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Tourism, heritage, and the transformation of the World Heritage Site of Honghe Hani Rice Terraces

Wang Yan

UNIL | Université de Lausanne

Faculté des géosciences
et de l'environnement

Institut de géographie et durabilité

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par

Yan Wang

Master of Science in Advanced Urbanism, Bauhaus University Weimar
Master of Engineer in Landscape Planning and Design, Shanghai Tongji University

Jury

Prof. Mathis Stock, Directeur de thèse
Prof. Cheng Yang, Tongji University Shanghai
Prof. Maria Gravari-Barbas, Université de Paris 1
Prof. Emmanuel Reynard, Université de Lausanne

Sous la Présidence du Prof. Christian Kull, Université de Lausanne

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Abstract

The linked processes of tourism and UNESCO's heritage movement have been transforming rural places in China's Honghe County. This has increasingly enmeshed these remote areas into broader social networks, introduced new social groups into the place making process, endowed the site with new meanings, and re-organized material space around a new identity as the World Heritage Site (WHS) of Honghe Hani Rice Terraces (HHRTs). This transformation process is the core issue addressed in this dissertation. To deconstruct this phenomenon, four interrelated aspects of transformation at HHRTs are investigated: 1）the transformation of the place into a WHS through meaning construction during and after the World Heritage listing; 2) the visible changes of the rice terrace landscape and the settlement-scape at HHRTs under the "tourist" and "expert" gazes; 3) the tourism-triggered urbanization and changing place qualities in traditional villages, and 4) the power relations and negotiations involved in place making in traditional villages.

The theoretical basis for the thesis is built on the concept of "place making". The thesis argues that place making should be seen as a process in which the meaningful and material aspects of places are constantly shaped by various individuals and social groups through interpretation and practice. To approach the four interrelated themes with more analytical specificity, it further draws on theorizations of World Heritage making, urbanity, and entanglements of power. In terms of theoretical contributions, the project proposes the concept of "settlement-scape" to emphasize the visual characteristics of settlements. It also proposes analytical models to examine the process of meaning construction through the World Heritage movement, the emergence of urban characteristics in rural areas, and power dynamics in place making.

The thesis presents several new empirical findings. It first lays out the different elements of meaning construction in the heritagization process at HHRTs. It explores the phenomena of boundaries selection, idealized representations in nomination documents, and the reintegration of heritage discourse at the local level. Secondly, the thesis discusses the transformation of the landscape and settlement-scape at HHRTs. In terms of the landscape, it finds that under the tourist gaze, not only have visual qualities been "rediscovered" by local residents, but more fine-grained landscape images have also emerged. In terms of the settlement-scape, it traces the emergence of four types of settlement-scape: the modern, semi-vernacular, neo-vernacular, and hybrid. Thirdly, it studies the changing place qualities at Pugaolaozhai Village. The results indicate that heritage tourism has transferred urban qualities to rural places, as signified by increased density and diversity of land-uses and population, urbanized architectural

styles, the emergence of symbolic centrality, and the transformation of public spaces. But Pugaolaozhai has been far from completely urbanized since it remains functionally peripheral for residents, and traditional space and architectural elements still exist. Finally, the thesis describes power entanglements among direct stakeholders on-site.

The Azheke Village case shows that the entanglements of power among authorities, experts, investors, and local villagers have shaped both the tangible and intangible aspects of the place. They were driven by both shared (i.e., improving the living conditions of the villagers) and divergent objectives (i.e., political performance, professional interest, profit). Power was manifested in conflicts over road and housing construction. Both the dominating powers (the authorities and experts) and the resisting powers (villagers and investors) drew on a variety of resources (legal resources, expertise, social status, etc.) and tactics (such as persuasion, manipulation, etc.) in negotiations.

Résumé

Tourisme et classement au patrimoine mondial de l'Unesco, deux processus intiment liés, ont transformé les espaces ruraux du comté de Honghe en Chine. Ces processus ont progressivement intégré ces espaces reculés dans des réseaux sociaux plus larges, introduit de nouveaux groupes sociaux dans le processus de production des lieux, doté le site de nouvelles significations et réorganisé l'espace matériel autour d'une nouvelle identité, celle du site du patrimoine mondial des rizières en terrasses de Honghe Hani (Honghe Hani Rice Terraces : HHRTs). Ce processus de transformation est la question centrale abordée dans cette thèse. Pour déconstruire ce phénomène, quatre aspects interdépendants de la transformation des HHRT sont étudiés : 1) la transformation du lieu en un patrimoine mondial par la construction de significations pendant et après l'inscription sur la liste du patrimoine mondial ; 2) les changements visibles du paysage des rizières en terrasse et du paysage de l'habitat dans les HHRT sous le regard des « touristes » et des « experts » ; 3) l'urbanisation déclenchée par le tourisme et les changements de qualité des lieux dans les villages traditionnels ; et 4) les relations de pouvoir et négociations impliquées dans la production des lieux dans les villages traditionnels.

D'un point de vue théorique, cette thèse repose sur le concept de « production des lieux ». La thèse soutient que la production des lieux doit être considérée comme un processus dans lequel les aspects idéels et matériels des lieux sont constamment façonnés par divers individus et groupes sociaux à travers l'interprétation et la pratique. Pour analyser plus spécifiquement les quatre thèmes interdépendants, la thèse s'appuie sur les théories relatives à la construction des sites du patrimoine mondial, à l'urbanité et aux jeux de pouvoir. En termes de contributions théoriques, la thèse propose le concept de *« settlement-scape » (« paysage-habitat »)* pour souligner les caractéristiques visuelles de l'habitat. Elle propose également des modèles analytiques pour étudier le processus de construction de significations à travers le classement au patrimoine mondial, l'émergence de caractéristiques urbaines dans les espaces ruraux, et les dynamiques de pouvoir dans la production des lieux.

La thèse présente plusieurs résultats empiriques novateurs. Elle expose tout d'abord les différents éléments de la construction de significations dans le processus de patrimonialisation des HHRT. Elle explore les phénomènes de délimitation, les représentations idéalisées dans les documents de nomination, et l'intégration du discours sur le patrimoine au niveau local. Deuxièmement, la thèse aborde la transformation du paysage et du *settlement-scape* dans les HHRT. En ce qui concerne le paysage, la thèse montre que sous le regard des touristes, non seulement les qualités

visuelles du site ont été « redécouvertes » par les habitants locaux, mais des images plus précises du paysage ont également émergé. En ce qui concerne le *settlement-scape* , l'étude retrace l'émergence de quatre types de paysage: le moderne, le semi-vernaculaire, le néo-vernaculaire et l'hybride. Troisièmement, la thèse étudie les changements de qualités des lieux dans le village de Pugaolaozhai. Les résultats indiquent que le tourisme patrimonial a contribué au transfert de qualités urbaines à des espaces ruraux, comme en témoignent la densité et la diversité accrues des usages du sol et de la population, les styles architecturaux urbanisés, l'émergence d'une centralité symbolique et la transformation des espaces publics. Mais Pugaolaozhai est loin d'avoir été complètement urbanisé puisqu'il reste périphérique d'un point de vue fonctionnel pour ses habitants, et que des éléments spatiaux et architecturaux traditionnels existent toujours. Enfin, la thèse décrit les jeux de pouvoir entre les acteurs sur le site. Le cas du village d'Azheke montre que les jeux de pouvoir entre les autorités, les experts, les investisseurs et les villageois ont façonné les aspects matériels et immatériels du lieu. Ces différents acteurs étaient motivés par des objectifs à la fois communs (notamment l'amélioration des conditions de vie des villageois) et divergents (en termes de réussite politique, d'intérêts professionnels, de profits économiques). Les relations de pouvoir étaient se sont manifestées par des conflits liés à la construction de routes et de logements. Les acteurs dominants (les autorités et les experts) et les acteurs de l'opposition (les villageois et les investisseurs) se sont appuyés sur une diversité de ressources (ressources juridiques, expertise, statut social, etc.) et de tactiques (telles que la persuasion, la manipulation, etc.) lors des négociations.

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Abbreviations

SACH, National Cultural Heritage Administration

UNESCO, The United Nations Educational, Scientific and Cultural Organization

ICOMOS, International Council on Monuments and Sites

IUCN, International Union for Conservation of Nature

HHRTs, (the World Heritage Site of) Honghe Hani Rice Terraces

OUV, Outstanding Universal Value

OG, Operational Guidelines for the Implementation of the World Heritage Convention

TA, Terrace Administration

WHS(s), World Heritage Site(s)

Chapter 1

Introduction

This chapter gives an overview of the thesis. Section 1.1 introduces the background of the research. Section 1.2 presents the state-of-the-art and identifies gaps in existing research. Section 1.3 presents the objectives, aims, and significance of this project. Finally, section 1.4 provides an outline of the remaining chapters of the thesis.

1.1 Background

China has been experiencing a World Heritage "craze" (Yan, 2018). In the past 30 years, over 50 places were converted into World Heritage Sites (WHSs), making China the country with the most WHSs in the world[1]. At the national level, China's enthusiasm for heritage inscription was driven by the state's strategy to develop the country's soft power (Silverman & Blumenfield, 2013), and the state's anxiety about lost traditions in the face of the country's rapid modernization (Yan, 2018). Local governments in China often proactively maximize the benefit of WHSs by interpreting the sites in their own ways (Yan, 2018). WHS inscription is seen as a political achievement, and heritage is seen as a resource to achieve economic development in the form of tourism (Silverman and Blumenfield 2013). World Heritage inscription has often led to the rapid increase in the number of tourist visits and consequent tourism development.

Parallel to the World Heritage "craze" was China's rural revitalization campaign. Rural areas are seen by the state as the original source of the country's cultural roots and the backbone of China's development, but rapid urbanization has resulted in rural decline. To facilitate rural development and preserve the tangible and intangible traditional culture of rural China, the state created a list of traditional villages and inscribed over 6,000 villages[2]. The 19th National Congress in 2017 launched the rural revitalization campaign (乡村振兴) that promises to modernize the rural economy and bring wealth

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[1] By the year 2020, China and Italy were home to largest number of WHSs in the world. Both countries boast 55 WHSs.
[2] The list was created in year 2012, and till the year 2020, a total of 6,819 villages have been published in five batches. The list was published by the Ministry of Housing and Urban-Rural Development, the Ministry of Culture and Tourism, the State Administration of Cultural Heritage, the Ministry of Finance, the Ministry of Natural Resources and the Ministry of Agriculture and Rural Development.

to villagers through innovative development pathways in the countryside (Kan, 2021). Especially in remote rural areas, tourism has been promoted as an important development tool to achieve rural revitalization, i.e., to valorize rural resources to develop tourism, to bring the rural area up to national standards of development, and to preserve the cultural traditions and rural landscape (Gao & Wu, 2017; Long et al., 2012, 2016; M. Yang et al., 2009; Zeng & Ryan, 2012).

The World Heritage movement and China's rural development paradigm formed the macro policy background against which the study site – Honghe Hani Rice Terraces (HHRTs) underwent its most recent major transformation. Situated in a remote mountain region, the site has developed distinctive cultural characteristics and landscapes valued by the tourism industry. Tourism and heritage nomination have been promoted by the local government as an important step in developing the regional economy preserving traditional architecture, landscapes, and cultural practices. But tourism has also brought new flows of capital, information, and people which have accelerated the transformation of the HHRTs.

My first introduction to the HHRTs was through my planning work - I was involved in making strategic tourism development plans for the site after it was inscribed as a WHS in 2013. Considering its World Heritage status, a consensus was reached by the regional government and planning team: tourism development should be based on conservation, and development should not destroy heritage resources. Such understanding was closely linked to the two contexts mentioned above. In the past years, China's World Heritage inscription process was criticized for its lack of consistent effort to preserve the heritage sites. Tourism development and standardized planning practices in rural regions are considered to have destroyed the authentic rural flavor of traditional villages. For space practitioners (planners, architects, and landscape architects), there has been a growing call for planning practices that focus on preserving the original landscape and the built fabric. During this project, a substantial number of drawings and texts were developed to explore how to preserve the material remains, including the terraced landscape and the traditional built environment. And we hoped that our work could contribute to both the site's tourism development and the conservation of the materiality on which its World Heritage status was based.

The project was completed by a team of six planners in less than half a year, and the project was only one among many projects we were working on. Our understanding of the site was limited because we paid only two very short site visits and covered only a small area of the whole site. I doubted if our planning team had offered the "right" solution for achieving sustainable development, which was interpreted by us as a combination of conservation and development. Besides, we planners were just outsiders who provided consultancy services. Our planning strategies were conceived at

a macro scale, and the government still needed to develop a more detailed implementation approach. The site's development involves different social groups, including the indigenous population, government authorities, experts, and developers. Considering the huge financial and human resources needed to preserve the site, and the complicated social realities at tourism destinations, I was not sure if the plans we made would be implemented.

Even when the HHRTs plan was completed "successfully" (i.e., the regional government was highly satisfied with our work), the project left me with many unanswered questions. My curiosity centered around four different facets of how tourism development and WHS status had changed the site. The first interesting aspect was "World Heritage'. There are many rice terraces in China and HHRTs did not seem particularly interesting to me, so why and how did it become a WHS? What constitutes World Heritage, and what is the "true value" that we tried to safeguard? What allows the site to be a WHS and what does it mean to be on the WHS list? The second point of concern was the rice terrace landscape and the human settlements. Why would the rice terraces in HHRTs be particularly interesting for tourists? For planners, we wanted to preserve all the traditional settlements as we believed they were central to the place's attractiveness. But were they preserved in a traditional style as we expected? The third aspect was the transformation of traditional settlements. Were they remaining "intact" and "undestroyed", or were they "urbanized" like many other rural villages? What was the evidence of change? And who initiated the changes? How were conservation and tourism development managed at the site? These were the questions that drove the research project.

1.2 State of the art

This section brings together two strands of literature relevant to the thesis. The first strand of literature concerns the empirical studies of HHRTs and the transformation of rural settlements in China. The second strand of literature addresses the theoretical discussion of place making (i.e., UNESCO's endeavor to turn local places into WHSs) and power in destination place making.

Empirical studies on HHRTs and Chinese rural settlements

The Hani Terraces have attracted the interest of many researchers. Non-Chinese research projects tend to focus on the ecological aspects of HHRTs, including biodiversity, water, soil, ecological compensation, vertical characteristics, soil-ecological resilience, etc. In contrast, domestic Chinese researchers have varied interests. A review of articles and papers found through CNKI (the mainstream Chinese academic searching engine) with the keywords "Hani Rice terrace" shows that a range of topics

has been addressed, including architecture, planning and conservation, tourism, community involvement, sustainable development, and cultural impacts. The literature studies the site from the following fields.

The most discussed field is the field of planning and designing. Topics covered include the change of land-use and the strategies of conservation, planning, and restoration of traditional settlements and dwellings. GIS and remote sensing are often used to produce quantitative results. Most of the researchers are architects and planners who are working on the conservation and restoration of the villages. Different topics are covered depending on the spatial scale of the researched area. At the scale of the HHRTs' heritage property zone, Li (2019) measures the spatial-temporal change of tourism-related land-use; Han (2014) detects the change of land-cover (farms and forest) and other land-uses (touristic/ residential); and Yuan (2016) discusses how to integrate multiple forms of planning, including conservational planning, tourism planning, and beautiful home planning, in HHRTs' development. In terms of the settlements within HHRTs' heritage property zone, scholars have discussed the historical evolution of settlements' morphology in relation to the geographical environment, culture, and agricultural production. Some examples are Luo's (2019) study of 32 villages in HHRTs, Zong et al. (2014), and Wang's (2011) study of Quanfuzhuang Middle village. Architects and planners perceive the adaptation of villages in a modern context as negative. Villages in which traditional housing types are being replaced by modern ones are often described as being "destroyed" (in Chinese, as "风貌异化，风貌破坏"). In terms of traditional dwellings, most research projects address the conservation and restoration of traditional dwellings (the so-called mushroom cottage) and present the technical details of the material, design, construction methods, and cost, as well as images from before and after renovation. Examples include articles on the restoration of dwellings in Azheke(Zhu, 2016; Zhu et al., 2017), Quanfuzhuang (Zhang, 2016), and Qingkou (Qin, 2011).

The second theme is the tourism development of HHRTs. It covers five different topics. The first topic is the tourism market and products. They evaluate and give suggestions in terms of the general current touristic products (Wang, 2015; Chen, 2009), specific tourism products such as the long-street banquet and red rice products(Gai, 2016), the photographic tourism market (Zou, 2010), and marketing strategies and tourism market characteristics (Lu & Chen, 2011; Chen & Lu, 2011). These research projects tend to be very market-oriented, and they often generate a list of proposals for the development of the tourism industry. The second topic concerns tourism development mechanisms and strategies (Gu et al., 2012; Wall et al., 2014; L. Zhang & Stewart, 2017; 邢, 2016; Zhang & Stewart, 2017). Many scholars suggest that current development mechanisms are problematic. Although tourism has fostered a sense of pride among the local

community and diversified local livelihoods (Gu et al., 2012), it has also been found to generate income disparities. Tourism is dominated by a state-owned enterprise – the Shibo Group. Most of the tourism revenue accrues to this enterprise, while only a small part is reallocated to local farmers. Local farmers gain little economic benefit, while the few people who have the skills and capital to establish businesses profit the most from tourism (Zhang, 2014). Such uneven benefit distribution has been causing discontent among the local population and is seen by scholars as hindering sustainable tourism development. Many authors offer suggestions for improvement, such as creating a better benefit sharing plan and involving local communities. The third topic concerns tourism gentrification (see Chan et al., 2016; Zhang et al., 2016). Scholars have observed that tourism contributes to the gentrification process at HHRTs. They identify three types of gentrification – gentrifier-led, state-led and self-organized. The fourth topic addresses socio-cultural change, including the change of indigenous culture (Tang & Che, 2004), traditional myths and stories (Zhang, 2017), everyday activities (Zhong, 2015), social relations and social space (Wang, 2018) and social structure (He, 2005).

The third theme addresses the farming practices, the rice terrace landscape, and the dynamism brought by tourism development. Focusing on farming practices, Zhang (2020) discusses the emerging disparities and different types of farmers, Yang et al., (2017) study crop choice, and Gao et al. (2020) discuss the farmers' perceptions of landslides and their attitudes toward terrace restoration. In terms of farming practices and the landscape, Lu (2011) examines how the rice planting tradition influences the formation of the cultural landscape (including both tangible and intangible elements, such as houses, calendars, festivals. etc.). Focusing on the rice terrace landscape, researchers discuss the characteristics of the agricultural system and the cultural landscape, the challenges, as well as conservation measures (see Min, 2009; Jiao, 2002; Fuller & Min, 2013). Many scholars are concerned with the dynamism of the rice terrace landscape in the tourism context. They highlight the threat that tourism poses to traditional farming practices. Local communities see land simply as production material that provides a sense of material security (Wang 2008). In pursuit of economic benefits, some local Hani people even propose replacing grain with water (Wang, 2008). They would prefer to abandon the less-lucrative rice crops altogether and simply fill the terraced fields with water all year round to provide a permanent liquid pattern of terraced landscapes for tourists (Wang, 2008). Another study by Hua et al. (2018) suggests that the primary factor contributing to the loss of the rice terraces is not tourism, but the decreased precipitation. The authors argue that local residents exaggerate the negative impact of tourism since they want to express their discontent about how little they profit from tourism development. Despite the potential threat, the current scale of the rice terrace landscape is seen by many researchers as relatively stable (Y. Zhang et al., 2017). Zhang et al. (2017) argue that culture plays an important role in

maintaining the terraced landscape. Most of the farmers are part-time farmers who are engaged in non-farm jobs and comes back during the farming season; most people plan to continue farming and support landscape conservation, but do not want the next generation to farm. Culture maintains the stability of traditional landscapes through its pull and resistance. Pull means because of traditional thinking and place attachment, they tend to stay near their hometown and continue farming. Resistance means they also hold on to stagnant thinking, are not well-educated, and do not adapt to non-local society.

The fourth theme concerns heritage. Such literature takes two different approaches. Some argue for the conservation and safeguarding of heritage values (Fuller & Min, 2013; Li & Xu, 2020; Jiao & Cheng, 2002; Min, 2009). These authors discuss the values and characteristics of traditional agricultural and cultural landscapes and explore methods to preserve heritage in the context of tourism. Others examine the heritage phenomenon more critically. Qu & Zhang (2016) examine the discourses produced by local actors. They found that different local groups, including businesspeople, local tourism workers, local officials, and ordinary residents, interpreted heritage in line with their respective statuses. Qu et al. (2018b) study the power relations and practices embedded within the process of heritage nomination. They found that the nomination process involved different individuals and groups who mobilized a wide range of power resources (such as political power, knowledge, or social influences) and practices (such as by legislation, publicity, or training). Zhou and Zhang (2019) explore the heritagization (H) and touristification (T) processes of the HHRTs. They find that those two processes occurred in the same social context and space-time, but their crucial subjects and objects are different. The interaction between the two processes was not static but experienced four stages of dynamic change from "T initiated H" to "H and T were promoted mutually", to "T impeded H", and finally "H accelerated T". The anthropologist Wang (2008b) investigates how the World Heritage system generates debates about heritage authenticity and creates new sites of struggle over the control of cultural and natural resources in HHRTs even before its heritage inscription. She points out that local people's practices and discourses redefined, subverted, and transformed the versions of authenticity promoted by government authorities, UNESCO representatives, and heritage experts. In her project, she interrogated the networks of transnational actors and the circuits of power-knowledge production, examined concepts as "unity", "integrity", and "authenticity" central to the World Heritage protection system, and questioned who can speak for "nature", "culture", "community" and finally "development".

A review of the existing literature on HHRTs reveals the following research gaps. Firstly, on the subject of landscape, no research so far addresses the change in the visual

character of the landscape in the context of tourism. Secondly, in terms of settlements, almost no study discusses the urbanization of settlements. Moreover, architects and planners tend to categorize villages simply as traditional/destroyed, or touristic/ non-touristic. There are no theoretical discussions on settlement types or in-depth analysis of settlements' aesthetic qualities. Thirdly, in terms of heritage listing, studies rarely address the meaning construction process. And finally, information on the power issues in Azheke's tourism development is scant.

A vast literature on rural settlements can be found in journals such as *Habitat International*, which examines settlement's morphology (such as spatial structure and distribution), functions (such as land-use change, residential development, commercialization, etc.), evolution, and other socio-natural characteristics. The urbanization of the rural is a global phenomenon, and the transformation of rural settlements in China has long been a favorite topic of Chinese scholars. Extant studies primarily discuss the evolution of traditional settlements from a macro perspective (Chen et al., 2020). Often, studies involve multiple rural settlements at a regional level and use GIS remote sensing techniques to aid analysis. Some features that are examined include spatial distribution, density, shape, and size (see Qian et al., 2012; Tan & Li, 2013; Tian et al., 2012; Zhu et al., 2014), in relation to settlements' socio-economic structure, employment patterns, culture, policies, etc. (see Cao et al., 2017; Hu et al., 2019; G. Li et al., 2018; Qian et al., 2012; Tan & Li, 2013). Within the Chinese literature, urban and rural are seen as two key geographical concepts that can be clearly distinguished according to factors such as institutional arrangements, land-use, economic structure, and demographic structure.

Tourism is seen as a driving force of urbanization in China's rural regions (Qian et al., 2012; Xi et al., 2015), and some scholars have examined the evolution of rural settlements in the context of tourism. Xi et al. (2015) examined the spatial evolution of three villages in the Yesanpo tourism area and suggested that the intensity of land-use, the touristic functions, and the landscape change are positively correlated to the physical distance from the core scenic spot. The three villages evolved into three distinct types – modern town, semi-urbanized village, and traditional village—corresponding to three land development types. At a micro level, a few studies focus on the commodification process and settlement morphology. For example, Lin & Bao (2015) and Zhang et al. (2019) examined the commodification of traditional rural settlements by applying Mitchell's (1998) creative destruction model and found that the commodification process exhibits different characteristics than those described by the model. Chen et al. (2020) examined the settlement morphology of Chengkan village in terms of the spatial evolution process, characteristics, and driving factors from the perspective of the cultural ecosystem. The results show that the Chengkan Village went through stages of formation, development, prosperity, decay, and regeneration. This cycle was shaped by

an ecosystem comprised of the natural, economic, and social environments.

In urban geography, there is a debate on planetary urbanization. Based on Lefebvre's (1970) notion of planetary urbanization, Brenner and Schmid (2017) further extend the concept and claim that rural places can be seen as extended urban. Proponents of planetary urbanization argue that the urban should not be seen as a form, but a process in which the urban is being reproduced and remade worldwide and transcending spatial boundaries (Brenner & Schmid, 2017). This theory offers a new perspective for understanding the transformation process of rural places. But within the Chinese literature, the rural-urban dichotomy stands strong. Only one scholar - Huang (2019), investigates urbanization from a planetary urbanization perspective. This indicates that current literature on rural urbanization in China is somewhat removed from the debate around planetary urbanization. Huang (2019) critically examined the rural revitalization practices initiated by university-based planning professionals. The results show that expert-led rural revitalization processes have been insufficient to stimulate rural redevelopment. Huang (2019) argues that there is an urgent need to reconceptualize the relations between China's rural areas and its urban areas from an updated perspective.

A review of the existing literature on the transformation of Chinese rural settlements reveals the following gaps. Firstly, evidence of urbanization is based on land-use expansion and the development of non-residential, non-agricultural land-use types. Although those studies have documented change in rural settlements, they still perceive rural settlements as rural (for example, as traditional or modernized rural settlements). It is therefore necessary to see the urban as a quality that can be transferred through tourism to previously rural places (Stock et al., 2017). Secondly, studies of settlements in remote rural regions remain scant. Most of the Chinese cases focused on rural villages or towns in more developed regions where tourism has developed a very mature market, such as in Yesanpo (Xi et al.2015), Xidi (Lin & Bao, 2015), Wuyuan (Zhang et al., 2019), and Chengkan (Chen et al., 2020). Thirdly, while the transformation of China's rural settlements has been widely analyzed, very little literature prioritizes or theorizes the visual, aesthetic qualities of settlements in transformation. The aesthetic qualities of settlements are often captured by the architectural style and are often presented as a descriptive element reflecting a general transition from "vernacular" to "modern". Existing research tends to incorporate the visual characteristics of a settlement merely as one parameter of change alongside other features such as land-use, morphology, functions, etc.

Theoretical aspects of place making, power in place making, and World Heritage making

The concept of place making (also spelled as place-making, or placemaking[3]) has been used by many scholars to describe the construction of places (Dupre, 2019). This thesis uses the spelling of "place making", since it is often used as an all-inclusive concept that encompasses the full range of meanings and definitions encountered in literature (Lew, 2017). Place making is almost synonymous with terms like place (re-)construction, place (co-)production, and place-shaping, yet has become the more fashionable term. As an overarching concept, place making has been used by scholars of different fields to describe the multiple processes that shape the material and meaningful aspects of places. For Relph (1976), place making is a continuous process that produces places with historically authentic, locally-bounded features. For planners and architects, especially in North America, place making refers to a proactive design or planning method that shapes a physical place (mostly public spaces) based on certain values (e.g., community-based, sustainability, etc.). For tourism scholars, place making has been used to discuss the construction of the tangible space and spatial imaginaries of tourist destinations (see Lew 2017; Fletchall 2016; Sofield, Guia, and Specht 2017). For other geographers, place making has been seen more generally as a set of social, political, and material processes by which people create and recreate places (see Hultman & Hall, 2012; Pierce et al., 2011). The diverse use of the term reflects the different local/global organizational structures that change places, such as the everyday life of the local population, the planning process, and the tourism industry.

Power is a widely discussed issue in destination place making. Power is seen as the capacity "which enables its holder to secure certain outcomes or realize certain objectives in a dispositional quality" (Allen, 2003b, p. 17). According to Lew (2017), all place making processes are inherently political, but in his theorization, no analytical tool is provided to analyze power relations in place making. In tourism literature, power relations are investigated in the planning and management process (see Beritelli & Laesser, 2011; Bowen et al., 2017; Saito & Ruhanen, 2017), destination branding (see Beritelli & Laesser, 2011; Marzano & Scott, 2009), events (see. Tiew et al., 2015), and general collaboration processes at destinations (see Hazra et al., 2017; Kennedy & Augustyn, 2014). Scholars are often drawn to the issue of how power is exercised among stakeholders, such as Hazra et al. (2017) and Tiew et al. (2015). Other scholars examine the issue from a temporal standpoint and discuss changes in power relations over time, such as Manuel-Navarrete (2012) and Bowen et al., (2017). In my opinion, most of the tourism literature leans toward the analysis of the dominating power – described by Sharp et al. (2000, p. 2) as "orthodox accounts of power". Although those scholars recognize the generality and partiality of power, they tend to analyze power from the

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[3] According to Lew (2017), 'place-making' is often used as an organic unplanned process, while 'placemaking' is more used as an intentional top-down destination shaping process.

dominating side. The problem of "orthodox accounts of power" is that they tend "to equate power straightforwardly with domination" (Sharp et al., 2000, p. 2), and neglect the resisting side of power.

To address both sides of power relations, Sharp, Routledge, Philo, and Paddison (2000) proposed the concept of entanglements of power. They argue that power operates in moments of both domination and resistance, and should be understood as a relational capacity - the ability to dominate and to resist. As explained by Sharp et al. (2000), such a conceptualization provides grounds for a more diffused, nuanced, and ambiguous perspective on the geographies of power. Coles and Church (2007) mentioned entanglements of power in the book, *Tourism, Power and Space* (Church & Coles, 2007), but merely in the chapter title to refer to the power that exists in place making. They do not refer to Sharp's (2000) concept. Their aim in using the term "entanglement" is to make the power in tourism more explicit and to emphasize the need for strengthening the connection between tourism research and theorizations of power. Only one scholar, Manuel-Navarrete (2012), explicitly uses the concept of entanglements of power to examine the temporal development of dominance and resistance between hosts, guests, and wider social ecologic structures with a tourist enclave in the Mexican Caribbean.

UNESCO's World Heritage movement can be seen as a global process that changes local place, and hence an agent of place making. It is seen as following a "ritual process" (Di Giovine, 2008, p. 198) that finally produces the "heritage-scape" – a global network of local places. With reference to Turner's ritual process, Appadurai's concept of a "−scape", and writings from Giddens, Kirschenblatt-Gimblett, Urry, Graburn, and others, Di Giovine (2008) theorizes UNESCO's endeavor to convert local places into idealized representations of a global heritage-scape. He provides a normative framework with three steps - "isolation-idealization-valorization" (see Chapter 2). For Di Giovine, the meaning making process is central: heritage is a field of production that creates universal meanings for local places. Such meaning construction is linked with touristic fields of production, in which tourists make sense of WHSs. Although his writing is criticized for neither referring to essential UNESCO documentation and archival material, nor including an in-depth analysis of the listing process and the organizations involved (Rossler, 2010), it presents a meta-analysis of world heritage ideals. As Di Giovine (2018) explains, his writing is the result of an "ethnography of the middle" (Di Giovine, 2018, p. 6), as tourists and tourism professionals who moved between the locals and the upper echelons of UNESCO. Such an approach distinguishes his writing from other authors. Later works from Adell et al. (2015), Harrison (2012, 2013b), Meskell et al. (2015), and Meskell (2014) enrich the study of the World Heritage phenomenon by providing an "insider" view. Those writers based their writing on observations from working at UNESCO or intergovernmental funding agencies, interacting with UNESCO's

representatives, or participatory observation at the World Heritage Center in Paris.

The listing process of WHSs also interests Chinese scholars. Unlike Di Giovine's "ethnography of the middle" (Di Giovine, 2018, p. 6), recent writings by Yan (2020) and Zhang (2020) take an "insider" view by interacting with the key stakeholders involved in the nomination process. Yan (2020) uses an actor-network approach to study the nomination process of the Grand Canal. He traces the three main stages of the nomination process – conceptualization, dossier making, and site mission. He indicates that the nomination process is a result of compromises among both human actors (such as the state authorities, the nomination team, and local bureaus) and non-human factors (such as the site conditions and unexpected incidents). He suggests that human agents have limited power and are framed by non-human actors. Zhang (2017) theorizes the listing process in China as a game in which UNESCO and relevant international authorities set the rules for the game of listing, while state actors play according to those rules. At the national level, the game is played out by the state accepting and incorporating dominant Western understandings into the national heritage system. At the local level, in the case of West Lake, the dossier text was reformulated to embrace a global perspective. The dossier was originally based on traditional Chinese understandings of landscape, or the harmony discourse (Yan, 2015; Zhang, 2017). The government realized that the harmony discourse did not fit into the pre-defined values established by UNESCO, and they edited those values to fit into the Western heritage discourse. Qu et al. (2018b) study the power relations and practices embedded in the HHRTs nomination process. They approach the nomination process by examining the different individuals and groups involved, the power resources (such as political power, knowledge, or social influences), and practices (such as by legislation, publicity, or training) in different stages of nomination. Shifting from the nomination process to the post-listing valorization, Zhang (2017) notices that Western heritage discourse continues to shape the management of sites, as the Chinese government must not deviate too much from the rules to maintain the listing (Zhang, 2017). At the WHS of Kaiping diaolou, Sun et al. (2017) observed that diaolou architectural style was used as a local symbol in the construction of urban space. But the new landscape was invented for touristic purposes based on exotic foreign elements completely different from those of the local heritage.

A review of the above literature suggests the following gaps. Firstly, considering contrast between the popularity of the term "place making" among researchers in many fields and the term's inadequate theorization, there is a real need for a more holistic theoretical discussion of the place making concept. Secondly, Di Giovine's (2008) theory, focusing on the creation of ideas and meanings, offers a very interesting perspective for examining UNESCO's World Heritage making process. Moreover, such

an approach to World Heritage has not appeared in the Chinese literature. However, Di Giovine's (2008) theory also has limitations (which will be discussed in detail in Chapter 2), and it is necessary to address those limitations before using them for empirical analysis. Thirdly, concerning power in place making, Lew's (2017) tourism place making theory lacks analytical tools to analyze power relations in place making. Hence, an analytical framework is needed to link the formation of destination places to power and politics. And finally, tourism literature leans toward the analysis of the dominating power. Under such a perspective, the resisting side of the power relation is inadequately addressed. The concept of entanglements of power (Sharp et al., 2000) offers a conceptual entry, yet its implications for understanding tourism are underdeveloped. The concept of entanglements of power has the potential to address both dominating and resisting sides of power in tourism literature.

1.3 Aims, objectives and research significance

Aims and objectives

My dissertation is an attempt to answer the many questions that arose during my previous planning experience and to bridge gaps in the literature. I aim to understand the over-arching issue of how have the HHRTs transformed in the context of tourism development? Based on-site experience and the literature review, four different objectives can be formulated: 1) to investigate how UNESCO's World Heritage movement has shaped the HHRTs; 2) to understand the transformation of the visual character of the rice terrace landscape and settlements in the context of tourism development; 3) to examine the transformation of traditional villages from the perspective of planetary urbanization and 4) to apply the entanglements of power concept to examine the power in destinations' place making process. These objectives are addressed in the following questions and sub-questions:

1) How are place making and meaning creation at HHRTs shaped by UNESCO's World Heritage inscription process?

Sub-questions: How are the site's components and boundaries defined? How are the HHRTs re-contextualized to fit into UNESCO's predefined criteria? How are the new meanings created by the official heritage discourse re-integrated at the site level?

2) How do the visual characteristics of the rice terrace landscape and the settlements in HHRTs change in the context of heritage tourism?

Sub-questions: How do the visual characteristics of the rice terrace landscape change under the "tourist gaze"? How do the visual characteristics of settlements change from the perspective of "professional gaze"?

3) How might the concept of planetary urbanization help us understand tourism-induced changes in traditional villages?

Sub-questions: How can we measure the urbanity and rurality of a place? What is the evidence of tourism-triggered urbanization at previously rural destinations? How are these changes linked with the activities of direct actors on-site?

4) How do entanglements of power shape destination place making?

Sub-question: Who is involved in place making and what are their motives?
In what aspects of place does power get "entangled"? How do both sides of the power relation negotiate with each other?

Research significance

Based on the literature discussed above, this research aims to make the following contributions. At the theoretical level, it:

- presents an in-depth review of literature relevant to the concepts of "place" and "place making";
- constructs a conceptual model that reflects a holistic understanding of "place" and "place making" concepts, and a theoretical model to examine the place making process in rural places;
- proposes the concept of "settlement-scape" to examine the evolution of settlements based on their visual, aesthetic qualities;
- critically examines and revises Di Giovine's model of World Heritage making;
- constructs an analytical framework that can be used for the analysis of power in destination place making.

At the empirical level, it also contributes in the following areas:

- it complements the current literature on HHRTs' World Heritage inscription process by focusing on meaning construction at the site, the establishment of the site's boundaries and components, the re-interpretation of the site through dossier, and the re-integration of the official heritage discourse at the site level.
- it enriches the current literature on rice terrace landscape transformation in HHRTs by assessing landscape imaginaries created under the tourist gaze.
- it enriches the studies on the transformation of Chinese rural settlements from the perspective of planetary urbanization. It also contributes to the debate of planetary urbanization with evidence and observations from remote Chinese mountain regions.

it enriches the discussion of politics in tourism studies with empirical observations about specific entanglements of power in HHRTs.

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1.4 Thesis outline
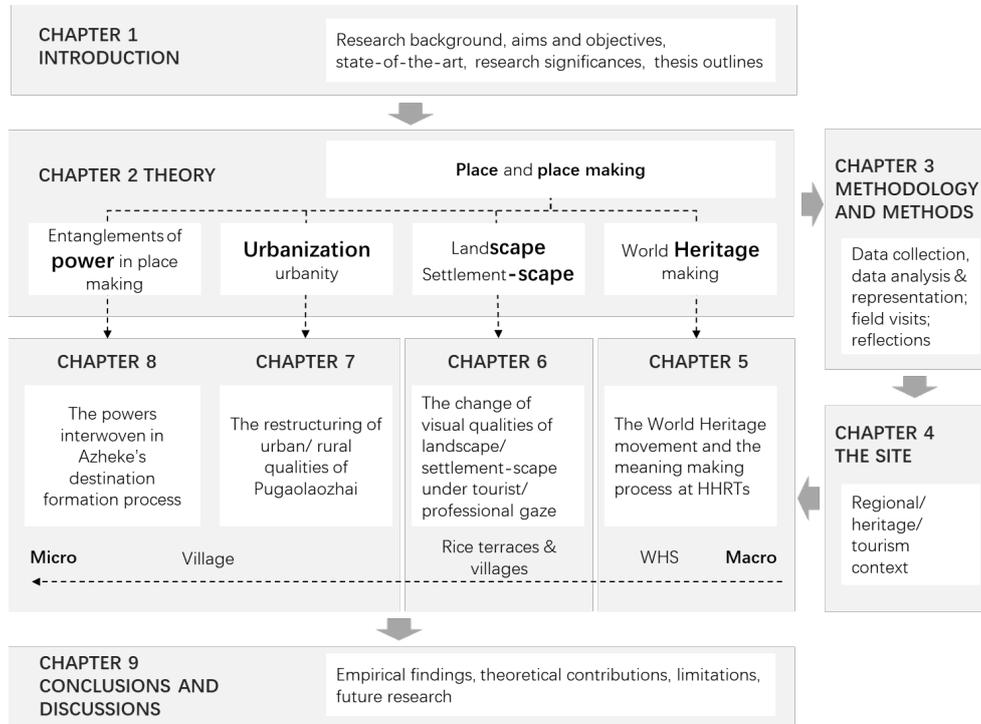
Figure- 1. Structure of the thesis

Source: author

Figure- 1 presents the structure of the thesis. The thesis has 9 chapters. Chapter 1 gives an overview of the whole thesis. It presents an overview of the research in terms of the background, aims and objectives, the gaps in current literature, the research significance, and the organization of the chapters.

Chapter 2 locates the research questions in existing theoretical contexts. It firstly discusses the key concepts "place" and "place making" and constructs a conceptual model that explains the place making process in rural places. It then extends theoretical discussions around four interlinked themes relating to place transformation– heritage, -scape, urbanization, and power, and establishes the theoretical basis for the subsequent empirical chapters.

Chapter 3 presents the methodology and methods. It explains the need to adopt mixed methods approaches, and then presents the methods of data collection, analysis, and representation in detail. It also presents details about the fieldwork and some reflections on the methods used.

Chapter 4 gives a brief introduction to the site. It provides some general background knowledge including the site's geographical location, socio-economic features, history of nomination, World Heritage profile, history of tourism development, attractions, tourism statistics, and current state of the tourism industry.

Chapters 5 to 8 present the empirical findings on the transformation of the HHRTs. Each addresses one theme based on the theoretical discussions presented in Chapter 2. They trace the transformation from macro-level to micro-level, i.e., from the regional level (Chapter 5), to within the site (Chapter 6), and then down to the village level (Chapter 7 and 8).

Chapter 5 examines meaning construction during the World Heritage inscription process at HHRTs. It firstly presents a revised conceptual model based on Di Giovine's (2008) theory of World Heritage making. It argues that the meaning creation is centered around the formulation of the site's World Heritage identity. This includes selecting the site's components and boundaries, reinterpreting its values, and reintegrating the official discourse at the site level. The empirical examination identifies the multiple factors influencing the boundaries drawing and components selection processes (such as accessibility, the attractiveness of the landscape, and management capacity), the tactics used to reinterpret the site (such as using positive language and neologisms, referring to philosophy, and presenting scientific facts), and how the official discourse was integrated at the local level (such as training, planning files, and legislation.).

Chapter 6 discusses the transformation of HHRTs' two most important tourist attractions based on the concept of "-scape". It finds that under the touristic gaze, the visual qualities of the rice terrace landscape have been re-discovered by local residents. More fine-grained, nuanced touristic landscape imaginaries were constructed through a bottom-up, organic process. The visual qualities of the settlements were differentiated depending on the varied conditions of tourism and conservation, and the traditional settlement-scape has evolved into four distinct forms: the modern, the semi-vernacular, the neo-vernacular, and the hybrid forms.

Chapter 7 investigates the transformation of rural and urban qualities triggered by tourism urbanization. It introduces an analytical framework that comprises a string of indicators to measure the emergence of urban characteristics in rural settlements. At Pugaolaozhai Village, the empirical evidence shows that tourism has endowed the place with urban characteristics. This is evident in indicators such as the diversified and densified functions and population, and the emergence of symbolic centrality. However, observations also show that Pugaolaozhai is far from completely urban since indicators of rurality can still be observed. For example, the village remains peripheral for the local population, and some traditional common spaces and architectural styles still exist.

Chapter 8 analyzes the entanglements of power in Azheke's destination formation process. It firstly introduces an analytical framework to unpack power in destination place making. In Azheke, the place making process is mainly shaped by the entanglements of power among direct stakeholders on site. Power became "entangled" during events like road construction, housing renovation, and land acquisition. Authorities and experts were the dominating power, while investors and the villagers were the resisting power. Both dominating and resisting actors actively drew on a wide variety of tactics and resources. The resisting power – the villagers—sometimes managed to force the dominating power to make compromises by mobilizing their social status and cultural traditions.

Chapter 9 wraps up the research. It argues for a more central role for the concept of place-making in tourism studies. It accentuates that the inclusive concept of place making proposed by this thesis opens up new possibilities for understanding the formation of destinations. The chapter also summarizes the empirical contributions of the study, points to the limitations of the research, and indicates some directions for future research.

Chapter 2

Theoretical basis

This chapter provides a theoretical basis for the questions addressed in this study. Section 2.1 reviews the central concept "place", "place-making" and the processes that change rural places. With place and place making as central concepts, sections 2.2-2.5 further address the concepts and theories relevant to four inter-related topics relevant to the place making process. Section 2.2 concerns the World Heritage making process. It reviews the concepts of "heritage", "heritagization", and critically examined the theorization of heritage making. Section 2.3 concerns the changing rice terrace landscape and settlements in the context of heritage tourism. It reviews the concepts of "landscape", "settlement-scape", and the related theories on traditional settlements. Section 2.4 concerns the urbanization process at destinations. It reviews the concepts of "urbanization", "planetary urbanization", "urbanity", and the theories of tourism urbanization. Section 2.5 concerns the power in the destination development process, it reviews the concept of "entanglements of power" and theories relevant to the exercise of power.

2.1 Place and place making

Place

"Place" has been a central concept in geography. The definition offered here is designed to bring together different aspects of places. It can be understood from the following equally valid aspects: as both material and meaningful; as constructed over time; as a socially networked process.

Material and meaningful

A place is both material and meaningful (Entrikin 1991; Relph 1976). Those two aspects are inseparable since the materiality of a place is both a condition and context of human activities and is also a result of human activities.

The materiality of a place means that it is a spatial structure with constitutive elements. A place has a location and volume, it has a particular spot and occupies a certain portion of a larger "space" (Entrikin, 1991; Gieryn, 2000). Their positions and boundaries are

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(analytically and phenomenologically) not necessarily fixed. Places vary in scale, such as a nation, a village, or a mountain top. Places are composed of a gathering of constitutive natural elements and human constructions, such as the forest, farms, houses, etc. The physicality of places can be measured and described, by their locations or positions, visual forms, and the appearance of the landscape (Relph 1976), or the spatial arrangements and functions of its constitutive elements.

A place is a meaningful location, distinguished by the meanings, imagines, memories, information, values attached to it (Cresswell, 1996; Gieryn, 2000; Pred, 1984; Relph, 1976). Meanings are not inherent (Massey, 2012; Pred, 1984; Relph, 1976). They are interpreted, narrated, perceived, felt understood, and imagined created as humans developed relations to places through their interpretation and activities. Meanings tend to be heterogeneous, subjective, and labile (Massey, 2012; Pred, 1984; Relph, 1976). They vary depending on different people or cultures. For example, a city means a place for working and living for some of its inhabitants, or a destination to take a tour for tourists, or a place for a business meeting for business travelers.

A constant state of "becoming"

A place is not static and remains the same, but in an incessant state of "becoming" and continually emergent (Cresswell, 1996, 2013; Massey, 1994; Pred, 1984). They are produced and reproduced through historically and culturally situated social processes and the interactions of people and their practices in society (Pred, 1984). There is a continuity in places' transformation, as the past influenced the present and the future state of a place. But a place's present or future state isn't entirely conditioned by its past, but reshaped by the complexity and interaction of physical, social, and individual systems that places situate. The constant becoming nature of places allows the study to explore their transformation/formation process within a given time frame.

The transformation of places' physicality and meanings are always interwoven with human practices and interactions (Pred 1984; Relph 1976). The way how meanings and materiality, and human activities are interrelated gives a place characters and identities (Relph, 1976). On the one hand, there are modifications of the physical environment result from the human appropriation of places, such as buildings and landscapes. On the other, the meaning is invoked in space through the people who act according to their interpretation of space, and in turn, give their action meanings.

A networked social process

A place is constructed by a particular constellation of relations articulated together at a particular locus (Massey, 1994). This constellation of relations is composed of

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individuals and social groups who develop relations towards the same place. For Massey, those relations go beyond place-bound and outspread to other places, so each place is a mixture of wider and more local social relations, interact with and take a future element of specificity from the history of the place.

Seeing places as the networked social process requires us to understand how it is structured and how the interaction was formed. First, social networks are constructed by actants, who can be both local and distant (Crang, 1998; Massey, 2012). For example, local people are involved in the production of places by living in the city, but people who are physically located outside the place can still exert influences through their mobilities and extended social relations, such as politicians who govern the city, company leaders who remotely control their branch offices. Secondly, humans within this network don't always have a different position, and some are more in a position of control while others might be just on the receiving end (Massey, 2012).

There are interactions within this network. Sometimes actants work collaboratively. For example, in the social network formed by the tourism industry, we can see a lot of collaboration. Tourism agencies, tourists, investors, and government bodies assume different roles, yet they work together to produce a touristic place. But conflicts also occur when different stakeholders hold different values and develop competing agendas. For example, the appropriation of space for the touristic purpose may hinder the daily life of the inhabitants, and hence is not welcomed by the local population; the development of the real-estate project in a natural conservation zone will be strongly opposed by environmentalist who priorities the place's ecological value. In cases of conflicts and negotiation, there is the presence of power (Cresswell, 1996), which means, the resolution is often determined by the power they have. The power resources are often in different forms, such as capital, political, cultural forms.

Place-making

Recently, place-making has been used to describe the construction process of places (Dupre, 2019). In a very recent book *The Routledge Handbook of Placemaking* (Courage et al., 2020), extensive possibilities this concept can address have been presented. They include various processes and aspects of place making at places of different geographical locations, such as the construction of imaginaries/ materiality, social movement/ planning/ everyday mundane practices that shape places, and place making in both urban and rural areas. The concept of place making is nothing new. It is almost synonymous with place (re-)construction, place (co-)production, place-shaping, yet a more fashionable word. In academic literature, three different spellings can be identified, namely, "place making", "place-making" and "placemaking" (Lew, 2017). Although there is no discernable pattern that differentiated how each spelling is used, Lew (2017)

indicates that "place-making" or "placemaking" are used in a more restricted sense. Therefore, he suggests using "placemaking" used to refer to this more deliberate and purposeful approach to place creation, "place-making" to refer to more spontaneous and unstructured approaches, and finally "place making" to refer to an "all-inclusive concept that encompasses the full range of meanings and definitions in the literature" (Lew, 2017, p. 449). Therefore, following Lew (2017), the spelling "place making" is used here because of its broader connotations. A review of related literature found that as an over-arching concept, it was used to discuss selected topics in different fields. Here four different approaches were identified.

Place-making as producing "authentic place"

One of the earliest writers who discussed the concept of place-making is Relph[4]. In his book *Place and Placelessness* (Relph, 1976). He uses "placemaking" to describe the conditions under which authentic places are produced.

> *"Even though the founding of a place maybe its most dramatic and significant event, place-making is a continuous process and the very fact of having been lived-in and used and experienced will lend many places a degree of authenticity." (Relph 1976, p71).*

For him, the authentic, local-bunded feature is the essential quality of a place. Authenticity is evoked when "the physical, social, aesthetic and spiritual needs of culture are adapted to particular sites" (Relph, 2016), and made through "unselfconsciously through vernacular practices, or self-consciously through thoughtful design" (Relph, 2016). In contrast, homogeneous places produced in the post-industrial world were "placeless" or "non-place". Their formation is affected by capitalism and mobility, which invents and imposes place identities, thus developing contrived and artificial place characters. He argues this process shall be termed as "place destruction" instead of "place-making".

Relph sees place-making as both material and meaningful processes, yet his perception of place is partial. He limits his understanding of places to "an introverted, inward-looking history based on delving into the past for internalized origins" (Massey, 2012, p. 64), and therefore denied the neutral and constantly evolving nature of the place concept. Historical, authentic characters are place characters, but contemporary, modern, and contrived characters are also characters. If a place is marked by its

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[4] Earlier than Relph, place-making appeared in George F. Andrews's book published in 1975: Maya Cities: Placemaking and Urbanization. But the author used the word to mean simply the founding of settlements (Relph, 2016).

constantly evolving process, then the qualities will not be static (Massey, 2012). Places inevitably evolve new characters, and the process of "place destruction", shall be rather seen as "place-making" that cultivates a mix of new characters.

Place-making as a design approach

Since the 1970s, "place making" has been used as a community-based approach to the planning, design, and management of public spaces in the fields of architecture and landscape, urban planning, especially in North America (Relph, 2016; Sofield et al., 2017). This trend, in the beginning, stood in line with Relph's place phenomenology. It advocated designs that deliver "a sense of place". Space practitioners of architects, landscape architects, and planners strive to convey "a sense of place" through their planning practices. In their investigation or design of environments, landscapes, or places, they tried to meet the physical, social, aesthetic, and spiritual needs of their users. Increasingly, the "place-making" design approach has been used to address a wide range of issues more than community involvement. For example, they examine the technical, cultural, institutional, and social premises of the planning practices (see Palermo & Ponzini, 2014), the art in place making (see Ong, 2020; Skelly & Edensor, 2020), urban development, and social equalities (see Fincher, Pardy, and Shaw 2016), planning governance (N. Smith, 2020), policy making (see Musterd and Kovács, 2013), etc. Place making as a design approach has highlighted placemaking's potential to nurture a holistic community engagement, social justice, and human-centric urban environment (Courage et al., 2020).

But the concept place-making discussed in the field of planning and design remained narrowly defined, it was reduced to a proactive process that aims at achieving a collective goal of certain types of physical places (mostly only public spaces). Such a definition was geared towards answering how to shape a physical place based on certain values and needs. It does not help explain how a place was practically produced. The other unselfconscious, spontaneous, unstructured process that shapes places without design or planning professionals were neglected. It also failed to bring in the broader social, economic, and political processes influencing the construction of places.

Place-making as constructing touristic places

In tourism studies, place-making was used to discuss the construction of places around their touristic identities (Fletchall, 2016; Lew, 2017; Sofield et al., 2017). Many research projects covered one or several of the following aspects in place-making:

- The construction of various ideas and realities around the place's touristic characters, including the images, narratives, names, and stories in written or

verbal forms.

- The arrangements of the physical elements at various scales, including the landscape and the built environment that meets the need of touristic activities.

The ideas and meanings of construction were a primary focus in tourism studies. They can be categorized into two types. The first type usually renders the place's attractiveness as a destination, created around the place's natural and cultural features, and shapes the imageability of destinations (Saarinen, 2004). The resource of such information includes promotional literature (travel brochures, advertisement, posters), word-of-mouth reputation, and general social media (website, TVs, books, and movies). Another type of resource is referred to as "discourse of development" (Saarinen, 2004). It refers to the contextualized information that serves as an institutional tool and medium for the development produced. They are produced with an active purpose to shape the destinations, including institutional practices and policies, such as regional tourism policies, tourism planning, etc. While the first type forms destination images (Echtner & Ritchie, 1991), the latter indicates how tourism fits into the regional development agenda.

The physical space is the setting for touristic experiences, it includes both natural and built elements, such as the landscape, roads, buildings, and street furniture. Depending on the role they play, those material elements can be attractions, such as the landscape to gaze, a historical building to visit, a traditional village to tour, or a mountain to hike; or they can be facilities and infrastructures that support touristic activities, such as the hotels and restaurants, roads, parking lots, etc.

The materiality and meanings are two inseparable parts of the production of places by the tourism industry. On the one hand, tourism actively markets places to attract desired tourists, businessmen, and other interested people to take part (Hultman & Hall, 2012). On the other hand, tourism is highly dependent on material attractions, spaces, infrastructures that support recreational consumptions. The materiality and meanings are also co-productive. Sometimes the stories and images produced are based on the destination's physical setting, such as its landscape and famous buildings. In other cases, the modification of material space follows pre-fabricated ideas, such as plans or design from architects and planners, or film settings, such as the case of Disneyland and the Mount Airy (Alderman et al., 2012).

While many research projects using the term without giving a definition, an effort to theorize place making in the context of tourism was made by Lew (2017). According to him,

> *"Place making is an innate human behavior, ranging from the*

organic and unplanned actions of individuals, defined here as "place-making" to planned and intentional global theming by governments and tourism authorities, defined here as 'placemaking.' Place-making and placemaking are ends on a continuum of options, with most places have a mix of local and global elements." (Lew, 2017, p. 448)

Depending on the social groups involved, he categorized relatively different forms of organization that constitute a "place making continuum"(Lew, 2017, p. 451). On the one side of this continuum is organic place making, which is a bottom-up process that is often driven through individual actors (Lew, 2017). On the other side, it is the top-down place making - the master-planned process that contains strong elements of modern, cosmopolitan, and professional design and marketing influences (Lew, 2017). Destinations were shaped by both by different degrees, i.e., destinations were shaped by a different mix of "organic/ bottom-up" or "planned/ top-down" place making shapes various elements of destinations.

As a means of explaining the elements (or "tools") of place making, Lew (2017, p. 456) identified three categories:

- Physical design (landscape and builtscapes): including material elements such as street furniture, buildings, public space, greenery, etc.
- People practices (ethnoscapes and peoplescapes): including elements of festivals, events, food and drinks, street life and local dress, other entertainment activities, etc.
- Mental image (mindscapes and storyscape): this refers to representations of destinations, including branding, marketing, history, myths, social media, word of mouth reputation, representations from social media, etc.

Such theorization offers a general and comprehensive framework to investigate the various activities and their consequences for the making of destination places. Besides, Lew (2017) also points out that place making is inherently political. Conflicts and competing interests exist in all processes that shape the material and representations of place, whether "bottom-up", "top-down", planning, or place naming. For example, destination marketing is negotiated by different parties who try to emphasize different products and experiences; the development of the real-estate in a natural conservation zone might be strongly opposed by environmentalists who prioritize the place's ecological value; the "top-down" planning that regulates the builtscape can collide with "organic" building behavior by local communities and hence not well implemented. Especially in heritage tourism, destinations often evolve as in a process of constant negotiation and trade-off among various interest groups who emphasize different

aspects of conservation and development (Ashworth, 2000; Gravari-Barbas et al., 2016; McKercher et al., 2005).

A weakness, however, is that no analytical framework is offered to address the politics of place making. Hence a more explicit analytical tool is needed to examine the power issue within the theorization of place making.

Place-making as networked social processes

Another approach to place-making is to analyze the constellation of social relations that shape the place. Pierce et al., (2011) defined it as,

> *"Place-making – the set of social, political and material processes by which people iteratively create and recreate the experienced geographies in which they live – is an important but oft-neglected part of political theory. Place-making is an inherently networked process, constituted by the socio-spatial relationships that link individuals together through a common place-frame." (Pierce, Martin, and Murphy 2011, p54)*

This definition highlighted the networks and politics in places. First, places were viewed as bundles of space-time trajectory following Massey's (2005) notion of places. Those bundles were formed by social groups who have different relations to the place. Second, different social groups develop different discourse and understandings toward a shared place. This leads to a process of "place-framing" (Martin, 2003; Pierce et al., 2011), in which different agendas were proposed and negotiated. The competing agendas can result in active conflicts or reconciliation with each other.

A similar understanding can be found in Hultman and Hall (2012). They see tourism as an agent of place-making and studied the meaning production process in tourism through the lens of governance, which refers to a network-based model of management over resources whose values are recognized and sometimes contested (Hultman & Hall, 2012). At one destination, different agendas can be developed at the same time (Hultman & Hall, 2012). The analysis of place-making consists of two parts. Firstly, the types of governance structures [5], including the stakeholders involved and the organizational forms. And secondly, the agendas produced and the touristic activities

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[5] "These categories were derived from the relationship between state or public authority on the one hand, and stakeholder autonomy on the other. Hierarchical governance shows the highest degree of state or public intervention, market governance the least. Network and community governance structures signal different modes of public-private partnerships and community participation in destination economy developments" (Hultman and Hall 2012, p550).

proposed.

The significance of such relational thinking is that it allows us to explores the wider, more complex social networks manifested in places and reveals their contested nature. To unpack it, we shall first identify the different groups of stakeholders. The classification of stakeholders shall be based on their similar relation to places, with shared values, agendas, and activities depending on the purpose of the analysis[6]. The stakeholders selected shall all exert certain control over places. Since the level of engagement varies enormously, some groups are on receiving end and exert no obvious influences (Massey, 2012). As a second step, we can examine how they are placed in this network, including the hierarchy of their positions, the resources or power they have, and their co-operational and conflictive relations.

However, this approach is limited to the meanings of places. Hultman and Hall's (2012) analysis was geared towards the construction of the meaning in the governances process. Pierce et al. (2011) reduced it to place-framing. For them, place-frames represent only a part of a place and not fully a place. It represents the socially negotiated and agreed place/bundle that is rhetorical and politically strategic.

To bridge a link between the physical place, it is necessary to observe what are the material elements selected by different social groups. In doing so, we can find out the elements they draw (are the elements the same or different?) and understand the coordination, trade-off, and confrontations. Sometimes different stakeholders select different elements in co-production, and they co-produce place by co-ordination. For example, the public space of a community can be shaped following planning by planners, while private spaces of houses and gardens are shaped by individual property owners. In other cases, some different stakeholders may develop contradictory agendas for the same place, they co-shape the place through constant negotiation. Such is the case in Fujian Tulou (Yan, 2015), where the extension of the house by the original residences was forcefully dismantled by the government, and the government's management of Tulou traditional dwelling was challenged by its residences.

Place making processes at rural places

As discussed above, this study is based on the understanding that place is both material and meaningful (Entrikin 1991; Relph 1976), is in a constant state of becoming (Cresswell, 1996, 2013; Massey, 1994; Pred, 1984), and is constructed by the networked social process (Massey, 1994). Figure- 2 deconstructs and links the multi-facets of the

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[6] For example, it can be classified as the governmental body, the tourists, the local communities; or it can be classified as different types of tourists, the religious tourists, business tourists, health or medical tourists, etc.

concepts of place and place making. As shown from the figure, the place is the outcome, and place making is the process. The transformation of the place involves the construction of both the materiality (i.e. the forms and functions of the natural and built elements) and meanings (i.e., the ideas, values, and imaginaries attached). The place making process is constructed by the activities of individuals and social groups linked by a broader social network. Materiality is a result of human practices, while the meanings are generated by the interpretation from the humans.
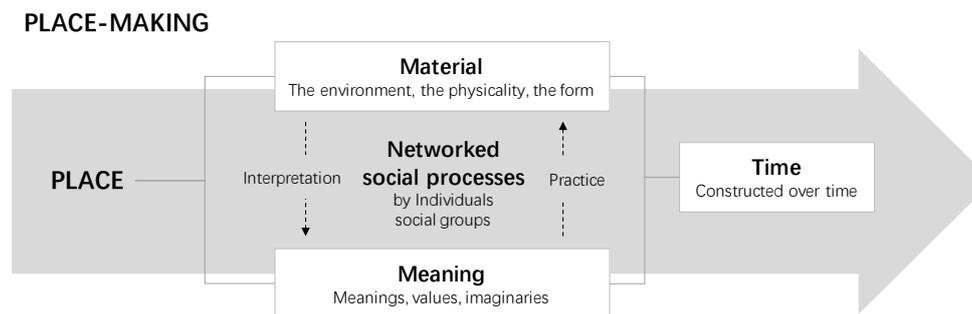
Figure- 2. The concept of "place" and "place-making".

Source: author, with references to (Cresswell, 1996, 2013; Entrikin, 1991; Massey, 1994; Pred, 1984; Relph, 1976)

Rural places are the focuses of this study. They are places in a rural setting at different scales. From rural regions to villages, or a single house in villages, rural places distinct themselves from other places because of socio-spatial characters that reflect their rurality both materially and ideationally (Halfacree 1993). Traditionally, they are dominated by the landscape, extensive land-uses, containing small, low order settlements (Halfacree 2006; Halfacree 1993; Woods 2010). Rural regions conjure up a range of associations, including rural idyllic, nature encounter, backwardness, rural lifestyles, cohesive sense of community, freedom, wilderness, periphery, peasant society, pastoral space, etc (Halfacree 2006; Woods 2010; Shucksmith, Brown, and Brown 2016).

Nowadays, however, rural places have been increasingly divorced from their rural base and origin (Halfacree 1993). Urbanization, touristification, and heritagization are three different social processes that link rural places with broader social-economic networks and reconstruct rural places. Table-1 explains the differences between the three processes. They are interlinked yet distinctive social structures that consists of a particular constellation of social relations and movements, they reconstruct rural places for different purposes. The end product of each process is an identity comprised of particular physical features, activities and functions, and meanings.

Types of social process	Purposes towards rural places	Social groups involved	Place identity produced
Urbanization/ modernization	Urbanize and modernize rural places, blur the boundaries between rural and urban places	All kinds of social groups are involved, such as rural-urban inhabitants, governmental authorities, investors, etc.	Urban place
Touristification	Create spaces for leisure and recreational activities	Tourists, travel agencies, developers, local communities, tourism management offices, governmental authorities, etc.	Destinations, tourist places
Heritagization	Preserve tangible and intangible traditional culture for social and economic purposes	Heritage authorities, experts and scholars, governmental authorities, local communities	Heritage sites

Table- 1. Types of social processes and their relation to rural places

Source: author

Different definitions of urbanization exist. The most common use of urbanization is demographic, understood as a process signifies by the absolute and/or relative growth in the number of people living in urban settlements (Rogers, 2009). It is brought about by the migration of rural populations into towns and cities, and/or the higher urban level of population increase due to childbirth (Rogers, 2013). Other notions also refer to the economic transition to economic activities associated with the city and social-cultural change of an urbanized lifestyle. According to Wirth (1938), it is a cumulative accentuation of the characteristics distinctive of the mode of life which is associated with the growth of cities. Brenner and Schmid (2017) argue that urbanization shall be seen as a process in which the urbanity is transferred to non-urban places. The urbanization process has been changing the way rural places were inhabited (Woods, 2005). It changes the population composition, economic activities, and lifestyles of the rural communities. Key social groups to the urbanization process are the rural inhabitants, the government, and other groups (e.g. enterprises, investment groups, etc.) who develop other activities in rural areas. Their activities (e.g. living, investment, policy-making, etc.) are crucial to rural places' capacity to attract resources vital to future development. Urbanization changes the way how rural places were inhabited, and transfers the urban qualities to rural places.

Touristification (or tourismifiction) generally refers to the touristifying process of places induced by tourism. It is 'a socio-economic and socio-cultural process by which society and its environment have been turned into spectacles, attractions, playgrounds, and

consumption sites' (Wang 2000, p197). The organization of tourism involves stakeholders of "private and public sectors that provide, deliver, or manage tourism opportunities" (Yang and Wall 2016, p58), including tourism agencies, tourism planners, tour operators, non-governmental organizations, business groups, and the government who are on the production end, and the tourists who are on the consumption end (Sautter & Leisen, 1999). Together they construct the materiality and meanings of places that point toward the identity of a tourist destination. From a material level, the space is appropriated for touristic purposes, and facilities and infrastructures that support touristic activities are established. From a symbolic level, as suggested by Saarinen (2004), two types of representations are created. One type is the tourist imaginaries that refer to the potential of a pace as a tourist destination and attracts tourists, and the other type includes institutions, regulations, policies that proactively guides the institutional practices that shape the destination (Saarinen, 2004).

Heritagization, heritagisation, or heritage making, refers to the identification, conservation, and valorization of heritage items by the heritage process. Broadly speaking, heritage items include a "assemblage" of natural and built landscapes, physical artifacts, tangible and intangible cultural forms, and biological traits inherited from the past (Harrison 2013). In a narrow sense, heritage refers to the WHSs considered of global significance and designated by UNESCO (Di Giovine, 2008). Heritagization process usually involves experts (e.g conservationists, architects, archeologists, folklorists, etc.), nation-states, UNESCO and its advisory bodies, and sometimes local communities (if they were actively engaged) (Di Giovine, 2008). In this process, historical sites from all over the world will be selected, evaluated, categorized based on UNESCO's world heritage system. WHSs will be imbued with symbolic global significance as a common treasure for all human beings, they are also associated with values for future use (Harrison 2013; Di Giovine 2008), especially for touristic purposes. Materially, influenced by the western monumental conservation tradition, the tradition of conservation practice focuses on the protection and restoration of the material based on the principle of authenticity[7]. But in many Asia countries, conservation is less "material centric" (Winter, 2014), and the modification of material and replacement of building elements is more accepted. Besides, conservation is also determined by local governance, available funding, and other factors on-site. Heritagization creates another identity of rural places, the World Heritage Site.

Heritagization and touristification were seen by many scholars as cooperative as

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[7] According to the Operational Guidelines for the Implementation of World Heritage Convention (OG) (WHS, 2019), 'cultural properties' must 'meet the test of authenticity in design, materials, workmanship, and setting' that formed in a historical period

inseparable. The two processes have clear distinctions: the heritagization process points towards the production of heritage elements and sites which could be touristic resources; while touristification is seen as a process in which non-heritage/heritage objects and places are converted for touristic purposes. The two processes were also cooperative - the heritage industry produces heritage items that later can be consumed by the tourism industry (Di Giovine, 2008; Kirshenblatt-Gimblett, 1998).
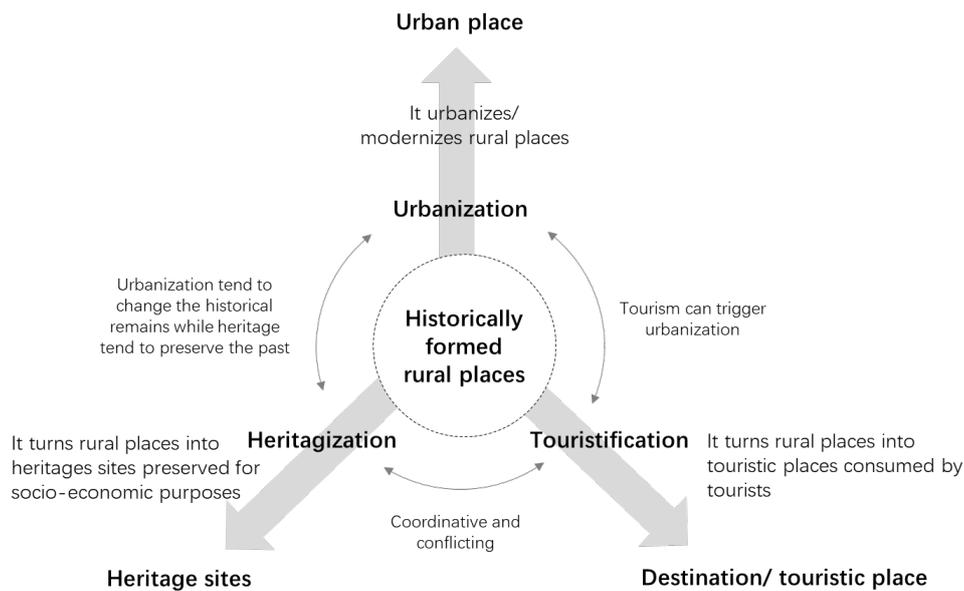
Figure- 3 Urbanization, touristification, and heritagization as place making processes
Source: author

Hence, the transformation of rural places can be seen by the three overlapped processes, which head towards the identity of urban place, heritage site, and tourist destination (Figure- 3). It has to be noted that not all rural places are shaped by all of the three means of place-making and that there are more processes apart from those three processes identified. For example, many rural places were changed by the urbanization process without developing touristic activities or becoming heritage sites. Certain indigenous tribes were made into touristic places, yet the limited connection to the outside hinders their level of urbanization. Since the processes are seen as organizational structures towards certain identities, we can also identify other processes such as industrialization (which aims at creating an identity of an industrial area), or modernized agricultural production (which turns historically formed rural areas into modern farming areas).

Certainly, there are cases where three processes overlap with each other. Some rural places are not only transformed by the urbanization process, but they also package their

cultural and natural resources as heritage and develop the tourism economy. Those processes take effect not necessarily at the same time, but at a certain point, they can be co-current, overlapped processes at the localities. When occurs simultaneously, they sometimes develop different, co-coordinative, or competing agendas towards the same place. The interactions with each other and form a more complicated system (Figure-3). Urbanization and heritagization exhibit sometimes conflicting interests. Urbanization usually results in a loss of distinctive traditional features, such as the landscape and settlement, and regenerate physical space that displays more modernized characters. In contrast, the heritagization process preserves certain traditions and historical sites, and objects that might disappear due to urbanization/modernization (R. Harrison, 2012a). Tourism development can trigger or accelerate the urbanization process (Mullins, 1991). It can help rural places to attract resources and population, increase the land use, and develop diversified functions. The heritagization and touristification are both co-coordinative and conflicting. The heritage industry produces heritage items that later can be consumed by the tourism industry (Di Giovine, 2008; Kirshenblatt-Gimblett, 1998), they together also re-invent and reproduce inauthentic space and objects (Gravari-Barbas, 2018). Besides, un-controlled touristic valorization can damage the authentic quality of heritage resources (Ashworth, 2000).

2.2 Making World Heritage sites

Heritage and heritagization

Heritage derives from a notion of personal inheritance or bequest (Johnson, 2009). According to the dictionary of human geography, heritage is often related to two sets of meanings, to tourism sites with historical themes that have been preserved for the nation-state and become part of the "heritage industry" (Johnson, 2009, p. 327), and "to a suite of shared cultural values and memories through various performances" (Johnson, 2009, p. 327). Geographers often see heritage sites as inscribed with a national narrative that is based on a selective, partial, and distorting past.

World Heritage making and its meaning construction process

The process of producing UNESCO's World Heritage has been examined by scholars from many perspectives. In the book *The Heritage-scape: UNESCO, World Heritage, and Tourism* (Di Giovine, 2008), built on Appadurai's concept of "-scape", it is argued that UNESCO's heritage movement converts local places into "heritage-scape"– a global community of local places that represent UNESCO's meta-narrative[8]. With reference

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[8] By the way, besides WHS, there are also other global place communities, such as the "slow city" created by the Cittaslow Movement.

to Turner's (1970) ritual process, he theorizes this process as following a ritual of "isolation-idealization-valorization". In the other half of the book, his attention drifts from the field of heritage to the field of tourism, in which tourists go through a similar ritual of tourism, and encounter and interact with the heritage-scape. As explained by him, his theorization of heritage-scape is a result of a multi-sited "ethnography of the middle" (Di Giovine, 2018), as tourists and tourism professionals move between the sites. Although his writing is criticized for neither referring to essential UNESCO documentation and archival material, nor including an in-depth analysis of the listing process and the organizations involved (Rossler, 2010), it presents a meta-analysis of world heritage ideals.

After the publication of Di Giovine's (Di Giovine, 2008) book, interest in UNESCO's heritage making process has grown, and other scholars have engaged in the discussion from different perspectives (Di Giovine, 2018). According to Di Giovine (2018), some scholars have taken a "top" view by conducting participant observations at the World Heritage Center in Paris (see Labadi, 2013; Joy, 2012; Smith, Akegawa, 2009; Meskell, 2013b, 2014, cited by Di Giovine, 2018), while others examine this process from the side, by interacting with UNESCO's representatives on-site (see Smith, 2006; Harrison, 2013; Adell, et al., 2015, cited by Di Giovine, 2018). In examining the meaning construction of WHS in China, some Chinese scholars also took an "insider" view, for example, Zhang (2017) and Yan (2015) have examined different powers and negotiations affecting the listing process by directly interacting with experts who drafted the nomination file, and state/local authorities who were involved in the nomination process.

Shifting from the process to the meanings/narrative constructed, heritage and its process of meaning making is often seen as with the following characters. Firstly, it has been widely recognized that the heritage often represents a western value over other cultures and privileges the voices of experts and authorities over that of the local communities (Smith, 2006; Yan, 2015). As argued by Smith (2006), heritage represents a dominant and state-sanctioned way of defining heritage, defined as "authorized heritage discourse" (AHD) (Smith, 2006). It derived from western professionals and intellectuals who created the authorizing institutions are a series of UNESCO's documents that reflects a Eurocentric understanding, such as the Venice Charter, World Heritage Convention, and Burra Charter (Smith, 2006). Such understanding "privileges monumentality and grand scale, innate artifact/site significance tied to time depth, scientific/aesthetic expert judgment, social consensus and nation-building" (Smith, 2006, p. 11). In contrast to AHD, which represents a western way of seeing heritage, Zhang (2017) and Yan (2015) found that the heritage listing practice in China has resulted in another type of discourse - the "harmony discourse". The Chinese harmony

discourse is tied to the Chinese national Communist Party's guiding ideology, the "harmonious society' (Yan, 2015). It is used by authorities to espouse the central government's political value in the management of heritage sites (Yan, 2015) and also the drafting of the nomination file (Zhang, 2017). The harmony discourse "tends to provide a single narrative for the site's value and privileges expert knowledge over local voices, while it empowers government by ignoring local residents' capability within heritage conservation" (Yan, 2015, p. 78). But the Chinese Harmony discourse was often edited to fit in with the AHD in the nomination process (Zhang, 2017). Secondly, the construction of the heritage narrative has always been a process of negotiation among different social groups (Di Giovine, 2008; Harrison & Hitchcock, 2005; Zhang, 2017). The negotiation exists among the international heritage broker, national authorities, local government, experts, tourists, local communities, and other social groups who peruse different interests in the site.

Di Giovine's (2008) heritage making ritual

Rather than investigating whose voice/ interest the heritage represents, the divergence of heritage meanings created by the heritage broker/the locals/tourists, this study is particularly interested in the streamline of meaning created by the World Heritage movement, i.e., how heritage convert localities into WHS by creating their unique narrative pertinent to the site's heritage identity. Therefore, it refers to Di Giovine's heritage making ritual (2008) as a theoretical point. In his theorization, the lengthy process and procedures of meaning creation are synthesized three-steps - "isolation-idealization-valorization". Each step contains certain procedures:

1) Isolation ("Separation" phase)

The isolation phase distinguishes a place from its environment through a highly institutionalized nomination procedure and re-contextualizes it to fit the criteria and typologies set by UNESCO. In this phase, the locality firstly enters a tentative list that contains all the potential places to be nominated within its territory by the member state. While on the tentative list, the locality has a long time to prepare documentation concerning the site. In addition, the locality identifies itself as one of the predetermined categories (either "cultural", "natural", or "mixed"), and justifies the Outstanding Universal Values (OUV)[9] beyond its local context. Once all documentation is in place and validated by the World Heritage Center, it will be sent to the advisory bodies to be scrutinized. So far, a locality has been separated from other common places, imbued

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[9] To be considered of Outstanding Universal Value (OUV), the nominated site has to justify meeting one or more of ten criteria, fulfill the statement of integrity and authenticity, and have an adequate system of protection and management to safeguard the site's future (WHS, 2019).

with global meanings, and inserted into an initial official heritage discourse.

2)   Idealization ("Liminal" phase)

The "idealization" phase is intended to turn a "commonplace"(Di Giovine, 2008, p. 207) into an "ideal type" (Di Giovine, 2008, p. 207) that fits UNESCO's predetermined set of typologies. In this phase, the advisory bodies (ICOMOS, IUCN, and ICCROM[10]) scrutinize the file submitted by the member state. They evaluate how a site fulfills the predetermined criteria made by UNESCO and decide if the conditions of authenticity and integrity[11] are well justified. They reformulate the statement and polish the locality into an "ideal type" that adheres to UNESCO's larger narrative claims, and assign the locality with special typologies.

3)   Valorization ("Reintegration" phase)

In the final "valorization" phase, a locality is valorized when "it is inscribed on the heritage-scape" (Di Giovine, 2008, p. 209). This phase entails several bureaucratic procedures. First, a presentation based on the evaluation by the advisory bodies is made to the Word Heritage Committee, then the Committee decides whether to designate the site as a World Heritage Site. Not all sites are automatically accepted, and the Committee can ask the member state to rework the nomination file. Alternatively, it can reject the nomination if the site is considered unqualified. But once a locality receives an affirmative vote, it is added to the catalog and became part of the heritage-scape alongside other designated sites. When a locality is accepted, it is then designated as a World Heritage site and becomes part of the heritage-scape.

Critics to the ritual process

Seeing UNESCO's World Heritage movement as a process of meaning construction, this study critically examines his framework with three questions:

1)   What types of narratives constituting a WHS as required by UNESCO?

The answer to the first question can be found in the OG (WHS, 2019). The OG provided a very long list of documents need for the nomination file[12], including maps,

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[10] The International Council on Monuments and Sites (ICOMOS) and the International Union for Conservation of Nature (IUCN) respectively provide the World Heritage Committee with evaluations of the cultural and of natural sites nominated. The International Centre for the Study of the Conservation and Restoration of Cultural Property (ICCROM) provides the Committee with expert advice on the conservation of cultural sites, as well as on training activities.
[11] According to the OG (WHS, 2019), authenticity applies to Cultural Heritage Sites and it includes four tangible attributes of design, material, workmanship, and setting. Authenticity represents the link between attributes and OUV. Integrity applies to all sites, and it measures the completeness and intactness of the attributes needed to lend the site OUV.
[12] See Annex 5 (WHS, 2019, pp. 94–108).

site descriptions, protections and management files, the contact information of the authorities, ownership statement, etc. But in my opinion, not all the documents necessarily contain narratives that are essential to the heritage identity. Among those documents, only two types of narratives are essential to the site's heritage identity. The first type is descriptive and defines "what" to be nominated. It defines the physical place, the spatial boundaries, and its constitutive elements. This includes the "description of the property" (WHS, 2019, p. 99). The former describes the geographical location, boundaries (the property zone[13]), and whatever elements make the property significant. The second type is interpretive. It defines "why" a site is qualified, and signifies a qualitative change towards WHS identity. This includes the "justification for the inscription", "comparative analysis", and "proposed statement of Outstanding Universal Value" (WHS, 2019, p. 100). Those narratives explain under which type the site is nominated, what/why are the criteria met, why a site has OUV (meaning the combination of meeting certain criteria, and the fulfillment of integrity and authenticity), and why a site is different from other similar places (through the comparative studies).

2)   After a site is listed, does the process of heritage meaning production stop?

Definitely no. Scholars have widely recognized that heritage making is a continuing, constantly reconstructed, and reinterpreted process (Gravari-Barbas et al., 2016; R. Harrison, 2012a; Kirshenblatt-Gimblett, 1995; Park, 2013). As also suggested by UNESCO, 'inscribing a site in the World Heritage List is not the end of the story' (UNESCO World Heritage Centre, 2008, p. 14), but an 'ongoing commitment' (UNESCO World Heritage Centre, 2008, p. 14). Upon inscription, World Heritage Committee re-assesses the conditions regularly at the sites and intervenes if problems arise (UNESCO World Heritage Centre, 2008), and the member states are obligated to monitor the activities on site. After listing, the site management office often has to promote heritage knowledge among the local community and develop policies, regulations, etc. for site management.

3)   What types of narratives are included in the three phases of the ritual?

In Di Giovine's (2008) ritual, in the isolation phase, the two types of narratives are constructed within the nomination file contains. While in the "idealization", the two types of narratives were re-constructed through the advisory bodies evaluation report. Then World Heritage Committee "recommending that the state-party implement better site management, collect further documentation, rethink the categorization, or change

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[13] The buffer zone complementary legal restrictions placed on its use and development to give an added layer of protection to the WHS

the physical boundaries" (Di Giovine, 2008, p. 199). And Finally, the member state responds with a letter. And finally, in the "valorization" phase, the constructed narratives were certified by the UNESCO authority.

With the answers from the above listed three questions, this study argues that to focus on meaning making, Di Giovine's (2008) theory needs to be adapted from the following two points. Firstly, dividing nominating process based on the types of narratives produced. Although Di Giovine (2008) argues that the "isolation" phase aims to lift a place from its surrounding while the "idealization" phase aims to turn a commonplace into a heritage "ideal". In fact, both phases try to idealize a place. The nomination file, and especially its "justification for inscription" part, is the idealization presented by the member state. The major difference between the isolation phase and the idealization phase is who idealizes the site, i.e., the member state in the "isolation" phase, and both the advisory bodies and the member state in the "idealization" phase. As explained in question 1, there are two types of narratives, one type describes the locality and defines "what" to be nominated. And the documentation of a locality involves the earlier work of boundaries drawing, elements selection, and the assemblage of them as one package. Another type explains "why" a site fulfills UNESCO's criteria and recontexualize the site. This involves the dialectal communication among the member state and the UNESCO's advisory bodies based on nomination documents.

Secondly, take into account the ongoing meaning construction process at each inscribed site. For Di Giovine (2008), the ritual was used to explain how the places become part of the UNESCO's meta-narratives – the "heritage-scape". Therefore, the "valorization" is seen as a phase of discussion and voting at the meeting of the World Heritage Committee before listing. UNESCO's heritage making process is continuing in the sense that it continues to include more sites. For every single site, once inscribed, UNESCO's meta-narratives await to be mediated by the tourists. He then shifted to the place-making field of tourism. But this study stays with the field of heritage place making. It argues that UNESCO's endeavor never ends when a site is inscribed. The inscription is a certification ceremony that certifies the status of the previously constructed place narratives. After that, UNESCO continues to exert profound consequences to manage its "imagined community", and the certified heritage narrative is then re-integrated at the site level.

To sum up, if we want to apply his model to investigate the meaning making process, it is necessary to address two issues: 1) redefines the phases based on two types of narratives constructed by the heritage movement, i.e., the narrative that defines "what" a place is, and "why" a place fits the pre-determined criteria; and 2) recognize that heritage making continues after listing, i.e., the certified heritage narratives will be further incorporated at the site for management purposes.

Revisit the ritual process

To address the above-listed issues, based on the original (Figure- 4). A revised model is proposed here (Figure- 5). This model has three steps. The first step "locate the idea of heritage" and the second step "idealize heritage narrative" occurs before heritage listing. They can be parallel processes, since drawing the site's boundaries, selecting heritage components, and interpreting the site as eligible can occur within the same timeframe and remain unfixed before inscription[14]. And after listing, the production process changes into a phase of "re-produce heritage narrative", in which the certified heritage narrative continues shaping various institutions on-site as long as a site stays on the list.
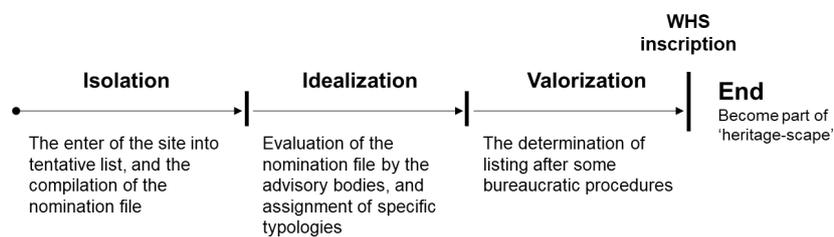
Figure- 4. Giovine's ritual process.

Source: author made with reference to Di Giovine (2008)
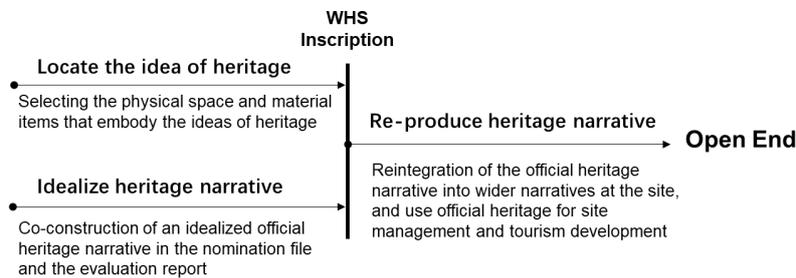
Figure- 5. A revised model – the process of meaning production by UNESCO's heritage movement

Source: author

1) Locate the idea of heritage

In this step, the idea of heritage is located within certain geographical boundaries and selected elements. As part of the obligation to protect, each WHS property needs to be demarcated in space. And only when the "property zone" is defined, a place is then firstly distinguished from its surroundings. Besides the boundaries, this phase also marks out the place by describing the tangible and intangible elements that constitute the heritage. In short, the phase selects space, objects, and traditions from a regional context

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[14] But in some cases, those two steps continue after listing. For example, heritage sites can apply to for extensions to include more places.

and assigns them with the symbolic meanings of heritage.

2) Idealize heritage narrative

In this step, meanings are constructed around "how" a place ideally fits the pre-determined criteria through a dialectal textual-based communication between the member state and the international heritage authorities. Based on their understanding of the predetermined criteria, the member states first draft the nomination dossier and present the site in an ideal way to accommodate UNESCO and its advisory bodies. According to OG (WHS, 2019), the dossier justifies how a site demonstrates the Outstanding Universal Value (OUV) from three aspects: a) The justification of the criteria, which explains the universal value of the site; b) The statement of integrity and authenticity, which explains how the site possesses universal value; c) The comparative analysis, which explains how unique the site is compared with other similar places. And the narratives will be handed over to, examined, and polished by UNESCO's advisory bodies. A valuation report to assign specific typologies and suggest revisions will be drafted by the advisory bodies. And finally, the member state responds to the evaluation report and submits the documents as required. UNESCO and advisory bodies are the rule-makers and gatekeepers, but it is up to the member states to develop the justifications. The member states have to proactively develop narratives and respond to the requirements by UNESCO and advisory bodies to get a site enrolled.

3) Re-produce heritage narrative

Once a site is inscribed, its official heritage narrative is then certified. And in this last phase, the established meanings produced by experts and authorities then follow a top-down path to be diffused, legitimatized, and enforced at the local level among the public and the local community. The purpose is to maintain the site as a member of the WHSs community. The reproduced narratives take different forms, for example, the heritage knowledge promotional brochures, or relevant policies and legislation to regulate the site's preservation, management, and development activities developed based on the site's heritage identity.

2.3 Landscape and settlement-scape

Landscape and the "-scape"

The word "landscape" is derived from the Germanic word "Land-schaft", which refers to a small administrative unit of land (Jackson, 1986). When the word was introduced to the English language, it meant a picture of the land, and then the view itself (Jackson, 1986). Gradually, in the sixteenth and seventeenth century the English word "landscape" came to refer to the visual characteristics of the land, most often in the countryside

(John, 2009). Now, it is often described in most dictionaries as a "portion of land which they can comprehend at a glance" (Jackson, 1986). Since the beginning of the 20th century in human geography, the term "landscape" also carries cultural connotations, and is considered a product of a human-nature interaction (Sauer, 1963). With the cultural turn in Anglo-American human geography, Cosgrove & Daniels (1988) advanced this definition as a way of seeing and representing the world. As Cosgrove has suggested, "the idea of landscape is the most significant expression of the historical attempt to bring together visual image and material world" (Cosgrove, 2003, p. 254). Landscape is infused with objective knowledge and distanced control, and the aesthetic function of the landscape reflects its ideological role in naturalizing social-economic hierarchies (Cosgrove & Daniels, 1988).

In tourism geographies, landscape is also a representational property and often constitutes a medium in the analysis of relations between tourists and destinations (Terkenli, 2008). Landscape is linked with a particular "way of seeing" - the tourist gaze (Urry, 2002). Laden with emotions, landscape is thus central to tourism activity (Terkenli, 2008). For touristic consumption, the images of the landscape are staged, captured, circulated, and reproduced (Minca, 2007; Salazar, 2012). Tourists create and circulate landscape images, and marketing agencies promote tourism by using seductive, appealing images. During this circulation, landscape is (re)associated with various images. In this study, it is important to briefly consider several persistent elements in the concept of "landscape": landscape as material landform; the aesthetic qualities of the landscape; and the representations linked with landscape's visual experience in tourism consumption.

In tracing the origin of the word "landscape", Jackson (1986) wrote that it can be seen as a combination of "land" and "scape". "Land" refers to a defined space, while "scape" means "shape". Unlike the German word "Landschaft", in which the "-schaft" connotes the "land" in an administrative sense, the English "-scape" is essentially the same as shape (Jackson, 1986)[15]. By framing landscape as "a portion of the earth's surface that can be comprehended at a glance" (Jackson, 1986, p. 8), the "scape" also emphasizes the visual quality, the shape of the land.

For many other scholars, "scape" is used in different senses. Arjun Appadurai argues that globalization takes the form of "–scapes", "a complex, overlapping, disjunctive order that can no longer be understood in terms of existing center-periphery models" (Appadurai, 1996, p. 32). He sees globalization as a flow of people, things, and ideas that crosses national borders. He posits five types of -scapes that overlap and exist

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[15] Jackson also pointed out that the term's Indo-European roots suggest that 'scape' could also mean an organization or system of similar objects, without aesthetic or emotional associations.

simultaneously: ethnoscapes, technoscapes, ideoscapes, finance-scapes, and mediascapes. The scape is like a flow, a social space wherein power structures are markedly de-localized. Garden (2006) uses the concept of heritage-scapes to emphasize the dynamic, socially constructed qualities of heritage sites. By using the concept of a -scape, heritage sites were placed in a fluid space that allows them to be seen as "both as individual places and also in terms of their relationships to other heritage places" (Garden, 2006, p. 395). Di Giovine (2008) defines heritage-scape based on the -scape used in Appadurai's (1996c) model of globalization. Heritage-scape refers to a worldwide imagined community, a social structure created by UNESCO's ongoing heritage movement that enlists the worlds' places, objects, and intangible customs under the meta-narratives claim of "unity in diversity." Similarly, the idea of the tourism-scape was used by Van der Duim to refer to a social structure or network that organizes people and things into networks to make up the phenomenon of tourism (Duim, 2005). In such a sense, scape emphasizes a collection of people and things or a social structure or system that serves specific purposes. Within the Chinese literature, the -scape has been widely used by many scholars in words such as urbanscape, cityscape, and townscape (see Yang & Cai, 2006) to discuss the style and features of the built environment. The equivalent of the "scape" in Chinese is "feng-mao" (风貌), "feng" refers to the humanistic character while "mao" refers to the tangible material characters of the environment. "Feng-mao" is often used to refers to the human and geological characters of a place.

In Chinese, a roughly equivalent word for landscape is shan-shui[16](山水), which means "mountain-water". Shan-shui reflects a traditional Chinese way of seeing nature that differs from western traditions, although the visual aesthetic qualities of landscape were emphasized in both western and Chinese notion of landscape. Influenced by Confucianism and Daoism[17], shan-shui was seen as an object of both philosophy and aesthetics. The Chinese approach to shan-shui advocates seeking spiritual oneness with nature through retirement to the mountains and the reclusive life. In Chinese art, the symbolic meaning of landscape has continuously been portrayed and represented in Chinese landscape paintings, literature, poems, and gardens. For example, landscape painting often portrays scholars wandering in shan-shui accompanied by "a bright moon, friends, beautiful women, wine or musical instruments" (F. Han, 2006, p. 144). Today, Shan-shui remains an important theme in designing touristic scenic areas in China (F. Han, 2006), such as the scenic areas of West Lake[18] and Tai Lake, whose attractions

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[16] But for professional landscape designers, and in the fields of architecture, landscape architecture and urban planning, landscape is often translated as Jin-guan (景观)，which refers to the designed landscape.
[17] In Confucianism shan-shui was imbued with moral and ethical meanings, while in Daosim it was linked to a negative outlook on social life and an escapist romanticism (F. Han, 2006).
[18] For example, the famous 'Ten Scenes of the West Lake' are mostly found in the titles of landscape

are associated with texts from famous paintings, poems, and historical accounts. It is not the intention here to dwell on cultural differences in the concept of landscape, but to stress the aesthetic, visual qualities of landscape in both Chinese and Western approaches.

Settlement-scape

Rural settlements are settlements formed in rural settings, such as villages and hamlets. Settlements formed as a result of human habitation through the construction of dwellings and occupation of the land (A. Rogers et al., 2013). House is the basic settlement unit. Other settlement elements include public space, communal space, and associative private land (Roberts, 1996). Historically formed rural settlements usually developed distinctive vernacular styles. The arrangements of rural settlements and the forms of the dwellings are closely concerned with agriculture production, and building materials available, and traditional building techniques (Roberts, 1996). Rural settlements are seen as home places (Relph, 1976), they are rooted in place and are attached with affection.

The word "settlement" is defined by the dictionary of geography simply as "any form of human dwelling—from a single house to the largest city"[19]. In the professional literature, Daniel & Hopkinson (1989, p. 13) defined it as " a place which people inhabit and where they carry on a variety of activities". In geography, interest in understanding patterns of human settlement started during the 1800s. The earliest work, carried out by German scholars, focuses on two main subjects: (1) house type (including distribution), architecture, and building materials; and (2) urban centers (Stone, 1965). Based on their location and size, settlements are often categorized as one of two sub-groups (rural or urban) and placed on a settlement continuum that consists of villages, towns, cities, and metropolitan areas, distinguished by their functions and shapes (O'Connor, 1980).

Approaches to the study of settlements vary (O'Connor, 1980). Traditional approaches often examine the physical environment to explain the form and functions of settlements in a cause and effect manner; quantitative approaches often generalize forms of spatial organization or create models of settlements based on location, patterns, and spacing of settlements, etc.; and behavior approaches seek to understand the human actions and perceptions that influence settlements (O'Connor, 1980). Rural settlements have been of particular interest to geographers, and a vast literature can be

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paintings about West Lake, or in the titles of some poems of the late Southern Song Dynasty.
[19] Susan Mayhew, edit.: A Dictionary of Geography (5 ed.), Publisher: Oxford University Press. Online version: 2015e.

found in journals such as *Habitat International*, which examines the settlements from various aspects, such as spatial characteristics (land-use, residential development), functional change, population migration, etc. In tourism research, Nepal (2005) identified five major types of settlement influenced by tourism in the Mount Everest region, defined by their development stages, size, and function. However, it is not the intention here to provide a comprehensive review of the study of rural settlements. but to highlight two persistent elements used to describe and distinguish settlement types - form and function. Yet while the transformation of settlements has been widely discussed, not many authors prioritize the visual, aesthetic qualities of settlements (the form) in understanding this transformation. The aesthetic qualities of settlements are often captured by architectural style and are often presented as a sub descriptive element, reflecting a general transition from "vernacular" to "modern".

The concept of settlement-scape is suggested in this study as an analog to the English word landscape. Similar to one meaning of the term landscape, as a portion of land that can be comprehended at a glance (Jackson, 1986), the suffix "scape" is used in a restricted sense to highlight the visual quality of a settlement that can be comprehended at a glance. By adding "-scape" to "settlement", the concept "settlement-scape" stresses the visual qualities of settlements as comprehended by its viewers. In this sense, this study addresses the transformation of settlements by prioritizing their aesthetic qualities (form) over their function.

Forms of settlements

Architectural style forms the basis of settlements' aesthetic qualities. As a theoretical entry point, this study takes cues from the architect Nezar Alysayyad (1995). In his paper "From vernacularism to globalism: the temporal reality of traditional settlements," he proposed four forms of settlement that have evolved through a colonial history shaped by the relationship between the First and Third Worlds:

- The indigenous vernacular. This refers to the settlement developed by traditional communities living in insular settings. It is associated with preindustrial conditions and what is referred to as the developing world. This type reflects the identity of its inhabitants. The form evolves in reaction to the surrounding natural environment or the immediate social structure., such as the bâdgir of Hyderbad in Indian.
- The hybrid. During the colonial era, settlements often took hybrid forms that borrowed both from colonial homelands and the indigenous vernacular (Alysayyad, 1995, p. 16). The type of architecture and urban forms unified colonial and traditional at a visual level. An example of this form is the British bungalow in India.

- The modern or pseudo-modern. With the demise of European colonial empires, settlements in both the developed and developing world took the form of modern prototype or pseudo-modern architecture, without much visual connection to traditional architecture types, as a result of an obsession with modernity.

- The post-modern. In an era of globalization, nations are seeking to reconstruct national identities. Certain architects and planners reject copying western forms directly, but western models continue to shape their cities through inherited institutions and regulations. Traditions were reinvented, and a romanticized architectural form based on imagined history and traditions emerged. Examples include Fathy's New Gourna village and Charles Correa Belapure Project in Bombay.

By focusing on architectural styles—the building aesthetic embedded in certain historical stages—Alysayyad generalized four forms that can be widely applied in settlement development around the world. Indeed, traditional Alpine villages, Chinese river towns, or troglodyte houses in Tunesia, despite their different forms, all reflect an indigenous building aesthetic. With globalization, and the involvement of professionally trained planners and architects, new and traditional building aesthetics have been restructured.

In an era of globalization, Chinese architects are "increasingly aware of and responsive to the problem of losing traditional Chinese architectural culture and place identity" (Zhao & Greenop, 2019, p. 1142). The practices of many contemporary architects have created many examples of the postmodern settlement form. However, Zhao & Greenop (2019) have identified two main categories in China's recent drive to revitalize rural settlements:

- The neo-vernacular: This reflects a visual-based approach to vernacular village refurbishment. Architects focus on protecting the vernacular style through designing new houses according to their understanding and interpretation of a vernacular image. It is particularly affected by existing architectural practices (such as using "metaphor", or "western" and "neo-Palladian" approaches), and in keeping with trends towards a recognizable "starchitect" brand. An example of this type is the Dongqiaozhen Wencun Designed by Wang Shu. The neo-vernacular type corresponds to the postmodern type identified by Alysayyad (1995).

- The semi-vernacular: This reflects an adaptive reuse approach with the goal of social sustainability. It reuses or renovates existing vernacular architecture to meet the contemporary needs of both local communities and tourists. It combines the style of original vernacular architecture with modern techniques

and material and involves less personal interpretation. The semi-vernacular has more continuity with the vernacular style. It expresses building characteristics from different periods, yet adapts the buildings to contemporary life. Examples of this type are Shen'ao and Daijiashan villages designed by Zhang Lei.

Thus, based on the above-mentioned literature, Table-2 explains the different types of settlement-scape and their visual characteristics for empirical investigations.

Types of Settlement-scape	Architectural style	Visual continuity with vernacular settlements
Vernacular	Local, indigenous style	/
Hybrid	The combination of indigenous and colonial empire style	Partially continued
Modern	Modern, contemporary style	Discontinued and distinct
Neo-vernacular (postmodern)	Modern, contemporary style based on the interpretation of and the symbolic use of vernacular style	Only visual symbolic continuity; vernacular elements were used as symbols in new buildings
Semi-vernacular	Adaptation of vernacular with modern functions	High continuity; built up the original building fabric; express building characteristics from different periods

Table- 2. Types of settlement-scape and the corresponding visual characters
Source: author, with references to Nezar Alysayyad (1995), and Zhao & Greenop (2019)

2.4 Urban theory and rural transformation

Planetary urbanization

The urban theory offers a theoretical entry point for understanding the transformation of rural places. Instead of seeing urbanization merely as a process by which persons are attracted to a place called the city and incorporated into its system of life, urbanization also refers to the cumulative accentuation of the characteristics distinctive of the mode of living associated with cities (Wirth, 1938). In "The Urban Revolution" (1970), Lefebvre offers the concept of planetary urbanization as the creation of a complete urban world whereby there is no "outside" to the urban. Brenner and Schmid (2017) further extend Lefebvre's (1970) notion to claim that areas outside of built-up cities (including "hinterlands" and "wild" zones) are merely the "extended urban". The urban, they suggest, should be seen as a process and not a form, and urbanization is a process in which the urban is reproduced and remade worldwide, transcending spatial

boundaries (Brenner & Schmid, 2017). Formerly central "urban" functions such as shopping facilities, modern architectural forms, dense settlement patterns, and infrastructure arrangements are being dispersed outwards from cities into suburban, rural regions. Future global urban expansion reconfigures the hinterland into an integrated global urban system through capitalist urbanization (Brenner & Schmid, 2017). For example, relating to this theory, Price et al. (2015) predict an increase of the urban landscape by 23.4% in the Swiss Alps by 2035.

The significance of planetary urbanization is that it blurs the line between the urban and rural to avoid seeing urban as a fixed, bounded area. The "non-urban" still exists in places like Africa, Southeast Asia, or Latin America (Brenner & Schmid, 2015). But the connections between the urban and non-urban are now subsumed by the urbanization process   (Ruddick et al., 2018, p. 398). However, Ruddick et. al (2018) criticize the planetary urbanization theory as chaotic because it lacks clarity in defining what constitutes the non-urban (in places such as Africa), and in elucidating what part the non-urban has to play. Greater conceptual specificity is needed to constitute a concise and coherent theory (Ruddick et al., 2018). Other scholars such as Myers (2018) and Parnell and Oldfield (2014) criticize the theory for being Eurocentric. Compared with complete urbanization in the West, including examples in the Alps (which is an extreme case of planetary urbanization), Myers (2018, p.238) claims that processes in China and Africa leading to planetary urbanization have much longer historical roots. Moreover, Chinese "villages-in-the-city" (城中村), "villages-on-the-edge" (城边村) and "villages-in-the-suburbs" (城外村), and the urban sprawl on the fringe of cities in Dakar and Zanzibar, reveal a very different intensity and spatiality in their urbanization processes (Myers, 2018). Therefore, there is an important case to be made for thinking through planetary urbanization outside of paradigmatic Western examples.

Destinations as urban places

Tourism has long been recognized as a trigger of the urbanization process. Mullins (1991, 1992) defined tourism urbanization as a process by which cities and towns are built or regenerated almost exclusively for leisure and pleasure. By using coastal cities in Australia as examples, he suggested that tourism urbanization is based on the consumption of nature. Gladstone (1998) uses the example of Orlando and Las Vegas and argues that tourism not only relies on the consumption of nature but also on large, artificial tourist attractions. Despite a certain conceptual mismatch between the two scholars, both locate tourism urbanization within postmodern, post-Fordist cities (Qian et al., 2012). Qian et al. (2012) contest Mullins' theory. In examining Zhapo Town in China, their data shows that tourism urbanization is not a product of the post-modernization of urban cultural manifestations but is based on a relatively standardized provision and mass consumption.

Different from the concept of tourism urbanization, which focuses on the character of the urbanization process, other scholars shift the focus to the tourism-produced urban qualities of destinations. Building on the concept of planetary urbanization, which suggests that places in rural or natural settings – "wild" spaces and "rural hinterlands"— have been enmeshed in the same urbanization process and have become part of planetary urban networks (Brenner & Schmid, 2017), tourism urbanization can be seen as a subset of planetary urbanization (Brooks, 2018). Tourism, in this view, builds up the urban qualities of destinations and transforms the non-urban into the urban (Coëffé & Stock, 2021; Stock et al., 2017). As argued by Coëffé & Stock (2021), tourism is by nature an urban phenomenon, as it is practiced by urbanites who impose urban world views. Tourism triggers the urbanization process at destinations by transferring architectural, behavioral, economic, and cultural elements with urban characteristics to former "non-urban" regions (Coëffé & Stock, 2021). Evidence can be found in the Alps where the explosion of tourism in some regions has transformed previously rural areas into urban zones (Batzing et al, 1996), in Chinese mountain regions where tourists crowd into resorts (Baiping et al., 2004), and in European national parks that attract permanent or seasonal residents (Pallarès-Blanch et al., 2014). Crucial to understanding destinations as urban places is the concept of urbanity – a generalization of the characteristics associated with the city. To measure the urban character of destinations, Coëffé & Stock (2021; 2017) suggest examining four dimensions of urbanity:

- Density: The mass of present social realities. Density can be identified in terms of agglomerations based on population or even on economic productivity. For example, the population at tourist resorts increases during the peak season.
- Diversity: The variety of present social realities. Diversity can be measured by functions, such as the different urban services the destinations provide. It can also be measured by the social and cultural plurality of tourists at destinations.
- Centrality: The polarity of a place. Centrality is defined as the capacity of polarization of space and the attractiveness of a place that concentrates actors, functions, and objects (Dematteis, 2013). Centrality can be understood in a symbolic sense, such as social meanings and recognition (Monnet, 2005), and in its material manifestations, most notably through the location of services and accessibility.
- Public space: The space accessible to all. Public space is characterized by the co-presence of anonymous individuals with each other, but also of surveillance and confrontation with one another.

Urbanity is built on the "coupling" between density, diversity, centrality, and public space (Stock et al. 2017, p. 386). Those four dimensions provide a theoretical entry point to view places according to their urban qualities. Furthermore, the transfer of urbanity can

be seen in the circulation of urban models, which results in urban building styles – buildings with monumental or urban architectural forms, such as in Montreux and Gstaad (Stock et al., 2017).

The concept of urbanity provides more concise indicators to measure the urban characteristics that emerge as a result of the urbanization process. But similar to criticisms made of the planetary urbanization theory—that it lacks clarity in defining what is non-urban (Ruddick et. al 2018)—the urbanity concept does not explain what constitutes the non-urban. Before developing the traits associated with urbanity, what kinds of qualities do destinations have? As clearly not all touristic destinations have the same qualities (Stock et al., 2017), is it possible that a destination might fail to exhibit one of the four dimensions listed above? Although ample examples were provided by Stock et. al (2017), such as big cities and resorts in the west, they were all places where urbanity emerged following the development of a very mature tourism industry. What about destinations at the initial stages of tourism development? To solve this problem, it is necessary to give greater conceptual specificity to illuminate the transformation from non-urban to urban.

The model to detect the changing qualities of rural places

As suggested previously, from the perspective of planetary, urbanization can be seen as a process in which the urban is reproduced and remade worldwide, transcending spatial boundaries (Brenner & Schmid, 2017). Formerly central "urban" functions such as shopping facilities, modern architectural forms, dense settlement patterns, and infrastructure arrangements are being dispersed outwards from cities into suburban, rural regions. Tourism urbanization can be seen as a subset of planetary urbanization (Brooks, 2018). Tourism builds up the urban qualities (i.e. urbanity) of destinations by transferring architectural, behavioral, economic, and cultural elements with urban characteristics to former "non-urban" regions (Coëffé & Stock, 2021).

But before examining the transformation from "non-urban" to "urban", it is first necessary to define what constitutes the non-urban (Ruddick et al. 2018). As noted by Brooks (2018), contrary to complete urbanization, examples in Jamaica show evidence of persistent rural characteristics. While urbanity is seen as a being associated with the city (Stock et al., 2017), rurality is understood as the spatial qualities associated with the countryside (Cloke, 2006). Therefore, the non-urban in rural settings can be simply specified as rural and measured by rurality. Thus, the development of urban architectural styles and the emergence of centrality, density diversity, and public space indicates a transformation from rurality toward urbanity.

Further, it is necessary to specify the characteristics of rurality/urbanity based on certain dimensions. In terms of architectural style, traditional rural settlements formed

in preindustrial conditions often developed distinct characteristics associated with the rural. The formation of rural characteristics is influenced by agriculture production, the natural environment, available building materials, traditional building techniques, religious practices, and other cultural traditions (Mandal, 1979; Roberts, 1996). Compared with urban settlements, rural settlements are often smaller in scale, have lower building density, are mono-functional, and develop distinctive vernacular building styles (Roberts, 1996). Hence, vernacular building types can be seen as one indicator of rurality, while monumental urban architecture can be seen as an indicator of urbanity.

The second parameter that needs to be specified is public space. As an example of urban space, Stock et al. (2017) refer to public space used by anonymous individuals, i.e., people who do not know each other, such as the green space of parks or gardens. In Chinese rural villages, public space has been studied by many scholars in a different sense. Public space is often referred to as common space used by the community, such as the corner spaces and streets, ancestral halls, public wells, temples, etc. (Xiao-hua Chen & Chen, 2019; Zheng & Wei, 2013). For example, in many Chinese villages, corner spaces or streets are used as marketplaces, and in traditional villages in Southern Anhui, ancestral halls are often the primary places for public gatherings. Rural public space serves the communal activities and daily interactions of the local population (Chen & Chen, 2019; Zheng & Wei, 2013). Thus, this study suggests using common space as an indicator. Under this indicator, two different categories of shared space can be distinguished. The first is the traditional common space associated with traditional activities, which indicates rurality. The second is public space for anonymous individuals, and its emergence indicates urbanity.

Thus, to address the above-mentioned concerns, an analytical framework is proposed here (Figure- 6). Five indicators that measure destinations' rural or urban qualities were created. The transformation from rurality to urbanity can be identified if the listed characteristics are observed. To be specific, density and diversity are associated with an increase of the mass and variety of present social realities, such as population, activities, and the built environment. Centrality is indicated by increased recognition of places and the associated material manifestations. Urbanity is also evident in the disappearance of traditional common space and the emergence of public space. Finally, architectural style indicates a shift towards urbanity in the change from vernacular building styles to more urban building styles.

To examine the destination's changing qualities in relation to the place making process, this study refers to the place making concept developed by Lew (2017). Place making is seen as a process in which the tangible and intangible aspects of destinations are shaped by the interactive activities of various actors (Lew, 2017). Actors possess motives and draw on resources to achieve desired outcomes (Few, 2002). To unpack the place making

process, this study focuses on the direct actors on site. As the first analytical step, it identifies the direct actors involved, their activities, their motives, and the key resources mobilized. Then it further examines how their activities are relevant to the transformation of the destination's rurality and urbanity.
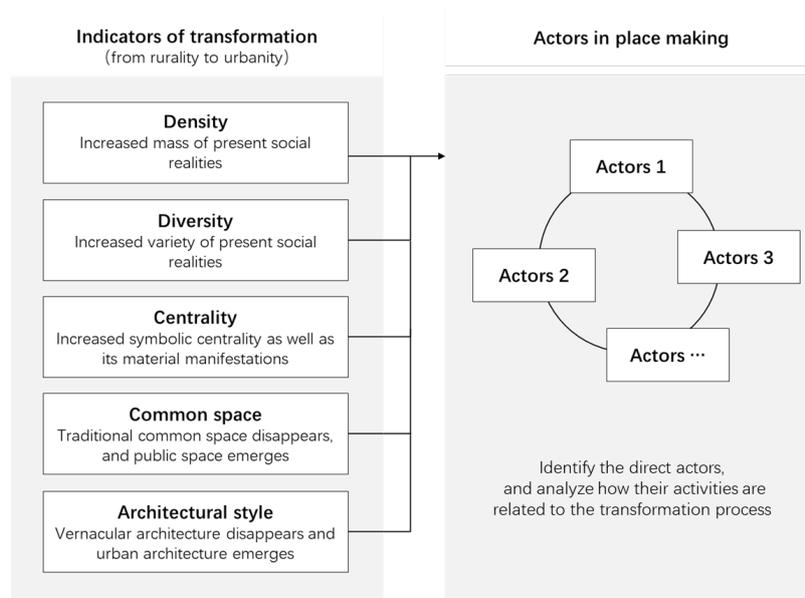
Figure- 6. An analytical framework for the transformation of destinations and the place making process
Source: author, with references to Lew (2017), and Stock et al. (2017)

2.5 Power in destination place making

Power in tourism studies

Power is a central issue in tourism research when different stakeholders confront unequal power relations resulting in conflicts (Hannam, Sheller, & Urry, cited by Hazra et al., 2017). The studies of power in tourism have different approaches. According to the literature review, the study of power to be concerned not only with structural relations and resources (separately or combined) but also forms or modalities of power (Hazra et al., 2017; Saito & Ruhanen, 2017). The different approaches can be categorized as resource-based or structural-based power (Hazra et al., 2017; Saito & Ruhanen, 2017), the modalities/ typologies of power (Saito & Ruhanen, 2017), and a mixture of resource and structure-based power.

A resource-dependent approach underlines the mobilization of resources as central to power relations and the exercise of power. Besides the widely recognized resources such

as information, knowledge, personal charisma, and power, Church & Ravenscroft (2007) in their case study on the inland river in England found that anglers, landowners, and canoeists mobilize the law and property rights to competing uses.

A structural-based approach underlines the exercise of power also depends on stakeholders' position within a network (Rowley, 1997). For example, Kennedy & Augustyn (2014) examined the strength of power in terms of the stakeholders positioning within institutionalized network stakeholders.

A mixed approach takes both factors – resource and structural position into consideration. For example, Hazra et al. (2017) examine the power relationship in the tourism industry in Arga India. They find that individual businesses, ancillary services stakeholders, authorities acquired different resource-based power (owning or controlling resources); agents, groups acquired network-based power (the access to or channeling resources.). Tiew et al. (2015) investigate the power relations in the context of a music festival and identified different types of stakeholder power – executive, asset-based, referral, and diffuse, depending on the attributes of resources and structural positions.

Power typologies or modalities are "quite specific ways of exercising power" (Allen, 2003b, p. 101). They are entities that "entail only certain practices and techniques in particular modal arrangements" (Allen, 2003b, p. 101). With reference to Wrong (1979), Saito & Ruhanen (2017) discussed four types of power (coercive, legitimate, induced, and competent) in stakeholder collaborations in destination planning in Queensland Australia. Such an approach neatly describes the exercise of power and raises the importance of detailed practices and tactics in negotiation. However, the limitation is also obvious - the reality of negotiation often goes beyond the identified power modalities.

Entanglement of power

According to Sharp et al. (2000), the study of power has been dominated by the "orthodox accounts of power" (2000, p. 2). This means although the generality and partiality of power have been recognized, conventional accounts of power tend to equate power with domination. And orthodox accounts of resistance tend to see resistance either as a "coherent oppressive force" or "ubiquitous" (Sharp et al., 2000, p. 2). Building upon criticisms of the "orthodox accounts of power" (2000, p. 2), Sharp et al. (2000) introduce the concept of entanglements of power in human geography to provide ground for a more diffuse and nuanced perspective on the geographies of power. The entanglements of power suggest that power operates in moments of both domination and resistance (Sharp et al., 2000, p. 3). Power is understood as a relational capacity - the ability to dominate and to resist. In this concept, dominating power is

understood as the power which attempts to control or coerce others (Sharp et al., 2000, p. 2), while resisting power is the power that attempts to resist the impositions of the dominating power. Resisting power can involve trivial moments (Sharp et al. give the example of breaking wind when the king goes by) as well as organized social movements (Sharp et al., 2000, p. 3).

With such a definition, the entanglements of power approach challenge the binarized understanding of domination and resistance. Instead, it understands dominating and resisting power as a hybrid phenomenon that is "fragmentary, uneven and inconsistent to varying degrees" (Sharp et al., 2000, p. 20). Such a perspective provides the grounds to investigate messy empirical situations or the "arena of negotiation" (Few, 2002, p. 30) in which agents exerting both powers do not always fully achieve their desired result.

Sharp et al. (Sharp et al., 2000, p. 24) argue that entanglements of power are inherently geographical. It is in material space where social relations get "entangled" because this is where people, activities, institutions, and ideas come together. Since different social groups tend to imbue places different meanings, uses and values, it is easy for tensions and conflicts to arise (Sharp et al., 2000, p. 26). Sharp el al. (2000, p.21) describe four elements involved in entanglements of power: forces, practices, processes, and relations of power. And these four elements spin out along the precarious threads of society and space" (Sharp et al., 2000)., Those four elements can be used to describe the entanglement of power within a particular situation. The forces of power refer to the use of power over others or to act effectively in a situation; the practices of power involves the use and/or use of strategies and tactics; the processes of power means the use of particular methods of doing particular actions over time; and the relations of power refers to the various social connections and networks among groups, institutions, and organizations.

The exercise of power, resources, and tactics

In this study, destination is seen as a result of the exercise of power among different stakeholders. To uncover the mechanism of power struggles, this study refers to Few's (2002) analytical framework of mechanism of interaction (Figure- 7)[20]. According to this framework, power is exercised following a mechanism - actors possess motives, draw on resources, and uses tactics to generate the desired outcome in the planning process.

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[20] In Few's writing, this power struggle is link it to the planning outcome.
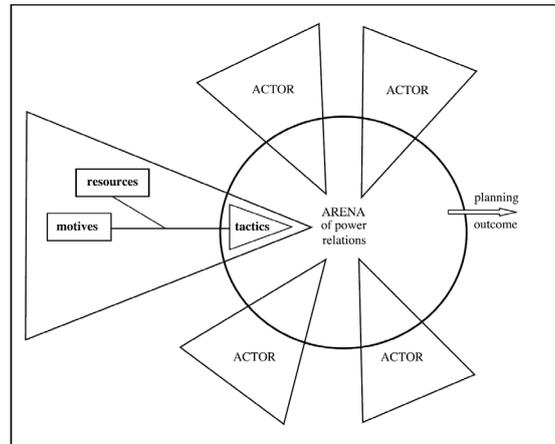
Figure- 7. The mechanism of interaction Motives, resources and tactics in the planning arena

Source: Few (2002, p. 34)

In this framework, power is exercised following a mechanism - actors possess motives, draw on resources, and uses tactics to generate the desired outcome in the planning process. Motives refer to an actor's interest-based objectives towards the planning outcome; power resources refer to the resources used by actors to enhance their negotiation ability, such as personal skills, social connections, discourses, and so on; tactics or strategies refer to the actions used to achieve the desired outcome, such as alliance-formation, enrolment, persuasion, manipulation, and compromise(Few, 2002). Such a framework offers the flexibility to examine the empirical details of negotiation without the constraints of power modalities.

Resources are crucial to the exercise of power because power is actualized through the employment and application of resources (Giddens, 1984). Although writers (see Hazra et al., 2017) distinguish two types of power that are based on resources or network positions, the latter also appears to be dependent on resources. Network-based power is linked directly with the access to or the ability to rechannel resources at such structural positions.

Different categorizations of power resources exist. Giddens (1984) distinguishes between authoritative and allocative resources. Authoritative resources allow agents to control people, and they include the material features of the environment, the means of material production/ reproduction, and produced goods. Allocative resources (power over materials) allow agents to control the distribution and use of material objects. Such a classification system echoes resources-based and network-based power. Mann (1986) identifies four historically consistent resources – ideological, economic, military, and political. Allen (2003a) mentions two types of resources: fixed resources such as the "infrastructure of the state… namely taxation, law, property and the alike",

and less fixed resources such as "finance, information, ideas, people and contacts" (Allen, 2003a, p. 115).

Apart from general categorizations, many writers have identified various specific power resources. They include financial resources, manpower, knowledge, skills, and experiences, law, and property right, information, personal character and charisma, reputation, social status, legitimacy, etc. (Beritelli & Laesser, 2011; Church & Ravenscroft, 2007; Coles & Church, 2007; Marzano & Scott, 2009; Saito & Ruhanen, 2017; Schmink & Wood, 1992). Although power resources exist in various forms, the access to such resources is asymmetrical and unfixed. Actors can have access to different forms of resources to different degrees.

Tactics are understood as the practices used to employ power (Coles & Church, 2007; Coles & Scherle, 2007; Few, 2002). Tactics are treated by some writers (see Few, 2002) as a subset of power relations in power systems characterized by negotiation (Few, 2000). Typical tactics include persuasion, manipulation, compromise, exchange, alliance formation, pressure, exclusion, enrolment, and ingratiating (Table-3).

Tactics	Definition
Persuasion	"…social actions designed to convince stakeholders that an outcome is preferable…persuasion often drew on supportive discourses" (Few, 2000, p. 248). Different types of persuasions exist, such as upward appeals (persuade another that the request for compliance is approved by higher management), rational (use of logical arguments and factual evidence), inspirational (appears to the values and ideals of an individual) (Yukl and Falbe 1990, cited by Coles & Scherle, 2007)
Manipulation	"…acts of negotiation that involve a measure of distortion, deception, or exploitation. Manipulation may be willful or unintentional, and it often goes hand in hand with acts of persuasion" (Few, 2000, p. 248)
Compromise	Actors make strategic trade-offs and accommodate selected concerns of other actors in negotiations (Arce and Long, 1992, cited by Few 2000, p. 250)
Exchange	Use of explicit or implicit promises that reward or tangible benefits will result from compliance with the request (Yukl and Falbe 1990, cited by Coles & Scherle, 2007, p. 222)
Alliance-formation	Form alliances to gain mutual benefit through cooperation (Few, 2000)
Pressure	Use of demands, threats, or intimidations to secure compliance (Yukl and Falbe 1990, cited by Coles & Scherle, 2007, p. 222)
Exclusion	"refers to tactics to limit people's access to decision-making fora… exclusion may have acted as a means to block dissenting voices" (Few, 2000, p. 251).

Enrolment	"An action that served to enhance their negotiating position through legitimation" (Few, 2000, p. 251). "enlisted the support of certain local actors, co-opted them… and thereby mobilized their influence within the community" (Few, 2000, p. 252).
Ingratiating	By means of getting an individual in a good mood, requests for compliance will be met more positively (Yukl and Falbe 1990, cited by Coles & Scherle, 2007, p. 222)

Table- 3. Tactics in the exercise of power

Source: author, with reference to Coles & Scherle, (2007); Few, (2000)

Unpack the entanglements of power in place making

As discussed before, the place making theory from Lew (20017) lacks an analytical tool to unpack the politics of place making. Building on the concept of entanglements of power (Sharp et al., 2000), Few's (2002) mechanism of interactions in negations，and other relevant literature on the power theories), an analytical framework is proposed (Figure- 8).
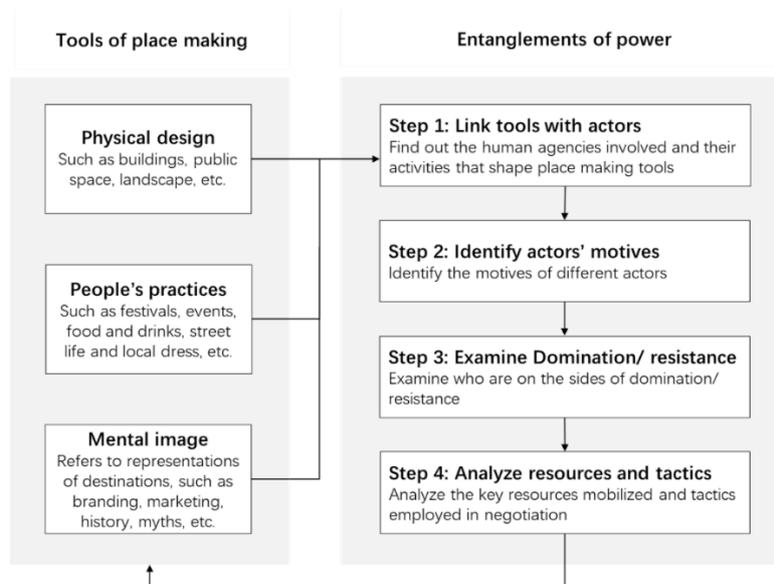
Figure- 8. An analytical framework for entanglements of power in destination place making

Source: author, based on Few (2002), Lew (2017), and Sharp et al. (2000)

The framework suggests the investigation can follow four steps. Step one links place making with entanglements of power. With references to Lew (2017), it starts from identifying tools of place making, including elements of the material, human activities, mindscape that are essential to the destination's qualities. Then it traces the human agencies involved in the construction of the destination and their different motives. According to Lew (2017), an understanding of how different world views are expressed through the tools of place making can yield insight into how power is distributed among

actors and interest groups. Step three uncovers the entanglement of power by positioning actors on the spectrum of domination/resistance (i.e., which actors are on the dominating side, and which resisting side). The final step analyzes the practices of power (the mobilization of resources, and the use of tactics and strategies), and examines how negotiations shape the corresponding destination qualities.

Chapter 3

Methodology and methods

This chapter describes the research methodology used in this study. Section 3.1 gives an overview of the different methods. Section 3.2 presents the data types and methods of data collection. Section 3.3 explains methods for data analysis and presentation. Section 3.4 briefly presents the three field visits conducted. And finally, section 3.4 offers some reflections on methodology.

3.1 Introduction

Mixing multiple methods and modes of analysis can produce different forms of data, generate insights from complementary approaches, and integrate to create new knowledge (Elwood, 2010). It was clear to me that to deal with the different subjects of the "physical" and "human" worlds, I had to use multiple methods and different sources to thoroughly explore the research questions. Using mixed methods firstly fills the gaps in knowledge that a single method may not be able to bridge. For example, while observation, site survey, and mapping were the main methods used in studying the transformation of the material environment, participant observation and interviews were used to study stakeholder engagement (i.e., the attitudes, activities, and resources used) in place making. Secondly, using mixed methods helps to capture different dimensions of the same phenomenon. For example, to describe the change of the built space, the study used mapping to illustrate the spatial development of the settlement, and images and text to describe the transformation of the building style.

Both quantitative and qualitative data were gathered to study the four inter-related subjects: The World Heritage making process (subject 1); landscape and settlement-scape transformation (subject 2); the urbanization process (subject 3); and power in place making (subject 4). Table-4 gives an overview of the aims of each study subject, the corresponding methods used in data collection and analysis, and the data types collected.

The following sections explain the details of the research methods. Section 3.2 explains the methods of data collection; section 3.3 explains methods of data analysis and representation; section 3.4 explains the organization of three field visits; and finally, section 3.5 critically reflects on some methodical issues.

Subjects	Research aims and methods	Data types
1. **World Heritage making process**	· To understand the selection of heritage elements and boundary-drawing process: *participant observation*, and *interviews* with staff from the Terrace Administration · To explain the construction of meanings: *discourse analysis* of the nomination file · To illustrate the management of the site: observe the site management through *participant observation*	· Fieldnotes · Narratives collected from participant observation and interviews · Archives (planning documents and regulations) from the Terrace Administration · Official documents of HHRTs from UNESCO's website
2. **Landscape and settlement-scape transformation**	· To understand the change of the rice terrace landscape under the touristic gaze (i.e., to observe how locals perceive the landscape, how the landscape is presented by tourism developers, local guides, and agencies): *participant observation, direct observation* of the built environment, *interviews with the guesthouse operators, content analysis* of the interview data and texts and images from the internet. · To understand the change of the settlements under the professional gaze: *direct observation, participant observation, interview with the chief architect*	· Fieldnotes · Narratives collected from participant observation and interviews · Texts and images from the internet (WeChat account, webpage, and travel blogs)
3. **Urbanization process**	· To understand the change of the place qualities: *survey, direct observation, participant observation, mapping, visual analysis* · To describe the actors and activities: *participant observation*	· Survey results · Fieldnotes · Narratives collected from participant observation
4. **Power in place making**	· To understand the power relations in the place making process (i.e., to uncover the conflicts that occurred, the meanings generated by different stakeholders, activities, power resources, and tactics): *participant observation, interviews with villagers, content and discourse analysis* of the narratives.	· Fieldnotes · Tourism development document · Narratives collected from participant observation and interviews

Table- 4. Overview of research methods

Source: author

3.2 Data collection

Participant and direct observation

Observation was the primary method used in this study. Participant observation was used to construct a holistic and contextual view of how different stakeholders co-construct destination places through their practices, behaviors, and their interactions(Watson & Till, 2010). In participant observation, I observed the people while working, living, and talking with them to increase the potential for more natural interactions and responses to occur. I had the chance to collect narratives from our informal conversations. The challenge of participant observation is to engage and understand the situation as an "insider", while not letting the researcher's embodiment complicate the power dynamics (Kearns, 2016). To foster less hierarchical interactions with participants and to avoid the potential to alter the behaviors or dispositions of those been observed, I created different settings to make my presence more natural for observation in this study.

The first setting involved working as an intern at the TA (TA), where I closely studied the government authorities, architects, and tourism experts. Through personal contact, I arranged a one-month internship at the TA - a site management office with around 15 people, from December 2018 to January 2019. This helped me understand the post-inscription management activities at HHRTs and access a variety of documents, including working archives, conservation regulations, planning documents, and ongoing site management projects. I also conducted on-site construction monitoring activities with staff from TA, participated in their meetings and discussions, and helped them to conduct conservation activities. Such immersive experiences helped me gain a deeper understanding of how the official heritage discourse influenced the site's development. Meanwhile, I collected narratives through daily casual conversations concerning the nomination process (subject 1), views of the changing rice terrace landscape[21] (subject 2), and attitudes and involvement in Azheke's development (subject 4).

The second setting involved being a tourist. As a tourist, I traveled to different places (the villages and the terrace blocks) within HHRTs to discover where tourists like to go, what they like to do, and where they like to stay. I collected information to understand the change of the landscape under the touristic "gaze", the rediscovery of the landscape's aesthetic beauty by the residents, and the landscape presented to tourism developers (subject 1).

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[21] The staff from the TA are the local people. Their perception of the terrace landscape was used to analyzed the transformation of the landscape under the touristic gaze.

The third setting involved living in investigated villages, namely Pugaolaozhai Village and Azheke Village. This allowed me to observe the daily activities that occurred in the two villages and interact daily with various direct stakeholders, including the local inhabitants, non-local investors, tourism experts, and architects working in the villages. I also collected narratives through informal conversations with different stakeholders. Since my frequent presence made me familiar with the people on-site, I often chatted with and was invited for dinner by different people. At Pugaolaozhai, I interacted with villagers and investors to collect information regarding activities around the use of traditional common space, housing construction, land transactions, and lodge development (subject 3). At Azheke, I interacted with villagers, investors, architects, and tourism experts to collect information regarding the power struggles in tourism development and housing conservation (subject 4). Moreover, this also helped me to established good relations with villagers, who later assisted me in doing interviews and site surveys.

Survey

In this study, the purpose of conducting surveys was to collect data on the physical environment by observation and note-taking. With a camera and site map, I observed, took photos, and made notes of the current feature of the built environment and the terraced landscape. To study the changes in the rice terrace landscape (subject 2), surveys were conducted to simply document the various viewing platforms. The investigation of the urbanization of Pugaolaozhai village (subject 3) was more detailed. A survey was conducted to collect information about each building, and was structured around the following checklist:

- Building styles (traditional/ modern)
- General building character (material/ structure)
- Construction state (under-construction or finished)
- Approximate time of construction
- Building function (residencies/ lodges/ restaurants/ shops)
- Years of operation (only valid for lodges /restaurants/ shops)
- Owner/ tenant status (local/ non-local, place of origin).

Interviews

> *"The goal of interviews is usually not to generalize to a population, but instead to answer questions about how certain events, practices, or knowledge are constructed and enacted within particular contexts." (Secor, 2010, p. 199)*

Interviews are used to gain access to detailed information on a diversity of meaning,

opinions, and experiences from different groups of people (Dunn 2016). They help learn from participants "how certain practices, experiences, knowledge, or institution work" (Secor, 2010, p. 199). Interviews were used to collect detailed information about events and stories, supplement observation, and gather ideas from different social groups.

However, the importance of the interviews varies among the four subjects studied. For subjects 1, 2, and 3, the interview was used as a method to collect complementary information. Because substantial data were already collected through other methods (such as the observation of the built space, site survey, informal conversations during participant observation, etc.), the interviews were relatively simple. A few key people were interviewed to corroborate specific points (see Table 5). For subject 4 - the study of power in the place-making process, interviews were the most important method to collect information. Interviews were conducted with many different stakeholders on-site and a broader range of points were covered.

Selecting interview participants

Interviews were conducted to collect in-depth information from the following stakeholders (see Appendix 1 - Lists of interviewees) with different aims, namely,

- Interview the staff from the TA to understand the World Heritage making process (subject 1).
- Interview guesthouse operators to understand the recommended rice terrace landscapes and their characteristics (subject 2).
- Interview the chief architect to understand his work in the conservation of HHRTs and Azheke (subject 4), the value he places on Azheke (subject 4), and his comments on the visual qualities of the settlements (subject 2).
- Interview villagers (the majority), the chief architect, tourism experts, investors, and TA staff in Azheke (subject 4) to understand the power issues in Azheke's conservation and tourism development.

Interview participants were chosen for their position with research questions, and the number of people interviewed varied, depending on whether the interview material was supplementary or central to the research question (Longhurst, 2010; Secor, 2010). To understand the World Heritage making process, staff from the TA were interviewed. They were central to the nomination process because they conducted site surveys to provide on-site data for nomination, and because they had worked closely with experts and government officials in the initial conceptualization of the nomination process[22].

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[22] The TA was key to the conceptualization phase of the nomination file since they provide the initial

The guesthouse operators interviewed had been living in HHRTs for some years and were all very familiar with the site. The chief architect was the most influential person in the conservation planning of the HHRTs and conducted the building restoration project in Azheke. He represented the professional gaze and shaped the site with his professional knowledge. Villagers in Azheke were the most important actors in Azheke's formation process and were seen as the group being governed[23]. Interviews were conducted with them to gather in-depth data about how they responded to "top-down" conservation and tourism development.

In recruiting participants among the villagers, the snowball technique (Longhurst, 2010; Secor, 2010) was used. I began by contacting some members of the group. In Azheke Village, the first villager interviewed was introduced by earlier contacts that I made, the tourism experts. In Pugaolaozhai, my first participant was a hostel manager who was a local inhabitant. Those people were selected because they spoke Mandarin, were able to communicate aspects of their experiences and ideas relevant to the issue under investigation and were very familiar with the community members. They helped me to find potential interviewees who were willing to talk and who had varied engagements in tourism.

Interview design

This study adopted semi-structured interviews as the most appropriate interview format. In semi-structured interviews, the researcher establishes a set of possible questions arranged to proceed in a natural and inviting way (Longhurst, 2010; Secor, 2010), questions are designed to allow for open responses rather than a "yes or no" answers (Longhurst, 2010), and researchers can rearrange questions and ask follow-up questions so that participants can elaborate on important issues (Longhurst, 2010; Secor, 2010). In this research project, questions were formulated around the four subjects investigated (Table 5).

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data needed by the experts who drafted the nomination file. They had the firsthand knowledge of the nomination process. As on-site direct stakeholders, they connected the material with the meaning construction process. Other stakeholders central to the textual construction of the nomination file were the experts, SACH officials, and UNESCO authorities. But due to the limited length of this study project, and considering that the textual construction was documented in the nomination file and UNESCO's responses, the construction of the official heritage discourse was based on the analysis of the texts instead of interviewing the stakeholders who produced those texts. Future research, however, could dive into the details of nomination process by interviewing all the stakeholders involved in producing the nomination file and scrutinizing and evaluating the nomination file.

[23] Considering that the voices and activities of the other stakeholders (investors, experts, and the local authorities) were observed through participant observation, this study used interview with the villager who I had less interaction though participant observation.

Subjects	Interviewees and interview type	Checklist of the interview
World Heritage making process (subject 1)	Staff from the Terrace Administration Semi-structured/ Group	· Process of nomination · What were the elements (rice terrace, villages) selected, and why they were selected? · How the boundary was defined?
Landscape transformation (subject 2)	Guesthouse operators Semi-structured/ Individual	· Tips on sightseeing of the rice terraces, including where to go, when, and what is special about recommended places
Settlement-scape transformation (subject 2)	Chief architect Semi-structured/ Individual	· The history of his work at HHRTs, his comments on the conditions of villages, the values he holds toward HHRTs and settlement preservation, and his work in Azheke
Power in place making (subject 4)	Villagers of Azheke; chief architect; investors; staff from the Terrace Administration Semi-structured/ Individual or group	· Activities and responsibilities · Values towards the site/ their needs · Attitudes toward preservation and tourism · Conflicts with others, issues of conflicts, resolution of the conflicts

Table- 5. Checklist for interviews

Source: author

A detailed question sheet was designed to study subject 4 – power in the place-making process (Table- 6). Sensitive questions, such as questions about conflicts, were usually asked later in the interview after participants warmed up and felt more relaxed. When interviewing the architect, tourism experts, and TA, I normally started by asking them to introduce or describe their work and engagement in the site (topic 2). Then I asked them the purpose of their work, and what the place means to them (point 1). Lastly, I asked about their relationships with other stakeholders and the conflicts they encountered (point 3).

Topics	Questions
1. Place meanings	1. Why is Azheke important? How do you see tourism and preservation? (for architects, tourism experts, and staff from the terrace administration) 2. What brings you here? What makes Azheke special for you? (for investors) 3. How do you see tourism and preservation, and what do you expect in the future? (for villagers)
2. Roles in place	1. What is your responsibility here? What do you do at work? (for architects, tourism experts, and staff from the terrace administration)

making	2.	What brings you here? Can you tell me the course of your business? (for investors)
	3.	What do you do? Are you involved in tourism? (if yes) what do you do? (for villagers)
3. Conflicts, interactions, and coproduction	1.	How do you see the work done by the Terrace Administration and the experts? (for villagers)
	2.	Is it easy to work with the villagers? (for architects, tourism experts, and staff from the Terrace Administration)
	3.	Have you ever seen any conflicts, and can you tell me more about the conflicts during tourism development and preservation (checklist includes who are involved, what they did, what are the result of the conflict)?

Table- 6. Question sheet for interviews in Azheke (subject 4)

Source: author

Place, time, and length

Interviews were conducted at participants' workplaces or houses, e.g., at the architect's home, at the office of TA, at the villagers' homes, etc. For the villagers interviewed in Azheke, most of them were interviewed at night when they came back from farming. I went from household to household with an assistant without making appointments (it was simply unnecessary). Sometimes the interviews were done in groups, as visiting neighbors after dinner is a common social activity. Since recording was often not welcomed by participants, I took notes during the interviews. The length of the interviews varied greatly (from twenty minutes to more than one hour), depending on the participants' willingness to talk.

Other data types

Other data collected in this study include archives, texts, and images from internet sites, the TA, architects, and tourism experts. They include the following types:

Working archives from TA (subject 1/2/3/4)

Archive sources are primary sources that include non-current government records held in public archives, company records, private papers, as well as documents of personal letters, diaries, reports, plans, maps, and photos (Roche, 2016). Archival documents can be in written, typed or electronic forms, and it helps to incorporate a historical dimension into research (Roche, 2016). In this case, the archives contained texts and images related to site management activities from 2012 to 2017 in electronic form. They reflect the site's historical stages, conservation activities, and management of construction. They provided a general context of the site's tourism development and

conservation struggles, and they were used to understand the material transformation process. Historical photographs, texts, and satellite images of the built environment were compared with observations made during site visits in order to understand the transformation of the material environment in Pugaolaozhai.

Planning documents and regulations of HHRTs (subject 1/2/3/4)

This includes conservation planning and tourism planning documents, and regulations regarding site management and building construction. These were collected from the tourism experts, architects, and the TA offices with permission for research purposes. Those documents give a contextual understanding of the site's development as it relates to the four subjects studied, including the integration of the heritage discourse at local levels (subject 1), the conservation of settlements (subject 2), and the development of Pugaolaozhai (subject 3) and Azheke (subject 4).

Honghe Hani Rice Terrace World Heritage Files (subject 1)

Documents were collected to understand the meanings constructed around the site's heritage identity, as well as the meaning construction process. These include the nomination file (which contains text and images required for the nomination of the heritage site), the evaluation of UNESCO's advisory bodies, the Member State's response, other appendices required by UNESCO's World Heritage Committee, and the emails between ICOMOS and SACH experts. The data is in electronic form and was collected from UNESCO official website and the working computer from TA.

Texts and images from the internet (subject 2)

These were collected to understand the visual character of the landscape. Information from contacts' WeChat pages and travel information were used to illustrate the landscape images portrayed by locals. Information from the Chinese social media Little Redbook was used to see how travel agendas are designed around the terraced landscape. To give a quantitative overview of different visual qualities of the rice terrace landscape, this study purposefully collected information from web pages from the top search results by using the Chinese searching engine Baidu with the keywords "Yuanyang rice terrace," "travel guide" and "photography".

Google satellite images (subject 3)

These were used to understand the sites' historical land-use changes. They were collected through Google Earth in digital form, and contain historical satellite images from different years. The analysis is done by simply comparing the images, using

AutoCAD software to draw maps that reflect the land-use changes, and finally explaining the change in texts.

3.3 Data analysis and presentation

Content and discourse analysis (subject 1/2/4)

Discourse and content analysis were used to process texts and narratives. Content analysis is used to process and interpret qualitative data (Waitt, 2016). The analysis is done by using descriptive codes[24], i.e., category labels or themes, to assess the visible, surface content of documents and retrieve meaningful information. In this study, content analysis was used to develop descriptive codes and organize content for discourse analysis. A discourse represents a particular knowledge about the world which shapes how the world is understood and how things are done in it (Rose, 2016). At a linguistic or textual level, discourse includes newspapers, magazines, debates, and so on. From a broader context, it also includes other forms of communication, such as body language, interactions, technologies, etc. Discourse analysis is an interpretive approach to identify the sets of ideas, or discourses, used to make sense of the world within particular social and temporal contexts (Waitt, 2016). A Foucauldian view holds that discourse simultaneously produces and reproduces knowledge and power through what is possible to think/be/do (Waitt, 2016). Hence it offers insights into how particular knowledge of the world becomes dominant, while simultaneously silencing different interpretations (Waitt, 2016). In this study, content, and discourse analysis were used to address the following subjects:

The construction of heritage discourse (subject 1)

Discourse analysis was used to interpret the nomination file, ICOMOS' evaluation, emails of the SACH experts, and the Member State's response collected from the official website of UNESCO. They were examined to understand how the meanings of heritage were negotiated among experts and authorities on a textual basis. Those

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[24] Coding is an important step. It is implemented as a twofold process: once for organization, and once for analysis of the source material (Waitt, 2016). Those two process involves drawing two types of codes, the descriptive code and analytical code (or interpretative) (Waitt, 2016). With that, the visible, surface content of document such as interview transcripts can be examined and identified by manifest content analysis, and such a step often serves as an initial starting point (Cope, 2016; Waitt, 2016). Analytical coding involves some form of abstraction or reduction, and may be envisaged as interpretative themes rather than descriptive labels (Waitt, 2016). It often reflects a theme the researcher is interested in or that has already become important in the project, and typically provides insights into why an individual or collective holds particular sets of ideas (Waitt, 2016). Analytical code digs deep into the process and into the context of phrases or actions (Cope, 2016). The manifest content analysis based on descriptive codes can reveal some important themes or patterns in the data or allowing a connection to be made, and hence brings about analytical codes (Cope, 2016).

documents were examined with the following descriptive codes: heritage items/ changes and decisions on heritage scope and items/ heritage values/ reasons for selections/ requirements from UNESCO/ Member state's justifications.

The change of the landscape under the touristic "gaze" (subject 2)

This subject demanded both content and discourse analysis. Firstly, the narratives of the local people collected through participant observation were analyzed by using discourse analysis to understand the shifting landscape image among the local people. Secondly, content analysis was used to understand the differentiation of the rice terrace landscape in the tourism industry. The data includes the interview data collected from the guesthouse operators (see 3.2.3-2) and texts from the internet (see3.2.4-4). These were examined by looking for the location of the landscape and the associated descriptions (form/ color/ story/ etc.) of the landscape.

Power and negotiations in place-making (subject 4)

Discourse analysis was employed to understand the power dynamics of place-making. The materials analyzed include interview transcripts (see 3.2.3), conservation planning files, and tourism planning files (see 3.2.4). The analysis aimed to explore the meanings generated by different stakeholders, conflict issues, and the power resources and tactics used in negotiations. Data were interpreted based on the following coding labels: conflicts (time, place, people)/ strategies or tactics to solve problems/ attitudes towards other stakeholders/ outcomes of the conflict/ factors determining the outcome.

Visual analysis (subject 3)

Visual analysis includes many methods, ranging from discourse analysis to geo-visualization to the use of the virtual in visual methods (Craine & Gardner, 2016). However, the visual analysis here was quite simple. It involved the observation and description of the visible elements in images. It is used in the study of Pugaolaozhai for two purposes.

- To describe the change of the settlement. I compared the satellite images of the sites in different years extracted from Google Earth and described the change in visual elements. In contrast to urban morphology and resort morphology that use software to analyze this kind of data, this study simply compared and described those images using the naked eye.
- To describe the change in building style. I compared historical images with photos collected from site visits and described the transformation of the material environment (building elements, style, color, material, etc.).

Mapping (subject 3)

"Maps are graphic representations that facilitate a spatial understanding of things, concepts, conditions, processes, or events in the human world" (Harley & Woodward, 1987, p. xvi). They are often used for informing, navigating, describing places, and analyzing spatial relations (Perkins, 2010). They are "an efficient way of communicating spatial information in a succinct and straightforward graphic way"(Darkes, 2017, p. 287).

Map making, or mapping, was used in this research to illustrate specific themes for the selected geographic area. The maps produced are thematic maps[25]. They present the spatial characteristics of the site from the following perspectives:

- The change of the built-up space and the use of buildings in Pugaolaozhai.
- The location of traditional public spaces and modern public spaces.

Map making involves a series of steps, including considering the purpose of the map, gathering and processing data, and transforming it into a map that meets its purpose (Stephen, 2010). Moreover, only information pertinent to the map's purpose should be selected and unnecessary information should be eliminated. (Stephen, 2010). In this research, the making of thematic maps involved the following procedures:

- Preparing base maps. Base maps were made based on planning archival or Google satellite images by selectively drawing the essential geographic information (roads, buildings, and rice terraces).
- Data collection. Data about buildings, traditional common spaces, and public spaces were collected from field surveys (see 3.2.2).
- Transforming data into maps. The data was transformed into map symbols of area, point, line, or icon and visually presented on base maps. A temporal dimension of transformation was incorporated by comparing a series of maps, or by using a set of symbols (e.g. indicating the year, using different colors, etc.) on a single map.

3.4 Field visits organization

Field survey designates the (corporeal) co-presence of the researcher at the research site and the multiple research she/he performs in situ. It involves observation, measurements, and

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[25] Maps can be generally put into two categories, the general-purpose maps and thematic maps (Stephen, 2010). General purpose maps are often designed for a variety of uses and contain a variety of variates.

recording of information regarding the physical environment (Turkington, 2016), or the social, cultural, and economic conditions of places, communities, and individuals. It includes landforms, water issues, ecosystems, legal regulation of the bio-physical world, socio-economic conditions of people, power relationships of actor systems as well as actor-network associations.

For this research, three field visits were conducted. The first field visit (April and May 2018) was exploratory, dedicated to grasping the site's overall condition and establishing contacts with local informants. During my visit, I visited different villages and rice terraces within the World Heritage Site and gained a quick overview of the landscape and the built environment. I talked with the local people and guesthouse operators to get to know the site. My first experience with the site revealed that the site was in a stage of rapid transformation because of heritage tourism. I saw ongoing massive infrastructure construction for tourism and simultaneous destruction of buildings. I observed a differentiated village-scape that contrasted with the idealized rural places depicted in the nomination file[26]. I also noticed that the rice terrace landscape was not as impressive as it was presented on the travel websites and that local people seemed not to view the rice terrace landscape as the tourists did.

The second visit (December 2018 to February 2019) was conducted with the following tasks: to understand the role of governmental authorities and professional planners in placemaking, to collect secondary data about the heritage site, and to conduct field surveys for the first village. I first went to Kunming and interviewed the chief architect responsible for the conservation planning and collected conservation planning documents from him. Later, with the help of a personal contact, I started my internship at the TA (the government authorities), which allowed me to conduct participant observation and collect their working archives. When there was not much to do in the office, I studied their archives and developed a checklist for the field survey to collect data on the built environment. When my internship ended, I went to Azheke village to conduct field surveys. There, I met the young tourism expert and the architects who worked there. As we were of similar age, we got familiar with each other. I also conducted participant observation when I accompanied them in their work (meeting with villagers or other governmental staff, supervising housing renovation) from time to time.

The focus of the 3rd visit (December 2019 to January 2020) was to collect more detailed

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[26] Most of the villages were modern, some with modern buildings dressed up in traditional styles, while only two kept the traditional vernacular building types - the mushroom houses. Most of the villages were not touristic, while only a few villages close to the most visited rice terraces were visited by tourists. The form of the builtscape was linked with differentiated conservation and tourism activities, and places with more touristic activities tended to be better preserved.

information on the built environment of the two villages and to understand the role of non-expert stakeholders (the villagers and businesspeople) in place making. In Azheke, I spent the first few days conducting surveys. I took photos and field notes of the built environment. My daily presence in Azheke made me a familiar face and the villagers began to invite me to have a drink or dinner. After some time, I started to interview the first few villagers that I knew, and later I recruited them as assistants to help me contact potential interviewees and interpret the local dialect. Meanwhile, I stayed in the lodge and got familiar with the operators, who were from Kunming. Through them, I learned about how investors got involved in Azheke's development. I also met the new tourism experts who were working there. We met from time to time and I occasionally accompanied them in their work. The daily interactions and interviews helped me to understand their role in place making. In Pugaolaozhai, I stayed in a lodge managed by a local. He was very familiar with the community and later assisted me in doing field surveys and interviews. Pugaolaozhai was much bigger than Azheke so the survey took a longer time. To collect data more efficiently, site surveys and interviews were conducted in parallel. While collecting building information, if I found the owner willing to talk, I would ask if he or she would be available for an interview. The local assistant introduced me to the villagers and helped with interpretation, and therefore smoothed the whole survey and interview process. Interviews with outside investors were conducted without the assistant, as they all spoke Mandarin Chinese.

3.5 Reflections on the methodology

Changes and adaptations

The research process was not linear but involved changes and adaptations as it proceeded. Especially during the first phase, I never felt in full control of how my research was taking place and had to change my focus and direction as the work progressed.

At the start of phase one, I proposed to discuss three issues: the physical environment, local livelihoods, and the co-production of stakeholders in the destination formation process. However, after the first exploratory trip, I decided to drop the livelihood issue, since the intensive work went beyond what I could achieve within the limited time of a doctoral project.

A second change was the number of study cases. Initially, I intended to study four villages including one that was neither preserved nor touristic. However, I decided to drop the fourth case after my second field visit. One reason was again my limited capacity, as I realize three cases were the maximum I could study. Another reason was the fourth case carried less significance for this study. It was a village where

heritagization and touristification were not present. The case is interesting as a contrasting example, but it was not useful to explain how tourism and heritage conservation can change destination places.

A third change was made due to the COVID-19 pandemic epidemic. Because of the lockdown and the travel restrictions, I had to cancel my last field visit which was designed to collect data for the third study case in Quanfuzhuang Village.

Chinese culture in doing research

Doing fieldwork in China has distinctive challenges because of the specific socio-cultural context, such as data accessibility and political sensitivity (Heimer & Thøgersen, 2006). I had to make use of or adapt myself to certain cultural features to facilitate my research.

One of the characteristics of Chinese culture is the emphasis on the appropriate arrangement of social connections (Abbott, cited by Hwang, 1987), or guanxi (关系) in Chinese. Guanxi is loosely translated as "social connections" or "social networks", and is important in almost every realm of life (Gold et al., 2002). It is customary for the Chinese to cultivate a web of guanxi networks and stay in contact and exchange social resources. As a Chinese person, I was very aware that if I contacted the TA with a letter from the university, they would not respond to my request. Instead, I made use of my guanxi to get an internship position at the TA. I contacted a friend who is from Kunming and has some contacts in Yunnan Province, and through two other contacts, I was introduced to the TA who generously offered an internship position. It is also important to show my courtesy by sending messages of gratitude to my contact person. Knowing this, I brought gifts (including Swiss chocolate and wine) to my friends and the responsible person at the TA.

Another feature of researching in China is navigating the drinking culture. Drinking alcohol is deeply influenced by the traditional ethics of the proper formalities between the young and old, the guest and the master, and the subordinate and the higher authorities (Jiang, 2011). Liquor is seen as a communication tool having ulterior motives (Jiang, 2011). Although I don't normally drink alcohol, I drank to establish good relations with my contacts. At the TA, I ate and drink with the staff there. Sometimes I had to make a toast to the head of the office and compliment his work. During my stay in the villages, I drank with the villagers. Drinking was appreciated and was seen by them as an important part of building trust in the relationship.

Notetaking and using interpreters in interviews

Only the interview with the chief architect was recorded, as he was a researcher and was comfortable with recording. In interviewing the government staff, the villagers, and

other stakeholders, recording was often unwelcome[27], so I took notes during most of my interviews. But taking notes is often less accurate than recording (Opdenakker, 2006). As I had to write down the keywords and sentences rapidly to ensure the interview flow, I could not document every word. To improve the reliability of my interview data, I spent some time after each interview reviewing my notes.

Considering many participants didn't speak Mandarin Chinese, I had to work with interpreters that I recruited on site. They were all able to speak Mandarin Chinese and the Hani dialect. Since an interpreter may summarize or modify the responses (Kapborg & Berterö, 2002), using an interpreter can threaten the validity of the data. To avoid that, I told interpreters to translate the conversation as closely as possible to the original language without eliminating words. I noticed that sometimes their interpretation was much shorter than the interviewee's answer, indicating that they were summarizing. To deal with that, I asked the interpreter to slow down and re-interpret the interviewee's answer word by word.

Power relations and ethical issues in fieldwork

Doing fieldwork in distant places where the culture is different requires sensitivity to the cultural context and unequal power relations (F. M. Smith, 2010). While power relations cannot be eliminated, it is important to not take advantage of someone's less powerful position to gather information and to respond to the imbalance in a critically reflexive manner (Dowling, 2016). During my work, I constantly tried to reflect on how my position might influence data collection and avoid potentially exploitative relationships (Dowling, 2016, p. 36).

Although I was accepted by the TA as a temporary staff member, they sometimes expressed concern about my other role as a researcher. Occasionally they stopped in the middle of the conversation and (half-jokingly) said, "will you write this in your thesis?" or "do not write irresponsibly otherwise I will have trouble". They worried that any negative issues that I observed might be disseminated irresponsibly or read by a wider audience. On the one hand, this concern was partly a result of sensitivity within the Chinese political system (Tsai, 2010), as government staff was afraid that any negative news about their administrative region would harm their careers. On the other hand, they had a misconception about academic research. They assumed that researchers were similar to journalists, who proactively expose social problems to the general public.

To respond to their concern and avoid deception, while not letting this political

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[27] Most of the interviewees were afraid of the negative influences if what they said (the facts, opinions, etc) were made public, despite that I explained the data would be confidential and it was only for research purpose.

sensitivity hinder my data collection, I explained to them my research purpose, the principles of privacy and confidentiality, and the potential audience of my research. I avoided using the word "zheng-zhi" (政治, politics) as they tended to associate it with political instability and political ideologies, which differs from how I use it in my writing. I explained my research was concerned with how different social groups interact with each other and how they co-construct the physical space through interactions, conflicts, and mobilizing different resources (which is what politics mean in this research). I made it clear that I would ensure anonymity and mask all personal information. I told them I would write a book or several papers, which if published, would appear in scientific journals instead of newspapers, where the readers were often other researchers and academics instead of the general public or politicians.

With the local villagers, I was often in a position of greater power, as "people in rural area especially, may even feel obliged to receive visitors from the outside who they consider – rightly or wrongly – to represent powerful institutions" (Hansen, 2006, p. 82). Some villagers even offered voluntary help. To avoid exploiting their less powerful positions and develop more equal positions, I involved some of the participants in the research design, such as in designing research questions and selecting interviewees. In addition, they were paid a reasonable hourly salary by local standards. Another way to address the power imbalance was to drink and chat with them, which made our relations closer and made them feel more equal to me.

Another challenge was to deal with various expectations of participants. I had to explain my position as a researcher to avoid unnecessary misunderstandings and expectations, and sometimes I also tried to give something back for their support of my work. For example, at the TA, the head of the office saw me as an expert and expected me to write a report with suggestions for the site's future tourism development. I explained that writing a book about the situation here was all I could do and that a report needs to be done by other professionals. Instead of writing a report, I wrote a few pages about things that could be improved in site management, and this was also appreciated by them. Another case happened with a villager that I worked with. He offered lots of information about the housing conditions and saw me as a potential business partner who could make an investment and open a lodge in his house. When I learned about his expectations, I explained that I had no intention of making any investment and I was only there for research purposes. Later in my fieldwork, I hired him as a driver and paid him for his assistance.

Chapter 4

The site

This chapter presents an overview of the research site. Section 4.1 introduces the site's geographical location. Section 4.2 presents the site as a World Heritage Site, including the site's nomination history and World Heritage profile. Section 4.3 introduces the site as a tourist destination. It describes the history of tourism development, the different spaces of tourism, and the tourism market. Section 4.4 presents the site's overall development context.

4.1 Regional context

Geographic location

The World Heritage Site of Honghe Hani Rice Terraces (HHRTs) is located in a peripheral mountain region in Yuanyang County, Honghe Prefecture, in the southern Chinese province of Yunnan (Figure 4.1). The rice terrace landscape was produced primarily through the farming activities of the Hani people, one of China's officially recognized ethnic minorities, hence it was named 'Hani Terraces'. Within Honghe Prefecture[28], the rice terraces spread over four counties, Yuanyang (元阳), Honghe (红河), Jinping (金平), and Luchun (绿春), with a total area of about 700 km². The HHRTs are located at the center of the terraces, with an area of about 113 km².

The heritage property covers one town, two townships, 18 administrative villages, and 82 natural villages[29] (Figure- 9). The rice terrace landscape is a result of the farming activities of the ethnic minorities. In the nominated property, the Hani minority population is about 37,800, accounting for about 70% of the total population of 54,100 in 2013 (SACH 2013, p35). Other ethnic groups include the Han (the majority group in China), and the Yi, Dai, Miao, Yao, and Zhuang minorities.

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[28] Prefectures are administrative subdivisions of provincial-level divisions in China.
[29] An administrative village has a party branch and a village committee; a natural village is a naturally formed settlement of residents, a village where people naturally gather to live together because of production and living. The administrative village is for the convenience of management, and at the research site, one administrative village often contains more than one natural villages.
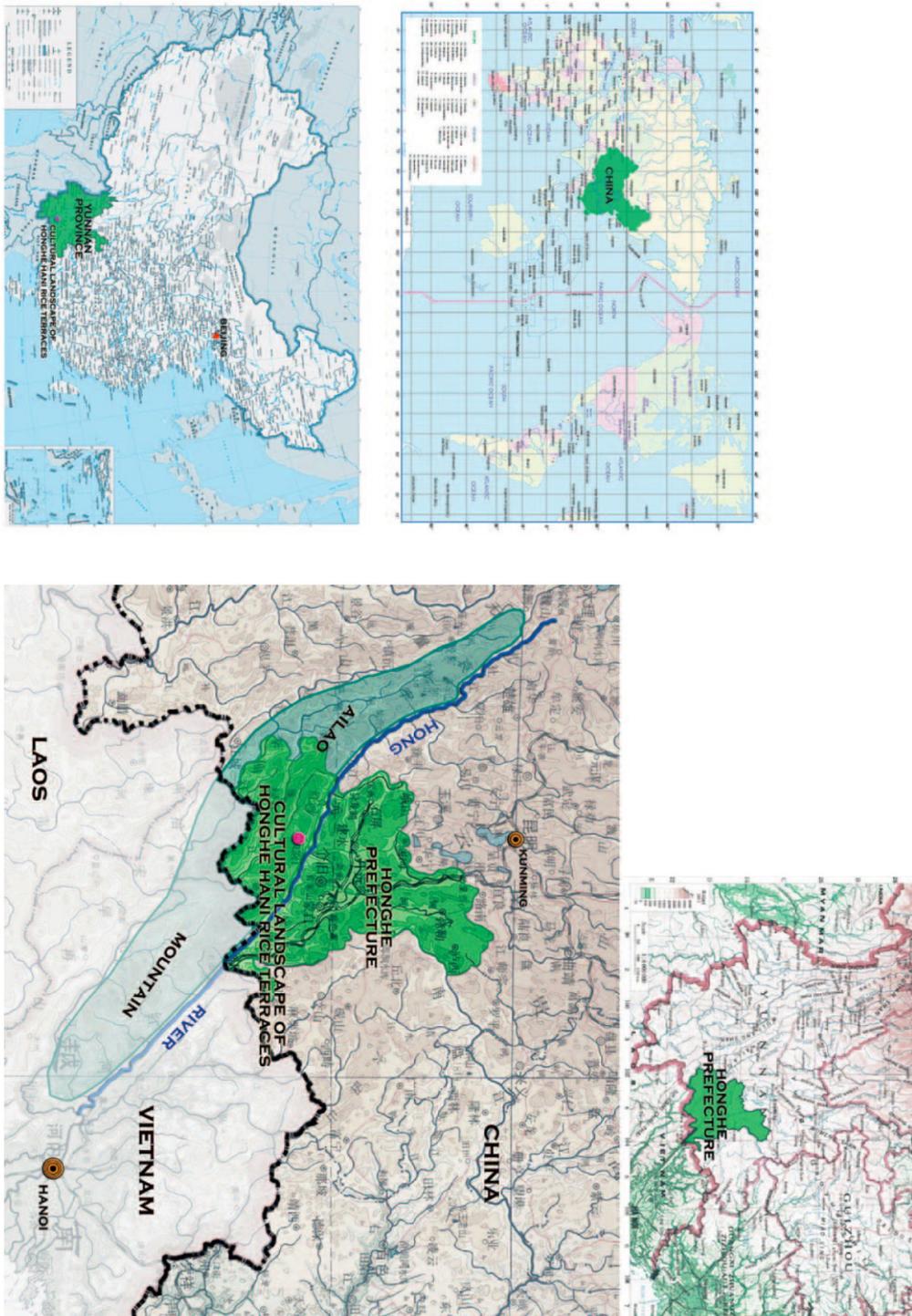
Figure- 9. The location of the HHRTs

Source: SACH (2013, p. 12)

Heritage tourism and regional development

Until 2020, Yuanyang County was classified as one of the key poverty-stricken counties in China, and it had more people living under the poverty line than other counties in Honghe Prefecture.

According to *Tourism development strategy and research report* (2018)[30], the average annual income per person of the year 2016 was around $4,000 - 8,000$ *yuan*, which was far below the Chinese farmer's average income of 12,363 *yuan*. The primary income has been farming and 85.4% of the survey participants were farmers. The secondary income has been working as migrant workers in cities and it was common for the locals to work as seasonal workers in cities[31]. The contribution of tourism to local income appeared to be insignificant[32] as a very limited number of people work in tourism. 62% of the surveyed population were over 45 years old. When farming cannot generate enough income for the family, working-age adults seek jobs in cities, leaving behind women engaged in caretaking activities, children, and the elderly.

Rapid urbanization has increasingly connected the site to broader social networks and brought impacts on the historically formed rice terraces and traditional settlements. In terms of the rice terrace landscape, because of the higher salaries in the cities, young people do not consider farming to be enough profitable (Zhang et al. 2017). This has resulted in fewer farmers and has threatened the maintenance of the rice terraces. Although this research was unable to obtain precise statistics or GIS data regarding the change of the total area of the rice terrace landscape. But a declining tendency was confirmed. According to local farmers, as more young people move to cities as migrant workers, the permanent farming population has been decreasing. As a result, in recent years, many families have to hire labor to repair the terrace ridges and harvest the crops, and the harvesting season lasts much longer. Besides, some family has changed the crop choice from rice to corns or soybeans as the latter two require less work, this subsequently resulted in the replacement of dryland farms to water farms (Yang et al. 2017). However, interviews with the locals and staff from the TA indicated that despite some minor changes, such as the conversion of water farms to dryland farms and the use of concrete in farm ridges, the rice terraces have remained almost the same. This observation was supported by a relevant study by Zhang et al. (2017), which suggests that the current scale of the rice terrace landscape did not show obvious changes even

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[30] The report conducted a survey of 36 natural villages (30 villages located within the property zone while 5 locate within the buffer zone) with a total of 5682 households.
[31] According to my informants, most of the people tend to work in cities in Yunnan Province, especially the nearby cities of Honghe, Jianshui and Nansha. The time of working varies from several to over ten months.
[32] Ve

when the agricultural landscapes in other Chinese rural areas had changed rapidly. According to Zhang et al. (2017), now most farmers in the Hani terraced areas are part-time farmers who are engaged in non-farm jobs in the cities nearby during the slack farming season. Working nearby provides the convenience of returning home and avoids difficult employment in distant cities. Cultural tradition maintains the stability of traditional landscapes through its pull and resistance (Zhang et al., 2017), and "the pull drives Hani people to stay in or near their hometown and to persist in farming in the terraces according to well-established land use ways. The resistance makes people hold on to stagnant thinking, poor scientific knowledge, etc., and not adapt to non-local society" (Zhang et al., 2017, p. 170). In terms of the settlements, traditional dwellings like the Mushroom house and Tuzhang house have been increasingly replaced by modern building types. Migrant workers returned home with their earnings and pulled down the old houses to build new ones. Modernization has also resulted in a loss of cultural traditions. As the indigenous population has developed modern lifestyles, traditional customs, festivals, religious practices, and social relations based on rice production are disappearing.

In such a context, heritage nomination and tourism development at Hani Terrace were from the beginning closely linked with the regional development agenda. They are seen as effective tools to not only lift the population out of poverty but also to preserve the rice terrace landscape and the traditional culture of the region. The development of heritage tourism in the HHRTs has been integrated into Yuanyang County's regional development strategy. A review of the government reports from Yuanyang County's official website[33] shows that HHRTs has become an important element in regional development [34]. While most of the projects are aimed at promoting tourism development [35], other projects also covered a variety of topics, such as heritage nomination, agriculture, infrastructure, ecology, culture, and sports[36].

4.2 Heritage context

Nomination history

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[33] The government reports refer to the available governmental annual report from 2012-2018. Data source: http://www.yy.hh.gov.cn/xxgk/zfgzbg/.
[34] The word 'Hani Terrace' was mentioned 11 times in Yuanyang County's 2012 report, 16 times in the 2013 report, and 33 times in the 2018 report.
[35] Examples include regional tourism strategies, tourism and conservation planning; infrastructure projects around the road systems, airports, tourism facilities and services like hotels, museums, restaurants, guiding systems, etc.; and touristic activities and events such as photography exhibitions, festivals, marathons, and mountain biking.
[36] Examples include projects like reservoir construction, the irrigation system, and the improvement of regional eco-systems.

The nomination process of HHRTs took 13 years, lasting from 2000 to 2013. The nomination process was spearheaded by individuals, then was managed by an expert group, and was eventually handed over to state authorities (Qu et al., 2018).

After French photographer, Yann Layma featured the Hani Terraces in his films, albums, and photos in 1993, the Hani terraces were officially introduced to the world. This attracted researchers and experts to study the place. In 1995, a French anthropologist, Jean Eugene suggested nomination during his visit to the terraces. Inspired by this advice, in 2000 local scholar Shi Junchao put forward an official proposal to the Yunnan Government (Zhou & Zhang, 2019). The idea of World Heritage nomination was soon supported by the Honghe Prefecture and Yuanyang County governments to develop the tourism economy (Qu et al., 2018). An expert team and administrative offices were established to be responsible for the nomination process. The next year, a nomination expert team led by Shi Junchao was formed by Honghe County. Shi Junchao's academic expertise and passion drove the early nomination process. With his efforts, the site entered the national tentative list in 2002 and was officially admitted to the national list in 2004.

The TA was established at both prefecture (in 2007) and county (in 2008) levels to take over the nomination project. The nomination file was completed by an expert team from SACH based on multiple field visits. In 2011, the file was successfully presented to SACH, who submitted the file to the World Heritage Center in 2012. After evaluation by the two expert bodies, ICOMOS and IUCN, in 2012, the site was officially recognized as a World Heritage Site in the year 2013.

Heritage profile

As a World Heritage site, the HHRTs were inscribed under the category of a 'cultural landscape' representing the combined work of humans and nature[37]. As required by the OG (WHS, 2019), sites must be of outstanding universal value (OUV). OUV is met when the site meets at least one out of ten selection criteria and also possesses integrity (all sites) and authenticity (for cultural sites only)[38]. The HHRTs were inscribed based on two of the criteria. The criteria and the justification for the HHRTs selection are:

> *(iii) To bear a unique or at least exceptional testimony to a cultural*

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[37] According to the Opertational Guidelines (2019) Cultural Landscapes are illustrative of the evolution of human society and settlement over time, under the influence of the physical constraints and/or opportunities presented by their natural environment and of successive social, economic and cultural forces, both external and internal.

[38] Authenticity refers to the link between attributes and OUV, while integrity measures the completeness/intactness of the attributes.

tradition or to a civilization which is living or which has disappeared.

Honghe-Hani terraces are an outstanding reflection of elaborate and finely tuned agricultural, forestry and water distribution systems that are reinforced by long-standing and distinctive socio-economic-religious systems.

Red rice, the main crop of the terraces is farmed on the basis of a complex, integrated farming and breeding system within which ducks fertilizer the young rice plants, while chickens and pigs contribute fertilizer to more mature plants, water buffalo slough the fields for the next year's planting and snails growing in the water of the terraces consume various pests. The rice growing process is sustained by elaborate socio-economic-religious systems that strengthen peoples' relationship with the environment, through obligations to both their own lands and to the wider community, and affirm the sacredness of nature. This system of dual interdependence known as the 'Man-God Unity social system' and its physical manifestation in the shape of the terraces together form an exceptional still living cultural tradition.

(v) To be an outstanding example of a traditional human settlement, land-use, or sea-use which is representative of a culture (or cultures), or human interaction with the environment especially when it has become vulnerable under the impact of irreversible change

The Honghe Hani Rice terraced landscape reflects in an exceptional way a specific interaction with the environment mediated by integrated farming and water management systems and is underpinned by socio-economic-religious systems that express the dual relationship between people and gods and between individuals and community, a system that has persisted for at least a millennium, as can be shown by extensive archival sources.

(World Heritage Center, 2013)

The designated property covers a total area of 16,603.22 ha, and a buffer zone[39] of 29,501.01 ha (Figure- 10). The property has been characterized by experts as an

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[39] A Buffer Zone is an area surrounding the WHS that gives an added layer of protection to the Site. Buffer Zones should include the immediate setting of the nominated Site, important views and other areas or attributes that are functionally important as a support to the Site and its protection.

integrated landscape system of 'forests-water-villages-terraces' (SACH, 2013, p. 4) (Figure- 11, Figure- 12). Besides those four tangible elements, other intangible elements include religious beliefs and the festivals and practices related to rice cultivation. The four elements can be described as follows:

- Forest. The mountain top forests capture and sustain the water that terraces need for irrigation. It is mainly distributed at an altitude above 2,000 m and covers up to 6,496.84 ha.

- Water system. A complex water channel system has been developed to distribute the water into the rice terraces. Artificial ditches and canals intercept mountains springs and channel them into villages and terraced fields for irrigation. The total length of canals and ditches extends over 400 km.

- Villages. Villages are located above the terraces and below the forests. There are altogether 82 villages within the heritage zone. Five villages were nominated as representative villages, namely Shangzhulu Old Village, Azheke Village, Yakou Village, Niuluopu Village, and Quanfuzhuang Mid Village. The five villages were seen as possessing outstanding universal value because of their traditional built environment. The other villages are also part of the 'four elements system'.

- Rice terraces. The rice terraces are the results of farming practices in the mountain region. The altitude of terraces spans from 603 to 1,996 meters above sea level. The rice terraces are concentrated in three blocks, namely Laohuzui (1,481 ha), Bada (1,748 ha), and Duoyishu blocks (1,477 ha). The rice terraces spread over a total of 4,706 ha, and account for 28.34% of the total area of the nominated property.
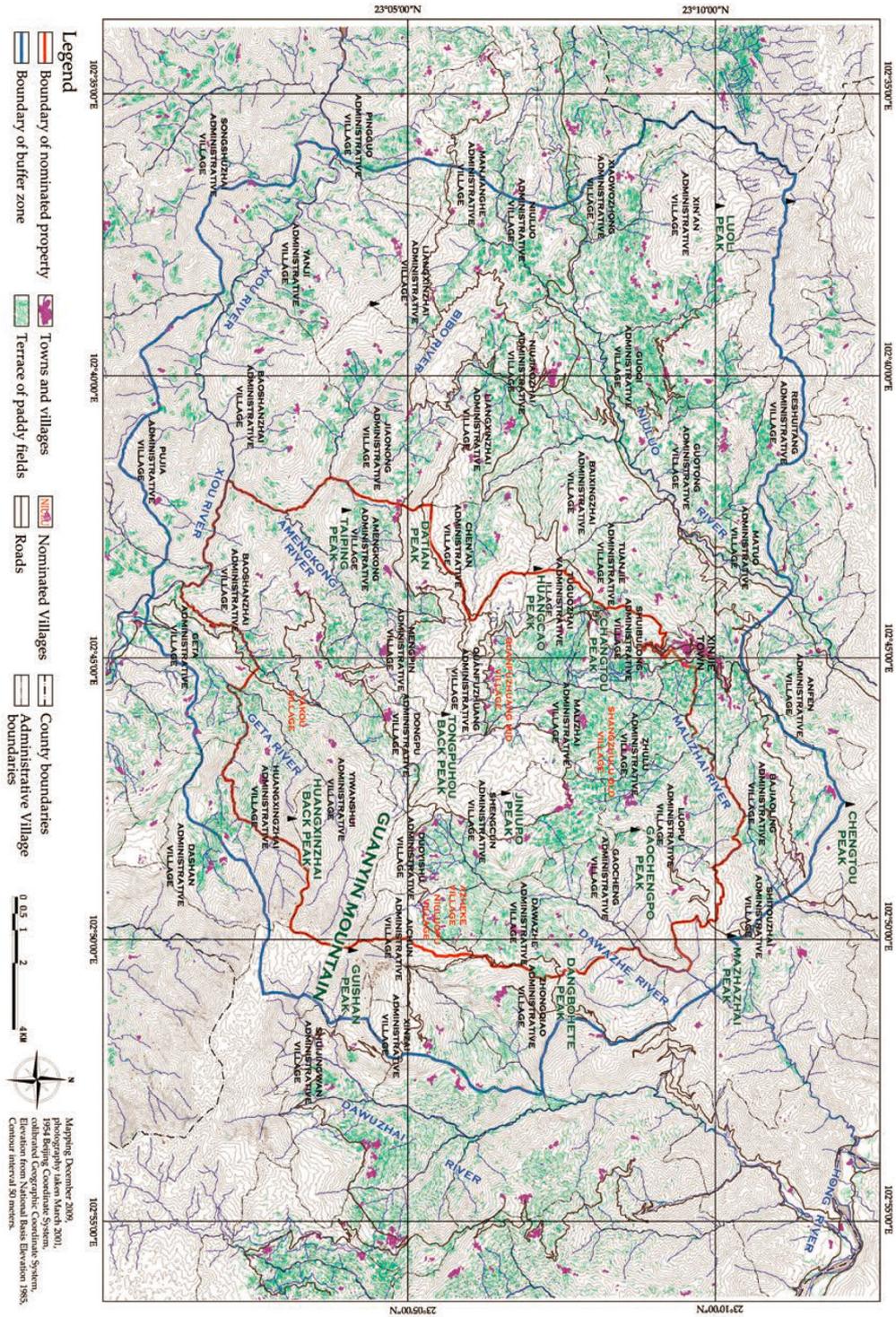
Figure- 10. The terrace landscape of HHRTs.

Source: SACH (2013, p. 13)
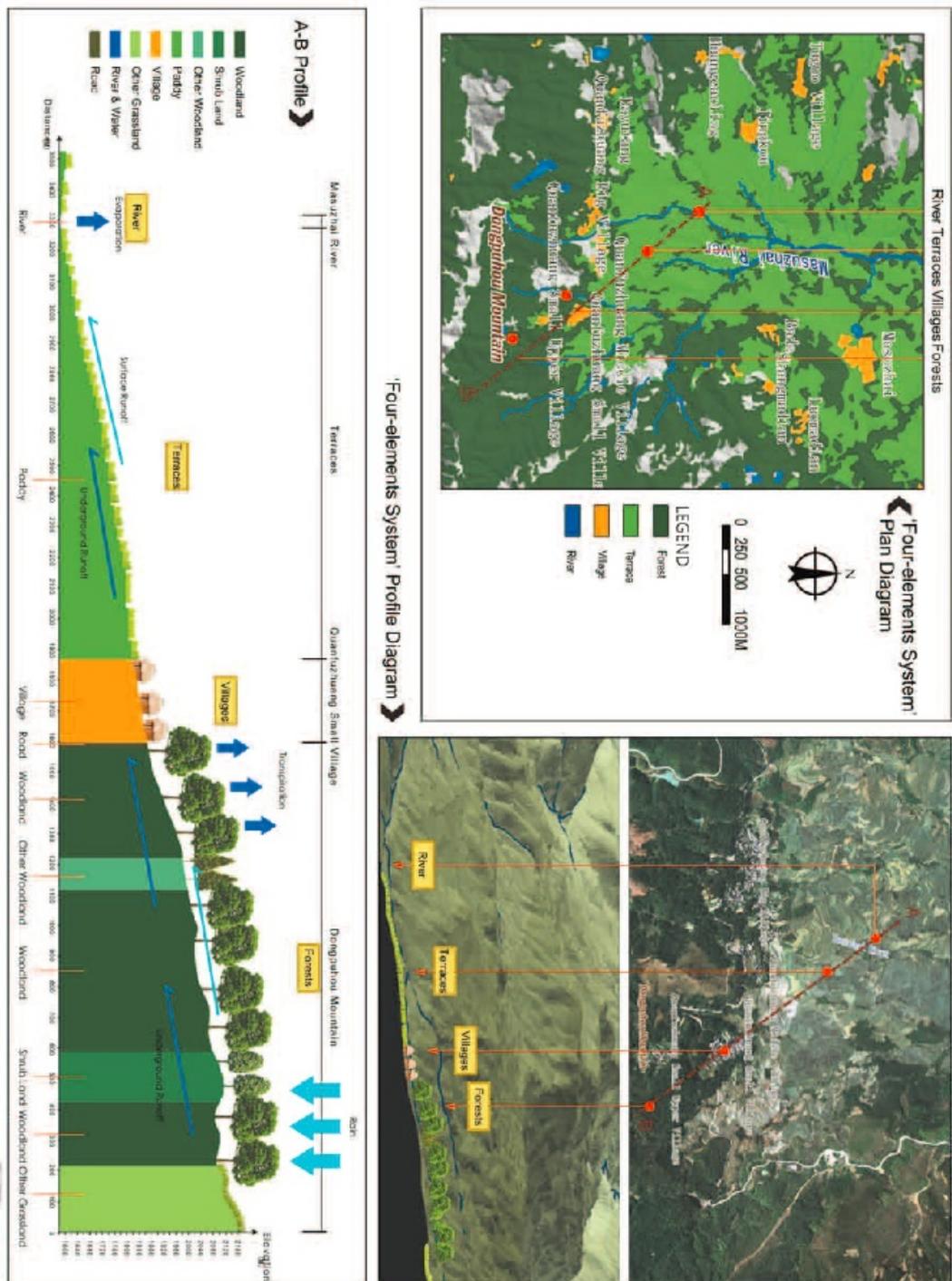
Figure- 11. The "four-element system"
Source: SACH (2013, p. 999)
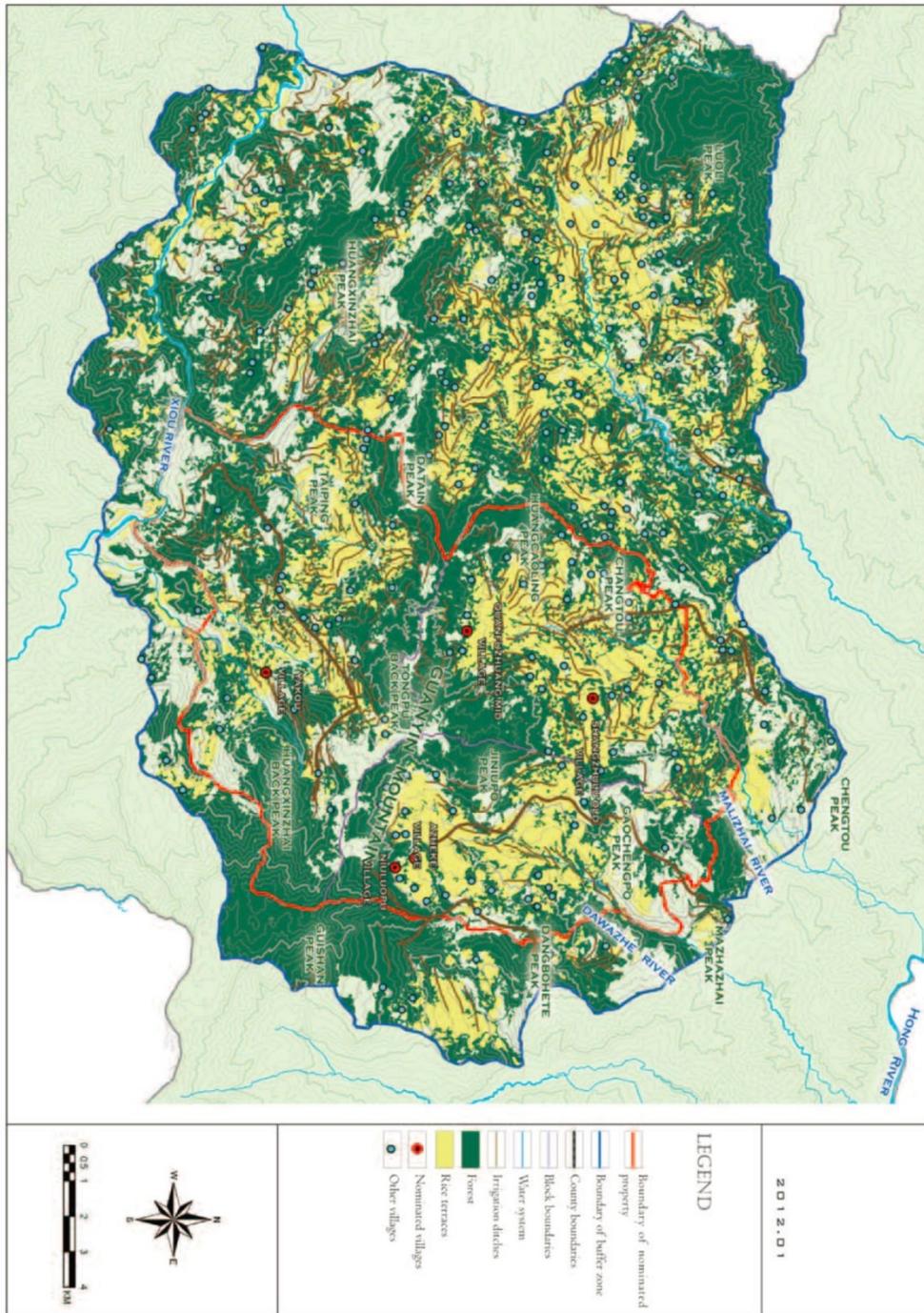
Figure- 12. The distribution of the "four-element system"

Source: SACH (2013, p. 22)

4.3 Tourism context

Tourism development

Tourism existed long before the area became a World Heritage Site. Although rice terraces are a common feature of the region, the Rice Terraces in Yuanyang were the first to be developed as a tourist attraction (Yanlin, 2018). The development of tourism can be classified into four stages. The first stage lasted from the 1970s to 1997. The earliest record of visits by photographers can be traced back to the 1970s (D. Liu, 2005), and photography enthusiasts were the main visitors and promoters (Zhou & Zhang, 2019). But a very limited number of visitors visited the area, and no tourist facilities were developed. Tourism had little economic or social significance to local residents. In 1993, Yann Layma, a French photographer, arrived to shoot the rice terraces. Many media outlets published his photos, and a documentary 'Mountain Sculptors' he made was broadcast by more than 300 television stations in nearly 40 countries. This broad publicity started to attract tourists from all over the world.

The second phase lasted from 1997 to 2007. In 1997, the Yuanyang County government first started to develop tourism in Qingkou (箐口) Village within the site. In 2000, the Yuanyang government began to develop tourism in Qingkou and improved the general infrastructure. It also initiated the nomination process during this time. By 2005, the tourism revenue of Yuanyang county had grown from less than a million in the year 2000 to over 50 million in the year 2017, indicating a growing tourism market (Tourism development strategy and research report, 2018). In this stage, locals began to get involved in tourism, and facilities and services (such as staged performances and shops for tourists) exclusively for tourism emerged.

Starting in 2008, the site entered the third stage. In 2008, the Yuanyang government introduced a tourism developer, the Shibo Group. The Shibo Group developed the scenic zone of Qingkou and built other facilities including three big viewing platforms of Duoyishu, Bada, and Laohuzui. Various plans [40] were made and the built environment kept expanding. Tourism was seen by the local government as a possible alternative to agriculture and the landscape as a vital tourism resource. Tourist numbers continued to increase during this stage, especially in 2014 after the site was registered as a World Heritage Site.

From 2017 to 2021, tourist numbers began to decrease (Tourism development strategy and research report, 2018). Meanwhile, substantial efforts continued to be made by the regional government to improve the general infrastructure and to develop new

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[40] Including various land-use plans, strategic tourism development plans, building renovation plans, etc.

attractions. Further tourism plans were made, and the number of facilities, including lodges, hostels, and restaurants, continued to grow. By the end of the year 2019, the new road connecting the eastern end was completed, making the site more accessible. More parking space was constructed. New man-made attractions, including the Museum of Hani History and Culture and the Hanixiaozhen (哈尼小镇) Commercial Street, were completed by the end of 2019. Azheke Village was designated as a scenic spot in 2019. Touristic events became more diversified. Various events filled the tourism calendar, including festivals, a marathon, a bike race, a drone photography contest, and traditional performances with online streaming. Influenced by the COVID-19 pandemic, the site received very few tourists in the year 2020. Since 2021, tourism has slowly recovered and the number of domestic tourists has started to increase.

Destination profile

Although the heritage site covers a large area, most of the tourism activities are limited to a few places near the tourist ring road (Figure- 13). Most of the attractions are located in the northeastern part of the ring road. The rice terrace landscape is the biggest tourist attraction in the area, and sightseeing is the primary touristic activity. The Hani Terraces are known to tourists as "the paradise of light and shadow", referring to the views of the water-filled-terrace mirroring the sky, sun, and clouds (Figure- 14). The three most visited rice terrace blocks were Laohuzui, Duoyishu, and Bada (SACH, 2013).

Hanixiaozhen is another frequently visited attraction. It is a tourist site finished in 2015. It now contains many hotels, shops and restaurants, and the Museum of Hani History and Culture. It also holds tourist events like performances. Other traditional villages are also popular attractions. The most visited villages are Dayutang, Qingkou, Azheke, and Yakou, where tourists can see the vernacular mushroom houses, try local food, and sometimes watch performances. Other attractions include the ethnic fair[41] and the ancient government buildings[42].

Sightseeing is the predominant tourism activity, chosen by 91% of the tourists surveyed. According to the T*ourism development strategy and research report* (2018), "eating ethnic food" ranks as the second most popular activity, chosen by 46.7% of tourists, followed by "visiting traditional settlements" (37.6%), "watching ethnic dancing and singing" (9.6%), and "making or purchasing ethnic crafts" (7.2%). A typical tour is organized as follows:

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[41] The fair happens in bigger village or towns in the region. Here it circulates between Shengcun (胜村), Niujiaozhai (牛角寨), Xinjie(新街) everyday.
[42] Including the Zongwa Sishu (宗瓦司署, ancient government building) in Duoyishuxiazhai (多依树下寨) and Mengnong Sishu (勐弄司署,cultural heritage under prefectural level protection) in Panzhihua Town (攀枝花).

tourists usually arrive in Xinjie Town, then they enter the site from the touristic center near Hanixiaozhen to the south of Xinjie, visit some attractions near the ring road (mainly the north-eastern side), stay overnight, and leave the next day(Tourism development strategy and research report, 2018).

Tourism services and infrastructure are still at the early stages (Tourism development strategy and research report, 2018). Sightseeing remains the primary tourist activity. Ticket sales in scenic spots, lodging, and food and beverages are the main generators of revenue. Tourism commodities, the entertainment industry, and transportation services are in the early ages of development.
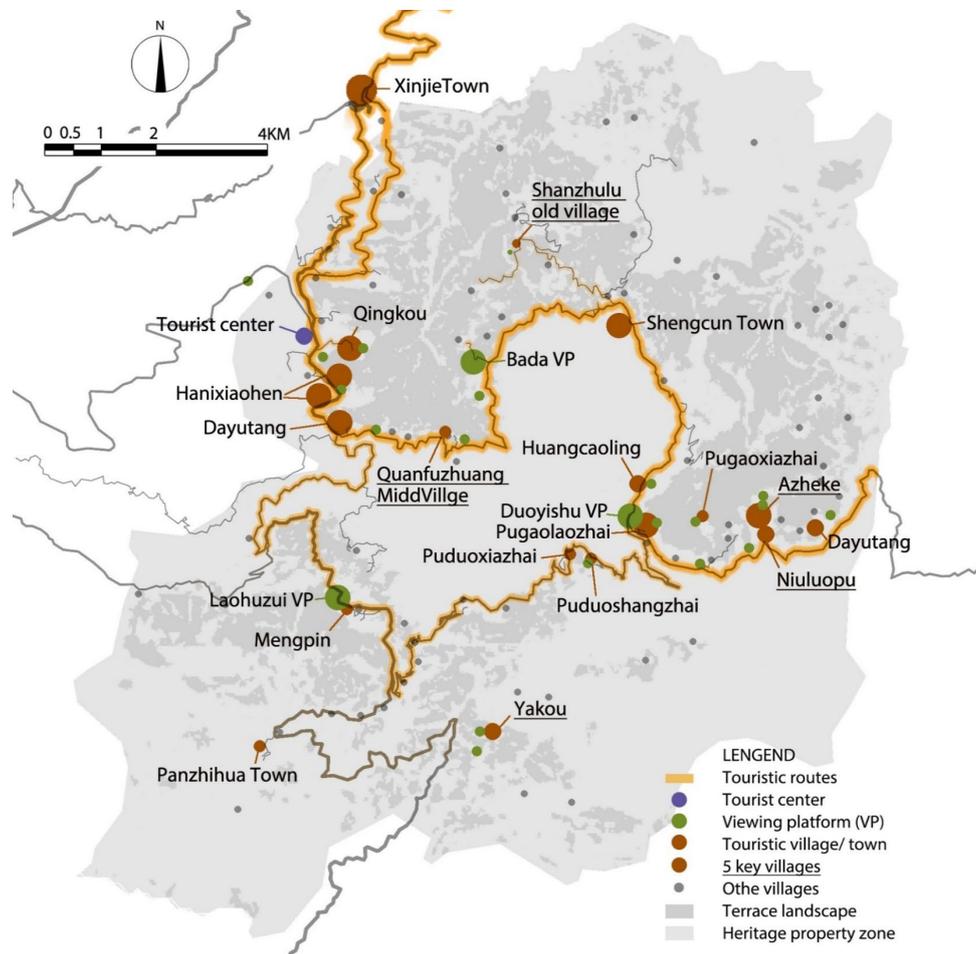
Figure- 13. The site and the distribution of touristic space

Source: author[43]

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[43] The size of the dots represents the intensity of the touristic activities based on observations on-site.

Figure- 14. The main tourist attraction – rice terrace landscape (2018)

Source: author

Tourists' profile

Tourist number
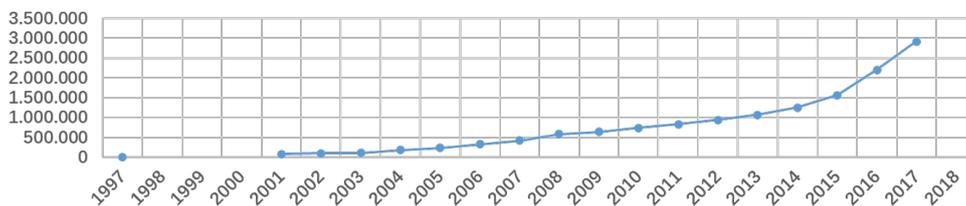
Figure- 15. The evolution of tourist number of Yuanyang County[44]

Source: author based on data from the Yuanyang Municipality

The tourist numbers have been growing in recent years (Figure- 15). A significant rise in tourist numbers was observed after 2013 when the site was inscribed as a World Heritage Site. The site reported receiving 193,100 visitors in 2019 (about 529 people per day)[45].

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[44] This statistic is based on ticket sales and inbound and outbound vehicles in Yuanyang County. It does not reflect the actual tourist numbers in the HHRTs. But since the HHRTs is the main tourist attraction in Yuanyang County, this figure reflects the growth of tourist numbers.

[45] Source: http://yn.people.com.cn/n2/2019/0403/c378439-32805717.html

In fact, the tourist number estimates are based on the tickets sold for the three viewing platforms. The number is provided by the Shibo Group that mananges the three pay-to-enter viewing platforms. But one interviewee suspected that this number was 'less than the number actually sold'. There are also many

According to the *Tourism development strategy and research report* (2018) (later referred to as *the report*), a survey was conducted among 345 visitors in the year 2018. The survey shows that domestic tourists took up the majority[46]. The biggest tourist group came from Yunnan Province (which accounted for 17.1% of the participants), followed by Beijing (16.8%), Guangdong (13.9%), and Shanghai (11.9%)[47] (Figure- 16). Among all participants, only seven were from outside China, including five from Europe and two from Asia. According to another paper by Chen and Lu (2011), Japanese and French tourists were the most frequent foreign visitors. And based on my observation on-site, other international visitors were German, Korean, English, Dutch, Australian, etc.
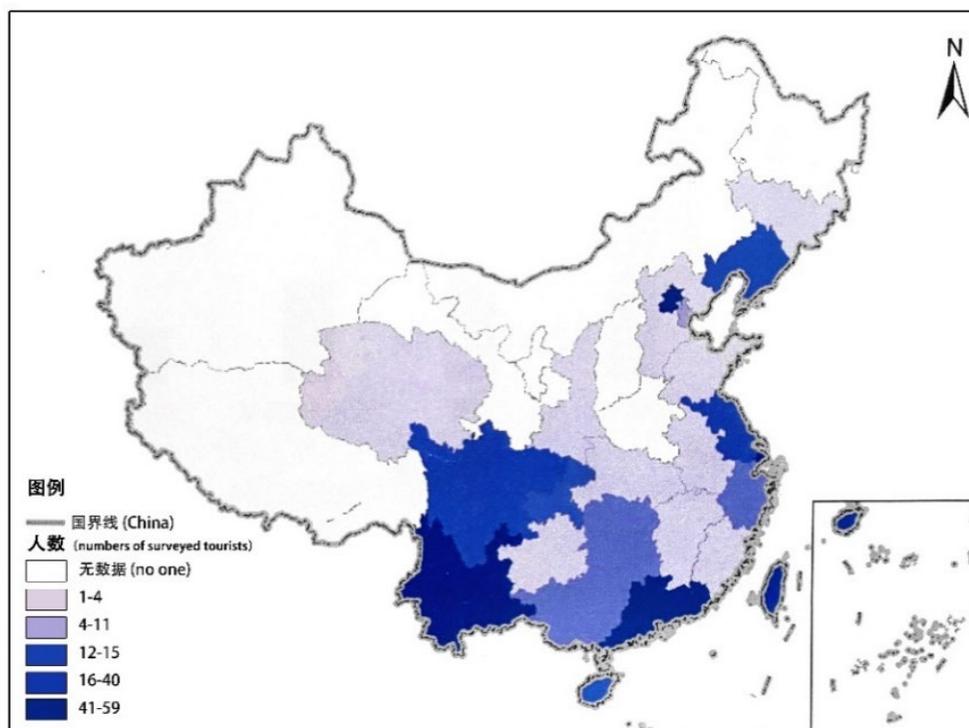
Figure- 16. Origins of domestic tourists surveyed
Source: Tourism development strategy and research report (2018, p. 56)

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tourists who visit the site without purchasing tickets to enter the three viewing platforms, since the view is not only available in the pay-to-enter zones. The informant (a civil servant from the Yuanyang government) provided another number from the Public Security Bureau based on accommodation registration. As recounted by Wang, in 2018, the Shibo Group reported ticket sales of 174,000, while the total number of tourists who stayed (and hence were register in the system monitor by the Public Security Bureau) reach 440,000, a number much higher than the reported number of tickets sold.

46 Including mainland China and Taiwan.

47 The report collected a total of 345 questionnaires from the tourists between 23rd January to 2nd February of the year 2018. However, considering the questionnaires were collected between the Chinese spring festival, the percentage of Chinese tourists appeared to be particularly high.

Most of the tourists were middle-aged according to the survey. 7.5% of participants were under 18 years old, 14.5% were between 18 to 35 years old, 16.6% were between 25-34 years old, 21.4% were between 35 to 44 years old, 33.3% were between 45-64 years old, and 6.7% were over 65. Most of the tourists were well-educated and 77.7% of the participants had higher education. The visitors surveyed were generally at the middle to high-income level and 59.8% had a monthly income of over 5,000 *yuan*. Most visitors traveled by car (48.1%) or followed arrangements by the travel agency (36.5%). Most of the tourists were on their first visit to Yuanyang (88.5%) while only 6% of the visitors surveyed had visited the site twice or more than twice. The overall length of stay was relatively short, and the per capita spending of tourists was low. Most visitors stayed in Yuanyang Terraces for two days, 16.5% stayed for one day, 15.4% stayed for three days, and 19.5% of visitors stayed for more than three days. 80% of tourists spend no more than 1200 *yuan* per capita, and the main items of spending are transportation, accommodation, and catering (each item does not exceed 600 *yuan*).

Tourists concentrate in peak seasons when crowding is common. The most popular time is October, and from December to April. Winter is the favorite season for tourists, who favor the view of water-filled terraces that mirror the sky. During the Spring Festival week in 2019, the site is reported to have attracted 42,500 tourists (about 6017 people per day)[48]. According to the TA, the site is estimated to have a maximum carrying capacity of fewer than 10,000 people per day. Since there is only one ring road and not enough parking space in the mountain region (whereas half of the visitors are self-driving visitors!), the arrival of tourists often causes traffic congestion during the peak season[49].

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aiwanese tourists
[48] https://www.sohu.com/a/294138841_120060529
[49] According to the informants from Azheke village, take the national holiday for example, it is hard for the villagers to go to Xinjie Town during the national holiday. The whole site is often congested with cars and it takes a whole day to go from Xinjie to Azheke (which normally takes about 40 minutes).

Chapter 5

Making Honghe Hani Rice Terraces into a World Heritage Site

This chapter examines how UNESCO's World Heritage movement creates unique narratives pertinent to HHRTs' heritage identity. The detailed introduction of the site's profile as a WHS is documented in Chapter 4, section 4.2. This chapter traces the different phases of narrative construction and seeks answers to the questions of (1) how was the idea of heritage located in material space and elements? (2) How was heritage narrative idealized in the nomination documents? (3) How was the official heritage narrative reproduced at the site level?

As a theoretical entry, this chapter refers to an analytical model based on Di Giovine's (2008) model of World Heritage making. The following sections briefly present the theoretical context and apply the model to the study of the process of narrative construction at HHRTs.

5.1 Theoretical context: the process of meaning making by the World Heritage movement
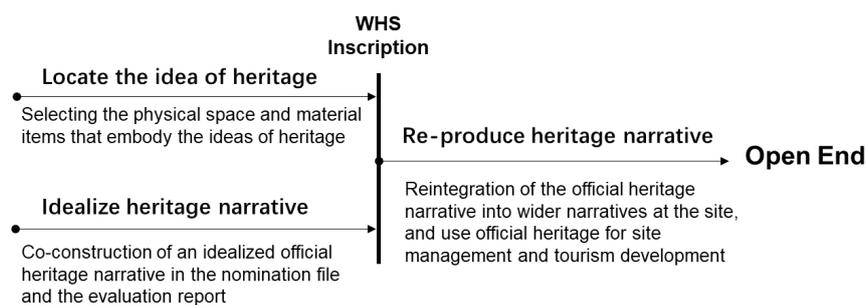
Figure- 5. A revised model – the process of meaning production by UNESCO's heritage movement

Source: author

As explained in the theory chapter, section 2.2 has proposed a new analytical framework based on Di Giovine's (2008) ritual of heritage making (Figure 5). This model focuses on the types of meaning constructed and it has three steps. The first step is to "locate the

idea of heritage", and it constructs narratives around "what" a WHS is. In this step, the idea of heritage is identified and located within certain geographical boundaries (the property zone) and selected material elements. This step extracts space, objects, and traditions from a regional context, and assigns them with the symbolic meanings of heritage.

The second step is to "idealize heritage narrative". Meanings are constructed around "how" a place ideally fits the pre-determined criteria. Such narrative construction is documented in textual documents submitted by the member states and the advisory bodies. The key narratives regarding a site's heritage identity include a) the justification of the criteria, which explains the universal value of the site; b) the statement of integrity and authenticity, which explains how the site possesses universal value; and c) the comparative analysis, which explains how unique the site is compared with other similar places. The member state firstly presents an idealized image in the nomination file, then the advisory bodies evaluate, polish the narratives (if they consider a site is qualified), and suggest further complementary information (if necessary). And finally, the member state responds to the issues raised. In this phase, UNESCO and advisory bodies are the rule-makers and gatekeepers, but it is the responsibility of the member states to interpret and justify. The member states have to proactively develop narratives and respond to the requirements by UNESCO and advisory bodies to get a site enrolled.

And after listing, the production process enters the next phase - "re-produce heritage narrative". And in this last phase, the established meanings produced by experts and authorities then follow a top-down path to be diffused, legitimatized, and enforced at the local level among the public and the local community. The purpose is to maintain the site as a member of the WHSs community.

5.2 Locate the idea of heritage[50]

Locate rice terraces from the region

In the case of HHRTs, the locating process went from regional to village level. The first step was to narrow down the scope of nomination in Honghe prefecture where rice terrace has been a common landscape. Rice terraces exist not only in Yuanyang County but also spread over the neighboring Luchun, Honghe, and Jinping County (Figure- 17). Only three terrace blocks (Laohuzui, Bada, and Duoyishu) were nominated, and they are mostly located in Yuanyang County. Officially, according to the nomination file, the chosen region "encompasses the three largest and most concentrated groups of

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[50] The results were based on interviews with the staff from TA, see chapter 3, section 3.2, and section 3.3.

terraced rice" (SACH, 2013, p. 28). But according to Xu1, an official from TA who was involved in the nomination process, many other factors affected the selection process. As told by the informant,

> *"At the beginning (the Honghe Prefecture government) want to include the rice terrace in the surrounding regions, but it would be too complicated to manage the site across different counties. We finally decided to nominate this place because of its tourism potentials. The tourism industry has been developing for some years, and the place has been very popular among tourists. Besides, it is easy for tourists to reach compared with rice terraces in other regions. WHS nomination would be very beneficial for tourism development… It's true that the other rice terrace blocks, for example, Samaba, is also very popular among tourists. Samaba is also the largest rice terraces block in Honghe Prefecture. But it locates too far from the other rice terraces block here and it would be hard to make it part of the scenic area. The rice terraces block here locate relatives closer and it is more feasible to plan it as a scenic area." (Xu1, 2019)*

> *"The rice terraces in Niujiaozhai were also initially included in the nominated zones… But a new road under construction by then has destroyed a large area of rice terraces… The local people later grew other economic crops such as sugar cane and corn, and we lost those water terraces… it was not practical and would be too costly to restore those farmlands into water rice terraces… we cannot show the experts a block of damaged rice terraces. So in the end we decided to exclude this block." (Xu1, 2019)*

For example, one influencing factor was governance. Across-county governance after listing would be complicated if a large scale of rice terraces were nominated and it would be better to limit the selected rice terraces in Yuanyang County. Tourism was another factor and also a primary concern. Compared with rice terraces in other regions, the rice terraces of the selected region already had a stable tourism market, and would be made into the scenic area – the typical bounded controlled touristic zones in China. The spatial proximity of the rice terrace blocks being nominated made them ideal for future tourism management. It was not practical for tourists to travel from afar to see similar rice terraces (such as Samaba, see Figure- 17) within on scenic area. A third factor influencing the inclusion/ exclusion of rice terraces was their material conditions. The areas being nominated should be able to present themselves convincingly in front of the UNESCO's experts. Hence, the Niujiaozhao rice terrace block (see, Figure- 17), although were as well spectacular and touristic, was less suitable for nomination because

it was not as "intact". The condition was unfavorable for nomination as it could give the experts negative impressions.
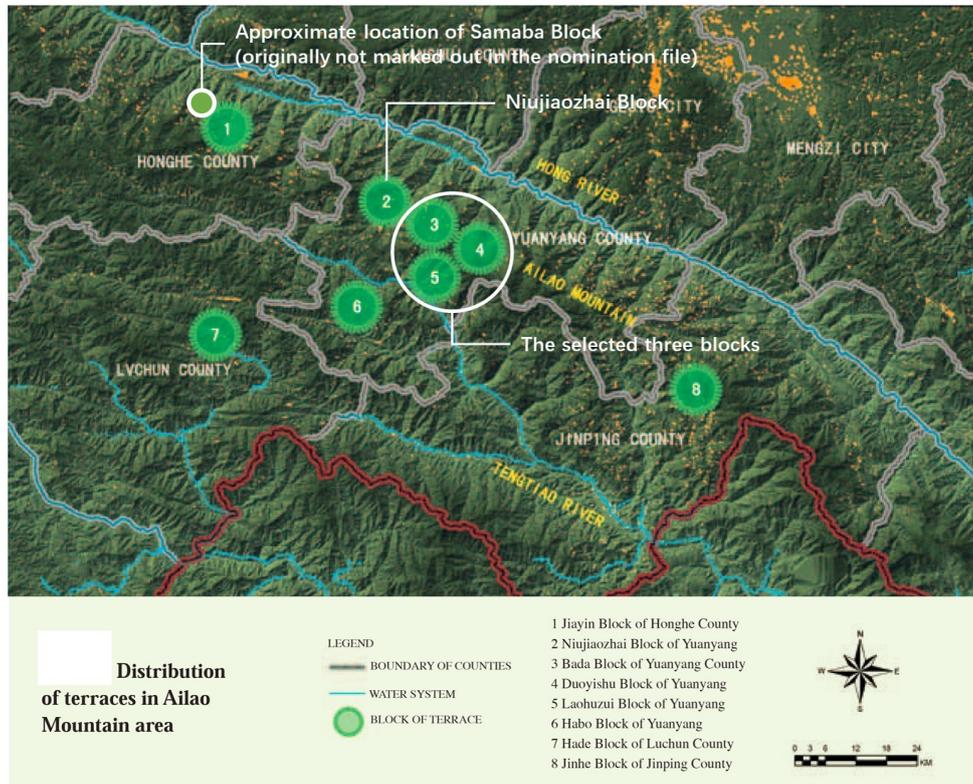
Figure- 17. The approximate location of HHRTs and the distribution of terraces in the Ailao Mountain area

Source: author based on SACH (2013, p. 28)

Select components and define boundaries

Other material elements were selected based on the conceptualization of the four-element-system of "forest-village-farm-water" (see Chapter 4, section 4.2). Such conceptualization was invented by Shi Junchao, the leader of the nomination team and also a Hani culture expert. He proposed that rice terraces shall be seen as "manmade wetland" - one among the three types of ecological systems (i.e., ocean, land, and wetland) (Wang, 2008). He suggested that as a self-evident wetland ecosystem, rice terraces are supported by the forest, the village, and the irrigation system, and that "wetland ecology is made possible largely because all Hani cultural beliefs and activities focus on protecting the water source as a common goal." (Wang, 2008, p. 75)[51]. Such

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[51] More details as to how Shi formed such conceptualization can be found in the dissertation of Wang Yu - *Naturalizing ethnicity, culturalizing landscape: the politics of World Heritage in China.*

conceptualization enabled the nomination team to locate other material components apart from the rice terraces and drew the boundaries. As explained X1 and Zhu2, considering the statement of integrity as required by UNESCO, "Integrity is a measure of the wholeness and intactness of the natural and/or cultural heritage and its attributes" (O.G., p23), the nomination team registered all the villages that farm the terrace blocks (and hence 82 villages), and drew the property boundaries by including the administrative zones of the villages.

Select key villages

At HHRTs, the selection of elements went to another level – the selection of "most" representative villages. Only 5 out of 82 villages were chosen as the nominated villages, namely, Quanfuzhuang middle village, Azheke, Niuluopu, Shangzhulu old village, and Yakou. According to the nomination file,

> *"Shangzhulu Old Village, Azheke Village, and Yakou Village have the largest number of well-preserved traditional residences in the blocks they belong to. Niuluopu Village and Quanfuzhuang Mid Village represent the active and appropriate protection of traditional villages in the competition with modernization to a certain and a consideration (considerable) extent respectively. These five most representative villages feature the Outstanding Universal Values and the characteristics in preservation and protection in the three blocks... The other 77 villages... although couldn't be listed as nomination elements, have also been included in the nominated property under the protection of laws and regulations for the consideration that they are the necessary supports of the "four element system". (SACH, 2013, p. 74)*

The texts indicate that the five villages were chosen as they represented two typical situations faced by all the traditional villages. Three villages had the most well-preserved buildings and therefore were seen the representative of the "traditional" type. Two other villages were the representatives of the villages where the traditional space has been adapting in a modern context. But according to the informant, the selection was made also due to practical considerations,

> *"if all the villages are declared as heritage, the follow-up management would be very challenging. We lack the experience for preservation. Besides, there are so many of them and it would be impossible for us to preserve all of them... when the experts (that make the nomination file) arrived, we accompanied them to visit some of the*

villages near the tourist area. We visited about 46 villages, and those in remote places were left unvisited. After the visit, we came with the idea to nominate a few as key villages… the chosen ones were easy to reach, considering that it would be easier for tourists to enter… Especially Yakou and Azheke, both were small and had a substantial number of traditional dwellings, which would be optimal for future tourism development… the scale of the village was important. We chose small villages because they would be easy to manage. Hetao Village and Mali Village had a lot of traditional residencies by then. But they have over a hundred or even two hundred households. The bigger they were, the more difficult it would be for us to manage."
(Zhu2, 2018)

Zhu2's suggested that determining the selection were the considerations of tourism and the management capacity. In terms of tourism, less accessible villages were unlikely to be visited by tourists. Despite those villages might have a substantial amount of traditional residencies, it was unnecessary to preserve them strictly. In terms of the management capacity, Zhu2 indicated that it was beyond their capacity to prevent the construction of new houses to replace traditional dwellings in every village. Besides, the bigger the villages were, the more difficult it would be to preserve. In conclusion, heritage nomination should be used as an efficient tool for tourism development. By limiting the heritage items nominated, the site management office could make subsequent management work easier, reduce the cost of preservation, and make the most of the nominated items as touristic resources.

5.3 Idealize heritage narrative

In this second phase, narratives are constructed around "how" a place ideally fits the pre-determined criteria. As suggested, the idealization is a text-based communication in which the member state tactfully interprets the site and diplomatically responds to the international heritage authorities. To reveal the interpretive and diplomatic nature of the process, the following writings identified some tactics and strategies used by the member state to convince UNESCO and the advisory bodies.

Tactful presentation through the nomination file

In the nomination file, HHRTs was presented as a perfect fit into the category of "cultural landscape". The "justification for the inscription" from the nomination file can be summarized into the following three aspects:

1) Justification of the criteria. It argued that the site met five specific cultural criteria -

(i), (iii), (iv), (v), and (vi)[52].

2) Statement of integrity and authenticity. The application suggested that integrity was fulfilled since all four elements of "forests, water supply, terraces, and houses" were well preserved. Authenticity was fulfilled because the traditional forms, functions, practices, and knowledge associated with the nominated site had been continued.

3) Comparative analysis. The site was compared with rice terraces in China and other Asian countries. The application pointed out the unique visual and physical characteristics and the intactness of the traditional social-ecological elements that distinguished the site from other terrace landscapes.

Interpreting the sites as an ideal candidate means recontextualizing the information of the site in an argumentative and persuasive way. Within the persuasive writing of the nomination, the first strategy identified can be termed as positive interpretation. It involves the presentation of the site in a promotional tone targeting the consumers of UNESCO and its advisory bodies. For example, in briefing the site's Outstanding Universal Value, it is written that,

> *"The Cultural Landscape of Honghe Hani Rice Terraces maintains great vitality nowadays, demonstrating a perfect model of good living created by people's extraordinary creativity, willpower, optimism, and respect for nature under extremely difficult living conditions… Formed in a special, grand mountainous environment, the Cultural Landscape of Honghe Hani Rice Terraces covers a magnificent area of the mountainous region and is just like a boundless, beautiful painting. It is appreciated as 'a great earth sculpture', while Hani people, who show the creativity, toughness, and willpower of human beings and practice the concept of harmony between man and nature, are praised as 'sculptors of the earth'. "(SACH,2013, p. 003)*

The mountain region was depicted as "grand" and "magnificent", the terraces were

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52 Those five criteria are:
Criterion (i): represent a masterpiece of human creative genius;
Criterion (iii): bear a unique or at least exceptional testimony to a cultural tradition or to a civilization which is living or which has disappeared;
Criterion (iv): be an outstanding example of a type of building, architectural or technological ensemble or landscape which illustrates (a) significant stage(s) in human history;
Criterion (v): be an outstanding example of a traditional human settlement, land-use, or sea use which is representative of a culture (or cultures), or human interaction with the environment especially when it has become vulnerable under the impact of irreversible change;
Criterion (vi): be directly or tangibly associated with events or living traditions, with ideas, or with beliefs, with artistic and literary works of outstanding universal significance.

described as a "beautiful painting" and an "earth sculpture". Hani people were portrayed as creative, optimistic, and tenacious. Words like "great", "grand", "special", "extraordinary", "extremely" were used to further accentuate such qualities.

The second strategy is presenting stylized facts. For example, in justifying that the site fulfills the statement of authenticity, it was stated in the nomination file,

> *"Local policies require all houses in the nominated property and the buffer zone to be maintained, rebuilt, or newly built in line with the traditional style and appearance, an idea that has been widely accepted and followed by local people." (SACH, 2013, p. 4)*

Although regulations and policies were produced to regulate the housing constructions, in contradiction to what was written in the nomination file, the preservation of traditional dwellings was never widely accepted. To prepare for the nomination, Yuanyang Government made a building regulation in the year 2012 to limit the height of the newly constructed houses, and the Terrace Administration had been advocating the preservation of traditional residences. But this did not stop villagers from tearing down the old houses. As told by Xu1, regulating the style of the building has been the most difficult part of their work, since "the villagers have been ignoring the regulations made" and "they destroyed (the traditional residencies) as they wanted, and they built (new houses) as they wanted" (Xu1, 2019).

The third tactic was to refer to the Chinese philosophy of harmony. Similar to other WHSs in China (see the case of Fujian Tulou and Westlake from Yan, 2015; Zhang, 2017), the concept of harmony was also used in HHRTs' nomination file. For example, in justifying the site meets the criterion (v) as representing a settlement and an outstanding example of human-nature interaction, it opens the justification with a quote from a famous philosopher of Zhuangzi

> *"I live in nature, nature and I are one" (SACH, 2013, p. 134).*

And then the human-land relation has been rendered repeated as harmonious, such as,

> *"The ideal human inhabitation is the harmony and unity between human and nature." (SACH, 2013, p. 134)*

> *"The well-designed terraces and villages are in harmony with local ecological environment which not only has created a healthy and harmonious life style…the Cultural Landscape of Honghe Hani Rice Terraces features a perfect integration of the 'forest, water system, village and terrace' four elements, showing a harmonious combination of human and nature." (SACH, 2013, p. 168)*

Harmony has been the most cherished idea in Chinese culture (Li, 2006). It predates Confucianism is conceived of a generative, creative process in which the diverse elements are orchestrated into harmonious relations and evolve together (Li, 2013). The notion of harmony has been part of the mainstream Han culture, rather than the Hani Minority (which is the major population of HHRTs). However, in HHRTs, the concept of harmony was used to interpret the relation of the Hani people and the environment. And most importantly, the harmony concept espouses UNESCO's definition of the "Cultural Landscape" – as combined work of human and nature.

Another example of strategy is to provide scientific explanations. For example, in justifying the site meets the Criterion (v), the nomination file argued that the site has developed an ecosystem that "protected the ecological and biological diversity in mountainous areas" (SACH, 2013, p. 132). While admitting that "settlement and agricultural production are basically regarded as destructive factors or huge threats to the ecosystem of mountainous areas" (SACH, 2013, p. 132), the nomination file argues that the site has avoided the disadvantage of mono-cropping by intercropping rice and other crops. Besides, the eco-system was described in terms of material cycling, energy flowing, information exchange, etc. hence proving to conform to modern ecological science.

Diplomatic response to the evaluation report

After received the nomination file, ICOMOS and IUCN evaluated the file and produced reports. IUCN played a less decisive role in the site's evaluation. It did a desk review of the nomination file and considered the comments of three external reviewers. It made one-and-a-half-page long reports to ICOMOS[53]. The report did not suggest whether the site shall be included or not but only made some comments on the natural elements of the site. ICOMOS played a decisive role in evaluation. It conducted a site visit and produced a six-teen-page long report[54]. The report assessed the criteria under which the site was nominated and made the suggestions of nominating. According to the evaluation report, three of the five criteria were refuted[55]，and two criteria - (iii) and (v)

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[53] See https://whc.unesco.org/document/151779
[54] See https://whc.unesco.org/document/151777
[55] The refuted criteria and the reasons are:
Criterion (i) "represent a masterpiece of human creative genius". This was refuted with the reason that although the terrace landscape has high aesthetic value, it is only a byproduct of farming and not a purposeful creation.
Criterion (iv) "be an outstanding example of a type of building, architectural or technological ensemble or landscape which illustrates (a) significant stage(s) in human history". The member state stated that the site represents an agriculture civilization with a long history However, ICOMOS suggested that no evidence was provided as to how the site reflects a significant stage in human history.
Criterion (vi) "be directly or tangibly associated with events or living traditions, with ideas, or with beliefs, with artistic and literary works of outstanding universal significance". The member state suggested that

were considered met. Since one criterion was sufficient, ICOMOS made the recommendation for inscription. In ICOMOS' letter to the member state, it was also suggested that six issues[56] shall be addressed to make the justification more solid. Among the six issues, two were pertinent to the site's heritage identity. Firstly, ICOMOS suggested that the site's authenticity was deemed "vulnerable" (ICOMOS, 2012, p79). Considering the criteria of authenticity, it was necessary to include all villages instead of only five "representative villages" and to present the loss of traditional dwellings across the whole site. And secondly, ICOMOS pointed out that the comparative analysis was "limited mainly to the physical manifestation of the terraces" (ICOMOS, 2012, p78), and comparative study shall make comparison from social, economic, cultural aspects. It suggested the claim that Hani people and rice terraces always co-existed was not true, since ICOMOS recognized not all Hani people work on rice terraces, and not all rice terraces are farmed by Hani people. The second issue concerns the second type of narrative, "why" a site fits the criteria because of its distinctions from other sites.

A review of the emails among SACH experts showed the following two strategies were used in responding to the evaluation. The first strategy was to show compliance. To deal with the first request – to include all the villages, the SACH[57] expert suggested,

> *"…never distinguish the five or eight villages from the majority of other villages in the heritage area…we should present them as equally important. Besides, it is advisable to submit more materials (regarding the village's condition)… the more detailed the better. Even it is just a detailed table to show (that we have done the work). Once all the materials are in place, we can re-consider if there are texts that would cause them to have a re-visit of the site. If so, we can simply delete those texts…"*

> *"…be alert that the letter from ICOMOS has many substantive requirements and requires a lot of data, facts and work on planning and policy…"*

> *"… all the villages shall be protected equally. And protection shall be explained from social, ecological, economic, cultural and landscape*

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the site was directly associated with the cultural traditions of Hani people, while ICOMOS argued its significance was only linked with the Hani people, not all human beings, therefore, it lacked outstanding universal value.

[56] Including a) to include all villages within the boundaries; b) provision of further details of the farming system; c) augmenting the comparative study; d) sustaining traditional building materials and techniques; e) developing a tourism strategy; f) developing an interpretation strategy.

[57] SACH refers to National Cultural Heritage Administration. The SACH expert guided the nomination team to in drafting the nomination documents.

perspectives…" (Guo, 2013)

Although treating all villages equally was impossible in practice (see 5.2), the SACH expert[58] understood it was extremely important to convince the ICOMOS experts on paper the questions they raised were treated seriously. Because the goal of the response was to win ICOMOS' affirmation, dispel their concerns, and spare them to come back to the site again (who knows what new problems would they raise?). At least, the member state must comply with the request of ICOMOS in writing. Moreover, it was necessary to provide more paperwork (even it is just a "detailed table"!) to convince ICOMOS that all villages were exhaustively investigated and necessary protective measures were in place. Therefore, in the following response letter, the member state explained that the inscription of five representative villages was merely a "misunderstanding" (Li, 2013, p. 2), that they "fully agree with the observation of our ICOMOS colleagues that the villages within the boundaries constitute a core element of this cultural landscape" (Li, 2013, p. 2). The member state also attached a detailed document of necessary management measures to substantiate that conserving all villages was not only an empty claim. Similarly, to address the second issue concerning the comparative study, the expert indicated that "it is a must to enrich the comparison with sites outside China and in China from all aspects besides their visual characters" (Guo, 2013). And following that, the member state attached detailed documents to further explain the difference of HHRTs to other sites.

The second strategy was to defend. For example, in response to ICOMOS' doubt of the claim that Hani people and rice terrace has always been co-existing, the SACH expert indicated that,

> *"(We know that) the claims that where there are Hani people, there are rice terraces; and where there are rice terraces, there are Hani people" is not true…but this statement cannot be retracted. We shall play with this argument, and provide more vivid illustrations that serve the purpose of nomination, such as more information from aspects of the spirit of the Hani people, the historical development, and the connotation of the rice terrace." (Guo, 2013)*

Despite that the SACH expert was aware of this statement was wrong, he pointed out that it was important to remain persuasive in drafting the responses. As a communication strategy, the member state shall direct the ICOMO's attention. Instead of explaining if this claim is right or wrong, the member state shall provide more

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[58] The email was written in year 2012. In this email, the SACH experts has discussed the strategy to reply to ICOMOS's report.

information that could help ICOMOS experts to understand the uniqueness of HHRTs.

5.4 Re-produce heritage narrative[59]

After a site is inscribed, its official heritage narrative is then certified. In the last phase, the official heritage narratives are reproduced at the site level to generate knowledge to maintain the site as a part of the WHSs community. At HHRTs, the reproduction was organized from two aspects. The first was to promote the official heritage narrative among the local communities, and this was aimed at transmitting the heritage idea in the mind of the local population. The second was to integrate the official heritage narrative in local institutions. The purpose was to regulate the site's development and to preserve immaterial and material elements of the site. The following writings present the various means by which heritage narrative was reproduced at HHRTs.

Promote official heritage narrative among local communities

After inscription, the official heritage was reproduced in written and digital forms (such as leaflets, brochures, books, videos). The information was disseminated among the local communities in the form of classes, workshops, or at local performances. Through such a process, the ideas created by the experts, such as the "World Heritage", "four-element-system", "cultural landscape"[60] were used to reeducate the local population who were foreign to those ideas.

Among the government officials, the Honghe Prefecture government launched workshops to educate government staff from the towns and villages, and the purpose was to equip officials with the knowledge needed for site management. The workshops were given by academics, experts, and officials from the upper-level World Heritage Administration offices. The workshops covered a wide range of topics, such as the introduction to the World Heritage system, the value of HHRTs as a World Heritage Site, the history of the nomination process, the relevant legislation and regulations made for site management, and the individual's responsibilities in preservation.

The heritage discourse was also promoted among local communities. For example, billboards were installed at the entrance of villages with explanations of the value of

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[59] This part is based on participant observation on-site, and the documents (brochures, regulations, planning documents) collected from TA.
[60] Based on my interactions with the local people, their understanding of the site as a WHS remain scant. Only the staff from the Terrace Administration, and a small part of the guesthouse operators were able to tell explain those concepts. The other locals were unable to tell what is World Heritage though many knew the site was inscribed as a WHS. None of the locals that I interacted could explain accurately the concepts of "four-element-system" and "cultural landscape", and most of them never heard of the two concepts.

HHRTs as a World Heritage site, and the "dos and don'ts" of heritage preservation. Sometimes the promotion of heritage knowledge was conducted during public gatherings. For example, when the site was visited by officials from other parts of China[61], the Terrace Administration hosted performances as one part of the reception. The performances were given by locals who could perform traditional dancing and singing. Such performances took place in the open space of the village, where a temporary stage was established, and the villagers were invited to gather around (Figure-18). The host of the show advocated that,

> *"...we all know that our Hani Rice terrace is a WHS. The World Heritage is the common property of the whole world. Therefore, it is the responsibility of our Hani people to protect this treasure. Our country fellowmen shall love our terraces, and protect our traditional dwellings..."*

Alongside the verbal advocation, the leaflets were distributed during the show among villagers (Figure- 19). The leaflets were the building guidelines explaining the good and bad building practices within the heritage site.

Figure- 18. Villagers gathered around the public performances (2019)

Source: author

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[61] The government of different region in China often organize study trips or visits to facilitate exchange and learn from each other's best practices.

Figure- 19. Leaflets of guidelines on building construction within the heritage site distributed among the villagers (2019)

Source: author

The official heritage knowledge was also promoted among the young generations, who were considered as future inheritors of the heritage. The governments of Honghe Prefecture and Yuanyang County organized educational activities within the primary and middle schools within the site (Figure- 20). Teaching materials and picture books were prepared and distributed. Lectures were given to students and teachers by experts from Honghe Prefecture World Heritage Administration. The content of the class included the history of HHRTs, the site's significance as a World Heritage site, etc.

Figure- 20. Lectures on heritage in local primary school (2018)[62]

Source: Sohu.com[63]

Re-integrate official heritage narrative to guide site's development

The official heritage narrative was re-integrated into policies, legislations, and planning documents to guide the institutionalized practices, which shaped the development of the site and ensured the site remained in an "ideal" condition, especially the material condition of rice terraces and dwellings[64]. In terms of the policies and regulations, the Yuanyang County Government developed the *Hani Terraces Protection Management Regulations* and *Hani Terraces Protection Management Regulations Implementation Measures* to regulated the preservation and the use of heritage resources. This regulation was a guiding principle that covered issues of housing construction, building style, business operations, farmland use, crop choices, and infrastructure development.

Statutory plans[65] of various scales (from the overall heritage site to single buildings)

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[62] Texts on the screen: "the successful nomination of the Cultural Landscape of Honghe Hani Rice Terraces earned many 'firsts'. It was the first WHS in China that features agricultural practice, the first WHS named after an ethnic minority. It added a splendid chapter in the history of human history and culture."

[63] http://www.sohu.com/a/240337273_321788

[64] Operating according to these regulations and plans, publicly funded projects were launched. To encourage the farmers to continue farming, subsidies were offered To ensure the authenticity of traditional settlements and dwellings, restoration projects were carried out in selected villages. Construction controls were conducted in places frequented by tourists. Many modern buildings that did not adhere to construction regulations were demolished or partially demolished, and the exteriors of modern residences were also refurbished and unified in style, with khaki-colored facades and thatched roofs to resemble traditional dwellings.

[65] A statutory plan is a legal document based on which projects could be implemented.

were developed as a blueprint for the future use of the resources within the heritage site. They were developed by experts from relevant planning institutes. They covered topics of tourism development, land-use, settlement conservation, dwelling regulations, and infrastructure construction. More than 20 statutory plans were made and this number has been increasing. The central focus of the statutory plans was the preservation of settlements and dwellings because of the rapid loss of traditional houses. According to the plans, villages were categorized by their degree of traditionalism and relevance to tourism development, and each category was given specific building codes. Village conservation plans were made at a few selected villages. And all the traditional dwellings were identified, registered, and categorized into four groups based on an extensive survey[66]. Based on that, detailed building guidelines were made with specific requirements on architectural style, size, building materials, height, and exterior style.

5.5 Conclusions and discussion

In this chapter, the proposed analytical framework was used to examine the process of meaning construction at HHRTs. Empirical evidence reveals that in the first step, the locating of the heritage idea went from regional to village level. Firstly, the rice terraces blocks were selected from the region; then other components were marked out based on expert' conceptualization; later the property boundaries were defined; and finally, the key villages were selected. Influencing this process were different factors such as the site's tourism potential, accessibility, management capacity, expert's conceptualization, and UNESCO's pre-determined criteria.

In the second step, the member state tactfully constructed heritage narratives and diplomatically responded to the ICOMOS's request. To present the site as an ideal candidate in the nomination file, the member state used tactics such as using positive languages, stylized facts, referring to traditional philosophies, and using scientific explanations. To respond to the request of ICOMOS, the member state on the one hand showed compliances. It submitted the detailed documents to show that the site has been exhaustively investigated, necessary protective measures are in place, and justifications were made. And on the other hand, it continued to defend its (wrong) argumentation by providing more information beneficial to its justification.

In the final phase, the established heritage narrative was reintegrated at the site level. The official heritage narrative defined by the experts and authorities began to

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[66] The survey was done by the Faculty of Architecture at the Kunming University of Science and Technology.

reconstruct the perceptions of the local population. It was promoted among the local government staff, residents, and students through workshops, public gatherings, and school classes. The official heritage also shaped the formation of the institutions, regulations, and plans that guided the various activities within the heritage site.

As pointed out by many scholars, the meaning construction process is often seen as representing expert language and involves the distortion or invention of the past (Harrison, 2012a; Lowenthal, 1998). And in the Chinese context, the Chinese government often 'played' under Eurocentric rules (Zhang, 2017), by proactively compiling the narratives combining both authorized heritage discourse and harmony discourse (Zhang, 2017). The observations of this study correspond to those arguments. Yet as a contribution, it complements the existing literature by investigating the tactics and strategies used by the member state in constructing persuasive writing in the nomination file and identifying the specific means by which the official heritage narratives are re-integrated at the site for management purposes.

Chapter 6

The changing landscape and settlement-scape

This chapter discusses the transformation of the terraced landscape and settlement-scape at the World Heritage Site of Honghe Hani Rice Terraces (HHRTs). Two questions are investigated: (1) How have the visual characteristics of the rice terrace landscape changed in the context of heritage tourism and what are the material consequences that accompanied the rise in visual consumption? (2) How has settlement changed in the context of heritage tourism?

This chapter is based on the concepts of "landscape" and "settlement-scape". Fundamental to this chapter is not the process of construction, but the results of the changing "-scape". By using the suffix "-scape", the chapter addresses the transformation of two different elements: the rice terrace landscape and the human settlement landscape, with a common focus on their aesthetic, visual qualities. In the following parts, it first explains the different perspectives to examine the two types of "-scape", and then presents the empirical analysis of the two types of '-scape'.

6.1 Theoretical context: the "-scape" and under whose gaze?

As explained in the theory chapter, section 2.3, there are different takes on the concept of landscape. But in this study, the discussion of the landscape is in a restricted way, as a portion of land that can be comprehended at a glance (Jackson, 1986), and as a visual idea linked with a particular "way of seeing" - the tourist gaze (Urry, 2002). Since in the context of tourism, the landscape presents aesthetic qualities that are central to tourists' visual experiences. And for the purpose of touristic consumption, the images of the landscape are staged, captured, circulated, and reproduced (Minca, 2007; Salazar, 2012).

The word "settlement" is defined by the dictionary of geography simply as "any form of human dwelling—from a single house to the largest city"[67]. Rural settlements are settlements formed in rural settings, such as villages and hamlets, and the basic units are the houses (A. Rogers et al., 2013). Historically formed rural settlements usually

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developed distinctive vernacular styles. This study proposes the concept of "settlement-scape". Although the suffix "-scape" has been used by many scholars in different senses, this study uses "-scape" in a restricted sense. The concept of settlement-scape is suggested in this study as an analog to the English word landscape. As suggested by Jackson (1986), the "-scape" in the term landscape renders the visual character of the portion of land that can be comprehended at a glance. Similarly, the suffix "-scape" is used to highlight the visual quality of a settlement that can be comprehended at a glance.

Before starting the analysis, it is necessary to clarify under whose gaze such visual qualities are valued and reproduced. Although both rice terraces and settlements are reproduced purposefully in tourism, there is a big difference when it comes to the social group that values and actively shapes their visual qualities. At the destination examined, the visual quality of the landscape is central for tourism as they are captured, (re)produced, and sought after by tourists. It has been shaped by the tourism industry (especially the tourists and local tourist guides) to satisfy the tourist's visual consumption and photographic practices. The tourist gaze transforms the material environment into a cultural imagination (Alsayyad, 2001).

The visual quality of the settlement-scape is central for tourism as they are seen by the design/ planning professionals and the authorities as symbolic regional cultural and as critical to the site's attractiveness. It has been shaped by the design/ planning professional and the authorities who aimed to create a built space that tourists could perceive as traditional, vernacular, and authentic. Thus, the emphasis of the discussion is placed on the visual qualities created by the professionals. As presented in the theory chapter (see section 2.3 forms of settlements), five different types of settlement-scape have been identified in the literature: the vernacular, hybrid, neo-vernacular (or post-modern), and semi-vernacular. Each type has a distinct architectural style and shares a varied level of visual continuity with the vernacular settlement-scape.

Thus, based on the social groups that actively value and shape the visual qualities of the two types of "-scape", the following empirical analysis will be understood through two different gazes: the landscape through a tourist gaze, and the settlement-scape through a professional gaze. Consequently, in the following empirical section, the study of the landscape focuses on the visual qualities of the terraced landscape created for tourists and its material consequences, while the study of the settlement-scape focuses and the identification and description of different types of settlement-scape.

6.2 The landscape of the Honghe Hani Rice Terraces

Introduction

The rice terrace landscape and traditional villages are the two most important heritage elements of the World Heritage Site of Honghe Hani Rice Terraces. The three landscape blocks - Bada, Duoyishu, and Laohuzui add up to a total area of 4706 hectares (SACH, 2013) and have been the primary tourist attractions. They each spread under the village to which they belong, are 100 to 200 meters apart in altitude, and with an average farm plot size of about 120 square meters (SACH, 2013). The current scale of the terraced landscape has not undergone the obvious changes that other agricultural landscapes in China have experienced in recent years (Zhang et al. 2017)[68]. Although the form of the terraced landscape has remained stable, its social-economic function has been changing. While the rice terraces remain central for food production for locals, they have increasingly become an object for visual (touristic) consumption as well.

The landscape as an image

Although the visual beauty of the terraced landscape has become central to tourism, it was not appreciated by the locals in the same way. When asked if they found the rice terraces beautiful, most said that rice terraces were nothing special for them. Informant Ma1 grew up in the region. He worked in Hanixiaozhen as a salesman and commuted between Xinjie town and Hanixiaozhen every day. During my research, he helped me as a translator and accompanied me to visit different rice terrace blocks. When asked if he found the rice terraces beautiful, he replied:

> *"There is nothing special about it. They are everywhere and they look the same. When I was little there were no viewing platforms. We saw a large area of rice terraces as we walked along the road. Perhaps the rice terrace block in Laoyingzui is bigger, and you could see a great distance. No trees nor fences were blocking the view." (Ma1, 2019)*

For Ma1, the rice terraces were simply a part of his everyday landscape, a land that he and his family worked on. He noticed the visual difference in terms of scale, depth, and visibility, but his comments appeared very neutral, without indicating any sensual pleasure. Similar responses were given by the staff from the TA, with whom I used to drove from one village to another for work. For them, the terraced landscape was for

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[68] It is difficult to provide precise statistics regarding the change of the total area of the terraced landscape because of a lack of accessible data. However, interviews with the locals and staff from the TA indicated that despite some minor changes, such as the conversion of water farms to dryland farms, the terraces have remained stable. Some families chose to replace rice with corn and other crops that were less labor-intensive. But evidence of a tendency to change is obvious. According to local farmers, as more young people move to cities as migrant workers, the permanent farming population has been decreasing. As a result, many families had to hire labor to repair the terrace ridges and harvest the crops, and the harvesting season has lasted much longer in recent years.

the tourists. The senior staff Xu1 even joked that "I am sick of it since I see the rice terraces every day." To further explain, Xu1 added:

> *"I used to think there was nothing to see, but now I'm quite proud of it. We also travel. The scenery of many places is not as nice as what we have here. Here there is Shan-Shui (the landscape). The air is fresh and the food is rich in flavor…Hainan (an island province in China) is not too bad, you can see the blue sea, but other cities are not as beautiful as here." (Xu1, 2019)*

For Xu1, his appreciation of the local landscape came only after his experience with other urban places. And the visual quality was just one among the many other factors (e.g. the air quality and the food) that make the site attractive. In other words, the aesthetic value of the landscape was only recognized after his experience with other places where such features were absent.

The indifference to the beauty of the landscape was so common that locals were sometimes even pitied by urbanites. Tian used to be a hotel manager for international hotel chains before she managed a lodge in Azheke Village. As a favorite pastime, she and two staff of the lodge—a young girl from Kunming and a university student volunteer—often went to the viewing platform with a bottle of wine. They had a drink, watched the sunset, chatted, took some photos, and posted them on a WeChat friend circle[69]. Tian said life there was simple but very often very boring. Aside from her business, she hoped her stay would be meaningful. She explained that the coming of urban people like her and the tourists would not only help the villagers to know more about the outside world but also help them to realize how beautiful their home was, thus contributing to the conservation of the heritage site. For Tian, the local people were blind to the aesthetic value of the landscape, and had to learn this appreciation through interaction with urbanites.

Indeed, even locals felt that their appreciation of the visual appearance of the landscape was learned. Pu1, a minivan driver who I traveled with, drove his car regularly between the site and Mengzi County. When asked if he found the rice terraces beautiful, he replied:

> *"There was nothing special about the rice terraces and we did not find them particularly beautiful. But nowadays, we are very proud of what we have. The rice terraces are our legacy and it is necessary to protect them for tourism." (Pu1, 2019)*

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[69] WeChat is the most popular social media used by the Chinese.

Pu1 was unaware of the global importance of the area emphasized by the heritage experts. But the World Heritage title and tourism changed the meaning of the landscape for him. More than just land to work on, the landscape now was seen by him as a legacy to safeguard and a resource for tourism. Farming the land was no longer seen as useless, but something to be proud of. Pu also provided charter services to tourists during the tourism season. He asked if I was interested in joining a WeChat group whose members were tourists that once traveled with him. He said that he regularly took photos of the rice terraces and sent them to the group to keep the tourists updated. He changed his WeChat profile image to a photo of the rice terraces (Figure- 21, right). Each day, he posted the same announcement of his car services together with different photos of the rice terraces taken along his drive (Figure- 21, left). Another informant, Gao1, who managed a lodge in Pugaolaozhai, also constantly updated his social media with photos of the terraced landscape. His most recent post was a short video of the sunset at the roof of one lodge, accompanied by a line "if given a chance, one must come to Yuanyang to watch the sunset. The landscape is healing." Realizing the visual attractiveness of the landscape to tourists, the locals talked about the beauty of the landscape and presented the photos of rice terraces in a way that was anticipated by tourists to engage them.
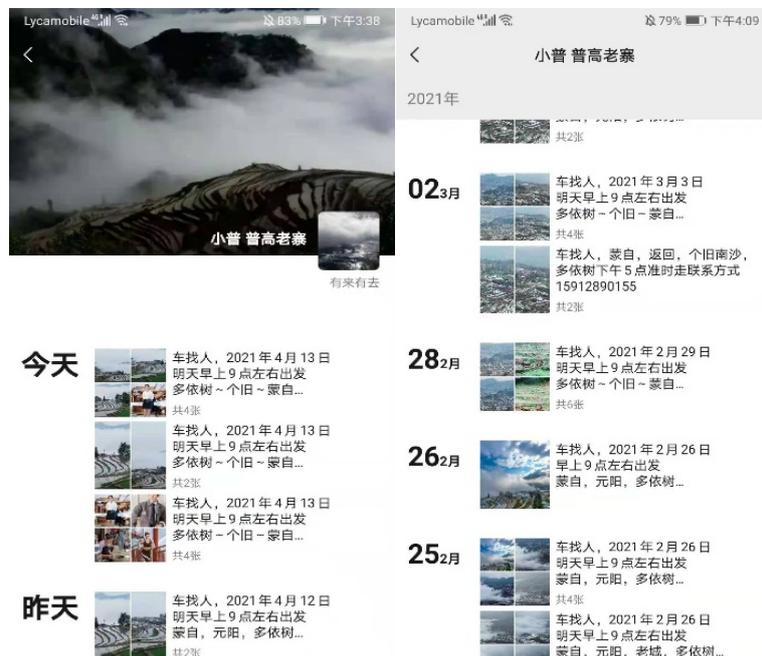
Figure- 21. The WeChat friend circle of Pu1

Source: WeChat[70]

Among tourists, the aesthetic qualities of the terraced landscape have long been recognized. Photography lovers were among the earliest tourists in the 1980s and the site was made famous in many countries by French photographer Yann Layma with his documentary "Mountain Sculptors" and photographs of the terraced landscape (Zhou & Zhang, 2019). These aesthetic qualities have been what the tourism of the region has been based on. Up until now, the rice terraces remain the most photographed scenes and the biggest attraction of the heritage site (Tourism development strategy and research report, 2018). The peak season lasts from November to March, during which time the water-filled rice terraces reflect the natural environment (Tourism development strategy and research report, 2018). The Lonely Planet introduced the site as "an artist's palette of colors at sunrise and sunset", and C-trip described it as photographers' favorite place. An review of major popular international and Chinese tourism websites (including Lonely Planet, Trip-Advisor, C-trip (携程), Mafengwo(马蜂窝), and Qiongyou (穷游)) reveals that the images on the webpages were predominantly the terraced landscape[71]. The photos were taken from different perspectives (close/far/from above/horizontal), in different weather climatic conditions (sunny/ cloudy/ sunset/ foggy, etc.), and mostly when the rice fields were filled with water.

To support sight-seeing activities, different types of viewing platforms were built around the terraced landscape (Figure- 22, Figure- 23). The earliest and most visited ones were the large pay-to-enter scenic spots[72] developed in 2009 by the Shibo Group, namely Bada, Laohuzui, and Duoyishu viewing platforms. Those platforms occupied a large land area, leveled down the slope, and had the best view over the terrace. A large number of tourists could be accommodated, and different facilities and services were provided. For example, the Duoyishu viewing platform was expanded in 2018 to include a big multi-floor hotel complex of around 7,000 square meters[73]. Now it is not only a viewing platform but also a hotel with a direct view over the terraced landscape. During the peak season, the viewing platforms were fully packed with tourists and their cameras. The demand for shooting spots was so huge that tourists had to get up early before sunrise. Sometimes, tourists even paid the locals to help them to secure a place.

Subsequently, over 20 public viewing platforms were constructed by the government as touristic infrastructure. Most of them are located near the road. These are much smaller, open for all, and contain no other service facilities. But drivers often stopped at certain viewing platforms for a short stay to let tourists take photos. Others could be found in

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[71] The first three to six images were collected from these websites, based on how many images related to the region were posted.

[72] Scenic spot (jingdian) refers to bounded and controlled zones (Nyíri, 2006). In China, visits to scenic spots are the most predominant type of tourism (Nyíri, 2006).

[73] Estimated by the author based on measurements from a Google Earth image.

villages that were visited by tourists, in the form of public squares (such as in Qingkou, Pugoalaozhai) or small viewing platforms (such as the platform in Azheke).
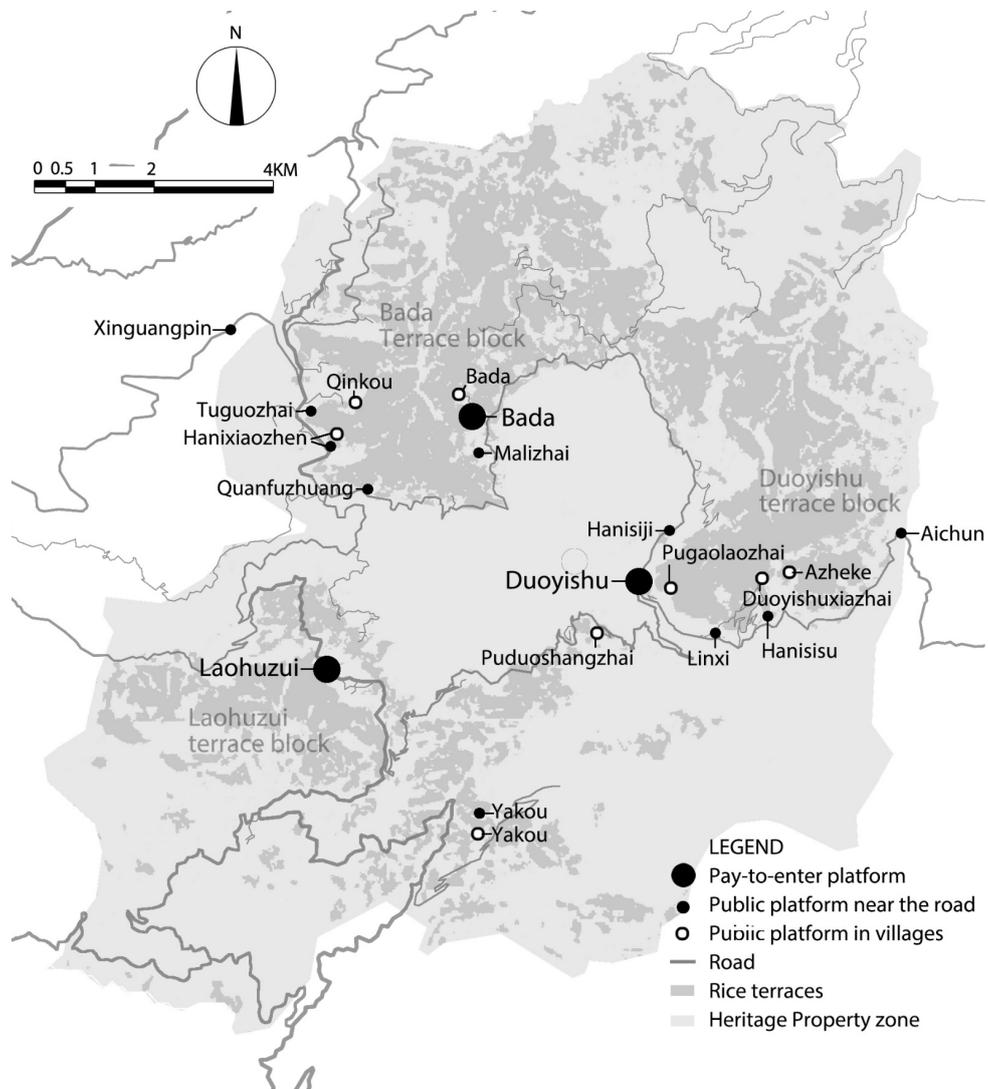
Figure- 22. The distribution of viewing platforms

Source: author

Figure- 23. Different types of viewing platforms

a) "Pay-to-enter" Duoyishu viewing platform. Source: C-trip[74] b) Hanisisu public viewing platform. c) public viewing platform in Azheke Village. d) public viewing platform in Pugaolaozhai Village. b/c/d source: author

Differentiation of landscape imaginaries

The aesthetic qualities of the landscape were just a small part of the official discourse. At the tourist center located at the entry of the scenic zone, beautiful photos of the rice terraces during different seasons and from different angles were hanging on the wall. In the exhibition room, there was also a miniature replica of the rice terraces used to explain its geographical features. Other materials such as posters, books, maps, and videos presented information pertinent to the area's identity as a World Heritage site, such as the site's history, topographical features, agricultural practices, ethnic culture, etc. The visual qualities of the landscape were described rather briefly. Outside the tourist center, an information board was carved with a lengthy text introducing the site. Few words were used to describe the beauty of the landscape:

> *"…one river and a field of ten thousand graded terraces…is a destination for sight-seeing, and photographing rice terraces and sea of clouds…the natural landscape is unique…[75]"*

Next to it was another board on which a tourist map was carved. The map marked out the location of scenic spots and public viewing platforms. A similar illustrated map was

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[74]https://dimg03.c-ctrip.com/images/fd/tg/g6/M03/70/E6/CggYs1c1cTuAfw2tACAlhWeW--c447_R_1024_10000_Q90.jpg

[75] "…一江一河万级田…是观光，拍摄梯田云海…的目的地。…自然景观独特…"

printed on the back of the ticket and information leaflet. The suggested sight-seeing itinerary at the tourist center was organized around the four pay-to-enter scenic spots developed by the Shibo group[76], including Qingkou ethnic village, and the Laohuzui, Bada, and Duoyishu viewing platforms, each overlooking the corresponding terrace block. The classic sightseeing tour was characterized as going to "Duoyishu for viewing the sunrise, and Laohuzui and Bada for viewing the sunset (老虎嘴/坝达看日落，多依树看日出)". Staff recommended tourists simply visit the four scenic spots. Despite the numerous locations indicated on the maps, little information was given about the difference between the locations. Tourists were directed to see one obvious thing - the rice terraces.

Compared with the officially presented landscape, more fine-grained and nuanced imaginaries were formed under the tourist gaze. Photography lovers have been discovering the region for years. As a result, information about the photographic qualities of the landscape in different locations has been circulating among the tourists who seek photographic experiences, the local guide and lodge operators, and travel agencies who design tours. For example, the travel agency Guanglaike posted its tour agenda on the social media platform RED[77], suggesting a trip organized around the sight-seeing activities of the terrace landscape (Figure-24). As can be seen from the agenda, tourists were led to expect certain landscapes in different locations, e.g., Yakou for the "time tunnel", and Aichun for blue terraces. To make sure tourists could capture the suggested landscapes, tourists were not only encouraged to visit during "summer" and "non-planting season", but more specifically at certain times.

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[76] Shibo Group (云南世博旅游控股集团有限公司) was originally a provincial level State Owned Enterprise. It later merged with the Overseas Chinese Town Holdings Company（OCT Group）and became part of a Central Government-led Enterprise in 2017.

[77] Xiaohongshu (小红书), also known as RED, or Little Red Book, is a popular social media and e-commerce platform.
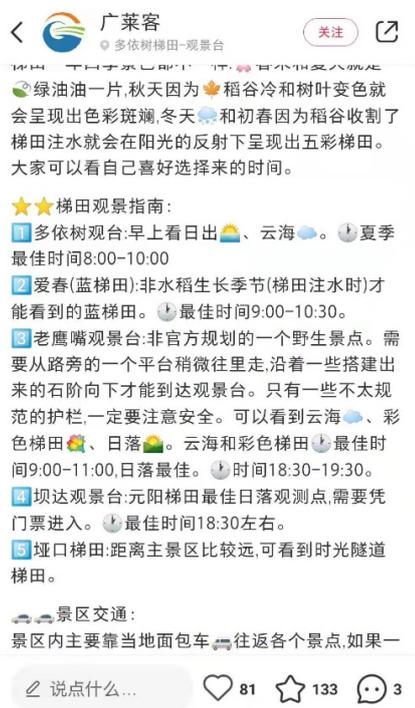
Translation:
Rice terraces sight-seeing guide:
1. *Duoyishu viewing platform: sunrise and sea of cloud. Best hours in summer 8:00-10:00.*
2. *Aichun (blue terraces): blue terraces can be seen only in non-planting season (when the rice terraces are filled with water). Best hours: 9:00-10:30.*
3. *Laoyingzui viewing spot: an unofficial spot. One has to walk further off the road and follow stone staircases to reach the spot. There are some informal guardrails… One can view the sea of clouds, colorful rice terraces, sunset. Best hours for the sea of clouds and colorful rice terraces, 9:00-11:00. Best hours for the sunset 18:30-19:30.*
4. *Bada viewing platform is the best sunset spot. Tickets required. Best hours around 18:30.*
5. *Yakou rice terraces locates far from the main scenic zone. One can see the "time tunnel" rice terraces.*

Figure- 24. Post of "Rice terraces sight-seeing guide" on social media Little Red Book

Source: The Little Red Book, translation: author.

Figure-25 shows the differentiation of landscapes in terms of their visual attributes. It was generalized from the information collected from three experienced lodge operators and web pages from the top search results generated by the Chinese searching engine Baidu with keywords "Yuanyang rice terrace" "travel guide" and "photography", including 1) Qingwa; 2) Jack; 3) Sohu.com; 4) Travel.sina; 5) Blog.sina; 6) Yunaninfo.com; 7) yncct.com; 8) Tian[78]. The purpose here was not to conduct an exhaustive quantitative

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[78] Articles from different websites but with identical information were used only once.
Information source:
1) Informant Qingwa, lodge manager of K2 International Youth Hostel.
2) Informant Jack, lodge manager of Yunshuijian.
3) Webpage. https://www.sohu.com/a/351715506_99891047
4) Webpage. http://travel.sina.com.cn/domestic/pages/2017-07-12/detail-ifyhwefp0651010.shtml
5) Tourist blog. http://blog.sina.com.cn/s/blog_176b2d1cf0102yzyj.html
6) Tour product by travel agency.
   http://www.yunnaninfo.com/yunnanline/photograph/4757.html

Malizhai
Blue 4
Best curve 5
Sea of cloud 4,6
Sunset 4,7

Laoyingzui
Sea of cloud 3,4,5,6,8
Sunset 7

Qingkou
Blue 2,4
Sunrise 7

Luomadian
Sea of cloud 3,4
Xinjie town floating on clouds 3,4
Sunset 7

Dawazhe
Sea of clouds 1,4,8

Bada
Terrace block

Bada
Red/pink/rosy 1
Grand 1,2,3,4
Sea of cloud 3
Sunset 1,2,4,6

Lianchangban
Sea of clouds 1,2,4,8
Village 4

Huangcaoling
Sea of cloud 6,8

Duoyishu
Terrace block

Quanfuzhuang
Blue 1,4
Close view of terraces 5
Sea of cloud 6

Laohuzui
Red/pink/rosy 1
Colorful 1,2,7
Most spectacular 1,2,6
Beautiful curve 2,3
Sunset 1,2,3,5,7,8

Duoyishu
Blue 1,3,4
Sea of cloud 1,2,6,8
Rosy clouds 1,2,7
Village 6
Sunrise 1,2,3,4,5,6,8

Aichun
Blue: 1,2,3,4,6,7,8
Sunset 2

Laohuzui
terrace block

Yakou
Time tunnel 1,2,8

Other terraces outside the property zone

Longshuba
Red 1,2,3,4,8
Blue 3,4

Baisheng
Red 4

LEGEND
Road
Rice terraces
Heritage property zone

Number refers to the source of
information:
1) Qingwa
2) Jack
3) Sohu.com
4) Travel.sina
5) Blog.sina
6) Yunaninfo.com
7) yncct.com
8) Tian

N

0   0.5   1   2KM

Aichun blue rice terraces
Source: 8) Tian

Duoyishu: blue, sea of cloud, sunrise
Source: 1) Qingwa

Laohuzui: sunset, colorful, most
Source: 3) sohu.com

Luomadian: sea of clouds
Source: 3) sohu.com

Bada: grand rice terraces
Source: 3) sohu.com

Yakou: time tunnel
Source: 2) Jack

Bada: Sunset
Source: 4) Travel.sina

Figure- 25. Recommended viewing locations, and visual features of the landscape.
Source: author, based on information collected from: 1) Qingwa; 2) Jack; 3) Sohu.com; 4) Travel.sina; 5) Blog.sina; 6) Yunaninfo.com; 7) yncct.com; 8) Tian

analysis to map out the anticipated landscape images of different locations, but rather to use the most accessible information resources as indicators to determine tourists' expectations around various landscapes. based on information collected

Non-official sources concretized imaginaries of the landscape at different locations. As can be seen from the table, viewing locations were associated with different visual attributes, such as the weather conditions of sunset/sunrise/cloud, the colors, the landforms, and other specific scenes (such as, "Xinjie town floating on the clouds"). Although the information sources did not provide the same information about the locations (for example, Duoyishu was recommended by all six data sources for sunrise, but only by three for blue terraces), some stereotypes were formed. For example, the rice terraces of certain regions are known for their colors. Besides the three viewing platforms, tourists were often advised to shoot blue terraces and red terraces. As the lodge operators, Tian and Qingwa recounted,

> *"…we often recommend them "blue terraces" and "red terraces." In fact, one can photograph blue terraces everywhere, but in Aichun it is easier to see blue terraces. Now "blue terraces" often refer to the rice terrace in Aichun. For the "red terraces", you have to go to Longshuba…" (Tian, 2019)*

> *"… I would suggest "blue terraces" and "red terraces". The "blue terraces" are in Aichun, while the "red terraces" are in Longshuba[79]… The "blue terraces" refers to the scene where the rice terraces mirror the blue sky. Aichun has sunnier weather compared to other places, and it is easy to photograph "blue terrace". "Red terraces" are caused by the red duckweed covering the terraces. It colors the terraces red. It is often found in Longshuba..." (Qingwa,2019)*

> *"Time tunnel' is also another shooting point…the curve of the terraces is huge, and when you look down it feels like a time tunnel." (Qingwa,2019)*

"Blue terraces" and "red terraces" are examples of the association of colors with the landscape in specific locations. "Blue terraces" could be observed in many locations as long as the climatic conditions were ideal, and therefore were not exclusive to the rice terraces in Aichun. Even the rice terraces in Aichun were not always blue. When sunrise rendered the clouds rosy, rice terraces changed into a pink, rosy color. In fact, the view

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[79] Longshuba is a village that locates outside the heritage site.

of the landscape changed all the time. But the rice terraces in Aichun were known as the "Aichun blue terraces", and were most often recommended for tourists. Similarly, red terraces were not exclusive to Longshuba. As recounted by Tian, sometimes in Laoyingzui one could also find "red terraces", yet in Longshuba the photos of "red terraces" were "most classical".

Some rice terraces were more famous for their landforms. For example, the "time tunnel" near Yakou was often suggested to tourists because of the concave landform, rather than the color or the sea of clouds. It was located far from the official scenic zones and was hence less visited. The tunnel is a metaphor used to describe its shape. When looking down the tunnel, this concave shape gave tourists a feeling of the stillness of the time. Other rice terraces are popular for the scene of the "sea of clouds" floating over the rice terraces. Locations such as Lianchangban, Dawazhe, and Laoyingzui were suggested by many as the places for the "sea of clouds." The topographical conditions there made the floating clouds a frequent weather phenomenon. For example, Laoyingzui had no viewing platform, but behind a big rock, a piece of bare land had been trodden down by tourists. According to Xu, a staff member from the TA, only those who know how to have fun know this place (Laoyingzui). One day when we stopped by Laoyingzui, we saw a few tourists. It was a foggy day and we couldn't see very far. When I asked one tourist what he had photographed, he said he wanted to shoot the cloud scene but it was too misty. He flew his drone very high but still could not get a desirable picture. Although the natural landscape changes and an ideal photo are not always possible, tourists were often drawn to reproduce the anticipated landscape images they had seen circulating online and had heard from word of mouth.

6.3 The settlement-scape of HHRTs

Introduction

Eighty-two villages were spread out across the heritage property zones, with a total population of nearly 55,000 in the year 2012 (SACH, 2013). The settlement form was most similar to the vernacular form described by Alsayyad (1995), developed by people living in insular settings and associated with pre-industrial conditions. Shaped by the scale of available cultivated land and reasonable walking distance between villages and terraces, traditional villages often had from 50 to 200 households[80]. Traditional settlements had two categories of vernacular dwellings: mushroom houses and tuzhang houses The majority of the dwellings were mushroom houses. This type of traditional

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[80] But nowadays, as more people work as migrant works in cities, housing construction are not limited agricultural production. A recent survey show that the biggest village has a household of 595, while the smallest has a household of 18 (SACH, 2013).

vernacular building had walls built of rammed earth, adobe bricks, or of earth and stone under a tall, hipped, roof thatched with straw that gave the houses a distinctive "mushroom" shape (SACH, 2013). A small number were Tuzhang houses which were earth-rammed houses with flat roofs (SACH, 2013). Both dwelling types were two to three floors high: the first story provided shelter for animals, the second story was living space for the human residents, and the rooftop was used for storing grain and food (See Figure- 26).

Figure- 26. Traditional vernacular Hani Village and dwellings

Left: Malizhai village of the year 1995. Source: Zhu (2006，p5); right: traditional mushroom houses. Source: SACH (2013, p. 1159)

However, the villages within the heritage property zone have been adapting themselves to accommodate the growing population and modern lifestyles. While a vernacular settlement-scape was still common in 1995, it started to disappear during the late 1990s (Zhu, 2006) as the mushroom houses were increasingly replaced by modern concrete houses. Building construction was no longer limited by local materials and traditional building techniques, and the villagers started to use modern building techniques and building materials purchased on the market. Buildings were growing increasingly modernized in terms of appearance and functions. According to the staff of the TA and the architect Zhu1[81], by the time of nomination for World Heritage status, most of the traditional dwellings had already been replaced by concrete modern houses, and only a small number of the dwellings were maintained in the traditional style. But just like many other traditional villages, the improvement of the appearance of the terrace villages has been considered critical to the success of tourism (Chio, 2014) and heritage conservation (Oakes, 2013). Conservation plans and building regulations were established, and projects were conducted to restore traditional dwellings and beautify

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[81] The chief planner and architect responsible for the site's conservational planning and building renovations.

the appearance of villages. Settlements were therefore reconfigured by the activities of different actors (the indigenous population, architects, local authorities, and non-local businesspeople). In such a context, settlements have evolved into different forms.

Differentiation of the settlement-scape

As pointed out in the theoretical part, the settlement-scape can be distinguished by visual characteristics produced in specific social-historical contexts. The vernacular settlement-scape presents a local indigenous architectural style. The hybrid settlement-scape presents a combination of indigenous and colonial styles, with partial visual continuity with that of the vernacular settlement-scape. The modern settlement-scape has a contemporary form that is distinct from the vernacular type. The neo-vernacular type reflects a contemporary style based on architects' interpretation of the vernacular, such as building color or the use of materials, but its form is often completely modern. The semi-vernacular settlement-scape presents a visual character that highly resembles the vernacular since it adapts the original vernacular building fabric with minor adaptations to accommodate modern lifestyles.

At the research site, four types of settlement-scape were identified (Figure- 27): the modern, the hybrid, the semi-vernacular, and the neo-vernacular . Modern settlements are located in non-touristic regions. They are not visited by tourists, since they locate far from the tourist attractions or are hardly accessible by public transport. The neo-vernacular type includes only one village - Hanixiaozhen (哈尼小镇). The semi-vernacular type includes two villages – Azheke (阿者科) and Yakou (垭口). The rest of the villages can be categorized as a hybrid settlement-scape. The visual characteristics and functions of the four settlement forms are shown in Table-7.

Settlement-scape types	Modern	Semi-vernacular	Neo-vernacular	Hybrid
Building aesthetic and visual characters	Indigenous modernity, consists of mostly modern buildings distinct from the traditional mushroom houses.	Indigenous vernacular, consists of mostly traditional mushroom houses with some modern adaptations.	Modernity based on vernacular, consists of modern houses that resemble the mushroom house.	Hybrid architectural character. Consists of different types of buildings that were beautified with vernacular elements.
Examples	Adangzhai, Yiwanshui	Azheke, Yakou	Quanfuzhuang, Pugaolaozhai	Hanixiaozhen
Numbers	57	2	22	1

Table- 7. Types of settlements-scape

Source: author

133

Figure- 27. Touristic space and the distribution of four types of settlements

Source: author

Type 1. Modern settlement-scape

Figure- 28. The modern settlement-scape (2018)
Left: Dongpu Village; right: houses in Yiwanshui Village. Source: author

The modern settlement-scape refers to the villages with a built space reflects a complete modern visual character without much connection with that of the vernacular type, such as Yiwanshui (一碗水), Dongpu (洞浦) (Figure- 28). The modern settlement-scape is the most common type and is found in 57 villages that are not involved in tourism. Their land use remains predominantly residential, with a small amount of commercial land use (e.g. grocery stores), and their inhabitants are mostly indigenous people.

In this type, the buildings are composed primarily of modern houses constructed spontaneously by the villagers[82]. Modern houses are often much bigger than traditional houses, some of them reaching up to 200 m². They are multiple-floor buildings with concrete-brick structures, have flat roofs, and use modern build materials like metal and glass. The building elements vary from house to house, influenced by the taste of the owner and their financial conditions. For example, some windows are square, while others have half-moon-shaped curves on top; some roofs are fenced with the guardrail, while others are not; some facades are tiled with glazed tiles, some are painted with color, while most simply leave their walls unpainted. Those "freestyle" houses together create a rather heterogeneous visual impression.

In the eyes of conservation professionals, the modern settlement-scape is far from beautiful. According to staff from the TA, the higher-ups from SACH saw the changes in the building material and forms as having an adverse visual impact on the integrity of the overall landscape. Even though they are the result of spontaneous practices by the indigenous population, these buildings are hardly seen by architects as vernacular. The chief architect Zhu1 described it as "very chaotic", that those villages "were

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[82] Traditional housing types can still be found, but they were in dilapidated conditions.

completely destroyed" and that "they have lost completely the beauty of the vernacular settlements" (Zhu1, 2019). Other architects who worked on dwelling conservation referred to those villages as having "lost its traditional settlement characteristics" and hence not worth being preserved or restored.

Alysayyad defined the modern form as being "an instrument of nation building" (Alysayyad, 1995, p. 18), and using the western pattern of urban development as the reference model. In the study case, however, the modern settlement-scape was not developed with a purposeful building process to convince its people "of the new governmental order" (Alysayyad, 1995, p. 18). Its reconfiguration involved no architects nor planners. It reflects a different type of modernity – the modernity created by indigenous building practices.

Type 2. Semi-vernacular settlement-scape

Figure- 29. The semi-vernacular settlement-scape (2019)
Left: Azheke Village; right: houses in Azheke village. Source: author

The semi vernacular settlement-scape reflects a visual identity that is highly continuous with that of the vernacular settlement-scape but also allows modern adaptations. In the research site, this type includes two villages – Azheke and Yakou (Figure- 29), which were carefully restored by following a top-down conservation process with the assistance of professional architects.

In Azheke and Yakou, the settlement-scape resembles traditional villages. The houses are composed primarily of traditional houses[83] renovated following the model of the "mushroom house". The choice of material and building techniques follows traditional building practices. In the latest renovation project of Azheke, the damaged building elements were replaced, including the wood frames, earthen walls, and thatched roofs. Original materials such as stones were reused during restoration. The fireplaces of the mushroom houses were preserved for heating during the winter. Doors and windows

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[83] 2 out of a total 63 houses in Azheke, and 36 out of a total 46 houses in Yakou remained traditional.

were replaced by using similar wooden materials. Yakou's renovation went through a similar procedure. The first round of renovation replaced some damaged parts and recovered the thatched roofs, and a thorough restoration project was being planned for the near future. In both villages, the public space was beautified. The traditional well, mill houses, and moqiu-field were restored[84]; roads and water ditches were hardened, and signage systems and dustbins were installed.

While respecting the original built fabric, adaptations were made to accommodate modern lifestyles. For example, the clay bricks were remade with a certain amount of cement to improve the endurance of the bricks. The ground floors which used to provide shelter for animals were adapted as living rooms. To make the increased floor height less obvious, the ground floor was excavated by half a meter (instead of raising the building by half a meter). The bedroom and living room which used to share one space were now segregated. All the new windows were enlarged for more natural sunlight. Facilities like running water, kitchen sinks, and sometimes bathrooms were installed. In some buildings, a side room was added. In Yakou, all rooftops were equipped with fire sprinklers to cope with the frequent fire incidents during the hot dry autumn.

From the perspective of professional architects, Yakou and Azheke were the most authentic villages with an "original flavor" (原汁原味). In contrast to the villagers who perceived concrete buildings as beautiful, the architects found beauty in the traditional dwellings[85]. As commented by Zhu1 (2019):

> *"I am a conservationist, but I am even more of a developmentalist. Understandably, the living space of the people should be increased. It is also the case with the traditional dwellings in the past! They owned the land and built houses for themselves, so why can't they do that now? It is unethical absolutely to forbid them to build. But they have to follow tradition - the traditional methods, traditional materials, traditional forms. They (the villagers) should not make them (the houses) too strange. They have to pay attention to beauty, and they have to be ethical. They should not affect the overall environment"*

Zhu1 appreciated the beauty of the traditional dwellings although their original inhabitants did not. While admitting that the development of vernacular buildings was

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[84] Traditionally, Hani villages usually contain a set of public elements for performing traditional rituals or agricultural productions. The traditional well are the village's water resources, the mill house were used to grinding grains, and the Moqiu field was an open space for traditional festivals and practices.

[85] Inspired by Architect Hassen Fathy and his concept of "architecture for the poor", Zhu is devoted to the conservation of vernacular dwellings in under-developed regions in Southern China.

always subject to the needs of their inhabitants, he argued the aesthetic value of traditional dwellings was so important that an exception had to be made. It was even "unethical" for residents to make any dramatic changes to their own houses.

The semi-vernacular settlement-scape is an important resource for the sightseeing activities of tourists. Together with the built environment, the original inhabitants are seen as part of the authentic scene. Both Yakou and Azheke villages are still occupied by the original inhabitants and have been promoted as authentic "living landscapes". Azheke became a pay-to-enter scenic spot where tourists could visit the traditional mushroom houses, as well as observe the everyday life of Hani people who dressed up in traditional costumes, tended to the cows, dyed cloth, or practiced weaving (See chapter 8). Although villagers in Azheke were tempted to lease their houses and move out, the recent Azheke Plan (see Chapter 8) encouraged their stay[86]. Yakou had not yet developed touristic services because of its remoteness, but it remains a very important attraction for tourists seeking "in-depth" travel experiences. The semi-vernacular settlement evolves from the indigenous vernacular settlement-scape[87] as a result of a top-down conservation process for the modern purpose of tourism.

Type 3. Neo-vernacular settlement-scape

Figure- 30. The Neo-vernacular settlement-scape (2019)

Left: Hanixiaozhen; right: houses in Hanixiaozhen. Source: left, qq.com[88]; right, author.

The neo-vernacular (or postmodern) settlement-scape represents a modern aesthetic that is based on a re-interpretation of the vernacular (Alysayyad, 1995; Zhao & Greenop,

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[86] The tourism experts who have been helping to develop tourism believe that the soul of the traditional villages stays with the original community. Aside from a few buildings rented by outside investors (including a café and a lodge), a small number of villagers started to operate restaurants and got involved in the organization of touristic activities (see chapter 8, section 8.3.1).

[87] The vernacular settlement-scapes were preserved due to bad connectivity (villagers were not able to transport building materials) and early interventions in housing construction (villagers were not allowed to construct houses).

[88] Source : https://v.qq.com/x/page/a0352io3gay.html

2019). Such a building style does not interpret the tangible or intangible values that are present in vernacular buildings. It represents a contemporary interpretation of buildings by protecting the vernacular style through designing new houses according to architects' interpretations of a vernacular image (Zhao & Greenop, 2019). Hanixiaozhen(哈尼小镇)[89] represents this type of settlement-scape (Figure- 30).

At first glance, the settlement-scape of Hanixiaozhen shares a certain visual similarity with that of the vernacular villages. The building style resembles traditional mushroom houses: the walls are made of stone or are painted in a color like earthen walls, and all buildings also have thatched rooftops. However, these surface details are applied atop contemporary modern architecture. As stated in the planning file, vernacular building characteristics were summarized by eight points: "thatched roof, earthen wall, greenstone base, small windows, high house, wide porch, large sun deck, and small courtyard,"[90] and five different house types were developed based on these eight elements. The houses were built with concrete using modern techniques. The walls are painted and covered with stone veneer, and the thatched roofs are made from flame-retardant materials. The buildings are much bigger and have huge glass windows and anti-theft security doors. Buildings are arranged neatly along the road, while the public space is decorated with greenery, sculptures of agricultural tools, and other public furniture. It was constructed following a master plan in only two years from 2013 to 2015.

Design professionals debated whether Hanixiaozhen could represent Hani vernacular architecture. For the architects who were involved in its development, Hanixiaozhen represented the traditions of Hani culture. As stated in the planning document, the design not only inherited the original form of the mushroom houses but also used similar building materials to embody its native characteristics. The village was even given the title "Characteristic Chinese Ethnic Minority Village" (中国少数民族特色村寨) by the State Ethnic Affairs Commission. However, for conservationists, Hanixiaozhen was nothing but a commercial project. As the chief architect Zhu1 (2019) commented, it was "not the way vernacular buildings are", as they used modern materials and building techniques that were too distinct and unaffordable for the indigenous population.

The neo-vernacular settlement-scape is created based on the vernacular village, but its purpose has been solely touristic and is by nature a touristic enclave (Edensor, 2001).

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[89] The original site had only 13 houses, and all were demolished before the construction started. Now Hanixiaozhen consists of two sections and has a total of 234 houses.
[90] Originally in Chinese "蘑菇顶，黄土墙，青石基，小窗洞，高正房，宽门廊，大晒台，小院落"

Although its scale is similar to a village, it is completely divorced from agricultural activities. Promoted as a Hani village, it has been hosting many important group tourism activities, such as the harvesting festival, the seeding festival, the long street banquet, and drone photography competitions. It is primarily occupied by companies and individual businesspeople (generally wealthy urbanites) who operate hotels, restaurants, shops, offices, and investment properties.

Type 3. Hybrid settlement-scape

Figure- 31. The hybrid settlement-scape (2019)
Left: Pugaolaozhai village; right: houses in Qingkou village. Source: author

According to Alysayyad (1995), the hybrid form refers to a settlement style that combines indigenous and colonial characteristics, and it shares partial visual continuity with the vernacular. The hybrid settlement-scape identified here, however, appears somewhat different from this definition - it presents a combination of the indigenous and modern style (Figure- 31), rather than that of the colonial empire. This can be seen in two aspects of the built space.

The first visual characteristic of the Hani hybrid settlement-scape can be seen in the hybridity of vernacular and modern building styles in a single building - the modern buildings refurbished with traditional elements. As a result of the bottom-up construction by the indigenous population and the beautification project initiated by the government, now the modern residences dress up in a similar style to mushroom houses – the walls have similar earthen color (sometimes with lines drawn on them to resemble the old clay brick walls), the buildings are topped with thatched roofs made from straw or plastic (see Chapter 7), and the windows and wall are refurbished with wooden materials. The degree of beautification appears to vary according to the settlement's visibility to tourists. For example, in villages that are often visited by the tourists, such as Dayutang (大鱼塘) and Qingkou (箐口), most of the buildings are repainted and capped with thatched roofs. But in non-touristic villages, such as Malizhai (麻栗寨) and Bada (坝达), only some buildings are repainted, and no thatched roofs are installed. Similarly, the degree of beautification varies among buildings in touristic

villages. In Dayutang and Qingkou, houses in the most visited touristic areas were beautified with wooden windows and doors, while in less-visited corners of the villages houses are not carefully renovated.

The second visual characteristic is the mixture of different building styles, including the hybrid, vernacular, modern, and even neo-vernacular building styles. Vernacular buildings still exist in small numbers. In villages promoted as attractions, the vernacular buildings are restored, while in other villages they are left in dilapidated conditions. Modern houses are left unrenovated for different reasons: the owners did not consent to the "beautification", the buildings are in less visible positions, or the public budget was limited. In villages frequently visited by tourists neo-vernacular buildings are also present, such as the commercial buildings designed by architects at the entrance of the Qingkou. The hybridity of different building types also fluctuates among villages depending on the conditions of tourism. For villages that are promoted as tourist attractions, there are more neo-vernacular, and hybrid building types. For villages that were not promoted, yet still visible to tourists, there are more modern buildings.

The hybrid settlement-scape is the result of the refurbishment of increasingly modernized settlements for touristic purposes. But for the professionals, those villages were not authentic but rather a solution born of necessity. The planners and architects working on the conservation guidelines commented that those villages were "settlement-scape damaged" (Hu, 2019), and "not well-restored (Zhu1，2019). After all, most of the vernacular settlement-scape has been inevitably modernized, and most of the original building fabric has already disappeared. But the local authorities and the design and tourism professionals believed that the traditional appearances of the villages were critical to their touristic attractiveness. To rescue and display Hani culture with limited resources, the best solution appeared to be a simple facelift – covering modern buildings with vernacular building elements.

6.4 Conclusions and discussion

Conclusions

This chapter addresses the changes in two different elements of heritage tourism - the rice terrace landscape and the traditional villages, with a common focus on their visual qualities. In terms of the rice terrace landscape, the results indicate its visual qualities were accentuated and differentiated under the tourist gaze. Firstly, influenced by the touristic gaze, the locals rediscovered the beauty of their everyday common landscape and actively used landscape images to promote their touristic services and products. Various viewing platforms were constructed as a result of the touristic gaze, including large-scale pay-to-enter scenic spots and small-scale public viewing platforms. Secondly,

the imaginaries of the landscape were re-configured and differentiated through an organic, bottom-up process by photograph-seeking tourists, local guides, and travel agencies. Under the touristic gaze, more fine-grained, nuanced landscape images were constructed. Different from the simplified official landscape images presented by the tourism developer – "Duoyishu for viewing the sunrise, and Laohuzui and Bada for viewing the sunset", non-official sources concretized and differentiated the visual characteristics of the landscape. They were endowed with attributes such as particular colors and landforms and were associated with certain locations and times.

In terms of settlement-scape, the results indicate that the vernacular settlement-scape evolved into four forms under the professional gaze. The first type is the modern settlement-scape, reflecting a completely modern visual character without much connection to vernacular architecture. This type has been observed among villages that were not involved in tourism. It evolves from the vernacular settlement-scape without the "professional gaze" during the spontaneous housing construction practices of the indigenous population. The second type is the semi-vernacular settlement-scape, which is adapted based on the vernacular built fabric and reflects a highly vernacular aesthetic. In those villages, mushroom houses and traditional village activities are seen as central tourist attractions representing authentic Hani culture. Restoration was carried out following a "top-down" process with the assistance of professional architects and authorities, and spontaneous construction was strictly controlled. The third type is the neo-vernacular settlement-scape, created by design professionals following a master-planned process. Its visual character symbolically resembles the vernacular type, as the professionals redesigned the houses based on their interpretation of vernacular buildings. The neo-vernacular settlement-scape is a stage created for various tourism activities. The fourth type is the hybrid settlement-scape, which reflected a mixed vernacular and modern character. The hybrid settlement-scape is the predominant type in the villages that were visible to tourists. They are the result of the top-down "beautification" process that aimed to create a standardized look to represent Hani Villages.

Discussion

In terms of the landscape, further research should explore its visual qualities from three viewpoints. The first aspect considers the circulation of images of the landscape and how this is related to the touristic experience. As discussed in this chapter, the tourist gaze created differentiated landscape images that in turn attracted other tourists to view the landscape. However, those images do not always reflect the actual landscape experienced by tourists because of the unpredictable climatic conditions. So, what is the actual landscape captured and experienced by tourists? Do the actual images correspond reasonably closely to the anticipated features of the landscape? Are tourists satisfied?

Unless the destination images created correspond to the actual characteristics of the place, tourists will not be satisfied (Britton; Fakaye and Cromption, cited by Garrod, 2009). The second aspect is the ongoing landscape image construction process. As revealed in this chapter, compared with the official landscape image, non-official resources present a more diversified landscape image. Is the official landscape image informed by the non-official representation? Such a question could help us to understand landscape image as a dynamic ongoing construction process. The third aspect concerns the landscape in the eyes of design and tourism professionals. While tourists see the beauty of the landscape, how do heritage professionals see the landscape? Part of the answer can be found in Chapter 6. In contrast to the importance of the landscape's visual quality in tourism, the experts emphasized that the socio-cultural character was key to the site's heritage identity.
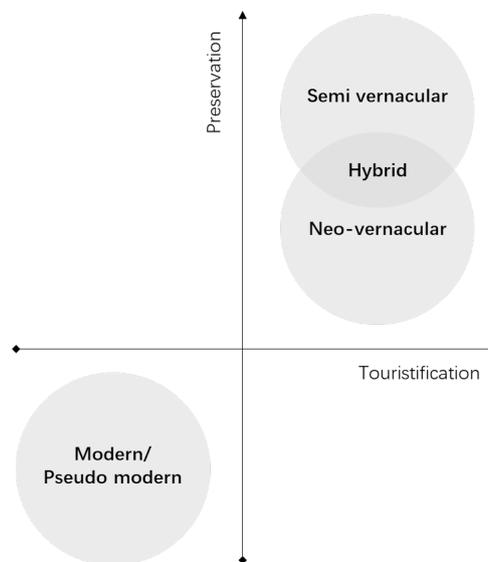
Figure- 32. The model of settlements evolvement types
Source: author

Further generalizations can be drawn from an analytical approach based on the settlement-scape. Bringing the four types of settlement-scape in conversation with the dynamics of touristification and conservation, a model of evolution can be generated (Figure- 32). In this model, the settlements in which the two processes are absent evolve into the "modern" type as a result of bottom-up organic development by the indigenous population. Active involvement in tourism development combined with low levels of conservation produces the neo-vernacular type - a form of touristic space invented based on "imagined traditions". Active touristification and prevention lead toward the semi-vernacular type, in which heritage items are preserved and turned into attractions. Active involvement in tourism development but insufficient conservation reconfigures

traditional settlements into the hybrid type, in which the traditional built-scape is only partially preserved, and touristic functions can be developed.

Linking observations on-site to the concepts proposed by Alysayyad (1995), this study also suggests the following differences. The first is that the different settlement-scapes evolved contemporaneously in the context of the HHRTs, very different from what Alysayyad (1995) suggested in his historical stages approach. The second difference relates to the modern settlement form. Alysayyad defines the modern form as reflecting "an instrument of nation building" (Alysayyad, 1995, p. 18), by using the western patterns of urban development as the reference model. This matches what's happening in many Chinese cities. But in the context of HHRTs, the modern settlement-scape reflected a different type of modernity –indigenous, bottom-up modernity. The third difference is the "hybrid" form, which Alysayyad describes as combining indigenous and colonial characteristics. But in the context of the HHRTs, the hybrid settlement-scape reflects the combination of the indigenous and modern styles, rather than that of the colonial empire. This study argues that those differences were situated within the context-specific space of China's rapid modernization process, as the agent of tourism, heritage, and globalization condensed spatial and temporal distances.

In terms of the settlement-scape, more research is needed to understand tourists' perception of their visual characteristics. Are their perceptions differing from those of the design professionals? How important are the visual characteristics of the settlement-scape for their travel experiences? What do they expect to see? Since the local government and developers consider the visual characteristics of the settlement-scape to be absolutely critical to the success of tourism, understanding the settlement-scape from the perspective of tourists can help the professionals and government to understand if they are achieving the desired results.

Chapter 7

Tourism and transformation of place's qualities - a case study of Pugaolaozhai

This chapter investigates the urbanization process at destinations impacted by tourism. It examines how tourism transfers urban qualities to China's rural hinterlands and how this transformation is linked with activities of different social groups on-site. It seeks answers to the following questions: (1) What is the evidence for tourism-triggered urban qualities at destination sites? (2) How are these qualities linked with the activities of actors on-site?

To answer these questions, this chapter considers the relevance of the concept of planetary urbanization (Brenner & Schmid, 2017), tourism-produced urbanity (Stock et al., 2017), rurality (Cloke, 2006), and place making (Lew, 2017). After a brief introduction of Pugaolaozhai Village, this chapter firstly introduces an analytical framework to study the urban qualities of tourism destinations, then applies it to the case.

Pugaolaozhai Village is one of the 82 villages within the Honghe Hani Rice Terraces. According to the statistics provided by the governmental official website - Yunnan Digital Village[91], in the year 2015, the village had 156 households and a total population of 770 (all were Hani ethnic minorities). The average annual income was 4,340 yuan (≈600 USD）(Yunnan Digital Village, 2015). Agriculture has historically been the primary industry, but now many working-age adults have become migrant workers, and most of the residents are children and the elderly. Pugaolaozhai is located below the Duoyishu viewing platform (Figure- 33), which is the most visited viewing platform for sunrise over the rice terrace. The proximity to the viewing platform gives Pugaolaozhai a natural advantage in developing accommodation services.

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[91] www.ynszxc.gov.cn

Figure- 33. The location of Pugaolaozhai

Source: author (based on Google Earth image)
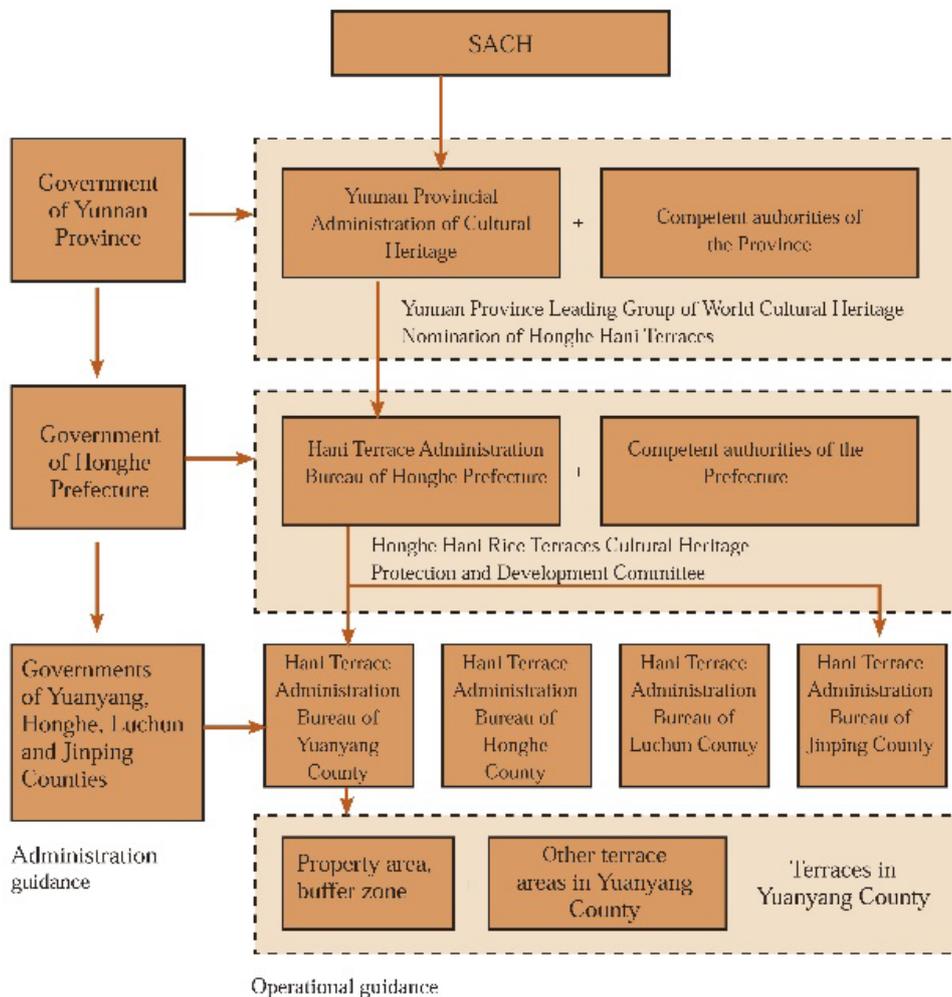
Figure- 34. The Management mechanism of the heritage site
Source: SACH (2013, p. 215)

As clarified in the analytical framework, the transformation process is seen as shaped by the interactive activities of various direct actors on-site. Indirect actors including tourists, UNESCO, heritage experts, and upper-level authorities are seen as shaping the place making process indirectly by influencing the direct actors on-site[92], and hence are not the focus of discussion here. The direct actors include three major types: the villagers of Pugaolaozhai, the authorities of the Yuanyang TA, and the non-local

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[92] To be specific, tourists are seen as influencing the investors and villagers who actively adapt the buildings to provide them with accommodation services; UNESCO, heritage experts, and the upper-level authorities are seen as influencing Yuanyang TA in managing the built environment on site. By focusing on the direct actors on site, this study examines how 'top-down' place making processes intersect with organic 'bottom-up' place making processes.

investors. The villagers are the indigenous population living in Pugaolaozhai. The built space of the village, including the dwellings and the common space, was formed out of their everyday activities. As in other Chinese rural areas, many villagers improved their living conditions by working in cities. The villagers in Pugaolaozhai tended to work in other cities in Yunnan and came back to build new houses. As tourism developed, some villagers began to lease houses and operate guesthouses or restaurants to increase their incomes. The second type of direct actors were the non-local investors - urbanities who moved to the area for the tourism businesses. Their primary concern was simply to make a profit. Many were also attracted by a lifestyle that is more relaxed and closer to nature. They often rented houses from the villagers and adapted the houses into guesthouses. The third type of direct actor was the staff working at the Hani TA Bureau of Yuanyang Country (latter abbreviated as the TA). This was the management office responsible for protecting and coordinating the management of the heritage site. Established in 2007 (Qu et al., 2018), it was managed by upper-level authorities within a complex heritage management system (Figure- 34). Yuanyang TA is on the receiving end of all the decisions made by the upper-level authorities. The work of the TA in Pugaolaozhai has focused on regulating spontaneous building activities and conducting projects to preserve the traditional built environment.

7.1 Theoretical context: the transforming urbanity and rurality

As suggested in the theory chapter, from the perspective of planetary, urbanization can be seen as a process in which the urban is reproduced and remade worldwide, transcending spatial boundaries (Brenner & Schmid, 2017). Tourism contributes to the planetary urbanization process by transferring the urban qualities (i.e. urbanity) to destinations in terms of architectural, behavioral, economic, and cultural elements (Coëffé & Stock, 2021). And based on the concept of place making, the transformation process is linked with the activities of direct stakeholders on-site. To detect the change from "rural" to "urban", and investigate stakeholder's activities in place making, this study proposes an analytical framework (Figure- 35). This framework gives five indicators that detect the change of destinations' qualities from rural to urban. The indicators of density and diversity are associated with the mass and variety of present social realities, such as population, activities, and the built environment. The indicator centrality measures the recognition of places and the associated material manifestations. The common space measures activities and users of outdoor space. And the architectural style indicates the rural or urban building aesthetics. To further examines how their activities are relevant to the transformation of the destination's rurality and urbanity, this framework proposed to identifies the direct actors involved, their activities, their motives, and the key resources mobilized.
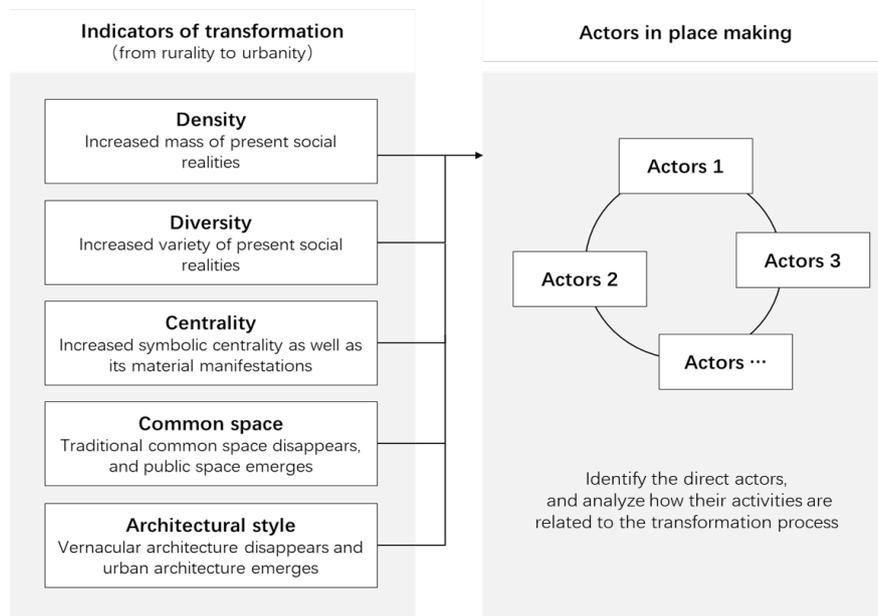
7.2 Density and diversity

Density and diversity represent the mass and variety of social realities (Stock et al., 2017). In the context of Pugaolaozhi, the density of the built space has increased alongside the obvious territorial expansion (Figure-36)[93]. By the year 2009, restricted by building materials and techniques, most of the buildings had two floors (floor height approx. 2.8 m) and each dwelling covered a relatively small land area (approx. 100-200 m².). Increasingly, old houses were replaced by taller, larger new buildings, and building density consequently increased. New buildings' foundations were often expanded from the original house foundation (approx. 200-450 m²), and many had three or more floors (floor height approx. 3.0 m). The growth in building size and numbers resulted in a more densely occupied space.

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[93] Measured by using the satellite images from the years 2009, 2015 and 2019 from Google Earth, the total built-up area increased from 3,1 ha (2009) to 5,0 ha (2015) and 6.3 ha (2019).
As can be seen from Figure 7-4, by the year 2009, most houses were located in between the main road and the rice terraces, and only a few houses were located near the road. A new road, the Duoyishu – Mengpin touristic loop, was constructed in 2011 uphill of the village. The road formed a touristic loop within the heritage site and connected Pugaolaozhai Village to the Laoyingzui Viewing Platform. Consequently, more villagers who formed new families moved to the roadside area, and many guesthouses and restaurants were opened along the road. The growth of new buildings in the roadside area formed a new cluster. In the old village cluster, more houses were constructed within and on the edge of the village, notably in the northern part.
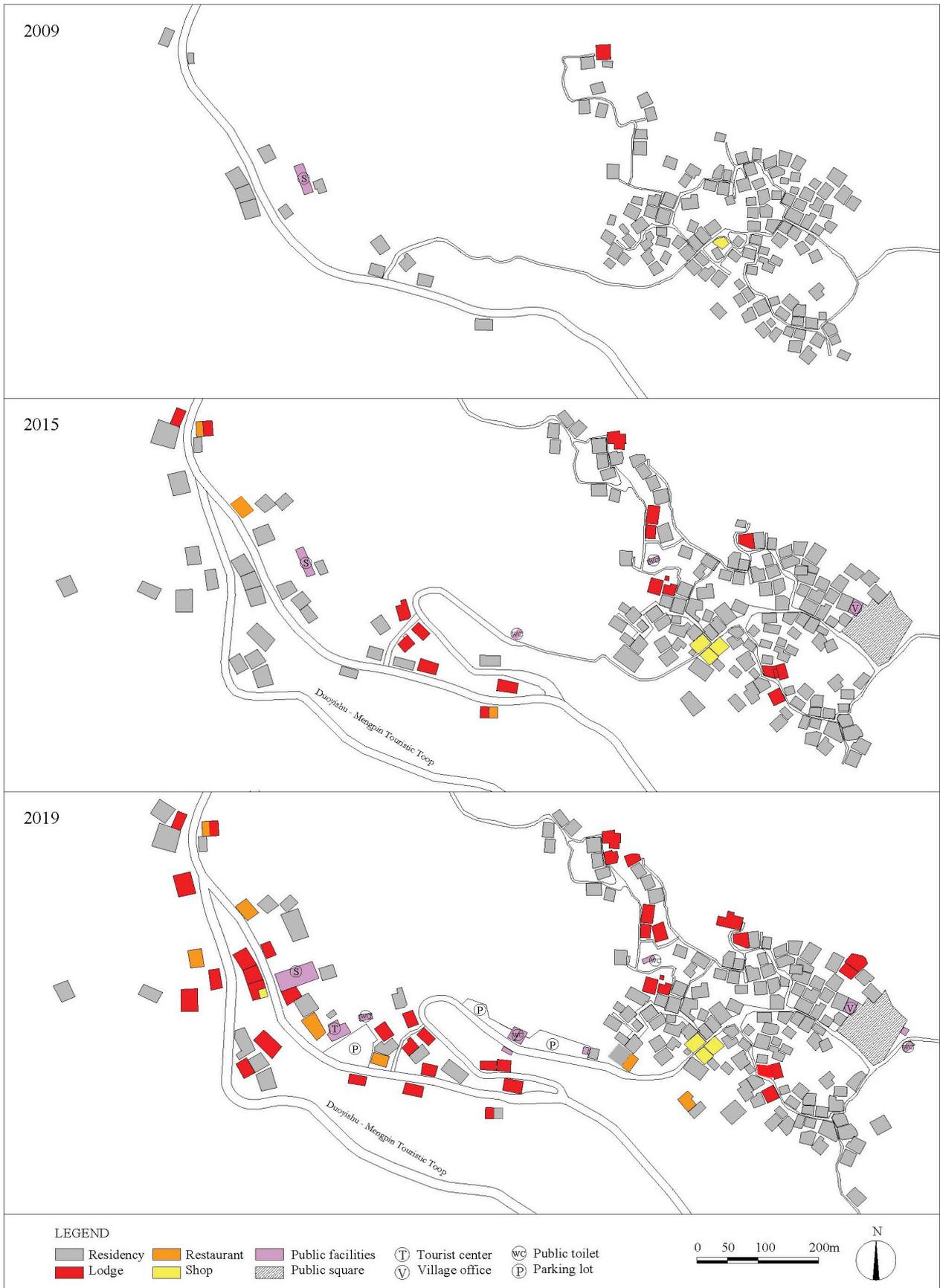
Figure- 36. The change of the built-up space and the use of buildings in Pugaolaozhai

Source: author (base map based on Google Earth image, and data based on site survey)

The growth of diversity in economic activities was also obvious. As reflected in Figure- 32, tourism-related land-use types increased. Before 2009, land use was primarily residential, and there was only one guesthouse and one shop. After heritage nomination in 2013, other land-use types, including commercial and public facilities, appeared. In 2019, commercial and public land further increased. The numbers and types of commercial space and public facilities also increased. In 2009, only one guesthouse and one shop existed. By 2015, there were 21 guesthouses, 3 shops, 3 restaurants, and 2 public toilets. By 2019, there were 33 guesthouses, 9 shops, 4 restaurants, 3 public toilets, 2 parking lots, and a tourist center.

Tourism also triggered the growth of population density and diversity, especially during the peak season. With the booming guesthouse industry, investors from cities across China have been immigrating to Pulaogaozhai for business. As a result, 19 out of 39 guesthouses were opened by investors from Yunnan, Henan, Shandong, Shanghai, Chongqing, and Jilin Provinces. Meanwhile, Pugaolaozhai has been accommodating tourists from all over the world, including Chinese tourists, and tourists from France, Germany, America, Switzerland, Japan, etc. No official statistics regarding the tourist numbers are available. But with 1925 beds[94], and considering that during peak season most of the guesthouses would be fully booked, Pugaolaozhai can easily accommodate more than 2,000 tourists, which signifies a potential increase of temporary population by 160 percent.

The densified built environment and diversified spatial functions were linked with the activities of villagers and investors. On the one hand, they contributed to diversified spatial functions by operating businesses. Half of the guesthouses were managed by non-local investors. Compared with locals, outside investors often had greater financial resources and more sophisticated management skills.   Local villagers ran about half of the guesthouses and most of the restaurants and shops – the less profitable businesses that outside investors avoided. On the other hand, the increased building density was also a result of interactions between villagers and investors. Villagers mobilized their homestead land and investors mobilized their financial resources in relationships shaped by China's unique land system. For the villagers, the key to their housing construction and leasing activities was their allocated homestead land[95]. Only

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[94] Bed numbers estimated from data collected from C-trip and Booking.com, including both single beds and double beds. Considering some guesthouses are not listed on those websites, the actual bed number is bigger.

[95] According to the dual urban-rural land system established in 1958 (Gu et al., 2020). Chinese citizens are classified as rural (agricultural) or urban (non-agricultural) households (or *hukou*), which correspond to particular welfare systems and land property rights (Gu et al., 2020). Rural *hukou* is associated with rural contracted land and homesteads while urban hukou may lead to higher income, improved social status, and better public services (L. Zhang & Tao, 2012). Homesteads are the portions allotted to rural *hukou* from the collective lands owned by the village government for building homes (Long et al., 2014). Only rural *hukou* holders registered in the local *hukou* system can own or purchase land for housing

local residents with a rural hukou were allowed to acquire land and build houses, while the investors, who were often urban hukou holders, could not purchase land in the village. But investors often had greater financial resources. They rented houses from villagers and could afford to adapt houses into guesthouses. They brought capital into play which allowed villagers to acquire land and construct new houses. The interactions between the villagers and investors increased building numbers and functions in four different ways:

- Type 1- Regeneration

This refers to the construction of new properties for lease: villagers lease one property to non-local investors and live in another property. For example, informant Lu leased a new modern house near the road to investors, which was turned into a guesthouse, Duoduoyunge (朵朵云阁) (the location of the guesthouses can be found in Appendix 2). But Lu's family still lives in a small one-story old house in the middle of the village.

- Type 2 – Cohabitation

This refers to the villagers that lease the upper part of the property and live on the first floor of the houses, so the investors and the villagers share one single building (see 7.4.1, House Type G & H). For example, a villager rented the upper floors of his house to the neighboring guesthouse Yunshuijian (云水间) as extra guestrooms.

- Type 3 – Commercialization

This refers to the villagers that use residences to operate tourism-related businesses. This includes a small group of richer villagers who have homesteads near the road and use their houses to operate homestays. For example, the guesthouses Xingyunkezhan (星云客栈) and Richukezhan (日出客栈).

- Type 4 – Speculation

In this type, villagers often have multiple properties and land parcels. They lease the houses, use the rent paid by the investors to purchase more land, and construct new houses for

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construction, and homestead land cannot be transferred to urban residents (Gu et al., 2020). According to the Land Administration Law of the People Republic of China, one rural *hukou* holder can own one piece of land for building a house, with the area not exceeding the standards provided for by provinces, autonomous regions, and municipalities.

In Pugaolaozhai, homestead land has been redistributed among family members. With a new hukou, a family can also purchase homestead land from other families or convert other types of rural land (such as farmland) into homestead land. Some families (one family might have several hukou) have two or even multiple land parcels. Those land parcels will only be converted and registered as homesteads before housing construction. It must be noted here that although according to the law, one hukou can only have one homestead, this study revealed that some families have multiple houses. One possible explanation is that the family registered the different homesteads under multiple hukou within the family.

rent. For example, informant Pu has two properties. He built the first house in 2014 and leased it. The house was turned into the guesthouse Wumiaoyunju (雾缈云居). In addition, his farmland was acquired by the government and he was given a compensation fee of 200,000 yuan. By using the rent and the land compensation money, Pu then purchased several land parcels near the road, built a new house next to the first house, and planned to lease the second house. Another example is the wealthiest family in Pugaolaozhai. The family accumulated wealth through multiple housing construction and leasing activities, and now owns a total of three houses in Pugaolaozhai (one empty old house, and two unfinished modern houses). The family now lives in and operates a homestay in the neighboring Huangcaoling Village.

The TA controlled the increasing density of built space by regulating land-use expansion and building height. Early in 2012, a building regulation was issued by the Yuanyang Government to prepare for the heritage nomination. The regulation set a building height of 2.5 stories and specified that new housing construction could only start with a land-use permit issued by the TA. On receiving the application, the TA would visit the site first, and would only issue the permit if the buildings would not block the landscape view or damage the landscape quality. However, triggered by the inscription in 2013, a construction boom started within the heritage site. Many new buildings were constructed without authorization and many newly constructed houses exceeded the height limit. The new, higher houses were seen as a blight to the heritage site, and the SACH officials urged the local authorities to regulate the site. To curb illegal construction, a building regulating project was carried out from 2014 to 2019[96] (Figure-37). The building regulation set a new building height limit at 3.5 stories since so many buildings had exceeded the previous limit of 2.5 stories. Acting upon the new regulation, buildings that exceeded the limit were shortened. To secure an open view of the terraced landscape, the TA restricted the issuing of construction permits and forbid construction in certain locations, including spaces near the parking lot and the roadside area.

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[96] The project covered the most visited area of the heritage site, and Pugaolaozhai was one of the 'key' villages to regulate. In this project, unauthorized houses were pulled down, including most of those located near the road. According to the documentation from the TA, a total of 35 houses were identified as 'illegal', mostly because of building without permission and exceeding the height limit. Among those, 13 were demolished, while others were required to register their homestead or remove the excessive stories.

Figure- 37. Example of the demolished unauthorized buildings
Source: author (made based on images provided by TA)

7.3 Centrality

Centrality refers to the polarization of space and attractiveness of a place. The centrality of touristic places can be understood by the recognition or significations a place accumulates in a touristic sense, and by material manifestations such as events, facilities, and actors. The centrality of Pugaolaozhai within the region has been firmly established - according to the TA, Pugaolaozhai has the most guesthouses and beds, and accommodates more tourists than other villages in the region.

The symbolic centrality of the village was initiated by the TA. In the strategic development plan of the early 2010s, Pugaolaozhai was positioned as a village where accommodation services should be developed. Such a policy attracted many investors to open guesthouses. As more investors arrived, more guesthouses appeared, as well as other facilities like restaurants. The guesthouses accommodate diverse groups of customers. For example, photography lovers often favor Xiaoma's photography guesthouse (小马哥摄影客栈), since its manager is an amateur photographer and knows could help tourists optimize their photo shooting itinerary. Foreign tourists stay mostly in Jacky's Guesthouse (水云间), Timeless Hostel Yuanyang (久居元阳), and Green Hostel & Sunny Guesthouse (阳光客栈) since their managers speak foreign languages. Group tourists tend to stay in Ai'shanglu (爱上路), which has established business relations with tourism agencies. Young backpackers often choose the International Youth Hostel because of its cheap price. Self-driven tourists like to stay in the guesthouses in the roadside area because of the availability of parking. The wide range of room types and prices has offered tourists more options to choose from, and Pugaolaozhai has become very popular among tourists. For the investors, Pugaolaozhai has been an ideal place to make investments. Before the year 2013, few places provided accommodation services near Duoyishu Viewing Platform, and renting houses from farmers was cheap. As recounted by Jack, the owner of Jacky's Guesthouse (水云间), the guesthouses in the early 2010s were highly profitable. When he opened his guesthouse, there was only one other guesthouse - the Green Hostel & Sunny Guesthouse (阳光客栈) which had opened in the year 2005. During peak season, his guesthouse was often fully booked for over a month. The rent was less than 10,000 yuan per house per year, and several weeks' worth of revenue would cover the rent. Attracted by low rents, high demand, and limited competition, a few other pioneering guesthouses opened in the early 2010s and were also highly profitable, such as Xiaoma's photography guesthouse(小马哥摄影客栈), K2 International Youth Hostel, and Timeless Hostel Yuanyang (久居元阳). The success of the pioneering guesthouses consequently attracted more investors, and the existing guesthouse owners planned to expand their businesses. By 2016, the average rent increased to nearly 30,000 yuan per house, and the

number of guesthouses kept increasing.

However, the centrality of Pugaolaozhai remained limited to tourism. Many facilities and services were developed exclusively for tourists. But for the local population, Pugaolaozhai was peripheral. For inhabitants within the heritage site (including villagers from Pugaolaozhai), the towns of Xinjie, Shengcun, Panzhihua were the regional centers, where they went regularly shopping and for other services such as post offices, hospitals, or banks. Pugaolaozhai was not an attractive place to work for the younger generation. Gao1, a young man in his early 20s who recently returned from Kunming and became a manager of a restaurant and a guesthouse during the winter holiday, explained:

> *"I have lots of pressure because of the neighbors (who said that I shouldn't be coming back) …I thought I could stay close to my family and earn some money from the tourists, but they do not understand…If the business goes well, I can earn three or four thousand a month. But the living expenses are quite low. Outside I can earn more, but the living expenses are high…Most of the young people work in cities… (They thought) working in big cities is better, staying here is useless, and a man should make a career in the outside world." (Gao1, 2019)*

The other villagers could not understand why Gao1 wanted to return. Although tourism brings opportunities to make a decent living in the region, Gao1's words clearly show that for most of the local population city life continues to be more attractive. In fact, most of the young people from Pugaolaozhai still chose to work in cities such as Nanshan, Kunming, or even in Guangzhou Province. This out-migration has resulted in a high rate of unused and empty buildings. As observed on-site, among the 192 private properties studied, about 30 (15.6 % of the total houses) were left vacant or abandoned.

7.4 From common space to public space

As outlined in the theoretical discussion, there are two primary types of shared space. Traditional common space is used by the local population and is associated with traditional activities. This type of space is an indicator of rurality. The emergence of public space, where anonymous individuals meet, points toward urbanity.

Observations made in Pugaolaozhai suggest that village common spaces and the

associated traditional activities have been diminishing[97] (Figure- 38, Figure- 39). The disappearance of traditional common space is related to the modernized lifestyle of the villagers. For example, the village gate has become less frequented by the villagers, and the traditional activities are no longer performed. The original gate of Pugaolaozhai was highly symbolic and was framed by two trees[98]. Each year during the Angmatu Festival, religious sacrifice rituals would be performed near the entry gate (Q. Wang, 2018). However, now a parking lot has been constructed near the village gate, and the gate of trees has been replaced by an entrance formed by two small kiosks. According to the elderly villagers, in other common spaces like the sacred woods, the divine tree, the sacrifice house, and the Moqiu field, traditional sacrifice activities are less frequent or have been simplified. For example, in January of the Hani Calendar, the Angmatu festival is held regularly before spring plowing. Traditionally, one villager from every household would take part in the sacrifice activities. The rituals would be performed at the sacrifice house, then the sacrifice (the livestock) would be slaughtered near the sacred tree of the sacred woods to worship the mountain gods and the spirits of the ancestors. The sacrifice would be cooked and distributed to each household. Villagers would get together for dinner at the sacred tree or sacred woods. Nowadays, those sacrifice activities have been much simplified. As recounted by Pu, a young local woman who worked at the K2 Hostel,

> *"We still celebrate the traditional events and festivals, but fewer people attend the festival…Traditionally, when celebrating Angmatu festival, we would gather together at the sacrifice to perform the ritual. We would divide the sacrifice and each family would get its share, and then we all eat together… But now not every family can come because many are working in cities. We do not divide the sacrifice anymore. We simply cook the sacrifice and eat together."*
> *(Pu1, 2019)*

Apart from the simplified ritual during the Angmatu festival, the Kuzhazha festival has also become less popular among the villagers. The Kuzhazha festival is held in June of

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[97] Traditionally, Hani villages usually contain a set of public elements for performing traditional rituals or agricultural activities, including the Moqiu field (for celebrating Zhazha Festival), the sacred woods, the divine tree, the sacrifice house, the village gate, the public pool, the water-powered roller (for grinding grain), the house of the water-operated tilt hammer (for hulling rice), the water mill and the manure pit. In Pugolaozhai, not all traditional elements were present.

[98] According to Hani tradition, the village gate can be tangible or symbolic and has various forms. The symbolic village gates are usually formed by a straw rope tied to two big trees at the entrance of the gate. At one end of the straw rope a chicken skin stretched with bamboo chips is hung, and the other end a dog skin or dog foot is hung. In the middle, wooden knives, wooden forks, and a wooden mallet are hung (SACH, 2013). Whatever form it takes, it symbolizes the boundaries between the realms of the living and the dead.

the Hani calendar when rice seedlings start to ear and flower. Villagers would install a seesaw at the Moqiu field and over a week, they would play with the seesaw, sing songs and amuse themselves. According to Pu and Gao, nowadays, the seesaw might be set up but people are not interested in playing with it. The public pools also play a less important role in villagers' everyday lives. They used to be the only water resource in the villages. But with the installation of running water in each house, public pools are only used as backup sources when there is a water outage.

Figure- 38. The current public space and traditional common space (2019)

a.   Public pool; b. restored public pool with signage; c. public square; d. restored sacrifice house; e. parking lot.

Source: author
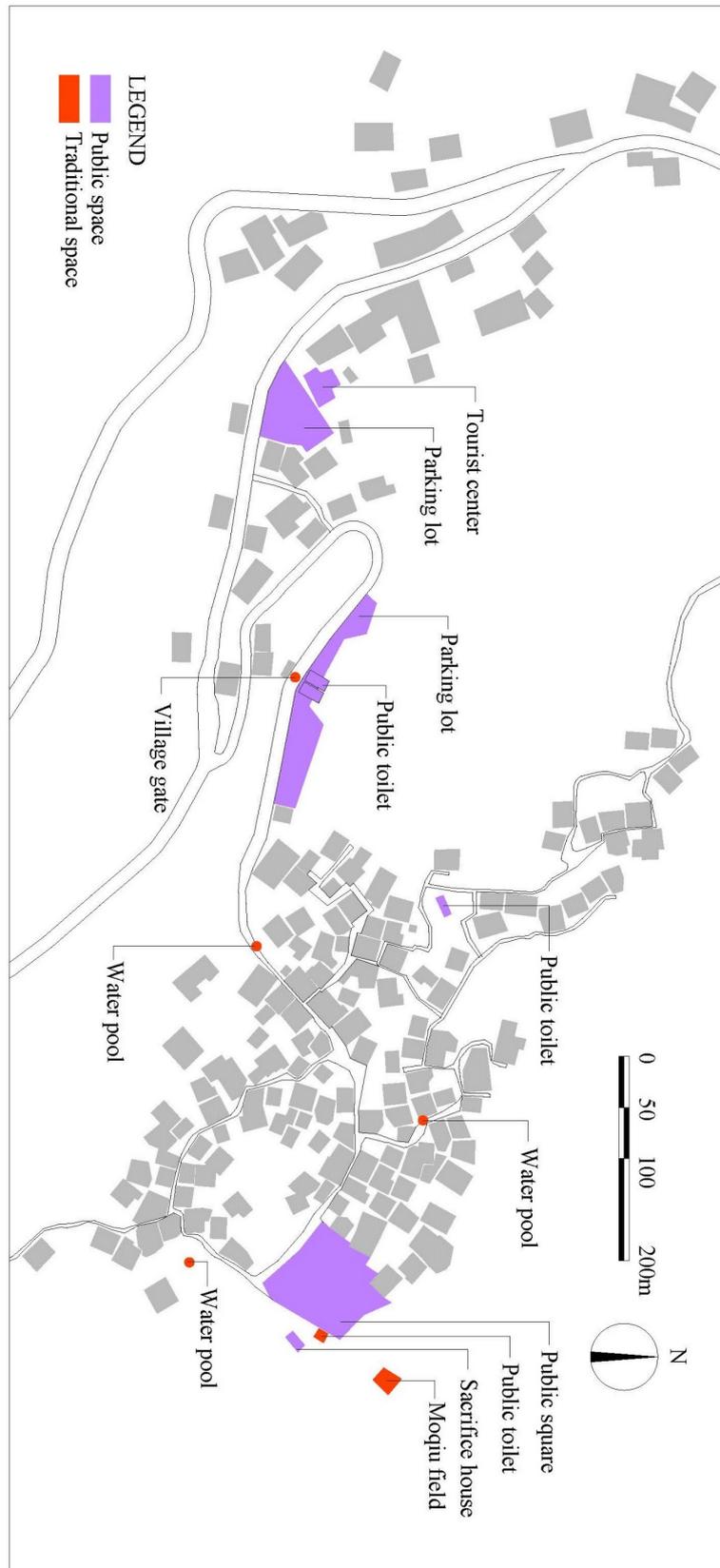
Figure- 39. . The location of traditional common spaces and modern public space[1]

Source: author (base map based on Google Earth image, data based on site survey, photos from the author)

Not only were the traditional common spaces much less used, but they were also less known among the younger generation. When asked about the exact locations of the traditional common spaces, my informants often look confused and answered with uncertainty, e.g., "there is no such thing as a village gate", "the sacred woods? I have never heard of it. It might be near …" (Gao1,2019), "I never heard of the village gate" (Pu1, 2019), "I have no idea where the village gate is", "I heard about the sacred woods, but I am not sure about its location" (Gao2, 2019). As I asked for further detailed information from Gao1 about how traditional events and festivals were practiced nowadays, Gao1 said

> *"If you really want to know about the Hani Culture, sister (me), I suggest you go to the Hani museum. The Hani museum seems to have a lot of books on that. Or you can look for it on the internet… Hopefully, you will find some useful information…Our generation knows very little about it… the young people only play with their cellphones…Anyway, the traditions are disappearing." (Gao1, 2019)*

Gao1's words suggest that the best source of information is not from the local people. The traditions are not as closely linked with everyday life as before and are increasingly replaced by new forms of entertainment – cellphones and the internet. Since young people are less involved, they lack traditional knowledge. To make sure that I had the best source of information, Gao1 even suggested I go to the museum, meaning that the traditions were better documented by the experts and the archives rather than by the indigenous population who had created them.

While traditional space was disappearing, public space was emerging. Contributing to this process was the TA, who renovated both the traditional spaces and the public spaces though a top-down planning process. On the one hand, the traditional space was gradually turned into a public space used by anonymous individuals – the tourists. The traditional landmarks- the water pools (Figure-38), sacrifice house, and Moqiu field were renovated and signage systems were installed. Tourists stopped at those places to learn about the names and functions of the traditional relics and activities. At the same time, public space used by anonymous individuals (tourists) was emerging. A parking lot was constructed near the village gate, mostly used by road trippers and guesthouse owners. The public square at the edge of the village was beautified as a sight-seeing spot, where tourists often stopped to view or photograph the rice terrace landscape. The main pedestrian paths were hardened and equipped with dustbins and signage systems so that tourists could have an enjoyable travel experience and find directions. At the time of the field research, another parking lot and a new tourist center were under construction.

7.5 Architectural styles

As laid out in the theoretical section, vernacular architecture acts as one indicator of rurality, while monumental and urban architectural forms indicate urbanity. Observations in Pugaolaozhai suggest that the architectural type has been changing from rural to a combination of rural and urban characteristics. The vernacular architectural style is represented by the mushroom house – the basic traditional dwelling unit of a Hani Village. The mushroom houses in Pugaolaozhai have one to three floors, clay or brick walls, wooden windows, and traditional mushroom rooftops (Figure40-a). The ground floor is often used as an animal shelter, while the second floor is the living space. Traditional mushroom houses are disappearing. In 2014, 17 houses mostly built in the 1980s were designated as "protected traditional dwellings" (Documentation, 2014). By 2019, those traditional dwellings were in dilapidated condition, and many of them had been abandoned.

The architectural style of the houses has been developing urban characteristics. New houses were built with concrete and bricks, and over the years, building materials, size, structure, building elements, and housing functions have changed. Houses constructed in the early 2000s cover a larger floor area than the mushroom houses. They often have two floors, the walls are made from bricks, the doors and window frames are metal, and the window panes are glass (Q. Wang, 2018) (Figure-40.b). Like the traditional mushroom cottages, in some buildings, the first floor is used as a storage room while the second floor is used as a living space. Houses constructed in the early 2010s continue to grow in size. They often have two or three floors (Figure 40-c) and cover a larger floor area than the houses constructed in the 2000s. Residences were often built by layer - villagers tended to build only one or two stories at first because of limited funds and then added another story when they had enough savings. The first floor was no longer used as storage but as living space. Growing numbers of residences were converted into guesthouses. The guesthouses often had three floors, small windows, and a small roof on top (Figure 40-d). Since 2015, new building elements have appeared, including the floor-to-ceiling windows now widely seen in new guesthouses located at the edge of the village (Figure 40-.e). Those rooms often face the terraced landscape. The big windows maximize the landscape view and increase the room price. Meanwhile, influenced by the tourist guesthouse industry, residential houses grew increasingly like guesthouses. For example, large glass windows appeared in residences, even those without direct views of the terraced landscape. The glass sliding doors used in guesthouses also appeared in many residences. Mixed-use buildings began to become more widespread. These were shared by the guesthouse owner and the villagers (Figure 40-f). The villagers used part of the ground floor while the renters took the rest of the building, and

residential spaces and guesthouses often had separate entrances. Some guesthouses expanded and incorporated the neighboring residences, forming a mixed-use building group (Figure 40-g). New residential buildings constructed since 2018 were often constructed with one complete concrete frame instead of by layers. Building size continued to grow, with the largest house reaching a total area of around 450 m2 (Figure 40-i). There are often three stories high, with similar-sized rooms and big windows. They closely resemble the guesthouses built in recent years. Many buildings built in 2018 were left unfinished (with only the frame finished) for several years. The evolution of building styles shows that the building sizes are becoming bigger, building elements are becoming more modern, and building structures are being adapted to resemble the touristic guesthouses refurbished by urbanites. To conclude, the transformation from a vernacular architectural style to a more urbanized architectural style is evident.

Type	a	b	c	d	e	f	g	h	I
Function	Residential			Guesthouses		Mixed use		Residential/undefined	Guesthouses
Height and floor area	1, 2, or 2.5 stories; small building floor area (approx. 50 m²); floor height approx..2.5m.	2.5 stories; medium building floor area (approx. 100-200 m²); floor height approx. 2.8 m.	3.5 stories; big building floor area has got bigger (from d. approx..200 to i, approx. 450 m²), compared with the traditional mushroom cottage (a) is impressively big; floor height approx.3.0m.						
Building techniques	Traditional; wooden structure, stones, clay bricks walls.	Modern; concrete and bricks; often built by layers.	Modern; concrete and bricks; often built by firstly constructing the frames.						
Building elements	Doors and windows were made from wood and small in size; the roof was made from straw or metal.	Windows and doors were bigger than types a and b; modern sliding glass doors were used, as well as metal anti-theft doors; sometimes the windows of the newly added houses were bigger; most had thatched roofs on top.	The guesthouses developed in early years often had small windows (e.g. d), and those developed later often have bigger window size (e.g. e/f/g); unfinished residences often have big windows (e.g. h); use modern sliding glass doors, metal anti-theft doors; mostly have (or will be installed with) thatched roofs on top.						

Figure- 40 (a-i). Illustration of building types and development timelines

Source: author

Figure- 41. Standardized façade painting and thatch roof (2019)

Source: author

But the vernacular architecture style has not disappeared. Many of the modern buildings have maintained a certain visual continuity and resemble the mushroom houses. They have been decorated with two salient features from the traditional dwellings: yellow walls and thatched roofs (Figure- 41). The walls have been painted in earthy yellow to resemble clay bricks, and sometimes lines were drawn on the concrete walls to mimic the gaps between bricks. The facade paint and techniques vary because of the different construction teams used in different years. Houses painted in the earlier years were earthy yellow with lines to mimic the bricks; those painted later were with a brighter yellow, and the most recent trend was bumpy facades painted in a dark yellow color. The thatched roof was adapted to different buildings. One entire thatch roof usually covers buildings with a small floor area. For bigger buildings, the thatched roof often only covers one small equipment room. The continuity of the building appearance and the adaptation of traditional elements shows that the architecture is not completely urban, but a mix of rural vernacular and urban.

The villagers and investors contributed to the urbanization of building styles while the authorities contributed to the restructuring of the vernacular building elements. After renting houses from the villagers, investors often refurbished the residences in more modern styles. For example, in the early 2010s, the guesthouses were often converted from two-story residences. To increase room numbers, the investors often added one or two stories. In addition, the urban investors also used modern architectural styles such as big glass windows and glass sliding doors. The booming guesthouse industry not only influenced the villagers to refurbish new houses to accommodate potential

investors but also influenced the building aesthetic of residences for villagers. As one informant, Pu, described, when constructing houses, villagers purposefully adapted guesthouses structurally so that the buildings could have many rooms of similar size, making the houses more attractive for potential investors. Moreover, villagers often copied the building style of the guesthouses operated by the urbanites, which they perceive as very stylish. For example, floor-to-ceiling windows used by guesthouses to maximize views of the terraced landscape also appeared in residences, although the villagers do not appreciate the view in the way that the tourists do. But the new building elements were seen by the government and experts as having adverse impacts on the character of traditional buildings. To preserve the traditional building character and improve the visual quality of the heritage site, the TA carried out a building beautification project to unify the facades and rooftops - the most visible part of buildings.

7.6 Conclusions and discussion

This study examines the tourism-triggered urbanization process in China's rural hinterlands. In the case of Pugaolaozhai Village, the study suggests that tourism can be an important trigger of urbanization. Evidence of urbanization can be observed in the following changes. Firstly, both density and diversity have increased. The density of the built space has increased because of the growing number of buildings on limited land parcels and the expanding building size. Economic activities were diversified, as the commercial and public land-use types increased. The population density and diversity also increased, as urban immigrants and tourists from all over the world arrived in the area. Secondly, Pugaolaozhai has developed centrality in a touristic sense. It has become known as the place for accommodation services and contains the largest number of guesthouses among all villages within the heritage site. Thirdly, traditional common space has been disappearing and public space has been emerging. Festivals and sacrifice rituals associated with traditional common spaces have become simplified and are less practiced, and traditional common spaces have been remade as tourist attractions. Public spaces used by tourists have increased, including parking lots and tourist centers. Finally, the architectural style has been developing urban characteristics. New houses use modern building techniques and materials, are notably larger, and use building elements that reflect modern aesthetics.

However, the empirical evidence also shows that Pugaolaozhai is far from completely urban but is rather characterized by a hybrid mix of rural and urban. The density of the built environment has increased but is not significantly higher than other non-touristic villages in the region. The economic activities have been diversified, but farming remains the primary economic activity. Pugaolaozhai is central for tourists and non-local investors but remains peripheral for the locals. The ongoing rural-urban migration led to a significant number of unused buildings. Tradition common space still exists and

is used for traditional activities. Some of the vernacular architectural elements, such as the thatched roof and façade color, have been integrated into new houses.

The study also reveals how urbanization is linked with the activities of the direct actors on site. The locals and non-local investors contributed to the growth of density and diversity. Conditioned by China's unique land system, locals actively mobilized their homestead land to construct buildings, and outsiders used their financial resources to lease those properties and operate businesses. The TA limited the density by mobilizing legal resources to control building height and land-use expansion. The village's centrality was firstly established by the TA by officially promoting the guesthouse industry in Pugaolaozhai and was built up by investors and locals who developed touristic services. The urbanized lifestyles of the locals led to the disappearance of traditional common spaces, while the top-down conservation activities by the TA created more public spaces. Finally, the evolution of architectural styles was co-produced by the three types of actors. Both villagers and investors adapted buildings with more urban elements while the authorities required traditional elements on building facades.

The persistence of "non-urban" rurality suggests that planetary urbanization occurs in different degrees at different times and places. Unlike the Alps, where rural places have developed a very high degree of urbanization in the context of tourism, the case in China reveals a limited level of urbanization similar to what has been observed in Jamaica (Brooks, 2018). This study also enriches the notion of destinations' qualities by clarifying what constitutes the non-urban. Since the urban is a relative concept and the development of urbanity is a process, what original qualities does a place possess before it turns completely urban? How can the transformation process be traced in indicators of urbanity? This case suggests that what constitutes the non-urban must be understood in a relational, place-specific context. For example, this study focuses on places in rural settings, hence rurality was considered as non-urban, and indicators were modified to study the transformation from rural to urban. For destinations in other settings, such as remote natural areas, perhaps the non-urban could be categorized as "wilderness" and indicators should be accordingly specified.

Chapter 8

The entanglements of power in place making –
a case study of Azheke

This chapter analyzes how power relations shape destination places. Using Azheke Village as a case study, it seeks answers to (1) Who are involved in the construction of destinations and what are their roles? (2) What are their objectives towards destinations? (3) How do they negotiate with each other in destination constructions?

To answer the questions, this chapter draws upon the theory of place-making from Lew (2017), the entanglements of power from Sharp et al. (Sharp et al., 2000), and Few's (2002) mechanism of interactions in negotiations. Here this chapter firstly gives a brief introduction to Azheke, then presents the analytical framework to uncover the entanglements of power (domination/ resistance) in the formation of destination qualities (including builtscape, people's activities, and mindscape). Finally, it applies the framework to examine the case of Azheke.

Azheke Village (Figure- 42) is located within the World Heritage Site of Honghe Hani Rice Terraces (later referred to as "Hani Terraces") in Yunnan Province in Southern China. It covers 1.43 km², had 67 households,   and had 429 residents in the year 2015 (*Azheke Traditional Dwelling Restoration Project*, 2016). The inhabitants belong to the Hani ethnic minority. Azheke is the best-preserved and most visited village in the area[99], known for its traditional "mushroom cottage" dwellings. Agriculture has historically been the primary employment, but now an increasing number of working-age residents have become migrant workers. Like many other rural villages in China's remote mountain regions, it suffered from poverty and rural decline.

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[99] There are 82 villages in the property area, but only Azheke and Yakou Village have maintained most of their traditional dwellings. Azheke is easily accessible and popular among tourists. Yakou is much less visited because it is located far from the central touristic region and is not accessible by public transport.

Figure- 42. Azheke Village (2019)
Source: author

As a destination, Azheke has been receiving an increasing number of visitors in the past few years. However, the number of tourists remains small and highly seasonal. Most of the tourists arrive during the Spring Festival (Chinese New Year, usually in January or February) and the National Holiday (the first week in October). During the National Holiday in 2019, the maximum number of daily visitors reached 279[100]. Most tourists choose to have a short trip to Azheke to see the mushroom houses.

The development of Azheke into a touristic destination can be described in three stages, with different actors involved in different stages. The first stage is pre World Heritage stage (before 2012). During this stage, Azheke had no touristic facilities. It occasionally received tourists and developed a reputation among local tour guides as an authentic Hani Village where Hani people still live traditionally. Building construction by then remained spontaneous without the intervention of the local authorities. The second stage is the initial tourism development (2012 - 2017). Azheke began to receive more tourists and the local authorities started to control construction activities. Architects were involved in its conservation and outside investors started to invest. The third phase started in 2018. During this stage, while the renovation of the dwelling continued, the Yuanyang Government invited a team of tourism academics[101] to develop tourism. With the help of tourism experts, the Azheke Plan (2018-2020), a three-year-long pro-poor tourism plan, was launched. A collective Azheke Tourism Cooperative was

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[100] No historical data on visitors' number is available, since the ticket office was only established in the year 2019. This recent data was provided by one informant from the Azheke's ticket office.
[101] The team was led by professors from School of Tourism Management from Sun Yet-sen University. The team members were master and PhD students. In China, tourism academics often engage in substantial practice-oriented activities including providing tourism consultation and developing tourism planning for developers and the government.

established to manage the tourism development of the village.

8.1 Theoretical context: unpack the entanglements of power in place making

As presented in the theory chapter, a new analytical framework is proposed to unpack the entanglements of power (Figure- 6). This framework suggests that the investigation of power can follow four steps. Step one starts from identifying tools of place making, including elements of the material, human activities, mindscape that are essential to the destination's qualities. Step two traces the human agencies involved in the construction of the destination and their different motives. Step three positions actors on the spectrum of domination/resistance. And finally, step four analyzes the mobilization of resources and the use of tactics and strategies by both sides.
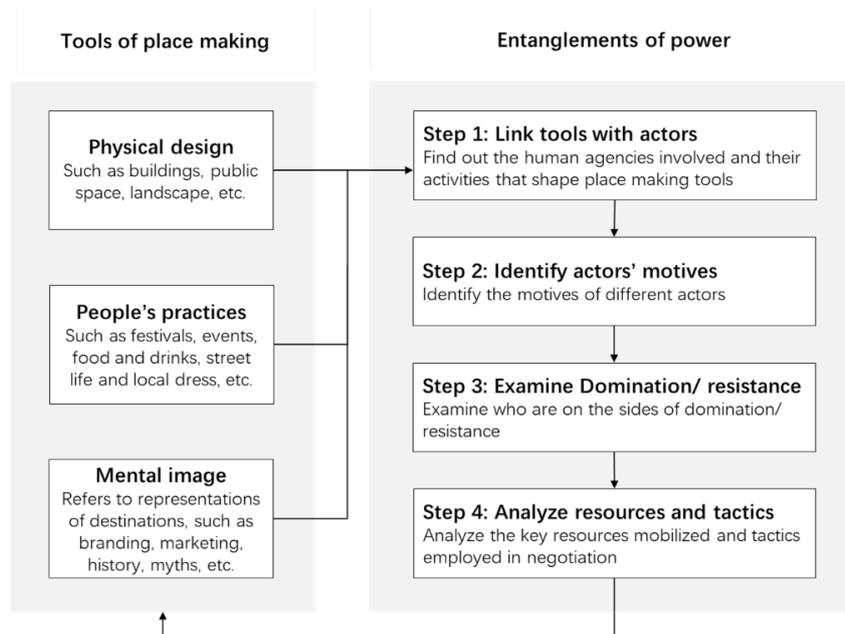
Figure- 6. An analytical framework for entanglements of power in destination place making
Source: author, based on Few (2002), Lew (2017), and Sharp et al. (2000)

8.2 Place making tools and actors

After the initial stage, tourism development in Azheke was a top-down process. The authorities of the TA and the Yuanyang Government were the initiating groups. Architects, developers, and tourism experts were gradually involved and assumed different roles in the construction of the built environment, tourism activities, and

marketing process (Table- 9) [102].

Place making tools		Actors and activities
The built environment	The village and its dwellings, public spaces, public furniture such as signage, dustbin, etc.	Villager: spontaneous construction of houses (traditional or modern) and roads. Local authorities: regulated construction by the villagers, launched projects to renovate village public spaces and villager's houses. Architects: developed conservation plans for the village and guided building renovations. Investors: invested, adapted renovation of traditional dwelling into commercial space.
People practices	Villager's daily activities, shops and restaurants, and tourist activities organized by Azheke	Villagers: conducted everyday living activities (farming, dress in traditional costumes, etc.), operated shops and restaurants, worked for Azheke Tourism Cooperative on daily management and the organization of tourist activities. Local authorities: regulate investors, invited tourism experts, and assisted their work. Investors: invested, operating café and hostels. Tourism experts: founded the Azheke Tourism Cooperative that manages all the tourism, created tourist activities, manages the commercial space, and hires villagers for daily management and the organization of tourist activities.
Mental image	Word of mouth reputation Marketing and branding	Local tour guide: discovered Azheke and established the initial image of Azheke. Architects: highlighted the importance of Azheke as a traditional Hani village. Local authorities, tourism experts: continued to forge and market Azheke as a unique Hani village.

Table- 8. Place making tools, actors, and activities in Azheke

Source: author

Table- 8 presents the tools of place making and the corresponding actors and activities. The built environment developed from an organically evolved Hani village built by the indigenous people into a well-regulated scenic spot co-produced by local authorities and professional architects. Local authorities (the TA) first started intervention in the year

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[102] It should be noted that the international heritage authorities, such as UNESCO and its advisory bodies, also an important part of the entanglement, are seen as indirect stakeholders and hence not the focus of discussion here. As discussed in Chapter 4, they co-produce the official discourse by creating and managing the heritage system, evaluating the nomination, communicating with the member state, assigning the site with certain typologies and finally monitoring the site. The established official heritage discourse served as an overarching guideline that local authorities and experts then wove into the construction of local institutions, conservation guidelines, and tourism development plans. Such processes could therefore be seen as entanglements beyond the local level, and the international heritage authorities are seen as indirect actors who co-produce the site by interacting with other local stakeholders.

2012, and before that housing construction was spontaneously carried out by the villagers (Figure- 43 to Figure- 46). To prepare for the World Heritage nomination, a series of building regulations were made and the conversion of the traditional dwellings into modern houses was not allowed. The TA also launched a renovation project in 2012 to prepare for ICOMOS experts' official visit. In this project, the symbolic thatch roofs of the mushroom cottage were recovered, other modern elements that contradict the traditional style were changed, and part of the damaged road was restored (Figure- 47, Figure- 48). But due to time limits and budgetary constraints, this project was rather "face-lifting", and most of the houses remained in dilapidated conditions. After achieving World Heritage Site status in the year 2013, the TA has been working to control spontaneous construction [103] by the villagers (Figure- 49, Figure- 50), meanwhile working with architects on conservation. They designated 51 houses as national "traditional dwellings", developed conservation plans, and conducted renovation projects. As a result, traditional dwellings were gradually renovated[104], public spaces and the general infrastructure were improved, and touristic facilities (including signage systems and viewing platforms) were built (Figure- 51 to Figure- 56). Two private companies were involved in 2017. They rent a total of seven dwellings and adapted them following the original style for commercial purposes.

Figure- 43. Dwellings in Azheke (2012)

Source: TA

Figure- 44. Dwellings in Azheke (2012)

Source: TA

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[103] Spontaneous construction refers to construction without the permission of the TA, including buildings that exceeded the permitted number of stores, bunkhouse, or structures.

[104] The interior of the houses was adapted to accommodate modern living demands. Traditionally, the mushroom cottage has three floors: the ground floor is the animal house for cattle, pig and other livestock, the second floor is living space and the top floor is for food storage (L. Zhu, 2016). Nowadays, the restored mushroom cottages are bigger and more modern. The ground floors that traditionally housed animals were made into living spaces. For that, the ground was excavated by a half meter to increase the room height and the wall was opened to place windows. Several small separate bedrooms were created for different family members. All the new windows were bigger for more natural sunlight. The height of the second floor was also increased almost by half a meter. The bedroom and living room which used to share one space are now segregated. Damaged wooden floors, pillars, and stairs were replaced. Facilities including tap water, kitchen sinks, and sometimes bathrooms were installed. In some buildings, a side room was added.

Figure- 45. Public space in Azheke (2012)
Source: TA

Figure- 46. Water well in Azheke (2012)
Source: TA

Figure- 47. Illustration of the recovered thatched roof
from the renovation project (2012)
Source: TA
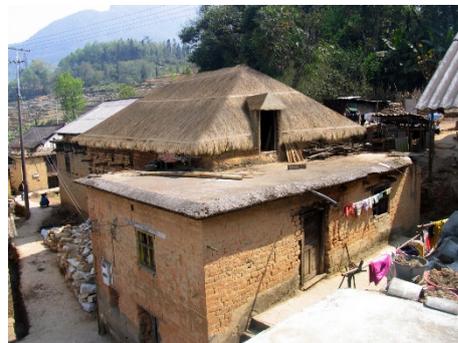
Figure- 48. Illustration of the recovered thatched roof from
the renovation project (2012)
Source: TA

Figure- 49. The TA was negotiating with the villager
on spontaneous construction (2014)
The villager refused to sign the construction regulating
sheet. Source: TA

Figure- 50. The viewing platform built by villagers in
farmland (2016)
Source: TA

Figure- 51. The built environment - the rooves were restored (2016)

Source: Ctrip[105]

Figure- 52. The restored built environment – with renovated road and roofs (2019)

Source: author

Figure- 53. Public square and signage system (2019)

Source: author

Figure- 54. The touristic signage system (2019)

Source: author

Figure- 55. Roads and ditches were hardened and rebuilt (2019)

Source: author

Figure- 56. The viewing platform built for tourists (2019)

Source: author

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[105] https://you.ctrip.com/travels/luoping676/2857136.html

Figure- 57. A tourist taking a photo of a woman doing traditional weaving (2019)

Source: author

Figure- 58. The daily scene captured by the tourist (2021)

Source: Mo[106]

Figure- 59. Weaving activities organized by the Azheke Tourism Cooperate (2020)

Source: Cai[107]

Figure- 60. Food tasting at Hani Families organized by the Azheke Tourism Cooperate (2020)

Source: Cai[108]

The people's practices include the Hani people and their traditional ways of living. Local people still like to wear local costumes and practice traditional crafts such as fabric dyeing, weaving, etc. The everyday life of Azheke villagers is a natural scene rather than a staged performance (Figure- 57, Figure- 58). Commercial valorization started in 2016 when one company specialized in homestay design and management was introduced by the chief architect. The company rented two houses and turned them into a café and an exhibition room in 2017. Another company opened a guesthouse the same year. In 2018, the Yuanyang Government invited a team of tourism academics[109] to develop tourism strategies. The tourism experts launched the Azheke Plan (2018-2020), a three-year social experiment to develop community-based tourism. The Azheke Tourism

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[106] https://dp.pconline.com.cn/photo/5105150.html

[107] http://www.wenlvnews.com/p/297121.html

[108] http://www.wenlvnews.com/p/297121.html

[109] he team was led by professors from School of Tourism Management from Sun Yat-sen University. The team members were master and PhD students from the research team. In China, tourism academicians often engage in substantial practice-oriented activities including providing tourism consultation and developing tourism planning for developers and the government.

Cooperative[110] was founded to manage all touristic activities in Azheke. A ticket office was established at the entrance of the village[111]. At the ticket office, an exhibition room was designed to display the history and cultural tradition of the Village. According to the Cooperative, A limited number of business licenses were given to villagers on a first-come, first-served basis, and a series of tourism activities (Figure- 59, Figure- 60) was organized by the Cooperative based on local natural and cultural resources.

The image of Azheke is relatively simple. Azheke has no famous people nor intriguing stories. A few films were shot here, but none are particularly well-known. Yet whether it is the marketing brochures, the online tourists' reviews, or word of mouth reputation, Azheke has a distinctive place identity as a traditional Hani Village. Such an image emerged organically among local tour guides and visitors in the early 2010s. Some local tourist hostel owners suggested to a few tourists who were seeking a more authentic experience to visit Azheke since it was one of the few villages[112] which had a substantial amount of traditional dwellings. Later, because of its well-preserved dwellings, architects suggested the local authority take strict measures to preserve it. After the area was nominated a UNESCO World Heritage Site, Azheke was treated as the key to conservation and was seen by the TA as the village with the most potential for developing tourism. With the advancement of dwelling renovation and the "Azheke Plan", the village has been increasingly promoted as an authentic Hani Village with mushroom houses and intact Hani traditions, unlike other villages which are too commercialized and inauthentic. The government and the tourism experts have been the main promotor. As for the villagers, they were not involved by the authorities in the marketing process. Besides, since they received no benefit after years of heritage status, they appear rather indifferent towards tourism. For them, such entitlement even deprived them of the right to build modern houses. But the Azheke Plan in recent years has generated income for the villagers and now some of them have started to introduce Azheke to tourists as the authentic Hani Village.

8.3 Motives of actors

Actors	Quotes	Motives
Government	"Poverty is a general issue. The well-being of the villagers is also our top concern and we want to improve their living	Develop tourism

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[110] The founding of the cooperate was initated by tourism experts and the officials from Yuanyang Government. Three people – one official, one tourism expert and one villager were chosen as representatives of the cooperate. The Azheke villagers are the member of the cooperate.
[111] The ticket office was set up by the tourism expert team together with the Yuanyang Government. A couple of villagers from Azheke are hired to work at the office. According to Azheke Plan, 30% of the ticket revenue will be allocated for the management of the office, while the 70% will be distributed among the villagers of Azheke.
[112] Another village is Yakou (垭口), but it is far from the central touristic area and is inconvenient to reach compared with Azheke.

authorities	conditions by developing tourism based on conservation." (Zhu2, 2018) "We have more than rice terraces, but also traditional Hani villages. Azheke is a must-see. It is one of the two remaining traditional Villages. They (the tourists) can see the traditional mushroom houses and Hani people dyeing cotton fabric, eat Hani food, and understand our way of living." (Xu11, 2018) "Azheke is a key element of the whole heritage system… The title is an honor for our Yuanyang County… Conservation is our priority if (Azheke were) not well-preserved and (the site was) wiped from the list, I am afraid many officials (at the county level) would lose their positions." (Xu2, 2019) "We have to deal with the inspection of the upper-level leaders (the officials from the central government)"(Ma2, 2019)	economy Improve local living conditions Preserve local culture Heritage conservation Political performance
Architect	"The mushroom cottages are very unique vernacular housing types. This project is not profitable, and I even helped the government to apply for funding. I spent a lot of effort because I want to preserve it. I did it not for the money...this project is not profitable… Lots of traditional settlements in Yunnan are disappearing and if I can save one, I will do my best." (Zhu1, 2018) "…it is reasonable that they (the villagers) want bigger houses… I want to find a way to help them renovate the houses at low cost…" (Zhu1, 2018)	Professional interest (preserve vernacular dwellings) Improve local living conditions
Investors	"The rent was cheap and we've rented a total of four buildings. We want to make a high-end lodge group, and as the only accommodation provider in the Village, we have an advantage… We offer the exclusive experience of living in mushroom cottages… Currently, it is hard to make two ends meet, but if tourism continues to grow we can make a good profit." (Tian, 2019) "It's not only about money, but also Qing-huai (情怀, refers to a deep love beyond profit). We all love the place. It's quiet, people are simple and the kids are pure… We want to preserve that but also help to lift them out of Poverty... Our lodge could open a window for the people here. We could help them to get to know a bigger world and teach them to appreciate the beauty of their home… It is boring to stay here all year round, without 'Qing-huai' one can never bear to stay so long" (Tian, 2019)	Profit-seeking Personal interest Help the locals
Tourism experts	"…what attracts tourists is the aboriginal state, the authentic flavor. They want to see a Hani Village where Hani people practice their traditions, be it farming, wood gathering, dye cloth, wine-making, etc." (Yang, 2019) "Tourism will base on an 'endogenous-community-collective' development mode... All the income belongs to the community…The project aims at fostering a sense of conservation within the community, and finding a sustainable development approach for the revitalizations and conservations of traditional rural villages." (School of	Professional interest (develop community-based tourism, preserve local culture, and improve local living conditions)

	Tourism Management, Sun Yet-sen University, 2018) "Azheke – a representative among many villages in Yuanyang Terraces…a new exploration in pro-poor tourism… a Chinese solution to global pro-poor tourism. (School of Tourism Management, Sun Yet-sen University, 2018)	
Villagers	"Although the government helps us to renovate the traditional houses, we still prefer to live in modern ones" (Pu3, 2019) "…we would love to rent our houses to businesspeople if they are interested… if we had the money, we would like to start a business with tourists." (Pu3, 2019) "…our peasants work hard all year round, and all we want is to live in big modern houses." (Ma3, 2019) "…our family is satisfied that the government helps us to renovate the houses" (Gao4, 2019) "Since we've received money a few times from the Azheke Plan, we're more willing to develop tourism" (Gao4, 2019) "We are happy with the renovation; it was a big change. I guess other households were happy too, but they would prefer to have new houses" (Gao3, 2019) "For example, before, when you stepped on the floor, the wooden floor would wobble. Now we are happy about the renovation." (Ma4, 2019)	Improve income Modern living conditions

Table- 9. Motives of stakeholders

Source: author, based on interviews

Different stakeholders expressed different interests and motives (Table-9). Common concerns over the villagers' living conditions were expressed by all actors while conflicting motives emerged between the experts' concern for the conservation of the houses and the villagers' desire for modern houses.

For the TA, the most important objective was to develop heritage tourism to support local development. Since Azheke has the resources for authentic touristic experiences, tourism was considered a fast road to poverty reduction. Preserving distinctive Hani culture is another important objective. As most of the villages have lost their traditional built-scape, Azheke was increasingly seen as a representative of Hani culture. Also emphasized was the conservation of the World Heritage site. But heritage conservation was less considered for its significance for all human beings and seen more as an indicator of local government's political performance. Since officials from the central government will visit the heritage site, if Azheke is not well preserved, it can harm the local officials' political career.

Architects were driven by their professional objectives and their concern toward the local community (Table-9). Architects see the conservation of vernacular dwellings as a priority, rather than developing the tourism economy. As stated by the chief architect,

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Azheke is one of the few places where typical traditional Hani dwellings can be found. Azheke's existence helped preserve a special dwelling type of all the Hani people of the region. At the same time, architects were concerned with the local people's well-being. As pointed out by the chief architect, he hoped to improve the living conditions of villagers while preserving the houses. For that, he adapted the houses in a way that accommodates modern living demands at an affordable cost. To further support the adaptations made, he refers to the concept of vernacularism and argues that evolution is essential to vernacular dwelling, but houses must be adapted in a way that preserves substantial continuity with the past. Radical changes were not accepted, even when modern technology had already revolutionized building styles.

The investors were motivated by both profit and personal sentiment (Table-9). They were attracted to Azheke by its low investment in the initial tourism development stage and possible high return in the long run. Although their business was not yet profitable, they believed that the growing number of tourists and the uniqueness of Azheke would make their business lucrative. However, profit alone would not make them stay. Investors, who came from urban areas, also expressed "Qing-huai" (original Chinese 情怀, meaning "a personal sentiment") towards Azheke. As recounted by an informant, life in the village was also quite boring, but "Qing-huai" made her stay. Such sentiment resides on the one hand in the rural context – the love for the natural, peaceful, simple rural life which contrasts with their urban experiences. On the other hand, it also signals a responsibility or desire to help the backward villagers to connect with a "bigger world" and become more civilized. Driven by Qing-huai, they created meaningful events to help villagers, such as providing books, screening movies, and occasionally collecting donations for kids in Azheke.

Tourism experts were driven by their professional interests, their concern for heritage conservation, and their desire to improve living standards for local villagers (Table-9). The Azheke Plan was a social experiment to develop community-based pro-poor tourism. External investors were restricted and residents were put at the center of development. In doing so, the villagers could benefit directly from tourism development, and actively preserve heritage resources. Challenging as it was, if successful, academics imagined that this development template could be applied to other similar villages in China or even the world to combat poverty and achieve development. Meanwhile, tourism experts aimed to achieve a balance between conservation and development. To preserve local culture while also providing tourists with authentic experiences, they created a list of touristic activities based on local resources, such as catching fish in the rice field, dyeing cotton fabric, and cooking Hani food.

The villagers were foremost self-serving. Having struggled with poverty, they longed for modernity and higher incomes (Table-9). They wanted to build modern houses to replace traditional dwellings. For them, the traditional dwelling is not associated with cultural values, but rather primitiveness. Conservation of Azheke's built-scape was not

welcomed in the first place, and tourism was also something imposed upon them. Conservation and tourism were only meaningful in the sense that they could general economic profit. Instead of actively supporting conservation, many villagers preferred to rent out their houses for profits. As their living conditions improved and income increased, they developed more positive attitudes toward tourism and conservation.

8.4 Domination / resistance

Place making tools	Issues of negotiation	Time	Dominations / resistances
The built-scape	Road construction	2012	TA / villagers
	Housing construction	Since 2012	TA and architects/ villagers
	Land acquisition	Since 2014	TA /villagers
People practices	Commercial activities	Since 2016	TA, Yuanyang government and tourism experts/ investors and villagers
	Benefits-sharing	2019	Tourism experts and Yuanyang government/ villages
Mental scape	none	none	none

Table- 10. Domination and resistance in place making

Source: author

The interplay between dominance and resistance was revealed through issues of negotiation in the formation of the built-scape and people practices (Table-10). Although there were various representations created around Azheke's touristic qualities, no conflicts or negotiations were observed around the village's "mental scape". In general, the authorities and experts were the dominating power, while the villagers and investors were the resisting power. Such an observation is not surprising considering conservation and tourism development in Azheke has largely been a top-down process.

In terms of the built-scape, negotiations occurred around construction and land acquisition. In 2012, the TA stopped the villagers from paving a road that could have made Azheke accessible by car. Due to building regulations that took effect in 2012, villagers were not allowed to destroy traditional houses and had to seek permission from the TA for all construction. Villagers who already planned to construct new houses had to sell the building materials they had purchased. The achievement of World Heritage status in 2013 led to a wave of spontaneous construction. Villagers not only built new houses at the top of Azheke village, but also viewing platforms near the rice terrace,

and planned to charge entry fees. Those unauthorized constructions were later demolished by the TA. In the following years, traditional houses were renovated according to the plan made by experts with the government's public budget. Since 2014, to turn Azheke into a tourist attraction, the TA acquired land from the villagers to create public spaces and improve the general infrastructure for touristic purposes. Some villagers were unwilling to sell their land because the compensation was too low. They prefer to keep the land as a homestead[113] or for growing vegetables. Considering villagers' longing for road connections, their reluctance around housing conservation, and their dissatisfaction with land transactions, they appeared to lose the negotiations. The negotiation of people's practices centered on the right to conduct commercial activities and benefit-sharing. Believing that external capital would destroy the authenticity of Azheke, the Yuanyang government and TA turned down business development proposals from big investment groups. After the Azheke Plan was implemented, all commercial activities were managed by the Azheke Tourism Cooperative, and individuals were not allowed to organize touristic activities. The cooperative permitted a certain number of houses for commercial use based on a first-come, first-served base and organized touristic activities (such as fishing, weaving, etc.) collectively. Tourism experts and the Yuanyang government had the decision-making right in the benefit-sharing plan[114], and the participation of village representatives was tokenistic[115].

8.5 Resources and tactics in negotiations

Actors	Power resources	Tactics	Results
Government authorities	legal resources (laws and regulations), financial resources, decision-making right	Persuasion, manipulation, pressure, enforcement	Dominated the overall place making process
Architects	Expertise, reputation, personal charisma	Persuasion, enrollment, compromise	Guided the formation of the built scape
Investors	Financial resources, expertise	Persuasion	Co-produced commercial space and activities

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[113] A homestead here refers to rural land that can be used for residential construction.

[114] According to the plan, 70% of the tourism revenue will be shared by all villagers and 30% will be used for the operation and management of the plan.

[115] A meeting was held to decide the ticket price and benefit sharing plan. Present at the meeting were government staff, four village representatives and tourism experts. The tourism experts announced the ticket price and benefit sharing arrangement set by the Azheke Plan. Although some villagers expressed different opinions, the plan was carried out based on the Plan pre-made by the government and tourism experts.

Tourism experts	Expertise, reputation	Persuasion, exchange, enrolment	Determined the function and usage of space
Villagers	Legal resources (property rights), social status, cultural traditions	Persuasion, non-cooperative behavior	Influenced the built-scape at a micro| level

Table- 11. Power resources and tactics in tourism place making

Source: author

Table-11 gives an overview of the resources and tactics used by different stakeholders. The following sections explain in detail the use of resources and tactics in specific situations.

Government authorities

The government authorities dominated the overall place-making process. They drew upon a blend of legal, legislative, and financial resources because of their structural position. Laws and regulations[116] regarding housing conservation and management provided the legal basis for site management. As the authorities, they also have decision-making rights. They choose which experts or investors to work with and control the issuing of construction permits to Azheke villagers. The funding from the upper-level government made it possible for them to consult experts to develop plans and strategies, and conduct projects to improve the general facilities, infrastructure, and housing conditions in Azheke.

Persuasion has been the most frequent strategy used in negotiation. Rational persuasion has been the most common type. According to the TA, to win consent from villagers on land acquisition and housing renovation, they had to talk with each household rather "nicely" and "bring out the facts and reasons" (Zhu2, 2009). Persuasion was sometimes combined with manipulation, which involves deception or control of information. To persuade the villagers to stop constructing the road, the TA told them that the government would take charge of the road construction. Manipulating information is used to reduce the possible resistance from villagers in site management. The fact that many investors came to the TA with business proposals for huge investments was kept away from the villagers. As explained by one informant from the TA, "if they (the villagers) knew that Azheke worth so much money, they would want cash and would be less cooperative" (Xu1, 2019). Manipulating also occurred in the form of controlling the order of dwelling renovation. The TA often gave priority to households that were

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[116] Azheke is part of the WHSs (inscribed in 2013), and also Chinese National Traditional Chinese Villages (inscribed in 2014). Both titles meant that Azheke fell under the protection of the Cultural Relics Protection Law of the People's Republic of China. In addition, the Yuanyang Government also made specific regulations regarding the protection of the rice terraces and traditional dwellings within the WHS.

more cooperative in housing renovation. When villagers rejected housing renovation, the TA moved on to renovate houses for others who agreed. As explained by the informant, the uncooperative villagers tended to feel regret after seeing others move into new houses, and as time passed, they would eventually agree to renovation. Although the order of renovation rested upon the willingness of villagers, the TA tapped the expected jealousy of villagers to advance dwelling renovation. Pressure was another tactic in negotiation. When one villager hesitated to sell the land during land acquisition, he was informed by the TA to pick up the compensation either from their office soon or in Xinjie County later. For the villager, picking up the money in another place was a subtle threat, and it meant that if the TA assumed that he agreed to sell the land, and if he disagreed, he could receive no money at all. Enforcement was often the last tactic used when villagers refused to follow the regulations. Despite the TA's persuasive efforts, many villagers refused to stop spontaneous construction. In such a case, the TA organized workers to tear down the unpermitted structures.

Architects

Architects played a decisive role in the transformation of the built environment. Key resources in their place making role were knowledge, reputation, and personal charisma. The chief architect Zhu1 was well recognized for his contribution to the conservation of another World Heritage site, Lijiang Old Town. His professional expertise and good reputation led the government authorities to trust him. His team developed a comprehensive renovation plan. When the TA appeared not tough enough to regulate villagers' spontaneous construction, he was able to convince them of the importance of conservation and push the TA to take stricter measures. Moreover, the chief architect was well received by the villagers during his work in Azheke. The villager described him as a "very friendly old professor with white hair" (Gao4, 2019). Unlike other officials, he was approachable despite his prestige and high social status. He even donated money to villagers in financial difficulties. Such personal charisma helped him win trust from villagers and receive more support in dwelling renovation.

Persuasion was a common tactic used to negotiate with the villagers. To convince the villagers of his renovation plan, he explained to villagers the adaptations he made to meet their requirements and assured them that the renovation was possible at a low cost. Enrollment was used to enhance the effectiveness of persuasion. The architect intentionally contacted the well-respected elder villager first. By winning the acceptance and agreement of the elder villager, the architect enlisted him as part of his network and tapped his influence to convince many other villagers. Sometimes architects also compromised to avoid further conflicts. For example, during the dwelling renovation process, one household expanded the ground floor area and added one more layer in renovation without permission. Instead of sticking to the original plan, the architects acquiesced to the expansion of the ground floor and mandated the household to remove half of the added layer.

Investors

The investors were recognized for their financial capacity and expertise to develop high-quality touristic facilities. To convince the authorities that involvement would be beneficial, they adopted both rational and inspirational persuasion. They presented a catalog of their previous successful projects and initiated a project aimed at helping the locals. The project made a list of objectives, including helping villagers to sell red rice, build a book corner, provide jobs for women, publish a book about Azheke, etc. By doing so, they demonstrated their concern towards the welfare of the local community outside of their own business, thus sharing some of the same aims as the local authorities[117].

Tourism experts

Tourism experts were the most influential in determining how space could be used, what touristic activities were allowed, and how to distribute benefits. As with the architects, they drew on resources of expertise and reputation. The leading tourism expert was very influential within the field of tourism research and planning. In China, government officials seeking professional advice often rely on academics. This meant that the tourism expert and his team benefitted from the trust of the Yuanyang government.

Exchange and persuasion were the most common tactics and were sometimes used together. Exchange was a built-in strategy in the Azheke Plan. To encourage housing conservation and community involvement, those who lived in mushroom cottages and who chose to stay in Azheke instead of moving out could receive a higher share of the ticket income. By using monetary rewards, the plan encouraged the conservation of both the built environment and the people-scape. Interestingly, persuasion was conducted more often in the form of public meetings. During the implementation of the Azheke Plan, villagers' assemblies were held periodically, and villagers gathered in the public square (Figure- 61). At the assemblies, tourism experts and government staff announced the details of the Azheke Plan, communicated the operation of Azheke Tourism Cooperative, collected villager's opinions, and distributed the profit in cash (Figure- 62). Such practices could be seen as persuasion combined with exchange. It convinced villagers of the benefits of the Azheke Plan in a very tangible way. Another tactic used was enrollment. Tourism experts worked closely with a few motivated young villagers who were well-received by the community, and they considered them as the future elites who would take over the project after they leave. The young villagers helped them to organize activities and communicate with other villagers. By enlisting the locals, the experts dispelled villagers' doubts and won the trust of villagers who originally saw

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[117] However, in later years, the investors found their businesses were not profitable and did not achieve all the objectives promised.

them as outsiders.

Figure- 61. The village assembly in which the experts and authorities present the result of the Azheke Plan and distribute revenues to villagers （2019）
Source: Yang[118]

Figure- 62. Villagers received cash in red envelopes during the assembly (2019)
Source: Cong[119]

Villagers

Although initially the creators of the traditional settlement, villagers showed a tendency to destroy the vernacular built-scape. Later on in the context of the top-down development process, they appeared to be passively governed by government authorities, architects, and tourism experts. However, they actively defended their interests and influenced the construction of dwellings at a micro-level.

Legal resource – property rights were mobilized by villagers. The building renovation was fully funded by the government, but renovation could only start when the owner consented. A few households were reluctant. According to the architect, some refused the renovation in the hope that the government would offer higher compensation. Some also came up with "excessive" requirements: "one minute they want to add a kitchen, and the next minute they want to add a toilet", and they wanted to "expand the house, increase building height, and add side rooms" (Hu, 2019). Those who refused the renovations often regretted their decision when their demands for extra space and compensation were rejected and they saw their neighbors move into renovated houses. Although the villagers often failed in negotiating their desired outcome by relying solely on property rights, they achieved some success when mobilizing their social status and cultural traditions. During the housing renovation, one household expanded the ground floor area of his house and added another floor in violation of the architects' plan. In the end, the expansion of the ground floor was permitted and only part of the added floor was removed. One architect recounted:

> "Do you know why he dares to do so? The owner is the villager leader.
> In the end, we (the TA and architects) agreed to dismantle half of the
> second floor and add a mushroom rooftop. The proportions of the

house are different from the traditional ones but we have to
compromise. We had a discussion meeting (between the architects
and the TA) discussing whether we should push them to pull down
the half floor. But the next day an old family member died, and
according to the cultural tradition here, all construction had to stop.
We felt lucky that we did not do it earlier, otherwise, they could have
put the blame (for the death of the family member) on us." (Hu, 2019)

The comment shows that as a village leader one has more capacity to negotiate. While the authorities and architects did not compromise with other villagers, they selectively gave in to someone with higher social status. Meanwhile, the villagers could blame them if they were forced to tear down the unpermitted renovation. Linking building destruction with other bad things such as the death of a family member was a superstition, yet such claims held weight among villagers.

Persuasion and non-cooperative behavior were other common tactics used, although they hardly achieved the desired result. Persuasion was often used to ask for monetary compensation or changes in the renovation plan. Non-cooperative behavior is very common on an individual basis. For example, when villagers were persuaded to pull down their unpermitted structures, they often refused to sign the agreement. In one meeting in which four village representatives were invited to voice their opinion on the benefit-sharing plan[120], one villager representative disagreed. As interpreted by one tourism expert, "they want one hundred percent, and they don't understand that we need money to operate". Afraid of offending the authorities but still wanting to express his disagreement, he refused to talk and vote. In the issue of road construction, the non-cooperative behavior was collective. One person from each household was organized to build the road, and when villagers' self-organized road construction was stopped by the TA, they started the road construction again after some time.

8.6 Conclusions

This chapter argues for a more explicit examination of the entanglements of power in the destination formation process. Instead of seeing tourism place making as conflict-free top-down or bottom-up processes (Lew, 2017), or representing only dominating groups, this study suggests the place making at destinations is interwoven in domination/ resistance in everyday mundane politics. It bridges the missing analysis of power in place making theory (Lew, 2017). The proposed framework provides a schematic for uncovering the power relations in destination place making by tracing the actors involved, their motives, the domination/ resistance relations, and the resources

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[120] Fourteen people were present at the meeting. Among them were four village representatives, one tourism expert, one official from county level government, other representatives from township government and me (as an external expert).

and tactic.

The empirical analysis of Azheke suggests the following lessons. First, various actors on-site were involved and turned Azheke into a place that could be better inhabited, preserved, and experienced. Initially formed by the organic, spontaneous activities of the villagers, in the context of heritage tourism, Azheke has been re-shaped by the entanglements of power on-site, among the actors of authorities, architects, investors, tourism experts, and villagers. Second, different actors were driven by some common and some divergent objectives. The improvement of the living conditions of the villagers was a shared objective of all actors. Meanwhile, the authorities were motivated by developing the tourism economy, preserving heritage and local traditions, and securing advancement in their political careers; the architects and tourism experts were mainly directed by their professional interests, and the investors were driven by profit and personal interest. Third, the competing interests gave rise to a series of negotiations around issues of road construction, housing construction, land acquisition, commercial activities, benefit-sharing. The authorities and experts turned out to be the dominating power while the villagers and investors were the resisting power in most negotiations. And finally, actors actively drew on a wide variety of resources and tactics in negotiations. Although the authorities and experts were the primary force shaping the destination, villagers were not powerless and passive all the time. They sometimes forced the dominating power to make compromises and influenced the built-scape at a micro-level.

Chapter 9

Discussions and conclusions

This chapter discusses the major findings in terms of the research questions. Section 9.1 presents the findings and links the results across the four empirical chapters based on the overarching concepts of place and place making. Section 9.1 presents the major contributions to the existing literature. Finally, section 9.3 discusses the limitations of the research and the possibilities for future studies.

9.1 Theoretical contributions

At a theoretical level, this thesis contributes to the concepts of "place", "place making" and "settlement-scape", and constructs several analytical models that can be used to examine the place making process. As shown in Figure 2-1, the transformation of the place involves the construction of both materiality (i.e. the forms and functions of the natural and built elements) and meaning (i.e., the ideas, values, and imaginaries attached). The place making process occurs through the activities of individuals and groups enmeshed in broader social networks. Materiality is a result of human practices, while meanings are generated by the interpretation of individuals and social groups. Drawing on these definitions, heritagisation, touristification, and urbanization can be seen as processes that organize different social groups to generate meanings and materiality centered on the site's three distinct identities of WHS, destination, and urban place (see Figure 2-2). With such a conceptualization, this study also argues for a more central role for the concepts of place and place making, as it opens various possibilities to explore the representational and material aspects of destination places, and the related social groups and activities.

Secondly, this thesis enriches settlement studies by proposing the concept of "settlement-scape". The concept of "-scape" prioritizes aesthetic qualities. But instead of focusing on morphology, the "settlement-scape" examines the evolution of settlements according to the aesthetic qualities developed in the context of different social, cultural, and economic configurations.

Thirdly, the thesis critically revisits Di Giovine's (2008) World Heritage making model and suggests a revised model. In the new model, meaning making starts with "locating the idea of heritage", in which physical spaces and material elements are selected to embody the heritage ideal. In the second phase "idealize heritage narrative", the member states and UNESCO authorities co-construct the narratives that it's the pre-

determined criteria. In the final "re-produce heritage narrative" phase, this official discourse is integrated at the local level and promoted among a wider public.

Fourthly, the thesis constructs an analytical framework to examine the urbanization process through place making (Figure 7-1). This framework suggests that a place's rural/urban qualities can be measured by five indicators of density, diversity, centrality, common space, and architectural style and that the place making process can be unpacked by examining the direct actors and their activities on site.

Finally, the thesis proposes a four-step framework for analyzing the entanglements of power in destination place making (Figure 8-1). Step one starts with identifying tools of place making, including material elements, human activities, and mental landscapes that are essential to the destination's qualities. Step two involves tracing the human agencies involved in the construction of the destination and their different motives. Step three uncovers the entanglements of power by positioning actors on the spectrum of domination/resistance. Step four analyzes the practices of power, including the mobilization of resources and the use of tactics and strategies.

9.2 Empirical findings and discussion

The central question explored in this thesis is how the HHRTs have transformed in the context of tourism development. By framing the transformation of the HHRTs as a place making process, this thesis examines four aspects of place making: the process of meaning created by heritage; the transformation of the –scape; the transformation of rurality/urbanity; and power in place making. In the empirical chapters, this thesis firstly discusses transformation from a regional level. It starts with a general analysis of the process of meaning construction through the heritage phenomenon, then moves on to discuss the transformation of the rice terrace landscape image and settlements' visual qualities. The last two empirical chapters offer a more in-depth discussion of the co-production of heritage and tourism at the village level.

This chapter seeks to link the four inter-related subjects back to the concepts of place and place making. As indicated in the theory chapter, place can be seen as both meaningful and material, and is constantly reconstructed by flows of individuals and groups who interpret and shape the place. Heritagization, touristification, and urbanization are three distinct modes of organizing places. I have worked with the hypothesis that those three processes create new meanings, organize the physical environment, and mobilize different social groups around three place identities of World Heritage Site (WHS), tourist destination, and urban place. The research indicates that the identities of WHS and tourist destinations are obvious, while that of the HHRTs as an urban place has not yet been established.

As a general conclusion, the following sections 1) summarize the meanings and material artifacts constructed through touristification across the four chapters, 2) the relevant

actors' activities across the four chapters, and 3) discuss the relationships between the three processes of heritagization, touristification, and urbanization.

Meanings and materiality in transformation

At the HHRTs, the recent trend of touristification has produced different meanings and materiality. At a symbolic level, heritage lifts the HHRTs out of their surrounding region and creates a new symbolic identity with global meaning. This process of meaning construction started with the nomination as a World Heritage Site and continues after listing. Under the lens of heritage, the HHRTs were endowed with an idealized past that comprises four selected material elements: "forest, water supply, terraces, and houses" (SACH, 2013). The four elements comprise an ecological system within selected geographic boundaries. Within the nomination file, the site's narrative was formulated to fit into UNESCO's predetermined criteria by combining both a Chinese harmony discourse and an authorized heritage discourse. Tactics used to achieve WHS status include interpreting traditions positively, presenting stylized facts, using positive language and neologisms, and referring to philosophies and scientific statistics. Such narratives were strategically polished by both the member state and the heritage authorities. The application was finally approved by UNESCO, thereby establishing the site's official World Heritage identity.

The official discourse created by experts continues to have impacts after UNESCO certification. Following a top-down process, workshops, classes, and other knowledge-building activities were conducted targeting local officials, villagers, and students. The indigenous population, who were previously unaware of the UNESCO vocabulary, were taught that their home is a World Heritage Site and that they have a responsibility to safeguard this title. Despite these efforts, it is still uncertain that local people understand such official narratives. On the other hand, the official discourse was also interwoven into the regulations and planning documents that shape the site materially. These regulations focus on the preservation of rice terraces and traditional buildings. But without the presence of the international authorities, meaning construction in the post-listing stage is largely dependent on the interpretation of the local authorities and planning experts. In the Azheke case, although the architect believed that building restoration was necessary to prevent heritage architecture from being destroyed, he was not guided by the UNESCO-approved concepts of "authenticity" (which emphasizes the original state of a material, building technique, etc.) or "cultural landscape" (which emphasizes the evolving and continuing nature of heritage) in making preservation plans. Instead, he adhered to the concept of "vernacularism", which interestingly combines aspects of both "authenticity" and "cultural landscape".

Linking meaning to materiality, the heritage discourse has influenced the practices that shape the site, most evidently in the preservation of traditional built space. As shown in Chapters 6-8, the intervention of local authorities and architects means that

traditional dwellings and public spaces were restored by different degrees. In Azheke and Yakou Villages, the buildings were transformed from vernacular to semi-vernacular. Previously dilapidated houses were adapted to meet modern living demands, and renovated houses highly resembled traditional ones. In Pugaolaozhai and other touristic villages, the heritage process changed buildings by applying symbolic exterior elements on top of modern buildings and created a hybrid type of settlement. The variegated material manifestations of the heritage process were a result of different factors, such as the involvement (or absence) of design professionals, the village's visibility to tourists, and the state of the existing built space. The material influence of heritage discourse on the rice terrace landscape is more difficult to quantify because of the difficulty of accessing official GIS data and statistics about changes in farmland and crop production.

In contrast to the process of heritagization, as described in Chapter 2, tourism has created two primary representations: tourist imaginaries and institutional imaginaries. In terms of tourist imaginaries, the research suggests that global values or harmonious human-nature relations are not as important to tourists as the aesthetic visual qualities of the rice terrace landscape. Unlike the heritage narrative that focuses on the system of four elements, tourists focus on the landscape over any other element. Photographers were among the earliest tourists, and sightseeing remains the predominant touristic activity. Although global heritage experts argued in the initial nomination file that aesthetic quality alone is not enough to give the site an "Outstanding Universal Value", tourists focus almost exclusively on aesthetic qualities. While the heritage discourse imagines a landscape characterized by economic, cultural, or natural features, tourism amplifies the visual features of the landscape. Tourists' appreciation of the landscape also influenced the local people, who not only started to value the beauty of their everyday landscape but also actively produced landscape images for tourists.

Another imaginary influencing the destination identity revolves around institutions and policies. The Azheke Plan presented in Chapter 8 reveals that tourism in Azheke has been shaped by the institutional imaginaries of the experts and authorities, who develop tourism products based on their understandings of an authentic travel experience and community-based tourism. This diverges from locally constructed ideas, as many villagers in Azheke expressed their preference for modern concrete houses. However, local ideals can be changed, as Azheke villagers became more supportive of preservation and tourism after they saw some of the benefits.

Tourist imaginaries have also materially altered the site. As presented in Chapter 6, as a result of a specific "tourist gaze" (Urry, 2002), various viewing platforms have been constructed, including large pay-to-enter scenic spots (Bada, Laohuzui, and Duoyishu viewing platforms) developed by the Shibo Group and over 20 small public viewing platforms constructed by the government. In Chapter 7, the Pugaolaozhai case shows the transformation of a village into a service-providing site because of the development

of the guesthouse industry. It reveals that the tourism industry has triggered the change of the place's dominant rural character into one that includes urban elements. It turned dwellings from residential uses to commercial uses (such as guesthouses and restaurants), contributed to village expansion, and introduced urban building styles. In Chapter 8, Azheke's case shows a different path of transformation, from a traditional village to a tourist attraction. It reveals how tourism co-operates with heritage to turn a traditional village into an idealized site staged for tourists. It is precisely because of tourism that the village was carefully remade for travelers, including the renovation of public space, the installation of the signage system, and the organization of touristic activities based on local resources. Chapters 6-8 also show that tourism has led to different material consequences in different villages.

Actors in place making

The construction of meaning and materiality results from the place making activities of humans. This thesis has presented how four interrelated processes were shaped by different individuals and social groups. The organization of different groups around the heritagization process is presented in Chapter 5. The World Heritage designation process is presented as a coordinated stream of information production that crosses spatial boundaries, from the stakeholders at the local level to the national and international levels, and then back to the local level. In this process, ideas were firstly proposed by local experts (Qu et al., 2018), then the information was compiled into a nomination file by experts and local authorities. Meanings were discussed between the SACH experts and international heritage authorities, and, finally, the information was processed by local authorities and planners to shape the perception of the place by the indigenous population.

Chapter 6 describes the social groups involved in the construction of landscape images through the touristification process. We see that guest-host interactions have changed locals' perceptions of the landscape. Daily encounters with tourists have taught local people to appreciate the beauty of their everyday environment. An analysis of online commentaries and photographic practices by tourists suggests that fine-grained landscape images have been created following a bottom-up, organic process.

The stakeholders and activities involved in the transformation of the material settlements are documented in Chapters 6-8. Chapter 6 reveals that in villages where the processes of heritagisation and touristification were absent, the settlements' transformation into the modern type has been the result of the bottom-up housing construction practices by the local people. But in villages where both processes were present, such as Chapters 7 and 8 present, the transformation of the settlements has been carried out by different social groups. The locality is the nexus where both processes of heritagisation and touristification are interwoven. Village transformation is instigated by the bottom-up construction activities of the residents, the top-down

management activities of the authorities and professionals, and the marketing-driven business activities of the investors.

The stakeholders are presented in Chapter 7 as co-producers of local spaces. Each social group assumes a specific role in changing Pugaolaozhai's rural and urban characteristics. The local authorities were the main contributor to the preservation of the village's rural character. They regulated the built space through legislation, exterior beautification projects, and the restoration of traditional common spaces. The investors and villagers urbanized the building space through construction, housing renovation, and business operations. The urban investors rent houses from local villagers and adapt them into lodges with a more urban style. The locals mobilize their rental revenues and village property rights to acquire land, construct more houses, and operate tourist businesses, thus contributing to the village's expansion and functional change. Following the building style created by the urbanites, the villagers have been adopting more urban building elements in their residences. Moreover, the three types of stakeholders seem to have reached a sort of equilibrium in Pugaolaozhai, since each benefitted from tourism and conflicts were not obvious.

In Chapter 8, the place making of the direct stakeholders in Azheke is presented as both cooperative and conflictive, with different social groups adopting specific place making tools. The built environment has been preserved following the restoration projects initiated by the architects and the authorities, while the touristic activities have been developed by the tourism experts. The investors and the villagers were the groups being managed. Although there was a certain degree of coordination among the groups, the top-down place making agenda sometimes conflicted with local agendas. Their interactions hence were thus characterized by both domination and resistance. The authorities and experts were the dominating power, while the villagers and investors were the resisting power in most negotiations. Each type of stakeholder actively drew on a wide variety of resources (such as legal resources, expertise, cultural traditions, etc.) and tactics (such as persuasion, manipulation, exchange, etc.) in negotiations. Although the authorities and experts were the primary force shaping the site, villagers influenced the built environment at a micro-level and sometimes forced the dominant powers to make compromises.

Back to the processes

The above summarizes the details of materiality, meaning, and the actors in the making of the HHRTs. This section moves back to the processes of heritagization, touristification, and urbanization. As argued by (Gravari-Barbas et al., 2016), the relations between heritage and tourism have gone from opposition to co-production. In the 19th century, the heritage movement in Europe was often understood as a means of local resistance to global changes. But in the 21st century, heritage production is better understood as part of a tourism system that engineers heritage for its own needs

(Gravari-Barbas, 2018). In my opinion, at least in the case of HHRTs, tourism and heritage have always been intertwined. Tourists "discovered" the place in the 1970s, well before the heritage process was initiated in the year 2000. The global reputation that emerged along with the circulation of landscape images and the visits of international scholars inspired local elites to undertake the World Heritage nomination process (Y. Wang, 2008; Zhou & Zhang, 2019). Local authorities perceived heritage as a political achievement and a tool for the development of the regional economy (Y. Wang, 2008). Tourism also played a role in the selection of the heritage elements and boundaries drawing. For example, the selected region (Yuanyang County) has relatively better conditions for tourism development, and the selected rice terrace blocks are the most visited attractions. Heritage recognition in turn contributes to the further development of tourism, as is evident in the branding process and the consequent increase in visits. As documented in Chapter 6, the narratives created through the heritage nomination process have been used to present the site to tourists. From my observations, heritage also endows the HHRTs with a symbolic value that attracts investment from the private sector (individuals and enterprises) and funding from public sector (provincial and central governments). Following China's national heritage movement, a wider heritage making process has created an inventory of tangible and intangible heritage items across the nation. Various touristic products and experiences have been developed based on the selected heritage items. For example, in HHRTs the long-street banquet and the harvest festival were made into tourist activities, and local red rice has been marketed as a tourist product.

One marker of urbanization is the transferring of urbanity to previously non-urban places (Brenner & Schmid, 2017). It is a latent process upon which the two active variables of heritage and tourism are overlaid. As outlined in Chapter 2, scholars identify tourism as a trigger of the urbanization process in rural places. My observations from this study support this proposition. The investment brought by the tourism economy (such as the lodge industry in Pugaolaozhai) and rapid infrastructure construction (such as the construction of big pay-to-enter viewing platforms) has facilitated the urbanization process. But what about the influences of urbanization on tourism? The linkages are complex. It is during the general urbanization process that the idealized rural forms in the minds of urbanites and attract them to visit rural areas. Urbanization contributes to tourism development, as improved infrastructure and better connections make the place more accessible, and make the urbanites' stays more comfortable. But the case of HHRTs shows that it is the limited degree of urbanization in rural places that forms the initial touristic resources (such as the pastoral landscape and traditional villages), and rapid or excessive urbanization can endanger these resources.

The processes of urbanization and heritagization in rural places are presented in the theory chapter as oppositional – while urbanization tends to modernize rural places and blur the boundaries between rural and urban, heritagization tends to distinguish rural

places by highlighting the material culture associated with the past (rurality). The case of HHRTs reveals the common situation in the Chinese context, in which urbanization puts pressure on heritage resources. New building techniques, rural-urban migration, and urbanized lifestyles have altered the built space, the rice terrace landscape, and the local traditions. But evidence also suggests that heritage protection could contribute to certain forms of urbanization. The valorization of heritage items for tourism and the branding effect of the WHS title has promoted the tourism sector and hence contribute to urbanization indirectly.

The challenges for sustainable heritage tourism

Sustainability has been widely viewed as a holding considerable promise as a vehicle for addressing the problems of negative tourism impact and maintaining its long-term viability. Sustainable development is development rather than mere resource preservation and shall not be seen as a state of profitable harmony without compromising the resource base (Ashworth, 2000). Relating this study to sustainable development, the positive influences and the challenges (or problems) observed at HHRTs can give some hints to the relevant stakeholders who seize sustainable development as a goal, including the heritage authorities, tourism industry and destination managers.

One central issue to sustainable tourism development has been the transition of the rice terrace landscape in new tourism economy. From a positive aspect, heritage tourism has fostered a sense of proud which would contribute to the preservation of the landscape. However, observation on-site reveals that tourism has created only marginal income for a small number of the population, and the direct economic benefit tended to accrue to the accommodation and other services rather than to the heritage resources - rice terraces. Besides, the ticket revenue generated from the landscape has not been distributed among those who farm the land, which has been causing discontent among the local population. To achieve sustainable development, it is necessary to improve the economic return of farming, such as create a benefit-sharing system that motivates the local population, improve the added value of the agricultural products, etc.

Active community participation is another emphasis in sustainable heritage tourism. In the case of HHRTs, the development of heritage tourism has been a top-down process, with the local population been largely passively governed, and this inevitably caused resistance and conflicts. The case of Azheke is a rare example of an experiment of community-based heritage tourism development, and it shows that among many factors, the increase of direct income was the most effective stimulator for community engagement. As the income increased, the local population has gradually changed their attitudes from against tourism and preservation to supportive. However, if such a case can be replicated remains questionable. In Azheke, the development has been filled with conflicts and negotiations, and community engagement has relied on constant

professional support from experts.

9.3 Limitations and future research

This thesis presents certain site-specific elements of human activities, meanings, and materiality involved in the larger processes of place making, and has opened new possibilities for future research leading towards a more comprehensive understanding of place making.

In terms of the meaning construction process, the varied landscape images presented in Chapter 5 are only part of the destination image created in the tourism industry. From the production side, other kinds of ideas and meanings that constitute a destination's image have not been examined, such as traditional stories, images of the villages, ethnic traditions, local foods, etc. From the consumption side, non-official destination images created by the tourists, such as travelers' experiences and comments have also not been studied. Moreover, future research can compare those two types of images and study the differences and the links in their production. Such research could help us to understand the dynamism of the formation of the destination image. As suggested in Chapter 2, the destination image is just one part of the meanings created through the process of tourism. Other types of meaning making include the policies that guide institutional practices. Future research can investigate how the site is portrayed in policies, projects, or planning documents of HHRTs that aim to promote tourism development.

In terms of the meanings constructed through the heritagization process, as explained before, this study is interested in understanding how meanings and representations are created around the site's identity as a WHS. Future research can take an "insider" perspective by collecting first-hand accounts from the people who contributed to the dossier, including top authorities of the heritage sector (SACH) and experts who designed the conservation plans (CACH). Another fruitful future avenue might be conducting an "ethnography of the middle" (Di Giovine, 2018) by examining how heritage is perceived by the tourists who visit the site. Moving beyond heritage construction at the international and national levels, future studies could also investigate how World Heritage is constructed locally. The thesis gives a brief analysis of the different meaning through which official heritage discourses continue to influence local development (such as local legislation, planning documents, training, and classes, etc.). Future studies might further explore the domestication of the heritage discourse, particularly since ideas constructed at the local level can deviate markedly from "global" ideas. According to my observations, at HHRTs the professional architect's preservation practice is not based on the concepts of "cultural landscape" or "authenticity" defined by UNESCO, but his understanding of vernacular architecture. Similar deviations exist in other areas of meaning construction. For example, future studies could focus on policymakers' understandings and their reintegration of UNESCO's discourse in local

institutions, or if the idea of heritage has been well received by the indigenous population. The domestication of the idea of heritage can help us to gain insights as to how the global idea of heritage exerts local influences.

In terms of the material construction process, this thesis has not studied the consequences of heritage and tourism on the material transformation of the rice terrace landscape. A major reason is that it was hard to access official data regarding the changes in the landscape, such as statistics or GIS data about farmland reduction and crop production. Zhang et al. (2017) suggest that the current area of the rice terraces is relatively stable. Cultural traditions are the main reason for this stability. Hani people regard their farmland as a precious asset inherited from their ancestors, and prefer to hold on to the farm rather than renting their farmland to others, even if cultivating the terraces is not that profitable nowadays (Zhang et al., 2017). But according to my knowledge, both the local people and the Terrace Administration have observed the abandonment of farmland and the shift from wet to dry farming. Future research could focus on the qualitative and quantitative changes of rice terrace landscape (the total area, the water/dry farm area), as well as examine the influences of tourism and heritage on farming practices. The discussion of the villages could also be extended. In this study, differentiated visual qualities have been observed among a selection of villages, and the urbanization process and the power issues were investigated in one village. Future research could conduct more in-depth analysis in multiple villages to understand the different levels of urbanization, different types of power relations, and the links to the processes of heritage and tourism. In addition to the landscape and villages, other types of material elements, such as forests or touristic infrastructure, should also be examined.

Further, future research can explore the transformation of intangible aspect of heritage, such as the local natural knowledge, agriculture methods, traditional calendar, festivals, oral traditions etc. Examining the preservation of cultural traditions and the use of intangible heritage for touristic purposes can lead to a more holistic understanding the cultural landscape.

When it comes to the actors and their activities in place making, this thesis has documented both the cooperative (e.eg. in the transformation of Pugaolaozhai) and conflicting relations (e.g. in Azheke Village) among different social groups. Considering that place making is inherently a political process (Lew, 2017; Pierce et al., 2011), future research could further investigate the politics, negotiations, and tradeoffs among various social groups intertwined in the processes of heritage and tourism. This might include the national experts and UNESCO authorities involved in the nomination process, the professionals and authorities in planning and policymaking, the tourism developers and investors, the local people competing for resources, or the relations between locals and tourists. Exploring the actors and their activities from a social-political perspective can help us to understand who has the power to shape a place and whose story is been told (Lew, 2017).

New studies could also explore the wider processes of heritage and tourism that shape the site. In terms of heritagization, besides the World Heritage movement, other international and national heritage movements also change the place. One such movement is the Globally Important Agricultural Heritage Systems (GIAHS), China's listing of intangible cultural heritage, and China's list of Traditional Villages. In terms of tourism, future research can study how tourism at HHRTs is linked with regional or national tourism agendas.

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Appendix

Appendix 1 List of interviewees

Date	Place	Person
08.05.2018	Xinjie	Ma1, local people from Xinjie town
10.05.2018	TA office	Xu1, staff from the TA
03.01.2019	Kunming	Zhu1, Chief architect of the conservation plan
26.01.2019	Pugaolaozhai	Jack, guesthouse manager
26.01.2019	Azheke	Tian, guesthouse manager, investor in Azheke
26.01.2019	Pugaolaozhai	Qingwa, guesthouse manager
23.12.2019	Pugaolaozhai	Pu1, driver, villager of Pugaolaozhai
28.12.2019	Pugaolaozhai	Pu2, seasonal worker, villager of Pugaolaozhai
28.12.2019	Pugaolaozhai	Gao1, guesthouse manager, villager of Pugaolaozhai
28.12.2019	Pugaolaozhai	Gao2, guesthouse staff, villager of Pugaolaozhai
08.05.2018	TA office	Zhu2, head of the office
10.01.2019	TA office	Xu1, staff of the office
10.01.2019	TA office	Xu2, staff of the office
15.01.2019	TA office	Ma2, staff of the office
10.01.2018	Azheke	Yang, tourism expert
28.11.2019	Azheke	Pu3, villager of Azheke
29.11.2019	TA office	Xu1, staff from the TA
29.11.2018	TA office	Zhu2, head of the office
29.11.2019	Azheke	Pu4, villager of Azheke（head of village）
29.11.2019	Azheke	Pu5, villager of Azheke
29.11.2019	Azheke	Pu3, villager of Azheke
29.11.2019	Azheke	Ma3, villager of Azheke
11.11.2019	Azheke	Tian, guesthouse manager, investor in Azheke
11.11.2019	Azheke	Hu, architect
05.12.2019	Azheke	Zhou, tourism expert
07.12.2019	Azheke	Lu1, villager of Azheke
07.12.2019	Azheke	Lu2, villager of Azheke
07.12.2019	Azheke	Pu1, villagers of Azheke
07.12.2019	Azheke	Gao3, villager of Azheke
07.12.2019	Azheke	Lu3, villager of Azheke
08.12.2019	Azheke	Ma4, villager of Azheke
08.12.2019	Azheke	Gao3, villager of Azheke
09.12.2019	Azheke	Gao4, villager of Azheke

09.12.2019	Azheke	Ma4, villager of Azheke
09.12.2019	Azheke	Gao5, villager of Azheke
09.12.2019	Azheke	Ma5, villager of Azheke
10.12.2019	Azheke	Pu4, villager of Azheke（head of village）
10.12.2019	Azheke	Long, head of the renovation team
10.12.2019	Azheke	Ma6, villager of Azheke
10.12.2019	Azheke	Pu6, villager of Azheke (uncle of Pu3)
11.12.2019	Azheke	Pu7, villager of Azheke (sister of Pu3)

Appendix 2 Locations and information of guesthouses and restaurants in Pugaolaozhai

Location map of the guest houses and restaurants. Source: author

Nr.	Name 中文名	Business type	Operated by	Time of operation	Additional information
1	Xingyunkezhan 星云客栈	Guesthouse	local	2012	
2	Xiaomagesheyingkezhan 小马哥摄影客栈	restaurant	local	2012	
4	Richukezhan 日出客栈	Guesthouse	local	2013	
4	Titianwangshi 梯田往事	Guesthouse	local	2017	
5	Xiaoluosheying 小罗摄影	Guesthouse	local	2019	
6	Hanilong 哈尼龙	Guesthouse	local	2014	
7	Lushilanju 卢室兰居	Shop/Guesthouse	local	2017	
8	Chenxilvdian 晨曦旅店	Guesthouse	local	2014	
9	Xindukezhan 新都客栈	Guesthouse	local	2014	
10	Richukezhan 日出客栈 2	Guesthouse	local	2019	
11	Yungangshenghui 云港升辉	Guesthouse	local	2015	
12	Guchashukezhan 古茶树客栈	Guesthouse	Non-local	2014	2017 business transfer
13	Hanishancunkezhan 哈尼山村客栈	Guesthouse	local	2014	
14	Yunshuixiaozhu 云水小筑	Guesthouse	local	2018	
15	Guangyingshuimo 光影水墨	Guesthouse	local	2014	
16	Yourenmatou 游人码头	Guesthouse	Non-local	2014	
17	Shuimoyuanyang 水墨元阳	Guesthouse	Non-local	2014	

18	Yingyoumanbu 影友漫步	Guesthouse	Non-local	2014	
19	K2 IYH K2 青年旅社	Guesthouse	Non-local	2012	
20	Duoduoyunge 朵朵云阁	Guesthouse	local	2017	2016 was restaurant, 2017 turned into guesthouse
21	Tingshanxiaoshe 听山小舍	Guesthouse	Non-local	2016	2019 business transfer
22	Moguyuan 蘑菇缘	Guesthouse	Non-local	2014	2018 business transfer
23	Xianxiake 闲暇客	Guesthouse/restaurant	Non-local	2012	
24	Aishanglu 爱上路	Guesthouse/restaurant	Non-local	2018	
25	Duoyiwan 多依湾	Guesthouse	Non-local	2016	
26	Huawowo 花窝窝	Guesthouse	local	2013	
27	Shuiyunjian 水云间	Guesthouse	local	2010	2014,2018 expansion
28	Yangguangkezhan 阳光客栈	Guesthouse	Non-local	2005	2018 expansion
29	Titianshang 梯田上	Guesthouse	Non-local	2018	
30	Hongqikezhan 红旗客栈	Guesthouse/restaurant	Non-local	2016	2018 business transfer
31	Chongzhuxiaoshe 重筑小舍	Guesthouse	Non-local	2015	2018 business transfer
32	No name	Guesthouse	local	2017	no business
33	Tianyuanmuge 田园慕歌	Guesthouse	local	2019	
34	Huotangcanting 火塘餐厅	restaurant	Non-local	2016	
35	Duoyishucaiguan 多依树菜馆	restaurant	local	2012	
36	Kuaizicanting 筷子餐厅	restaurant	local	2017	2019 business transfer
37	Yunmengqingxiang 云梦清香	restaurant	local	2016	
38	Wumiaoyunju 雾缈云居	restaurant	Non-local	2018	2019 guesthouse closed up
39	shop	Shop	local	2011	
40	shop	Shop	local	2011	
41	shop	Shop	local	2014	
42	Jiujuyuanyang 久居元阳	Guesthouse	Non-local	2014	

Appendix 3 List of Place names

Adangzhai 阿党寨, village

Aichun 爱春, village

Azheke 阿者科, village

Bada 坝达, village/ rice terraces block/ viewing platform

Baisheng 百胜, rice terrace block

Dawazhe 大瓦遮, village

Dayutang 大鱼塘, village

Duoyishu 多依树, village

Dongpu 洞浦, village

Huangcaoling 黄草岭, village

Hanixiaozhen 哈尼小镇, village

Longshuba 龙树坝, rice terrace block

Luomadian 倮马点, village

Lianchangban 联厂办, rice terrace sight-seeing spot

Laoyingzui 老鹰嘴, rice terrace sight-seeing spot

Laohuzui 老虎嘴, rice terrace block/ viewing platform

Malizhai 麻栗寨, village

Shengcun 胜村, town

Niuluopu 牛倮普, village

Quanfuzhuang 全福庄, village

Quafuzhuangzhongzhai 全福庄中寨, village

Qingkou 箐口, village

Shangzhulu Old village 上主鲁老寨, village

Xinjie 新街, town

Yakou 垭口, village

Yiwanshui 一碗水, Village