

EVALUATION OF THE EFFECTS OF BOTTOM-UP MANAGEMENT
IN PRESERVING VALUES OF HISTORIC HUTONG NEIGHBORHOOD IN BEIJING:
A CASE STUDY OF COMMUNITY-BASED ORGANIZATION (CBO) -
SHIJIA HUTONG HISTORIC PRESERVATION SOCIETY

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CHAPTER 1 INTRODUCTION

1.1 Research problems

1.1.1 Problems of preservation management in Beijing Hutong neighborhoods

A group of design proposals for renovations to several old Beijing courtyards, traditional residential units in Beijing, also known as “*Siheyuan*,”¹ has triggered a public review during *the Beijing International Design Week* in the year of 2015. The public review is focused on an experimental project based on a Beijing Hutong neighborhood² in the Dongsinan (DSN) Beijing Historic-Cultural District (DSN-BHCD). The project is called “*Our Courtyards*” which aims to launch a pilot praxis about community autonomy. The proposals of the project are special because they feature goals designed by multiple stakeholders grouped into a newly established Community-Based Organization (CBO) dedicated to Hutong neighborhood preservation, grassroots efforts, and partnerships between officials and government agencies. The CBO is called “Shijia Hutong Historic Preservation Society (SHHPS)”, which is the first officially registered Hutong CBO in Beijing. The founding of the SHHPS has drawn the public interest to a Hutong neighborhood in Beijing, the Shijia Hutong. In addition to the CBO, Shijia Hutong is already well-known for its landmark, the Shijia Hutong Museum, which is also the first Hutong museum in Beijing.

¹ Cultural-China.com. Siheyuan: The Chinese Housing Dream. Accessed September 2015. <http://traditions.cultural-china.com/en/123T20T13116.html>.

In the *Cultural-China.com*, defining “*Siheyuan*, or courtyard houses, is a common style of Han Chinese housing, dated to Zhou Dynasty (1,100 – 256B.C.). It generally composes of enclosed square yard surrounded with houses on four or three sides. As a living place, *Siheyuan* is integrated with traditional Chinese culture. The square enclosure separates the family space clearly from outside public space.”

² In Beijing, *Hutong neighborhood*, is referring to a type of traditional courtyard residences, formed by joining one *Siheyuan* to another by narrow alleys, and then joining one hutong to another. Wikipedia, last modified 12 December, 2016, <https://en.wikipedia.org/wiki/Hutong>

The records of *the Shijia Hutong*, as one of the earliest old Beijing Hutong, can trace back to *the Yuan Dynasty* in the 14th century.³ It is one of the few acknowledged traditional neighborhoods in the list of BHCD, which are preserved in similar condition to its earlier structure. Furthermore, the fame of *Shijia Hutong* is closely associated with the numerous cultural figures who have lived inside or near the neighborhood. Throughout the past seven hundred years, the constant rise of cultural associations has molded the neighborhood into a unique area within the Beijing old city. For the residents, this is a traditional neighborhood where the indigenous community are proud of their cultural identities and traditions. However, even in a place with significant cultural and social values as *Shijia Hutong*, the decline of a traditional Hutong *Siheyuan*-centered connections are severe. According to the recognition of a DSN-BHCD official, “*the overall Hutong community have changed from an acquaintance-based to a semi-unacquainted community* (Li 2015).” In the present day, many old Beijingers yearn for their former intimate lifestyles such as courtyard gatherings for summer cooling, courtyard planting, or the daily social gathering in front of the main gate. From the administrative view, the break of cultural continuity in a traditional urban neighborhood is caused by obstacles in the community management, including the neglect of architectural authenticity and integrity, confusing responsibilities of partnerships for property management, and low degree of public participation.

One of the first management issues of Hutong neighborhood management is the neglect of architectural authenticity and integrity, in that neither public nor private restorations of

³ Sun, Donghu. 2006. “Beijing Dongcheng Qu Diming de Lishi Wenhua Jiazhi Juyi” “北京东城区地名的历史文化价值举隅” [Historic and cultural values of place names in Dongcheng District, Beijing]. In “Beijing lishi wenhua baohu qu wenxian zhengli yu yanjiu” “《北京历史文化保护区文献整理与研究》课题” [Report of literature and research of Beijing historical and cultural protection areas], by Jianyong Wu and Gang Wang, 142-160. Beijing: Beijing Yanshan Press.

courtyard buildings pay sufficient attention to either aspect. It is common that the traditional small antique-style tiles are replaced by the rough pan tiles for roofing. Also, many old tiles on eaves with delicate carvings are abandoned as constructive waste. On the issues of material selection, for example, the standards of repairing materials contradict the suggestions in the declaration of *Principles for the Conservation of Heritage Sites in China*, stated as “*Damaged components that can be repaired should be used rather than be replaced by new ones.*”⁴ Though many stakeholders are willing to follow the suggestions, they usually regard the material authenticity as a concession owing to the limitation of budgetary resources. Even worse, the leaking roofs or the slant walls are commonly seen in a Hutong courtyard. When the building could not serve as a qualified living structure, the recognition of “authenticity” would be neglected. For the neighborhood administrators, it is a tough challenge to execute an ideal scheme after thorough considerations of the authentic restorations with limited capital.

Another obstacle of courtyard preservation management is the lack of communication regarding the responsibilities of partnerships for property management (Li 2015). Under current circumstances, inefficient and insufficient communication among the residents, property owners and the Property Management Agencies (PMAs) is a thorny problem for the Hutong administrators. Because of the complex composition of the Hutong neighborhood’s ownership, many courtyard residents are no longer the householders⁵. A portion of courtyard houses belongs to the Beijing Land and Housing Management Bureau (BLHMB) that can authorize some private PMAs to address specific managerial affairs with residents. The PMAs should provide

⁴ ICOMOS China. Revised 2015. “*Article 27. Minor and major restoration*”, *Principles for the Conservation of Heritage Sites in China*. Approved by the State Admin. of Cultural Heritage, Issued by ICOMOS China, Beijing: Cultural Relics Press.: 84

⁵ Liu, Lizao. 2011. “Beijing jiucheng Siheyuan chanquan yanbian tanxi” “北京旧城四合院产权演变探析” [An analysis of property ownership evolution of courtyard houses in the Beijing Inner City]. *Beijing Planning Review*, July 15: 21-24.

regular restorations when the courtyard residents apply for maintenance fees. Therefore, residents believe that the PMAs should provide more money for routine maintenance, while the PMAs think that it is the responsibility of the BLHMB to invest more funds to their authorized agencies. However, the BLHMB believes that the PMAs should take account of more economical utilizations of maintenance funds. In short, there is no a managerial mechanism which elaborates the clear responsibilities among different partnerships and community stakeholders lacks in the current system of Hutong neighborhood preservation.

The third but not least managerial issue is the lower degree of public participation in the decision-making process. Since the current approach of preservation management in the Hutong neighborhood is dependent on a single power oriented decision-making process, the sub-district officials, who are the dominant administrative power, face immense challenges in addressing all kinds of situations. To fulfill their obligations to benefiting and maintaining public infrastructure, local government and PMAs tend to devote efforts to more economical and controllable solutions. Therefore, some deteriorative building structures are demolished rather than restored, and some structural components are renovated without fitting the historical context. In general, many decisions prioritize the power of executors and officials during the process rather than promoting residents' participation. When the process of decision-making depends on the top-down guidance, the mechanism of Hutong management places grassroots involvement in a frustrating situation. If the residents have no channels to criticize the decisions which can harm their living environments, the accumulated grassroots dissatisfactions and indifferences also impede the work of top level agencies. As a result, the development of Hutong neighborhood management is caught in a vicious cycle where both top and bottom levels of stakeholders do not trust each other in making decisions. Therefore, a single power

oriented management approach restricts connections from outside of and within the community dedicated to Hutong preservation.

1.1.2 Effects of top-down preservation management of Hutong neighborhoods

In order to understand the reasons why the current management approach of Hutong neighborhoods has resulted in a series of problems hampering the preservation of neighborhood values in artistic, cultural, social and more others, the study needs to discern the historical incentives to the current approach. Since the promotion of the “Old and Dilapidated Housing Renewal Program (ODHRP)”⁶ in Beijing in the early 90s, which have emphasized a general and standardized improvement of public infrastructures, the state-centered governance has become the core approach in the large scale old city renewal. During the implementations of ODHRP for more than twenty years, economic interests, and decision-making efficiency have been widely accepted as the predominant standards for measuring program achievements. When reviewing the contemporary circumstance of the market economy and the political background of China during the late twentieth century, the government and market dominant management system do have advantages in decision-making efficiency. Many local governments and government agencies have strived for efficient and profitable solutions to respond to the complicated issues of old city renewal. Because of their pursuit of the final “big picture,” the municipal governments have led the preservation management as a result-oriented mechanism rather than a process-oriented one.

⁶ On April 30th, 1990, the Beijing municipal government issued a resolution to accelerate the pace of housing renewal, thus promulgating the “*Old and Dilapidated Housing Renewal Program*” [危旧房改造].

However, because of the high driving force of the market economy, the “results” describe the capacity for accelerating environmental changes and making real estate profits, rather than the effects of the management on site values. Therefore, the consequences of a top-down management approach being implemented today are revealed regarding the deficiency in managing miscellaneous values of historic neighborhoods. In addition to the over-emphasis of “result-oriented” approach, the effects of the top-down dominant system have exposed other inappropriateness in accommodating the needs of the current traditional community.

One of the disadvantages of top-down management is the disparities between the distinctive public demands and exclusive authoritative decision-making. In general, the demands of different residents even in one courtyard are usually divergent, whereas the officials and executors intend to reach a unified proposal for the entire neighborhood. So, the majority of decisions made by local governments cannot totally reflect the distinctions of grassroots appeals. Even though the conservation plans or the restoration proposals are typically made by professional institutions, these plans are rarely collective outcomes produced by comprehensive participant research that includes residents. The diverse demographic composition of the Chinese historic neighborhoods and the associated complexity of their historic legacies can lead to challenges in integrated preservation efforts. Therefore, assessments of the effects of centralized and inflexible decision-making mechanisms, including top-down preservation management strategies, on preserving historic values should be needed.

In addition, top-down management reifies the imbalance in managing the sophisticated interventions of administrative, market and grassroots forces. Since typically, the involvement of grassroots interests, that is, the Hutong residents’, is the weakest force in the decision-making process, the other two forces can clash with the individual and grassroots interests. Moreover, a

market-driven old city renewal would frustrate the interventions of local government in the stabilization of grassroots benefits. Some municipal governmental offices have attempted to reduce the powerful market interventions on the historic neighborhoods by enforcing policies of community autonomy. Nevertheless, the complete exclusion of the dominant market forces could not engage long-term and stable capital inputs for the improvement of public infrastructure. When there is imbalance among the different government, market, and grassroots interests, the current top-down management structures of power should further engage the other parties, especially during the initial planning phases as well as through implementation supervisory role(s), in order to promote a more organized and equitable management approach.

From the analysis above, it is clear that the current top-down dominant system for the preservation of Hutong neighborhoods is inadequate to achieve the goals of a sustainable and comprehensive program for managing historic sites and their values. Most of the conservation projects have depended on local governments as their driving force. Nevertheless, many contradictions between the government and grassroots interests, such as the utilization of funds; the responsibilities of management agencies; the priority of implementations, and other public benefits, remain relatively salient. Therefore, it is critical to explore the role, interests and actual/potential contributions of grassroots forces through a bottom-up management approach, as a complementary to the dominant government and the market force driven approaches.

1.1.3 Opportunities for developing bottom-up preservation management in China

As top-down management has existing deficiencies, it should draw lessons from different practical mechanisms regarding how a complementary bottom-up approach may

contribute to the enhancement of the effectiveness of the preservation management system. According to many countries' experiences, a sustainable mechanism promoting community autonomy will have a positive impact on the regeneration of historic neighborhoods. For example, Britain developed a system called "Community Architects (Hackney and Sweet 1990)," and the Community-Based Organization (CBO) has played a significant role in historic district rehabilitation in the US. Additionally, many NGOs/NPOs in Japan have employed community builders to traditional cultural regeneration. These mechanisms indicate how the community-based resources can contribute to the preservation of the distinctive characteristics of historic neighborhoods in the process of globalization. To the Beijing Hutong neighborhoods, local governments have already started making efforts to promote community autonomy. For example, the Sub-District Office of Beijing Dongcheng (or East Inner City) District has established an annual fund specifically devoted to the Hutong preservation programs. Furthermore, according to the guidance of the Fourth Plenary Session of CCPC (Chinese Communist Party of Central Committee) in 2014, the regulations claims that:

*"the local community should insist and enhance the system of grassroots autonomy; set up the system of democratic consultation with reasonable procedures and integral operations; and promote self-discipline, self-service, self-education, and self-supervision."*⁷

These supports indicate a positive political attitude to the development of bottom-up governance in China. Therefore, it is valuable to contemplate the potential opportunities that can result in a bottom-up management system.

⁷ Central Committee of the Chinese Communist Party. 2014. "Decision of the Fourth Plenum of the 18th CCP Central Committee (Chinese)." Genius. October 23. Accessed October 13, 2015. <http://genius.com/Central-committee-of-the-chinese-communist-party-decision-of-the-fourth-plenum-of-the-18th-ccp-central-committee-chinese-annotated>.

An early reform of bottom-up management system in China was indicated by the partition of community groups, particularly represented by instituted the Neighborhood Committee. In some traditional neighborhoods in China, typically Beijing and Shanghai, the prototypes of a layered management system are in the initial stages. One of the typical structures is organized by three layers of representatives:⁸

- a) Sub-District Office (SDO), (*also known as "Jie Dao Ban Shi Chu" in Chinese*) which is the administrative authority of various neighborhood committees;
- b) the community autonomous organizations made up primarily by property ownership committee, noted public figures, retired government employees, or other grassroots groups, owning the rights of discourse, proposal, and inspection on regeneration affairs;
- c) and, the Party committee (the Communist Party Organization and Committee) at the neighborhood level, plays a supervisory role for the managerial strengthening and reformation.

The division of responsibilities presents an awareness of checks and balances where the local government gradually delegates powers to the lower level organizations. The Party committee and the sub-district level government are respectively intended to clarify their administrative and their supervisory authorities. Hence, the community-based organizations would have more autonomous powers to initiate and execute the programs. During the expansion of responsibilities to additional stakeholders, a factor to be particularly concerned about is that the promotion of community autonomy should be a gradual process. Since the recognition of grassroots democracy has not been rooted in most of the traditional

⁸ Qian, Xiaolan. 2008. "Guanyu jiucheng gengxin zhong 'shequ zizhu zhili' fangshi de tantao" "关于就成更新中 '社群自主治理'方式的探讨" [The research of community self-governance on inner city renewal]. Master's Thesis, Shanghai Jiaotong Univeristy, Shanghai: 38.

neighborhoods in China, the support of local governments, whether in fundraising or personnel, are still crucial to the reformation of the management system. The difficulty of making changes is a result of long-standing traditions regarding community governance. Thus, in order to transform a traditionally dominant top-down mechanism, the lessons of bottom-up management for better effects of historic neighborhood preservation should draw from more regular practices in a steady progress.

1.1.4 Case study: a pilot preservation project led by CBO (SHHPS) in Beijing

For practicing the bottom-up management approach in Beijing Hutong neighborhoods, *the Shijia Hutong* neighborhood has taken the first step. The establishment of the “*Shijia Hutong Heritage Preservation Society*” (SHHPS) is a breakthrough for developing the CBO as a platform to carry out the preservation plans (*fig.1*). According to the missions claimed by the current director of SHHPS, “*The SHHPS is a platform intended to achieve ‘three integrations,’ which are ‘integrated fund,’ ‘integrated professions,’ and ‘integrated of grassroots powers.’*”⁹ The statement points out an objective of the SHHPS in assembling resources. Theoretically, even though bottom-up management encourages the integration of diversified stakeholders, the limited praxes would barely reveal more feasible effects in the context of Chinese traditional neighborhoods. Therefore, the SHHPS has launched an experimental project intending to put the theoretical demands of bottom-up management approach into the practice.

The pilot project of “*Our Courtyard*” is an initiative of renovation proposals targeting to the public spaces of the traditional Hutong courtyards. Each proposal needs to include specific

⁹ Qi, Mengzhu. 2014. "Benshi shouxian Hutong fengmao baohu xiehui" “本市首现胡同风貌保护协会” [The first Hutong historic preservation society of the city]. Beijing Daily, September 24: 9. Accessed October 18, 2015. <http://bjrb.bjd.com.cn/images/2014-09/24/09/09.pdf>.

design solutions, oral history research, budget plan, and implementation plan. The principle of the management approach is a grassroots-oriented decision-making process. The residents of every renovated courtyard should participate in key procedures of decision-making for determining the feasibility of proposals. Other than complying with the principle of a bottom-up decision-making, the project is intended to make breakthroughs on the resources of funding. Instead of current designated governmental funds, the SHHPS has devoted to engaging various investments from outside of the community. Since SHHPS has limited political powers in the regulation, it also has to cooperate with other community powers that know the information of Hutong residents well and connect the local authorities closely. Even though the role of *the Neighborhood Committee*¹⁰, which is a non-governmental department but a community association, is similar to the political status of SHHPS, it is an appropriate partner that can account for coordination between the individual resident and a preservation-based CBO. One, the personnel of *the Neighborhood Committee* has a close relationship with the residents, benefiting to the establishment of bottom-up connections with a pilot CBO. Two, *the Neighborhood Committee* is a neighborhood representative appointed by the SDO, which has a reliable credibility among the local residents.

In summary, to accomplishing an on-the-ground project, the SHHPS should keep tailoring strategies depending on the different partnerships, funding resources, and other collaborative situations. The task of a considerable support from every integrated family is also a tough challenge. When facing such cases, the thesis is intended to elaborate the arguments

¹⁰ The Neighborhood Committee, or also known as “Ju Min Wei Yuan Hui” [居民委员会], is a non-governmental association, but it is appointed by the Sub-District Office. The Neighborhood Committee should play the role of a coordinator between the local government and individual residents.

whether a CBO can demonstrate better effectiveness in the preservation management of Hutong neighborhoods.

1.2 Objective and hypothesis

The “*Our Courtyard*” renovation project offers a new bottom-up management approach for the regeneration of Hutong neighborhoods in Beijing. As of February 2016,¹¹ two out of the seven Hutong neighborhood courtyards have been renovated with the bottom-up management approach (*fig.2*). At this juncture, I believe that an evaluation of the original vision and outcomes of this new mode of historical neighborhood regeneration approach may provide critical insights into the future practices of SHHPS, or other Community-Based Organizations (CBOs), in the field of preservation management in China. In other words, the DSN-BHCD project offers a turning point to demonstrate the influence of a CBO in integrating grassroots opinion. Finally, this study also helps facilitate an analysis of the problems of the current top-down system.

My thesis probes into the effectiveness of the bottom-up management approach in preserving the values of the historic Hutong neighborhoods. My analysis is two-fold. First, I seek to identify, document and categorize the values related to the Hutong neighborhood under study. Second, I will perform a comparative analysis of the effects of using different preservation management approaches, namely the currently dominant, top-down management approach versus the CBO-oriented bottom-up mechanisms – on the regeneration of Hutong neighborhoods. Therein resides the focus of my research question, which is whether or not my

¹¹ BMICPD (Beijing Municipal Institute of City Planning and Design). 2016. "责任规划师制度与规划公众参与模式的推进-史家胡同风貌保护协会成立" [The promotion of the system of responsible planners and the mode of public participation: the establishment of Shijia Hutong Historic Preservation Society]. November 2. Accessed November 13, 2016. <http://www.bjghy.com.cn/yuanqing30/yqjnjc/yqjnjccon02-16.html>.

analysis supports a potential argument or position, which maintains that a bottom-up management approach possibly results in improved effects on the preservation of historic neighborhoods values. The synthesis of analysis can then elicit a hypothesis. That is, by establishing a systematic CBO-oriented management approach to pursuing preservation efforts, traditional Chinese neighborhoods could become more sustainable in managing their diversified values. The implications of promoting preservation mediated through a dedicated CBO is that the regeneration process itself could create opportunities for the identification and establishment of a more adaptive system for the historical Chinese social contexts within the Hutong neighborhoods. The CBO system can also benefit from establishing a more comprehensive understanding of the site values and increase in its deliberate adaptability of the decision-making process for current and future CBO restoration projects.



Figure 1. *The Establishment of Shijia Hutong Historic Preservation Society (SHHPS) at the Shijia Hutong Museum. Photo by SHHPS, September 2014, Beijing.*

Nei-Wu-Bu-Jie Hutong
N#34 内务部街胡同34号



Shi-Jia Hutong
S#5 史家胡同5号



Yan-Yue Hutong
Y#83 演乐胡同83号



Qian-Guai-Bang Hutong
Q#4 前拐棒胡同4号



Li-Shi Hutong
L#125 礼士胡同125号



Deng-Cao Hutong
D#66 灯草胡同66号



Ben-Si Hutong
B#48 本司胡同48号



Figure 2. *The Condition of Seven Selected Courtyards for Renovations. The "Our Courtyard" Renovation Project Was Initiated by the SHHPS. Photos by Haoyu Wang, July 2014, Beijing.*

CHAPTER 2 LITERATURE REVIEW

If asked a Chinese about the impression of a characteristic Beijing civic life, perhaps the answer of “Hutong” would come to mind by numerous people. To the present generations of “Beijingers”, this answer may probably just a subjective reflex of what they believed past images of hutong lives. At that time, probably back to the late Five Dynasties at earliest, the traditional Beijing civic life should have been in a state of better condition, as opposing to what the hutong neighborhoods have gone through under the large-scale urban redevelopment for almost half a century. Actually, according to the historic photographs and literature documentations, the current built environments of hutong neighborhoods are improved as a matter of fact. Whether from the green environments, commercial facilities, public sanitations or infrastructures, objectively, the current hutong environments can meet the modern life requirements. Nevertheless, why the feelings of decline in quality of life is rooted in minds of contemporary Beijingers? The roots had generated probably not only due to the increased demands of residents on modern lives. To a great extent, it could have generated because of the inappropriate strategies on historic site management. The failure in conducting sustainably “soft” mechanism for the hutong neighborhood upgrading, would also head to dissatisfaction of local people to the contemporary status. The following sections summarize a brief review on how the hutong neighborhoods within the inner city of Beijing have developed from early formative periods to the modern transformation. Particularly after the founding of PRC, a series of efforts dedicated to the Beijing old city regeneration are worthwhile to be reviewed for their significances as the foundation on implementing the community autonomy. By tracing out the history of hutong neighborhood developments, the paper aims to understand the questions of:

- a) Why the preservation of values of hutong neighborhoods are significant?

b) How are the effects of bottom-up governance on preserving values?

2.1 Evolution of Old Peking Hutong neighborhoods

A) Formative periods (13th century - mid 20th century)

In the Chinese history of Yuan (1271-1368), Ming (1368-1644), and Qing (1644-1911) Dynasties, “Hutong” was once the predominant structure of the imperial capital. Based on the explanation in the *YAN DU CONG KAO* [燕都丛考], “Hutong” by definition means the layout and structure of Chinese northern architectural style which appeared since Yuan Dynasty in around the 13th century. The primary function of hutong is the passageway as similar as li-longs or narrow alleys. Each hutong links the residential courtyards in a well-regulated order, assemble on both sides of the passageway. Other than providing traffic capacity, the formations of hutong neighborhoods also have an influence on the social and cultural characters.

As the symbol of traditional Chinese vernacular architecture complex, hutong plays an important role as a social space in the long process of Beijing old city’s spatial development. Firstly, hutong had initially formed ever since the basic residential mode of *Siheyuan* was established in the Yuan Dynasty. In the year of 1276 AD, the empire had established the capital named as Da Du in the northeast of former capital relics of Yuan Zhong Du. According to the records of “Zhou Li [周礼],” the structure of Da Du, where at now is the territory of Beijing inner city, was like a cheese board. The overall plan of early hutong neighborhoods was organized in a rectangular shape. Since then, the construction plan of capital had entered a new stage of standardizing and enlarged scale characterized by the unified standard, planning, material, and construction team. By structuring Hutongs as the principle of defining administrative

boundaries of the neighborhood, the early political significance has begun to attach in the values of Hutong. The architectural design of *Siheyuan* provides for proper ventilation and natural light. Similarly, the design of Hutong not only provide solutions for fire prevention at that time, but it also purposely contributes to improving the street facilities when the demands of the vehicle increased through Hutong.

The physical functions of Hutong turn out that the formation of Hutong neighborhood was a natural process by meeting the requirements of dwelling conditions. Yet, the utilization of Hutong neighborhood as an administrative tool has attained its social function. As early as the Ming and Qing Dynasties, the authorities had already managed the administrative boundaries in accordance with the division of Hutong neighborhoods. Then, the *Hu Kou*¹² system initially formed on the basis of compiled Hutong neighborhood.

B) After the founding of People's Republic of China (PRC) (1949-1979)

The major periods of sociopolitical contexts since 1949:

- Reconstruction Periods (1949-1952)
- First Five-Year Plan (1953-1957)
- The Great Leap Forward (1958-1961)
- Recovery and Adjustment (1961-1966)
- The Cultural Revolution (1966-1976)
- Post-Cultural Revolution (1976-1979)

¹² "A *Hu Kou* is a record in a government system of household registration required by law in mainland China, and determines where citizens are allowed to live. The system itself is more properly called "huji", and has origins in ancient China." Wikipedia, last modified 12 December, 2016.
https://en.wikipedia.org/wiki/Hukou_system

Considering the formation of old Beijing hutong neighborhoods had been almost the outcomes of a city formative process, the fate of neighborhood transitions after the founding of PRC have been bound up with the transformation of Beijing city in the latter half of 20th century. After the founding of PRC in the year of 1949, a new forms of collective residential standard have been replacing the former archetype of *Siheyuan* as the estate of a wealthy and influential family. During *the Great Leap Forward* period (1958-1961), in order to relieve the migrating population in Beijing, many private householders have transferred their surplus *Siheyuan* properties to the Beijing Land and Housing Management Bureau (BLHMB) [北京市房屋管理局] (K. Li 2009, 12). Since then, between five and ten households now share a compound originally intended for a single extended family. When the traditional living model had changed from one big family to multiple families, the residential culture of old Beijing hutong neighborhood has been changing meanwhile. During *the Cultural Revolution* period (1966-1976), the contradictions of population density and residential scarcity have already become difficult to reconcile. Then the makeshift additions built by residents on their own, have been widespread in Beijing. However, there were no standards on the style and material requirements about the self-built additions at that time. As a result, almost all of the traditional old Beijing *Siheyuan* have turned into crowded courtyards since 70s'. When the courtyard space had reached to the narrowest, the hutong public space has become another storage space in the neighborhood unavoidably. In sum, before the ends of *the Cultural Revolution*, the overwhelming self-built additions in the *Siheyuan* had relieved the migrant booms in temporary though, the environmental qualities have been declining severely because these makeshift additions are in general narrow and damp, and in still expansion (K. Li 2009, 13).

C) Housing Reform Era (1979-1998)

The ends of *the Cultural Revolution* in the year of 1976 have alarmed Chinese central government that the housing problems should have been involved in the country's socioeconomic development. Since the housing was considered as social welfares before 90s', the nation was thus responsible for the provision, allocation, administration, and maintenance of all housings, however heavy the burden of responsibility (Chen 1988). The insufficient market interventions and discouraging housing policies could not resolve the housing shortage problems for the time. Essentially, the urban housing shortages can be seen as the result of the low-rent policy and the highly centralized building industry (Lee 1988, 396). Furthermore, the housing system has also raised issues of heavy burdens on the housing investment funds for the local governments. In the year of 1979, *as the Open Door Policy* extending, the housing reforms have started to be proclaimed as a result of the forces from market and private enterprises, following the world trend in the privatization of public services (Broudehoux 1994). In Broudehoux's (1994, Chapter 2), quoted

*"The initial goals of the housing reform were to establish an equitable and efficient system to solve the housing shortage problems and to convert the heavily subsidized house-building industry into a self-financing business."*¹³

The intent of the Policy initially was to relieve the nation's over burden, also to help stabilize the economic environments. *The Housing Reform Policy* declared in the year of 1998, was officially commercialized the housing provision system by abolishing the policy of housing allocation as social welfares. *The Housing Reform Policy* also aims at the decentralization of decision-making concerning housing production (Chen 1988).

¹³ Fong, Peter K. W. "Housing Reforms in China." Habitat International, 1989; 29-41.

Over the years, the housing reform has been slowly implemented, but it has not yet produced the expected results nor fulfilled its original goals. Low wages and the lack of aids in the form of bank loans or mortgages have hampered the smooth implementation of the commercialization schemes. In Broudehoux's (1994, Chapter 2), quoted

*"Even when highly subsidized, buying a house has remained too expensive for the majority of the population, and with the remaining low-rent policy it was still more convenient to rent an apartment than to buy it."*¹⁴

What was even worse is that the housing construction boom in 80's accentuated the inequalities. Primarily as a result of the unequal allocation of housing investment funds between state-owned and collectively owned properties (Lee 1988, 398).

Although the land ownership in China is owned by the nation, the property ownership¹⁵ falls into three broad categories:

- a) Housing owned by the municipal government;
- b) Housing under the management of various work units¹⁶, which are divided into state-owned and collectively owned enterprises;
- c) Private housing

Broudehoux (1994, Chapter 2) pointed out, "the construction companies are generally in charge of the building maintenance during the first year following the completion of a new

¹⁴ Zhu Yan. "Home Buying, Affordable?" Building in China, Dec. 1989; 43-44.

¹⁵ "Individuals cannot privately own land in China but may obtain transferrable land-use rights for a number of years for a fee. Currently, the maximum term for urban land-use rights granted for residential purposes is seventy years. In addition, individuals can privately own residential houses and apartments on the land ("home ownership"), although not the land on which the buildings are situated (Law Library of Congress Revised 2015)."

¹⁶ Work unit, also translate in Chinese as "Dan Wei" [单位], which is a very important institute in socialist China. According to Kim Joochui, the work unit constitutes the basic unit of the social organization, central to the daily life of most workers. Work units are supposed to provide lifelong employment, health insurance, social security and housing for their employees (Kim 2007).

project. The maintenance responsibility has then been passed on to the BLHMB in the municipal district level government, which are also responsible for maintaining outdoor public space.”

D) Beijing Inner City Renewal (1990-2010s)

In early practices of *the Housing Reform Policy*, although the system of the housing industry has been experiencing significant transformations in the market fundamentally, the remaining issues such as severe housing shortage and unequal financial allocation have motivated the central government to explore new breakthroughs. During this period, due to the accelerated expectations on the private investments, governmental force in the real estate market have shown a tendency to step aside for the market force. Therefore, the market-driven developments have presented very high demands on the economic rewards. Correspondingly, the requirements on the amount of construction have surged the implementation of Beijing Inner City (Old City) renewal in the late 90s’. Another critical incentive of the renewal is because of the local residents’ aspirations for better housing conditions. In April 1990, People's Municipal Government of Beijing commissioned the Beijing Municipal Institute of City Planning and Design (BMICPD) to draw up a master plan of “Old and Dilapidated Housing Renewal Program” (ODHRP) for the four central city’s historic districts, in order to accelerate their renewal (*fig.3*).

Essentially, this program was an experimental project of neighborhood regeneration. According to Broudehoux (1994, Chapter 3), the key players and their roles in the regeneration process involves a) the diverse levels of local government; b) the various construction and development companies; c) and the actual residents of the neighborhoods to be redeveloped¹⁷. Their specific roles played in the projects are (Broudehoux 1994):

- a) *“The district governments are usually the main coordinators for carrying out regeneration projects. They determine the location and the size of renewal parcels,*

¹⁷ He, Hongyu. “Living Conditions in Beijing’s Courtyard Housing” Beijing in China. Dec.1990;14-20.

choose the type of development and project design, and take responsibility for management after construction. Projects are generally designed by architectural institutes which are under the control of one level of local government or another.

- b) *The development agencies, or developers, are companies affiliated to the city or district Beijing Land and Housing Management Bureau (BLHMB). They are evolving into profit-making, self-supporting business, although they continue to operate within the government's imprimatur.¹⁸ In June 1992, Beijing's municipal regulations began to permit the lease of land to developers who have rapidly taken the leading role in the regeneration process. Developers are now responsible for the construction of housing and infrastructure on the site and for the provision of housing for the original population on or off the site.¹⁹*
- c) *The original residents are often left out of the process, despite the expected situation that almost 40% of Beijing's residents would be affected by housing regeneration in the early periods of policy introduced. Their role is limited to the acceptance or refusal of relocation to another site."²⁰*

The residential improvements in the early experimental stage of the program, was primarily achieved by replacing the dilapidated housing with better dwellings for the residents in situ. So, architects would still consider the contextual consistency in the design. This approach, however, was too small-scale and unprofitable to include significant infrastructure improvements. Abramson (2001) explains that,

"Municipalities needed to capitalize on land values in the old central neighborhoods in order to improve both housing conditions and infrastructure, and so the regeneration program soon involved relocating whole communities to distant suburban greenfield sites, while the original neighborhoods were replaced by increasingly denser and higher buildings for sale to wealthy companies or powerful agencies and their employees."

The wholesale replacements of the hutong neighborhoods by superblocks of multistory apartments have threatened to divide the city into distinct, socially exclusive neighborhoods. Traditional hutong neighborhoods accommodated a relatively diverse mix of residents from different levels of wealth and influence. The *Siheyuan* typology was largely responsible for this since it allowed dwellings of varying qualities and densities in mixture without mutual

¹⁸ Lu Junhua. "Beijing's Old and Dilapidated Housing Renewal (I)." *Building in China*, June 1993; 24-35.

¹⁹ Chapter 3. Neighborhood regeneration in Beijing.

²⁰ Yang Yanmin. "Old Courtyard Houses in Beijing." *Building in China*, Dec. 1990; 21-24.

compatibility. Large-scale demolition and relocation have been beginning to highlight social inequalities in Beijing. Although the program of historical neighborhood regeneration has effects on improving the living conditions of partial families, it has also brought deconstruction of the identity of an integral community. The strong communities are usually defined by housing neighborhoods in traditional Chinese cities. Specifically, in Beijing, the narrow Hutong neighborhoods shared by multiple households, has shaped a sense of identity among the residents with homes and surroundings.²¹ Thereupon then, the government has limited the range to test alternative development approaches, for example, “to move beyond its current reliance on elite decision-making, to encompass a more socially broad-based opposition to the market-dominant redevelopment” (Abramson 2001, 10).

2.2 Challenges of historic neighborhood preservation in China

The drives of market forces have been predominating the redevelopment of developing countries’ traditional neighborhoods in the late twentieth century, the fate of Hutong neighborhood in Beijing, China, in some ways reflects the worldwide challenges between the preservation of urban heritage and development. The profound debates on the preservation of historic neighborhoods became a key topic in the professionalism of the urban planning field in China, even before the market economy completely replaced the housing distribution system in the early 90s’. While many countries have faced conflicts between the urban heritage preservation and renewal, what is unusual about China is “*the prominence of legitimizing socialist mandate and paternalistic attention to the average city dweller’s welfare*” (Abramson

²¹ Broudehoux (1994, Chapter 3) quoted in, Bhatt, Vikram et al. *Housing a Billion I: Design Ideas for Rural China*. Montreal: Minimum Cost Housing Group, 1992.

2001, 9). It has also cast the light on China's particular evolution of urban policy and planning techniques in the context of an emerging market for housing and urban land. Although redevelopment had been driven by profit-seeking *parastatal development companies* [半国营集团], which are run on by national companies during the late twentieth century, the redevelopment programs could be justified if they have resulted in significant improvements in the standards of citywide public infrastructure (Abramson 2001, 9). The administrative mandate with a focus on the market-driven redevelopment has manifested advantages in protecting public environments and equality of social welfares. However, such predominant top-down interventions have been leading towards an unaccommodated relationship between the “preservation” and “development” in the management of historic urban neighborhoods.

The first conflict is from the perspective of public demands. The upgrading of public infrastructure, which emphasized the efficiency of reconstruction results has ignored the cooperative experience in the process. Moreover, the decision or policy making process has ignored the community participation. Together those conflicts have counted against the preservation by means of a deliberate management mechanism. The common outcome has prioritized the emphasis on the economic benefits over individually social values. Admittedly, the prioritization could offer a quick solution and more opportunities to solve some stubborn problems existing in the historic neighborhoods, such as the complete renovation of Hutong pavements and sanitary systems. However, the continuous ignorance the practices through the process of preservation from different scales and interests, the decisive dogmatism would eventually lose the balance in the collective and individual benefits.

With limited resources, the municipal government, was reluctant to encourage the historic neighborhood preservation, as the severe housing shortages required immediate and substantial development. In addition, the central government was reluctant to implement preservation centered regeneration, because the process required major changes in the management system at the time of Reform Era, in regards to design, implementation, and finance. At a time when the housing system was immature, historic neighborhood regeneration by means of a bottom-up preservation management would have been regarded as a complex and lengthy process which would have been inefficient in terms of land-use and density and not highly profitable (Broudehoux 1994). A preservation centered old city regeneration did not fit the image that the authorities had of the renewed city.

Another critical challenge at the time was the “image” of architectural monuments as a symbol of old social and political representation. Before the Reform Era, the ideology of preservation of Beijing vernacular architecture remains overshadowed by an older discourse that is,

“Its particular historic monuments and the structure of the entire Old City itself as a monument to ancient Chinese urban planning. Because the preservation of Beijing’s monumental qualities involves problems of national cultural, political, and ideological symbolism to a greater degree than does the preservation of vernacular housing, the discourse has also tended to ignore the socioeconomic dimension of heritage preservation in Beijing (Abramson 2001, 8).”

When the scope of built environments and cultural influences of a form of the traditional architectural complex have become the symbol of a national image, the physical changes aiming toward a nation’s transformation would start from these representative “images” – historical neighborhoods. On one aspect, the changes of historical environment convey the determination in the changes of political and cultural ideologies. On the other hand, the renewal of built environment is a straightforward method to rebuild a new “image”. Thus,

the balance between the preservation of historic environments and the development of national new “image” has become a contrary topic for a long period since *the Reform Era* in China, especially in the capital Beijing. Moreover, the general disdain for historic houses, which were considered as a "symbol of poverty, lack of choice, neglect, and oppression, viewed as small and squalid, and unfit for human life (Broudehoux 1994, Chapter 5) have been misleading. Most people living in traditional houses have admitted that they would prefer to move into a new apartment with modern facilities and higher standards.

Aiming to the sustainable regeneration, the Hutong neighborhood, in particular, should consider returning fundamentally to the promotion of a “soft” mechanism, using organizational strategies to solve the problems. The traditional management of Hutong neighborhood has involved stakeholders mainly concentrated at the government level. This kind of institutionalized structure limits the creativity and upgrade of managerial strategies. Especially, with the complicated relationships presented in the historic neighborhood requires greater diversity for contriving solutions in the balance of defects in traditional redevelopment projects. Therefore, a management mechanism that is capable of giving consideration to both the preservation and development is in an urgent need for the administrators of Hutong neighborhoods. The mechanism, on the one hand, can strengthen the community participation through increasing the recognition of neighborhood values; on the other hand, can expand the sustainable investments from both public and private resources rather than the current approach which relies greatly on developer fundraising.

2.3 Efforts dedicated to bottom-up preservation management

2.3.1 Theoretical demands on community autonomy

The issues reflected from the single-centered governance of historic neighborhoods indicate that a suitable mechanism of historic neighborhood development should have sufficient ability and resources to balance the multiple needs of participants. In the current mechanism of old city renewal, the forces of social, market and government perform in an unbalanced and unequal state. The influence of the government is emphasizing the needs of the market strength and weakening the social force represented by the power of ordinary residents. Regarding the relations of how the three most important forces perform differently in the mechanism of old city renewal in present and ideal (Qian 2008, 19-20), the forces that drive the urban spatial evolution in China are (Qian 2008, 20) (*fig.4*):

- a) Government forces that include different levels of government organizations who formulate the policies and laws.
- b) Market forces which include real estate development companies, property management agencies, business enterprises, and industrial enterprises.
- c) Social forces in the context of urban renewal are represented by the residents of historic neighborhoods, the academic institutions, non-governmental organizations and community organizations.

Considering the present market force tends to pursue the capital efficiency in a short-term, the principle is easy to against the objective of a planning activity. Urban planning, especially related to the issue of the historic district, is dedicated to accomplishing the social equality and efficiency. When the market forces strengthen the social effectiveness, the social

equality needs to be protected and sustained through a mechanism to balance the power of public welfare, diversity, and fair in the actions of old city renewal (Qian 2008).

Community autonomy is a feasible strategy in searching for multi-centered governance. Different from the previous experience of self-governance adopted by a few local governments, the residents should have the power in discourse and decision-making. When the mechanism of community autonomy holds enough ability to intervene and to even restraint the decisions about public interests that are made primarily through governmental interventions and market regulations in traditional, the disadvantages of single-centered governance by the government can be remedied.

The other motivation to encourage the community autonomy is considered the changes of global social environment. It is reasonable to question the current concentrations on a material-centered restoration in the practices of historic neighborhood preservation in China. In a network and intellectual based global environment, the demands of more and more various stakeholders would manifest different requirements to the renewal of historic neighborhoods. Under the context of an open world, the clear strategies are in need to support a more holistic and complicated management system. It is a time emphasizes on the collective rationale. Stevens (Stevens 1993) gives an explanation of the characteristics of participants attached to a mechanism by collective choice,

“A simplistic view of collective choice is that everyone in a group comes together to decide a matter of common interest. This invites images of community, belonging, and responsibility, but it characterizes only a small part of collective choice.”

2.3.2 Influence of nonprofit groups on the historic preservation in China

In China, the interest in the historic preservation of cultural heritage contributes to resulting in the creation of either local-local grassroots organizations or the officially registered provincial and national level NGOs. Perhaps the most famous and pertinent is the Beijing Cultural Heritage Protection Center (CHP), founded in 1998 and legally registered with the Beijing Bureau of Civil Affairs in 2003.²² Other forms of volunteer-based organizations predominately serve as the valuable resource to the traditional neighborhoods or preservation-related community. According to Bell, *“the researchers can offer walking tours, educational events, and an open library of resources about Beijing’s built heritage as valuable vernacular building stocks. In addition, the organization is politically active.”*²³ The domestic NGOs are mainly devoting efforts to *“increase of social awareness on the issue of threatened properties and neighborhoods.”*²⁴ From the effects of how some historical-cultural districts have been preserved and renewed under the supports of NGOs in China, for example, the Da-Shi-La, Qianmen Street, and Gulou Street, an apparent mode of renovation is to recreate a commercial neighborhood. Although this commercialized model has been overly repeated, it is an influential venue for the neighborhoods to participate in the local planning decisions subjectively (Bell 2014).

A growing number of practices concerning the collective actions in China have also embarked on creating opportunities for unofficial community participation in the implementation of the redevelopment of traditional neighborhoods. Some practices have

²² Beijing Cultural Heritage Protection Center (CHP) is a small grassroots, legally-registered NGO working to protect cultural heritage across China. <http://en.bjchp.org/>

²³ Bell, Jonathan S. 2014. *The How and Why of Urban Preservation: Protecting Historic Neighborhoods in China.* Phd Dissertations, UNIVERSITY OF CALIFORNIA, Los Angeles: 103.

<http://escholarship.org/uc/item/0b07422c>

²⁴ Ibid.

highlighted the ability of the community to preserve the neighborhood as much as its capacity to defy the municipal government and put planned redevelopment on hold for years. Some have highlighted the collective action mobilized by a local non-governmental organization (NGO), which underscores the potential role of community-based organizations (CBOs) in preservation advocacy.²⁵ These practices draw attention to collective action as a method to influence the physical and social composition of historic neighborhoods and redefine the parameters of planned redevelopment.

2.3.3 Case study: An urban preservation action in American neighborhoods

The creation of the Charleston Historic District, South Carolina, in the year of 1931, has pioneered the numbers of designated historic districts in American cities (Murtagh 2006). This pilot project indicates that the preservation efforts have expanded beyond the individual landmarks to the broader contexts of the urban environment in the US. Thus, the conflicts over land use, property value, and allocation of residents were hard to avoid (Tung 2001). In order to relieve the growing tensions between property owners and new renters due to the increased land and property values of historic neighborhoods, the decentralized decision-making system has started to play significant effects in the process of urban preservation in American cities (Page and Mason 2004). Considering the distinct values and policies of different states and cities in the urban preservation, the community-based decision-making system has been highlighted of necessity. Moreover, the advantages of fiscal incentives in America have also motivated the urban heritage preservation towards an economic-oriented action in the urban lives. Even though the power of making decisions has been gradually decentralized into the community

²⁵ Ibid. p200.

level, local government is generally recognized as an important stakeholder. Admittedly, it is almost impossible for any preservation effort without the supports of local politics (Stipe 2003). Also, according to the Stipe, although the role of local governments is the most important engines of preservation activity, they do not act independently. The regulatory authority is empowered by the state, and the fiscal incentives for preservation are funded by many public, private, and nonprofit sources (Stipe 2003). In general, from the experiences of American historic district preservation, although the process should be considered as a bottom-up effort initiated by local communities, it is impossible without the local political support. Typically, the power of agenda-setting of local officials suggests the limits of civic participation. In the meantime, local political power would selectively ignore the community interventions because the community preservation initiatives may empower CBOs and weaken the local authority (Zhang 2013).

Many cases of American urban preservation actions are dedicated efforts to establish inner community powers with bottom-up practices as a counterweight to the top-down practices from local authorities. One influential “neighborhood movement” is the “Brownstone Brooklyn” (Osman 2011). The movement demonstrated the ability of how bottom-up power can impel the renovation of historic old houses as a fashionable social activity. The neighborhood was originally dominated by Irish and Italian immigrants, as well as by Puerto Ricans and African Americans. It was crowded by deteriorating “brownstone”²⁶ rowhouses in narrow streets. Through the efforts of fostering neighborhood associations, block associations, and coalition groups such as the Brooklyn Brownstone Conference and the Brownstone Revival Committee,

²⁶ The architecture character is called “brownstones” because of the color of the soft sandstone that formed many of the building façade.

these community-based organizations gradually were able to play the role of professional planning, architecture, landscape and preservation consultants. These groups have given attentions to neighborhood beautification, tree-planting, community gardens, and protection and revitalization of Brooklyn's historic parks. The community-based organizations have performed a kind of anti- "big government" statement in Osman's hypothesis (Pearson 2013). This preservation action dedicated to community regeneration in the late 60's has gradually brought the prosperity of private investment market. Dramatically, the gentrified people in the different races have started to move back to the historic neighborhoods. In the words of the cofounder of Brownstone Brooklyn Committee, Osman contends,

"Brownstone Brooklyn saw the emergence of a new and dynamic type of localist politics that was both anti-statist and anti-corporate, and which emphasized neighborhood autonomy, private rehabilitation of existing housing stock, devolution of municipal services to community nonprofit groups, mini-planning, ethnic power, and bootstrap do-it-yourselfism. (Pearson 2013, 269)"

In the case of Bronzeville, the community leaders have used urban preservation as a tool to influence the process of redevelopment, particularly to prevent the massive demolition and displacement of built environments in the long term (Zhang 2013).



Figure 3. The Four Major Beijing Inner City Districts in 1990: The West City District (Xi Shi Qu), the East City District (Dong Shi Qu), the Xuan Wu District and the Chong Wen District.
 Source: <http://www.mcgill.ca/mchg/student/neighborhood/chapter3>

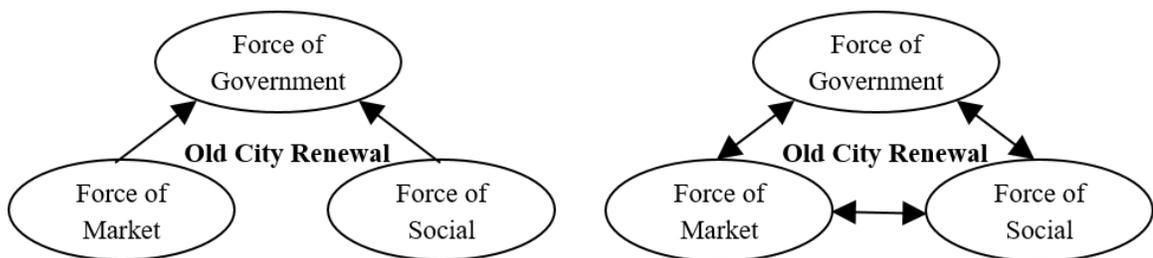


Figure 4. The Present Mechanism of the Old City Renewal (left) and the Ideal Mechanism of the Old City Renewal (right). Source by Qian, Xiaolan. 2008, Shanghai.

CHAPTER 3 METHODOLOGY

3.1 Fieldwork & research, data sources, and data analysis

3.1.1 Description of prior site of practice, fieldwork & research

My thesis is based on research and data that I collected during a summer internship in *the Beijing Municipal Institute of City Planning and Design (BMICPD)* from June to August of 2015. I participated in the “*Our Courtyard*” project in order to understand the effects of a bottom-up Community-Based Organization (CBO) approach dedicated to the historic preservation of traditional Chinese neighborhoods. In this context, I gained insight into some of the current top-down managerial challenges and issues. My two-month internship practice included the early phases of proposal initiative; courtyard selection; construction of partnership; fieldwork; archival research; interviews with residents; stakeholder workshops, and the formulation of implementation plans. Finally, I returned in March of 2016 to follow up and resurvey the field when two of the seven courtyards renovations had been completed.

My internship practice and follow-up survey visitation laid a foundation for my data collection and analysis. First, my involvement in the process of proposing strategies and agenda with our partners (e.g. designers, officials, foundations, etc.) contributed to my understanding of the shaping of a bottom-up decision-making process. Second, my involvement in the fieldwork for courtyard selection; identification of potential design problems, and researching related archival materials, provided me with evidence for identifying the tangible and intangible values of the Hutong neighborhood. Third, interviewing Hutong residents and conducting stakeholder workshops informed my qualitative analysis and research question, which inquired into how a grassroots-oriented program could enhance the previously insular knowledge database and partner resources. Fourth, we worked to achieve consensus about the renovation plans among

the residents; CBO administrators and local governmental officials; designers; investors; construction teams, and other volunteers.

My sources of data support my before and after-implementation comparative analysis of the renovation of two out of the seven courtyards. As a result, an analysis of the renovated courtyards provides an opportunity for the evaluation of the effects of a bottom-up management process in the preservation practices compared to the traditional top-down approach.

3.1.2 Data sources

I use data from primary and secondary sources, including archival and documental research, interviews, workshop records, and site documentation. These data provide a broad scope of understanding from both literary and practical cases on the differences between the top-down government-guided and bottom-up CBO approaches, respectively.

A) Archival, documental and statistical sources

The archival and documentation sources related to the context of the study area (the Dongsinan (DSN) Beijing Historic-Cultural District (DSN-BHCD)) provide important evidence to support the conceptualization and analysis of the site issues. First, relevant public documents (including plans, regulations, and principles), especially the Dongsinan (DSN) Historical Area Conservation Plan (DSN-HACP)²⁷ and the *Beijing Old City House Improvement and Protection Technical Guidelines (BOCHIPTG)*, facilitate the identification of values, and criteria of execution

²⁷ BMICPD (Beijing Municipal Institute of City Planning and Design). 2013. "Dongsinan Historical Area Conservation Plan." unpublished works, Beijing Dongcheng Municipal Commission of Urban Planning, Beijing Municipal Institute of City Planning & Design, Beijing. <http://bbs.caup.net/read-htm-tid-18773-page-1.html>.

of renovation plans. Second, there is limited access to official data sources, because many historical and archival materials are confidential to government use in China. Under the support of CYM-SDO (Sub-District Office), the SHHPS could acquire some demographic information (e.g. property ownership, the age of householder/tenant, and family members) of each renovated courtyard and the basic type and condition of courtyard plans (e.g. property division and drainage system distribution). (fig.5) Additionally, other relevant publications, such as local newspaper or journals, have effectively recorded and reported the past and present influential maintenance and repair activities around the study area (the DSN-BHCD). (Appendix A) Other statistical sources include the information of rental costs and availability that are crucial in analyzing the issue of economic effects on site development.

B) Participant interviews and workshops

The interviews conducted to examine the variety and range of attitudes about historic preservation approaches for this comparative analysis provide insights from both grassroots and officials perspectives. Interviewees are typically divided into three groups:

- a) courtyard residents with deep knowledge about their *Siheyuan's* history;
- b) relevant officials responsible for the cultural and environmental construction of the DSN-BHCD;
- c) the administrative staff and volunteers of SHHPS.

These are critical participants who can provide more professional and specific opinion to the site condition. Additionally, workshop records also provide temporal evidence supporting some of the progress made during the renovation program.

C) Site documentations

The physical environment documentation focusing on seven renovated courtyards helps guide the overall program agenda and the subsequent evaluation of my study. One of my contributions to the SHHPS's program was to initiate a sample site documentation about the environmental condition of one courtyard (the S#5). The details of the documentation include:

- a) identification of property ownership (*fig.6*);
- b) distribution of exterior storage space and green space (*fig.7*);
- c) current condition of hanging objects, typically clotheslines and electrical wires (*fig.8*);
- d) the damaged condition of courtyard pavements (*fig.9*);
- e) the highlight of characteristic views with architectural and historical significance (*fig.10*).

This information can serve as a baseline before specific design solutions are proposed, and becomes essential for recording the environmental quality of each courtyard, as part of the overall renovation. In addition, the process of site documentation provides designers with the opportunity to build connections with the residents. Part of the bottom-up approach was informed by this data collection process. For instance, designers were able to gain new insights into possible physical changes based on each *Siheyuan's* social background, through the process of making acquaintance with local people who had knowledge about the inner relationships between households within *Siheyuan* units. Finally, other than the above-mentioned site documentation and retrieved graphic records, my sources of data include field notes, researcher memos, and personal reflections.

3.1.3 Data analysis: evaluation framework

To analyze the effects of SHHPS's efforts on the renovation of traditional Beijing *Siheyuan*, I have chosen to focus my evaluation to a comparative analysis of the differences

between two management approaches, namely the government-oriented top-down approach versus a CBO-oriented bottom-up approach. Their different effects on managing the actual physical renovation projects, as well as interpreting and preserving the sociocultural values of Hutong neighborhoods, are two critical perspectives for synthesizing the effectiveness of SHHPS's achievements as well as its limitations. My evaluation framework begins with an analysis of historical and prevailing problems facing the two management approaches. I identify key stakeholders and delve into their possible interests from socio-political perspectives. Then I trace the purpose to develop the CBO as a cooperative breakthrough of governmental and grassroots cohesion, which serve as a catalyst for sustainable change. (fig.11)

3.2 Value-centered methodology

3.2.1 Features of a value-centered methodology

The arguments on valuing-heritage have proceeded from a long tradition in the West since the nineteenth century by a group of art historians such as Ruskin, Riegl, Morris, and Brandi. The publication of the Burra Charter (1979) has been serving as an essential declaration of the value-centered methodology when implementing the preservation-related actions and discussions. Recently revised version of the Burra Charter (2013) highlights the definition of *Conservation*²⁸ that “is an integral part of the management of places of cultural significance and

²⁸ In the Australia context, the term of “Conservation” particularly refers to “the more common approach in relation to the built environments, and is based on belief that community should be able to use the physical and natural environment. Preservation is a more defined outcome with a stronger approach in relation to the protection of plants and animals, natural area, and important structure (Mahoney 2015).” Comparatively, in the United States context, according to the statement by the National Park Service, “Conservation is generally associated with the protection of natural resources, while preservation is associated with the protection of buildings, objects, and landscape (National Park Service n.d.).”

*is an ongoing responsibility.*²⁹ The concise statement articulates three critical characteristics of conservation, which are “an integral part,” “with cultural significance,” and “an ongoing responsibility.” According to the definition, the theoretical requirements to the preservation effects are complicated and ambitious to the practitioners. However, the prospect of integrity, significance, and continuity nearing the preservationists and conservationists’ goals draw them on the pragmatic processes constantly. For managing a challenging process with proper considerations of site integrity, the preservation teams need to involve different voices, as the support of propositions to identify the historic site significance. As Torre, MacLean, Mason, and Myers (Torre, et al. 2005, 5) identified,

“Value-based site management is the coordinated and structure operation of a heritage site with the primary purpose of protecting the significance of the place as defined by designation criteria, government authorities or other owners, experts of various stripes, and other citizens with legitimate interests in the place.”

Since the value-centered methodology acknowledges the significance of the place by values, the varied recognitions on values determine the preservation management as a dynamic process. As Randall Mason (Mason 2002, 8) point out in assessing values, heritage values are multivalent and contingent, which neither objectively given nor merely sets of arts or records analyzed and articulated by experts. Such a managerial mechanism requires comprehensive resource and sufficient initiatives in the different phases of interventions. Particularly in Beijing, for the administrators of the historic-cultural district, the preservation management initiated by managing the value diversity rather than by meeting the authorities’ targets in built environments, will provide more inclusiveness and possibilities for the continuity of preservation works. During the complicated process at least including documentation,

²⁹ ICOMOS, Australia. *The Burra Charter: The Australia ICOMOS Charter for Places of Cultural Significance 2013* (2013): 1. <http://australia.icomos.org/publications/charters/>

assessment, restoration, and interpretation of values, the decision-making mechanism in each stage should contribute to motivating the initiatives from both top-down and bottom-up inputs and demands. It is critical to avoid a monopolized mechanism by a specific group of authorities or professionals in the decision-making. Because of the lower level of engagement of different stakeholders, the fewer initiatives of stewardship can be promoted for a declining old neighborhood.

Considering the prospect of *Conservation*, some critical features by employing a value-centered methodology should be highlighted (Mason, Theoretical and practical arguments for values-centered preservation 2006):

- a) **Holistic** – Dealing with specific site issues holistically
 - Understand the differences and similarities
 - Reveal the gaps in knowledge about the historic environment
 - Think in two dimensions of preservation approaches: pragmatic and strategic
- b) **Process-oriented** – Historic preservation should take into account of the process of preserving culture more than series of fixed assets.
 - Acknowledge the impacts of change and new requirement
 - Deal with contingencies and changefulness of the culture
 - Broaden vision and adaptation of social and economic impacts
 - Engage participation and recognition of ranges of stakeholders, who can and beneficial to decision-making.
- c) **Complicated** – The understanding of the complexity of historic sites
 - Strengthen the ability of preservationists to compete with other uses of the heritage site, though multivalent values complicate the issues;

- Help to sharpen the focus on heritage values, which is critical in admitting existence of other values but also in synthesizing priorities

Finally, in order to evaluate the effects of two different management approaches by applying the value-centered methodology, one of the objectives is to examine how the preservation management can make a difference to the individual and neighborhood benefits through the bottom-up approach, as opposing to the long-standing top-down. Also, since the decision-making mechanism needs to make expedient adjustments in an inconstant relationship, and even in a burgeoning sociocultural environment, the assessment regarding the effectiveness of a CBO-managed process should contribute to analyzing the ability of connection's building with stakeholders. As a result, the lessons drawn from the pilot project would help to provide recommendations for the bottom-up preservation management in the Chinese historic urban neighborhoods.

3.2.2 Context of the study area

The designated DSN-BHCD is located on the east of the Palace Museum. According to one of the planning map in the Beijing City Master Plan (2004-2020), the Designated Historic-Cultural Monuments and Districts in Beijing Inner City (DHCMDVIC),³⁰ the study area is surrounded by modernized urban context (color-coded by grey), which is distinguishable from the northern clustered historical districts (color-coded by yellow) (*fig.12*). Also, it is evident to identify the diversity of built fabric around the DSN-BHCD neighborhood from the satellite map

³⁰ Beijing Municipal Admin. of Cultural Heritage. 2005. "Designated Historic-Cultural Monuments and Districts in Beijing Inner City." Beijing Cultural Heritage. September 1. Accessed 2016. <http://www.bjww.gov.cn/2005/8-3/14310.html>. Also reference the Beijing City Master Plan (2004-2020) [北京城市总体规划 2004-2020 年].

(fig.13). To the north of the DSN-BHCD, the mid-rise institutional buildings along the highway separate the study area from an originally attached Hutong neighborhood. To the west, the sense of a historical context as a long-standing residential area within the political center of China, the “Forbidden City,”³¹ is not very apparent. Reading from the satellite map, the urban structures between the Palace Museum and the DSN-BHCD are a mixture of high-rise buildings, public institutional blocks, and fragmented historical patterns. To the east, the study area faces a rigid boundary grouped by high-rise residential compounds, and an extraordinary outline of Beijing landmark, *the Galaxy SOHO* designed by Zaha Hadid. Not far from the south of the DSN-BHCD neighborhood is one of the busiest commercial hub in Beijing, the Wangfujing Street. In general, the overall historical settings adjoined the study area are significantly renewed. The changes of surrounding settings, to some extent, have affected the various values within the district, such as the environmental quality, cultural association, social relationship, and other features.

When the noticeable changes happened, the regulatory obligations should be strengthened for the control of negative impacts to the perceived values of the district. Based on the variety of values that can be perceived as opposed to the observed quality of fabric, a flexible and analyzable methodology, that is capable of documenting the observed values comprehensively and then implementing plans for the preservation of perceived values, would be a practical approach to responding the unpredictable changes.

The *Dongsinan Historical Area Conservation Plan* (BMICPD 2013), compiled by the BMICPD, elaborates on the current site conditions from the aspects of city planning. However,

³¹ The Forbidden City was the Chinese imperial palace from the Ming dynasty to the end of the Qing dynasty—the years 1420 to 1912. It is located in the center of Beijing, China, and now houses the Palace Museum.

to the managers of CBO, they are looking for more categorized guidance benefiting to making prioritized decisions. Theoretically, the value-centered methodology recognizes the multiplicity and changeability of historic site values. Since the historic neighborhood management would establish by holistic types of value, the preservation strategies need to be driven by systematic research and documentations. Furthermore, the value-centered community management acknowledges the dynamic feature of historic neighborhoods. They should be preserved to adapt changes in the modern society. The Hutong neighborhood is not merely a residential complex characterized by traditional architecture but is also a contemporary community with unique associations to the people from both inside and outside of the community, who cared for the diversity of neighborhood values (*fig.14*).

3.2.3 Spectrum of values

A) Historic value

The Beijing Inner City has undergone tremendous changes. The DSN-BHCD with its historic Hutong structures has been maintained over the past six hundred years since Yuan Dynasty around 14th century. The continuity of the traditional hutong neighborhood even stands out as a prominent example when compared to all the other thirty-three officially designated “Historic-Cultural Districts of Beijing Municipality (HCDBM).”³² Through tracing historical maps in chronological order (*fig.15*), the stability of the spatial structure indicates the historic

³² The Committee of the famous historic cultural metropolis of Beijing [北京历史文化名城保护委员会]. Forthcoming. "第三批历史文化保护区保护规划" [The Third Batch of Plans for the Protection of the Historical Cultural Districts]. Accessed September 2015. <http://www.chinanews.com/cul/2012/09-13/4179966.shtml>.

significance of the DSN, which is evident because of the functional stability at different political periods in the history of Beijing (fig.16) (fig.17) (fig.18).

One essential contributing factor to the historical value is that many governmental administrative agencies once located in the district. These bodies and institutions have gradually turned the area into a major functional area to the authorities in their contemporary society. From the earliest imperial times in Yuan dynasties, the primary institutional function within the district was the *Court Musical Ministry*. Up to the present day, at least three out of nine adjacent hutongs have been named after their old recreational purposes.³³ From 1644 to 1912, the function of agencies maintained. An ethnic minority of Manchu who ruled the Forbidden City in Qing dynasties established the *Offices of Divisional Generals of the Manchu State Military*³⁴ in Qing Dynasty. Since that time, the administrative function continued as the *Department of the Interior of the Beiyang Government*³⁵ from the year of 1912 to 1927. Even in modern China, some of these old institutions still have a place by reusing as the civic institutions, for example, the Red Cross Society of China, Countrywide Women's Federation Old Age Home, Luxembourg Embassy in Beijing, and so on.

B) Artistic Value

The *Old Peking Siheyuan* is characterized by screen wall, festoon gate, veranda, and bearing stone, which can still be physically used and seen nowadays. These most characteristic components acknowledged as the artistic achievements of traditional *Siheyuan*. (fig.19) The

³³ In Sun (2006, 148), "Yanyue Hutong" [演乐胡同] was the place for the Court music training; "Bensi Hutong" [本司胡同] was the location of the Ministry of Court Music and Opera activities; and "Neiwubujie Hutong" [内务部街胡同], originally called "Goulan Hutong" [勾栏胡同], was the hub for entertaining performance.

³⁴ Yuan, Ying. 2010. "Beijing jiucheng gongneng buju yanbian ji dongyin fenxi" "北京旧城功能布局演变及动因分析" [An analysis of the evolution and motivation of the functional layout of Beijing Inner City]. Master Thesis, Capital University of Economics and Business, Beijing. 18

³⁵ According to Sun (2006, 148): "The Beiyang Government" [北洋政府], also refers to the government of the Republic of China from the year of 1912 to 1927.

screen wall, also known as “the front wall,” is special, because it is typically standing independently across the main gate within the courtyard, or in front of the gate on the outside. In Chinese, the screen wall is referred to “*Ying Bi*,” which is named after the homonym “shaded screen,” meaning “what keeps from been seen.”³⁶ The design purpose of the screen wall is to separate the disordered external environments from the internal, which provides more privacy for residence. These screen walls are commonly seen in the traditional courtyard houses, which are built with bricks and consist of three parts: the tile-made gable roof and eaves; the brick-framed middle screen; and a pedestal at the bottom. One of the artistic values of the screen wall is featured for its decoration on the middle of the screen. (*fig.20*) The subjects such as “longevity,” “good luck,” or “prosperity” are usually presented in the carvings such as “pine trees and cranes (the symbol of longevity),” “Chinese calligraphic characters (meaning good luck)” or “grain harvest (the symbol of prosperity).” In general, the more delicate the screen wall is decorated, that indicates higher social status and fortune of the original *Siheyuan* owner. Therefore, the screen wall is an important part of the cultural landscape with high values of visual effect to the *Siheyuan* and Hutong neighborhood. Its architectural and aesthetic values are indispensable to the integrity of traditional courtyards.

Festoon gate, is another prominent structure in the *Old Peking Siheyuan* (*fig.21*). They are usually situated along the axis of the entire courtyard, acting as the division of the front and inner yard. The festoon gate, therefore, is regarded as a shared space for the whole courtyard. It is also the only passageway connecting the front and inner yard in a typical “*double-entrance*

³⁶ Cultural-China.com. n.d. *Screen Wall*. Accessed September 2015. <http://traditions.cultural-china.com/en/123T20T70.html>

Siheyuan” or “*three-entrance Siheyuan*.”³⁷ In tradition, one of the original design intents of the structure, which “covers the sky but releases the land space” (in Chinese “*占天不占地*”), are to provide a roofed semi-open space for the female members of the courtyard families communicating and walking with more privacy. In current days, the festoon gate remains its core function as the entrance, but the gate space has been losing its functional diversity due to the over flowing storage and renovated adaptations. The artistic expressions of the festoon gate usually use exquisite bright-colored paintings. The most striking architectural elements are the two floral pillars, and carved girder extruded from the finely decorated gate. The pillars (or puncheons) are very delicate woodcarvings with the patterns such as lotus petals and leaves. The themes of these decorations by lotus, seasons, or clouds are intended to elaborate the good expectations of the traditional Chinese families for a better life.³⁸

Traditionally, the veranda was used to connect the main rooms, side rooms and festoon gates, and was an open corridor with roofs in the courtyard architecture. The photograph shows how a classic veranda and a festoon gate are structured (*fig.22*). Since the courtyard houses are detached from each other, they need corridors to join them for the residents to be sheltered from bad weather. One of the classic shapes of the veranda is named by the meaning of “encircled hands”³⁹ (in Chinese as “*抄手游廊*”). The *Siheyuan* verandas are usually laid out along the courtyard margin, as a result, their shapes look similar to the encircled arms and crossed

³⁷ According to *the Beijing Attractions*, “Generally, *Siheyuan* has many kinds; most of them are distinguished by the number of yards. *Siheyuan* with single yard, calls single-entrance *Siheyuan*, and two yards calls double-entrance *Siheyuan*; three yard, calls Three-Entrance *Siheyuan*.”

n.d. Layout of *Siheyuan*. Accessed 2016. <http://www.beijingattractions.org/Beijing-Siheyuan-and-Hutong/Layout-of-Siheyuan.html>.

³⁸ Cultural-China.com. n.d. *Flowers-Hung Door*. Accessed September 2015. <http://traditions.cultural-china.com/en/123T20T68.html>

³⁹ Ibid. *The Veranda*. <http://traditions.cultural-china.com/en/123T20T72.html>

hands. This distinct characteristic of the veranda layout, as well as the elaborately carved beams, create a unique artistic attraction inside the traditional *Siheyuan*, nevertheless, the verandas are barely seen in the current *Siheyuan* due to the renovations and occupations of building additions. Many of the veranda spaces are renovated as interior rooms or as temporary exterior storage spaces (*fig.23*). The loss of functional and artistic values of the veranda have significantly degenerated the overall visual effects of courtyard environments.

Bearing stones, also known as the “Drum-shaped bearing stone,”⁴⁰ are a pair of stone blocks placed at the entrance of traditional courtyard houses. The drum-shaped lion faces and rectangular bookcases are typical patterns of bearing stones. The distinct artistic decorations can represent the aspirations and interests of former householders. For example, lions are the symbol of political or financial power, and the bookcase usually indicates the background of a literary family. (*fig.24*) The special artistic and cultural associations highlight the value of bearing stones as a kind of indigenous memorial.

C) Environmental Value

As a classic Chinese residential complex, the design rationality of *Siheyuan* environment can embody the value of a courtyard space for people. At first, the most prominent feature of a traditional courtyard’s layout is gourd-shaped. It implies the essential ideology of early environmental design, which was hierarchical. The public space in the back of the courtyard is spacious and is surrounded by the living area and bedrooms for the host family. This is in comparison to the relatively smaller but more functional front yard for servants’ use. To emphasize the spatial hierarchy, the multiple levels of courtyards are aptly separated by private

⁴⁰ Ibid. *Drum-shaped Bearing Stone*. <http://traditions.cultural-china.com/en/123T20T69.html>

structures, such as exquisite festoon gates and a veranda. Meanwhile, a central crossed pavement in the back courtyard highlights the connections of public and private space, which is an important element to create a rich and interesting experience of spatial transformation in an independent unit. With complementary shades and corridors for privacy, the sufficient public spaces create a cozy and well-regulated living environment for various social activities.

The environmental richness of the traditional courtyard space continued to be maintained until the mid-1970s. Since the earthquake of 1976, many unorganized makeshift additions have overwhelmed the Old Peking Hutong neighborhoods until early 21st century. These original makeshift additions have gradually transformed into permanent structures such as kitchens or bathrooms. The following fast growth of the real estate market since the year 2000 accelerated the second boost of *Siheyuan*'s unauthorized construction of private structures even more. The interim additions, however, emerged after the earthquake period, and the constructive boost of this time was a spontaneous phenomenon on account of the expansion of urban population in Beijing.⁴¹ As a result of overwhelming building modification within the Beijing Hutong neighborhoods, the environmental qualities of the traditional courtyard space have almost been irreversibly destroyed. According to the diagram created by one of the design partners for the "Our Courtyards" project, the conditions of their assigned courtyard (B#48) have presented a sharp deterioration in juxtaposition to the soaring average housing prices in Beijing after the year of 2008. (*fig.25*) Overall, the public spaces of current Beijing *Siheyuan* have been impacted severely by the overcrowded additions.

⁴¹ Meng, Wenping. 2010. "Research on the evolution of Beijing Courtyard since reform and opening-up". Master Thesis, Beijing University of Civil Engineering and Architecture, Beijing: 20

The widespread additions over the past two to three decades have completely altered the environmental conditions of the *Old Peking Siheyuan*. The physical changes have also influence the residential lifestyle significantly. The space for collective activities, such as a children playground, social gathering, or daily physical exercise, have disappeared due to the replacement of spacious courtyards as narrow passageways. Although the decline of environmental values is difficult to recover, some residents do not cease to protect the courtyard environment by their own intelligence over time. There are many individual greenspaces could have been occupied by other uncontrolled constructions, however, they have been filled with clusters of potted plants, small vegetable plots, or old trees. (fig.26) In some *Siheyuans* where the environmental conditions have remained a relatively integral public space, their residents are willing to take measures to prevent the constructions from taking place (Zhu and Liu, interview by Wang 2015-7-9). For example, one of the courtyard families in the project built a plant stand for preventing the possibilities of any further buildings in this public area. (fig.27) The current green environments in this courtyard is a reflection of the demands of contemporary Hutong neighborhood residents for a natural and comfortable public space within the courtyards. Correspondingly, the professional designers, conservationists, or managers should take more delicate approaches to respect the environmental values for the people. As centuries progressed, the environmental value of *Old Peking Siheyuan* not only presents on ancestral wisdom of the design rationality, but it also embodies the efforts of generations fighting for the continuity and integrity of their cultural landscape.

D) Cultural Value

Many native Beijingers recognize the cultural and historic significance of the *Shijia Hutong* as a prominent example. From the courtyard and Hutong architecture, scale, landscape

and other physical environments, residents of Beijing from the past half-century can still feel deep connections to their traditional neighborhood roots and lifestyle. For newcomers and tourists, *Shijia Hutong* provides insight into traditional characteristics of Beijing Inner City Hutong neighborhoods and architecture.

The area of *Dongsinan Beijing Historic-Cultural District* (DSN-BHCD) (where the *Shijia Hutong* is attributed to) also has deep cultural significance. It is renowned for the many notable figures who called it home. (*table.1*) These cultural figures include the wife of the last emperor of Qing Dynasty, Li Shuxian⁴² [李淑贤]; the reputable Chinese scholar and sociologist, Zhang Shizhao⁴³[章士钊]; the outstanding Chinese diplomatic couple, Zhang Hanzhi⁴⁴[章含之] and Qiao Guanhua [乔冠华]; the architect of the Tiananmen Square Rostrum (1954) and the Museum of the Chinese Revolution and Chinese History (1959), Zhang Kaiji [张开济]; the well-known Chinese female writer and painter, Ling Shuhua⁴⁵[凌叔华] and her husband Chen Xiyong [陈西滢]; the artists' dormitories of the Beijing People's Art Theatre; and many other honored and influential families.

Though most of the original courtyards have been renovated with little visual indications of stories passed, such as a commemorative plaque with brief introductions of the courtyard

⁴² *Li Shuxian* [李淑贤] (1925 – 9 June 1997) was the fifth and last wife of Puyi, the last emperor of the Qing Dynasty in China. Wikipedia, last modified 18 June, 2016, https://en.wikipedia.org/wiki/Li_Shuxian

⁴³ *Zhang Shizhao* [章士钊] was a Chinese journalist, educator, politician of the early 20th century known for his advocacy first of revolutionary cultural values in the period leading up to the 1911 Revolution and then of traditional Confucian culture in following years. Wikipedia. last modified 28 September, 2016, https://en.wikipedia.org/wiki/Zhang_Shizhao

⁴⁴ *Zhang Hanzhi* [章含之] was a Chinese diplomat who was Mao Zedong's English tutor and U.S. President Richard Nixon's interpreter during his historic 1972 trip to China. Wikipedia. last modified 28 November, 2016, https://en.wikipedia.org/wiki/Zhang_Hanzhi

⁴⁵ *Ling, Shuhua* [凌叔华] was a Chinese modernist writer and painter whose short stories became popular during the 1920s and 1930s. Her work continues to be widely anthologized today. Wikipedia. last modified 7 December, 2016, https://en.wikipedia.org/wiki/Ling_Shuhua

history, the stories and memories about these culturally significant figures live on in the oral histories and literary records. One of the residents, Mrs Shao, articulated the memories about her parents' contributions to the protection of Old Peking City, as well as her own expectations to the preservation of Beijing Hutong neighborhoods (Shao, interview by Liu and Wang 2015-8-13). The courtyard B#48 used to be a spinning mill, established by Shao's father and two of his friends at the end of the 1920s. The mill was dedicated to producing cotton gauze and bandages for supporting the *Peking Union Medical College Hospital* [北京协和医院]. Since many medical supplies in the early 19th century were only available by import, this situation motivated Shao's father to improve China's national industries in medical absorbent cotton. In fact, the courtyard of B#48 was not only used as mills, but it was also an intelligence station for providing material aids and passing on military intelligence during the Chinese civil wars. The spinning mills in the B#48 were abandoned in the year 1984, because Shao's father and friends were imprisoned when the hidden intelligence station was exposed to the enemies. Now, we can know stories about this courtyard because of the oral documentation by Mrs. Shao, and also how it's residents have made efforts to prevent the damage of Old Peking City during the war periods. This portion of Hutong public history, that the SHHPS have learned from one of the renovated courtyards, the CBO has recognized the significance of Hutong cultural interpretation.

For each traditional *Siheyuan*, contemporary courtyard, and each Hutong alley, they have characterized the spirit of Beijing Inner City. The spirit is not only conveyed by the conservation of traditional architecture but the continuity of memories, work- or craft- related skills, or the family history. For example, the Hutong spirit could convey to local people through the familiarity of a courtyard space for social gatherings; through an old object which is rarely

seen nowadays; through the accent of a crowd of elders in an intersectional corner; or through the popular oral histories about a famous cultural figure who lived in the neighborhood. These emotional connections emerged from a nostalgic feeling serve as a strong cohesion, and that can be used for building and clarifying a shared cultural identity between residents and their ancestors, particularly those historical-culturally important figures. Therefore, other than preserving the authenticity of architectural legacies, the CBO's efforts, dedicated to interpreting the cultural values, will essentially sustain the spirit of Old Peking Hutong for the modern Beijingers. Even though the revitalization of an authentic physical environment can be accomplished, the sustainability of spiritually rooted identity need years to bring about.

E) Social Value

As the first officially registered Community-Based Organization (CBO) dedicated to the historic preservation of Beijing traditional neighborhoods, the successful establishment of the *Shijia Hutong Historic Preservation Society* (SHHPS) can be largely attributed to the success of the *Shijia Hutong Museum*. The pilot museum, located at the Shijia Hutong Courtyard No. 24, is the first Hutong facility in Beijing specifically established to preserve Hutong history.⁴⁶ It is a characteristic cultural and social center for local community, as well as a well-known tourist site for people interested in traditional culture. The museum was opened in October 2013, constructively funded by *the Prince's Foundation China* and supported by the Chaoyangmen local government. The original courtyard architecture was completely dismantled due to multiple rebuildings lowering the authenticity of the site. The *Shijia Hutong Museum* was built

⁴⁶ Schwankert, Steven. 2014. *Hutong Heritage: Shijia Hutong Museum Preserves the Courtyards*. April 2. Accessed October 11, 2015. <https://www.thebeijinger.com/blog/2014/04/02/hutong-heritage-shijia-hutong-museum-preserves-courtyards>.

on the same site of Ling's family houses, and has recovered the historical façade, courtyard layout, and the materials in an authentic way⁴⁷ (fig.28) (fig.29) (fig.30)

The historical atmosphere of the rehabilitated courtyard creates a unique physical and psychological attachment to the visitors with the traditional *Siheyuan* life. In the museum, visitors can learn the evolutionary history of the Old Peking Hutong neighborhoods; see the scaled model of the original courtyard and the original architectural details; and most especially, experience memories through multimedia (for example an interactive installment for listening to the vanished Hutong's sounds), community tea seminars, or public exhibitions/lectures. (fig.31) The social values of the museum, interpreted through education, civil participation, discourse or exchange, highlight the significance of the DSN-BHCD Hutong neighborhood as a community with a shared identity. Since there is a community center which is capable of gathering more inclusive preservation voices, the CBO, particularly referring to the SHHPS, would play a more decisive and leading role in the management of a bottom-up decision-making process.

As a united power, the Hutong museum can congregate the social efforts to preserve the tangible and intangible values of a Hutong community. Other than that there are many dispersive social demands among the local folks who are willing to reveal their memories to the public. Based on my reflections in the fieldwork, (reflection, Jun 2015) I have found that many elderly people are compelled to share the memories of their neighborhood history with the outside Hutong enthusiasts. Simultaneously, these permanent residents have more motivations to express their opinions about the governmental-oriented restorations. Their close

⁴⁷ Foyle, Jonathan. 2015. *The old Beijing hutong restored with help from the Prince of Wales*. March 27. Accessed November 17, 2016. <https://www.ft.com/content/7e9e3288-ce23-11e4-86fc-00144feab7de>.

neighborhood relationships can benefit the CBO to facilitate the changes of current managerial predicaments on the preservation-related issues. For example, due to the lack of coordinated channels, many misunderstandings and information inequality between the residents and local governments on the issue of regular courtyard repairs could not be resolved equally and timely. The accumulated negative emotions would directly lead to the public backlash against the government decisions, even if some decisions were reasonable to the neighborhood. Furthermore, there are many spontaneously formulated watching spots around the Hutong alleys. It is commonly seen that some elderly sit on the double ends of a Hutong alley as the guardian of the neighborhood from the strangers. This specific social group indicates that the social cohesions within the Beijing Hutong communities have existed to some degree. All these social groups and facilities have positive values for the neighborhood stability which deserves meticulous management by the CBO.

F) Economic Value

The economic value of a particular DSN-BHCD is representative of the general economic influence of contemporary economic market forces on historic neighborhoods in China. Therefore, assessments of the economic value of the DSN-BHCD study area should consider its dynamic characteristic, since it usually responds to, adapts and changes in accordance with the development of local and/or national social environments. For managing economic values of historic urban neighborhoods, local governments and the CBO administrators should understand at least the influence of surrounding land-use features. As analyzed in the context of the study area, the DSN-BHCD almost directly connects to the commercial and business hubs of Beijing. In fact, the DSN Hutong neighborhood is situated in Beijing's busiest commercial street from the south, the business strip from the north, and the SOHO residential complex constituted

by new office, retail, and entertainment centers from the east. By the very nature of being located in a busy commercial flow area, the land value of the DSN Hutong neighborhood is tremendously high, particularly in the context of the relatively high local housing market demands. Furthermore, *Old Peking Siheyuan*, as a rare heritage site with cultural and social significance, it is valorized as social capital, which inevitably aggregates more population density. Relatedly, the intersection of residential aggregation with the locality nexus of commercial resources can lead to comparative fiscal aggregation, including capital investments. As a result, the DSN Hutong neighborhood is facing many serious issues, such as tenant boost, high rents, capita land scarcity, and other socio-economic conflicts in Chinese historic neighborhoods. In particular, according to online rent records, the densest available rental properties within and around the study area falls into the price mode variance of 4000-8000 Chinese Yuan (approx. 600-1200 dollars in the year 2015), which is the estimated rent of an approximately 20-50 square meter (approx. 200-500 ft.) for a single studio (*fig.32*) (*table.2*). Meanwhile, the distribution of rental density in the study area shows that southern Hutongs, for example the *Shijia, Bensi and Ganmian Hutong*, which are close to the *Wangfujing Street* commercial hub (the flourishing CBD in Beijing), in general, have even more demands for the rental properties. Even though these properties are small and in poor condition, the average rents are far higher than the northern Hutong properties (*fig.33*).

The appearance of these issues echoes the process of gentrification in many western countries. When the continuous increase of land values has altered the functional environment of a residential neighborhood into a commercial and estate driven environments, the influx of diversified population can easily break the indigenous culture. At the same time, the high land value can rapidly attract the investments and high-graded consumptions, even without proper

standards in the selection of businesses and lacking expedient management approaches to supervise. Prevailing, the emerged eye-catching buildings, such as retails, restaurants, tourist hotels, or artistic studio, have already affected the ordinary life of local residents. *(fig.34)* *(fig.35)* *(fig.36)* Many low-income families but living for generations in the neighborhood have to leave the place, and then tends to be replaced by groups of people in richer, rootless, and diverse cultures.

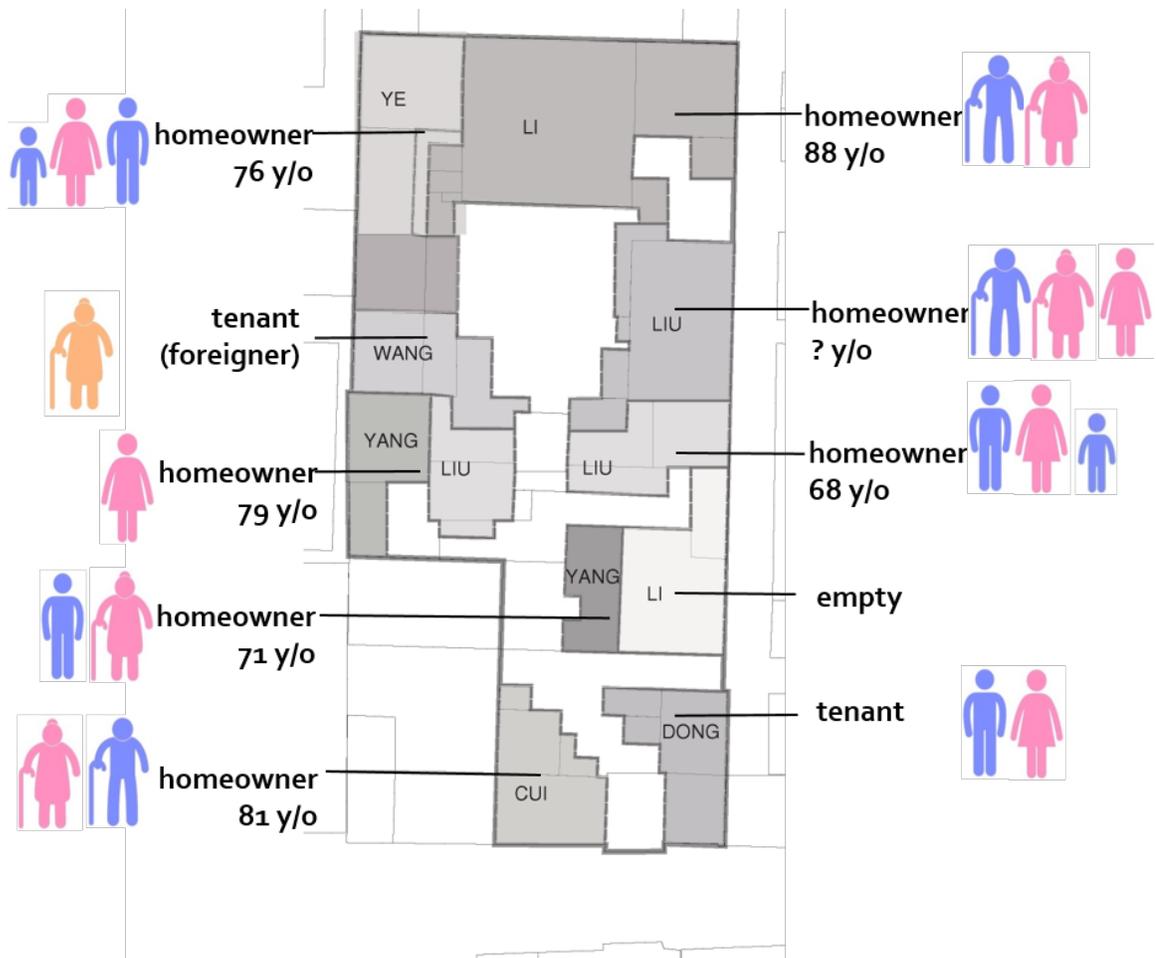


Figure 5. *The Democratic Survey of the Renovated Courtyard S#5*. Surveyed by Haoyu Wang. Redrawn on a photocopy of Beijing Municipal Institute of City Planning & Design, Hong-Du Design Department, Beijing, August 2015.

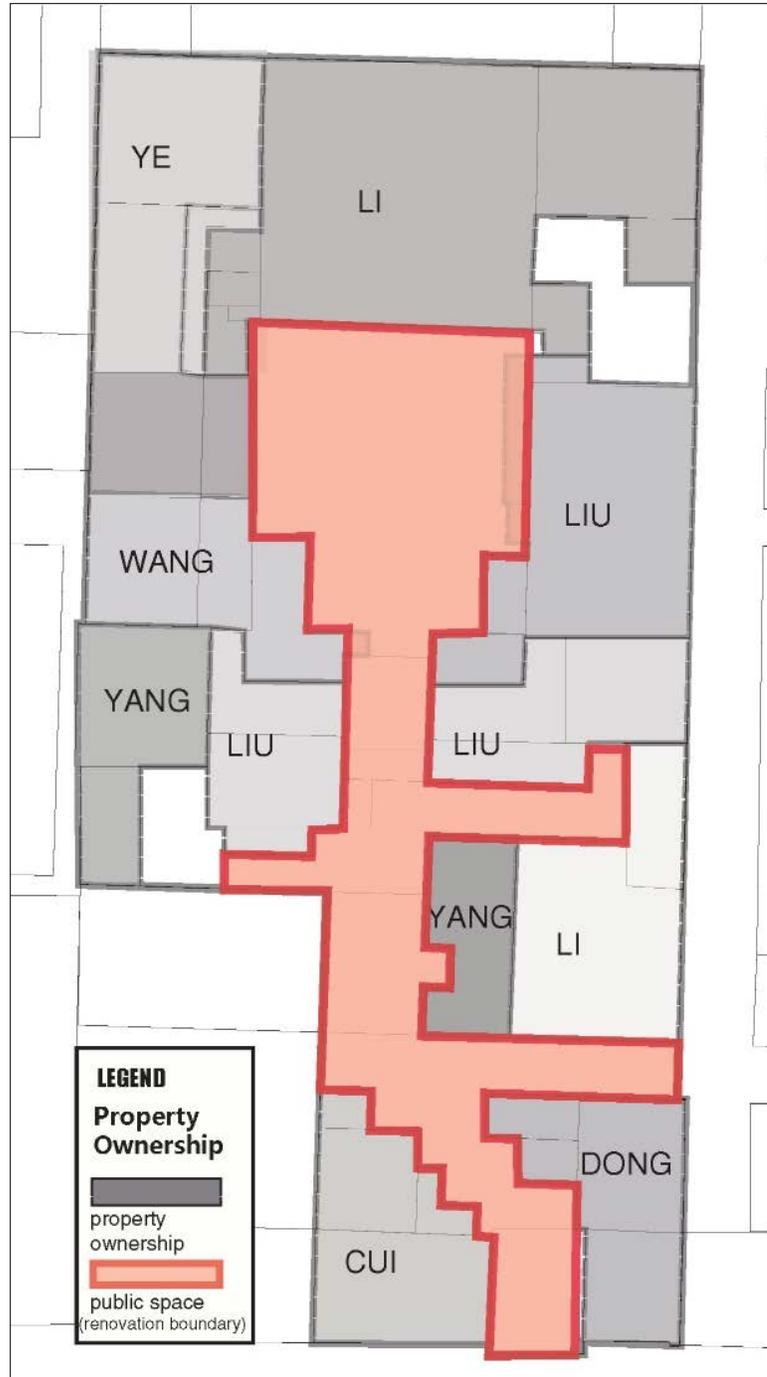


Figure 6. *Property Ownership and Public Space*. Surveyed and Diagram Created by Haoyu Wang, Beijing, July 2015.

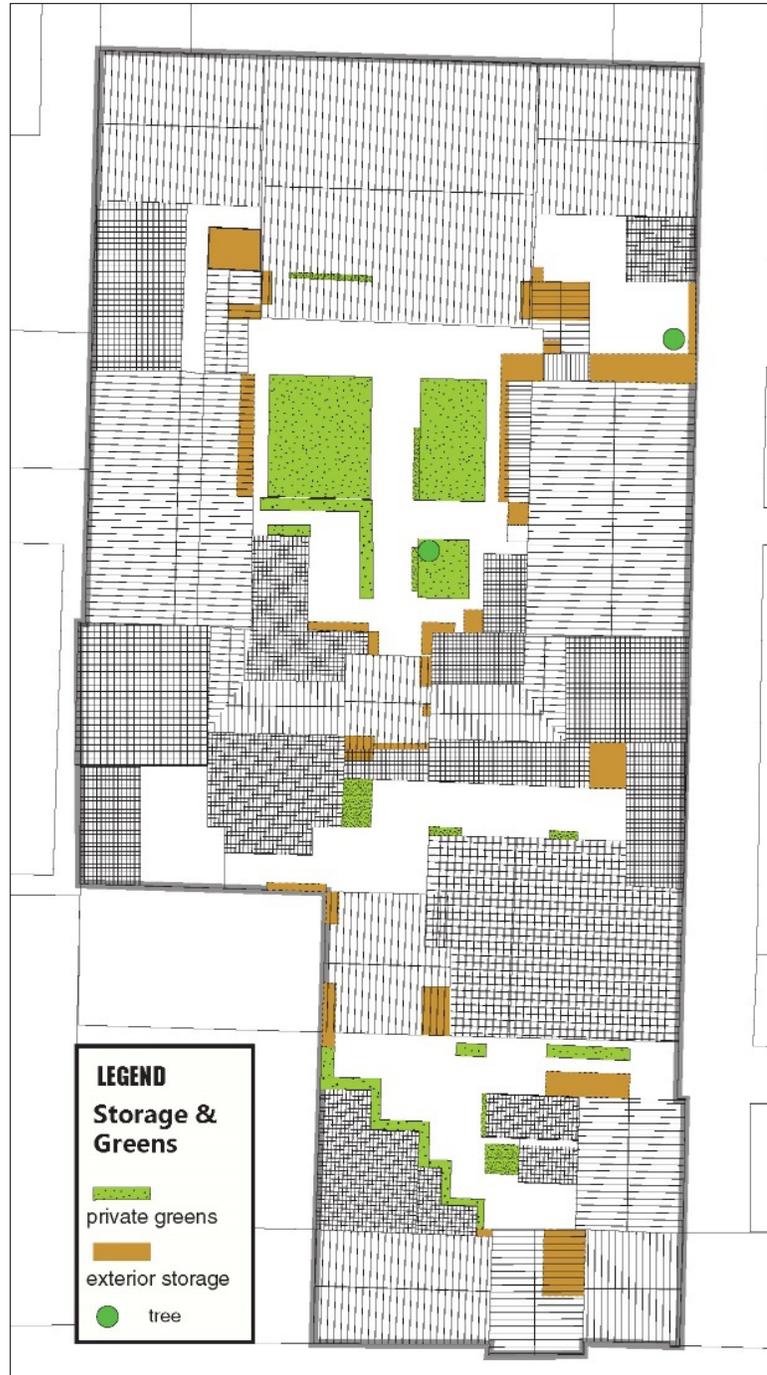


Figure 7. *Exterior Storage and Green Space*. Documented and Diagram Created by Haoyu Wang, Beijing, July 2015.

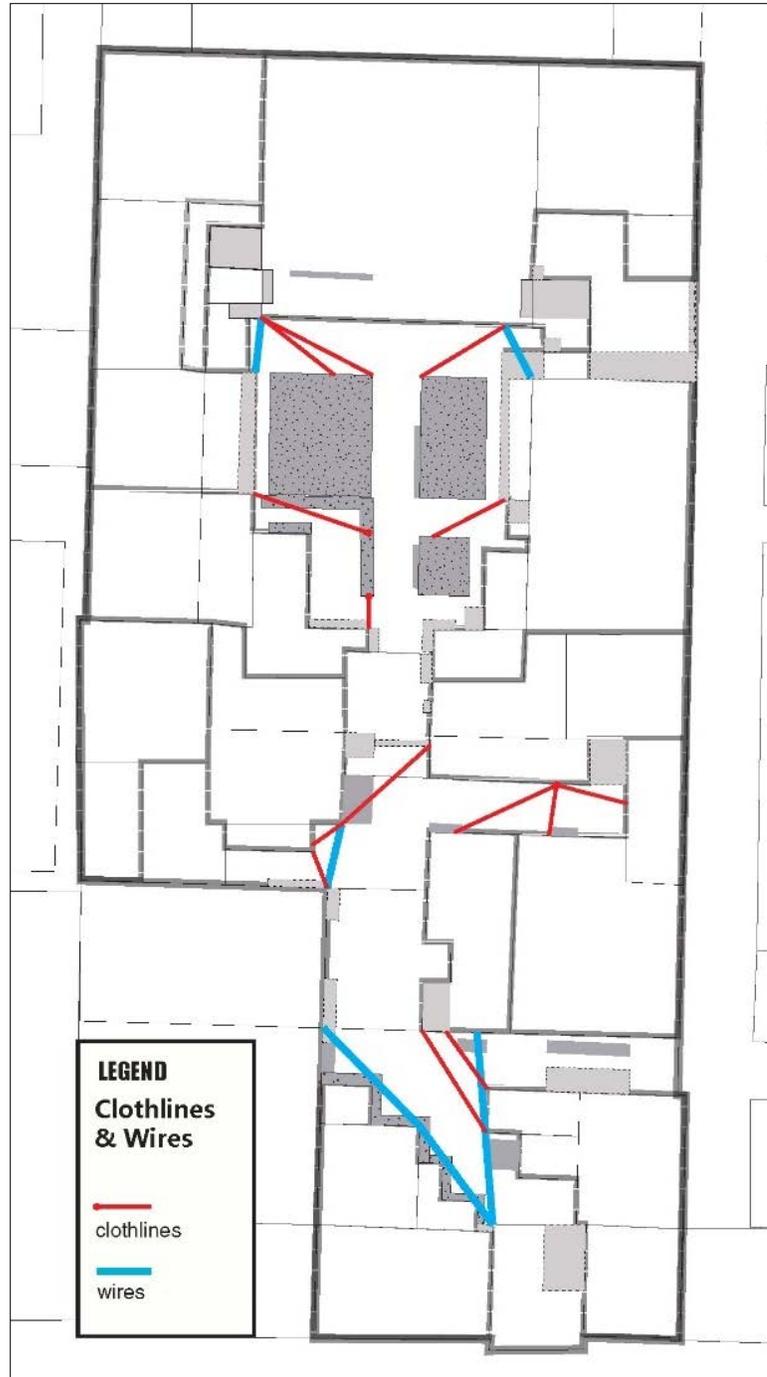


Figure 8. *The Original Condition of the Hanging Objects: Cloth Lines and Wires.* Documented and Diagram Created by Haoyu Wang, Beijing, July 2015.

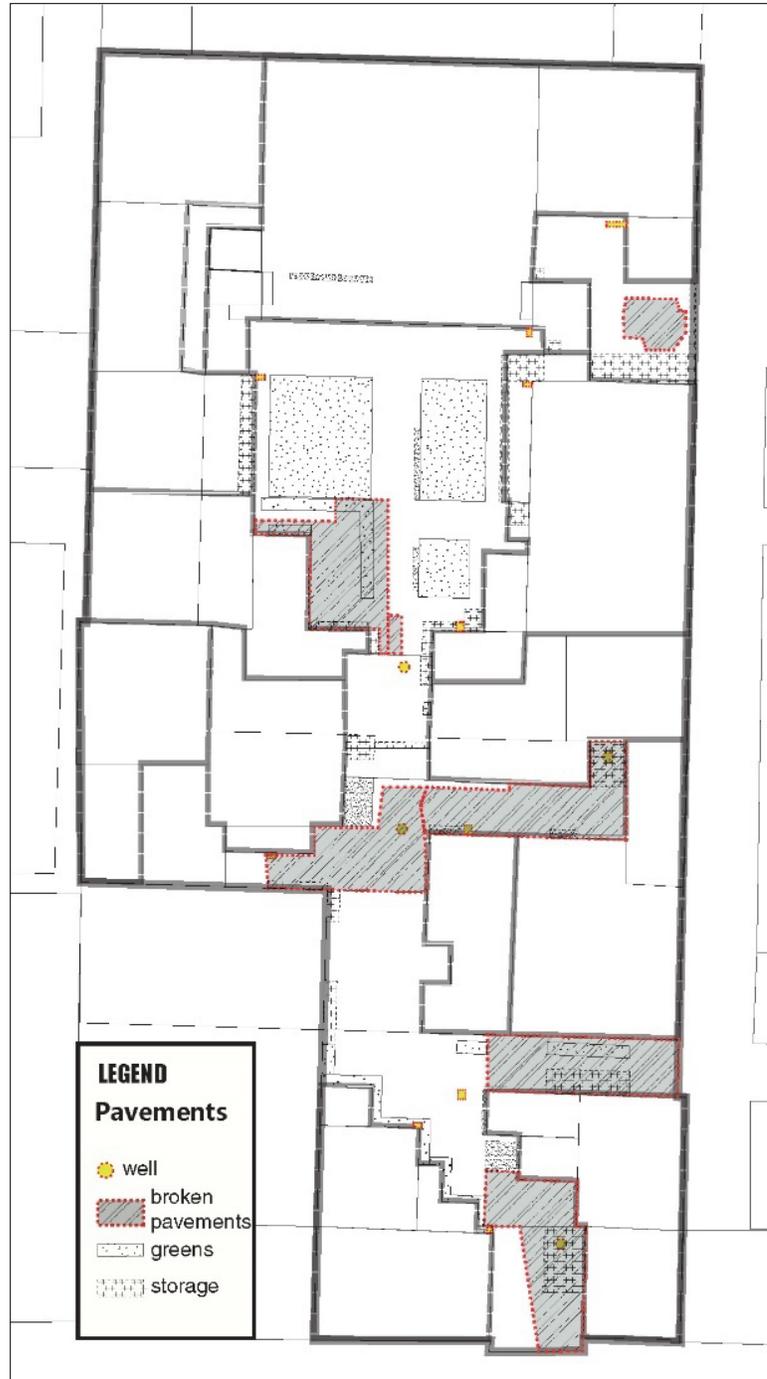


Figure 9. *The Damaged Condition of Courtyard Pavements*. Documented and Diagram Created by Haoyu Wang, Beijing, July 2015.



Figure 10. A Sample of Documentation about the Characteristics and Stylistic Surface View of Courtyard S#5. Photo and Diagram Created by Haoyu Wang, Beijing, July 2015.

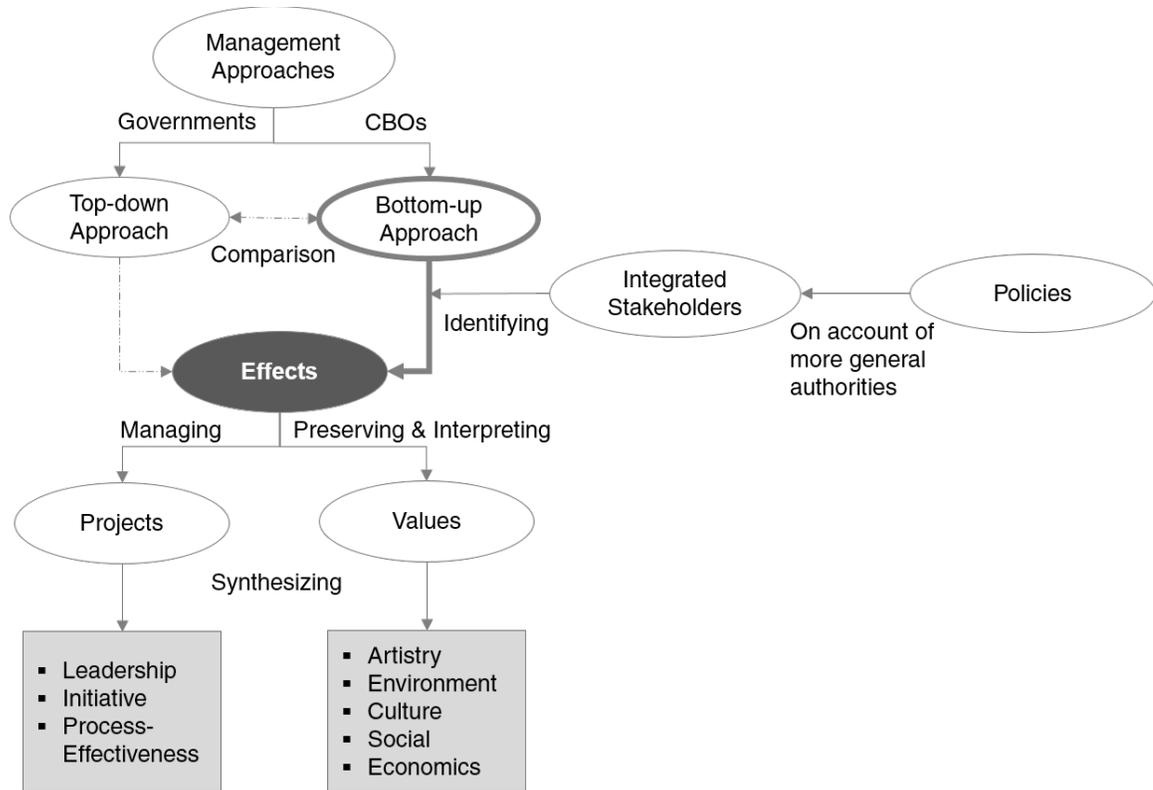


Figure 11. *The Evaluation Framework of Thesis Methodology*. Diagram Created by Haoyu Wang, Philadelphia, October 2015.

北京城市总体规划（2004年-2020年）

图11 旧城文物保护单位及历史文化保护区规划图

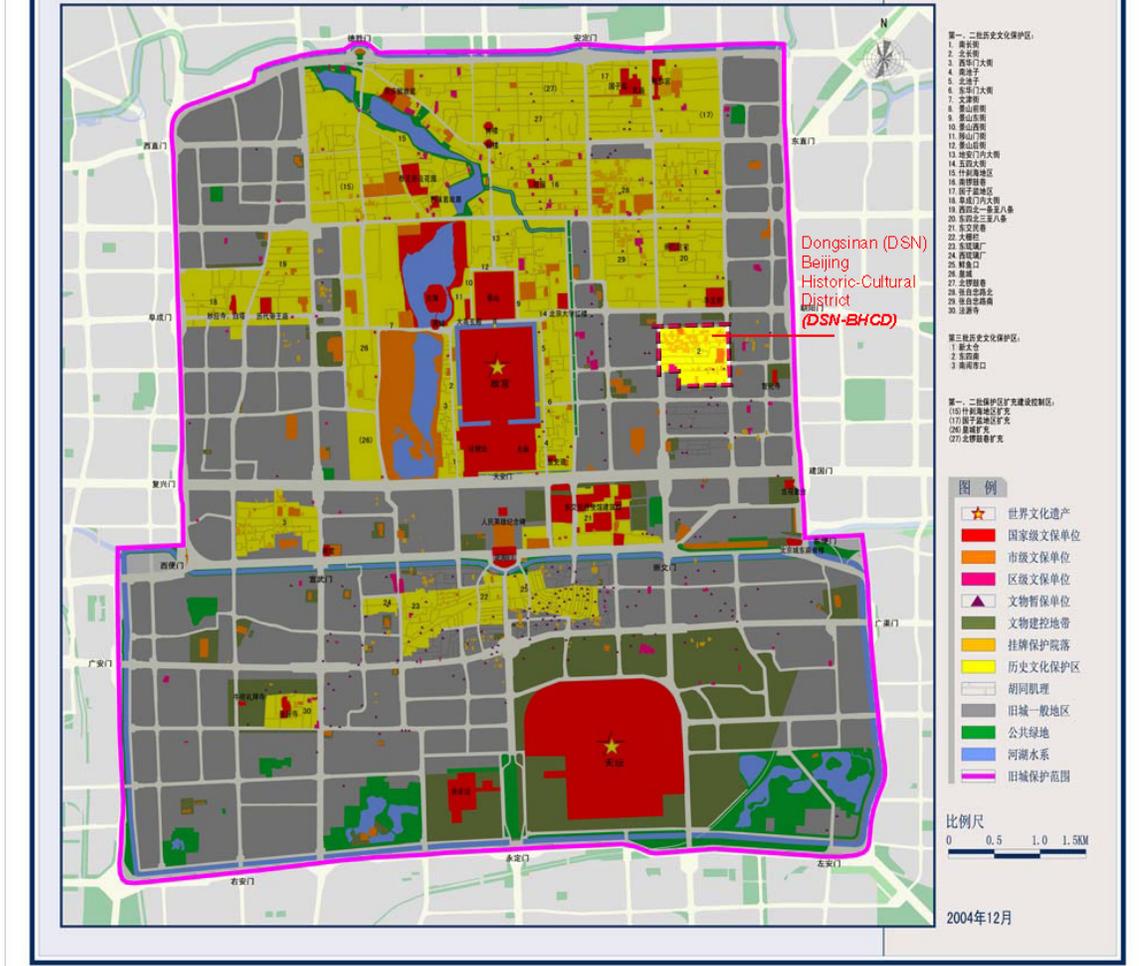


Figure 12. "Designated Historic-Cultural Monuments and Districts in Beijing Inner City." Source by Beijing Municipal Admin. of Cultural Heritage. Beijing Cultural Heritage. 2005. Accessed September 2016. <http://www.bjww.gov.cn/2005/8-3/14310.html>.



Figure 13. Contextual Satellite Map of the DSN-BHCD. Created by Haoyu Wang in Tencent Map. April, 2016



Figure 14. The Studied Courtyards and Hutongs of the Project in the DSN-BHCD. Diagram Created by Haoyu Wang, September 2016.

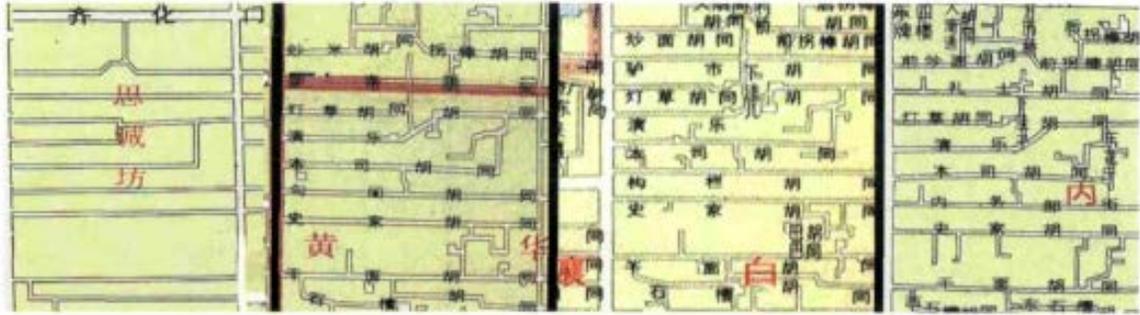


Figure 15. *The Evolution of the Neighborhood Structure in the DSN-BHCD Since Yuan Dynasty*. Diagram Source by Beijing Dongcheng Municipal Commission of Urban Planning, and Beijing Municipal Institute of City Planning & Design, "Dongsinan Historical Area Conservation Plan," 2013. <http://bbs.caup.net/read-htm-tid-18773-page-1.html>.

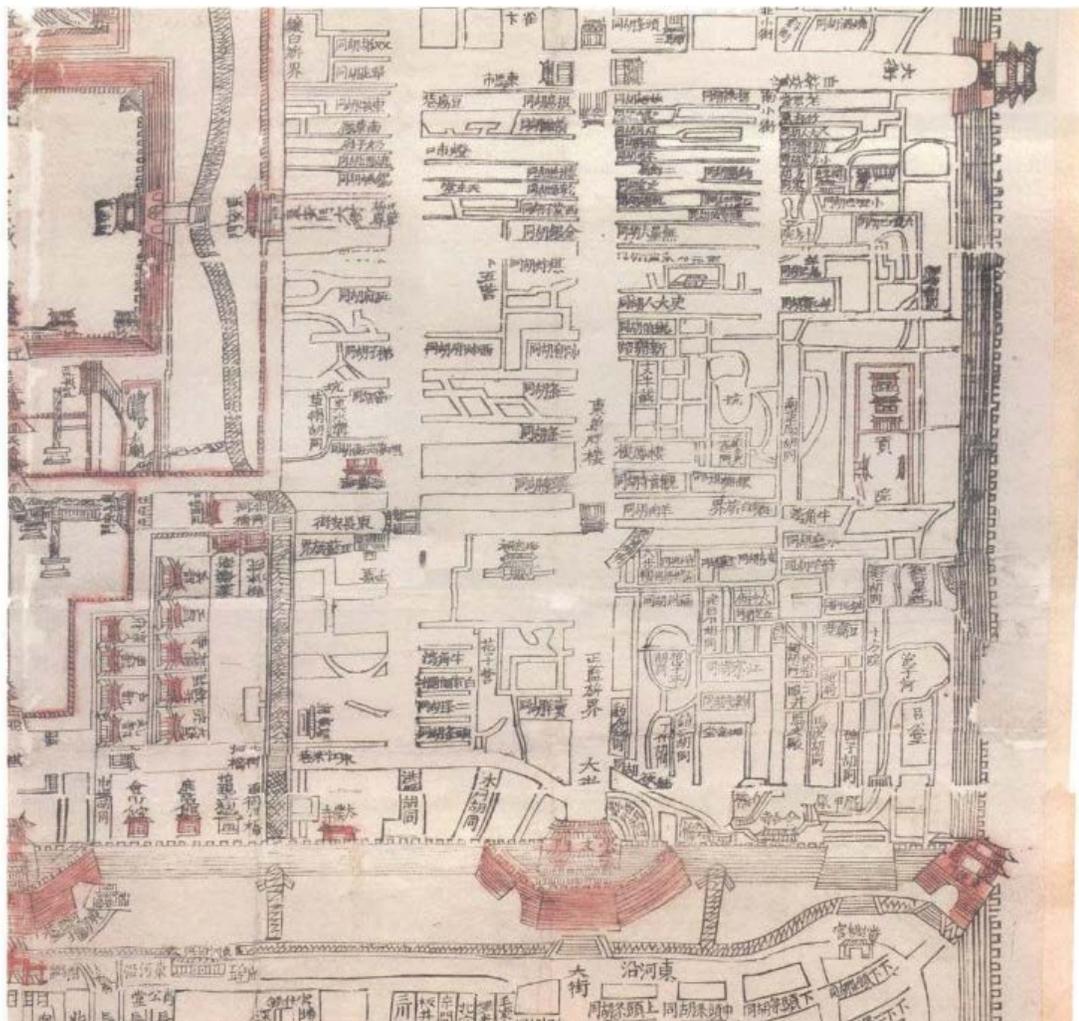
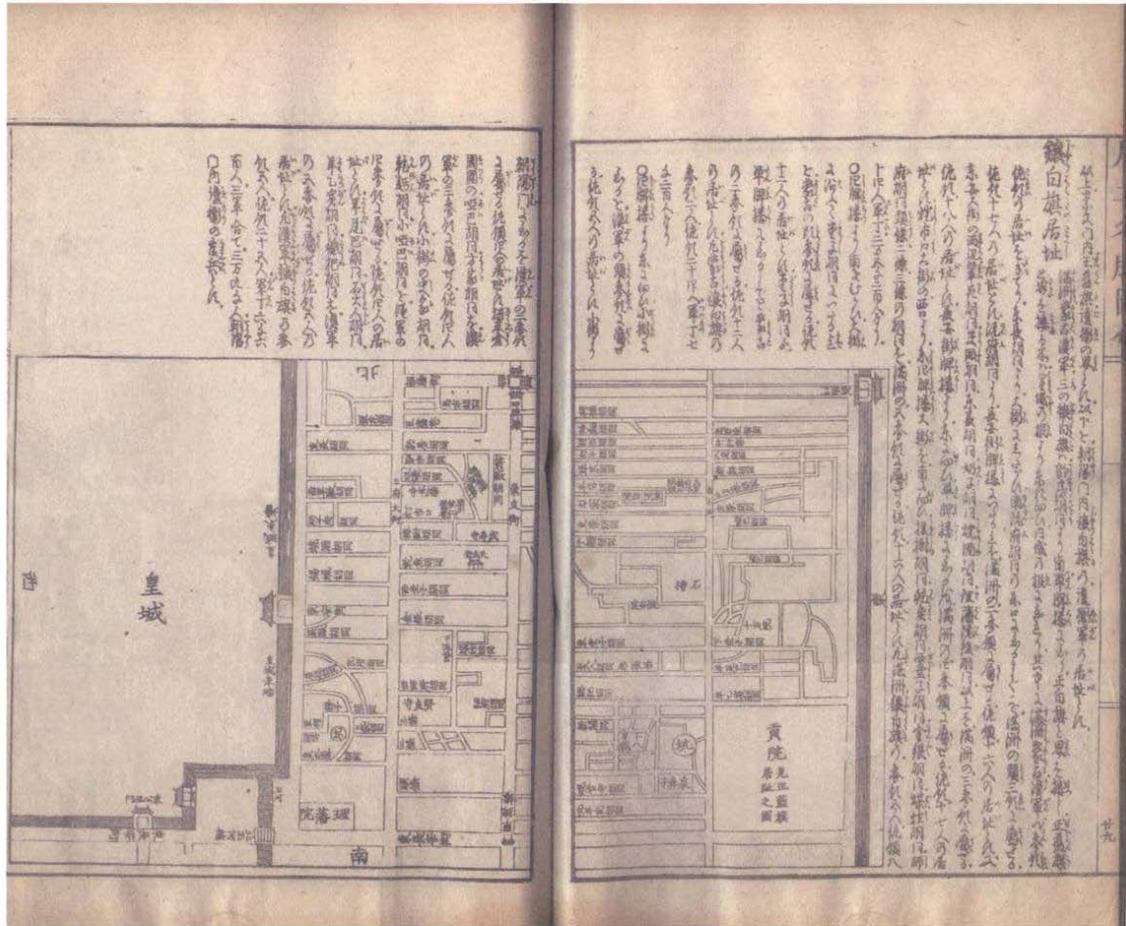


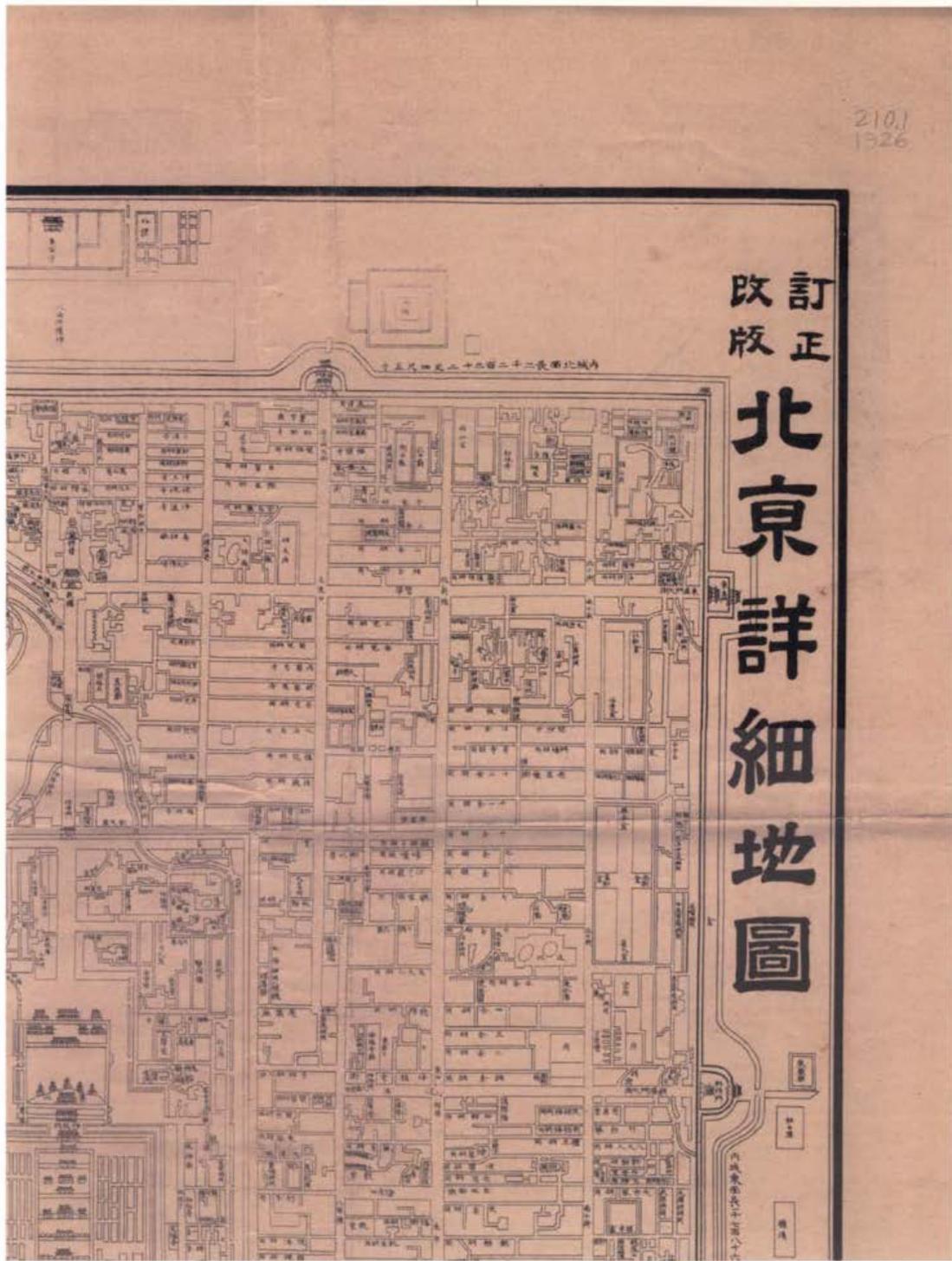
Figure 16. *Map of the Capital - IV. [首善全图-4]*. Wooden block printing map. Ink and colors on paper. Jiaqing Period (1796-1820), Qing Dynasty. *Beijing in Ancient Maps*. p.129.



镶白旗居址之图—选自《唐土名胜图会》

Map of the Bordered White Banner—From *Illustration of the Famous Places of Interests of China*

Figure 17. *Map of the Bordered White Banner [镶白旗居址之图]*. From the book of *Illustration of the Famous Places of Interests of China (唐土名胜图会)*. (printed in 1805, Japan), compiled by the Japanese OKADA Tamayama. *Beijing in Ancient Maps*. 北京古地图集 p137.



訂正改版北京詳細地圖—②

Revised Edition of Detail Map of Beijing—II

Figure 18. Revised Edition of Detail Map of Beijing – II. Lithographic printing in black ink. Produced by Dexingtang Studio (Beijing) at the end of the Qing Dynasty. *Beijing in Ancient Maps*. p205

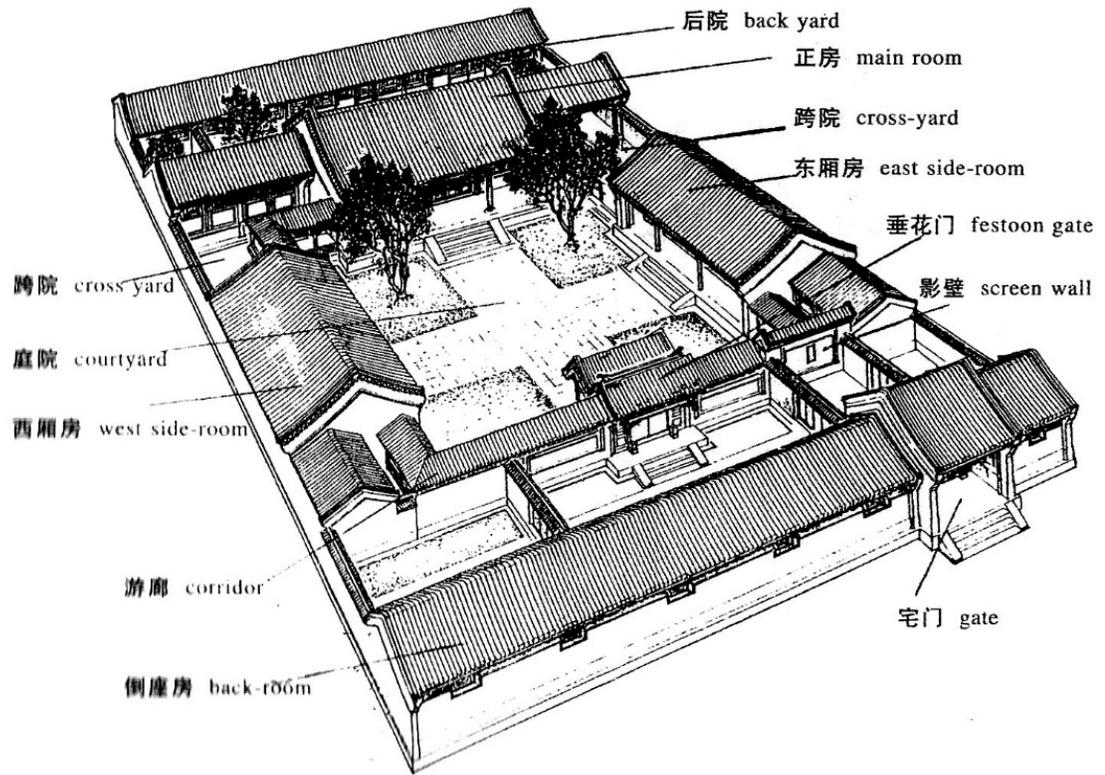


Figure 19. Architectural characteristics and layout of Beijing "Siheyuan." Source by <http://arts.cultural-china.com/en/83Arts7487.html>



Figure 20. A Decorative Screen Wall in The Courtyard of Lishi Hutong. Photo by Haoyu Wang, March 2016, DSN-BHCD, Beijing.



Figure 21. A Festoon Gate in the Courtyard of Lishi Hutong. Photo by Haoyu Wang, March 2016, DSN-BHCD, Beijing.



Figure 22. The original structure of a festoon gate and veranda. Photo Source by http://shy.hongyaxuan.net/baike/20160309_83.html



Figure 23. *The Renovated Veranda in Courtyard S#5 (top), Beams of Different Shapes (bottom left), and Color Painting or Carving-Adorned Door Headboards (bottom right).* Photo by Haoyu Wang, March 2016, DSN-BHCD, Beijing.



Figure 24. *Bearing Stones in the Shapes of Lions (top) and Bookcases (bottom)*. Photo by Haoyu Wang, March 2016, DSN-BHCD, Beijing.



来源: 三联生活周刊, 中原地产

Figure 25. A Sharp Deterioration of the Courtyard B#48 Environment Has Happened in Juxtaposition to the Soaring Average Housing Prices in Beijing After the Year of 2008. Diagram Created by the OSO Studio, data source by Lifeweek.

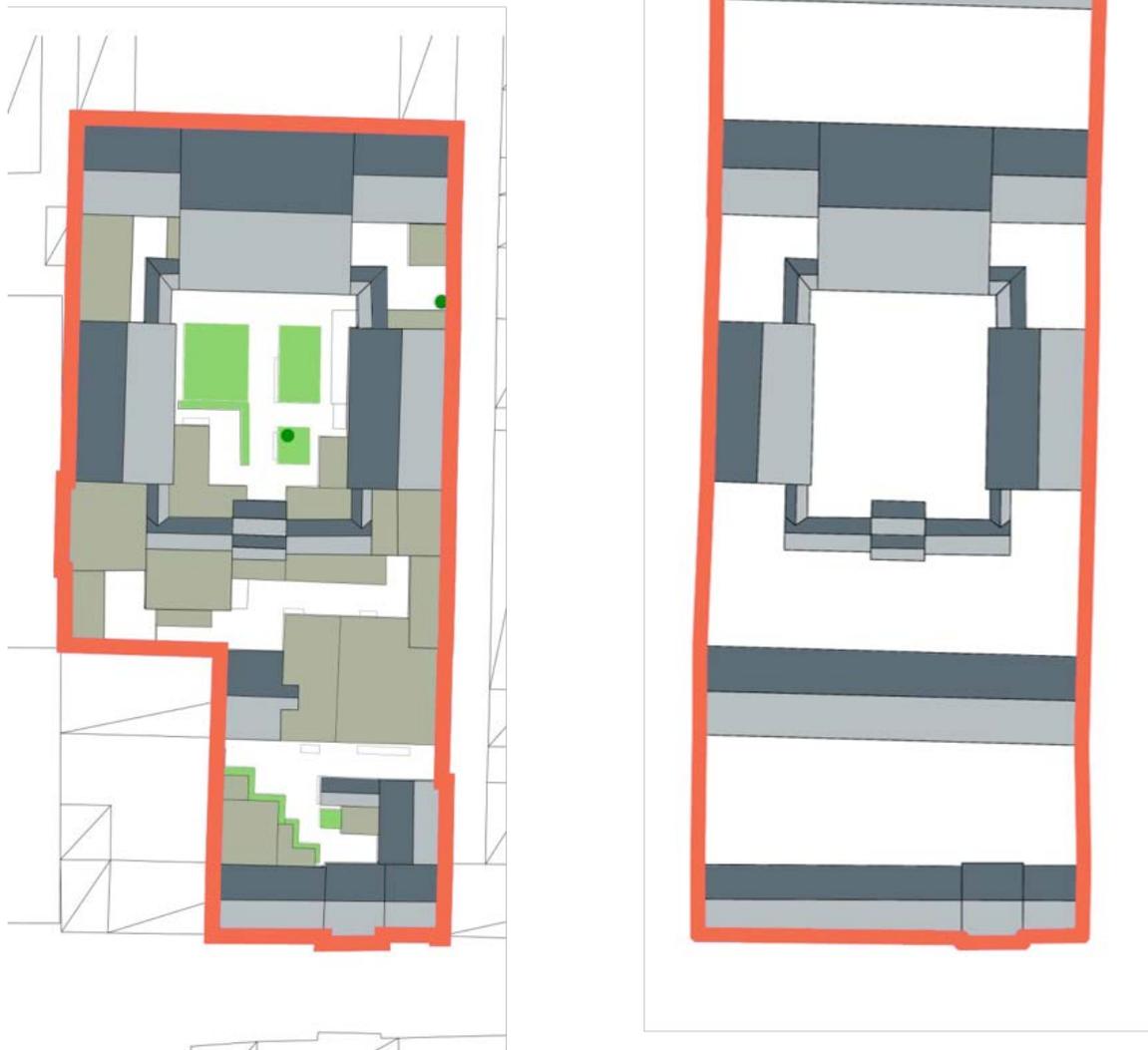


Figure 26. Comparison of the Original Courtyard Layout and Current Layout with Adaptations. Diagram Created by the Beijing Municipal Institute of City Planning & Design, Hong-Du Design Department, Beijing, August 2015.



Figure 27. *Bird View of the Main Yard Space in S#5.* Photo Source by the Beijing Municipal Institute of City Planning & Design, Hong-Du Design Department, Beijing, August 2015.

Cultural Figures in Shijia Hutong	Associations
 <p data-bbox="326 611 711 674">Zhang Shizhao (章士钊), 1881-1973 Scholar and sociologist</p>	
<p data-bbox="326 680 1365 772"><i>Zhang Shizhao (章士钊)</i> was a Chinese journalist, educator, politician of the early 20th century known for his advocacy first of revolutionary cultural values in the period leading up to the 1911 Revolution, and then of traditional Confucian culture.</p>	
 <p data-bbox="326 1119 764 1211">Zhang Hanzhi (章含之) (left), 1935-2008; Qiao Guanhua (乔冠华) (right), 1913-1983. Diplomats</p>	
<p data-bbox="326 1236 1338 1297"><i>Zhang Hanzhi (章含之)</i> was a Chinese diplomat who was Mao Zedong's English tutor and U.S. President Richard Nixon's interpreter during his historic 1972 trip to China.</p>	
 <p data-bbox="326 1694 678 1757">Zhang Kaiji (张开济), 1912-2006, Architect</p>	
<p data-bbox="326 1764 1373 1824">Adjacent to the Zhang's house is the former residence of <i>Zhang Kaiji</i>, the designer of Museum of the Chinese Revolution & Chinese History on the Tiananmen Square (1954)</p>	

	
<p>Ling Shuhua (凌叔华), 1900-1990 Writer and painter</p>	<p>Impression of Old Peking courtyard houses in 1930s, drawn by Ling Shuhua.</p>
<p>The former host was the well-known Chinese female writer and painter, Ling Shuhua, and her husband, Chen Xiying. The “reading room” of Ling Shuhua at former <i>Shijia Hutong No. 24</i> was as famous as the “living room” of Lin Huiyin (林徽因), both regarding famous literature salons in the early modern China. <i>Shijia Hutong No.24</i> was a popular destination for many great people, such as Hu Shi (胡适), Xu Zhimo (徐志摩), Shen Congwen (沈从文), Qi Baishi (齐白石), and Tagore.</p>	

Table 1. Associations of Famous Cultural Figure Who Lived in *Shijia Hutong*. Source by Wikipedia.



Figure 28. The Garble Wall Are Not the Same Color to Show the One on the Right Was Built Using Old Materials. Photo Source by <http://www.princes-foundation.org/what-we-do/projects/cn/shijia-courtyard-24-beijing-china-regeneration>

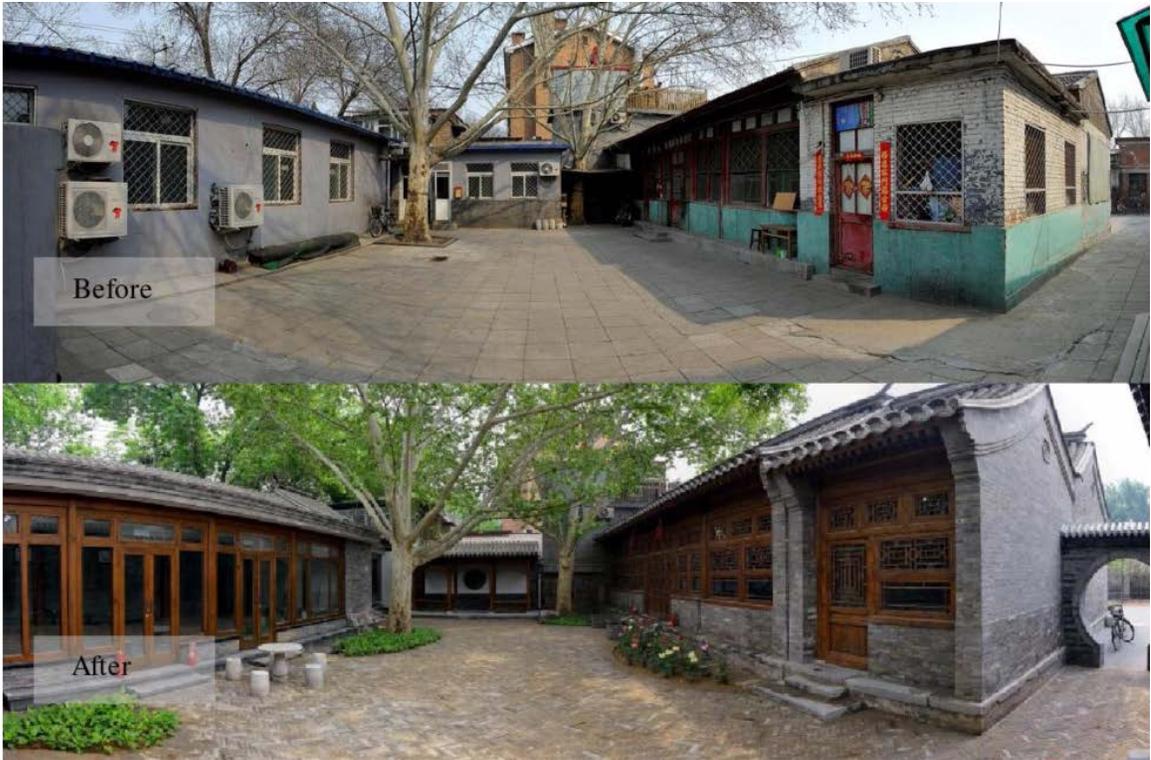


Figure 29. *The Similar Layout Before and After the Renovation of Shijia Hutong Courtyard 24, now located the SHijia Hutong Museum.* Photo Source by <http://www.princes-foundation.org/what-we-do/projects/cn/shijia-courtyard-24-beijing-china-regeneration>



Figure 30. *The similar façade tastes before and after the renovation of Shijia Hutong Courtyard 24.* Photo by Haoyu Wang (after), March 2016, Beijing, and (before) Source by <http://www.princes-foundation.org/what-we-do/projects/cn/shijia-courtyard-24-beijing-china-regeneration>



Figure 31. *The scaled model of Shijia Hutong Neighborhood in the Shijia Hutong Museum.* Source by <https://www.meipian.cn/9e25pro>

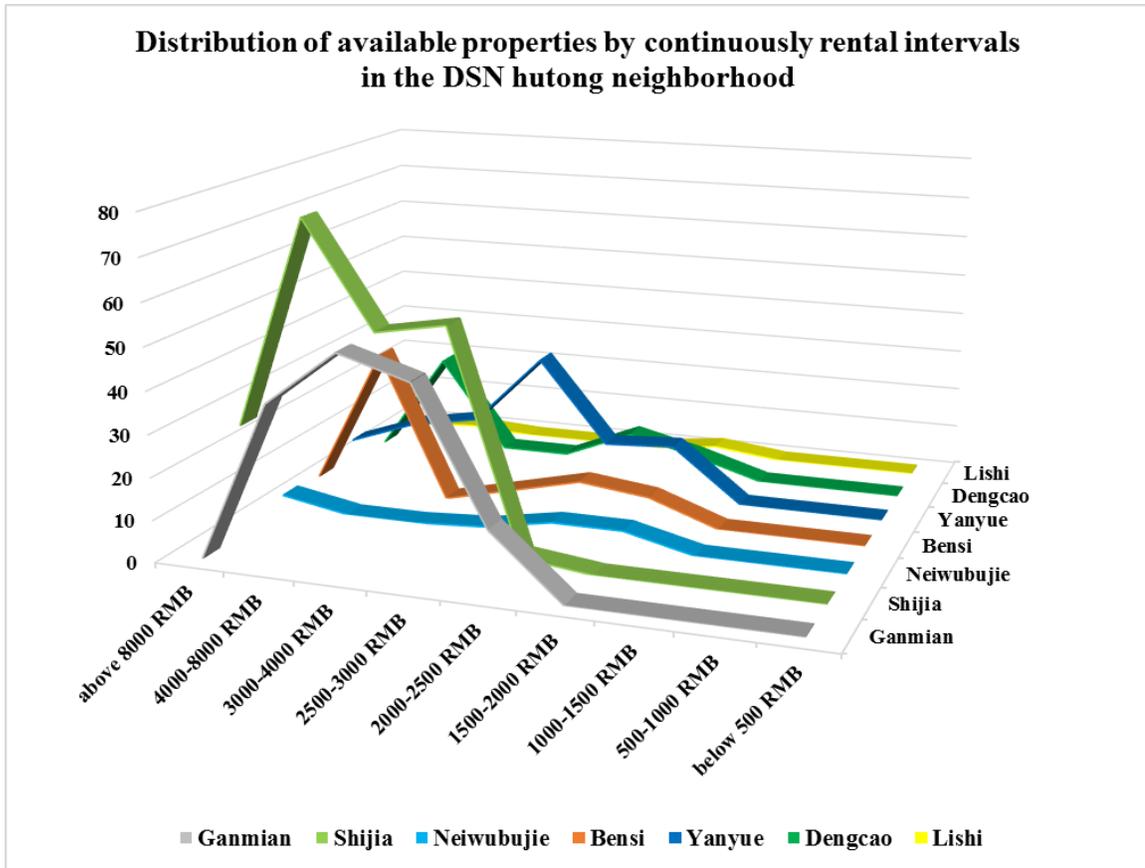


Figure 32. The Distribution of Available Properties by Continuously Rental Intervals in the DSN Hutong Neighborhood. Chart Drawn by Haoyu Wang. Data source by <http://beijing.anjike.com/>, accessed on March, 2016

Properties density of different rental range in the DSN-BHCD (rmb)	Abv. 8000	4000-8000	3000-4000	2500-3000	2000-2500	1500-2000	1000-1500	500-1000	Below 500
Ganmian Hutong	0	38	51	46	15	0	0	0	0
Shijia Hutong	26	76	51	54	2	0	0	0	0
Neiwubujie Hutong	3	0	0	1	4	4	0	0	0
Bensi Hutong	2	35	0	4	8	6	0	0	0
Yanyue Hutong	6	12	15	32	12	13	0	0	0
Dengcao Hutong	0	24	2	2	9	5	0	0	0
Lishi Hutong	0	1	0	0	0	2	0	0	0

Table 2. Density of the Available Properties in Different Rents. Data by <http://beijing.anjike.com/>, accessed on March, 2016

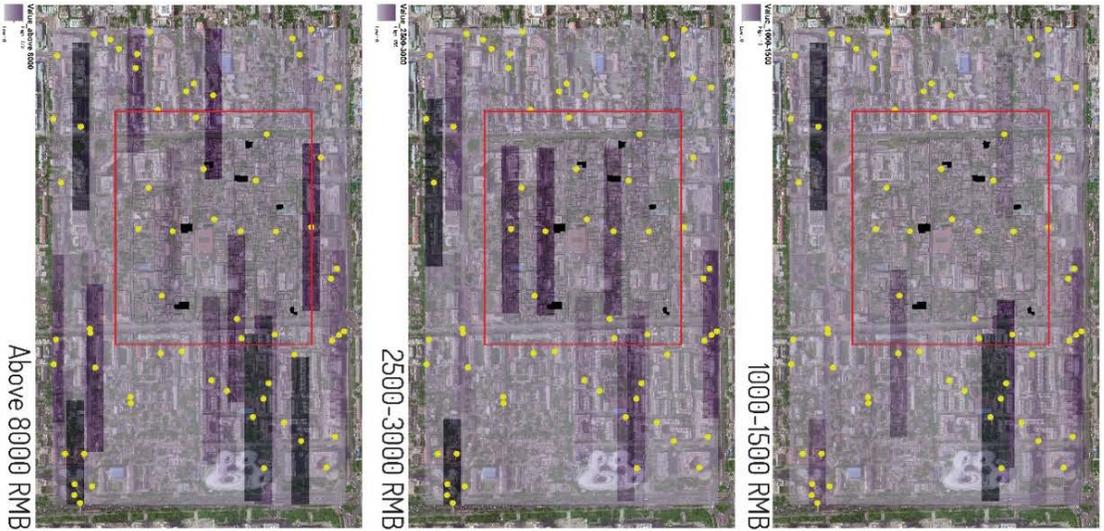
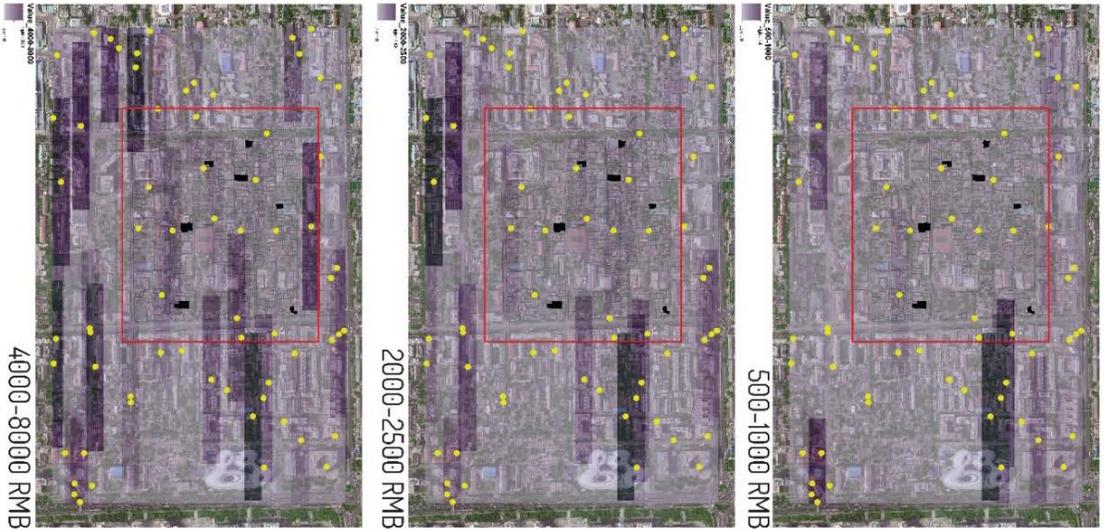
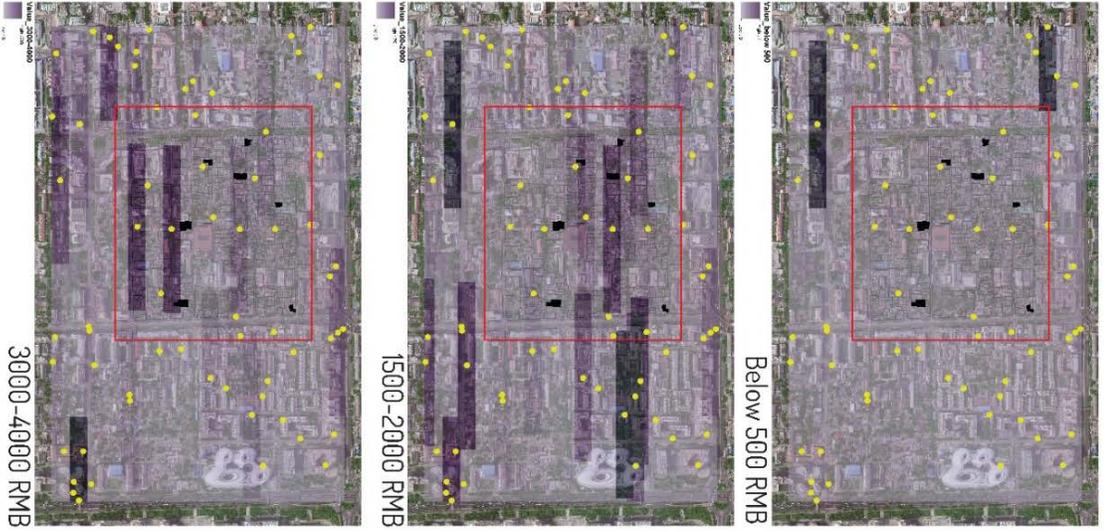


Figure 33. *Density of Available Rental Properties at Different Price Range in the DSN-BHCD*. In the diagram, the deepest colored stripe refers to the highest density of 273 as the number of available rental properties. Diagram Created by Haoyu Wang. Date collected from <http://beijing.anjuke.com/>, accessed on March, 2016.



Figure 34. *A Renovated Modern Restaurant in the Lishi Hutong*. Photo by Haoyu Wang, March 2016, Beijing.



Figure 35. *The Public Passageway Occupied by Restaurant Facilities.* Photo by Haoyu Wang, March 2016, Beijing.



Figure 36. Adaptive Reuse of Courtyards Houses in Beijing Hutong Neighborhoods, International Youth Hotel (left), and Design Studio (right). Photo by Haoyu Wang, March 2016, Beijing.

CHAPTER 4 EVALUATION

4.1 Comparative analysis: effects of bottom-up & top-down management approaches

4.1.1 Impact of preservation on site values

A) Artistry

With respect to issues of artistry, there have been several issues with the restoration of traditional *Siheyuan* architecture, such as stylistic over-simplification. However, a more nuanced, but critical issue with the top-down management approach has been its disregard to the artistic values of the courtyard environments. Local governments have usually focused more on economical and expedient ways to improve the structural quality of dilapidated houses. Typically, the Beijing Land and Housing Management Bureau (BLHMB) has the difficulties in meeting its responsibilities for the regular maintenance of all their own courtyard properties. Limited budgets and the challenge of coordinating high demands with its limited response capacity and resources have restricted the maintenance repairs provided by the BLHMB. As a result, BLHMB's efforts have been mostly limited to building safety issues, instead of the preservation of courtyard artistry.

Furthermore, the prevalent top-down management of the building and courtyard renovations lack a common strategic vision that considers the stylistic authenticity and integrity of artistry of a traditional *Siheyuan* unit, making the BLHMB services stylistically incompatible with the historical preservation objectives of the "Our Courtyards" program. For instance, typically, two neighboring houses — with different residents — would apply different materials or structures in the repairs, making an integral style difficult to be reconciled. This complicated structure of *Siheyuan* property ownership has caused confusion and challenges in the fulfillment

of managerial obligations. These issues reverberated at the systemic, local government-managed and funded levels, which tended to favor economic efficiencies over stylistic, cultural and historical considerations - during the planning and resource-allocation stages, in particular. This praxis resulted in the considerable destruction of artistic values and the visual integrity of courtyards.

In addition, this complicated web of private ownership of the courtyard houses and the unclear responsibility of public courtyard spaces, creates a consensus-forming challenge for the effective application of even non-governmental funding in the cultural interpretation efforts. The complexity highlights the need for a systemic coordinating mechanism for fundraising and application, in order to ensure that insufficient financial supports do not sabotage the artistic authenticity of a Hutong courtyard. Due to the consistent problem of insufficient funding for the restoration efforts, the construction team prefers to use cheaper, but more universal materials. The selection of roof tiles is a typical example of how artistic values are sacrificed. Many “small antique tiles” [小青瓦] have been replaced by the “large pan tiles” [大板瓦], because the large pan tiles are easier to acquire than the exquisite small antique tiles (*fig.37*). In addition, due to the larger size of pan tiles, less amount of tiles are required for repairs, making the larger pan tiles an even better choice for residents to fix the roof for themselves. In contrast, using small antique tiles for roof repairs require a professional construction team specializing in traditional restoration skills to achieve the artistic continuity, such as ensuring the structural and stylistic congruence of the roof tiles with the traditional Chinese eaves. Additionally, another advantage of using small antique tiles is their superior performance for waterproofing and thermal insulation. Traditionally, the courtyard houses are highly effective in keeping warm in winter and

cool in summer, and this is partly due to the benefits of using the small tiles. In this regard, the small antique tiles are more appropriate for pragmatic maintenance for both artistic and functional reasons in the long run.

Similarly, other neglected traditional architectural details with a high artistic value, such as the hollow window sash, cornice or lion-patterned door handles, are less prioritized under the economic and efficiency-prioritized approach in the Hutong neighborhood renewal. Although some architectural components of traditional *Siheyuan* possess less functional values in modern society, for example, the festoon gate or screen walls, they are regarded as highly valorized artistry, because of their interpretative representativeness of traditional Chinese philosophy in the residential compound design. Nevertheless, these architectural materials and components have faced challenges in being prioritized in the restoration.

In contrast to the aforementioned issues of material selection and maintenance of stylistic integrity by following the top-down management approach, the SHHPS has applied a bottom-up decision-making process in the “Our Courtyards” program. The results of the two implemented courtyards, the *Shijia Hutong No.5 (S#5)* and the *Qianguaibang Hutong No.4 (Q#4)*, relative to the artistic enhancement on the architectural details and the public environments, support the appropriateness of a CBO-oriented management approach in the preservation of courtyard artistic value. Considering that the primary objective of the program is to improve the conditions of public courtyard environments, the money spent on tailoring architectural details may not appear like a very economical expense from a top-down result-oriented perspective. However, the SHHPS has still decided on appropriating a portion of the budgets for the renewal of the roof and window sash at the entrance of S#5, as well as the main gate of Q#4. At the S#5, a makeshift addition, currently used as a bathroom, is situated in front

of the screen wall (*fig.38*). This simple structure nearly becomes the façade of the S#5, even though it indelicately covers the exquisite screen wall and blocks the view leading to the festoon gate. For the courtyard with a respectable façade, in spite of the restriction of program budgets and an impartial principle to each family's interests, the SHHPS renovated the window sash and replaced the roofing materials with better design and prized antique materials. Beyond that, the small interventions on the architectural details are not merely intent on echoing the artistic value of *Siheyuan*. The material alternation of roof tiles has also considered the poor performance of large pan tiles on the permeability and ventilation. This means that the socio-culturally responsive bottom-up CBO historical preservation efforts also influence broader sociological and economic decision-making in China, such as providing data to improve the engineering and implementation of large pan tiles, which is still used for other purposes. For instance, the bathroom used all large pan tiles, which cannot overlap tightly against the rain. Also, the slate screen wall is attached directly to this simple makeshift structure, which is easily affected by the moisture penetrated from the bathroom's partition wall. Similarly, the intentions of the installment of a hollow window sash and the replacement of a security door with decorations of traditional Chinese handles, are not only to restore the aesthetic value, but to improve the materials for the stability of courtyard architecture. (*fig.39*)

The CBO-oriented program reinforces the significance of material selection and artistic interpretation of Beijing courtyard houses. Correspondingly, a CBO-oriented bottom-up project management can also contribute to fostering and facilitating more regular and culturally-mediated communication between the BLHMB, local governments, construction teams, professional volunteers, and most importantly the residents. This process requires an equal participation and discourse in the decision-making, which is beneficial to the conservation and

interpretation of artistic values. Once collective discussions can determine the benefits of each family, the program budgets can be implemented for a more integral picture with the consensus of a more diverse group of stakeholders. Specifically, in the “Our Courtyards” project, the residents can determine whether or not to adopt a renovation plan proposed by the designers. Residents are the core decision makers. In a general process, the CBO personnel should consult with the historic preservationists for conservative and historically-related considerations. The designers should be responsible for the supervision of material selection with the construction teams. The PMA should share and increase the transparency of the program budgets and expenses to the CBO. The funding stakeholders should be rewarded with the public reviews or the program profits. These mutual interests, responsibilities, or connections between the stakeholders, managed unitedly by the CBO, are a strong support to the local government. With the assistance of the CBO, the local government, in particular, the Sub-District Office (SDO) in Beijing, can relieve their burden on the coordination of trivial individual property issues.

Another positive effect on preserving artistic value is to adjust the utilization of funding on the maintenance of stylistic integrity with more efficient proposals. Since the majority of governmental funds are spent on addressing pavements, wall painting, or other urgent safety problems concerning public facilities, the financial inputs dedicated to the stylistic restoration are limited, ignored, and sometimes even sacrificed. In particular, most of the makeshift additions are not regulated by the municipal design guidelines, which worsens the courtyard artistic consistency. Thus, the SDOs are desperate for the assistance of community powers which can help to coordinate funding (Li 2015). As the traditional fundraising channels have less inclusiveness in the stylistic restoration, they usually have specific requirements for the renovation effects, such as replacing the pavements for how many courtyards; increasing how

many toilets in the Hutong; or repainting how many courtyard walls, etc. These funding utilizations would bring more positive effects on the quantitative improvements to the whole neighborhood than on the qualitative value of each distinct property. The CBO-oriented preservation project, compared to a government-oriented one, is less driven by political interests than by socio-cultural and historical preservation commitments. Accordingly, it balances the pendulum of historic preservation by emphasizing the interpretation of artistic or other intangible values in a historic-cultural district. Therefore, it would be to the interest and benefit of the CBOs to value and believe to diversify its funding channels, sources and base.

B) Environment

As a representative example of residential compounds in China, Old Peking Hutong and Siheyuan have existed for more than six hundred years. Though their early spatial layouts and architectural styles have changed considerably over the centuries, much original design and planning rationalities are supposed to be superior in the area of Hutong and courtyard environments. For example, from material selection to the overall planning of the drainage system, the traditional courtyard pavements have good performances in permeability and drainage when reacting to the extreme weather, especially heavy rains, and snows. Moreover, the original courtyard design in the aspect of spatial diversity has been considered well-balanced due to the creation of sufficient public space with a proper combination of private spaces. Nevertheless, many prevalent management strategies for the environmental renovations cannot conform with the stability and adaptability of a traditional Beijing courtyard.

One of the managerial difficulties, leading to the current environmental deteriorations, especially a serious problem of uneven pavement, is because of the unorganized self-renovations. The complicated property ownership in a courtyard unit has circumscribed the

efficiency of local governments and the PMAs to respond the different demands. When the residents and the program managers cannot reach the consensus on the renovation objectives, the implementations may be either delayed or carried out, ended by a concession of residents. Therefore, if there were no certain solutions that could be addressed under a collective agreement, the residents would prefer to renovate the pavements on their own ways and money (reflection, Wang 2015-8-14). However, due to the ownership diversity, the majority of the residents would only repave the ground in front of houses of themselves, which have seriously affected the normal drainage as an interrelated system. As is well-known, the Old Peking Hutong and *Siheyuan* were originally planned by following the principles that the north side of the courtyard elevation is higher than the south, as well as the west end of a Hutong alley has a higher elevation than the east.⁴⁸ The original design and planning principles have succeeded at ensuring an unhindered drainage. Additionally, the irregular quality and performance of paving materials have brought many inconveniences and threats on the walking safety. In particular, there are no illuminated facilities in the courtyards, which makes the elderly more dangerous to walk on uneven ground at night, and on a stagnant surface in the rains (fig.40).

Another negative impact of top-down management on the renovation of courtyard environments can be ascribed to the unilateral decision-making mechanism. In general, a typical courtyard renovation program would confine the decision-making authority of the financial utilization to the SDO, or to the sponsored official departments. Apart from these governmental authorities, the different opinions and suggestions, regarding the adaptability and diversity of

⁴⁸ Tong Ga, Laga. 2009. "Beijing Siheyuan minju shengtaixing yanjiu chutan" "北京四合院民居生态性研究初探" [Ecological preliminary research of Beijing residential courtyard]. Master Thesis, Beijing Forestry University, Beijing, 25-26.

restoration proposals, from other involved stakeholders directly or potentially, such as NGOs, local enterprises, or cultural industrials, have weak voices on the utilization of preservation-related funding. Even more limited, these funding initiated by the governments often have a strict deadline and specific purpose in use. However, a partial decision determined by a particular group of stakeholder may restrict the specialty and initiative to the whole team. For example, the SDO would often meet dilemmas in the circumstance when the fixed budgets have to make adjustments. Due to their limited capacities in the historic conservation experiences and the range of resources, yet, a government-dominated project has the difficulties to make expenditure adjustments on neither finance nor implementation. Eventually, the inflexible proposal would lead to negative effects without the help of other stakeholders on the spot. Particularly in the cases relating to the construction team, the team should have a close and independent connection to other groups, such as the engineers, architects, conservationists, staffs of the Neighborhood Committee, and especially with the courtyard residents, during each phase of implementation. But these connections are barely established under the currently government-oriented management mechanism. Since the *Siheyuan* has a complicated foundation with deliberate design and planning in the science of material adaptability and environmental sustainability, the construction team should be familiar with this knowledge. When the proposals are conflicting to the environmental system or the neighborhood relationship, it needs to prepare for making adjustments with other professional consultants at any time, rather than isolating their experiences and skills in a specific dogmatic view.

Particularly worthy of attention to the issue of multilateral decision-making, even reified by the SHHPS's "Our Courtyard" program in a bottom-up decision-making process, a CBO-managed renovation should conduct different opinions on the environmental value with

comprehensive insights. During the implementation of S#5, the construction team did not consult with the material specialists for the selection of paving bricks, also, not with the SHHPS for the agenda of a proper construction period. This is because they had to fulfill the rigid schedule and the goal required by the SDO. Meanwhile, the governmental funding was limited, and the budgets had to be run through at the end of the year. Therefore, the SHHPS did not have the time to organize several rounds of workshops for the various stakeholders as what they planned to. Due to the lacks of pre-discussions on the details of implementation, the construction team made the decisions alone. They replaced the original smaller and thicker archaized bricks with the thinner but larger permeable bricks (*fig.41*). Furthermore, since the renovations have to be completed by the end of the year, the implementation was launched in a wintry season when the frozen soil is harmful to the embedment of paving materials. As a consequence, due to the improper use of materials and the wrong construction periods, many bricks have been cracking in the spring when the soil de-frozen. Other chain-reacting problems, such as the cracking damaged by the heavy loads, or the black stains dialyzed and precipitated by the soil salinization, have caused the courtyard environments becoming even more unstable and less aesthetic. On the contrary, the areas where using the archaized brick have been performing a better stability in the extreme weather (*fig.42*).

From the renovation effects of S#5, the case highlights that the management should pay adequate attentions to a mixed cooperation. Otherwise, the unilateral decisions would have negative influences on the environmental condition. Another case, from a positive side, reinforces the advantages of the joint workshop as an indispensable procedure leading to a successful collaboration between a varied group of stakeholders. In the renovation of Q#4, the responsible design companies have started the program by leading conversations among

residents, the SHHPS, construction team, site supervisor, and the Neighborhood Committee. During the workshops, each of the parties should articulate their opinions about the design proposals, preparation requirements, material selections, implementation details, and funding arrangements, etc. Meanwhile, residents have the responsibility to criticize the scheme and to raise objections. After these plans are rigorously workshopped, every single householder should sign the endorsements and thereby demonstrate a consensus. This procedure has proven to have very positive impacts on the restoration process, especially to have the supports from residents during the operation. The more cautious on the specific decisions made by a collaborative decision contributes to better results on preserving the environmental value of the courtyard as a holistic system.

Through lessons drawn from the renovation project in the DSN-BHCD, the consciously maintained courtyard environments are a corollary of the systematic management on the multivalent interests. For this reason, a well-balanced renovation is not simply a design issue, referring to the target, science, or creativity of design proposals, but also the wisdom of management approaches. The intent on the settlement of a healthy and honorable neighborhood and stakeholders' relationship, is crucial to the CBO for learning the facts of the crux in each specific cases. Living in a dense environment where the public space is chaos and confusing, residents have been becoming very sensitive to any subtle changes and interventions on the built environments. The standard and balance of an equitable decision for each resident should be measured from both physical conditions and psychological distinctions.

Taking a praxis for example, although the creation of planting stands in the S#5 is a decent strategy for preventing the further private and arbitrary constructions, the intention to keep the integrity of courtyard public space by one of the families should show the respect to

the other neighbors' living habits. Due to the different customs on privacy, one tenant, who is a foreign lady, prefers to cover an area of space in front of her house by using potted plants. Since she had refused to use planning stands, the other neighbors could only repave parts of the courtyard ground for a better adaptation to the planning stands. As a result, the S#5 used to have a very mixed quality of pavements, which have affected to the unchecked drainage (*fig.43*). With regard to a top-down renovation, local government, the CYM-SDO for instance, has been circumscribed to their time, specialty, and community assistance – such as a Neighborhood Committee staff who is proficiency in English in this case – to reconcile the benefits for each family. As a result, rather than persuades the foreign lady to vacate parts of the public yard in favor of a more consistent paving renovation; or negotiates with the other neighbors to diminish some landscaping footprints for the sake of a compensation to the foreign lady, the SDO would consider that the renovation of only central aisle is a more empirical solution (fieldwork, Wang 2015-7-16). However, the SHHPS, on the contrary, repaved the entire courtyard through organizing rounds of workshops among every resident to reach the consensus of a systematic renovation eventually. (*fig.44*) In brief, the unusual efforts achieved by a CBO-managed preservation indicate that how the efficiency of a bottom-up decision-making and participating process would benefit to a well-ordered environmental protection.

C) Sociocultural

Sociocultural values of a heritage site, particularly the historic neighborhood, are associated with people. It is meaningful to articulate the differences of cultural and social values respectively, even though their specific implications would overlap from some insights in different projects. In order to make more valid decisions by applying the bottom-up management approach in traditional Chinese neighborhoods, which is inherently a time-

consuming and meticulous process, the CBO should articulate the interpretations on cultural and social values as a crucial task. The distinct interpretations of cultural and social values would lead to different strategies on the issues of stakeholders' identification and further important decision-making. As identified in the value-centered methodology, on the one hand, the cultural value highlights the cultural essentials which can be used to build community identity. The corresponding social value, on the other hand, emphasizes the impacts of the community associations to the public. Therefore, the efforts dedicated to the preservation of both cultural and social values of historic neighborhoods are better to be complementary.

Admittedly, the cultural diversity of historic districts has a complex historical legacy and context, which require intentional and long-term investigations in order to honor its depth and breadth. Presently, the primary mode of publicity about community culture relies on the bulletin boards published by the governmental offices. The nature of these boards represents basic forms of expression that are typical of governmental regulatory publicity instruments, such as simple cartoons, which is neither an authentic nor impressive way to convey rich and complex cultural knowledge to the public. However, these community bulletin boards are the most common way of interpreting and distributing cultural and social values for ordinary historical neighborhoods.

Whether the knowledge conveyed in these publicity efforts are stereotypical or not, the real dilemma is the fact that the government is not engaging residents as "read" and "informed" viewers, audience and participants prior to debates that will actually affect the communities and neighborhoods in which they reside. In such circumstances of limited effective informational diffusion, education, and communication, essential cultural values could be easily buried in relevant discussions relative to design and implementation stages of the pilot reform process.

Furthermore, there are reverberating implications to such predicament, which may lead to being invisibility or implicit masking of the “intangible values” of historic neighborhoods. These intangible values can be further negated by the deterioration of the physical environmental structures. To me, the worthiness and preservation of the cultural and social values of China’s historic neighborhoods are inextricably intertwined with its physical and environmental merits.

However, SHHPS managers have increasingly noticed from the project experience that the culture originally thought non-existent are still rooted deep in the minds of some residents (Shao, interview by Liu and Wang 2015). Even most of them are old or some may already have moved away, they have the right to participate in discussions that involve the historical, cultural and emotional property values of their ancestries. When there is a formal channel to conduct communications with them about the SHHPS initiative, these older residents feel more respected and needed (fieldwork, Wang 2015-7-21). Due to the integral relationship between the historic neighborhoods and their residents’ identities, even those who have moved away, are willing to participate in discussions about the SHHPS preservation efforts and contribute knowledge of their neighborhoods of ancestry.

The SHHPS now has begun to conduct regular tea seminars in the Shijia Hutong Museum (*fig. 45*). The topics include, the oral history of Shijia Hutong; the history of embassies in the DSN-BHCD area, and the painting exhibition of demolished Old City walls. In the meantime, participants have expanded from sole residents of Shijia Hutong at the beginning, to the other Beijing historic-cultural districts. Since the “tea seminar” talks have evolved into discussions about the history of the entire Old Beijing City, the audience has also broadened to include other members of the preservation society. By taking advantage of such community talks, the SHHPS has taken the opportunity to advocate for its bottom-up management reform. For the

Hutong managers, when their efforts on the cultural diffusions have drawn attentions from specific audiences and have started to generate social influence, they will possibly be motivated by more supports and advises.

Additionally, more Hutong residents have been willing to document, discuss, and share the stories that probably only they previously knew, because their knowledge of local history and culture has aroused social interests. More importantly, their pride of community identity and consciousness have become more prominently promoted through the preservation efforts of the Hutong governance. Interestingly, the regular tea seminars also help residents learn more about their neighborhood's past and cultural and social values. Their commitment to preservation seems directly correlated with their increased understanding and appreciation of the detailed history of the Hutong historic neighborhoods. Moreover, SHHPS managers have also noticed that the hospitality of residents to the Hutong visitors are relevant to the quality and quantity of the history they have learned from the seminars. For the preservationists and designers, their professional and creative interpretation of the cultural values contribute to encouraging the preservation and restoration of more physical practices. For example, the case of S#5's public history interpretation effectively shows the effects of how cultural creativity may help to increase the values of physical environments. The designers are planning to redesign a wall, which clearly identifies the outline of historic bricks. (*fig.46*) In the S#5 case, the "cultural wall" introduced the history of the courtyard by carving the cultural requirements collectively formulated by the residents. Historically, this wall was forcibly separated from the owners of the neighboring courtyard where it has been renovated as a youth hotel. This design interpretation intends to echo the original accessibility of the Siheyuan layout. Another similarly case is the reuse of wasted antique furniture. Since there is many old furniture piled up in the

courtyard, which not only occupies space but also decreases the material durability, the designers have proposed to reuse them for recreating a new public corner in the yard (*fig.47*).

In conclusion, the courtyard and Hutong preservation efforts should tie cultural with social values. To revive and exploit the cultural diversities in the historic area requires certain levels of social recognitions to sustain. If the redevelopment of Beijing Hutong neighborhood can perform a positive effect by community self-governance, it would be a practical approach and a good case for the Chinese society to reevaluate the cultural and social values of historic-cultural districts. Otherwise, the traditional top-down governance of historic neighborhoods through its dominant ways of exclusive decision-making, may impose a severe and/or passive positionality on the part of Hutong resides, within an already fast-changing informational age.

4.1.2 Individual and neighborhood benefits

A) Individual benefits

To evaluate individual benefits promoted by the SHHPS's practices through the bottom-up management approach, I define the group "individual" as primarily referring to the courtyard residents. For the residents of a traditional Beijing Hutong neighborhood, their benefits are mainly enacted in two aspects: the improvement of courtyard environments, and the promotion of public participation. Unlike the top-down management approach which places the upgrade of public infrastructure at the center of the renovation effects, the bottom-up approach values more targeted improvements on the physical environment to the particular residents. This priority has highlighted the true cause of a deteriorating condition by employing a managerial perspective.

In the issue of courtyard physical environments, the most predominant differentiations on the purview of individual benefits, between the government and community oriented management approaches, come down to the attribution of courtyard spaces. From the view of local government, the courtyard space, especially in a tenement courtyard⁴⁹, should be a shared public space, though predominantly used as the passageway. However, from the view of residents, the courtyard space is an intricate, nuanced and even dynamic unification of many family-owned zones (fieldwork, Wang 2015-8-9). The complexity of spatial divisions among individual properties has resulted in a long-term managerial challenge regarding the improvement of physical environments of Beijing Hutongs and Courtyards. Furthermore, due to the interior spatial confines, the dense courtyard makeshift additions cannot help to relieve the abundance of shortage. The chaotic supplies and debris have gradually degenerated the exterior public space into assorted private domains. In general, the contemporary divisions of these narrow storage spaces have formed out of longstanding negotiations between each family in a *Siheyuan* unit. The prices of what they have once sacrificed for the balance of individual benefits, therefore, should be carefully considered in the preservation praxes. In such a sensitive environment, without a managerial mechanism that can be applied democratically and efficiently, a minor change in the enforcement of a renovation plan would affect the benefits of more than one family.

For instance, one of the renovation plans was proposed to demolish a waste coalshed and to cleanup some construction wastes piled up on the courtyard by the SHHPS (*fig.48*). Though these structures and materials had not been used for years and have been leading to a

⁴⁹ Meng, Wenping. 2010. "Beijing Siheyuan zai gaige kaifang yilai de fazhan yanbian" "北京四合院在改革开放以来的发展演变" [Research on the evolution of Beijing Courtyard since reform and opening-up]. Master Thesis, Beijing University of Civil Engineering and Architecture, Beijing: 22-25.

further worsening of public environments, their householders were unwilling to demolish or cleanup the spaces (fieldwork, Wang 2015-7-21). For the families who have occupied a supposed public courtyard space, the behavior of improper occupation not only implies stubborn self-interests but also suggests uncertainty resulting from the vague regulatory conventions and relocation policies (reflection, Wang 2015-8-19). Due to the lacks of explicit assertions from the authorities about how the property ownerships and residential obligations will or should develop, the residents cannot measure the price of any changes by themselves. In such a circumstance, when the national or the municipal policies on the changes of courtyard physical environments are imprecise to the individual, the frequent follow-up communications between the CBO and the individual residents would be decisive. Once the residents can receive the feedbacks and updates from the CBO on their losses and interests in a program, they are more likely to reach out for preservation-related actions. In the case of the coalshed cleanup, the SHHPS has mobilized its resources including the Neighborhood Committee, the architecture studios, the academic experts, and volunteers from some sociocultural enterprises for the purpose of persuading the householders who accepted the proposals of a cleared public space. Through several rounds of workshops, all the courtyard families have established an agreement on the effects of final renovation. Based on this objective, the other neighbors have agreed to install a solar energy system and planting stands for the family who conceded to empty the coalshed as a public space. *(fig.49)*

The renovation case indicates the positive effects of a CBO on the solidarity of neighborhood interests dedicated to achieving a common goal while also attending to the distinctive individual concerns and requirements. In comparison, the long-standing top-down managerial strategies have generalized the courtyard problems only in the tangible aspect of

values. When more and more social groups are involving in the process of historic preservation of Old Peking Hutong neighborhoods, the neighborhood residents need qualified coordinators to help and support them consistently to contend for their individual benefits more than ever.

From the managerial perspective, the CBO, who is also playing a critical role in the promotion of equitable participation of Hutong residents, has demonstrated its efficacy in reducing the disparity of individual benefits. As the decision-making process of a CBO-oriented program lies in the foundation of multi-party involved workshops, the process in favor of resident participation contributes to clarifying the relations of individual benefits with the overall vision of the plan to everyone. The promotion of grassroots-level participation is not only a benefit remaining on the level of verbal acknowledgment but also pragmatically improves the efficiency of decision-making. Attending to how the diverse factions, such as the grassroots, professional, or administrative groups, hold different opinions on mutual benefits is necessary during the process of public participation. Based on the case of coalshed cleanup, the recognition of a collective effort has facilitated the balance between the distinctions of neighbors' demands, which were addressed by the courtyard residents themselves. When the other families had reached acceptance of using the collective funds to install a solar energy system for the household who cleaned up their storage in the courtyard, this bargain prioritized the significance of an overall courtyard improvement rather than a single family's benefit (*fig.50*). However, this differs from a government-oriented management approach on the effects of courtyard renovation, in that the residents reached a mutual consensus on both actions and attitudes. In such sensitive internal relationships, if the preservation issues could be realized by the residents from a greater scope of significance, such as the interpretation from a courtyard or community level rather than only individual property ownership, many

complicated and self-centered decisions can be avoided when the residents are together facing other groups of stakeholders. On the other hand, their collective decisions have also protected the individual benefits to the greatest extent, since the unified individual benefits provide support to the coherence of neighborhood identity physically, mentally, and emotionally.

B) Neighborhood benefits

The degree of how much neighborhood benefits are achieved is critical, playing as a factor for measuring the effectiveness of a pilot project from both strategic and pragmatic aspects. If the improvements in individual benefits were reflected in the equality of identification of privately built environments, the breakthrough of neighborhood benefits were focused on issues as how to maintain an orderly community environment.

On the strategic level, the CBO has driven the insights of managerial challenges, expanding from a one-size-fits-all strategy and a politics-centered goal of renovation to a trust-oriented neighborhood relationship with the social interests and local administrations. As the situation mentioned above, the Beijing Hutong neighborhoods, and to be extensively, many Chinese historical districts in the center of a large city, are facing with the gentrification or degeneration challenges because of the mixture of immigrants and confusing property ownerships. In a general situation, few historical neighborhoods can establish a common belief in their community convention. Therefore, the SHHPS was dedicated to formulating a community-centered principle, which strategically contributes to the solidarity by the trust.

On the pragmatic level, the SHHPS has stepped in building up a sense of community solidarity. The production of the “Shijia Community Convention” (*fig.51*) is a keystone for promoting the neighborhood benefits. The *Convention* explicit the responsibilities and requirements to each resident and visitor in a straightforward and conceivable language. The

specific ideas highlight the values of what the community recognized. They are the respect to the elderly and cherish to the youngers; the friendly neighboring relationships; the strengthful awareness of historic preservation; the mutual supervision of misconducts; the educational responsibility to the society; and other specific requirements to the maintenance of neighborhood environments. Although the interpretation of the Community Convention remains a purely literal format as similar to a governmental bulletin board, what different of this *Convention* is that the bottom-up oriented process for production. Each statement is a collective conclusion and decision made by neighborhood residents, community staffs, and consultants jointly through many times of workshops and reviews (*fig.52*). Under the organization of SHHPS, the process of formulating the Shijia Hutong Community Convention has evidently facilitated the trust between the residents and the CBO on the recognition of community affairs. Meanwhile, it is a good opportunity for the residents with different backgrounds to repeatedly discover, communicate, and introspect the issues of the neighborhood. Also, the feedbacks can provide many valuable angles from various people in the understanding of preservation to the CBO.

4.2 Synthesis of the results

A) Leadership

The prevailing changes in top-down historic preservation in Chinese traditional neighborhoods are facing great managerial difficulties. Local governments, particularly represented by the Sub-District Office (SDO) in Beijing, have indeed devoted a great effort to cross the barrier of financial, administrative, and other conventional patterns. Nevertheless, the capacity of the current management system is challenged in a “barrel effect” (*fig.53*): when the

wooden staves are uneven, the barrel's maximum capacity of holding water is dependent on the shortest staves. Similarly, when the roles of various stakeholders cannot exert full advantages, the effects of historic preservation programs would be restricted to the underlying level of strategies. As it is, each part of a barrel can represent an equivalent role in the management system of Chinese historic neighborhoods:

- a) The local government, in a way, should act as the base of the barrel, which is the most solid foundation and support.
- b) Similarly, the various stakeholders and resources dedicated to the historic neighborhood preservation are playing the role of the staves. However, for the sides of the barrel to hold water, they should have integral walls in relatively equal length. Therefore, since the minimal volume of the barrel depends on the shortest height of the staves, the shortest stave need particular repairs for lifting the substantial capacity. In other words, these social and community resources have resulted in significant differences for the purpose of preservation, in which they need to learn from others strong points and be guided to raise the overall level together depending on the different objectives of the program.
- c) The CBO can play the role of the hoop, which is one last component to guarantee the effectiveness of a barrel's durability, in the circumstance of a traditional neighborhood.

The leadership quality of a CBO can help to solidify the relationship among different stakeholders, through facilitating a more coherent process of organizing workshops, fieldwork, interviews, and other forms of participation. The multi-layered relationships, meanwhile, can provide supports to the preservation of a multivalent historical neighborhood. Nevertheless, other than the maintenance of stakeholder connections, the management of stakeholder

benefits should correspondingly tend to be more equalized. Based on a more equal and transparent process, the function of a CBO can be highlighted regarding its leadership in managing routine businesses and some exceptional situations.

Compared with the effects of top-down management, one of the remarkable aspects of CBO leadership has been reflected in the maintenance of a grassroots-centered process. This is a crucial factor to measure the efficiency of a management system, which is dedicated to preserving a rather complex inhabitation, in terms of its long-term issues in demography, environment, history, culture, and socio-politics. Firstly, a CBO essentially derives from the familiarity of a community. An overall understanding of the neighborhood conditions, as well as the specific demands of different families, is the lynchpin of CBO's further visions. Considering the starting point of a CBO-managed program which is to respect individual decisions, the bottom-up management approach has prioritized and centered *the process* rather than *the result* on the effects of preservation-related practices. Therefore, due to the focus on a grassroots-centered process, the CBO usually comes forward to organize prompt workshops for providing more opportunities of one-to-one communications between experts and residents. Meanwhile, since the CBO has the advantages in the scope of neighborhood and social resources, its leadership can promote a variety of methods and partners to address problems. Moreover, because of this emphasis in process, the CBO would advance a claim to the conservationists, architects, or the construction teams to make proper adjustments in any phases of implementations, by addressing the opinions of residents. Out of respect for professional assistance, residents should take certain duties on the collective decisions, such as daily maintenance on public environments and interactions with the CBO for regular feedbacks.

In the praxis of DSN-BHCD's pilot project "Our Courtyard", the CBO, *Shijia Hutong Historic Preservation Society (SHHPS)*, has adhered to a bottom-up decision-making process, which requires sufficient leadership to move forward step by step. (fig.54). During the initial phase, in order to lead a succeed renovation as a breakthrough, the SHHPS selected the pilot courtyards dependent on the familiarity of their residents, under the investigations with the Neighborhood Committee. Then, a series of workshops were running under the collaborations with architects, planners, conservationists, and most necessarily, with the courtyard residents for one-to-one communications. On the basis of rounds of joint workshops, the neighbors had the comprehension to the implementing agenda, which contributes to their trust for cooperating with the SHHPS. Thus residents have organized some spontaneous cleanups and have shown more understanding to the designer's solutions for exceptional situations. After the construction, the stakeholders summarized the experiences collectively and organized group reviews with the residents. Ultimately, the physical environments of the courtyard have changed obviously under the efforts of SHHPS, however, it is still critical to promote the regulatory strategies between the residents and the CBO. For example, to avoid a further vicious circle, such as the disordered storage in the public space, the CBO should prepare some compatible conventions, like a contingency management plan, to the neighborhood. In brief, a process-oriented preservation has great values to the historic urban neighborhoods in China, though it is still a complicated process, which requires adequate devotions and leadership quality to the CBOs when exploring breakthroughs in an initial stage.

B) Initiative

The process of historic neighborhood preservation should be characterized by long-lasting benefits for the neighborhood and tailored proposals for the clients. However, these two

perspectives, neither the government-oriented top-down management nor the academic-oriented praxis, are challenged by reaching the two objectives simultaneously. For example, an SDO-dominated project usually prioritizes the overall upgrade of public utilities over the specific requirements of one family. Comparatively, although there are academic institutions have already proposed some small-scale and micro-circulatory prototypes of renovation⁵⁰ within the Old Peking Hutong neighborhoods, these institutes are still challenged by making persistent responses regarding the meticulous critiques of individual residents to the inappropriate use of the new model. Essentially, the neighborhood integrity and individual distinctions are two features not entirely contrasting but showing more consistency. For example, when the overall level of initiatives of Hutong neighborhood residents has enhanced for their demands on the renovations instead of just waiting for the variable governmental interventions, the CBO can manage the projects with more understandings on the compatibility of a sustainable inhabitation. The proposition from a preservation-centered perspective is beneficial to the community building with more strengthful public supports. To achieve this executing capability, the CBO needs to strive to motivate a stronger level of public initiatives on the community businesses. In the following aspects, a bottom-up CBO-managed preservation process can particularly demonstrate its efficacy on promoting community initiatives.

Firstly, a bottom-up management system is operative in transferring the burden of local governments on the preservation effects from an achievement-driven political goal to a demand-oriented grassroots benefit. Due to the features of Chinese political system, one of the standards to measure the political achievements of one administration is directly related to the

⁵⁰ Xing, Jiliang. 2002. "Lishi jiequ gengxin gaizao tantao" "历史街区更新改造探讨" [The preservation and redevelopment of historic district]. Master Thesis, Beijing University of Technology, Beijing, 23-30.

changes of physical environments in the responsible jurisdiction. What special in a historic-cultural district is that the municipal-level governments usually have to improve the dilapidated built environments in a relatively short period. As a result, the local governments prefer to input money on the programs which are capable of fulfilling those visible changes within a short schedule, such as a standardized renovation of street façade. They are comparatively uninterested in spending time on revitalizing the values, such as the cultural, social, or aesthetic values, which are in need of persistent financial, time and personnel inputs. In brief, the term of one office usually cannot meet the time-frame of a consistent preservation project, considering that it aims to sustain the community in the ways by a resilient mechanism and a broader scope of value recognition. Correspondingly, the CBO gives play to their advantages in human and financial resources to the development of long-standing and depth programs, meanwhile adopting parts of the management pressures from local governments. As the rewards, the local governments should commit a measure of administrative powers to the CBO for the purpose of motivating stakeholders' initiatives and preservation-related incentives.

Also, the extension of time-frame of a CBO-oriented project encourages a deeper and more comprehensive investigation of both tangible and intangible values. On the one hand, the expansion of research can use as a tactical opportunity to engage the neighborhood and the public interests to the site. In order to engage more social resources from different backgrounds, the CBO can use the historic neighborhood as a platform to advocate the significance of place values. In the process of advocacy, such as organizing public reviews on the design proposals, lectures and seminars about historical topics, the interactive lived experiences with the neighborhood residents, or even a small topical marathon in the historical-cultural district, the CBO can take advantages of these events to increase the visibility of those

interested enterprises or institutions, who could be the potential investors and consultants. In conclusion, the more supports gained from the social resources can enhance more confidence for the neighborhood to participate in themselves community building initiatives.



Figure 37. Roof-tiles. *Before*: Large pan tiles and plastic canopy, used for a makeshift addition at the entrance of a courtyard (left); *After*: Small antique pan tiles, renovated by SHHPS (right). Photo by Haoyu Wang, Beijing, July 2015 (left) and March 2016 (right).



Figure 38. Window sash. *Before*: No stylistic details on the addition in front of the screen wall (left); *After*: A newly installed hollow window sash for the re-painted structure (right). Photo by Haoyu Wang, Beijing, July 2015 (left) and March 2016 (right).



Figure 39. Entrance. Before: A typically common iron gate (left); After: The renovated entrance with a pair of traditional patterned handles. Photo by OSO Studio, Beijing.

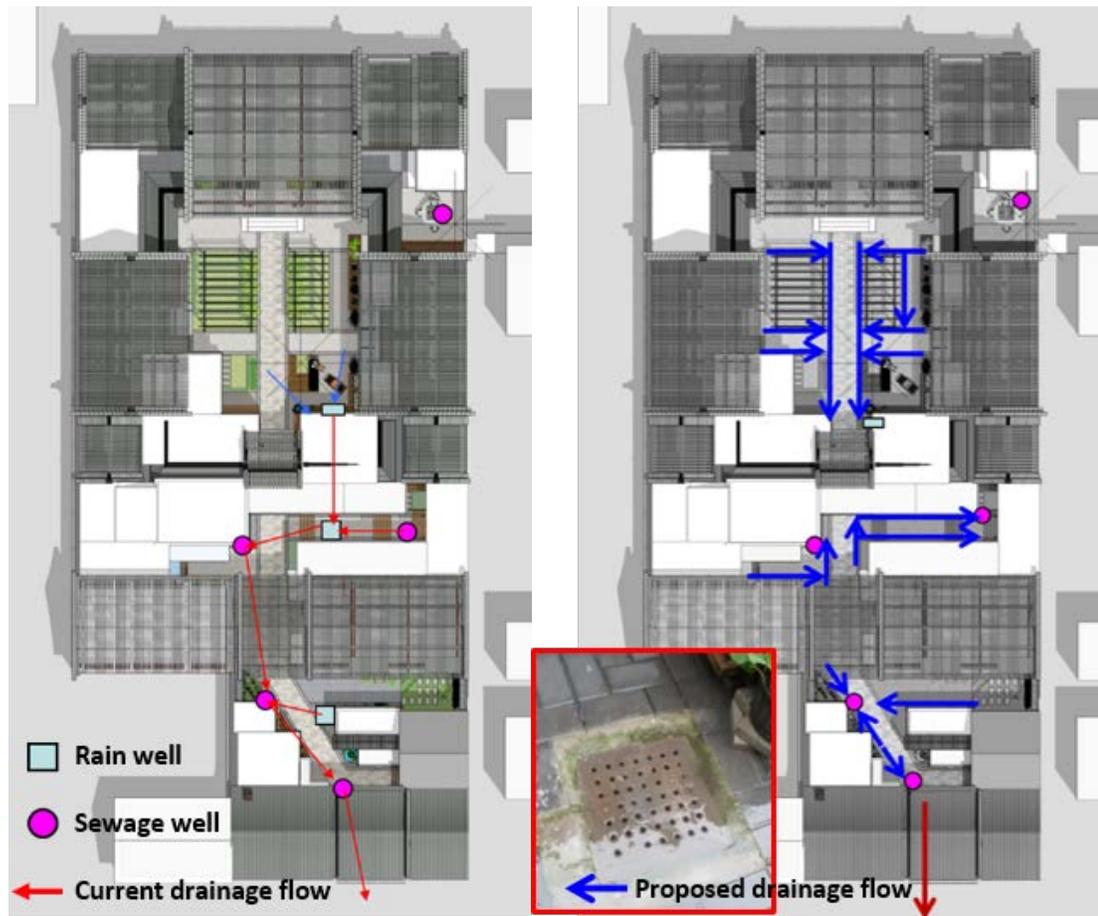


Figure 40. Drainage System. Before: The poor and mixed up paving materials disturb the rain water and sewage system (left); After: Proposed order of drainage system by SHHPS. Diagram Created by the Beijing Municipal Institute of City Planning & Design, Hong-Du Design Department, Beijing, August 2015.



Figure 41. *The smaller and thicker archaized paving bricks can better fit and tolerant with the soil (top); The larger but thinner permeable bricks cannot adapt to the courtyard soil in an extreme weather, also it cannot bear the load as heavy as an archaized pavement (bottom).* Photo by the Beijing Municipal Institute of City Planning & Design, Hong-Du Design Department, Beijing, November 2015.



Figure 42. Paving. Before: The seriously destroyed pavement (left); After: The pavement renovated by the SHHPS by using more adaptive materials (right). Photo by Haoyu Wang, Beijing, July 2015 (*left*) and March 2016 (*right*).



Figure 43. *The former courtyard environments with a mixed use of materials.* Photo by Haoyu Wang, Beijing, July 2015.



Figure 44. *The renovation completed environmental quality.* Photo by Haoyu Wang, March 2016



Figure 45. *The Topical Tea Seminars Periodically, Joint with Invited Speakers, SHHPS, Residents, Municipal Institutions, etc.* Photo Source by SHHPS, Beijing, October, 2015.



Figure 46. *A Wall Forcibly Blocked for Separating the Courtyard to the Adjacent Youth Hotel (Left); A Design Interpretation of the Original Accessibility of the Siheyuan Layout (Right).* Photo by Haoyu Wang, July 2016, interpretation drawn by BMICPD, Hong-Du Design Department, Beijing, August 2015.



Figure 47. A Design Proposal (Bottom) by Using the Abandoned Materials and Furniture to Recreate a Deteriorating Corner Space (Top). Photo by Haoyu Wang, July 2016, interpretation drawn by BMICPD, Hong-Du Design Department, Beijing, August 2015.



Figure 48. Former Conditions of the Courtyard Q#4. The Public Alley Was Occupied by A Waste Coalshed and Some Piled Up Construction for Exterior Storage. Photo by Haoyu Wang, July 2015, Beijing.



Figure 49. After collective workshops between SHHPS and courtyard residents, neighbors have agreed to install a solar energy system and planting stands for the family who conceded to empty the coalshed. Design drawn by OSO Studio, August 2015, Beijing.



Figure 50. The completed renovation of courtyard Q#4 with the individual family supports. Photo by Haoyu Wang, March 2016, Beijing.

The Shijia Community Convention

When you visit the Shijia Community, you shall become our amiable friend, and please abide by the Shijia Community Convention:

1. Respect the old and cherish the young, devote our love, and take good care of the empty-nest elderly. We are supposed to show mutual tolerance and solitude and open hearts to each other.
2. Solidarity and mutual accommodation are encouraged among our neighborhood. All community members shall bravely uphold justice whenever necessary.
3. When children dispute or exchange blows, parents are supposed to reprimand their own children. Mutual understanding is encouraged among community members.
4. Neighbors shall treat each other with due respect and thanks are to be expressed when help is offered.
5. Start educating our children in their early childhood so that they can become individuals with ethic advancement, moral integrity and courtesy.
6. Smoke is strictly forbidden in public venues.
7. Lessees shall voluntarily apply to the competent department for their temporary residence permits.
8. Lessees shall inform the person-in-charge in their respective apartment or courtyard or neighbors of their telephone numbers in case there is a need for contact.
9. Cherish our life and stay away from narcotics.
10. Preserve the original style of the alleys and observe the principle of renovating the old buildings while keeping their old taste intact.
11. Strengthen the awareness of historic preservation and cherish the plants, old bricks, tiles, walls and other structures in our courtyards.
12. We are supposed to keep our courtyards clean and tidy.
13. We shall voluntarily stop such misconduct as illegal posting.
14. Strictly observe the laws and regulations and say no to drunk driving.
15. We are supposed to practice orderliness, discipline, mutual understanding and accommodation when parking our vehicles.
16. Fireworks and crackers are set off at the designated sites only on holidays and festivals.
17. Clear up stockpiles from courtyards and passageways on a timely basis and prevent fire disasters.
18. Increase the public security awareness among neighborhood, and keep alert to stark strangers.
19. Residents shall be on high vigilance for all kinds of illegal activities, including frauds, break-ins, burglaries, etc.
20. Raise your pets in a civilized manner. Keep your pets leashed and clear up their feces while walking them.
21. Pet raisers shall go through on a regular basis the annual pet inspection and other relevant procedures.
22. Improve public hygiene and properly conduct garbage assortment.
23. Cherish our residential environment and reduce noise pollution.

Figure 51. *The Shijia Community Convention*, Compiled by SHHPS, Beijing.



Figure 52. *A Review of the Process in Producing the “Shijia Community Convention.”* Photo Source by SHHPS.

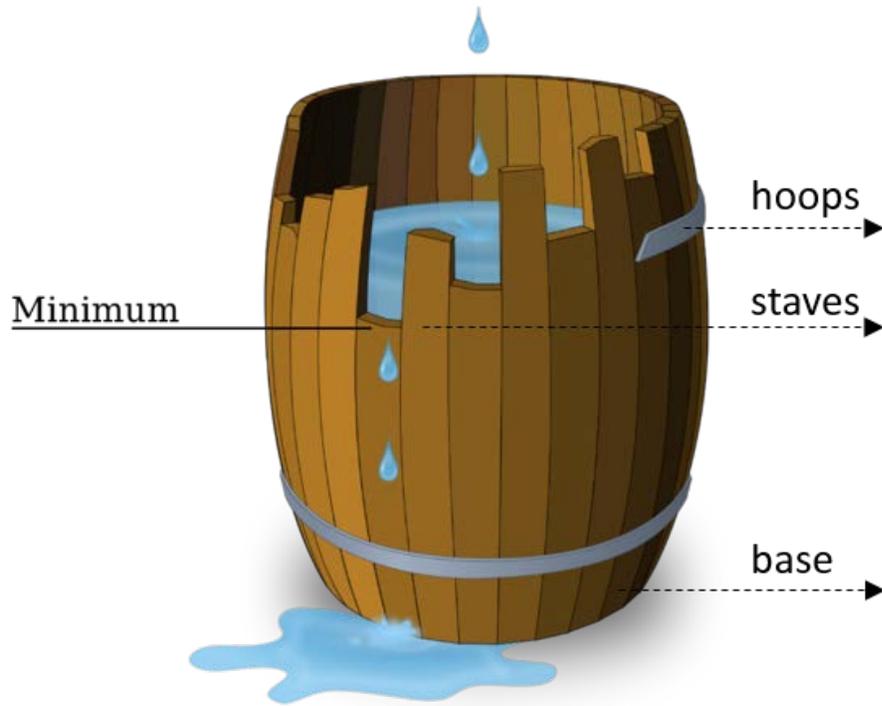


Figure 53. *A Comparative Analysis of CBO's Leadership to the Barrel Effect.* Annotated by Haoyu Wang.



Figure 54. *The Leadership Quality of A CBO Enacted in Managing A Bottom-Up Decision-Making Process.*
 Diagram Created by Haoyu Wang.

CHAPTER 5 RECOMMENDATIONS

5.1 The establishment of systematic CBO

The intention to establish Community-Based Organization (CBO) has brought breakthroughs to examine the effects of bottom-up management in preserving values of old Beijing Hutong neighborhoods. Beijing, as the political and cultural center of China, has particular advantages in public advocacy and incentive policies, which would contribute to the implementation of community autonomy. But in the meantime, a new mechanism of governance in Beijing would face much more complicated relationships with the local and central governments, as well as ubiquitous market interventions. Thus, as a pioneering CBO, SHHPS should take an active but also cautious responsibility in the generalization of a preservation management model in Chinese diversified settings. This chapter provides general recommendations to the role of a CBO in the balance with multiple forces when dedicated to preserve historic neighborhoods in China. According to the effectiveness and limitations of SHHPS performed in the projects, the thesis also attempts to make an effort for pragmatic recommendations to the study area.

The fundamental responsibility of a preservation based CBO should be to provide supports and initiatives when the abilities of other forms of organizations or individuals have been restricted from participating, coordinating, and implementing in the preservation related affairs. To achieve the tasks, the CBO needs to have a certain extent of autonomy in decision-making to guarantee the effectiveness of preservation-related actions. The system of the CBO also needs to have the inclusiveness in terms of the collaboration with the internal branches, external stakeholders, grassroots forces and upper administrative institutions. To achieve the program outcome with so many complicated interconnections, an organizational system needs

to account for adequate liability, specialty and coherence. Thus, the CBO's foundation would spread across several branches. In addition to making plans and implementing projects, the CBO may also need to create a branch focusing on evaluation and supervision of preservation and renewal. To sum up, **the planning branch (PB)** will make plans and fundraise. **The implementing branch (IB)** will support and implement plans. **The evaluating branch (EB)** will interpret the effectiveness of actions, which will serve as checks and balances for the actions of the planning and implementing branches.

- a) **The Planning Branch (PB)** should be responsible for initiating proposals and pooling funds. One of the benefits of a distinct planning branch would be the ability to build up the consistent documentations on values that is lacking of in current system of Chinese historic neighborhoods. So, to gradually establish the foundation of current site conditions and then make targeted plans, is the essence of this branch. Moreover, on the basis of sufficient knowledge of the neighborhood, the Planning branch should also take the leading role in fundraising. Because the Planning branch would propose how the funds are utilized, it should have the lead in the decision-making process.
- b) **The Implementation Branch (IB)** is the main body to carry out the plans. The branch should be a platform sufficiently supported by the professionals of historians, architectural conservationists, designers, engineers, and other practitioners, to respond the wide-ranging demands on the preservation issues. These demands may come from both outside and inside stakeholders looking to engage in the preservation of the community. Therefore, the Implementation branch would be a good platform to

promote the system of “Community Builder”, which includes the various models of “Community Architect”, “Community Planner”, as well as “Community Technician”⁵¹.

- c) **The Evaluation Branch (EB)** is mainly responsible for interpreting the effectiveness of plans and actions. With the assistances from the Neighborhood Committee, the branch should serve in a supervisory role overseen various ongoing community activities. Meanwhile, this branch serves as the manifestation of grassroots power and interests calling for the rights of discourse, proposal and inspection related to their living environments. The Evaluation branch should hence integrate residents in the decision-making process initiated by the Planning branch and in consultation with the Implementing branch. Furthermore, this branch should establish an evaluation team to produce reports about effectiveness and limitations of preservation during each project. The report should not only contribute to the update of documented values, but should also provide extensive interpretation of perceived values.

Essentially, the purpose of bottom-up management is to expand and specialize the responsibilities of community organizations dedicated to historic neighborhood preservation, not divide political powers among local governments. Therefore, to shape a mutually checked and balanced system among the three branches, the CBO can better stabilize from internal structures, and then clarify the responsibilities with external administrative and economic forces. Especially, the systematic stability should concern the relations regarding to the management of following matters (*fig.55*).

A) Site documentation and assessment of value-preserved effectiveness

⁵¹ Referencing (Hackney and Sweet 1990).

As the values of the historic neighborhood are multivalent and changeable, site documentation should maintain a dynamic process to periodically and timely update the changes of present site conditions. Since *the EB* take the responsibilities of value assessment for promoting ongoing revision of documentations initiated by *the PB*, it needs to accept feedbacks on the efforts of modification of values. In addition to tracking the progress of revisions by *the PB's* direct reports, through the workshops of value-preserved effectiveness with *the IP*, *the EB* could also check the implemental feedbacks indirectly about *the PB's* outcome on the value modifications. The bilateral assessments of site documentation, firstly, is intent to pay attentions to the feature of changeability of values in historic neighborhoods. Secondly, a feedback mechanism oriented by a bottom-up based evaluating branch is a benefit to facilitate the ongoing interpretations on the perceived values from grassroots opinions.

B) Stakeholder engagement and planning initiative

A community-based strategic plan⁵² would be an innovative guideline to the Chinese traditional neighborhoods when engaging residents and partnerships to jointly respond strategic issues about people, neighborhood growth, and visions of district revitalization. Since a strategic plan needs to initiate an outreach process for the social, cultural, economic development of the community, *the PB*, which plays the role of a bellwether in initiating plans and pooling funds, should build up a close relationship with *the IB* for sustaining stakeholder resources. From the standpoint of stakeholder management, when *the IB* emphasize the efforts on the extensive

⁵² Strategy Management Group. n.d. *Strategic Planning Basics*. Accessed September 25, 2016. <http://www.strategymanage.com/strategic-planning-basics/>.

In the (Strategy Management Group n.d.), "Strategic planning is an organizational management activity that is used to set priorities, focus energy and resources, strengthen operations, ensure that employees and other stakeholders are working toward common goals, establish agreement around intended outcomes/results, and assess and adjust the organization's direction in response to a changing environment."

engagement of various stakeholders from outside of the community, *the PB* should aim at coordinating the goals and strengths of integrated stakeholders, officials and government committed agencies for different strategies of the programs. Correspondingly, once the partnerships and responsibilities are clarified from the complicated stakeholders' network, *the IB* could quickly organize implementation teams devoting to the elaboration of plans for *the EB* and the cooperation with residents for further detailed solutions.

C) Fundraising, decision-making, and implementation

From the perspective of implementation effectiveness, the essential challenge hampering the initiative of historic preservation through a bottom-up process is the utilization of funds. When the use of corporate funds, usually designated by the committed governmental agencies, could not bring the expected interests of the residents, the outcomes of implementation would discourage the further private investments and public initiatives. Since the financial capital of a CBO is limited intrinsically, the strict and equitable management of budgets and expense should be particularly emphasized through a reviewing mechanism. Considering one of *the PB's* responsibilities of initiating plans are depending on the financial standing, *the PB* should collaborate with other branches to check the appropriateness of the budget proposals. *The EB*, as the representative of grassroots interests, is qualified to take the responsibility in making decisions on the feasibility of budgets. If *the EB* denies the proposal for some reasons of interest conflictions, *the EB* needs to provide feedbacks about the budget amendments to *the IB*. Then, *the IB* could revise the implementation plan through organizing workshops with *the EB* for taking care of the demands of residents. Once *the IB* reached the agreements with *the EB*, it can apply the adjusted budget plan to *the PB* for approving funds. *The PB* should then submit the revised budget proposal to *the EB* for reviewing. In general, when

the overall process of funding utilization lies in the supervision of grassroots integrated evaluation team, the mutual restraints of fundraising, decision-making, and implementation would be a more deliberate mechanism driving the managerial stability of the CBO.

D) Promotion of “Community Builder” and bottom-up supervision

In addition to recognizing on how the financial capitals could bring public interests on the environmental improvements, the bottom-up management should also exploit the nonmaterial stocks of capitals such as historical, artistic, or social values of traditional neighborhoods for promoting the preservation benefits of skills, education, and utilization of modern technology. By referencing the system of “Community Architect” and “Community Planner,” the CBO could encourage the praxis of professional community builders for the resilience of traditional neighborhood initiated from a bottom-up approach. Hence, the CBO should organize the evaluating standards for the empowerment of qualified “Community Builder” serving as a sustainable process. *The IB* is suitable to take the main responsibility of execution such as training on the skills of restoration attributed to its stakeholders’ connections. Because *the EB* is obligated to the supervision of planning and implementations, it could have a comprehensive evaluation on the qualification of nominated group or individual “Community Builder”. Thus, *the EB* could appoint the candidates of qualified experts for devoting a long-term benefit to the community.



- **Planning branch to Implementation branch:** provides and modifies data of site conditions; coordinates the gates and strengths of the partnerships; and assigns approved funds.
- **Planning branch to Evaluation branch:** reports the revision of documentation; re-nominates the candidates of "Community Builder"; and submits the review of budget proposals. (If the budget proposal approved, the Evaluation branch should approve the budget plan back to the Planning branch for preparing implementation. Either, if the budget proposal denied by the Evaluation branch, it should be submitted to the Implementation branch for the further amendment, and then re-apply the adjusted budget proposal to the Planning branch.)
- **Implementation branch to Planning branch:** collects site data; provides partnership resources and advices; and apply for the (including adjusted) budget proposals.
- **Implementation branch to Evaluation branch:** provides training of preservation skills and education; organizes workshops of value-preserved effectiveness; and consults with inhabitants on implementations.
- **Evaluation branch to Planning branch:** helps to facilitate the interpretation of perceived values; and approves the budget plan for further implementation.
- **Evaluation branch to Implementation branch:** appoints and evaluate the qualified "Community Builders"; and request to amend the budget proposals.

Figure 55. A Proposed Management System for A Preservation Based CBO. Diagram created by Haoyu Wang, September 2016.

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APPENDICES

Appendix A.

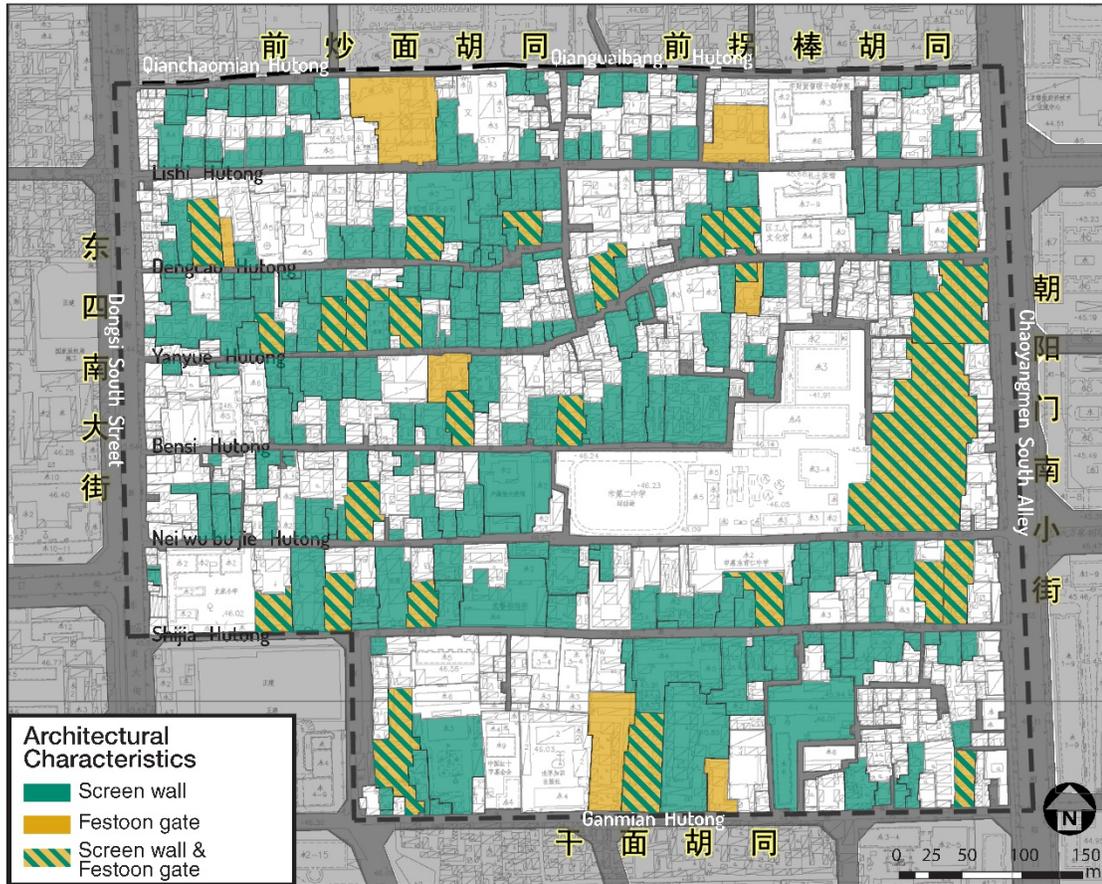


Figure 56. Architectural Characteristics. Redrawn by Haoyu Wang, altered on a photocopy of Beijing Municipal Institute of City Planning and Design (BMICPD).

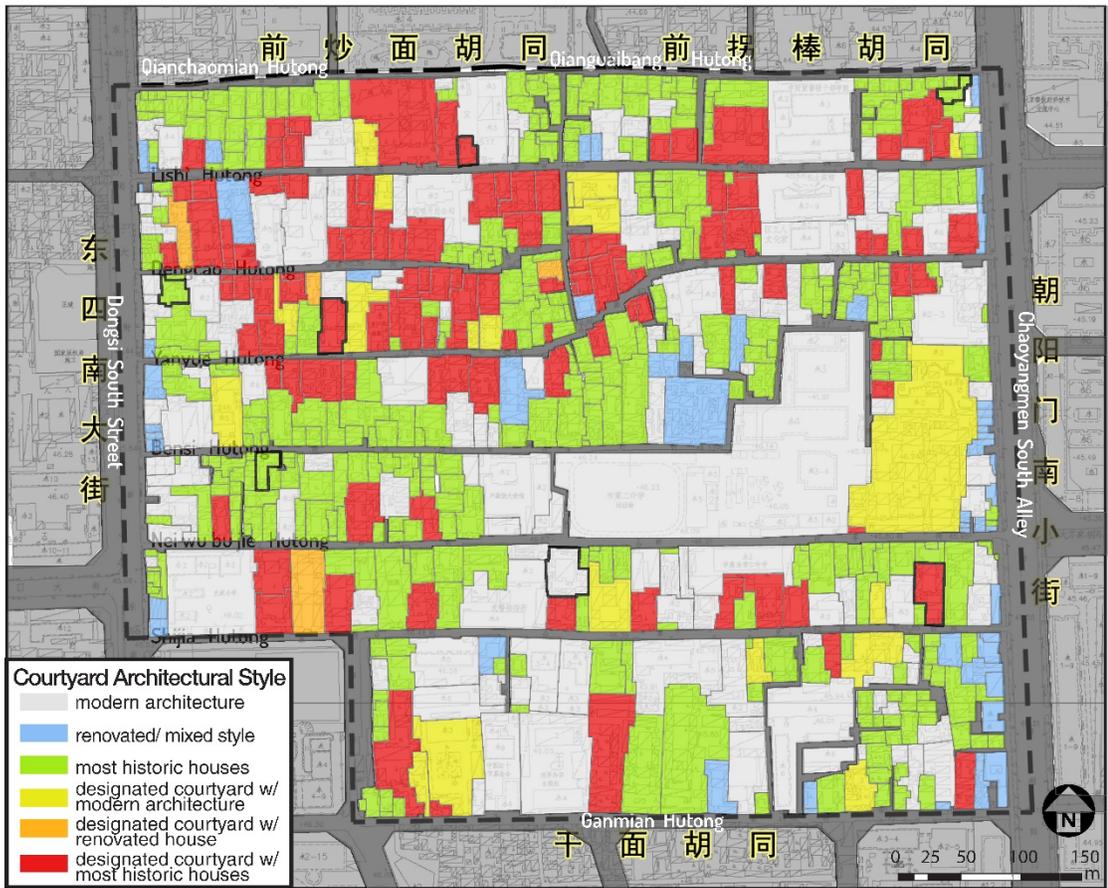


Figure 57. Courtyard Architectural Style. Redrawn by Haoyu Wang, altered on a photocopy of Beijing Municipal Institute of City Planning and Design (BMICPD).



Figure 58. Cultural Associations. Redrawn by Haoyu Wang, altered on a photocopy of Beijing Municipal Institute of City Planning and Design (BMICPD).

Appendix B.

Values Category and Documentation			
Subsidiaries	Factors	Data Source	Current Conditions
Historic	Periods	Evolution of hutong structure	
	Historical Functions	Chronologically historical maps	
Artistic	Architectural Characteristics	Screen wall & mounting stone	
		Festoon gate	
	Styles	Courtyard style	Designated preserved-19.8% Renovated-58.8% Modern(rebuilt)-21.4%
		Architectural style	w/historic architecture-70.4% renovated-8.9% modern/shanty/mixed-20.7%
		Hutong style	
Scientific	Structure	Structural condition	
	Heights	Architectural height	
	Materials	Material properties	
	Design	Drainage design	
	Function	Hutong parking	
Cultural	Cultural Associations	Cultural figure	7.6%-51
		Historic institution	3.1%-21
	Religious	Religious & folk culture	4.8%-32
	Historic Trees	Historical tree	46 trees in 41 courtyards-6.1%
Social	Designated Courtyards	Designated courtyards	20.4% (7 designated monuments at Municipal level; 7 listed monuments)
	Public Institutions	Public institution	
	Public Spaces	Watching spots	11
		Spontaneously formed public space	98
		Physical fitness facilities	2
Environmental	Hutong Greenspace	Condition of hutong green	
	Occupancy	per capita courtyard area	
	Sanitary Facilities	Distribution of Public Toilets	
		Distribution of garbage collection	

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B#48

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BHCD

Beijing Historic-Cultural District .*iv, v, vi, 9, 10,*
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72, 76, 77, 79, 80, 88, 90, 102, 105, 114

BLHMB

Beijing Land and Housing Management
Bureau **11, 12, 26, 28, 29, 93, 96**

BMICPD

Beijing Municipal Institute of City Planning
and Design .*vii, 19, 29, 41, 42, 49, 124, 139,*
141, 142, 143

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CBO

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59, 60, 61, 95, 96, 97, 100, 102, 103, 108,
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CHP

Beijing Cultural Heritage Protection Center.**36**

CYM-SDO

Chaoyangmen Sub-District Office *See SDO*

D

DHCMDVIC

Designated Historic-Cultural Monuments and
Districts in Beijing Inner City**48**

DSN-BHCD

Dongsinan Beijing Historic-Cultural District*See*
BHCD

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SDO

SHHPS

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