and economic gap between the urban and rural worlds, traditional societies characterized by clan groups were disintegrated and dissolved, before being integrated into an urban context. During this phase, rural social space was characterized by a structurally enclosed and hierarchical administrative community system (Wang 2012, 2017).

In the 1970s, the household contract responsibility system in agricultural production substituted the People's Commune system, which represented a step forward towards agricultural modernization. The consequential benefits of this change included the transformation of the previous land management system and liberation of rural productivity by designating small family units for the agricultural activity and accounting; this in turn stimulated the enthusiasm of farmers.

Together with these relaxed political circumstances, the Reform and Opening movement in the late 1970s triggered an era of market development which led to unprecedented urbanization and construction, an initiation of the new era defined as “Urbanization with Chinese Characteristics” (Chan 2018). Furthermore, the decentralization to local-level governments⁷⁶ in the mid-1980s empowered the growth of cities, thereby accelerating the spatial inequality between the urban and rural contexts. The consequent waves of immigration at the beginning of the 1990s

⁷⁵ On 9 January 1958, the *Regulations of the People's Republic of China on Registration of Household* became effective. All individuals were generally divided into two categories: agricultural “residential permit (nong ye hukou)” and “non-agricultural residential permit (feinong hukou).” On 30 July 2014, the State Council announced the “*Opinions on Further Promoting the Reform of the Household Registration System*”, announcing the cessation of the division of agricultural and non-agricultural household registration (State Council, 2014).

⁷⁶ After the reform and opening movement, Deng Xiaoping continued to promote the reform of decentralization in order to promote economic development and mobilize the enthusiasm of local government. In this process, the decentralization of financial power and personnel appointment and removal power plays a decisive role. The spirit of the reform was to give provinces greater autonomy in fiscal revenue and expenditure. By clearly dividing the revenue and expenditure authority between central and local governments, the contract system has led local governments to become units with clear interests and an awareness of being the subjects of a fiscal and financial entity.

testified to such a process (Zhang 2018; Safford 2013). During the early 1990s, the market economy was gradually established. Central government started to empower agricultural production and management autonomy. Previously, farmers had started to penetrate different social groups such as migrant workers, individual industries, commercial households, and private enterprises (Zhang 2018). The following waves of hyper-urbanization and their consequent impact testified to the entrepreneurial nature of central government. Moreover, new domestic socio-economic emergencies were addressed by rural and urban planning under state socialism (Xie & Costa 1993) and the decentralization of power reinforced initiatives in planning practices at municipal and county levels (Zhou et al. 2014).

3.2 From city planning to urban and rural planning coordination (1990s-2000s)

Due to long-term urban-centered development, problems with resources and funds, “hollow village” issues characterized by the weakening of rural development, and environmental issues became increasingly prominent (Wen, Zheng & Shi 2019). In response to the transformation of villages from productivism to post-productivism in the 1980s and 1990s and the identification of environmental problems in the Chinese countryside (Shen & Shen 2019), several programs and projects have been widely carried out with primary focus on improvement of environmental and living conditions.

In 1990, the Urban Planning Law (State Council, 1990) legitimated the municipal governments to carry out land-development projects and set up a set of principles and guidelines that addressed urbanization (Kan 2019). After having highlighted the relevance of environment protection and green-city construction, in Article 14 of the Urban Planning Law (1990), the necessity to preserve historic and cultural heritage, traditional cityscape, and local characteristics was stressed. It was the first time that the historical built environment had entered the official vision through legislation.

In 2004, China's GDP reached 13 trillion yuan, the proportion of secondary and tertiary industries to GDP reached more than 85 percent, and fiscal revenue reached 2.6 trillion yuan (State Council 2004). The state saw such economic achievements as fundamental industrial and economic conditions for supporting agriculture sectors. Therefore, then-Premier Wen Jiabao proposed at the Central Economic Work Conference in December 2004 that “we should adjust the distribution pattern of national income reasonably, and implement the policy for cities to support rural areas”. (State Council 2004) In 2005, the Fifth Plenary Session of the Sixteenth National Congress of the Communist Party passed the proposal for the “Eleventh Five-Year Plan” and put forward a suggestion to build a New Socialist Countryside (abbreviated as NSC, State Council 2006). In 2006, the agricultural tax was completely abolished and farmers’ lives improved (Wang & Shen 2014). The

campaign for the New Socialist Countryside was initiated with the aim to realize civilized village life. The well-structured hierarchical decision-making and implementation approach involved governments at each level: the provincial or city governments oversaw the definition of operative guidelines; the county and municipality levels were in charge of the plan implementation; and the township and village cadres should decide the eligible project for funding with appropriate management measures (Lincoln & Madgin 2018).

Influenced by the mainstream of constructing the NSC, the urban planning paradigm has been shifted towards the countryside with the promulgation of the new Urban and Rural Planning Act (abbreviated as URPA; State Council, 2008), which has given strong impetus to the overall spatial-development strategies and rural-development approaches in order to reduce the urban-rural dilemma and improve the living conditions of rural residents and to meet the purpose. Thus, the previous spontaneous development in the countryside was transformed into an era of orderly development in accordance with physical, spatial, economic, and socio-cultural aims defined within the rationalized planning realm.

3.3 Invoking the master plan for villages

3.3.1 National mainstreams

Attempts to upgrade the countryside were stimulated by the pioneer experiences faced in the provinces with an abundance of historic villages and challenges in improving the built environment. For example, in mid-2003, Zhejiang Province launched a pilot renovation program in rural area called “*One Thousand Model Villages, Ten Thousands Renovated Villages*” (*qiancun shifan, wancun zhengzhi*, 千村示范, 万村整治). The aim was to improve the infrastructure and backward features of the rural environment defined as “*zang luan cha* (脏, 乱, 差)”. Moreover, in order to guide the formulation and help the implementation of the village plans, the province issued “*Technical Guidelines for Drafting Village Plans*” (Zhejiang Provincial Government, 2007), which means the village plan was considered a separate spatial plan category that served national social and economic development aims. The experience of Zhejiang set an exemplary case for other provinces to consider how to manage villages with planning tools. Incentives of this approach urged the need for new legislative support. Eighteen years after the approval of the first Urban Planning Law in 1990, the new *URPA (2008)* came into effect, marking that the focus of the Chinese central government had shifted to rural areas. This change was accompanied by the establishment of subsequent development strategies and planning policies.

According to the URPA, it was suggested all villages and townships should prepare village and township plans (Ministry of Housing and Construction 2008), which have been considered pivotal planning practices at local level (Figure 20).

However, formulation and approval process have been marked by a tight top-down approach. Both the township and village plans are regulated by the county government.

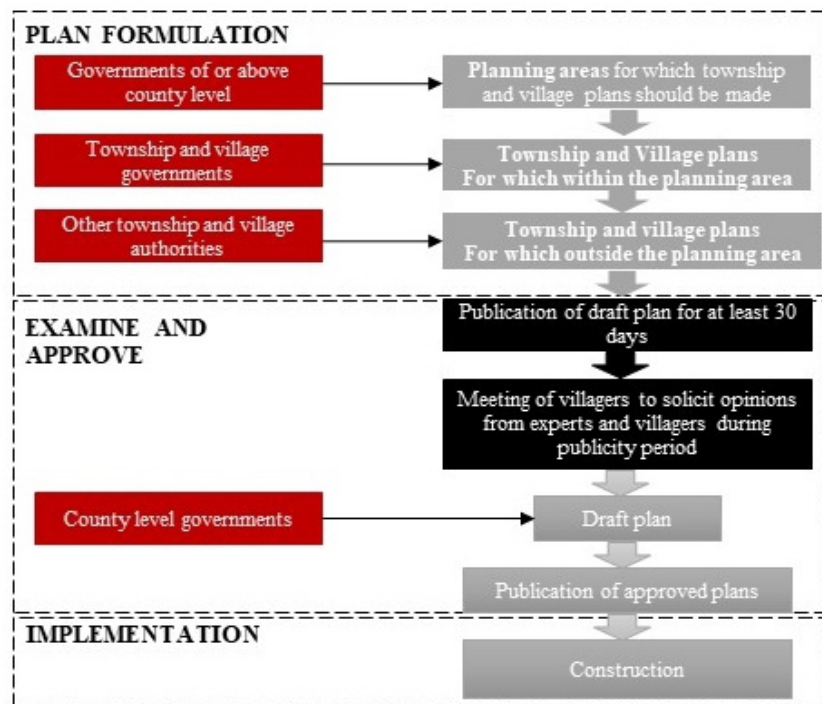


Figure 20: Formulation and Approval Process of Village Plans according to the URPA.
Source: Illustration based on figures from Chen (2013)

It was decided that township or village planning should include the following contents: “*the surface of the planning area, the layout of the land used; the construction requirements for new houses, roads, water supply system, drainage; electrical supply system; garbage collection; livestock management; service facilities for production and livelihoods in rural areas; specific arrangements for protecting farmland as well as other natural resources and historical cultural heritage and preventing and alleviating disasters*” (State Council 2008a). A village plan shall also include “*the overall arrangement for the development of the subordinate natural villages within this administrative region*” (State Council 2008a).

Moreover, it was defined in the published version of the URPA that a “*village plan shall be made based on the actual conditions of the village, showing respect to the will of the villagers and embodying the local and rural feature.*” In Article 11, it was stated that planning authority at county level is the lowest level of authority that oversees the management of planning activities within the administrative area. That is to say, the planning authority at county level should be directly responsible for the rural planning process (Chen 2013).

3.3.2 Local implementations

The requirement of making plans for villages has been fully absorbed by the local authorities, and the county level is the main interface for state-local interactions⁷⁷. Guizhou Province required all its counties to collaborate on the Overall Rural Construction Plan (ORCP) to address the rational development of the countryside through the identification of three levels – the core townships; the characteristic villages (that possess particular cultural or natural resources or industries for development); and the villages identified as “*not characteristic*” or lacking particular resources for future development. Based on this categorization, county-level planning offices were able to relocate and concentrate resources such as infrastructure construction and basic facilities. Therefore, the third level of villages should be merged with the so-called advantageous villages nearby through the demolition of old settlements and the construction of new ones. If there are no such advantageous villages nearby, they will be entirely resettled in newly constructed modern dwellings in the township’s or county’s seat (Jiangkou County Government, 2017; Songtao County Government, 2016). Such logic regarding urbanization has been widely implemented in economically disadvantaged areas. For instance, Jiangkou County in Guizhou Province clearly adopted these criteria as principles for its ORCP for the resource allocation to different towns and villages (Figure 21).

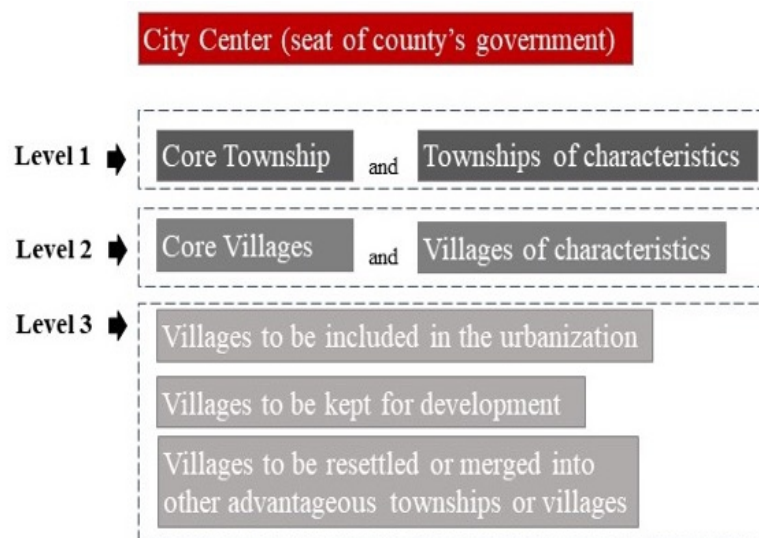


Figure 21: Levels of Townships and Villages as Categorized by the ORCP, Jiangkou (2017).
Source: author's elaboration

3.4 Towards environmentalism: the “Beautiful Villages” and the Village Rectification Plans

3.4.1 “Beautiful Villages”

In 2006, the “*Beautiful Villages*” (BV) program was introduced. The novelty of such a change was that the environmental, cultural-historic, and aesthetic value of the

⁷⁷ Source: "Notice of Guizhou Province on the Implementation Opinions on Reform, Innovation and Comprehensive and Effective Promotion of Rural Planning"(Guizhou Provincial Government, 2016)

countryside were weighted holistically when assessed in terms of improving living conditions and the development of tourism. Since then, the Ministry of Agriculture published its selection of the Most Beautiful Leisure Villages and Most Attractive Leisure Villages, which stimulated administrations at each level to become involved in rural beautification movements. “Beauty” became a new context for rural construction as the denomination changed from “beautiful village” and “most beautiful leisure village” to “most attractive leisure village”.

Initially, the BV programs were based on singular cases in different provinces and various approaches (Chen 2015; Tianjiao & Tianyi 2017), before they became institutionalized by the CCP’s congresses, which promoted the program from political and strategical perspectives within a top-down hierarchical decision-making system. Apart from a set of measures dedicated to resolving environmental issues in rural area, the heritage value of the villages in these programs was highlighted in order to shape a new beautiful countryside and rural cultural civilization (Lincoln & Madgin 2018).



Figure 22: Beautiful Villages in Anji County, Zhejiang.
Source: Li Wangming (2010).

The construction of Beautiful Villages was initially proposed by Anji County in Zhejiang Province in 2008. The policy was primarily designed for ecological development of the countryside and has been widely acknowledged as the “Anji model” owing to its fame for environmental protection and living-condition improvements (Figure 22). Anji County began to propose the concept of the “ecological county” in 1998. In 2008, the county government decided to create “China’s Beautiful Village” (CBV) as a slogan to promote the construction of the new socialist countryside in Anji. They strove to turn 187 administrative villages in the county into beautiful villages employing a set of homogenous criteria (Tianjiao & Tianyi 2017).

Based on Anji’s experience, in 2010, the Zhejiang provincial government announced that by 2015, 70% of counties within provincial administration should implement the policy with highly homogeneous paths and implementation criteria (Province of Zhejiang, 2011). At the eighteenth National Congress in 2012, the concept “Beautiful Village” was transformed into “Beautiful China”, and this shows

that this program became a national policy to be implemented nationwide. This policy shows that the central governments' concern shifted towards quality rather than speed (Liu 2013: 166, 167; Lincoln & Madgin 2018). In the same year, Anji County won the UN Habitat Award for building one of the world's greenest towns.

The exemplary practices of the BV appeared in other provinces with high level of governmental autonomy in seeking for an adaptive governance modality. In the province of Guizhou, a county located in northern Guizhou named Yuqing relied on agricultural products, the development of the environmental industry and the recycling economy, and it was recognized as one of the first successful cases in the BV program. The ambitious idea went towards the eco-tourism through the natural and cultural amenities and the new construction of a series of “*vernacular architecture with North Guizhou style*” (*qianbei minju qun*) (Chen 2015).

Similarly, Changtai County, which is adjacent to Xiamen, the biggest metropolitan in Fujian province, developed the “*core ecological zone*” which became the “*Fujian model*” of beautiful village construction. The main measures that local government launched were the following: i) defining a standardization for building beautiful villages across the whole county, focusing on prettifying, greening and cleaning the built environment; ii) introducing entrepreneurial capital to build specialized teams for garbage recycling and built environment greening and encourage the residents' participation; iii) capturing the cultural resources to maintain the “*local flavor*”, emphasizing vernacular, humanistic characteristics and the intangible heritage; and iv) increasing the average income of the rural population by developing a diversified restructuring of industry, combining agritourism and historical and cultural resources to create a “happy place” ideal for living, working and relaxing.

The aforementioned three cases in different counties were recognized as successful exemplary models in the institutional discourse, which several followers tried to duplicate and imitate. In 2017, a speech by Xi Jinping showed that the importance of constructing a Beautiful China still focused on ecological sustainability, with a marginal part related to heritage in the final discussion session (Xi 2017: 39, 45-46). To coordinate the implementation of BV, based on the exemplary models and experiences developed in different provinces, the central government established national standard criteria for the realization of BV projects.

3.4.2 Village rectification plans

In the same period, different practices of village planning experienced a peak after 2005⁷⁸. In the following years, various types of village planning were carried out

⁷⁸ Although the official symbol for the New Socialist Countryside Construction is Central Document No. 1 of 2006, in 2005, the discussion about the new socialist countryside and the corresponding village-planning pilot projects was launched again in different regions. Therefore, it can be considered the climax of the village planning in China that had started in 2005.

with unprecedented speed, and this was mainly affected by two events. One was the Construction of the New Socialist Countryside (CNSC)⁷⁹ being enhanced by Central Document No. 1 in 2006. The second was the trend of integrated urban and rural management marked by the promulgation of the UPRA in 2008. It can be said that the Central Document provided political impetus for the development of village planning, and directly encouraged governments at all levels to provide conditions for village planning in terms of resource investment and organizational propaganda (Wei, Zhou, & Wang 2011). According to Long et al (2010), the construction of New Socialist Countryside is launched to enhance advanced production, to improve the livelihood, to build clean and tidy villages and to realize efficient management in countryside so as to solve the problems related to the so-called *Sān nóng wèntí* (literally means the three rural issues, including issues on farmers, on agriculture and issues on rural area).

In 2006, the Central Document No. 1 proposed a 20-character guideline for the CNSC: "*(to) develop rural production, (to create) ample living conditions, (to build) civilized moral atmosphere, (to build) neat village appearance, and (to achieve) democratic management.*"⁸⁰ (State Council and the Central Committee of the Communist Party, 2006) In October 2005, the Ministry of Housing and Urban-Rural Development put forward specific guidance on village restoration by focusing on the preparation of village rectification plans (State Council 2005)⁸¹. Since then, at the local level, village planning within the mainstream of the CNSC mainly refers to the village rectification plan. The projects under the CNSC have been led by the rectification plans as the guide to carry out large-scale projects on the improvement of the appearance of the villages (Qiu 2005).

In 2006, Guizhou province selected 102 administrative villages with different levels of economic development status from around the province as pilot projects for the CNSC. Based on pilot projects, in order to better explore the ways of CNSC and further promote the development of tourism to increase farmers' income, the Provincial Construction Department worked on the selection of 39 villages as pilot projects, all of them close to scenic spots and main highway roads (Wang & Deng 2007).

In 2013, the Ministry of Housing and Urban-Rural Development issued a notice on the "*Regulations on the Preparation of Village Rectification Plans*", which clarified in Article 4 that "*Village Rectification Plans are organized and prepared by the township governments and submitted to the higher-level governments for approval (Article 4)*".

⁷⁹ In Chinese: 社会主义新农村. The concept of a new socialist countryside was proposed as early as the 1950s. The central government suggested the notion of the so-called "well-off society" by 1980s, of which the construction of a new socialist countryside was one of the important contents. Source: Liu Jianmei, 2004.

⁸⁰ In Chinese is 生产发展、生活宽裕、乡风文明、村容整洁、管理民主

⁸¹ Guiding Opinions of the Ministry of Housing and Urban-Rural Development on Village Rectification(State Council, 2005). In Chinese: 建设部关于村庄整治工作的指导意见[Z]. 2005

Moreover, in Article 14, several aspects of improving village features were defined, including “*village feature improvement; the restoration and renovation projects and greening*⁸²; *proposing landscape rectification plans for important nodes such as village entrances, public activity spaces, and main streets. And ‘urban construction methods’ are prohibited*”⁸³. In addition, the regulation clarified the necessity for historical and cultural heritage preservation. The interventions of falsification of heritage are also clearly prohibited.

In conclusion, the approach undertaken, which invoked sustainable development in rural China⁸⁴, can be categorized into five steps according to the timeline (Zhang 2018) (Figure 23).

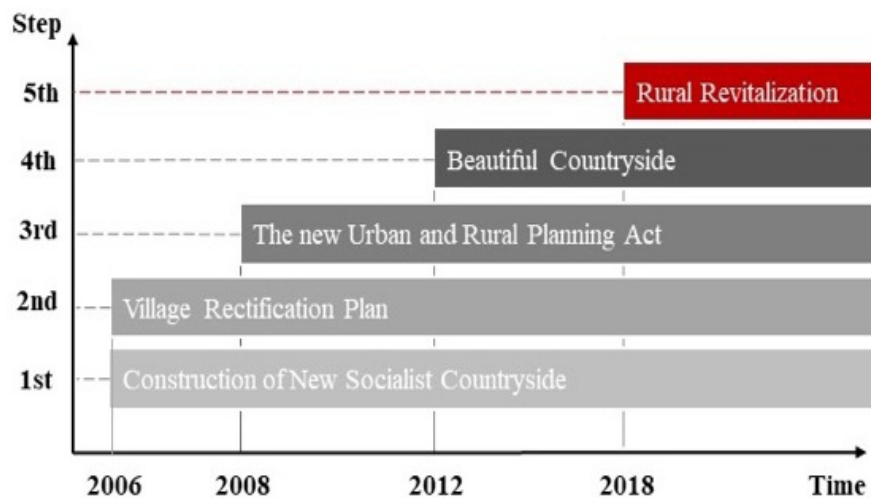


Figure 23: Main steps and policies influencing the rural Built-environment in the last 20 years.

Source: Author’s illustration

3.5 The construction of ethnic villages in an era of poverty alleviation

3.5.1 Current debates on ethnic minorities and the built heritage

Apart from the national mainstream effort to improve living and environmental conditions while protecting cultural and historic resources, several specific projects have been launched in the areas inhabited by ethnic minorities over the course of history. Recently, many international scholars have discussed the ethnic minority developments in China, and critiques have arisen regarding the methodologies and

⁸² The projects include the restoration of ditches and ponds, walls, bridges and culverts, stones, and terraces; determining the types of local greening plants; and delineating the area and scope of green spaces.

⁸³ In the article, it has been clearly declared that the “copying of large urban squares in the village design should be prohibited”.

⁸⁴ The objectives of these policies can be divided into two layers (Chen 2013). The first is the so-called “lower-level”, which focuses directly on the physical and administrative dimensions of the countryside: the development of industries, built environments, agricultural production, living environments, infrastructure, social welfare, land-use protection and democratic governance. The second is more closely related to a set of flexible and ideal objectives based on the realization of the first objectives, including livability, and the social and economic development to increase income and preserve rural culture at the same time.

processes of ethnic categorization, which have been underpinned by the social-evolutionary theory (Tapp 2002), and socialist attempts to generalize and homogenize the identities of different cultural groups and communities. These processes have often caused mistakes and confusion about the identities of different groups (Wu 1990). This has been highlighted by the construction of a common Chinese national identity through political enhancement and preferential policies in education, economics, and social and cultural development.

Conversely, Mullaney (2012) suggested that the organization and management of ethnic minorities in China had progressed in terms of the cultural identity and empowerment of minority groups and that according to him, accurate categorization works have been conducted. Sylvia (2017) discussed that despite the widely criticized first-generation ethnic-minority policies, today's institutional discourse on ethnic affairs seems to approach more of a hybrid model that attempts to contain both diversities and common factors. Moreover, this strategy has served the purpose of building of a national identity in a new era of a progressive new society.

Concerning the villages inhabited by ethnic groups, existing studies focused on the development of cultural tourism and the issue of commodification (Oakes 2013, 2016; Sylvia 2017) for economic development. In the next section we turn to review the most relevant policy impacting on ethnic villages in Southwest China and its original purpose, methodology, and intrinsic relationship with the most important social economic goal in recent years in China: poverty alleviation.

3.5.2 Institutional discourse of ethnic villages Cultural resources as the solution of poverty alleviation

Zhou and Liu (2019) reviewed the concepts on poverty and its intrinsic relationship with geographical conditions of certain populations or areas. The concept of poverty was at the beginning explained as an situation in which incomes of individuals or families cannot enable acceptable living standards.

Poverty can sometimes be defined as a regional chronic problem for an area or can be temporary at individual level. (Liu et al. 2017) It has been found that the poverty of an area usually results in a lack of local impetus for individuals in a region to develop socio-economically. At the same time, the accumulation of individual poverty could have an impact on slow local growth, causing the problem of lack of infrastructure and public services in a regional scale (Liu & Xu 2016). In addition, some scholars have argued that in order to deal with the problem of regional poverty, it is relevant to deal with the poverty at individual level as the regional poverty portrays an inappropriate man-land relation of some areas (Liu et al. 2016).

Regional poverty has been associated with environmental determinism. One study in the 1990s conducted by the World Bank revealed the spatial distribution and different types of poverty on a global scale. The results showed that capital

characterized by geographical factors affected farmers' income (Jalan & Ravallion 1998; Deichmann 1999).

The ethnic villages in mountainous Southwest China, as analyzed above, have never been an individual cultural theme separated from the social-political agenda of the country. In fact, China has issued a series of policies to help ethnic areas develop economically and to maintain cultural diversity by processing poverty alleviation in stages, so as to enhance the social and political stability in areas where minorities inhabit. For the villages, settlements, and ethnic communities who have suffered long-standing socio-economic underdevelopment, Villages with Ethnic Minority Characteristics (VEMC) represent an evolved constitutional part, having derived from institutional discourse about poverty reduction for remote areas and marginalized communities since the 1950s.

From 1949 to 1977, under the promotion of the rural land-reform movement, a social welfare system was formed in ethnic minority areas, through the "Five Guarantees" system and relief for extremely poor groups, thanks to which the incidence of poverty in ethnic areas decreased significantly⁸⁵.

From 1978 to 1985, through the reforms of the land management system, the economic disadvantage in rural areas was reduced. In 1984, the state issued the "Notice on Changing the Backwardness of Poverty-Stricken Areas as Soon as Possible", which designated 18 poverty-stricken areas nationwide as key objects of financial support. The "Seventh Five-Year Plan (1986-1990)" specifically described the economic development of the "lao, shao, bian, qiong"⁸⁶ areas as a chapter and clarified the development goals and policy support for poor areas (State Council 1986b).

From 1986 to 2000, the government began to carry out large-scale poverty alleviation projects. In 1986, the State Council's Leading Group for Poverty Alleviation and Development (LGPR) was formally established, and at the same time a system was implemented for aiding poverty-stricken counties as defined by the State Council. The number of poverty-stricken counties in Yunnan, Guizhou, Guangxi, and Sichuan accounts for the largest proportion among all the provinces (Yang 2017).

⁸⁵ The rural five-guarantees support system began in the 1950s. It has been a particular social welfare system that trying to guarantee basic living conditions for certain people. The *Model Charter for Advanced Agricultural Production Cooperatives*, issued in 1956, proposed to protect members among the elderly, the weak, the widowed and the disabled, so that they could eat, dress, burn (fuel), teach, and be buried. Since then, the rural five-guarantee support system has taken shape. In January 1994, the State Council published the *Regulations on the Rural Five Guarantees Support Work*, which characterized the rural five-guarantees support system as "a rural collective welfare enterprise" and adjusted the support content of the "five guarantees" to "protection, guarantee clothing, medical care, burial (orphan care)", the funds required from the village to stay or the township overall plan to pay out.

⁸⁶ In Chinese 老、少、边、穷, literally means "old, few, border and poor", these are the abbreviation representing the ethnic minority area, boundary area and the poor areas which were considered objects of the implementation of the preferential policies.

In October 2000, socio-political conditions experienced further changes. The Fifth Plenary Session of the Fifteenth Central Committee of the CCP adopted the suggestions of the Central Committee on formulating the “*Tenth Five-Year Plan (2001-2005)*”, in which the establishment of China's Western Development Program was ground-breaking news (State Council 2001). The Western area (*xi bu*) is the main area inhabited by ethnic minorities, with more than 40 ethnic groups, accounting for 71 percent of the national ethnic minority population. Therefore, with the “*Program for Poverty Alleviation and Development in Rural Areas of China (2001-2010)*”, formulated in 2001, the state started to focus on the western minority areas with a 10-year program (State Council 2001). The core targets of the program were cultural diversity conservation and its consequential impacts, and the disadvantaged socio-economic conditions.

In June 2010, the State Council formulated “*Several Opinions on the In-Depth Implementation of the Western Development Program*”, clearly stated that “*we should vigorously support the poor areas to accelerate their development. We will support the development of industries with ethnic characteristics, focus on ensuring and improving people's livelihoods, give priority to solving the problem of poverty among the extremely poor ethnic minorities, and support the development of ethnic groups with small populations.*”

In 2011, the “*Outline of China's Rural Poverty Alleviation and Development (2011-2020)*” (State Council, 2011b) proposed establishing and improving the identification mechanism for the objects of poverty alleviation (in other words, poor people and families), and regard the areas contiguous with special poverty issues as the main battlefield. In the same year, the State Council issued the “*Action Plan for Invigorating Border Areas and Enriching the People (2011-2015)*” (State Council 2011a), which was another major measure to accelerate the development of ethnic minorities and regions at the border.

In 2013, the State Council formulated and issued the “*Implementation Plan for the Establishment of Targeted Poverty Alleviation Mechanism*” (State Council, 2013), which was the prelude of targeted poverty alleviation nationwide. While developing the economy of ethnic minority areas, the party and the government also drew attention to the policy guidance on cultural protection in ethnic minority areas.

The establishment of Villages with Ethnic Minority Characteristics (VEMC)

During the 10 years of the poverty-alleviation program in rural China, the attention of institutions was also drawn to the cultural heritage preservation, which was a branch of policy segregated from the national poverty alleviation area.

In July 2009, the State Council attempted to narrow down ethnic culture, in order to demonstrate the significant and far-reaching impact of promoting economic and

social development of ethnic areas (State Council, 2009a). The work covers the promotion of a wide range of cultural industries, considering both tangible and intangible culture, in which the enhancement of ethnic buildings and villages was highlighted. The ideological orientation was clearly defined with key words such as “*ethnic relations of equality, ethnic solidarity, mutual assistance and harmony*” (State Council 2009a), a set of slogans describing the fundamental basis of ethnic cultural promotion and development⁸⁷. Under the unified leadership of the CCP, it was necessary to establish and improve ethnic minority cultural development, in which business administrations were the leading entity within the coordinated group of different administrations working for cultural promotion by involving as much social capital as widely as possible.

The turning point of the preservation of the physical spaces of ethnic villages was due to the accelerated poverty-alleviation program in ethnic minority areas. In September 2009, the Ministry of Finance issued the “*Guiding Opinions on the Pilot Work on the Conservation and Development of Villages with Minority Characteristics*” (hereinafter, referred to as GOCVC; State Council, 2009b), defining the guiding ideology, basic principles, supporting objects, development goals, main tasks, implementation, and conservation measures for the construction of VEMCs. Comprehensive and detailed regulations were put forward, and the overall goal proposed of selecting/building 1,000 VEMCs during the Twelfth Five-Year Plan period (Administration of Ethnic Affairs of the State Council 2012b) (Figure 24).

⁸⁷ The document highlighted that, “*It is a long-term and important strategic task to foster and develop the cultural undertakings of ethnic minorities. While making great progress in the cultural undertakings of ethnic minorities, we must fully understand some outstanding difficulties and special problems that need to be solved.*” Therefore, it is proposed that “*we should excavate and protect the cultural heritage of ethnic minorities, and vigorously promote the excellent traditional culture, cultural innovation, and cultural industry of ethnic minorities*”

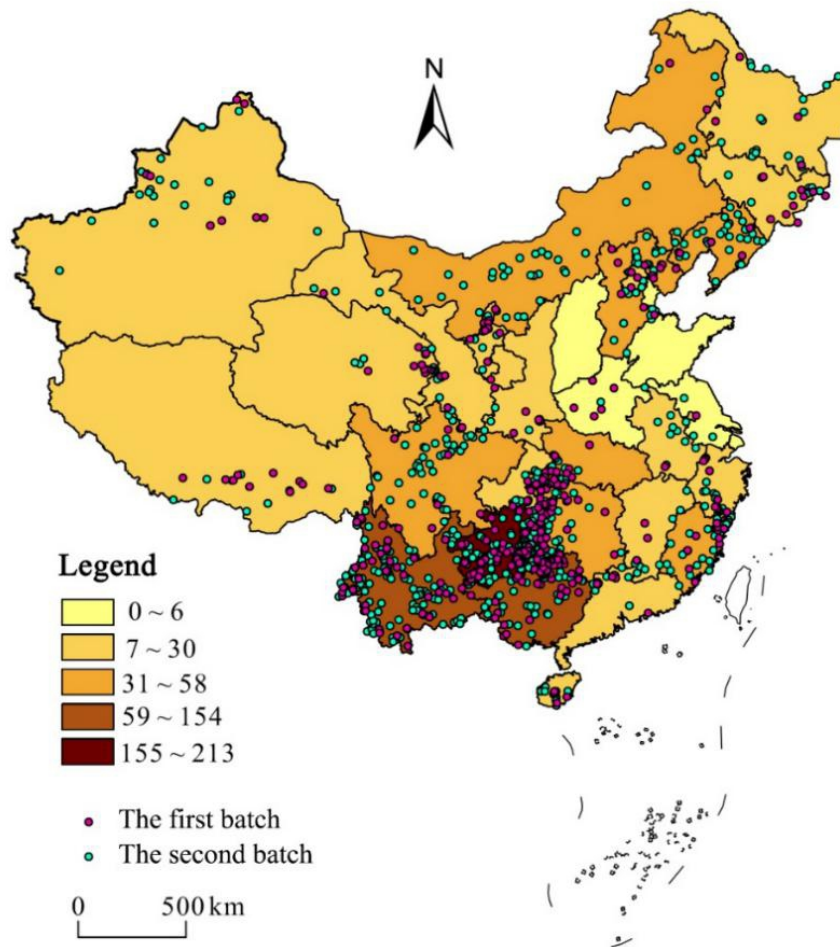


Figure 24: The distribution of VEMC in China
Source: Wang & Liu, 2019.

Moreover, the designation of pilot villages within this framework was intentionally inclined towards the villages in the poverty-stricken areas of the western regions. In the pilot villages determined by the provinces, the State People's Committee and the Ministry of Finance also selected several “*direct contact points*”, to which a group of officers were directly sent by the central administrations to work in the field so as to provide guidance by accumulating so-called “pilot experiences” for other villages (Dai 2019).

In December 2012, the State Council formulated the “*Outline of the Plan for the Protection and Development of Ethnic Minority Villages (2011-2015)*” (hereafter, OPEV). The outline clearly proposed that VEMCs referred to “*ethnic villages or administrative villages with a relatively high proportion of ethnic minority population, of complete production and living functions, and evident cultural characteristics and settlement characters representing the ethnic minorities*” (State Council 2012b) Moreover, it clarified that “*We should protect and build the VEMC according to the three key points: the transformation of characteristic houses (特色民居), the cultivation of characteristic industries (特色产业) and the inheritance of characteristic culture (特色文化)*”. However, the three concepts were only vaguely defined.

Furthermore, the Outline introduced a so-called “*leadership*” system to enable better organization of governments at different levels. The province takes overall responsibility for the work, coordinating with the municipalities. The county government oversees the implementation of the projects, and the township is responsible for the specific implementation. Such policy design demonstrates the intention to “*Fully mobilize the enthusiasm of all levels and departments, integrate all resources, and form a working pattern of planning, organization and implementation under the unified leadership and the government, with relevant departments performing their duties and all aspects cooperating*” (OPEV 2012).

There was a set of criteria for the selection of VEMCs: the proportion of the ethnic minority population should be more than 30 percent of the total population of the village; selected villages should have more than 50 households; and characteristic dwellings should be more than 50 percent of the total number of dwellings. Moreover, it was explained that selected villages needed to have strong ethnic customs and high cultural value. The pilot works mainly included “*improving the production and living conditions of villages, developing characteristic industries, protecting and building dwellings, protecting and inheriting ethnic culture, and carrying out activities of national unity and progress*” (OPEV 2012).

Such objectives were inseparable from the socio-economical goals established by the “*Twelfth Five-Year Plan (2011-2015)*”. Compared to the “*Eleventh Five-Year Plan*”, the Twelfth made great efforts to explain the necessity to “*promote cultural development and prosperity, raising the national cultural soft power*”.

In December 2013, the National People's Committee issued the “*Notice on Issuing Opinions on the Naming and Listing of VEMCs*”, and officially carried out the labelling of VEMCs.

Additionally, in September 2014, the National People's Committee issued the “*Notice on Naming the First Batch of VEMCs*”, which labeled 340 villages. At the end of 2015, the State Council issued the “*Decision on Winning the Battle of Poverty Alleviation*”, focusing on comprehensive poverty-alleviation projects in areas and with groups with special disadvantaged socio-economic conditions, formulating special policies for overall poverty alleviation, and emphasizing the protection and development of villages and towns with ethnic characteristics. Summarizing the policies regarding the preservation and development of VECMs and considering the entities involved in the establishment of the policies, four phases/categories of policies have been roughly identified (Table 4).

Table 4: Evolution of VEMC and its origin in poverty alleviation policies after the foundation of the PRC.

Periods	Goals	Characters
1949-1977	Using national funds to support the families and communities in difficulties.	Poverty alleviation
1978-1985	The division of 18 poor areas through the reform of land management. The enthusiasm of farmers in ethnic areas has been mobilized and stimulated.	
1986-2000	The government began to carry out large-scale poverty alleviation work in a planned way. In 1986, the system of poverty-stricken counties was implemented at the same time. The number of poverty-stricken counties in Yunnan, Guizhou, Guangxi, Sichuan, accounts for the largest proportion in China.	
2000-2008	It clearly stated the development of industries with ethnic characteristics will be supported, focusing on ensuring and improving people's livelihood, give priority to solve the problem of poverty among the extremely poor ethnic minorities, and support the development of ethnic groups with small populations. "	Village + cultural industry development+ poverty alleviation
2009	To excavate and protect the cultural heritage of ethnic minorities, vigorously promote the excellent traditional culture, the cultural innovation, cultural industry of ethnic minorities	
2009	By which the whole country has invested 270 million yuan in subsidies to support the protection and development of 370 VEMC.	
2013	Officially carrying out the naming and listing of villages with ethnic characteristics, focusing on the brand effect of villages with ethnic characteristic.	Naming & Branding
2014	According to the Notice, 340 villages as "villages with Chinese ethnic characteristics"	
2015	It focuses on the comprehensive poverty alleviation project in the areas and groups with special poverty alleviation, formulating special policies for overall poverty alleviation, and emphasizing the protection and development of villages and towns with ethnic characteristics.	Poverty alleviation+ heritage preservation

Source: Author's elaboration.

The first phase looked at poverty alleviation programs, which aimed only at economic development; the second was the village and cultural heritage preservation, which aimed to preserve the built heritage of ethnic villages; the third was the cultural preservation and promotion, mainly concerned with the intangible aspects; and most crucially, the fourth was the category of policies that contained both economic development and conservation of ethnic villages (Figure 25, see the "Characters").

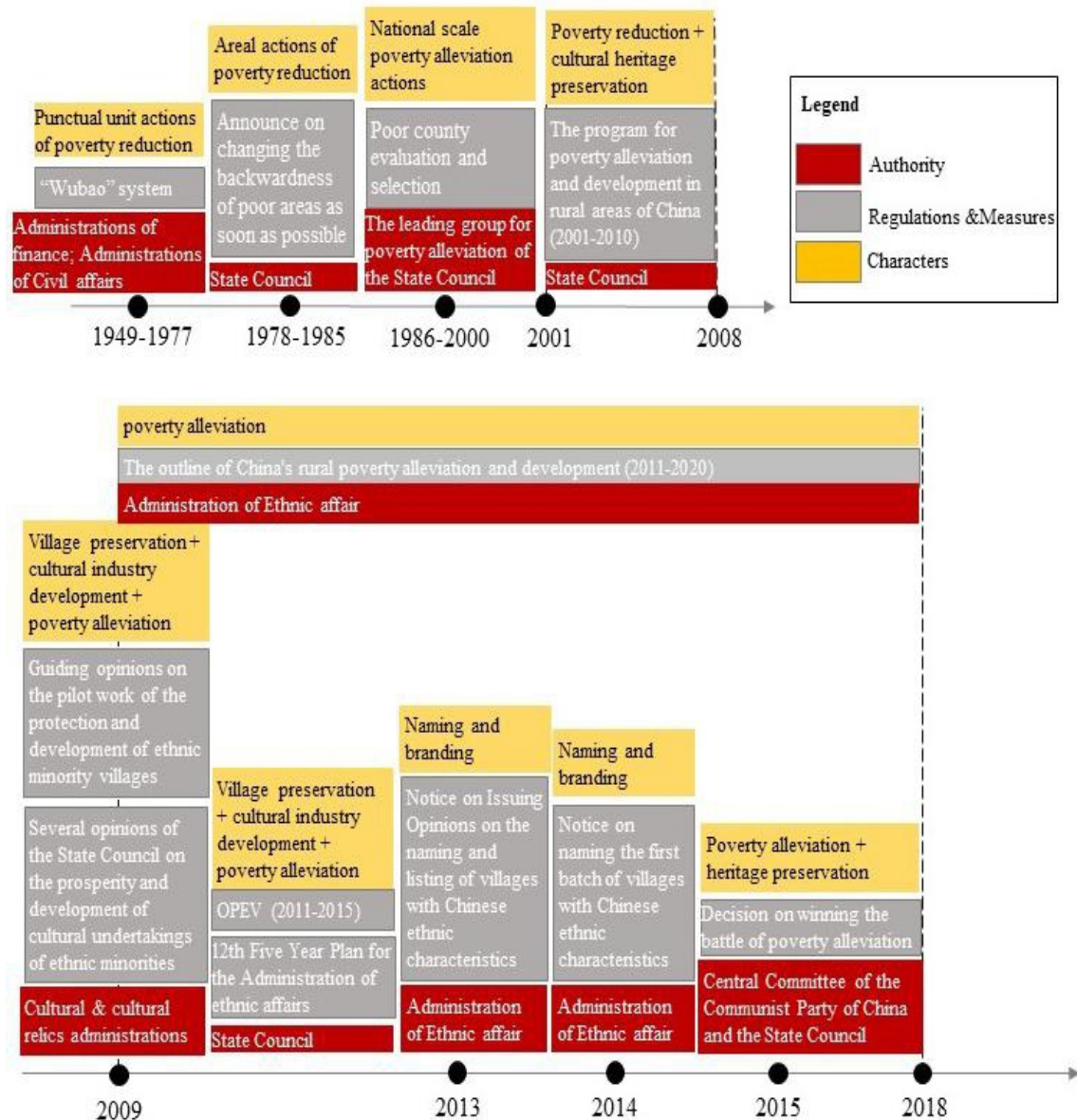


Figure 25: Evolution of VEMC.
Source: Author's elaboration

3.6 Critiques and Conclusions

3.6.1 A remedy to the rural decay

Tracing back the spatial development strategy, the industrialization and urbanization of the socialist Chinese character became a paradigm for the development of both urban and rural contexts in past decades, which have brought rural demands into the national political agenda.

Given the historical genesis and diversified needs across different periods when looking to solve the rural problem, planning policies and activities have been intrinsically oriented towards economic development albeit covered by multifaceted forms. Globally speaking, an institutional discourse that attempts to revitalize the

countryside has appeared, through the implementation of a set of hybrid policies concerning economic, environmental, and sociocultural aspects. Indeed, the phenomenon shows that the state made efforts for rural modernization that tried to resolve the historic problems of land allocation and production relationships while improving the living environment and conservation of cultures of different kinds. In other words, the revitalization of the countryside acted as the remedy for rural decay caused by the previous prioritization of development in urban communities.

3.6.2 Unappropriated rationality of spatial planning for villages

In the new millennium, the New Socialist Countryside program gave unprecedented emphasis to projects focusing on rural problems. The core aim was to modernize rural areas by improving infrastructure, environment, sanitation and living conditions for rural people. The campaign has been described as “*the extension of state-sponsored urban planning regimes into rural jurisdictions*” (Bray 2013, 54), where urban planning has been considered a key tool to solve rural problems under the guidance of rational urban planning ideology. The campaign has extended capitalist development from the coastal developed area to the interior (McNally, 2004). However, without feasible complementary social programs, the master plans for villages risk becoming empty phrases on scraps of paper that ignore the specific realities of rural socio-economic conditions. The function of the master plan for villages was juxtaposed with the city plans, involving the formulation of land use, allocation of resources and spatial layout for future developments. Such an approach did not consider the following facts that have characterized most villages in the Chinese countryside: i.) the villages are not sufficiently involved in or inventing the local industrial chain, and, thus, traditional solutions for urban areas are difficult to implement; ii.) over-optimistic visions of planning local industries and the insertion of infrastructure cannot help to revive the village due to the almost impossible access to the market and capital; and iii.) such rigid transplantation of plans into the rural context invokes a fresh new paradigm of space-making and social construction. Rural society was formed based on tightly connected kinship and social relations which produced organic spatial characteristics that can be read through detailed socio-spatial transformation of morphologies. Conversely, rational modern planning activities cannot be in tune with indigenous social and spatial conditions wherein cultural heritage assets have been embedded. Thus, it is highly risky to approach such a direction without cautious research and recognition of the context.

Moreover, related to village plans, on very rare occasions counties and villages have adapted their plans following the URPA of 2008 due to the lack of human capital and financial resources at the local level⁸⁸.

⁸⁸ According to a focus group discussion in May 2018 with the director of Urban and Rural Planning Bureau, Mr. Zhao; the professor Ni Qi from the Dalian Minzu University (DMU) and his colleagues working in Tongren.

In a few cases where plans have been formulated and approved successfully at township and village level, no specific entity is engaged in monitoring or evaluating their implementation. Processes for monitoring and evaluation of implementation was codified into the URPA in Article 48: “*the monitoring and evaluation of such plans should be in compliance with the procedure of rural plan making, which is that discussion by villagers meeting then submit to higher level government to be examined and approved.*” Here, the monitoring power seems to be democratically delegated to all the villagers; however, it was highly concentrated in the hands of village committees, instead of all villagers.

3.6.3 From the environmentalism to rural beautification

From the perspective of environmental improvement, although living conditions in the beautiful villages was relatively improved, the historical features of the villages were greatly damaged. Since there were no constraints on architectural renovation projects, most rural houses were renovated with modern features since the BV campaign began, which inevitably ignores the continuity and complexity of the local historical built-environment.

One may ask why environmental issues and the emphasis on ecology were highlighted so much in institutional discourses. According to Chinese scholars, post-productivism inquiry was a rational choice based on rural realities, but other scholars may have different visions based on global socialist understandings about social development, which contains the finalism of going towards new society.

For instance, according to Chen (2016)⁸⁹, BV practices in China have been characterized by the Marxist theory of human nature. Chen interpreted that Marx believes that human beings are faced with “*historical nature and natural history*”(Chen 2016, 10). Historical nature is based on the idea that nature is closely related to human beings and the human beings have continuously transformed nature. Natural history refers to the history of human beings, not only the evolutionary history of human beings, but also history that changes with nature. However, as the degree of human productivity has increased, nature and humanity have moved towards a dialectical unification. Furthermore, labor has been considered a material transformation between man and nature. The degree of productivity has a huge impact on nature. In addition, Marx believed that the a priori status of nature still exists that we should respect to it. He gave the example of the Spanish farmers burning the forests on the hillsides of Cuba to create fertilizer, which caused soil erosion. This example illustrates the ecological destruction inherent in capitalist production and the disaster of capital expansion.

Therefore, Chen (2016) believed that only socialist approach can achieve congruous relation between human-being and natural environment. In conclusion, the

⁸⁹ Chen Hongbo (2012) Beautiful Village Practice Exploration in Ningbo. Beijing Book Co. Inc., 2016

idealistic communist society is an ecologically rational society that consciously recognizes and fully respects natural, environmental, and ecological laws, and maintains a high level of productivity, and thus it is worth being promoted and appreciated at national level. This is, according to the scholars, the basic rationale of developing ecological dimension in the Chinese countryside.

3.6.4 Ethnicization and commodification

The intrinsic aim of construction of VEMCs was to develop tourism under the name of cultural heritage preservation. The sensitive recognition by the state of its multiethnic cultural habitus was revalorized as rhetoric with multiple goals, summarized as follows: i.) to stimulate tourism development in order to realize socio-economic development goals at both local and national level; and ii.) to empower the ethnic minorities' cultural habitus in order to construct a national image of multiethnicity. However, it has been confirmed that rural tourism can protect, promote, and innovate the traditional cultural context within which a specific ethnic group life. Yang (2008) pointed out that in tourism development theories, the collective cognition and cultural identity of ethnic groups can be reinforced and passed on through tourism exploitation, thereby contributing further to the revitalization of their culture and the re-construction of the ethnic identity and spirit, and building the basis for the re-production of ethnic culture.

However, negative effects of the tourism booming through VEMCs have drawn attention. It has led not only to a decrease in awareness of cultural identity but also to the collapse of traditional culture (Luo 2016). Different cultural events and performances replaced the intrinsic values of traditional lifestyles, damaging the mechanisms that formed traditional customs and continued the cultural inheritance within the community (Yu 2013). The superficial and falsified vitality produced by tourism development have weakened the authentic cultural connotations and the simplified duplication of the same tourism development strategy of a certain ethnic group is both naïve and risky in the tourism market.

Today, due to the specialized and sectorized preservation policies on historic villages, various tangible or intangible historical and cultural resources that were useless in the past have become available assets once again, which further addressed the economy driven by the homesickness, and brought the countryside into the urban-centered consummation chain (Oakes 2013). Given the capital-seeking nature of the conservation activities in rural areas in China, new programs/plans based on merely embellishing the façade are widely conducted and underpinned by standardization (Figure 26). Even some new districts close to the townships and counties affected have recently been erected to welcome rural migrants because their villages have been demolished and merged administratively and economically⁹⁰ (Figure 27). In this way,

⁹⁰ The specific mechanism will be explained in case study and conclusion.

local governments can achieve a new round of townization and urbanization as part of the pro-growth approach.



Figure 26: Renovated rural dwellings in the construction of beautiful villages along the highway in Jiangkou County, Guizhou province.
Source: authors' photo taken in May 2018.



Figure 27: Newly built multi-storey residential buildings in the “new area” to relocate the villagers whose villages have been merged into other administrative villages in the Poverty Alleviation Program in Jiangkou County, Guizhou province.
Source: authors' photo taken in May 2018.

3.6.5 Different central institutions and the dislocated local project implementation

Facing to the complex body of the heritage policies and policies advocating sustainable development in rural area, one may ask how is the dialogue among different central institutions, and how is the polices/projects are embedded in an area/village expected to develop? At national level, the question seems to be clear through a close look to the different ministries in charge of the emanation of the previously discussed policies and projects, as shown in Figure 28.

The projects related to rural built heritage preservations are mainly CPUs, CTVs, HCTVs and are promoted by the Mnistry of Housing and Construction, the National Bureau of Cultural Heritage, the Ministry of Culture and Tourism, and the Ministry of Finance (the last acts as financial supporter). While concerning the policies

advocating sustainable development, the Ministry of Agricultural and Rural Affairs is the central institution who define the guidelines and action programs. The National Ethnic Affairs Commission is responsible for the construction and promotion of the VEMCs. Last but not the least, the Rural Poverty Alleviation Model Village is programmed by the coordination of six ministries, including the Ministry of Housing and Construction, the Ministry of Culture and Tourism, the Ministry of Planning and Natural Resources, ⁹¹ the National Commission of Development and Reform, the Ministry of Water Resources, and the Ministry of Ecology and Environment.

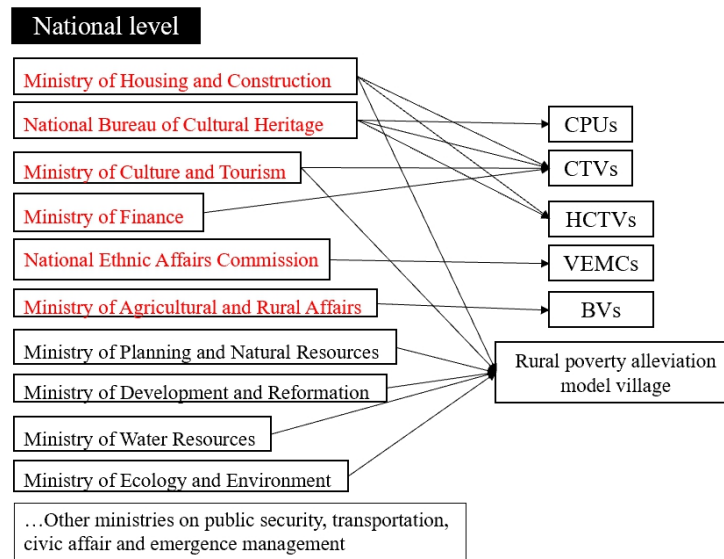


Figure 28: National Level Ministries and the main projects they conduct
Source: author's elaboration.

However, when the policies affecting rural built heritage are implemented at local level, the county government became crucial in organizing and coordinating the implementation of these policies. Thus, two paradigms of implementation are performed through county's presence (Feng & Wu 2016).

The first paradigm refers to the situation when the implementation of plans and programs are legitimately led by the county's Bureau of Housing and Construction, thus the resource allocation relies on the upper-level and county-level funding and budget rationally.

The second paradigm is more complicated compared to the first one, and often appears in villages where the county government wants to carry out special development (thus influencing the county's political evaluation and cadres' interests), then special resources would be allocated from multiple channels to the village. The resource here refers to funding (through the Bureau of Finance and the office of Poverty Alleviation at county-level), land allocation (thus should be approved by the Urban and Rural Planning Bureau), and promotional policies (through Bureau of

⁹¹ In 2018, the State Council decided to transfer the responsibilities of urban and rural planning management of the Ministry of Housing and Urban-Rural Development to the Ministry of Natural Resources, and no longer retain the Department of Urban-Rural Planning of the Ministry of Housing and Urban-Rural Development.

Culture and Bureau of Tourism). Moreover, the collective interests amongst county government, the township and village committee are the most subtle and effective stimulus at grassroots organizational level. Once the leaders of the key bureaus at county-level, township and village cadres are coordinated in the implementation of a certain type of project, the final aim will be easily achieved through the establishment of the non-institutional leading groups at county-level.

3.7 Conclusion

This chapter attempts to look at the policies and plans for advocating a sustainable approach to rural revitalization in historic villages in ethnic areas. A systematic review of how rural built heritage has been incorporated into the rural revitalization policies and practices is present as a vigorously growing corpus of policies has served both space-making and heritage-making in recent decades. The first phase emphasizing rural development started between the 1950s to 1978 when the rural world was understood as a productionist sphere. The turning point arrived at the end of the 1980s as the issue of environmental conditions and the rural developmental issue became prominent, thus brought up the post-productivist idea about the countryside. Several programs and projects have been widely carried out with a primary focus on the improvement of environmental and living conditions under the first Urban Planning Law (1990). By 2005, the campaign for the New Socialist Countryside was initiated, and the urban planning paradigm has been shifted to rural with the promulgation of the Urban and Rural Planning Law (2008). Since then, the elaboration of the master plan for villages was highly recommended by governments, the construction of Beautiful Villages and the consequential implementation of the village rectification plans portray an attempt of seeming environmentalism. It can be observed that the policies advocating sustainable development in rural China were born in the remedy to the rural decay caused by the previous city-centered development paradigm. Unappropriated rigid transplantation of city planning into a rural context has been problematic. Moreover, the implementation of plans and the projects often fall into simple prettification. These issues are more often existing in marginal ethnic areas as those are the object of the long-standing poverty alleviation program. For remote and underdeveloped regions, the VEMC is a relevant program aiming at developing tourism under the name of cultural preservation. The superficial and often falsified vitality produced by rural cultural tourism has weakened the authentic cultural connotations, playing an ambiguous role in the urban-centered consummation chain.

Chapter 4 Case study definition and methodology

4.1 Case study area introduction

The geographic location of evidence collection is in the rural area of Tongren Municipality (Figure 29), which can provide new evidences about the rural development in small-median cities. In Tongren, different stakeholders have been active in engaging with heritage-led development within rural revitalization framework.

As Yin (2017) has proposed, in order to reduce the confusion and ambiguity in defining the analysis unit, a clear explanation on why villages in the counties under Tongren Municipality are chosen for the case study analysis. According to the Master Plan (2016), Tongren is dedicated to become a base for tourism centre in the province, relying on the natural and cultural resources of Mount Fanjing (Figure 30). It tried to capture the advantages from its trans-provincial location, and integrate the tourism route of Mount Fanjing with the historical and cultural resources. Jiangkou, Songtao and Yinjiang, as three counties co-managing the Mount Fanjing, became the most active counties in developing heritage-led development amongst all counties.

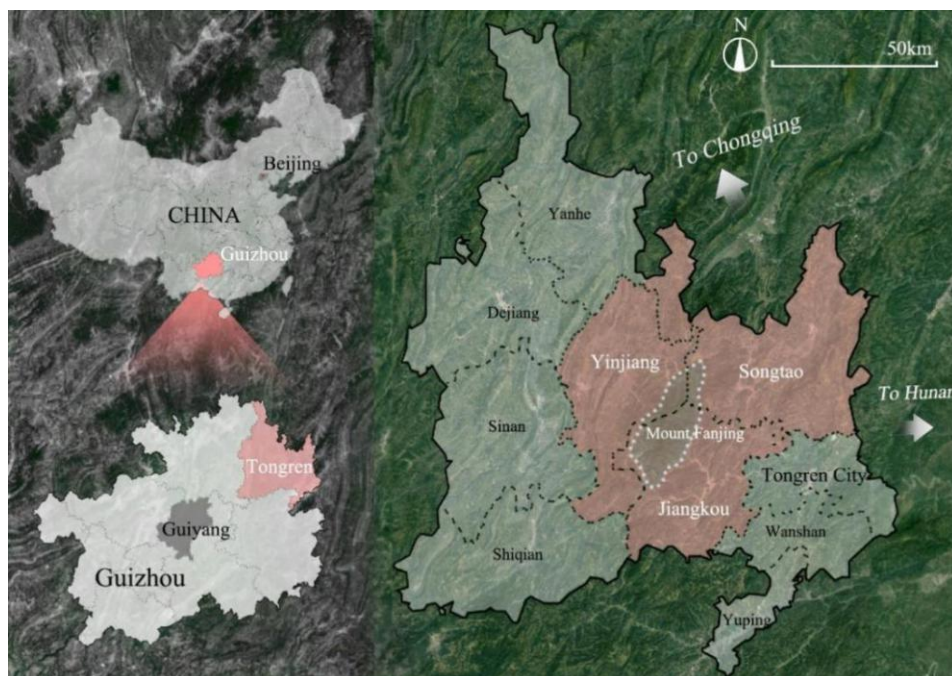


Figure 29: Geographic location of Tongren
Source: author's elaboration.



Figure 30 Mount Fanjing and the highest peak Phoenix Mountain.
Source: photo by Niu Kefeng.

Tongren is adjacent to more developed provinces as Hunan, Chongqing⁹², and is located at the intersection of the regional traffic network connecting with Chengdu, Chongqing, Changsha-Zhuzhou-Xiangtan and Guiyang cities and metropolitan areas, and it is also a hub connecting the Southwest China to the eastern developed regions (Figure 31). It is the closest area between Guizhou and the developed eastern regions especially the Yangtze River Delta. In conclusion, MTR possesses regional strategical advantages.

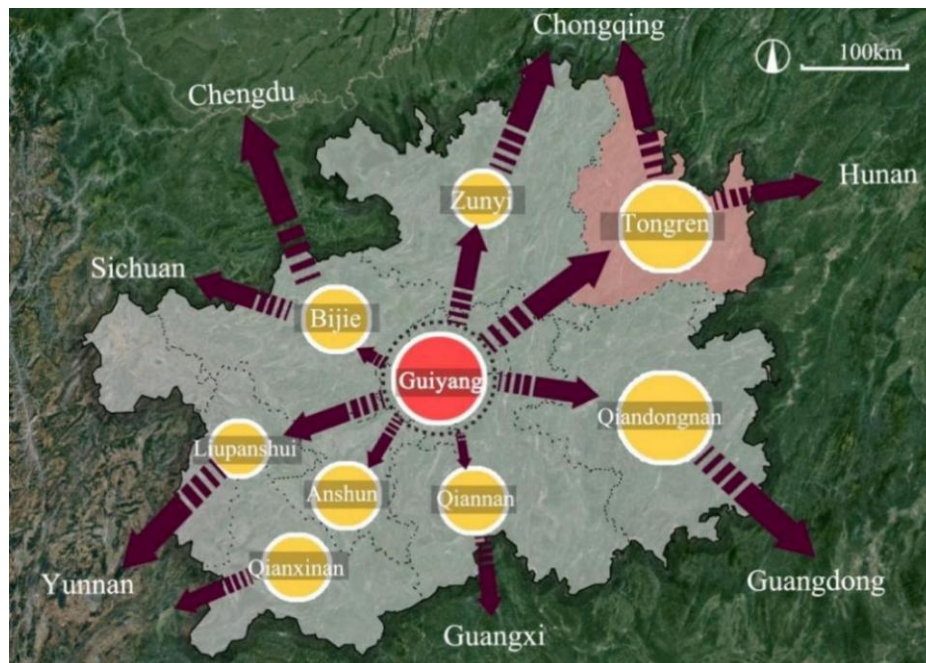


Figure 31: Guizhou Provincial Urban System (2006-2020)

Source: translated and adapted by the author according to the Master plan provided by the Urban and Rural Planning Bureau of MTR, 2018.

⁹² The data is available on the web of National Statistical Bureau .<http://www.stats.gov.cn/english/>. Accessed by May 28th 2019.

The reasons of choosing Tongren area include mainly four aspects as follows:

- i. abundant cultural, natural, and ethnic heritage assets present in the case study area
- ii. long-standing issue of poverty existed in the rural area
- iii. the ambitious determination and the consequent policies and measure that local government elaborated and adopted for the heritage-led development in the villages, which contributed to the drastic transformation for the overall feature of the villages
- iv. the complex of interwoven relations of stakeholders involved in the heritage-related spatial policies and the implementation.

In the following sections, specific descriptions of each of the above-mentioned aspects are introduced. Moreover, as many of the researches focused in Chinese context, the research encountered difficulties in data collection and an in-depth understanding about the context. Thus, the research takes case studies in Tongren not only for its representativeness, but also for the data accessibility and the consolidated institutional relation with local governments, especially close relation with the Urban and Rural Planning Bureau and Ethnic Affair Bureau, which facilitate the organization of the research activities.

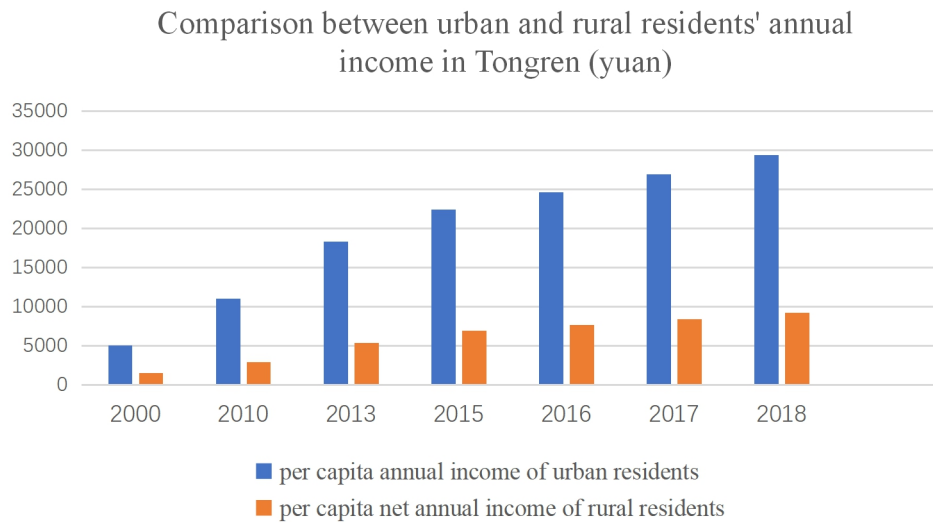
The research has been partially funded by Dalian Minzu University (DMU) under the national poverty alleviation program and the poverty assistance agreement signed between Dalian Municipality and Tongren Municipality, which can be traced to as early as 2013. The detailed documentation of the formalization and agreements have been disseminated by National Ethnic Affair Commissions⁹³.

4.1.1 Long-standing poverty issue in rural area

The relatively closed social condition resulted in the severe long-standing poverty in Tongren's rural area. According to the national standard of Poverty County designation system, 8 of 9 counties in Tongren were listed as poor counties according to the national standards, including Jiangkou, Songtao and Yinjiang counties where hosts the case-study villages of the research.

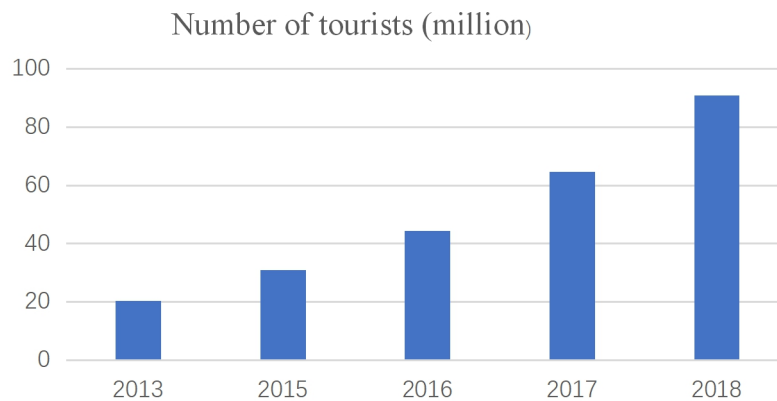
⁹³ Entrusted by the National Ethnic Affairs Commission, Dalian Minzu University launched a comprehensive cooperation with Tongren. In August 2013, the two parties signed a *Strategic Cooperation Framework Agreement*, and established a total of ten cooperation programmes in talent training, scientific services, planning and design, tourism promotion, etc. For further information and the consultation of documents please access to the website <http://www.seac.gov.cn/seac/mzjy/201604/1014494.shtml>

Table 5: Comparison between urban and rural residents' annual income in Tongren.



Source: author's elaboration based on the data from Municipality of Tongren, 2018.

Table 6: Number of tourists in Tongren

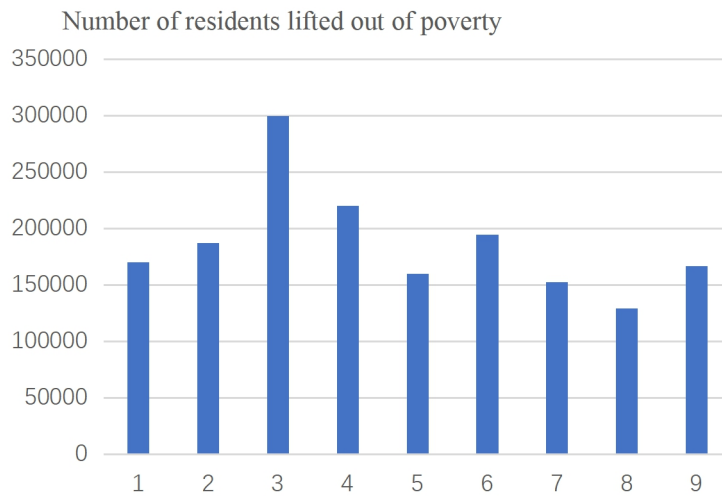


Source: author's elaboration based on the data from Municipality of Tongren, 2018.

As the government of Tongren has claimed, that the actions of poverty alleviation in rural Tongren have achieved relevant results (Municipality of Tongren, 2019). The per capita annual income of both urban and rural residents has increased (Table 5). Different approaches of poverty alleviation have been developed, including the residents' relocation from remote countryside to the town and urban area, the empowerment of facilities related to education, and cultural tourism development⁹⁴. The tourists in Tongren have been constantly increased (Table 6)

⁹⁴ In 2018, for example, the total of 166,500 people in poverty was reduced. Among them, 79,000 people were lifted out of poverty by industrial assistance, 54,200 people were lifted out of poverty by relocation, 20,600 people were lifted out of poverty by education assistance, 10,900 people were lifted out of poverty by social security, and 18,000 people were lifted out of poverty by ecological compensation.

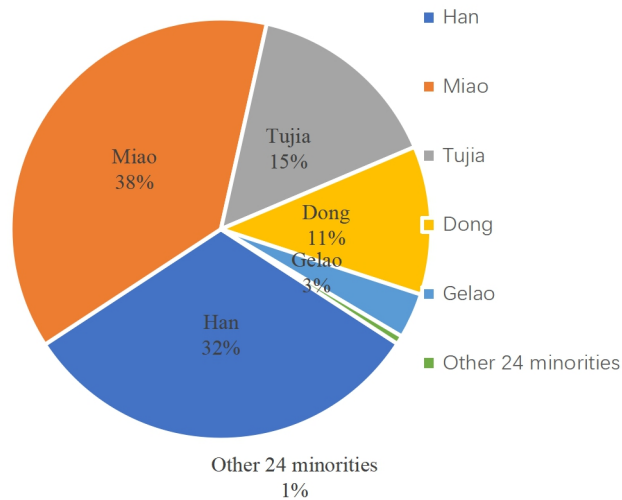
Table 7: Number of residents lifted out of poverty.



Source: author’s elaboration based on data from the Municipality of Tongren.

Table 8: Population of ethnic minorities in Tongren.

Population of ethnic minorities in Tongren



Source: author’s elaboration based on data from the Municipality of Tongren.

Tongren City, in cooperation with Xinhua news agency, took the lead in releasing the report of China Tongren targeted poverty alleviation index (2016), becoming the first and only evaluation standard of poverty alleviation report in China. Until 2018, hundreds of villages and residents have been evaluated as lifted out of poverty (Table 6).

4.1.2 Abundant cultural and natural heritage assets

Ethnic groups and cultural heritage in Tongren

Tongren is a small-medium municipality with about 4 million population of 29 different ethnic groups within its administrative boundary (Municipality of Tongren 2018). According to the official census, the Miao, Tujia, Dong are the three major ethnic groups inhabited in Tongren area (Table 7).

The ethnic groups in Southwest China are sometimes seen as one research object due to the historical occurs of migration and integration and the crucial state-local relations (Massing, 2018; Oakes, 2016; Schriver, 2017; Scott, 2009). In the book *"The Art of Not Being Governed"* (Scott, 2009), based on the historical analysis of Southeast Asia, Scott discussed that after the Ming Dynasty how and why marginal ethnic groups (such as the Miao) chose to escape from the lowland thus forming the upland societies and landscapes as they hope to escape from the central authorities.⁹⁵ Today, in these ethnic groups, some maintained their characteristics in terms of language, customs, building types and social behaviours and rules, some not. For example, Tujia, as one of the ethnic groups without having kept their own language, and has been strongly influenced by the Han people (in the past, the categorization re-categorization of Tujia people has been strongly influenced by the state and local authorities due to the political concerns over the course of history. See Brown (2001), has received critiques of being Han rather than Tujia. In fact, the cultural identity of Tujia has been considered easily vulnerable due to their quasi-Han social behaviours and rules (Brown 2001). The difficult identification of their cultural elements can be observed from the dwellings. Some clues can be found looking to the built environment and by interviews. Apart from the stilted buildings as the common solution for Southwestern ethnic minorities living in mountain areas, the Tujia people concerns the main hall as the most important space for ritual activities. Specifically, the antithetical couplet of “天地君亲师” (means sky, ground, king, relatives, masters accordingly) has been popularly posed on the altar in the main hall of Tujia dwellings, demonstrating the obedience and social orders deeply influenced by Confucianism rather than the cultural traditions of specific minor community.

The confusion situation of Tujia culture partly due to the national ethnic policies, such as the Chinese government devoted one: the establishment of the so-called autonomous villages, autonomous counties and the related preferential policies since 1980s. Although residents were registered of being ethnic minority by official ethnic

⁹⁵ Scott also emphasized that this phenomenon mainly existed before WWII. The modern countries' power became more powerful in recent half century due to the internationalization and modernization, thus reducing the geographical and cultural distance among then plain areas and the mountains which could no longer constitute an obstacle to the expansion of a country' s power. Scot's emphasis have been critically commented as an politicizing simplification to the history and the complex relation between the upland and lowland communities. Source: Lieberman, (2010) and Dove et al (2011).

identification work in the period of 1950s and 1980s, existing investigations exposed that a big amount of people reported falsely their ethnic identity in this period. For instance, many Han people reported their ethnic states as Tujia, because Tujia does not have directly identifiable feature as a ethnic group. An example is the case of Yinjiang County. During the research, the author found significant increase of officially registered Tujia people by the beginning of 1980s in Yinjiang County, because they tried to chase the beneficial policies to ethnic groups by falsifying their ethnic identity. Yet this attempt was probably encouraged by local government since the establishment of autonomous counties and villages did bring additional funds and favourable political supports⁹⁶. As Harell stated, that the communities which were culturally distinctive before, have started to approach to the ways of the majority and “*with only the increasingly artificial minzu designations standing between many minority communities and complete assimilation*” (Harell 2012, p. 326) .

Different from Tujia, the Miao, has been known as Hmong in the global ethnographic studies have kept their own language and customs during the social transformations. Several studies focused on Miao have showed that they have relatively distinctive ethnic features compared to other ethnic groups in South west China, and often has been identified as being courageous, independent, and indefensible community due to several rebellions occurred in the late imperial regime (Grey, 1990: 54). The Municipality of Tongren established an autonomous Miao county in 1950 named Songtao, where the Miao communities are highly concentrated (namely Miao Autonomous County of Songtao)⁹⁷. In Songtao, the Miao language has been preserved quite well since the bilingual education covers both the elementary and middle schools.

Dong is another ethnic minority with large population in Tongren. In many studies, they are concerned prefer to build the settlement close to the streams, thus the spectacular construction of bridges (Feng yu bridge) has been considered a general symbol of the Dong community. Traditionally, they have particular social orders led by patriarchical hierarchies. The Drum tower in the village has been considered a point of assemblage for regular meeting among families and for organizing festivals. The critical debates on the Dong is the materially significant difference between the North Dong and the South Dong. However such difference has been widely ignored in the village renovation projects that will be discussed in section 5.2.

Natural heritage

Tongren and the surrounding villages possess fascinating natural environment thanks to the presence of Mount Fanjing, the highest mountain of Wuling mountain range and hosts a nature reserve including numerous endangered species. For instance,

⁹⁶ Source: according to the interview with the director of Bureau of Ethnic Affair in Yinjiang County. The visiting to Yinjiang was carried out in May 2018.

⁹⁷ It has jurisdiction over 509 village (neighbourhood) committees and 28 towns, with a total population of 750,000, of which the Miao accounts for 68.1% of the county’s total population. It is a typical Autonomous County in terms of the number of its ethnic minorities.

the so-called “golden hair monkeys”⁹⁸ has been the most appreciated one (Figure 32). In 2018, Mount Fanjing was successfully listed on the World Heritage List⁹⁹, and have become the Municipality’s name card for the eco-tourism promotion and the creation of an integrated image of natural-cultural heritage¹⁰⁰.



Figure 32: The “golden hair monkeys” in Mount Fanjing area. Source: photo by Niu Kefeng.

The inscription to the WHL has been concerned as an important step made by governments of all levels, from national to local. For instance, the provincial administrations have emphasized the leading role of Mount Fanjing in stimulating the socio-economic development and the poverty alleviation. Therefore, historic villages surrounding mount Fanjing are considered as embedded in a particular cultural and natural setting (Municipality of Tongren 2018).

Existing studies on historic villages in Tongren

According to the census of 2010, 74% of the population in Tongren are living in rural area¹⁰¹. In addition, there are 99 villages that have been designated as “Chinese Traditional Villages” (CTVs) and 35 have been designated as the “Villages of Ethnic Minorities Characteristics” (VEMC) in Tongren. However, they received little attention by academia. Existing studies on Tongren’s villages have been limited in Chinese-language literature. The research group from Dalian Minzu University (DMU) did published several papers related to the investigations on the conservation status

⁹⁸ It is known as the gray snub-nosed monkey in Guizhou, a threatened primate having long grey-golden hairs. It is a historically appreciated species because of its rarity and aesthetic appearance.

⁹⁹ Source: <https://whc.unesco.org/en/list/1559/>

¹⁰⁰ Source: <http://www.gzfjs.gov.cn/>

¹⁰¹ The population living in the countryside is 2,288,969, accounting for 74.02%.

and morphologies of the villages of different ethnic groups, collaborating with local governments (Hou et al 2018; Ni et al 2018). It is necessary to state that due to the political sensitivity on the ethnic issue and possible impact on public opinion about poverty alleviation project, the researches of DMU are intentionally limited within the physical space analysis. For instance, Hou et al (2018) classified three typologies of Tujia ethnic traditional settlement: valley type in plain area (distributed in planar form), valley type in mountain area (distributed in linear form) and tableland type in mountain area (punctual form). Ni et al (2018) studied specifically the morphological characters of Qishuping (the only village in Guizhou inhabited by Qiang people), providing conservative measures and strategies for the holistic preservation and development of the village. Li (2012) in his master thesis documented and discussed in detail the influencing factors such as cultural, natural, and technical impacts of the vernacular architecture in Tongren area, emphasizing the characteristics and specificities of materials and construction techniques used for local vernacular buildings and the adaptation with the pre-conditions.

4.1.3 Heritage-led development policies in the Tongren's rural area

Facing to the long-standing poverty issue and having possessed prosperous cultural and natural heritage assets, the heritage-led development has been a rational choice made by the Municipal government. Such determination can be read through a close look to the planning documents and reports released by the Municipal government.

Planning setting

As it has been introduced, in the past Twelfth Five-Year Plan of the PRC, it was pointed out that the State reinforced the development of the Western undeveloped regions, and an overall strategic priority and the support of special beneficial policies has been adopted. The empowerment of the development in ethnic minority areas has been highlighted as a main component of the poverty alleviation and rural revitalization programs.

MTR has been an active member in implementing the national poverty alleviation program. In the Master Plan of MTR (Municipality of Tongren, 2016), it has been declared *“in view of the realities of geographical conditions and severe poverty, the development of second and tertiary sectors should be strengthened, and the urbanization and rural migration should be accelerated. Tongren will become an important pilot area to strengthen the rural migration and poverty alleviation, playing a pioneer role in the province.”*

According to the Master Plan (2016), Tongren is dedicated to become a base for tourism and economic centre in the province, relying on the tourism resources of Mount Fanjing and the beneficial conditions provided by the existing industrial development. It tried to capture the advantages from its trans-provincial location, and

integrate the tourism route of Mount Fanjing with the historical and cultural resources (Figure 33). The development strategy of MTR is as following: to achieve the aim of poverty alleviation by developing a variety of cultural tourism development zone within the Tongren area, utilizing the environmental, ecological, historical, and cultural resources (Municipality of Tongren 2018).

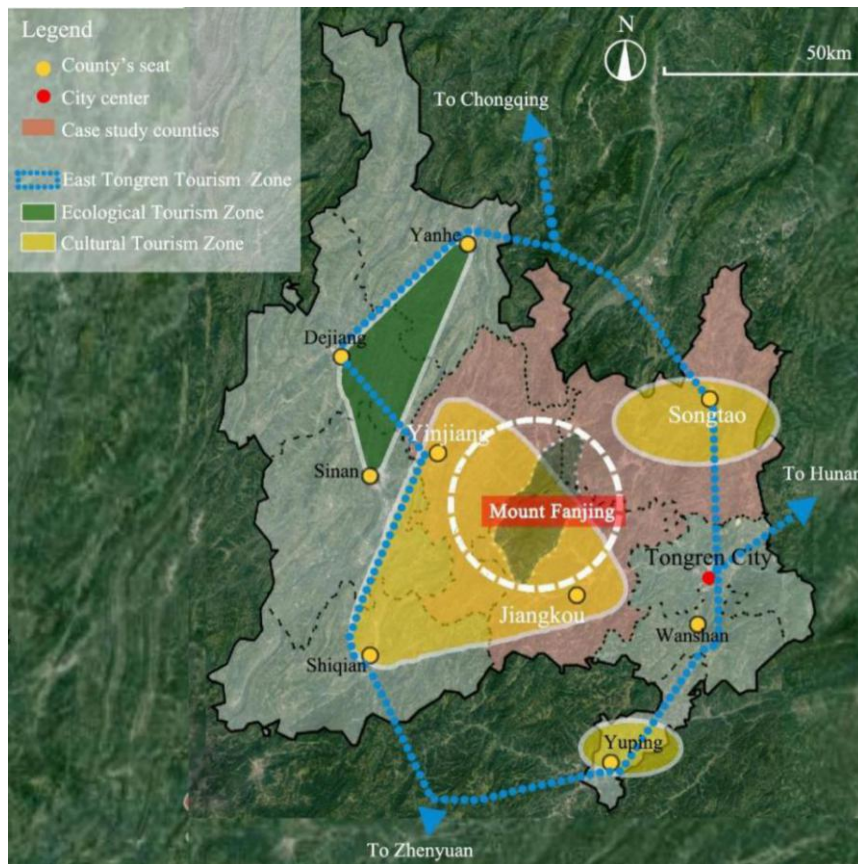


Figure 33: Tourism Development Plan of MTR

Source: Planning Bureau of MTR, adapted and translated by author.

The overall strategy of MTR in developing its rural area has been systematically a top-down approach. And the county level administrations should dissemble the goals and tasks assigned by the Municipal government in realising different social economic tasks. In the area of village preservation and revitalization, each county level administration worked out an Overall Rural Construction Plan (ORCP) at county level to address the development of some of the selected key towns and villages which possess a matured infrastructure, advantaged mobility condition and cultural and natural resources. “*Exemplary*”, as it has been defined in ORCP for this type of towns and villages to make them play the leading role in local development. Moreover, those villages that are potential for tourism development, and in which the tourism activities are emerging, are defined as villages to be “*improved*” from both heritage-making and infrastructure empowerment point of view. At the same time, the ORCP determines other villages that are suffering in disadvantaged conditions, will be relocated and merged administratively into other villages and towns for a concentrated resource allocation (Liu, Yang, Liu, Wei, & Yang, 2018).

Taking Jiangkou County as an example

Jiangkou county is composed of 8 townships and 140 administrative villages. The rural population density is 85 people/km² (Jiangkou County, 2017).

The ORCP of Jiangkou County has been representative in implementing the logic of county level administrations. The ORCP of Jiangkou selected a number of villages as core villages possessing excellent resources in favor of local development. These villages are all labeled villages that possess matured infrastructure. For example, the villages in area of Taiping River and close to the main entrance of the Mount Fanjing are of this kind, including the case study villages, Yunshe and Zhaisha, both villages have been classified of having excellent resources. Qishuping, as the only Qiang village in Guizhou province, has been listed as “exemplary” as well for its particular historic feature and cultural uniqueness, despite its difficult transport condition (Figure 34).

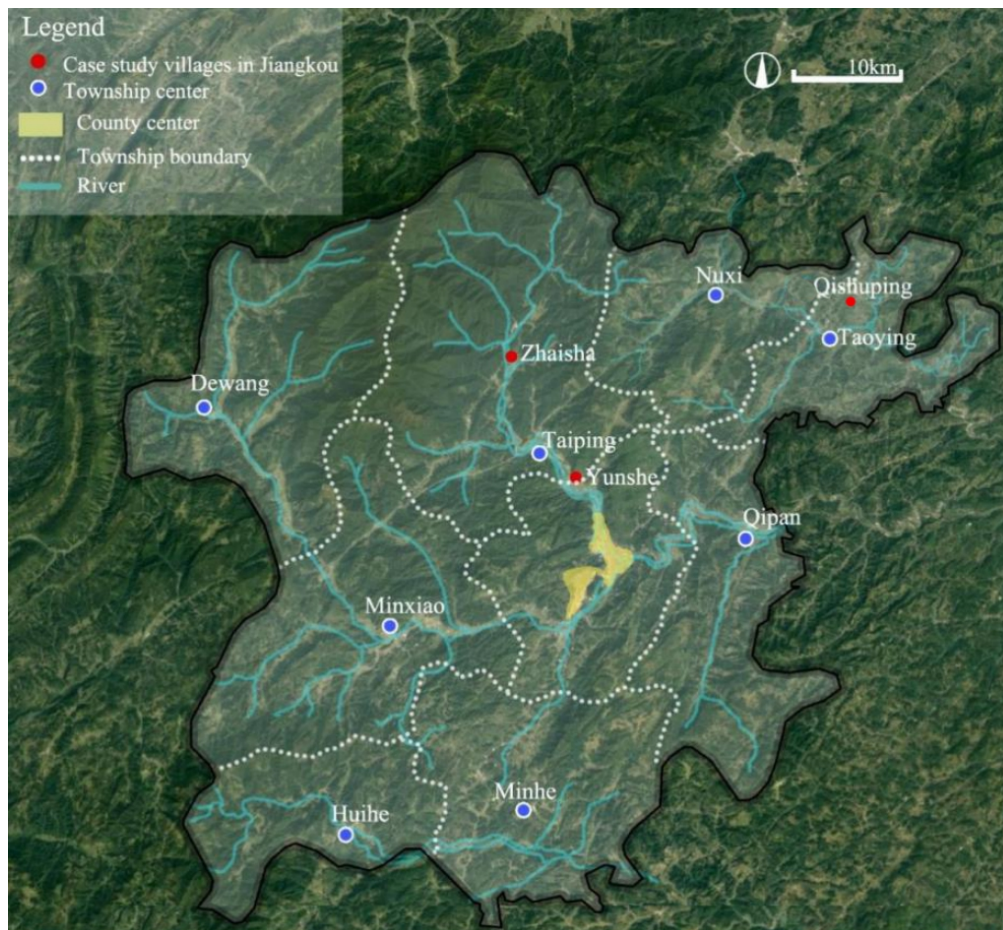


Figure 34: Territorial map of Jiangkou County and three case study villages. Source: author’s elaboration based on google map and the ORCP provided by the Urban and Rural Planning Bureau.

In Jiangkou, a total of 72 villages in the country are designated as “esemplary”. And the main objectives of the villages of this category are village rectification, landscaping, commercial activities, modernization and beautification (Jiangkou

County, 2017). The villages along the highway roads have been given priority to be included in this category (Jiangkou County, 2017).

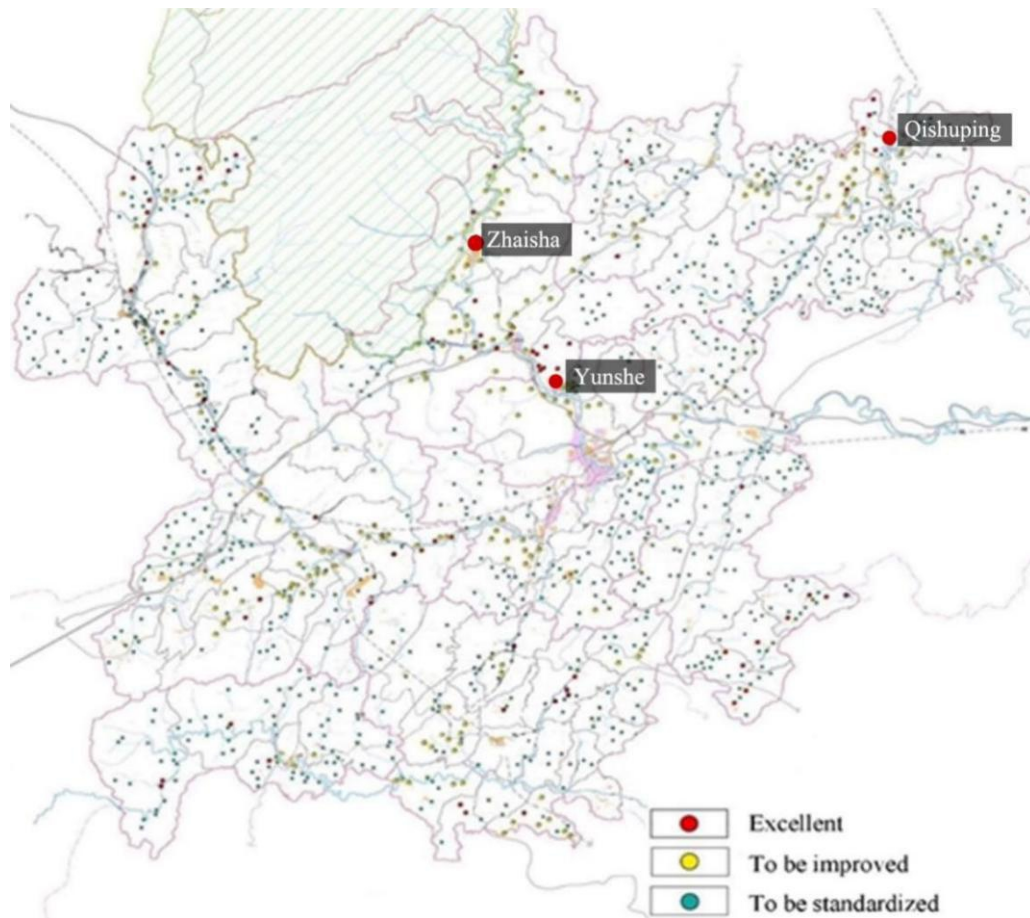


Figure 35: The ORCP of Jiangkou County (2017)

Source: Author's elaboration based on the ORCP of Jiangkou County (2017) provided by the Urban and Rural Planning Bureau.

The yellow points in the Figure 35 represent the villages defined as “*to be improved*”, which means that these villages have basic conditions for tourism development but a further step of improvement should be made in future (in total 225 villages are listed onto this type). Governments' financial support is expetative for these villages for the water pollution treatment, public services and greening. The third type, the green points in the figure represent those villages lack of basic infrastructure and resources, thus require governments' support in standardizing the basic conditions for rural lives, such as the mobility condition, the flooding prevention and electricity. A total of 758 villages are designated as the third type.

4.2 Methodology

4.2.1 Research methodology definition

My research question is how the historic villages in ethnic area in China have been affected by the rural built heritage preservation policies and rural development mainstreams in the recent decades? After the overall literature review on the papers

and the existing case studies (Chapter 1), the review on the evolution of rural built heritage preservation policies (Chapter 2), the rural development programs launched in the recent decades (Chapter 3), the research question can be dissolved into sub-questions:

- How have the historic villages in ethnic areas been preserved and/or transformed through the heritage-led development addressed by the plans, and projects?

- Which are the stakeholders in this play? What are the tensions/coalitions among them?

- What are the results and outcomes?

- What are the future development issues and possible solutions?

In order to answer the above-mentioned questions, the research adopts case study methodology because the “*case studies are best suited to answer questions about “how” and “why”*” (Yin 2017). In addition, the conclusions drawn from multi-cases methods are often considered convincing and can withstand scrutiny (Herriot & Firestone, 1983), thus the multi-case study methodology is adopted in this research and potential risks, and disadvantages of such methodology have been taken in to account (for example, it could take up a lot of research resources and time). And the author is aware of a detailed study design is extremely important for the preparation of the analysis.

In the multi-case study methodology, each case needs to be selected based on pre-defined criteria to ensure that the selected cases “*can produce the same result (item-by-item) literal replication*” or “*can produce different results from the previous study for predictable reasons, i.e. theoretical replication.*”

In the *Case study research: Design and Methods*, Robert K. Yin (2017) proposed that in a multiple case study, 2-3 of the 6-10 cases should be replicated item by item, 4-6 differentially replicated, and should belong to two different models. If all the cases are consistent with the theoretical hypotheses put forward beforehand, then 6-10 cases together would be very convincing to test the theoretical hypotheses that the researcher has proposed.

Furthermore, successful case studies should obtain information from various sources, and different types of evidences that can complement each other in order to improve the construct validity of the research. Its distinctive advantage is converging lines of inquiry. In order to meet such requirement, the sources of evidences for this study comes from:

- a. Government documents, including policy documents and planning and design drawings, etc.

b. Archival records, including government reports, reports related to case studies and local gazetteers; newsletters and other articles in mass media and community newsletters

c. Interviews. And the recordings were transcribed for qualitative data analysis.

d. Direct on-site observations for the investigation of physical spaces.

All the obtained data should be triangulated and this is relevant to achieve reliable results (Miles & Huberman, 1994), especially when the data and documents are competing or conflicting.

It is complicated to understand why and how the heritage-related policies have impacted on the historic villages in ethnic area, thus the author conducted data collection of several round. It is also because the research needs interval to reflect and construct the empirical materials. The main field work was conducted in three periods from 2018 to 2020. The first period was in May 2018, when the author visited the city of Tongren to obtain government documents and archival records from different departments, including the Bureau of Ethnic Affair and the Bureau of Urban and rural planning. The first round of visit in villages of Yunshe and Zhaisha were conducted as well. The second period was in September 2018, the author and one of the supervisors, prof. Giuseppe Cinà visited Yunshe, Qishuping for a short stay, and a 10-days survey in Dawan village with assistance of a research group from DMU. The third-round field work is in 2020 to complete the data collection. The interviews were mostly conducted in official Chinese language, and in some cases the author is supported by the local guide due to the difficulties in comprehending the dialect.

4.2.2 Selection of case study villages

In order to carry out multi-case study analysis, three groups of villages are identified as analytical units according to the following criteria:

i. Population and surface area (scale)

ii. Distance to the township

iii. Annual per capital income

iv. Level of interventions

v. Financial resource of the interventions

vi. Labels related to the heritage preservation each case study village has achieved (H.P in the table)

vii. Labels related to the heritage-related policies under the rural revitalization framework (H.R in the table). All the case study villages have strong

representativeness in historic and cultural values thanks to different local communities (Table 9).

Table 9: Basic outline of case study villages.

G	Name	Surface area	Population	Distance to township	Annual income	Lev. of intervention	Funds	H.P labels	H.R labels
1	YS	28.7 ha	1717	7km	12000	High	Gov.+ SOEs	CTVs (2012); HCTV (2014)	Tourism Administration's Support Point (2002); Provincial Rural Tourism Model Village (2004); Village of Ecological Civilization" and Agritourism Model Village (2005); VEMCs (2014)
	ZS	6.4 ha	306	6km	11500	High	Gov.+ SOEs		Provincial Rural Tourism Model Village (2004). Ethnic Solidarity Model Village (2008); VEMCs (2014); Rural Tourism Poverty Alleviation Model Village (2014).
2	DW	4 ha	515	7km	8000	Medium	Gov+ comm	CTVs (2016)	VEMCs (2014)
	QSP	6.3ha	289	4km	6300	Medium	Gov+ comm	CTVs (2013)	VEMCs (2014)
3	PS	6 ha	218	8km	2500	Low	Comm	CTVs (2014)	None
	SB	8 ha	220	8km	3000	Low	Comm	None	None

Source: author's elaboration based on the plans of the case study villages.

As Harell stated that in most of the Southwest China, *“different cultural and linguistic collectivises live intermixed in that area, and there have been few historical instances of ethnically based states there... it becomes much more difficult to apply Stalin's criteria to nationality”* (Harell 2012, p. 40). Therefore, this study is also interesting to investigate how the heritage-led development have been embodied in contextualized local spatial policies, in different groups and communities.

The location of the case study villages are shown in the Figure 36.

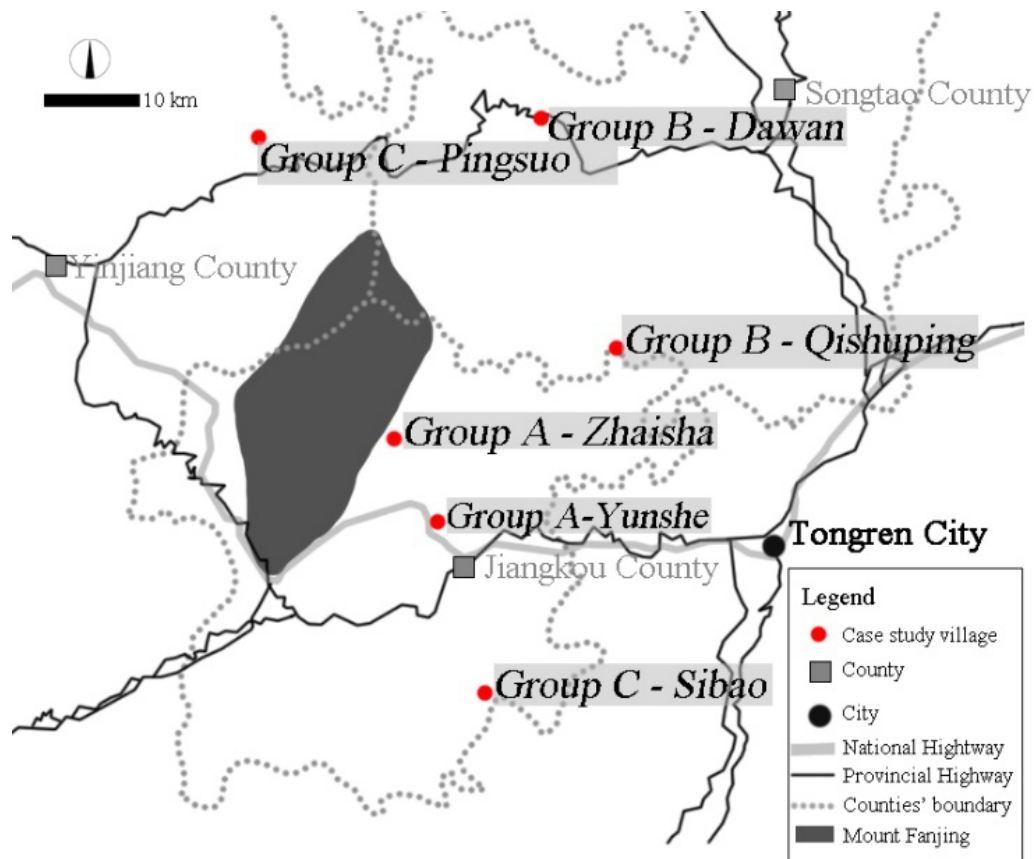


Figure 36: The distribution of case study villages.

Source: author's elaboration

The first group of case study includes the village of Yunshe, a Tujia settlement, and Zhaisha which is a Dong settlement. Both villages have been relevant stimulus to local development and “to be enhanced” according to Jiangkou County (Jiangkou County, 2017). The difference between the first group and the other groups is the scale of capital the villages received for the heritage-led development. Yunshe was designated as on the “National Tourism Administration’s Support Point” in 2002, the “Provincial Rural Tourism Model Village” in 2004, “Village of Ecological Civilization” and “National Agritourism Model Village” in 2005. Moreover, Yunshe has been listed on the first batch of the “Chinese Traditional Villages (CTVs)” in 2012, the sixth batch of “Historical and Cultural Towns and Villages” in 2014. In 2014, the village has been furtherly listed on the first batch of “Villages of Ethnic Minority Characters (VEMCs)”, and have experienced heavy interventions in the name of heritage preservation and development. Zhaisha is a village located in Jiangkou county as well. Zhaisha has been designated as the “Provincial Rural Tourism Model Village” in 2004. In 2008, the village was listed as “Ethnic Solidarity Model Village” and experienced demolition and reconstruction. In 2014, the village was designated as VEMCs and *National Rural Tourism Poverty Alleviation Model Village*. Both villages possess good geographical and mobility conditions that led to a tourism-oriented approach. Conservation planning has transformed the spatial configurations of the two villages, including land use, morphology and building typology. The historic and cultural value have been commodified, further producing

tensions among stakeholders due to the commodification of tradition and disregard of inhabitants' interests.

The second group consists of the village of Dawan, a Miao settlement in Songtao County, and Qishuping in Jiangkou county. Dawan has been designated as CTVs in 2016 and the first batch of VEMCs in 2014, but the interventions have been focused on improving the basic facilities and the public spaces, that are subject to the rural revitalization program of nationwide. The heritage value of the villages is highly recognized by local stakeholders. Spontaneous conservation activities have been carried out due to the common understanding about the heritage value and the leading action conducted by local elites, who have kept a neutral attitude towards the heritage planning approach. The case of Dawan in the neighboring county possess difficult mobility condition like Qishuping, but the maintenance of the overall feature is much more efficient thanks to the potential role of local elites. Qishuping was designated on the second batch of CTVs in 2013 and the first batch of VEMCs in 2014. Only basic built environment improvement has been carried out in 2015. The selection of Qishuping is to realize a replicated analysis in relation with the first group. This idea is to see the as a historic village of high heritage value, with changed socio-economic and mobility conditions why and how the heritage-led development is diverse. The third group in the case study comprises Pingsuo (a Tujia village in Yinjiang County) and Sibao (a mixed community of Miao, Dong and Tujia people located in Jiangkou), that are two remote villages with a similar population and geographical conditions. Pingsuo was designated as CTVs in 2014. Light intervention applied only to the mobility system including the road paving and facility improvement. Sibao village is the only village without any labels in this research. Regarding the development scheme, two villages are facing distinctive different destiny.

4.2.3 Research design

In order to tangle the research question(s) through multi-case studies, a clear research design is necessary to smoothly progress the research work and to eventually calibrate the research question and assumptions (Yin 2017). In this research, four main aspects of each case study village will be roughly analyzed in each analytical unit, that are: plans and policies; stakeholders (including decision-makers and others) involved and the tensions; and the implementation of projects.

First, the built preservation policies and rural development mainstreams policies affecting the case study villages have been categorized into two typologies according to their distinctive characters. The first one is named "heritage preservation" (H.P) policies, thus all the norms and policies directly related to the preservation of historic villages analyzed in the second chapter, including in particular the plans and projects for HCTVs and CTVs; and norms derived from the Cultural Heritage law on the CPUs. The second one is called heritage-related policies (H.R) under the rural revitalization framework, composing of norms and policies of rural revitalization but

somehow creating linkages with the heritage value of the villages. This type has been systematically reviewed in the chapter 3. This type includes the plans such as Village Rectification Plan (VRP), policies related to Beautiful Village (BV), Villages of Ethnic Minority Characteristics (VEMC) and other complementary policies and projects.

Second, it is necessary to scrutinize the stakeholders involved that have been defined in the Chapter 1. They can be divided into decision makers including governments of local level (including county governments, township governments, and village committees), and expert group. And the social actors involved such as the enterprises of different nature (private, state owned and communal ones), local elites, and community.

Third, the implementation is pivotal in understanding how and why the project-making has been impacted by the first two aspects. In this part, crucial phases of construction and implementation, the problems of governance and finance are to be faced.

Keeping in mind the above-mentioned four aspects, each case study is analyzed from the following four aspects i. the introduction of the village, includes location, geographical condition, history, population, economy development, built heritage and the relation with environment, and intangible heritage ii. the plans and projects conducted in the villages, including both the H.P and the H.R iii. specific observation on the stakeholders, the tensions, and the coalitions is conducted iv. the implementation aspect characterized by different approaches (government-led, community-based and/or hybrid) (Figure 37).

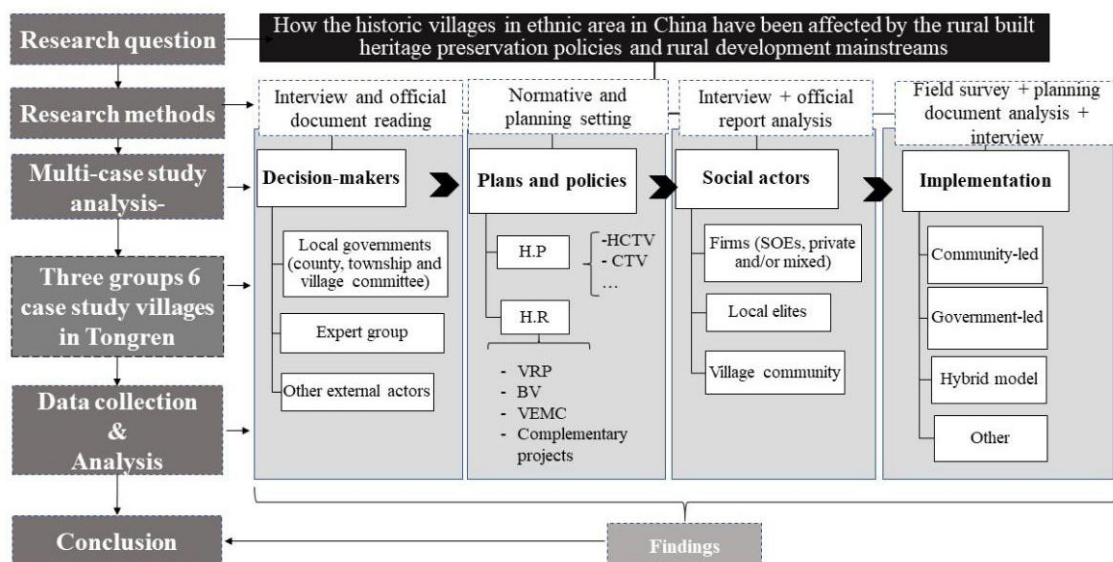


Figure 37: Diagram of the research design.
Source: author's elaboration.

4.3 Conclusion

This chapter introduces the case study area: Tongren Municipality due to the abundant cultural and natural assets, the long-standing issue of poverty in its rural area, the ambitious determination, and the consequent policies that local government elaborated for heritage-led development. Specifically, 6 historic villages inhabited by different minority groups were selected for multi-case study analysis. And these villages are divided into three groups according to the following criteria: i. population and surface area (scale); ii. distance to the township. iii. annual per capita income; iv. level of interventions; v. financial resource of the interventions; vi. labels related to the heritage preservation each case study village has achieved; vii. Labels related to the heritage-related policies under the rural revitalization framework.

Chapter 5 Case study analysis.

Group A Yunshe and Zhaisha

5.1 The case of Yunshe



Figure 38: Overview of Yunshe. Source: author's photo taken in May 2018.

The case of Yunshe has been considered a successful case of cultural tourism development based on its heritage resources, despite its transformation in historic feature and commodification (Figure 38). However, by in-depth analysis conducted on the process of heritage-led development, we found that the expert group (mainly planning technical party), local government and the civic society have been all involved in such process, each of them plays a distinctive role, contributing a short-term strategy in exploiting the heritage value for the development of the village. In the analysis, first, the entrepreneurialism of county government has been identified; second, in the “government-led” heritage development approach, the design and planning institute delegated by the county government have performed their professional capacity in organically transforming the village, but has ignored for so long the opinion of villagers, thus resulting in the unappropriated uses of cultural symbols and traditions, which further produced villagers’ resistance to both government and the technical party; third, due to the inefficient and untransparent process of management and finance, the restoration and renovation projects have affected negatively the overall feature of Yunshe.

5.1.1 Introduction

Geographical condition and spatial layout

Yunshe is a village inhabited by about 400 Tujia families. It belongs to Taiping township and it is located 6 km from the county center, 23 km from the entrance to Mount Fanjing. The village is located on a gentle slope, facing to the Taiping River. According to the local chronicles, like most of the Tujia people in Jiangkou County,

their ancestors were a part of the ancient Ba people. Before 200 AD, a group of Ba people flowed into the Wuxi Valley¹⁰², and part of them settled in the Jiangkou. In 1181 AD, a general named Yang Zaixi from the western Hunan was appointed by the court to squash the revolts in Tongren. Then he developed the area of today's Taiping township. These early settlers interacted intermarried with local indigenous people and gradually formed today's Tujia people of Jiangkou.¹⁰³ There are several hills on the other side of the river and all the peaks constitute distinctive visual elements for the landscape of the village. A spring flows down from the mountain until the village, then it is divided into different water flows, all of which are along the roads of the village (Figure 39).



Figure 39: Yunshe and other villagers in Taiping River basin, Jiangkou county.
Source: author's elaboration based on google map, historical satellite photo of 2009.

Heritage of Yunshe

Relative compacted distribution of dwellings and road network, the presence of a stream as the branch of the Taiping River contributed a integral natural scenario to the village (Figure 40). The preservation status of the village is quite complicated (Figure 41). Most buildings were renovated in recent decades, the buildings along the main internal pathways and the river result good preservation status. And the buildings as additions incongruous with the surroundings are identified as bad ones. Several landscape elements such as traditional stilted buildings, historic paper-making workshops have been used by the local government to create a series of scenic spots. The most representative tangible heritage in the village is the traditional wood

¹⁰² Approximately located at the junction of today's eastern Guizhou and western Hunan.

¹⁰³ Source: Jiangkou County Chronicles, p124.

dwelling. According to the local chronicles and the preliminary research conducted by the Municipal Planning Bureau, that most of the dwellings were constructed at the beginning of the 20th century. These buildings can be categorized into two typologies: the first one is the ganlan building (stilted building) with courtyard, which is composed of a structure enclosing on three sides of a courtyard, forming a U-shape, namely Sanheyuan. Some of them are with four sides of a courtyard, namely Siheyuan (Li, 2015).

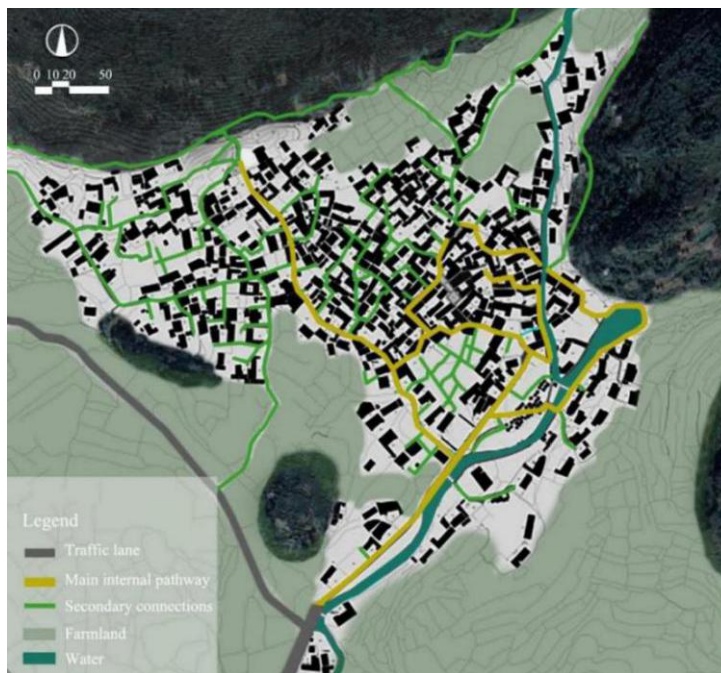


Figure 40: Spatial layout of Yunshe. Source: author's elaboration



Figure 41: Preservation status of Yunshe. Source: author's elaboration.

The other type is the Tongzi Wu (桶子屋), literally Tujia bucket house (Figure 42). It represents the most featured Tujia building. It was made up of the main house, secondary house, wooden building (木楼) and the entrance gate (朝门), surrounded by stone wall. The bucket house has the form of quadrangle dwellings with local characteristics, that the complex is enclosed by the stone walls making the courtyards become small castles. The spatial layout can be divided into the main house, wings on each side and daozuo (倒座), which forms a yard. The main house originally has three rooms. There is a room between the two-side wall and the brick wall, and it is used as kitchen or storing space¹⁰⁴ (Figure 42). The historic significance of bucket houses is rather important for residents in Yunshe. *“One or two decades before the liberation in 1940s, we needed the bucket houses. The Xiang Army in Hunan came to grab us but they failed in few days, because of the bucket house has a defensive function, thus the bucket houses are quite important for Yunshe people”*, said residents.



Figure 42: Photo and planimetry of a Bucket House in Yunshe. Source: photo and drawing by author according to the field survey in May 2018

Furthermore, the paper-making workshops, as a group of productive spaces have been concerned as a set of tangible and intangible carrier which witnessed local historical paper-making process. The traditional paper-making made Yunshe became a core productive center in the area historically (Lang 2015) (Figure 43). According the local chronicles of Jiangkou County, from raw materials to finished products, the traditional paper-making needs to go through nearly 30 processes, such as cutting bamboo, flooding bamboo, ramming, and brushing, pulping, drying, and packaging. The paper produced in this way is called “fire paper”. Compared with ordinary paper, fire paper has the advantages of good texture, long and thin fiber, strong tensile force. It has light yellow color with non-toxic characters. Yang Heping, an old man in the village, explained: *“the large one is rice paper, which is used to write calligraphy, and the small one is used to burn (for ritual events).”* The intangible heritage in Yunshe are risky to disappear due to the emigrant waves started from the 1990s, the suspended paper making technique is an evidence of this.

¹⁰⁴ The data comes from the table exhibited at the entrance of the bucket house, which has been renovated to become a Tujia museum.

Today, these elements are utilized by local government to construct the scenic spot series. One of these sites is the natural pond Shenlong Tan (literally means “Miracle dragon pond”) (Figure 44). In the local chronicle it has been registered as being able to foresee the precipitation, thus appreciated by residents and tourists (Guizhou Provincial Museum of Literature and History, 2015). In 1990s, local government initiated to seek for a solution for the extreme poverty in Yunshe. By 2000s before the government-led development started off, the community was the key subject in the ordinary renovation and maintenance of the village.



Figure 43: Paper-making station. Source: photo by author in May 2018



Figure 44: Shenlong Tan. Source: photo by author in May 2018

5.1.2 Initiation of heritage-led development in the 2000s

Thanks to the county government’s recommendation, in 2002 and 2004, Yunshe was listed on the “*National Tourism Administration’s Support Point*” and the “*Provincial Rural Tourism Model Village*”, according to which the village successfully received funding for tourism development (Yu, 2013). Thanks to these awards and in order to respond to the mainstream of building ecological villages. For instance, in 2005, the governments of different levels financed more than 3 million yuan (about 390,000 euro) in Yunshe village to build a “*Village of Ecological Civilization*”. The funds was mainly used to improve the infrastructure and the living conditions in the village, including the water supply system, road hardening, and sanitation services (Lang 2015).

However, the project tried to link the heritage value with renovation project, going beyond the simple infrastructure improvement. In Yunshe, the paper-making workshops, the ancient wall, and the overall landscape feature have been renovated to brand the theme of ecological civilization. During this period, some villagers start to involve in agritourism, and 200 people took part in a performance team for rural tourism promotion (Lang 2015). Before 2004, the income of the villagers mainly relied on emigrant workers, farming, and papermaking. By the end of 2004, the

tourism industry in Yunshe began to take shape. The annual income per person was about 7000 Yuan (about 897 euro) (Hu 2016)¹⁰⁵.

In 2005, Yunshe successively became the "*National Agritourism and Poverty Alleviation Model Village*" (Zhou 2007) (Figure 45). In 2008, Tongren Dongtai company¹⁰⁶ intervened in the development of Yunshe rural tourism by providing funds for the renovation of 18 farm family resorts, 6 tourism boutiques, and the restoration of 12 paper-making workshops (Yu 2013); as a result, in 2010, Yunshe village had more than 200 tourism employees, the total tourism revenue was 2.8 million yuan (Xu, Hu and Duan 2017). In 2013, thanks to county's recommendation, the historic buildings in Yunshe were listed onto the CPUs (Figure 46). Yunshe has been listed on the first batch of the "*Chinese Traditional Villages (CTVs)*" in 2012, the sixth batch of "*Historical and Cultural Towns and Villages*" in 2014.



Figure 45: Lable of "*National Agritourism and poverty alleviation Model Village*". Source: photo by author in May 2018



Figure 46: Lable of "*Historic Building Groups*". Source: photo by author in May 2018

5.1.3 Booming of heritage-led development in the 2010's

The first attempt of heritage-led development

After being inscribed as a CTVs and HTVs, ideas to develop the cultural tourism through heritage-led planning were gradually shaped. And two rational solutions for the overall renovation of Yunshe were available in name of "Conservation and Development Plan". The elaboration of the first Conservation and Development Plan started in 2012, which was delegated to the Guizhou Urban and Rural Planning and Design Institute (here in after the "GURPDI") by Jiangkou County (Guizhou Urban and Rural Planning and Design Institute, 2012). The GURPDI has defined a tourism-oriented development approach for Yunshe, highlighting the potentials to fully exploit the historic and landscape value of the village. Despite the failure for approval, the

¹⁰⁵ http://news.china.com.cn/2016-01/18/content_37605418.htm

¹⁰⁶ It was officially established in 1994. Its activity covers real estate development, hotels and restaurants, and logistics.

plan shows the idea to preserve the historic settlement as a oneness, and develop a distinctive new area which totally occupied by tourism and commercial activities (Figure 47).

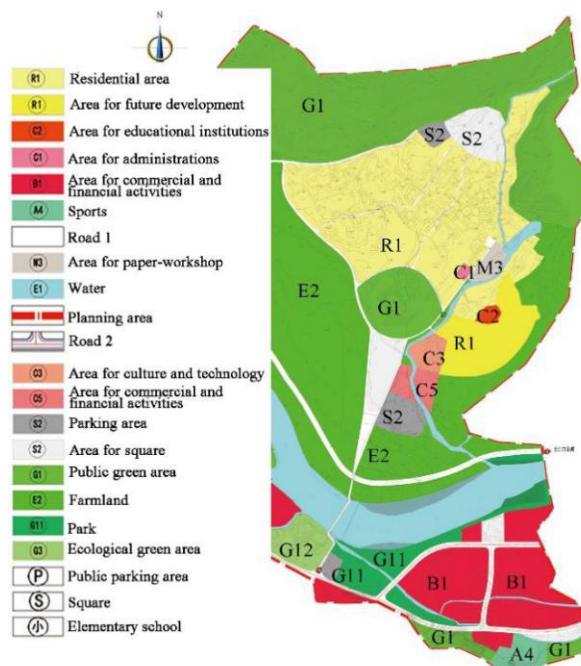


Figure 47: Land Use Plan of the Conservation and Development Plan Elaborated in 2012.

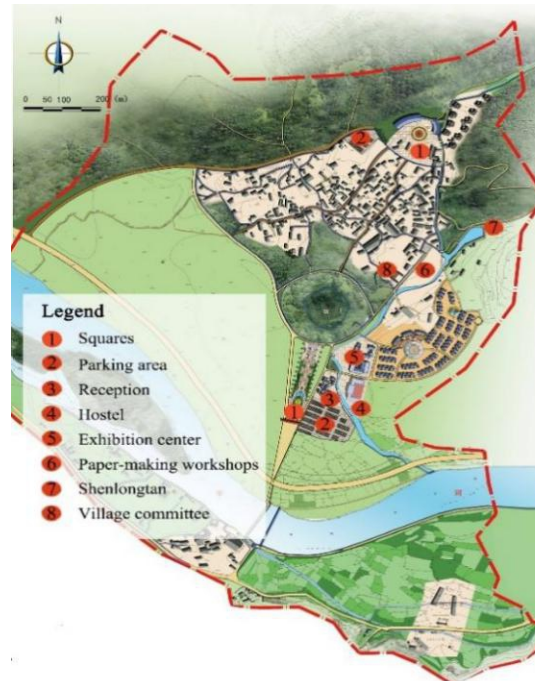


Figure 48: Master Plan of the Conservation and Development Plan Elaborated in 2012.

Moreover, boulevard and green area at the entrance implicates the idea of showing the representativeness of this Tujia village. An entire area facing to the original settlement is designed to develop local tourism, containing an area exclusively dedicated to the tertiary services of a variety of standards, from luxury to normal ones (B1, area for commercial and finance in Figure 47). This area is planned to be surrounded by a set of green areas, including open spaces like sports camps and squares in order to create a high standard living environment for targeted outsiders coming from city. This plan foresees new residential area (R1, area for residential function in Figure 46) and the original settlement (R1 with the color of light yellow) that are divided by an area for the construction of the main landscape axis. The new residential area shows a rigid planning idea in its spatial organization and urban form. New building typologies to be inserted in the new area are developed with distinctive modern architectural imprints (Figure 48).

The second attempt of heritage-led development

A breakdown opportunity emerged as the turning point for the village in 2013 thanks to the county government who actively seized the appeal of Western Development and poverty alleviation. At the beginning of 2012, the State Council issued “*Several Opinions on Further Promoting Sound and Rapid Economic and*

Social Development in Guizhou” and clearly proposed the so-called "one-to-one" pairing relationship and the main tasks (State Council 2012c).

One year later, cities of advanced social-economic conditions in eastern regions, including Shanghai, Guangzhou, Hangzhou, and Suzhou, were designed to help the cities and prefectures in Guizhou province. One year later, Suzhou in Jiangsu Province was designated to support Tongren in a one-to-one mode. At the end of 2013, Suzhou issued the Implementation plan of Suzhou Counterpart Assistance to Tongren (2013-2015) (State Council, 2012c).

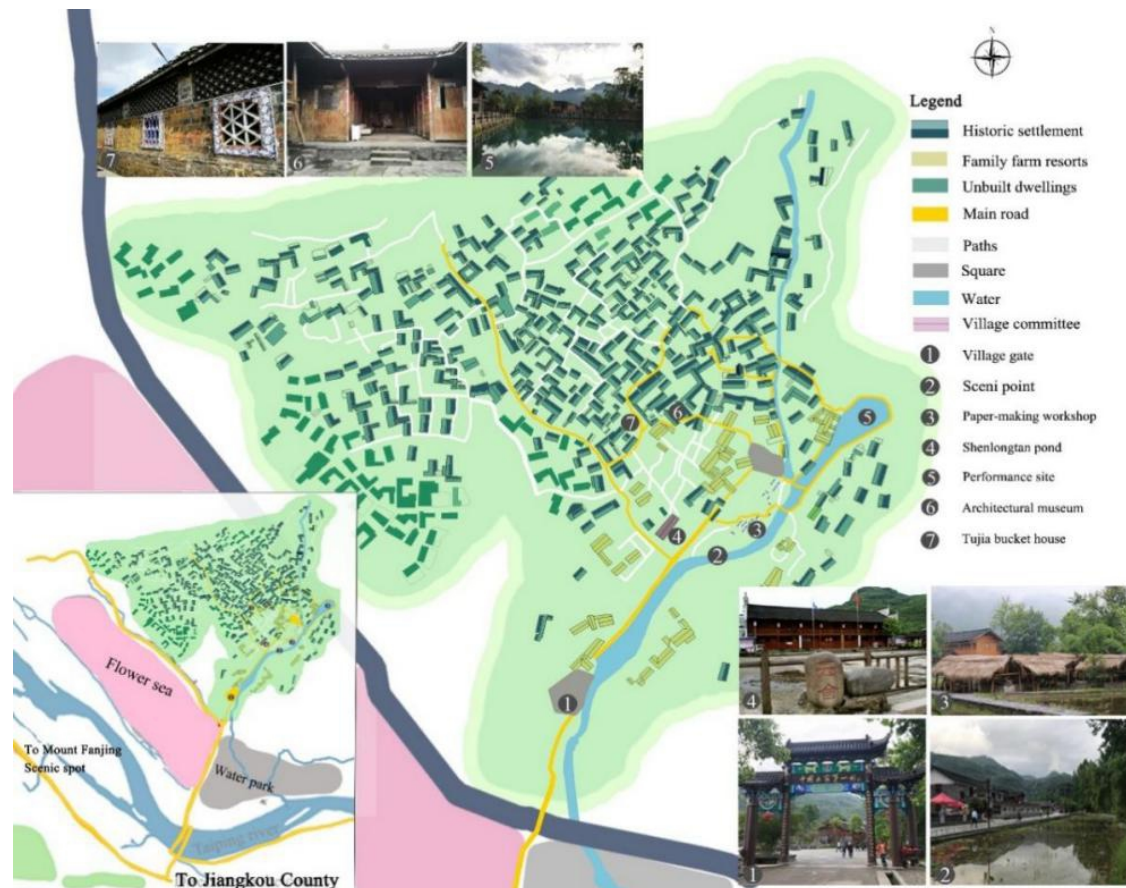


Figure 49: Different Projects of Restoration and Renovation in Yunshe Source: Mu Qi (2020).

The Gusu district of Suzhou as an area famous for its historic and cultural feature, is responsible for transferring funds, human capital and conducting projects to Jiangkou's rural tourism development. Yunshe, a historic village that triumph over the Zhaisha (the second case study) at time, became the core point of rural tourism. The county government firmly seized this chance, making efforts to build the village into a new rural leisure tourism destination at provincial even national level (Urban and Rural Planning Bureau of Tongren, 2012). With the help of the one-to-one assistance of Suzhou, the project was “customized”¹⁰⁷ by a famous planning and design institute for the overall planning and landscape design (Lang 2015) (Figure 49).

¹⁰⁷ It is interesting to notice “customize”, a word present in official documents and plans. It shows the government’s determination to develop Yunshe and “moulding” it to become the “model” or “star” village according to the characteristics it possesses.

In this second plan, the village is separated into 6 areas of different themes, including the historic settlement area, monumental gate area, eventual restoration of dwellings, an future development area to relocate the surplus residents of the historic settlement, a paper making experience area where the original papermaking workshop were located, a tourist service area, and agricultural culture experience area (Urban and Rural Planning Bureau of Tongren, 2012). The design and construction of the above-mentioned scenic spots imitated the atmosphere of the historic area of Suzhou (Lang 2015). The total planning area is about 1632 mu (about 1.065km²), which was implemented in three phases and completed in three years. Suzhou, in order to monitor the project, delegated cadres to lead and control the construction of scenic spots through symposiums and on-site meetings (Urban and Rural Planning Bureau of Tongren, 2012). The design and construction of the scenic spots fully utilized the development model of the historic area of Suzhou (Lang 2015).

The first phase is to build the village gate as an attractive scenic spot, and the construction of a tourist service center including the parking lot. The second phase is to the renovate the historic settlement, renovating the façade and conducting structural consolidation of the dilapidated houses. The plan foresees the restoration of bucket houses (number 6 and number 7 in the Figure 49), attempting to transform them into an architectural heritage center and a Tujia Museum correspondingly.

Moreover, the water purification treatment of the Longtan river was completed as well. The planners tried to insert the new residential buildings with traditional typologies into the existing urban tissue organically, obeying the original road system and the existing public spaces such as the square (Urban and Rural Planning Bureau of Tongren, 2012). The main road along the river was considered the core tourist axis, which tries to provide convenience to the tourist flow by connecting the main scenic spots like the paper-making workshops, the “Shenlong Tan” with the tourism-related facilities, like the farm family resorts along the river. Moreover, the plan attempted to satisfy the urgent demands for new living spaces without damaging the original morphology of the village. However, the construction of the area for relocation was suspended due to the disagreement between the real estate developer and the government¹⁰⁸.

The first two phases were implemented with success. The new area of the village gate, being the most important project during the implementation of the plan, takes about 102 mu (about 68,000 m²), with an investment of 16.4 million yuan (about 2.1 million euro) (Lang 2015). Furthermore, the renovation of historic settlement included the decorations on 280 roof ridges, road hardening of about 3.8 km covering the major part of the main road, 1.68 km of ditch reconstruction and the construction of ecological parking lot have been completed. In addition, thanks to the funding of both government and private, 39 farm family resorts started to open to public (Lang 2015).

¹⁰⁸ According to the interview carried out in May 2018 in Yunshe with Yang Xing. The reason needs to be explored furtherly.

12 paper making workshops were renovated; the renewal of street lamps, public toilets and other infrastructure were conducted, which further changed Yunshe's historic appearance.

5.1.4 Entrepreneurialism and the post heritage-led development

Due to the County's strong determination in approaching the heritage-led development and the implementation of the plan, in February 2014, Yunshe village was inscribed into the sixth batch of HCTVs, thanks to which additional 3 million yuan for the renovation of the village was allocated to the county. Soon after, in March 2014, the Tourism Bureau of County established a state-owned company focusing on the cultural tourism development, named Jiangkou Cultural Tourism Development Co., Ltd¹⁰⁹. This is an enterprise subordinate to Jiangkou County Tourism Bureau, responsible to take over the project making and tourism development of Yunshe (Lang 2015). In May, the accomplishment of Mount Fanjing Avenue, an expressway connecting the county and Mount Fanjing scenic spot passing through important nodes such as Yunshe and Zhaisha facilitated the arrival of tourists (Li 2016). Consequently, by the end of 2014, there were 40 farm family resorts in the village, half of which are operated by Yunshe villagers and half by outsiders (Li 2016); half of the villagers involved in tourism activities. Due to the industrialization and the tedious manual process, villagers rarely engaged in the production of paper-making, only 2-3 workshops were functioning from 2014 to today as the displaying site to show to the tourists.

However, in the eyes of the county government, the simple emphasize of “*historic feature*” of Tujia settlement can hardly satisfy the tourists, and may bring homogeneous competition with other Tujia villages within the province. Thus, local government activated the ambitious construction of the third phase, in collaboration with Suzhou, to make Yunshe become a “5A scenic spot” (the highest rating for tourist attractions in China). During the realization of the 5A scenic spot, a leading group composed of different sub-groups led by the cadres from different bureau was formed (Table 9).

Table 9 Sub-groups of the leading group and the duties

Sub-group	Entity & Duty	
Land acquisition	Entity	Urban and Rural Planning Bureau
	Duty	Land acquisition and compensation
Dwelling acquisition	Entity	Department of Dwelling Acquisition in the Housing and Construction Bureau

¹⁰⁹ Jiangkou County Cultural Tourism Development Co., Ltd. was established in March 2014. The company is a wholly state-owned enterprise, subordinate to the Jiangkou County Tourism Bureau with registered capital of 200 million RMB. The company has 17 employees, including 1 general manager, 2 deputy general managers, 2 financial staff, 4 office staff and 8 staff who work in Zhaisha for tourism operations and management. The company is mainly engaged in cultural tourism, the construction and investment, supporting services, infrastructure construction, scenic spot development and operation, tourism resource investment, and financing. Source: website of Guizhou Accademia of Social Science. <http://www.gzass.net.cn/>

	Duty	Contracts of dwelling acquisition and treatise
Planning and construction	Entity	Housing and Construction Bureau
	Duty	To conduct the implementation (water system renovation; greening; road hardening; pollution treatment and dwelling renovation) according to the plan
Social stability	Entity	Towship cadres
	Duty	Resolve the disputes related to land and dwelling acquisition.
Ethnic culture exploitation	Entity	Culture and Tourism Bureau
	Duty	To exploit the Tujia culture, organize the performance team and the preparation of ethnic museum.
Audit and supervision	Entity	Commission for Discipline Inspection
	Duty	Responsible for the audit, supervision and improvement of related procedures such as project establishment and bidding during the implementation.
Promotion	Entity	Bureau of Propaganda
	Duty	Responsible for tracking and reporting the development of the work, staged publicity reports and creating atmosphere during the creation of the 5A-level scenic spot

Source: Feng & Wu (2016)

To realize the 5A scenic spot, other projects that were not included in the plan, started the construction as well. For instance, a water park as tourism leisure facility completed the construction in the Spring Festival of 2015; and a so-called “flower sea” close to the main gate of the village started to receive tourists as well. All these projects witnessed the governments’ fast reaction and strong determination in constantly enriching the tourism products based on the cultural and natural resources of Yunshe (Figure 50 and Figure 51).

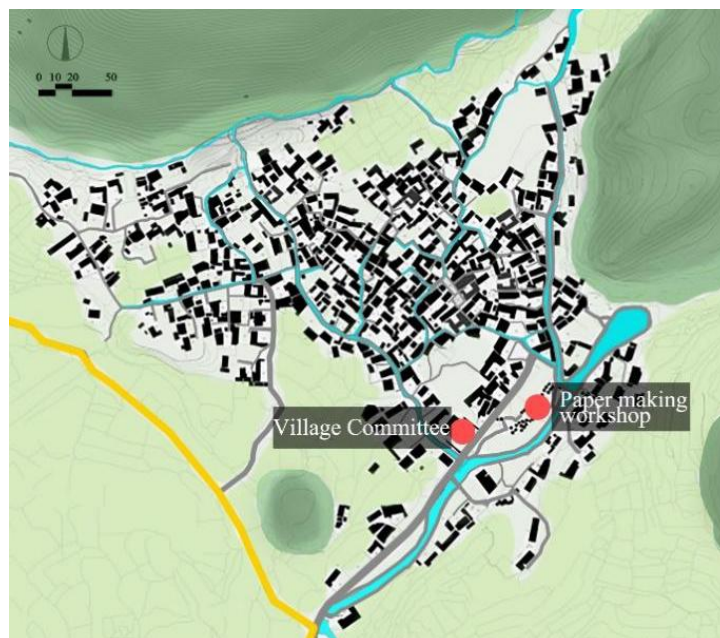


Figure 50: Infrastructure and Facilities of Yunshe in 2006. Source: adapted by author based on the map of Li (2016), p 63



Figure 51: Infrastructure and Facilities in Yunshe in 2016.

Source: adapted by author based on the map of Li (2016), p 64

5.1.5 Implementation

Dwelling restoration and renovation

From the dwelling restoration and renovation point of view, villages listed as CTVs and HCTVs can receive about 3 million yuan per village from central government, and some villages may receive provincial, municipal, and county level supports. However, as basic projects of the conservation of CTVs and HCTVs include traditional building protection, cultural relics and intangible heritage protection, historical environmental protection, disaster prevention, infrastructure and environmental improvement, for a village with an ordinary size (6-10 hectares), the expected costs on infrastructure, environmental protection, and fire prevention may have already exceeded the 3 million yuan. The critical point is that the assigned funds can be hardly placed in the heritage preservation. Moreover, in order to reduce the possibilities of financial abuse, the financial supports from the central government are only issued through two channels, "Rural Environmental Improvement Project"¹¹⁰ and the "One matter One Discussion Project"¹¹¹(Feng & Wu, 2016). The main focus

¹¹⁰ This project is launched mainly by the Ministry of Environmental Protection and the ministry of finance.

¹¹¹ "one matter, one discussion" refers to a specific taxation method. Before the rural tax reform in 2001, the township was responsible for levying the compulsory tax related to land management, basic construction of farmland, water conservancy, road construction, afforestation, comprehensive agricultural development. Now, this part of work is accomplished through the "one matter, one discussion" method that requires the village collective to organize meetings to decide which projects to invest and to collect the tax directly from the villagers. This change shows the improvement in the public engagement in the rural development in China at village level.

of these two channels is on the infrastructural and environmental improvement, water source protection, and garbage disposal in historic villages. Moreover, local finances are generally only used for basic livelihood projects such as road construction due to taxation considerations. As a result, traditional building and cultural relics' preservation, intangible heritage protection, and historical environmental protection projects generally fall into a situation that is impossibly difficult to maneuver.

In fact, in Yunshe, the restoration of the ordinary residential buildings is charged on individual dwellers. According to the interviews to the residents, the overall cost varies from 2,000 yuan (about 280 Euro) to 200,000 yuan (about 28,000 Euro) covering differentiated physical interventions, from simple restoration to major renovation.

During the survey, we find that the dwellers near the main axis are more willing to restore the dwellings with their own funds due to the flow of tourists and the potential income. Therefore, eventual modifications on building typologies have been made to “*meet demands for tourism development*”, so did the family of Yang Xing, the elite family which renovated the dweller two years ago explained to the author (Figure 52). Without changing the land plot surface, he managed to change the typology of the dwelling creating a residential-commercial mixed space. The ground floor has been modified into space for restaurant which can be extended into open space. The second floor has been renovated into bedrooms and living rooms for family's daily uses. The kitchen and the toilet have been renovated with the anti-fire and water proof materials. The annual family income is about 100,000 yuan (about 13,000 euro), representing the median income of the families who run the farm family resort in Yunshe.



Figure 52: Dwelling of Yang family.
Source: photo by the author in May. 2018

It is interesting to notice the uses of the prefabrication materials of the components and joints, which reduced significantly the time for assemblage and renovation. A uniformed aesthetic and decorative details have been widely present in the dwellings in Yunshe. The question about the authentic materials and the historic values that a piece of dwelling could contain has been posed, and the interviewees highlighted that there has been a phase of “*value orientation shift*”, from appreciating the concrete and bricks (especially for those who worked in cities) towards a traditional one (for those who perceived the benefits induced by cultural tourism).

Such shift has been conceived by both residents and local officers. One villager in the Yunshe said *“the concrete buildings are not suitable to the humid climate so we prefer the wood buildings”*. In addition, during the survey, the director of the Ethnic Affairs Bureau in Tongren, Mr. Luo was pointing the concrete modern style buildings present close to the county area, saying *“these modern dwellings were erected dozens years ago because at that time the emigrant workers thought that the buildings of modern style represent the richness of the family, implying that by working in the cities they bring money to their families, so it has moral implications as well...but today many villagers see the benefit from rural tourism and they found that the old buildings are valuable in tourists eyes, so nowadays they prefer build the dwellings with seemingly traditional materials...”*

Apart from the residential buildings, the building listed as to be protected by law (for instance, listed as CPUs) are in condition of abandonment. According to the Conservation and Development Plan of Yunshe (2012) and the Heritage Law revised in 2015, the buildings designated as CPUs, such as the bucket houses in Yunshe should have been protected by professional teams registered in the Cultural Bureau of Jiangkou County and supported with official funding. However, during the survey we found that the funding is hardly arrived at these buildings.

Infrastructure

The infrastructure in Yunshe includes road construction, water supply and drainage facilities. In terms of road construction, the main streets, and internal roadways of Yunshe village have experienced construction and renovation in different periods. From the perspective of the main streets.

In 2003, the Poverty Alleviation Office at county level invested in the construction and improved the rubble road, which lacked consideration of the style and features with the asphalt pavement. In order to demonstrate the traditional style and features, in addition to the partial damage of asphalt pavement, in 2015, the superior government invested to restore the stone pavement. The pavement was of stone with cuttings, and the gap was filled with plain soil, which basically met the requirements of the traditional style and features. From the perspective of the internal roadway, the existing pavement materials are significantly diverse (Figure 53).



Figure 53: Different pavement in Yunshe.
Source: Li 2016.

In 2007, part of the roadways was hardened and the cement pavement was accomplished. In 2015, accompanied by the implementation of the Conservation and Development Plan (2012), part of the roadways was renovated, including bluestone slab with concrete pavement, pebble cement pavement and blue brick pavement, which assigned have both traditional and modern elements. However, compared with the traditional pavement, these modern pavement materials have poor water permeability, and the original local materials have disappeared in the village's transformation process (Table 10).

Table 10: Different construction periods of basic facilities in Yunshe.

Year	Projects' name	Main entity in the construction	Mode of construction	Main project
1990s	Renovation of the road to the village	Villagers	Spontaneously constructed by villagers	A road of 3 m width paved with rubble
1990s	Water supply	Taiping township government	Financed by government, the villagers' participation in the form of labor	The distribution of the water pipe.
2002	Public toilet	Dongtai Fanjing Tourism development company. ltd	Outsourced construction team to	A public toilet
2003	Renovation of the road to the village	Poverty alleviation office of county	Outsourced construction team to	The previous road of 3m was enlarged to a road of 5.5-6 m with asphalt.
2006	Public transport	Rural autobus expresses of Mount Fanjing	Not clear	The rural autobus express connects the county and Yunshe
2007	Road system	One matter one discussion project	Financed by Poverty alleviation office of county, the villagers' participation in the form of labor	Few roads connecting households were hardened with concrete.
2010	Renovation of living environment"	Bureau of Agriculture of county	Outsourced construction team to	Polluted water purification; 100 garbage collection boxes; hardening of the drainage ditch; 20 solar-powered street lamp
2015	Public transport	Hengtong company. Ltd.	Not clear	The autobus connects county and Yunshe
	Main road	Cultural Tourism and Development company	Outsourced construction team to	Roads were renovated and substituted with slabs.
	Road system	Cultural Tourism and Development company	Outsourced construction team to	Few roads were renovated with slabs and concrete. The width has been maintained
	Renovation of	Poverty	Outsourced to	Façade renovation

	public toilet	alleviation office	office	construction team	
	Parking area	Poverty alleviation office of county	office	Outsourced construction team	to Hardening and renovation of the parking area in front of the village committee

Source: data comes from Li (2016).

5.1.6 Conclusion

Stakeholders involved

In the case of Yunshe, the County government have faced socio-political pressure of get rid of the poverty for whole county, taking Yunshe as a model village to activate local development. Under the national mainstream of rural revitalization and poverty alleviation, Jiangkou County sees Yunshe as a cultural tourism product, delegating to planning and design institutes to make plans to satisfy the tourism market demands (Figure 54).

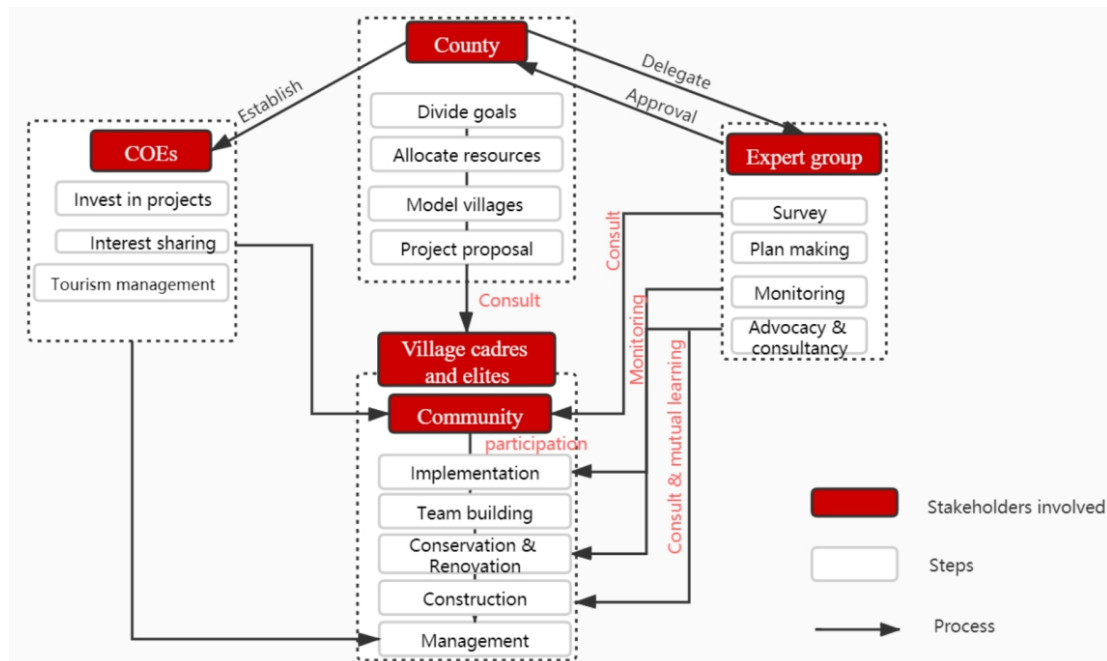


Figure 54: Network of key stakeholders involved in the planning and implementation process in Yunshe. Source: elaborated by author.

Spatial transformations

The spatial transformations that Yunshe has experienced are due to interventions determined by the government-led approach. The making of scenic spots, the main axis and the infrastructure improvement have totally changed the feature of village, although the will to keep the historic settlement while renovating the village in tune with local character. Severe critiques are directly related to how the planning and design works take advantage of the Tujia culture.

Official heritage narratives

Villagers are sensitive in how the experts exploit their cultural symbols and potential historical and cultural resource in constituting discourses and spaces. The name Yunshe is involved in the debate of this kind. In accordance with the official explanation and what the media has exposed, the name of the village, “Yunshe” in Tujia language¹¹² possibly means *“the place where the golden monkeys come to drink water”*¹¹³, to create cultural connection with the Mount Fanjing so as to enhance the ecological quality of the village. However, the villagers hesitated to say the contrary facts in which they believed. *“I don't know whether to tell you about this...They have made up a lot of histories seeming to be very suitable for tourists, and in reality, they can't find the evidences to prove it...it was only to build relation with the monkeys in Mount Fanjing to attract tourists...the name of our village corresponds to its Chinese characters, ‘the dormitory in the cloud’, because our ancestors believed that this is a safe place to settle down”*. When asked about the relation with the golden monkey, they asserted: *“we have never heard about this (kind of explanation)”*. In fact, inappropriate uses of cultural symbols cause negative effects which have been circulated in the community. The discourse of the “white tiger pavement” in the square in front of the Tujia Architectural Museum is an evidence. The white tiger, as the symbol and the protector of Tujia people has been considered inviolable element, thus, it is a disrespect to use the pattern of white tiger for the pavement of the square because it implicates a *“tiger under people's feet and it disgraces the protector”*. As Yang said: *“villagers think it brings bad fortune to our village. Since the pattern was paved, three young people died accidentally in our village; this is ascribable to this tiger under the feet. The planning and design experts did not know nothing about our culture, despite their fame in the profession. And they are too self-confident, they did not discuss with us about our culture...”*

Implementation

Despite the plans and implementation assisted by preferential policies have improved the living environment of Yunshe, several issues related to these actions have been exposed. The restoration of dwellings is in charge on individual dwellers, and the overall cost varies from 2,000 yuan (about 280 Euro) to 200,000 yuan (about 28,000 Euro) from simple restoration to major renovation. In Yunshe, it is normal to have more than 5 family members living in one dwelling, and they have no alternative solutions to extend the living space. As Yang commented: *“from 1990s to present, no houses have been built and no houses have been permitted to be demolished. We don't have enough living space, but the population in Yunshe has grown. Due to this issue,*

¹¹² A language disappeared for approximately hundreds of years.

¹¹³ In Chinese, Qianjinsihou, literally means the “golden monkey from Guizhou”. The species is commonly called the snub-nosed monkey in the English world (Latin name, *Rhinopithecus brelichi*). It is an endangered species that inhabit Mount Fanjing. They are also called “the only child of the earth” by scientists due to their very limited habitat and scarce population.

many men aged 50-60 have not been able to get married. It is because they don't have own houses..."

Moreover, as all the tertiary activities have been planned along the main axis supported with favorable accessibility and visibility, the dwellers near the main axis are more willing to restore their houses due to the the potential income. And eventual modifications on building typologies have been made to *"meet demands for tourism development"*. The unequal distribution of the resources has brought further decay and underdevelopment of the "marginal" households due to the limited financial availability. Besides the residential buildings, the building listed as to be protected by law are in condition of abandonment despite these should have been protected by professional teams registered in the Cultural Bureau and supported with official funding (Heritage Law 2018). But the funding is hardly arrived at these buildings due to the very limited budget of the Cultural bureau.

The implementation and management of projects experienced different stages, from villager's voluntary implementation to the delegation to the construction team which is a unified coordinated process funded by government's direct financial support. The construction team includes mainly the recruited skilled craftsmen nearby to form a temporary construction team, consisting of a contractor with a certain technical level and experience, and general workers without professional skills. Through interviews with village cadre: *"Generally for the technical works we directly find people outside, local villagers can't do it, and normal simple works in construction site are all on local villagers, such as those who work with mud."* This situation represents the non-professional construction team lacking systematic management skills; thus, the project's quality cannot be guaranteed, which directly determines the heritage feature in Yunshe.

5.2 The case of Zhaisha

5.2.1 Introduction

Being in the same county, Zhaisha's experience is distinctively different from Yunshe. Zhaisha adopted a government-led demolition and, and reconstructed the overall spatial characteristics and heritage narrative of the village, characterized by symbolic monuments and unified designed courtyard (Figure 55). Not only that, in the heritage-led development, Zhaisha has adopted an "enterprise-led" tourism management model, which has led Zhaisha to a pure commodification approach.



Figure 55: Aerial view of Zhaisha.

Source: <http://go.ly.com/travels/1111338.html>

On the one hand, the above-mentioned model has promoted the economic development of the community, and on the other hand, it has generated dilemma in cultural identity and the problematic "new tradition". In addition, lack of public participation and short-sight development ideology has been evidenced in the analysis. The development of Zhaisha is closely connected with Mount Fanjing scenic area due to its proximity. In 2006, Zhaisha was a dilapidated village with limited resources and degraded sanitation facilities (Dai, 2019). The annual per capita income was around 900 yuan, making it a typical poor village. This situation was dramatically changed as a result of the construction of the Buddhist Cultural Park and all the projects of infrastructural improvement nearby (Figure 56).



Figure 56: Location of Zhaisha, the main gate area of the Mount Fanjing and the Buddhist Cultural Park.

Source: author's elaboration based on google map.

Geographical condition and spatial layout

Zhaisha is a village of 75 families and habited by mostly Dong people (Figure 56). The village is in Taiping Xiang, Jiangkou County. The distance between the village and the county center is 27km.

Heritage of Zhaisha

As a Dong village, those symbolic elements like Drum tower, the core monument both in organizing the entire Dong village spatially and social orders, and Fengyu bridge that other Dong villages possess were not present until the reconstruction of the village. Today, the current status of traditional buildings in Zhaisha is quite paradoxical. The existing buildings are all reconstructions, where the prefabrications of wood materials and unified construction technique are evidences of such occur. Being a village situated in Northeast of Guizhou, which was the closest channel to access to the “Zhongyuan”, the central plain formed the cradle of Chinese civilization, the Dong people in Tongren was strongly influenced by the culture of the majority Han, as it has been shown in other villages and communities in the surrounding area. Although the Dong people here cannot be identified explicitly as Dong of those areas where they are highly concentrated, they still feel the cultural identity of being Dong instead of being other minorities or “Hanized groups”. Despite 80% of the population of the village is Dong people, the traditional culture symbols were rarely preserved, neither the language, cloth, festivals, and other living customs.

5.2.2 Government-led demolition and reconstruction in the 2010s

The development of Zhaisha is linked with Mount Fanjing due to its proximity. Over the years, the government has worked around the ecological protection and tourism development of Mount Fanjing, one of the objectives is the expansion of the “tourism space”, including the development of new scenic spots, the construction of new “cultural experience” projects, and the enhancement and the development of rural tourism (Jiangkou County, 2017).

In 2006, Zhaisha was a dilapidated village with limited resources and degraded sanitation facilities (Dai, 2019). Some young and middle-aged people emigrated in the township for work, others were bearers of sedan chairs who brought tourists onto the Mount Fanjing. Women and old people stayed in the village as farmers (Dai 2019). The annual per capita income was only around 900 yuan. In 2007, Jiangkou County government successfully attracted funds for a relevant project, the Buddhist Culture Park. With these funds, the construction of a garden with Buddhist statues and complementary tourist services have been programmed. This event attempted to enhance the cultural and historical significance related to the mountain (Figure 57). The project expropriated and occupied all farmland belonging to Zhaisha. The county government and the village committee believed that the rural tourism based on the Buddhist Culture Park and the branding of Dong culture could be an ideal solution to avoid villagers to return to poor living status.

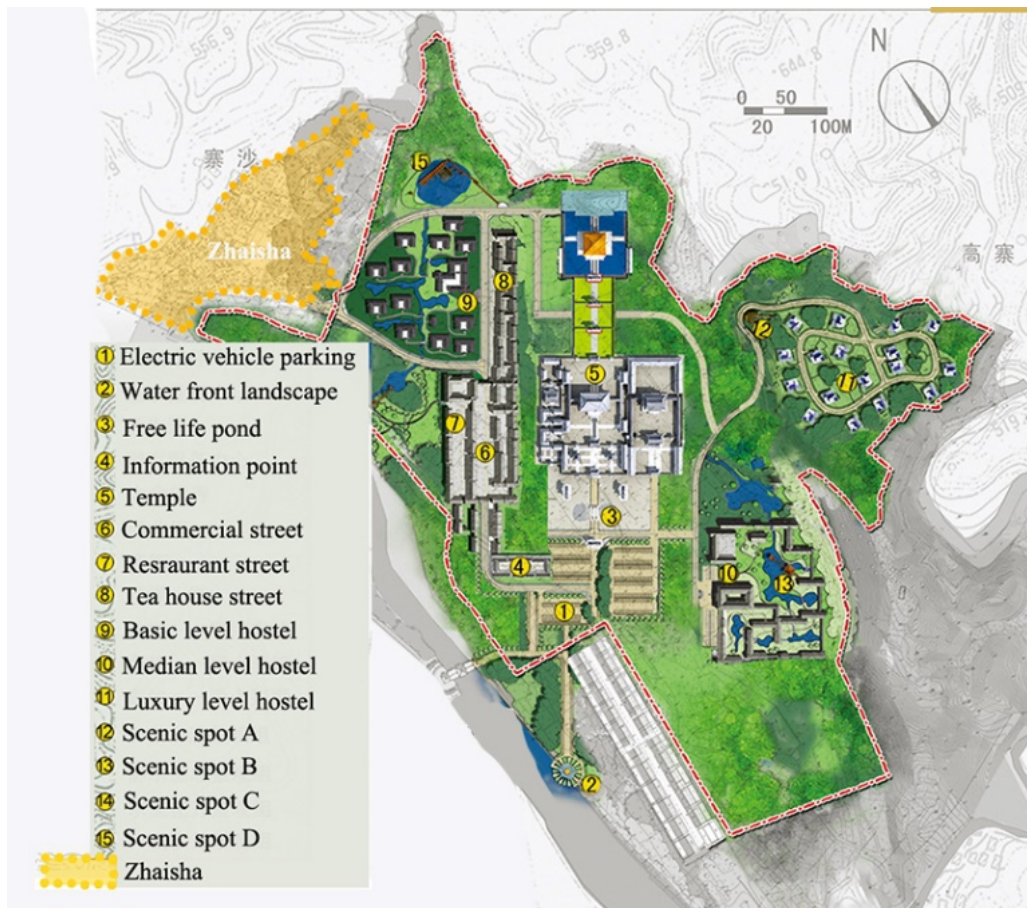


Figure 57: Master plan of the Buddhist Cultural Park.

Source: the author adapted with the figure from the *Detailed planning for the construction of Buddhist Culture Garden* made by Tongren Architectural, Planning, Survey and Design Institute

Zhaisha's destiny has been strongly intervened by local authorities. The second important opportunity occurred in 2008. The provincial Ethnic Affairs Office began the designation process of the so-called "*Ethnic Solidarity Model Village*" (abbreviated as ESMV, Guizhou's Ethnic Affairs Office, 2008). The first batch of 10 Ethnic solidarity and Progress Pilot Villages were established, among which Zhaisha was listed. According to the Guidelines of the construction of the listed villages, the *ethnic culture (minzu wenhua)*, *ethnic tourism (minzulvyou)* economic and social development (*jingjishehui fazhan*) *ecological environment (shengtai huanjing)* *ethnic solidarity and harmony (minzu hexie tuanjie)* should be emphasized. Therefore, the funds received went to ethnic cultural empowerment and infrastructure projects. Jiangkou County actively responded to the call for ESMV by delegating Shengang Zhongtian Construction Design Co., Ltd. to create a detailed plan for Zhaisha (Jiangkou Ethnic Affairs Bureau, 2008) (Figure 58).

This detailed plan established a set of principles to guide the implementation: "*(to achieve) ecological quality in the village, outstanding cultural and tourism-led development for Zhaisha, and realize poverty alleviation program for the community (as the final aim).*" (Ethnic Affairs Bureau, 2008) The plan proposed the demolition

of the whole village and the reconstruction in Zhaisha. As a result, the spatial layout, industry types, and cultural identity have been dramatically transformed.

By implementing this detailed plan, Zhaisha was completely demolished and rebuilt (Dai, 2019). In fact, the comparative photos on the Zhaisha's panoramic view showing the before and after demolition and construction are displayed at the main entrance to the village (Figure 58). The photos are “to show the efforts and achievements made by the government-led poverty alleviation program in Zhaisha,” a line of text accompanying the photos explained the motivation of the display.



Figure 58: Different conservation and renovation projects in Zhaisha.

Source: Mu Qi (2020). The author adapted with the figure from the ESMV detailed plan for Zhaisha. Photo 1-3 is taken by the author, photo 4 is from online source <http://go.ly.com/travels/1111338.html>.



Figure 59: Comparison before and after the implementation of the demolition and reconstruction. Source: Mu Qi (2020). All photos were provided by the Zhaisha village committee during the author's field survey in May 2018.

According to the detailed plan, the county government projected a fresh new layout for the village. Some cultural elements that didn't exist before the reconstruction have appeared in Zhaisha. For instance, a symbolic gate with the inscription “*Zhaisha Dongzhai*” (literally Zhaisha Dong village), a bridge linking the parking area and the village, a monumental Drum Tower placed in the cemented central square, and other tourism facilities close to the village entrance are constructed. Except for the monumental constructions, the basic infrastructures such as the newly paved road, the water supply and drainage system can also be found. Furthermore, considering the dwellings, the plan provided three types of wooden building styles with Dong characteristics for the villagers. The different types are defined depending on the location and surface area of individual properties and the financial affordability of householders.



Figure 60: The greenedlane and courtyard in one of the farm resorts in Zhaisha. Source: photo by author in May 2018

The whole village was planned to have a “courtyard layout”, which is characterized by slate laneway recalling the Zhaisha’s overall landscape defined by the mountain and river. In addition, in order to create an ecological Dong village, the layout of the courtyards was also required to be standardized, where the plants, vegetables and fruits construct a green courtyard image (Figure 60).

5.2.3 Governance and finance

The county government is active and successful in the coordination and implementation of the plan. A leadership team for Zhaisha’s tourism development, led by two key figures from the County’s Communist Party Committee, and a working group made up of the County Tourism Bureau, the Cultural Bureau, the Ethnic Affairs Bureau of Jiangkou County has been established. Later, the working group directly work in Zhaisha to monitor the plan implementation and the construction activities on site (Dai, 2019). Due to the efficient organization and county’s capacity in mobilising resources, more than 50 million yuan (about 6 million euro) was collected from different channels, including governments of different levels, the agriculture-related and poverty alleviation funds to build the village, and from subsidizing the farmers that are willing to involve in tourism. In order to guarantee the implementation of the plan and the stimulate villagers’ will in participating the tourism industry, a village elite was elected as the leader for the organization of a tourism cooperative to encourage villager’s participation.

5.2.4 Reconstructing the heritage discourse

At the same time, difficulties in the exploration of cultural resources emerged. After evaluating historical and cultural sources in Zhaisha, the leading group found that Zhaisha was “insufficient to represent the Dong culture”, as the cadre in Urban and Rural Planning Bureau commented. Therefore, the leading group gave up trying to investigate Zhaisha’s local culture. What the leading group has done is that they hired cultural professionals from Liping County, an area where the Dong people concentrately live together in the “original” Dong style in leading group’s eye, to teach the original Dong culture to the people of Zhaisha. This group of “cultural trainers” was mainly responsible for training the performance teams, such as dancing and singing, which were made up of farmers and some outsiders who came to earn a living, and organized the festivals related to the Dong folk song, the dance of stepping on the hall (of the Drum Tower), etc. Furthermore, the cooperation between Zhaisha and Liping County developed additionally in purchasing the raw material for the reconstruction of dwellings, and in training wood carpentries to produce landmark landscape for the village. In 2011, Zhaisha, as a village superficially filled with Dong elements under Mount Fanjing, officially received its first tourists.

5.2.5 Entrepreneurship and post heritage-led development

Village construction and management

To facilitate the profit-making in a short time, Jiangkou County government created Zhaisha Tourism Company, which is legitimated not only to lend to financial institutions for the construction in Zhaisha, but can also dialogue with the previously mentioned village tourism cooperative. Its duty is to operate according to the government's ideas on Zhaisha's future based on tourism driven approach.

The company's work includes mainly four aspects: (i) building themed inns and recruiting experienced managers from other towns to enhance the "Dongness" of Zhaisha; (ii) speeding up the reconstruction of the village; (iii) establishing a full-time performance team and periodically organizing the bonfire party on the theme of "Moon of Zhaisha"; and (iv) inviting different media to Zhaisha to increase the visibility and culture promotion. More importantly, the specialized tourism management model was implemented in this company, including several departments, such as the room management department, the catering management department, and the tourist service center.¹¹⁴ Furthermore, the company defined a series of beneficial measures, wishing to involve all villagers in tourism activities. For instance, the company rented 12 residential houses from the villagers, renovating and dividing them into 90 separated rooms to host tourists with highly homogeneous typologies. The abandoned primary school was transformed into a canteen named "farm for educated young people," which can host 200 people to recall the "urban youth" campaign from the 1950s to the 1970s. The investment for these projects was about 1.76 million yuan (about 220,000 euro) (Table 11).

Table 11: Investment for the reconstruction of Zhaisha (unit: 10,000 yuan).

Projects	Reconstruction of the gate	Rent ¹¹⁵	Renovation of new buildings ¹¹⁶	Transformation of toilet	Repair of classrooms and offices	External wall decoration	Kitchen and refurbishment	Tea house	Staff wage ¹¹⁷
Amount	8	0.4	94	10	11	5	5	3	89.6
In total	1.76 million yuan (about 343.600 euro)								

Source: author's elaboration.

¹¹⁴ The specific personnel composition is to employ 3 hotel management professionals, including 2 managers and 10 employees in the room management department; 2 chefs and 8 employees in the food and beverage management department; 2 guides, 2 security staff and 2 engineering maintenance personnel in the tourist service center, in total 28 employees. Except for 3 senior managers, other employees are mainly villagers in Zhaisha who experienced a period of intensive training.

¹¹⁵ The rent paid to the villagers is 400,000 yuan per building, and new houses were free for rent in the first two years, and the other eight houses were rent 400,000 yuan (the lease term of all houses is 10 years)

¹¹⁶ Including 0.7 million for refurbishment of 4 new buildings and 0.24 million for the upgrading of 8 new buildings.

¹¹⁷ including the salary of performance team (120,000 yuan), management personnel (96,000 yuan) per year, the salary of cooperative employees 100,000 yuan per year, two cooks (120,000 yuan), and other 23 employees' annual salary of 460,000 yuan.

Based on the data provided by Zhaisha Tourism Company, in 2013, the company's income surpassed 1.7 million yuan, with 0.8 million in net benefit. This means that the company was able to break even and started to generate net profit after two years. In Zhaisha, the annual net income per capita grew to 30,000 yuan (approximately 3,890 euro) (Table 12).

Table 12: Annual revenue after the reconstruction of Zhaisha (unit: 10,000 yuan).

Types of revenue	Hotel ¹¹⁸	Catering revenue	Public health management fee ¹¹⁹	Parking area
Amount	1,200,000	11	6	5
In total	1.42 million yuan (about 183.700 euro)			

Source: Author's elaboration. Source: author's elaboration.

The government's five-year continuous investment and political appeal have basically reached the goal. In this process, the way that villagers participate in tourism started to approaching to differentiation. As the owners of housing assets, some of the villagers operate by themselves, some of them start to lease the houses to outsiders to have the rent¹²⁰. In this way, the outsiders who bear the rent, involved directly in the management for their occupation, therefore, they were willing to develop their own skills and methods for developing tourism activities. At the same time, they have greater income pressure than householders, so they often become innovators and leaders of tourism and management in Zhaisha. By the end of 2018, the business run by the outsiders have accounted for half of Zhaisha's business entities. Therefore, villagers have accepted process of exploiting the housing property, utilizing the courtyards and other resources as leasing assets gradually. People who have no tourism reception and management capacity and wonder less risk for the investment, would choose the way of leasing assets to obtain the rent simply.

5.2.6 Branding and slowdown of heritage-led development: 2016-present

Like Yunshe's case, in early 2014, Jiangkou Cultural Tourism Development started work on the brand marketing of Zhaisha, developing a set of service regulations and different programs to improve reception standards. Therefore, different types of events were periodically held for tourism promotion. Zhaisha won more honors. Considering the success in improving the residents' income, Zhaisha received the label of "*National Poverty Alleviation and Rural Tourism Model Village*". The village was successively named as "*Special Research Point of CCP's Construction Working Group of the Central Organization Department*", "*100 Cultural Tourism Scenic Spots and Rural Tourism Pilot Points in Guizhou Province*",

¹¹⁸ There are 90 standard rooms in 12 houses, which are calculated by 35% of annual occupancy rate. The middle standard room charge is 120 yuan / room, and the income is 1.52 million yuan, excluding the cost of maintenance, water and electricity, the profit is about 1.2 million yuan.

¹¹⁹ Each business household pays 1,000 yuan per year

¹²⁰ According to the interview with the village committee in May 2018.

"National 3A Level Tourism Scenic Spot" and "National Rural Tourism Poverty Alleviation Pilot Point".



Figure 61: A News Reporting the “Beautiful Village of Guizhou: Zhaisha Dong village of Jiangkou County”

Source: www.gz.people.cn



Figure 62: A News Reporting the “Jiangkou county has obtained a green-motor for poverty alleviation”

Source: www.gov.cn



Figure 63: A New Reporting the “Zhaisha Dong village has explored a new tourism development approach”

Source: China Women's daily, October 9, 2016

Therefore, Jiangkou County, Tongren City, Guizhou Province and even the state-level media began to draw attention on this “traditional” ethnic village (Figure 61-63), and leaders at all levels began to visit Zhaisha. Government groups and village representatives from all over the city and even the province came to learn about Zhaisha’s success in rural tourism.

However, the Buddhist Culture Park sponsored by large capital has failed to continue its activities due to policy constraints and dramatic changes in the political environment,¹²¹ which potentially affected the village.

Meanwhile, in accordance with the national pursuit of ecological civilization, Mount Fanjing has become a famous destination (Municipality of Tongren, 2018). The completion of the ring road around Mount Fanjing relieved the pressure of the flow of tourists arriving from different directions. However, the main gate of Mount Fanjing in Zhaisha is now one of the many entrances, significantly reducing the number of tourists visiting Zhaisha. In addition, two reasons accelerated the decline of Zhaisha. The first reason was the continuously growing presence of Yunshe as a “core scenic area” due to its closer distance to the county and the settlement of relatively original style. The second reason was the decreasing interest of the county government, although stipulated in the GCLVRP (Urban and Rural Planning Bureau of Jiangkou, 2017). In 2018, from the government’s perspectives, Zhaisha’s model effect and political objectives were basically achieved. In addition, the leadership involved in the development process of Zhaisha underwent structural changes (Dai, 2019). Such shifts can be foreseen through the “*Master plan of Mount Fanjing and Taiping River Scenic Area (2011-2030)*” (Municipality of Tongren, 2011), which emphasized the development of the Yunshe thanks to the organic renewal defined by its planning and design institutions (Figure 64). Therefore, the “special care” towards Zhaisha has been gradually disappeared.

¹²¹ According to the interview with the director of the Urban and Rural Planning Bureau of Tongren, the development of the Buddhist culture was suddenly halted because “*temples could be symbols of superstition*”.



Figure 64: Master plan of Mount Fanjing and Taiping river scenic area (2011-2030). Source: Municipality of Tongren.

5.2.7 Conclusion

The heritage-led development process in Zhaisha and the stakeholders involved are shown in Figure 65. As a government-led approach, Zhaisha’s case shows insufficient interactions among the authorities, the expert group and the community, like Yunshe, completely changing the characteristics of the village and its cultural identity.

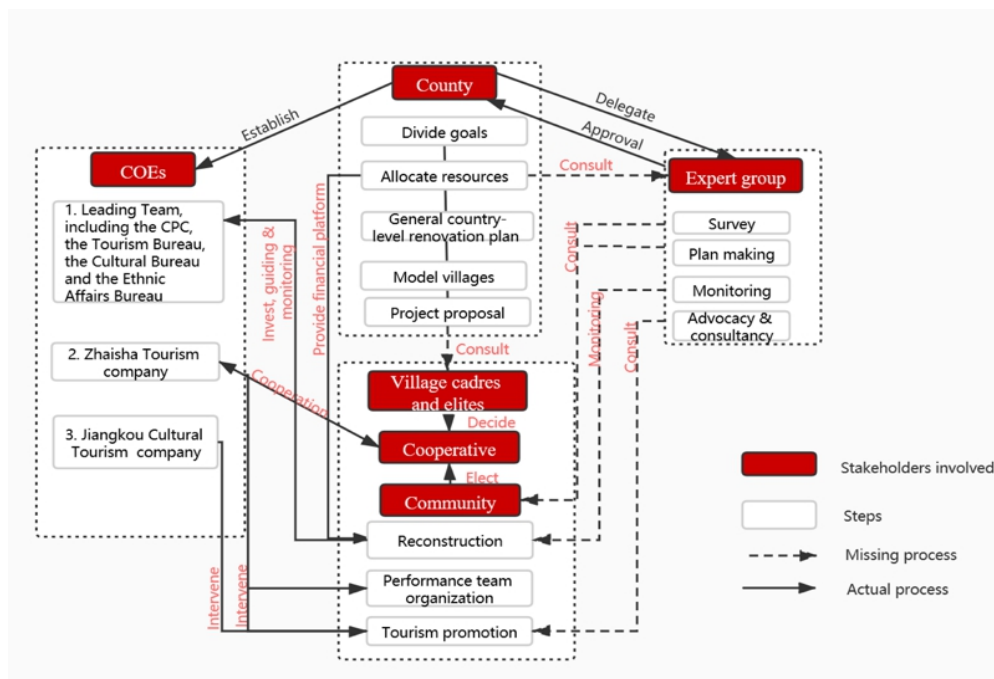


Figure 65: Network of key stakeholders involved in the planning and implementation process in Zhaisha. Source: illustrated by the author.

In Zhaisha's demolition and rebuild, the power of the government was consolidated during the plan implementation and management, and the various COEs significantly speed-up the process of commodification. At the beginning, in the initial construction period, the Jiangkou County government had become the most important actor in heritage-led development through planning and project making. The planning institute, as an external party participated in forming the technical planning scheme in the way of professional contribution, in which the power of government, the power of the land purchase, resources, spaces, traditional culture, and the power of tourists were all interwoven and performed; villagers, as the user of local resources and the owner of culture, were excluded from the central debate. The plan reorganized and overlapped various cultural symbols from different places and different local cultural systems (for instance, from Liping area) by the will of authorities. As the decisive power of the whole process, the county government was able to guarantee the reconstruction and commodification as scheduled through various available channels, including both legal processual one and the financial one. In this process, because of the weakness in resources, funds and decision-making power, the villagers were forced to take part in it gradually, somehow became the beneficiary of the reconstruction of Zhaisha. In Zhaisha's situation, the county government played the key role in planning. It was able to guarantee a smooth project implementation via administrative priorities and different financial channels. In order to reach the objectives in different periods, the county government was legitimated to coordinate different interests of a variety of institutional parties to maximize profits and has been driven by spirit of entrepreneurship.

Yunshe is currently the core of rural tourism in the county-level planning setting, diluting Zhaisha's role with more government investment, higher level institutional attention, greater exposure in multimedia platforms, and relatively traditional characteristics. Once projects lose value for the government and companies, and people cannot make a profit through the tourism economy, so-called cultural protection may become destruction and leads to cultural decline. As the author has observed in the case of Zhaisha, the county-COE coalition speculatively allocated funds to Yunshe, a village with more potentials in terms of rural tourism. Spatial changes

Different from Yunshe, that has preserved its overall spatial layout, Zhaisha has a distinctive new layout for its tourism development. The new layout recalls the concept of the courtyard and the representation of exotic cultural scenario, trying to have fashionable elements of Dong embedded in the village. The idea about ecological environment, the emphasis on the cultural performance and display of a specific minority group have been evident in terms of spatial arrangement. Moreover, the additional spaces for tourism services, including the tourism service center and the parking areas have been designed and integrated in today's Zhaisha.

Commodification and displaced cultural identity

The original settlement of Zhaisha has been totally destroyed and rebuilt with various cultural symbols of different cultural systems. The projects undertaken in Zhaisha have been far from preservation. The branding for the village Zhaisha and the cultural promotion through web exposure have contributed to significant fame for the village, however, the media have been highly manipulated by the will of the local government. An experience of the author reflected such phenomenon. By the end of 2018, the author was invited to take part in the writing of an article for a special issue of the magazine *Traveler* (in Chinese *lv xing jia*, 旅行家). The special issue dedicated to promote Tongren area from both tangible and intangible aspects, in which the author was responsible to work on the traditional villages in Tongren. In this article, 4 villages and towns¹²² were selected for their representativeness of Tongren's cultural heritage according to the editors' short-time fieldtrip. And Zhaisha was chosen as one of the representative destinations for its "Dongness" in Tongren. While during writing for the magazine, the author was required to add contents like "*the historic Drum Tower, the Fengyu bridge have constructed the historical narratives of Zhaisha*"¹²³ falsifying the cultural characters of Zhaisha. The invented new traditions of Zhaisha undoubtedly increased tourism highlights, but in the lives of villagers, these traditions are only a tool that can attract tourists and increase income, which have not become a part of life. These occurs of the remaking of the tradition seem to have supports from the regulations about the VEMCs. For instance, some hints can be found in the "*Outline of the Plan for the Conservation and Development of Villages of Ethnic Minority Characteristics (VEMC) (2011-2015)*" (Appendix B), it has been clarified that the "*festival celebrations and ceremonial activities focusing on displaying village culture should be organized. The product packaging, promotion, and publicity of VEMCs should be included in promoting the development of ethnic villages in order to cultivate a number of tourist demonstration sites and tourism brands.... we should improve public cultural facilities in the VEMCs, and focus on strengthening iconic public buildings that reflect ethnic and local characteristics*". However, if these promotions and improvements have been based on the falsification and invention, the sustainable development of local culture is in crisis.

Moreover, according to cultural studies, the South Dong and the North Dong are two streams of the Dong community. In Guizhou province, these two kinds of Dong communities are of different attributes in both tangible and intangible terms due to historical transformations in boundaries and cultural influences in different periods. The North Dongs have been highly concentrated in the Northeast part of the province, thus being closer to the central plain of China, were significantly influenced by the majority Han than the South Dong. In addition, cultural scholars have found that

¹²² The four villages/towns are: Zhaisha, Zhaiying, Sinan old street, the dwellings of family Liu.

¹²³ Mu Qi (2019) Old time in the deep lane (Shenxiang Lide Jiu Guangyin, in Chinese 深巷里的旧光阴). A New World Heritage, *Traveler*, p56.

Zhaisha performs its own “North Dong” feature.¹²⁴ However, the authorities and the experts did not respect the feature of the North Dong. In addition, they created new traditions for the Dong in Zhaisha. As scholars in cultural studies has explained that the main character of the North Dong is that “*at each stage of community development, it is always based on the basic Dong culture, absorbing and dissolving the essence of different cultures, and the essence of its ethnic culture has always been a strong centripetal power to guarantee the cultural inheritance in the Dong society, in this way the North Dong can enter a new cultural realm of their characteristics*”(Yang, 1995). And this was confirmed by Deng (1986) , who observed “*The art of telling the Kuan, the Dong folk song are very popular in the south, but it is almost impossible to see in the North. Playing Lusheng (a particular musical instrument popular in south Dong communities), singing Dong songs, stepping on the song hall, rituals like Ji Sa¹²⁵are popular in the south Dong community. However, in the north Dong community, there are also some popular folk arts, such as reciting folk poems and performing the Nuo.*”

Fast changing circumstances

In July 2018, the Mount Fanjing was successfully listed in the world natural heritage list by UNESCO. In October, the establishment of a 5A level scenic spot made it the most popular brand and tourist destination within the province. At the same time, a worrying phenomenon has been appeared, that is, in order to relieve the pressure of passenger flow and guide tourists’ off-peak visit, from September 26, 2018, the Mount Fanjing began to implement the online real name system for ticket sales, and the official website stopped selling tickets. By selling tickets on-line, tourists can know in advance when and whether they can buy climbing tickets, and can make a more specific travel plan. But for scenic spots like Zhaisha, which are close to Mount Fanjing and largely rely on the overflow value development of tourists, they lose tourists who visit the surrounding areas randomly, and this means that more supports for the promotion of Zhaisha are needed. In recent years, the public requires more for “immersive tourism experiences”, the tourists in Zhaisha started to criticize the artificially made cultural symbols in Zhaisha. Tourists have described Zhaisha as “*a fake village with low quality,*” “*the village is full of hotels.*” These critiques show even the outsiders are not satisfied with the invented cultural identity of Zhaisha. And this significantly affected on the socio-economic sustainability of the village. Moreover, the plan elaboration, decision-making, and tourism development all excluded villagers. Indeed, a resident complained to the author: “*here we have policies that are always changing, and we don’t know whom we can trust. All tourists*

¹²⁴ According to Deng (1986), the main characteristic of the North Dong is that the basic Dong culture has always been absorbing and dissolving the essence of different cultures, and the essence of its ethnic culture has always been a strong centripetal force that guarantees cultural inheritance in Dong society (p. 65). As Deng observed, “the North Dong communities have their own folk arts, such as reciting folk poems and performing the Nuo” (p. 62).

¹²⁵ Ji Sa, in Chinese means “Sacrificing to Sa”. Ji Sa is one of the most important sacrificial activities in the traditional sacrifice of Dong community. Sa is Sa Sui, also the great mother God, considered to be the source of Dong people.

know that the Drum Tower in Zhaisha is a invention, they prefer to visit Yunshe which is more original ...the most paradoxical thing is that before, we had farmland and we had agricultural work to do, but now the unique livelihood is tourism.”

5.3 Conclusion

This chapter introduces the first group of multi-case study analysis including the village of Yunshe and Zhaisha. Both villages were model villages recommended by the county government to activate local development. Regarding the stakeholders involved in case study villages, the first group shows the enterprenuership of Chinese government in proceeding the heritage-led development in historic villages. The spatial transformations in two villages a slightly different. In Yunshe, where the design institute responsible for the planning and project making somehow concerned the endogeneous culture and the overall laytou of the village, despite modifying the heritage narratives related to the naming of the village. In Zhaisha, however, the situation has been tremendously worse as it experienced government-led demolition and reconstruction. Moreover, Zhaisha has adopted an enterprise-led tourism management model, which has lede the village to a pure commodification approach. The relatively improved economic situation in the village has generated dilemma in cultural identity and the problematic new tradition. Lack of public participation and the short sight development ideology has been evidenced in the analysis.



Chapter 6 Case study analysis.
Group B and C

The second group consists of the village of Dawan, a Miao settlement in Songtao County, and Qishuping in Jiangkou county. Both villages possess difficult mobility conditions but the maintenance of the overall feature is efficient thanks to the potential role of local elites.

In Dawan, the interventions have been focused on improving the basic facilities and the public spaces, that are subject to the rural revitalization program of nationwide. Spontaneous conservation activities have been conducted thanks to the common understanding about the heritage value and the leading action taken by local elites, who have kept a neutral attitude towards the conservation planning approach led by authorizaties.

In Qishuping, only basic built environment improvement has been carried out in 2015. Despite the absence of the enterprises, the built heritage preservation in the two villages has been highly controlled by the local powers due to their social ties and connections. The selection of Qishuping is to realize a replicated analysis in relation with the first group. This idea is to see the as a historic village of high heritage value, with changed socio-economic and mobility conditions why and how the heritage-led development is diverse.

6.1 Group B: The case of Dawan

6.1.1 Introduction

Dawan is a Miao village located 7.4 km from the closeset township, Panxin and 25 km from the center of Songtao County. As a well-preserved historic village, Dawan has benefited from its short distance to the township and the City of Miao King, a recently renovated scenic area invested by local governments (Figure 66).

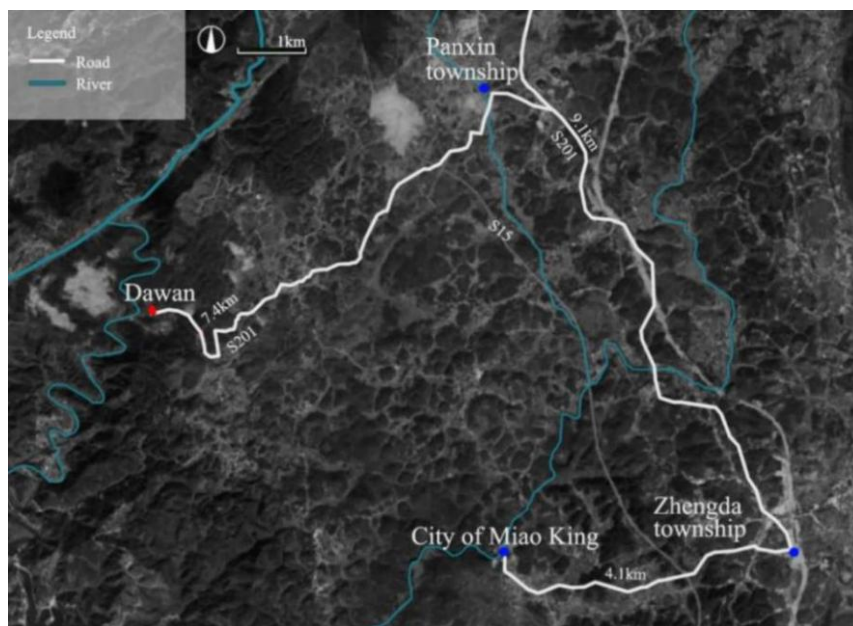


Figure 66: Distance among Dawan, Panxin and the City of Miao King.
Source: author's elaboration based on google map.

Today, it has 515 people including 112 families, of which more than 80 families have their younger generations working in cities. Until 2016, it was not a model village of any kind, making it a well-preserved Miao village. Different from Yunshe and Zhaisha, its spatial transformations only partially impacted on the physical spaces in 2011. Teng Jicheng, a former municipal cadre, returned to Dawan to try to revitalize the village, relying on his connections. This case is ideal for examining what the dynamics are in historic villages when the county government is strongly present and the coalition between the county government and COEs is not powerful.

Geographical condition and spatial layout

Due to the topographic condition, the distribution of the dwellings is in a continuous areal form stands in between the two hills (Figure 67-68).



Figure 67: Photo of Dawan. Source: author's photo taken in September 2018.

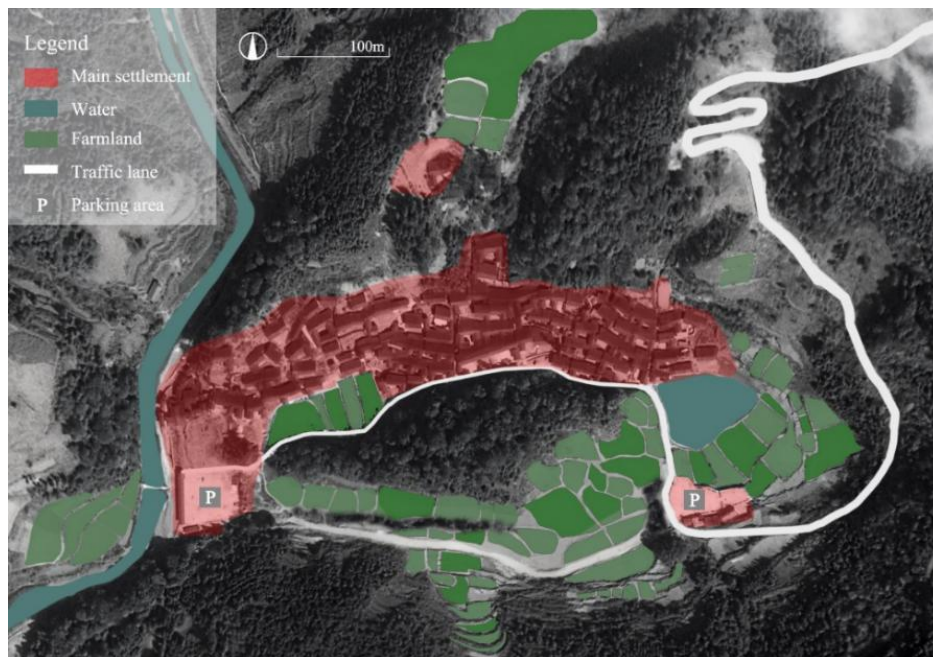


Figure 68: Spatial layout of Dawan. Source: author's elaboration based on google map.

The proliferation of the space in the village is determined by the social-historical changes that can be read through an in-detailed morphological analysis. The village,

displayed along the east-west direction, is layering face to the Northern slopes of the Fish form hill. Relevant elements pertaining the feng shui condition have contributed to a unique landscape scenario to the village. The White tiger mountain, Fish form hill, Azure dragon mountain. Water bodies, winds and trees complete the feng shui settings.

Heritage of Dawan

During the Ming Dynasty, the village took its initial shape when the ancestor Teng came from Hunan province and settled down.¹²⁶ With an expansion occurred during the Republican due to historical commercial activities, the main roads were defined. The last phase of development was in the second half of the 20th century in conjunction with the construction of the new road (Figure 69-71).



Figure 69: Mobility system of Dawan. Source: author ’ s elaboration based on “Guidelines of Conservation of Dawan” .

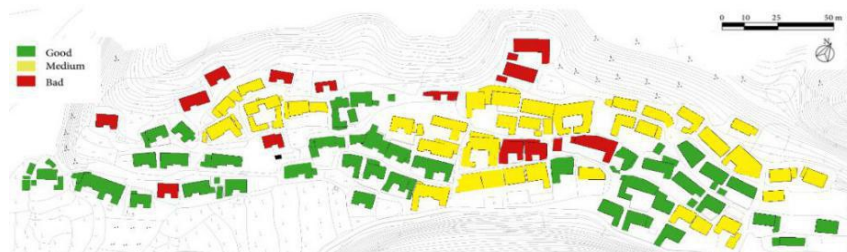


Figure 70: Protection status of Dawan. Source: author’s elaboration based on “Guidelines of Conservation of Dawan”



Figure 71: Construction period of dwellings. Source: author’s elaboration based on “Guidelines of Conservation of Dawan”.

¹²⁶ The initial settlement, according to the interview with Mr. Teng, was located on the ridge of the hill (see figure 71, the orange part). This idea of site selection is influenced by fengshui thought which often sees the ridge of hill as dragons’s back

Ancient trees, wells, ponds, tombs, historic paths, and places for events connected with intangible heritage, as incineration space, paddy field, central meeting space, which are identified as having historical value to be preserved. This “historical value” is effectively acknowledged by the villagers.

Some intangible heritage are quite well preserved in Dawan. In terms of intangible heritage, Dawan has preserved its own Miao rituals, customs, and festival celebrations. For instance, the family worship event – *bang bang zhu* (棒棒猪) has been held for generations. *Bang bang zhu*, literally “stick pig”, means hit the pig. It happens in case that according to the householder, the family needs to expel evil due to the bad things happened or has family members sick for a long time. The family invites a witch to utter imprecations. Then, the inviting family prepares a pig for scarification. The witch hits the pig with a big stick until its death. During this event, other villagers can also participate. Another important event in Dawan is the collective worship event - *Sao Bao Dong* (扫保冬). Literally it means “clean and protect the winter.” It is a joint event that involves all the villagers and families praying for luck and safety, which will be held every 3 years (the frequency also depends on the needs).¹²⁷

There are other types of smaller events, e.g., making paper boat close to the river to recall died relatives, and collecting the rice from families to pray for the new year. Moreover, another kind of ritual is organized by a small group of families who want to pray for safety and luck. They put the dried branches in their courtyard inviting witch to come to their houses. The witch takes one of the branches uttering imprecations.

6.1.2 Government-led environmental improvement

In 2011, the government-led project partially changed Dawan with a “Village Rectification Plan (VRP)” approved by the county government, focusing on providing solutions for the aesthetic, environmental, and heritage preservation issues in the village. In the VRP, several aspects related to building restoration measures and public space requalification were taken into consideration. A fundamental objective was to “*rationaly develop the space of the village to form a landscape of unique characteristic, so as to build economic, beautiful and safe dwellings*” (VRP of Dawan, 2011, p1). The author was two local institutions: Guizhou Geology and Mineral Surveying and Mapping Institute and Guiyang Architectural Survey & Design Company.

¹²⁷ Basically, it is to expel (an evil spirit or negative things) by or as if by incantation, command, and prayer. The whole process is described as following: a witch is invited by the family who needs to expel evil, which means the family has bad things happened or has family members sick for a long time. The event starts from the entrance of the settlement, passing one by one to each house with a specific order not missing or go back to any house. Meantime, all the windows and doors should keep open so that the evils cannot be hidden. With the guidance of the witch, the adults and children take the branches of peach tree (usually planted in the mountain) hitting the walls and windows because local people believe that evils are dare of the peach tree. They believe that stronger you hit, more powerful the effect of the event will be.



Figure 72: VRP of Dawan elaborated by Urban and Rural Institute of Tongren.

Source: Author’s translation and adaptation based on the VRP of Dawan archived in the Urban and Rural Planning Bureau of Tongren.

In the VRP (Figure 72), different contents concerning the preservation and renovation of the existing dwellings, the regulations for the construction of the new dwellings, public spaces and facilities, farmland, green area, parking area, livestock area have been all taken into consideration. Repair, improvement, and renovation are regulated in the VRP (VRP 2011, chapter 3.1.1,3.1.2, 3.1.3, p10). The related interventions have been classified into 3 types, including two types of buildings with varied historic value and the courtyards which have been concerned as the important elements constituting both historic value and the overall landscape of the village, and the buildings subjected to renovation because they are incongruent with the overall feature of Dawan (Table 13).

Table 13: Type of Intervention Defined in the VRP of Dawan

Type of intervention	Provided definition	Applied to which buildings
Repair	It refers to the protective activities on the proposed historical buildings without changing its appearance. The interior part of the building can be adjusted and transformed, equipped with kitchen and bathroom facilities to adapt to the modern life. The appearance of the building must not be changed.	Identified historic buildings under legal protection
Improvement	The external characteristics should be maintained; the internal could be adjusted and adapt to modern lifestyle.	Buildings identified as having traditional feature
Renovation	It is mainly for buildings that are inconsistent with traditional styles, damaged building structures, or materials that affect traditional styles. For partially damaged buildings or using materials that affect the traditional style, and for buildings with modified facades and modern materials and techniques, the facades must be renovated to restore their traditional styles with traditional techniques and materials.	To the buildings not in harmony with the built environment (in concrete and brick materials)

Source: Author’s elaboration based on the VRP of Dawan (2011)

The specific steps of the restoration have been defined as follows.

Firstly, repair the structural components such as columns, sandalwoods, beams, etc.; secondly, repair the roof tiles, roof ridges, and eaves; thirdly, repair the doors and windows, paint the walls, and decorate the bricks; the modern buildings with uncoordinated styles should be renovated to have a unified style representing the Guizhou dwellings. Buildings with brick-concrete structures will be directly renovated. Moreover, the style of the fence should be renovated together with the building. In addition, regulations for the new building construction have been defined, including the constraints of the surface area and the exterior feature¹²⁸.

In the overall project making processes, the funds designated for the exterior wall refurbishment, the courtyard and fence renovation, and the landscape making have been the most important projects that take about 2.43 million yuan (about 304.000 euro).

Moreover, the greening and the beautification of the built environment played an important role in VRP. It has been specified that *“The ratio of green area should be more than 60%. The crops or ornamental plants should be planted around the dwellings, roadside, or around the public buildings. Dwellers should be guided to build standardized green area in the courtyards, planting flowers to beautify the environment and maximize the green ratio of the village.”* In addition, the road hardening has been emphasized in both terms of hygienic condition improvements and overall landscape beautification.

The highway leading to the village and all interior paths were hardened with concrete based on the consideration that a *“dirty road can cause incidents”*, according to the interview with a village cadre. The work of hardening was implemented for the improvement of hygienic conditions and the complete beautification of the landscape. The exterior of all kitchens and toilets in Dawan were renovated and refurbished with white paint for hygienic reasons. And this intervention is also to create a uniform civilized appearance. Most of the residential dwellings remained unchanged due to limited funds. Moreover, a village square of 1,068 m² was built near the village committee to serve as a parking area for tourists in the future. Although public participation was required by the VRP (2011), ordinary villagers were rarely involved in decision-making. Instead, local elites and cadres played a

¹²⁸ The courtyard complex should adopt the “L” type and the basic module of three bays. It should be equipped with the necessary facilities such as biogas tanks and toilets. The exterior appearance and colour of the buildings should be in tune with the rest of the village with some variations. (1) According to the requirements of the Ministry of Land and Resources' *Opinions on Strengthening the Management of Rural Homesteads* the villagers shall implement a unified homestead area according on a *“one home for one household”* basis. For families with less than three people, the homestead area shall be counted as three persons, and five or more persons shall be counted as five persons. The standard distribution is 30 square meters for each person in order to reduce the problem of wasting land. (2) Eighteen new dwellings have been planned, and new dwellings will be distributed along the main roads. Newly built dwellings will be uniformly in tune with the Guizhou style residences, with one-or-two-floor buildings, and the building area is controlled to within 160-300 square meters per household. The homestead is limited to within 80-150 square meters.

decisive role in implementing the plan. The work of hardening received 800,000 yuan (about 10,000 euro) from the Bureau of Housing and Construction of county level to purchase materials, like the cement. The construction involved all families in Dawan.

6.1.3 Labelling and planning

The attempts to renovate the built environment of Dawan have been continued with the designation of VEMCs in 2014 by the Administration of Ethnic Affairs, and the CTVs in 2016 by the Ministry of Housing and Construction. As one of the CTVs, Dawan started to have its own Overall Plan for the Preservation and Development (OPPD) elaborated by the Urban-Rural Planning Institute of Tongren in 2017.

However, this plan has not been implemented due to problems and conflicts at the administrative level. Moreover, relying on the Miao King city, a superficially renovated heritage site with highly developed tourism facilities, and the other historical and naturalistic heritage amenities, Dawan is planned to become an agritourism and water entertainment center thanks to its natural condition and agricultural activities, in cooperation with other sites of different relevance (OPPD 2017) (Figure 73).



Figure 73: Tourism Development Plan of City of Miao King.

Source: Author's translation and adaptation based the OPPD of Dawan.

Attempts to transform Dawan has been represented in the overall idea of the OPPD, which focuses on the creation of a systematic “point-linear-area” preservation and development framework. A set of objects identified for the protection, the planned public spaces contribute to a dispersed point system, linked by the creation of the historic paths and cultural itinerary as the connection that go through the historic

settlements ought to be preserved. The objects identified for the protection include ancient river course, ancient trees, ancient well, that are in adjacent with the planned public spaces such as incineration area, the paddy field, central place for meeting, creating spaces for both ritual and ordinary daily activities. Basic infrastructure and spaces for the administration are incorporated with modern buildings, that have been separated from the historic settlement to keep the originality of the overall historic feature of the village (Figure 74).

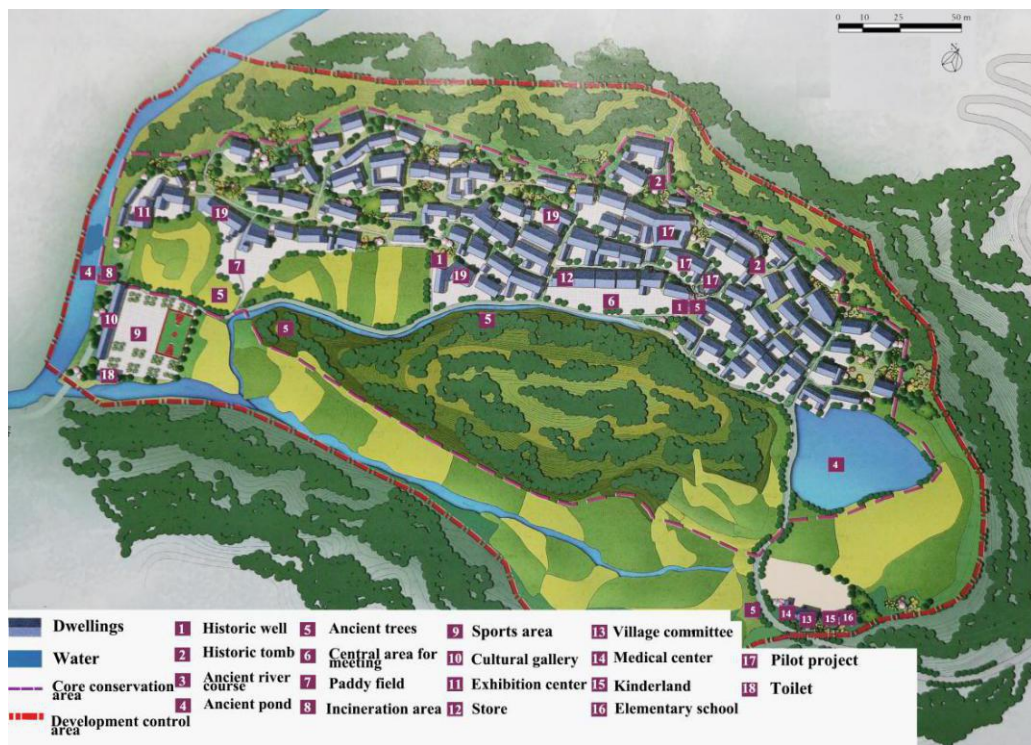


Figure 74: Master Plan of Dawan in the OPPD. Source: author’s adaptation based on the OPPD of Dawan (2017).



Figure 75: Master Plan of Dawan in the OPPD. Source: OPPD 2017

In the OPPD, building preservation and renovation projects have been emerged to meet the demands of tourism development (Figure 75). Cultural resources and the peculiarity of the ethnicity of Miao community has been exploited, thus an exhibition center and a cultural gallery are designated as spaces for cultural display of the local events and objects based on existing conditions.

The main objective of the OPPD is to define preservation interventions based on the status quo analysis conducted by professionals, and to explore values of different nature for future development. According to the preliminary survey carried out by the Urban-Rural Planning Institute of Tongren, only one building complex was recognized as to be repaired (a courtyard building erected proximately in Qing dynasty, which is in yellow in the Figure 75). The other dwellings are all subjected to the so-called “improvement”. Furthermore, for those dwellings not in tune with the historic feature of the built environment, are proposed to be “renovated” with the application of a set of principles.

The principles for the repair concern several physical aspects of the dwelling:

- i. the wooden structure of the window should be polished with sandpaper. The decorative elements such as window frame and pattern should adopt local ones
- ii. the wood surface needs to be cleaned with sandpaper brushed with varnish. The damaged wood materials should be replaced
- iii. the damaged wooden doors should be replaced by new traditional ones
- iv. railings should be cleaned, polished with sandpaper, and painted with varnish.
- v. concerning the roof, the grey tiles should be repaired.

The principles for the improvement have been described similarly with the repair, except for the permission of the changes of function. In the plan, it has been declared that necessary modification on the functional layout is permitted to meet the modern lifestyle.

Table 14: Type of Intervention Defined in the OPPD of Dawan. Source: author’s elaboration.

Type of intervention	Provided definition	Applied to which buildings
Repair	It maintains the original feature of the buildings, and carry out repair and restoration on the damaged part of the building using traditional materials and eventual substitution of the damaged part.	To the identified as historic buildings
Improvement	It refers to the structural reinforcement, repair, and adopt protective facilities, without changing the overall feature.	To the buildings identified as having traditional feature
Renovation	The "renovation" is for buildings of certain value, but the buildings' feature is at middle level or bad (so not in tune with the traditional one). Renovation could mean the demolition and reconstruction on site.	To the buildings not in harmony with the built environment

Compared to the VRP, it can be found that the key definitions for the provided interventions are basically the same. The dwellings proposed for renovation accounts for most of the dwellings. This implies that an accurate well-defined plan and guideline are necessary to guide the interventions. However, the current plans can hardly reach such level.

6.1.4 Elite-led heritage preservation

Benefits obtained by elites

Since the lack of the funds and the rejection to the government-led homogenous approach, the exhibition center and the cultural gallery were both built by a local elite family, the Teng family. Teng Jicheng, a former municipal officer worked in the municipal archive, returned to Dawan 10 years ago. He played a critical role in Dawan's heritage preservation and cultural tourism development by utilizing his own political experiences and the position of his family in Dawan. His family has been active in promoting Miao culture and the history of Dawan, and to some extent played the role as an expert group. During Dawan's designation of VEMCs and CTVs, Teng Jicheng was working as the vice-director of Tongren Archive. And the responsible entities of the designation of VEMCs and CTVs visited frequently family Teng to document and investigate Dawan's status of heritage preservation¹²⁹.

Soon after Dawan's designation as VEMCs and CTVs, Teng Jicheng started a new construction of wooden stilted dwelling in his courtyard. The dwelling hosts an exhibition center where the photographs and folk objects collected by Teng and his wife are exhibited, and a bedroom of Miao style served for the B&B service that the family Teng run. This building has been included into the Teng's compound which was entirely registered as "Dynamic Built Heritage" in 2016. The Dynamic Built Heritage is a type of labelling for historic buildings subject to preservation with funds from the Cultural Heritage Bureau where several photographs, objects of different nature and value have been collected. Both his compound and the compound nearby belonging to his brother were designated. The designation and the preservation processes were promoted by the family Teng, especially the lineage Teng Jicheng managed to achieve an active support from the Archive. Teng Jicheng's new construction involves all the colleagues of the Archive at time. In addition, such activity has been officially recognized as the CCP event of Tongren Archive (Figure 76).

¹²⁹ Source: according to the interview with Teng Jicheng and the director Zhao Zhenyang of Urban and Rural Planning Bureau.



Figure 76: Teng Jicheng's Colleagues Participated the Construction of the New Dwelling.
Source: Mu Qi (2020).

Once the construction of the new dwelling was accomplished, Teng family received more than 120,000 yuan from the county for the daily maintenance of the exhibition center. His brother, Teng Dengfa as the accountant in the village committee, has been well informed about the preferential policies related to Dawan. Both Teng Jicheng and Teng Dengfa had good connections with other village cadres, thus they could share and exchange useful information about the development of the village and have a leading voice on Dawan's development.

Village elites and village cadres formed a coalition based on their personal relationships and working experience acquired in different cities. On the one hand, as powerful stakeholders dedicated to cultural preservation, they tried to create a dialogue between the community and governments, striving to ensure beneficial policies from higher-level governments by acting as brokers. Despite the lack of official funds for ordinary dwelling restoration, Teng family organized a six-person group to make speech, persuade people not build the brick or concrete dwellings. In addition, they were reluctant about conservation planning. As Teng Jicheng explained: *"It was a good thing that the government could not provide enough funds to complete the project related to VRPs on all dwellings. If they had funds for this project, the dwellings would have the same appearance with the same materials."* On the other hand, local elites were the main beneficiaries because they obtained benefits by mobilizing their personal networks. Teng successfully invited county and municipal cadres to Dawan to increase Dawan's reputation with different authorities. Moreover, the Teng family's dwellings near the exhibition center was refurbished to become a high-quality family farm resorts to host municipal and county cadres, and middle-

class tourists¹³⁰. In addition, thanks to Teng's connections with municipal cadres to develop resources, Dawan became the location of a TV show in 2016, thus received maximum exposure on plenty of media platforms.



Figure 77: Construction Process Led by the Carpenter
Source: provided by Teng Jicheng

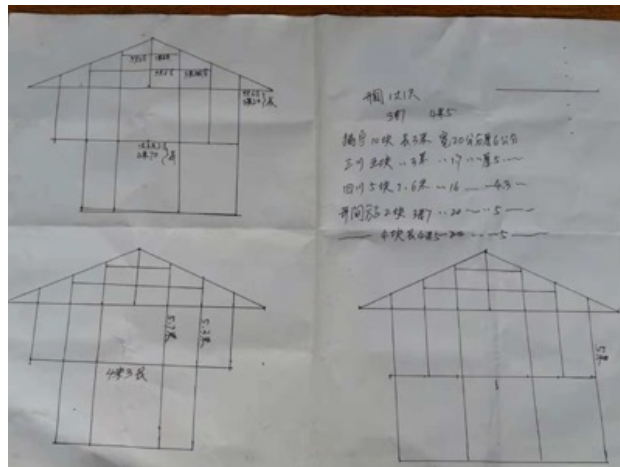


Figure 78 Carpenter's Drawing for Teng Jicheng's New Dwelling
Source: provided by Teng Jicheng

Teng family's capacity was not limited in branding Dawan and exploiting the limited tourism resources for the family. Local elites have been often have a say on many aspects. Another brother of Teng Jicheng is the only carpenter of the area (Figure 77-78). In his carpenter team, there are five young members led by him in building and restoring dwellings in the village and adjacent areas.

Given the fact that the approval of the OPPD of Dawan has been suspended, the conservation process has been carried out according to local tradition. Most of the

¹³⁰ The price of each bedroom is about 250 Yuan per night. It can be considered quite a high price for a B&B in a rural area since a bedroom in Jiangkou County's seat costs only 100-150 Yuan. The price of a low-standard B&B in Dawan is 50 Yuan.

preservation and repair projects are carried out voluntarily by the villagers, except for the unified beautification for the façade of the kitchen and the hygienic services supported by government's funds. To date, apart from rare cases, all the interventions had been simple maintenance and had followed the traditional construction methods. The buildings No. 2 e No. 4, where a few years ago works of greater impact started, with methods of transformation very close to traditional methods, are an example (Figure 79). More in general, the people interviewed affirmed that the traditional way of construction have been recognized by villagers as a necessity for Dawan, for the purpose of both cultural conservation and future tourism development.



Figure 79: Different preservation and renovation projects in Dawan.

Source: Mu Qi (2020). The photos were taken during the survey in September 2018. The map is elaborated by the author.

Situations of ordinary villagers

The interests Dawan's heritage generate has been limited within the Teng family. In fact, the major part of the villages has been struggled for the poverty and have no available resources to preserve their dwellings.

More than 78 households (70%) have been listed as poor households from the period of 2013 to 2018, and a variety of supportive policies have been adopted. Such as the national subsidies, the relocation of poor, and other funding to assist the development of agricultural and livestock raising (Figure 80).

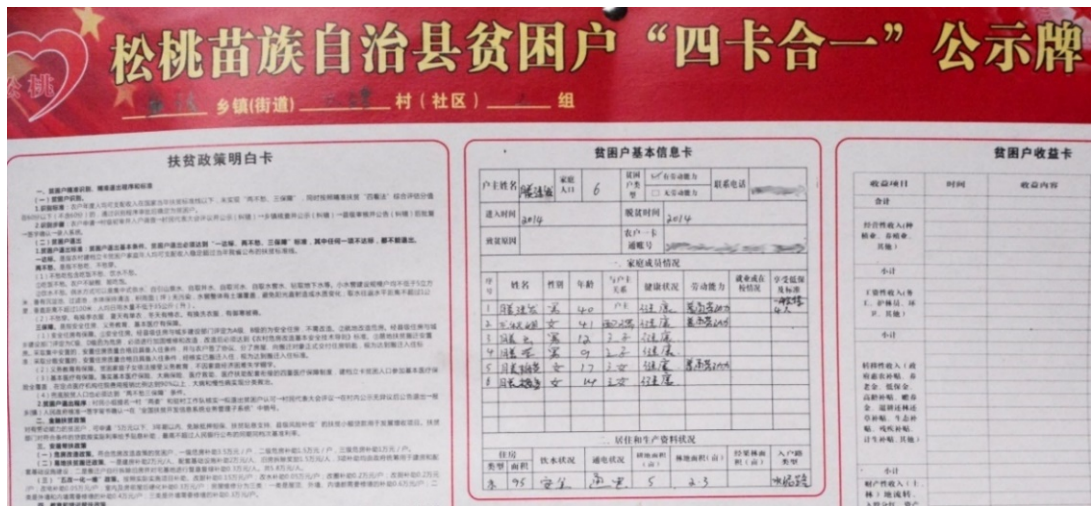


Figure 80: A label of a poor family in Dawan, Songtao County.
Source: author’s photo taken in September 2018.

Among these poor stakeholders, 4 householders received the national funding of renovating the collapsed dwellings (3.5%) of 10,000 yuan each. The other householders renovate and repair the dwelling by their own budget¹³¹.

By 2018, the tourism development in Dawan was still in its initial phase. Tourists are mainly municipal and county cadres or their relatives, few urban youth, and some groups of painters who are fascinated by Dawan’s beauty (Figure 81). Almost all the tourists had set appointment with Teng family because they possess ideal facilities to stay over, and they are capable to introduce Dawan culture to the new comers with their knowledge. Surprisingly, in Dawan, there are few households who are sensible to develop a low standard B&B and banal tourism facilities.¹³² (Figure 82) They have known that Teng’s price is high, and many young painters cannot afford. So they re-arranged the dwelling in modern living way and prepared spaces for tourists who come in groups.¹³³

Not all original residents are living in Dawan. In fact, there are 10 families (8.9%) have been relocated to an area adjacent to County’s seat 35 km away from the village¹³⁴, where a branding new residential district has been built to host the households under the “Relocating the Poor” policy of nationwide (that will be discussed in section 7.4).

¹³¹ Source: according to the interview conducted with the villagers.

¹³² The price is 50 yuan per person per night. This price is four fifth less than Teng’s family has set.

¹³³ Source: according to the interview conducted with the householder of the B&B in September 2018.

¹³⁴ The area hosts the “relocating the poor” is Beihouping resettlement point near the seat of the county.



Figure 81: Painters Coming from other Provinces Make Drawing on Dawan.
Source: author's photo taken in September 2018.



Figure 82: Spontaneous B&B in Dawan.
Source: author's photo taken in September 2018.

6.1.5 Conclusion

Stakeholders involved

Dawan's case poses the following question: without the intervention of the coalition between the county government and COEs, what are the dynamics during the process of preserving historic villages? In Dawan's case, the village elites performed a dual position. On one side, village elites build up a coalition with cadres to promote Miao culture through their own experiences and practices, bringing resources of different types from related authorities and benefiting in terms of social position (Figure 83).

Due to the lack of hegemonic power in the county administration and enterprise, the physical characteristics of Dawan have been well preserved, except for the projects of VRP in public spaces and in courtyards in 2011. Most of the preservation and renovation projects have been carried out by villager's own budget in traditional manners, except for 10 households who were relocated in the town area due to the poverty alleviation policy. The renovation and new constructions are technically led

by Teng Jicheng's brother, the carpentry master who has high reputation in Dawan and adjacent area.

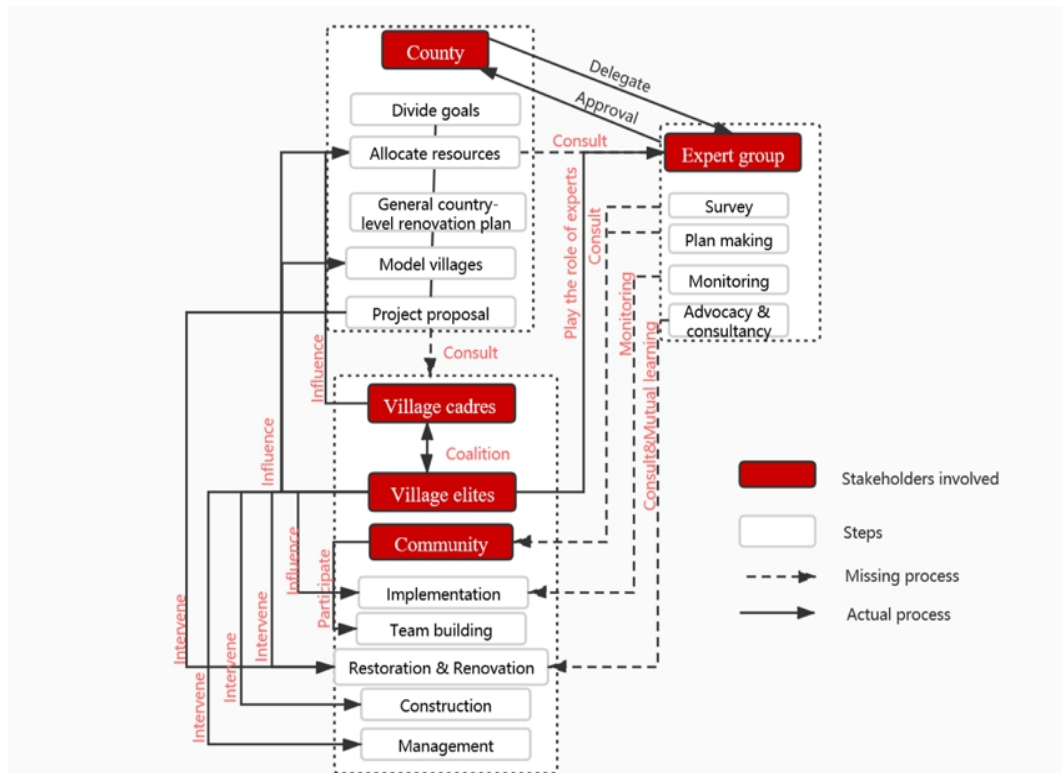


Figure 83: Network of key stakeholders involved in the planning and implementation in Dawan. Source: author's elaboration. Spatial transformation

New projects have been all addressed by the family Teng. They conducted the new dwelling construction, and the construction of the cultural gallery close to their dwellings and the B&B they run. The landscaping of the area near the dwellings have been to some extent overlapped with the public spaces and tourism facilities, which characterized again the power of speech of the family Teng. This is not to say that the power of local elites should be reduced, but it requires a participative approach in addressing the Dawan's preservation and development, at least for those who remained in the village. The decision-making and the interest sharing should benefit as wide as possible the villagers so that the natural depopulation could be balanced and the physical space preservation could be revitalized.

In enhancing the Miao's identity

Different from Tujia and Zhaisha, the Miao people in Dawan preserved their cultural identity. All the villagers can speak quite well the Miao language because in all the elementary schools in Songtao County are bilingual. Thus, even a person is of minimal educational level can speak Miao and the dialect quite well. Most of the elderly in the village wear traditional Miao cloths in ordinary days. As in other villages, the depopulation has been a serious issue in Dawan. Teng Jicheng has been worried about this. Teng Jicheng said: "No matter how busy I am working in the city, I

have always managed to live for a period in Dawan, because I would like to show to the young people that even you have house in city, here we have optimal environments for living.”¹³⁵ Moreover, both Teng and his wife, Long, have actively taken part in many seminars and discussions on the topic of Miao culture and its preservation held both inside and outside the province. Long is a professor in Tongren Ethnic High School, a quite important high school in the city. Long said: “We would like to make research on our culture, and disseminate the Miao-related knowledge to the people. Our culture has been contempted for a long period, from the past to today. People does not know that we have the same communities in Vietnam, in South Asia, and even in the United States. We are the same Miao people, our ancestors were brave and brilliant enough to be able to live in difficult conditions”.¹³⁶

6.2 Group B: The case of Qishuping

6.2.1 Introduction

Qishuping is a Qiang village located in Taoying township, Jiangkou county. The township is 12.4 km away from the village. Qishuping is a natural village belonging to the Yundu administrative village. The set up of natural and administrative villages is an efficient way to manage the dispersed distribution of different villages in a mountainous area. (Figure 84).

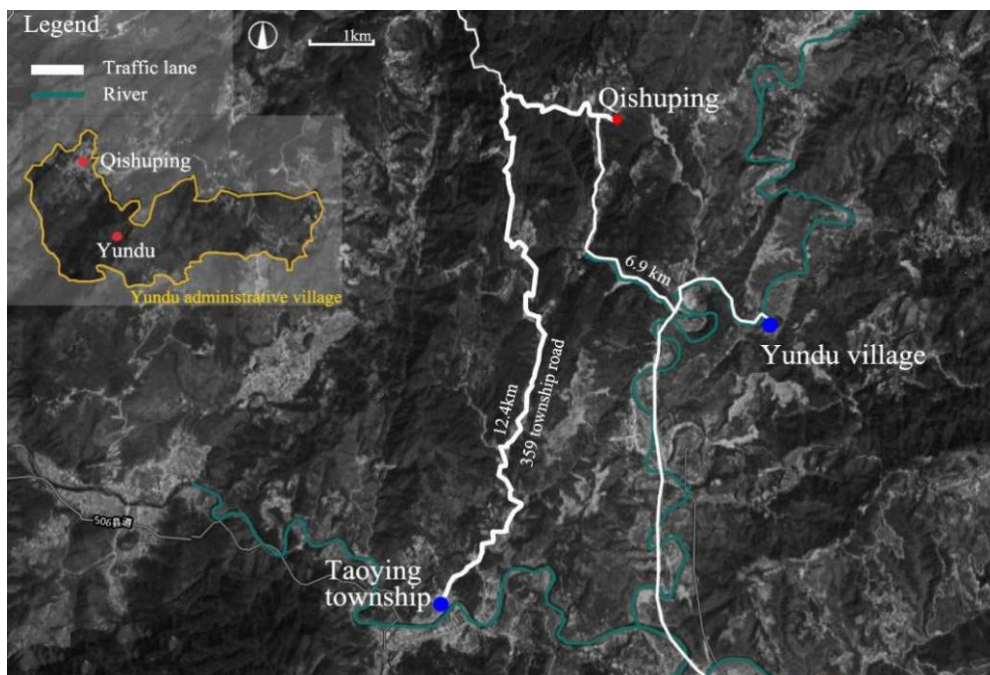


Figure 84: Territorial map of Qishuping. Source: author's elaboration based on google map

¹³⁵ Source: data obtained through the interview with Teng Jicheng in the field survey in September 2018.

¹³⁶ Source: data obtained through the interview with Mrs. Long in the field survey in September 2018.



Figure 85: the aerial view of Qishuping.
Source: Photo by Hu Zhengyong, 2015

The overall landscape of Qishuping is compact and host a small clan of Qiang community (Figure 85). The Hu group who are today the main kinship in Qishuping was attacked by larger groups in their home village in Sichuan in the late Qing dynasty. According to the oral history recorded in the village: *"our ancestors were forced to move out from their hometown (that is, in the upper reaches of the Minjiang River in western Sichuan) due to the defeat in clan conflicts."*¹³⁷ Currently, there are 75 households in the village with a total of 289 people. Most of the young generations emigrate to the cities because of the deteriorating living conditions while the teenagers go to cities as well due to the following two reasons: from one side their parents give importance to a better educational condition in the urban area, and on the other side many policies launched at national level led to the unbalanced distribution of educational resources. The residential population is reduced one-fifth in the recent five years¹³⁸. The depopulation results many unoccupied houses in the village, that suffers long-term disrepair and collapse. Different from the case of Yunshe and Zhaisha, which benefit from the mobility condition and the specific attention from local government, the difficult accessibility to outside caused lagged self-sufficiency economy in Qishuping. The development of the village has been stagnant for many years. The annual per capita income in 2018 is about 3000 yuan.

Like the case of Dawan, the social life of Qishuping has been strongly influenced by the presence of local elites, or rather, the Qiangwang (literally *"the King of Qiang"*

¹³⁷ The family tree of the Qiang King, family Wu records: *"The origin of our family is adept with both the pen and the sword...there are great men from generation to generation. Since the first ancestor moved (from Sichuan), for more than 600 years, our family had many descendants and we moved to Hunan during the Qing Dynasty, and then to Guizhou..."* The ancestor who moved out from Sichuan changed the name to Hu Yuncai (a typical Chinese name), and claimed to be Han (Chinese). Due to the ethnic oppression and discrimination, they reported themselves as the Han until the early 1980s, then the provincial government recognized their ethnic identity.

¹³⁸ Source: data obtained through the interview with Mr. Hu in the field survey in May 2018.

community”) family. Today, the Qiangwang family has two main branches composed of the current Qiangwang Hu Zhengyong and his brother.

Geographical condition and spatial layout

The significant difference between Qishuping and traditional Qiang settlements’ characteristics is that the houses are built on the hills (Figure 85). In other places where the Qiang people inhabited, the settlements are built in valleys close to river. Qishuping, instead, is located at the top of Xianglu Mountain at an altitude of 1200m. In the south, the entrance gate is arranged at 45° to the buildings. The settlement is surrounded by a mixture of flakes, pebbles, and loess, and there are many "bucket-frame" holes for easy observation and defense (Figure 86).

Heritage of Qishuping

The uniqueness of the Qishuping is closely associated with its history of being the only Qiang settlement in Guizhou province. In late Qing dynasty, a group of Hu’s ancestors decided to move from Sichuan to Xiangxi area (today's western part of Hunan province, confining with the Tongren area), the other remained in Jiangkou area and finally settled down in where today's Qishuping locates.

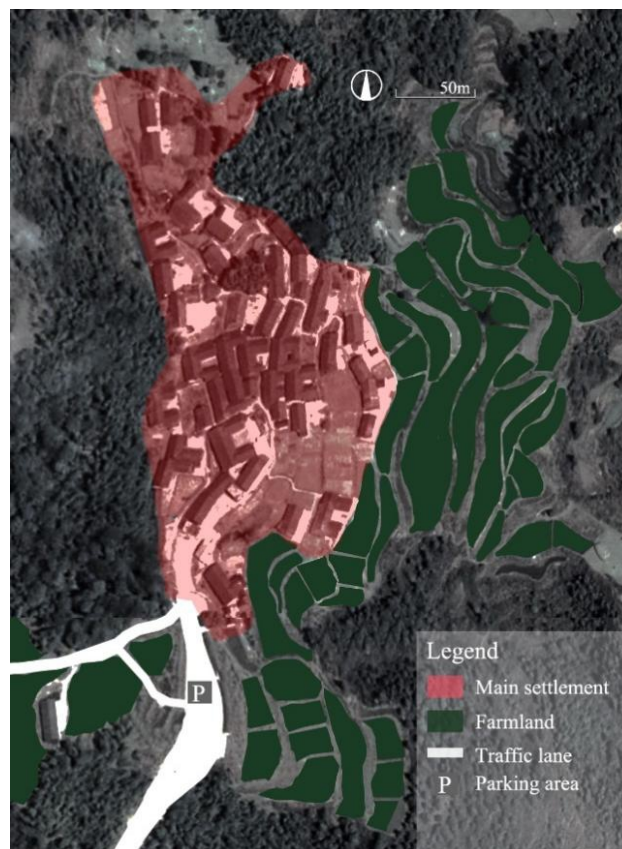


Figure 86: Spatial layout of Qishuping.
Source: author’s elaboration based on google map

The livelihood in Qishuping heavily relies on the agricultural activities, as it can be observed through the Figure 86. A main lane and secondary connections

linking the entrance and the largely dilapidated dwellings are identified (Figure 87-88). The mountain, the lane, the farmland, the dwellings and courtyard constitute a unique landscape scenario for the village (89-90). Together with its cultural peculiarities of the only Qiang community in the province, the village tries to open the door to development from the perspective of heritage tourism.

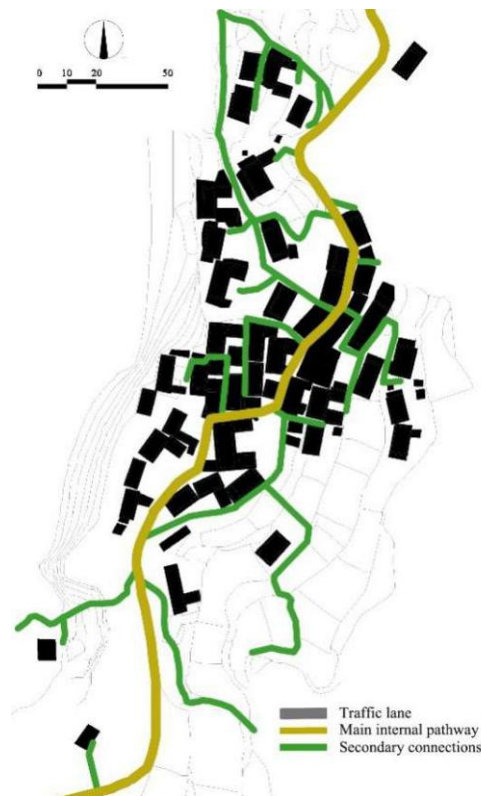


Figure 87: Spatial Layout of Qishuping. Source : Author's elaboration

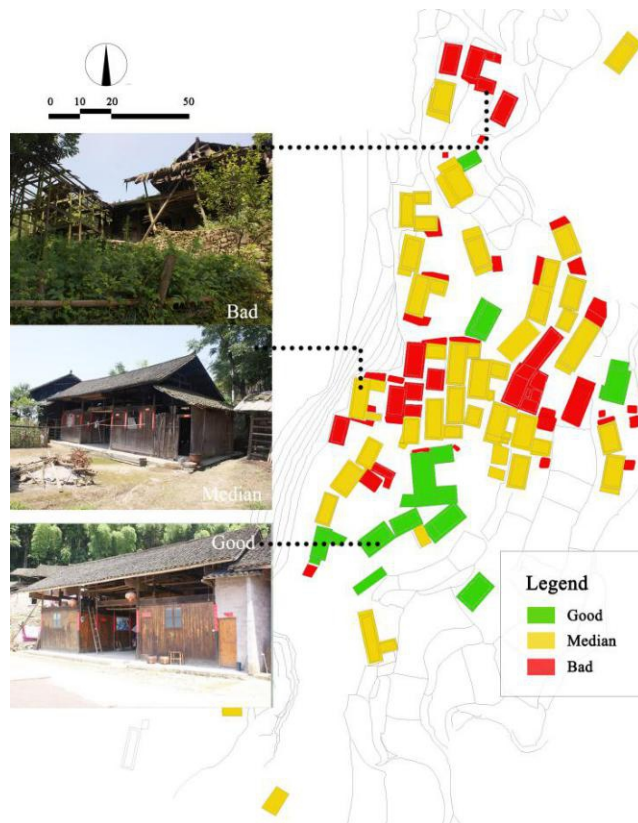


Figure 88: Preservation status of Qishuping. Source: Author's elaboration



Figure 89: Terraced farmland in Qishuping. Source: author's photo taken in 2018.



Figure 90: Aerial view of Qishuping.

Source: http://mzw.guizhou.gov.cn/ztl/lstz/zgssmzcz/trs/jj_5784090/202010/t20201013_64029275.html

According to the legend, just before the two groups of Qiang separated, they held a "unity dinner" on the day 1st October of the lunar calendar hoping to unify again in the future, thus this day became a traditional festival that the Qiang in Qishuping celebrate. At the age of 16, brother Hu's father, Hu Zhengfa went to the county center to frequent the junior high school, then came back to the closest primary school to teach for 28 years. Hu Zhengfa remembers that from 1983 to 1984, Huang Zhixin from the County's Ethnic Affairs Bureau and Yang Changwen from the Provincial College for Ethnic Groups came to Qishuping many times and had discussions with him. The two officers conducted research on the family tree and investigated the old houses in the village. In particular, they were attracted by two particular elements. The first one is the sheep-head pattern on the carved windows. The second one is the half-height doors outside the door of the side rooms, which is a particular element of Qiang dwellings for its function: to keep the livestock inside the room.

6.2.2 Heritage preservation

Built heritage

According to a recent study, the main differences between Qishuping and other traditional Qiang villages have been mirrored in many aspects (Table 15), including the site selection, the construction material, the building structure, the material of the fences used, the form of doors and windows and the decorative symbols in public space (Figure 91)

Table 15: Differences of construction characters between the dwellings in Qishuping and other Qiang villages out of Guizhou province.

	Qishuping	Other Qiang village
The center of the village	Guanzhai (dwelling of Qiangwang)	Main street; Guanzhai;
Site selection	Hilltop	Valley
Construction material	Wood	Stone and ocher
Structure	Wooden "Chuandou"	Stone ocher mixed
Roof type	"Xuanshan"	Flat type
Material of the fences	Stone and ocher	Stone and orcher
Form of doors and windows	Carving with pattern of sheep horn	Carving with the pattern of sheep horn

Source: Hou et al 2018.



Figure 91: The Traditional Sheep form Pattern in the Wood Carving Wall and on the square. Source: photo by author, 2018.



Figure 92: The square at the entrance of Qishuping. Source: photo by author, 2018.

Apart from some modern tourism and public facilities at the entrance square (Figure 92), the rest of the village is surrounded by a natural and harmonious atmosphere (Figure 93). Dwellings in Qishuping are mainly made of wooden components, which is extremely vulnerable to all aspects of damage. Due to the

humid environmental condition and the high altitude, there are many biological invasions to the wood structure, and it is highly susceptible to corrosion and degradation such as termites and fungi. Moreover, lack of the safety awareness and fire prevention are serious problems as most of villagers received insufficient education. In 1965, the lack of funds for maintenance and purchase of fire-prevention equipment have resulted in a big fire that destroyed buildings in a fire¹³⁹.

Figure 93: Photo showing the relation between dwellings and paths. Source: Official website of the Provincial Ethnic affair commission.



Intangible heritage

Although the Qiang people living in Qishuping are a small branch, they still follow certain characteristics of western Sichuan in terms of religious beliefs, festival culture, folk literature and art, costumes, and construction techniques. Qiang people believe that the Baishi (white stone) represents the "god of mountain", "god of sky" and other natural spirits (Figure 94).



Figure 94: The Sacrifice Event During the Qiang New year. Source: photo by Huzhengyong, 2018.

¹³⁹ According to the interview with the Huzhengyong in September 2018.

6.2.3 Government-led heritage preservation

The inscription to CTVs in 2014 and the plan

By 2013, under county's recommendation, Qishuping was inscribed in the third batch of CTVs. Consequently, the approval of the OPPD was the significant step for Qishuping's development. The plan was elaborated by the Tongren Urban and Rural Planning and Design Institute, which defines the preservation of overall layout, the development of tourism faculties, the environmental improvement of public spaces, and different interventions for the building conservation. Regarding the different interventions for building conservation, five types of intervention have been provided¹⁴⁰ (Table 16) (Figure 95). Specific definitions of the interventions have been given as well.

Table 16: Definitions of the interventions Defined in the OPPD of QishupingSource: author's elaboration

Type of intervention	Provided definition	Applied to which buildings
Repair (修缮)	It refers to carrying out the repair and restoration activities on the damaged part of the building using traditional materials and eventual substitution of the damaged part.	To the two historic buildings (belonging to the Qiangwang family).
Improvement (改善)	It refers to the structural reinforcement, repair, and adopt protective facilities, without changing the overall feature.	To the ordinary dwellings of certain historic value and quality.
Regeneration (更新)	This "regeneration" means the demolition and reconstruction on site.	To the buildings of certain value, but the buildings' appearance or feature is at middle level or bad (so not in tune with the traditional one).
Renovation (改造)	It refers to applying the traditional material and decorations on the facade of buildings subjected to the intervention.	for those buildings of brick-concrete structure not in tune with the overall feature of the village.
Demolition (拆除)	Demolish the buildings listed into this type to have an overall traditional feature of the village.	Buildings of bad feature and are generally complementary spaces like pig sty and storage spaces.

¹⁴⁰ The data come from the table 14 in the Conservation and Development Plan.

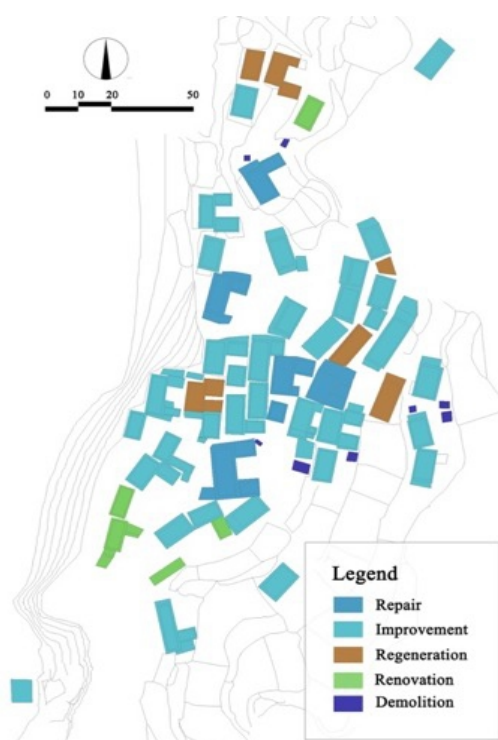


Figure 95: Type of intervention defined in the OPPD of Qishuping. Source: author’s elaboration





Implementation

According to the OPPD, several projects were programmed and partially implemented to preserve the historical feature and improve the living environment of the village. The projects have been categorized as shown in the Table 17.

Table 17: Specific Interventions Implemented according to the OPPD of Qishuping.

	i. Pilot projects for historic building preservation and renovation			ii. Fire prevention
Projects	Preservation of Hu’s dwelling	Ordinary building preservation	Exhibition hall	Fire prevention facilities
Photo				-
Description	Two buildings of Qiangwang of more than 100 years	Traditional dwellings (not implemented)	Building a new exhibition hall.	Fire prevention project (implemented)
Intervention	The dwellings keep the exterior feature. Preventive measures and eventual substitution are applied on the parts partially damaged, in order to keep in tune with the integral feature.	Without changing the traditional characteristics, the structural reinforcement, repair, and protective facilities should be carried out to ensure its overall feature.	Building a new exhibition hall for the collection of the Qiang objects.	Fire-prevention facilities such as fire passages, pools and fire pumps are applied. The use of water is provided by the septic tank. ¹⁴¹

¹⁴¹ The internal functional facilities of the building are reconstructed, and the kitchen fireproofed; the kitchen chimney is modified to ensure the fire prevention, the village appearance is coordinated; the household circuit is modified to eliminate the potential danger of electric fire; In the process of renovation, renovation and reconstruction of dwellings, the inner layer of the building allows the appropriate use of modern fireproof and soundproof materials.

Funds	3350,000 Yuan	3.35 million Yuan	200,000 Yuan	1,050,000 Yuan
	iii. Historical environmental elements restoration project			iv. Infrastructure improvement
Projects	- Restoration of ancient well (implemented)	- Renovation and hardening of paths (implemented)	-Renovation of folk culture performance plaza (implemented)	-Pollution treatment system (implemented)
Photo				
Description	The ancient well located at the entrance. During the Qing Dynasty, local people raised funds for the construction of well. In 2012, the locals expanded its built area.	The average width of the internal paths is 0.9 meter, which is varying based on the uses and topographical conditions.	To better demonstrate the traditional ethnic folk activities, the performance plaza is served for performance of different kind.	Villagers discharge the sewage arbitrarily, affecting the environment and sanitation of the village.
Intervention	Repair and restore with traditional blue-stone plates, improve the sanitation conditions, establishing a management responsibility system, and formulate protection regulations.	The paths in the village were reconstructed, and the paving was made of blue-stone plates, and the width was controlled from 0.9m to 1.2m.	Flatten and harden the square	The main sewage ditches were built in the village and five sewage purification ponds were set up to reduce the ecological pollution.
Funds	-	160,000 Yuan	150,000 Yuan	800,000 Yuan

Source: author's elaboration. Author's photo.

Moreover, the area adjacent to the well at the entrance is used as the parking area which occupies 800m² with 55 parking plots. The cost is 400,000 Yuan. Since there is no garbage collection facility in the village, dustbins are placed along the main road of the village. Two public toilets close to the folk culture performance square are erected with the cost of 150,000 Yuan. Furthermore, the conservation of intangible heritage is foreseen in the plan, including the research and collection of gazetteers, the training of traditional Qiang songs and dances and the oral literature studies.

The inscription to the VEMCs and the plan

The role of Qishuping was further enhanced by the county government in 2014. Qishuping was inscribed as a VEMCs in 2014. According to the "Notice of the Planning Outline (2011-2015) on the Protection and Development of VEMC", all the VEMC should have proper conservation and construction plan concerning living condition improvement and heritage preservation. And such plan should be integrated into the local sector plans. After having become a VEMC, such plan was absent until the collaboration between the DMU and the City of Tongren, which can be defined as a win-win solution for the following reasons. First, Qishuping, and many other villages should have design proposals due to their labeling as VEMC. But the responsible entity, the Ethnic Affairs Bureau often lacks of funding. Second, as a professional group taking part in Tongren's poverty alleviation program, the expert group from DMU can both train the students and make profit by offering knowledge and design proposals with a relatively low price. For instance, as Feng and Wu (2016) have investigated, that the median price for the design proposal of a conservation plan varies from 50,000 yuan to 200,000 yuan. According to the interview to a member

from DMU, they require only 50,000 for the plan elaboration, which is a quite low price in the market.

As a part of poverty alleviation program and one to one assistance model between Dalian and Tongren, some professors from the DMU have been delegated as municipal cadres working specifically on the construction of VEMC.

Qishuping as both the CTV and VEMC, has attracted both authorities' and academic interests in searching for solutions for the sake of poverty alleviation. The expert group from DMU conducted researches based on which the conservation interventions are defined. The expert group has been actively promoting the tourism development, using both professional capacities and political positions. The objectives of these professor-cadres during the working experience in Tongren were multiple. As professors, they worked on the trainship of students and organize field survey to collect materials for the teaching of vernacular architecture in the school. As architects, they worked on introducing plan proposal for the village and make profit. The dual role of being both professor-cadre of the vice mayor responsible for the VEMC's construction, like Mr. Hou, have been also in charge of leasing funds and favorable policies for the VEMCs in Tongren (Figure 96).

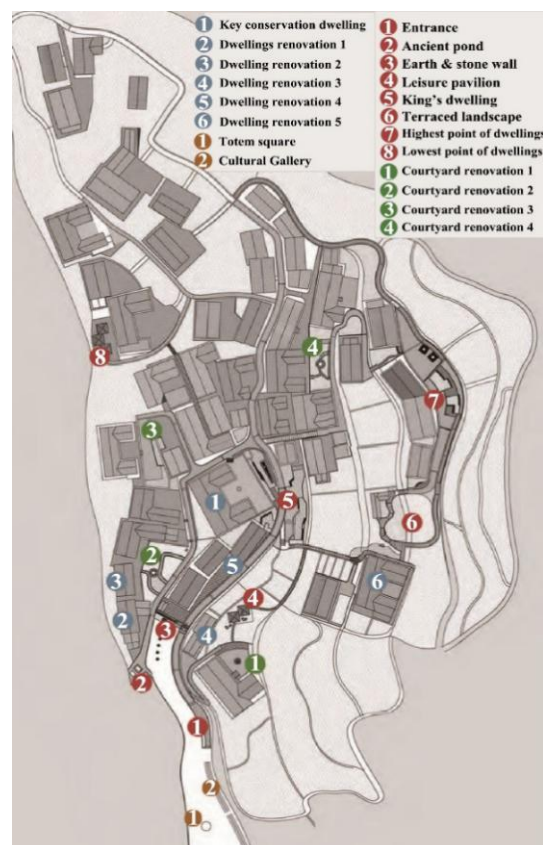


Figure 96: Conservation and renovation projects defined in the VEMCs.
Source: author's adaptation based on the work of Prof. Hou (2017).

Post-heritage conservation and development

Just after Qishuping's inscription to the CTV and VEMC, by 2015, the Tourism Bureau of Jiangkou county started to looking for the external capital for Qishuping's development. Similar to the case of Yunshe and Zhaisha, the idea of the Tourism Bureau is to make Qishuping a scenic spot and tourism industrial chain integrating the ethnic cultural experiential tourism, ecological tourism, and leisure activities. The ambition is to create the *"Unique Qiang village in Guizhou province"* to *"Comply with the general trend of developing the ethnic cultural tourism industry"*¹⁴². And this objective has been prescribed into *"General Plan of Jiangkou's Tourism Development (2018)"*. The Tourism Bureau actively worked for invitation of external investment by providing several development approaches/projects to the potential enterprises. In the official *"Investment Project Planning"* published on the official site of the Tourism Bureau, the infrastructure improvement, renovation of traditional buildings, organization of artistic performances, eco-tourism development, leisure activities and facilities, construction of holiday inns based on the traditional Qiang cultural elements have been all permitted to attract as much as possible external capitals in short term (Jiangkou Tourism Bureau, 2016). And the total investment required by the Tourism Bureau is about 250 million yuan¹⁴³.

The idea of Jiangkou's Tourism Bureau is through the introduction of external enterprises (especially tourism-related enterprises), the enterprises will participate in market development and tourism operation management, involving labors in the village and other social capitals to establish a *"Government + Enterprise + Cooperative (based) + Villagers"* model for a better interest sharing in future development. However, until 2018, there has been no external enterprise successfully introduced in the village.

Similar to Dawan, the role of local elite cannot be ignored. Mr. Hu Zhengyong as the Qiang Wang is the current leader of the village. He inherited the position from his father 20 years ago¹⁴⁴. In his reign, he clearly realized the meaning of being a Qiang Wang. Hu Zhengyong said, *"In the past, everything in our "big family" of Qiang was my father's responsibility. Today, my main duty is to call everyone back when there is an important traditional event in our village."* He is quite sure that the tourism will cause commodification to Qishuping, and this is an episode that he would not like to see. During the survey, he complaint about the unified environmental improvement projects led by government, especially the plastering of the building facade (mainly of toilets and kitchens) (Figure 97-98). *"Facing to the government-led environmental improvement, we have nothing to do but accept"*, he said.

¹⁴² The information comes from the official website of Jiangkou Tourism Bureau, section "invitation of investments". http://www.jiangkou.gov.cn/wsfw/ggfw/zsy/zsxm/201608/t20160801_3840019.html.

¹⁴³ The data comes from the the official website of Jiangkou Tourism Bureau, section "invitation of investments". http://www.jiangkou.gov.cn/wsfw/ggfw/zsy/zsxm/201608/t20160801_3840019.html. According to the Bureau's estimation, after the project is completed, the annual income will reach 150 million yuan and the profit will be 50 million yuan. It is estimated that the return on investment is 20 percent.

¹⁴⁴ Hu Zhengfa's father named Hu Yungao, who was the Zhailao until 1996.



Figure 97: Hu Zhengyong's Dwelling and Courtyard.
Source: author's photo.



Figure 98: The Plastered Facade of the Toilet of Hu Zhengyong's Dwellings.
Source: author's photo

In contrary to what Hu has stressed, the author found that he actually managed to develop own business in the towns by exploiting the legendary Qiang's history and the cultural representation his role assigned to him. Hu opened three restaurants in different adjacent towns, two in the towns in Tongren area and the third one is in Kaili, a city in Qiandongnan Buyi and Miao Autonomous Region where the tourism has been quite matured and the people are familiar to the commodification. In addition, by possessing abundant social resources, he managed to run a cultural tourism company named "*Qishuping Qiang Tourism Company*" to host the tourists in the period of traditional festivals.

6.2.4 Conclusion

Stakeholders involved

Currently, in the village, Qiang Wang has played a decisive role in both dialoguing with the higher-level administrations and the community, and convene the migrant villagers to come back to the village in special events. Similar to the elites in Dawan, he showed hesitation towards the government-led approach and has been quite unsatisfied with the implementation of the projects of built environmental improvement. At the same time, by exploiting his social position in the village and the cultural representation of his role as Qiangwang assigned to him, he managed to develop his own business in the towns. According to the author, this showed the dislocated commodification due to the disadvantageous transportation conditions and the individual subjective initiative of the Qiangwang. The social position that Qiang Wang retains is inherited honorably from the ancestors. And this is different from what happened on the local elites in Dawan whose social position was assigned for their political positions and educational backgrounds. Thus, the position of Qiang Wang has been instinctively respected and inviolable. Similar to the case of Dawan, the benefits generated by the spectacular Qiangness has been limited within certain family and the network as the process of power consolidation, without benefiting the ordinary villagers.

Concerning the formal institutions involved, it has been found that the County's Tourism Bureau has been worked for some years on attracting the external capitals, but the result has been far from positive due to the inconvenient conditions. In addition, the role of expert group in Qishuping has been paradoxical. For the inscription and the related activities of VEMC, apparently, the dual role of being both cadres and experts leads to both collective interests of the group and the individual interests of experts. But once the design proposal was finished, the follow-up implementations were scarcely organized, and this is a typical problem in many of the VEMCs like Qishuping. As a VEMC facing to the difficulties in funding and in attracting the external capitals, Qishuping is designed to have all kinds of heritage related plans and project proposals, only some basic projects have been realized.

Spatial changes

Little has been done in terms of spatial changes and the physical conservation. Similar to other case study villages, the public space in the village and the toilets and kitchen have been refurbished under the government-led approach as indicated in the plans. The two plans did propose the renovation for ordinary buildings and courtyards, but those are far from the implementation. The cultural promotion and the branding of this unique Qiang village have surrounded the Qiangwang family. And this has been performed in the inscription processes and the restoration of the two selected dwellings of Qiangwang family. The village gate and the cultural square nearby

reflect the cultural elements that the Qiang community and the cadres would like to see because these represent the continuous progressive works on the heritage preservation and the improvement of Qiang community's life.

Positioning Qishuping in local development

It is found that Qishuping, as the only Qiang village in Guizhou province, represents per se the cultural diversity of the area. This has been speculatively captured and promoted by the county government. Despite the disadvantageous socio-economic condition, several rounds of labeling of CTV and VEMC in 2013 and 2014 have contributed to Qishuping's fame. Besides, the attempt to develop cultural tourism in Qishuping has been prescribed in the "General Plan of Jiangkou's Tourism Development (2018)." Related administrations have worked on the investment attractions for years despite the goal has been far from the realization. Different from what has happened in Dawan where a well-configured tourism development plan including dozens of scenic spots and potential resources has been programmed, the experience of Qishuping showed the dilemma of development in a culturally abundant historic village within a relatively isolated planning setting. Without a clear funding solution and sustainable heritage-related activities, it can be said that Qishuping, as the unique Qiang village in the province, cannot wait anymore as the village has been constantly collapsing.

6.3 Conclusion

This chapter introduces the second group of multi-case study analyses including the village of Dawan, a Miao village, and Qishuping, a village lived by Qiang people. In contrast to the first group, the second group of villages experienced fewer government-led projects, but the local elites and cadres became dominant in leading the heritage-led development village to a pure commodification approach. This group is to see when the government-enterprise is not present, what are the dynamics in the heritage-led in historic villages. It has been found that local elites and village cadres often form different types of coalitions, thus further leading the cultural preservation and local development. The second group shows that the role of experts and elites at the village level tend to be inseparable and often overlapped with other stakeholders, thus possessed an ambiguous and difficultly controllable position in shaping the rural built environment. This can be understood within the traditional Chinese rural governance framework and the contemporary political inquiries of ongoing rural construction activities.



Group C – The cases of Pingsuo and Sibao

6.4 Group C: The case of Pingsuo

Pingsuo is an administrative village belonging to Xinye township, Yinjiang Tujia Autonomous County in Tongren Municipality. Being located at the East side of Mount Fanjing and thanks to its well-preserved built environment, Pingsuo village was inscribed on the third batch of CTVs in 2014.

6.4.1 Introduction

Geographical condition and spatial layout

10 natural villages of Pingsuo are distributed dispersedly, including 216 households 747 people in total. Pingsuo is surrounded by different types of farmland. Banjiujing is the biggest natural village of Pingsuo, it literally means the "village of Qiu kinship" because the major part of households is of surname Qiu. Only 5 families are of other kinship due to the historic intermarriage and family extension. The village has been considered main body of the Pingsuo village together with Shangpingsuo, Xiapingsuo and a brand-new artificial scenic area, the Shibanzhai¹⁴⁵ (Figure 99-101). The three natural villages are organically organized by main internal pathways and some secondary connections between paths, courtyards and dwellings (Figure 102).

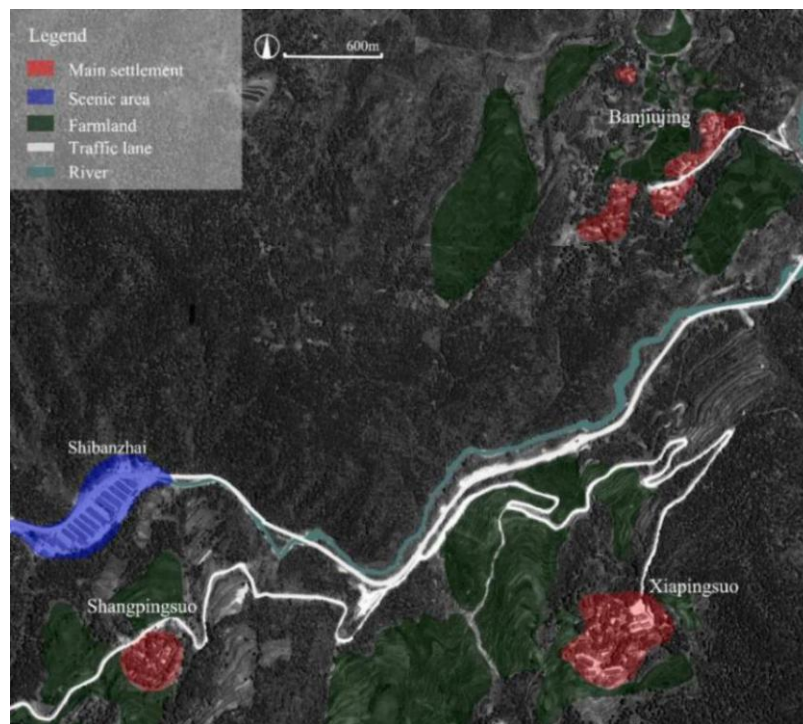


Figure 99: Spatial Layout of Pingsuo and its constituent villages. Source: Author's elaboration

¹⁴⁵ It literally means "slabstone village" as all the roofs of the dwellings are of slabstone. The village is dwelled by some villagers of the poverty relocation project, some are used for agritourism.



Figure 100: photo of Shibanzhai.
Source: official tourism promotion platform of Yinjiang county.¹⁴⁶



Figure 101: photo of Banjiujing. Source: author's photo

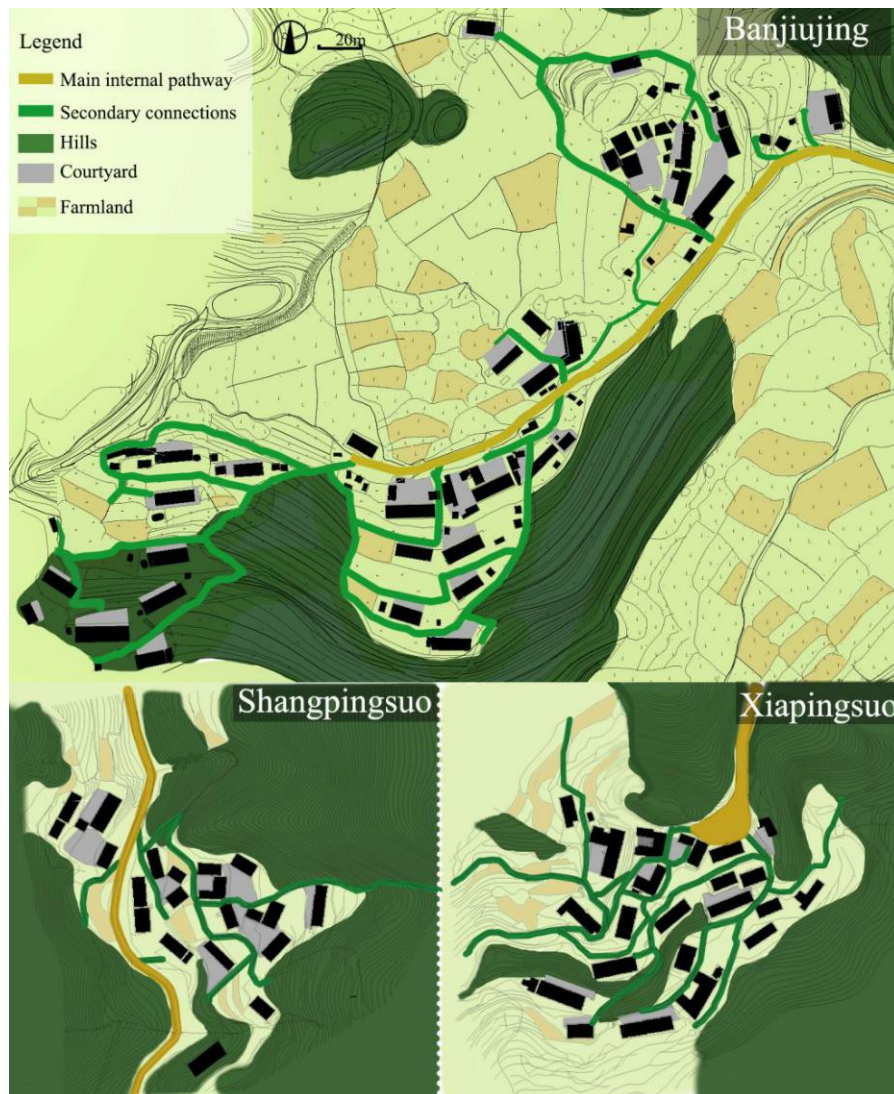


Figure 102: Mobility system and environment of Banjiujing, Pingsuo village
Source: author's elaboration.

¹⁴⁶ Source: <https://mp.weixin.qq.com/s/ivYASfsU9wfa8ZVzDCmaJw>

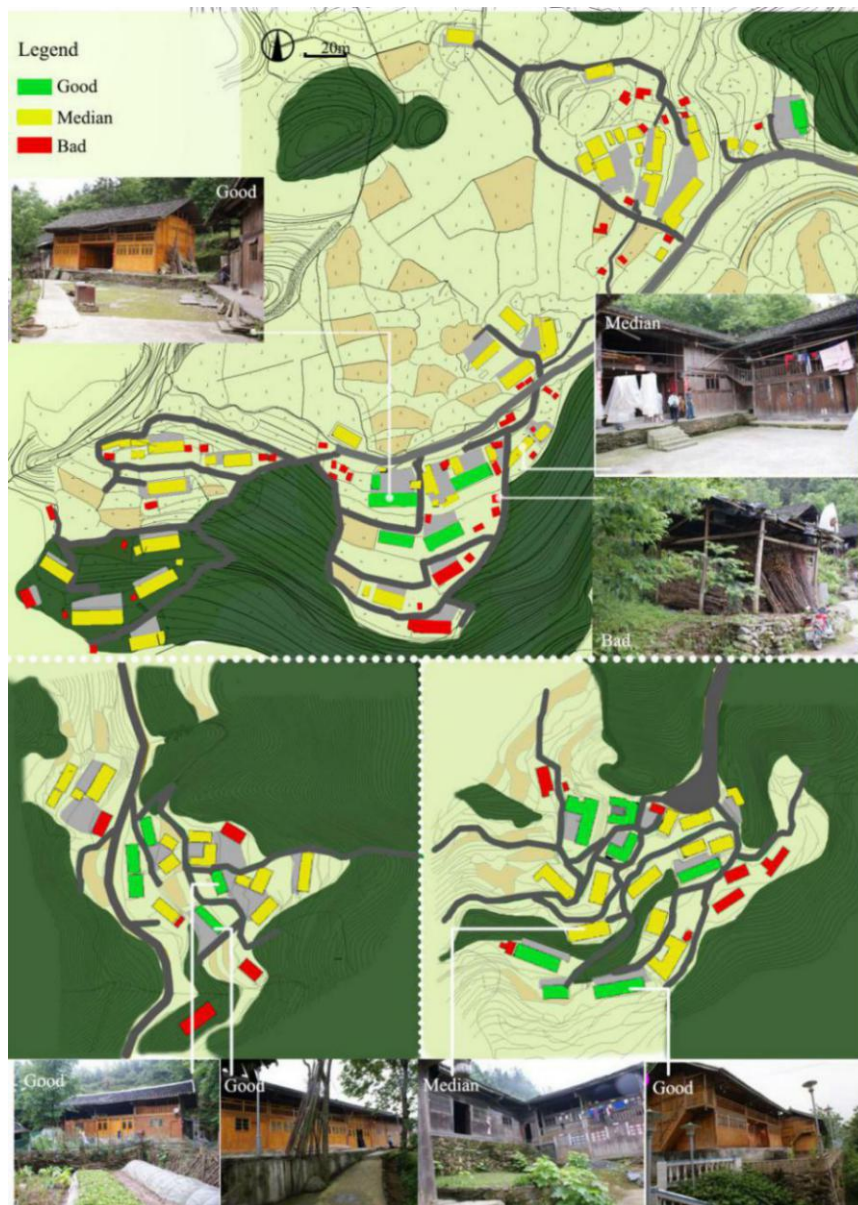


Figure 103: Preservation status of Banjiujing, Pingsuo village. Source: author's elaboration.

Generally, three types of preservation status are identified during the field-survey (Figure 103). The three types are strictly related to the occupancy status and whether the family can afford for the repair and renovation.

Construction techniques and characters

Compared with the other historic villages, it can be said that Pingsuo is in a relative authentic condition concerning integral dwellings, which contribute to the recognizable characteristics of a Tujia village despite the dilapidation. In Pingsuo, primitive productive activities contribute to a lag economy. The major part of the settlement is in the plain area while some dwellings are sparsely dispersed on the hill. Moreover, due to the high precipitation during the rainy season, the buildings are located at a higher place and the use of gable roofs is to facilitate the drainage. The main entrance to the village is quite narrow and can be hardly discovered. In this

sense, Pingsuo has been isolated from the large-scale government-led project and the modernization. Many traditional construction techniques and customs have been conserved in Pingsuo. Until today, the woods consumed for the dwelling construction come from the local China fir. Similar to Yunshe, the gable roof with gray tiles is the typical roof in Tujia traditional dwelling construction. In more detail, the carving ornamental elements showing the figure of bird and flowers are inserted in double doors, representing the good wills of life of Tujia people. According to the interview¹⁴⁷ with the village head, Mr. Qiu, the construction process has been rather authentic. Local craftsman selects firstly the homogeneous wood as the raw materials then conducts the erection process which will last about 100 days. As the start, the craftsman chooses an auspicious day to select the construction site. On the starting day of the construction, the technicians need to say auspicious phrases while working with the beams. After having accomplished the construction, the house holder invites all the relatives and craftsman to celebrate, hanging a piece of red cloth on the dwelling. Then, the craftsman goes up to the roof, saying lucky phrases again and then throw the Ciba, a traditional Tujia food made of glutinous rice to pray for the householders. All the invitees can scramble for Ciba to share the moment of happiness. Naturally, local inhabitants are not able to afford the expenses of the construction at once, and they build the dwellings gradually according to their temporal needs and assisted by their relatives.

Issues of conservation

Apart from the cemented internal paths (Figure 104), no unified government-led environment improvement projects have been realized, the village have kept maximum original feature integrated with the daily life. The dilapidation and the absence of basic facilities has been a serious issue (Figure 105). Villagers use untreated water for daily needs without adequate pollution treatment system. Moreover, adequate anthelmintic treatment is needed for the sake of protecting the wooden structure, and the humid environmental condition strongly influenced the life quality of the inhabitants. Due to the limitations of financial sources, during the survey, we found that the beams and supporting columns are mostly deformed due to the humid environment. 88% of inhabitants are not satisfied with the present living condition. Most villagers preferred a systematic restoration, but this demand has not been realized yet due to the limited financial and technical resources. Moreover, the distribution of the sty, the lavatory and the residential space have been often within the same dwelling and this causes hygienic issues, especially during the summer humidity. Concerning the mobility system, the only road accessed to the village is the county-road no. 585, and the internal road system and the electricity facility are also in scarce condition.

¹⁴⁷ According to the interviews conducted with village head in May 2018.



Figure 104: Cemented Path in Pingsuo. Source: DMU's photo.



Figure 105: Dwellings in Pingsuo. Source: DMU's photo.

Social-economic conditions

Self-sufficiency is the main characteristic of Pingsuo's economy. The plain area is used as the farmland for the cultivation while the some villagers pick up the fruits and vegetables from the hills. A simplified irrigation system for agricultural activities is present. In 2018, the average annual income is about 4,000 RMB, this amount is only sufficient for the basic living demands¹⁴⁸. Most of the young generations emigrate to towns and cities because of the deteriorating living conditions. Moreover, densified living space is another reason attributed to the depopulation which brings the decay of not only the physical living space but also the social vitality¹⁴⁹. A questionnaire survey conducted¹⁵⁰ on Pingsuo in 2016 showed that more than 35% families have 8-10 members of different generations, and 33% families have more than 10 family members. It is worthy to notice that, 85% families have only elderly and children living in the village. Adolescents (the age varying from 20 to 60) working in the cities left their children in the village who are raised by the grandparents, portraying the "generation skipping education" phenomenon. When the children reach their age to go to school, they move to the towns and cities becoming new emigrants. The elderly over 60 years old account for 86% of the total inhabitants. On one side, it is quite difficult to continue the agricultural works at this age, on the other side, how to raise and educate the juveniles is another challenge that they are facing with.

6.4.2 Heritage preservation

The inscription to CTVs in 2014

Despite the pessimistic conditions, Pingsuo is still able to attract government's attention thanks to the strategic layout involving Pingsuo for county's development. In fact, the development of Pingsuo is strictly linked to the overall cultural tourism

¹⁴⁸ According to the interviews conducted with villagers in May 2018.

¹⁴⁹ According to the interviews conducted with villagers in May 2018.

¹⁵⁰ The survey was led by the research group of prof. Ni Qi and prof. Houzhaoming in the Dalian Minzu University. The main aim was to identify the conservation issues and the heritage resources for future development.

plan of Yinjiang county. Similar to the Jiangkou county, Yinjiang's idea of relying on the Mount Fanjing-related tourists' itinerary has been prescribed into the county-level plans (Zhang 2016, p38). One fifth of Yinjiang's territory is located within the Natural Reserve of Mount Fanjing, thus the main brand that the county has emphasized for its tourism development is the ecological and healthy tourism¹⁵¹ (Master Plan of Yinjiang 2010-2030). To this aim, in recent years, Yinjiang County has successively identified a series of core zones as catalyst of development, linking the historic villages and the ecological tourism on the Western side of Mount Fanjing to create a destination of "*Leisure and Summer Vacations*" (Cultural and Tourism Bureau of Yinjiang, 2013). The establishment of the "Yinjiang Master Plan of Tourism Development (2013)" has launched a series of tourism development plans for the core zones adjacent to Tuanlong village¹⁵² and Muhuang township, where Pingsuo is in between. Moreover, the Rural Tourism Planning in the Yinjiang River Basin¹⁵³ has been relevant in coordinating all potential tourism resources of Yinjiang County. Within such planning setting, the detailed planning of the three rural tourism scenic spots, including Muhuang Tourism Area for Revolutionary Sites, Yapanlin Resort Area and Tuanlong Folk Culture Area have been elaborated to guide the specific tourism development projects (Figure 106).



Figure 106: Rural Tourism Planning in the Yinjiang River Basin

Source: Author's translation and adaptation based on the Rural Tourism Planning in the Yinjiang River Basin in the OPPD of Pingsuo.

Pingsuo, due to its close distance to the Muhuang and the Yapanlin Resort¹⁵⁴ has been considered as a traditional village capable to diversify the tourism products

¹⁵¹ The term "healthy" is derived from the success classification of the "land of longevity" that Yinjiang retained.

¹⁵² Tuanlong was added to the second batch of listed Chinese Traditional Villages in 2013, and it was included in the first batch of Villages of Ethnic Minority Characteristics in 2014. After the inclusions, strong interventions occurred, including public space renovation, dwelling renovation and restructuring. http://www.yinjiang.gov.cn/ztl/mztjjbzt/cjdt/201607/t20160719_3699075.html. Accessed on 21th May 2020.

¹⁵³ in Chinese 印江河流域乡村旅游控制性规划.

¹⁵⁴ The government allocated more than 40 million yuan to develop Yapanlin and create rural tourism by demolishing the original settlement and the follow-up reconstruction.

provided in the area because it is distinctively different from the artificial Shibanzhai, that we have seen before. Thus, the promotion within the county and recommendation of Pingsuo has been initiated as early as 2010, and the village was successfully inscribed on the third batch of the CTVs.

Overall Preservation and Development Plan

In order to present a compacted picture of the village, three main natural villages of Pingsuo village have been included into the Overall Plan for the Preservation and Development (OPPD) elaborated in 2015 by the Urban and Rural Planning Survey and Design Institute of Tongren. All three natural villages are located along the county level road n.585. The objectives of this plan have been outlined¹⁵⁵: *"In order to fully integrate tourism resources and improve the tourism industry system, this plan and design aims to retain tourists, and provide tourists with a beautiful environment on the premise of respecting nature and protecting the environment with complete facilities, functions, safety and comfort for improving hardware and software tourism services. The current living environment will be upgraded, and Pingsuo Village will be embellished to become a "land of longevity" for leisure, health care and summer vacation. According to the current economic condition and the types of resources the village possesses, the village should rely on the "traditional agricultural activities, ecological tourism and the protection of the natural landscape surrounding the village through detailed project-making"*¹⁵⁶.

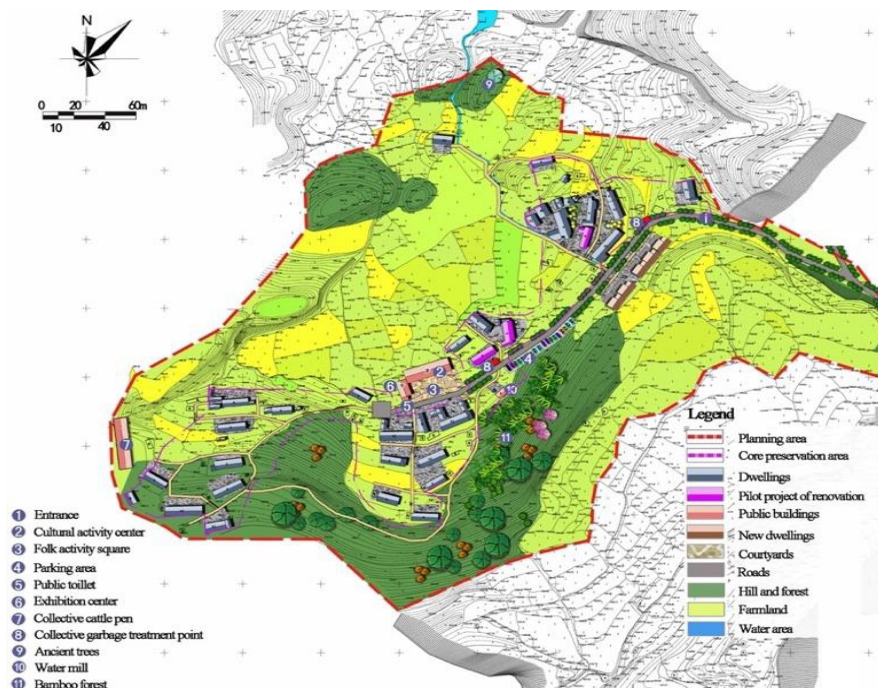


Figure 107: Master Plan in the OPPD of Banjiujing.

Source: OPPD of Pingsuo, archived in the Urban and Rural Planning Bureau of Tongren.

¹⁵⁵ The original Chinese text is in the section of "Objectives" of the Overall Preservation and Development Plan of Pingsuo Village, p2.

¹⁵⁶ Industrial Development Direction of the OPPD, p15.

Table 18: Types of intervention proposed in the OPPD of Pingsuo.

Type of intervention	Provided definition	Applied to which buildings
Repair and maintenance	To keep the buildings as they are, to protect and reinforce the damaged parts, to repair the current status, to enrich the traditional elements, to increase the greening environment, and to adhere to the principle of repair it as it was..	Buildings of relatively high value that should be completely preserved
Improvement	It refers to the structural reinforcement, repair, internal layout transformation to ensure that its overall style, pattern and scale will not be changed.	Buildings of median value
Renovation and partial reconstruction	It refers to the comprehensive renovation and partial reconstruction.	Modern buildings of conflictual feature with the environment
Demolition and upgrade	Reinforcing the main structure, changing the color or material of the facade, and changing the appearance and form of the buildings. In addition, for buildings had high historical, scientific, and artistic value in the past, and today have been demolished due to various reasons, should be reconstructed, and supported with public facilities.	Traditional buildings with bad quality and conflictual feature

Source: author's elaboration based on the OPPD archived in Urban and Rural Planning Bureau of Tongren.

To realize the above-mentioned objectives, the Overall Preservation and Development Plan has been made, including the pilot projects of renovation, infrastructural improvement (Figure 107). In the OPPD, according to the building types, the quality, and the historic feature that the building pertains, several types of interventions have been proposed as listed in the table. (Table 18). Moreover, in the OPPD, a Tujia folk activity square (number 3 in Figure 107) has been inserted along the internal road. A parking area for tourists of about 800m² is foreseen at the entrance of the village. Some benches have been projected along the road between the three natural villages of Pingsuo for future tourists. The plan foresees 3-8 farm family resort in the village. An exhibition center of 380m² should be erected to host Tujia cultural and historic objects. A villager center is foreseen and eventually could become the tourist center. Other tourist facilities like public toilets are foreseen in the plan. According to the estimation of the expert group, the Pingsuo village can host 280 tourists per day.

After having submitted to the Urban and Rural Planning Bureau of Tongren Municipality, the revision advises given by the evaluation committee is worthy to mention. The committee approved the plan and highlighted some points to be improved as follows. First, the committee rightfully suggested that the cultural conditions should be deeply studied. At the same time, it suggested that the intangible heritage resource in Pingsuo are not "evident" enough, thus the committee proposed the potential future function of the village could be a "film shooting site" because of the architectural and landscape value¹⁵⁷. Second, the dimension of the folk activity square should be enlarged and become more evident in the plan.

¹⁵⁷ Source: *Three planning evaluation opinions including the OPPD for Pingsuo village, Yinjiang County*. Accessed on July 23, 2015.

Finance and governance

The total budget required in OPPD of Pingsuo is about 10 million yuan. And the implementation is programmed, including two phases: the short term (2015-2017) and long term (2017-2030). The short-term implementation requires 6.84 million yuan, including projects such as built heritage conservation and renovation (2.982 million); environmental improvement (0.89 million), intangible heritage preservation (0.2 million) and infrastructural improvement (2.767 million). The long term implementation requires 4.1 million, including the projects of a specific funds for the village and building conservation (about 0.4 million yuan), the construction of the cultural square, the erection of the exhibition center, the training of intangible heritage inheritors and specific funds for the development of cultural events; and the parking, basic facility like benches, the making of the main gate of the village, environmental improvement like the renovation and construction of toilet¹⁵⁸. Despite the programmed financial distribution in the OPPD, the implementation has never been succeeded due to the financial issue explained in the next section.

Post CTV era

Actually, Pingsuo has faced difficulties after the designation to the CTVs as several managerial and financial issue have been appeared. Being a CTVs, the implementation of the OPPD requires the cooperation amongst several departments, including Cultural Bureau, Environmental Protection Bureau, Urban and Rural Planning Bureau, the Tourism Bureau and the Bureau of Ethnic Affair. This is similar to what has happened in Yunshe, that in order to reduce the possibilities of financial abuse, the financial supports from the central government are only issued through two channels, “Rural Environmental Improvement Project” and the “One matter One Discussion Project”. A cadre from the Bureau of Ethnic Affair told the author: *“The 3 million from central government has been allocated to the Bureau of Environmental Protection (for environmental improvement), 0.75 million to the Urban and Rural Planning Bureau for the improvement of infrastructure. We don’t know where the rest part of funding is... our bureau we have not received any money from this labelling.”*¹⁵⁹ The village head told to the author: *“the funding for CTVs has been dispersedly distributed. A big part arrived from the Urban and Rural Planning Bureau has been used for the road pavement. The other part has been used for other projects to improve public facilities. Some of funds goes to the making of tourism products, for instance, the construction and tourism development of Yapanlin. The county government thinks that it will make quick profit in Yapanlin than in Pingsuo...we are expecting that we could be included in the tourism development as well, like Yapanlin. Actually, the county government is working on this.”*¹⁶⁰

¹⁵⁸ Source: OPPD of Pingsuo village, p27.

¹⁵⁹ According to the interviews conducted with villagers in May 2018.

¹⁶⁰ According to the interviews conducted with villagers in May 2018.

In fact, as what the village head said, in order to develop the cultural tourism in whole county, the county government chose Pingsuo to be a core of Western tourism itinerary of Mount Fanjing and a potential tourism resort at national level in 2017¹⁶¹. This project is led by the Tourism Bureau and requires the collaboration of Housing and Construction Bureau and the support of townships and village committees. As the Pingsuo has been included in the overall Cultural Tourism Development Plan with Tuanlong and Yapanlin, the funding and project making has been directly managed by the Tourism Bureau and Yapanlin Resort Area. The previously programmed investment for the built heritage preservation and renovation, has been vanished from sight.

6.4.3 The pattern of stakeholders

The county government

In Pingsuo's case, the key stakeholder involved in village's development are different administrations at county level. The so-called healthy and cultural tourism development is led by the Cultural Tourism Bureau, which has concerned Pingsuo as a leisure and cultural activity node in the county-level cultural tourism plan. The multiple roles of the Cultural Tourism Bureau are critical in the heritage preservation and tourism development in Yinjiang County. Its role unified the cultural heritage preservation and management; works of conservation plans in collaboration with urban planning departments, the designation and recommendation of villages of ethnic minorities' characteristics. Moreover, its fundamental role is to coordinate and manage the overall tourism development, the monitoring of the tourism market, the recommendation and evaluation of the scenic spots and the soft power improvement of the county.¹⁶² Although the village has been listed onto the CTVs, the implementation of the plan, the programmed restoration of dwelling is far from the realization. And this is due to local administrative realities that involve the Cultural Tourism Bureau, Housing and Construction Bureau, Urban and Rural Planning Bureau, and the Ethnic Affair Bureau. These bureaus demonstrate different capacity of bargaining. The implementation of the OPPD at county level is overseen by the Housing and Construction Bureau. The Cultural Tourism Bureau who claimed to be capable to attract investment for tourism development in the village has been working

¹⁶¹ Source: Yinjiang County, 2017. The main contents are: first, brand creation: relying on the leisure and vacation core zones such as Ziwei Town, Tuanlong, Huguosi, Shibanzhai, etc., and the improvement of infrastructure and construction of resort hotels. Moreover, to apply for Fanjingshan Longevity Tourism Resort and Fanjingshan Flower Sea Tourism Resort; establishing a national-level tourism resort management agency.

¹⁶² Article 9: The Cultural Tourism Bureau is also responsible for the recommendation of CTVs, and it works with relevant departments to formulate plans for the construction and protection of HCTVs, ethnic cultural and ecological protection zones, and ethnic villages. Article 16 declares that the Cultural Tourism Bureau is also responsible for the coordinated development of the county's tourism industry, formulating and organizing tourism market development strategies, organizing and implementing the whole county's image promotion and key tourism market promotion activities, and organizing and developing tourism products. Source: http://www.yinjiang.gov.cn/bmxxgk/yjxwlj/znjs_51295/201704/t20170413_4469418.html

on strive for the construction and management. The Housing and Construction Bureau who claimed does not have enough funding for neither the restoration nor renovation, asked for the direct management rights over the Pingsuo village as well for the future input-output ratio. The only works that Urban and Rural Planning Bureau has done is the recommendation to CTVs and the elaboration of OPPD in collaboration with external expert group. But it does not have the right to speak on the implementation. The Ethnic Affair Bureau, being the weakest administration amongst different entities, has worked on the recommendation to VEMC so that some funds can be released from higher-level administrations of the same sector.

Expert group

Two types of expert groups have been involved in Pingsuo's preservation and development. The first one is the entity responsible for the elaboration of OPPD. Moreover, recommended by the county government, Pingsuo became a research center of the a group of architecture scholars and university students, thus each year host groups of students who are willing to make survey in the village. Until 2018, there was no accomodation facilities in the village, thus, almost all the outsiders come to Pingsuo are introduced by the county cadres with purposes far away from tourism.

Village elites and cadres

Different from what has happened in Dawan and Qishuping where the village elites and cadres performed in a very active way, these two types of stakeholders in Pingsuo have banal presence. The village head Mr. Qiu's family moved to Muhuang Township several years ago. "I live in Pingsuo because here I have *my folks, and I must work for the village to give them a better life.*" *He explained that the main issue that Pingsuo is facing is that different authorities can hardly reach an agreement on the future development, despite its inscription to the CTVs, a prize and recognition at national level.*

6.4.4 Conclusion

Pingsuo has been concerned as a core node in the big picture of the cultural tourism development belt around the Mount Fanjing, despite its disadvantageous social-economic and mobility conditions and the lack of social capitals. Therefore, it differs from the previous case studies and the last case study, a village which has been totally marginalized and will be disappeared in the overall development strategy of the county.

Stakeholders involved and physical and spatial changes

The programmed heritage-led development has been recently started with the elaboration and approval of OPPD by the county government. However, different authorities can hardly have common agreement on how to implement the plan and the

future tourism management. Different from the first group where the Cultural Tourism Bureau performed dominant role and the second group where the village elites and cadres have actively governed the heritage-led development at village scale, the case of Pingsuo has only a OPPD characterized by the tourism-oriented approach but there has been no dominant stakeholder leading the development process. All county-level administrations including Cultural Tourism Bureau, Housing and Construction Bureau, Urban and Rural Planning Bureau, and the Ethnic Affair Bureau are all striving for the assignment of implementation funding and the future management right of the village. Both the community and the village cadres have been excluded from the negotiation.

Until 2018, as in other villages, only the public spaces and the internal paths have been cemeted for both the hygienic and aethetic concerns. The overall condition of the dwellings in Pingsuo has been damaging due to the depopulation and the natural decay.

Dilemma in preservation and position in local development

As included in the "core zones" of tourism development by Yinjiang County , linking the traditional villages and the ecological tourism on the Western side of Mount Fanjing to create a destination of "Leisure and Summer Vacations". However, without potential power of negotiation and bargaining from the village level, the village would only be manipulated by the county-level administrations, which has caused retarded implementation of the OPPD and necessary conservation measures. Moreover, the connection with Muhuang Town and Tuanlong village does not bring direct benefit to Pingsuo. In fact, along the tourism route of the Western side of Mount Fanjing, tourists prefer to set Tuanlong as a destiny, since it possesses better tourism facilities and fame of being early inscribed CTVs, thus the Pingsuo has been often ignored by tourists. Without necessary basic infrastructure and facilities, Pingsuo rarely receives tourists in the past years. This is also what Mr. Qiu concerns: *“more time we wait for the funding for conservation and implementation of the plan, more the buildings risk to the natural decay. I don’t want to see another Tuanlong, where most of buildings are falsified reconstructions. I hope we can keep something here in Pingsuo, but we also need money (to do this).”*

6.5 Group C: The case of Sibao

6.5.1 Introduction

The destiny of Sibao is on a rocky path. Like Pingsuo, Sibao has similar dispersed spatial composition and difficult mobility condition. The distance between the closest township Minhe and Sibao is about 15.7 km in a bumpy township road (Figure 108). Sibao is an ordinary village in Jiangkou county, the distance between the county center and the village is 38.7 km. Therefore, different from all previously analyzed villages that have been labeled and attracted attentions of different

stakeholders, It is not adjacent to any tourist places, nor possess peculiar cultural or tourism highlights. It is just in middle of numerous hills and valleys characterized by both natural and cultural occurs.

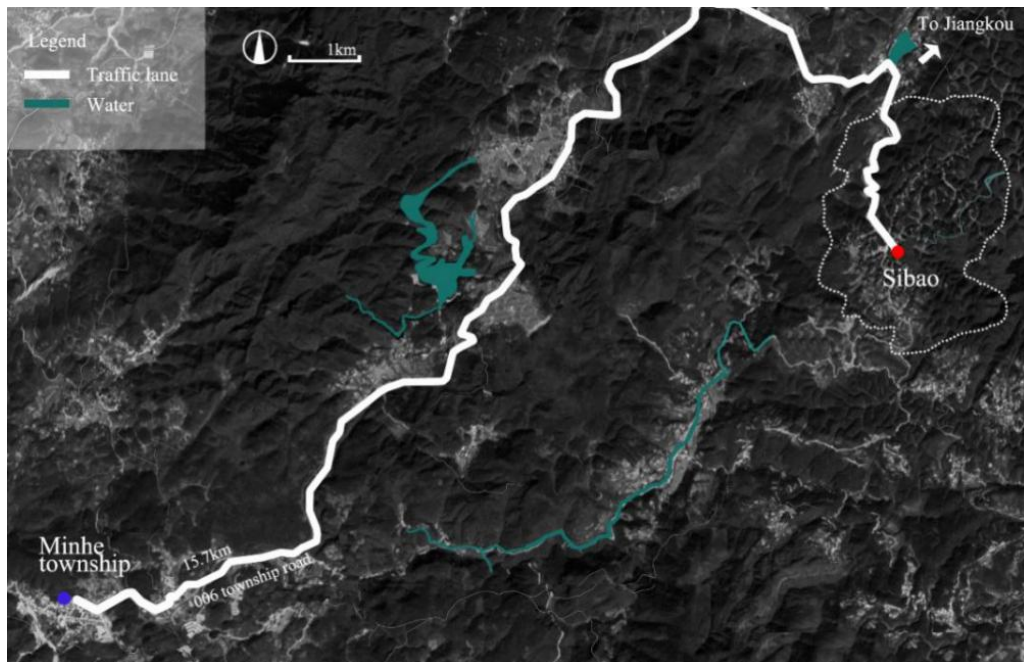


Figure 108: Location of Sibao village and Minhe township.
Source: author's elaboration based on google map.



Figure 109: Photo of Sibao.. Source: Author's photo.

Geographical condition and spatial layout

Sibao is composed of 7 natural villages which have been developed by different communities belonging to different ethnic groups, including Dong¹⁶³, Miao, Tujia and

¹⁶³ According to Jiangkou Chronicles and the interview with the village head, the Dong people in Jiangkou were mostly from Tianzhu and Xinhuang in Hunan province. The ancestors of the Dong people surnamed Luo in Sibao were a group of Dong escaped from Hunan and settled in Tongren during the Yongle period of the Ming Dynasty. Source: Jiangkou County Chronicles, p124.

Han people. The natural villages are Yangbaiyan, Shubaiyan, Zhangjia, Huangtukan, Huangtianwan, Dashanlin, and Tuanpo (Figure 110).

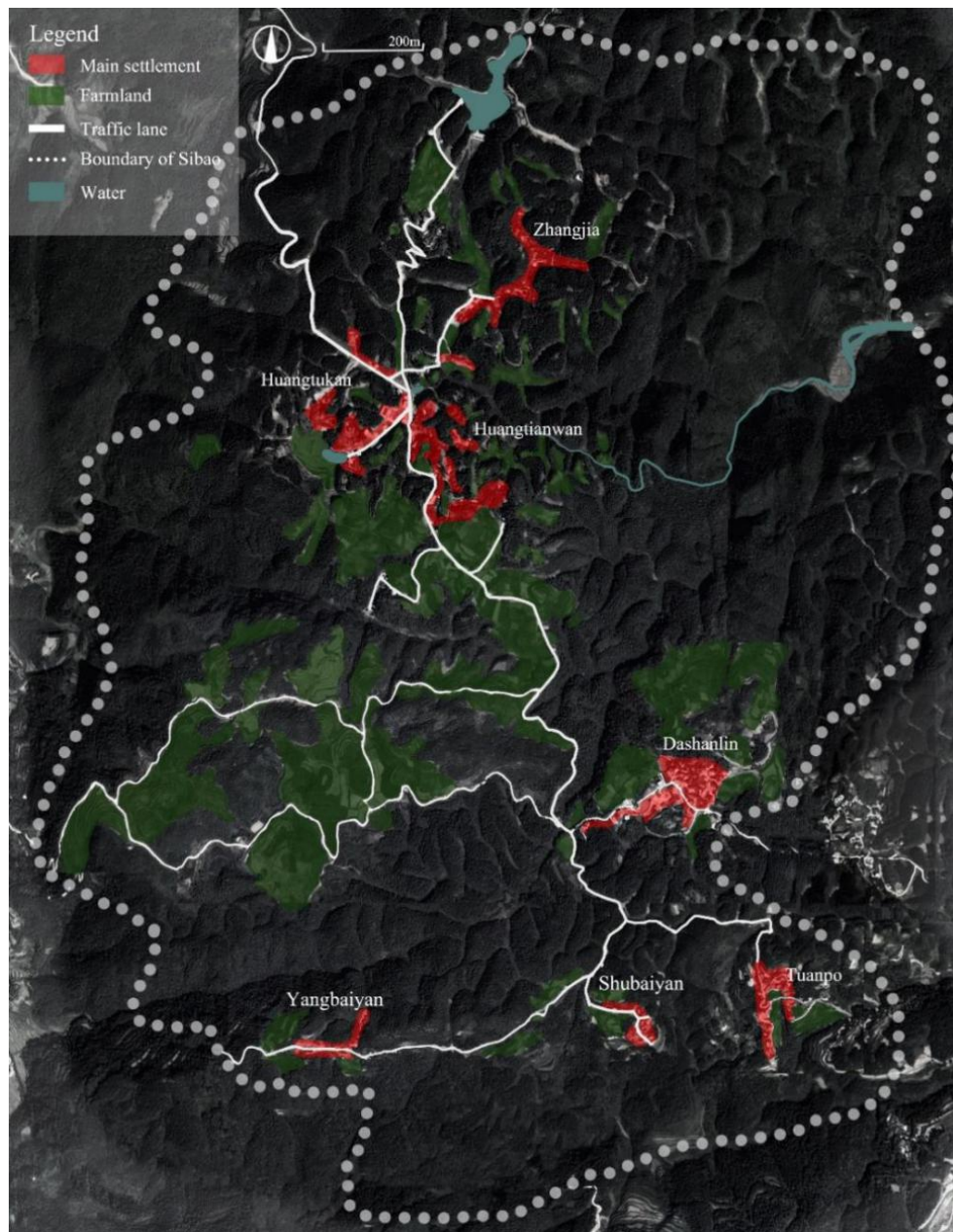


Figure 110: Spatial Location of the natural villages in Sibao. Source: author's elaboration

Currently, there are 72 families with a total number of about 220 villagers living in Sibao. More than 70% are elderly and young children. Sibao and its natural villages are in a hilly area, and the main built-up areas have been concentrated in the low areas connected by a main internal pathway and different secondary connections, which provided a poetic environment for the village (Figure 111). According to the field survey, the preservation status of the dwellings in Sibao is varied. In Huangtianwan and Huangtukan, the core of the village, the dwellings are in a relative median condition that people can live. In Shubaiyan and Yangbaiyan, instead, the dwellings are largely dilapidated and many dwellings are unoccupied (Figure 112).

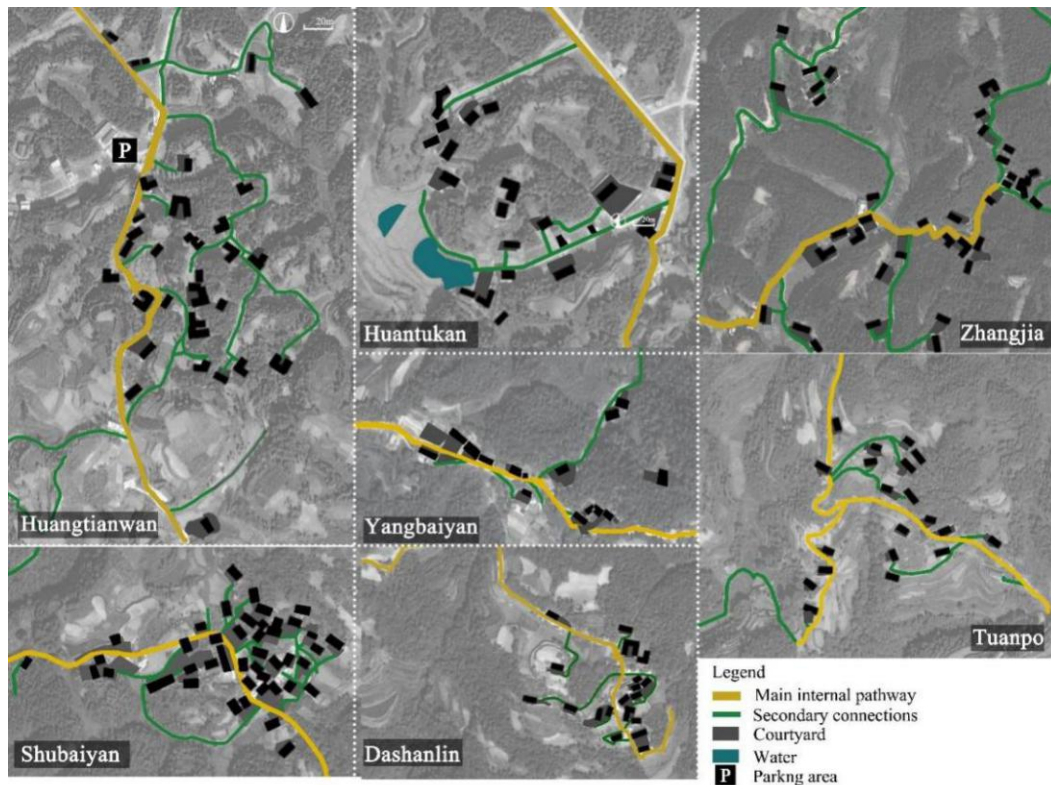


Figure 111: Mobility system in Sibao. Source: author’s elaboration based on field survey and google map.

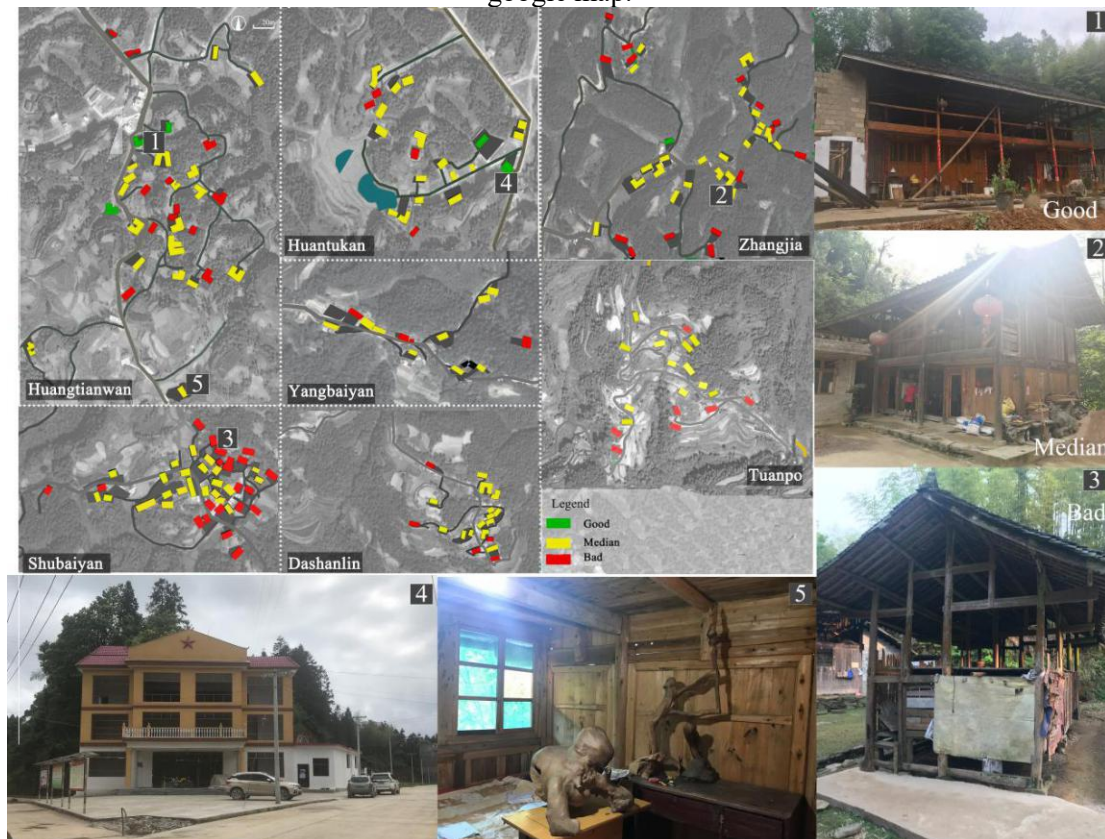


Figure 112: Preservation status of Sibao.. Source: author’s elaboration based on field survey and google map.

Despite the dilapidation, the mixed terrain of "mountains", "bays" and “terraces” provides Sibao with a rich and diverse natural condition (Figure 113-114). The back

hills of the village form a woodland conservation zone that extends from the top of the hill to the mountainside, which not only reflects the villagers' desire for family prosperity, but also has important ecological values. The pond at the entrance of the village (in Huangtukan, see figure 111) is a quite significant landmark for villagers.



Figure 113: the internal paths and the historic dwellings in Sibao. Source: author's photo.



Figure 114: the terraces in Sibao. Source: author's photo

Heritage of Sibao

Being composed of different groups of communities with different origins, this is most peculiar aspect of the village. Due to the difficult accessibility, the basic pattern of the village has been kept despite some autonomous renovations. Most of the preserved buildings have deteriorated due to natural and human factors, the overall texture and spatial relationships are vaguely discernible.

During the survey, the area called Dashanlin (literally "*huge forest*") inhabited by Dong people is entered in our vision (Figure 115). Being erected in the valley, this settlement composed of dozens of dwellings is surrounded by a wild profusion of vegetation, which are placed closely one with another and shared by one lineage of Dong people surnamed Luo. The settlement is surprisingly compact due to its valley condition. The visually most evident point in Sibao is probably the village committee located in the area of Huangtukan, a modern hybrid-style building with the details mixed with Southwestern ethnic feature and imitation of the Western classic buildings (Photo 4 in Figure 112).



Figure 115: The settlement of Dashanlin. Source: author's photo.



Figure 116: The settlement of Dashanlin. Source: author's photo.

6.5.2 Government-led environmental improvement projects

Infrastructure and environment improvement

“Better roads lead to a better life”, this is an idiom that expressed the Chinese understanding about the importance of connectivity in countryside, and this means that no village can be excluded from the government-led environmental improvement projects. Sibao started to be accessible for outside world since the completion of a

highway project in 2017. The project was addressed by Jiangkou County, and invested by an enterprise¹⁶⁴ owned by the county.

Renovation of dwellings

In Sibao, the dwellings can be categorized into two types. The first type includes those dwellings subjected to renovation and supported by government's funds, trying to resolve the living condition problems of villagers who has rigid demands. The second type are those buildings excluded from the government-led renovation because the government presume that these dwellers have potential to move to elsewhere according to criteria of "no renovation" (Figure 117-118):

i. Old dwellings that have not been demolished after accomplishment of local poverty alleviation program, ecological immigration program, and after the relocation due to geological disasters.

ii. Dwellers who have built new dwellings or purchased the new dwellings, without having demolished the old dilapidated dwellings or use the dilapidated dwellings as ancillary houses.

iii. Farmers for a long period work outside the village and have the economic ability to build dwellings, or buy dwellings .

iv. For elderly people, if their children have jobs and houses, and only the elderly lives in dilapidated dwellings, these dwellings will not be renovated by the government.

v. The old dwellings that have been included in the demolition project and the demolition agreement have been signed.

These criteria of "no renovation" have generated unsatisfactory response among villagers¹⁶⁵.

¹⁶⁴ The company is Jiangkou County Fanjingshan Transportation Development and Construction Investment Co., Ltd.. Source: the label of project announcement in Sibao.

¹⁶⁵ According to the interview conducted with the villagers in May 14th 2018.



Figure 117: the dilapidated dwelling with the Red Sign Showing *the Dweller Has New Houses in the village.*
Source: author's photo.



Figure 118: the dilapidated dwelling with the red sign Showing *Elderly's Children Have Jobs and Houses, and only the Elderly Live in Dilapidated Dwellings.*
Source: author's photo.

6.5.3 The pattern of stakeholders

The village head

The village head Wu Jiayong, after having worked in Zhejiang province for more than ten years returned back to Sibao. Although he has only a middle school degree, he has been considered an ideal leader with wide horizon and senses thanks to the

working experiences in developed areas. He defined himself a “*cultural passionate*”¹⁶⁶, and showed to the author the wood carving he made and other antique collections he collected in the ruins of the tore-down buildings (see photo 5 in Figure 112). The raw material of the wood carvings are all collected and furtherly elaborated by him when working in farmland. As he emphasized: “*I know the value of the culture, and we have culture in Sibao.*” In 2014, he was elected by villagers as the village head.

He is a Tujia person, but in his eyes the cohabitation of different ethnic groups, the historic conflicts among different groups, the historic dwellings, the wood carvings, and the fascinating natural resources in Sibao are all potential aspects that could empower future development. Without any external funding, he voluntarily conserved 12 Dong buildings in Dashanlin, making daily cleaning and pulling out weeds in the courtyards (Figure 119). The collapsed original stone portal of the village have been kept. The works Wu has done have been far from the conservation due to limited capacity in terms of financial availability and personal skills.



Figure 119: Mr. Wu is cleaning the wood carving window of the Dong dwelling.
Source: author’s photo.

In Wu’s vision, Sibao can become a rural tourism site based on its cultural and natural resources just like many other villages. His idea has been supported by his cousin, Mrs Li, who is also an officer working in the County’s Ethnic Affair Bureau. Li managed to invite an expert in area of rural tourism and real estate development to

¹⁶⁶ Source: according to the interview conducted with the village head Wu Jiayong in May 14th 2018.

conduct survey in Sibao. After having obtained basic information, the expert was quite sure that the terraces, the buildings, and the ponds can be relevant elements to develop the agritainment activities. Li told the author: *“Sibao is one of the few places that people can still feel the originality of rural life. It is an uncontaminated virgin land breaking away from the unified village renovation. My cousin (Mr. Wu) has been a hero in this term. He worked in cities and saw a lot of advanced things. He is able to perceive the value of a village”*.

The reason why the author was welcomed, is that Wu and Li have heard in other successful villages, scholar’s presence could be pivotal for the heritage conservation. They know in Yunshe and Pingsuo, the research group that author come from has established research centers and training courses on architectural heritage preservation. Thus, they were wondering whether Sibao can be the next research center, representing multi-ethnic feature of some historic villages.

Minhe township

Despite Wu’s efforts in conserving the dwellings, the township government clearly has its own concern. The Minhe township is the entity directly responsible for Sibao’s poverty alleviation project. As other townships and villages, Minhe township dispatched specific personnel to accelerate and monitor the work of poverty alleviation and the implementation. When the author was conducting the survey in Sibao, the Secretary of Minhe township, Mr. Meng was the dispatched personnel working in the village. His main target was to convince Wu to demolish the Dong dwellings in Dashanlin, because those buildings represent the poor image of the township, and are not good for the representation of the working progress of local government. Mr. Meng said: *“These are all poor buildings with nothing to do with heritage preservation. The government does not have funds to repair, and the cadres like us are all facing the pressures of poverty alleviation and we already have worked day and night for this. It (the demolition) is a political target that we have to complete”*.¹⁶⁷ Wu argued with the secretary, insisting the value he has perceived from these dwellings. However, Meng argued: *“Sibao is not labeled to any lists, it is not a traditional village of any kind, it is neither the VEMC. (So) it does not have value. it’s not like Yunshe or Zhaisha. Wu and others in the village are just touched by the useless efforts of themselves”*.

Apparently, the conserved Dong buildings became the sting in the eyes of township. One week after the field survey, Wu contacted the author disappointedly, saying that two of the Dong dwellings were forcefully demolished by a group of people coming from the township (Figure 120). The leader of this group was the son of the township’s secretary, who was also the main figure of the local gangdom. Wu

¹⁶⁷ Source: interview with Mr. Meng in May 14th 2018.

asked for author's help, wishing that author could somewhat stop the demolition using personal networks.



Figure 120 The demolished wooden dwelling. Source: Photo taken in 2018 by the village head Wu Jiayong.

Until 2020, the demolition has impacted only on the two Dong buildings, because the author intervened in what have happened in Sibao. As response to Wu's request, the author contacted the director Zhao of the Urban and Rural Planning Bureau of Tongren, clarifying all the occurs in Sibao. Zhao reacted fastly and called back the county and township cadres to stop the demolition. Thus, Wu expressed deep gratitude towards the director Zhao and the author. The ten of the nineteen Dong dwellings in Dashanlin, Sibao have been kept. After the demolition occurs, Wu worked more actively in looking for resources to preserve Sibao. He proposed to establish a research center on vernacular buildings was too idealistic to realize due to the difficult mobility condition of the village. It takes at least 1.5 hour by car from the County's seat to Sibao. Moreover, inspired by the expert in real estate and tourism, Wu tried to apply funds to the higher-level governments to develop the agritainment activities, but the proposal has been rejected by township governors.

The Jiangkou county

As previously explained in the chapter 4, each county has elaborated its own Overall Rural Construction Plan (ORCP) at county level to address the development of some of the selected key towns and villages. According to the ORCP of Jiangkou County, the destiny of Sibao has been already defined. More than half of the village

groups Zhangjia, Tuanpo, Shubaiyan, Yangbaiyan are subjected to resettlement, demolition, and merging¹⁶⁸

6.5.4 Conclusion

Stakeholders

In Sibao's case, the most active stakeholder has been the village head Wu. Being a recruited cadre having matured working experiences in cities, he has believed that the natural and cultural heritage in Sibao can be better exploited and further benefit to the community. He voluntarily preserved the dilapidated buildings in the village by making daily maintenance, cleaning and basic repair. The inspiration of this project is that heritage should be experienced, in order to be heritage. And heritage itself is that kind of experience, as Smith (2006) has claimed. It is also a process of memory and performance, and a carrier of community legitimacy.

By inviting Mrs Li, his cousin, Wu managed to assert his idea of developing the Sibao into an agritainment scenic spot. The expert group in Sibao's case has been weak, diversified and hybrid, involving the real estate expert, Mrs Li as both the cadre of Ethnic Affairs Bureau in County and the personal contact of Mr. Wu. The author and the director Zhao of Urban and Rural Planning Bureau have been passively involved as well when the tremendous demolition occurred in village. All these different roles have performed (or partially performed) the role of expert group and they showed their subjectivity in supporting the preservation of Sibao though the result was far from positive. The external real estate expert suggested a path towards rural tourism based on the current resources Sibao possess. However, all these bottom-up attempts have been blocked by the township governors, according to whom Sibao is without any value. And it has been prescribed in the Overall Rural Construction Plan of Jiangkou that more than half of the villagers will be forcibly resettled in the suburban area of the county center, and their old dwellings in Sibao will be demolished. According to the county-level ORCP, few years later, Sibao will be administratively merged into other bigger villages and will no longer exist. It is also worthy to mention that no community participation has been emerged in Sibao.

Spatial changes

Apart from the basic infrastructures and the hardening of the roads, the overall feature of Sibao has been deteriorated over the past years. The renovation interventions occurred only on the eligible households based on pre-defined criteria, such as the six criteria of "non renovation". According to the criteria, 70% of dwellings have been excluded from the government-funded renovation project,

¹⁶⁸ In Jiangkou County, there are 158 natural villages designated as the villages that will be resettled, demolished, and administratively merged.

and this has been a fundamental step to approach to the “*relocating the poor*”, so to gradually resettle the villagers elsewhere. There is no space to place emigrant villagers’ nostalgia in Sibao despite they prefer to keep their old dwellings and live in countryside after their retirement.

Position the village in local development

The case of Sibao showed a laddered preservation and development strategy promoted by local governments, especially the governments at and below the county level. The case of Sibao and Pingsuo portray how the heritage-led development could be diverse even within the villages sharing many common features in terms of difficult mobility, the dispersed spatial distribution, the disadvantageous social economic conditions such as depopulation. Pingsuo, thanks to its location in between the scenic spots that the county government would like to invest on the Fanjing route, it has received the consequential labels as CTVs, VEMCs and the minimum funding and consideration for the preservation, renovation and infrastructural updates.

Differently, Sibao has been defined as a village where most villagers will be resettled in few years, and the current renovation policies have been strict and limited within few eligible households. The newly built highway road connecting the Tongren and the newly cemented internal village paths are programmed to foster the emigration and depopulation (Figure 121), which are the situations that the village cadre, Mr. Wu tried to transform with his network and efforts. However, the future of Sibao has been clearly predictable.



Figure 121: Newly Paved Internal Paths in Sibao.
Source: author’s photo taken in May 2018.

6.6 Conclusion

This chapter introduces the third group of multi-case study analysis including the village of Pingsuo and Sibao, a village lived by different ethnic groups. Pingsuo was designated as CTVs in 2014. Light intervention applied only to the mobility system including the road paving and facility improvement. Sibao village is the only village without any labels in this research.

Both villages are of disadvantaged conditions and facing difficulties in implementing plans, despite one of them is labeled one. Due to the different development layouts defined by their respective county governments and planning settings, the two villages are treated in completely different ways. The non-labeled village experienced partial forced demolition.

Chapter 7 Evidences from case studies

After the overall literature review of the papers and existing case studies (Chapter 1), the review of the evolution of rural built-heritage preservation policies (Chapter 2), and the rural development programmes advocating sustainable development launched in recent decades (Chapter 3), the research question can be organized into sub-questions.

- How have the historic villages in ethnic areas been preserved and/or transformed?
- Who are the stakeholders in this play? Is there any tension/coalition between them?
- What are the results and outcomes?
- What are the future development issues?

Through the multi-case study analysis, the research found that the historic villages in ethnic areas have been preserved and/or transformed through the heritage-led development addressed by the plans, projects and stakeholders involved in the decision-making, implementation, and follow-up management of the village. No matter what the nature of the plan is, the final objectives of the plan and projects have been strongly influenced by the political mainstream and interpretations based on the various local realities. Moreover, the processes of labeling and branding cannot be overlooked as the stimulus for obtaining resources of different kinds. The summaries of the case studies are shown in section 7.2. The stakeholders, and different tensions/coalitions formed in a certain temporal/spatial context, have further contributed to the social and spatial inclusion and exclusion that have potentially modified the historic environment of the villages in economically disadvantaged areas. The whole approach has been largely government-centred rather than inclusively involving all interest groups (see section 7.3). For instance, the coalition between the county government and business (including both private and public sectors) has appeared to be the dominant power in those villages, sitting close to the “development core”. Moreover, the coalitions between the village elites and cadres have been pivotal in villages where the government’s presence is not strong. Such coalition can be both positive and critical, as we have seen in the second group of case study villages. Community participation in the decision-making process has been largely ignored, despite some incentives provided in the follow-up tourism management (in Zhaisha’s case, see section 5.2).

Moreover, the research investigated the planning settings at different levels (including the municipal master plan, county-level village renovation and development plan, and the plans and projects realized in villages) of the case study area, discovering that within the same planning and social-economical context, there has been a latent set of rational guidelines that stimulated the intentionally laddered heritage preservation and development in historic villages (Mu 2021), which cause potential social and spatial inequalities and the ethical and political issues (Zhu 2020).

In addition, there have been huge disconnections and ambiguities among the concepts, vocabularies and measures featured in the regulations and interventions, despite their highly homogeneous and unified objectives (Appendix D). In different plans of the case study villages, the explanation on “repair”, “improvement”, “renovation” has been commonly used for the proposed interventions. “Repair” has been proposed for the identified historic buildings, referring to the actions maintaining the overall feature to repair and restore the building using traditional materials to maintain the current status of the building. “Improvement” has been often proposed to the buildings of traditional feature and diversified building quality in terms of liveability. For this type, the external part of the building should be maintained, but the internal part could be adjusted to adapt to the modern lifestyle. Structural reinforcement can also be conducted. The “renovation” has been proposed to the buildings, which are not in harmony with the built environment, thus, the façade renovation and partial reconstruction are required. The “regeneration” in the case of Qishuping rigidly refers to the demolition and reconstruction on site. In the case study villages, we can find that only a few buildings are listed as historic buildings under legal protection. Thus, most of the buildings having heritage value are excluded from the intervention of repair and have been included in the type of to be improved or renovated (in other plans that the author has investigated, the term rectification is often mixed with the renovation), which means potentially strong interventions are to be conducted to these buildings, changing the overall feature of the villages. The difference between the buildings to be improved and renovated is also difficult to define since the current status of many buildings showed a mixed status that can be placed in between the legal “historic buildings” and the pure modern buildings due to the gradually evolved construction techniques and difficultly identifiable architectural elements. In fact, according to an overall study on more than 60 OPPDs of the villages in Tongren, the author found that the buildings proposed for the improvement and the rectification are the most accounted ones, which means that these villages are easily vulnerable to the proposed projects and interventions of transformation (Appendix F). The definitions and categorizations of different interventions are characterized by over-simplification and vagueness.

I believe that the findings may represent the overall Chinese approach to rural built-heritage preservation and development in ethnic areas. In the next section, both the common characteristics and differences between the case study villages and the practices representing the overall Chinese approach are discussed.

7.1 Positioning the case studies within the overall Chinese approach

To understand the overall Chinese approach to rural built-heritage preservation and development, a careful review of existing policies is required as well as a set of critical reflections on the exemplary practices, and this is what I have accomplished in Chapter 2. Apparently, there has been a positive yet slow progression in awareness, conception, practices, and methodologies in the preservation process. Rural built-heritage preservation in China is regulated by several separate laws, and a double-tracked preservation system has finally been formed, characterized by a selective approach of labeling and model-making. Apart from the realm of rural built-heritage preservation addressing the shift from productivism to the post-productivism development approach in rural area, several programs and projects focused on the improvement of the rural-built environment in the name of the construction of the socialist countryside were initiated during the 1990s. At the same time, in poor areas where ethnic minorities inhabit, the campaign of poverty alleviation has been for long time the most relevant objective. Cultural tourism has been considered as a quasi-unique solution to this issue, despite the overuse of heritage resources, the challenge to ethnic identities and the serious impact on local sustainable development. Therefore, I have mostly investigated the evolution of policies and plans advocating a sustainable approach (Chapter 3). The main challenges can be summarized as follows:

- The effective legislation on rural built heritage preservation in China were formed around 2012 and lag behind the transformations being occurred in social-economic and environmental mainstreams, with minimal further improvements made to manage the growing list of preservation tasks regarding rural built heritage.

- The selection and labeling have been highly concentrated on the villages possessing advantageous transport links and other conditions required to develop tourism. The scale of capital and the scale of villages are important, as what Donalson (2011) and Feng and Li (2020) explored, but the government's overall arrangement for local development can make dominant decision. Therefore, the labeling has been frequently overlapped with and limited to villages already defined by local governments as catalysts for local development. This causes the non-labeled villages to be ignored in the selection and designation processes, worsening the physical, social, and cultural decay and inequalities.

- Different patterns of stakeholders in heritage-led development have formed coalitions, tensions, and conflicts, and this requires further investigation concerning the special social and cultural relationships within ethnic areas and the planning settings in which historic villages are embedded.

7.2 Evidences from the case studies

The thesis has included a multi-case study analysis to investigate the different approaches of heritage-led development, different planning configurations and different patterns of stakeholders, conflicts and coalitions that have shaped today's historic villages in ethnic area. The research shows that the case study villages address all the aforementioned challenges and a number of reflections have been revealed in terms of both theoretical and empirical assumptions. The following sections discuss the several pieces of evidence and issues have arisen from the case studies.

7.2.1 Evidences from Yunshe and Zhaisha

In all the case studies, the findings are consistent with what Svensson (2006), Oakes (2013), Harrison (2012) and Zhu (2020) discussed, that heritage preservation is a “*governance technique*,” especially in poor ethnic areas, and is easily vulnerable to transforming socio-economic circumstances in the context of macro policies in rural China (Ashworth 2011; Blumenfield 2018). This study suggests that this is even more evident in the villages adjacent to government-led preservation and renovation projects.

The first two cases, Yunshe and Zhaisha, portrays the entrepreneurial spirit of Chinese government (Wu 2011) at the county level in establishing COEs (county-owned enterprises), performing “*local corporatism*” (Zang & Chen 2015) since the local government possess various advantageous resources.

In Yunshe's case, the county government and the private planning company combine in a rather ambitious development approach. The implemented projects were concerned with the historic characteristics of the village, creating relatively positive conditions for future development. The construction of village gates, the restoration and renovation of the important buildings such as bucket houses, and the focus on the main roads and axis portray the idea of creating the “First Tujia Village in China” and the rationale employed in the heritage planning of historic villages. In order to brand the site, the name Yunshe was attributed with new meanings recognizing the ecological value of the village as the catalyst for development, even by changing the meaning behind the name of the village. The naming be translated both as “*symbolic capital*” and “*symbolic resistance*” and this portrays the different versions and interpretations of the past reflecting the different power relations regarding a specific place (Alderman 2016: 196). In Yunshe, despite the residents' resistance to the invented meaning given by the authorities, the new meaning made an impact on public memory because of its mass media and official tourism promotion.

In Zhaisha, at the beginning, the heritage-led development was closely tied up with the Buddhist Cultural Park nearby. Zhaisha underwent a complete demolition and reconstruction on the original site. Transplanted cultural and spatial elements, like the Drum Tower and the Flower Bridge, were constructed to celebrate the

speculatively highlighted “Dongness” of Zhaisha. All the dwellings were planned and designed with a standard courtyard and greenery to build an ecological Dong village relying on Mount Fanjing. In the tourism management period, the county government enabled the COEs to control and manage the profits. Despite the presence of a village cooperative designed to lead community participation, the community was only passively involved because they have no say in decision-making of any kind. Despite the commodification efforts, Zhaisha was superceded by Yunshe as it possessed better resources in terms of a well preserved physical space and the political priority granted by the county government. Furthermore, tourists criticized Zhaisha as a fake village, preferring therefore to visit Yunshe. Finally, the Buddhist Culture Park sponsored by large capital failed to continue its activities due to policy authorization constraints and drastic changes in the political environment. From then on, the Zhaisha development went downhill.

In both Yunshe and Zhaisha, all the plans regarding heritage-led development were part of master plans to organize several projects aimed at tourism exploitation, thus they represent attitudes towards development and are not legally binding acts. The negative impacts, especially the decline in tourism development in Zhaisha's case, suggest the political and scientific works in the preliminary research for plans and projects should concern the identity values of the community in terms of sustainable development. Moreover, this should be developed based on social engagement in decision-making, implementation, follow-up management and further interest. In both villages, the paradoxical relationship between the county government and COEs was criticized as it reflects the issue of governmental transparency and efficiency. This process evidenced the government's behaviour in pursuing its own interests of short-term due to budgetary pressures (Dredge 2004) passed down from higher-level governments and the maximization. In these cases, if, as according to the authorities, the current resources are insufficient for the exploitation of tourism, then the falsification and reconstruction of heritage assets might be a solution (Ducros 2017) – as happened in Zhaisha. Moreover, it is difficult for the homogeneously renovated village and the community to cope with the dynamic demands of the tourism market. In fact, this is a typical issue caused by insufficient advices from the county government at the start of development.

7.2.2 Evidences from Dawan and Qishuping

In both Dawan and Qishuping, basic environmental-improvement projects were implemented, despite the unsatisfactory results of changing the historic features of the village. In Dawan, less attention from the government has brought greater flexibility and autonomy for the coalition between the village elites and cadres. Despite their inscription to both the CTVs and VEMCs, the plans were hardly implemented. The difficulty in implementation shows local leaders' caution about the government-led approach, and that they prefer to carry out preservation using their own capacities and networks.

Similarly to Dawan's case, Qishuping's local elites played the role of cultural protector but began running their own business in the urban area in the name of Qiang culture, resulting in a displaced commodification of Qiang culture. In both Dawan and Qishuping, the complicated performances of the local elites should be understood within a broader framework of Chinese rural governance traditions. Willingly or not, government-led projects have been delayed in both cases thanks to local elites who act as heritage protectors and cultural promoters. For instance, Teng Jicheng put efforts into both teaching the Miao language on different occasions and translating the national policies into the Miao language so that Dawan people could acknowledge current affairs. On the other hand, the elites could not whitewash their intentions and behaviours in searching for profits for themselves or their families (Ahlers & Schubert 2009), as happened in both villages. New constructions led by and benefitting the elite's families were even legitimized in the names of rural revitalization and cultural heritage preservation, and as they are the inheritors and the representors of local traditional culture, they thus have a say on local everyday life.

In fact, both Dawan and Qishuping reflect how the rural elites in poor areas reproduce their privileges via a nationwide campaign of rural development. The preservation projects funded by higher government were all centred on the elites' own dwellings in order to maintain a spatial and cultural representation of the community and ethnic culture. In Dawan, the newly constructed cultural gallery reflects the dominant power in the village. The ordinary dwellings have been allowed almost to collapse without effective preservation measures and funding. Moreover, the similarity of the two cases helps categorized them within the same approach through which elites tried to reproduce and secure their privileged social status. Both the villages relied on government funding from higher authorities, and the amount of funding can be strongly influenced by the personal connections and working performance of village cadres within the Chinese political hierarchy. Therefore, any coalition of village cadres and elites has to implement mandatory top-down projects in favour of the government because this is an important parameter in that the higher government assess and define "*how much the government aid he/she could give to the village*" (Zang & Chen 2015: 635). Such top-down mechanisms in rural China include the allocation of various kinds of subsidies and funds. For instance, the funding for road construction, for assisting the poor families according to the national poverty standards, repair of collapsed houses, and projects related to the heritage preservation (like what happened in both Dawan and Qishuping) can all be re-arranged innovatively by the village cadres and elites for their own interests and power consolidation (Zang & Chen 2015: 635).

7.2.3 Evidence from Pingsuo and Sibao

These two villages feature in the same group due to their difficult transport conditions, relatively dispersed spatial feature, the scales and number of households, and disadvantageous socio-economic conditions they experience. The difference

between the two case study villages is that Pingsuo was added onto the CTVs list and it has been of significant concern for territory-level tourism development. Being listed as a CTV, Pingsuo has not experienced many changes in either socio-economic conditions nor spatial characteristics. As in the previous cases, the only project implemented was related to environment improvement. Despite Pingsuo having its own OPPD for future preservation and tourism-oriented development, the implementation is far from being realized owing to disagreements between county-level administrations over funding attribution and future management rights.

The case of Sibao is more paradoxical as it was not recommended any labels, despite its multiethnic cultural characteristics and original historic dwellings. The village head had worked on the preservation and maintenance of a group of Dong dwellings for years and tried to find a solution with his personal connections and the subsequent assistance of external experts. However, the township government forced to demolish the dwellings as the old dwellings represented a backward image which might have left a negative impact on the government's political evaluation by the mainstream programs. Some dwellings were spared, but the situation in Sibao is still critical since it was defined as a village to be merged administratively and all the residents were to be relocated in a new area close to the county in a new round of urbanization. Currently, a set of principles has been published that defines the dwellings eligible for restoration and renovation, but the ordinary householders can rarely reach the requirements. In other words, spontaneous restoration and renovation are discouraged. The future of Sibao has already been decided and regulated by the county government's overall strategy of resource concentration and spatial reorganization.

The basic feature of the case study villages has been presented in Table 19.

In conclusion, all three groups of case study villages failed to take community engagement into account. In each process of preservation and development, the information sharing has been very limited within certain interest groups. In the three cases, the local government failed to establish efficient measures for a systematic assessment on the heritage value of the historic villages, and the overall sustainable development has been far from realization. The local government has been pursuing fiscal revenue instead. As a result, none of the expert groups felt the need to conduct scientific research; they blindly developed tourism through plans and projects filled with falsified cultural elements.

Alongside the national poverty alleviation program and the campaign for rural revitalization, it is possible that in the years to come, more and more villages like Dawan and Qishuping will have elites involved in local corporatism, especially in terms of the dual role of being both cultural protector and the powerbroker. The disadvantaged villages, like Sibao, will be forced to be relocated and urbanized, sacrificed for the catalyst of local redevelopment.

Table 19: Overall feature of the case study villages.

Key characters	Yunshu	Zhaisha	Dawan	Qishuping	Pingsuo	Sibao
H.P labels	CTV(2012) HCTV(2014)	-	CTVs (2013)	CTV (2016)	CTVs (2014)	-
H.R labels	National Tourism Administration's Support Point (2002); Provincial Rural Tourism Model Village (2004); Village of Ecological Civilization and National Agritourism Model Village (2005); first batch of VEMCs (2014)	Provincial Rural Tourism Model Village (2004); Ethnic Solidarity Model Village (2008); first batch of VEMCs (2014); National Rural Tourism Poverty Alleviation Model Village (2014)	First batch of VEMCs (2014)	Second batch of VEMCs (2016)	-	-
Number of plans	2	1	2	1	1	0
Decision-making model	Governments + COEs	Governments + COEs	Governments + village elites	Governments + village elites	Governments	Governments
Transformation approach	Organic renewal	Demolition & reconstruction	Preservation	Public space improvement	Public space improvement	Public space improvement
Implementation mode	Private enterprise, COEs, community	Private enterprise, COEs	Community	Community	Community	Community
Beneficial conditions	<ul style="list-style-type: none"> - Partial preservation of historic features - Rapid achievement of socio-economic objectives - Increase in villagers' income - Investment over time and efficient organization of the financial platform 	<ul style="list-style-type: none"> - Rapid achievement of socio-economic objectives - Increase in villagers' income - Investment over time and efficient organization of the financial platform - Media exposure and promotion 	<ul style="list-style-type: none"> - Preservation of historic features - Stronger cultural identity and cultural promotion thanks to the leadership of village cadres and elites - Successful delay of government-led projects and commodification - Media exposure and promotion 	<ul style="list-style-type: none"> - The historic features have been kept - Strong cultural identity and cultural promotion thanks to leadership of village elites - Media exposure and promotion 	<ul style="list-style-type: none"> - The historic features have been kept - Potential funding and plans for future development and improvement of living conditions 	<ul style="list-style-type: none"> - Multi-ethnic character of the village - Cultural and natural heritage in the village (including the dispersed settlement, diversified ethnic communities and the terraced landscape, the streams) - Partial preservation thanks to the leadership of village head
Disadvantages	<ul style="list-style-type: none"> - No communication with the community by experts - Lack of scientific research before planning and design 	<ul style="list-style-type: none"> - Failure to formulate effective policies and measures for heritage preservation and development by the county 	<ul style="list-style-type: none"> - Lack of community participation - Lack of shared interests due to the cadre-elite interests due to the 	<ul style="list-style-type: none"> - Lack of community participation - Lack of shared interests due to the cadre-elite coalition and the 	<ul style="list-style-type: none"> - Lack of community participation - Difficulties in the 	<ul style="list-style-type: none"> - Partial demolition addressed by local governments - Programmed depopulation and

	<ul style="list-style-type: none"> - Lack of community participation - Lack of transparency and efficiency 	<p>government</p> <ul style="list-style-type: none"> - Lack of scientific research before planning and design - Failure to improve market competitiveness by COEs - Falsification and recreation of heritage discourse, loss of cultural identity - Lack of community participation - Lack of transparency and efficiency - Short-term development 	<p>cadre-elite coalition and the resources obtained</p>	<p>resources obtained</p>	<p>implementation of the plan</p> <ul style="list-style-type: none"> - Potential risk of commodification once the plan is implemented 	<p>relocation of villagers to suburban areas of the county for the sake of poverty alleviation</p> <ul style="list-style-type: none"> - Loss of built heritage -Risk of abandonment of the whole village
Suggestions	<p>A heritage discourse based on the history of Yunshe should be accepted by conducting heritage education activities involving administrations and the community. A village-cooperative should be established to compensate marginalized households. A multi-stakeholder platform for a long-term sustainable development and use of heritage should be built.</p>	<p>The authorities should engage in the interaction with other stakeholders. The real Zhaisha culture representing the North Dong should be investigated and shared by expert groups for long-term cultural sustainability. Land to compensate villagers could encourage reluctant villagers to participate in tourism.</p>	<p>Communication and education with village cadres and village elites should be conducted to lead preservation and renovation. The importance of shared interests with the community should be communicated, which would improve the overall living conditions of the villagers and create incentives for tourism development among other families.</p>	<p>The uniqueness of the Qiang village should be studied and well preserved in both tangible and intangible terms. Government-led projects should be avoided. Communication and education with village cadres and elites should be conducted in order to lead preservation and renovation. The importance of shared interests with the community should be communicated, which would improve the overall living conditions of the villagers and create incentives for tourism development among other families.</p>	<p>A heritage discourse based on the history of Pingsuo should be accepted and well-integrated into the planning settings to avoid commodification. In-time conservation measures should be applied to dilapidated dwellings. The issue of funding should be solved with the support of multiple channels and stakeholders.</p>	

Source: author's elaboration based on Mu (2021).

7.3 Patterns of stakeholders

7.3.1 The role of county government and SOEs

The case studies showed the county government's critical role in promoting the rural built heritage preservation and programs advocating sustainable development.

In built heritage preservation, county government is responsible for the elaboration of the Conservation Plans for the villages listed as CTVs and HCTVs (Art. 8, MORHUD 2014)¹⁶⁹. But since the overall heritage preservation sector is not included in the political career evaluation of the county-level cadres, the assigned funds have often been used for other projects that can bring up major interest for local governments and individual cadres (Feng & Wu 2016), as what has happened in Yunshe, Dawan, Qishuping and Pingsuo.

Therefore, county-level governments are more interested in the programs advocating sustainable development as it has major affects on their political promotion and personal interests. Taking the Construction of New Socialist Countryside (CNSC) in Jiangkou county as an example, the county government coordinates the budget of county-level departments, partially transferring it to the township level to increase the salary of village cadres to stimulate the cadres' enthusiasm in working on the CNSC. Moreover, the county government established a joint-stock economic cooperative according to local conditions, and clarified that 20% of the income of the cooperative can be assigned to the village cadres as reward with upper-level government's approval. At the same time, the cooperative even pays pension insurance for cadres to encourage them and stimulate their passion for working with the cooperative, to "*ensure the retirement salary for cadres' future*".¹⁷⁰

In the campaign of the CNSC, county governments actively worked on the implementation of the VRP. According to the "Methods for the Preparation of Village Rectification Plans" (Ministry of Housing and Urban and Rural Development, 2013), the Village Rectification Plans should be "*organized by the township government and submitted to the higher level (thus county level government) for approval....*"¹⁷¹, but due to the lack of resources at township level, the county is often responsible for the VRP plans and the approval. Furthermore, such project is related to cadres' political career evaluation by higher level governments, and in many cases it is associated with the cadres' income to realize the short-term achievement.

¹⁶⁹ Source: MOHURD, 2014. Article 8. Measures for the Approval of the Compilation and Approval of the Conservation Planning of Famous HCTVs.

¹⁷⁰ According to the interview conducted in May 2018 with the director, Mr. Zhao coming from the Urban and Rural Planning Bureau of Tongren.

¹⁷¹ It has been further clarified that "*Before submitting for approval, it shall be publicized in the village, and after discussion and approval by the villagers' meeting or the villagers' representative meeting, the approved village rectification plan shall be acknowledged in the village*".

Concerning the VEMCs, the county government is responsible for recommending and constructing the villages to be VEMCs. After the selection, the VEMCs plan is also in charge of the county government. In Tongren's case, the construction of the VEMCs has been stated as one of the main developmental goals in the 13th Five-Year Plan period, clarifying that each district (county) should select and then make more than 10 VEMCs, so that by the end of the 13th Five-Year Plan 100 VEMCs in Tongren area were established. It means that the construction of the VEMCs has been included into local socio-economic development programs and the county-level cadres' political evaluation.¹⁷² Thus, the county government would give priority to the programs and projects affecting the political evaluation.

The role of county government in the first two case studies is relevant owing to the Chinese political evaluation system and the financial pressures that local governments have been facing. Therefore, county governments' determination in approaching preservation for tourism development as part of the poverty alleviation program has been significant. In the case of Jiangkou, by involving the Tourism Bureau in the plan assessment process, the local government enjoyed overall control over whether the strategies and projects were favorable to tourism development. In Addition, the prevalent role of county government has been demonstrated in mechanism and policy innovations like the model village recommendation and the approval of pilot projects. Theoretically, pilot projects are an approach through which local governments can experiment with new ways of governing and financing the villages. Thus, the county governments assume a leading role in shaping the model villages and dissemination of heritage-planning practices in historic villages. Positioning county government as a rigid national structure at the local level that implements macro policies might be inaccurate because the incomplete regulations and the lack of monitoring mechanism often generate operational flexibility in county's project making. And this reflects the county's actions both as an institutional power and a group sometimes influenced by cadres' individual capacities. Coalition between governments and non-institutional organizations, such as the leading group and the enterprise is undoubtedly the basis for a smooth profit-seeking process for both parties. In Jiangkou's case, the establishment of the "leading groups" has become a main solution to decrease the budgetary pressure caused by the reform of the tax-sharing system in early 1990s¹⁷³. After the reform, county and township governments have begun to rely on local taxes and off-budget revenue, consequently the so-called land finance was the main solution since "*numerous low-level governments find it hard to maintain the necessary level of spending that pays workers, keeps institutions running, and protects the public well-being...some explore expediences, such as land finance and debt financing, for more discretionary*

¹⁷² Municipality of Tongren (2017), Article 3, paragraph 1 of the "Implementation Opinions of the People's Government of Tongren City on Strengthening the Protection and Development of Minority Characteristic Villages and Towns".

¹⁷³ the central government gradually increased its share of revenue from local governments through extracting a big part of the new-founded value-added tax of industrialization and services.

income....”¹⁷⁴(Sun, 2014, p31). In the face of increasingly severe funding needs and increased responsibilities and relevant developmental shifts towards rural area, if the county and township governments want to expand their financial resources, they must obtain additional income through other channels, as what has happened in Zhaisha. However, as there are no restrictions on the operational duration, the function and the organization about such leading groups, and corruption, nontransparent financial management issues may significantly reduce management efficiency. Moreover, the unignorable role of SOEs (in this research, mainly COEs) has been analyzed in the case studies. The COEs have been supervised by the county government due to the overlapped staffing. The tighter the coalition between the market and political power, and the more these two parties seek for profit, the community pays the costs (Wang, 2012; Feng & Li 2020). In this research, the county governments establishing COEs to intervene with heritage-led development is more evident in areas where the community lacks social capital.

However, as the author has observed, there is a nuanced position for the local cadres as they are themselves ethnic minorities and with good educational backgrounds; thus, they are recognized as the advocates for the groups they represent. For instance, all the cadres that I interviewed during the fieldwork are from ethnic minorities. They are Miao, Tujia, Dong. From the interviews and occasional chats, some interesting characteristics have become apparent regarding both individual will and political duty. Apart from seeing heritage/villages as commodities programmed through the authorities’ power that we perceived from the case studies, many cadres’ ideas are to revitalize the ethnic culture and to preserve its heritage (albeit through the use of falsified cultural elements or biased signs). This is something of an intuitive reaction to do something good for minority communities to protect them from the political and economic pressures they face. In other words, despite the inappropriate generalization in interventions employing preservation and renovation and the misuse of cultural symbols, many of the cadres believe that they have improved inhabitants’ living conditions, thus contributing to the development of the ethnic minority as a whole. Cadres would not consider whether the village they work in is a Miao village or a Tujia village. In their eyes, these villages should be promoted because they represent the heritage of ethnic minorities as a whole, which is “*different from the majority*”.¹⁷⁵ This alternative motivation was generated as a symbolic and cultural value that emerged during rural built-heritage preservation and renovation, which the cadres as insiders were able to enjoy and exploit.

¹⁷⁴ Kai, Sun. "A review of tax-sharing reform and related thoughts" China Finance and Economic Review, vol. 3, no. 1, 2014, pp. 27-39. <https://doi.org/10.1515/cfer-2014-030104>

¹⁷⁵ According to the interview conducted with the director of the Bureau of Ethnic Affairs in Tongren Mr. Luo.

7.3.2 The role of expert groups

Based on the values of expert groups, in the official procedures of heritage protection and management, supporting or opposing local communities or other interests with public political documents has been considered as a critical problem. Therefore, in the process of constructing and practicing heritage, the issue of community participation has always been swayed between the ambition of accepting the community and the status quo, between the weakening of AHD and the endogenous politics of understanding heritage (Smith 2020).

Under the poverty alleviation and rural revitalization framework, the expert groups in the case study villages performed their multiple identities characterized by the institutional discourse of profit-seeking in heritage planning activities. This can be read through the OPPDs in Yunshe, Dawan and Qishuping, where the plans appear to be a series of prefabricated materials for success inscription into different lists and funding requirements.

In the case of Yunshe, the blind deference to the professional authorities was strongly criticized by local residents. Local scholars, who have practiced and experienced more in their fieldwork and long-term observation, were intentionally ignored and considered without authority and unprofessional. In the case of Zhaisha, the expert group was dependent on the county government. This meant that the government decided to demolish and reconstruct the village entirely without conducting any scientific consultation or survey. In all the investigated villages, it has been showed that the role of the expert group is far from “*partly professional expert and partly community facilitator*” (Kalman 2014: 26) that can help decision-makers make rational and wise choices based on common understandings between the varied interest groups to stimulate community engagement based on the planning objectives and public values. Furthermore, the three fundamental steps – historical research, physical investigation and community investigation – from which the heritage plans should have been developed are significantly incomplete and insufficient.

The architects and planners, through the elaboration of their projects and plans, created a set of vocabulary to define, communicate and transform the historic villages. They became great normalizers, constructing the foundation of specific knowledge that embodies the construction of the socialist countryside, operationally addressing the heritage-led development in ethnic minority areas. Quoting Tafuri (1973), Feng and Li (2016) believed that considering the overwhelming dominance of capitalism in architectural activities, there was a serious disciplinary crisis in the realm of Chinese heritage preservation and that disciplinary autonomy is actually an escape into self-deception in an attempt to avoid facing the reality of the Chinese historical environment. Architecture had fallen into an unprecedented embarrassment: “*it can neither solve realistic problems nor create value. Apart from the cynicism that echoes power, capital, and populism...are there other possibilities and a future for the*

discipline of architecture (in working in the Chinese historic environment)?” (Feng & Li 2016: 7; Tafuri 1973)¹⁷⁶.

In addition, all the issues related to conservation planning and project making in ethnic villages are not simply managed by architects and planners but also by local and external ethnologists and anthropologists, whom the architects and planners often rely on to discover the historical and cultural traces for the project. As previously studied, the domestically trained ethnological scholars in China often have a serious faith in the Marxist historical progression and the meaning of social projects (Harell, 2012, p.55). Thus the constant improvement and the transformation of the village were legitimized within such professional ideologies. One case worth mentioning involved the cadre member Wu, who was working in the Bureau of Ethnic Affairs in Tongren for more than 30 years. He told the author that the stilted buildings that people define as characteristic of Miao communities today were rarely originally Miao. The Miao dwellings in Tongren were thatched owing to security reasons; this is very different from what we see today in the Miao settlements. However, today when we talk about the living space of the Miao people, especially in those books on vernacular architecture, one can rarely find an accurately recorded thatched building anymore because the experts prefer to believe that wooden buildings and skillful construction techniques are more stable and representative of Miao people and the abundant Miao culture.

7.3.3 The role of village elites and village cadres

In the wave of globalization and modernization, the research on the construction of "local" identity and heritage requires the attention to specific local classes and how they penetrate and convey their own demands (Smith 2006). The relatively high social and political position of the elites makes them become the advocators between the institutional part and vernacular peasant world; they assume the responsibility for revitalizing the ethnic culture and working on seeking potential solutions for their communities, as we have observed in Dawan and Qishuping.

Heritage is a concrete object of the expectations and reputations that specific people perform, not because of its intrinsic value, but because of its symbolic ability to control the expectations, worships, and objects. This symbolic ability can not only consolidate the identity of a country, a group or an individual, but also strengthen the power of those possess such identity. This is what has happened on the elites of Dawan and Qishuping as they tried to consolidate their social position by leading the heritage-related activities. The privileges of the elites have been highlighted as they are the masters and symbols of high educational and cultural representation at the village level and obtain higher social and political status. Historically, in ethnic areas, this is strictly related to literacy levels, a fundamental evaluation parameter with

¹⁷⁶ Mafredo Tafuri (1973) *Architecture and Utopia*. Cambridge (Mass.): MIT Press.

which one could serve as a bicultural officer during the Ming or Qing dynasties, according to Chinese culture. As Harrell (1995) defined, they should be familiar with the Chinese language, texts and social norms, and would be expected to conform to the cultural and ideological mainstream to maintain stable governance over rural ethnic society. As happened in Dawan, the elite family actively demonstrated the virtue of obeying the elderly, which was further promoted through TV shows. Thus, the people outside realized that obeying the elderly was a virtue of the Miao community as well, and this is a common and good characteristic shared with the majority Han. As a result, instead of the conflicts and historical rebellions that have occurred in Miao area, the Miao community became closer to or assimilated by the Han, both culturally and politically. This situation generates interesting reflections concerning the capacity of heritage-led development to modify the ethnic identity of local communities, aside from the transformations of physical spaces and the dynamic patterns of stakeholders in each case study village.

In addition, the case studies show the elite's role as cultural ambassador and guardian of their minority community, which could be seen as a potential when formulating future strategies on heritage preservation. The research reflects the limitations of generating shared benefits by the coalition, and this advocates further efficient education and communication for the elites and village cadres to realize long-term sustainable development for the community.

7.3.4 The role of community

Investigating the six case study villages, it was found that the community has rarely been involved in the decision-making process. The powerful formal and informal parties generate a vacuum in place of community engagement, yet some critiques have emerged and the community's will of engagement has been appeared in all case study villages. The legitimacy of community participation has been prescribed in the *"Measures for the Approval of the Compilation and the Approval of the Conservation Planning of Famous Historical and Cultural Cities, Towns, and Villages (2014)"*. In fact, it has been clarified that *"all working units and individuals shall abide by the conservation and development plan approved and announced according to law, obeying the planning management. All working units and individuals have the right to enquire whether the construction activities involving their interests meet the requirements of the plan. Any unit or individual has the right to report or sue for the violation of the conservation plan to the competent department of urban and rural planning or other relevant departments"* (Appendix A, Article 23). It seems that a mechanism of monitoring has been established, but the opportunities for ordinary villagers to practice such right have been rare due to the presence of the other powers.

In Yunshe, the debates were around the shared interests and emerging challenges of the authorized heritage discourse. In Zhaisha, the demolition-

reconstruction and the rewriting of heritage discourse have received negative results. Despite in the “*Outline of the Plan for the Conservation and Development of Villages of Ethnic Minority Characteristics (VEMC) (2011-2015)*” (Appendix B, paragraph 2-5), it has been clarified that “*the project should adhere to the people's livelihoods, and directly benefit the villagers. The decision-making, planning, implementation, supervision and other processes must involve villagers and respect their demands*”, the community’s will have been largely ignored.

In Dawan, spontaneous commercial activities were run by ordinary residents that threatened the elite’s business. In Qishuping, a village tackling serious depopulation, the destiny seemed to be predominantly linked to the village elites. Last but not the least, both in Pingsuo and Sibao, the local elites and the communities were ignored by the government-led tourism development strategy and planning settings. General characters of the stakeholders involved in case study villages are shown in figure 121.



Figure 122: General Characters of the Stakeholders Involved in Case Study Villages.
Source: author’s elaboration.

7.4 Other potential issues

Similar to the cases analyzed in Chapters 2 and 3, the case study analysis in this research recalls a critical Chinese approach to rural built-heritage preservation and built-environment improvement. Specifically, this research reveals a ladder development pattern of different historic villages within municipal policy settings in Tongren, in the southeast part of Guizhou Province.

In the first group of cases, Yunshe and Zhaisha are both at the core of county-level development, attracting government investment and pro-growth mechanisms. The overlapped labelling, branding, planning, and project-making has contributed to a commodification approach. In the second group of cases, the traditional rural governance pattern at village level should be understood by investigating the role of local elites and their coalitions with village cadres. In the third group of case studies,

the labeled “small-scale” villages were facing difficulties in implementing plans. The non-labeled village also experienced partial forced demolition.

In fact, the research advocates the following specific and representative issues that emerged in recent rural built-heritage preservation practices under the AHD: i. crucial clash between tradition and the need for modernity ii. spatial inequalities: core villages and marginal villages; iii. demolition and relocation for rural development; iv. core administrations and marginal administrations; and v. dynamic ethnicity.

7.4.1 Crucial clash between tradition and the need for modernity

In this research, rural built heritage has been a carrier for the crucial clash between tradition and the need for modernity in Chinese countryside. Of course, the paradoxical relation between tradition and modernity has been emerged internationally, thus it would be useful to position the issue within the global cultural development process.

Considering cultural heritage development, Bauman (2011) believes that the development of culture heritage can be divided into three broad stages. The first stage was related to the period of Enlightenment when the initial concept of heritage was born and it was acknowledged that the intellectual class could educate and disseminate a series of universal values about the heritage to the public. The second stage focuses on the emergence of the nation-state which attempted to control the process of heritage-making in order to construct the national identity. The third stage of cultural development is to induce and drive the cultural consumption with regard to the global market economy. In the context of China, the rural heritage mirrors the characteristics of the latter two stages to a certain extent. In the third stage, due to the circulation of commodities and the development of information technology, the power of heritage in constructing national identity in most cases has been diminished and reduced, but it has a major influence at the community level. That is to say, today, if the community feels the presence of cultural threat, the power of culture to construct identity can be reborn. At this stage, the value of heritage became highly diversified so that it requires case-by-case examination to fully comprehend the full implications. This is one aspect about the contemporary rural heritage that we can perceive from both the international and Chinese contexts.

In addition, existing studies have provided some common understanding on the relation between heritage and modernity. As Harrison (2013) has asserted, the most significant aspect of modernity is its emphasis on linear development of time and the perception of a clear separation between the past and the present. This is to say that modernity must carefully deal with the tradition (the past). In fact, the most significant aspect of modernity is that it has a complex duality in the time dimension: on the one hand, it can define itself as contemporary and "new". But at the same time the concept of modernity is haunted by various notions of decay or decline. On the other, modernity tries to define itself as the opposite of tradition (Harrison 2013). Therefore,

as what has happened in the last century, the "definition" and "classification" on the "past" have become one of the main concerns of modernity. This is what the modern and some of the contemporary heritage experts involved in the AHD are working on, and this is how the Chinese rural built heritage has been organized, managed and understood by public. Furthermore, classification and categorization have been a critical epistemological tool. This is an important point about the modernity in rural built heritage management that we can perceive from the cases.

The third point is related to the question of why do we need heritage while facing the crisis of modern society, which has been filled with the mushrooming field of information technology and experience in tourism, the issue of emotional dimensions about the past have arisen (Harrison 2012; Zhu 2020). The nostalgia has become a refuge for people in modern society to escape from the alienation and the destructiveness brought up by modern society. But this understanding about the heritage, in turn, strengthens the perception of risk and threat, further empowering and influencing different methods of managing heritage - the continually expanding heritage lists and registers being evidence of this. In China, escaping from modern society can be observed through two aspects, one is intrinsic demands of consumers (often urban tourists) who want to search for peaceful leisure locations without stress; the other is the extrinsic motivation triggered by the state who sees tourism development in rural areas as the most efficient way for locals to escape poverty. Planning and expeditiously developed infrastructure in rural areas are clear evidence of this. These two aspects have widely emerged in the process of heritagization in the modern rural China.

During this process, the prominent role of expert can be understood through of the notion of Giddens (2013), who believes that one way to manage risk and uncertainty in modern society is to trust experts and expert systems rather than local knowledge. China's rural built heritage management has also fallen into this practical and disciplinary crisis.

Of course, understanding things through methods of classification is one of the results generated by modern biology, which made great progress in the last hundreds of years in human society. For Mary Douglas (1966), there is a threat of mistrust in the classification system due to the presence of abnormalities, which represent the potential social disorder and threats. There have been in particular two ways to reduce the so-called social disorder, one is to find a place for the abnormalities through the field of mythology, legends and fictitious history; the other is to build a more refined classification system that can take into account such abnormalities. In this study, both Yunshe and Zhaisha are more or less advocates for the creation, which tries to legitimize different versions of heritage discourse and an invention of tradition rather than studying and respecting traditions. The classification and categorization is challenged when facing to objects that can be difficult to categorize and classify into existing categories. In this condition, the "type" system has two possibilities, either

whitewashing them as fictitious to make them gradually disappear, or re-adjusting the categories to accommodate them. This reflection portrays the ongoing classification system on the heritage in modern China. I believe that as scholars, we should devote ourselves to building a more refined classification system to understand the heritage as *“cultural performances, buildings and objects representing an ‘authentic’ past or environment... a cultural, economic and political resource...a discursive practice...and a process of acts that engage with the past, present and future...”* (Zhu, 2020,p2), which is built upon continuous dialogue between multifarious agents and actors. The attitude of original dwellers and the new comers is important.

In this research, in the area of Tongren, I found there are mainly two types of dwellers i) immigrant workers who seek a living in villages filled with tourism products, in Yunshe for example and especially in Zhaisha; ii) the villagers who are highly dependent on the agricultural activities as they don't possess other skills to live in towns and cities. For the first type, they can also be relatives of local people or later they themselves became local through marriage. They appear to be main figures and important labourers in villages where the rural tourism has developed to a certain level. They voluntarily work in the village because of the potential economic benefits and the closeness to their home. But many young people like them are able to afford a second house in county so that their children can have access to better sanitary and education facilities. They do not dwell in villages for very long time, and they prefer to commute between the work and the place that can bring major benefits to their family and future generations. The second type is vulnerable to the poverty emigration project as the villages they lived before are not ideal for the development of tourism industries. But some of them showed their hesitation or even regrets to move in the towns and cities. I had a casual chat with one of the villagers who lived in a small hamlet in Yanhe county before. He said that he doesn't have any skills to earn for living in towns so he preferred to move back to his village. However, when he was planning to move back to the place where he lived before (in a very deep valley close to the Wu river), he was told that their dwellings have been torn down forcefully because the local government would like to keep the outcomes of the poverty emigration projects as a political achievement, so to keep them living in towns.

Different to the situation in Tongren, evidence shows in developed regions and provinces in the coastal area in China (e.g. Zhejiang province) show the willingness of urban residents to have a short rural stay for health and socialization thanks to its relative low price and high comforts and desire for a relaxation in a rural(ly)-based environment. This is a fashion in recent years in developed regions characterized by the desire of “Rurality and Simple Life”, which refers to a simple life characterized by leisure and relaxation in a rurality-based environment. (Hao, Zhao and Liu 2020). In Zhejiang, some tourists show a very low level attachment to their experience or location in the countryside, only a short period of stay in rural area is enough. (Hao, Zhao and Liu 2020). In other cases, seen frequently in developed provinces such as Zhejiang, the potential income of running a business such as agritourism became the

choice for the urban residents. Abundant social capital, matured infrastructure, and accessibility are the main elements that affect their decisions. This is what has happened in Shangxiang, Lishang, and Tonglu. (Figure 123-126)



Figure 123: Liyang village, Shangxiang, Zhejiang.. Source: photo by Wang Yipeng, ph.D in Zhejiang University. The author obtained the photo with permit



Figure 124: Xiaokang Village, Shangxiang, Zhejiang.. Source: photo by Wang Yipeng, ph.D in Zhejiang University. The author obtained the photo with permit



Figure 125: Jiang village, Lishang township, Chunan county, Zhejiang. Source: photo by Wang Yipeng, ph.D in Zhejiang University. The author obtained the photo with permit



Figure 126: Daijiashan village, Woshan town, Tonglu county, Zhejiang. Source: photo by Wang Yipeng, ph.D in Zhejiang University. The author obtained the photo with permit

Despite there being some voices in support of residing in rural areas, the general trend of the urban-and town-ization is irreversible. Liu Shouying, a renowned Chinese scholar on rural economies has observed that since the 1990s the young rural residents became less and less dependent on the agricultural activities and their villages, which significantly changed the demographic structure of the countryside; and the spatial agglomeration have become an irreversible trend; and the modernization in

agriculture has accelerated such process. (Liu Shouying, 2021)¹⁷⁷. Today, the process of urbanization is still in progress, and at the same time it has slowed down. Thus this is a critical period that we should reconsider and re-balance urban-rural relation and the rural living environment as a whole. Scholars such as Feng & Li (2020) and Ferreto & Cai (2020) suggest that the small and slow development and sophisticated renovation projects on dwellings can enhance both community participation and sustainable development. And at the same time, as Zhu (2020) in his recent book has claimed that we should keep in mind that heritage management is not only a financial or managerial issue, but also a political and ethical project for the present day and for future, so that we really need to think about how to treat the rural built heritage and the communities in a modern time (Zhu 2020).

7.4.2 Spatial inequalities: core villages vs. marginal villages

In the last years Chinese spatial policies dedicate to promote a more-equilibrated model of urban-rural coordinated development, paying particular attention to the rural development. However, the social and spatial disparities have become greater, in some cases at very local scale, resulting in the issue of the so-called core villages and marginal villages. In fact, despite of the general income of rural communities have made achievements in recent years, the benefits of different types of villages achieve have become a considerable concern due to their diversified performances in the heritage-led development. It can be observed that the conceptions of the core and marginal have been constructed and enhanced in the project-making, in documentations and in different discourses of heritage-based planning.

In this process, political commitment is an important means for county governments. In order to compete in performance assessments, most local officials pay attention to indicators that are easy to complete and quantify, such as increasing the number of CTVs by recommendations and inscription, the number of dilapidated buildings, the number of ancient buildings and cultural relics, and the economic benefits of tourism. Therefore, those villages in geographical locations already with convenient transportation, abundant natural and human resources, and certain basic conditions have often been organized as pilot projects.

Pilot projects have been adopted as instruments of innovation which can be applied and adapted to real-world situations. Moreover, it has been considered a platform for learning that emphasizes the actual impacts of project outcomes from a perspective of change. However, concerning the first-group villages, Yunshe and Zhaisha, which were assigned as pilot projects and given a great deal of funding, the diffusion effects have been weak as they have been the only villages to achieve an improvement in living conditions, media exposure and follow-up tourism. These

¹⁷⁷ Source: the Website of Economic Review. <http://jer.whu.edu.cn/jjgc/4/2021-08-01/5209.html>. Accessed on 6th June, 2021

positive results are determined directly by governments' actions, although these actions are not motivated by a sustainable vision.

Argyris and Schön (1974: 290) suggested that the “*formation of a new frame related to the non-routing, long-term outcome in which the values and policies are re-framed and transformed*” should be set in order to break the rigid understanding and learning process of decision makers.

An overall design for a new framework is necessary, and as Tversky and Kahneman (1974) showed that the understanding and perception of the decision-maker is a significant factor in policy-making and implementation. They suggested that if the decision-maker lacks knowledge and understanding of the situation, it is more likely that they prefer to rely on the rule-of-thumb. If the decision is being taken in a changing context where the new knowledge is lacking and previous experience is rare, implementing such rules-of-thumb could be inappropriate. Neither Yunshe nor Zhaisha created a particular methodology to exploit the heritage resources for economic development, but they were designed to be imitated and studied by other villages. Their key function was being the model to be followed rather than featuring innovative policies or practices that decision-makers would like to test and scale up or scale out. Therefore, they became the showcase and model in Tongren for incorporating heritage exploitation and poverty alleviation, representing the paradox of the government-led approach. The villages ignored by the heritage-based planning of the local level, such as Sibao in the last group, have become gradually marginalized and subjected to demolition and relocation for the sake of resource concentration and a new round of townization.

7.4.3 Demolition and relocation for rural development

The case of Sibao was critical for all six case studies because it included the forced demolition by the township government because of the “Relocating the Poor” policy under the poverty alleviation framework. In fact, in Guizhou Province, during the “13th Five-Year Plan” period (2016-2020), a total of 1.3 million people were assessed as poor. In total, 162,500,000 people from various natural villages were relocated to enable poverty alleviation. In addition, 450,000 people were relocated in 2016, 750,000 people were relocated in 2017, and 425,000 people were relocated in 2018. By 2020, all people assessed as poor will be moved out of villages to live in newly designed districts in cities and towns¹⁷⁸.

To better understand the mechanism behind this policy, some details about the policy implementation are provided as follows. First, from the villager's perspective and as economic compensation for relocation, those who cooperate in signing the demolition agreement for their old dwellings will be awarded 15,000 yuan per person.

¹⁷⁸ Source: Guizhou Provincial Government (2019) Several policy opinions of the Guizhou Provincial People's Government on the precise implementation of relocation for poverty alleviation and relocation. Index number: 000014349/2019-1501931.

This compensation is provided by the county government, which, again, is the entity responsible for the “*Relocating the Poor*” policy at local level. Second, as this policy has generated a huge amount of budget pressure, in order to repay the relocation loan for poverty alleviation, the local government stipulates that the demolition of old houses or abandoned homesteads after relocation will all be included in the increase and decrease connection of urban and rural construction land, so as to make full use of these land to concentrate on generating economic value. The “*increasing and decreasing connections of urban and rural construction land*” refers to the mechanism that, on the basis of the balance of agricultural and rural/urban construction area, dictates that the total amount of construction land in both rural and urban areas will not increase according to the overall land-use planning. With this aim, the plots of demolished rural buildings will be added to the plots to be used for urban construction. That is to say, the more rural dwellings the local governments demolish, the more land plots they will obtain for urban construction. As a result, a large number of old dwellings were demolished. It appears difficult for local governments to properly handle the contradictions that exist between poverty alleviation and preservation of historic villages.

7.4.4 Core administrations vs. marginal administrations

In all case study villages, the difficulties in coordination and cooperation among administrations is a common issue. During built-heritage preservation and rural environment improvement, administrative powers are the foundation of policy implementation capacity. Departmental power and hierarchy often affect the efficacy of policy implementation. Governance issues in rural built-heritage preservation can be understood both from sectorial and vertical perspectives. Generally speaking, at national level, we have observed that the preservation of historical villages involves different administrations, including the Ministry of Housing and Construction, the Bureau of Ethnic Affairs, the Ministry of Culture and the Administration of Cultural Heritage. At local county level, each department has its own goals. The cultural department and the urban and rural construction department focus on improving living conditions and renovating dilapidated housing. Under the dual fiscal structure, local governments pay more attention to projects that can trigger local economic growth and political performance. Therefore, although the central government allocates funds to historical villages, it is difficult to coordinate different projects for implementation.

7.4.5 Dynamic and contested ethnicity

As plenty of anthropological scholars have investigated, the relation between different ethnic groups and communities in China has been a long-standing issue (Harell 2012; Scott 2009; Massing 2018; Brown 2001). To describe the relation between the ethnic group in the Southwestern regions (in Guizhou, for instance) as persecution might be not proper because it would fall into a reductionist understanding on the relation between the major group (who holds dominant power

representing the major culture) and the local minority people (sometimes possess a decisive effect on the warfare and resistance the central authority). In mountainous environment in Guizhou, as Elvin said, *“the cost of projecting power more than intermittently into such an environment was unacceptably heavy for the Chinese state.”* (Elvin, 2004, p232). Thus, it often raises the crucial back and forth conflicts, negotiations and sometimes even a sense of admiration between the one who wants to govern and the one who resist, as it has been documented in historical poems in plenty of local gazetteers. Taking the Miao as an example, on one side, racial and cultural contempt, expropriation and the imposition of the Miao people themselves and the mountainous haphazard locations of their settlements are widely documented as a negative feature portraying extreme governmental difficulties for the regime.¹⁷⁹ But some of local governors sent by the central government clearly expressed admiration for the generous virtue and honest and straightforward character of the Miao even if their customs were *“savage and barbaric”*.¹⁸⁰

Moving to the contemporary notions on the relation between the ethnic groups of southwest China and the majority, Han, McCarthy’s critique is worthy to mention. He states that the Chinese policies on the contemporary ethnic categorization and government policy is shaped by the making of authentic cultural group (thus characterized by the means of distinctiveness), and the threat of these groups which could be potentially risky for the modern national building. Today, the memories of conflicts threatening the nation’s unity or its modernizing goals are still existing in the collective memory of Miao people, as it has been found in several interviews with local cadres. In the changing ethnic relations and political circumstances, the ethnicity is often dynamic and contested in the contemporary heritage making practices.

Smith (2006) states that the policymakers and institutions have adopted specific knowledge about the character and meanings of heritage to govern specific politics and cultural legitimacy related to indigenous people. Thus, the material culture identified by experts and the heritage subjectively considered by the indigenous people could become a source of fighting power for broader political negotiations within a country. As mentioned in the thesis (p 64), the maintenance of harmonious relation between different ethnic groups (including both the majority and the minorities) have been strongly emphasized as a development strategy. For instance, in Tongren, the document “Opinions of the Municipality of Tongren on Strengthening the Protection and Development of VEMCs” emphasized that the construction of VEMC should firmly grasp the theme of the *“common unity, common prosperity and importance of the socio-economic development of all ethnic groups”*, focusing on the *“unifying all ethnic group as one family having one heart to build the Chinese dream”* (Municipality of Tongren, 2017). Such consideration has helped me to reflect on the relationship between the ethnicity of a specific ethnic group and the government-led mainstream preservation and renovation activities in the case study villages. Within a

¹⁷⁹ Elvin, 2004. P 232.

¹⁸⁰ Elvin, 2004. P 233.

political and cultural context where the government has been severally strong, little could be done in terms of inquiring about the cultural legitimacy for the debates and controversies if the voice is generated only by the community. It can be observed that some characters about the intentionally constituted contemporary majority-minority relation have been raised through heritage-making, including three aspects that existing studies have revealed from the empirical observation: i) a shared revolutionary history imprinted by the anti-imperialist past (Figure 127), and led by the communist party has been emphasized in the official history (for instance, how the local minority leaders are in fighting against the invasive power under the communist guidance have been particularly stressed; and the spaces/objects testifying such success have been particularly protected and promoted in the local tourism route organization, such as in the Miao King City). ii) diminished and flattened conflictual past between ethnic groups¹⁸¹ (Svensson, 2006) iii) a shared goal of becoming modern Chinese citizen for both majority and minority people (in other words, do not engage in unmodern behaviors) (McCarthy, 2009) through the modernized living conditions and regulated behaviours assisted by the renovation projects in villages. Therefore, the establishment of the macro policies in heritage management are to realize an affluent, modernized social development in which the ethnic unity amongs all different ethnic communities must be ensured.



Figure 127: A drawing of chairman Mao has been in place of ancestor's altar in Qishuping.
Source: author's photo taken in 2018.

In the case study villages, I observed that there has been a dynamic and contested ethnicity characterized by the AHD. In Dawan's case, the emphasis on the obeying to the social norms of Han penetrated the Miao culture promotion, to create certain shared cultural characteristics among the majority and minority. In Zhaisha's case, the county government directly intervened in the demolition and reconstruction of the

¹⁸¹ Jiangkou County Chronicles record: Suojiazhai Village is a Miao village, adjacent to Yunshe. Due to historical reasons, disputes between the two villages continued in the Qing Dynasty. After the foundation of the PRC, under the leadership of the government and the communist party, different ethnic groups became unified. And in Suojiazhai and Yunshe, a water diversion canal was even built by the people of the two villages, showing the establishment of the harmonious relation. Source: Jiangkou County Chronicle, p131.

village and the tourism management, causing huge changes in the village and in the cultural identity of the community. What occurred in Zhaisha was the rewriting of history and this reminds the author of the ethnic identification work conducted in the 1950s and 1980s, when each *minzu* (nation or ethnic group) were identified based on Stalin's four criteria: territory, language, economy, and psychology. Such socialist ideas about *minzu* were further portrayed in the idea that the minority groups “*must be regularized, systematized, normalized in Foucault's sense* (Harell 2012: 44; Foucault 1977: 177-184)”. Based on such banal criteria, at the start of the ethnic identification process, many communities were not identified as individual ethnic groups and the wishes of communities were not considered because the standardization of identification had been “rightfully” set by the institutions. Today, the debates on the difference between the South Dong and North Dong can still be an example of such kind, in which the official historiography of a certain ethnic group and should somehow conform with a standardized writing format. This results in problematic generalizations which ignore hints of difference, or discounts them simply because they do not belong to any of the four identification criteria. In China, the ethnicity of the groups are, according to ethnologists, subservient to constructing the identity of a modern nation comprising 56 ethnic groups (of which 55 are minorities and one is the majority Han group). Thus, each ethnic group are identified as having a unified (and much of the time, generalized) history, common customs, languages, and other features to be identified and understood. Moreover, being one of what Harell called the signs of communicative acts, the distinctively new building styles, types and elements can be defined as the modification/rewriting of the ethnicity of the local community. By employing customs, rituals, and housing style to conform to a standard Dong-ness predefined by official identification, the realization of a socialist modern *minzu* has penetrated everywhere.

7.5 Conclusion

Through the multi-case study analysis, the research found that the historic villages in ethnic areas have been preserved and/or transformed through the heritage-led development addressed by the plans, projects, and stakeholders involved in the decision-making, implementation, and follow-up management of the village. No matter what the nature of the plan is, the final objectives of the plan and projects have been strongly influenced by the political mainstream and interpretations based on the various local realities.

Moreover, the research investigated the planning settings at different levels (including the municipal master plan, county-level village renovation and development plan, and the plans and projects realized in villages) of the case study area, discovering that within the same planning and socio-economical context, there has been a set of rational guidelines that stimulated the intentionally laddered heritage preservation and development in historic villages. In addition, there have been huge

disconnections and ambiguities among the concepts, vocabularies, and measures featured in the regulations and interventions, despite their highly homogeneous and unified objectives

Different patterns of stakeholders in heritage-led development have formed coalitions, tensions, and conflicts, and this requires further investigation concerning the special social and cultural relationships within ethnic areas and the planning settings in which historic villages are embedded. Moreover, in this chapter, debates related to the spatial inequalities involving the core villages and marginal villages have been discussed. The demolition and relocation for rural development in the case study villages have been exposed. This paradox between preservation and development is also associated with the weak power of heritage management administrations in the overall political system. Finally, in the authorized heritage discourse, heritage management has been an apparatus to govern indigenous people, thus characterizing a dynamic and contested ethnicity in today's historic villages in China.

Chapter 8 International insights

In the international context, as Smith (2006) said, in the 1960s and 1970s, two types of heritage practices gradually diverged and showed a growing trend. One was the heritage tourism and consumption activities, and the other was the protection policies of Western countries that promulgated related legislative amendments. A series of protection and management procedures and technologies are formed in this period. The author is acknowledged by the severe critiques arisen on the AHD performed in the “Western experiences” and is absolutely aware of the European centric ideology of heritage preservation. But positioning the research within the general international debate around rural built-heritage preservation, different approaches and understandings may provide insights into the issues that Chinese practices have encountered. However, there is an old Chinese saying: “*the other mountain's stone can polish jade*”. This chapter selects cases from Italy, the UK and Japan, in an attempt to investigate the best practices and potential incentives that could inspire the Chinese approach from both epistemological and practical perspectives.

As a country with a long agrarian tradition, Italy has developed a systematic policy arrangement for the preservation of its rural built-heritage, which might be summarized as the “*joint force*” characterized by both top-down and bottom-up approaches (see section 8.1; Mu, Aimar & Chen 2021). In the case of the UK, the legislative and normative system has been rather performative; therefore, no restrictive framework of rural built-heritage preservation has been formed. However, some insights have emerged regarding the important role played by social organizations (see section 8.2). In the case of Japan, a country with a preservation system that shares some common features with the Chinese one, has developed spontaneous grassroot practices have been stimulated based on social organizational traditions (see section 8.3).

8.1 Experiences in Italy

The preservation of rural built heritage started early and achieved outstanding results. According to the Italian census in 2007, 28.2% of the population lived in

houses with structural or environmental problems. By 2017, this data fell to 17.4%¹⁸².

The *"joint force"* mainly refers to the combination of a bottom-up approach based on extensive social resources (Agostini, 1999), and a top-down approach led by local government. In Italy, the bottom-up rural built heritage protection and renewal path is mainly reflected in the work of the *"local action group"* (GAL, in Italian *"gruppo di azione locale"*) and the local government¹⁸³. GAL cooperates with other social actors to lead the compilation of *"manuale"* (guidelines) for rural built heritage, providing operational guidelines for conservation and restoration¹⁸⁴. At the same time, the relevant laws and regulations promulgated at the national level in Italy have also undergone evolution, forming a relatively complete top-down legal system for heritage protection and the management of rural building renovation. This legal system complements GAL's practice, forming a joint force approach.

8.1.1 The role of GAL

The GALs originated from the rural development program launched by the European Union at the beginning of the 1980s. The GALs were selected by the member states to become the executive subjects of the rural development program, which are implemented every six years. The territorial jurisdiction of GALs is determined by administrative boundaries, natural barriers, and historical evolution of the area (Alessandra 2013), which generally covers dozens of towns and villages.

In the 2014-2020 rural development program, the Italian government selected a total of 200 GALs all over rural areas.¹⁸⁵ These GALs are jointly funded by the European Union and local governments and have carried out many works dedicated to rural development, including the compilation of guidelines for the protection and renewal of rural built heritage, such as rural education, tourism, heritage preservation and renewal. The members of a GAL must cover public and private entities, social organizations, or residents within the jurisdiction, and cover various social roles as widely as possible to fully represent the realistic problems of the area. Among them, social organizations, banks, and municipal government representatives are the main roles that compose the GAL. They bring forward action plans for different rural issues to apply for funds, and the government mainly monitors the use of funds.¹⁸⁶ Among the many action plans, the preparation of preservation and restoration guidelines is an important content of the work carried out by the local GAL. There is no uniformed requirement for the depth of the guidelines. In practice, when GAL finds inadequate

¹⁸² Source: Italian data for UN-SDGs. https://www.istat.it/storage/SDGs/SDG_11_Italy.pdf. Accessed on 25, Nov. 2019.

¹⁸³ Source: Il Leader in Italia. 2019. Accessed on 25, Nov. 2019.

¹⁸⁴ For instance, the 14 GAL in Piedmont region elaborated guidelines for the area within their jurisdiction. See GAL langhe e roero leader (2019) and D. Boni, C. Mura, D. Pognante (2014).

¹⁸⁵ Leader in Italia, 2019. Accessed on 25, Nov. 2019.

¹⁸⁶ Source: Fondo Europeo Agricolo per lo Sviluppo Rurale (FEASR) Programma di Sviluppo Rurale 2014-2020. Accessed on 25, Nov. 2019.

measures due to the guideline, the guidelines can be revised in the next rural development program cycle.

The preparation of GAL-led guidelines is often completed in cooperation with private enterprise, local governments, and universities to ensure the completeness of information collection and in-depth understanding of local needs, so that the architects, the householders, and the practitioners can follow the guidelines. Moreover, in GAL, the social organizations having heritage protection backgrounds account for 30%-40% of all social organizations in GAL. These social organizations are composed of professionals with cultural heritage and architectural backgrounds.

The compilation of the guideline is based on the analysis of type-morphology and the value of rural landscape, paying particular attention to the ontology of rural architecture. Therefore, the preservation of built heritage in the countryside in Italy uses the GAL's jurisdiction as the unit to understand the heritage value of a certain area, to build the foundation of guidelines for future interventions. Differently from what has happened in China, the Italian approach is not based on different sets of lists and the standardized heritage value evaluation.

8.1.2 The government-led top-down path

In Italy, as early as 1939, the "*Law on the Protection of Natural Beauty*" (*Legge 29 giugno 1939, n. 1497 Protezione delle bellezze naturali*) and the "*Law on the Protection of Cultural Relics of Historical and Artistic Value*" (*Legge 1 Giugno 1939, N.1089 Tutela delle cose di interesse artistico e storico*) clearly identified and trying to protect some built heritage and landscape types with special aesthetic qualities (qualità estetica). Individual buildings of artistic, historical, archaeological, or ethnographic value are protected under these two laws. Beginning in the 1960s, the cognition of architectural heritage preservation gradually shifted from a single building conservation to a whole that includes the historical built environment.

The "*Residential Building Law (L. 457 Norme per l'edilizia residenziale)*" promulgated in 1978 believes that intervention in buildings should no longer be regarded as independent design, but more clearly defines the scope of application of various restoration and intervention measures, as well as the renewal, reconstruction, and expansion of rural houses. Norms have also been made to clarify the sources of funds and regulations restricting the speculation by urban residents (Italian State Council, 1978).

During the same period, when increasing land demand and technological progress promoted rural construction, it became necessary to carefully control the rural construction in Italy. The "*Bugalossi Law*" promulgated in 1977, it separates property rights and construction rights, and introduces the concept of "*construction permit*" (*permesso di costruzione*), stipulating that when verifying rural construction needs, owners shall pay the "*concession fee*" (*oneri di concessione*) to the government

and complete the construction under specified conditions.¹⁸⁷ In addition, the owners also need to pay the "urbanization tax" (*tassa di urbanizzazione*) arising from the conversion of building functions. For example, the conversion of building functions from agriculture to residential, industrial, or tertiary industry-related activities will result in the increased consumption/costs of nearby infrastructure and rural management. This law clearly separates the renewal of buildings from the illegal constructions in rural areas¹⁸⁸ (Italian State Council, 1977). Beginning in 1986, all buildings and structures related to agricultural activities in rural areas have been included as "rural buildings" and under the legal control¹⁸⁹ (Italian State Council, 1986).

8.1.3 The project approval and implementation

The "Compilation of Building Regulations" (*Testo Unico dell'Edilizia*) promulgated in 2001 formed a consolidated compilation of regulations covering all previous construction activities (Italian State Council, 2001). It further clarifies the concepts and administrative procedures of intervention measures such as "ordinary repairs and maintenance (*manutenzione ordinaria*)", "special repairs (*manutenzione straordinaria*)", "protective repairs and renewal (*restauro e risanamento conservativo*)", and "reconstruction and new construction (*ristrutturazione*)"¹⁹⁰. Among them, the "ordinary repairs and maintenance" can be carried out independently under the guidance of the guidelines. When the owner repairs and renews the house, he/she needs to entrust an architect to determine the project and submit it to the municipal government for review and approval. When reviewing construction conditions, the municipal technical department must entrust a third-party committee composed of experts in architecture, landscape, and structure to review the feasibility of the project. The review process requires the owners and architects to present a series of supporting materials, including: the basic cartographies (current plans), current environmental and landscape conditions and specifications, photos to see whether they are consistent with the upper-level planning tools, current topographic and morphological information, building types and characteristics, landscape characteristics, historic information of the building and the plot, etc.

¹⁸⁷ Legge 28 gennaio 1977, n. 10 .Norme in materia di edificabilità dei suoli. La Camera dei deputati ed il Senato della Repubblica.

¹⁸⁸ Decreto del Presidente della Repubblica. Testo unico delle imposte sui redditi. No. 917 emanato in 1986.

¹⁸⁹ The article 42 of the Decreto del Presidente della Repubblica. Testo unico delle imposte sui redditi. No. 917 emanated in 1986

¹⁹⁰ In the "Compilation", ordinary repairs and maintenance (*manutenzione ordinaria*) refers to daily repairs and maintenance, replacement of components that do not involve structures; special repairs (*manutenzione straordinaria*) include partial structural replacement, the overall building capacity remains unchanged and the function is not changeable; conservative restoration (*restauro e risanamento conservativo*) includes a series of systematic interventions based on typology, including structural reinforcement and renewal, allowing functional changes; transformation (*ristrutturazione*) involves the adoption of a series of measures, or completely change the organization of the building, including reconstruction that retains the outline of the building with the same volume as the existing building.

Furthermore, according to the "*Compilation*", the renovated living space must meet the legal minimum living area, ventilation, sanitary and electrical facilities specifications. After the approval is obtained, the construction can be started. After the construction is completed, the documents recording the current situation need to be submitted, and the building can be formally used after obtaining the Certificate (SCIA). The "*Compilation*" also stipulates that all regions and municipalities can adjust the standard of construction permit fee according to market dynamics.

It can be seen that the GAL-led guidelines discussed above and the top-down, highly refined heritage preservation and rural building management regulations have jointly contributed to a overall scenario of the rural built heritage (Figure 128). basing on such scenario, the revitalization of the rural built heritage, including the selection of "*Italian Village*" (*borghi italiani*), "*Diffused Hostel*" (*albergo diffuso*) and the recent introduction of regional landscape planning have strengthened the tourism value, territorial and identity value, and landscape value of the built heritage. These have become Italy's recent mainstream practices. Such process embodies the leading ideas and principles of "revitalizing while preserving" the built heritage of the Italian countryside.

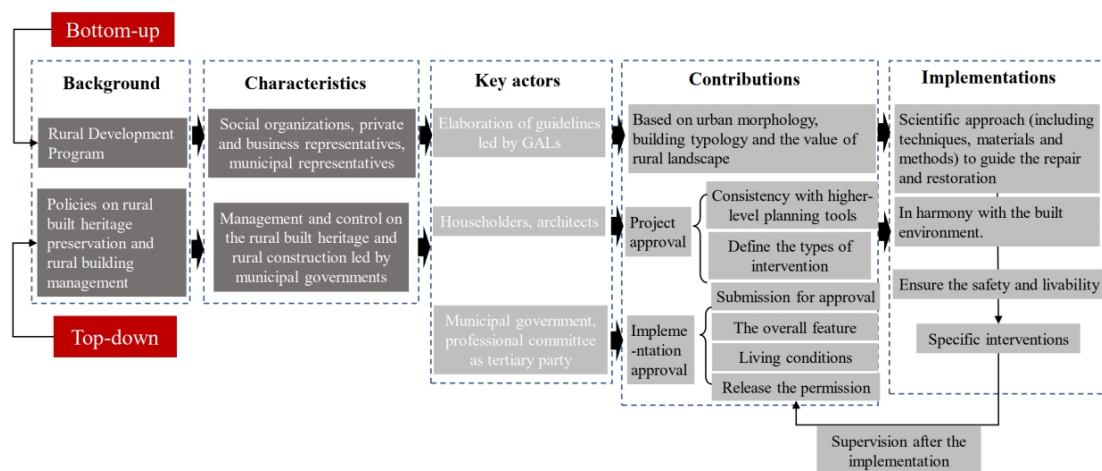


Figure 128: The process chart showing the “joint force” combining the bottom -up and top-down approaches in the rural built heritage preservation in Italy.

Source: Author’s elaboration.

Apart from the norms and regulations on the physical interventions, different types of “soft” measures assisting the rural heritage preservation and development have been launched under the institutional research framework. In Italy, the case of “Io Agisco”¹⁹¹ is representative in coordinating the public interests and institutional ones in launching project competitions based on wide social engagement. At European level, the project of RURITAGE¹⁹² portrays recent trends of seeing the cultural-natural heritage as connective ontologies (Harrison 2013), thereby are inseparable within the given geographical and cultural settings. the RURITAGE, by exploring the role models and the replicators, attempt to understand, preserve and

¹⁹¹ “Io Agisco” official website. <https://www.ruritage.eu/role-models/>. Accessed on 25, Nov. 2019.

¹⁹² Source: “RURITAGE” official website. <https://www.ruritage.eu/role-models/>. Accessed on 25, Nov. 2020.

develop the rural area by seeing the cultural and natural heritage as the engine of regeneration, with which a community-based multi-stakeholder methodology of social engagement has been performed (De Luca et al 2021).

8.2 Experiences in the UK

The heritage practices in the UK, in fact, has been criticized of being elite-dominated by the origin. In 1937 and 1939, the UK successively emanated the legislation to allow manor owners to donate their manor and maintenance funds to the National Trust for Places of Historic Interest or Natural Beauty. The British experience is rooted in the concepts and ideas of the European conservation movement, which legitimizes the National Trust to become the direct subject of rural preservation. Therefore, the National Trust has naturally become a supporter for the preservation of elite heritage which has been further interpreted as national heritage (Smith 2006).

Despite the critiques, I would like to look into the advantages that the British model could inspire to the case studies present in the research. In the case of the UK, despite there has been no specific systematic polity on the rural built heritage preservation, some inspirations have been emerged after analyzing the main normative features and the mechanism of preservation through a case study. First, to mobilize as much as possible the social capitals with a performative legislative process under the support of social capital has been important. The National Trust play a pivotal role in organizing and sharing the sense of responsibility of taking care of the heritage with all the UK citizens, contributing to the formation of a culture of preservation. Second, strict provisions for different changes on buildings based on scientific survey are relevant to the built heritage management in daily life.

8.2.1 Policies at national level

In 1932, the government of the UK promulgated the “*Town and Planning Act*”, which was the first legal norm that began to include rural planning and village preservation within the scope of government regulation. However, such preservationist attempts were suspended due to the Second World War. In 1947, the newly published “*Town and Planning Act*” proposed controlling the expansion of cities into the countryside so that rural agricultural and forestry land would not be affected by urban development, and therefore to protect rural historical and cultural heritage.

In the 1960s, congestion and urban sprawl appeared in big cities across the UK. Residents began to yearn to return to rural life, and a trend of counter-urbanization began. As a result, the government realized the significance of rural conservation in people’s lives, and began to increase the protection of rural landscapes by implementing “*Town and Country Planning*” and related laws and regulations to

create rural parks, so as to support the public to participate in community building in the countryside.

Since the 1990s, the multiple functions of the countryside have been further explored so that the protection of rural landscapes have been put on the political agenda. In 1991, Scottish Natural Heritage (SNH) was established as a public body for the preservation of natural heritage. In 1995, the British Prime Minister John Major wrote in the preface of the “*Rural White Paper (RWP)*” issued by his government that the English countryside has always been a living village, and it should maintain this character (Blame 1996). Similar to what happened in Italy, in 2007, the UK implemented the EU’s “*Rural Development Programme (2007-2013)*” to strengthen rural environmental protections and economic development, and to create vibrant and characteristic rural communities.

The idea of village preservation first appeared in many proposals from the National Trust Fund and the Campaign to Protect Rural England (CPRE). The National Trust Fund is the most important and successful voluntary society in modern Britain. Its original goal was to promote the permanent protection of the landscape and history of the country, as well as natural characteristics. Landscape (beauty) and historical interest are juxtaposed inside the vision of the National Trust Fund, presupposing an inherent relationship between the historical significance of landscapes or buildings and their aesthetic qualities. Protecting “beautiful” landscapes and buildings means protecting these substances and the historical and cultural values maintained by the physical carrier. The Fund not only wins over local amateur experts in landscape and history, but also those supporters in other countries whose heritage has language, cultural, and ethnic ties with British heritage. Moreover, this means that natural landscape and rural culture constitute both a national symbol and an important national heritage asset.

The Fund accepts donations of or purchases historical buildings and traditional villages that have been undervalued. Humboldt’s ideas about indigenous people have influenced the British concept of protecting traditional villages, that is, when a traditional village is protected as a cultural landscape – a landscape that has been changed or created, intentionally or unintentionally – the practitioner must fully consider the feelings of the people, because it is the original inhabitants who have lived there for generations and those who have an appreciation and deep affection for traditional villages that really give the place its value.

The preservation mechanism of British traditional villages is firstly reflected in the functional positioning of various committees established by the government. Before and after the Second World War, while maximum agricultural productivity was required, demands for the protection of historical and cultural heritage in rural areas were also increasing. When the rural natural landscape, wildlife, and traditional villages were severely eroded by industrialization and urbanization, the British government first funded the creation of the *National Parks Commission* and the *Food,*

Farming & Countryside Commission. The former was established in 1949 in accordance with the “*National Parks and Access to the Countryside Act*” and is mainly responsible for the identification and recommendation of National Parks, protection of rural facilities and promotion of rural tourism. The latter was established in 1968, before being renamed as the Countryside Agency in 1999, with the aim to provide consulting services and government grants for the protection of rural landscapes and the development of leisure facilities through cooperation with local governments, landowners, and other public institutions. The goal of this institution is to protect and strengthen the natural beauty of the countryside in the UK, and try to help more people enjoy the beautiful rural natural scenery and cultural life.

The government also published the “*Rural White Paper*” (Ministry of Agriculture, Fisheries, and Food, abbreviated as “MAFF”, 1995), and the “*Sustainable Development of Rural Areas*” and other development plans drafted by the Department for Environment Food & Rural Affairs (DEFRA) later, providing guiding opinions on major issues such as village protection, rural landscape protection and land use.

However, the British government has not set up individual rural planning and traditional village preservation systems. The preservation of traditional villages is mainly through the establishment of national-level inter-departmental public administration agencies, as well as many separate systems and initiatives for rural issues. Although such an organizational system has been criticized since it is not conducive to the collaboration of professionals and it is difficult to provide comprehensive and effective protection of traditional villages and rural landscapes, from the perspective of the effect of protection implementation, the MAFF provided necessary financial support, and delegated a large number of specific protection programmes to local governments and various social organizations. Such a performative approach has its own organizational advantages: that is, mobilizing as many local organizations as possible to participate in the preservation of traditional villages; generating enthusiasm for the idea of protection; avoiding excessive government intervention and encouraging local entities to establish appropriated measures based on local conditions; and boldly exploring new models and new experiences in accordance with their own cultural traditions and special village conditions.

Moreover, government legislation creates conditions for various non-governmental organizations to participate in the development of traditional villages. The National Trust, founded in 1895, is the largest heritage-protection charity in the UK. It has the largest number of traditional villages and cultural heritage protection volunteers, and is among the most active social organizations in the UK. One important factor driving the growth of this institution is that the UK Parliament granted it the unique power under the “*National Trust Act*” of 1907 to claim any assets of “national interest” in its inalienable name. In addition, in 1948, Parliament passed the “*National Assistance Act*” to clarify the legal status of volunteer

organizations and any potential preferential taxation policies. Once again, this provided incentives for the development of such non-governmental organizations.

Some researchers have analysed how despite the impact of the continuous expansion of industrialization and urbanization that have cannibalized the surrounding environment, the English countryside can still include so many beautiful natural landscapes and complete cultural phenomena thanks to the CPRE. As one of the earliest environmental protection organizations in Britain, the original intention of the CPRE was to protect the traditional landscape and to limit the unrestricted expansion of cities. The organization advocates planning, divisions of regions, and comprehensive configuration in order to avoid serious harm to traditional villages and rural society. Currently, there are more than 60,000 volunteer members. In particular, the working mechanism of these non-governmental organizations resembles the village committees set up by the government. The central agency mainly provides guidance on protection or donates funds for traditional villages, and delegates decision-making and leadership in protection action to local governments, organizations, and village residents.

8.2.2 Insights from Cotswold

Specifically in terms of conservation and renovation management, a rather complex mechanism has guaranteed the implementation of projects. For instance, in the case of the Cotswolds, thanks to its special Area of Outstanding National Beauty (AONB) status, coupled with its rich cultural and historical landscapes and outstanding architectural features, the region has stricter considerations in planning control and building control in order to maintain these characteristics. Cotswold District Council has formulated the relevant technical guidelines for planning and building design (Figure 129-130).

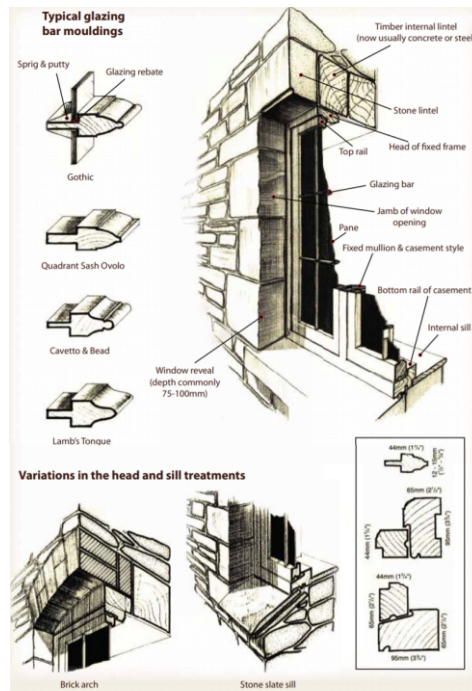


Figure 129: Design guideline for traditional casement windows.
Source: Coswold District Council, 2013

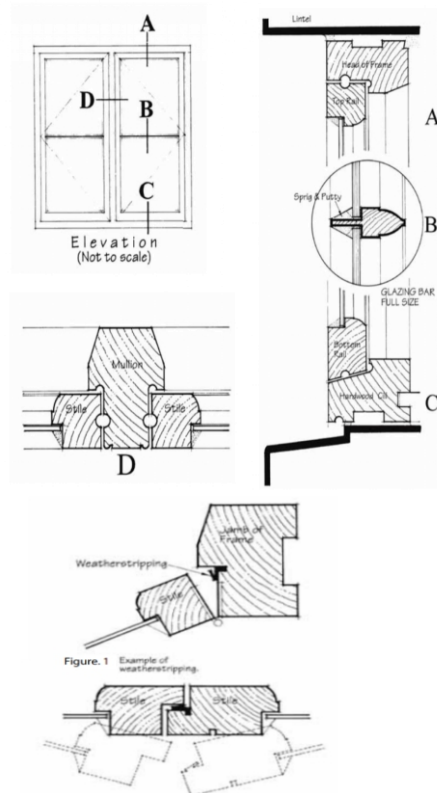


Figure 130: Design Guideline of traditional casement windows.
Source: Coswold District Council, 2013.

The content involved mainly includes the following:

1) Large buildings, such as new barns, silos, and some workers' houses, should be designed with low profile, gently sloping roofs, and dark-hued exteriors (typically, grey, black, green, or brown) in order to be in tune with the environment as much as possible.

2) Streets in the Cotswolds area consist of a series of buildings with heights ranging from 1 to 4 stories. The insertion of new buildings should not disrupt the contours of the neighbourhood and should be carefully arranged to help maintain the integrity of the streetscape. New buildings can include innovative design solutions, but they should be coordinated with surrounding buildings and not cause any visual conflict with neighbouring buildings.

3) New buildings should conform to human scale, and all extensions should be consistent with the original building's proportions and features. The scale, space, and openings should consider the consistency of a building's features. A building with a storefront on the lower level should ensure that level is consistent with the upper level in terms of materials and colours.

4) When using new technologies to build roofs, beams and stone walls, the original proportions and dimensions should be maintained.

5) Decorative details and traditional craftsmanship of those details should be strengthened. For example, any reinterpretation of traditional doors, windows, and other carvings should be based on local stones and other local materials. Regarding the selection of materials, the size and colour of the stone should also be consistent with the local area.

Work on those buildings that are not included in the list but have local characteristics and contribute to the overall environment is mainly restricted only when their facades, boundaries, or open areas face public space. These might include changes that affect the landscape of the street: reconstructions and expansions facing expressways; installing or removing windows or doors; installing satellite receivers; adding porches, parking area or warehouses; or changing roof materials. Moreover, the government has provided details about the construction of chimneys, roofs, doors and windows, porches, garages, solar panels, drainage, roof lights, monitoring facilities and labelling regulations, etc.

Quantifiable criteria are provided in order to distinguish which projects should be approved by the local council. In the Cotswolds, if the less than 25 percent of the total area of a roof of an ordinary building is repaired, building regulation approval is not usually required. However, if the use of new roofing materials increases the weight of the roof by 15% or more or structural changes occur or the use of new coverings introduces significantly different fire resistance properties, then the submission of a project for approval is compulsory.

Provisions for porches, for example, include the following: planning permission is required if ground area (external measurement) is more than 3m² or the porch area is more than 3m higher than the ground, or the distance of the public paths, pavements and highways from the residential area is less than 2m. Moreover, the approval process is required for the removal and installing of an entire fixed frame and opening parts of windows, or for creating new openings. However, no approval is usually required for the replacement of broken glass, or rotting parts of the main frame. If more than 50 percent of the window panes are being replaced, approval is needed. Concerning specific project contractors, if the contractor conducting the works has already registered the project with the Cotswold District Council, no application is required.

8.3 Experiences in Japan

8.3.1 Policies at national level

Japan initiated its first attempts at preserving historic buildings as early as 1950s with the establishment of the *Importante Cultural Properties* (Japan Council 1956). In 1970s, the establishment of *Important Preservation Districts for Groups of Traditional Buildings*¹⁹³ started to include built heritage in both urban and rural contexts, including the preservation of historic cities, towns, and villages. Among these Preservation Districts, some sites have been selected as being of national significance and are thus designated as *Important Preservation Districts for Groups of Traditional Buildings*. To better preserve these *Important Preservation Districts*, ministries at national and provincial levels encourage municipalities to establish their preservation plans and to launch tax incentives and financial support for the restoration projects (Table 20). Moreover, in Japan's case, various local governmental and social forces dedicated to the preservation of rural-built heritage has emerged, including the spontaneous preservation of villagers based on grassroot organizations, application for construction permission when a building requires physical changes, and related policy support.

Table 20: Tax incentives for the preservation districts.

Types	Descriptions
Tax incentives	30% reduction of inheritance tax for Groups of Historic Buildings within Preservation Districts. In addition, the property tax does not apply to land located in the Districts.
	Municipality tax: No pre-defined property tax is applied on historic buildings within the Districts of historic buildings. The pre-defined property tax is reduced for the area on which listed historic buildings are placed that are within the Districts for Groups of Historic Buildings to within one half of the property's taxable value. The taxes on immovable assets and non-listed historic buildings are also reduced according to specific conditions within the different municipalities.

¹⁹³ Source: https://www.bunka.go.jp/english/policy/cultural_properties/introduction/historic_buildings/

Source: Ahmad, Radzuan & Fukami (2013) & Agency for Cultural Affairs (2012).

8.3.2 Insights from Ogimachi

Shirakawa Town where the Ogimachi village is located was classified as an *Important Preservation District for Groups of Historic Buildings*. The characteristics of the local Gassho houses have been highly valued by both experts and local residents (Figure 131). A series of preservation activities were conducted along with the elaboration of the preservation plan (Shirakawa Town, 1981).



Figure 131: The preservation plan of Ogimachi village. In this plan the Gassho houses are represented by black blocks. The ordinary dwellings are of blank shapes. Source: Shirakawa Board of Education. Source: Shirakawa Town, 1981.

The Ogimachi was also listed as a UNESCO site in 1995 because of its adaptability to the environment, the integrity of the landscape and the traditional social systems and lifestyles characterizing the conventional collaboration of the construction activities (UNESCO, 1995). In fact, a preservation organization was established as early as the 1970s by all villagers, which stipulated each household to follow the principle of "no sale, no rent, no destruction" of Gassho Houses. The building materials are mainly thatch and wood (Figure 132), and the houses have been well preserved through spontaneous preservation and the potential social capital of these houses in the village.

Spontaneous preservation by villagers

In Japan's preservation of rural built-heritage, the role of local villagers has been emphasized as the main one, with the aim of reducing interference from government as most of the lifestyles, folk culture, rituals, and festivals are closely connected to a certain place and a certain group of people. The close relationship between a place and its residents is often acknowledged by government incentives for heritage preservation and the implementation by powerful civil society organizations. As explored in research on public participation in Ogimachi, most villagers are satisfied

with the level of participation during the spontaneous preservation works (Ahmad, Radzuan & Fukami, 2013). The professionals, such as planners and designers, provide only assistance as they work on the ways to preserve landscapes and support cultural activities.



Figure 132: A Gassho house in Ogimachi village Source: Ahmad, Radzuan & Fukami, 2013



Figure 133: Villagers of the Preservation Organization working on the straw-thatch roof Source: Ahmad, Radzuan & Fukami, 2013

Traditionally, various grassroots organizations developed within the Japanese cultural context, and the village groups were the smallest village organizations. For example, a religious organization in the village was often originally a group of believers of a same religion that shared common religious activities. With the secularization in modern society, such organizations gradually evolved to centre on mutual cooperation, interpersonal friendship, or economic purposes, coming into line with the actual societal characteristics of local society and finally developing into today's rural grassroots organizations. These groups can be divided into several kinds of organizations centred either on shrines, temples, and religious groups, or on folk beliefs or mutual economic assistance. Based on such cultural and social ties, a variety of grassroots organizations maintain and develop rural production and daily life in villages (Wang et al. 2019). Nowadays, the preservation of traditional villages and folk culture in Japan is based mainly on spontaneous private organizations such as the Preservation Organization, which advocates a wide social participation involving multiple actors. This traditional construction method is often well preserved because of the internal cooperative organization: “结 (*Yui*)”, which literally means “knot”, a collaborative work system that largely emerged in villages as autonomous units. For instance, roof renovation of each household requires the concerted efforts of the whole village. The concept of "knot" has been passed down to this day and integrated into daily maintenance and restoration activities (Figure 133). This is perfectly displayed in the traditional sense of mutual understanding and respect towards the built environment. Furthermore, it has been shown that participation in the protection is among the most effective factors guiding sustainable development of the local community (Ahmad, Radzuan & Fukami, 2013).

The protection system symbolised by the Gassho house also embodies the power of the Preservation Organization in that villagers are self-motivated (Kuroda 2019). Similar to what has happened in Dawan and Qishuping, the daily operations of these organizations mainly rely on personal prestige and traditional habits. However, in the case of Ogimachi, the motivation for participation stems from the sense of responsibility among members to maintain local traditions.

Application for construction permission

The complete construction permission process has been formed, based on local resources and involving different social actors. In Ogimachi, if a resident would like to conduct projects on existing buildings, a compulsory application process is required. The householder should first consult with an architect registered with the local Board of Education. The villager's organization then revisits the project to decide whether to approve the project. In the case of public projects that affect the overall landscape of the village, the Preservation District council is in charge of the revision. In addition, it has been shown that almost all residents are local; therefore, the revisions and release during the permission process could be rather efficient as it is based on social connections (Kuroda 2019).

8.4 Conclusion

This chapter selects cases from Italy, the UK, and Japan, in an attempt to investigate the best practices and potential incentives that could inspire the Chinese approach from both epistemological and practical perspectives.

As a country with a long agrarian tradition, Italy has developed a systematic policy arrangement for the preservation of its rural built-heritage, which might be summarized as the “joint force” characterized by both top-down and bottom-up approaches.

In the case of the UK, the legislative and normative system has been rather performative; therefore, no restrictive framework of rural built-heritage preservation has been formed. However, some insights have emerged regarding the important role played by social organizations.

In the case of Japan, a country with a preservation system that shares some common features with the Chinese one has developed spontaneous grassroots practices and has been stimulated based on social organizational traditions.

Chapter 9 Conclusion and discussions

9.1 Theoretical reflections

The research tries to provide insights from the perspective of rural built heritage preservation within the debates of the authorized heritage discourse. Moreover, after the case study investigations and review of existing literatures on public governance and policy, Elster's rational choice model seemed to provide an integrated basis for the traditional interpretation of actions in the social sciences – causal explanation and intentional explanation – which can enable a better understanding of rural built-heritage preservation and development in China. Reflections from the perspective of the public governance have been made to further define the policy implications for the case study villages.

9.1.1 Within the debates on the Authorized Heritage Discourse

The research takes AHD as the lens for the investigation to examine the development of the “Chinese” and “rural” version of authorized heritage discourse (AHD) as a tool of governmentality that often encounters local contestations, negotiations and appropriation. And heritage is always produced by encountering the national political streams and a variety of local forces (Harell 2013). After having investigated the master plans, the county-level “Overall Village Renovation Plan” of Jiangkou and Songtao counties, the territorial-scale tourism development plans and the OPPD of the case study villages and other plans and projects related to heritage-led development in the case study area to understand the planning system within which the rural built-heritage preservation has been embodied, the research reveals a rational-comprehensive approach. The strategy of developing historic villages as an instrument of power has been incorporated into the regional, territorial, municipal, county, and lower-level planning settings, portraying an overall top-down government-led feature. An intentional ladder development pattern of historic villages has been identified through the analysis to the planning, project-making and heritage policies at local level (Figure 134). Moreover, different pattern of stakeholders has been identified based on such ladder development strategy, which

has been characterized by both the institutional discourse and endogenous power rooted in the Chinese countryside.

		Yunshe	Zhaisha	Dawan	Qishuping	Pingsuo	Sibao
Municipal level	Municipal plans	✓	✓	x	x	x	x
County level	County- Overall Rural construction Plan	✓	✓	✓	✓	✓	x
	Tourism development plan of county-level	✓	✓	✓	✓	✓	x
Village level	Village rectification plan	✓	✓	✓	✓	Not all	x
	Overall Preservation and development plan	✓	✓	Not imp.	Not imp.	Not imp.	x

Figure 134: Case study villages and its relation with the planning setting of different levels.
Source: author's elaboration

Regarding the stakeholders involved in case study villages, the first group shows the entrepreneurship of county-level governments in proceeding the heritage-led development in historic villages. The second group shows that the role of expert and elites at village level tend to be inseparable and often overlapped with other stakeholders, thus possessed an ambiguous and difficultly controllable position in shaping the rural built environment. This should be understood within both the traditional Chinese rural governance framework and the contemporary political inquiries of ongoing rural construction activities.

Furthermore, as we have seen in all the case studies, there has been rare space for bottom-up initiatives despite some of the local powers appear to launch some incentives, such as the cases of Dawan (section 6.1), Qishuping (section 6.2) and Sibao (section 6.4).

Kalman defined heritage planning as the “*application of heritage conservation within the context of planning,*” emphasizing that this is a process including professional and collaborative inquiries that seeks to divert rational dialogue among differentiated actors (Kalman 2014, p.25). Moreover, he suggested that heritage planning should manage changes wisely. Therefore, the heritage planning process should be collaborative between the different interests and partnerships; it should be dynamic enough to solve the issues in a real-world context and oriented towards a sustainable development characterized by the sensitivity to the context of a community and its resources (Kalman 2014).

Evidences emerged from case studies has contradicted the conceptions of what heritage planning should be. In the first two villages, the preservation was far from integral and authentic. Despite being labeled as CTVs and VEMCs, the elaboration of the OPPD and the implementation of the preservation measures have been built up around the preservation vocabulary scarcely prescribed by expert groups. Specific interventions, such as preservation, renovation, and upgrading, were defined in any of the case studies and differently perceived by the subjects during the process of

implementation. And the lack of interface between the vertical levels and longitudinal sectorial administrations is a serious problem that results in the random development of projects without any legally binding capacity at village level.

Apparently, the overall approach of rural built-heritage preservation in China, especially in its ethnic areas, mirrors the physical-spatial centered approach while the social benefits and community engagement have been at minimum level. I believe that future trends will gradually align with the wider community-based methodologies in both preservation and built-environment improvement. This will most likely involve multiple stakeholders and agents, tensions and negotiations shaping a common future for both the built heritage and related communities as the living conditions will be improved and the desire to have a say about the heritage communities possess will continuously increase.

A further step has been made in searching for potential adaptive theoretical and empirical solutions in public governance to improve the rural built heritage preservation and development in China.

9.1.2 Within the rational choice model

This study is positioned within the social constructivist framework that reflects the state's will to continuously build an authorized heritage discourse as a modern nation-state through the heritage-led development in ethnic areas. The early practices and experiences described in Chapters 2 and 3 are fundamental to understanding the main features of this approach, and the substantial objectives that the state government sought to achieve.

When Elster discussed factors such as cognition/belief and even evidence/information between desire and action (i.e., purpose and means), he put causal explanation in a retrospective explanation model and the intention of cause and effect. The "in-order-to" interpretation model looks forward to the future (see Figure 135). Part $D \rightarrow A$ represents a kind of "expected to achieve" interpretation of action/means made by desire/will/end; however, as agents are rational, intention and rational choice must be based on a certain degree of stability, which implies the agents retain actual cognition, belief, evidence and information. Therefore, the interaction between C and I at the top of the figure is based on the rational choice model. Furthermore, these beliefs are based on substantive evidence and must refer to causal examples that have been verified in the past. In other words, as forward-looking action and planning, rational choice must be based on retrospective causality and experience. Therefore, intentional explanation and causal explanation are mutually facilitated and integrated into rational action (Tsang 2014).

Heritage preservation and rural built-environment improvement in ethnic areas are tactics that China, as a modern state, has fostered. Thus, it first originates from the specific intention of the state or government to achieve economic development, the

construction of national identity, and the unity of its different ethnic groups (the visions that the state strives to achieve). These belong to an interpretation of intention or "in-order-to". Moreover, as a rational and even an active agent, governments must make arguments and provide justifications for its behavior and plans. Governments and the officials will inevitably examine experiences, evidence, and information, establishing their cognitive knowledge and the basis for ongoing and future policy design, which can be formed as a "because-of" explanation. Therefore, the above two interpretations merge into a complementary relationship.

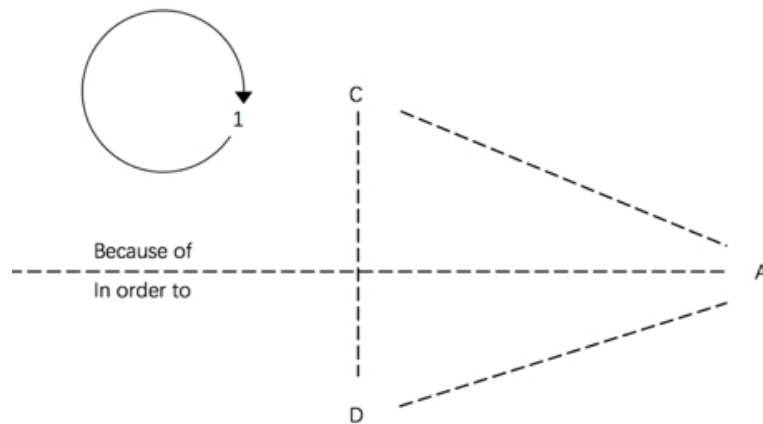


Figure 135. "Because of" and "In order to" model. Source: Tsang, 2014.

9.1.3 Within the debates on public governance

Some theoretical debates and empirical studies could inspire from the perspective of collaborative governance among stakeholders by advocating crossing the boundaries between public institutions, government levels, citizens and private spheres in order to achieve certain public goals (Emerson, Nabatchi & Balogh 2012). Interactive governance represents the idea that the focus of governance is on how stakeholders conduct cooperative governance (Peters 2014). Based on an inclusive approach in public governance, Ostrom proposed a Common Pool Resources (CPRs) framework to solve collective action problems by categorizing three key steps: the first is the supply of a new system; the second is to create credible commitments; and the third is the issue of mutual supervision. Ostrom believed that an autonomous governance system and reasonable modification of rules will make governance more effective. By applying the CPRs in heritage management, Zhang (2010) sees heritage could be a type of "public resources", claiming that the heritage possesses the "*rival and non-excludable*" feature, suggesting that the institutional approach and the methodology of self-governance within the discussions on CPRs could be helpful in empowering heritage governance. However, this research shows how the historic villages as a type of heritage can be "*excludable*" in terms of resource allocation within the local development agenda and planning setting, since a ladder development strategy and resource arrangement for historic villages has been pre-defined by the institutions.

Despite the the CPRs cannot be directly applied on to the Chinese historic villages, at international level, existing practices have provided the impetus and were adapted to the theories are worth mentioning. To improve an efficient rural built-heritage preservation mechanism, in Italy, the “joint force” combining the top-down and bottom-up policies within the EU framework that edit and guide manuals on vernacular buildings in disadvantaged areas is a good practice for comprehensively investigating local knowledge and proposing adequate solutions to local rural issues (section 8.1). By adopting the GAL approach, Italy has developed a systematic survey and information collection process centered on a community-based approach as it covers as many social roles and powers as possible, thereby representing realistic inquiries at the territorial level.

Apart from the manuals assisting with the restoration and preservation of vernacular buildings, the administrative measures adopted to control the overall village landscape and intervention processes has been inspiring. The Italian experience in decentralizing the approval competences of individual projects to the lower administrative level directly responsible for rural construction has been effective. Moreover, the organization of a professional committee to evaluate the project proposal (to decide whether the project is in tune with the surrounding environment, whether it is in accordance with the historical use and features, and whether it obeys the current regulations on sanitation and living conditions) before issuing the construction permit and residential permission has been crucial. Bringing local administrations fully into play was an echo generated by the abundant social capital and the legitimacy of the Italian rural built-heritage preservation system.

In the case of the UK and Japan, it has been revealed the relevant role of local communities in managing the heritage and the complementary role of the expert groups. Of course such approach requires a minimum level of social capital that many of the Chinese villages do not possess, some positive experiences have shown the community’s capacity of self-organizing in developing heritage tourism while maintaining the original lifestyle. This approach has been shaped accurately by all stakeholders within a shared knowledge framework on heritage places (Zhang & Stewart, 2017)

9.2 Policy implications for each case study village

Based on the aforementioned insights, policy incentives were provided for each case study village. The tertiary organizations especially those with professional backgrounds should be involved in the plan assessment, the heritage-led development, and the follow-up management. The expert groups, both from outside and local should be aware of the value of villages in Tongren, and work cooperatively for a better heritage management together with the government, external capitals, informal institutions such as elites and last but most important one, the communities.

In the case studies in Jiangkou county, especially the first two case studies where the social capital and planning instruments were available, some innovations could be carried out based on the existing planning setting and the inclusion of the townships and villages, especially for the decision-making regarding the projects proposed by the county. For instance, the big decisions concerning the overall development of the village and relevant approaches should be effectively communicated, involving decisions such as land expropriation, intervention of external capital, profit-sharing mechanism. Therefore, it is highly important that the authorities should be open to interaction with other stakeholders.

The first step could be the revision of the Jiangkou County's "*General County-Level Village Renovation Plan*", which should take into account the opinions of townships and village. Moreover, at township level, a specific committee should be organized to evaluate the project proposals of individual interventions to ensure that the new projects are in accordance with the village landscape, the overall character of the village, and the historic features and functions of the dwellings.

In the cases of Yunshe and Zhaisha, first, in-depth historical research into the two villages should be conducted. The real Zhaisha culture that represents the North Dong should be presented by expert groups for long-term cultural sustainability. Through efficient heritage education activities involving administrations and the community, the research outcome should be informed and disseminated properly to both the community and outsiders. Second, the Jiangkou Cultural Tourism Company, which belongs to Jiangkou County, should shift its role from an entity that directly intervenes in and seeks profit from tourism development in Yunshe to a management entity that ensures the village's sustainable development. The county-owned company should balance profit and compensation for the community based on a credit system designed for profit-sharing. For those marginalized households, balancing the income produced by tourism activities would be based on a number of pre-defined criteria and credits. These criteria should take into account some basic preferential guidelines. For instance, inhabitants who maintained the historic features of their dwelling during the intervention should be rewarded with more credits by the villager's approval. Third, the external expert is mainly responsible for the specific in-situ guidance for implementation, collaborating coordinatively with the householders and local masters. After having submitted the project proposal to the committee, a specialized construction team should be organized for each project, including both external experts and local skilled masters, who have matured, specific knowledge about the local construction techniques.

In the cases of Dawan and Qishuping, where the government-business coalition did not cause negative impact, a systematic survey of the status quo should be conducted in order to create a repository for better understanding and conserving built heritage. Furthermore, communication and education with village cadres and elites should be conducted. The importance of shared interests with the community should

be communicated, which would improve the overall living conditions of the villagers and create incentives for tourism development among other families. In addition to effective communication and education, a shared platform should be created to stimulate as much social capital in the two villages as possible and potential financial solutions for preservation and rational development.

In villages such as Pingsuo and Sibao, fully respecting the villagers' wishes during the decision-making is a pivotal step for both built-heritage preservation and the sustainable development of villages. Moreover, a comprehensive and systematic survey of the status quo should be conducted led by expert groups and the communities themselves. Once the basic information regarding the potential for heritage-led development is defined, different development strategies can be provided in accordance with the community's wishes.

9.3 Proposing a management framework

9.3.1 Management framework formation

The idea of the author is not to claim that all authorities involved in the rural built heritage preservation in China should be avoided. Instead, the role of authorities (including governments, expert groups, local power-holders) should be critically reflected to construct a shared platform for multi-stakeholders to dialogue. Drawing on the notion of hybrid forum (Callon 2011), Harrison (2021) has suggested through a dialogical model of heritage, in which the level of concern to a community affair, the openness of dialogue and the quality of a dialogue among actors are the three most important variables. In this model, heritage should neither be concerned as a set of tangible objects, nor the intangible expressions and practices. Heritage should be positioned between the dialogues among people, objects, places and practices, implying the duties, responsibilities and ethical concern in a social process.

Therefore, beyond the case study analysis, a further step has been made by looking forward to formulating an effective management framework to support rural built-heritage preservation in China. This management framework tries to connect heritage planning with rural environment improvement in historic villages.

Management can be perceived as a rational process of coordination and systemizing different resources into a given corpus and turning these resources into a holistic functionality. According to Mubaideen and Al Kurdi (2017), a framework is a set of relationships that can mirror how a problem in certain conditions can be dealt with different attributes. In addition, According to Kalman (2014), historical research, physical investigation and community investigation are three fundamental steps for making a successful heritage plan. This is in accordance with what Mubaideen and Al Kurdi (2017) asserted, that heritage planning should include the following: i) a research phase in which the main task is to clarify the community's goals; ii) a phase for the plan elaboration; iii) a phase for plan implementation; and iv) a phase for

review and revision. At the international level, some common elements of a successful and coherent management framework were provided by UNESCO in 2019 (UNESCO 2019): i) a cycle of planning, implementation and monitoring; ii) a thorough common understanding of the property; iii) an accountable and transparent system that guides the management plan; iv) the involvement of all the related stakeholders; v) the allocation of necessary resources; and vi) capacity building.

As revealed by the research, cooperation amongst the stakeholders, adaptive use of external capital, the role of expert groups and community engagement, the supervision and monitoring of the dominant governmental powers are the issues that need to be faced. These are also the themes discussed by both international and Chinese scholars who have tried to provide suggestions on how to manage rural built-heritage preservation and development processes effectively: the crucial relationship between local government and enterprise (Oakes 2013); the role of expert groups concerning both preservation and economic development (Dredge 2004); important in-situ guidance from expert groups during project implementation (Che & Wang 2009; Wang et al. 2019); important involvement and communication with local elites (Zhang & Wu 2016); and the crucial position of community engagement (Verdini et al. 2017; Che & Wang 2009).

An effective multi-stakeholder participatory governance system would play a positive role in the management of the historic village, such as providing information services, actively checking the physical and societal status of the village, and benefiting the tourists and residents. In addition, in-time monitoring of stakeholders' behavior, and imposition of reasonable sanctions on violations of the rules, updating the conditions and rules according to the use of resources at any time is also important. Once conflicts occur, collective hearings should be held to provide the justice needed to resolve them within institutional arrangements.

Moreover, shared goals and paths should be clarified and revised periodically, so that all parties have a deep understanding of autonomous governance. In China, owing to historical and cultural reasons, villagers often have insufficient awareness of autonomous governance. Therefore, it is necessary to strengthen their awareness and improve their ability to independently participate in the governance. On the one hand, it is necessary to use social capital in self-organized groups in order to strengthen stakeholders' recognition and the diversification of interests. During the field-survey, some local actors, such as local universities and NGOs can be potentially involved in the small and slow method of heritage-led development.

In Jiangkou, Songtao and Yinjiang County, several formal and informal institutions can be invited to contribute to the heritage-led development in villages, as they have showed willingness to the author. For instance, the Tujia Study Association in Yinjiang County has worked for years on the Tujia community's history and cultural traditions, and it is also familiar with the development issues that the Tujia village are facing. Moreover, several associations on Miao and Dong studies have

been quite active at county level, some of them have voluntarily conducted studies on vernacular dwellings that are capable to make contribution to the preservation and renovation projects with small portions of funds and are able to share the research works that the normal design institutions easily ignore. The aforementioned framework provides a pattern of stakeholders for an efficient management integrating the OPPD and V.R.P. (Figure 136-137).

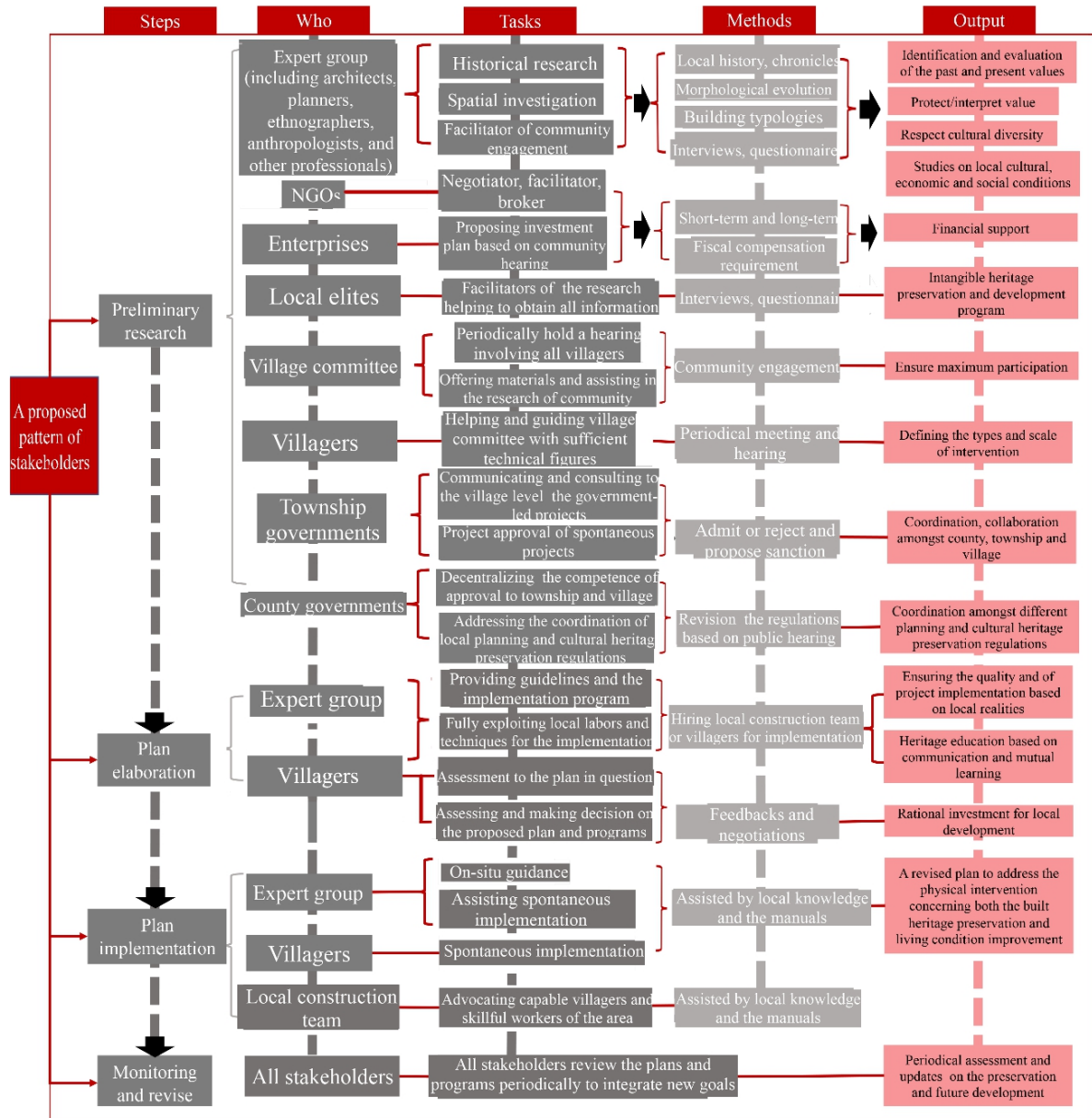


Figure 136: A proposed pattern of stakeholders. Source: Author’s elaboration.

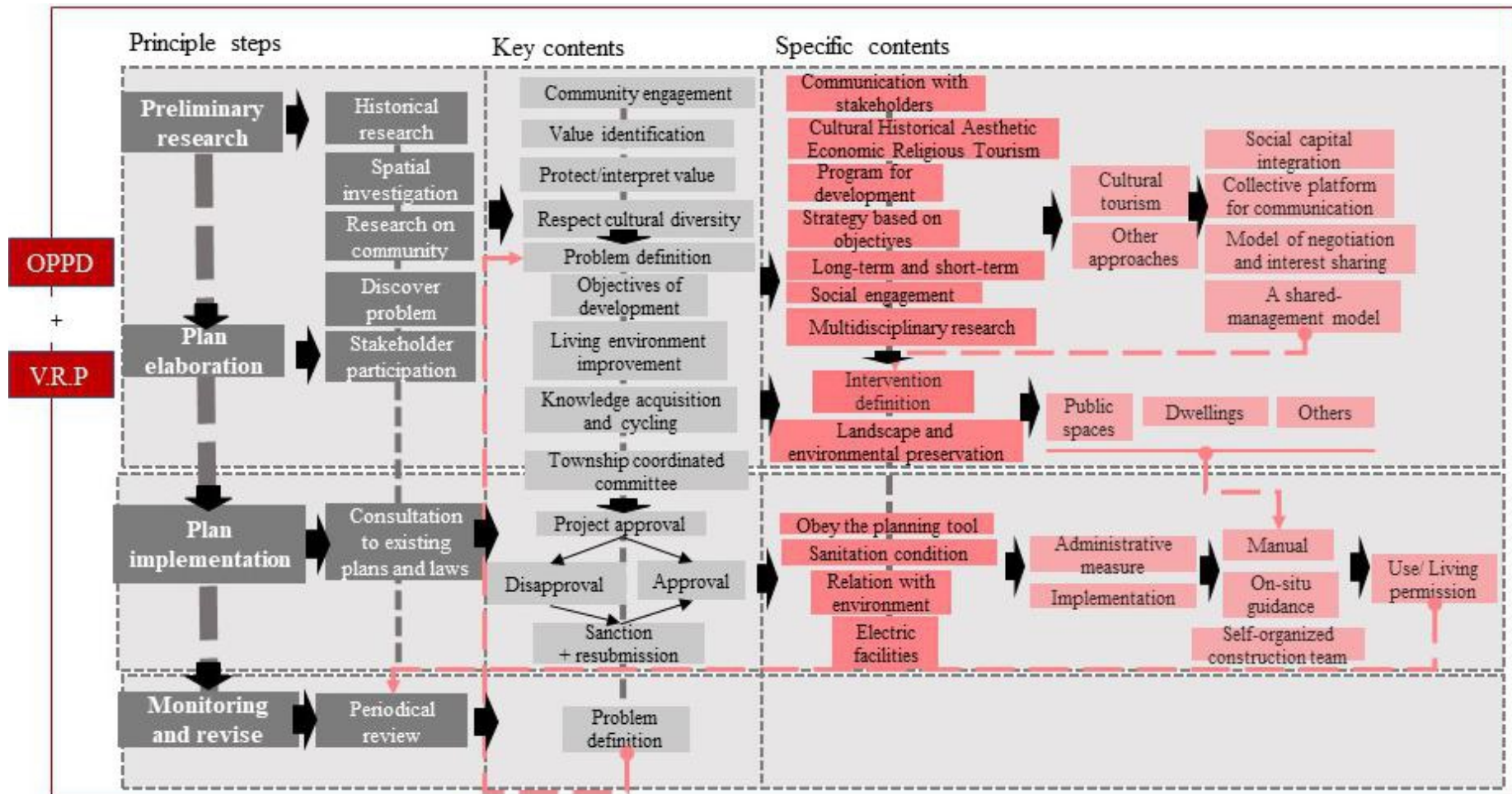


Figure 137: A management framework integrating the OPPD and V.R.P. Source: Author's elaboration.

9.3.2 Critiques and reflections on the framework

A potential difference between the Chinese and Western approaches is the level of involvement of civil society, as Li (2020) discussed in their recent research. According to the guidelines generated by cooperative planning, interative planning and CPRs, a framework has been proposed for efficient management. However, after critical examination, some reflections and gaps have been found as the concluding notions in this research.

First, community engagement requires the existence of active and potential social capitals that are absent in many Chinese historic villages, especially after the recent waves of urbanization/townization. Educational and training activities related to rural built-environment preservation have emerged in recent practices, but it has been limited within the expert-led discourse that can be difficult to apply across different local contexts.

Second, the success of the framework's application is highly dependent on how the different stakeholders evaluate and recognize the benefits and costs. Only when all stakeholders benefit from the new rules under the proposed framework can the new system be successfully accepted and embodied in local specific contexts. Some of the notes should be kept in mind: i.the presence of minorities and marginal groups is important; ii. the role played by marginal individuals and how their knowledge contributes to the professional knowledge will ensure a successful dialogue iii specific goals and demands of different groups of people should be clearly defined to ensure the consideration of concerns proposed by different groups (Harrison 2021, p272).

Third, at present, there is a certain gap between the management capacity of stakeholders in historic villages and the stakeholders' awareness of autonomous governance as per CPR theory. For instance, autonomous governance might be difficult for villagers to accept in terms of the built-heritage preservation and development activities as related training activities have been lacking. That is to say, for a long time, the government- and expert-led approach has played an important role in leading the training in autonomous governance for rural built-heritage management. Therefore, how to gradually decentralize power from the government as an external authority in order to improve the capacity of autonomous organizations to achieve long-term effective heritage management is a question worthy of further discussions.

9.4 Conclusions and reflections on future works

9.4.1 The limitations of the research

The limitations of this research are as follows.

First, concerning the case study analysis: as a multi-case study analysis, I am aware of the fact that the parameters for each group of case study should be

homogeneous. However, some limitations have inevitably emerged during the phase of field survey. First, concerning the first group of case study villages and from the perspective of the implementation and construction periods, the case of Zhaisha requires more materials and research into how the reconstruction activities were organized and who the potential participants were. Second, due to the difficulties in obtaining reliable data in a short time, the second group of case study villages requires more supportive materials that comprehensively represent the community's ideas about the elite-led approach.

Moreover, due to the limited time allowed for the third group of case study villages in the last year of Ph.D. research, an in-depth investigation of the physical characteristics has been lacking. The investigation into the third group involved less time and refinement than the previous two groups. I consider it an important step for cases such as Sibao, as this kind of village faces demolition and relocation. In the case of Pingsuo, a village waiting for renovation, detailed documentation of all the existing buildings would be valuable. In addition, the multi-case study method that I have adapted in this research should be further expanded to include more non-labeled historic villages to identify the stakeholders and tensions more clearly so as to better understand the situation of anonymous villages in today's China. This is the next step of the research.

In addition, in terms of community participation, it would be worthwhile to conduct a detailed investigation based on sending questionnaires to the villagers to analyze attitudes towards heritage-led development and its benefits and costs.

9.4.2 Concluding remarks

This study first traces the evolution of rural built-heritage preservation in China and the ongoing policies advocating for sustainable development in historic villages in ethnic areas. Through a multi-case study analysis, the research explores how historic villages in ethnic areas have been transformed by heritage-led development at the local level. It shows that this is mainly achieved through the implementation of two strands of policy and projects: the rural built-heritage preservation ones and the ones regarding improvement of the rural environment. Moreover, a ladder development pattern was identified at county level and below, resulting in both social and spatial exclusion in historic villages. Labelling and branding model villages has been a common practice by local governments. During decision-making, the elaboration of plans, project making and follow-up management, the function and the performance of the network involving key stakeholders is crucial, which includes the county government, enterprise, expert groups, village cadres, village elites, and the villagers themselves.

In addition, this study explores the coalitions among stakeholders, their tensions, and conflicts among different interest groups in the planning, design, the implementation of projects and management process in historic villages. It reveals the

fragmented and overlapping layout of heritage planning in historic villages, which lacks the scientific, rigorous, long-term, and effective strategy required for the successful transformation of physical spaces.

The notion of “*heritage is local*” has caused ethical and policy controversies in the debates of heritage practices (Smith 2006). These debates mainly appear in researches of the cultural landscape. The “punctual” heritage preservation obviously cannot satisfy this theoretical shift, and a more systematic epistemological method becomes possible under the framework of the cultural landscape as it reflects the interaction and mutual shaping of human culture and historical environment, as well as the diversity and complexity of human culture and history itself. From this perspective, Tongren is a good research object, and more works need to be carried out in the future with the explorations from the perspectives of the cultural landscape.

It is only through preliminary scientific research and an overall strategy design that the heritage value and potential resources of historic villages can be effectively integrated, understood, and eventually managed by the collaboration of all stakeholders. As concluding remarks, reflections and a management framework have been provided based on the existing theories related to integrative planning and the CPRs. International experiences have provided inspiration from the perspective of the coordination of bottom-up and top-down approaches. It should be aware that, by discussing specifically the possibility of applying the aforementioned theories, the mechanical and imitational application of Western practices and theories is inappropriate in the Chinese context. Therefore, the next step in the author’s work will be how to understand and further incorporate the Chinese rural built-heritage preservation cases into the current theoretical debates. Modification to the existing empirical and theoretical foundations from the perspective of CPRs, interactive planning and the AHD are pivotal for future work.

9.5 Conclusion

This final chapter synthesizes the theoretical reflections within the debates of the authorized heritage discourse. The research takes AHD as the lens for the investigation to examine the development of the “Chinese” and “rural” version of authorized heritage discourse (AHD) as a tool of governmentality that often encounters local contestations, negotiations, and appropriation. It has been found that the strategy of developing historic villages as an instrument of power has been incorporated into the regional, territorial, municipal, county, and lower-level planning settings, portraying an overall top-down government-led feature. An intentional ladder development pattern of historic villages has been identified through the analysis of the planning, project-making, and heritage policies at the local level. The different pattern of stakeholders has been identified based on such ladder development

development strategy, which has been characterized by both the institutional discourse and endogenous power rooted in the Chinese countryside.

After the case study investigations and review of existing literature on public governance and policy, Elster's rational choice model seemed to provide an integrated basis for the traditional interpretation of actions in the social sciences – causal explanation and intentional explanation – which can enable a better understanding of rural built-heritage preservation and development in China. Reflections from the perspective of the public governance have been made to further define the policy implications for the case study villages.

Therefore, a further step has been made in searching for potential adaptive theoretical and empirical solutions in public governance to improve the rural built heritage preservation and development in China, by looking forward to formulating an effective supporting management framework.

References

- Ahlers, A. L., & Schubert, G. (2009), "Building a New Socialist Countryside" – Only a Political Slogan? In *Journal of Current Chinese Affairs* (Vol. 38);
- Alessandra, T. (2013). *Gruppi di Azione Locale (GAL), governance e sviluppo del territorio: analisi teorica ed evidenze empiriche*. Bari: Cacucci Editore Sas.
- Ashworth, G. (2011), *Preservation, Conservation and Heritage: Approaches to the Past in the Present through the Built Environment*. *Asian Anthropology*, 10(1): 1–18;
- Agostini, S. (1999), *Architettura rurale, la via del recupero*. Milan: Francoangeli.
- Bakken, B. (2000), *The exemplary society: Human improvement, social control, and the dangers of modernity in China*. Oxford: Clarendon Press;
- Baller, È. A. (1984), *Communism and Cultural Heritage*. Moscow: Progress.
- Bauman, Z. (2011) *Culture in a Liquid Modern World*. Cambridge: Polity press.
- Blake, J. (1996), *Resolving conflict? The rural white paper, sustainability and countryside policy*, *Local Environment*, 1:2, 211-218
- Blumenfield, T. (2018), "Recognition and Misrecognition: The Politics of Intangible Cultural Heritage in Southwest China." In *Chinese Cultural Heritage in the Making. Experiences, Negotiations and Contestations*, edited by C. Maags and M. Svensson, 169–194. Amsterdam University Press;
- Beel, D. E., Wallace, C. D., Webster, G., Nguyen, H., Tait, E., Macleod, M., & Mellish, C. (2017), *Cultural resilience: The production of rural community heritage, digital archives and the role of volunteers*. *Journal of Rural Studies*, 54: 459–468;
- Boni, D. C. Mura, D. Pognante,(2014), *Manuale del GAL terre astigiane*. G.A.L[M]. Costigliole d'Asti:Terre Astigiane S.c.a.r.l.
- Bourdieu, P & Wacquant, L. (2000) 'New Liberal Speak: Notes on the new planetary vulgate', *Radical Philosophy*, at: <http://radicalphilosophy.com>.
- Bray, D. (2017), *Urban Planning Goes Rural*. 3(3), 53–62. Retrieved from <http://content.ebscohost.com.ezproxy.tlu.ee/ContentServer.asp?T=P&P=AN&K=90082898&S=R&D=a9h&EbscoContent=dGJyMNLr40SeqLc4zdnyOLCmr0uep7ZSr6m4SbCWxWXS&ContentCustomer=dGJyMPGrr0y1q69QuePfgex44Dt6fIA>;
- Brown, M. J. (2001) *Ethnic Classification and Culture: The Case of the Tujia in Hubei, China*, *Asian Ethnicity*, 2:1, 55-72;
- Brødsgaard, K. E., Hubbard, P., Cai, G., & Zhang, L. (2017), *China's SOE executives: Drivers of or obstacles to reform?* *Copenhagen Journal of Asian Studies*, 35(1): 52–75;
- Cai, L. (2007), *Traditional settlement and architecture in Southwest China*. Beijing: China Architecture & Building Press;

- Callon, M., Lascoumes, P. and Barthe, Y., 2011. Acting in an uncertain world: An essay on technical democracy. *Inside Technology*.
- Chan, J. H., Iankova, K., Zhang, Y., McDonald, T., & Qi, X. (2016), The role of self-gentrification in sustainable tourism: Indigenous entrepreneurship at Honghe Hani Rice Terraces World Heritage Site, China. *Journal of Sustainable Tourism*, 24(8–9), 1262–1279;
- Chan, K. W. (2018), *Urbanization with Chinese Characteristics: The hukou system and migration*. London: Routledge;
- Che, Z. Y. & Wang H. T. (2010), The Experience and Enlightenment from the world architectural heritage: Shaxi Sideng Village Conservation. *Architectural Journal*. 2010 AJ Academic Article Issue. pp. 66-70;
- Chen, H. B. (2012) *Beautiful Village Practice Exploration in Ningbo*. Beijing Book Co. Inc., 2016;
- Chen, R. (2015), The coordinated development of environment and economy in the construction of new countryside in Yuqing, Guizhou. *Village and town construction*, 2, 68–69. [贵州余庆新农村建设中环境与经济协同发展]. *村镇建设*, 2: 68–69;
- Chen, X. (2017), A Phenomenological Explication of Guanxi in Rural Tourism Management: A Case Study of a Village in China. *Tourism Management*, 63: 383–394;
- Chen, X. (2016), *The Evolution of Architectural Heritage Conservation Theory*. Shanghai: Tongji University Press.
- Chen, Y. (2013), *The Transformation of Rural Development Pattern and Rural Planning System in China : A Case Study of Quanzhou*. (Thesis), University of Hong Kong, Pokfulam, Hong Kong SAR. Retrieved from http://dx.doi.org/10.5353/th_b5126003
- Cinà, G. Demolizioni e ricostruzioni nella città storica in Cina: un matrimonio d'interesse tra tradizione e mercato. *Territorio*, 2015, 72: 158-166;
- Cleave, E., Arku, G., Sadler, R., & Gilliland, J. (2016), The role of place branding in local and regional economic development: Bridging the gap between policy and practicality. *Regional Studies, Regional Science*, 3(1): 207–228;
- Coulter, J. & Ivory, P. (1982). The Rural--Urban Dichotomy in China: A Case Study of the Mid-Yellow River Region using Remote Sensing Data. *The Australian Journal of Chinese Affairs*, 7: 37-53;
- Dabezies, J. M. (2018), Heritagization of nature and its influence on local ecological knowledge in Uruguay. *International Journal of Heritage Studies*, 24(8): 828-842;
- Dai, G. Z. (2019), “The Subject Gaze in the Tourism Reproduction of Ethnic Villages, Taking the Ten-Year Tourism Development of Shadong Village, Tongren, Guizhou Province As an Example”, in *Journal of Southwest University For Nationalities (Humanities And Social Sciences Edition)*, 3: 34-40
- De Luca, C., López-Murcia, J., Conticelli, E., Santangelo, A., Perello, M. and Tondelli, S., 2021. Participatory Process for Regenerating Rural Areas through

- Heritage-Led Plans: The RURITAGE Community-Based Methodology. *Sustainability*, 13(9), p.5212.
- Deng, M. W. (1986), "A Brief Discussion on the Historical Origins of the Cultural Differences between the North and the South of the Dong Nationality", "National Forum", 2: 62-65;
- Derek, H. A. (2016), Place, Naming, and the interpretation of Cultural Landscapes. In Graham & Howard (eds), *The Routledge Research Companion to Heritage and Identity*. London: Routledge.
- Dong, W. (1992). *The Influence of Patriarchal Clan System on the Structure and Form of Traditional Villages in Huizhou*, Nanjing: Southeast University, doctoral dissertation;
- Douglas M. (1966). *Purity and Danger*. London: Routledge and Kegan Paul.
- Dove, M. R and J. Hjørleifur and A. T., Michael, Debate: The Art of Not Being Governed: An Anarchist History of Upland Southeast Asia (2011). "Debate." *Bijdragen tot de Taal-, Land-en Volkenkunde* 167, no. 1 (2011): 86-99.
- Dredge, D. (2004), Development, Economy and Culture: Cultural Heritage Tourism Planning, Liangzhu, China. *Asia Pacific Journal of Tourism Research*, 9(4): 405–422;
- Ducros, H. B. (2017), Confronting sustainable development in two rural heritage valorization models. *Journal of Sustainable Tourism*, 25(3): 327-343;
- Dyh, W. (1990). Chinese Minority Policy and the Meaning of Minority Culture: The Example of Bai in Yunnan, China, *Human Organization*, 49 (1): 1-13;
- Elvin, M. *The Retreat of the Elephants. An Environmental History of China*, in the chapter: "Chinese Colonialism: Guizhou and the Miao". Yale University Press, 2004.
- Emerson, K., Nabatchi, T & Balogh, S. (2012), An Integrative Framework for Collaborative Governance. *Journal of Public Administration Research and Theory*, 1: 1 - 29.
- Engström, S., & Lidelöw, S. (2015), From the Pilot Project to the Mainstream Practice-Learning Explored in Planning and Design of a Low-Energy Quarter. *Procedia Economics and Finance*, 21: 288-296;
- Fan, C. N., Wall, G., & Mitchell, C. J. (2008), Creative Destruction and the Water Town of Luzhi, China. *Tourism Management*, 29(4): 648-660;
- Faure, D *Emperor and Ancestor: State and Lineage in South China* Stanford, Stanford University Press, 2007.
- Feng, J. & Li. M. R, (2016), Roma Interrotta and Guangzhou Interrupted The Practical Dilemma in Urban Historic Environment and the Discipline Crisis of Architecture. *Architectural Journal*.12:1-8.
- Feng, X. H. & Li, Q. Y. (2020), Poverty Alleviation, Community Participation, and the Issue of Scale in Ethnic Tourism in China, *Asian Anthropology*, 9 (4): 233-256;
- Feng, Q, & Wu, M. (2016), Research on the Policy Framework of Traditional Village Protection and its Implementation Impact. *Planning 60 years: Achievements and*

- Challenges- China Urban Planning Annual Conference Proceedings (12 Planning Implementation and Management).
- Ferretto, P. W., & Cai, L. (2020), Village prototypes: a Survival Strategy for Chinese Minority Rural Villages. *The Journal of Architecture*, 1:1-23;
- Fischer, F. (1990), *Technocracy and the Politics of Expertise*. Newbury Park, CA: SAGE.
- Foucault, M. (1977), *Discipline and Punish: The Birth of the Prison*. Trans. Alan Sheridan. London: Allen Lane.
- Fraser, R. (2020), Cultural heritage, ethnic tourism, and minority-state relations amongst the Orochen in North-East China. *International Journal of Heritage Studies*, 26 (2): 178–200;
- Fredholm, S. (2017), *Making Sense of Heritage Planning in Theory and Practice. Experiences from Ghana and Sweden*. University of Gothenburg.
- Freedman, M. *Lineage Organization in Southeastern China*. London: The Athlone Press, 1958.
- Feiner, J. P., Mi, S. W. & Schmid, W. A. (2002), Sustainable Rural Development Based on Cultural Heritage, *disP - The Planning Review*, 38(151): 79-86.
- GAL langhe e roero leader (2019). *Manuale Architettonico e Paesaggistico*[M]. Marene: Litostampa Mario Astegiano;
- Gao, J. & Wu, B. (2017), Revitalizing Traditional Villages through Rural Tourism: A Case Study of Yuanjia Village, Shaanxi Province, China. *Tourism Management*, 63: 223–233;
- Gao, Y. (2016), Top-down and Bottom-up Processes for Rural Development and the Role of Architects in Yunnan, China. *Buildings*, 6 (4): 47;
- Giddens, A., 2013. *The consequences of modernity*. John Wiley & Sons.
- González, P. A. (2016), Transforming Ideology into Heritage: A Return of Nation and Identity in Late Socialist Cuba? *International Journal of Cultural Studies*, 19 (2): 139-159;
- Goto, J. & Alanen, A. R. (1987), The Conservation of Historic and Cultural Resources in Rural Japan. *Landscape Journal*, 6 (1): 42-61
- Grey, J., *Rebellions and Revolutions: China from the 1800s to the 1980s*. Oxford University Press.
- Gustafsson, B., & Sai, D. (2010), New Light on China ' s Rural Elites. *WIDER Working Paper*, No. 2010/108: 1-37;
- Guizhou Provincial Museum of Literature and History (2015), *Guizhou Annals*, collated edition by Xie Dongshan. Guiyang: Guizhou People's Publishing House.
- Hao C., Zhao Y. & Liu S. J. (2020) Rural stay: a new type of rural tourism in China, *Journal of Travel & Tourism Marketing*, 37:6, 711-726
- Hananel, R. (2013). Planning Discourse versus Land Discourse: The 2009 – 12 Reforms in Land-Use Planning Policy and Land Policy in I srael. *International Journal of Urban and Regional Research*, 37(5), 1611-1637.

- Harrell, S. (2012), *Ways of Being Ethnic in Southwest China*. Washington: University of Washington Press;
- Harrell, S. (2013), *China's Tangled Web of Heritage*. In *Cultural Heritage Politics in China*, New York: Springer, pp. 285-294;
- Harrison R. (2012) *Heritage. Critical Approaches*. London: Routledge.
- Harrison R. (2021) *Heritage. Critical Approaches*, Chinese version. Translated by Fan Jialing, Wang Siyu, Mo Jiajing, Shen Shan, Zhang Lifan and Han Boya. Shanghai: Shanghai Guji Publishing House.
- Herriott, R. E., & Firestone, W. A. (1983), *Multisite Qualitative Policy Research: Optimizing Description and Generalizability*. *Educational Researcher*, 12(2): 14-19;
- He Yong & Xie Xiaoping, 2017. *Living in China: a Survey of Changes in China's Family Dwellings since 1949*. Southeast University Press.
- Hillman, B. (2003), *The Poor in Paradise : Tourism Development and Rural Poverty in China ' S Shangri-La*. *Science And Technology*, 8: 545–553;
- Herstein, R. (2012), *Thin Line Between Country, City, and Region Branding*. *Journal of Vacation Marketing*, 18 (2), 147–155;
- Ho, D., & Young, A. (2013), *China's Experience in Reforming Its State-Owned Enterprises : Something New, Something Old and Something Chinese ?* *International Journal of Economy, Management and Social Sciences*, 2(4): 84–90;
- Hou, Z. M., Li, P. C. & Jiang. N. X. (2018) *On the Protection and Development of Ethnic Minority Villages in Guizhou: A Case Study of Qiang Village in Qishuping, Jiangkou, Tongren City*. *Huazhong Architecture*, 6: 112-115.
- Huo, Z. (2016). *Legal protection of cultural heritage in China: a challenge to keep history alive*. *International Journal of Cultural Policy*, 22(4), 497-515.
- Hølleland, H., & Skrede, J. (2019), *What's Wrong with Heritage Experts? An Interdisciplinary Discussion of Experts and Expertise in Heritage Studies*. *International Journal of Heritage Studies*, 25(8): 825–836;
- Jiménez-Esquinas, G., & Sánchez-Carretero, C. (2018), *Who Owns the Name of a Place? On Place Branding and Logics in Two Villages in Galicia, Spain*. *Tourist Studies*, 18(1): 3–20;
- Juerkaiti, Wubuli, Xue Dongqian, Song Yongyong, Zhang Xiaoqian, Yang Binregional Differences And Influencing Factors In The Evolution Of The Number Of Villages In China. *Chinese Journal of Agricultural Resources and Regional Planning*. 居尔艾提·吾布力, 薛东前, 宋永永, 张晓倩, 杨彬. 中国村庄数量演变的地区差异与影响因素(9)[J/OL]. 中国农业资源与区划. <https://kns.cnki.net/kcms/detail/11.3513.s.20210618.1646.002.html>.
- Kalman, H. (2014), *Heritage Planning: Principles and Process*. London: Routledge.
- Kan, K. (2020), *The Social Politics of Dispossession: Informal Institutions and Land Expropriation in China*. *Urban Studies*, 57(16): 3331-3346;
- Kuroda, N. (2019), *Conservation Design for Traditional Agricultural Villages: A Case Study of Shirakawa-go and Gokayama in Japan*. *Built Heritage* 3:7–23.

- Lai, G. L., Demas, M. & Neville A. (2004), Valuing the Past in China, The Seminal Influence of Liang Sicheng on Heritage Conservation. *Orientations*. March: 82-89;
- Landzelius, M. (2003), Commemorative Dis (re) membering: Erasing Heritage, Spatializing Disinheritance. *Environment and Planning D: Society and Space*, 21(2): 195-221;
- Lang, Y. L. (2015) Yunshe Village: a Guizhou Sample of Rural Cultural Tourism, *Dangdai Guizhou (Contemporary Guizhou)*, Sep, 33: 38-39;
- Laishun, A. and Gjestrum, J.A., 1999. The ecomuseum in theory and practice. The first Chinese ecomuseum established. *Nordisk Museologi*, (2): 65-65.
- Li, J. (2015), The Origin of the Legalization of Cultural Relics Protection in China – “Measures to Promote the Preservation of Monuments” In the Late Qing Dynasty and its Historical Role. *Shandong daxue xuebao*. 06: 153-160;
- Li, J., Krishnamurthy, S., Roders, A. P., & van Wesemael, P. (2020), Community Participation in Cultural Heritage Management: A systematic literature review comparing Chinese and international practices. *Cities*, 96: 102476.
- Li, L. (2013), Conservation Plans: Understanding Historic Cultural City and Stakeholders' Perceptions. Master's thesis, University of Waterloo;
- Li, W. M & L. Y. (2010), Study on the Influencing Mechanism of Industries in Rural Landscape: A Case Study of Anji County in Zhejiang. *Huazhong Architecture*, 117-119;
- Li, J., Wang, X. and Li, X., 2020. Spatial distribution characteristics and influencing factors of Chinese traditional villages. *Econ. Geogr*, 40, pp.143-153.
- Li, X. (1996), Rise of a New elite in rural China and its Characteristics. *Journal of Northeast Asian Studies*, 15: 100-115;
- Li, X. (2016) Study on Problems of Traditional Villages Infrastructure —Taking Yunshe village For Example. Master thesis, tutored by Wei Cheng, School of Architecture, South China University of Technology.
- Li, X. F, (2005) Vernacular Architecture, a Transdisciplinary Methodology. Beijing: China Building Industry Press.
- Liang Q. C. (2009), "Collected Works of Liang Qichao". [Liang Qichao Wenji]. Beijing: Xianzhuang Publishing House. p17.北京: 线状书局, 2009, p17.
- Liang S. M. (1987), *Essence of Chinese Culture*. Shanghai: Xuelin Publisher Housing. 1987. p165.
- Lieberman V, “A zone of refuge in Southeast Asia? Reconceptualizing interior Spaces”, *Journal of Global History* (2010)5,pp.333-346.
- Lin Z. S. (2009), *Morphological Researches on Traditional Settlements*. Ph.D Dissertation, School of Architecture, Tianjin University.
- Lincoln T, Madgin R. (2018), The Inherent Malleability of Heritage: Creating China’s Beautiful Villages. *International Journal of Heritage Studies*, 24 (9): 938-53;
- Liu D. Z. Preliminary Investigation of ancient buildings found in Shexian County, Southern Anhui Province, cultural relics reference, No. 3, 1953.

- Liu L. F. (2013), "Cong 'meili xiangcun' dao 'meili Zhongguo' – jixi 'meili xiangcun' de shengtaiyun." [From 'Beautiful Villages' to 'Beautiful China' – Analysing the Ecology of 'Beautiful Villages'] *Lilun yuekan [Theory Monthly]* 9: 165–168.
- Liu, J., Zhang, X., Lin, J., & Li, Y. (2020), Beyond Government-led or Community-Based: Exploring the Governance Structure and Operating Models for Reconstructing China's Hollowed Villages. *Journal of Rural Studies*, 1–14.
- Liu, P. L. (1998), *Ancient Villages: Harmonious Living Space*, Shanghai Sanlian Bookstore.
- Liu, W. (2019). *Study on the Protection and Development of Ethnic Minority Villages Under the Vision of Rural Revitalization. A case study of Upper Langde*. Guizhou Normal University.
- Liu, W., Yang, C., Liu, Y., Wei, C., & Yang, X. (2018), Impacts of Concentrated Rural Resettlement Policy on Rural Restructuring in Upland Areas: A Case Study of Qiantang Town in Chongqing, China. *Land Use Policy*, 77(2): 732–744;
- Long, H., Liu, Y., Li, X., & Chen, Y. (2010). Building new countryside in China: A geographical perspective. *Land use policy*, 27(2), 457-470.
- Lu, Y. D & Yang, G. S. (2003), *Chinese Residential Architecture*, South China University of Technology Press;
- Ma, R. "On the Generation of Ethnic Consciousness." *Journal of Yunnan Nationalities University (Philosophy and Social Sciences Edition)* 2 (2000).
- Massing, K. (2018), Safeguarding Intangible Cultural Heritage in An Ethnic Theme Park Setting—the Case of Binglanggu in Hainan Province, China. *International Journal of Heritage Studies*, 24 (1): 66–82;
- Maags, C.& Marina S.(2018), *Chinese Heritage in the Making: Experiences, Negotiations and Contestations*. Amsterdam: Amsterdam University Press
- Mafredo, T. (1973), *Architecture and Utopia*. Cambridge (Mass.): MIT Press.
- Mao, G. (2003), Sustainable Mountain Village Construction Adapted to Livelihood, Topography, and Hydrology: A Case of Dong Villages in Southeast Guizhou, China. *Sustainability*, 10(4619): 1-24;
- Marafa, L. M. (2003), Integrating Natural and Cultural Heritage: The Advantage of Feng shui Landscape Resources. *International Journal of Heritage Studies*, 9(4).307–323;
- McNally, C. A. 2004. "Sichuan: Driving Capitalist Development Westward." In *China's Campaign to 'Open up the West': National, Provincial, and Local Perspective*, edited by David S. G. Goodman, 112–133. New York: Cambridge University Press.
- Mengoni, L. E., & Svensson, M. (2017), Evolving and Contested Cultural Heritage in China: the Rural Heritagescape. *Reconsidering Cultural Heritage in East Asia*, 31–46;
- Mu, Q. (2021) Understanding the Heritage-led development in Historic Villages in China: A multi-case study analysis of Tongren. *Historic Environment: Policies and Practices*. forthcoming. (the paper has received "minor amendment" and has been suggested to be published in the journal)

- Mu, Q. Aimar, F. & Chen, L. (2021) The Joint Force of bottom-up and top-down in the preservation and Renewal of Rural Architectural Heritage - Taking Piedmont, Italy as the case study. *The Architect [Jianzhushi]*, 209: 51-57.
- Mu, Q. (2020). Heritage for whom? Understanding the role of heritage-related planning in Chinese traditional rural settlements. A Multi-case study analysis in Tongren, China. Abstract submitted and approved as oral presentation in the fifth Biennial Conference of the Association of Critical Heritage Studies (ACHS), London. The abstract is indexed in the Abstract book of ACHS 2020, p99.
- Mu, Q. & Ni, Q. (2019), Chinese Traditional Village Preservation, Practices and Policies Underway Taking Tongren Prefecture as a Case Study, February 2019. Conference: XXI Conferenza Nazionale SIU confini, movimenti, luoghi. politiche e progetti per città e territori in transizione;
- Mu, Q. (2019), Old Time in the Deep Lane (Shenxiang Lide Jiu Guangyin). *A New World Heritage, Traveler*, p56.
- Mubaideen, S., & Al Kurdi, N. (2017), Heritage Conservation and Urban Development: A Supporting Management Model for the Effective Incorporation Of Archaeological Sites in the Planning Process. *Journal of Cultural Heritage*, 28: 117-128;
- Mullaney, T. (2012) *Coming to Terms with the Nation*, Berkeley: University of California Press.
- Tapp, N. (2002), In Defence of the Archaic. Reconsideration of the 1950s Ethnic Classification Project in China, *Asian Ethnicity*, 3 (1): 63-84;
- Ni, M. L., Sun. Y., & Jiang. N.X. (2018), Research on the Protective Planning and Design of Ethnic Minority Traditional Villages Based on Information Collection: A Case Study of Qishuping Qiang Village, Tongren City, Guizhou Province. *dalian minzu daxue xuebao*. 20 (3): 64-68;
- Nitzky, W. (2012), "Mediating Heritage Preservation and Rural Development: Ecomuseum Development in China." *Urban Anthropology and Studies of Cultural Systems and World Economic Development* 41, no. 2/3/4: 367-417;
- Oakes, T. (2013), Heritage as Improvement: Cultural Display and Contested Governance in Rural China. *Modern China*, 39(4): 380-407;
- Oakes, T. (2016), Villagizing the city: turning rural ethnic heritage into urban modernity in southwest China. *International Journal of Heritage Studies*, 22(10), 751-765.
- Ostrom, E. (1991), Rational Choice Theory and Institutional Analysis: Toward complementarity. *American Political Science Review*, 85 (1): 237 - 243;
- Peng Y. (2004), Kinship Networks and Entrepreneurs in China's Transitional Economy. *American Journal of Sociology*. 109(5):1045-74.
- Peng Y. G. (1992), *Landscape Analysis of Traditional Villages and Towns*, Beijing: China Building Industry Press.
- Pitts, A. (2016), Establishing Priorities for Sustainable Environmental Design in the Rural Villages of Yunnan, China. *Buildings*, 6(32): 1-22;

- Pola, A. (2019), When Heritage Is Rural: Environmental Conservation , Cultural Interpretation Rural Renaissance in Chinese Listed Villages. *Built Heritage* 3: 64–80;
- Porter, N. (2016) *Landscape and Branding: The Promotion and Production of Place*, London: Routledge;
- Qian, S. (2016), Beautiful Countryside Renewal Mode based on the Participation of Plural Groups: a Case Study of Xiashantou Village in Yueqing City of Zhejiang Province. *City Planning Review*, (40), 85–92;
- Qiu B. X. (2005), Avoid Four Misunderstandings, Achieve Five Firsts, and Establish Five Mechanisms. Village Renovation is the Long-Term Task of New Rural Construction. *Urban And Rural Construction*, (12): 10-11
- Radzuan, M. Syahrul, I., Ahmad, Y., & Fukami, N. The Challenge of Sustainable Communities: Incentives for the Conservation of Historic Village in Japan (2013). Conference: The Asian Conference of Sustainability, Energy and the Environment (ACSEE) At: Osaka, Japan
- Renfer, C. (2017), Considerations of a Swiss Monument Preservationist during a Visit to Traditional Villages in China: The Yunnan Shaxi Rehabilitation Project as an Opportunity. *Built Heritage*, 1(1), 57–66;
- Safford, L. B. (2013), Cultural Heritage Preservation in Modern China. *Asia Network Exchange: A Journal for Asian Studies in the Liberal Arts*, 21: 1–13;
- Schofield, J. 2014. “Heritage Expertise and the Everyday: Citizens and Authority in the Twenty-First Century.” In *Who Needs Experts? Counter-Mapping Cultural Heritage*, edited by J. Schofield, 1–11. Farnham, Surrey: Ashgate.
- Schrifer S. (2017), *Cultural Heritage Preservation in Regional China*, Ph.d thesis, school of Social Sciences, Asian Studies, University of Western Australia.
- Shen, M., & Shen, J. (2019), State-led Commodification of Rural China and the Sustainable Provision of Public Goods in Question: a Case Study of Tangjiajia, Nanjing. *Journal of Rural Studies*.
- Shepherd, R.J. and Yu, L. (2012), *Heritage Management, Tourism, and Governance in China: Managing the Past to Serve the Present*, Springer Science & Business Media.
- Si X. Z & Zhang, S. Y (1992), *Research on Southwest Ethnic Architecture*. Kunming: Yunnan Education Press;
- Smith, L. (2006), *Uses of heritage*. London: Routledge.
- Smith, L. (2020), *Uses of heritage*. trans. by Su X. Y and Zhang, C. Z. Beijing: China Science Publishing & Media.
- Sofield, T. H., & Li, F. M. S. (2003), Processes in Formulating an Ecotourism Policy for Nature. *Ecotourism policy and planning*, 141;
- Stojević, I. (2019), Village and Heritage in China: A Discussion on the Influence and Future of Heritage Work in Rural Areas. *Heritage*, 2(1), 666-680;
- Su, J. (2018), Conceptualising the subjective authenticity of intangible cultural heritage. *International Journal of Heritage Studies*, 24(9), 919–937;

- Sun, H. (2020) Introduction to Cultural Heritage (Part 1) — Typologies and Values of Cultural Heritage. In *Study on Natural and Cultural Heritage*.
- Sun, Y., Lin, J., & Chan, R. C. K. (2017), Pseudo use value and output legitimacy of local growth coalitions in China: A case study of the Liede redevelopment project in Guangzhou. *Cities*, 61, 9–16;
- Sun, Y., Dela, C., M. J., Min, Q. W, Liu, M. C, & Zhang, L. Y. (2013), Conserving agricultural heritage systems through tourism: Exploration of two mountainous communities in China. *Journal of Mountain Science*, 10 (6), 962–975;
- Svensson, M. (2006), In the Ancestor's Shadow: Cultural Heritage Contestations in Chinese Villages. In Lund University, Sweden. Center for Southeast Asian Studies.
- Svensson, M. (2012), Heritage Struggles and Place-Makings in Zhejiang Province: Local Media, Cross-Regional Media Interactions, and Media Strategies from Below. In *Mapping Media in China*, London: Routledge. pp 211-229;
- Taecharungroj, V., Muthuta, M. & Boonchaiyapruerk, P.(2019) Sustainability as a place brand position: a resident-centric analysis of the ten towns in the vicinity of Bangkok. *Place Brand Public Dipl* 15, 210–228;
- Thrift, N. (2003). Performance and..... *Environment and Planning A*, 35(11), 2019-2024.
- Tianjiao, W., & Tianyi, W. (2017), Reflections on the Construction of Village Overall Characteristic in Zhejiang. 2(1): 57–60;
- Tversky, A., & Kahneman, D. (1974), Judgment under uncertainty: Heuristics and biases. *Science*, 185(4157): 1124-1131;
- Verdini, G., Frassoldati, F., & Nolf, C. (2017a), Reframing China's heritage conservation discourse. Learning by testing civic engagement tools in a historic rural village. *International Journal of Heritage Studies*, 23(4), 317–334;
- Walder, A. G. (1997), The county government as an industrial corporation. Working Paper, Division of Social Science, Hong Kong University of Science and Technology, (9);
- Wang, J. Wang, S. S. Yang, R H. & Pu, X. C. (2019) Cultural Landscape Protection: Living Inheritance of Traditional Japanese Villages. in *Architecture and Culture[Jianzhu yu wenhua]*. 03: 40-42.
- Wang, L., & Yotsumoto, Y. (2019), Conflict in tourism development in rural China. *Tourism Management*, 70: 188–200;
- Wang, Q., & Deng, J. H. (2007) Highlights and breakthroughs-Looking at the new rural construction road from 39 village renovation model sites in Guizhou. *Contemporary Guizhou*, 2007, (010): 41-42.
- Wang, R., & Tan, R. (2018), Rural Renewal of China in the context of rural-urban integration: Governance fit and performance differences. *Sustainability*, 10(2): 393;
- Wang, R., Liu, G., Zhou, J., & Wang, J. (2019), Identifying the Critical Stakeholders for the Sustainable Development of Architectural Heritage of Tourism: From the Perspective of China. *Sustainability (Switzerland)*, 11(6);

- Wang, X.X & Shen, Y. (2014). The Effect of China's Agricultural Tax Abolition on Rural Families' Incomes and Production. *China Economic Review*. 29. 10.1016/j.chieco.2014.04.010.
- Wang, W. X. 2014. "Meili xiangcun jianshe: xiankuang yu duice." [Beautiful Village Construction: Current Situation and Policies] *Huazhong shifan daxue xuebao (renwen shehuikexueban)* [Journal of Central Normal University (Humanities and Social Sciences Edition)] 53 (1): 1-6;
- Wang, X. M (2017) *A Long Way to Go. Rural Changes in China, 1901-1949*. Beijing: Social Science Academic Press;
- Wang, Z. F & Liu, Q. F. (2019) Spatial Heterogeneity and the Influencing Factors of Ethnic Villages in China. *Economic Geography*. 39(11), 150-158;
- Wei K, Zhou S. H., Wang G. X. (2011) An Overview of China's Village Planning Practices and Studies in Recent years. *South Architecture*. 06: 79-81;
- Wei, Y. D., Lin, J., & Zhang, L. (2019), E-commerce, Taobao Villages and Regional Development in China. *Geographical Review*, 1-26;
- Weinstein, Jodi L. 2014. *Empire and Identity in Guizhou: Local Resistance to Qing Expansion*. Seattle, WA: University of Washington Press.
- Weible, C. M. (2008), Expert-based Information and Policy Subsystems: A Review and Synthesis. *Policy Studies Journal*, 36: 615-635;
- Wen Q, Zheng D. Y., Shi L. N., School of Resources and Environment, Ningxia University School of Urban and Environmental Sciences, Northwest University Institute of Geographical Sciences and Natural Resources Research, Chinese Academy of Sciences. *Progress in Geography*.
- Whitehand, J. W. R., & Gu, K. (2007), Urban Conservation in China. *Town Planning Review*, 78: 643-670;
- Wu, B., & Liu, L. (2019), Social Capital for Rural Revitalization in China: A Critical Evaluation on the Government's New Countryside Programme in Chengdu. *Land Use Policy*, 104268;
- Wu Q. Z, XU H. H. (2013) The Heritage Conservation Practical Case: Baojiatun Watermill (2011 UNESCO Asia-Pacific Heritage Awards for Culture Heritage Conservation, Awards of Excellence), *South Architecture*, 01: 92-95;
- Wu Z. G. (2019), Tracing the Cultural Heritage Preservation in Guizhou. *China Cultural Heritage Scientific Research*. 2019.03: 54-61;
- Wu, Z. (2014), Let fragments Speak for Themselves: Vernacular Heritage, Emptiness and Confucian Discourse of Narrating the Past. *International Journal of Heritage Studies*, 20(7), 851-865;
- Xie, Y., & Costa, F. J. (1993), Urban planning in Socialist China: Theory and Practice. *Cities*, 10(2): 103-114;
- Xu X. Q, Hu, J.& Duan X. F. (2017) A Study on the Evolution of Ancient Villages in Ethnic Rural Areas -- a case study of Yunshe village in Jiangkou County, *City Tourism Planning*, 10: 109;

- Xu, H., Wan, X., & Fan, X. (2014), Rethinking Authenticity in the Implementation of China's Heritage Conservation: The case of Hongcun Village. *Tourism Geographies*, 16(5), 799-811;
- Xue, L., Kerstetter, D., & Hunt, C. (2017), Annals of Tourism Research Tourism development and changing rural identity in China. *Annals of Tourism Research*, 66: 170–182;
- Yang C. M. (2004), *An Analysis of the Architectural Culture of Southeast Asia and Southwest China*. 2004. Tianjin: Tianjin University press.
- Yang, C. & Zhou, J. (2016), Processes, Methods and Practices in Rural Heritage Preservation and Development. A Comparative Perspective based on Chinese and French experiences. *Chengshi Guihua Xuekan*. 6:109-116;
- Yang, Y. Z. (2003), *Regional Architectural Culture of Southwest China*. Wuhan: Hubei Education press.
- Yang, D. T., & Cai, F. (2003), The Political Economy of China's Rural-urban Divide. How far across the River, 389-416;
- Yang, G. Q, Legates, R.& Kai, X. (2017), Reinventing the Chinese Countryside. *Planning*, 83(Jun): 1–6;
- Yang, X. J, (1995), My Views on the Study of Beibei Culture, *Journal of Southeast Guizhou Teachers College for Nationalities (Philosophy and Social Science)*, 3.
- Yang, Z. W, (2008), From Inhabited Areas to Museums in Villages ——Cultural Conservation Practice of Village Museums in Guizhou, *China Agricultural University Journal of Social Sciences Edition*. 25(3).
- Yi, S. (2011), Ecomuseum Evaluation : Experiences in Guizhou and Guangxi. *WPSC 2011: Proceedings of the 3rd World Planning Schools Congress*, [World Planning Schools Congress], [Perth, W. A.], 1–39;
- Yin, R. K. (2017), *Case Study Research: Design and Methods*. Authorized translation from the English language edition, 5rd edition by Robert K. Yin, published by Sage Publications. The Chinese simplified language edition published by Chongqing University Press in 2017;
- Ying, T., & Zhou, Y. (2007), Community, Governments and External Capitals in China's Rural Cultural Tourism: A Comparative Study of Two Adjacent Villages. *Tourism Management*, 28(1): 96–107;
- Yu, D. Q, (2013) Promoting the Transformation and Upgrading of Tourism Industry of "The First Village of Tujia in China". *Lilun yu dangdai [theories and contemporaneity]*, 9: 43-44;
- Yu, H. (2015), A Vernacular Way of “Safeguarding” Intangible Heritage: The Fall and Rise of Rituals in Gouliang Miao Village. *International Journal of Heritage Studies*, 21(10): 1016–1035;
- Yunxia, W., & Prott, L. V. (2016), Cultural revitalisation after catastrophe: The Qiang culture in A'er. *International Journal of Heritage Studies*, 22(1), 26–42;
- Zang, X. W. & Chen, N. B. (2015) How Do Rural Elites Reproduce Privileges in Post-1978 China? Local corporatism, informal bargaining and opportunistic parasitism, *Journal of Contemporary China*, 24(94): 628-643;
- Zhang, L. G & Li Y. X.(1994), *Old House: Tujia stilts*. Nanjing: Jiangsu Art Press.

- Zhang, Y. K. (1996), Settlement Residence Space theory, doctoral dissertation. School of Architecture, Tianjin University.
- Zhang, M., Wu, W., & Zhong, W. (2018), Agency and social construction of space under top-down planning: Resettled rural residents in China. *Urban Studies*, 55(7): 1541-1560;
- Zhang, M., Wu, W., & Zhong, W. (2018), Agency and Social Construction of Space Under Top-down Planning: Resettled Rural Residents in China. *Urban Studies*, 55(7): 1541-1560;
- Zhang, J. (2018), The Oldness and the Newness of the Rural Heritage Under the Rural Revitalization Framework. Analyzing the Rural Development Policies of the Past 40 years. *Urban Planner*. 10.
- Zhang J. X and Luo Z. D. (2013), Chinese Contemporary Urban and Rural Planning Thoughts", Southeast University Press, 2013.
- Zhang, Y., & Wu, Z. (2016), The reproduction of heritage in a Chinese village: Whose heritage, whose pasts? *International Journal of Heritage Studies*, 22(3): 228-241.
- Zhou, J. (2007) Reflection on Country Tourism And Construction of Socialism New Countryside. Having Yunshe Village as Example, Which located at Jiangkou County in Guizhou Province. *Journal of South-Central University for Nationalities (Humanities and Social Sciences)*, 27(2): 25-28.
- Zhou, Y., Guo, L., & Liu, Y. (2019), Land consolidation boosting poverty alleviation in China: Theory and practice. *Land Use Policy*, 82: 339-348;
- Zhu, G. Y. (2012), China ' s Architectural Heritage Conservation Movement. *Frontiers of Architectural Research*, 1(1): 10–22;
- Zhu, J. (2004), Chinese spatial strategies: Imperial beijing 1420-1911. In *Chinese Spatial Strategies: Imperial Beijing 1420-1911*;
- Zhu, X., & Zhang, P. (2016), Intrinsic Motivation and Expert Behavior: Roles of Individual Experts in Wenling Participatory Budgeting Reform in China. *Administration and Society*, 48(7): 851–882.
- Zhang, L., & Stewart, W. (2017). Sustainable Tourism Development of Landscape Heritage in a Rural Community: A Case Study of Azheke Village at China Hani Rice Terraces. *Built Heritage*, 1, 37-51.
- Zhang, Z. Y. (1957), Huizhou Dwellings in Ming Dynasty [in Chinese huizhou mingdai zhuzhai]. Beijing: jianzhu gongcheng chubanshe.

Planning, policy documents and reports

- Administration of Ethnic Affairs of the State Council (2012) 12th Five-Year Plan for the Administration of Ethnic Affairs;
- Central Government of the Republic of China (1930 a). Antiquities' Preservation Law;
- Central Government of the Republic of China (1930 b). Rules for Implementation of the Antiquities' Preservation Law;
- Cultural Administration of Guizhou (1984) Notice on Investigation and Protection of Ethnic Villages.
- Cultural and Tourism Bureau of Yinjiang (2013) Yinjiang Master Plan of Tourism Development
- Guizhou Provincial Government (1938). Administrative Measures for the Protection of Famous Places in Guizhou;
- Guizhou Provincial Government (1986), Measures for the Administration of Cultural Relic Protection in Guizhou;
- Guizhou Provincial Government (2016) Notice of Guizhou Province on the Implementation Opinions on Reform, Innovation and Comprehensive and Effective Promotion of Rural Planning.
- Guizhou Urban and Rural Planning and Design Institute (2012), Conservation and Development Plan of Yunshe;
- Guizhou's Ethnic Affairs Office (2008) Qzf [2008] No.60 "Opinions of the Provincial Government on the Implementation of the Key Project of" National Unity and Progress Demonstration Villages;
- Italian State Council (1977), Legge 28 gennaio 1977, n. 10 . Norme in materia di edificabilità dei suoli.
- Italian State Council (1986), Decreto del Presidente della Repubblica. Testo unico delle imposte sui redditi. No. 917.
- Italian State Council (2001) "Compilation of Building Regulations" (Testo Unico dell'Edilizia) .
- Jiangkou Ethnic Affairs Bureau (2008), Detailed Plan of "Ethnic Solidarity Model Village" of Zhaisha;
- Jiangkou Tourism Bureau (2016) Investment Project Planning
- Jiangkou County (2017) Overall Rural Construction Plan.
- Jiangkou County Chronicle (1994), edited by Jiangkou County Chronicle Editing Committee. Guizhou: Guizhou People's Publishing House.
- Municipality of Tongren (2012), Overall Planning and Landscape Design of Yunshe elaborated by the Planning and Design Institute of Tongji University.
- Municipality of Tongren (2016), Master Plan of Tongren.
- Municipality of Tongren, (2011). Master Plan of Mount Fanjing and Taiping River Scenic Area (2011-2030)
- National People's Committee (2013) The Notice on Issuing Opinions on the Naming and Listing of Villages with Chinese Ethnic Characteristics (MWF [2013] No. 240).

- National People's Committee (2014) Notice on Naming the First Batch of Villages with Chinese Ethnic Characteristics.
- Report of Museum of Qiankou Residences' Museum. Beijing: Science press. 2018.
- Shirakawa (Board of Education). 1981. Ogi-machi Gassho Shuraku: Preservation District. Shirakawa, Gifu: Shirakawa Village.
- State Council (1956a), Notice on the Protection of Cultural Relics in Agricultural Production and Construction;
- State Council (1956b), National Agricultural Development Program;
- State Council (1958), Regulations of the People's Republic of China on Registration of Household.
- State Council (1982a), Circular of the State Council on Approving and Transmitting the Request for Instructions of the State Construction Commission and other departments on the protection of China's Famous Historical and Cultural Cities.
- State Council (1982b), Constitution of the PRC.
- State Council (1984) Notice on Changing the Backwardness of Poverty-Stricken Areas.
- State Council (1986a) Second Batch of National Famous Historical and Cultural Cities.
- State Council (1986b) Seventh Five-Year Plan for National Economic and Social Development.
- State Council (1990), Urban Planning Law of the People's Republic of China.
- State Council (1996) Notice on publishing the fourth batch of the CPUs
- State Council (2001) Program for poverty alleviation and development in rural areas of China (2001-2010)
- State Council (2001) Tenth Five-Year Plan for National Economic and Social Development.
- State Council (2003a), Regulations on the Protection of HCTVs.
- State Council (2003b) Regulations on the Protection of Famous Traditional Villages and Towns"
- State Council (2004), The speech is held by the Premier at time Wen Jiabao at the Central Economic Work Conference held in December 2004.
- State Council (2005) Guiding Opinions of the Ministry of Housing and Construction on Village Renovation
- State Council (2005), Circular of the State Council on Strengthening the Preservation of Cultural Heritage.
- State Council (2006a) Outline of the Eleventh Five-year Plan for National Economic and Social Development of the People's Department of China.
- State Council (2008a) Law of the People's Republic of China on Urban and Rural Planning
- State Council (2008b) Village Rectification Technical Specifications
- State Council (2009a) Several Opinions of the State Council on the Prosperity and Development of Cultural Undertakings of Ethnic Minorities
- State Council (2009b) Guiding Opinions on the Pilot Work on the Conservation and Development of Villages with Minority Characteristics.

- State Council (2010) Several Opinions on the In-Depth Implementation of the Western Development Program
- State Council (2011a) Action Plan for Invigorating Border Areas and Enriching the People (2011-2015)
- State Council (2011b) Outline of China's Rural Poverty Alleviation and Development (2011-2020)
- State Council (2012a), Notice on Conducting Investigations of Traditional Villages.
- State Council (2012b) Outline of the Plan for the Protection and Development of Ethnic Minority Villages (2011-2015)
- State Council (2012c) Several Opinions on further Promoting Sound and Rapid Economic and Social Development in Guizhou Implementation plan of Suzhou counterpart assistance to Tongren (2013-2015).
- State Council (2013) Implementation Plan for the Establishment of Targeted Poverty Alleviation Mechanism.
- State Council (2014) Opinions on Further Promoting the Reform of the Household Registration System.
- State Council (2015) Decision on Winning the Battle of Poverty Alleviation.
- State Council and the Central Committee of the Communist Party (2006) No. 1 Document: Several Opinions on Promoting the Construction of a New Socialist Countryside.
- The British Government (1949). National Parks and Access to the Countryside Act.
- The British Government(1932), Town and Planning Act;
- The British Government(1947), Town and Planning Act;
- The County Government of Jiangkou (2017) Overall Rural Construction Plan of Jiangkou County.
- The Ministry of Civil Affairs (1909). Measures for the Preservation of Historic Sites, In Chinese baocun guji tuiguang banfa 《保存古迹推广办法》.
- The Ministry of Civil Affairs (1916), Interim Measures for the Preservation of Antiquities (1916) in Chinese 《保存古物暂行办法》.
- The Ministry of Housing and Construction (2005), Regulations on the Preparation of Village Rectification Plans.
- UNESCO (1976). Nairobi Recommendation
- Urban and Rural Planning Institute of Tongren (2011), Village Rectification Plan of Dawan.
- Urban and Rural Planning Bureau of Tongren (2012), Conservation and Development Plan of Yunshe.
- Urban and Rural Planning Institute of Tongren (2014), Overall Plan for the Preservation and Development (OPPD) of Qishuping
- Urban and Rural Planning Institute of Tongren (2017), Overall Plan for the Preservation and Development (OPPD) of Dawan.
- Urban and Rural Planning Survey and Design Institute of Tongren (2015), Overall Plan for the Preservation and Development (OPPD) of Pingsuo.

Urban and Rural Planning Bureau of Jiangkou (2017), Jiangkou County's General County Level Village Renovation Plan.

Xi, J. P. (2017). Secure a Decisive Victory in Building a Moderately Prosperous Society in All Respects and Strive for the Great Success of Socialism with Chinese Characteristics for a New Era, October 18. http://news.xinhuanet.com/english/special/2017-11/03/c_136725942.htm.

Zhejiang Provincial Government (2007) Technical Guidelines for Drafting Village Plans.

Zhejiang Provincial Government (2011) Action Program for the Construction of Beautiful Villages in Zhejiang (2011-2015), 浙江省美丽乡村行动计划 (2011-2015)

Online sources and blog posts

Campaign to Protect Rural England. <https://www.cpre.org.uk/> Accessed on June 6th 2020.

Chen, G. & Wang J. "Customized" Jiangnan scenery under Fanjing Mountain-Jiangsu helps Guizhou Tongren Yunshe Village for the targeted poverty alleviation. http://news.china.com.cn/2016-01/18/content_37605418.htm. Accessed on June 6th 2020.

Christoph, M. (2005) Shaxi preservation and development project entering the second phase. From run-down village to showcase. ETH Web Archive. The paper is available at <http://archiv.ethlife.ethz.ch/e/articles/sciencelife/shaxi2teil.html>. Accessed on June 10th 2019.

Cotswold District Council .Bibury Conservation Area Statement. Planning Guidance for Owner, Occupiers and Developers. <http://www.cotswold.gov.uk/media/243631/Conservation-area-Bibury.pdf>. Accessed on 25, Nov. 2019.

Cotswold District Council. TraditionalChimneys-Design-Guide, TraditionalChimneys-Technical-Guide, TraditionalDormer-Windows-Design Guide, TraditionalCasement-Windows-Design-Guide.. <http://www.cotswold.gov.uk>. Accessed on 25, Nov. 2019.

Cotswold Government <https://www.cotswold.gov.uk/planning-and-building/>. Accessed on June 10th 2019.

Fondo Europeo Agricolo per lo Sviluppo Rurale (FEASR) Programma di Sviluppo Rurale 2014-2020. <https://www.regione.piemonte.it/web/temi/fondi-progetti-europei/programma-sviluppo-rurale-feasr>. Accessed on 25, Nov. 2019.

Guizhou Accademia of Social Science (2014), The Establishment of Jiangkou Cultural Tourism Development Co., Ltd. <http://www.gzass.net.cn/>. Accessed on October 10th 2020.

Guizhou Provincial Government (2019) Several policy opinions of the Guizhou Provincial People's Government on the precise implementation of relocation for poverty alleviation and relocation. Index number: 000014349/2019-1501931. http://www.jiangkou.gov.cn/xxgk/xxgkml/zdlygk/stym/201911/t20191114_11423139.html Accessed on June 10th 2020.

ICOMOS (1964) The Venice Charter. www.international.icomos.org/charters/

ICOMOS (1975) The Declaration of Amsterdam. <https://www.icomos.org/en/>. Accessed on 05 Nov 2020.

ICOMOS China (2015) Principles for the Conservation of Heritage Sites in China. https://www.getty.edu/conservation/publications_resources/pdf_publications/china_principles_revised_2015.html Accessed on June 10th 2020.

Il Leader in Italia. <https://www.reterurale.it/flex/cm/pages/ServeBLOB.php/L/IT/IDPagina/16938>. Accessed on 25, Nov. 2019.

- “Io Agisco” official website. <https://www.ruritage.eu/role-models/> Accessed on 25, Nov. 2019.
- Italian data for UN-SDGs. https://www.istat.it/storage/SDGs/SDG_11_Italy.pdf. Accessed on 25, Nov. 2019.
- Japan council (1955) Information about the Ogimachi village. <https://bunka.nii.ac.jp/suisensyo/shirakawago/APPENDI-14/appendix14a.html>.
- Japan council (1975). Categorization on preservation districts and historic buildings https://www.bunka.go.jp/english/policy/cultural_properties/introduction/historic_buildings/. Accessed on 25, Nov. 2019.
- Jiangkou County has obtained a green-motor for poverty alleviation” www.gz.people.cn. Accessed on June 6th 2020.
- Lin, M & Yao, P. (2016) Zhaisha Dong Village created a new model of rural tourism. On China Woman Daily. <http://paper.cnwomen.com.cn/content/2016-10/09/032174.html>. Accessed on October 10th 2020
- Liu, J. M. (2004) The Construction of the New Socialist Countryside. The website of the official history of the CCP: <http://dangshi.people.com.cn/GB/221024/221027/14906910.html>. Accessed on June 6th 2020.
- Liu S. Y. (2021) The Land System Reform Should be Promoted during the 14th Five-Year Plan period. <http://jer.whu.edu.cn/jjgc/4/2021-08-01/5209.html>. Accessed on June 6th 2021.
- Municipality of Tongren. www.trsgov.cn. Accessed on May 6th 2020.
- National Ethnic Affairs Commission (2016). The Review on the Collaboration between Dalian Minzu University and the City of Tongren. <http://www.seac.gov.cn/seac/mzjy/201604/1014494.shtml>. Accessed on A 6th April 2020.
- National Trust Fund of the UK. <https://www.nationaltrust.org.uk/>. Accessed on 25, Nov. 2019.
- “RURITAGE” official website. <https://www.ruritage.eu/role-models/>. Accessed on 25, Nov. 2020.
- Scottish Natural Heritage (SNH). <https://www.nature.scot/>. Accessed on 25, Nov. 2019
- State Council (2004), http://www.gov.cn/gongbao/content/2005/content_158732.htm. Accessed on 20th September 2020.
- Renfer (2015), “Shaxi Rehabilitation Project” <http://www.tcvb2014.com/index.php?s=/news/s/detail/id/83.html>. Accessed on 20th September 2020.
- The “Beautiful Village of Guizhou: Zhaisha Dong village of Jiangkou County” News The County Government of Jiangkou (2016). Website of Jiangkou Tourism Bureau, section "invitation of investments". http://www.jiangkou.gov.cn/wsfw/ggfw/zsy/zsxm/201608/t20160801_3840019.html.

- The County Government of Jiangkou (2018), General Plan of Jiangkou's Tourism Development. http://www.jiangkou.gov.cn/wsfw/ggfw/zsy/zsxm/201608/t20160801_3840019.html Accessed on May 6th 2020.
- The County Government of Yinjiang (2016). Rural Tourism Plan in the Yinjiang River Basin. http://www.yinjiang.gov.cn/ztl/mztjzbzt/cjdt/201607/t20160719_3699075.html. Accessed on July 6th 2020.
- The Food, Farming & Countryside Commission of the Uk. <https://ffcc.co.uk/>. Accessed on 25, Nov. 2019.
- The UK Parliament (1948) "National Assistance Act" <https://www.legislation.gov.uk/ukpga/Geo6/11-12/29>. Accessed on 25, Nov. 2019.
- UNESCO (1995). Ogimachi's Inscription to the World heritage site. <https://whc.unesco.org/en/list/734/>. Accessed on 25, Nov. 2019.
- UNESCO (2000). The information of the listed World Heritage Site: Ancient Villages in Southern Anhui – Xidi and Hongcun. <https://whc.unesco.org/en/list/1002/>. Accessed on June 6th 2020.
- UNESCO (2018). The information of the listed World Heritage Site: Fanjingshan. <https://whc.unesco.org/en/list/1559/>. Accessed on Sep, 6th 2020.
- UNESCO (2019) The Operational Guidelines for the Implementation of the World Heritage Convention. <https://whc.unesco.org/en/guidelines/> Accessed on June 6th 2020.
- Urban and Rural Planning Bureau of Tongren (2015) Three planning review opinions on the OPPD of Pingsuo in Yinjiang County. http://www.yinjiang.gov.cn/bmxxgk/yjxwlj/znjs_51295/201704/t20170413_4469418.html Accessed on August 6th 2020.
- venice_e.htm. Accessed on 05 Nov 2020.

Appendix A

Measures for the Approval of the Compilation and the Approval of the Conservation Planning of Famous Historical and Cultural Cities, Towns, and Villages

Translated by the author

The Measures was approved at the 16th Executive Meeting of the Ministry, and is hereby promulgated, and will come into effect on December 29, 2014.

Index: 000013338/2014-00512.

Subject information: Other

Issuer: Ministry of Housing and Urban-Rural Development of the People's Republic of China

Date of Issue: October 15, 2014

File name: Measures for the Approval of the Compilation and the Approval of the Conservation Planning of Famous Historical and Cultural Cities, Towns, and Villages

Effective date: December 29, 2014

Article 1 In order to regulate the preparation and approval of conservation plans for famous historical and cultural cities, towns, villages, and blocks, this document is formulated in accordance with the "Law of the People's Republic of China on Urban and Rural Planning" and the "Regulations on the Protection of Famous Historical and Cultural Cities, Towns and Villages".

Article 2 The preparation and approval of conservation plans for historical and cultural cities, towns, villages, and blocks shall be subject to these Measures.

Article 3 The conservation and management of famous historical and cultural cities, towns, villages, and blocks shall be implemented. Construction activities shall be carried out within the conservation area of famous historical and cultural cities, towns, famous villages, and blocks, and the infrastructure, public service facilities and living environment shall be improved according to the conservation plan.

Article 4 The preparation of a conservation plan shall maintain and continue the traditional pattern and historical features of historical and cultural cities, towns, villages, and blocks, maintain the authenticity and integrity of historical and cultural heritage, and inherit and promote the excellent traditional culture of the Chinese nation. The plan should take into consideration the relationship between economic and social development and the protection of historical and cultural heritage.

Article 5 The conservation plan for famous historical and cultural cities and towns, famous villages, and blocks shall be prepared separately, and the following contents shall be included in the overall conservation planning of the famous historical and cultural cities and towns:

(1) Conservation principle and the content;

- (2) Conservation measures, development intensity and requirements for construction control;
- (3) Requirements for the conservation of traditional patterns and historical features;
- (4) Core conservation area and construction control area;
- (5) Other content that needs to be included.

Article 6 If the city or county where the historical and cultural block is located has been determined as a historical and cultural city or town, the conservation plans for the historical and cultural block shall be prepared separately based on the conservation plan of the historical and cultural city or town.

If the city or town where the historical and cultural block is located has not been identified as a historical and cultural city, a separate conservation plan for the historical and cultural block shall be prepared and incorporated into the overall planning of the city or town.

Article 7 The detailed regulatory plans for famous historical and cultural cities, towns, and blocks shall conform to the conservation plan for famous historical and cultural cities, towns, and blocks.

The depth of the planning objects of the conservation plan for the historical and cultural block shall reach the detailed planning stage, and it can be used as the controlled regulatory planning for the block.

The planning permission for the construction projects within the conservation area of famous historical and cultural cities, towns and blocks shall not violate the conservation planning.

Article 8 After the approval and announcement of historical and cultural cities, the government shall organize the compilation of conservation plans for historical and cultural cities. After the announcement of the famous historical and cultural towns and villages, the local government at the county level shall organize the compilation of conservation plans for the famous historical and cultural towns and villages. After the historical and cultural blocks are approved and announced, the government shall organize the compilation of conservation plans for the historical and cultural blocks. The conservation plan shall be compiled and completed within one year from the date of approval and announcement.

Article 9 The preparation of conservation plans for famous historical and cultural cities, towns, and blocks shall be undertaken by an urban and rural planning institution with a Class A qualification. The preparation of conservation plans for historical and cultural villages shall be undertaken by an urban and rural planning institute with qualification above Class B.

Article 10 The preparation of a conservation plan shall abide by the relevant national standards and technical specifications, and use basic data that comply with the relevant national regulations.

Within the core conservation area of historical and cultural towns, famous villages, and blocks, if it is impossible to install fire-fighting facilities and fire-fighting passages in accordance with relevant fire-fighting technical standards and regulations, the fire-fighting agencies of the public security and city's or county's governments shall work with urban and rural departments to formulate the corresponding fire safety conservation plan.

If construction activities need to be carried out due to public interest, and historical buildings cannot be protected on the original site and must be relocated for protection or demolition, the urban and rural planning department of the government of the city or county, together with the department of cultural relics at the same level, shall report to the government of the province, autonomous region, or municipality directly under Central Government for approval.

The competent department of the local government at or above the county level shall provide relevant basic information in a timely fashion in accordance with the demands of the preparation of conservation plans.

Article 11 The preparation of a conservation plan shall be scientifically demonstrated, and the opinions of relevant departments, experts and the public shall be extensively solicited; hearings may be held when necessary.

Article 12 The conservation plan for historical and cultural cities shall include the following contents:

- (1) Assessment of the historical and cultural values, characteristics, and existing problems;
- (2) Determining the overall conservation objectives and principles, contents, and priorities;
- (3) Put forward overall conservation strategies and requirements for the city (county) area;
- (4) Delineating the core conservation area, the boundaries of cultural relics protection units, the underground cultural relics areas, historical buildings, historical and cultural blocks, and formulating corresponding conservation measures;
- (5) Delineating the boundaries of historical urban areas, and proposing conservation measures to protect the traditional pattern, historical features, spatial scales, topography and landforms, rivers and lakes of the famous city and the environment;
- (6) Describing the content such as the artistic features, historical features, construction year, current use of historical buildings, number the historical buildings, etc., and put forward the content and requirements for the conservation and utilization;
- (7) Proposing the content and measures for inheriting and promoting traditional culture and intangible cultural heritage;
- (8) Proposing planning requirements and measures for improving urban functions, infrastructure, public service facilities, and the production and living environment;
- (9) Putting forward requirements and measures for display and utilization;

(10) Proposing the implementation of conservation measures in the near future;

(11) Proposing planning and implementation guidelines.

Article 13 The conservation plan for famous historical and cultural towns and villages shall include the following contents:

(1) Assessing historical and cultural values, characteristics, and existing problems;

(2) Determining the overall conservation objectives and principles, contents, and priorities;

(3) Putting forward overall conservation strategies and township conservation requirements;

(4) Proposing measures to protect the landscape environment such as topography, rivers and lakes, farmland, vernacular landscape, natural ecology, and other elements that are closely related to the designated famous villages;

(5) Determining the conservation area, including the core conservation area and the boundary of the construction control zone, and formulate corresponding conservation and control measures;

(6) Putting forward the classified conservation and rectification requirements of buildings, structures and environmental elements within the conservation area, numbering the historical buildings, and putting forward the content and requirements for protection and utilization, respectively;

(7) Proposing content and measures for inheriting and promoting traditional culture and intangible cultural heritage;

(8) Proposing planning schemes for improving infrastructure, public service facilities, production and living environment;

(9) Phase to phase implementation programme of conservation planning;

(10) Proposing planning and implementation guidelines of the conservation measures.

Article 14 The conservation plan for historical and cultural blocks shall include the following contents:

(1) Assessing historical and cultural values, characteristics, and existing problems;

(2) Determining the conservation principle and conservation content;

(3) Determining the conservation scope, including the core protection scope and the boundary of the construction control zone, and formulate corresponding protection and control measures;

(4) Putting forward requirements for classified conservation and renovation of buildings, structures and environmental elements within the scope of conservation, numbering historical buildings, and proposing contents and requirements for protection and utilization, respectively;

(5) Proposing planning measures for the continuation and promotion of traditional culture and intangible cultural heritage;

(6) Proposing plans to improve transportation and other infrastructure, public service facilities, and living environment;

(7) Proposing plans and implementation guidelines for conservation measures.

Article 15 The core conservation area and construction control zone determined by the conservation plan of famous historical and cultural cities, towns, villages and blocks shall be delimited according to the following methods:

(1) The conservation area and the construction control zone of cultural relics protection units at all levels and the boundaries of underground cultural relics shall be announced by the local people's government at or above the county level;

(2) The conservation area of historical buildings includes historical buildings themselves and necessary construction control areas;

(3) In historical and cultural districts, famous towns and villages, areas where traditional patterns and historical features are relatively complete, and historical buildings or buildings with traditional features are concentrated shall be designated as core conservation areas, and construction control zones shall include the core conservation areas;

(4) The conservation area of historical and cultural cities shall include historic urban areas and other areas that need to be protected and controlled;

(5) The core conservation area and construction control zone defined in the conservation plan for historical and cultural cities, towns, villages, and blocks should have clear boundaries that facilitate conservation and management.

Article 16 The planning period of the conservation plan for historical and cultural cities, towns, and blocks shall be consistent with the planning period of the overall planning of the city or town. The planning period of the conservation plan for historical and cultural villages shall be consistent with the planning period of the village planning.

Article 17 The results of conservation planning shall include the planning text, drawings, and attachments, expressed in both written and electronic files. The expression of planning results should be clear and standardized, and conform to the technical standards and specifications related to urban and rural planning.

Article 18 At the stage of compiling the results of the conservation planning for famous historical and cultural cities, towns, villages and blocks, the urban and rural planning departments of the governments of the provinces, autonomous regions, and municipalities directly under the Central Government where historical and cultural cities, towns, villages, and blocks are located shall organize experts to review the results of the conservation plan.

At the stage of compiling the results of the conservation planning for the national historical and cultural cities, the urban and rural planning departments of the provincial government, autonomous region, or municipality directly under the Central Government where the national historical and cultural city is located shall request the

urban and rural planning departments of the State Council to organize experts to review the results.

Article 19 The conservation plan for famous historical and cultural cities, towns and villages shall be examined and approved by the provincial governments, autonomous regions, and municipalities directly under the Central Government. The conservation plan for historical and cultural blocks shall be examined and approved in accordance with relevant regulations of provinces, autonomous regions, and municipalities directly under the Central Government.

The approval documents for conservation planning shall be accompanied by the acceptance status and reasons for the review opinions stipulated in Article 18 of these Measures. If the hearing is conducted, the hearing transcript shall also be attached.

Article 20 Within 30 days after the conservation plan is approved according to law, the organizing authority shall report to the competent department of urban and rural planning of the State Council and the competent department of cultural relics of the State Council, for the record. When submitting for the record, the following materials shall be submitted:

- (1) Relevant materials for the qualification of the planning institute;
- (2) Approval documents for conservation planning;
- (3) Planning text, drawings and attachments expressed in both written and electronic documents;
- (4) The review opinions stipulated in Article 18 of these Measures;
- (5) Other materials required by the competent departments of urban and rural planning under the State Council.

Article 21 The planning institute of the conservation plan shall promptly announce the approval of the conservation plan in accordance with the law.

Article 22 In any of the following circumstances, the institute that prepares the conservation plan may modify the plan in accordance with the prescribed procedures:

- (1) Important historical and cultural relics such as underground sites have been newly discovered, or the historical and cultural relics and the environment have undergone major changes, and the conservation plan needs to be revised after evaluation;
- (2) It is necessary to modify the conservation plan due to the adjustment of administrative divisions;
- (3) The conservation plan needs to be revised due to the approval of the State Council for major construction projects;
- (4) Other circumstances in which the conservation plan should be revised in accordance with the law.

If it is necessary to modify the conservation plan, the planning institute should submit a special report to the original examination and approval agency for approval before making the modifications; if the conservation plan for national historical and cultural

cities, Chinese historical and cultural towns, and villages is modified, it should also be reported to the State Council's urban and rural departments.

The revised conservation plan shall be submitted for approval in accordance with the original procedures.

Article 23 All working units and individuals shall abide by the conservation plan approved and announced according to law, obeying the planning management. All working units and individuals have the right to enquire whether the construction activities involving their interests meet the requirements of the conservation plan.

Any unit or individual has the right to report or sue for the violation of the conservation plan to the competent department of urban and rural planning or other relevant departments.

Article 24 In violation of the provisions of these Measures, the local government shall commit one of the following acts:

- (1) Failure to organize the preparation of conservation plans;
- (2) Failure to organize the preparation of conservation plans in accordance with legal procedures;
- (3) Modifying the conservation plan without authorization;
- (4) Failure to announce the approved conservation plan.

Moreover, the higher-level government shall make corresponding corrections, and the directly responsible persons in charge shall be punished according to law.

Article 25: Where the competent urban and rural planning department and its staff at or above the county level or the government of a town determined by the provincial government and its staff commit one of the following acts, the responsible persons shall be warned or a demerit sanctioned; if the violation is serious, dismissal will take place:

- (1) Violation of the existing planning to conduct new construction or expansion activities within the core conservation area of historical and cultural blocks, towns, and villages, or to approve the removal or demolition of historical buildings in violation of regulations;
- (2) Violation of the conservation area limit (generally delineated by purple lines in the cartography) of historical and cultural blocks and historical buildings and other mandatory content of urban and rural planning.

Article 26 The cultural relic protection included in the preparation and approval of the conservation plan for historical and cultural cities, towns, villages, and blocks shall comply with the provisions of cultural relics protection laws and regulations.

Article 27 These Measures shall come into force on December 29, 2014.

Appendix B

National Ethnic Affairs Commission's Issue on the Conservation and Development of Ethnic Minority Villages

Outline of the Plan for the Conservation and Development of Villages of Ethnic Minority Characteristics (VEMC) (2011-2015)

Translated by the author

I. Introduction

Villages of Ethnic Minority Characteristics (VEMCs) refer to natural villages or administrative villages where the minority population is relatively concentrated, and the proportion of ethnic minority is relatively high, the production and living functions are relatively complete, and the cultural characteristics of the ethnic groups and their settlement characteristics are evident.

In terms of industrial structure, residential types, village types and customs, all these elements reflect the characteristics of the economic and social development and cultural conditions of the VEMCs, and these elements collectively mirror the formation of ethnic minority settlements in different periods, different regions, and different cultural types. The VEMCs are the villages in which the historical process of evolution and the cultural genes are relatively well preserved, the historical formation of the cultures of the ethnic minorities is evident, and the diversity of Chinese civilization is embodied. The conservation of the VEMCs is an effective carrier for the inheritance of the ethnic culture and an important resource for development.

Supporting the conservation and development of VEMCs is an important part of the construction of the new socialist countryside and new pastoral areas. It is an important part of works dedicated to ethnic minorities and an important measure to protect the diversity of Chinese culture. Doing a good job in this work is important for promoting the economic development of ethnic regions, inheriting and carrying forward the traditional culture of ethnic minorities, enhancing national pride, enhancing the cohesion and centripetal force of various ethnic groups, and consolidating and developing socialist ethnic relationships of equality, unity, mutual assistance and harmony, which are all of great importance.

Due to natural and historical reasons, the conservation and development of VEMCs still faces many difficulties, which are mainly manifested in the following issues. These villages are mostly located in remote and backward areas, and the problem of poverty is prominent. The VEMCs are limited by conditions; thus, the transformation from traditional economy to industrialization is difficult. In addition, the background of urbanization has made a huge impact on the inheritance of ethnic culture. As a result, many traditional buildings have been replaced by low-cost simple buildings, and the ethnic and rural characteristics of the village have rapidly disappeared. Therefore, it is indispensable to work on the conservation and

development of VEMCs and promote economic development while rescuing and protecting the traditional cultures of ethnic minorities.

In 2009, the National Ethnic Affairs Commission and the Ministry of Finance began to implement a conservation and development project for VEMCs. In the past three years, the central government has invested 270 million yuan for ethnic minority development. At the same time, the conservation and development project for VEMCs allocated a variety of funds to 370 villages in 28 provinces, autonomous regions, and municipalities across the country, carrying out pilot projects and achieving obvious results.

According to *Several Opinions of the Central Committee of the Communist Party of China and the State Council on the Further Implementation of the Western Development Strategy* (2011 No. 10), *Several Opinions of the State Council on Further Prospering and Developing Ethnic Minority Cultural Undertakings* (2009 No. 29), *Regulations on the Administration of the Planning and Construction of Villages and Market Towns* and the *Twelfth Five-Year Plan for Ethnic Minority Undertakings*, this planning outline is compiled as follows.

2. Guiding ideology, basic principles, support objects and development goals

(1) Guiding ideology

Holding the great banner of socialism with Chinese characteristics, guided by Deng Xiaoping Theory, the important thinking of the Three Represents, and a scientific outlook on development, we should firmly value the works for all ethnic groups to unite and strive for common prosperity and development, and focus on improving people's livelihoods. Economic development, cultural inheritance, and ecological protection should be organically combined. We should focus on the conservation and transformation of characteristic buildings, strengthening infrastructure and improving the living environment. (We should) take the characteristic industries as the leading method to improve the income of the communities and enhance their self-development capabilities. (We should) protect and inherit ethnic culture as the main object, strengthen the construction of public cultural facilities and demonstrate cultural vitality. We should employ ethnic solidarity and progress as a carrier to promote the exchanges between all ethnic groups and build harmonious VEMCs.

(2) Basic principles

1. The first principle is that the VEMC projects should be based on development, conservation, and utilization. VEMCs are not only objects of conservation but also resources for development. It is necessary to explore and utilize the unique cultural and ecological resources needed to increase people's income and promote the conservation and inheritance of excellent traditional culture during development and conservation. Such work should develop a distinctive and sustainable development path.

2. The second principle is that the measures should be adjusted according to local conditions and highlight local characteristics. (This work) should grasp the law of development of ethnic minority villages, combining the regional characteristics, ethnic characteristics, historical backgrounds and development stages. (This work) should study and explore different modes of conservation and development of ethnic minority villages, where different building types and different regional characteristics are embedded.

3. The third principle is to carry out scientific and overall planning. Starting from the VEMC's own advantages, the issues of poverty alleviation, eco-tourism, cultural conservation areas and the construction of new rural areas and new pastoral areas should be integrated and should relate to the local special plans to achieve a scientific and rational, law-based result. It is necessary to give full play to the professional role of experts in the formulation of plans, and establish and improve the system consisting of expert consultation, social publicity, and public opinions from all channels when making the plan.

4. The fourth principle is that the project should be guided by both government-led and social participation approaches. (The work should) incorporate the conservation and development of VEMCs into the overall plan for local economic and social development, giving full play to the government's leading role and integrating the resources from all sources. At the same time, the market mechanisms should be taken into consideration, and the government should extensively mobilize social forces to participate in the conservation and development of VEMCs.

5. The fifth principle is democracy and self-reliance. The project should adhere to the people's livelihoods, and directly benefit the villagers. The decision-making, planning, implementation, supervision and other processes must involve villagers and respect their demands. It is necessary to carry forward the spirit of self-reliance, fully mobilize and give room to villagers' enthusiasm, initiative, and creativity, and improve their cultural consciousness and self-development ability.

(3) Objects of support

Objects of support (regarding the villages subject to the VEMCs) will be given to villages where the minority population is no less than 30 percent of the total, the total number of households in the village is no less than 50, and the characteristic dwellings are no less than 50 percent of the housing stock. The key support villages must also have strong ethnic traditions and high cultural value, good mobility and geographical conditions, and social conditions that will facilitate the project. Moreover, the local government and villagers must be highly motivated.

(4) Protection and development goals

During the *Twelfth Five-Year Plan* period, 1,000 villages will be assigned as pilot VEMCs to be conserved and renovated. The development goals of these 1,000 pilot villages are as follows:

- The living environment should be improved significantly. The infrastructure, such as water supply, electricity, roads, and electrical communications, should be basically complete. The roads in the village should be hardened; the potable water supply should be 100 percent; the occupancy rate of radio and television should be more than 90 percent, and the residential buildings with ethnic characteristics should be more than 80 percent of housing. A comprehensive environmental management mechanism should be established.
- The income of the people should be increased substantially. The characteristic industry of “one village, one product” should basically formed, and the contribution rate of the product should be no less than 60 percent of the village’s total income. The per capita income of villagers should grow steadily, and the annual income should exceed the average level of the county. The living standard should be continuously improved, and the ability for self-development should be further enhanced.
- The style, features of the village and residential buildings should be reasonably conserved. The typical features of buildings should be highlighted, and traditional architectural techniques should be inherited and developed.
- The ethnic culture should be effectively conserved and inherited. The conservation mode of the ethnic culture should be combined with dynamic and static approaches to establish a cultural protection system. The rate of public cultural and sports facilities should cover all VEMCs for the promotion of ethnic cultural activities.
- The basic public service system should be further improved. The enrolment rate of school-age children should reach more than 95 percent, and more than 60 percent of the labour force should enjoy training in corresponding skills. Social safety should be fully guaranteed, and standard clinics should be available.
- Ethnic relations should be more harmonious. The role of rural grassroots organizations should be further brought into play, and rural democratic management should be standardized. Activities to promote ethnic solidarity and progress should be carried out, and the activities are the carrier through which all ethnic groups can get along more harmoniously.

The main tasks

(1) To improve the productivity and living conditions

One of the main tasks is to strengthen infrastructure construction. Improving the quality of village roads and focusing on the road connections between villages and main roads, and the hardening of the roads between households is relevant. Moreover, potable water projects, and a centralized water supply is also important. Combined with the new round of rural power grid renovation projects, we should effectively guarantee the electricity consumption for production and living in rural areas. We should promote projects that benefit the people, such as radio and TV broadcasting in villages, and increase the coverage ratio of telephone, radio and TV and broadband

networks in the VEMCs. The projects should be combined with the development plan to improve production and living conditions and tourism facilities.

Furthermore, the living environment should be improved. In accordance with the requirements of vigorously promoting the construction of an ecological civilization, we should strive to work on agricultural production, guiding the development of circular agriculture and promoting clean energy such as biogas, crop straw, wind and solar energy, so as to promote the transformation of basic living facilities such as kitchens. The project includes toilet renovation, and improvement of sanitation conditions and the rural living environment. Centralized treatment of sewage and garbage should also be carried out. A system including facility management, environmental cleaning, landscaping, and village beautification should be set.

(2) Strongly develop characteristic industries

Economic development is the foundation of various undertakings. We should accelerate the economic development of ethnic minority villages, cultivating characteristic industries in a “one village, one product” approach, and increasing people’s income. This is an important duty for the sustainable development of ethnic minority villages.

The project should include the development of tourism with ethnic characteristics, fully exploiting the village’s natural scenery and unique cultural landscape. Moreover, the economic development and the conservation of characteristic buildings, inheritance of ethnic culture, ecological environment protection, and rural tourism should be organically combined. The project should strengthen the construction of tourist facilities, improve tourist service functions, and enhance capabilities to welcome tourists. The project should guide villagers to focus on the development of different types of agri-tourism and restaurants. The project should explore the ethnic village culture in depth, and organically integrate ethnic cultural elements into tourism product development. Festival celebrations and ceremonial activities focusing on displaying village culture should be organized. The product packaging, promotion, and publicity of VEMCs should be included in promoting the development of ethnic villages in order to cultivate a number of tourist demonstration sites and tourism brands.

The project should transform and improve traditional industries, and this should be accomplished by relying on local advantageous resources, using modern technology to upgrade traditional planting and breeding industries. Villagers should be encouraged to optimize their agrarian and livestock industries and thereby improve the economic benefits. We should protect the unique resources of ethnic minority villages, vigorously develop green and pollution-free “famous, high-quality, special” agricultural and pastoral products, developing special agricultural and side-line products and expanding production scale to realize this industrialization. We should protect traditional ethnic production techniques, fully explore special resources such as production and living customs, supporting small-scale productions, and actively

produce traditional handicrafts, foods, and souvenirs with ethnic and regional characteristics.

(3) Focus on promoting the protection and construction of residential houses

Architecture is the crystallization of culture. Characteristic houses of ethnic minority villages are diverse in forms and styles, collectively reflecting a nation's living conditions, aesthetic appeal and cultural characteristics. Protecting characteristic residential houses is an important measure for protecting national culture.

The conservation and development of characteristic residential buildings adopt different methods such as conservation and reconstruction according to different types, protecting traditional construction methods and construction techniques, and maintaining the architectural style of ethnic villages and a rural style in harmony with nature.

For buildings with historical and cultural value, we can learn from the methods employed in cultural relic protection, and selectively adopt measures such as repairing and maintenance, and eliminating fire hazards in order to protect them. For this type of building, the historical appearance should be maintained as much as possible during maintenance and protection.

In key tourist attractions, buildings without ethnic characteristics can be transformed by “dressing with hats” to make them harmonized with the surrounding environment.

During implementation of the renovation, relocation, and other projects in the villages, new buildings with ethnic characteristics should be built based on professional blueprints. The exterior of new dwellings should maintain traditional features and ethnic architectural elements, but the internal spatial patterns and facilities should be adapted to modern life. In addition, the main structure can also use modern building materials. In the design and construction of new residential buildings, suitable technologies should be comprehensively utilized to meet the requirements of energy saving, thermal insulation, earthquake resistance, economy and beauty, comfort and environmental protection.

(4) Strengthen the protection and inheritance of ethnic culture

The essential feature of an ethnic group is its culture. Protecting the local culture in ethnic villages is the “source of water” of ethnic culture.

We should continue to implement projects with cultural benefits such as radio and television broadcasts about villages, cultural resource sharing, rural film screenings, and bookstores. We should improve public cultural facilities in the VEMCs, and focus on strengthening iconic public buildings that reflect ethnic and local characteristics. The construction of gates, theatres, drum towers, wind and rain bridges, pavilions, folk museums, cultural squares, and cultural corridors should be emphasized to provide sufficient space for public cultural activities for people of all ethnic groups.

We should make efforts to strengthen the conservation of ethnic culture. We should conduct thorough, high-standard general surveys, collections, publications, and research into the folk cultural heritage in the region, and document and preserve it. By focusing on the static conservation and living inheritance of ethnic culture, cultural space will display traditional production tools, utensils, ethnic costumes, musical instruments, and handicrafts to preserve ethnic memories. We should encourage and guide villagers to integrate ethnic language, song and dance, production technology and crafts, festival celebrations, weddings and funerals into their daily lives through lively displays of folk customs so that they pass on ethnic memories to future generations.

We should strengthen the inheritance and the development of ethnic culture. Attention should be paid to discovering and cultivating local cultural talents and highlighting inheritors of ethnic and folk culture, especially representative inheritors of intangible cultural heritage at national and provincial levels. We should empower ethnic cultures to enter campuses and classrooms; encourage ethnic cultural workers and people to participate in cultural development and cultural activities. We should actively promote the development of ethnic cultural products and promote cultural inheritance through the market. We should take into account the role of traditional social norms and folk conventions in the inheritance of ethnic culture, and improve villagers' awareness of cultural protection.

We should build a platform for cultural activities, encouraging villagers to carry out cultural activities such as antiphonal songs and ethnic dances. We should hold festive celebrations to enrich the cultural life of the public, enhancing the cultural characteristics and attractiveness of rural ethnic tourism. We should support the public to create cultural groups with local characteristics and carefully cultivate performance teams as ethnic cultural carriers that are rooted in the public sphere and serve the public.

(5) In-depth development of ethnic solidarity and progressive activities

The project should carry out activities that help create ethnic solidarity and encourage progress. Harmonious ethnic relations are an important measure by which to promote the sustainable development of ethnic minority villages.

The project should roll out in-depth publicity campaigns and education about ethnic policies, knowledge, and laws and regulations, strengthening the legal awareness and citizenship of ethnic groups. The project should protect their legal rights and interests in accordance with the law, promptly and properly handle conflicts and disputes that affect ethnic solidarity in order to form greater solidarity, friendship and mutual love among all ethnic groups and a positive atmosphere in which to help each other. The project should organize and mobilize people of all ethnic groups to participate in creative activities, striving to create model villages and model individuals for ethnic solidarity and progress.

4. The organization and implementation of conservation measures

(1) Strengthening leadership. The VEMC projects should establish and improve leadership systems in order to promote the conservation and development of VEMCs. In the working mechanism, the provinces should take overall responsibility, prefecture and city governments should work to maximize coordination, and counties and townships should work on implementation. We should fully mobilize the enthusiasm of all levels and departments, integrating resources from all aspects, and form a work pattern of planning, organization, and implementation with unified leadership of the party committee and government involving relevant departments performing their duties. Departments related to ethnic minority issues must take responsibility to work on overall planning, coordination, and advancement.

(2) Increasing publicity. We should strengthen the purpose, significance and policy measures of the conservation and development of VEMCs, mobilizing villagers' awareness of the need to protect and bequeath ethnic culture and their enthusiasm about participating in the project. We should promote, through a variety of channels and forms, the effectiveness of conservation and development of ethnic minority villages, expanding social awareness and forming brands with ethnic characteristics.

(3) Carefully organize (the VEMC projects). Conservation and development of VEMCs involves a wide range of tasks. Those departments associated with ethnic affairs must play a leading role in organizing projects and strengthening specific guidance on planning and design of village construction. Projects should highlight the local characteristics and strictly follow relevant regulations. We should obey the procedures and requirements needed to implement such projects, ensuring the quality and progress of construction, the quality of products and the image of ethnic minorities. Responsibilities for the projects should be clearly defined during the implementation by the establishment of the "one village, one file" documentation system. Based on such a system, projects can be better monitored.

(4) Multiple inputs into projects. Central government's poverty alleviation funds can be allocated as funds for the conservation and development of VEMCs. Such funds can be gradually increased as needed and can be used for the development of characteristic industries within the VEMCs, for the improvement of production and living conditions, and the training of farmers' productive skills. Funds arranged by local governments at all levels should be allocated as funds for the conservation and development of VEMCs. Moreover, we should encourage, guide, and seek assistance from enterprises, institutions, social groups, and individuals to invest in the construction of VEMCs. We should encourage and support colleges, universities, and research institutes to participate in the research and construction of the conservation and development of VEMCs. We should encourage and support various market entities to participate in infrastructure construction, industry development, and tourism development in the VEMCs.

(5) Supervision and inspection. The work of monitoring, evaluation, supervision and inspection of the implementation of the planning outline should be emphasized by

establishing a system to regularly report progress. An information system should be set for VEMC projects that allows all actors to monitor and evaluate the implementation of the plan, promptly report new situations and new issues (to upper-level administrations), and conduct the supervision of project funds. Policy incentives for planning and implementation should be established. *Measures for Inspection and Acceptance of VEMC Conservation and Development Projects* should be established. The National Ethnic Affairs Commission and the Ministry of Finance should supervise and inspect the VEMC conservations and development projects in various regions through unscheduled visits, and record and report the situation when relevant.

Appendix C

Criteria for the assessment of CTVs

1. Criteria for the assessment of traditional villages

Types	No.	Indicator	Sub-indicator	Standards and interpretation	Maximum score	Score assigned
Qualitative assessment	1	Year of construction	Construction year of the oldest building	Before Ming dynasty - 4 In Qing dynasty - 3 China Republic - 2 From the foundation of PRC to 1980 - 1	4	
			Construction year of the group of historic buildings	Before Ming dynasty - 6 China Republic - 4 From the foundation of PRC to 1980 - 3	6	
	2	Degree of scarcity	Level of cultural relics protection units (CPU)	National - 5, each additional CPU will be rewarded with 2 further points Provincial - 3, each additional CPU will be rewarded with 1.5 further points Municipal and county - 2, each additional CPU will be rewarded with 1 further point If the CPU is nominated 3 times, it will be additionally rewarded with 1 score. Each additional CPU will be rewarded with 1 score. Maximum score is 10.	10	
	3	Dimension	Surface area of historic buildings	More than 5 hectares: 15-20 points 3-5 hectares: 10-14 points 1-3 hectares: 5-9 points 0-1 hectares: 0-4 points	20	
	4	Percentage	P = Surface area of historic buildings/construction area	More than 60%: 12-15 points 40-60%: 8-11 points 20-40%: 4-7 points 0-20%: 0-3 points	15	
	5	Abundance	Building typologies and functions	Residential, traditional commercial, defensive, historical courier station, ancestor's halls, temples, schools, towers, etc. Each of the aforementioned typologies gains 2 points. The maximum score is 10.	10	
	6	Integrity	Integrity of the existing traditional building(s) and the architectural	There are three levels according to which the score will be assigned: 1. The existing traditional building(s), the architectural details, and the historic	15	

Qualitative assessment			details, and the historic environment	<p>environment are well preserved. The building quality is good and distributed compactly with harmonious features, and there are original inhabitants living inside. The dynamism and liveability of the traditional zones are preserved: 12-15 points.</p> <p>2. The existing traditional building(s), the architectural details, and the historic environment are relatively well preserved. The building quality is relatively good and distributed compactly and used by the original inhabitants. Few incongruous buildings present: 8-11 points.</p> <p>3. The existing traditional building(s) are partially torn down, but the main features are still present. Architectural details are partially preserved and represent the style and features of a certain historic period. The surroundings have experienced some damage. More incongruous buildings are present: 4-7 points.</p> <p>4. Traditional buildings are largely torn down. Joints and decorative details that represent historic and regional features of a certain period remain. Surrounding environment has been gravely damaged: 0-3 points.</p>		
Qualitative assessment	7	Aesthetic value	Aesthetic value of existing traditional buildings (groups) in terms of architectural form, structure, material, or decoration	<p>There are three levels according to which the score will be assigned:</p> <p>1. The existing traditional buildings (groups) have typical regional or national characteristics in terms of form (appearance, shape, etc.), structure, materials (configuration of materials, elaboration, regional materials), decoration (wood carving, stone carving, brick carving, paint colour, floor laying, door and window partition), etc. They involve unique construction technology, exquisite architectural details and decoration, and high aesthetic values of their crafts: 9-12 points.</p> <p>2. The architectural modelling, structure, materials or decoration have the general characteristics of the region, representing local culture and aesthetics. Some buildings have a certain decorative culture which has a high aesthetic value: 5-8 points.</p> <p>3. Architectural modelling, structure, materials or decoration do not have typical national or regional representativeness. Construction and decoration only reflect local characteristics, with general aesthetic value: 0-4 points.</p>	12	
Qualitative assessment	8	Inheritance of traditional construction technology	So far, a large number of traditional techniques have been used to construct everyday buildings.	<p>There are three levels according to which the score will be assigned:</p> <p>1. Up to now, traditional materials, tools and crafts are still widely used in the everyday construction of buildings. Traditional architectural forms, styles and features are in harmony with the traditional styles and features, and they have traditional taboos and other local customs. They have become intangible cultural heritage, and their technical and technological levels display typical regional characteristics: 8-10 points.</p> <p>2. Up to now, traditional materials, tools and crafts have been widely used in the everyday construction of buildings. Traditional architectural forms, styles and features are in harmony with the traditional styles and features, which include</p>	8	

				local customs such as traditional taboos, and the level of technology and crafts is regionally representative: 5-7 points. 3. Up to now, the traditional materials, tools and crafts are seldom used in everyday construction of buildings. Traditional architectural forms and styles adopted are in harmony with the traditional styles to some extent, so as to create some regionally representative characteristics: 0-4 points.		
Total					100	

2. Criteria for the assessment of site selection and spatial layout

Types	No.	Indicator	Sub-indicator	Standards and interpretation	Maximum score	Score
Qualitative assessment	1	Level of historicity	Formation year of the existing site	Ming and Qing Dynasties and Before Ming and Qing Dynasties: 5 points; China Republic: 3; after foundation of PRC: 1.	5	
	2	Level of diversity	Types of existing historical environment elements	Ancient rivers, commercial streets, public buildings, characteristic venues for public activities, fortresses, gates, wharfs, pavilions, ancient trees and other elements of historical environment. 2 points for each, with 15 points the maximum score.	15	
Qualitative assessment	3	Integrity of pattern	The level of preservation of traditional village pattern	There are four levels according to which the score will be assigned: 1. The village maintains a good traditional pattern, the streets and lanes system is complete, the utilization ratio of traditional public facilities is high, and it keeps close contact with production and life, while overall style and features are integrated and coordinated. There are no outstanding and uncoordinated new buildings in the pattern system: 26-30 points. 2. The village has basically maintained the traditional pattern. The system of streets and lanes is relatively complete. The traditional facilities are used in a living way, with a certain connection with production and everyday life. There are few new buildings which are not in tune with the pattern system and do not affect the overall style and features: 16-25 points. 3. The village retains a certain pattern of centralized links and maintains a relatively complete skeleton system. The traditional facilities are basically not used and the pattern system is not coordinated with the new buildings, which affects the overall style and features: 6-15 points. 4. The traditional district maintains a small amount of traditional basic skeleton system, and it can be seen that the original street system is scattered. The traditional facilities are not used at all. There are many new uncoordinated buildings in the traditional district, and the style is very chaotic: 0-5 points.	30	
	4	Scientific and cultural value	Site selection, planning and construction of villages reflect scientific, cultural, historical, and archaeological value	There are three levels according to which the score will be assigned: 1. The site selection, planning and construction of villages have typical regional, specific historical backgrounds or national characteristics. The villages and surrounding environment clearly reflect a profound cultural or historical background with high scientific, cultural, historical, and archaeological value: 25-35 points. 2. The site selection, planning and construction of villages have certain regional and cultural	35	

				values. The villages and surrounding environment reflect a profound cultural or historical background with high scientific, cultural, archaeological, and historical value: 15-24 points. 3. The site selection, planning and construction of villages maintain the common traditional everyday characteristics of the region. The villages and surrounding environment barely reflect a profound cultural or historical background within the selected site. The scientific, cultural, historical, and archaeological values are general: 0-14 points.		
	5	Degree of coordination	Harmonious coexistence between the village and surrounding beautiful natural landscape or traditional pastoral scenery	There are three levels according to which the score will be assigned: 1. A good environment has been maintained around the village. The environment is in harmony with the village, and it reflects the original concept behind the site selection and location of the village: 11-15 points. 2. The environment surrounding the village has changed to some extent, but it is in harmony with the village, reflecting the original concept behind the site selection and location of the village: 5-10 points. 3. The environment surrounding the village has suffered serious damage, which counts against the existing built environment of the village. It hardly reflects the original concept behind the site selection and location of the village: 0-4 points.	15	
In total					100	

3. Evaluation index system of intangible cultural heritage carried by villages

Type	No.	index	Sub-index	Standards and interpretation	Maximum score	Score
Qualitative assessment	1	Rarity	Level of intangible heritage	The intangible heritage in the village is rare on the global scale:15 points; national scale: 10 points. Provincial scale: 5 points.	15	
	2	Diversity	Type of intangible heritage	Each provincial IH will be awarded with 1 additional point. Each national IH will be awarded with 1 additional point. Maximum: 5 points.	5	
	3	Continuity	Length of continuous habitation until now	Until today, it has been inhabited for more than 100 years: 15 points. Continuous habitation of more than 50 years: 8 points.	15	
	4	Scale	Scale of intangible heritage activities	The whole village participated in: 5 points. More than 30 people: 4 points. 10-30 people: 3 points. Less than 10 people: 2 points.	5	
	5	Inheritor	Is there any representative inheritor?	Yes, the inheritor is designated at a higher than provincial level: 5 points Yes, designated at a higher than municipal level: 5 points. No: 0 points.	5	
	6	Dynamicity	Situation of inheritance	1. Good: 25 points.	25	

				2. Medium, no specific management measures: 18 points. 3. Endangered: 0 points.		
	7	Dependency	Degree of dependence on ceremonies, inheritors, materials, crafts, and other practical activities related to intangible cultural heritage in the village and the environment	1. Heritage-related production materials, processing, activities and spaces, organization and management, and inheritance processes are closely related to the specific physical environment of the village: 26-30 points. 2. The space for heritage activities, handicraft inheritance and village spaces have a certain dependence and connections. The organization of heritage activities is closely related to the villagers and involves non-governmental management organizations that work with the villagers: 16-25 points. 3. Heritage activity organization and handicraft inheritance are closely related to the villagers and representative of the region's common heritage: 6-15 points. 4. Heritage is inherited independently by villagers : 0-5 points.	30	
In total					100	

Appendix D

-Comparative table of the interventions in different plans in case study villages

Interventions	Dawan			Qishuping		Pingsuo	
	Applied to	Explanation		Applied to	Explanation		
		VRP	OPPD		OPPD	OPPD	
Repair	To the identified historic buildings	protective activities on the proposed historical buildings without changing its appearance. <i>The interior part of the building can be adjusted and transformed, equipped with kitchen and bathroom facilities to adapt to the modern life. The appearance of the building must not be changed.</i>	maintains the original feature of the buildings, and <i>carry out repair and restoration on the damaged part of the building using traditional materials and eventual substitution of the damaged part.</i>	To the two historic buildings (belonging to the Qiangwang family).	<i>carry out repair and restoration on the damaged part of the building using traditional materials and eventual substitution of the damaged part.</i>	Buildings of relatively high value that should be completely preserved	<i>to protect and reinforce the damaged parts, to repair the current status, to enrich the traditional elements, to increase the greening environment, and to adhere to the principle of repair it as it was.</i>
Improvement	To the buildings identified as having traditional feature	<i>The external characteristics should be maintained; the internal could be adjusted and adapt to modern lifestyle.</i>	<i>the structural reinforcement, repair, and adopt protective facilities, without changing the overall feature.</i>	To the ordinary dwellings of certain historic value and quality.	<i>the structural reinforcement, repair, and adopt protective facilities, without changing the overall feature.</i>	Buildings of median value	<i>It refers to the structural reinforcement, repair, internal layout transformation to ensure that its overall style, pattern and scale will not be changed.</i>
Regeneration	-	-	-	To the buildings of certain value, but the	This “regeneration” means the	-	-

				buildings' appearance or feature is at middle level or bad (so not in tune with the traditional one).	demolition and reconstruction on site.		
Renovation	To the buildings not in harmony with the built environment	For partially damaged buildings or <i>using materials that affect the traditional style, and for buildings with modified facades and modern materials, the facades must be renovated with traditional techniques and materials.</i>	Renovation could mean the demolition and reconstruction on site.	<i>for those buildings of brick-concrete structure not in tune with the overall feature of the village.</i>	<i>applies traditional material and decorations on the facade of buildings subjected to the intervention</i>	<i>Modern buildings of conflictual feature with the environment</i>	<i>comprehensive renovation and partial reconstruction.</i>
Demolish	-	-	-	Buildings of bad feature and are generally complementary spaces like pig sty and storage spaces.	Demolish the buildings listed into this type to have an overall traditional feature of the village.	traditional buildings with bad quality and conflictual feature	Reinforcing the main structure, changing the color or material of the facade, and changing the appearance and form of the buildings. For buildings had high historical, scientific, and artistic value in the past, and today have been demolished due to various reasons, should be reconstructed, and supported with public facilities.

Appendix E

Glossary

CBV: Construction of Beautiful Villages (美丽乡村建设 Měilì xiāngcūn jiànshè) It is a national-level project initiated in 2006, in which the environmental, cultural-historical and aesthetic value of the countryside are weighted holistically when assessed in terms of living condition improvement and tourism development.

Construction of the New Socialist Countryside (Jiànshè shèhuì zhǔyì xīn nóngcūn): Facing to the urban-rural dichotomy by the beginning of 2000s, the campaign of the Construction of the New Socialist Countryside was proposed by the state council with the aim to realize civilized village life.

CPUs: Cultural Relics Protection Unit (文物保护单位, Wénwù bǎohù dānwèi). The CPUs is the common term for the immovable cultural relics that are determined to be considered for protection in China. The designated unit and the area and a certain area around it are subject to relevant protection measures. It includes ancient cultural sites, ancient tombs, ancient buildings, cave temples and stone carvings with historical, artistic, and scientific value for the protection of cultural relics.

CTVs: Chinese Traditional Villages (中国传统村落 Zhōngguó chuántǒng cūnlùò). It is a list of villages recognized as having historical and cultural value. The CTVs retains the historical evolution of the historical architecture, the environment and the location of the village, and unique folk customs. The list is created to highlight the importance of the preservation and its potentials for local development. It was firstly launched in 2012.

Ethnic Protection Village (民族保护村寨 mínzú bǎohù cūnzài). It was a list of selection in Guizhou province established in 1980s for those typical ethnic villages with local and ethnic characteristics and research value, with representative physical objects, representative places and places related to the living habits, cultural entertainment, religious beliefs, and festival activities of ethnic minorities, and documents of important value.

GOCVC: Guiding Opinions on the Pilot Work on the Conservation and Development of Villages with Minority Characteristics. It is a document defining the guiding ideology, basic principles, supporting objects, development goals, main tasks, implementation, and conservation measures for the construction of VEMCs.

HCCS: Famous Historical and Cultural Cities (国家历史文化名城 Guójiā lìshǐ wénhuà míngchéng). It was a list of selection classifying those cities where the cultural relics is of great historical value or revolutionary commemorative

significance. It was firstly launched in 1982 as a new inclusive approach to the preservation of built heritage.

HCTVs: Historic and Cultural Towns and Villages. It is a list of towns and villages recognized as having unusual wealth of cultural relicts of important historical value or high revolutionary memorial significance. It was firstly launched in 2002.

HCVTs: Historical and Cultural Villages and Towns (历史文化村镇 Lìshǐ wénhuà cūnzhèn). It was a list of selection classifying those villages where the traditional feature and local ethnic characters were well preserved. It was firstly launched in 1986.

Household contract responsibility system (家庭联产承包责任制 Jiāting lián chǎn chéngbāo zérèn zhì) It is an agricultural labor management system, in which the households are responsible for the profits and losses of an enterprise. Since this policy, the farmers became a relatively independent economic entity that can contract the collective land by carrying out agricultural production and management. Under this policy, almost all income is attributed to farmers, except for a small portion paid as agricultural taxes to the state.

OPEV: Outline of the Plan for the Protection and Development of Ethnic Minority Villages. It is the main document defining the character and strategic measures for the construction of the VEMCs.

OPPD: Overall Plan for the Preservation and Development. It is a compulsory planning document for the preservation of all the inscribed Chinese Traditional Villages.

ORCP: Overall Rural Construction Plan(村庄建设规划 Cūnzhuāng jiànshè guīhuà). It is a county-level planning document to address the rational overall rural revitalization and local development. In this plan, villages are divided into different categories (exemplary, to be improved and to be standardized) that will receive different level of investment and policies.

People's Commune (人民公社 Rénmín gōngshè) It was the basic governmental, political, and economic units during 1950-1980. It was commonly known for the collective activities within the unit to share local welfare, labor division and meal preparation.

Rural Revitalization: (乡村振兴, Xiāngcūn zhènxīng) It is a strategy launched by the Chinese central government to reshape and re-balance the urban-rural relationship, aiming to solve the rural problems such as the rural depopulation, the pollution of rural environment, and the issue of poverty in rural areas.

TBP: Summary Table of Project Budget for Preservation. It is one of the compulsory documents for the listed CTVs.

TVA: Table of Traditional Village Archives (传统村落档案 Chuántǒng cūnlò dǎng'àn). It is one of the compulsory documents for the listed CTVs to document all the recognized elements for preservation.

Unified Procurement and Sale of Agricultural Commodities (统购统销 Tǒnggòu tǒngxiāo). It refers to an agricultural policy implemented in 1950s-1980s, when the purchase price and the purchase of grain types are uniformly regulated by the state. The grain market is strictly controlled by the state and the free operation of private businesses is strictly controlled.

VEMCs: Villages with Ethnic Minority Characteristics. It refers to the ethnic villages or administrative villages with a relatively high proportion of ethnic minority population, of complete production and living functions, and evident cultural characteristics and settlement characters representing the ethnic minorities

VRP: Village Rectification Plan. It is an important planning tool to implement the construction of the Beautiful Villages. It emphasizes the environmental and infrastructural improvement of the living environment in villages.

Western Development Program (西部大开发计划 Xībù dà kāifā jìhuà). It is a national strategy focusing on the development of the Western provinces in China. This strategy refers to different projects such as the infrastructure development, ecological protection, and the improvement of the level of education in Western provinces in China.

Appendix F- Study on the characters of 67 OPPD of CTVs in Tongren area

1. NAME AND LOCATION				2. PLANNING INSTITUTIONS			
Name in Chinese	City/prefecture	County	Administrative town	Village	Year		
1	石阡白沙镇马寨坪村	Tongren	Shiqian	Baisha	Masangping	Beijing Ruidehande Urban planning & design institute.	2014-2030
2	石阡白沙镇箱子坪村	Tongren	Shiqian	Baisha	Xiangziping	Beijing Ruidehande Urban planning & design institute.	2014-2030
3	石阡国家乡楼上村	Tongren	Shiqian	Guorong	Loushang	Beijing Ruidehande Urban planning & design institute.	2014-2030
4	石阡国家乡葛容村高桥自然村	Tongren	Shiqian	Guorong	Gaoqiaoziran	Beijing Ruidehande Urban planning & design institute.	2014-2030
5	石阡河坝乡小高王村	Tongren	Shiqian	Hebachang	Hebachang	Beijing Ruidehande Urban planning & design institute.	2014-2030
6	石阡聚凤侗族侗寨黄泥坳村	Tongren	Shiqian	Jufeng	Huangni'ao	Beijing Ruidehande Urban planning & design institute.	2014-2030
7	石阡聚凤侗族侗寨廖家屯村	Tongren	Shiqian	Jufeng	Liaojiatun	Beijing Ruidehande Urban planning & design institute.	2014-2030
8	石阡聚凤侗族侗寨瓮水屯村	Tongren	Shiqian	Jufeng	Wengshuitun	Beijing Ruidehande Urban planning & design institute.	2014-2030
9	石阡石固侗族侗寨公鹅坳村	Tongren	Shiqian	Shigu	Gong'E'ao	Beijing Ruidehande Urban planning & design institute.	2014-2030
10	石阡五德镇大寨村	Tongren	Shiqian	Wude	Dazhai	Beijing Ruidehande Urban planning & design institute.	2014-2030
11	石阡花桥镇施场村	Tongren	Shiqian	Huaqiao	Shichang	Beijing Ruidehande Urban planning & design institute.	2014-2030
12	石阡五德镇董上村	Tongren	Shiqian	Wude	Dongshang	Beijing Ruidehande Urban planning & design institute.	2014-2030
13	石阡聚凤侗族侗寨指甲坪村	Tongren	Shiqian	Jufeng	Zhijiaping	Beijing Ruidehande Urban planning & design institute.	2014-2030
14	石阡青苗苗族侗族侗寨多青山村	Tongren	Shiqian	Qingwang	Qingshanzhai	Beijing Ruidehande Urban planning & design institute.	2014-2030
15	石阡坪地侗族侗寨侗寨乡石槽坡村	Tongren	Shiqian	Pingdichang	Shilupo	Beijing Ruidehande Urban planning & design institute.	2014-2030
16	石阡甘溪镇铺溪村	Tongren	Shiqian	Ganxi	Puxi	Beijing Ruidehande Urban planning & design institute.	2014-2030
17	江口桃映乡漆树坪	Tongren	Jiangkou	Taoying	Qishuping	Tongren urban & rural planning and survey institute	2014-2030
18	江口太平土家族苗族乡云舍村	Tongren	Jiangkou	Taiping	Yunshe	Tongren urban & rural planning and survey institute	2014-2030
19	江口民和侗族土家族苗族乡封神塘	Tongren	Jiangkou	Minhe		Tongren urban & rural planning and survey institute	2014-2030
20	江口怒溪土家族苗族乡黄岩	Tongren	Jiangkou	Nuxi	Huangyan	Tongren urban & rural planning and survey institute	2014-2030
21	思南许家坝镇舟水村	Tongren	Sinan	Xujiaba	Zhoushui	Tongren urban & rural planning and survey institute	2014-2030
22	思南青杠坡镇四野屯村	Tongren	Sinan	Qinggangpo	Siyetun	Xiangtan Architectural & planning institute	2015-2030
23	思南思林乡金龙村	Tongren	Sinan	Silin	Jinlong	Xiangtan Architectural & planning institute	2015-2030
24	思南思林乡黑河社区	Tongren	Sinan	Silin	Heihexia	Guizhou Mineral and Measuring Design Institute	2014-2020
25	思南板桥乡郑家湾古寨	Tongren	Sinan	Banqiao	Haojiawan	Xiangtan Architectural & planning institute	2015-2030
26	思南合朋溪镇鱼塘村	Tongren	Sinan	Hepengxi	Yutang	Tongren urban & rural planning and survey institute	2015-2030
27	思南塘头镇甲秀社区	Tongren	Sinan	Tangtou	Jiaxiu	Xiangtan Architectural & planning institute	2015-2030
28	思南塘头镇街子村	Tongren	Sinan	Tangtou	Jiezi	Xiangtan Architectural & planning institute	2015-2030
29	思南大坝场镇官塘坝村	Tongren	Sinan	Dabachang	Guantangba	Tongren urban & rural planning and survey institute	2015-2030
30	思南大坝场镇釜上村	Tongren	Sinan	Dabachang	Yaoshang	Tongren urban & rural planning and survey institute	2015-2030
31	思南瓮溪镇香溪社区马家山组	Tongren	Sinan	Wengxi	Majiashan	Tongren urban & rural planning and survey institute	2015-2030
32	德江枫香溪镇枫香溪村	Tongren	Dejiang	Fengxiangxi	Xiangxi	Guizhou Tonghe Planning & Design Institute	2015-2030
33	德江复兴镇棋坝山村	Tongren	Dejiang	Fuxing	Qibashan	Guizhou Tonghe Planning & Design Institute	2015-2030
34	德江共和乡独河村	Tongren	Dejiang	Gonghe	Huanhe	Guizhou Tonghe Planning & Design Institute	2015-2025
35	德江沙溪乡大寨村	Tongren	Dejiang	Shaxi	Dazhai	Guizhou Tonghe Planning & Design Institute	2015-2025
36	德江煎茶镇付家村	Tongren	Dejiang	Jiancha	Fujia	Guizhou Tonghe Planning & Design Institute	2015-2025
37	德江复兴镇杨溪村	Tongren	Dejiang	Fuxing	Wenxi	Guiyang Architectural Survey Design Institute	2015-2025
38	德江合兴镇朝阳村	Tongren	Dejiang	Hexing	Chaoyang	Guiyang Architectural Survey Design Institute	2015-2025
39	德江高山镇梨子水村	Tongren	Dejiang	Gaoshan	Lizishui	Guiyang Architectural Survey Design Institute	2015-2025
40	印江水义乡多团龙村	Tongren	Yinjiang	Yongyi	Tuanlong	Guiyang Architectural Survey Design Institute	2014-2020
41	印江土家族苗族自治板溪镇果沟村	Tongren	Yinjiang	Banxi	Qugou	Guiyang Architectural Survey Design Institute	2015-2030
42	印江土家族苗族自治大溪镇中茶村	Tongren	Yinjiang	Tiantang	Zhongyao	Tongren urban & rural planning and survey institute	2015-2030
43	印江土家族苗族自治合水镇兴旺村	Tongren	Yinjiang	Heshui	Xingwang	Tongren urban & rural planning and survey institute	2015-2020
44	印江土家族苗族自治塘溪镇方家岭村	Tongren	Yinjiang	Chanxi	Fangjialing	Tongren urban & rural planning and survey institute	2015-2030
45	印江土家族苗族自治新寨乡黔溪村	Tongren	Yinjiang	Xinzhai	Qianxi	Tongren urban & rural planning and survey institute	2015-2020
46	印江土家族苗族自治中坝乡虹穴村	Tongren	Yinjiang	Zhongba	Hongxue	Tongren urban & rural planning and survey institute	2015-2030
47	印江土家族苗族自治新业乡芙蓉村	Tongren	Yinjiang	Xinye	Furong	Guiyang Architectural Survey Design Institute	2015-2030
48	印江土家族苗族自治新业乡多坪所村	Tongren	Yinjiang	Xinye	Pingsuo	Tongren urban & rural planning and survey institute	2015-2030
49	沿河思渠镇荷叶村	Tongren	Yanhe	Siqu	Heye	Guiyang Architectural Survey Design Institute	2014-2030
50	沿河黑熊乡大寨村	Tongren	Yanhe	Heilai	Daxi	Guiyang Architectural Survey Design Institute	2014-2030
51	沿河新寨乡白果村	Tongren	Yanhe	Xinjing	Baiguo	Guiyang Architectural Survey Design Institute	2014-2030
52	沿河后坪乡茶园村	Tongren	Yanhe	Houping	Chayuan	Tongren urban & rural planning and survey institute	2015-2025
53	沿河土家族自治朱石镇闵子溪村	Tongren	Yanhe	Jishi	Minzixi	Tongren urban & rural planning and survey institute	2015-2030
54	沿河土家族自治板溪乡洋溪村	Tongren	Yanhe	Banxiang	Yangxi	Tongren urban & rural planning and survey institute	2015-2030
55	松桃正大乡苗干城	Tongren	Songtao	Zhengda	Miaowangchen	Guizhou Mineral and Measuring Design Institute	2015-2030
56	松桃普觉镇半坡村	Tongren	Songtao	Pujue	Banpo	Architectural & Planning Institute + Guizhou Mineral Measuring Design Institute	2015-2025
57	松桃普觉镇大水村	Tongren	Songtao	Zhaiying	Dashui	Architectural & Planning Institute + Guizhou Mineral Measuring Design Institute	2015-2025
58	松桃普觉镇邓堡村	Tongren	Songtao	Zhaiying	Dengpu	Architectural & Planning Institute + Guizhou Mineral Measuring Design Institute	2015-2025
59	松桃普觉镇寨英村	Tongren	Songtao	Zhaiying	Zhaiying	Architectural & Planning Institute + Guizhou Mineral Measuring Design Institute	2015-2025
60	松桃孟溪镇头家村	Tongren	Songtao	Mengxi	Toujia	Architectural & Planning Institute + Guizhou Mineral Measuring Design Institute	2015-2025
61	万山特区黄道乡瓦寨村	Tongren	Wanshan	Huangdao	Wazhai	Architectural & Planning Institute + Guizhou Mineral Measuring Design Institute	2015-2030
62	万山特区黄道乡石头寨	Tongren	Wanshan	Aozhai	Shitouzhai	Tongren urban & rural planning and survey institute	2015-2030
63	漾头镇茶园山	Tongren	Bijiang	Yangtou	Chayuanshan	Tongren urban & rural planning and survey institute	2015-2030
64	坝黄镇宋家坝村塘边古树园	Tongren	Bijiang	Huangzhen	Gushuyuan	Tongren urban & rural planning and survey institute	2015-2025
65	瓦屋侗族乡克兰寨村	Tongren	Bijiang	Wawu	Kelanzhai	Tongren urban & rural planning and survey institute	2015-2030
66	玉屏侗族自治县新店乡朝阳村	Tongren	Yuping	Xindian	Chaoyang	Tongren urban & rural planning and survey institute	2015-2030
67	玉屏侗族自治县新店乡大湾村	Tongren	Yuping	Xindian	Dawan	Tongren urban & rural planning and survey institute	2015-2020

Rural Built Heritage Preservation and Development in Chinese Ethnic Area

4. CONSERVATION INTERVENTIONS	
No.	Concepts of the interventions explained in the plan
1	posed to be repaired to conserve the original status. For traditional buildings, improvement and renovation should be conducted without changing the structure and the traditional feature, refining the service facilities and the functions. Third, buildings of congruent feature can be str
2	posed to be repaired to conserve the original status. For traditional buildings, improvement and renovation should be conducted without changing the structure and the traditional feature, refining the service facilities and the functions. Third, buildings of congruent feature can be str
3	posed to be repaired to conserve the original status. For traditional buildings, improvement and renovation should be conducted without changing the structure and the traditional feature, refining the service facilities and the functions. Third, buildings of congruent feature can be str
4	maintained, but the external part needs to be properly refurbished. Update: The height, volume, color, material and style of the buildings are not in harmony, and the quality is assessed as a modern building that is poor but not along the main route. It can be demolished and rebuilt with de
5	posed to be repaired to conserve the original status. For traditional buildings, improvement and renovation should be conducted without changing the structure and the traditional feature, refining the service facilities and the functions. Third, buildings of congruent feature can be str
6	posed to be repaired to conserve the original status. For traditional buildings, improvement and renovation should be conducted without changing the structure and the traditional feature, refining the service facilities and the functions. Third, buildings of congruent feature can be str
7	posed to be repaired to conserve the original status. For traditional buildings, improvement and renovation should be conducted without changing the structure and the traditional feature, refining the service facilities and the functions. Third, buildings of congruent feature can be str
8	cture of the building. Improvement: the beam frame structure will be repaired and updated, and the new uses should be similar to the original one to improve conditions of use and adapt to modern lifestyles. Remain: the internal space can be expanded according to needs, and new tec
9	cture of the building. Improvement: the beam frame structure will be repaired and updated, and the new uses should be similar to the original one to improve conditions of use and adapt to modern lifestyles. Remain: the internal space can be expanded according to needs, and new tec
10	and materials are inconsistent with the village, and whose quality is assessed as "poor" but not along the main route. It can be demolished and rebuilt with detailed design to stay in harmony with the buildings in the village in terms of scale, color, and materials. Some of the renovate
11	posed to be repaired to conserve the original status. For traditional buildings, improvement and renovation should be conducted without changing the structure and the traditional feature, refining the service facilities and the functions. Third, buildings of congruent feature can be str
12	posed to be repaired to conserve the original status. For traditional buildings, improvement and renovation should be conducted without changing the structure and the traditional feature, refining the service facilities and the functions. Third, buildings of congruent feature can be str
13	pe of buildings is not in harmony with the traditional style, but are arranged along the main street in the village, should be refurbished for now, and should be constructed in strict accordance with the requirements of the surrounding traditional buildings. Remain and occlusion: the h
14	posed to be repaired to conserve the original status. For traditional buildings, improvement and renovation should be conducted without changing the structure and the traditional feature, refining the service facilities and the functions. Third, buildings of congruent feature can be str
15	posed to be repaired to conserve the original status. For traditional buildings, improvement and renovation should be conducted without changing the structure and the traditional feature, refining the service facilities and the functions. Third, buildings of congruent feature can be str
16	1-maintain the traditional building facade, layout and interior decoration. Necessary service facilities can be added. Repair: repair and update the internal structure to adapt to modern lifestyles. Residential buildings converted for other purposes should be repaired, maintained, and inte
17	mal buildings with a certain value and good quality. Such buildings need to change the colors or materials of the facade. Renovation: For buildings with a certain value, general appearance and poor quality, the buildings will be demolished and rebuilt. Demolition on some ancillary b
18	
19	aired and reinforced. The partial use of red bricks, cement, ceramic tiles and other materials needs to be changed. Therefore, on the basis of not changing the traditional appearance characteristics, the protective activities of structural reinforcement, appearance renovation, and improv
20	of this type of buildings, the focus is on adjusting and transforming the interior of the building to improve the living conditions. Update: For general buildings that conflict with traditional styles, and residential buildings with very poor quality, measures to rebuild after demolishing are taken. Demolition: for
21	vention includes repair and maintenance. Improvement: The structure will be improved and updated. Remain: applied on the buildings which have good or fair quality and traditional style. Renovation: Change the facade appearance materials of the buildings that are inconsistent with
22	vention includes repair and maintenance. Improvement: The structure will be improved and updated. Remain: applied on the buildings which have good or fair quality and traditional style. Renovation: Change the facade appearance materials of the buildings that are inconsistent with
23	vention includes repair and maintenance. Improvement: The structure will be improved and updated. Remain: applied on the buildings which have good or fair quality and traditional style. Renovation: Change the facade appearance materials of the buildings that are inconsistent with
24	vention includes repair and maintenance. Improvement: The structure will be improved and updated. Remain: applied on the buildings which have good or fair quality and traditional style. Renovation: Change the facade appearance materials of the buildings that are inconsistent with
25	vention includes repair and maintenance. Improvement: The structure will be improved and updated. Remain: applied on the buildings which have good or fair quality and traditional style. Renovation: Change the facade appearance materials of the buildings that are inconsistent with
26	The definition on protection, repair and improvement are the same. The definition for renovation requires only the facade renovation.
27	vention includes repair and maintenance. Improvement: the structure will be improved and updated. Remain: applied on the buildings which have good or fair quality and traditional style. Renovation: Change the facade appearance materials of the buildings that are inconsistent with
28	vention includes repair and maintenance. Improvement: The structure will be improved and updated. Remain: applied on the buildings which have good or fair quality and traditional style. Renovation: Change the facade appearance materials of the buildings that are inconsistent with
29	vention includes repair and maintenance. Improvement: The structure will be improved and updated. Remain: applied on the buildings which have good or fair quality and traditional style. Renovation: Change the facade appearance materials of the buildings that are inconsistent with
30	vention includes repair and maintenance. Improvement: The structure will be improved and updated. Remain: applied on the buildings which have good or fair quality and traditional style. Renovation: Change the facade appearance materials of the buildings that are inconsistent with
31	buildings, the focus is on adjusting and transforming the interior of the building to improve the living conditions. Update: For general buildings that conflict with traditional styles, and residential buildings with very poor quality, measures to rebuild after demolishing are taken. Demo
32	Protection: for buildings under legal protection. Improvement: maintenance and repair. Renovation: for buildings that are not in tune with the other buildings
33	Protection: for buildings under legal protection. Improvement: maintenance and repair. Renovation: for buildings that are not in tune with the other buildings
34	vention includes repair and maintenance. Improvement: The structure will be improved and updated. Remain: applied on the buildings which have good or fair quality and traditional style. Renovation: Change the facade appearance materials of the buildings that are inconsistent with
35	Protection: for buildings under legal protection; repair and update refers to the conservative renovation on facade and the layout. Demolition is for buildings of poor quality or feature.
36	Protection: Repair and restoration. Improvement: internal renewal. Remain: Keep those buildings that are consistent with style and appearance of other buildings. Demolition and reconstruction: it is applied to the dilapidated buildings.
37	Protection: Repair and restoration. Improvement: internal renewal. Remain: Keep those buildings that are consistent with style and appearance of other buildings. Demolition and reconstruction: it is applied to the dilapidated buildings.
38	Protection: for buildings under legal protection; repair: for the repair on facade and layout of the buildings. Demolish: for buildings of poor quality.
39	protection: for buildings under legal protection; repair and update refers to the conservative renovation on facade and the layout. Demolition is for buildings of poor quality or feature.
40	Repair: daily maintenance. Remain: Reconstruction of buildings with better style and quality are remained. Renovation: Renovation of facade materials. If the buildings' quality is too poor, then demolition will be proposed.
41	vention includes repair and maintenance. Improvement: The structure will be improved and updated. Remain: applied on the buildings which have good or fair quality and traditional style. Renovation: Change the facade appearance materials of the buildings that are inconsistent with
42	vention includes repair and maintenance. Improvement: The structure will be improved and updated. Remain: applied on the buildings which have good or fair quality and traditional style. Renovation: Change the facade appearance materials of the buildings that are inconsistent with
43	Repair the defined historical buildings; improvement refers to detailed components and internal renewal; renovation refers to the demolition of buildings with uncoordinated appearance or poor quality
44	Repair the historical buildings; improvement refers to detailed components and internal renewal; renovation refers to the demolition of buildings with uncoordinated appearance or poor quality
45	Repair historical buildings; improvement refers to detailed components and internal renewal; renovation refers to the demolition of buildings with uncoordinated appearance or poor quality
46	Repair historical buildings; improvement refers to detailed components and internal renewal; renovation refers to the demolition of buildings with uncoordinated appearance or poor quality
47	Repair historical buildings; improvement refers to detailed components and internal renewal; renovation refers to the demolition of buildings with uncoordinated appearance or poor quality
48	Repair historical buildings; improvement refers to detailed components and internal renewal; renovation refers to the demolition of buildings with uncoordinated appearance or poor quality
49	Protection: for buildings under legal protection; repair: refers to reversible repair and renewal. Improvement: renovation with traditional style. Renovation and transformation: renovation of doors and windows that are not in tune with the traditional style and appearance
50	Repair historical buildings; improvement refers to detailed components and internal renewal; renovation refers to the demolition of buildings with uncoordinated appearance or poor quality
51	Repair historical buildings; improvement refers to detailed components and internal renewal; renovation refers to the demolition of buildings with uncoordinated appearance or poor quality
52	vention includes repair and maintenance. Improvement: The structure will be improved and updated. Remain: applied on the buildings which have good or fair quality and traditional style. Renovation: Change the facade appearance materials of the buildings that are inconsistent with
53	vention includes repair and maintenance. Improvement: The structure will be improved and updated. Remain: applied on the buildings which have good or fair quality and traditional style. Renovation: Change the facade appearance materials of the buildings that are inconsistent with
54	Protection: for buildings under legal protection; repair: refers to reversible repair and renewal. Improvement: renovation with traditional style. Renovation and transformation: renovation of doors and windows that are not in tune with the traditional style and appearance
55	Protection: for buildings under legal protection; repair: refers to reversible repair and renewal. Improvement: renovation with traditional style. Renovation and transformation: renovation of doors and windows that are not in tune with the traditional style and appearance
56	Buildings of high historic value are proposed for repair. For buildings of congruent feature are proposed to be structurally improved. For buildings having incongruent facade or bad quality, rectification and transformation are proposed. For buildings of bad feature and quality, demolition is proposed.
57	Buildings of high historic value are proposed for repair. For buildings of congruent feature are proposed to be structurally improved. For buildings having incongruent facade or bad quality, rectification and transformation are proposed. For buildings of bad feature and quality, demolition is proposed.
58	Buildings of high historic value are proposed for repair. For buildings of congruent feature are proposed to be structurally improved. For buildings having incongruent facade or bad quality, rectification and transformation are proposed. For buildings of bad feature and quality, demolition is proposed.
59	Buildings of high historic value are proposed for repair. For buildings of congruent feature are proposed to be structurally improved. For buildings having incongruent facade or bad quality, rectification and transformation are proposed. For buildings of bad feature and quality, demolition is proposed.
60	Buildings of high historic value are proposed for repair. For buildings of congruent feature are proposed to be structurally improved. For buildings having incongruent facade or bad quality, rectification and transformation are proposed. For buildings of bad feature and quality, demolition is proposed.
61	Buildings of high historic value are proposed for repair. For buildings of congruent feature are proposed to be structurally improved. For buildings having incongruent facade or bad quality, rectification and transformation are proposed. For buildings of bad feature and quality, demolition is proposed.
62	Buildings of high historic value are proposed for repair. For buildings of congruent feature are proposed to be structurally improved. For buildings having incongruent facade or bad quality, rectification and transformation are proposed. For buildings of bad feature and quality, demolition is proposed.
63	Buildings of high historic value are proposed for repair. For buildings of congruent feature are proposed to be structurally improved. For buildings having incongruent facade or bad quality, rectification and transformation are proposed. For buildings of bad feature and quality, demolition is proposed.
64	Buildings of high historic value are proposed for repair. For buildings of congruent feature are proposed to be structurally improved. For buildings having incongruent facade or bad quality, rectification and transformation are proposed. For buildings of bad feature and quality, demolition is proposed.
65	Buildings of high historic value are proposed for repair. For buildings of congruent feature are proposed to be structurally improved. For buildings having incongruent facade or bad quality, rectification and transformation are proposed. For buildings of bad feature and quality, demolition is proposed.
66	Buildings of high historic value are proposed for repair. For buildings of congruent feature are proposed to be structurally improved. For buildings having incongruent facade or bad quality, rectification and transformation are proposed. For buildings of bad feature and quality, demolition is proposed.
67	Buildings of high historic value are proposed for repair. For buildings of congruent feature are proposed to be structurally improved. For buildings having incongruent facade or bad quality, rectification and transformation are proposed. For buildings of bad feature and quality, demolition is proposed.

Rural Built Heritage Preservation and Development in Chinese Ethnic Area

No.	Observation-保持	Repair-修缮	Improvement-改善	Rectification-整治	Transformation-改造	Renovation-更新	Maintain-保留	Demolish-拆除	Rebuild-重建	New construction-新建	Ambiguity in concept
1	6	25	21	87	0	0	0	0	0	0	Y
2	0	1	78	37	0	0	0	1	0	0	Y
3	21	80	20	52	0	0	0	0	0	0	Y
4	0	10	22	10	0	0	11	0	0	0	Y
5	0	28	13	88	0	0	55	0	0	0	Y
6	0	20	75	8	0	0	33	0	0	0	Y
7	0	5	52	5	0	0	5	0	0	0	Y
8	0	9	120	28	0	0	24	0	0	0	Y
9	10	14	70	59	0	0	4	3	0	0	Y
10	0	1	96	21	0	0	23	0	0	0	Y
11	0	85	23	8	0	0	7	0	0	14	Y
12	0	11	34	35	0	0	59	19	0	0	Y
13	0	4	119	18	0	0	50	0	0	8	Y
14	4	3	78	79	0	0	87	3	0	0	Y
15	1	10	25	18	0	0	80	0	0	0	Y
16	0	69	97	29	0	0	28	0	0	5	Y
17	0	8	45	0	5	7	0	8	0	0	Y
18	0										
19	0	33	5	0	16	3	3	23	0	0	Y
20	0	28	30	0	5	1	17	10	0	0	Y
21	0	2	54	95	0	0	29	0	0	0	Y
22	0	79	84	167	0	0	27	0	0	0	Y
23	0	11	16	68	0	0	14	0	0	0	Y
24	0	4	18	48	0	0	6	0	0	0	Y
25	0	5	21	36	0	0	50	0	0	0	Y
26	5	39	20	0	4	0	5	0	0	0	Y
27	0	3	4	101	0	0	120	0	0	0	Y
28	0	13	28	551	0	0	148	0	0	0	Y
29	0	54	0	82	0	0	20	0	0	0	Y
30	0	54	0	82	0	0	20	0	0	0	Y
31	0	31	6	2	0	0	14	12	0	0	Y
32	22	124	0	33	523	0	0	0	0	0	Y
33	1	43	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	Y
34	1	23	0	12	0	17	0	0	0	0	Y
35	16	115	0	4	69	0	0	0	0	0	Y
36	6	0	9	0	0	0	22	0	10	17	Y
37	5	11	0	0	0	0	47	0	14	3	Y
38	98	17	0	0	58	0	0	42	0	0	Y
39	31	18	0	9	10	0	0	0	0	0	Y
40	0	54	0	82	0	0	20	0	0	0	Y
41	0	56	20	43	0	0	0	0	0	0	Y
42	0	20	29	0	33	0	0	0	0	0	Y
43	0	21	234	550	0	0	14	0	0	0	Y
44	0	39	16	14	0	0	0	0	0	0	Y
45	0	4	34	0	29	0	9	23	0	0	Y
46	0	4	27	31	0	0	60	23	0	0	Y
47	0	59	0	70	0	0	50	0	0	0	Y
48	0	2	25	0	0	0	10	54	0	0	Y
49	17	0	0	33	0	0	20	0	0	0	Y
50	0	13	20	64	0	0	0	0	0	0	Y
51	3	4	21	36	0	0	13	0	0	0	Y
52	0	74	28	0	10	1	13	45	0	0	Y
53	3	24	101	100	0	0	0	26	0	0	Y
54	7	33	68	18	0	0	0	0	0	0	Y
55	0	6	18	378	0	0	85	0	0	0	Y
56	0	21	29	252	0	0	74	0	0	0	Y
57	0	1	25	380	0	0	38	0	0	0	Y
58	0	24	89	705	0	0	61	0	0	0	Y
59	0	36	38	534	0	0	23	167	0	0	Y
60	0	16	35	58	0	0	39	0	0	0	Y
61	0	6	49	0	21	0	0	27	0	0	Y
62	7	23	28	0	44	1	0	20	0	0	Y
63	0	63	23	0	0	1	11	45	0	0	Y
64	0	19	40	40	0	0	0	10	0	0	Y
65	0	14	49	88	37	0	9	0	0	0	Y
66	0	22	15	18	0	0	0	0	0	0	Y
67	0	15	45	0	11	0	0	0	0	0	Y
	264	1763	2389	5366	875	31	1557	561	24	47	