

A Long-Term Tourism Scheme Within A Networked Urban Regeneration Strategy For Historic Quarters

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Abstract

Many cities have witnessed the rise of urban tourism since 1970s. Nowadays, especially in developing countries, tourism has become an important industry to initiate employment, boost the economy, and regenerate urban quarters. Recently, tourism has been included into a comprehensive process of urban regeneration of historic quarters, and is becoming closely related with other urban planning strategies, such as conservation and creative industry (Tiesdell et al., 1996, Cunningham, 2002). Many historical quarters have been transformed into tourist destination with the aim of reviving the economy and enhancing urban image and culture. However, a short-sighted urban tourism scheme usually raises diverse negative issues, such as the loss of identity and social cohesion, etc. In recent decades, cities in China have experienced huge urban changes. As many urban historical quarters were demolished to facilitate rapid urban development and new city image, many old neighbourhoods were obliterated and their residents, relocated to fringe areas. This paper presents a comparative study of two cases in China—Tianzi Fang in Shanghai and the Muslim Quarter in Xi'an. It discusses the alternative approaches to develop sustainable tourism in urban context: a long-term tourism scheme with an active recycling process which not only recycles the tangible aspects but also the intangible aspects of the quarter, and that contributes to a process of sustainable transformation.

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

Introduction and Objective

It is not until the 20th century, especially after World War Two that mass tourism emerged as an industry (Girard and Nijkamp, 2009). The huge change in travel mobility and the availability of more leisure time stimulated the public interest in exploring new places and cultures. Today, tourism has become a significant industry that supports economic revival and urban regeneration.

With rapid economic growth and urban change, many centres of production have transformed into centres of consumption (Castells, 1985, Harvey, 2003), and many historic quarters have lost their original functions (Lichfield, 1988, Larkham, 1996, Tiesdell et al., 1996). For example, during 1970s, de-industrialization in many western countries caused massive unemployment and decay of industrial cities. In this process, many historic quarters in industrial cities are confronted with economic obsolescence

(Lichfield, 1988, Larkham, 1996). Accordingly, as an urban revitalization strategy which seeks both economic and physical enhancement, urban cultural tourism was initiated in such historical quarters to reuse the physical fabrics and improve the decaying city image by creating new economic activities (Tiesdell et al., 1996).

Place marketing and place making in urban historic quarter initiated by cultural tourism

Accompanied with the idea of heritage or leisure, urban cultural tourism usually generates two processes, namely place marketing and place making (Tiesdell et al., 1996). Simply focusing on how to attract tourists, tourism-oriented development conducts a place marketing process (Kearns and Philo, 1993) and uses the “*functional diversification*” or “*functional restructuring*” (Tiesdell et al., 1996) methods to change the area’s economic base. Accordingly, tourism may “*replace or complement*” (Tiesdell et al., 1996) the original uses of buildings and economic activities. Place making is a process to “reconstruct the image of a place for both visitors and local people, and to encourage the local residents and business community to achieve regeneration” (Tiesdell et al., 1996). Through the enhancement of the quarter’s cultural atmosphere, unique character in architecture and associated activities, the entire area can attract both tourists and local people. Due to the complex contexts of historical quarters, place marketing and place making processes have imposed both positive and negative influence on the development of historical urban quarters. Nevertheless, in practice, too many concerns on the needs of tourists plus the relative ignorance of local residents’ needs may lead to unbalanced social environment. Recently sustainable development as an approach to tourism planning (Gunn and Var, 2002, Hall, 2008) has been widely discussed and highlighted the importance of social cultural characteristics, natural environment as well as tourists’ experience. The aim is to minimize the impacts arising from tourism development through recognizing the complexity, managing change and mitigating the conflicts in the whole process of tourism development. (Page and Thorn, 1997).

A Long-term Tourism Planning--Reflection on the Loss of Cultural Uniqueness and Diversity

Modern planning has been creating similar city images due to the global and homogenizing characteristic of modernity (Huntington, 1971). In contrast, historical places represent diverse images and unique identities. Historical urban quarter is rich in historical ambience and houses an existing community living under a changing situation. The charms of the old quarter lie in not only tangible aspects but also intangible ones, such as local identity, ritual practices, and life styles of local residents.

1. Everyday life and collective culture

Everyday life is identified by Lefebvre(2005) as a blending of two distinctive repetitive configurations of time : a repetitive, cyclical time process as well as a linear time process of ever changing and developing (Liu, 2008). In a traditional society, everyday life is a repetitive and cyclical time process, while a modern society highlights the process of linear development. Lefebvre (2009) argued that the existence of its repetitive, cyclical rhythm will never be replaced by the linear historical progress. To Lefebvre (2005), everyday life represents a series of relationships between time and space, such as closeness and proximity, alienation and distance. He also addressed that as a relationship of social space and time, everyday life also embraces religion and daily life (Liu, 2008). The complexity of everyday life lies in that, no matter whether in historical, philosophical, economic or social process, it could not be understood as a single linear process of accumulation and development. Everyday life is the intersection of different aspects and bears the richness of every part. In this case, it is difficult to categorize everyday life into any specific way of production, and everyday life represents a collective culture (Liu, 2008). The culture in urban historical quarter as a totality can be understood thoroughly through the study of everyday life in historical quarter.

2. Experience of tourists and the interpretation of experience

Through a tourist's activity of spending leisure time, the tourist space and the community space are permeable to each other, merging together and reproducing a unique social space (Liu, 2008). According to Lefebvre (2005), social space is space of everyday life, which contains every type of social time, such as working time and non-working time, which respectively has exchange value and use value. As Lefebvre (2005) claims that the exchange value is not prior to use value, how a visitor enjoys his leisure time in the historical quarter could not be simply measured quantitatively by how much he consumes the value-in-exchange of others' working time. How tourists experience the place qualitatively becomes a critical reflection of the uniqueness a historic quarter.

Tiesdell et al. (1996) suggest that when recommending tourism proposals it is very important not to copy and adapt directly from one experience to a totally different one, since each quarter is unique economically and socially. Harvey (1989) criticizes that the uniformity of city image had largely reduced their distinctiveness and argues that a similar experience which a visitor can experience in other place is less attractive. Nowadays, with the increasing demands to experience the distinctiveness, there emerges an interpretation of "experience" in tourism (Orbasli, 2000). In concerns of historical quarter, visitors will have different experience based on the different way of interpretation of the historical quarter. The interpretation of a hollowed urban historic quarter without the residential locals may not present the real picture: the physical fabric is kept intact as a heritage attraction of past, while the chain retail shops together with other mass productions of tourism, or even the ways of consumption usually provide a similar experience as found elsewhere. However, a historic quarter with a vibrant community could interpret itself well, abounding in everyday life which generates authentic distinctiveness. Just as Orbasli (2000) has pointed that for the interpretation of experience, "*more significant is retaining the boundaries between experience fake and urban real*".

3. Everyday life and social network

In the rapid modernization process, the destruction of human and spiritual values (Huntington, 1971), together with a feeling of uncertainty under dramatic changes raised a worldwide concerns as "a lost world", among which, "community loss" is a common problem. Aside from the physical and economic aspects which are either visible or measurable, the "community loss" is an invisible social issue that has usually been ignored.

As mentioned above, the community's collective everyday life generates the inner dynamics of the uniqueness of a community. However, as Simmel (1950) argues that for humans as social beings, social interactions in close proximity among people are the common everyday practices. The social relationships and social life in a community are also significant in maintaining the everyday life, which in turn keeps a community unique. For example, a vibrant social network could be observed in traditional historical quarters with a stable social structure, which generate networks of familiarity and sense of belonging through the mingling of mixed uses, diverse activities and crowded people (Jacobs, 1992, Scott, 1998). However, in a museumized and commercialized historical urban quarter, even though the proximity remains the same in a spatial sense, people do not easily feel the closeness in a social sense as shops frequently move in and close down in a short time and cause the social structure unstable.

4. Local residents' perception towards the impact of tourism development

As many historical quarters are getting more and more dependent on tourism for regeneration, local people's life has been continuously affected by tourism development, and severe problems and conflicts have emerged. Without prompt mitigation, the tourist spot will suffer from decay. Butler(1980) categorizes six stages in the tourism destination's life cycle of evolution: "exploration, involvement, development, consolidation, stagnation and decline or rejuvenation". William F.Theobald (1998) points

out that, beyond the social, cultural, nature environmental quality and the experience of tourist in local places, the extent to which local residents accept tourism, and their perception and attitude towards the impact of tourism development are also important affecting factors to the sustainable development of tourism.

Based on a social exchange theory, Ap (1992) pointed that the exchange relation between residents and tourism will influence residents' perception towards tourism impacts: when residents and tourism have a high degree of recourse exchange and when the exchange relationship is equal or advantageous to residents, the residents usually have a positive attitude, and vice versa. A study on 28 rural Colorado communities indicates that both positive and negative perception increase with the growing levels of tourism development (Long et al., 1990). However, in terms of additional tourism development, when tourism has developed to a certain level, beyond which, in this study near 30% of community retailers are tourism-driven, the residents' attitudes turn to be less positive. Similarly, based on social carrying capacity theory, as the tourism develops, when local communities reach "limits of acceptable change", there will be negative change (Perdue et al., 1999), for example, the increasing land value, living expenses, and crime rate. Based on different dependency on the tourism economy, different community have different attitudes (Smith and Krannich, 1998). A community desirous of economic development will have more positive attitudes toward tourism, while communities with developed economy status will have stronger perception towards the negative tourism impact. Besides, the residents' demographic characteristics, and their participation in the decision making of tourism development (Lankford and Howard, 1994) will also influence their perception towards tourism.

Practices of tourism and creative industry initiated urban regeneration in China

In China, the dominant urban renewal approach is top-down mass demolition and mass construction. Through land transaction, parcels of land in inner city, which usually accommodates traditional settlements, are sold by local government to developers. In such a quick process, historic urban fabric has inevitably been destroyed. Furthermore, when the residents are relocated to fringe areas of the city, where local government usually fails to provide proper employment, civic facility and amenity, it is difficult for them to manage a living, especially for those who previously can make a living on informal business in inner old quarters. Social problems rises noticeably, for example, low employment, high crime rate, and social exclusion. Meanwhile, rich people are occupying the inner city area through residence and diverse consumptions, which has produced new social space and polarized the social spatial structure. As a result of mainstream top-down urban mass demolition and construction approaches, not only social justice are questioned, but in the same time, cultural and social diversity have been largely damaged (Long and Wang, 2010, Yu and Zhong, 2011) . In fact, rather than being dead physical remnants with historic interests, most urban quarters are dynamic social areas—"discrete areas within a city with distinctive social-economic, family status, or ethnicity attributes" (Sit, 1999).

Zhu (1992) identifies five social areas in Shanghai, among which, the historical mix-used industrial and residential area where living area is less than 3 sq m per capita is represented by many historical quarters like Tianzi Fang. Zhang (1996) indicates that as a dense residence area mixed with informal business streets, Xi'an Islam community is a distinct social area based on its ethnic factor. In general, these diverse social areas contribute to the diversity of social space and culture, which in turn could promote social sustainability instead of social segregation.

Based on these two cases, this paper aims to extend the understanding for alternative approaches of urban regeneration, which are beyond the mainstream ones, and seek the sustainable transformation in a comprehensive recycling process: a long-term tourism scheme within a networked urban regeneration strategy, which not only efficiently recycles the physical aspects but also properly transforms the intangible aspects.

Case Study 1: Tianzi Fang, Shanghai

Located in downtown area of Shanghai (No. 210, Taikang Road, Luwan District), Tianzi Fang, originally called Zhicheng Fang, is a historic quarter and covers around 7.2 ha. Designated as French concession administrative area in 1920s, it includes a typical residential area and six neighbourhood factories. The residential part presents the typical layout—Linong and the neighbourhood unit—Shikumen architecture, which is the traditional collective dwelling for Shanghai people.

With the rapid economic growth and urban redevelopment planning in 1990s, many traditional residential quarters in Shanghai were demolished and replaced by high-rise buildings (Li, 2010). Tianzi Fang is one that survived among these old neighbourhoods. Its redevelopment process could be generally summarized into three phases.

In 1990s, urban redevelopment in Shanghai was firstly stimulated by the industrial restructuring (Guan, 2008, Li, 2010). Most of the factories located in downtown area were either relocated or closed down. Meanwhile the abandoned industrial buildings became the focus of the redevelopment (Ruan et al., 2004, Zhang et al., 2010). In this process, some vacant factories were demolished and replaced by commercial or residential buildings, while some buildings with good construction qualities and convenient locations were renovated and leased out to small businesses. (Ruan et al., 2004, Zhang et al., 2010, Guan, 2008). In 1990s, the abandoned Nongtang factories in Tianzi Fang faced the threat of demolition and replacement by gated communities, which had happened commonly in adjacent blocks. However, a business man, Wu Meisen, who later become director of Taikang Road Arts Center recognized the value of these industrial buildings (Guan, 2008). He recommended them to artists at low rental price. These factories were totally rented out and renovated by artists into studios in 1996 (Ruan et al., 2004, Guan, 2008). In March 1998, the neighbourhood administrative committee was set up to manage these buildings and provided services. It became a well known artist hub and attracted the attention of both foreign and domestic artists. Together with the creative artist studios, some commercial shops such as galleries and cafes also moved in to better serve these arts and design enterprises.



Figure 1(left) Map of Linong Factories and Neighbourhoods Source: Concept Conservation Plan of Taikang Road Historic District, Shanghai, 2004

Figure 2(right) Nongtang Styled Fabric and Diverse combination. Source: Wen Qing. “Tianzi Fang: One House One Style,” *Architecture&Culture* 42, (August 2007).

When recognizing the success of the regeneration of Nongtang factories in Tianzi Fang, in 2003, Shanghai Government planned to demolish the adjacent residential buildings and build high rise buildings to enhance the entire image of this area (Guan, 2008). A bottom-up campaign accompanied by local residents, artists and elites was launched to protect the residential area.(Li, 2010, Guan, 2008).

Meanwhile, some research institutions were also involved. A study on the architectural characters and historic value of Tianzi Fang was conducted by Tongji University. Thanks to the collective efforts the government was finally convinced. In “Conservation Concept Plan of Taikang Road Historic District-2004” the whole residential area was preserved (Guan, 2008).

Following this success Tianzi Fang became even more popular. In 2005, it was enrolled into Shanghai Creative Industry Plan and became a creative dismissions (Roodhouse, 2010), a creative hub to revitalize the larger area (He, 2007, Zhang et al., 2010). More than 162 shops, cafes and galleries run by people from more than 17 counties gather in Tianzi Fang which attracted both tourists and more artists (Zhang et al., 2010). However, the limited numbers of Nongtang factories could not provide enough space for the development of creative industry any more. Therefore, in 2004, one local resident, Zhou Xinliang, leased his Shikumen house to a fashion designer and rent a room nearby. He gained considerable profits from the rental difference. Other residents and the community administrative committee both recognized the advantages. So, the neighbourhood administrative committee acted as a facilitator to help the local residents lease their Shikumen houses to artists and designers, (Guan, 2008, Li, 2010). However, some houses were not suitable for the studios or exhibition halls. Instead of creative enterprises, some people rented these Shikumen houses to other businesses, such as restaurants, bars, retails and cafes to serve the increasing number of tourists and artists.

The third phase started from 2009, when the local government took over the development of Tianzi Fang. Local government intended to develop this area as a tourist destination in order to cooperate with the Shanghai 2010 Expo. Therefore, local government invested 10 million RMB to renovate the traditional buildings and upgrade the infrastructures. To some extent, government dominated the transformation of Tianzi Fang in the third phase. Due to the government’s strong intervention, the objective of developing tourism in this area was rapidly achieved. Tianzi Fang is now designated as national AAA-level Tourism Destination. Investment from Luwan district government improves the physical environment. For example, the historical architectures and townscapes were strictly conserved through governmental regulations; facades were repaired and unified with alleys and lanes repaved, and some infrastructures such as public toilets were installed. Noticeably, as rental in Tianzi Fang keeps increasing, small artist workshops have to move out and many souvenir shops, pubs and restaurants moved in, which inevitably influence the daily life of local residents. In addition, as Tianzi Fang gets more and more popular, the daily cost of living and rental in nearby area also increased rapidly.

The social structure of this traditional neighbourhood has changed dramatically, which resulted in the loss of the sense of community in Tianzi Fang. In 2010, the community administrative committee conducted a survey in lane 210, 248 and 247, in which 671 households were investigated (Table 1). As of October 2010, 37 percent (248 households) had already leased out their houses; 17 percent (115 households) ran small business by themselves; meanwhile, almost 45 percent (301 households) lived in their own house and never changed the function. Among the 301 households, more than half of them would like to move out because of economic profit or tourism interruption, which means totally 77 percent of the households were willing to leave. And only 97 (14.6%) households chose to continue living in Tianzi Fang. Among the 97 households, many are old residents or residents whose houses are normally in the second and third floor, unsuitable for commercial uses.



Figure 3. The commercialization of traditional Nongtang space. Source: Photographs by the Edison Pwee.

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

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

Case Study 2: Xi'an Drum Tower Muslim Quarter

The case of Xi'an Drum Tower Muslim Quarter is another ongoing research of the author. Here the author want to use a published case study (see Track 1- Governance, Politics and Conflict, p 9-13) written by the author to open a discussion. Located in the centre of the city, Xi'an Drum Tower Muslim Quarter belongs to a wider Bell-Drum Tower Muslim District. (Figure 4,5) The quarter covers nearly 4 ha. The history of this area as a Muslim concentrated district can be traced back to Song Dynasty (960-1279) (Bi, 2004, Chen, 2005) .

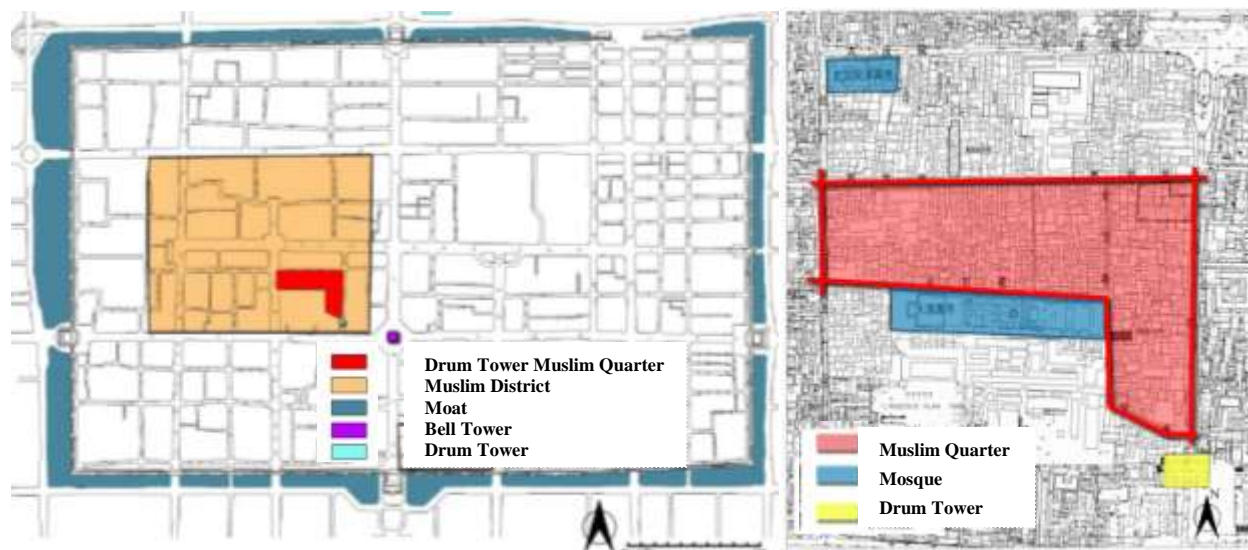


Figure 4(left), The location and boundary of the Muslim Quarter within the city wall area, Map Source: ZHANG, Y. 2008. Xi'an Muslim Quarter: opportunities and challenges for public participation in historic conservation. HKU Theses Online, edited by authors.

Figure 5(right), The location and boundary of the Muslim Quarter, Xi'an; Map Source: BI, J. 2004. *Reuse of the Courtyard Homes Protected as the Heritage in Drum Tower District of Xi'an*. Xi'an University of Architecture and Technology, edited by authors.

In China, Muslim people usually settle around a mosque, forming a unique social-spatial unit “mosque-neighbourhood”. Within this quarter, there are two famous mosques, which were distributed among traditional “Guanzhong” narrow courtyard houses. In Ming Dynasty (1368-1644) the gathering of ethnic minorities was largely enhanced (WU, 2008) . For Chinese Muslim people, it is a tradition to operate a small-scale business as livelihood. Accordingly Muslim quarters usually contain market streets in the neighbourhood, where Muslim people share economy activities together with everyday life. The unique religious and economic tradition shaped the distinctive “mosque-neighbourhood-market street” social and economic structure in Muslim Quarter. Muslim people’s religious life is dedicated to the mosque while these streets function well not only as manifestations of economic life but also as mix-used public places, rich in street lives and social activities.

After 1949, to accommodate the growing population, self construction activities were largely adopted (Zhang, 2008). Consequently, the traditional courtyard houses were destructively subdivided, and public spaces such as streets and courtyards were largely encroached upon, which caused many problems such as congestion and low sanitary standard. By late 1980s, this situation of physical degradation grew even worse: the poor infrastructure and hygiene system have become major problems.

According to Xi'an city's Master Plan (1980-2000), which is to enhance the light industry and mechanical industry development as well as to conserve historic townscape and to promote tourism and cultural industry, the People's Government of Lian Hu District initiated an urban redevelopment project in Beiyuanmen historic street in 1991, aiming to promote tourism development in this historic street. The tourism-led urban renewal project adopted a short-time physical-led revitalization strategy plus functional diversification approach. In physical aspects, the project focused on the Ming/Qing Dynasty style facade restoration, the re-pavement of the pedestrian street and the improvement of other infrastructures such as water supply and drainage system. To cater for tourism, the project introduced new businesses into this

street such as souvenir shops, while at the same time part of the previous functions were maintained and enhanced.

Nearly in the same period, the local government of Xi'an appointed two universities, namely Xi'an Jiaotong University and Norwegian University of Science and Technology to conduct a collaborative study on the conservation of Muslim Quarter.(Zhang, 2008) In 1995 this study, proposed a protection plan, including the following three objectives: to conduct historical and cultural study, to establish district conservation control principles and to carry out pilot courtyard house restoration. The agreement of "Sino-Norwegian Cooperative Plan for the Protection of Xi'an Muslim Historical District" was issued by the central government of China in 1997 and subsequently an official sub-district agency for the "Xi'an Muslim Historic District Protection Project" was founded by the local government of Xi'an with the mission to promote collaborations between different groups (Zhang, 2008).

In 2000s, the local government launched a redevelopment plan for the West Avenue area. It proposed to acquire the Muslim quarter at a low land price. Partly because of the low compensation while mostly because of their deeply embraced tradition to centre around the mosque, the Muslim community refused to accept to move out (XU and WAN, 2009). In 2006, the Muslim Trade Union was established on behalf of the Muslim businessmen, which negotiates between the official sub-district agency and the Muslim business community on the business and physical development of the business street. In order to enhance their community image and confidence, they also spontaneously devote themselves to the physical renovation and infrastructural improvement activities.

Discussion

In recent urban renewal process, the above two cases presents different modes of urban regeneration which kept the urban fabrics, recycled and transformed the historical quarter tangibly and intangibly by adapting to new economy activities. Rather than raising a debate on which mode is better, this part aims to develop a discussion to further understand these alternative approaches of urban regeneration which are beyond the contemporary mainstream approach of mass demolition and mass construction in China cities.

Analysis of the socioeconomic background and rational internal driving forces

Different socioeconomic status and demographic characteristics of community will affect the process of transformation, especially when a bottom-up approach is involved. In Xi'an Muslim Quarter, employment rate of formal business is very low (Chen, 2005), most residents have less than 12 years of education and are self-employed, making a living through informal business such as traditional Muslim catering trade. Compared to Xi'an case, most of the residents in Tianzi Fang received higher education and are employed in areas of business, service and industry. Those who have only middle school education are mostly retired residents (Huang, 2010). For residents in Xi'an Muslim Quarter, livelihood is the vital issue. If this quarter is demolished and the residents were relocated in peripheral area of the city, there would be barely customers for their informal business, and there would be low opportunity for them to find a formal job due to low education. In case that they may probably lose their livelihood, staying may be the rational choice local residents could adapt to tourism and apply their livelihood business—traditional food processing and catering business to tourism. For residents in Tianzi Fang, since most of them are formally employed or retired, their urgent request is not about livelihood but to improve their quality of life without economic loss. Given that the rental of their small apartment in Tianzi Fang can help them afford for a much better apartment nearby, it is reasonable for them to move out. For example, a three-generation-family that once squeezed into a 19.3 sq m room could now afford to rent a 100 sq m apartment nearby with part of the rental income derived from leasing out the room and use the rest to afford a better standard of living The profit from rental difference is a rational driving force for local residents to lease out since they can improve their quality of life.

Through different adaptations to new economic activities, residents' livelihoods, such as informal business are enhanced, and their income increase considerably. However this benefit may not be shared by all the residents. For example, in Tianzi Fang, rental profit is mostly limited to the residents who live in the first and second floor, where it is easier to adapt to commercial use. For those who live in the upper floors, opportunities for rental profits are few. This makes them more sensitive to the increase in living expenses and the disturbance of the tourism activities.

Residents' perception towards tourism development impact in Tianzi Fang

Xi'an Muslim Quarter and Tianzi Fang have now transformed into famous tourism spots through different process. As tourism economy has been playing dominant role in the development of these two historical quarters, its impacts on the local residents' life cause increasing concerns. Studies of residents' perception will help to expose potential problems and conflicts, such as unequal distribution of income from tourism among residents and unstable social structure, and will contribute to conflict mitigation in the process of sustainable tourism development.

In a study on the influence of inbound tourism on local residents in Xi'an Muslim Quarter, Zhang et al.(Zhang and Ma, 2008) indicate that in terms social cultural influence of inbound tourism, local residents hold low perception towards the change of eating habits, religious customs, folk habits and neighbourhood relationship, which means the culture and tradition in this community are stably maintained. The study also shows that residents have favourable perception towards the change in the living environment, for example, the improvement of infrastructure and people's environmental awareness. Although local residents have a strong sense that the quiet life has been disturbed by tourism activities, most of them think the influence is insignificant, and only a small group of residents insist that the tourists should be restrained to a certain scale. In terms of economic influence, most of the residents have a strong positive perception towards the economic influence of tourism and the improvement of their economic status, while people hold different opinions on the polarization of income (Zhang and Ma, 2008).

A study based on demographic characteristics was conducted in Tianzi Fang. According to Huang (2010), there generally exist three types of perception toward tourism impact in Tianzi Fang. The first type is positive perception, held by more than half of the respondents. According to demographic characteristics analysis, residents of this type age from 25 to 44 years old. Receiving a higher education, most of them work in service and business area and have higher income. These residents have positive attitudes toward the intuitive feelings of tourism development, such as the infrastructure improvement, employment, and cultural enrichment. Their perception towards the tourism impact on basic life such as increasing living expenses is not very strong due to the higher income, while they are aware of the emerging social conflicts, such as the conflicts between residents and tourists and the relationship problems within residents (Huang, 2010).

Part of workers, students and retirees have the second perception type: an ambivalent wait-and-see attitude toward tourism development (Huang, 2010). These residents generally receive lower education and income. Although they also have a quite positive perception toward the intuitive feeling of tourism development, they generally have reservations on the increase of the living expenses and the change of living environment, or even have negative attitudes towards the increase of nearby property price and the commodity price. According to Huang (2010), they are more sensitive to the impacts on physical aspects.

The third type is the negative perception, mostly hold by residents living in Tianzi Fang now. Most of them are lower educated workers and retirees, who receive relatively low income and have been living in Tianzi Fang for over 30 years (Huang, 2010). They have low approval on the improvement of intuitive feelings of tourism development, and hold negative perception on the bad social ambience, basic life

change and social conflicts caused by tourism. They are sensitive to the negative influence caused by tourism and blame that tourism development has broken the original social structure.

Generally, these two communities have certain approval on the improvement of living environment. In terms of tourism impact on culture and tradition, residents in Xi'an Muslim Quarter feel less affected (Zhang and Ma, 2008). To many aged residents in Tianzi Fang, this place now represents a commercial culture rather than the traditional community culture or the creative culture, while young residents believe that the blending of traditional culture and modern fashion has reproduced a new community culture in Tianzi Fang (Huang, 2010). In terms of economic influence, residents in Tianzi Fang have some conflicting attitudes. Some residents can rent their apartment easily and gain profits from rental difference, while some residents have to stay and suffer from the increasing daily expenses. As shows in above studies, residents' perception towards tourism development can be influenced by age, income and education. Meanwhile, different levels of social structure change also generate different perceptions among these two communities.

Conclusion

An Active Recycling of the Historic Quarter Initiated by Urban Tourism

The Linong Factories in Tianzi Fang became redundant during the modern economic change and restructuring of industry. These buildings are adapted to new economic activities, which not only recycles the physical environment of the quarter but also introduces emerging industries and revitalizes the local economy. Adopting a bottom up approach, this case has been seen as a pilot project in the regeneration of historical quarter in China. Through this process of economic recycling, Linong factories in Tianzi Fang are involved in the creative economy and bring opportunities for residents to improve their living quality through the leasing of their apartments. In the third phase local government launched a top down strategy for tourism development and moved more residents out, which accelerates the alienation of local residents' everyday life from tourism, leading to a purely physical recycling and causing increasing conflicts not only within the residents, but also between the remaining residents and tourism activities. A potential obstacle for future tourism development lies in that too much social structural and functional change would cause the loss of authentic community culture, which in turn will depreciate the quality of tourist's experience and attraction of the place.

Similarly, the classic courtyard houses in Xi'an Muslim Quarter have been restored and reused as heritage museums and cultural centres. The decayed physical fabric was recycled and adds to the attraction of the place. Furthermore, the community's social structure has been well maintained, along with which the network of traditional economic production—handicraft industry—has not only survived but also been upgraded and merged with the city's modern economic activities. The blending of traditional production with modern consumption in contemporary Xi'an city attracts many tourists and enhanced the small businesses and local economic condition, which in turn has supported the community to upgrade their physical environment and quality of life.

Meanwhile, as the community adapts and embraces the tourism and modern life, the urban space has been recycled and reproduced as a dynamic urban public place, abounds in urban life. The cultural identity has also been enhanced by the active recycling in terms of the social, economic and physical aspects. What's more, rather than being excluded, their citizenship has been recycled and enhanced under new social order. A potential obstacle for future development lies in that there exist conflicts among residents in terms of income polarization and the extent to which the community are open to tourism. Furthermore as their economic status improves, residents would seek to move out in search of better living conditions. This will in turn influence the maintenance of culture and tradition. In recent urban development, tourism-led urban regeneration and redevelopment practices are criticised for their focus on physical and

economic revitalization, while failing to address the issues of cultural and social values. As case study shows, although tourism has improved local economy and residents' living environment, it has potential negative impacts on local culture, society and environment (Law, 1993, Han et al., 2011). The case studies show that the recycling of historical quarters is a complex process of transformation, which has been influenced by many affecting factors, such as demographic characteristics, economic initiatives, government intervention, public participation, etc. Rather than a simple initiative such as tourism led place marketing, the active recycling of a place needs a comprehensive urban regeneration plan, which includes multiple facets such as urban management and conservation, together with participation of stakeholders, such as governmental agencies, institutions, NGOs, local residents, shop owners and tourists, who form a network of decision making.

An integral tourism scheme within a networked urban regeneration process

The case studies have shown that different attitudes towards future tourism development existed among local residents. It is even more challenging to achieve a collective decision to take into account the networked groups outside the. Putnam et al. (1994) identify the network structure as an ideal "horizontal" that brings "together agents of equivalent status and power"; and ideal "vertical" that links "unequal agents in asymmetric relations of hierarchy and dependence". They argue that no matter how dense and how important, in a primarily vertical network, for example, a top-down authoritarian system or a bottom-up self sufficient system, "the social trust and cooperation could not sustain" in the long run. On the contrary, they argue that horizontal and intense networks are more likely to build up social capital and to foster cooperation and mutual benefit (Putnam et al., 1993). In case of urban historical quarter, solely focusing on tourism will cause many problems in the long run. Tourism should be integrated into a networked urban regeneration system.

For further study, this paper proposes an adaption of network structure into the contemporary urban regeneration system and highlights that a comprehensive understanding of an urban historic quarter's context, such as the internal and external driving forces involved, will contribute to the tourism initiated urban regeneration management.

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