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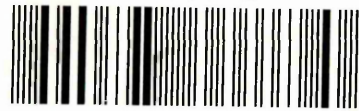
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Actor Perspectives and Tourism Policy Networks in Hangzhou, China

Yi Wang

A thesis submitted in partial fulfilment of the requirements of
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for the degree of Doctor of Philosophy

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Glossary

CCP	Chinese Communist Party.
CM	Hangzhou's City Management Committee.
CPR	Common-Pool Resource.
HTC	Hangzhou's Tourism Committee.
MPC	Municipal People's Congress.
NPC	National People's Congress.
NTA	National Tourism Administration
PLB	Hangzhou's Public Landscape and Historical Relics Bureau
PPC	Provincial People's Congress.
P & R	Hangzhou's Plan and Reform Committee.
UNESCO	United Nations Educational, Scientific and Cultural Organization.
West Lake EXPO	West Lake Exposition.
WLMC	West Lake Scenic District Management Committee.
WLPP	West Lake Protection Project.

Abstract

This study examines the patterns and processes of policy making involved in tourism development and management for the major tourism city of Hangzhou in China. It is considered that these policy-making features are the result of dialectical interactions between structure and agency. More specifically, the social actions involved in policy making are regarded as the consequence of the dialectical interplay between the knowledgeable behaviour or agency of varied actors and their structural contexts. The dynamics of the tourism policy-making processes are examined through a relational approach that combines an actor-oriented perspective on social change with the analysis of policy networks.

Three conceptual frameworks - at the macro-, micro- and also meso-scales - are developed in the study in order to understand the co-evolution of structure and agency within the tourism policy-making processes. The macro-scale focuses on the "external" environments that affect actors' perspectives and the policy making processes, the micro-scale explores the regular practices and experiences of actors, and the meso-scale relates to the dynamics of the policy networks that result from interplay between the macro- and micro-scale processes. The varied actors affected by tourism policies engage in social interactions, draw on their differing interests, express views based on differing discourses and knowledge frameworks, and engage in conflicts and compromises based on their power configurations, and from these processes emerge various policy outcomes. These actors are strongly affected by structural constraints in the policy environment, but they also have involvements in actively constructing that environment.

These frameworks are applied to assessments of tourism policy processes in Hangzhou. This city was chosen as a case study because it is in the vanguard of steps taken by the national government to encourage greater decentralization of governance in China and because of the importance of tourism for the local economy. Two stages of fieldwork were conducted in the city, both involving semi-structured, in-depth interviews with actors with an interest in tourism policy making. They explored the involvement of these actors in the policy processes, their interests and relations with other policy actors, and their influence on policy outcomes. The second fieldwork stage focused on understanding these processes for a specific tourism project in a heritage district of the city, this being the West Lake Protection Project.

It was found that there was considerable continuity in the actors most involved in tourism policy-making for the city as a whole and for the West Lake Protection Project. While Hangzhou had gained considerable tourism decision-making powers from central government, the extent of decentralized decision-making within the city itself was still very limited. The influence of the Communist Party was still notable, there was only a very small involvement by the private sector in policy activity and local communities had only limited influence on decisions affecting their lives. When there were conflicts between environmental and development issues the most influential actors favoured economic development. The overall analysis illustrated the potential value of a relational or dialectical perspective on agency and structure for assessments of tourism policy relations and networks.

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Chapter 1

Introduction

1.1 Context to the Study

The tourism industry has developed rapidly around the world, often having a dramatic influence on the economy, culture, environment, and even politics. Appropriate forms of tourism development are needed in every destination, including appropriate and relevant policies. The study of tourism policy is important because if a multi-disciplinary tourism science develops without the necessary ingredient of political analysis, it will remain imperfect and incomplete (Kosters, 1984). However, there is relatively little research on tourism policy issues. Politics is a fundamental yet much ignored component of tourism development and tourism studies. Research into the political dimensions of tourism - a social and economic phenomenon that has substantial implications for the allocation of power within host communities, and for cultural representation, socialization and international relations - is in a relatively poor state (Hall, 1994). Understanding policy-making and policy implementation is important for tourist destinations because they often regulate the tourism industry and plan the direction for tourism development. Hall and Jenkins (2004:527) state that tourism policies reflect the political environment, values and ideologies, distribution of power, institutional frameworks, and decision-making processes in specific destinations. Policies connect governments and state interventions with the tourism industry. Without appropriate policies, the industry may lose direction and become unstable, and it may not serve the best interests of the population in tourist destination areas.

Less-developed countries are particularly in need of effective governance and planning, which highlights the value of this present study. Tourism is a relatively new industry in most less developed countries. Both market autonomy and decentralization in public administration are all in their early stages in these countries. Therefore, relatively centralized state intervention still exists which might hinder further tourism development in these countries. On the other hand, tourism has experienced dramatic development in some less developed countries in recent years, which has substantially influenced the economy, culture and the society. The trend of economic

and cultural globalisation requires relevant political support, such as better coordination, flexibility, decentralization and public participation. It is suggested that public participation that involves various actors can generate more practical and flexible tourism policies that satisfy the needs of multiple actors. Jamal and Getz (1995) and Warner (1997) suggest that greater public participation may not only bring more democratic empowerment to the decisions taken, but it may also increase the knowledge and resources available for the process, and it could result in a broadening of the planning options.

The conflicts between centralized intervention and flexible economic and social development require researchers to keep looking for suitable solutions, such as widening public participation, and increasing the speed of decentralization. It is also suggested that research on this topic would be improved by integrating the ideas of general social theory, and by not relying only on tourism concepts. Tourism studies could be strengthened if they engaged more fully in wider debates and contestations around social theory, including those around social relations and society-nature relations (Bramwell and Lane, 2005). Social theory is an arena of struggle, with changes in theory resulting in shifts in the sources it draws upon, the approaches and concepts it stresses, the shapes of its discourses and interpretations, and the directions of its political implications (Peet, 1998). New approaches derived from social theory could help researchers to understand tourism policy-making processes more fully.

With more participation and greater decentralization, the relations among various actors during the tourism policy-making processes become especially crucial. These relations depend on the social actions of actors. This social action can be understood as the acts, practices and strategies people implement individually or collectively to maintain, modify or challenge the operations of the societies or places in which they live (Panelli, 2004). In tourism policy-making processes, social actions reflect how the actors respond to different situations based on their psychology and behavioural intentions. Research on social actions can help us to understand how to improve the coordination among actors and how to widen participation by them. There are many different approaches to examine social actions, although most of them are based on the debate about structure and agency.

Giddens's (1984) structuration theory considers that social action is affected by structural contexts and it also puts an emphasis on "agency". Agency means that the actors possess the knowledgeability and capability to assess problematic situations and to organize "appropriate" responses (Long, 2001). In this sense, social actors can produce their relations and experiences in the society; at the same time, they are also influenced by them. Giddens also suggests that social action is not only determined by actors' agency but it is also influenced by the structure of the society in which they live. The structure involves relevant social rules, resources, relations, and power bases. Structure enters simultaneously into the constitution of agency and of social practices, and it "exists" as the generating moments of this constitution (Giddens, 1979:5). While Giddens recognizes the importance of both agency and structure, it is argued that he has not provided practical guidance on how to conduct research about them. Gregson (1989:240) criticized this theory, for example, as "lacking the degree of specification required for empirical work".

Under such circumstances, an actor-oriented approach to "agency and structure", has been suggested by the Dutch sociologist, Norman Long (2001). He draws on Giddens's theory, but it is argued here that Long's approach better explains the relations between agency and structure, and that it helps us to understand them in practice. Long's work is based on "a social constructionist view of change and continuity" (Long, 2001:2). This approach looks at actors' everyday lives, and it "explains how the meanings, purposes and powers associated with differential modes of human agency intersect to shape the outcomes of emergent social forms" (Long, 2001:4). Booth (1994) also explains that the focus of an actor approach is on the multiple forms of social knowledge and on the actors' specific relations with power. Therefore, it focuses more on the individual's knowledgeability and capability in relation to agency. Long (2001) also seeks to grasp the issue of how actors shape structural change, and he does this through a systematic ethnographic understanding of "social relations", such as in the emergence and implementation of development projects, as well as through evaluations of the social actors' discourses, knowledge frameworks and power configurations. Long (2001) also provides a focus on structural views, considering that the actors and their interactions are influenced at the same time by the external environment. However, Long's (2001) work is more focused on the world of actors, and not on the structures.

This study also adopts another type of theory, that is policy network theory, to evaluate the structural level of actor relationships. Policy network theory developed from network and social network theories and it has become an important tool for policy analysis in political science, and even in the social sciences generally. The social network perspective rests on the assumption that behaviour can be explained through relationship analysis. The network is the system of those social relationships. Policy network theory is one aspect of network theory and it is used to study actor relationships within policy and political contexts. Each policy network involves actors who are linked with each other by a set of social relationships, and every policy network can be distinguished from others by the pattern of resource dependencies. There are several different policy network typologies. This present study applies Rhodes' (1999) typology. Rhodes' policy network typology identifies different types of policy networks, varying from the highly structured and condensed policy community, to at the other end, the loose structure of the issue network. The different types are based on the different densities of power and the different approaches to interactions. The theory is useful to establish relational structures within politics and policy-making, including the movement of "power". Power is a very important element within policy-making processes. Power implies struggle, negotiation and compromise (Long, 2001:185). Power is not simply possessed or accumulated; rather it is actively performed and produced, because "power is an outcome of collective relations and action" (Murdoch and Marsden, 1995:68). Therefore, the movement of power can be expressed through actors' social actions. Policy network theory, as a suggested approach to social action, can provide clear relational structures among actors and their social actions. Yet policy network theory has made very little impact in tourism research. A small number of studies, however, do apply policy network ideas to tourism, such as Tyler and Dinan (2001), Pforr (2005, 2006), Bramwell (2005), and Dredge (2006).

The present study, therefore, combines the application of policy network theory and an actor-oriented approach, as they incorporate both agency and structure aspects. Using an actor-oriented approach to study policy networks can help us to understand the micro-sociology of actors' interests, conflicts, and powers, and it can also help us to link the meso-level of network structures between both the macro environment and the micro-level of actors'

lifeworlds. In addition, the micro-level analysis of an actor perspective helps us to reduce the over-reliance of some previous policy network research on meso-level analysis. Rhodes (1999:174) contends that an actor-centered study of policy networks represents a shift from a focus on institutions to individuals.

The application of an actor-oriented approach in the tourism political domain is rare. One instance is Verbole's (2000, 2003) study of Pišce, a small rural community in southeastern Slovenia. She uses Long's actor-oriented approach to assess the local actors' power relations. The study shows the great potential of an actor-oriented approach to the tourism political domain. Another example is Bramwell's (2006) research on tourism growth limits in Malta. He applies Giddens' (1984) ideas on agency and structure, and Long's (2001) actor-oriented approach to evaluate actors' discourses and knowledge frameworks and to assess the relative influence of different actors on the government in relation to the government policies to limit tourism growth in Malta. Studies that combine an actor-oriented approach and policy network theory are even rarer in tourism. An exception is the work of Bramwell and Meyer (2007) that evaluates actor interactions, power configurations and network relations in connection with tourism-related policymaking and debates for an island in former East Germany. This study focuses on the dialectical relations between agency and structure and it contributes to an understanding of the use of a relational approach in tourism policy research, this being derived from the works of Giddens, Long, and Rhodes. Thus it is the most relevant previous research to this present study. Similar to the relational approach, this present study seeks to develop a conceptual framework based on both an actor-oriented approach and policy network theory. The conceptual framework of tourism policy-making processes in the study combines evaluations of actors' discourses, knowledge frameworks, power configurations, actors' relational maps, network structures, external environments and the dialectic relations among actors, structures and external contexts.

1.2 Context to the case study

The study applies policy network theory and an actor-oriented approach in a specific case study tourist destination, this being Hangzhou in China. The tourism industry has developed with dramatic speed in China, so there is a particular need to research tourism policies and

governance there in order to promote future healthy tourism development. Tourism development in China not only results in changes in Chinese culture and society, but it is itself also influenced or constrained by the changes in Chinese society. Having thousands of years of history, China has accumulated a strong and unique culture. It derives in part from traditional Chinese philosophies, such as Confucianism, Daoism, and Buddhism, which have influenced Chinese people's thoughts and actions for thousands of years. Such traditionalism meets modernity in China today. The modernity comes from Chinese communism and Western ideology and economic systems. With economic development, Western ideology and capitalism have influenced the Chinese people, and this sometimes conflicts with traditional Chinese philosophy, and it causes some problems, such as from "touristic commercialism" (Oakes, 1998:6). However, Chinese society has faced such struggles, problems and conflicts over long historical periods. It is perhaps developing a new concept of "modernity" that differs from Western ideas. All of those struggles or conflicts are evident in Chinese modernity.

Part of this potentially different definition of modernity is the idea of "socialism with Chinese characteristics", which may help to balance modernity and traditionalism. This is a policy that was put forwarded by Deng Xiaoping, a previous leader of China. It confirms that Chinese society is a multiple society, which allows for the existence of various developing social bases. It indicates that socialism is the most important social basis of society, but it also allows for other social bases, such as modernity and traditionalism.

Therefore, China is a complex combination of both modernity and traditionalism. This is seen in centralization still being so central in China's politics, although decentralization is growing in importance. Modernity brings economic development and it also leads to demands for freedom both in people's action and thoughts. And modernity has led to increased pressure for decentralization. Chinese society is in transition between centralization and decentralization. Therefore, social actions within this governance situation are especially complicated. It is interesting to study social actions in China's public administration because these social actions will affect the transition from centralization to decentralization. Decentralization in China has been adopted nationwide, but it is especially marked in some regions, such as in the coastal areas and big cities. After the recent reforms for decentralization local government has more

authority in relation to policy-making issues, more private sector actors can take part in the policy-making processes, and the relations between the public and private sectors have become much closer and complicated than before. As a coastal city, Hangzhou is at the leading edge in this decentralization.

Geographically, Hangzhou is situated on the southeast coast of China and near the Chinese economic centre of Shanghai. It is also the capital city of Zhejiang Province. Previous top Chinese political leaders in the 1990s, centred around Jiang Zemin, formed a “Shanghai Gang” within the national government as their political careers were all based in Shanghai (Dreyer 2004). Because of these relations, Shanghai has received a special emphasis from the national government and it has become more autonomous, increasing its social and economic development. The national government has also tried to establish Shanghai as an international economic and cultural centre. To support this development, Shanghai has relied on the supply of resources from the surrounding region, and thus a highly developed economic region has emerged around Shanghai. Hangzhou is one of Shanghai’s neighbours and, having plentiful natural and cultural resources, it has become its best “neighbour”. Chinese people often describe Hangzhou as Shanghai’s “private garden” (People’s Net, 2005a), and the “best neighbour” also benefits from the related developments. Hangzhou has thus become one of the richest cities in China. Its economy has become highly developed over these years, and administrative decentralization has already been applied to the city. Thus, local government has received greater authority and less central state intervention in its policy decision-making processes.

All of these developments have assisted the tourism industry in Hangzhou, with tourism now being one of the most important industries contributing to Hangzhou’s economy. The local government has also paid great attention to tourism development and promotion. It has become a highly popular tourist destination for domestic tourists, and increasingly it is also exploring international markets. However, the emphasis on tourism’s economic benefits has resulted in some negative impacts, such as water pollution, forest and land loss, and damage to historical relics. The most significant tourism resource, the West Lake, has become the biggest victim. West Lake has a thousand year’s history, and it is famous both for its natural beauty and cultural attractions. The lake is located in the centre of the city, and consequently it has been seriously

influenced by human activities, notably industrial development. The increase in tourism development has also adversely affected the lake's carrying capacity. In addition, improper tourism planning and construction has made West Lake look rather like an artificial theme park, losing its natural flavour.

Hangzhou is proud of West Lake and, in order to promote the city's global fame, the city's government has worked hard to have the lake added to the UNESCO World Heritage List. However, the urbanization and developments around the lake environment have meant it has not succeeded in meeting the UNESCO evaluations. Therefore, the city government launched a major planning project for West Lake, called the West Lake Protection Project. The project aims to recover the original appearance of West Lake, including improving its historical and cultural relics, increasing the area of the lake, and re-planning the surrounding tourist attractions and environment (WLMC, 2004). The project enlarges the lake surface, removes some of the adjacent buildings, moves some of the local residents, adds more green space, and also recovers some of the old tourist attractions. This represents the biggest recent project in Hangzhou, and local government is highly involved in the related planning and development.

This study uses an actor-oriented perspective and also policy network theory to examine the local tourism policy-making processes related to the city of Hangzhou as a whole and to the specific West Lake Protection Project. It identifies the related actors and their interests, values, and conflicts. It also explores the local tourism policy network in Hangzhou and also for the project. The study assists in establishing the strengths and deficiencies of tourism policy-making in Hangzhou. It explores the roles of local government in the transition to modernity in the political arena, and it assesses the extent of administrative and political decentralization.

1.3 The study research aim and objectives

As stated earlier, the study applies both an actor-oriented approach and policy network theory in order to explore the structure of power relationships in tourism policy-making and also to understand the detailed processes by which the structure is created. The policy network focus allows for an assessment of various actors around specific policy issues. The actor-oriented approach provides a focus on the interactions between actors both internally and externally

around the network, and it directs attention to how actors relate to network structures and reach policy agreements. Thus the intention is to develop conceptual frameworks based on both policy network theory and an actor-oriented approach, and then to use these frameworks to research tourism policy-making processes.

To fulfil this overall intention the study has three main aims. First, the study develops conceptual frameworks to assist in evaluating local tourism policy-making and implementation in developing countries. These frameworks focus on the resources, power relations and responses of actors within tourism policy networks, and on the dynamics of these networks, with these dynamics being evaluated in relation to the interactions between agency and structure. The second aim is to assess these conceptual frameworks in Hangzhou, China, and a specific case of ‘West Lake Protection Project’ in the city. The third aim is to evaluate the value of the conceptual frameworks based on the lessons learned from their practical application in the case study.

In order to achieve these aims, the study has five specific objectives.

1. To critically evaluate literature on tourism and policy networks, an actor-oriented perspective to social research, and on development in China.
2. To develop conceptual frameworks that use policy network theory and an actor-oriented approach to assess the tourism policy dynamics in Hangzhou.
3. To understand the tourism policy networks and tourism policy processes in Hangzhou.
4. To understand the tourism policy networks and tourism policy processes for the West Lake Protection Project in Hangzhou.
5. To assess the value of the conceptual frameworks for the research and for wider applications in other contexts.

These objectives help to assess the dynamics of tourism policy networks in the case study of Hangzhou, China, and the specific “West Lake Protection Project”. Specific objectives are often the focus of particular chapters in the study. Table 1.1 indicates the specific objectives and the relevant chapters in this study where they are addressed. Objective 1 is explained in Chapters 2 and 3, which provides a sustained literature review. Objective 2 is evaluated in Chapter 4, which

creates and explains the conceptual frameworks in this study. This objective is also related to all the results chapters, which present the results after applying the conceptual frameworks. Chapters 6, 7 and 8 explain the case study background to Hangzhou, and they present the results of applying the conceptual frameworks in Hangzhou, and together they meet Objective 3. Chapters 6 and 9 introduce the case study background to the West Lake Protection Project and they explain the results in relation to the tourism policy networks relevant to the West Lake Protection Project, and these relate to Objective 4. Objective 5 is a focus in Chapters 10 and 11, which assesses the value of the conceptual frameworks and study conclusions.

Table 1.1: Structure of the chapters and the related objectives.

Objective	Chapter	Focus of the Chapter	Data Sources
Objective 1	Chapters 2 and 3	Theoretical frameworks	Literature reviews
Objective 2	Chapter 4 and all through the results chapters.	Conceptual frameworks	Analysis and secondary data.
Connection with all objectives	Chapter 5	Methodology	Methodological literature, research design and analysis.
Objective 3	Chapters 6, 7, 8.	Case study background, and evaluation of the conceptual and theoretical frameworks for Hangzhou	Literature review, secondary data, in-depth interview transcripts and other primary data.
Objective 4	Chapters 6 and 9	Evaluation of the conceptual and theoretical frameworks for the West Lake Protection Project in Hangzhou.	In-depth interview transcripts, secondary data and other primary data.
Objective 5	Chapters 10 and 11	Assessment of the value of the conceptual frameworks and study conclusions.	Consideration of the findings and analysis.

1.4 Structure of the thesis

Table 1.1 explains the structure of the thesis and the focus of each chapter. The eleven chapters of the thesis are designed according to the objectives as mentioned above. Chapter Two and Three critically evaluates relevant theories on policy, policy networks, an actor-oriented approach to social science, and the contexts to the Chinese political arena. The literature review

divides into two chapters: related general theories and the specific context of China. Chapter Two seeks to review academic theories related to public policy, policy-making processes, decentralization, governance, network theory, policy networks, an actor-oriented approach to social science research, and related research on the tourism industry. These theories explain the study's theoretical basis and they provide help in understanding the subsequent conceptual frameworks. The second part of literature review, Chapter Three, evaluates the important issues of economic, environmental, socio-cultural and political change in China. These issues relate to, for example, modernity and traditionalism, and decentralization and public administration in China. This helps the reader to understand the case study context and the study results.

Chapter Four presents an overview of the conceptual frameworks used in this research, and it explains how the study uses an actor-oriented approach and policy network theory together in order to assess tourism policy-making processes. The conceptual frameworks apply these theories at the micro (actor) level, the meso (network) level, and the macro (external forces) level. The micro (actor) conceptual framework explains how the actors come together to work for the same project, how these actors interact with each other, and how these different actors can reach agreements. The meso-level conceptual framework includes the actors and their power relations in tourism policy networks, and the macro-level framework identifies the external interventions relevant to the networks and actors. Chapter Four also explains the application of these three frameworks, which in this study follow a sequence from the macro, to the micro, and to the meso levels. This is because the macro-level factors are easiest to identify early on, and next it is necessary to identify the actors who cope with the changes in this external environment. The structures, thirdly, are shaped by the actors' interactions and the extended contexts. Therefore, the meso-level framework was applied after an evaluation of the actors' world. The conceptual frameworks are built not only for this case study, but they are also intended to provide suggestions for other places with similar conditions.

Chapter Five explains the research methods used for this study. It discusses step-by-step how the conceptual frameworks were applied in the case study context. It also explains that this application of an actor-oriented approach is based on two research philosophies: constructionism and realism. The chapter also explains why certain methodologies and

approaches were selected for the research.

Chapter Six sets out to explain the detailed background and contexts of the Hangzhou case study. It reviews Hangzhou's geographical location, economic development, internal social and cultural changes, political structure, local policy-making processes, tourism development, and tourism policy development. This chapter also evaluates the specific context of the 'West Lake Protection Project', a recent tourism-planning project in Hangzhou.

Chapters Seven, Eight and Nine are results chapters. Chapter Seven examines the local tourism policy-making processes in Hangzhou, the dynamics of decentralization in Hangzhou, and it identifies actors involved in the city's tourism policy-making processes. It shows the results of applying the macro-level conceptual framework to Hangzhou. Chapter Eight applies the micro and meso level conceptual frameworks to Hangzhou's tourism policy networks, as identified earlier in Chapter Seven. It explains the actors' discourses, knowledge frameworks and power configurations, and finally it identifies the dynamics of Hangzhou's tourism policy networks.

Chapter Nine explains the results of applying all three conceptual frameworks to the West Lake Protection Project and in particular to three of its sub-projects. The results explain the actors' discourses, knowledge frameworks, and power configurations related to decision-making processes for the West Lake Protection Project. It also evaluates the dynamics of the tourism policy networks associated with the West Lake Protection Project. Finally, Chapters Ten and Eleven evaluate the empirical findings of the study, assess the value of the conceptual frameworks, and also present the main conclusions of the study.

1.5 Conclusion

This chapter has introduced both the academic and practical contexts within which this study is situated. First, the chapter reviewed the study contexts, the various academic theories upon which the study is based, and the importance of this study of the tourism policy domain. Second, it has explained the overall aims and the specific objectives of the research. As the study is based on one case study, this chapter also reviewed the relevant contexts to Hangzhou and the reason why this city was chosen for the study.

Chapter 2

Literature Review: Theoretical Contexts

2.1 Introduction

This chapter reviews literature relevant to establishing a theoretical basis for the study. A key aim for the study is to develop conceptual frameworks based on an actor-oriented approach and policy network theory, and these are then applied to a case study in China. Thus, this chapter evaluates the theoretical ideas behind both an actor-oriented approach and policy network theory, and it also examines the macro environments in Hangzhou. There are two parts to this chapter: the first reviews relevant general literature, and the second reviews literature on the China context.

The literature review starts with a review of the political sphere, including discussion of public policy and policy-making processes. Policy used to be considered to involve only politicians, but the trends of globalisation and marketisation have given prominence to the idea of ‘governance’, with a more diverse range of actors involved in policy-making processes and with more complex actor interactions. In these circumstances ‘policy network’ theories have been developed to evaluate the relations between varied actors in complex political interactions. Different approaches to policy networks can be found in the literature, such as the network typologies of Rhodes (1986), Jordan and Schubert (1992), Atkinson and Coleman (1989), and Pforr (2006). This research focuses mainly on Rhodes’ typology for the analysis of policy networks.

Giddens’ (1984) ‘agency-structure’ notion can offer an advanced approach to network theories to be used to examine actor interactions. His approach suggests that actors have active capacities to interact within social activities, and that structures reflect the wider social relations among actors. However, his work does not always provide detailed advice on the application of this approach. The actor-oriented approach, suggested by Long (2001), is considered to be one of the best approaches to further develop the idea of ‘agency-structure’ relations. An

actor-oriented approach alerts us of the dangers of only focusing on ‘the external potency and driving forces’, instead it direct us to examine actors’ detailed everyday social interactions and the causes of their actions (Long, 2001:224). At the same time, the actor-oriented approach does not neglect the importance of external forces and structures, which represent the external forces that shape outcomes. Long (2001) provides principles for applying agency theory, but he does not provide many suggestions on the methods for examining external environments and relational structures. Therefore, in this research, Long’s actor-oriented approach is combined with Rhodes’ policy network theory to allow for the integration of both agency and structure in practice.

The second part of this chapter reviews literature on the China’s macro environment that affects the case study of Hangzhou, including significant elements of the socio-cultural, political, environmental and economic domains. It assists in understanding Chinese philosophy, politics and policy-making processes which are key issues affecting micro- and meso-scale relations in Hangzhou.

2.2 Research on public policy

2.2.1 Public policy

To analyse public policy there is a need first to understand the terms ‘public’ and ‘policy’. Explained simply, both terms can have fairly precise definitions. The public contrasts with the private (Parsons, 1995:13), so that it means not private or purely individual, but held in common. Parsons (1995) also suggests that the public comprises of that dimension of human activity regarded as requiring government regulation or intervention, or at least common action. The public sphere used to be very clearly demarcated from the private domain, but with the expansion of market forces from the late nineteenth century distinctions between the public and private began to collapse (Parsons, 1995:5). While the distinction between the public and private sectors is becoming blurred, for clarity this present study defines the public sector as mainly including government, government agencies and government-operated enterprises.

‘Policy studies’ have become important in academic research, as evidenced by the growing amount of research in numerous disciplines that is concerned with ‘policy’. Simeon's (1976)

account of policy suggests that it is a consequence of the political environment, that it reflects values and ideologies, the distribution of power, institutional frameworks and decision-making processes. Heclo (1972:84) argues that the term policy is usually considered to apply to something bigger than particular decisions, but smaller than general social movements.

When 'public' and 'policy' are combined in 'public policy', then this term has certain implications. There are many definitions of public policy, although this term is still a topic of argument and it is hard to define. It is generally agreed, however, that public policies result from decisions or non-decisions made by government (Howlett and Ramesh, 1995). Dye (1975:1) simply defines public policy as whatever governments choose to do or not to do. However, Anderson (1984:2) argues that this definition does not adequately recognize that there may be a divergence between what governments decide to do and what they actually do. He also provides a more detailed definition: "public policy is defined as a purposive course of action followed by an actor or a set of actors in dealing with a problem or matter of concern" (Anderson, 1984:3). Hall (1994, 2000) and Hall and Jenkins (1995) apply one of these interpretations to research on tourism politics. They emphasize that public policy is the focal point of government activity (Hall and Jenkins, 1995:1), and that it covers government action and inaction, and decisions and non-decisions, and that it implies a deliberate choice between alternatives (Hall, 2000:8). For a tourism policy to be regarded as public policy, at the very least it must have been processed by public agencies (Hall and Jenkins, 1995).

2.2.2 Policy analysis

Much work on policy analysis was developed in the USA and the UK in the 1960s and 1970s, and it became one of the most important fields in political science (Ham and Hill, 1984). Political scientists have developed a variety of theoretical approaches to assist them in policy analysis. Anderson (1984:13) explains several of the widely used policy analysis approaches: systems theory, group theory, elite theory, functional process theory, and institutionalism. Schubert (1991) suggests there is no particular best practice approach to the study of public policy, as for each different case a different approach may be applicable. In recent research, Pforr (2005) identifies three important policy analysis approaches: Easton's systems approach, the policy cycle model, and policy networks. He argues that the systems approach focuses on

the macro-level of the public policy process, that the policy cycle model is more concerned with the structural context, while policy networks can analyse both the macro-structures and interactions at the meso-level of public policy.

2.2.3 Values, interests and power within public policy

Values lie at the core of public policy and, hence, of tourism policy (Hall and Jenkins, 1995:33). Values are “ends, goals, interests, beliefs, ethics, biases, attitudes, traditions, morals and objectives that change with human perception and with time, and that have a significant influence on power conflicts relating to policy” (Henning, 1974:15). In brief, values are the overarching criteria people use to make decisions (Hall and Jenkins, 1995:45). Therefore, values exist everywhere, especially in politics. Sampson (1983) contends that every individual has their own 'self-interest value'. Consequently all of these values are different; but they can combine together and transform into larger, 'transcendent values'. The 'transcendent value' of public policy seeks to fulfil the 'societal self-interest values'. In the realm of public policy, different actors all have different self-interest values. However, it makes sense if they work together and reach final 'transcendent values' to secure shared benefits for them all. This provides one justification for the importance of an actor-oriented approach to policy analysis, as it encourages us to start from each actor's values and then to look at shared or common values.

The 'interests' of different actors also substantially affect public policy. Values are always based on interests, or the goals that actors seek to achieve in policy-making processes (Hall and Jenkins, 1995:47). Different actors have different interests in relation to the same policy, which is often a key influence on values. When actors have interests in relation to a policy, they may work together with other actors with similar interests or they may work separately within the policy-making process. Their interests are likely to emerge as key components of their values, and together these will be important influences on power issues.

Policy is all about 'power', and power is a key process in the 'construction' of meaning in society (Berger and Luckman, 1975). The policy-making process involves the values of actors in a struggle for power. Luke (1974:17) suggests that 'power' may be conceptualized as 'all forms of successful control by A over B - that is, of A securing B's compliance'. Research into public

policy might be relatively new, but the subject of 'power' has been studied for a very long time. Pluralism is a prominent approach to research on power. The pluralist model mainly focuses on behaviour. It tends to assume that public policy is ultimately the outcome of a free competition between diverse ideas and interests, with this competition continuing without particular ideas or interests becoming overwhelmingly dominant (Parsons, 1995:134). This model is especially popular in the field of policy analysis. However, Crenson (1971) argues that this model is a grossly inaccurate and simplistic conception of how issues get on, or are kept off, the agenda. Based on a critical analysis of pluralism, Luke (1974) developed a three-dimensional model for analysing 'power'. It focuses on the analysis of decisions and agenda control, but not just through decisions. It also analyses the issues and potential issues, the conflicts and real interests, and it does not presume that particular interests will not become dominant in the long term (Parsons, 1995:143).

From the three-dimensional model, it seems that power is a 'composition' resulting from the relations among many people, but attributed only to some of them. If one only potentially has power, then one is powerless, as power only emerges through relations with others (Murdoch and Marsden, 1995). Power is fluid and difficult to measure, but it is imperative to describe it more precisely. It is not only the amount of power that makes a difference, but the possibility of gaining an edge over others and pressing it home situationally (Long, 2001:185). Power always implies struggle, negotiation and compromise (Long, 2001:185). The amount of power exercised is not related to how much power someone possesses but to the number of actors and interactions actively involved in its composition. So power is an outcome of collective relations and action (Murdoch and Marsden, 1995). Thus power is not 'possessed' but it is performed and realised through social relations.

The operation of power determines who makes the policy and how the policy is made. The policy-making process is influenced by a wide range of actors, and policy decisions are reached through a process of bargaining, negotiation and compromise between them. While power is dispersed through society, the various actors do not have equal powers. Thus any analysis of power within collaborative arrangements has to address the complexities of commitment and expectation that characterize the particular alliance or coalition (Taylor, 2003:106). Another

consequence is that policy making is also a process of power allocation. The whole process is also a social problem-solving process because bureaucratic, ethical, attitudinal and social considerations usually take precedence over the value of information in its own right (Caplan, 1982).

2.2.4 Policy-making processes

Policy-making processes typically involve a pattern of action over time, including the making of many decisions (Anderson, 1984:10). There are many suggested policy-making patterns. Easton's (1965) system model indicates that policy-making involves three stages: inputs, the political system, and outputs. The inputs, including the policy demands and support, become integrated into the political system, to finally produce decisions and actions, or outputs, and it will then lead to changes in the initial demands or inputs. This whole process is influenced by the relevant external environments. Based on such a simplified model, Hall (1994) suggests that the tourism policy-making process includes: (1) policy demands from both inside and outside the political system; (2) policy decisions by the political authority which are authoritative rather than routine; (3) policy outputs; and (4) intended or unintended policy impacts.

The full policy-making process is more complex than these models tend to suggest because a large number of interests groups bring complicated social interactions. Lindblom and Woodhouse (1993), for example, distinguish between two major groups of actors in policy-making processes: the bureaucrats and the interests groups. The bureaucrats are the officials of government and government-related organizations, while the interest groups are other non-government groups, such as business enterprises and private sector individuals. The interest group actors may be attracted into the policy process because they can get benefits for themselves from participation. In the diverse tourism industry, the potential range of interest groups is large, and these groups interact and compete in determining tourism policy choices (Zhang, Chong and John, 1999). As a consequence, models of policy-making processes should be applied to evaluate interest group participation.

2.2.5 Research on tourism policy-making

Richter (1989:2) states that the tourism industry is a major economic, environmental and

socio-cultural force, and 'a highly political phenomenon'. According to Kusters (1984:612), "if a multi-disciplinary tourism science develops without the necessary ingredient of political analysis, it will remain imperfect and incomplete". The political aspects of tourism can directly influence the society, economy and environment, which highlight the importance of tourism politics. Edgell (1990:1) suggests that the highest purpose of tourism policy is to integrate tourism cohesively with people, destinations and countries, in order to improve the global quality of life and provide a foundation for peace and prosperity.

While recent research has paid more attention to tourism's political dimension (e.g. Hall, 1994; Hall and Jenkins, 1995; Elliott, 1997; Jeffries, 2001), there is still insufficient research in this field. Hall and Jenkins (1995) argue that the field of tourism studies has developed with little attention to, and understanding of, the real significance of tourism policy. In addition, the roles of power, values and interests in tourism policy require far greater attention than has hitherto been the case. Recently, research on tourism policy has increased dramatically, particularly in relation to partnerships, collaboration and even network theory.

2.3 From government to governance

2.3.1 Defining governance

The term 'governance' has gained great currency in policy research, almost becoming a replacement for 'government' in policy-making processes. Governance is a new form of collective decision-making that involves a wider range of actors than those in government, and it involves relations not simply between public agencies but also between citizens and public agencies (Gross, 2001:11). Kooiman (1993) sees 'governance' as the pattern or structure that emerges in a socio-political system as the result of the policy-related interventions of all involved actors (Kooiman, 1993:258). Central government is no longer supreme, with decisions made through negotiations and interactions among all the involved actors. Governance is also often related to the idea of 'new public management' (Rhodes, 1997:48). This latter idea involves the public sector using the resources and management methods of the private sector in its decision-making. An earlier version of governance is 'corporate governance'. Tricker (1984) thought that the governance for business involves giving direction, that is overseeing and controlling executive management actions. All of these varying views on governance suggest

that it is bigger than government. Governance in the political arena clearly means that decision-making involves both the public and private sectors.

Interpretations of governance are likely to need to be adapted between developed and developing countries. Rhodes (1997) concluded that governance in Britain refers to self-organizing, inter-organizational networks, and that it has three key characteristics. First, the shifting boundaries of the state has meant that the boundaries between the public, private and voluntary sectors have become diffuse and opaque. Second, there are continuing interactions between network members, due to the need to exchange resources and negotiate agreed objectives. Third, there is a significant degree of autonomy from the state in the pattern of governance. This interpretation of governance, however, may not be suitable for all places, especially for developing countries. This is because most developing countries still have very centralized decision-making processes. Although more private sector parties have joined the governance networks, they are still 'weak voices' in the decision-making. In developing countries, the government is still the dominant actor and there is relatively weak local autonomy. Nevertheless, while these countries lack the same degree of governance relations as western developed countries, they still have significant and growing levels of decentralization. Perhaps governance in developing countries is closer to corporate governance. This is because the government involves the private sector, but it still largely controls the decision-making. All the actors are involved in some level of interactions and negotiations, but these are under the close supervision of government.

2.3.2 Government decentralization

To understand governance in developing countries more fully, it is necessary to understand decentralization as this is usually the most important reform of governance in these countries. Decentralization has been described as involving "a transfer of authority to perform some service to the public from an individual or an agency in central government to some other individual or agency which is 'closer' to the public to be served" (Turner and Hulme, 1997:152). There are several forms of decentralization. Decentralization from central government to local or provincial tiers of government is usually termed 'devolution' (Bramwell and Yuksel, 2005). This involves the devolving of power from central government to regional and local

governments. A second type of decentralization is termed 'deconcentration', which involves authority shifting within the public administrative structure. Deconcentrated authorities are the more localised territorial representation of the central state, and as such, they are still accountable to central government and not to the local territory that they serve (Hopkins, 2002). For example, a national tourism organization may transfer power to its provincial and municipal branches, so that the national organization can step back from more trivial details while also potentially raising its efficiency. The transfer of authority can also go from central government to a private sector organization, which is termed 'privatisation'. In China, for example, the government used to control all private sector organizations, but these state-owned companies are now being privatised. In such cases, the economy might gain more freedom to develop, and the government can also generate considerable short-term income.

All three types of decentralization can be important in developing countries, and they often can be found in combinations. No matter which form decentralization may take, the intention is almost invariably to redistribute power from the central state, with expectations that society can develop quicker with less political interference.

2.3.3 The trend from government to governance

In the past, government has been regarded as the dominant actor in the policy arena, with governing essentially seen as a process of one-way traffic from those governing (government) to those being governed (society) (Kooiman, 2000). However, this assumption has changed dramatically in the past thirty years. Interest in the development of economy's efficiency and effectiveness was led to the growth of 'new public management' and 'entrepreneurial government' (Rhodes, 1997:46). The growing interest in 'governance' in recent years has been affected by broad sociopolitical trends, and notably globalisation, marketisation, an increasingly fragmented policy process and decentralization. Therefore, policies are now more often seen to result from interactions between society and government (Atkinson and Coleman, 1992). Governance is now much more favoured than government.

2.3.4 Tourism and governance

Tourism is a multifaceted and complex industry, which involves more diverse actors than many

other industries. Although governments will control much of the tourism policy process, it is suggested that tourism research must consider 'governance' and not just 'government'. This is because tourism public policy is forged and shaped by varied political processes and public institutions, and it is not limited only to government actions (Hall and Jenkins, 1995:26). Governance represents a complex system of network relations related to public policies. It is suggested that network members continue their interactions with other members due to their need to exchange resources and to negotiate shared purposes, with this being related to power-dependence. Thus, a research focus on 'governance' is more comprehensive and wide-ranging than one just focused on 'government'. When varied actors participate in the tourism political arena, they can achieve more for their own interests through negotiation within the network. Through wider participation, the whole tourism political system potentially can develop in a more balanced way. While the role of government is still important for tourism public policy, its role has been reduced due to the trends towards governance and decentralization.

2.4 Network theory

2.4.1 Early development of network concepts

Tourism politics and governance have strong links with policy networks. Therefore, this section examines research on networks that forms the basis of policy network theory. The earliest network studies were of 'egocentric networks' (the personal ties surrounding an individual actor) within the context of a bounded collectivity (such as a family, tribe, or remote community) (Stokowski, 1994:135). The network notion is useful for studying inter-personal relations and it has contributed much to anthropological research and to socio-economic studies of economic life (Murdoch, 2000). Networks can also describe technological relations, political structures, and social processes (Murdoch 1998). The foundation of social network research has been traced back to the work of early twentieth-century sociologists and anthropologists. In sociology, for example, Moreno (1934) is often credited as being the founding father of network analysis and for giving the field a methodological basis (Smith, 1999). All concepts of networks are concerned with structures and relations, with the network being a map that describes all actors and their relationships in one arena.

2.4.2 Social networks

Social networks have been described as “sets of formal and informal social relationships that shape collaborative action between government, industry and civil society” (Atkinson and Coleman, 1992; Rhodes, 1997:99). This definition points out that social networks can involve relationships among both the public and private sectors. Social networks also shape the opportunities for communication, for dialogue, for the development of new ideas, and for the translation of ideas into practice (Dredge, 2006). Thus Leeuwis (1991:113) describes social networks as “flexible and changing sets of social relations between individual and institutional actors that involve material, social and symbolic exchange”. The social networks can involve not just individuals but also collective individuals or social groupings. These individuals and collective individuals are considered as actors or agents within the network.

Timothy (1997) explains that social networks are often composed of several sub-networks, with social network analysis focusing on how these interactions among sub-networks constitute a framework or structure that can be studied and analysed in its own right. Therefore, social network theory focuses on the relations within sub-networks and how these together form the larger network structure. Social networks have come to refer to an existing structure in which people currently are included; but at the same time its structure has evolved over time, and thus it possesses a certain constancy in the form of recurring patterns of relationships (Smith, 1999). In social networks all the participants or agents have their own resources and interests, and by exchanging resources with each other in the network, they finally may be able to reach their own goals, and also may establish a set of common goals for the whole network. Burstein (1991) states that networks usually involve a commitment by network members to a set of common goals and, quite possibly, the sharing of worldviews.

There are some key network properties that are frequently identified in network analysis. These network properties are considered important if we are to understand the health of the network and its development, and also to provide future strategies for network development.

The first idea is that of structure. Structure is defined as a system of patterned interrelationships, “treated as a network of networks that may or may not be partitioned into discrete groups”

(Wellman, 1988:20). The definition of structure and its implications are key foundations of network theory. One interpretation adopted in this study is that structure is the product of the interlocking of various actors' projects. Another is that structure constitutes an important set of reference points and of constraining and enabling possibilities that lead to the further elaboration and negotiation of actors' projects (Long, 2001:62). The second idea is that of density. This relates to the overall structure of the network and it concerns the number of ties that link network actors together (Pavlovich, 2003a). As network density increases, the ability of a focal organization's actors to constrain the organization's actions also increases (Timothy, 1997). Therefore, the higher the density the more stable the network structure will be. The third concept is that of centrality. This refers to an individual actor's position in the network relative to others. If an actor is central in the network then this implies a position of status (Timothy, 1997). Freeman (1978) provides two useful technical measures of centrality: that of 'betweenness', which is used to identify individuals who are positioned as key link points in relation to other groups or relationships; and that of 'degree', which measures the integration of individuals in the network and the system as a whole (Smith, 1999). In a similar way to density, when the centrality increases, the central actor's ability to resist other actors' pressures also increases. The fourth property involves either weak ties and strong ties. Strong ties are formed by clusters of people in congruent relationships that act to encourage acceptable action and also selectively to include others in their social set. Weak ties are found for actors that are disconnected from the stronger social group, either directly through having no contact with each other, or indirectly through contacts that exclude them. When the number and strength of strong ties and weak ties reach a balance, then the network can be described as having reached a state of 'structural optimization' (Pavlovich, 2003b:42).

2.5 Policy network theory and its application

2.5.1 Emergence of policy network theory

Network theory has been applied in the political arena, and it has emerged as a powerful organizing perspective in efforts to understand policy-making relations (Marsh, 1998). König (1998:387) states that "policy network analysis has become a dominant paradigm for the study of public policy", considering that it provides a valuable technique for analysing the complex power relations among political actors. Policy network theory is the application of social

network theory in the public policy area. Marin and Mayntz (1991:15) define policy networks as the networks that represent the social infrastructure of policy formulation and implementation. According to Kickert (1997:1), a policy network connects public policies with their strategic and institutional context: the network of public, semi-public, and private sector actors participating in certain policy fields. These two definitions indicate that the perspective of policy network can be applied through the whole policy process, including formulation and implementation of public policies. Kickert (1997) also contends that the policy network comprises of varied actors from the public, private and voluntary sectors. These different actors exchange resources with each other in the policy process in order to reach both individual and common goals. In turn, the common goals can benefit the individual actors.

The increasing interest in policy networks has been encouraged by the increasingly fragmented policy process, the trend toward governance, and the blurring of the boundaries between the public and private sectors and of the hierarchical relationship between society and the state. Policy network ideas have their origins in policy community concepts, which go back to research into relationships between state and interest groups in the United States in the 1950s and 1960s (Atkinson and Coleman, 1992). However, the development of this theory accelerated in the early 1980s. In 1981 Rhodes developed a typology of policy networks in a major study of relationships between central and local government in Britain. His publications have provided important theoretical ideas and concepts that are used in this present research. Rhodes systematically explained the notion of policy networks and he developed a typology of policy networks. In the present research, the policy network theory and concepts are largely derived from Rhodes' typology.

2.5.2 Rhodes' typology of policy networks

Rhodes (1999:138) defines a policy network as a cluster or complex of organizations connected to each other by resource dependencies and distinguished from other clusters or complexes by breaks in the structure of resource dependencies. A policy network is a meso-level concept that links the micro-level of analysis (which deals with the role and interests of the government in particular policy decisions) with the macro level of analysis (which is concerned with broader questions about the distribution of power in modern society) (Rhodes, 1999:140).

Rhodes (1999:138) distinguishes between five types of policy networks. The first of these is the 'policy community', which is composed of the key policy makers and it is characterized by stable relationships, a highly restrictive membership, vertical interdependence, and insulation from other networks. Second, there is the 'professional network', which comprises of relevant professionals and it has stability, a highly restrictive membership, can express the interests of a particular profession, and it manifests a substantial degree of vertical independence. The 'intergovernmental network', thirdly, is based on the representative organizations of national, regional and local government. Fourth, is a 'producer network', which involves economic producers, and policy-making in this network tends to focus on economic interests. And, last, there is an 'issue network', which comprises actors interested in, or affected by an issue, and which is unstable, has large numbers of members, and has limited vertical interdependence. The policy community is at one end of the spectrum of types of policy networks, with this resulting in a shared culture in which the key players interact frequently around the policy area of interest to the researcher. At the other end of the continuum is the issue network, with this being very much more loosely integrated as it simply involves the actors that are affected by the issues being studied by the researcher (Manning, 2000). In the issue network the actors may come together for the pursuit of specific gains, but there will be few long-term and regular interactions, and there will not be a shared culture. This typology suggests that one policy may have several networks related to it, and each network may have different aims and interests in relation to the policy.

The approach to policy networks behind Rhodes' typology is based on the theory of power-dependence originally developed by Thompson (1967:30). Thompson argues that an organization is dependent on another organization: "(1) in proportion to the organization's needs for resources ... which that element can provide; and (2) in inverse proportion to the ability of other elements to provide the same resources". But Rhodes develops this idea, pointing out that each organization has its own resources, that it is also dependent on other organizations for resources, and that in order to achieve its goals it has to exchange resources (Rhodes, 1997:36). Within the resulting 'power game', each organization deploys its resources—whether constitutional-legal, organizational, financial, political or informational—in order to maximize

its influence over the outcomes, while trying to avoid becoming dependent on the other 'players' (Rhodes, 1997:37). Rhodes claims that the bases of the power-dependence relationships between organizations are resources, and this forms a key assumption behind his typology of policy networks (Rhodes, 1999:79). Resources here are considered "to cover the range of all values, including such intangibles as 'respect', 'affection' and 'rectitude'" (Scharpf, 1977:354). For Rhodes (1997:37), the distribution of resources between actors in a specific network remains central to any explanation of the distribution of power in that network.

Rhodes also describes inter-governmental relations as a complex game in which the various levels of government are interdependent, but where the relationships between them have tended, over recent decades, to have shifted from pluralistic bargaining to corporatism (Rhodes, 1999:37). Here Rhodes uses Schmitter's (1979) models of pluralism and corporatism. As explained by Schmitter, corporatism offers a general model of relations between government and selected interest groups. Corporatism can be defined as a system of interest representation in which the constituent interests are organized into a limited number of singular, hierarchically ordered and functionally differentiated categories, with these recognized or licensed (if not created) by the state. This suggests that interest representation involves a deliberate representational monopoly, with the interest groups that benefit from it observing certain controls on their selection of leaders and on the articulation of demands and support (Schmitter, 1979:13). This model is completely different from the pluralist model, especially in three respects. First, it stresses that interest group influence is limited to just a few selected groups; second, the interest groups are depicted as hierarchically structured, with some gaining access to government and others excluded from such access; and, thirdly, in a full corporatist system, the links between the groups and government are very close (Rhodes, 1997:30-31).

In conclusion, Rhodes' typology indicates that actors exchange resources in order to secure their own goals. They depend on each other for resources, while also trying to remain independent from each other. The more actors depend on an actor's resources, the more power that is held by the latter actor. Critically, Rhodes contends that previous work on power-dependence fails to distinguish clearly between micro-, meso- and macro-levels of analysis (Rhodes, 1997:37). Therefore, Rhodes sought to distinguish between three levels of analysis: the macro-level of

analysis of intergovernmental relations; the meso-level of analysis that focuses on the linkages between central government and the range of other political and governmental organizations; and the micro-level of analysis that stresses the behaviour of particular actors (Rhodes, 1997:37). His major contribution – the policy network concept - is fully appropriate for his meso-level analysis, which is important for the present study.

2.5.3 Alternative frameworks to policy network theory

Some alternative frameworks to policy network theory have been widely applied to the political arena in the social sciences. It may be helpful to consider these alternative frameworks in order to highlight their differences to policy network theory, and in order to identify the particular relevance of policy network theory to the present research. Among the alternatives, institutional thickness and social capital are perhaps the most similar frameworks to those of policy networks.

Institutional thickness, as developed by Amin and Thrift (1992; 1995a; 1995b; 1995c), focuses on the institutional and regulatory infrastructure formed in local and regional economies, and it is used as an indicator of the strength of local and regional development trajectories. Institutional thickness relates to the strength of the local institutional presence, and to whether there are high levels of inter-institutional interactions, strong social structures and collective awareness of a common local and regional enterprise. Agarwal (2005) claims that institutional thickness is “a multi-faceted concept emphasizing the existence of different institutions and agencies, all or some of which can provide a basis for the growth of particular local practices and collective representations”. Thus thickness involves not just the presence of such institutions, but also the synergies of interaction, collective representation and common purpose (Keeble, Lawson, Moore and Wilkinson, 1999). Consequently, the whole local socio-economic system has the structural properties of the institutional organizations and their interactions involved in the production of local economic development (Gregory, 1986).

The focus of institutional thickness on local economic competitiveness, often in the context of global-local interactions, is not highly relevant to the present research as its central concern is not about local economic competitiveness in the global economy. Further, institutional thickness

tends to stress the 'local embeddedness of industry' (Amin and Thrift, 1995a), while policy network theory as used in this study relates to the micro, meso and macro scales. It is argued that such a focus on the local level may underplay the powerful role that national institutions may have on the local level (Hutton, 1995). Other authors (Harvey, 1989; Kantor, 1995) have also argued that the use of thickness as a concept could lead to a neglect of the influences from wider contexts that can be included within policy network theory as it bridges the micro- and macro- levels. Institutional thickness as a concept may also largely focuses on the relations among actors related to the governance of economic relations, which may not encourage a comprehensive understanding of the interactions in policy making.

Social capital can be considered to be the aggregate of the actual or potential resources linked to possession of a durable network of more or less institutionalized social relationships of mutual acquaintance or recognition (Bourdieu 1985:248). Woolcock (2001) claims that the basic idea of social capital is that one's family, friends and associates constitute an important asset, one that can be called upon in a crisis, enjoyed for its own sake and leveraged for material gain. Thus, social capital represents the social ties among people. It is often contended that such social ties are based on one important element: 'trust' within the social environment, which means that there is an expectation that obligations will be repaid (Woolcock, 1998; Adler and Kwon, 2002). Social capital analysis stresses the relationships among social entities and the patterns of these relationships. Its key assumptions are that actors and actions are to be viewed as interdependent rather than dependent, and that the relational ties between actors are channels for the transfer or flow of material and non-material resources (Baron, Field and Schuller, 2000:21).

The use of the term 'capital' in 'social capital' suggests the existence of an asset. Much of the literature on social capital suggests that this asset has substantial implications for economic development, notably through inter-firm networks in local areas promoting innovation. But this focus on trust for economic development is not central to the present research. In addition, Portes (1998) argues that the point is approaching where social capital ideas have been applied to so many events, in so many different contexts and in such diverse ways, that it could be suggested that they have lost any distinct meaning. A further critique is provided by Long

(2001), who contends that the conceptualising of social capital is often deficient since it assumes that it is an 'asset' that it is waiting to be mobilised, and that it is somehow external to the social actions that invoke, generate and constitute it. Both institutional thickness and social capital as concepts have some limited similarities to policy network theory. However, these two frameworks are largely applied in research on economic development issues, rather than on wider policy-making processes. The above discussion also indicates that both frameworks can neglect the external social contexts, over-stress the importance of local relationships among social entities, and may not allow for a dialectic approach to the mobilisation of social actions. It is contended that the approach taken to actors and policy networks in the present study may overcome these potential limitations.

2.5.4 Research on networks and policy networks in relation to the tourism industry

By the time network and policy network theories were well established in the social sciences, related research in relation to the tourism industry was in its infancy. The early applications of network theory to the tourism sector began with work by Stokowski (1994), Pavlovich (2001, 2003a, 2003b), Halme (2001) and Williams (2006). Interest in network theory is increasing rapidly among tourism researchers, but applications of the theory are still very limited. There are three major limitations in how network theory has been applied so far in tourism research. First, most applications of network ideas have been in research into tourism partnerships and collaboration, which is a very specific and narrow use of network theory as it ignores the many other forms of networks and network relations relevant to tourism policies. Second, applications of network theories have been far less than in other research fields, such as in relation to leisure (Stokowski, 1994), rural studies and environmental policies (Murdoch, 1995, 2000). Third, most of the early applications to the tourism industry have used ideas from social network theory and they have seldom used ideas about policy networks.

Pavlovich (2001) was one of the first researchers to study tourism networks in an assessment of tourism planning in Waitomo, New Zealand. She examines various groups of actors in this major tourism destination and how they worked together (Pavlovich, 2001). However, this article is more concerned with ideas of stakeholder involvement, the majority of the actors examined are industry managers and not public policy-makers, and there are only modest

concerns with policy work. Pavlovich (2003a, 2003b) does use an analysis of network features to explain the area's tourism activities. She claims that social network concepts offer insights into how the structure of relations between tourism organizations informs business competitive advantage, and also into how relational connections between tourism organizations are configured and constructed in order to create a coherent network structure (Pavlovich, 2003a). The article provides a good review of important properties within tourism business networks, but not tourism policy networks. Verbole (2003) also uses network theory in research on rural tourism development in Pišce in Slovenia. In her research, she identified and analyzed various social networks and other organizational practices in this small rural community, and she showed that the networks of 'friends of friends' (i.e. cliques, family clans and voluntary associations, societies and clubs), played an important role in the rural tourism development process. Her research not only used network theory, but also applied Norman Long's (2001) actor-oriented approach, therefore indicating a new direction for tourism network research.

Social network analysis identifies and measures the causal pressures that are inherent in social structures, and it is therefore ideally suited to the analysis of changes in tourism destinations (Tremblay, 1998). Therefore, in recent research, Scott, Cooper and Baggio (2008) applied social network theory to destination management and tourism organizations. They use this theory to analyze the relationships between tourism organizations in four Australian cases. They show that one organization's performance is not only dependent on its own resources, but also on the resources of other organizations and on the nature of their relationships with them (Wilkinson, Mattsson and Easton, 2000). Although this assessment of the utility of social network theory is more to do with social networks and corporate networks, it confirms the broad potential applicability of network theory to the tourism industry.

It is only recently that the importance of policy networks is being recognized in tourism policy research, such as in work by Tyler and Dinan (2001), Bramwell (2006), Pforr (2002, 2005, 2006), and Dredge (2006). As with the application of network theory, the use of policy network theory in relation to tourism is also largely confined to work on partnerships (Long, 1997; Selin and Chavez, 1995), collaboration (Bramwell and Sharman 1999; Bramwell and Lane 2000), and stakeholder involvement in tourism planning (Araujo and Bramwell, 1999, 2002; Sautter and

Leisen, 1999). These studies provide a good basis for future development of work on tourism policy networks, but their rather narrow concern with specific types of network relations limits the more comprehensive use of network theory. It is important to note that partnerships are only one type of network relations.

One important article that does use policy network theory to analyse tourism policies and policy-making is by Tyler and Dinan (2001). They use the term 'policy network' in relation to tourism and they use policy network ideas to analyse the role of interest groups in national tourism policies in England. The concept behind the article is attractive and, potentially, it could make a valuable contribution. However, the paper is not particularly effective in its practical application of the ideas about policy networks. One problem is that, while the authors use Rhodes's typology of policy networks, they combine this with the ideas of Smith (1993), and this is rather confused and it does not lead to a clear appreciation of the different concepts behind policy networks. Further, the authors introduce a bewildering array of theories, such as core executive, autonomous state and interest groups, in relation to policy networks, with none explained at length or used particularly consistently or clearly in the case study. As a result, while this article is valuable in indicating the potential value of policy network concepts for tourism, it is less effective in demonstrating their value in practice.

More recently a growing volume of research has used policy network theory in relation to tourism. Pforr (2005, 2006) applies network theory in his research on Northern Australian public policies for tourism. While his research on policy networks is very technical, his work does mention the potential to use Rhodes' notion of a 'policy community'. The study does not use this notion in any depth, but it does indicate the importance of policy network theory for tourism policy research. Dredge (2006) has also adapted policy network theory in a study of tourism policy making at Lake Macquarie in Australia. In particular she uses policy network theory to analyse the operation of public-private sector relationships.

Networks are able to encourage the emergence of collective outcomes, despite the diverging interests of their members, through voluntary bargaining (Kenis and Schneider, 1991; Mayntz, 1994). In addition, networks can provide additional, informal linkages between the inter- and

intra-organizational decision-making arenas (Börzel, 1997). However, the weaknesses of network and policy network theories are obvious. Networks very often become ‘quasi-institutional’ arenas with their own structures of conflict and own problems of co-ordination (Börzel, 1997). In addition, policy networks tend to be very resistant to change (Lehmbruch, 1991). Further, policy networks are often not easily exposed to democratic control, and therefore they can suffer from a lack of legitimacy (Börzel, 1997). Finally, networks can never fully explain the complex “sets of values, ideologies, power, rights and obligations” within networks, without detailed case studies (Long, 2001:155). Too much focus on the hierarchies and structures of networks could lead to a lack of awareness of the internal causes of social actions. Based on these weaknesses of policy network theory, Long (2001) suggests that an actor-oriented approach is needed to examine the internal forces of social actions that lead to the network structures. At the same time, Long (2001) also adds new insights to our understanding of network theory.

2.6 An Actor-Oriented Approach

2.6.1 From ‘stakeholder’ to ‘actor’

Stakeholder theory has been used increasingly in recent years, in part because of its emphasis on an organization’s capability to influence its operating environment. Stakeholder theory has mainly been applied in inter-organization relations, behaviours, and management (Sheehan and Ritchie, 2005). As stakeholder theory was initially used in relation to corporate social activities, a stakeholder is defined as “any group or individual who can affect or is affected by the achievement of the firm’s objectives” (Freeman, 1984:25). From such a definition, it is obvious that the view of stakeholders is very broad – going beyond those have purely formal, official, or contractual ties to the organization (Sheehan and Ritchie, 2005). Subsequent development of stakeholder theory has added more flexibility to Freeman’s definition. For example, Carroll (1993) broadens the scope of the definition to include those who having power to impact upon the organization. Because of these increasing influences from external groups to the organization, it is necessary to identify the stakeholders and strategically manage the relationships among stakeholders and the organization.

Stakeholder theory has been quite widely applied in the tourism field. The early applications of

stakeholder theory in tourism have taken a perspective based on collaboration and inter-organizational relations. Hall and Jenkins (1995) discuss inter-organizational relations within the context of tourism public policy using a stakeholder perspective. This helps to access the key individuals and organizations in the policy-making processes, and to examine their interests and perceptions. Researchers also apply stakeholder theory in collaborative tourism planning (Hall and Jenkins 1995; Jamal and Getz 1995; Medeiros de Araujo and Bramwell 1999; Sautter and Leisen 1999). Jamal and Getz (1995:188) contend that collaborative planning in a tourism context represents joint decision-making among diverse stakeholders in order to resolve planning problems and to manage issues related to planning and development. Participation by multiple stakeholders with differing interests and perspectives might encourage more consideration of the varied social, cultural, environmental, economic and political issues affecting sustainable development (Bramwell and Lane, 1993).

Despite the wide use of stakeholder theory in tourism contexts, some still prefer not to use stakeholder concepts as they were developed in relation specifically to the assumed instrumental and calculative motives of business actors and to interactions between just two actors. The focus is on dyadic interactions focused on one actor and its relations with another. In recent years, the term 'stakeholder' has often been replaced by 'actor'. The idea of actors is preferred by many social science researchers as it is more open and without assumptions about the motivations for interactions, about the numbers of actors in the interaction network, about rigid classifications of actors, and about a particular disciplinary basis for the theory. Actor perspectives perhaps also more easily allow a focus on both the internal actor interactions and changes in the external environment. Dialectical relations exist between actors and the wider environment around them. Perhaps the key reason why 'actor' was used in this study instead of 'stakeholder' is that the latter has a conceptual origin in ideas that focus on business-driven aims among social participants, and thus it may be more suitable for applications to business contexts.

2.6.2 Concepts in an actor-oriented approach

The actor-oriented approach used in this study was originally developed by the Dutch sociologist Norman Long (2001). His arguments about 'agency' and 'structure' in relation to the actor-oriented approach were developed from Giddens' (1984) agency-structure views in his

structuration theory. Long (2001:13) claims that a key advantage of the actor approach is that one begins with an interest in explaining differential responses to similar structural circumstances, even if the conditions appear relatively homogeneous. The approach focuses on the agency of the actors rather than starting with the constraints of structural circumstances, while recognizing that there are structural limits on actors' responses. The approach seeks to grasp the issue of how actors shape structural change, doing so through a systematic ethnographic understanding of 'social relations', such as in the emergence and implementation of development projects, as well as through evaluations of the responses and lived experiences of the variously located and affected social actors (Long, 2001:14).

This actor-oriented approach is a kind of counterpoint to structural analysis in development sociology (Long, 2001:13). According to Long, this perspective rejects starting social analysis from the whole social system, and instead it begins by focusing on the views and actions of the individual 'actor'. It concentrates on delineating actors' everyday organizing and symbolizing practices and the interlocking of their 'projects'. It "reflects a concern for emergent forms of interaction, practical strategies and types of discourse and cultural construction, rather than for administrative models and ideal-typical constructions" (Long, 2001:56).

Long (2001) recognizes the importance of human consciousness and agency. He analyzes the heterogeneous and discursive social activities of social actors in every day life. He noticed how powerful these individual actors are, and how their every day life can influence their own values, interests, knowledge frameworks and even the world values. Long explains one important term: an actor's project. In his arguments, actor will set his/her project according to their every day life needs and the influences from the environment. In order to achieve the aim of this project, the actor will enrol other related actors into the project. They exchange resources within the project and this then forms a new structure. During their interactions, the interests, values and knowledge that emerge from the actors' daily lives will influence each other. Actors are seen as active participants who seek to engage or 'enrol' other actors into their own 'projects', based on their own interests and world-views (Murdoch and Marsden, 1995). In addition, Long (2001) believes that the formation of a structure is not only decided by internal human agency, but is also influenced by the external structural conditions in society. Both the internal and external

forces work together in this project enrolment process. In summary, the actor-oriented approach focuses on the social actions of actors and on how specific actors deal with the problematic situations that they encounter.

This approach considers that social actors consist of both individuals, and also collective actors, that involve individuals holding some common goals, interests or values. Therefore, individuals, organizations and coalitions of individuals might all be viewed as social actors. The social actors have the knowledgeability and capability to establish their projects and enrol other relevant actors into them. Actors have resource dependency with each other, and they need to exchange resources in order to reach their aims. During the interactions among actors, Long contends that actors might encounter social interfaces because of their diverse interests, values and power. These social interfaces represent difficulties and critical points in the social interactions, which could be understood through three key concepts – discourse, knowledge framework and power configuration. Discourses refer to sets of meanings, metaphors and statements from actors. Knowledge frameworks might comprise of multiple discourses, and they can help to explain the causes of actors' social actions and decisions. Power configurations refer to the construction of power among actors (Long, 2001:242). These three concepts are central to the actor-oriented approach, and they are explained more fully in the conceptual frameworks (presented in Chapter 4), and they are applied in the results chapters.

2.6.3 Applications of actor-oriented approaches in tourism research

Although the actor-oriented approach may be effective at revealing the internal causes of social actions, the application of this approach to the tourism industry is rare. One unusual direct application of an actor perspective to the tourism policy domain is Verbole's (2000, 2003) research on Pišece, a small rural community in south eastern Slovenia. In this community, she evaluates the local social actors, their different interests, and their power relations in connection with the development of rural tourism. She argues that "the local people are not passive recipients of the consequences of rural tourism development policy, but are instead capable of making the most out of a given situation" (Verbole, 2000:480). Verbole (2000) concludes that an actor-oriented approach can help us to conceptualize rural tourism development as a dynamic, on-going process that is shaped and reshaped by social actors. In her recent research, she again

uses the actor-oriented approach to explain the importance of local networks in decision-making in the rural tourism political domain. Her findings show that access to the rural tourism development process in a given locality is not equally guaranteed to everyone. The local dynamics of social interactions and power relations play an important role in regulating participation in the process (Verbole, 2003:164). Verbole's use of the actor-oriented approach in the tourism policy domain shows the great potential for its future application. The other relevant application of an actor approach is by Bramwell (2006), which provides suggestions for applications of the actor-oriented approach to tourism policy domain. Bramwell (2006) applies some key concepts from the actor-oriented approach, such as power configurations, discourses and knowledge frameworks, to evaluate the interventions by government to limit tourism growth in Malta.

2.7 Debates about agency and structure and its application to policy network theory and an actor-oriented approach

The debate about agency and structure is a central idea behind the present research and its use of policy network theory, and this needs critical discussion. The study combines policy network theory and an actor-oriented approach, and it is argued that this supports the idea of a duality between structure and agency, an idea that draws on Giddens's structuration theory. His notion of structuration suggests that both structure and agency should be conceived simultaneously and that they can transform each other (Giddens, 1984). It recognizes that social actions are taken by actors within structured contexts and that the actors and structures are mutually constituted. Giddens's approach involves the notion of a 'duality of structure', whereby people both produce society, and at the same time they are also influenced, and even constrained, by it (Bramwell and Meyer, 2007). For the present study policy network theory is considered to focus most on the idea of 'structure', while the specific use of an actor-oriented approach focuses more on the idea of 'agency'.

Dualistic thinking is considered problematic in social theory because it tends to cleave theoretical perspectives into two distinct and incommensurable parts, thereby polarizing whole fields of concepts and leading to a fractured view of the world (Bramwell and Meyer, 2007). The dualism between structure (the wider social world) and the agency of individuals and

organizations (the actors' capacity to act upon situations) is considered to be unhelpful (Sibeon, 1999). Rather than a dualism between structure and agency, Giddens suggests that there is a 'duality' in which structure and agency are bound up together and co-evolve over time (Giddens and Pierson, 1998:77; Urry, 2003:46-7). Therefore, the relationship between agency and structure is dialectical. Human agency can shape the structures, while the structures can enhance and also restrict people's activities. Despite the important insight offered by Giddens' agency-structure theory, some complain that it does not provide sufficient explanation of the application of this idea, while Long (2001) considers that Giddens allows insufficient space for the full operation of human agency (Jessop, 2001; Long, 2001).

Long's (2001) actor-oriented approach, however, was developed from Giddens' theory. His actor-oriented approach considers that social actions are driven by both internal forces (agency) and external forces (structure and external contexts). This approach focuses most closely on agency because Long (2001) believes that research must always start from the social actors and their activities, before then considering the interactions between that agency and social structures. In Long's theory, actors' knowledgeability and capability are emphasized, and the idea of 'agency' is elaborated upon. The external forces affecting actors' interactions are mentioned by Long (2001), although the application of 'structure' is seen as occurring after agency. Because of the importance of the duality of structure and agency, the application of 'structure' is considered equally important in the present study. It is considered that the advantages of policy network theory can help to integrate agency and structure. Policy networks can be depicted as mediating between the micro- and the macro-levels, creating a connection between the wider societal structures and individual agency. They can help to indicate the overall relational maps for 'complex and multiple actor interactions' (Peet and Hartwick 1999:93). Here policy networks might be considered structural in that they have distinct sets of rules and can help to define the roles that actors play and to prescribe the issues that are discussed and how they are dealt with (Rhodes, 2002). In policy-making processes, this approach can help us to understand the power relations among actors and also how actors 'perform' this power. The combined application of policy network theory and an actor-oriented approach assists in integrating structure and agency, and it helps to operationalise this duality. The criticism of policy network theory that it may be too 'structural' is thus met by the approach adopted in this study.

Two approaches to agency and structure are relevant here: Marsh and Smith's (2000) dialectical approach, and Bramwell and Meyer's (2007) relational approach. Both sets of researchers apply agency and structure theories to evaluate policy issues. The dialectical approach considers the dialectical relations within policy-making processes, while the relational approach uses the same dialectical approach, but also stresses the importance of 'contingent openness' for complex social relationships (Bramwell and Pomfret, 2007). Three kinds of relationships are highlighted in their relational and dialectical approach to policy networks. First, there are dialectical relationships between policy networks and the contexts within which they operate. Second, there are similar flexible and interactive relationships between the policy network structures and the actors that operate within them. Third, the outcomes of the debates and policy decisions arising from policy networks have dialectical implications for the subsequent shape of that network (Bramwell and Meyer, 2007). Overall, the relational and dialectical approach to policy networks means that "context and activity, structure and action, are treated as co-constitutive and co-generative" (Gonzalez and Healey, 2005:2057). The relational approach was applied to a study of an island in former East Germany and the power, policymaking and policy debates associated with tourism development there (Bramwell and Meyer, 2007). This is the closest related study to the research here because it uses some elements of both the actor-oriented approach and policy network theory. However, these examples are more focused on power and tensions within tourism development, while the present research puts more emphasis on developing a conceptual framework for assessing both internal and external influences on tourism policy-making processes.

2.8 Conclusion

This chapter reviews theoretical literatures for the research. There was an initial review of literature on public policy and on network theory. This examined differing interpretations of public policy, the importance of values, interests, and power to public policy, the policy-making process, the notion of governance, and also policy research in tourism. The chapter also reviewed the trend from government to governance. Attention was also directed to various types of network theory, including social network theory. The early part of the chapter mainly focused, however, on an explanation of policy network theory, which applies ideas derived from social

network theory to the political domain.

The debate about agency and structure was prominent in the discussion due to its importance for the approach taken in this study. This debate provides links between policy network theory (the approach to structure adopted in the study) and the actor-oriented approach (the approach taken here to agency). There was consideration of differing uses of these terms in social science practice. The actor-oriented approach developed by the Dutch sociologist, Norman Long, was explained in some detail.

The review on those theoretical literatures helps to explain the basis for developing the conceptual framework, which is the main aim in the study. The conceptual framework here is developed from debates about structure and agency, and it is influenced by the actor-oriented approach (Long, 2001), policy network theory (Rhodes, 1999) and a dialectical approach (Marsh and Smith, 2000). The conceptual framework will be applied to one case study, of Hangzhou, which is located on China's east coast. Therefore, the following chapter examines literature on the external contexts to this case study location, including significant issues in China's socio-cultural, economic, environmental and political domains.

Chapter 3

Literature Review: China Contexts

3.1 Introduction

The discussion next evaluates the macro environment of China relevant to the case study, including key economic, tourism, environmental, socio-cultural and political aspects.

A first issue discussed in the chapter is China's economic development and its associated problems. China's dramatic economic development over recent years has been a major driving force for tourism development, for changes in people's social values, and even for political decentralization. The tourism industry has been one of the biggest beneficiaries, with inbound, outbound and domestic tourism developing hugely every year. However, tourism's over-development and the over-emphasis on economic benefits from tourism has resulted in environmental problems in many areas. As a result, debate about the tensions between economic development and environmental protection are very popular among China's tourism academics.

A second issue reviewed in the chapter concerns the changing social values of people in China, these having a considerable influence on the tourism developments examined in this study. Chinese people's social values are strongly influenced by three sets of influences: Confucianism, Western capitalism and Chinese communism. Confucianism has thousands of years of history in China and it is deeply rooted in Chinese people's thoughts and behaviour. Its main concepts, of 'graded love' and a 'virtuous life', have created a mental barrier between the people and the government, have hindered the development of government transparency, and have placed a strong emphasis on personal relationships ('Guan Xi') in the political world (Dong, 2001). These issues have all influenced the development of political decentralization and other dynamics in tourism governance in China.

Western capitalism, which has been a major influence in China since the great economic reforms of Deng Xiaoping in 1978, provides a totally different set of social values to Confucianism. It has brought modernity, materialism, and mental freedom to the Chinese people.

Chinese communism has had to relocate the social values from Confucianism and capitalism in Chinese society. It has begun to allow these different social values to exist in society, and also to allow for different emphases in these values in different regions. This has led to huge development gaps between the different regions in China. Northern China has a stronger focus on political activities, and here Confucianism has had a strong influence. But in southern China there has been a clear emphasis on economic development and this region has been influenced more by Western capitalism and modernity.

The last part of this chapter will discuss the political contexts of China. It is essential to understand the background of China's politics, public administration, and the process of transition from centralization to decentralization in order then to appreciate the specific issues affecting tourism policy networks in Hangzhou. China's political leaders are key actors shaping and controlling Chinese politics. There are four generations of Chinese leaders in the 'modern' era: Mao Zedong, Deng Xiaoping, Jiang Zemin, and Hu Jintao (Wang and Zheng, 2003). Each generation of leaders has substantially influenced the country's development and also people's social values. In Mao's era, the major aim was to secure a profound socialist revolution, and the country's politics were absolutely centralized. Deng, the second generation leader, was a reformer. His 'open-door policy' began the decentralization of Chinese politics, and also the beginning of China's economic boom. The subsequent leaders, Jiang and Hu, have continued with Deng's decentralization reforms and marketisation.

From Mao to Hu, decentralization has gradually become more important in Chinese politics and governance. However, centralization still dominates political and policy decision-making, and obstructs the further development of decentralization. This is because of the strong Communist party-led domination in China. Communism represents the absolute highest authority and power in China's public administration. Communist ideology and institutions are everywhere in China, from government to the community. Their existence helps explain why decentralization in China has not developed to the same extent as in Western countries. Communist Party domination limits many aspects of the political governance in China.

3.2 Reforms and changes in China's economy

China's economic development is the fundamental reason for the nation's tourism development and political decentralization. The spectacular economic growth started with the 'open-door policies' initiated in 1978. China's economy is much less likely to be affected by global economic downturns, due to the country's large size and population, with about 80 percent of its growth generated by domestic demand (Wong, 2003). In Mao's era (1949-1976) the economy served the needs of politics (Wong, 2003). China's economy has long been centred on agricultural development, and this has not helped with China's recent attempts to secure industrial modernism and globalisation.

The 'open-door policies' introduced by Deng in 1978 helped China to catch up with the industrial ethos of 'first world' development and with modernity. In 1978, Deng Xiaoping put forward the idea of 'economic growth first and political changes later' (Wong, 2003:128), which introduced a market economy. The 'open-door policy' and later reforms meant that some coastal cities secured substantial foreign investment, and they quickly become the richest cities in China. Economic growth is centred on Shanghai, on the east coast, together with the nearby cities of Hangzhou, Suzhou, Wuxi and Nanjing. A series of economic reforms also reduced the number of state-owned companies, and encouraged private ownership. In the 1980s state-owned industry accounted for over 70 percent of China's gross industrial output; by 2000 the proportion was only 24 percent (Wong, 2003:129).

There is now greater stability in the economy, and this provides greater security for China's government and Communist Party. However, the rapid economic growth in recent years has resulted in negative social externalities, such as crime and unemployment. In addition, the economy has not developed evenly across the nation, with big differences between cities. The coastal areas, like south and southeast China are the richest, while the central and northeastern areas have developed very slowly.

3.3 Tourism Development in China

The communist regimes in China from 1949 until 1978/79 rejected tourism as an appropriate form of economic activity. After the introduction of Deng's 'open door policy', the emphasis

shifted to the need for swift growth, and this included the development of tourism (He, 1992). Tourism was politically acceptable for the first time because in socialist terms it would advance the economic reforms and the policy of opening to the outside world (Sofield and Li, 1998). After the 'open door policy', the tourism industry began to develop, often at an extraordinary pace. As Zhang, Pine and Zhang (2000) note, China's international tourism industry has been made possible by the implementation of economic reforms and by the country's increased openness to the outside world. China now ranks among the top ten world international tourism destinations, and it is number one among Asian and Pacific countries (Zhang, 2003:15). According to CNTA statistics (China National Tourism Administration), tourism's international foreign exchange earnings in 2004 were 29.296 billion US dollars; and gross domestic tourism earnings were 528.6 billion RMB (estimated as 66.1 billion US dollars) (CNTA, 2005). The World Travel and Tourism Council (WTTC) predicted in 2004 that China's travel and tourism would contribute 10.2% to the country's GDP by 2010 (Mintel Marketing Intelligence, 2004). After tourism began to create huge amounts of foreign exchange for China's government, it secured further government support and this further helped it to develop at an extraordinary pace. As in other 'developing countries', the pursuit of economic profits became the foremost objective for tourism. As Wall (1997) suggests, in the early stages of economic development, economic matters always tend to be the primary focus.

Tourism is now considered to be a major growth point for the national economy, and most provinces and regions in the country have made tourism one of the pillar industries in their planning for local economic development (Zhang, 2003:25). Tourism, as an economic catalyst in society, has become more and more important to the state. The government has also sought to construct new national identities through tourism, so as to strengthen loyalties to the government's ideologies and political objectives. This has included the use of "tourism and its promotion in an effort to exercise control and demonstrate authority and legitimacy" (Henderson 2002:73). Images of the competence of the ruling elite and the correctness of the government's political beliefs have been transmitted through tourism (Richter 1999). Henderson (2007: 250) contends that "The value attached to tourism as a propaganda channel is especially high within a communist context where the fundamental insecurity of authoritarianism gives rise to a compulsion to trumpet the superiority of the doctrine and the benefits of life in a

socialist utopia”.

But Harrison (1992) indicates that tourism has also brought significant problems for many less-developed countries, such as excessive tourist numbers in certain areas, an increased commoditisation of cultural and social life, changes in social structures and values, environmental pollution, and it can even lead to political instability. There have been major environmental impacts of tourism growth in China due, for example, to too many people producing excessive wear on facilities and causing waste problems. Tourism in China has had a strong focus on economic benefits, and other aspects have been neglected. Xu (1999) argues that the accelerating growth of tourism has led to increasingly adverse impacts on the host societies in China, such as the erosion of local culture and traditions, cheapening effects on arts and crafts, and rising consciousness of ‘relative deprivation’. After some serious mistakes, tourism researchers and planners have recently begun to realize the importance of social and environmental protection around tourism developments. However, tourism is still largely considered solely as a catalyst for increased incomes for Chinese people. Therefore, economic development and environmental protection are still widely seen as conflicting interests.

Arguably, China can be considered to be a ‘transitional’ society (Hall, 2004; Xu, 1999; Zheng, 2003; Zhou, 2003). Societies in transition often experience macroeconomic shifts from accumulation through state-led industrialization to accumulation through commodification and an export orientation, and from redistribution to ‘marketization’ (Hall, 2004:14). And this clearly applies to China in recent years. During the 14th Communist Party Congress in October 1992, a milestone resolution was adopted to pursue the policy of establishing a ‘market economy under socialism’ which would allow the market to determine resource allocation within the guidelines of socialism (Liu, 1993). Since then, the Chinese government has paid much attention to the development of tourism infrastructure, the improvement of service quality, and to tie tourism “to the market-oriented policy and further open the tourism market to foreign investors” (Huang, 2004:175). It must always be remembered, however, that unlike many ‘transitional countries’ in central and eastern Europe, in China the Communist Party has retained its dominant position.

As a 'transition' economy, it is perhaps problematic to consider China as a 'developing country'. Harrison (1988), for example, notes how there is an ongoing debate about the meaning and usefulness of the terms 'First World', 'Second World' and 'Third World' among some world system theorists. In this study the term 'developing nations' simply refers to countries not regarded by the World Bank as High Income Economies (Harrison, 1992:2). It can thus include the transitional economies of the former 'Second World' and contemporary, centrally planned economies, as applies to China. McQueen (1977) claims that it is not an easy task to define precisely what is meant by the term 'developing countries'. One reason for this difficulty is because many countries seen in this category have been closed to development, and have experienced recent changes due to their opening to capitalism and marketised economic development. China certainly is one of these cases. As Tosun (2000) recognises, developing countries are perhaps so heterogeneous - economically, culturally and in virtually every other way - that they exhibit no single defining feature. Being a transitional society, China's development is complex as it is influenced by both western capitalism and by its own traditional socialism. Such complexity needs to be considered as an important influence on overall development and tourism development in China.

3.4 China's environmental context

The over-development of China's tourism industry has caused diverse environmental problems, such as water shortages, forest loss, soil erosion, desertification and pollution (Edmonds, 2003). Because of such problems, the issues of natural and cultural conservation are gaining increasing attention from domestic and international organizations. For example, the United Nations Educational, Scientific, and Cultural Organization (UNESCO) has contributed much help and advice on the protection of China's natural and cultural reserves. While the national government and international organizations are seeking to reduce the environmental damage, the over-emphasis on economic development, the improper city planning, and lack of suitable regulations are still causing very serious environmental problems in China.

3.5 China's socio-cultural values

Social values influence people's decisions and social actions. Therefore, to evaluate actors' interactions in the tourism policy-making processes, one needs to understand Chinese

philosophies and related social values. Fang (2004) notes that contrary to Western countries, Chinese culture is based on ethics (especially Confucianism), and not religions. He also explains that Chinese people do not pay much attention to religion, this being because ethical teaching is so strongly ingrained it takes the place of religion (Fang, 2004). Chinese values are not just about Confucianist thought as they are also influenced by Western capitalism and Chinese communism.

3.5.1 'Doctrine of the Middle Way' and 'Yi-Jing' philosophy

An early Chinese philosophy dating to the first century AD is Yi-Jing, and this provided elements within Confucianism. There are two important icons for this philosophy: 'Ba-gua' and 'Yin-Yang'. 'Ba-gua' represents eight dominant natural phenomena and processes that are considered central to an understanding of life (Mou, 2003:40). 'Yin' and 'Yang' represent two conflicting influences, such as shade and light, day and night, fire and water (China Style, 2001). Both 'Ba-gua' and 'Yin-Yang' exemplify the 'Doctrine of the Middle Way'. Together they explain people's place in the world and they teach people always to act in balance between 'Yin' and 'Yang' and not to destroy the balance of 'Ba-gua' and 'Yin-Yang' (Dong, 2001:23). In Chinese society, such teaching influences people to act with great caution so as not to unbalance situations and not to offend others.

3.5.2 Confucianism and its influences on Chinese people

Of all the Chinese sages, Confucius is the most influential. Confucianism has been important over thousands of years and it is deep-rooted in Chinese philosophy (Pye, 1992:31). It arguably was taken advantage of by Chinese emperors in order to dominate the people. The ideas of 'Graded love' and a 'Virtuous life' are two core concepts of Confucianism (Dong, 2001:137). 'Graded love' is an example of a set of agent-relative obligations. It asserts that one has great ethical obligations towards those who are bound to us by special relationships, such as between the ruler and his ministers, father and son, husband and wife, elder and younger brother, and between friends (Mou, 2003:104). Confucius taught that a son should be obedient to his father, a minister should be obedient to his ruler, and a wife should be obedient to her husband. Chinese emperors in the feudal era used this doctrine to forbid any dissatisfaction and complaints from the Chinese people, and prevent their dynasties being overturned (Nease Net, 2003). As a

consequence, people dared not question their rulers, and dared not act against authority. When this doctrine was combined with politics, it became so powerful that it has influenced and dominated people in China for a long period.

The Confucian notion of 'graded love' is closely related to the other important notion of a 'virtuous life'. This implies that people should have a perfect life and the resulting possession of virtue contributes to a flourishing life (Mou, 2003:107). In Confucianism, virtue is centred on the concept of 'graded love', with those following that doctrine gaining true virtue. To support the concept of 'graded love', Confucius focused on 'charity', 'abiding faith', 'loyalty', and 'filial piety' as his concepts of virtues (Feng, 2005:36). Followers of Confucian thinking focus on following these virtues and the 'graded love' doctrines, and they are not concerned about the exercise of free choice. This ethic can be used to the advantage of those in political power. 'Graded love' is also an ethic which supports a rigid social structure, encouraging a hierarchy or layer upon layer of bureaucrats to whom subordinates defer unquestioningly. It also creates an enormous gulf between the people and the government.

Confucianism can be regarded as a code for people to achieve a simple, rewarding life: based on love within families and avoidance of disputes. Its teaching can also be good for the building of morality. However, Confucianism can become a set of barriers to people's freedom and to social development. It became the undisputed orthodox doctrine of China's imperial state (Fitzgerald, 1952:23), and in practice its officials took advantage of these moral controls to bully and oppress the people.

3.5.3 Western capitalism, materialism and modernity

After China's reforms in 1978, western capitalist values and beliefs began to influence China and they are major influences in China today. Materialism holds that the things that matter most are material and tangible (Moser and Trout, 1995:2), and this has been important for the spirit of capitalism and for social development (Giddens, 1971). Some researchers critically label materialism as purely a consumption-based orientation. Kasser (2003:5) stated that materialism can have a high price for society because it encourages people to pursue happiness via money and possessions, and it neglects people's psychological adjustments and feelings. Belk

(1984:291) defines materialism as the importance that people attach to worldly possessions. At its highest levels, such possessions assume a central place in a person's life and they are believed to provide the greatest sources of satisfaction and dissatisfaction. An excessive focus on materialism is said to cause envy, lack of generosity and possessiveness (Liu, 2001). These traits of materialism are now important in contemporary China. With the country's dramatic economic growth in recent years, people are enthusiastically in search of 'money' to build their happiness, especially as their continued concern for traditional Chinese philosophy means that they are not so interested in struggling for political 'power'. This new materialism is also influenced by the long history of poverty. In urban areas where society is much more developed, 'materialism', or what is called a 'money-oriented view', are especially evident (Kasser, 2003). This 'money-oriented view' conflicts with the traditional Chinese virtues that require generosity, but the reality is that money is seen as vital by many Chinese people, and this means that social ethics are much less powerful in restricting people's social actions.

Capitalism is also associated with Western modernity. A key consequence of the Chinese form of modernity is 'commercialism', and in the tourism industry, it is 'touristic commercialism' (Oakes, 1998:6). The large number of theme parks is a good example of China's style of commercialism. Chinese society reflects the contradictions between traditionalism and modernity, and this helps explain why currently Chinese modernity is rather different from that of the Western world. Chinese modernity is a cultural product resulting from the problematic struggles over the prolonged period of profound socio-economic changes in China. Oakes (1998) suggests that in China modernity is a tense and paradoxical process through which people produce, confront, and negotiate a particular kind of socio-economic change. In his analysis, 'touristic commercialism' reflects the current stage of modernity, in which all the contradictions of a new political and economic order are evident (Oakes, 1998:6).

3.5.4 The influence of Chinese communism on societal values

Mao Zedong was the founder of much of China's communist ideology. Dreyer (2003) argues that some of China's intellectuals found communism to be appealing as it purported to be a scientific, culturally neutral process that would occur naturally in the course of historical development. But more importantly, this system also promised the Chinese people equality,

freedom and a classless society. Atheism is one key aspects of communism. The adoption of communism by the state caused, for the first time, Chinese people to hear about ‘atheism’. From a positive point of view, this view gave Chinese people hope that they can have freedom, both physically and psychologically. But, from a negative point of view, this belief caused many present Chinese people to lose faith in ideology and values. While most Chinese people do not have a religion, they keep questioning what they are living for. It is suggested that there is a sense of ‘moral crisis’ in China, propelled by the unprecedented growth of materialism (Hoiman and King, 2003:340).

Chinese communism, however, perhaps provides a balance in the conflicts between traditional Confucianism and Western capitalism. Deng Xiaoping, China’s second generation leader, had developed the notion of ‘Socialism with Chinese characteristics’. This notion gives flexibility to Chinese communism so that it can be sustained itself and it can also create stability in society. China’s socialism appears to allow different ideologies to exist together as long as socialism is at the forefront. This balance tends to vary somewhat between the different regions of China. In the economically highly developed regions (especially the coastal regions) Western capitalism is more influential than Confucianism or traditionalism. However, in rural areas, traditionalism still overwhelms Western ideology.

3.6 China’s political context

The next two sections discuss China’s political system, including the importance of the Chinese Communist Party and its leaders, the electoral system in the CCP, and also the character of Chinese governance. Because the main aim of the research is to explore the structure of the power relationships in tourism policy-making processes in Hangzhou, China, an understanding of Chinese politics and governance provides a necessary basic knowledge for the case study.

3.6.1 The importance of Chinese leaders in politics

Compared with other countries, China’s leaders have much more power to control and shape Chinese politics. The leaders’ political decisions and power relations can directly explain important elements within Chinese politics. Some researchers divide Chinese political history into four periods according to the four recent generations of Chinese leaders: Mao Zedong,

Deng Xiaoping, Jiang Zemin, and the present president Hu Jintao (Liu, 2001; Wang and Zheng, 2003). In the Maoist era, politics was everything, with Mao using it to secure the country's independence. Since the Soviet Union was the PRC's only important ally and aid-donor in these early years, it was almost inevitable that the Soviet model of communism would be closely imitated (Dreyer, 2001). However, the later break-up between the Soviet Union and PRC and internal social problems in China urged Mao to launch several big campaigns for a Chinese version of modernity. The Great Leap Forward and the Cultural Revolution were attempts to reform the economy and society, but both failed disastrously.

Mao died in 1976 and left a difficult legacy for Deng Xiaoping, the second-generation leader. Deng devised a new communist model for development, arguing that the economy is more important than politics because economic development is the fundamental basis for all other developments. During his era, he instigated many reforms, many focused on creating prosperity for society as a whole. By modernization Deng primarily meant industrialization and the attainment of higher living standards (Dreyer, 2001). His 'open door' policy of 1978 was intended to import advanced scientific and technical equipment, encourage Chinese students to learn about Western ideas or to study abroad, and to allow Western companies to operate in selected areas of China (starting with coastal cities in the south). It was intended to allow some people to generate wealth first in these regions, and then to help the whole nation to become rich later. This phased approach to wealth creation radically overturned Mao's beliefs, as in Mao's era the government's policy was to allocate food and necessities evenly to the people (Dreyer, 2001). In Deng's reforms, the private sector was allowed, the number of government departments was reduced and central government began to devolve authority to local government, especially to cities on the south coast. The reason why coastal cities were centres for this reform was because Deng believed they were best placed to receive foreign investment. As a consequence, these cities were given more freedom in the political arena.

Deng explained these reforms as 'market socialism'. He believed that socialism would not be best preserved in China if "public ownership plays the dominant role in our economy" (Wang, 2002:56). Deng's reforms were also intended to keep the Communist Party's leading status, and in practice the Communist Party has never lost its prominent position. Deng also justified the

reforms as based on Mao's belief in the need to 'seek truth from facts' (Wang and Zheng, 2003:300). The continuing use of Mao's theories was deliberate because both Deng and other senior Party leaders recognized the importance of preserving Mao as a symbol of revolutionary legitimacy. After all, Mao symbolized the power of the CCP's collective leadership, which was still the political guarantee for the reforms (Wang and Zheng, 2003:301). Continuing to use Mao's thoughts not only authenticates the CCP's position, but it also follows the influence of certain traditional Chinese philosophies. The 'graded love' theory from Confucianism taught people not to disobey their seniors; the 'Yi-Jing' philosophy of the 'Doctrine of the Middle Way' directs people to the centre of an issue and to try not to offend anybody. Therefore, Deng could not criticize Mao even though Deng's regime arguably repudiated all of Mao's ideological positions (Dittmer, 2002:223). The CCP is therefore seen to represent the 'Doctrine of the Middle Way'. The Party constitution was amended in 1982, to state, "the CCP takes Marxism-Leninism, Mao Zedong Thought, and Deng Xiaoping Theory as its guide to action" (Wang, 2002:61). This type of approach has influenced all political action to date. The next leader, Jiang Zemin, put forward the 'Three Representatives' theory, which states that the CCP represents the most advanced productive forces, the most advanced culture, and the fundamental interests of the broad mass of the Chinese people (Dreyer, 2001). The Constitution was amended again in 2002 to state that "the CCP takes Marxism-Leninism, Mao Zedong Thought, Deng Xiaoping Theory, and 'Three Representatives' thoughts as its guide to action" (Chinese Communist Party, 2002:2). It seems that the CCP does not want to offend any of its past Chinese leaders; rather, it praises every leader's contribution equally. Of course, these statements also reflect the importance of the top political leaders in Chinese politics.

If the politics under Deng Xiaoping are called the politics of transformation, then under Jiang they were the politics of adaptation (Wang and Zheng, 2003). Jiang was the personal choice of Deng Xiaoping, and he has mainly followed Deng's theories, seeking to ensure that his predecessors' theories are adapted into the Chinese system more harmoniously. The major problems that Deng left to Jiang include the imbalanced economy across the country, the declining importance of central government and of the Party's leadership because of decentralization, and the collapse in people's morality and beliefs. Deng put forward the idea that 'some of the people are allowed to be rich first', while Jiang has sought to build a new

political order by providing prosperity for all (Wang and Zheng, 2003:312). With Deng's 'open door policy' and political decentralization in selected places, the central government was losing control and becoming increasingly remote from the provinces. The Chinese people also have become confused by the apparent clash of Western modernism, communist socialism, and traditional Chinese philosophy, and they are in danger of losing interest in past beliefs and values. Due to these problems, Jiang has stressed the need for more education to explain to people the basis of Communist ideology (Dreyer, 2001). And he has begun to take a more active role in securing a better balance in the relations between central and local government.

Jiang has sought to adapt the country to change in a more harmonious way. Thus, his 'Three Representatives' theory reconfirmed the strong leading position of the Communist Party. He has also sought to strengthen the process of decentralization to local government and to nongovernmental organizations. The provinces and provincial capital cities now have many powers of their own. Jiang also moved the geographical focus for much development to Shanghai. He gave Shanghai – the major city near to Hangzhou – greater autonomy in politics and he intended to develop it as an international business centre. Perhaps because he himself was educated in Shanghai, he developed his political career from there and he has good links with politicians from there. The more developments that have taken place in Shanghai, the more support Jiang has gained from within the Party. In addition, Jiang tried to develop a so-called 'Shanghai Gang' in the Party. Jiang's fellow standing committee member, Zhu Rongji, was also from Shanghai (Dreyer, 2001), and Zhu was nominated as the fifth premier of the State Council by Jiang (People's Net, 2004a). He became the most powerful leader next to Jiang. In fact Zhu and Jiang had worked closely together in Shanghai for many years before they came to Beijing to work for central government (Wang, 2002:120). Dittmer (2002) explains that authority in China is often based on the political leverage inherent in one's formal rank and post, and that political influence results from the personal relationships that a political actor accumulates in the course of their career. Indeed, the 'Shanghai Gang' gained enhanced power from Jiang's supremacy.

Jiang has searched for a unifying ideology for the development of the nation. After Jiang retired from the government, Hu Jintao became the next president. Zhu was also replaced by another

politician, Wen Jiabao. It is not clear yet what strategies Hu and Wen will bring to the nation, but it is clear that they form a new power center within the national government now that the 'Shanghai Gang' has disintegrated. Hu and Wen have very good personal relationships and have strong positions in politics, both having developed their political careers in Gansu Province in the northwest of China (People's Net, 2006b). However, despite the 'Gansu Gang' having replaced the 'Shanghai Gang', Shanghai still remains the development centre for the national government. This is because Shanghai's developments, both from the cultural and economic sides, are now quite mature.

3.6.2 China's Communism and the Communist Party

When searching for the reasons why communism and the Communist Party have persisted in the nation, the answer is complicated. Lawrance (1998:1) concludes that one explanation can be found in the nature of traditional Confucianism, which stresses order and stability in a hierarchical structure, extending from the family through officialdom to the Emperor. Another reason of the continued existence of the CCP is because its leadership has adapted its policies to suit the current society. The CCP has worked to retain its dominant position in China, even above the government. For example, the Congress system, which is the highest authority in each level of public administration, is highly controlled by the CCP '*cadres*'. On the other hand, the CCP has given greater flexibility to society, and it has sought to mitigate any conflicts between Western capitalism, and Chinese Confucianism, and between modernity and traditionalism. Different interests in the political world are allowed to persist so long as the CCP retains its first place. Private ownership is now allowed as long as public ownership is in the majority; and some groups of people are now allowed to become rich first, but the final goal remains securing the prosperity of the whole nation (Ye and Tang, 2003). These reforms represent the 'Socialism with Chinese Characteristics', which is the current development stage of communism. These reforms differ markedly from the ideology of the communist creators of Marxism-Leninism, but they guarantee the continued dominance of the CCP and its leadership, and also bring continued economic development to the society.

The absolute strength of the CCP can be seen in both its close relationship with government, and in its grassroots development. The CCP remains extremely close to the government. In Mao's

era, the Party and the government were not separated. These two administrative structures were connected tightly by various administrative offices and individuals that wore the two hats of the CCP and government (Liu, 2001:28). Deng considered this structure had shortcomings, and he began to separate the Party and the government, including a separation of the personnel. Through this reform, the government regained some power, while the Party kept its high position in politics. The CCP-based Congresses are responsible for providing policy guidelines and controlling final policy decision-making, while the government is responsible for detailed legislation that is based on the Party's general guidelines, and for administration and implementation (Liu, 2001:41). However, the separation of the Party and the government is limited. The core *cadres* of the government are elected from the Congresses, which means that the CCP is still able to make sure that the organs of government power can fully exercise their functions and powers (Liu, 2001:42). In reality, the Party and the government are still largely one unity.

The CCP also uses its grassroots in order to consolidate its position. The Party's organizations are everywhere, in villages, schools, companies, and even community groups. These places all have CCP offices that are responsible for developing socialism and for promoting Communist Party ideas. By extending into these grassroots, the CCP monitors the whole of society. Community committees at the lowest level are the self-governing units organized and staffed voluntarily by residents. They perform a variety of functions, including organizing workers, teachers, and students in the neighbourhoods for political study, managing small factories in the neighbourhoods, providing such social welfare services as nurseries and dining halls, and administering health, educational, and cultural programs (Wang, 2002:176). At the sixteenth National People's Congress (8th of November, 2002), the Party Constitution strengthened the importance of neighbourhood Party organizations (Ding, 2005:48). This suggests that the Party's strategy is to make sure that the Party remains strong in the community neighbourhoods.

3.6.3 The electoral system in China

China's electoral system is another important means for strengthening the CCP's domination. In communist systems, elections do not play a central or prominent role (Chen, 1999:63). First, the people's deputies are elected directly by votes from the grassroots units, with list of candidates

being passed to the local level Congresses. The Standing Committee of the local Congress then establishes an Electoral Committee composed of incumbent deputies as well as other selected social and governmental representatives (Shih, 1999:178), who actually are elected from the grassroots Party organizations. Thus, they are all communists and they all have close relations with the government and Congresses. These electoral committees tend to make decisions according to their personal relationships with the representatives they know. Shih (1999:186) argues that the centralism of the Party and the requirement for democratic voting cannot easily be reconciled. The higher-level politicians are elected from the lower levels and the power is always controlled within the Communist Party *cadres*. Regionalism is especially strong in these elections. '*Cadres*' always like to nominate candidates from their same birthplace or from their local power-base. Such situations cause several 'gangs' based on geography. There are also shortcomings in the way candidates are nominated. The participants only become candidates through the recommendation of the CCP offices, and they are not voted for by the population more generally. Clearly, the electoral system is not as democratic as is promoted to the public.

There are two types of election. At the lowest level, which is the district, county and village level, the deputies are elected by voters. This is called a direct election. The upper-level government deputies are elected directly by the lower-level deputies but not by public votes. This is an indirect election (Xinhua News, 2004). Most of the candidates from direct elections are part-time politicians. However, leaders or important governmental officials are required to be full-time politicians. Therefore, these important roles are decided by indirect elections, which means that these roles are already determined by the CCP before the election.

The Chinese electoral system is greatly influenced by Confucian doctrines. In Confucian doctrines, people are taught to love and protect the people with whom they have relationships, and also to obey their superiors no matter whether they are right or wrong. This is why people in the electoral system always tend to elect people with whom they have some relationship (e.g. the same birthplace or relatives). This is also why in some places, foul play happens. For example, in some small counties, the local Congress will ask some people to be representatives and join the election, when they already know the final decision. The process is established merely to make a show for the public. In all matters the CCP will usually seek to retain its

political control. There are regular negative reports about the indirect election system. On one website, a reader complained that the quotas for rural peasants are only 1/4 of the quotas for city residents in direct elections. This means that these peasants have very little chance in direct elections and no chance in indirect elections (Zhaobao Net 2004). Chen (1999) states that the direct election system is simply democracy through symbolism. The deputies are actually elected through indirect election, and in these elections the final decision lies with the CCP's favoured candidate and the result might already be decided.

3.7 China's governance context

The above discussions about politics, the CCP and its leadership, and the electoral system provide useful background to understand China's governance and the major issues related to it. This section evaluates the current governance context in China as it relates to the subsequent assessment of tourism policy networks in Hangzhou.

3.7.1 General characteristics of public administration in China

Figure 3.1 shows the current structure of public administration in China, including the relations between levels of government and the CCP. The highest authority is the National People's Congress (NPC), which has representatives from all over the country. However, the NPC only meets once a year at most, which is why the NPC has a Standing Committee, and this works on behalf of the Congress. The members of the Standing Committee are elected by the NPC, but the Standing Committee controls a great deal of the NPC's powers (Wang, 2002:89). It also means that much political power is still controlled within a small group of CCP *cadres*. The NPC can nominate the President, with the President being the representative of the whole nation, being responsible for foreign affairs, and deciding on the nominations of officials on the State Council. The President is also in charge of the armed forces. The State Council represents the national government of China, and it is the executive organ of the highest authority, the NPC. Therefore, the State Council is responsible for implementing the policies, managing the national development, and monitoring the work of provincial and local government.

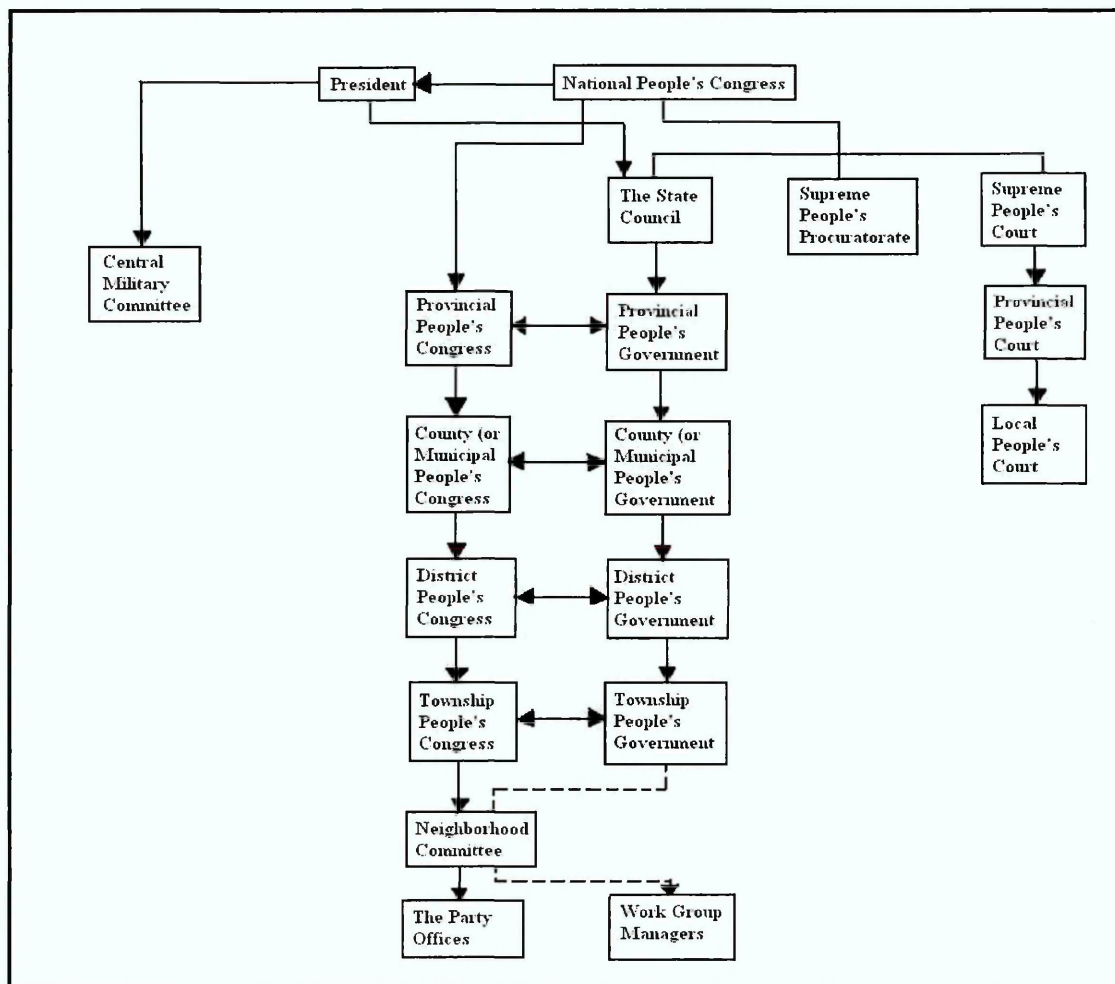


Figure 3.1: Administrative structure of contemporary China (Adapted from Chinese National Government, 2005).

Each level of government has a relevant level of Congress. Local government is responsible for finding existing problems, making development plans, and implementing policies at local levels. The Congresses are the decision-makers for policy-making. Policy-making in developing countries is often highly centralized, with central government deciding on many policies and providing much of the services and infrastructure (Yuksel, Bramwell and Yuksel, 2003). This clearly still applies in China. It is argued by many in China that the highly centralized public administration is no longer suitable because public policy is important not just for central government but also for local government and other organizations. It affects both “private and public organizations, including corporations, interest groups, social movement organizations, and government agencies” (Burstein, 1991:191). If the policy-making process more effectively considered the various actors' interests in China then it might be more beneficial for more actors. Although decentralization has begun to be adopted in China, the centralization of policy-making

has still not changed a great deal. For national policies, the NPC still makes the decisions. Therefore, these policies are all made in a 'top-down' system.

After the reforms of decentralization, some local government organizations (provinces, autonomous districts, special administrative districts, and provincial capital cities) have the right to make their own policies. This means that there is another emerging 'bottom-up' policy-making system. Local government can draft local policies for their local area, although the drafts have to be approved by the local level Congress before implementation. But they no longer need to be approved by the upper level Congress. Such reforms can save a lot of time in the making and implementation of policies. However, there are also some problems. One most important problem concerns the duplication of policy content, because upper-level and local-level government do not always communicate effectively with each other. Another problem is that local government sometimes always design their local policies purely to follow the upper level policies, rather than to consider the local issues or problems. For example, when a national policy comes out, some provinces and cities simply copy the contents of this national policy and use it as their local policies.

3.7.2 The decentralization of China's public administration

The decentralization of public administration in China actually already started in Mao Zedong's era. When Mao first launched the 'Great Leap Forward', one of the political ideas behind it concerned decentralization. However, it failed because of the constraints of a totally controlled and planned economy. Later the requirement for decentralization became more pressing and necessary for the growth of the economy. Especially when the planned economy changed into a more market-based economy, it needed political decentralization so that businesses and local areas would be less constrained. One of the most important decentralization reforms has been to condense the administrative structure. After several government reforms, the Chinese government has sought to condense its vertical administrative structure within just five levels: national, provincial, large cities, counties and towns. It has also sought to reduce the number of horizontal departments within government (Zhou, 2001). In addition, the government has partly decentralized its policies and has decreased its own multi-functional roles in tourism as investor, stimulator, promoter, and regulator (Zhang, Chong and Ap, 1999). Another important change

has been to shorten the local policy-making processes. This means that local policies no longer need to be approved by the upper-level government, as they can be decided by the local Congress.

Decentralization has helped many industries to grow very quickly in recent years. Tourism is one of these, and it has created substantial external incomes for the nation. Before decentralization, tourism development was highly controlled by the Chinese National Tourism Administration (CNTA), and it had a slow pace of development. After the decentralization reform, local tourism government departments replaced the NTA in the management of local tourism development, and more local tourism organizations have been formed. All of these factors have helped local tourism development. However, while each city now has a government department in charge of tourism development, there is a question as to how much authority these departments have in developing and managing the local tourism industry. There are also very few cities that have local tourism regulations, with most still using the existing regulations concerning other areas of business (e.g. forestry, water, city planning.) to manage the tourism industry (Chinalaw Net, 2004).

3.8 Conclusion

This chapter examined relevant aspects of the context of China. It first explained the continuities and changes in the economy and the current patterns of tourism development. Economic growth and tourism development have brought various environmental problems to China. There was then discussion of the problematic of considering China as a ‘developing country’ due to its transitional economy, which adds complexity to China’s tourism policy-making. Followed that, the chapter evaluated the study’s environmental, socio-cultural and political contexts, with particular attention given to politics and governance in China. These aspects were examined in order to aid understanding of the case study of Hangzhou’s tourism policy networks. China’s broad context provides essential background to appreciate the development of the city’s policy networks, and also the beliefs and values of actors in those networks.

Chapter 4

The Conceptual Framework

4.1 Introduction

This chapter fulfils Objective Three to provide conceptual frameworks that combine policy network theory and an actor-oriented perspective as approaches to evaluate the dynamics of tourism policy-making. The previous chapter argued that there is much potential in combining an actor-oriented approach with policy network theory in tourism policy research. Policy network theory is a powerful approach to the study of policy because it can indicate the network structures behind complicated power relations in the political domain. However, policy network theory often lacks a focus on human agency. It was argued that policy outcomes are the result of dialectical interactions between structure and agency, so it was suggested that an actor-oriented approach should be applied together with policy network theory. The dialectical processes between structure and agency are a key issue in the conceptual frameworks.

4.2 Concepts for an actor-oriented approach

The philosophical basis of the conceptual frameworks was derived from Giddens' (1984) dialectical and relational theory of 'agency-structure'; and it was developed in part from three theoretical bases: Long's (2001) actor-oriented approach, Rhodes' (1997) policy network theory, and Marsh and Smith's (2000) dialectical model of policy networks. The focus of the frameworks developed here is on actors' project enrolment and social interfaces, which are key concepts behind Long's (2001) actor perspective. Several key concepts from this actor-oriented approach are applied in the present study, and thus they are explained next.

The first of these is that of '**social actors**' and '**collective actors**'. According to Long (2001:241), social actors are all those social entities that can be said to have agency in that they possess the knowledgeability and capability to assess problematic situations and to organize 'appropriate' responses. This means that the actors are active participants in any social development processes. They interact with other actors. In reality, the social actors often operate

as ‘collective actors’. This is because one social actor often represents a coalition of individual actors who, “at least at a given moment, share some common definition of a situation, or similar goals, interests or values” (Long, 2001:56). For example, an institution or organization is one social actor with a lot of collective individuals within. In social interactions with other social actors, this institution/organization represents the common goals and interests of all the individuals.

Based on their daily practices, the actors form their values, knowledge, and interests. As a result of their interests, the actors will establish their **projects**. The projects can also be described as agendas or aims. The actor who establishes a project will enrol other related actors into that project in order to exchange resources and reach their aims. In the meantime, the enrolled actors can also reach to some extent their own specific interests. Both formal or informal networks are formed during the processes of enrolment.

The social actors have all kinds of social interactions with each other within these projects. These social interactions are significantly affected by the actors' **knowledge frameworks**, which “intersect with each other in social interactions and discursive practices, and are transformed in these processes” (Foucault, 1972:53). Knowledge frameworks are important because they represent the ways in which actors come to grips with the world in the context of the struggles, negotiations and accommodations between themselves and others (Bramwell, 2006). The study of knowledge frameworks can help in understanding the causes of actors’ social actions and decisions. However, care must be taken not to draw sharp distinctions between knowledge frameworks because ‘the multiple realities may mean many things for those involved’, and sometimes these frameworks can be "fragmentary, partial, and provisional" (Bramwell, 2006:959).

The fourth concept is that of **discourses**. Discourses are important within the larger knowledge frameworks. Discourses refer to sets of meanings, metaphors, representations, images, narratives and statements that advance a particular version of ‘the truth’ about specific objects, persons and events (Long, 2001:242). Fairclough (1992) proposes that there are dialectical relations between discursive practices and social practices so that, while social changes can

create changes in language use, changes at the social level can also be constituted in part through changes in linguistic practice (Hastings, 1999). Both knowledge frameworks and discourses can explain the causes of actors' social actions and decisions. In addition, the encounters among different knowledge frameworks and discourses help to explain what is included in a project and what is not. Stenson and Watt (1999) suggest that knowledge frameworks and discourses can substantially affect the objects of concern, the preferred narratives for making sense of the issues, the actors that policymakers consider, and the agendas for action in the policy debates.

Knowledge is always connected with the concept of **power**. The term 'power' is best explained in the context of social interactions among actors. One reason is that this helps to demonstrate the emergent character of power, and the emergence of power through active performance by the social actors. Like knowledge, power is not simply possessed or accumulated; rather it is actively performed and produced. Similar to knowledge frameworks, power is also an outcome of negotiation, accommodation and struggle among actors. Bernstein (1978) argues that power not only relates to the ability to influence others, but also to the strategies various actors use to negotiate the most favourable terms for development. Clegg (1989) also mentions that power should be seen as an outcome of negotiation and not as something one can own.

The next concept, of **power configurations**, relates to the idea of interlocking actors' projects made up of heterogeneous sets of social relations imbued with values, meanings and notions of authority and control, domination and subordination, and sustained by specific patterns of resource distribution and competition (Long, 2001:242). It means the construction of power. The study of power configurations will explain exactly how power is constructed and what decides on the high performing or weak performing powers. Power configurations should always be considered together with actors' discourses and knowledge frameworks, because these three elements substantially explain the internal forces influencing how actors decide on their interests, values and final decisions about projects. In this research, the concepts of discourses, knowledge frameworks and power configurations are applied as key principles behind an actor-oriented approach.

When actors encounter each other, there are always some critical points, or “social discontinuities, based upon discrepancies in values, interests, knowledge and power” (Long, 2001:243). Such critical points or social discontinuities are called **social interfaces**. Such interface situations often provide the means by which individuals or groups come to define their own cultural or ideological position vis-à-vis those espoused by, or typifying, opposing views (Long, 2001:70). In interface situations, the actors try to use their discourses, knowledge frameworks and power configurations to influence other actors’ decisions. After experiencing social interfaces, the discourses, knowledge frameworks and power configurations might be somewhat changed. Therefore, looking at social interfaces is a valuable means to study the transformation of discourses, knowledge frameworks, and power configurations among actors, which in turn relate to the internal reasons behind decision-making.

4.3 The study’s conceptual frameworks: the three levels

The above concepts were used within broad conceptual frameworks at three levels. The following are, first, the micro-level, which looks at actor interactions; the meso-level, which evaluates the network structures around actor interactions; and the macro-level, which focuses on the environment more external to actors and networks.

As Marsh and Smith (2000) suggest, interactions related to social development are dialectical, so that when actors and networks are influenced by the external environment, they are also influencing that environment. Dialectical relations also exist between the different levels of the conceptual frameworks, which means that this study could start with any level of the frameworks. But for this research, it was decided to start from the macro-level first, moving then to the micro-scale, and finally looking more at the meso-level.

The macro-level frameworks help to understand external influences on the dynamics of actors and networks, and the dialectical relations among external environment, actors and network structures. Actors interact with the macro environment, influencing environmental changes, and also being influenced by them. At the start of research, it is difficult to define all the actors related to an issue and their relational structures, but it is relatively easy to identify the influences of the macro environment on the actors and structures. Starting with the macro-level

also provides a clear background for better understanding the micro- and meso-levels.

Actors live within external contexts, coping each day with changes in that context, and applying those changes to their interactions. Therefore, the micro-level conceptual framework is explained after the macro-level. The micro-level (actor-level) conceptual framework shows the actors' differing interests, resources, power and knowledge, how they interact with each other, and how they form network structures. All the network structures result from actor interactions at the micro-level. The meso-level (structure-level) explains the dynamics of policy networks resulting from actors' interactions, and their dialectical relations with both actors and outside environments. The sequence of the three levels in the conceptual frameworks is explained in Figure 4.1.

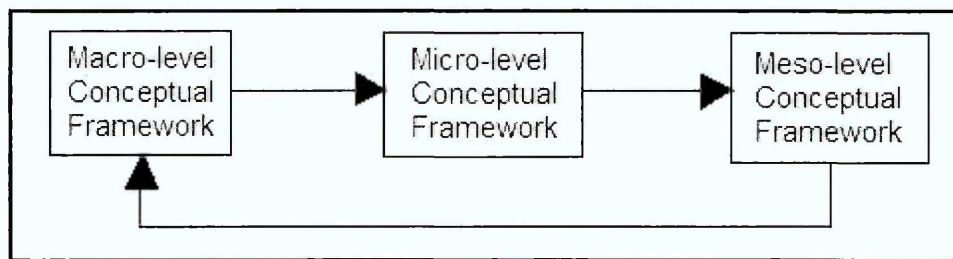


Figure 4.1 Sequence used in the conceptual frameworks

The conceptual frameworks are applied subsequently to the case of Hangzhou, a coastal city in southeast China. The frameworks are used to examine tourism policy networks and actors in Hangzhou, and the decision-making processes around the West Lake Protection Project, a recent major tourism project in the city. This chapter explains the application of the conceptual frameworks to the case study, including the detailed evaluative criteria that were used in the conceptual frameworks.

4.4 Macro-level (environment-level) conceptual frameworks

The macro frameworks adapt ideas from Marsden (1998), who describes various dimensions that influence the rural development process, and also from Marsh and Smith (2000), who develop a dialectical model of policy networks. These ideas were adapted for the present study in Figures 4.2 and 4.3. The macro-level conceptual frameworks provide the widest view on social development, showing the external dynamics of the actors and policy networks. It also

indicates the dialectical relations among the actors, networks, policy outcomes, and external environment.

Figure 4.2 shows the dialectical relations among actors, structures, policy outcomes and external contexts, and it depicts the 'loop' within the later micro- and meso-level conceptual frameworks.

There are six important elements to Figure 4.2:

- The broad external contexts affect the network structure, actor's resources, and actor's learning processes. These influences directly affect the actor's interactions and the results of project enrolment.
- The skill that an actor has to utilize in bargaining is a product of their innate skill and the learning process through which they go (Marsh and Smith, 2000). This skill also influences how the actor utilizes resources in their social interfaces to achieve their interests or goals.
- Project enrolment represents the actors' interactions using their own resources and skills. The project enrolment process leads to the formation of a network structure, and also contributes to achieving policy outcomes.
- Changes of network structures are affected by external contexts through the different actors' positions and relations. The original network structure and the further changes also result in the policy outcomes.
- Policy outcomes reflect the interactions associated with both networks and actors. As new events, policy outcomes influence the external environment according to the different policy contents, and they also feed back to the actor's learning process, since then they experience this new knowledge.
- Almost all the relationships are interactive or dialectical, this being reflected in the arrows being two-way (Marsh and Smith 2000).

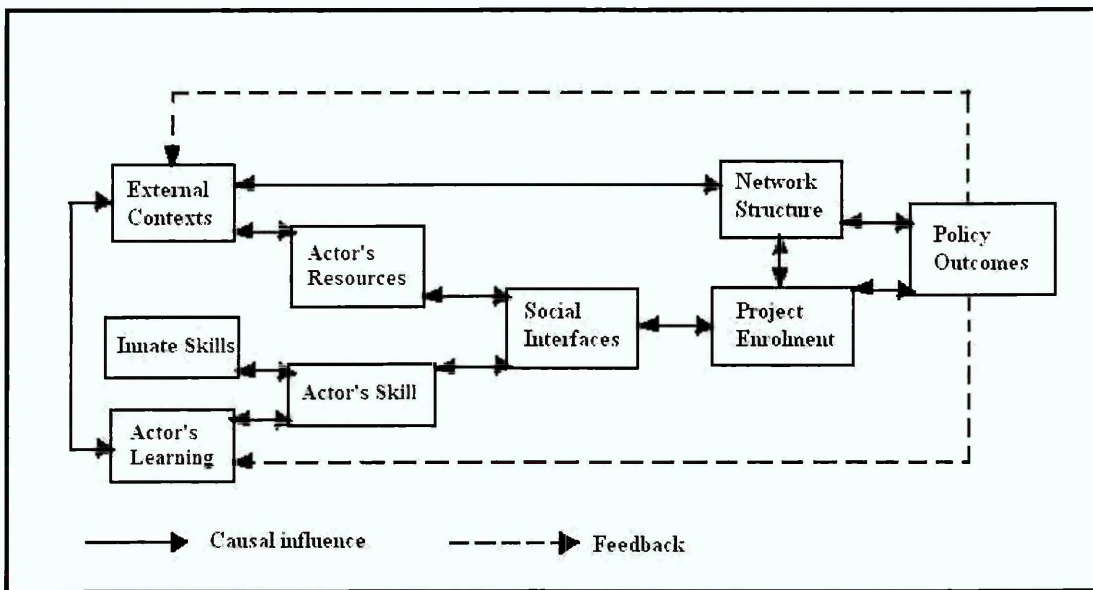


Figure 4.2: Actors, policy networks, policy outcomes, and external context: a dialectical approach (Adapted from Marsh and Smith, 2000).

The external context in Figure 4.2 needs some further elaboration, as shown in Figure 4.3. Figure 4.3 shows important issues within the external environment that influence policy actors and networks. It divides the external environment into four domains: the political domain, socio-cultural domain, economic domain, and environmental domain. External intervention in the political domain can involve changes in government policies, changes in the international political environment, changes in public administration, etc. The socio-cultural domain includes entry by new cultures, exchange and conflicts among cultures, changing social values, and trends due to globalisation. External economic changes may include market monopoly and autonomy, economic globalisation, changes in the currency rate, and entry into new markets. The environmental domain can include natural disasters, climate change, exploration of new nature resources or loss of resources, and so on. These aspects influence the actors and networks, and also each other, and thus social development is a social and ongoing process affected by both internal and external interventions.

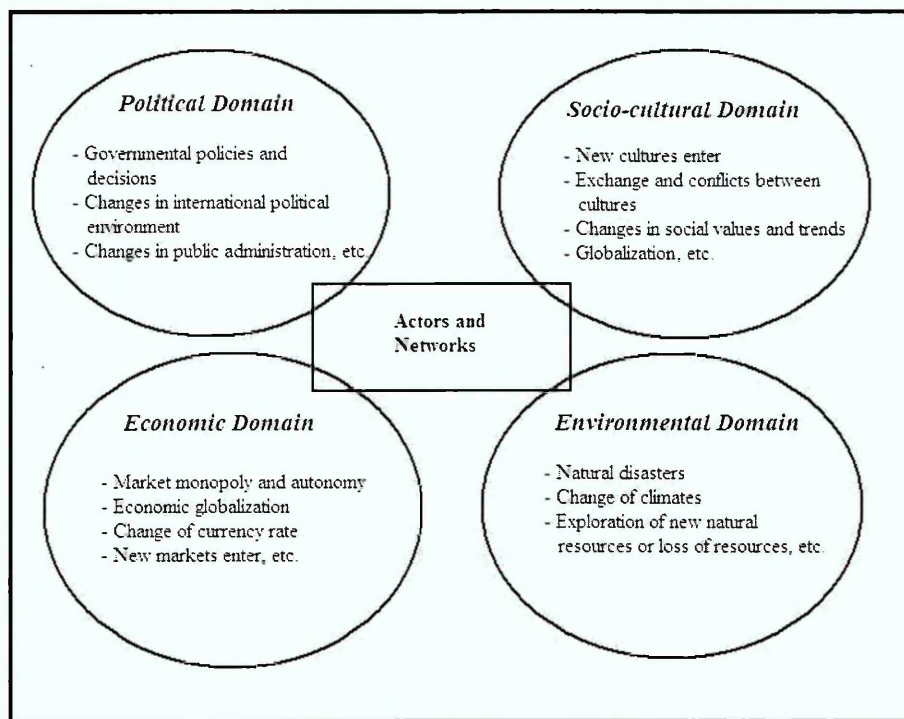


Figure 4.3: External contexts for actors and networks (Adapted from Marsden, 1998).

4.5 Micro-level (actor-level) conceptual frameworks

The micro-level framework focuses on actor interactions during decision-making processes. As Giddens (1991) emphasizes, actors have some knowledgeability, and they are autonomous individuals who have the competence to transform and reproduce the world through social agency (Blackshaw and Long, 1998). Knowledgeability is one cause of differentiations among social actors. Also shown in Figure 3.2, the actors cope with ongoing changes from external contexts, and this is one reason why the differentiations change all the time. The differentiations include the differences in actors' interests and resources. In order to achieve their goals, actors try to maximize their limited resources. Therefore, actors establish various 'projects', which are based on their particular interests, and they enrol other actors into these projects in order to secure resource exchanges and to achieve their goals. Long (2001) indicates that social development is strongly influenced through the process of 'project' formation and re-formation.

When different actors interact with each other in projects, then social interfaces occur between them. Social interfaces are considered to be the social discontinuities among social actors (Long, 2001) and also the arenas for actors to maximize their resources so as to reach their goals. In addition, social interfaces are where the results of resource exchanges among actors are decided.

Social interfaces are considered be a key element of the conceptual framework because it is in these interfaces that difficulties emerge among actors in their interactions, and it is here that actors may reach agreements or engage in conflicts. As Long (2001) suggests, social interfaces entail social situations where actors face the problems of devising ways of bridging, accommodating to, or struggling against each others' different social and cognitive worlds. Because interface situations are multiple and complex, they have to be analysed as dynamic and ongoing processes. Three key elements (discourses, knowledge frameworks and power configurations) help to explain these ongoing processes.

As already mentioned in this chapter, discourses, knowledge frameworks and power configurations are three key ideas for an actor-oriented approach. Discourses represent a set of meanings embodied in metaphors, representations, images, narratives and statements (Long, 2001:51). In their social interfaces actors use discourses and these reflect their resources and their understandings or knowledge of the project and of external changes. The discourses that actors use are related to broader knowledge frameworks. These broad knowledge frameworks are "the outcome of actors' ideas, beliefs and values", "localized in specific institutional domains and arenas, whether of global or local scope", and they vary with the changes in different social interfaces and external contexts (Long, 2001:242). Discourses and knowledge frameworks can delimit "the objects of concern, the preferred narratives for making sense of the issues, the actors and policymakers to be considered, and the agendas for action" (Stenson and Watt, 1999:190). The idea of knowledge frameworks can help us to understand the beliefs of actors under certain situations, and can indicate why certain decisions are made. The idea of power configurations explains how decisions are made about different projects. Power configurations relate to sets of social relations around power, with these being imbued with values, meanings and notions of authority and control, domination and subordination (Long, 2001:242). From an analysis of the power configurations relevant for different actors it is possible to understand the way in which power is performed by actors. Power is not simply possessed by actors, rather it is performed by them during their social interfaces. In sum, discourses, knowledge frameworks and power configurations are very important considerations for an actor oriented approach to society.

Figure 4.4 shows the project enrolment process and the related actor interactions. In short, there are three steps in this micro-level process: enrolment, social interfaces, and transformation of the new structure. As indicated in Chapter two, in an actor-oriented approach the analysis starts from the views and behaviour of individual actors and their interlocking projects, and these projects lead to actors experiencing social interfaces. Thus, it is important to look at how actors create projects and enrol other relevant actors. Normally, one actor establishes a project based on its own interests. As the 'actors' here are often 'collective actors', the projects therefore are often built on the 'collective interests' of institutions or of collectives of individuals. The actor who starts the project and manages the project enrolment process is considered to be the project leader. The actors are enrolled because of their interest in the resources controlled by the project leader or because of the considerable influence or power that is 'performed' by the project leader. They become connected to the project and around a common rationale or set of interests. In the tourism context, any policies or political decisions can be 'projects'. These projects can be launched by political or government leaders, government departments, or even private sector organizations.

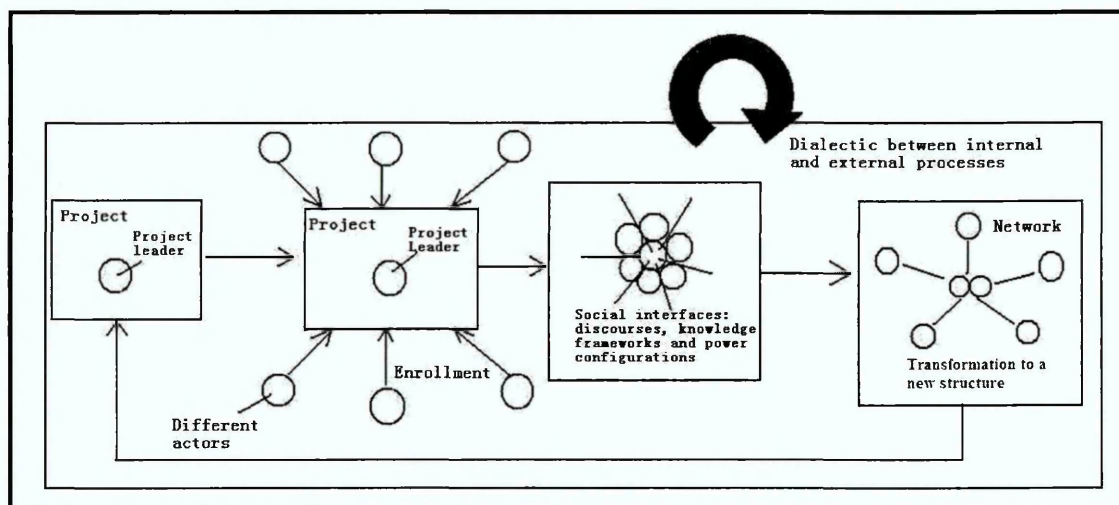


Figure 4.4: Social interfaces around project enrollment.

Starting a project and enrolling other actors in it is the first step within the micro-level conceptual frameworks. The second step, experiencing the social interfaces, is affected by the differentiation among actor's skills and resources. This second step is considered to be another important step in the conceptual framework and also in the application of the framework. As Bauman (1992) states, the agents are only partly, if at all, constrained in their pursuit of

whatever they have institutionalized as their purpose. This means that the actors are not passive objects, but actively utilize their skills and resources to increase their returns based on their interests. Their ambitions lead to conflicts, arguments, and disagreements, but also compromises. The social interfaces are where the actors apply their discourses, knowledge frameworks and power configurations to reach their goals. Discourses produces 'texts' – written and spoken, or even non-verbal, such as the meanings embodied in architectural styles (Long, 2001:242). Actors have the ability to use, manipulate and transform discourses. They represent different actors' interests and understandings of the specific issues. Discourses often form larger knowledge frameworks. The concept of knowledge frameworks helps us to understand the broad patterns of discourses that often underlie the actors' social actions. However, as discussed earlier, sharp distinctions between knowledge frameworks should be avoided because of their fluidity and because there are multiple realities. This fluidity should be considered in the application of the conceptual frameworks. The idea of power configurations helps us to understand how power is constructed during the processes of actor interactions. The study of power configuration helps to reveal how power among actors is the outcome of struggles over meanings and strategic relationships.

The third step is represented by the transformation of the network structure. In the specific tourism policy domain, the structure is a tourism policy network. The project leader and some actors will be located at the center of the project, if they all have considerable influence or power in relation to it, then they will have quite similar knowledge about it. The project leader may also be replaced if they have relatively less power than others within the project. In the context of policy networks, the actors at the center of the project act as the 'policy community'. The 'policy community' performs more power during the social interfaces, shapes the knowledge held within the network, and determines the development direction of the whole network. In addition, the 'policy community' usually has stable relationships, a highly restrictive membership, and it is often relatively insulated from other networks (Rhodes, 1999). The idea of the policy community is emphasized in Rhodes' policy network typology because it often presents the key power relationships in social development. It also helps in understanding who exercises most power, who is most influential to the final decision making, and how and why such decisions are made. The idea of a duality of agency and structure highlights how

actors interact with their wider social structures and external contexts. Thus, an overly rigid use of network classifications would make the study too determined by the structural constraints. This potential shortcoming with policy network analysis is avoided by this means.

The policy community involves government departmental heads and other important agencies and private sector organizations, which are the key decision makers. They have most involvement and demonstrate considerable power when they are involved in social interfaces with other actors. Other actors are relegated to the boundaries of the project where they have much less power and are 'weak voices' in the project, although it does not mean that the weakest voices can be neglected. They can have useful contacts with the outside world and can be responsible for absorbing or rejecting new resources and knowledge for the project. But they are usually the most easily influenced to leave the project.

In the final step of Figure 4.4, the 'policy community' acts as a sub-network within the wider project network. When a new policy community replaces the original project leader at the centre of the project, the project agency also changes, which means that the aims of the project may also change. The other actors outside the policy community might also reach their own goals through the actor interactions. The micro-level conceptual framework indicates that the actor interactions result in structural relations among different actors. However, such relations are also unstable structures. The network changes in relation to changes arising from external contexts and from internal actors' resources. This is represented by the loop in Figure 4.4: the relations between actors, networks, and the wider environment are always dialectical. The micro-level conceptual framework here embodies the application of the idea of the duality of agency and structure, which overcomes the potential criticism of policy networks that they are too 'structural'. Actors have agency, which is composed of a complex mix of social, cultural and material elements, and through this they shape their own and others' actions and interpretations (Long, 2001). This agency can be understood through the study of social interfaces and of the discourses, knowledge frameworks and power configurations at those interfaces. Agency can result in society, but meanwhile the structures are unstable and are huge influences back on the actors and their agency. The meso-level conceptual framework that follows helps to explain the changing world of network structures.

4.6 Meso-level (network-level) conceptual frameworks

Here the meso-level framework is also called the network-level framework because it is used mainly to explain the dynamics of policy networks. The micro-level frameworks focus on the interactions among actors and on how actors shape the networks. The meso-level conceptual framework, shown in Figure 4.5, examines the changes and developments in the network as a whole.

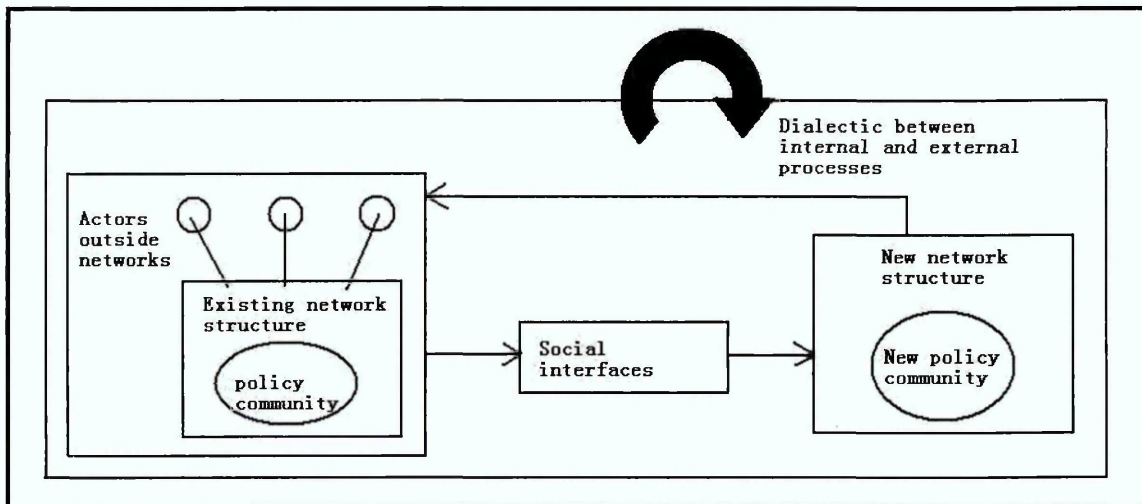


Figure 4.5: Social and knowledge interfaces around policy networks.

When the actors complete their project enrolment as shown in the micro-level conceptual framework, it appears that a relatively stable network structure results. But the structure is not stable because the actors and structures are influenced by ongoing changes, including those from the external contexts. In addition, new actors might also be enrolled. Therefore, the social interfaces evolve and change, with continuing consequences for actors' discourses, knowledge frameworks and power configurations. After experiencing ongoing social interfaces, the actors' relational structure might be changed, which might include the emergence of a new policy community.

4.7 Application of the conceptual frameworks and the detailed evaluative criteria

The conceptual frameworks outlined so far are applied throughout the study of Hangzhou's tourism policy actors and related networks. The application of the conceptual frameworks started from the macro-level framework because in practice the wider environment was easiest

to identify, and because the actors and networks have to operate within that external environment.

Table 4.1 Criteria to identify the gatekeepers or representatives of collectivities or organizations (Criteria A)

a. He/she is an elected official and recognized representative of the whole group.
b. He/she is the top management figure of the institution, with a mandate or legal powers over the resources.
c. He/she is the person who sets, distributes or organizes access to the resources.

Rules: The actor should meet at least one or more of the criteria.

A key early task for the study was to define the notion of actors and to identify actors of interest for the research. Actors can be individuals and also collectivities, such as organizations or agencies. Often collective groups or organizations have one gatekeeper or representative who represents their common interests within the policy network. This gatekeeper is often mandated to represent the collective interests, power, and knowledge for the whole organization, and in practice here the individual was taken as representing the whole organization. Table 4.1 shows the criteria used to identify the gatekeeper or representative of organizations in this study. Individual organizational representatives may meet any one or more of the criteria listed.

The policy community actors represent the key decision-makers for tourism policies, as they have ‘stable positions’ within tourism projects, as well as ‘vertical relationships’, and considerable authority or power within them (Rhodes, 1999). Although this varies between different tourism policies, the policy community actors usually are difficult to move out of that community. This is especially the case in developing countries, where centralization is often still dominant, with tourism policy-making largely determined by government agencies. This makes it less difficult to identify the most obvious actors in the tourism policy community.

But some actors in the tourism policy community may be less obvious, which makes it necessary to consider the wider network of relations between these and other actors. At the start of the research, the most obvious tourism policy community actors are likely to include actors

with legislation authority and actors with authority from tourism legislation and planning powers. For example, the tourism administration in a destination is highly likely to be an actor in the tourism policy community if it has authority to manage and plan the destination's tourism resources.

The second step is to identify other actors who are involved in the tourism policy networks. As these actors are linked to the actors already identified, their relations to those actors are used to identify them. A snowballing method was used to identify these actors, until the boundary actors were reached. Table 4.2 explains the criteria to identify the actors involved within the tourism policy network, and again an individual should fulfill at least one of the criteria. Table 4.3 provides the criteria to identify these actors at the policy network boundary.

Table 4.2 Criteria for defining actors in the tourism policy network (Criteria B)

a. Individuals or organizations that directly participate in the tourism policy-making process in the particular location.
b. Individuals or organizations that have been influenced by the tourism policy-making process in the particular location.
c. Individuals or organizations that have influence on the tourism policy-making process in the particular location.

Rules: The actor should meet at least one or more of the criteria.

Table 4.3 Criteria to define actors on the boundary of the tourism policy network (Criteria C)

a. Individuals or organizations that have participated rarely in the tourism policy-making processes, or have very weak voices in this participation.
b. They have not participated in the tourism policy-making processes, but they have been influenced by them.
c. Their interests are at least considered by the 'policy community' actors in the tourism policy-making processes.
d. Their interests are at least related to the interests of the 'policy community'.
e. They have only one or very few links with actors within the tourism policy network, and they have many links outside.

Rules: The actor should meet at least one or more of the criteria.

Based on the identified relationships among actors, and on the assumptions about the

characteristics of tourism policy community actors, it was then possible to identify the tourism ‘policy community’. Table 4.4 presents the criteria for defining the tourism ‘policy community’ actors. These actors are likely to represent the power center for tourism projects and for the key knowledge frameworks around the tourism policy-making processes. The criteria are based on the characteristics of policy communities identified by Rhodes (1999). Again actors who can meet at least one of the criteria are considered to be within the policy community.

Table 4.4 Criteria for defining actors in the tourism policy community (Criteria D)

a. Directly participates in all tourism policy-making processes.
b. Is the highest authority in approving tourism policies.
c. Possesses substantial resources necessary for leading in tourism policy-making processes.
d. Participates and has a strong voice in the final decision-making about tourism policies.
e. Its substantial position and importance are hard to change or difficult for other actors to influence.
f. It will not make compromises to actors outside the policy community.
g. It does not directly take part in the tourism policy-making processes, or only participates in some of them, but it can strongly intervene in any tourism policy-making processes.

Rules: The actor should meet at least one or more of the criteria.

The above criteria help to identify actors involved in the tourism policy network, the actors at the tourism policy network boundary, and the actors in the tourism policy community. Next, Figure 4.6 explains how the conceptual frameworks and the detailed evaluative criteria can be applied to destinations and to tourism projects.

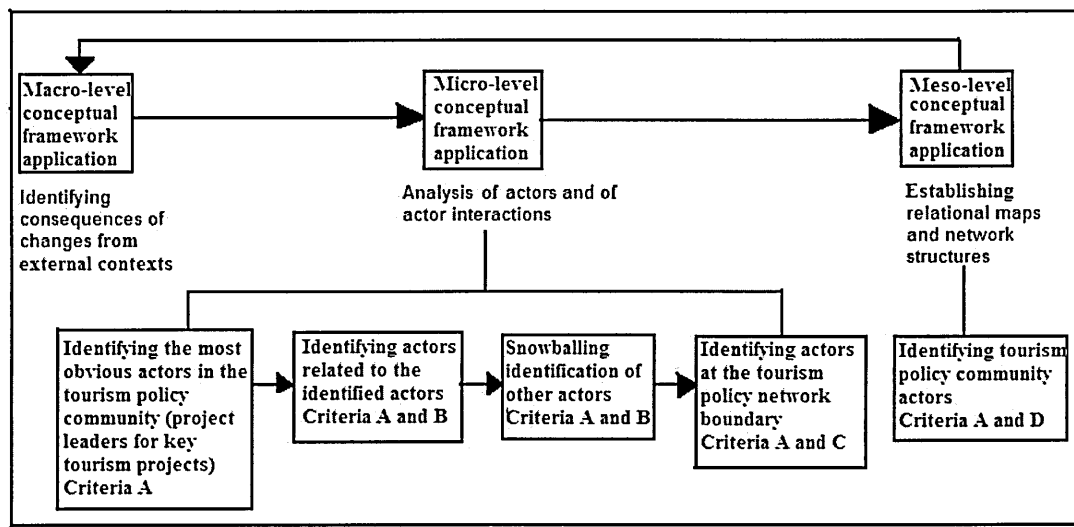


Figure 4.6: Application of the conceptual frameworks and detailed evaluative criteria

In the study the macro-level conceptual framework was applied first in order to identify relevant consequences of changes in the external environment, including changes in the political, socio-cultural, economic and environmental domains. Second, the micro-level conceptual framework was applied next in order to identify actors and to analyse the actor interactions. In order to apply the micro-level framework, actors in the tourism ‘policy community’ who were more obvious were identified. For example, the project leaders for the key tourism projects were identified. Based on the identified actors, a snowballing method was then applied to identify other actors with relations to the tourism policy-making processes. Then, using Criteria C, actors at the boundary of the tourism policy network were identified. After identifying all the actors, the study analysed the interactions between the actors, including their discourses, knowledge frameworks and power configurations. The meso-level conceptual framework was the third level or step that was applied. Based on the actors’ discourses, knowledge frameworks and power configurations, and also the processes of interaction, it was possible to evaluate the dynamics of the tourism policy networks. Criteria D was applied at that point to identify the tourism policy community as the most important group affecting the tourism policy networks. Finally, the study linked the meso-level networks back to the macro-environment to see the interactions between processes at the macro-, micro- and meso-scales.

4.8 Conclusion

The overall aims of this study are to develop these conceptual frameworks and to apply them to

tourism policy research. Tourism is a complicated industry that relates to varied actors from different backgrounds found in different special locations at different times. Policies for tourism development must take into account those characteristics. The actor-oriented approach combined with policy network theory that is advocated here may help to understand the processes of tourism policy development.

Table 4.5 summarizes the conceptual frameworks and their applications that have been outlined in this chapter. There are three levels to the conceptual frameworks: the micro-level, meso-level and macro-level. The practical application will start from the macro-level framework to evaluate the implications of changes in the external environments for actors and their structures. The micro-level framework is the second step that is applied here. When coping with external changes the varied actors react with different discourses, knowledge frameworks and power configurations. Finally, the meso-level conceptual framework helps to evaluate the dynamics around the network structure and actor relationships.

Table 4.5 An overview of key characteristics of the conceptual frameworks

Objective	To develop an analytical approach combining an actor-oriented approach and policy network theory and to apply it to policy making in the tourism industry. The approach is intended to analyse governance in tourism policy-making processes, including changes in the knowledge and power relationships among actors during the tourism policy-making processes.	
Main Features	Macro-level	To examine the external forces that may affect the interactions of actors in policy networks. These external forces work together with internal forces within social interfaces, leading to change in the tourism policy process.
	Micro-level	To identify the actors and to evaluate the processes of actor enrolment and social interfaces around tourism projects and to analyse the actors' discourses, knowledge frameworks and power configurations. These are key processes leading to the formation of network structures and the reaching of agreements.
	Meso-level	To reveal the relational structures among actors and the dynamics of tourism policy networks, including the centre of power and knowledge (the policy community), the boundary actors and other dynamics.

Application	The three level conceptual frameworks can be applied to examine tourism policy networks in a particular destination or for a specific tourism project (e.g. one tourism policy-making process).
Application criteria	The criteria to identify the representatives of collective actors, the tourism policy network actors, the policy community actors, and the actors at the boundary of policy networks.
Application process	The macro-level conceptual framework can be applied first, the micro-level conceptual framework second, and the meso-level conceptual framework last.

It is considered that, except for the tourism policy community, the other dynamics around policy networks are often not very stable and they often change significantly due to the changes in the actors and their social interfaces, and often due to changes in the external environment. Although the application here starts from the macro-, to the micro- and then to the meso-levels, in reality all three levels have dialectical relations with each other, and it is possible to break into these realities from any level.

The conceptual frameworks can be applied to particular destinations and to specific tourism projects, such as one tourism policy-making process. This chapter also explained the criteria used when applying these frameworks to the study. Criteria were suggested for identifying representative individuals for organizations or agencies, actors in tourism policy networks, actors at the boundary of tourism policy networks, and tourism ‘policy community’ actors. Based on the conceptual frameworks that have been outlined, the next chapter discusses the methodology that was used when applying the conceptual frameworks to the case of Hangzhou.

5.1 Introduction

This chapter reviews the methodology and techniques used in this research. While previous chapters indicated the theoretical basis and conceptual frameworks for the study, this chapter explains how these concepts and frameworks were put into practice. It identifies the methodology to understanding the tourism policy system in Hangzhou and the actor interactions within that system. The research design process starts with the philosophical considerations behind the research methodology. There is then an explanation of the specific research methods that were applied, and the reasons why they are suitable for this research. An account is also provided of how the methods were applied step by step.

This chapter also explains why Hangzhou was chosen as the case study. It also outlines the design process for the case study. Further, it describes the combination of collected data, including data from secondary documents, in-depth interviews, observation, and participant observation. Finally, the chapter explains the transcription of the in-depth interviews and the method of analysis used to interpret the patterns in this and the other data. The research methods were designed so as to obtain practical understandings based on applying the study's conceptual frameworks and theories. However, there were certain limitations to the chosen methodology and methods, and these are also evaluated.

5.2 Strategy behind the research design

5.2.1 Philosophical considerations

This section outlines the ontological, epistemological, and methodological philosophies that underpin this study. Ontology concerns one's view of the nature of reality and being (Ponterotto, 2005), while epistemology relates to ways of knowing and learning about the social world and it focuses on the basis of our knowledge (Snape and Spencer, 2003:13). Methodology, by contrast, concerns how to put the approaches to ontology and epistemology into practice.

Constructivism and critical realism are the two fundamental philosophical approaches adopted in this study. This research has developed the conceptual frameworks that combine both policy network theory and an actor-oriented approach, and a key theoretical objective is to establish the dialectical interactions between 'structure' and 'agency'. Critical realism is considered to be an appropriate ontological position from which to evaluate structural changes in the world. It is based on the idea that there exists an objectively knowable, independent reality, while it also acknowledges the roles of perception and cognition in understanding that reality (Archer, 1998:192). Thus, we learn about the structural changes in reality, and we interpret them into our knowledge. It suggests that the subjectively knowable and independent reality should be evaluated critically so as to uncover the structures which underpin societal change. On the other hand, constructivism is an epistemological position that can help us to understand 'agency'. It assumes that people have the ability to produce, reproduce, recognize, interpret and understand the world. The constructivist believes that meaning comes into existence only through the engagement of the knower with the world (Schwandt, 2001:220). The terms and forms by which we achieve an understanding of the world and ourselves are socially constructed and are the products of historically and culturally situated interchanges among people (Richardson, 1997:126). Thus, constructivism is based on the idea that reality is understood and interpreted through social actors' interactions.

Just like 'structure' and 'agency', critical realism and constructivism are not necessarily contradictory, but can be understood as in a dialectical relationship. Critical realism never collapses structure and agency, subject and object, conscious and the unconscious, rather it seeks to frame our explanations of structures as the product of the interactions of social actors (Archer, 1998). It suggests that structure only becomes meaningful when it is interpreted through actors' social actions. Critical realism helps us to understand that the structural properties we see are based on the relational developments of actors (Archer, 2000). In addition, structural changes can also lead to the changes in actors' relationships. Constructivism focuses more on the idea that social actors construct the structures and interpret the meanings of structures. It suggests that people develop concepts, models, and schemes to make sense of their experience and to continually test and modify these constructions in the light of new experience

(Schwandt, 1994:126). As Echtner (1999) suggests, actors are the creators of structures, and the 'reality' is defined from these structures through actors' interpretations. While there are tensions in combining critical realism with constructivism, they are not necessarily contradictory.

Cohen and Manion (1994) describe methodology as the process of selecting methods, throwing light on their strengths and limitations, clarifying their presuppositions and consequences, and relating their potentialities to develop new knowledge. It is different from method, as method is concerned only with a particular technique or developed routine for approaching a research question (Tribe, 2001). Methodology thus concerns how the various methods relate to the ontological and epistemological considerations. The methodology and methods used in the study are now explained.

5.2.2 The research design

Marshall and Rossman (2006) contend that research design should lay out a plan for the conduct of a study, providing the researcher with direction on how to put into practice the strategies, allowing the research to be operationalised and implemented. Generally, the steps involved in research design start from research inquiry, and they proceed sequentially through research strategy, research approaches, and research methods.

In this study the research inquiry focused on how actors reached agreements about tourism policies, how actors interacted within the policy process, and how actors interacted with their external environment. A key feature of the research strategy was the use of case studies. Robert Yin (1989) argues that a case study strategy is preferred when the inquirer seeks answers to how or why questions. And this study sought to evaluate how the social actors interacted during the tourism policy-making processes and the reasons of their interactions. In general, these are two different broad research approaches: qualitative and quantitative, with each having different research methods. This study used a qualitative research approach in order to capture the various actors' perspectives on tourism policy-making issues. Based on this case study strategy and qualitative research approach, the main research methods used were in-depth interviews, observation and analysis of secondary data.

5.2.3 The Case Study Strategy

According to Robson (1993), a case study is a research strategy which involves the empirical investigation of a particular contemporary phenomenon within its real life context using multiple sources of evidence. Case study research typically is employed to explore real life events over which the researcher has little control, and where the boundaries between the context and events are not readily evident (Yin, 1994:23). It consists of a detailed investigation, often with data collected over a period of time, of one or more organizations, or groups within organizations, with a view to providing an analysis of the context and processes involved in the phenomenon under study (Hartley, 1994:209). Stake (1995:39) states that from the use of case studies researchers can establish generalizations that hold in diverse situations. A case study strategy can thus be used to provide models, frameworks, or theories, which can then be extended to other cases in similar situations. The major aim of this research is to apply conceptual frameworks and to develop them for further applications in other places. Case studies can be particularly valuable because they generate rich subjective data.

Criteria are needed to select a suitable case study location, and those are shown in Table 5.1. First, the research sought to apply the conceptual frameworks in a developing country context in order to better understand tourism governance in less developed countries. Research on tourism governance is not very developed for developing countries. A second criterion was that the location should have begun to experience the decentralization of governance that is occurring in many developing countries. There is an increasing trend towards decentralized governance worldwide due to globalisation and to economic development that is less constrained by political boundaries. In addition, a key theoretical basis for the research is policy network theory, and this can be evaluated more fully when applied to decentralized governance.

A third criterion is that the case study should have experienced significant tourism development and should have relevant tourism policies. To evaluate tourism governance, it is necessary that the case study had a significant tourism industry and also had established tourism policy-making processes. The last criterion was that the destination should be easily accessible for the researcher to do the fieldwork.

Table 5.1 Criteria for selecting the case study location.

1. The destination should be in a developing country.
2. The destination should be in transition to decentralized governance in relation to political decision-making.
3. The destination should have a significant scale of tourism development and also relevant tourism policies.
4. The destination should be easily accessible for researcher.

Rule: The case study location should fulfil all the above requirements.

The city of Hangzhou in China was chosen as the case study location as it met these criteria. First, China is a developing country that in recent years has experienced dramatic economic development. A series of decentralization reforms have also been adopted in many cities of China, and Hangzhou, as a neighbouring city to Shanghai and a major international cultural and economic centre, has been a pioneer in these reforms. Compared to other Chinese cities, Hangzhou is considered to be at the vanguard of establishing decentralized governance, and thus it fulfils the second criteria.

Hangzhou is also widely recognized in China as a tourism city, with tourism receipts contributing more than 16.5% of the city's overall GDP in 2004 (Dong, 2004). Tourism has become increasingly significant in Hangzhou's overall city development (Xinhua News, 2006). Benefiting from the decentralization reforms, Hangzhou's city government has the authority to formulate local policies, including tourism policies. Hangzhou currently has eleven significant local tourism policies and there are many tourism-related standards and rules (Hangzhou Government, 2006a). Therefore, it fulfils the third criterion. And, in relation to the last criterion, the researcher has lived in the city for more than 20 years, and therefore she is familiar with the city's government and the changes in local society.

The study evaluated the overall tourism actors and policy networks in Hangzhou, but it was decided to concentrate on just one tourism policy within the destination in order to explore details of the actor interactions and structures related to it. Hangzhou's West Lake Protection Project (WLPP) was chosen for this more detailed work. There were several reasons for selecting this project. First, the WLPP is a recent government tourism project in Hangzhou, and there were data and documents available and various project staff who could be interviewed.

Because the project is recent it also allows for detailed analysis of the current Chinese macro-environment, including the decentralization reforms and the influence of communism, capitalism and traditional Confucianism. The second reason for selecting this project was because of its size. The WLPP is reputedly the biggest recent tourism project in Hangzhou (Yang, 2004). A very wide range of actors are involved in the project and there are many interactions among actors from both the public and private sectors. Finally, the project is government-led, which is typical of the tourism projects in Hangzhou.

5.2.4 Selection of a qualitative research approach

In this research, a qualitative research approach was used. Qualitative and quantitative research approaches have different perspectives on evaluating the same realities. For example, qualitative researchers do not take issues out of their surrounding environment, and they stress the socially constructed nature of reality (Denzin and Lincoln, 1994:8). Quantitative approaches, however, focus more on the relationships between variables and ‘the generalization of findings’ (Flick, 1998:3). While the qualitative approach looks into the rich descriptions of the social world, the quantitative approach tends to abstract from the world and not to consider how “the details interrupt the process of developing generalizations” (Denzin and Lincoln, 1994:10). Qualitative researchers try to understand the real world, including its rich details, while quantitative researchers tend to stress models and laws, and also to examine a rather simplified reality.

There were several reasons for selecting a qualitative approach to this research. First, the study evaluates tourism policy-making processes and it seeks to understand the underlying causes and processes. Flick (1998) and Denzin and Lincoln (1994) all state that the quantitative approach isolates the causes and effects, and that it does not have a focus on processes. The qualitative approach, however, implies an emphasis on processes and meanings. Second, the research applies an actor-oriented approach and policy network theory to the case study in order to evaluate actors’ social interactions and perspectives on tourism policy-making. The wider environment affecting tourism policy-making is also complicated by multiple variables. Quantitative research is criticized for excluding the observation of behaviour in everyday situations (Silverman, 2000:7) and for not coping well with multiple and interacting influences (Veal, 1997). However, the qualitative approach can get closer to the individual actor’s

perspective through detailed interviewing and observation (Becker, 1986). Third, this research used both critical realist and constructivist approaches. Based on both philosophical positions, it contends that social realities exist independently from actors, and that actors have the ability to construct their environment and to interpret the social realities. This relates best to a qualitative research approach, which can capture the actors' subjective perspectives. In sum, a qualitative research approach was used in this research because it captures the actors' perspectives, and the changes in social realities, and because it explains the rich meanings of social actions and social environments. Qualitative researchers commonly believe that this approach can provide a 'deeper' understanding of social phenomena than would be obtained from purely quantitative data (Silverman, 2000:8).

The research also uses both inductive and deductive approaches. Induction looks for patterns and associations derived from observations of the world (Snape and Spencer, 2003:23). In inductive research, the analysis of relevant observations about the phenomena under study leads to the construction of a theory that systematically links such observations in a meaningful way (Blaikie, 1993). The researcher collects all the relevant facts and then examines them to see what theory is suggested by this set of facts: that is, the theory emerges from the data (Wengraf, 2001). In contrast, deduction generates propositions and hypotheses theoretically through a logically derived process (Snape and Spencer, 2003:23). The present research develops a loose deductive framework based on relevant very generalized theory and then this was applied inductively to the case study. The conceptual framework was generalized and allowed for modification and adjustments based on the empirical, inductive work. The deductive framework allowed for a wide range of empirical circumstances, and it was from those circumstances that further theoretical interpretations were developed. The study thus began from a loose deductive position, but after that there was an interactive process linking theory and practice, and deduction and induction.

5.3 Research methods and data collection

5.3.1 Selection of the research methods

Table 5.2 explains five of the main research methods used in qualitative research: participant

observation, observation, document analysis, individual interviews and focus groups. The specific methods used in the study were selected based on these characteristics and the requirements of the research.

Several factors influenced the selection of methods from Table 5.2. For example, this study relates to government and policy issues, this being quite a sensitive theme in China. As discussed in the literature review, Chinese people are much influenced by Confucianism, which teaches people to “obey to the seniors, and also treat the government as real authority” (Mou, 2003:154). Poverty in the society and corruption in China’s government add to people’s dissatisfaction and estrangement from the government. Thus, Chinese people often keep away from government issues in their daily lives, and they may also prefer not to express critical views about government in order to avoid potential trouble.

Table 5.2 Five of the main qualitative research methods (Ritchie and Lewis, 2003:35-7; and Yates, 2004:133).

Categories	Methods	Definition	Application
Naturally Occurring Data	Participant Observation	Social researchers take part in the social activity under study, sometimes actually living as part of a specific community.	This not only allows phenomena to be studied as they arise, but it also offers the researcher the opportunity to gain additional insights through experiencing the phenomena for themselves.
	Observation	Social researchers observe the social phenomenon but do not take part in the social activity under study.	It is particularly useful when a study is concerned with investigating a ‘process’ involving several players, where an understanding of non-verbal communication may be important or where the behavioural consequences of events form a focal point of study.

	Document Analysis	It involves the study of existing documents, either to understand their substantive content or to illuminate deeper meanings that may be revealed by their style and coverage (e.g. media reports, government papers, and minutes of meetings).	It is useful where the history of events or experiences has relevance in studies.
Generated Data	Individual Interview	It is based on semi-structured or unstructured interactions with participants individually that explore issues in greater depth.	It is the most widely used method in qualitative research. It provides an opportunity for detailed investigation of people's personal perspectives.
	Focus Group	Social researchers conduct an interview/discussion focused upon a specific topic with a group of people.	Because group discussions allow participants to hear from others, they provide an opportunity for reflection and refinement, which can deepen respondents' insights into their own circumstances, attitudes or behaviour.

Therefore, using focus groups might well have discouraged the interviewees from speaking freely. Instead, individual face-to-face interviews were used as it was considered they would help the interviewees to feel more secure and this might encourage them to express their personal views and concerns much more openly. When individuals are interviewed face-to-face they may more easily discuss sensitive issues. In interviews the researcher at times can direct the interviewees to specific topics, so that they can obtain relevant data without too much wasted time and energy. The interview can also help the researcher to understand the specific point of view of interviewees and to appreciate their values, beliefs, fears and expectations. In order to encourage openness in the interviews, the researcher also provided interviews with an introduction letter emphasizing that the information given would only be used for the doctoral and academic research. The researcher also assured the interviewees that they would be anonymous in the findings if that was their wish.

Besides the interviews, numerous documents were also used in the research, such as government documents, newspapers, and minutes of meetings. In addition, field observation related to the results of the tourism policies and tourism developments in Hangzhou was also used. This took place over a long period of time and not just during the main fieldwork periods, due to the researcher having lived in Hangzhou for many years. The range of research methods used in the study allowed the researcher to examine issues based on several types of research methods, helping with method triangulation.

5.3.2 Data Collection

The case study strategy used in the study involved the use of varied research methods and types of data. As Pearce (2001:336) explains, the use of multiple data sources increases the range of material available for analysis and it facilitates the cross-checking of interpretations. The data collection instruments used in the study included both primary data (including interview transcripts and observation data) and secondary data. Table 4.3 shows the range of data used in the study, which allowed for data triangulation.

Table 5.3 Data and sources of data used in the research.

DATA		SOURCES OF DATA
Primary Data	Interview transcripts	Semi-structured, individual face-to-face and in-depth interviews.
	Observation data	Fieldwork photographs and personal experiences.
Secondary Data		Government documents, minutes of meetings, newspapers, and drafts of tourism plans.

5.3.2.1 Conduct of the interviews

Maintaining and generating conversations with people on a specific topic, and the interpretations which social researchers make of the resulting data, constitute the fundamentals of interviews and interviewing (May, 2001:120). Rubin and Rubin (1995) explain that every step of an interview brings out new information and opens up windows into the experiences of the people interviewed. Qualitative interviewing is a way of finding out what others feel and think about their worlds. It addresses people's knowledge of their human situation, including the

meanings, ambiguities, contradictions, and their inter-subjectivity (Kvale, 1996:57).

There are four main types of interviews: structured interviews, semi-structured interviews, unstructured interviews and group interviews (May, 2001:121). In this research, semi-structured, in-depth interviews were applied for several reasons. First, it is a relatively simple way of getting data about things that cannot simply be observed. It establishes links between the interviewees and the researcher, and it helps the researcher to understand the world of the interviewees, including gaining insights into their feelings and experiences. This is important in the research as the actors' feelings and interests help to explain their interactions with others and how and why they exchanged resources with others. Second, semi-structured interviews can encourage the interviewees to talk about issues in some depth and detail. Semi-structured interviews are always open-ended and the questions can change during the interview process and between different respondents. In such ways, the meanings behind an action may be revealed, as the interviewees are able to speak for themselves with little direction from the interviewer.

Third, the semi-structured interview can help to ensure that in a long interview the researcher keeps the discussion to relevant topics. The semi-structured interview approach used here had specified questions, but the interviewer was free to probe beyond the answers to follow up on interesting comments or to gain further insights on a topic (May, 2001:123). It fell between the free style of an unstructured interview, and the uniform, standardized format of the structured interview. Although the questions were open-ended, the focus of the interview process and the relevant themes were decided in advance by the researcher. The researcher largely controlled the focus of the conversation in order to get the required data. Last, the semi-structured interview allowed the respondents to explain their complex views and situations. In this research, the actor interactions around tourism policy-making processes involved complex motivations, activities and results. With the semi-structured interviews the researcher could more fully explore the views and interactions among actors. In addition, the researcher could also explore in more depth the inter-relationships among the actors through their own understandings. In this way, and in combination with information from other sources, the researcher was able to gain a better understanding of the complex tourism policy-making processes in Hangzhou.

5.3.2.2 Collection of the observation data

Observation constitutes a more ‘humanistic methodology’ (Jorgensen, 1989), and it entails the systematic noting and recording of events, behaviours, and artefacts in the social setting chosen for study (Marshall and Rossman, 2006:98). In this study, observation was chosen as one data collection approach relevant in particular to two issues. First, it was important to observe the current situation in Hangzhou, including the impacts of tourism development, people’s attitudes to tourism development, the socio-cultural environment, and the results of the West Lake Protection Project (such as water quality and the natural environment). Second, during the interview it was necessary to observe the interviewees’ body language and implied attitudes, as this might give clues about what they really thought about the issues. Marshall and Rossman (2006:99) argue that such clues mean it is vital to combine observation with in-depth interviews.

The researcher set the aims for the observation before going into the field, which related to observing the natural and socio-cultural environment in Hangzhou, the results of the West Lake Protection Project and sub-projects, and people’s body language during the interviews. Field notes were made during the fieldwork, including immediately after the interviews. The researcher also took photographs of the WLPP sub-projects in order to understand the current environment and the recent developments. These field notes and photographs were combined together with the interview transcripts and other data sources for the analysis.

5.3.2.3 Collection of secondary data

The main type of secondary data used in this research is documents. According to Yin (1994), it is necessary to pay considerable attention to the contextual conditions affecting the phenomenon being studied. Secondary data is useful because it can provide additional evidence or arguments, particularly about the wider context. In this study, the secondary data used included government documents, the minutes of meetings, newspapers and tourism plans. The government materials included summaries of the West Lake Protection Project, information about Hangzhou government and its government departments, materials about the government officials, details

about local regulations and standards, and documents about tourism projects and government decisions. The minutes of meetings mainly involved notes made during the many WLPP meetings, which showed the discussions among the varied actors and the agreements made in the project. The government documents and minutes of meetings were not easy to get. Many were made available due to two successful interviews with the Deputy Dean of the Hangzhou Tourism Committee and with the Office Head of the Scenery Management Office within the West Lake Scenic District Management Committee.

Three newspapers – the *Hangzhou Daily*, *Urban Express*, and *Daily Business* – from October 2000 to October 2006, were evaluated, particularly in relation to the WLPP. The '*Hangzhou Daily*' was important, as it is the public publication for all government decisions and policies. The '*Hangzhou Daily*' represents a window on the government as it publishes most government decisions and many reports on news within the government. Because this is the official newspaper for Hangzhou government, it reflects the 'official' view for public consumption. The '*Urban Express*' and '*Daily Business*' are two other popular local newspaper, and they provide different perspectives on government decisions, in part from the private sector and community perspectives. The '*Urban Express*' is the most read newspaper in the wider Hangzhou community, and the '*Daily Business*' provides insights into private sector opinions in the city. These three major newspapers helped to gain an understanding of government, community and private sector perspectives on tourism policies and policy making and on the city's government. Articles in other newspapers were also evaluated, such as the '*Youth Daily*' and '*Qianjiang Evening Newspaper*'.

Drafts of tourism plans were received from planning researchers, such as researchers from Zhejiang University Tourism Research Centre, which helped to explain the evolution of the content of tourism planning for the West Lake projects. The researcher was formerly a student in the Tourism School of Zhejiang University, which is the major consultancy unit for the Hangzhou government's tourism planning work. The researcher gained many draft plans from the university, such as the construction plan for the Leifeng Pagoda Rebuilding Project, the landscape plan for the Pagoda Project and the New Lakeside Project, and the tourism planning objectives for most of the WLPP sub-projects.

5.4 Interview design

5.4.1 Design of the interview questions

There were two stages to the fieldwork interviews. The first fieldwork was conducted from December 2004 to January 2005, and the second fieldwork period was in April 2006. Fifty-five questions are designed for the first set of interviews. These questions sought to understand the dynamics of Hangzhou's tourism policy networks, including actors' interactions around tourism policy-making and the West Lake Protection Project. The interview questions were divided into five broad themes. The first was background information on the actors, such as their positions and responsibilities. The second theme was the actors' working relationships with each other, including the snowballing technique that was used to identify the varied actors in the tourism policy networks. The third focus was on actor perspectives on the tourism policy-making processes in Hangzhou, while the actors' perspectives on the WLPP represented the fourth theme. The fifth theme concerned the actors' general views on tourism policies. These thematic areas were developed to meet the study's aims and objectives and to evaluate the use of the conceptual frameworks. The interview schedule itself is included in Appendix III, which also shows the thematic areas, the related questions, and the aims behind the questions.

The sequencing of the questions is shown in Figure 5.1. All the interviewees were asked Questions 1-10. Question 11 asked all the interviewees whether they were involved in tourism policy-making processes in Hangzhou. The interviewees who were involved then answered Questions 12-25. For the respondents who were not involved in the tourism policy-making processes, they answered Questions 26-34. At Question 35 the interviewees were again asked whether or not they were involved in the West Lake Protection Project. The respondents who were involved answered Questions 36-52. All interviewees were asked Questions 53-55.

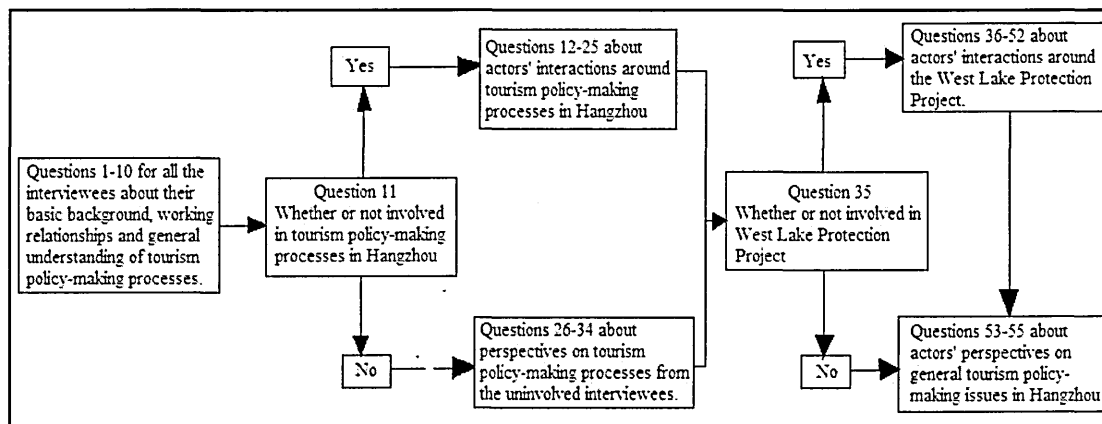


Figure 5.1: Sequencing of questions in the first set of interviews

After finishing the first fieldwork it was realized that the interviews did not examine some opinions and understandings in sufficient depth. Therefore, a second set of interviews were designed and applied during a later fieldwork stage in April 2006. The second interview had 63 questions, but many were only relevant for particular groups of actors. These interview questions focused on evaluating the extent of decentralization in Hangzhou and on the roles and interactions of upper-level government actors, tourism experts, industry actors, and the community in the WLPP sub-projects. Therefore, the thematic areas in the second set of interview questions were ‘decentralization to Hangzhou’, ‘decentralization within Hangzhou’, the ‘role of the private sector’, the ‘role of the community’, the ‘role of experts’, and ‘the three sub-projects’. The original interview schedule is included in Appendix IV, which also shows these thematic areas, their related questions, and the interviewees who were asked those specific questions.

The first fieldwork helped in this second set of interviews. It revealed, for example, the openness of the interviewees about sensitive issues, and it showed their level of knowledge about key issues. It was found, for example, that local people in the community found the questions about decentralization to be somewhat irrelevant because they knew very little about that issue or about the political reforms. Thus it was decided not to ask local community representatives about the decentralization issues. However, an exception was question 11 that asked interviewees whether they thought it was important to involve varied actors in tourism policy-making processes, and if individuals or organizations were likely to express any

complaints or suggestions they had about tourism policies in Hangzhou. This question included community people because it was felt it was not a difficult question for them. Second, it was also important to know what these community representatives thought about actor involvement in tourism policy-making processes.

In relation to the three sub-projects, it was decided only to ask the community representatives about the first and second sub-projects. There are several reasons for this. First, if they were included there would be too many interview questions for the government people, experts and industry people, since they also need to answer questions about decentralization. Second, it might bore interviewees to repeat the same themes for all three sub-projects. Third, the government people might not talk openly about the negative sides of these sub-projects as this may be politically too sensitive. The industry business people also might not know much about these sub-projects because they probably are not actively involved. And the experts had often worked on the design of these sub-projects, so they might not talk openly about their negative aspects. Last, all the interviewees in the first fieldwork have already been asked questions about all three sub-projects, and this ensured that opinions were not collected only from community people. Thus many of the conclusions about the first and second sub-projects were reached based on the first fieldwork interviews, with the second fieldwork allowing for further consideration of community views.

The Meijia Wu Tea Area Project was chosen as the key focus in the research. This project was chosen as it was the most recent project, it involved most interfaces and conflicts, and it also involved a wide range of actors. That conclusion was reached based on the interviews from the first fieldwork phase. Therefore, it was concluded that it was worth getting everyone's opinion on this project, whether positive or negative.

5.4.2 Selection of Interviewees

The interviewees for this research were selected through both purposive and snowball sampling. This combination was chosen because it ensured that individuals selected for interviewing would be those who were involved in, or else were very knowledgeable about, the tourism policy-making processes in Hangzhou and for the West Lake Protection Project. It also ensured

that they were representatives of actor groups relevant to the study.

Purposive sampling is based on the assumption that one wants to understand as much as possible, and thus the sample is selected deliberately in a way that most can be learned (Merriam, 1998:61). This is an accepted research procedure and it involves the researcher using judgment to select cases that fulfil a specific research objective (Babbie, 1998). The purposive sampling enabled the researcher to select interviewees who provided the information required to implement the snowball sampling, as discussed later in the chapter. The sampled actors were the 'information gatekeepers', and this met the objectives of the conceptual frameworks, as stated in Chapter 4. As indicated in Figure 4.6, after examining Hangzhou's macro environment, it was necessary to identify those actors who were most involved in the tourism policy-making processes, and they were then used to identify all other related actors. The actors who were most obviously central to the tourism policy community had diverse and important involvements in Hangzhou's tourism policy-making.

In the first fieldwork, Professor Zhou of Zhejiang University Tourism Research Center was the first 'gatekeeper' in the purposive sampling. He had considerable experience of participating in tourism policy-making and in consultancy work on Hangzhou's tourism projects, and he was the researcher's supervisor when she studied at Zhejiang University. After interviewing him, the researcher asked him to provide the names of others who worked closely with him in the city's tourism policy-making. Zhou not only provided names for the later snowballing process, but he also introduced the researcher to the Deputy Dean of Hangzhou Tourism Committee, who was his personal friend.

In fact, Deputy Dean Cui of Hangzhou's Tourism Committee was the most important 'gatekeeper' in the first fieldwork. He had worked in tourism planning and management in Hangzhou for more than ten years, and his knowledge and experience provided much useful insight on the city's tourism policy-making. Cui provided the names of ten organizations and individuals (8 government departments and 2 community members) who were key actors in the tourism policy-making. The researcher then interviewed eight representatives from these eight government departments: the Security Bureau, Construction Committee, City Planning Bureau,

West Lake Scenic District Management Committee, Transportation Bureau, Environment Bureau, City Management Office, and the city's Legislation Office. Cui also introduced the researcher to the Deputy Chairmen of the Security Bureau and Transportation Bureau, and he also arranged for the researcher to interview two community representatives who had joined some public open meetings about tourism policies. The snowballing then continued from these interviewees. As the organization responsible for Hangzhou's tourism administration, the Hangzhou Tourism Committee was considered to be the most obvious actor within the tourism 'policy community' (according to Criteria D Table 4.4 in Chapter 4).

Purposive sampling was also used to select the upper-level government actors. To evaluate the relations between national, regional and local level tourism administration in the first round of interviews, it was decided to select some interviewees from the National Tourism Administration (national level) and the Zhejiang Provincial Tourism Administration (regional level). The selected interviewees had to have some prior experience of tourism policy-making processes. The key department in the National Tourism Administration was the Legislation Department, which worked on all tourism policy-making issues. One of the researcher's seniors at Zhejiang University worked for the NTA's Planning Department, and she contacted him to interview him and to ask him to arrange an interview with a colleague in the Legislation Department. Both of these interviews were conducted in Beijing.

Another contact knew the chief officer of the Legislation Department of Zhejiang Provincial Tourism Administration, and he was interviewed. In China, it is difficult to gain access to such high level officials, such as Mayors or key politicians in the Congress. However, the researcher tried to find at least one interviewee from the local or regional Congresses because relations between the Congresses and government and the Congress system are key processes in China's policy decision-making. The researcher's mother used to work in Jinhua's Government, and she has good contacts with the Mayor of Jinhua City. Mayor Lou of Jinhua was also a key participant in Zhejiang's Provincial People's Congress (PPC), and he was also a representative of Zhejiang Province in the NPC. As Lou could provide information about the Congress system and policy decision-making processes, and he was connected with the researcher, he was chosen for an interview.

The first fieldwork, therefore, started the snowballing process from Zhou of Zhejiang University, to the Deputy Dean of Hangzhou Tourism Committee, two officials in the National Tourism Administration, one official from Zhejiang's Provincial Tourism Administration, and one official from Zhejiang's PPC. Thus, the snowball sampling began with a few people or cases in this way, and it then spread out on the basis of links from the initial cases (Neuman, 1997:207). Snowball sampling has been used successfully to identify stakeholders and actors in many previous studies. According to Rowley (1997), the application of a snowball technique for actor identification reduces the potential bias caused by researchers as the selection process is based on the perceptions of actors themselves.

All the interviewees in the resulting sample were asked for the names of people or organizations that they worked with in Hangzhou's tourism policy-making. Two snowballing questions were included in the first fieldwork, with one asking about actors in citywide tourism policy-making and the other question seeking to identify actors involved in tourism policy-making for the West Lake Protection Project. Based on names given by the interviewees, then purposive sampling again was used to decide on the organizations and individuals to be interviewed. The first criterion in this purposive sampling was accessibility, which means that the interviewees were not too difficult to access. Second, because the interviewees usually only mentioned the names of organizations that they worked with, and not the representatives in these organizations, the study applied Criteria A as explained in Chapter 4 (Table 4.1) to identify suitable interviewees. Third, the study chose organizations that were mentioned most often by the first round interviewees. Fourth, because it is difficult to define representatives in the community, it was decided to choose several community people from sub-project locations as representatives. Fifth, because the WLPP is only one of the city's overall tourism policies, the WLPP network is smaller than Hangzhou's tourism policy network. Thus, the purposive sampling sought to find interviewees who were involved in both the WLPP and also in Hangzhou's tourism policy-making processes. Finally, 37 interviewees were selected in the first fieldwork stage: 2 national government officials, 2 regional government officials, 18 local government officials, 3 experts, 9 private sector actors, and 3 community representatives. Table 5.4 shows these interviewees and their organizations in the first fieldwork.

Table 5.4 Interviewees in the first fieldwork.

Interviewees with their Positions and Organizations
National government officials (2)
1. Senior officer in Department of Finance and Planning, National Tourism Administration
2. Senior officer in Department of Law and Regulation, National Tourism Administration
Regional government officials (2)
3. Deputy Chairman of Congress Standing Committee in Zhejiang PPC
4. Head of Law and Regulation Department, Zhejiang Provincial Tourism Administration
Local government officials (18)
5. Head of Hangzhou Legislation Office, Hangzhou Government
6. Deputy Chairman of Hangzhou Tourism Committee
7. Head of Tourism Policy and Planning Department in Hangzhou Tourism Committee
8. Senior engineer in Hangzhou Tourism Committee
9. Head of Scenery Management Department, West Lake Scenery District Management Committee
10. Deputy Chairman of Hangzhou Construction Committee
11. Deputy Director of Hangzhou City Planning Bureau
12. Office Head of Planning Office, Hangzhou Environment Protection Bureau
13. Director of West Lake EXPO Office (World Leisure EXPO Office)
14. Former Chairman of Hangzhou Development and Reform Committee
15. Head of Cultural Planning Office, Hangzhou Culture Bureau
16. Deputy Director of Hangzhou Transportation Bureau
17. Head of Planning and Legislation Office, Hangzhou Finance Bureau
18. Deputy Director of Hangzhou Security Bureau
19. Head of Hangzhou City Management Office
20. Deputy Director of Hangzhou Land Use Management Bureau
21. Deputy Director of Hangzhou Forestry and Water Conservancy Bureau
22. Director of Tourism Business Department, Hangzhou Xihu District Government
Tourism experts (3)
23. Professor in Zhejiang University Tourism Research Centre
24. Professor in Tourism Research Centre of Hangzhou College of Education
25. Tourism Researcher from Chinese Academy of Social Science
Private sector actors (9)
26. Manager of Hangzhou Happiness Theme Park, from Hangzhou Song Dynasty Group
27. Operational Manager in World Trade Centre (hotel group)
28. Deputy Chairman of Hangzhou Tourism Association
29. Journalist in Hangzhou Daily Newspaper
30. Project Manager in Hangzhou Nandu Real Estate Group
31. Civil Engineer of Hangzhou Town and Country Construction and Planning Committee
32. Landscape Architect from Zhejiang Nanfang Architecture Company
33. Project Manager from Hangzhou Zhongzou Construction Company
34. Tea house manager on the previous Hubin Street

Community representatives (3)
35. Community person 1: the person previously worked at Hubin Street Community Committee
36. Community person 2: Villager in Meijia Wu Village
37. Community person 3: Dean of Meijia Wu villager committee

Interviewees in the second fieldwork stage were also identified using purposive sampling. The main aim of the second fieldwork phase was to evaluate further the actors' interactions around the West Lake Protection Project and their views about this. It was also intended to cover areas not covered in the first fieldwork. Therefore, it was decided to interview again some of the key interviewees from the first fieldwork. Choosing the same interviewees in the two fieldwork stages also helped to get feedback from the interviewees about findings from the first fieldwork. These people were chosen because they were accessible, their interactions identified in the first fieldwork were particularly useful, and all of them were involved in tourism policy-making in Hangzhou and in the West Lake Protection Project. The sample in this second phase involved six government officials, three tourism-related experts, three tourism-related industry people and ten community people. Five of the community representatives were from the Meijia Wu tea village area, because this formed the main case study among the three sub-projects. Three of them were from the communities around Leifeng Pagoda, and two were from the Lakeside project area. Three of the ten had previously been interviewed in the first fieldwork. To identify the other seven, the researcher first interviewed three people who were active in the community committees in each of the three sub-project areas. These three people then introduced other people in the community who were willing to be interviewed. Thus once again small-scale snowballing was used to find other suitable community interviewees. Table 5.5 lists interviewees in the second fieldwork.

Table 5.5 Interviewees in the second fieldwork.

Interviewees with their positions and organizations in the second fieldwork
Local government officials (6)
1. Deputy Chairman of Hangzhou Tourism Committee
2. Senior engineer in Hangzhou Tourism Committee
3. Head of Scenery Management Department, West Lake Scenery District Management Committee
4. Deputy Chairman of Hangzhou Construction Committee
5. Office Head of Planning Office, Hangzhou Environment Protection Bureau

6. Head of Hangzhou Legislation Office, Hangzhou Government
Tourism experts (3)
7. Professor of Tourism Research Centre of Peking University
8. Professor in Zhejiang University Tourism Research Centre
9. Researcher in Zhejiang University Tourism Research Centre
Private sector actors (3)
10. Deputy Chairman of Hangzhou Tourism Association
11. Operational Manager in World Trade Centre (hotel group)
12. Landscape Architect from Zhejiang Nanfang Architecture Company
Community representatives (10)
13. Hubin area community person 1
14. Hubin area community person 2
15. Leifeng Pagoda area community person 1
16. Leifeng Pagoda area community person 2
17. Leifeng Pagoda area community person 3
18. Meijia Wu Tea Villager 1
19. Meijia Wu Tea Villager 2
20. Meijia Wu Tea Villager 3
21. Meijia Wu Tea Villager 4
22. Meijia Wu Tea Villager 5

5.4.3 Design of the interview

Preparation for designing the interviews included reviews of relevant literature on policy network theory, actor perspectives in social science research, cooperation and collaboration in planning, and tourism planning. Secondary data were also examined concerning public administration and tourism development in Hangzhou and China more generally, including relevant newspapers, government documents, and land use plans. This preparation was carried out intensively during the first year of the research, and it was vital for the design of the study's conceptual frameworks. These reviews enabled the researcher to have awareness of the theoretical issues and of the current situation in Hangzhou.

Every interviewee involved in the study was shown a carefully prepared introductory letter, which explained the purpose of the study, the researcher's academic affiliations, the nature of the information being sought, and the use that would be made of the information. It gave assurances that all information would remain confidential and would be used exclusively for research purposes. This letter was written in both English and Chinese, signed by the research Director of Studies, and it had the official university stamp. In Chinese culture an official stamp

is a key symbol of formal authority, and thus it was important for assisting in the research.

The interview questions were designed in English and they were subsequently translated into Chinese for the actual interviews. Pilots were conducted prior to the interviews in order to assess whether the translated questions retained their original intended meaning, and also to ensure the interview could be completed in a reasonable length of time without causing respondent fatigue. The pilots were undertaken with the first two interviewees: Professor Zhou from Zhejiang University and Mr. Cui from the Hangzhou Tourism Committee. It was hoped that Professor Zhou would point out any inappropriateness in the interview questions and would have constructive suggestions, as previously he was the researcher's undergraduate supervisor, he has much experience of tourism research in Hangzhou, and he is familiar with the city's political situation.

In practice, very few questions needed any correction based on the pilots. The translation was also found to be appropriate. The only significant problem related to the last three interview questions that asked respondents about their general views on tourism policy. Both interviewees considered these three questions were not relevant to the study and also were difficult to answer. They also thought that very few people would know about potential new tourism policy issues that could affect Hangzhou in the near future. As a consequence, these three questions were not retained. The length of the interview then and subsequently was between one hour to one and a half hours in duration.

All interviewees who were identified in the purposive sampling were found to be prepared to do the interviews. In the first fieldwork stage, the researcher obtained contact numbers for 20 of the 37 interviewees through the snowballing process. During the interviews, the interviewees usually mentioned the names of the organizations not the persons that they contacted. In order to complete the snowballing process, the researcher would ask the interviewees whether they could provide any names of the people that they contacted and also their contact numbers. These contact numbers usually were mobile phone numbers to reach the person directly. The other 17 interviewees in the first fieldwork stage were identified through contacts by their office phone number, email or by going directly to their offices. During the process of identifying

interviewees, two people refused to be interviewed: one was an official in the Legislative Office in the National Tourism Administration; and the other was Chairman of the West Lake Scenic District Management Committee. A colleague of the NTA official in the Legislative Office was contacted and interviewed instead because they had two people working in the same position. The Office Head of the Scenery Management Department within WLMC was interviewed as the representative of WLMC, instead of the Chairman. It was a pity that the Chairman could not be interviewed, as he was probably the best representative for the organization. But it only caused a small bias in the sample because the Office Head of the Scenery Management Department was the person who accompanied the Chairman at all the WLPP meetings. In the second fieldwork stage, most of the interviewees were existing interviewees in the first fieldwork phase, while the contact information for the others was acquired from the existing interviewees.

Appointments were made that suited each respondent in terms of time and location, and this helped to reduce interruptions or inconvenience, leading to an early termination of the interview. The interviews were all conducted in the interviewees' office, except for the community respondents. When the researcher contacted them by phone, it was stated that the interview was about tourism planning issues. Tourism policy itself was not mentioned in the early stages of making contact because the word 'policy' can be quite sensitive in China for interviews. However, when the researcher met the interviewees she explained the interview questions in more detail, and it was explained that some of them did relate to tourism policy-making processes, but that they would not be highly sensitive or highly political in character. It was also explained how the research was primarily intended to understand their interactions during the policy making processes. The researcher also stated that the interview data would only be used for research purposes and that the information would not be published elsewhere.

Respondents were asked whether they would mind the interviews being tape-recording. Only two interviewees from the national government said they would prefer not to be tape recorded, and for these two respondents written notes were taken instead. It was also stated that the interviewees' names would not be used if they requested that. Prior to commencing the interviews the researcher also thanked the respondents for their cooperation and informed them that they could finish the interview early if they so wished. After the interviews, all the materials

were transcribed and translated from Chinese to English for further analysis.

5.5 Ethical considerations

Ethical considerations were involved throughout the study, from the fieldwork preparation to final writing. Personal interactions in the interviews affected the interviewee, and the knowledge produced from the interviews affected the researcher's understanding of the human situations (Kvale, 1996:109). The study's ethical concerns involved five aspects. First, the interview questions were carefully designed and translated, with great care taken with the possible consequences for the study. Related to this, the introduction letters were prepared carefully to provide interviewees with clearly stated information about the position of the researcher and the confidentiality of the data.

The second ethical consideration related to the process of doing the pilots. The pilots helped to ensure that the interview questions did not include any elements to offend the interviewees or any inappropriate questions. It was hoped that any such issues had been addressed before the questions were presented to the interviewees. The third issue related to the beginning of each interview, when the researcher clearly stated the study's main aims and the content of the interview. However, the researcher did carefully use the word 'tourism planning' as the focus of the interview, instead of 'tourism policy' because the word 'policy' is quite sensitive in China. Subsequently, they were told that the interview covered certain aspects of policy, which is important in order to gain proper 'informed consent' (Kvale, 1996:112). In addition, before the interview, the interviewees were told that the information they provided would be confidential and used only for research purposes. This was to assure them about confidentiality. The fourth consideration concerned the role of the researcher. It is suggested that researchers need to have two attributes: sensitivity to identify an ethical issue, and responsibility in order to feel committed to acting appropriately in regard to such issues (Eisner and Peshkin, 1990:244). Great attention was paid to remaining faithful to these two attributes during this research. The fifth ethical issue involved ensuring that ethical considerations were attended to throughout the whole research process, including during the data transcription and analysis, and during the writing up.

5.6 Data transcription and analysis

5.6.1 Data recording procedures

Table 5.6 summarizes the procedures used for recording data prior to the data analysis, including for the interviews, the field observation, and the secondary sources. It shows how the researcher dealt with these three types of data.

Table 5.6 Data Recording Procedures.

Data Sources	Description of Protocol Used
Interviews	<ol style="list-style-type: none">1. The interviews were recorded on an Mp3 recorder and then transferred to a computer.2. Each entire interview was then transcribed manually into English.3. The manually transcribed interview themes were coded using N-Vivo software.
Observation	<ol style="list-style-type: none">1. Relevant photographs were collected and stored on a computer by themes.2. The fieldwork notes were organized in chronological sequence.
Secondary data	<ol style="list-style-type: none">1. The documents were read and notes were made based on each reading.2. The notes were organized under themes based on issues relevant to the study.3. The documents were stored and organized in a chronological filing system.

5.6.2 Strategy for the data analysis

According to Creswell (2003:190), making sense of data involves preparing the text for analysis, conducting different types of analysis, moving deeper into understanding the data, representing the data, and making interpretations of the larger meanings and significance of the data. It is important to decide on a suitable strategy for data analysis for the study so that a deep understanding can be secured. This study adopts a constructivist stance but at the same time a series of conceptual frameworks were applied to help with the data analysis. This research adapted a framework for analysis proposed by Ritchie and Spencer (1994), coupled with the development of a coding map that was analysed using N-Vivo software for qualitative analysis.

There are five steps within Ritchie and Spencer's framework for analysis. First, the researcher became familiar with the range and diversity of the data in order to get an overview of the data and the key themes. Secondly, the researcher established a thematic framework of issues and

concepts based on the responses and varied information from different sources. These key issues and concepts were then organized in a structured and thematic way within a thematic framework, this being the third step of charting. The fourth step consisted of mapping and interpreting these data, and connecting these data with the broader data set. The final step involved refining and improving the original framework according to the analysis.

The thematic index used in the second step of the framework analysis provided the main interpretative tool to organize and conceptualise the findings, and it related the themes, issues, and concepts to the study's conceptual frameworks. It not only considered the basic concepts and theories, but also considered the recurrence and patterning of respondents' views and also emergent issues arising from these views. The thematic index was derived in an inductive manner, with categories developed empirically based on the views of the respondents, but it was also affected by the initial more deductive frameworks developed for the study. Appendix V presents the thematic codes together with detailed explanations of each code. These codes only involved one or two words in order to be convenient for application with the N-Vivo software. N-Vivo software was only used for analysing the transcripts from the first fieldwork, which have more varied and complicated themes than in the second fieldwork. The interview transcripts for the second fieldwork were transcribed manually for two reasons. First, there were only 22 interviewees; and, second, there were only six focused themes (decentralization to Hangzhou, decentralization within Hangzhou, role of private sector, role of the community, role of tourism experts, and details about the three sub-projects). Manual transcription was also considered enough for the second fieldwork phase as the researcher by that time had become very familiar with the emerging themes and with the process of data analysis.

5.6.3 Use of the N-Vivo software

N-Vivo is designed to assist with the qualitative analysis of data. It stores data in rich text documents and it allows the researcher to edit them as the themes and interpretations change, and it allows the researcher to connect files and data together (Bazeley and Richards, 2000:5). This software helps to establish a map for the various themes and issues in a data set. It enables the researcher to connect these different issues very easily, in this case through the use of a thematic index developed by the researcher. The classifications and categories derived from the

data are very clear in the N-Vivo mapping system. The unstructured qualitative data therefore becomes organized using this software into a more conceptual format. This software, used in conjunction with framework analysis, helped the researcher to analyse the data, test her initial propositions, and refine the study's conceptual frameworks.

5.6.4 Triangulation

A strategy of triangulation was used to increase the likely trustworthiness of the interpretations emerging in this study. The types of triangulation used here combined multiple theories, methods and data sources to add analytical rigor and depth. The use of a triangulated approach is seen as a major strength of case study research as it can help to build a methodologically more robust study (Merriam, 1998). According to Decrop (1999:158), one form of triangulation involves looking at the same phenomenon or research question using more than one source of data. A range of types of information was therefore sought in this study in order to see issues from different angles and in order to limit personal and methodological biases. Oppermann (2000) explains that the importance of triangulation is that it assists with the verification of results, it helps with identifying and eliminating methodological shortcomings and also data or investigator bias. He also advocates the use of at least three different types of data. Therefore, this study conducted two stages of face-to-face interviews, and it integrated these with the use of secondary data and field observation in the case study area.

5.6.5 Presentation of findings

Knowledge is socially constructed, and in their interpretations of experiential and contextual accounts, researchers assist in the construction of knowledge (Stake, 1995). Therefore, the presentation of findings should be undertaken with great caution and care. Tappan (2001) suggests that the researcher should be cognizant of the power they hold in shaping our understanding of others' lived experiences. Considering the critical reflexivity of research, the presentation of findings should be based on the interplay of abundant theories and varied data, and it should constantly strive to avoid bias from the researcher's personal side. This is one reason why some direct quotes from the interviewees were used when reporting the study findings, and the analysis was based, for example, on these direct quotes and also relevant theoretical frameworks. As Neuman (1997:333) explains, a qualitative researcher spins a web of

interlocking details, providing sufficient texture and detail so that readers feel that they have an in-depth understanding. In this study a great deal of detailed evidence is provided in the results in order to increase the reader's confidence in the interpretations. The researcher also should be reflexive and self-critical, and should avoid pre-determining the results based on pre-conceived ideas.

5.7 Some methodological limitations of the research

Although the study followed well-established procedures for research design, it is acknowledged that there are still threats to the trustworthiness of the data and its interpretation. Maxwell (1996) states that one important threat for qualitative research based on interviews is that they are influenced by the researcher's own interpretation of meanings, so that the perspectives and meanings of the respondents are lost. To reduce this threat, the researcher tried always to reflect critically on her own role in this research process, which was to understand actors and the tourism policy-making processes in Hangzhou, without adding too many personal feelings and opinions. Secondly, some interviewees may have misunderstood the interview questions, and thus the researcher may have made some judgments that were inappropriate. To reduce this threat, the researcher tried to assess her own approaches and interpretations before conducting the interviews. The third threat concerns the purposive sampling. The selection of suitable actors in the limited time available to the researcher involved listening to interviewees' recommendations. For example, the representatives of local community groups were introduced by other interviewees. This might have been a threat to the validity of the data because such choices could have been influenced by the personal perspectives of the respondents. This threat and the others were considered before the fieldwork, and thus triangulation, care around the ethical issues, and carefully designed criteria were all applied in an attempt to limit the influence of these threats.

5.8 Conclusion

This chapter has reviewed the methodology used in the research. The study is founded within a critical realist stand and an interpretative, social constructivist paradigm. The approach adopted is premised on the idea that social reality exists outside our thoughts, but that it is understood and interpreted through the participants' interactions. This philosophical consideration

underpinned the research strategy and selection of research methods. It explains the use of a qualitative methodology, including the use of a case study strategy, in-depth interviews, secondary data, and field observation. The chapter also explained how the specific research methods were applied to the case study. In-depth interviews were the main method used in the case study strategy, and the chapter focused on the interview processes and how the interview data were collected and analysed. This included an account of the snowballing technique and of purposive sampling. There was also an explanation of the data analysis based on a framework analysis approach and the construction of a thematic index. The chapter clarified the design of the thematic index and its application using N-Vivo software. In addition, the chapter also discussed broad considerations used through the study, including attention to ethical issues and to data and method triangulation.

6.1 Introduction

While based on the discussion of China's external context in Chapter 3, this chapter focuses on the Hangzhou case study. It evaluates the macro-environment of Hangzhou, including its geographical, economic, socio-cultural, political, and tourism development contexts and the background to the West Lake Protection Project. It seeks to apply the macro-level conceptual framework to the case study, and to provide essential background for the reader to understand the later application of the conceptual frameworks to Hangzhou and the West Lake Protection Project. China has experienced dramatic changes in its economy and politics in recent years and there continues to be a very rapid pace of development. Decentralized governance has gradually gained importance in some Chinese cities, although it is limited by the influences of traditional Chinese philosophy and a long history of centralization. Hangzhou is one city where it is significant.

There are several reasons for choosing Hangzhou as the case study to evaluate the application of the study's conceptual frameworks. First, Hangzhou can be viewed as at the vanguard of political decentralization in China, and thus it is suitable to study new forms of tourism policy networks. Chapters 1, 2 and 3 explained that the decentralized governance in Hangzhou benefited from decisions of the third generation leader, Jiang Zemin, and the 'Shanghai Gang' in his regime. The 'Shanghai Gang' tried to develop Shanghai as their political base, so the national government gave more political freedom to cities surrounding Shanghai in order to boost the area's economic development. Thus, Hangzhou, as the neighbouring city of Shanghai, benefited from decentralization reforms and it was affected by Shanghai's rapid economic and political development. From then on Hangzhou's local government received more authority from upper-level government, and the range of participants in tourism policy-making processes increased.

Second, compared to other cities in China, Hangzhou is a leading city in tourism planning and

development. Thus, it provides many opportunities to implement and evaluate the conceptual frameworks in relation to tourism policy-making. Third, as mentioned in Chapter 2, Chinese philosophy is influenced by Confucianism, Western capitalism and Chinese communism, so Hangzhou is an interesting case study as it is influenced by these complex philosophies and attempts to combine them. Hangzhou is a famous ancient capital of China, with thousands of years of history and cultural development, and traditional Confucianism is influential in the city. Hangzhou's rapid recent economic development and political decentralization opened the door to international markets, and so the city has also been influenced hugely by Western culture and philosophies. At the same time, Hangzhou's development is profoundly affected by communism. Thus, Hangzhou's actors involved in tourism policymaking are influenced in interacting ways by these three very different philosophies.

After evaluating Hangzhou's external context, the chapter discusses the background to the West Lake Protection Project, which was selected as a more detailed case study in the city. It was chosen because it is the most recent and important government-led local tourism project in recent years. This chapter highlights the aims and objectives of this project, and it introduces the background to three major sub-projects that were selected for the more detailed evaluation. Figure 6.1 shows the location of Hangzhou within China, and the locations of the three West Lake Protection Project sub-projects within Hangzhou.

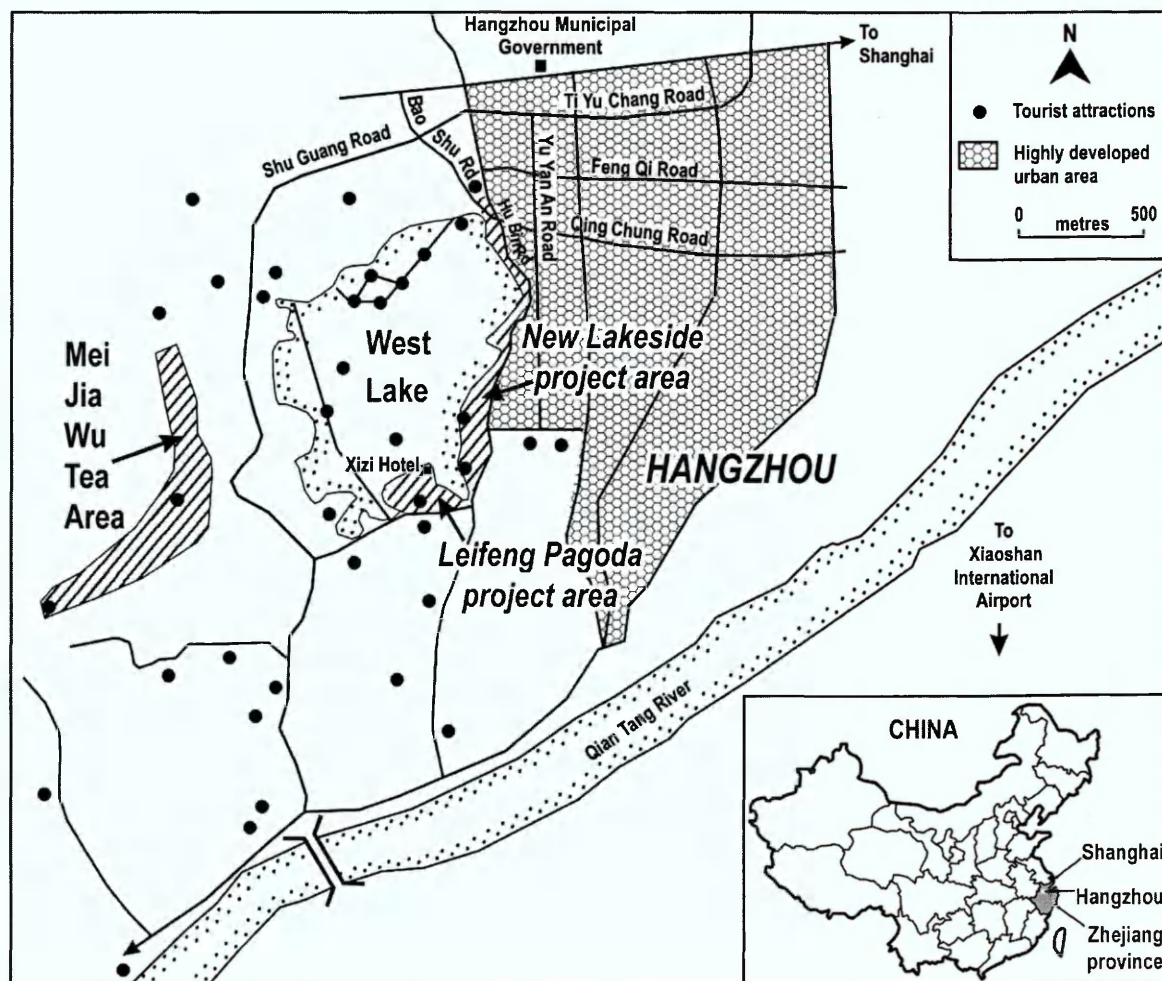


Figure 6.1: Map of Hangzhou and the West Lake Protection Project.

6.2 Development of the city of Hangzhou

6.2.1 Hangzhou's geographical environment

Hangzhou is located on China's south eastern coast, being bounded to the northwest and southwest by hills and to the northeast and southeast by the Zhebei Plain (Travel China Guide, 2000). It is capital of Zhejiang Province, and in China and increasingly elsewhere it is a well-known tourist city. The wider city's population is 6.16 million, with 1.75 million people in the city itself. The wider area of Hangzhou is 16,596 square kilometres, and it is inhabited mostly by the majority Han ethnic group, with only a few minority ethnic groups living in the urban area.

6.2.2 Hangzhou's tourism development

Tourism is an important industry in Hangzhou. Hangzhou became well known as a popular tourist destination during the Qing dynasty (1644-1911), when it was much frequented by such

notables as the Emperors Kangxi and Qianlong, who built a palace and important library here (Imperial Tours, 2004). The famous Chinese leader, Mao Zedong was attracted by the city's charms and he wrote many poems and articles about the city. Especially after the 1980s, Hangzhou's tourism industry developed dramatically, but mainly through domestic tourism. Local government only realized the full importance of tourism after the 1990s, and it then started a series of tourism developments and promotions. However, a lack of knowledge of tourism meant that local government tended only to see tourism development as a means of making money. Therefore, tourism became a 'cash cow' for developing other industries in the city, but it received few benefits itself. Worse, some of the precious historical and cultural sites were destroyed and the environments adversely affected. For example, some of the Qing Dynasty historical relics around West Lake were destroyed due to the huge growth in tourist activities and unsuitable tourism planning (HZ Tour, 2004).

In the late 1990s, with more negative consequences resulting from economic development, the government started to realize this had serious implications for tourism development. Thereafter, the government paid greater attention to developing more sustainable tourism. Despite some misleading concepts of sustainable tourism, the results have shown some improvement. In 1998, Hangzhou made its first major tourism policy for sustainability: the Hangzhou Tourism Industry Management Methods (Hangzhou Legislative Office, 1998). In 2004 the government made another important tourism management regulation for the West Lake Scenic District, this being Hangzhou's most important tourist destination (WLMC, 2004a).

Although Hangzhou probably has fewer tourism policies than Western cities, it has put much emphasis on tourism compared to many other Chinese cities. The Hangzhou Tourism Committee is the city's tourism administration, and it is responsible for tourism planning and management in Hangzhou. Another government organization undertaking relevant tourism development work is the West Lake Scenic District Management Committee (WLMC). West Lake is the most important tourism resource in Hangzhou, being located in the city centre. WLMC is in charge of all relevant issues around West Lake, including tourism development. Therefore, many tourism plans related to West Lake are planned by both the HTC and WLMC. The existence of two tourism-relevant government organizations in one city clearly indicates the

focus of tourism development in Hangzhou around West Lake.

6.2.3 Hangzhou's economic development

Hangzhou is a neighbouring city to Shanghai, being just 200km away from this internationally important city (Xinhua News, 2003). In recent years the Chinese government has put considerable effort into developing the Yangtze River Delta Economic Centre, with Shanghai at its centre and several smaller cities, including Hangzhou, Suzhou, Ningbo, Nanjing, and Jiaxing. Helped by these national policies, Hangzhou has experienced rapid economic growth. It ranks in the top ten cities in China for the value of its economic output. The city's GDP in 2006 was 344.1 billion RMB, ranking it eighth among all Chinese cities (Sina Blog, 2006). Tourism has developed very rapidly and it has made a huge contribution to the city's economy, contributing 16% of the city's GDP in 2006 (Li, 2007). Hangzhou is also ranked in the top ten cities in China for tourism revenue and the number of tourists.

Hangzhou's economic growth has caused changes in people's values. On the one hand, the city's economic growth has brought commercialisation and materialism, with tourism development itself being a commercial product. Economic profits have often been considered the most important factor during the city's tourism planning and development. The government, for example, have developed tourism in Hangzhou so as to attract more domestic and international tourists and receipts, and the people in Hangzhou support tourism because it brings them prosperity. On the other hand, as economic returns have flourished the government and the city's population have begun to have other concerns, such as environmental and cultural protection. Having improved their living standards, the people in Hangzhou are also looking for quality in their living environment, such as the quality of the water, air, and natural scenery. The city's government has also realized that economic growth could be limited by an undeveloped environment and a weakened culture. The current development aim of the Hangzhou government is to raise the reputation of the city in the international arena, which has encouraged the city to promote its unique identities to the world. Thus, in recent tourism projects the major aims are not just economic profits but also environmental and cultural protection. For example, the West Lake Protection Project seeks to protect the environment and culture around West Lake. Another recent tourism project in Hangzhou is the 'Xixi National Wetland Park', which is

intended to protect the wetlands in the west of Hangzhou city and to develop them as a national park for ecological protection and education (Xixi Wetland Park Newspaper, 2006). Nevertheless, while Hangzhou's government has begun to focus on environmental and cultural issues, economic growth remains an essential prime driving force. Raising the city's reputation and building local identity are both seen as part of improving the city's economic growth.

6.2.3 Socio-cultural aspects of Hangzhou's development

6.2.3.1 An historical and cultural centre

"In heaven there is paradise. On earth, there is Suzhou and Hangzhou" (Marco Polo 1958).

When the great traveller Marco Polo visited Hangzhou in the thirteenth century, he wrote this famous proverb to describe Hangzhou's beauty. The proverb helps in tourism promotion, but also adds mystery to the city's cultural elements. Increasingly, tourists come to the city to find the 'paradise' experiences described by Marco Polo. However, Hangzhou was not born as a tourist destination, but is an historical and cultural centre.

Hangzhou is quite small compared to other major cities in China. Yet it has more than 2000 years' history, and it has had significant status in each Chinese dynasty. Indeed, Hangzhou is regarded as one of the 'Seven Chinese Ancient Capitals' because it was once the capital city of the Southern Song Dynasty (1127-1279) (Chuck China, 2006). Before the Southern Song Dynasty, however, Hangzhou was considered a remote undeveloped place because all capital cities were established to the north of the Yellow River (Lin, 1999). For the Chinese emperors, Hangzhou was the furthest place they could dominate and thus they had chosen Hangzhou as an ideal place for exiles, especially for banishing scholars, poets, and civil officials. It was a cruel punishment to be exiled here because Hangzhou was seen by the emperors as the remotest place. However, Hangzhou was becoming a major historical and cultural centre. In part this was because the exiled scholars and poets created a flourishing literature and this left a major legacy in Chinese history. Thus the punishments by the emperor benefited the cultural development of Hangzhou. Since then, Hangzhou has gradually accumulated further cultural and historical elements, as seen in buildings, bridges, lake banks, landscapes and even the local people. These became important attractions for archaeologists, writers and tourists. After the Southern Song

Dynasty (1127-1279), Hangzhou has developed very markedly and it was no longer neglected by the government, and it became regarded as a great holiday resort for imperial leaders and officials. Also, because the city is located on a coastal bay, the imperial dynasties after the Southern Song all used it as a major business and trade centre in southeast China.

While the city has accumulated many historical, economic and cultural elements, it seems less important than the big cities in the north, and this is due to the low status of Hangzhou in Chinese politics. For centuries Hangzhou never was a political centre and it was seldom influenced by politics, and this limited its further development. People know Hangzhou largely because of its cultural legacies and beautiful scenery, and they do not connect it with political activities. Thus Hangzhou could not compete with other historical centres in China, such as Xi'an, Qingdao, Nanjing, in gaining more protection from central government or gaining a stronger international reputation.

6.2.3.2 Traditionalism and modernity in Hangzhou

Strong historical and cultural sediments over more than 2000 years have combined many traditional elements into the city's landscape and the local people. Perhaps influenced by the emotional temperament of its exiled scholars and poets, the local people got used to a quiet and leisurely life. They were remote from politics, they focused on literary works, and they often had a slow pace of life. Such traditions can still be seen in the contemporary age. Compared to other provincial capitals, the living style in Hangzhou is famous for being relaxed and slow. In addition, Buddhism developed in Hangzhou over nearly 2000 years and it is the major religion for local people. Confucianism and Buddhism have tended to influence the people so they are not ambitious and are often satisfied with what they currently have.

But Giddens (1990:163) argues, "we are currently living in a period of high modernity", with modernity affecting many aspects of the economy, society and politics. The industries in Hangzhou have become diverse, such as electronics, medicine and chemicals, with the high-speed of economic development. The busier businesses have required the local people to speed up their pace of life. As discussed in Chapter two, China now has to balance a

combination of traditionalism, communism, and western modernity, and Hangzhou is also striving for this balance. The city's construction is infused with both traditional and modern elements. The traditional shops and buildings exist together with modern, high-rise buildings. The people in Hangzhou are ambitious in their work, although they often slow down their pace of living in their leisure activities.

6.2.4 Hangzhou's political environment

6.2.4.1 Local government and the political structure

Hangzhou is the capital city of Zhejiang Province. As in other cities, the highest level of local government in Hangzhou is the Municipal People's Congress (MPC). This is responsible for local policy decision-making in the city related to economic activities, construction, education, the environment, religion, and other important local issues (Hangzhou MPC, n.d.). The MPC is expected to explain government policies to the city's residents, to act as a link from the leadership to the citizens, to reflect mass opinion, and to bring interest group demands to the attention of decision-makers. However, the Congress system has deficiencies that are obstacles to it achieving these objectives.

A first obstacle is the length of the vertical links in the Congress system. As discussed in Chapter 2, to maintain the CCP's political domination in the country, there are Congresses at each level of Chinese public administration, from the "NPC, PPC, MPC, to town-level and county level Congresses" (Cai, 1992:12). Vertically, the Congresses are linking with each other, with the lower levels responsible to the upper level. For example, Hangzhou MPC is under the supervision of Zhejiang PPC. Such vertical links to upper-level Congresses can mean that the HMPC relies greatly on decisions made by higher levels and that it neglects to feedback from the 'grassroots' levels.

A second obstacle is the domination of the standing committee within each Congress. Each level's Congress has a standing committee which is the key decision-making group for the Congress, there being no exception to this in China. The HMPC has only annual meetings (Zhou, 2003), and this infrequency of meetings does not allow for regular evaluations of

Hangzhou's policies. It means that the main responsibilities are actually taken by the standing committee within the Congress. A key problem here is that members of the standing committee are appointed through indirect election, which means that they are appointed directly from the upper-level Congresses. This means that there is considerable centralization of power in the CCP in policy decision-making. The control of the standing committee also indicates that the HMPC has limited chance to get feedback from the general Congress members.

A third obstacle is the close relationship between the Congresses and government. There is considerable interweaving and interlocking in the members of the Standing Committee and the leadership of Hangzhou Municipal Government. Importantly, the chairperson of the Standing Committee, Mr. Guoping Wang, is also the CCP Secretary of Hangzhou Municipal Government (Hangzhou MPC, 2006). Thus one person is a major political player in both the Congress Standing Committee and in the Municipal Government. Also, because the city government leadership is appointed by the Standing Committee, these politicians always have good personal links to the committee members in order to be elected. Although the election process is open to the public, the transparency of the final decision-making is vague. It seems that the power centre in Hangzhou's governance is controlled by a small group of individual politicians, and the relationships between the HMPC and Hangzhou's government might be an obstacle to the HMPC linking the leadership to the citizens.

The above three obstacles indicate why there are gaps between the expectations of the Congress system and the realities. As another strong political player, it is also necessary to study Hangzhou's government. Hangzhou Municipal Government is led by a mayor, a CCP secretary and seven deputy mayors (Hangzhou Government, 2006b). The mayor is responsible for all important issues in the city's development and for the efficiency of this government tier. He has control of the city government's finances, statistics and the city planning work (Hangzhou Government, 2006b). All seven Deputy Mayors are members of HMPC, which again shows the close relations between the city government and the Congress. Each is in charge of different aspects of city development, such as the environment, tourism, security, and construction. Some of them are concurrently also the directors of some city government departments. For example, Deputy Mayor Xiang is also Chairperson of Hangzhou Tourism Committee (Hangzhou's

Tourism Committee, 1998). Such cross responsibilities are intended to make sure every aspect of city development is under the control of the government heads.

The CCP Secretary is in a special position within the government. In China, the power of the CCP is everywhere, with every state-owned organization having a CCP deputy to sustain the Party's political influence. Thus, the CCP Secretary is also head of the standing committee of HMPC, he is responsible for Communist education within the city government, and he controls the disciplinary management of communists within the government (Hangzhou Government, 2006b). He also represents the CCP in Hangzhou in any media publicity. At the same time, the CCP Secretary does not directly take part in the daily government affairs. In effect, the CCP Secretary operates like a branch of the central CCP within Hangzhou's city government.

The close relationships between the government and the CCP, indicates the considerable domination of the CCP in Chinese public administration. This centralized domination can also be seen in the appointment of government heads. All city government heads have to have appropriate political backgrounds, and they are regularly transferred from different areas of government, from one important position to another. For example, Mr. Zhonghuan Sun, Mayor of Hangzhou, used to be Secretary of the Party Committee in the state-owned companies in Lanxi County Government; he was then elected as Associate Mayor in Hangzhou; and subsequently he became Mayor of Hangzhou in 2005 (Hangzhou Government, 2006c). Mr. Linsheng Mao, the former Mayor of Hangzhou, went on to become Deputy Governor of Zhejiang Province. In such ways the important positions in government are invariably occupied by the same professional politicians, with these *cadres* just changing their specific roles over their political careers.

Hangzhou has eight districts in the city area, each having a district government that is responsible for managing district development and implementing decisions from Municipal Government in the district. Within each district there are numerous neighbourhood committees, which are - in the words of the 1982 constitution - "mass organizations of self-management at the grassroots level" (The State Council, 1982). Neighbourhood committees can be defined as groups of residents who share a common neighbourhood, including residential areas and parks

(Wang, 2003). In Hangzhou, a typical neighbourhood community has 2000 to 4000 families (Hangzhou Shequ, 2006). However, with the city's development and modernity, the functions of Hangzhou's neighbourhood committees, are becoming weaker. Currently, the major responsibilities of neighbourhood committee are neighbourhood security, social welfare services, and political study and promotion.

In the context of the decentralization of governance, the Communist Party has worked to consolidate its power in Chinese politics in new ways. Consolidation from the 'grass-root' units has been one strategy used by the Communist Party. Although the responsibilities of neighbourhood committees have lessened, the responsibilities of their elected politicians have not changed. Only these politicians can join the election for government deputies. The neighbourhood committee members are all communists, and these grass-root units are closely connected with the district government and then the HMPC. The politicians who are chosen from these grass-root units are always active local communists. Therefore, when the Communist Party controls the elections from these grass-root units, they can control the whole political domain. The elected committee heads are also always retired workers and Communists. In such ways, the Party can spread its roots into all corners of the city's governance.

6.2.4.2 The north-south divide and its influence on Hangzhou's political development

Decentralization is no longer a new word in Chinese politics. This idea was introduced by Deng Xiaoping and Jiang Zemin, two former national leaders, and it has begun to spread to coastal cities in the south and southeast in response to the enormous economic developments there. Hangzhou is considered to be a city in the 'getting rich earlier' category in Deng's administration (Liu, 2001:255), and thus the city receives a relatively high degree of autonomy to deal with its problems, including its economic and political development. The reasons why it is the southern and south eastern regions that have secured this political reform are influenced by China's north-south division.

China's central government has been located in the centre of the country in the Yellow River region for centuries. China has consequently been divided into North (north of the Yellow

River), and South (south of the Yellow River). Since Deng's 'Open Door Policy', increasing numbers of southern coastal cities have received support for their economic development. While Deng mainly supported Guangdong Province in the very far south, the next president, Jiang, mainly focused on Shanghai and the surrounding provinces, including Zhejiang and Jiangsu Provinces. Liu (2001) describes these provinces and Shanghai as having a more modernist identity, with a preference for a strong civil society and market individualism and for minimal state intervention in social and economic affairs. The south-eastern seaboard has also flourished in terms of urbanization, commercialisation, and intellectual growth as a result of Western influences (Liu, 2001:256). Because of their different locations, cultures and governance, the North and South have divergent political cultures. For example, Chen (1976) argues that northerners are good at forming cliques and causing internecine conflicts, while southerners are more inclined to individualism. Such differences influence their politics and reactions to government. The southerners are more 'antipolitics', which refers to a principled rejection of politics, or at a minimum a preference for keeping matters of legitimate political concern to a minimum (Moody, 2001:162). 'Antipolitics' is widespread in China, and especially so in the southern and eastern coastal cities, because in these cities there is more decentralization and market individualism. Also, because of the city's strong economic development, people in Hangzhou are more interested in businesses than in politics. This individualistic political culture has helped to reduce likely conflicts between local people and the government and the Communist Party.

Because of the importance of Confucianism in traditional Chinese society, Chinese people tend always to obey the government. They tend to think they should follow what the government asks them to do and they are reluctant to complain or to be conflictual. This has perhaps contributed to the problems of oppression, tyranny and corruption in the government. When the Chinese people first entered the communism era the guiding slogan was 'Politics Takes Command' (Moody, 2001:164). At that time, Chinese people thought they had found a new hope in politics, which means that 'they could take political action to make themselves anything they wished' (Moody, 2001:164). However, the failure of the 'Great Leap Forward' and 'Cultural Revolution' disappointed them, and instead, they have found that economics is much more important than politics for their living standards. Therefore, a feeling of 'antipolitics' has

grown. This feeling is stronger in those places with a highly developed economy, and politics there is sometimes seen as a hinderance to the development of economy.

For the national government, it is perhaps wise to introduce decentralization policies in the places with stronger feelings of antipolitics and individualism. But this establishes a gap between the government and the local people in Hangzhou, as the communities do not want to have much involvement in government issues, and the government also does not involve the local people. Therefore, local people are not active in politics. This might be good for the city's development as long as the people are satisfied with the continuous economic increases, but it could be a potential threat in the future.

6.3 West Lake Protection Project (WLPP) in Hangzhou

As showed in Figure 5.1, West Lake is located in the centre of Hangzhou city, with the urban area on its east side and hills and natural environment on the other three sides. West Lake is the most important tourism resource in Hangzhou: almost 80% of tourist activities within the city are around it. In February 2002, Hangzhou's government decided to launch the West Lake Protection Project, which seeks to protect the environment and also to develop tourism.

The West Lake Protection Project finished in October 2005 (WLMC, 2005). After Hangzhou's success in domestic tourism markets, the city government has targeted the international market for further tourism growth. Early on the government decided to get West Lake, the city's most important tourism resource, on the UNESCO World Heritage List. This listing could help to provide economic and technical support for protecting the lake, and it could raise the pace of tourism growth in international markets. UNESCO is emphasized strongly by the Hangzhou government due to the recent huge influence of Westernisation on China. Many Chinese people believe that endorsement by a major international organization will entail international fame, success and also more income. It has been a short period of time since China opened its door to the world in 1979, and most Chinese people consider that 'international' or 'Western' product standards represent high prices and good quality. Thus UNESCO listing of West Lake is considered to be an important step to develop international tourism in Hangzhou.

West Lake had already been placed on a UNESCO trial list in 1999 (UNESCO, 1999). However, the proposal was refused by UNESCO after it had received evaluations. The reasons for this refusal listed in the UNESCO Evaluation Report included the dramatic reduction in the lake surface by human activities, damage to historical sites, and the negative influences from urban modernity (UNESCO, 1999). After that, Hangzhou has regularly tried again to secure listing but these have all failed. The recent report from UNESCO stated that the large areas of urbanization have hindered the protection of West Lake's cultural heritage (UNESCO, 2003). Therefore, Hangzhou's government decided to improve the environment of West Lake based on the comments in the UNESCO Evaluation Report. The government heads decided first to start a project to enlarge the lake surface. Deputy Mayor Xiang was appointed as director general of the project, and the Hangzhou West Lake Scenic District Management Committee (also called the Hangzhou Public Landscape and Historical Relics Bureau) became the leader to manage and implement the project.

The original name of the project was the 'West Lake, step to the west' ('xi hu xi jin'), which showed that the original aim of the project was only to enlarge the lake surface on the west side (WLMC, 2000). However, this was far from meeting the World Heritage List requirements. After discussions took place among experts and relevant government officials, the city government decided to expand the project. The revised project name was the West Lake Protection Project (WLPP). The main aims of the WLPP were to regain the ancient West Lake appearance, return the lake to the people, regain the West Lake's historical, cultural and environmental attractions, and to re-design a structure for West Lake's sustainable development (Wang, 2005). More specifically, the objectives are to:

1. Enlarge the surface and depth of the lake.
2. Regain and repair some of the West Lake attractions to form a lake structure of 'one lake, two pagodas, three islands, and three lakeshore banks' ('yi hu liang ta san dao san di').
3. Protect the historical and cultural features of the streets around West Lake.
4. Re-plan the environments around the lake to form a structure of 'industry on the east side, recreation on the south side, quiet and leisure on the west side, cultural ambience on the north side, and beautiful scenery in the middle' ('dong re nan wang xi you bei ya zhong liang').
5. Plan and construct some new attraction sites to the south and west of the lake.

6. Possibly reduce the number of buildings and residents within the West Lake Scenic District (Zhejiang Daily, 2004)

According to these objectives, the WLPP was designed to have 13 sub-projects (WLMC, 2005). The most important sub-projects in the WLPP are the 'Southern Line Integration', 'Lakeshore Bank of Mr. Yang', 'New Lakeside Project', and the 'Meijiawu Tea Area Project'. The present research focused on the 'Leifeng Pagoda Rebuilding Project' from the 'Southern Line Integration', the 'New Lakeside Project', and the 'Meijia Wu Tea Area Project' as detailed case studies.

6.3.1 Tourism resources and environment around West Lake

People have differing opinions about the causes of the lake's formation. A common opinion is that West Lake originally was part of the coastal bay. Because three sides of the sea were mountains, then sand from the sea accumulated here year after year, and a lake was formed after years of accumulation (Hangzhou Statistics Bureau, 2005a). Then after much dredging and management, the lake became the current freshwater and artificial lake. With hilly peaks on three sides, this lake has been an attraction for centuries and it was a favourite retreat for China's emperors (Travel China Guide, 2000).

The lake is famous for its graceful landscape and also for the 'harmonized cultural sediments' associated with it due to the work of ancient exiled poets and scholars. In addition, the lake is connected to numerous intriguing legends. For example, it is said the lake was once a 'pearl from heaven', which was guarded by a dragon and phoenix. The dragon and phoenix carved and polished this pearl every day. One day, when they took this pearl out and played with it, it suddenly fell down to the earth and changed into a beautiful lake. The dragon and phoenix decided to stay with the pearl and changed into hills around the lake (Yan, 2003:45). Because of the influence of such legends and related literature, the lake attracts numerous tourists to come to see the 'pearl'. Because of the massive numbers of tourists and tourist activities and the modernity of the city surrounding the lake, West Lake has suffered much adverse environmental change. Every holiday, the area is packed with tourists, and the grace and 'cultural sediments' cannot be experienced due to the excessive visitor numbers. Moreover, the water surface has

become smaller due to improper city planning and construction. This led to alarm that it may discourage further tourism growth in Hangzhou. Thus, the government decided to enhance the lake environment, and this led to the West Lake Protection Project.

6.3.2 Economic interests of the WLPP

It must be noted that UNESCO listing and stepping into the international market will help to protect the environment and cultural features of West Lake, but it will also enhance the city's economic growth. The Hangzhou government, for example, has used the WLPP planning process quite widely through both the national and international media. The reputation of Hangzhou has been improved by the project, and the World Leisure Organization even decided to put the 2006 World Leisure EXPO in Hangzhou (World Leisure Organization, 2006). Tourism incomes have kept growing rapidly in Hangzhou, especially during the holiday periods. For example, during the 'Golden Week Holiday' in May 2005, there were 5.275 million visitors to Hangzhou, which is 16.6% higher than in the same period the previous year. The 'Golden Week Holiday' started in 2000 as a national policy. That policy created two paid holidays each year: the first week of May and the first week of October. In fact, people have to work for the additional holiday days at other times, and the policy has contributed to a major concentration of tourist activity into two weeks. This causes considerable problems at West Lake.

6.3.3 Socio-cultural impacts of the WLPP

The project has contributed to improvements in the environmental and cultural attractions, and it has made the city appear more harmonized with the lake. However, the dramatic increase of tourist numbers potentially could destroy all of these contributions very quickly. The project has also caused some other problems. Although the buildings and resident numbers have been controlled in the lake scenery district, the consequences for other parts of the city have caused some conflicts between local people and the government. Traffic jams became a major problem in the city centre when the streets around the lake were re-planned to control the vehicles after the lake surface was extended. The city centre has also become more packed since the lake scenery district became bigger. This problem has become so serious that the government has had to develop more plans for other streets in the city. Therefore, the government decided to introduce a new project, 'One vertical road, and three horizontal roads', that alters the streets

within the city centre and widens them. It was planned to renovate and widen four major roads in the city centre from July 2005 to April 2006 in order to reduce the traffic problems (Hangzhou News Newspaper, 2006a).

6.3.4 Political structure of the WLPP

As mentioned above, the WLPP was directed by Deputy Mayor Xiang, and managed by the West Lake Scenic District Management Committee (WLMC). WLMC was formed in September 2002 at the start of WLPP, which indicates the emphasis put on the WLPP by Hangzhou's government heads. Deputy Mayor Xiang and the Deputy Chairman of WLMC together managed the WLPP Head Office, which was in charge of planning, managing and implementing the project. In the WLPP Head Office, the other members included eight government departments from the Hangzhou Tourism Committee, Hangzhou Construction Committee, Hangzhou Transportation Bureau, Hangzhou Environmental Protection Bureau, Hangzhou Land Use Management Bureau, Hangzhou Finance Bureau, Hangzhou Forestry and Water Conservancy Bureau, and the City Planning Bureau (WLMC, 2005). Each government department has one deputy director to represent their organization in the head office.

6.3.5 The three selected sub-projects in the WLPP

Three sub-projects ('Meijia Wu Tea Area Project', 'New Lakeside Project' and 'Leifeng Pagoda Rebuilding Project') in the WLPP were chosen for assessment in this research using the conceptual frameworks. The discussion next introduces the background, the aims, the content, and the results of these three sub-projects. The three sub-projects were chosen because they were emphasized by interviewees in the first fieldwork phase. A lot of social interactions around these three sub-projects were also mentioned, which greatly helped in evaluating the detailed actor relations. In addition, these three sub-projects received most media exposure among all of the sub-projects, and they were considered the most important sub-projects by the government heads (Wang, 2005).

6.3.5.1 The Meijia Wu Tea Area sub-project

Meijia Wu is a village located within the West Lake Scenic District. Figure 5.1 shows that,

although the village is within the Scenic District, it is actually quite far from the West Lake compared to other scenic spots. The village is a centre for the production of Longjin Green Tea, one of Hangzhou's symbols, and it was always considered a souvenir product for tourists in Hangzhou to take home. However, tourists seldom came to Meijia Wu Village to buy the tea because the place is not very famous among tourists, and also due to the poor transportation from the city centre to the village (Meijia Wu Tea Area Plans, 2004).

The Meijia Wu Tea Area Project aimed to establish the village as a new tourist attraction, to promote Hangzhou's tea culture, and to relocate some tourist pressure away from the West Lake (Meijia Wu Tea Area Plans, 2004). Hangzhou's government also wanted to develop the village as a leisure centre, which would help to "support the leisure image of Hangzhou and support the World Leisure EXPO 2006 in Hangzhou" (Wang, 2005). In 2006, the Hangzhou government even decided to promote the city to international markets using a leisure lifestyle image (City Express, 2006). The Meijia Wu Tea Area has been emphasized as a selling point in recent tourism advertisements.

Figure 6.1 shows that the project relates to a large area, including the whole village and its surroundings. The detailed content included a reorganization of the layout of village houses, increasing the public and tourist facilities within the village, refurbishing all the village houses according to the same theme and design, and redeveloping the transportation facilities to and within the village (WLMC, 2004b.). The project related to an area of 184,900 square metres and it involved 415 families of villagers (WLMC, 2004b). Table 6.1 lists the strategies and actions of this sub-project.

The plan was designed by the Tourism Research Centre of the Hangzhou Education College, and the West Lake Scenic District Management Committee (WLMC, 2004b). Table 6.1 suggests that the project's focus was about environment improvement, the protection of historical and cultural relics, and also tourism development. The government heads assumed all of these could benefit the locals, but in practice they brought a lot of problems. For example, some tourism experts argued that after the refurbishment the traditional local village flavour was replaced by urbanized modern designs. In addition, the villagers' lives were changed from some simplicity

to more modern business activities. The sudden increase in tourist activities in the village area also caused traffic jams and air and water pollution. These problems will be discussed in Chapter 9.

Table 6.1 Strategies and actions in the Meijiawu sub-project (WLMC, 2004b).

Strategies	Actions
Architectural re-design of the village houses.	<ul style="list-style-type: none"> a. Protect the Qing Dynasty architecture and re-decorate other houses according to the Qing Dynasty style. b. Re-plan the public spaces, and widen the spaces between houses. c. Help the villagers to launch tea house businesses, and establish the village as the biggest tea house centre in Hangzhou.
Transportation planning	<ul style="list-style-type: none"> a. Widen the road to the village. b. Establish pedestrian-only streets within the village. c. Build 4 new car parks within the village.
Planning for streams and rivers	<ul style="list-style-type: none"> a. Forbid people from using underground water, and to divert water from the city centre. b. Forbid the dropping of rubbish into the water. c. Demolition of buildings above the streams. d. Re-design and build bridges above the streams.
New green lands establishment and management	<ul style="list-style-type: none"> a. Pull down some illegal buildings, move some villagers out of the area to create more green land. b. Add more than 187 million m² areas of green land with trees and grass.

At the same time, the project did meet some of the government's aims. Tourist activities have been improved in the village since the project was finished, and the village became one of the most important scenic spots in Hangzhou and it is also now popular among Hangzhou citizens. The reputation of Hangzhou was also improved, with more and more domestic and international tourists visiting Hangzhou after the WLPP was finished. However, the pressures on West Lake were not reduced by the development of Meijia Wu Tea Village; indeed the increased fame has added to the problems.

6.3.5.2 The New Lakeside sub-project

The 'New Lakeside' was considered to be the most important sub-project in the WLPP as it relates to the whole eastern side of the West Lake where most tourist attractions are located. The location of the project is shown in Figure 6.1. The project related to an area of 9.4 km² and 1.5km of the lakeshore (Hangzhou Statistics Bureau, 2005b). This sub-project met the major aims of the WLPP, which were to enlarge the lake surface, improve the natural environment and to recover some historical sites around the lake (WLMC, 2005). Based on these broad aims, there were several specific objectives in the New Lakeside Project. First, it would enlarge the water surface by 5,900m². Second, it would rebuild the road (Hubin Road) along the new lakeside, including new designs for the road, the removal of some old buildings, and the creation of more green land (about 41,400 m²). Third, it would improve the water quality and sustain its quality by establishing monitoring equipment and recycling facilities. Fourth, the project would demolish the walls surrounding the parks around the West Lake and cancel the admission fees to these parks. Here the intention was to integrate the parks with the lake and to make the appearance more attractive. Finally, the project would re-develop a new shopping area behind the Hubin Road, to replace the original shopping area there.

The New Lakeside Project was led by WLMC and it was funded by both the government and private investors. The results of the project were quite positive: the natural environment along the lake was greatly improved with less pollution, the view was more scenic and the water quality was raised. The results of the New Lakeside Project were also praised in the regional and national media, and they generally were liked by tourists. However, there were also some criticisms of this project, the most serious ones relating to the design of the new shopping street behind Hubin Road.

Hubin Road used to be Hangzhou's most popular road, being full of restaurants, pubs, and some traditional shops with hundreds of years of history. To enlarge the lake surface, it was decided to remove all of these buildings and to re-build the road. However, to sustain or even improve the economic profits brought by the original Hubin Road, the Hangzhou government decided to develop a new shopping area. The new shopping area is located south of Yan'an Road, and behind Hubin Road, which is also shown in Figure 6.1. It was decided that the new area should

attract all high class and international shops, instead of local outlets. This change raised a lot of concern among tourism experts who were worried about the 'over modernity' and the weak protection for traditional shops. Critical comments were made about the removal of the original residents, shop owners and industries located in Hubin Road. The project has pulled down a 3.7km² areas of buildings and moved about 59 families (Hangzhou Statistics Bureau, 2005b). This led to critical comments because some people were not willing to move or they were dissatisfied with the relocation plan.

6.3.5.3 The Leifeng Pagoda Rebuilding sub-project

The Leifeng Pagoda Rebuilding Project was the earliest project in the WLPP, and the most high profile part of the 'Southern Line Integration Sub-project'. It was prominent in Hangzhou because the Leifeng Pagoda was considered to be a key symbol of Hangzhou's culture. The original Leifeng Pagoda was constructed in 975 by the emperor of the Wuyue dynasty (A.D 975) to celebrate the birth of a son by one of his favourite concubines (Zheng, 2001). But it had deteriorated badly over the decades during the Jiaqing years (A.D.1522-66). Japanese invaders set fire to it, burning the balconies, balustrades and steeple and leaving only a brick skeleton (Zheng, 2001). Later some people took bricks from the pagoda in the belief that the abrasive powder of the bricks was a magic remedy that could cure diseases and prevent miscarriages. Others stole Buddhist scriptures from the pagoda in order to make money. Finally, in August 1924 the foot of the pagoda was dug out and other parts were so severely damaged that the pagoda collapsed (Zheng, 2001). Despite it being in ruins, a lot of tourists still came to the site each year. The most important reason for this was because of the related legend of the 'Lady White Snake'. While most people do not know about the history of Leifeng Pagoda, all Chinese people know the pagoda from the legend of the 'Lady White Snake'. The legend concerns a love story between a man and a white snake. To reach her lover, the white snake changes into a woman, the Lady White. However, their love is forbidden by a Buddhist monk who catches the white snake and kept it in captivity under the Leifeng Pagoda (Yan, 2003). The tale is so famous that it has featured in Chinese opera, movies, novels, comics, cartoons and even PC games, as indicated in Figure 6.2. While it is only a fable, people still came to the place to experience the emotional love story.



Figure 6.2: Comic cover, Beijing opera and cartoon figure of Lady White Snake.

Hangzhou's government had previously planned to rebuild the Leifeng Pagoda, but due to lack of funding and suitable designs, the project did not happen. In early 2002, the project was discussed again by the Hangzhou Tourism Committee (HTC) and Zhejiang Home Affairs Security Office (HASO) from the Zhejiang Provincial Government. The HTC hoped to promote tourism development in Hangzhou through this project, and the HASO supported the project to secure more economic profits by establishing a tourist scenic area. After political decentralization in China, the government has become responsible for its own profits and debts. More than half of the area where the Leifeng Pagoda is located belongs to the HASO, and by establishing a new tourist attraction area, the HASO would receive substantial profits from the tourist activities. The project was funded by Xizi Hotel (itself a hotel operated by the HASO) and some other individual investors.

The Leifeng Pagoda Rebuilding Project actually started before the WLPP, but when the WLPP began the Hangzhou government decided to combine the Leifeng Pagoda Rebuilding Project into the WLPP because this pagoda is located within the West Lake Scenic District. Direction of the project was continued mainly by the HTC. The finished pagoda was opened to the public at the start of 2003 (WLMC, 2005). The admission fees were quite high and brought substantial economic profits for Hangzhou government, the investors, and HASO. However, of all the WLPP sub-projects, it has received the most critical comments from the public. The design of the Leifeng Pagoda is totally different from the original one and many people considered it too modern. Figure 6.3 shows the current and the original pagodas. The new design was developed

by the Qinghua University Architecture Design Institute. It was disliked by many people in Hangzhou and also tourists at the start of the project process. However, that design was selected by the HTC and the main tourism consultant (Zhejiang University Tourism Research Centre), and work continued. After the project was finished, although many more tourists came to view the new pagoda, numerous negative comments were made in newspapers and on the internet from tourists. These issues are discussed in Chapter Nine.

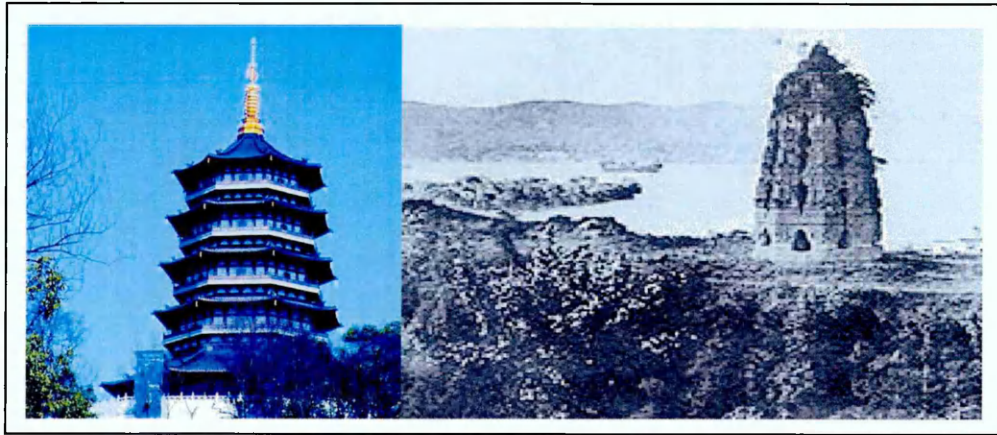


Figure 6.3: Contrast between old and new Leifeng Pagodas.

6.4 Conclusion

This chapter has discussed the external contexts of Hangzhou and the West Lake Protection Project, the case studies selected for this research. It was shown that Hangzhou is a city experiencing huge economic growth and tourism development. Tourism has contributed substantially to the city's economy, and this has encouraged Hangzhou's government to pay more attention to tourism development. In the meantime, the reforms of political decentralization have benefited the city and improved the pace of tourism development, bringing more mature tourism regulations and allowing more private sector actors to get involved in tourism governance. However, the decentralized governance has been only limited because of the influence of traditional Chinese philosophy and the domination of the CCP over all tiers of government.

The West Lake Protection Project is the most important recent government decision related to tourism. It aims to improve the environment around the West Lake, the most important tourist attraction in Hangzhou, and help West Lake to secure listing in the UNESCO World Heritage

List. Hangzhou's government hoped to develop in international tourism markets by securing this world heritage designation and by the support from this international organization. This chapter explained the background, the aims and the objectives of the WLPP, and it also evaluated three sub-projects within the WLPP (the Meijia Wu Tea Area Project, New Lakeside Project, and Leifeng Pagoda Rebuilt Project). The chapter provided background information for the next three chapters. Chapters Seven and Eight introduce the findings after applying the conceptual frameworks in Hangzhou, while Chapter Nine evaluates the results from applying the conceptual frameworks to the case of the WLPP and its three sub-projects.

Chapter 7

Contexts, Actors and Tourism Policy-Making Processes in Hangzhou

7.1 Introduction

The research applies the conceptual frameworks to Hangzhou and examines the dynamics of actors and tourism policy networks. There are three results chapters. Chapters Seven and Eight present the application of the conceptual frameworks in the city of Hangzhou at three levels (macro, micro and meso), while Chapter Eight presents the results of applying the conceptual frameworks to a more detailed case, Hangzhou's West Lake Protection Project. The present chapter Seven discusses the application of the macro-level conceptual framework for Hangzhou. It provides information on general contexts affecting the actors and tourism policy-making processes in Hangzhou. Chapter Eight applies the micro- and meso- level conceptual frameworks. It evaluates the actors' interactions around tourism policy-making processes, including the actors' discourses, knowledge frameworks, and power configurations. It also shows the dynamics of Hangzhou's tourism policy networks. Chapter Nine presents the results of applying the macro-, micro- and meso- level conceptual frameworks to the specific case of Hangzhou's West Lake Protection Project. Its intention is to apply the conceptual frameworks to some very specific tourism policies in the city.

This present chapter examines the tourism policy-making processes in Hangzhou, the extent of decentralization to and within Hangzhou, and it identifies actors related to the city's tourism policy-making processes. The results were obtained from secondary data (such as government documents), observation and two field visits. The first field visit involved 37 interviews that included questions examining the actors related to Hangzhou's tourism policy-making processes, their relations, resources, and interactions, as well as their interactions around the West Lake Protection Project. The first field visit highlighted specific issues needing more detailed evaluation, especially the issues of decentralization, actors' views about their involvement in policy processes, and the actors' perspectives on the West Lake Protection Project. Therefore, a

second field visit involving 22 interviews was conducted in order to examine these specific issues.

7.2 Public administration in Hangzhou

Hangzhou is the capital city of Zhejiang Province (Hangzhou Government, 2006b). In China's decentralization, the provincial capital cities and autonomous cities (such as Shanghai and Tianjing) gained from decentralization reforms more than other cities (Li and Liu, 2001), with Hangzhou's city government gaining authority for most local policy priorities. As shown in Figure 6.1, Hangzhou's government has three broad administrative levels: government leaders, government departments and agencies, and public-private sector cooperation and government-owned enterprises.

Level One in Figure 7.1 represents the city's governmental leaders, including the Mayor, Deputy Mayors and Government Administration Office. The city's Government Administration Office is responsible for drafting all government documents for Mayor and Deputy Mayors, contacting all levels of the Congresses, coordinating work between government departments, arranging government meetings, inspecting important government projects, and reporting to government heads (Hangzhou Government, 2006b).

The second level (Figure 7.1) represents the main body of Hangzhou's Municipal government, including directly subordinate Government Departments, and also the Special Agencies, Official Business Agencies, and Department Management Agencies. Government Departments form the major government units. They have several sub-departments, and they have separate working locations to the government heads. They cover most aspects of the government's work. The agencies are smaller units than the governmental departments, and they are located together with the government heads in Hangzhou's Government building (Li and Liu, 2001). They usually have one or two offices and do not have sub-departments. The agencies usually deal with particularly sensitive, important or more individual issues, such as the Foreign Affairs Office, Air Defence Office, Legislative Office and City Management Office. One reason why such agencies are created is for direct supervision by the Mayor and Deputy Mayors.

The third level (Figure 7.1) represents the public-private sector funded organizations and the government-owned enterprises, including the Government Enterprise Agencies and the Cooperating or Directly Managed Units. Government Enterprise Agencies include all the government organized special events, businesses, and projects, such as the West Lake Expo Management Office which is responsible for Hangzhou's West Lake Expo each year. All government Enterprise Agencies are responsible for creating extra income for the government (Hangzhou Government, 2006b). Cooperating or Directly Managed Units involve businesses run as public-private sector cooperatives, such as the Tobacco Management Bureau and Telecommunication Company, national-local government-run Cooperating Units (such as the National Tax Management Bureau and National Safety Bureau) and government Directly Managed Units (such as the Electric Power Supply Bureau) (Hangzhou Government, 2006b). These units demonstrate how the private commercial sector is involved with upper-level government.

There are three sub-cities, two counties, and eight districts under Hangzhou's municipal government jurisdiction, each with a county or district government (Huaxia News, 2004). These sub-governments have a similar structure of government departments to those of the municipal government, and these similarities encourage cooperation and guidance between the different levels of government departments. For example, the municipal level tourism administration is the Hangzhou Tourism Committee, which is supervised by the Zhejiang Provincial Tourism Administration, and it directs the tourism administration of Hangzhou's county and district levels.

The research seeks to understand the actors' views about governance in part because the constructionist view suggests that people have the ability to affect and partly understand their own worlds (Schwandt, 1994:126). People's understanding of decentralization, governance, and policy-making processes can aid in understanding the actors and how they interact with each other and the outside world.

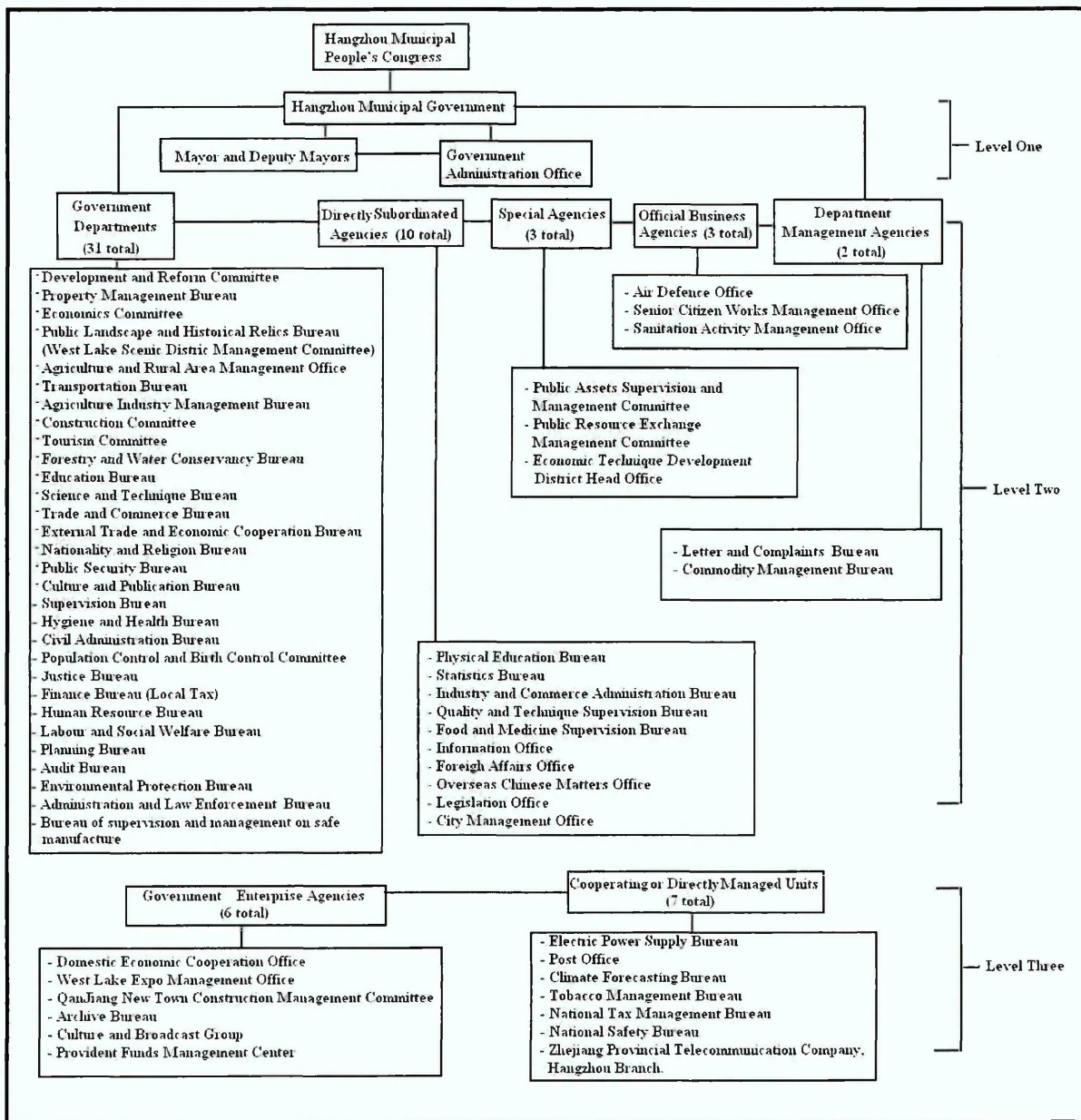


Figure 7.1: Public Administration Structure within Hangzhou (Adapted from Hangzhou Hangzhou Government, 2006b)

7.3 Hangzhou's tourism policy-making processes

To understand tourism policy-making processes it is necessary to identify the relevant actors, their relations and the decision-making processes. In the first fieldwork stage, all interviewees were asked about public policy-making processes in Hangzhou, before being asked about tourism policy-making processes more specifically. Tourism policy is only one type of public policy, with others including city planning, transportation and commerce. It is easier to examine and compare a specific process (tourism policies) based on an understanding of general processes (public policies). Public and tourism policy-making processes and the actors'

responsibilities related to policy-making were evaluated based on the interviews and government documents. The questions are listed in Table 7.1. Among 37 interviewees in the first fieldwork, there were 22 interviewees from the public sector and 15 from the private sector.

Table 7.1 Questions used to identify actors' understandings of Hangzhou's public and tourism policy-making processes.

- Briefly, how do public policy-making processes work in Hangzhou?
- Briefly, how do tourism policy-making processes work in Hangzhou?
- Which of your activities and responsibilities are related to public policy or public administration?
- Which of your activities and responsibilities are related to public policy for tourism?

Seven interviewees, who were all directly involved in Hangzhou's policy-making provided very detailed and quite similar answers about the city's public and tourism policy-making processes. They were the Dean of the City Management Office, Director of Hangzhou's Legislative Office, Deputy Director of Hangzhou's Cultural Bureau, Deputy Director of the Land Use Bureau, Deputy Director of the City Planning Bureau, a researcher from Zhejiang University's Tourism Research Centre, and a researcher from Hangzhou Education College's Tourism Research Centre (Interviews, 12.2004 – 01.2005). Their responses suggest that the first step in the public policy-making process was to define the problem. The government departments found problems in their daily work and reported them to their government head. During the government's regular meetings, related government departments have discussions and the mayor decides whether the problem needs a local policy, and whether the policy category needs regulations or standards. The mayor then entrusts the specific department to do the research and to draft the policy, with the assistance of other related departments. The completed draft is handed to the legislative office to be approved by the mayor (for standards and rules), or by Hangzhou's MPC and then Zhejiang PPC (for the regulations).

Six important issues need to be clarified in relation to Hangzhou's tourism policy-making processes. First, there were interesting comments on the differences between 'top-down' and 'bottom-up' policy making approaches, and here it is important to clarify which approach is applied most often in Hangzhou. Second, opinions were expressed about the final

decision-makers in Hangzhou's tourism policy-making. Third, different categories of policy in Hangzhou were identified, and these had different policy making processes. Fourth, there is a huge debate in relation to the responsibilities and significance of the Zhejiang PPC in the city's tourism policy-making processes in Hangzhou. Fifth, it was shown that the actors who draft the policies are very important for the policymaking. Last, media publication for policies before policy implementation is also an important approach to policy transparency.

The first of those issues concerns 'top-down' and 'bottom-up' policy approaches in Hangzhou. Here, a 'top-down' policy-making process implies that national and provincial government makes the relevant policies for the municipalities, counties, and townships (The State Council, 2001). This applies to some policies. Thus a researcher from China's Social Science Research Institute said that: *"If the national or provincial government makes some policies that are related to Hangzhou, then these policies will be passed to Hangzhou's government and they will be implemented"* (Interview, 14.12.2004).

Before the 1970s, China was a highly centralized country with only 'top-down' policy-making. With China's deregulation and marketisation in the late 1970s there was some decentralization, and 'bottom-up' policy-making was gradually permitted in some limited areas. A general transition from 'top-down' to more local democracy began to influence Chinese cities (Guo, 2003). The Western definition of 'bottom-up' often means making policies from the 'grass-roots' level, but in China it means making policies at a lower government level. According to Item 63, Chapter 4 in the Legislation Law of the People's Republic of China (The State Council, 2001), Congresses in the provinces, autonomous areas, and municipalities directly subordinated to are allowed to formulate policies for their areas without permission from central government. This Legislation Law also mentions that Congresses in 'big cities' can also formulate local policies when needed, but the policies need to be evaluated by the Congress at the provincial or autonomous area level (The State Council, 2001). Here the definition of 'big cities' is vague. In the 'Local Congresses and Governments Organizational Law in People's Republic of China', three categories of big cities are defined: the 27 provincial capital cities, the 4 cities in special economic regions, and cities that are ratified by the State Council. This latter category has kept growing over the last 10 years due to the rapid growth of many cities (Xinhua

News, 2006). This clearly indicates that the decentralization process in China's government is an ongoing and growing process. On the other hand, it also indicates that China's decentralization is still very limited. Although 'big city' government is allowed to formulate local policies, the policies still have to be evaluated and approved by the provincial or autonomous area Congresses. Thus, local policies ultimately are still controlled by the regional level Congresses.

Hangzhou falls into the 'big city' category as it is capital city of Zhejiang Province. Therefore, Hangzhou MPC and its standing committee are the legislative bodies for formulating local policies. However, the local policies have to be evaluated and approved by the Zhejiang PPC. The interviews suggest that a 'bottom-up' approach is perceived to be the most evident form of policy-making in Hangzhou. Even the representative of Zhejiang PPC said: *"Very few policies for Hangzhou are formulated in the way of 'top-down'"* (Interview, 26.12.2004). This indicates that Hangzhou may be quite independent from the regional and national level governments.

A second important issue relates to the distinction between a legislative body and the final decision-makers. According to the 'Legislation Law', the legislative bodies at all levels are the Congresses. Therefore, in Hangzhou, the Hangzhou MPC is the legislative body. However, all of the interviewees contended that Hangzhou government was responsible for formulating the policies. This was despite the Hangzhou MPC being responsible for approving the policies drafted by the city government. This indicates that the involvement of government in the policy-making processes was very substantial, although the Congress was the final decision-maker.

The third issue relates to the categories of local policies in Hangzhou. Eleven interviewees out of 37 said that there were two categories of local policies: regulations and standards. Regulations were formal local policies that followed the 'Legislation Law'. Standards were all rather detailed and they contained rather practical information, while regulations were more formal, general and related to wide-ranging policy areas and varied actors. For example, the 'Hangzhou Liangzhu Heritage Site Protection Regulation' was drafted by Hangzhou government, approved at the 39th meeting in the 9th session of Hangzhou MPC, and finally implemented after approval from Zhejiang PPC at the 34th meeting of the 9th session (Hangzhou

MPC Standing Committee, 2002). This regulation was mainly drafted by the Hangzhou Public Landscape and Historical Relics Bureau, Hangzhou Legislative Office, and various consultants.

By contrast, standards were management methods based on government decisions, as distinct from the ‘policies’ that were stated in the ‘Legislation Law’. The drafts of standards were provided by government departments or county level governments, and they only needed to be approved by the Legislative Office and Mayor. The standards were implemented in districts, counties or other local areas in Hangzhou and over a limited time period (e.g. one month, or half year). One example of a government standard was a ‘Notice of adjusting the Taxi prices in Hangzhou’, which is a government standard that was drafted by the Pricing Bureau, Transportation Bureau, and Quality Control Bureau, then evaluated by the Hangzhou Legislative Office, and approved by the Mayor (Hangzhou Legislative Office, 2006a). Another example of a government standard at the county level was a ‘Notice of standardizing fishing in the Thousand-Island Lake area’. This was drafted by Chun'an County, then evaluated by the Hangzhou Legislative Office, and finally approved by the Mayor (Hangzhou Legislative Office, 2006b).

Thus there are two categories of local policies in Hangzhou. Standards were approved by the Mayor, while regulations were approved by the Congress system, yet, the boundary between standards and regulations was very vague. Because regulations take a long time to be evaluated and approved, most government departments or county level governments often preferred to apply for the standards category instead. This explains the larger number of standards in the tourism sector, compared to only ‘11 tourism-related regulations in Hangzhou’ (Hangzhou Government, 2006a). This tends to cause confusion in the legislative system, and the contents of regulations and standards may overlap in some areas.

A fourth issue concerns the responsibility of Zhejiang's PPC. Although the Legislation Law indicates that Zhejiang PPC was responsible for the final evaluation and approval of policies, only 6 out of 37 interviewees commented that Zhejiang PPC was the final decision-maker. Most interviewees did not mention this or they said that Hangzhou MPC was the final decision-maker. There are two possible reasons why so many interviewees did not mention Zhejiang PPC. First,

Zhejiang PPC does not play a strong role in local policy-making processes. One interviewee said: *"Zhejiang Congress is more like a 'stamp-provider'. It sometimes neglects its responsibility for re-evaluating local regulations"* (Interview, 19.04.2006). Another interviewee said: *"Zhejiang PPC is close to Hangzhou MPC. Since the policy has been approved by Hangzhou MPC already, Zhejiang PPC believes that the policy has been evaluated and it just needs to give its approval"* (Interview, 17.04.2006). A second potential explanation is that the respondents did not have enough knowledge of policy-making processes to know about the official role of the PPC. One interviewee asserted that: *"Most people do not care about policies"* (Interview, 21.04.2006), and another interviewee claimed that: *"There are very few ways for us to know about policy-making processes. I think there is still not enough transparency in government"* (Interview, 22.04.2006).

The fifth issue relates to the main body responsible for drafting policies in Hangzhou. When asked about this, 15 of the 37 interviewees mentioned the 'Hangzhou Legislative Office', 19 of 37 mentioned that both the 'Hangzhou Legislative Office' and other government departments together were responsible for this, and 3 interviewees did not provide any answer. According to the 'Zhejiang Provincial Legislation Regulation (2004)', the 'Legislation Committee' within Hangzhou government was responsible for managing the policy draft-making process. The members of this committee were selected from Mayors, the Legislative Office, government departments and legislation experts. In reality, not all of the committee members were involved in the policy drafting process, but *"the Legislation Committee will decide the participants in draft-making processes"* (Zhejiang PPC, 2004).

Responses by the interviewees indicated that the Hangzhou Legislative Office (HLO) was the main organization drafting policies for general regulations. The Director of HLO claimed: *"If the policy contents are very general and not just related to one or two specific government departments, the policy draft usually is formulated by the Hangzhou Legislative Office"* (Interview, 10.01.2005). However, if the policy content was related to more specific issues, such as the environment or tourism, then the government department that dealt with the specific issue would draft it. One interviewee said: *"It really depends on the nature of the policy. Transportation policy will have the Transportation Bureau as the main draft maker; the*

environment policy will have the Environment Bureau as the draft maker” (Interview, 05.01.2005).

It seems that policies related to tourism were drafted by the Hangzhou Tourism Committee (HTC) or West Lake Scenic District Management Committee (WLMC). In interviews, all interviewees mentioned Hangzhou Tourism Committee as the draft maker, and 23 of 37 also mentioned the West Lake Scenic District Management Committee. The HTC is the tourism administrative organization in Hangzhou, being responsible for the city's tourism management, planning and policy-making. The WLMC is responsible for management and planning in the West Lake District, but as that area forms the main tourism zone in Hangzhou, then the HTC and WLMC's responsibilities often overlap. Thus, when the policy content relates to tourism in the West Lake District, the Legislation Committee decides whether HTC or WLMC or both will draft the policy.

A last key issue concerns the media reportage of the policies. According to the ‘Zhejiang Provincial Legislation Regulation’ and ‘Notice of Hangzhou Legislation’, local policies should be published in both the *Hangzhou Daily* and *Zhejiang Daily* newspapers in order to collect feedback from the public (Zhejiang PPC, 2004 and Hangzhou MPC Standing Committee, 2004). However, in the interviews only 3 people mentioned this: the deputy director of Hangzhou Tourism Committee, the director of Hangzhou Legislative Office, and an engineer from Hangzhou Tourism Committee. One community interviewee commented in the second round of interviews that *“Not many people like to read recent policies. We only pick up some relevant ones”* (Interview, 13.01.2005). One local resident suggested on the Hangzhou government's discussion board online: *“Hangzhou Daily? It is the official newspaper and only reports some boring news. I never buy it”* (Hangzhou Government Discussion Board, 2005). It appears that because policies are only reported in official newspapers, which are not popular, then policy feedback from the public is very limited.

Based on the earlier analysis, Figures 7.2 and 7.3 summarize the general and tourism policy-making processes in Hangzhou. Figure 7.2 explains the ‘top-down’ policy-making processes in Hangzhou, where the national- and regional- level Congresses or their standing

committees (when the Congress is not on session) make relevant policies that are passed down and implemented locally (The State Council, 2001). For example, Figure 7.2 shows how the NPC and standing committee might formulate a national policy A, which is then implemented at both regional (Zhejiang Province) and local levels (Hangzhou). When Zhejiang PPC or its standing committee formulates Regional policy B, it too can be implemented locally in Hangzhou.

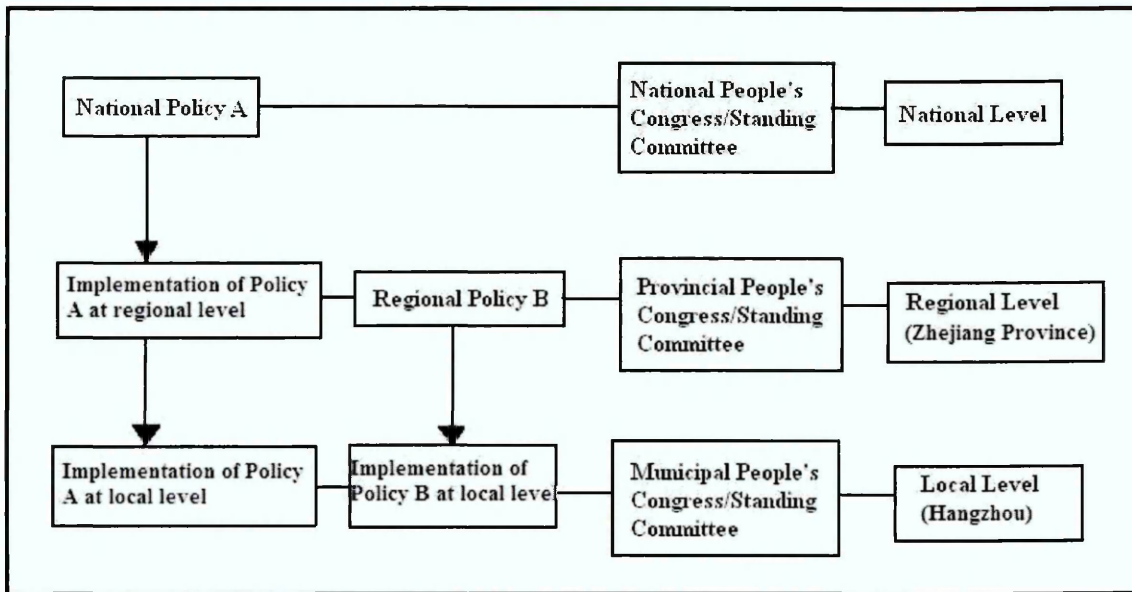


Figure 7.2 'Top-down' public and tourism policy-making processes in Hangzhou.

Figure 7.3 explains the 'bottom-up' policy-making approach which was seen as the main approach to public and tourism policy-making in Hangzhou. First, a problem is identified in a government meeting, government heads then consider whether there is a need to formulate policies, the Legislation Committee decides the policy category (whether a regulation or standard) and also finally decides the main body drafting the policy. With tourism policies, they are usually drafted by the HTC or WLMC, then after research and consultancy, the finished policy drafts are evaluated by the Hangzhou Legislative Office before being passed to government heads. The drafts are evaluated and approved through different processes according to the different policy categories, with standards only needing approval by the Mayor. Following publication in the *Hangzhou Daily*, the standards can then be implemented directly. Regulations, however, have a more complex process, needing to be approved by Hangzhou MPC (or its standing committee when it is not on session). Then the regulations need to be

approved by Zhejiang PPC or its standing committee, before they are announced in the *Zhejiang Daily* and *Hangzhou Daily*. Both standards and regulations can receive feedback from the public following announcements in the media, which can cause slight changes to implementation, and comments received are fed-back to the government.

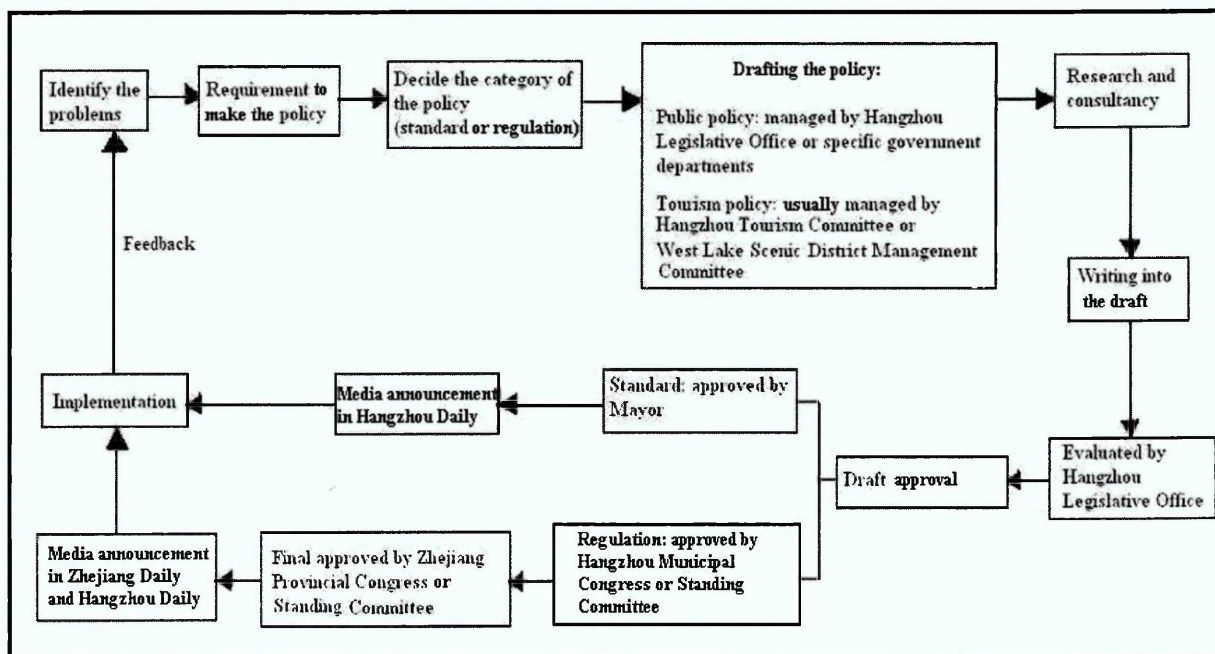


Figure 7.3 'Bottom-up' public and tourism policy-making process in Hangzhou.

7.4 Decentralization to Hangzhou

Sections 7.4 and 7.5 examine the extent of decentralization in China and Hangzhou. Section 7.4 considers the extent of decentralization to Hangzhou from regional and national levels, while Section 7.5 examines the extent of decentralization within Hangzhou from the public to private sectors.

The transition from 'top-down' to 'bottom-up' policy-making processes, involved local government acquiring more authority from central government. Section 7.5 examines the process of 'devolution' in Chinese public administration, which is part of decentralization. This is where central government gives added responsibilities to local or provincial tiers of government (Yuksel, Bramwell and Yuksel, 2005). But it is useful also to examine other forms of decentralization in Hangzhou. Decentralization has been described as involving "a transfer of authority to perform some service to the public from an individual or an agency in central

government to some other individual or agency which is 'closer' to the public to be served" (Turner and Hulme, 1997:152). Decentralization can also involve 'deconcentration' and 'privatisation', as well as 'devolution'. 'Deconcentration' means that authority shifts within the public administrative structure, with national government setting up regional or local branches, while 'privatisation' involves a shift of authority from the public to private sectors (Yuksel, Bramwell and Yuksel, 2005). The discussion that follows examines the extent of decentralization in Hangzhou, which was one key focus of the second fieldwork, when 12 people (government officials, experts, and industry people) were asked specific questions related to this topic.

7.4.1 Decentralization in China

The 12 respondents were asked directly about their understanding of decentralization in China. Only nine respondents felt they understood this process, these being five government officials, three tourism experts, and one industry person. They identified six important features of this process in China.

First, three interviewees mentioned that there were two general reforms in China's decentralization: vertical and horizontal. Vertical decentralization shortened the administration to just five levels (national, autonomous areas and provincial, municipal, county and township) (Jin and Zou, 2003), whereas previously China had numerous disorderly administrative levels, which caused unclear or overlapping responsibilities and time-consuming policy-making. The vertical decentralization was a feature of China's economic reforms since 1978, with intentions to devolve some central government's controls to sub-national government (Jin and Zou, 2003).

Horizontal reform happened within each level of administration as the number of governmental departments was reduced to increase working efficiency. A surfeit of government departments caused wasted government funds and also caused unclear and overlapping work responsibilities between different departments. Since 1982 five reforms for the Chinese government system reduced the number of departments and governmental employees (Fan, 2006). Burns (1993, 2003) contends that shrinking the bureaucracy and altering the functions that agencies perform are important concerns in the Chinese administrative restructuring process.

Second, two interviewees mentioned that shorter and more efficient policy-making has been important at both local and national level (Interviews, 04.2006). Third, according to another two respondents, changes in the government system happened following decentralization, with government becoming more flexible (Interviews, 04.2006). Edin (2003, 2004) mentions that a crucial issue for decentralization reforms is how state officials are managed, evaluated, and monitored. Several interviewees indicated that China's government is now using more 'entrepreneurial' methods to manage government departments, which are becoming more independent, rather like an independent enterprise. Departments now have more authority and financial power over their financial working (Interview, 18.04.2006). Government departments no longer receive the same financial or administrative support and they depend more on their own individual efforts.

Fourth, four respondents mentioned that 'devolution' (Yuksel, Bramwell and Yuksel, 2005) meant that local government has more authority following decentralization. Local policy is no longer just top-down from national and provincial to local levels. Municipal level government in some areas has authority to develop tourism policies and no longer needs approvals from the provincial and national levels. Besides policy-making issues, local government also has more authority in deciding other policy priorities, personnel, and financial issues.

Fifth, several respondents noted that decentralization had created more efficient working practices within local level Congresses. China is a socialist country that is dominated by the Chinese Communist Party (CCP). The People's Congress has highest authority in the nation and it is charged with enabling the Chinese people to decide on the country's development path, which is a basic feature of socialism (The State Council, 1982). Each level of government in China is under the supervision of the Congress at the same level, whether national, provincial, municipal, district, county or even neighbourhood. Thus the Congresses control much of the political environment in China. Before decentralization all local policies had to be approved by the NPC and thus by the national CCP. After decentralization the local level's People's Congress gained more authority. As one interviewee stated: *"The local People's Congress has become the highest authority at the local level after the decentralization reforms. The Constitution stipulates*

that the Congress should represent the Chinese people's decision-making. In the light of decentralization, the local Congress is even closer to the people than before" (Interview, 19.04.2006).

However, it is doubtful that the local Congress really could represent the people's needs. The election process within the Congresses means that most of their members are elected through open election, but they are all only part-time members. And as they only have meetings once a year, the power centre is controlled by the Standing Committee of the Congress, and not the Congress members (Shih, 1999 and Chen, 1999). The Standing Committee is the management unit within each level's Congress, and when the Congress is not in session it is the Standing Committee that decides on the executive issues and acts on behalf of the Congress (Wang, 2002). The members of the standing committee are key decision-makers in the Congress, and they can be called '*cadres*'.

The term '*cadre*' was first developed during the Russian revolution, and it now refers to people in responsible or leading positions within an organization or people who assumed responsibility for specific political tasks (Shambaugh, 2004). A person's status as a member of the *cadre* in Hangzhou did not necessarily involve membership of the CCP, although in practice this would often be the case, especially for the leading *cadres* (Shambaugh, 2004). In the standing committee, for example, most of the *cadres* are also CCP members. Their election was not through an open election, but via 'indirect elections' as they are appointed by the upper-level Congresses or the central CCP *cadre* leaders (Xinhua News, 2004). The *cadre* members are also frequently being transferred between provinces, or between the provinces and Beijing (Shambaugh, 2004). For top-level *cadres*, this trend even more marked and it often takes place at the discretion of national leaders (Walder, 1995). Therefore, in most cases the *cadres* in China's government and the Congresses are controlled by the CCP. Thus decentralization to the local Congresses is actually only somewhat superficial, and ultimately there is continued control by the central CCP.

Last, it was often noted that decentralization has added to the unbalanced development between China's different regions. One interviewee noted that "*because China is a large country with*

huge numbers of people, the economic and social developments are not balance regionally” (Interview, 05.01.2005). Decentralization has helped more advanced regions to have more flexibility and authority in their own development, compared to poorer regions. Eastern China has already opened up and successfully adopted decentralization and economic reforms, whereas some places in Western and north eastern China have not been so successful and have fallen behind. This has reinforced unbalanced development between different regions. Liu (2001) similarly indicates that decentralization has created various microeconomic distortions, such as increased regional inequality.

7.4.2 Hangzhou’s decentralization within China

Since 1984, the central government has declared 14 coastal cities as ‘coastal open cities’, and this has encouraged Hangzhou’s decentralization (Ma and Li, 1994). The 12 interviewees were asked whether they considered Hangzhou had successfully applied decentralization. All of them considered that Hangzhou had successfully adopted decentralization, some noting it had become a leading city in China. However, four interviewees noted that, while Hangzhou is quite successful within China, they thought that decentralization was still inadequate throughout China (Interviews, 04.2006). In addition, some thought that Hangzhou needed further decentralization, since this was an ongoing process.

Eleven of the twelve interviewees highlighted benefits that decentralization had brought to Hangzhou's society and government. First, they thought that Hangzhou's government now had more authority due to decentralization, especially regarding local policy-making, and that this had benefited the city by allowing economic and cultural development (Interview, 10.04.2006). By having more local authority, Hangzhou was better placed to develop its local features to make the city stand out from other Chinese cities. Several respondents indicated that the city's economic development, cultural conservation, or even political stability had improved following decentralization. More efficient working practices within government were widely noted. People felt that the local policies were more efficient and practical because policy-making processes were shorter and there was no need for step-by-step approval from upper-level government. Two interviewees also considered that the transparency of government work had improved (Interviews, 04.2006). Some interviewees mentioned the more flexible funding

system for Hangzhou's government, stating it could now get more funding from local taxes and from greater cooperation with the private sector (Interview, 14.04.2006). In such ways, 'privatisation' was also happening in Hangzhou.

The interviewees indicated some problems as well as benefits resulting from decentralization, and they sometimes highlighted issues that they considered Hangzhou needed to improve on. All interviewees felt that Hangzhou would still benefit from further decentralization reforms, and eight of the twelve referred to specific areas that need to be improved. Six interviewees mentioned that transparency had improved, but not enough. In their opinion transparency is very important because it allows the citizens to know about the government's work, the government gains trust from the people, it increases people's acceptance for both policies and government, and transparency is also the basic requirement to make a practical policy. More generally, Kopits (2000) contends that transparency in government operations is a precondition for macroeconomic fiscal sustainability and good governance. Although the interviewees admitted that transparency in Hangzhou's government had improved, and that it was better than in other Chinese cities, they all thought this local transparency was still insufficient.

Two of the twelve interviewees thought that the involvement of various actors in Hangzhou's government was deficient. One interviewee commented: *"Sometimes the overlapping content of municipal-made policies and provincial-made policies is inevitable. Such issues need to be better managed"* (Interview, 10.04.2006). Such comments indicate that relationships between provincial and municipal governments were not well managed due to the greater authority now existing at the local level. It was suggested that since the local level had been allowed to decide on more issues, the dependency of local government on provincial government had reduced. One tourism researcher indicated the decentralization had some negative influences: *"Without good supervision the shift from a top-down to a decentralized system also can increase corruption, and local government can thus lose control. So I think, decentralization and strengthening public supervision should be conducted at the same time"* (Interview, 23.04.2006). Thus the respondents had noticed the benefits brought by decentralization to the city, but they were less aware of its potential negative effects.

7.4.3 Hangzhou's independence after decentralization

While Hangzhou's decentralization can be analysed according to changes within Hangzhou, it can also be further analysed according to the changing links between upper-level government and Hangzhou's government. When asked about the role of provincial government in local policy-making processes in Hangzhou, two of the 12 interviewees said that they were not clear about its roles, while the other 10 provided quite similar responses. They all believed that the provincial government and national government seldom had an involvement in Hangzhou's tourism policy-making processes. They described the roles of provincial and national government as 'more like inspectors'. This was because, when Hangzhou's government made tourism policies, the upper-level government needed to make sure that their content was not in conflict with provincial and national level policies. In Hangzhou, the Zhejiang Provincial Government rarely had a direct involvement in Hangzhou's policy-making. Thus Hangzhou does have more political authority than before, within certain limits. It is assisted by the city's rapid economic development. As Lipset (1959:79) says, "democracy is related to the state of economic development, the more well-to-do a nation, the greater the chances that it will sustain democracy".

According to the interviewees, Hangzhou's government was fairly independent from upper-level government in relation to funding. Hangzhou's government does not receive a great deal of funding from upper-level government, as it mainly depends on local taxes. The respondents identified the diverse sources of Hangzhou government's funds, including earnings from cooperation with private sector companies, cooperative projects with the private sector, and investment from the private sector in some public sector activities. This greater financial independence had helped the city's government to have more authority. Guo (2003) also considers that financial independence is a strong force for winning power in public administration.

The interviewees all felt that Hangzhou's government can decide on most policy priorities, personnel selection, financial investment, or government projects, except for the appointment of mayors. The appointment of the mayor is still controlled through the Zhejiang Provincial government and national government. As explained before, the *cadre* election system is still

highly controlled by the central CCP. It was felt that the reduced constraints from upper-level government have helped the city to develop rapidly.

The independence of Hangzhou's government had led some residents to worry about the negative consequences. A tourism expert explained his worries: *"Hangzhou Government has a very strong financial base and can easily apply the funds to develop city projects. However, Zhejiang Provincial Government has more constraints in applying funds or developing projects because the funds need to be used in different cities within the province. It always gives people the impression that provincial government is weak and municipal government is strong. In the long term, the provincial government will lose control of local government"* (Interview, 19.04.2006). Two government officials also discussed the overlapping policy content and the duplication of policy structures between provincial and municipal government. One interviewee said: *"Free from the supervision of upper-level government, Hangzhou's government sometimes neglects to check the provincial level tourism policy content carefully, but it simply copies the policy contents from upper-level government"* (Interview, 04.2006).

More than half of the 12 interviewees expressed some worries about Hangzhou being too independent. In fact, they all pointed out that the involvement of Zhejiang Provincial Government should be strengthened for the reasons of inspection and guidance. They thought that improved relationships between provincial and municipal governments could help to build a reliable and united policy system. One government official argued that *"Currently, Zhejiang Provincial Government has very few involvements in local policy issues because they are more focused on general provincial planning and development. I think they should be more involved in depth here. The provincial level government could provide supervision of Hangzhou and other cities in the province. So, the whole province could develop in balance"* (Interview, 18.04.2006). Another tourism expert observed: *"It is dangerous when Hangzhou is over-independent from provincial and national level government. This could make Hangzhou lack connections with other cities, and it may become isolated from assistance from other cities. It is not good for local development"* (Interview, 19.04.2006).

However, when examining the relationships between the provincial and municipal government

in greater depth, it appears that the original intention of the central CCP was not to give so much independence to local government. First, the government heads are the key decision makers at each level of government, and the government heads of Zhejiang Provincial Government and Hangzhou Municipal Government appear to have a very close working relationship. The former Mayor Wang and Mayor Mao of Hangzhou are currently both the Deputy Governors of Zhejiang Province. Additionally, the current Mayor of Hangzhou is also the Deputy Secretary of Hangzhou's CCP, while the Dean of the Standing Committee of Hangzhou's MPC is the Secretary of Hangzhou's CCP (Hangzhou Government, 2006b). This suggests that the central CCP has not lost significant control of decision-making processes at all levels. The key members of provincial and municipal government and Congresses are almost always important CCP *cadres*.

This shows that control by the CCP occurs even at local level. The Legislation Law of the People's Republic of China stipulates that the only legislative body is the local Congress, which in the present case is Hangzhou MPC (The State Council, 2001). Policies also have to be approved by Zhejiang PPC before implementation. Therefore, the authority for final decision-making for local policies is still controlled at regional Congress level. But in practice Zhejiang PPC always gives up this authority and acts more like a 'stamp-provider'. It trusts the MPC because the Congress system is highly controlled through the standing committees, and the standing committee members are very close to each other as they are all important CCP *cadres* and appointed by the upper-level CCP. Because policies have already been approved by the MPC, the PPC invariably accepts or simply reviews the policy and then agrees with the MPC. The MPC also has a very close relationship with local government, and thus the MPC or its standing committee normally agrees readily with the policy draft provided by municipal government.

Hangzhou's independence in relation to policy-making is complicated. Both national government and the NPC have given more independence to the local level, but the main decisions are still controlled by the national CCP through the Congress system and by the CCP *cadres*. However, while the CCP has designed closely interwoven relationships for control at the local level, both the Congress system and *cadre* system are not working strictly as they should,

because they normally neglect to evaluate the local policies, and this has gradually added to the independence of local government. Hence, for example, the MPC passes most of the draft policies provided by local government.

7.5 Decentralization within Hangzhou

Generally, in the literature decentralization means the transfer of authority and responsibility for public functions from central government to subordinate or quasi-independent government organizations or the private sector (Liu and Tao, 2004). It is suggested that decentralization often does not stop with local government's increased independence from provincial and national government, as it often involves a transfer of authority from the public to the private sector. The next sections examine the roles of the Hangzhou MPC in decentralization, and then the increasing cooperation between the public and private sectors.

7.5.1 The roles of Hangzhou MPC in decentralization

The tourism policy-making processes in Hangzhou, as shown in Figures 7.2 and 7.3, indicate that the Hangzhou MPC is the legislative body and also the highest authority at the Hangzhou municipal level. This Congress involves a standing committee with several important *cadres* and many part-time Congress members who are elected from neighbourhoods, districts and counties (Shih, 1999). Because most members are part-time they only meet once a year. As a result the standing committee was often the decision-maker as its meetings are held monthly. The *cadres* in China's political domains were highly controlled by the central CCP and their selection is mainly through upper-level appointment and transfers from province to province (Shambaugh, 2004). Due to this situation, China's decentralization is perhaps still under the control of centralized decision-makers and the CCP.

As previously stated, Hangzhou's Municipal Congress has close relationships with Hangzhou's government. Politicians in the standing committee of Hangzhou Congress usually have close working relationships with the Hangzhou government's heads. Because of this the standing committee usually agrees with the decisions made by the government. In the second round of interviews, two government officials pointed to deficiencies in decision-making by the Hangzhou Congress: *"I think the responsibilities of the Congress should be strengthened. It is*

now mainly controlled only by the CCP, or influenced by the government, but it does not really represent the Chinese people's thinking" (Interview, 10.04.2006). It was argued that *"The decision-making authority actually is still determined by the standing committee. This means only a few people make the final decisions. Does the Congress really represent the people's interests? I think this is the important question that we have to think about. I think I would suggest that the Congress should have more open meetings to ask for more opinions from the citizens and other delegates in the Congress"* (Interview, 17.04.2006).

Four interviewees thought that the responsibilities of the Congress should be strengthened. They felt that currently the Hangzhou MPC is not really in possession of the full role as a decision-maker. One tourism expert said that Hangzhou's MPC generally approves all the policy drafts provided by government (Interview, 19.04.2006). Some felt that the Congress simply provides a largely symbolic official seal of approval and that it has lost responsibility for inspection because it simply asks for opinions. This situation further indicates the close relationship between the government and the Congress.

While several people discussed problems concerning the role of the Congress after decentralization, most of the interviewees (7 of 12) admitted that it was necessary to keep the Congress due to its irreplaceable official position. *"The Constitution states that the Congress should be the highest authority... So that is why it then has to be"* (Interview, 18.04.2006). *"The Congress represents Chinese people's interests. Our country is a socialist country, so the Congress has to be the final decision-maker to make sure all the policies really protect people's well-being"* (Interview, 18.04.2006). It is difficult to say whether their trust in this institution is well placed or not. They may have said exactly what they thought, but they may also have used the official doctrine to cover up what they really believed. This may be because of the Chinese philosophy, the 'Doctrine of the Middle Way', and also because of fears of offending the government or the CCP. The 'Doctrine of Middle Way', as the core idea in the earliest Chinese philosophy of 'Yi-Jing', influences Chinese people to act with great caution so as not to offend other people and to keep society in balance (Mou, 2003). At the same time, all interviewees agreed with the significant role of the Congress as decision-maker.

7.5.2 Cooperation between Hangzhou's public and private sectors

In reviewing the local approach to decentralization, it appears that both devolution and privatisation had some roles to play in Hangzhou. This section examines the role of privatisation in Hangzhou's decentralization. The results are from the second round of interviews, involving 22 interviewees. The 22 interviewees were asked whether they thought it was important to involve various actors in tourism policy-making. They were also asked whether they knew how to make complaints or to offer suggestions regarding tourism policies. As many as 19 interviewees spoke of the importance of involving various actors in tourism policy-making processes. And only two community people and one government official thought that involvement by other actors was not necessary (Interviews, 04.2006).

Most government officials and tourism experts thought that involvement by the community and the private sector was important, often stating that they had been weak voices in tourism policy-making. Their involvement was considered necessary for fairness in society and also to make policies more practical. One tourism expert argued that: *"To keep society fair for every one, various actors' involvements are necessary. Now China recognises the importance of harmonizing the whole society, so there is more and more care about the weak voices in society"* (Interview, 15.04.2006). Another governmental official suggested that: *"The private sector and community actually are the biggest groups influenced by tourism policies. To make policies practical, it requires the government to know what they need and what they think. Then tourism policies can work better for them"* (Interview, 15.04.2006).

However, the reasons given for involving other actors were slightly different for the community and the industry. One community representative stated that: *"It is our right to know what is happening in the city. Tourism is now very important for Hangzhou, we all benefit from it... We earn money in the tourism industry, and that is why Hangzhou is now becoming a rich city in China. So I think the government's decisions about tourism also need to be communicated to all the residents in Hangzhou. It is important"* (Interview, 21.04.2006). By contrast, one industry interviewee said: *"Now a lot of government tourism projects cannot live without private company support. We provide the financial support. So I think it is important to involve us in the decision-making processes. We have rights to know what we are investing in"* (Interview,

When the interviewees are asked about how to complain or make suggestions about tourism policies, they identified several ways, although quite a significant proportion were unsure how this can be done. Two interviewees said 'don't know' when asked about this; nine interviewees answered the question but with some doubts; and the other eleven answered the question clearly. The 'Mayor's Line' (a telephone number: 12345) and the Department for Letters and Complaints were mentioned most frequently in the interviews. The 'Mayor's Line' started in 2000, with Hangzhou being the first Chinese city to launch such a service, and now it has spread to more than 70 cities (Hangzhou Daily, 2003a). It was established with the aim of enhancing the image of the city, improving citizen's trust in the government, and providing a convenient channel to link Hangzhou's residents with the city's government (Hangzhou Daily, 2003a). People can simply call the number or email to express complaints, suggestions or offer advice. The secretaries who work in the 'Mayor's Line' categorise the different types of calls or mail, pass the information onto relevant governmental departments, and coordinate getting responses from the departments.

Another question in the second fieldwork interviews with 22 interviewees asked them whether they had heard of the 'Mayor's Line', and whether they knew anyone who had used it. All the interviewees knew of the 'Mayor's Line' and eight interviewees said that they knew someone who had used it. All said that the 'Mayor's Line' responded very quickly, and five said that they had solved problems very quickly. However, three interviewees said that problems were simply transferred to a related department, and then the people had to wait for a response from that department. It seems that the government has successfully promoted the 'Mayor's Line', and it has established a good reputation. However, the 'Mayor's Line' is actually only operated by a few secretaries who have no direct authority. They have to pass the requests to the mayors or related departments in relation to the different types of requests. Only urgent problems tend to be solved quickly, and other requests have to wait for the response from the relevant department. And these departments do not have specific people trained to deal with these enquiries and they usually have other top priorities. This can mean that at times, the 'Mayor's Line' is not very effective.

Seven interviewees also contended that people with problems or opinions about tourism could contact the Hangzhou Tourism Committee, as the city's main tourism administrative organization. However, six respondents had some doubts when answering specifically in relation to tourism. One villager said: *"People seldom have complaints about tourism policies. They only complain about some negative effects after the tourism policies and projects are implemented. Those problems mainly relate to changes in their living environment. Then they usually report it to the Mayor's Line or Department for Letters and Complaints. For suggestions about the tourism policies, I think, maybe they can go to the Hangzhou Tourism Committee. But I have never heard any reports about that, and don't know anyone that has tried. But still they could try, I think"* (Interview, 23.04.2006). Similarly, another community interviewee stated that: *"I don't think people would have complaints about policies. People seldom care about the tourism policy-making issues. They seldom provide suggestions about that unless it is crucial to their living environment. But I think if people really want to provide some suggestions, they can go to the Hangzhou Tourism Committee"* (Interview, 22.04.2006). The community representatives had doubts about this question because they felt few people would go to complain or make suggestions about tourism policies. In addition, some governmental officials were also unsure about their answers. These officials generally expressed the opinion that they did not know much about tourism policies, but they still stated that the Hangzhou Tourism Committee could be a choice. Apart from these answers, one tourism expert mentioned the Congress, and another tourism expert mentioned non-governmental organizations, including the scenic spot management agencies (Interview, 15.04.2006).

Another question asked whether there were any pressures for cooperation between the public and private sectors. Ten people out of the 22 answered this question. Only one government official did not identify any pressures. Indeed, he thought it is unnecessary to have public and private sector cooperation because Chinese people knew little about tourism development and thus he felt they could not provide useful opinions, and that seeking views would just waste time (Interview, 13.04.2006). Three interviewees said that globalisation had created an important pressure for greater public and private sector cooperation (Interviews, 04.2006). Another three interviewees mentioned the increasing decentralization and related reforms

(Interviews, 04.2006). They thought that further reforms would require Hangzhou's government to be more independent from provincial and national governments, and that this would mean it would have to rely more on private sector support. It was also noted that further decentralization requests would entail the government reducing its detailed work and working more like a guide. The government was seen as likely to focus more on an administrative role, and cooperate more with the private sector in its operational roles. Two interviewees shared a similar view that local economic development also requires the collaboration of public and private sectors to provide both authority and investment (Interviews, 04.2006). One academic interviewee indicated that *some relevant academic tourism research, such as about participation, collaboration and community tourism, provides good practice in tourism planning, and it also adds some social pressures encouraging stakeholder involvement in tourism planning* (Interview, 19.04.2006). Another interviewee also noted that *some NGOs also push for cooperation from both the public and private sectors for environmental protection, conservation, and a balance between development and conservation* (Interview, 15.04.2006).

The above discussion indicates there are increasing pressures at the local and global scale for public-private sector cooperation. The interviewees were also asked to give examples of public-private sector cooperation in tourism policy-making. Most of them, however, could only provide examples of government tourism projects with private company financial investment. Not one of them mentioned an example of the direct private sector involvement in decision-making processes. It indicates that the extent of privatisation of policy-making, at least in this sector, is actually really quite limited.

On the one hand, Hangzhou's city government has tried to reduce the barriers between itself and the people by the 'establishment of the Mayor's Line and the enhancement of its workforce in the beginning of 2006', which both try to build a suitable system for receiving complaints, opinions, and suggestions from citizens (Hangzhou Daily, 2003a). On the other hand, however, people in Hangzhou seem to lack information on tourism policies or to lack awareness about their importance, and thus they seem not to consider it worth while to pass on comments or complaints. The first fieldwork asked respondents where people would hear about tourism policies, and most simply answered that this would be from newspapers. This may explain why

awareness of tourism issues and policies is quite low in Hangzhou. Thus it seems that Hangzhou's government needs to improve its publicity about tourism policies so that people can think further and report back in more useful ways. Therefore, to promote a healthy decentralization in Hangzhou, both the citizens of Hangzhou and government officials need further awareness and understanding of tourism policy issues and their implications.

7.5.2.1 Involvement of the private sector in tourism policy-making

The respondents were asked whether or not they thought that private sector involvement and community involvement in tourism policy-making were important, and 21 of the 22 interviewees answered. Two community people and one government official thought there was no need to involve the private sector, this being because they thought tourism policies were not related to private sector work. The other 18 interviewees said it was important to involve the private sector, with the reason often given being that it can provide financial support, suggestions and management skills. But less than half of the interviewees said that the private sector should be directly involved in the decision-making processes or should join the government meetings. Instead, they tended to favour them only joining open meetings, being asked for their opinions, and investing in government projects. This indicates that people's understanding about higher levels of private sector involvement is still very limited.

While most interviewees thought it important to involve the private sector, their understanding regarding who could be involved was also very limited. All the interviewees mentioned hotels and travel agencies, but as many as nine interviewees only mentioned these groups. This is possibly due to the generally limited levels of awareness about the tourism industry, with many perceiving that it simply involves hotels and travel agencies. Other tourism businesses, such as tourism consultancies, scenic district management agencies, tourist product businesses, and theme parks are regularly forgotten as key players in Hangzhou's tourism industry.

7.5.2.2 Community involvement in tourism policy-making

Community involvement is potentially an important element within the decentralization of

governance. Many consider that community involvement in planning and development is critical for the overall sustainability of tourism in a destination (Cooke, 1982; Murphy, 1985). Getz (1994) shows that resident support for tourism can be linked to perceptions that the benefits outweigh the costs of tourism development. Liu (2000) also argues that currently China needs to consider involving the community more in tourism planning, and even in tourism policy decision-making processes. The present research seeks to understand the respondents' views about community involvement in tourism policy-making in Hangzhou, with the 22 interviewees in the second fieldwork asked about this. Out of the 10 community representatives interviewed in the second fieldwork, eight thought it important that the communities are involved in the tourism policy-making processes. They argued that the community is the biggest group affected by tourism development in Hangzhou, and thus that they had a right to know more about it and to express suggestions and complaints.

All the tourism researchers also regarded it as important to have community involvement. One of them stated that: *"It is important to involve community people in tourism policy-making processes because this is a basic requirement for equality in society. If tourism policies do not consider benefits for community people, then it will cause disagreements and even conflicts. In addition, the community is the weakest voice in society. It is necessary to protect their interests for sustainable development"* (Interview, 19.04.2006). However, the governmental officials and industry people were less enthusiastic about community involvement, with four government officials and two industry people considering this unnecessary.

While most interviewees considered community involvement to be important, most thought that the current level of this involvement in Hangzhou was very limited. They highlighted five major reasons for this. First, as many as ten interviewees mentioned mental estrangement between the government and community. One villager said, *"People don't like always to deal with the government. It is difficult to say why, just the feeling, and like a custom"* (Interview, 23.04.2006). One government official also commented: *"At the moment, I think the community doesn't like to pass on the views to the government because the trust between the government and the community is still not good enough. The government wants to do better, but it neglects to gain the support and trust from the community first"* (Interview, 10.04.2006). This mental

estrangement is caused by a lack of trust and also for some historical reasons. China's ancient philosophies discouraged people from being involved in government issues. Chapters 2, 3 and 6 explained how traditional Chinese philosophies, such as Confucianism, taught Chinese people to respect the government, never to question its authority, and of course, not to offend the government. Although such philosophies have less power due to modernisation and Western ideology, these traditional values still influence many people.

Second, eight interviewees mentioned a lack of knowledge about tourism and tourism policies as an important barrier. One interviewee said: *"They don't know the important effects of tourism policies in their lives, as they simply regard tourism policy only as a government issue"* (Interview, 21.04.2006). Another interviewee explained: *"while participation can benefit them, the community also don't know. They need to have more education on these things"* (Interview, 20.04.2006).

The third barrier was mentioned by five interviewees. This was that the community lacked information from the government about tourism policies, so they felt it was difficult to give opinions and their misinformed opinions could not be adopted by the government. One tourism expert explained this point: *"Because of the lack of related information the community can never fully know the whole situation of an issue. Then their opinions may not be suitable and cannot be adopted by the government. And also because of their lack of information, they do not have enough confidence in proposing opinions"* (Interview, 19.04.2006).

Three interviewees suggested a fourth barrier that the government has too much to do and this means it has no time to deal with community feedback. One community person said: *"The government has too many things to do, so they need to deal with the most important issues first, then the minor ones. Some minor ones for the community, however, are urgent issues. So the community seek to solve problems by themselves and not through the government"* (Interview, 25.04.2006). Last but not least, one interviewee mentioned that people may lack clear guidance on how to report problems or make suggestions. He thought that the community could not get enough information on how to report and where to report (Interview, 22.04.2006).

7.6 Summary of Hangzhou's decentralized governance

Two forms of decentralization suggested by Yuksel, Bramwell and Yuksel (2005) - 'devolution' and 'privatisation' - are taking place in Hangzhou to various degrees. Devolution is occurring in Hangzhou since the city's MPC is allowed to formulate local policy; however, it is limited by local policies having to be approved by the Zhejiang PPC before implementation can occur. When local government receives more authority from national and regional level, its authority will still be under the control of the regional level. Therefore, devolution does not fully reach the local level in Hangzhou. The controls on local government departments and units from the government heads have also weakened. Government departments are now more independent, and are responsible for their own financial profits and losses. However, privatisation also has some limitations. Although the government departments have become more independent, all the policy-making authorities are controlled by the Mayor and by the Congress system. The standards are finally approved by the Mayor, while the regulations have to get through the Congress system. The existence of the Congress system means that it can supervise the behaviour of the government and it can also limit the further development of decentralization. Because most policy decisions are made by the standing committee (because the Congress is only in session once a year), the final decision-making becomes centralized again.

'Privatisation' in Hangzhou is very limited. Although most enterprises have been privatised, the link between government and private sector is very weak (Guo, 2003). Most of the interviewees mentioned that the major link between government and the private sector only concerns financial support from the private sector for government projects. There is no direct involvement by the private sector in policy-making processes. Besides private sector actors, the involvement of the community is also restricted because local people lack knowledge about tourism, have no guidance on how to report or comment, lack relevant education and awareness, and are mentally estranged from the government. The limited involvement of private sector actors and communities also indicates that the decentralization of governance in Hangzhou is limited. The sections that follow further examine governance in Hangzhou through evaluations of the various actors involved in Hangzhou's tourism policy-making.

7.7 Actors around the tourism policy-making processes

The previous sections evaluated the limited decentralization of tourism governance in Hangzhou. This section identifies actors related to tourism policy-making that cope with the macro-environment and also influence the external environment through their social interactions. According to Long (2001:241), social actors are social entities that have agency in that they possess the knowledgeability and capability to assess problematic situations and to organize 'appropriate' responses. The term 'social actor' does not refer only to individual persons, as it also includes a cluster of individuals that have similar knowledge and worldviews, such as an organization, or even a group of organizations. A cluster of such individuals is a 'collective actor', and this definition is applied in the research.

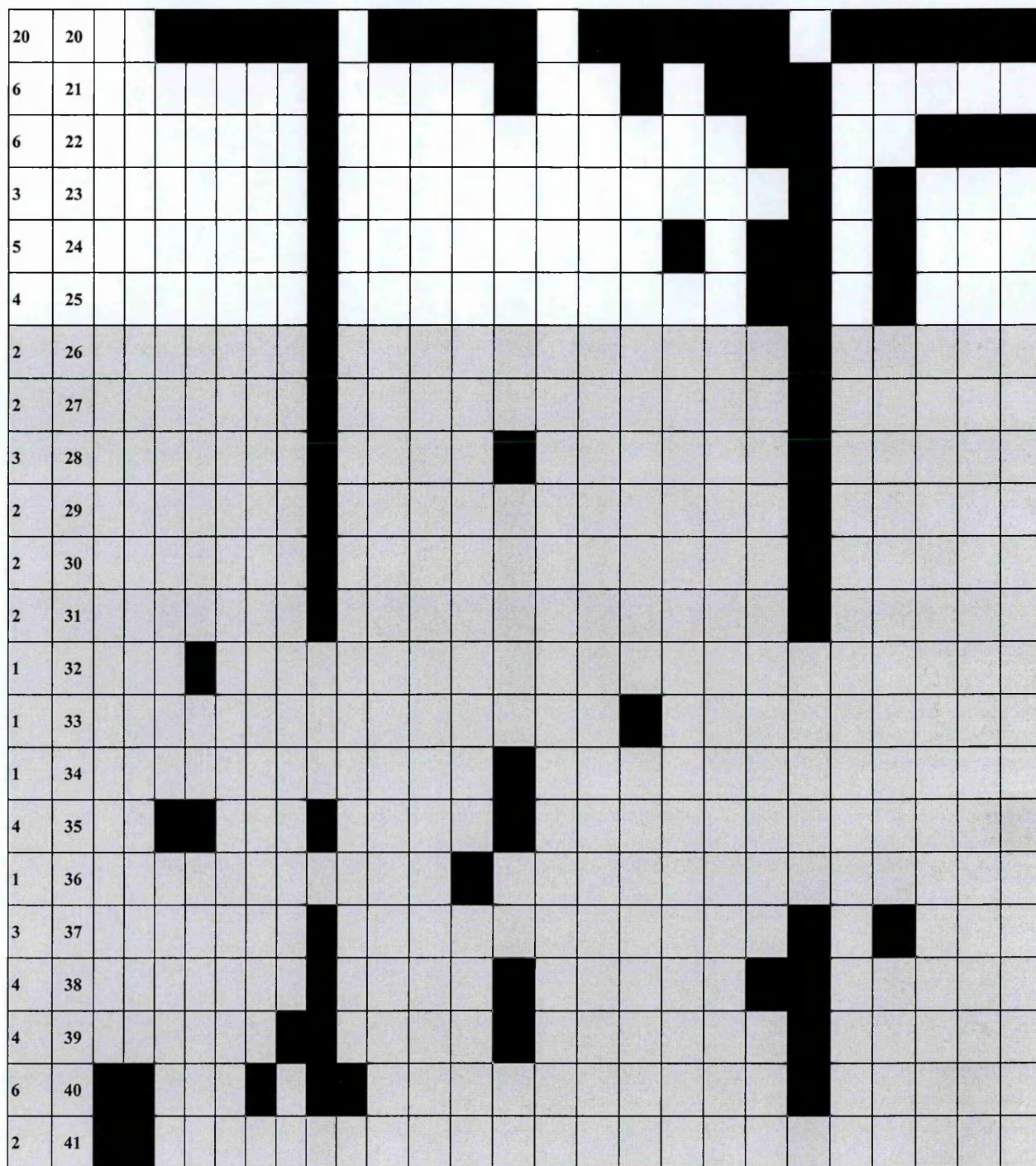
7.7.1 Actor contacts around Hangzhou's tourism policy-making processes

To identify all actors involved in Hangzhou's tourism policy-making processes, the interviewees were asked, 'Have you ever been involved in any tourism policy-making processes in Hangzhou?' There were 37 respondents in the first fieldwork, and 24 of these said that they were directly involved in the tourism policy-making. Interviewees who were directly involved were further asked 'with which organizations and individuals have you worked in the tourism policy-making processes in Hangzhou?' Figure 7.4 lists all the actors who were thus mentioned by interviewees, and also how frequently they were mentioned.

The first column on the left shows the number of times that each actor or 'collective actor' was mentioned in this interview. The numbers in the second column and also the first row represent the different actors. The actors in the matrix are listed at the end. For example, number 1 in the first row and also in the second column is the upper-level government. Upper-level government was mentioned by two other actors (Actor 2 and Actor 19). According to the actor list, actor 2 is Zhejiang PPC and actor 19 is the *Hangzhou Daily Newspaper*. This indicates that in Hangzhou's tourism policy-making processes, the upper-level government had relevant interactions with the Zhejiang PPC and *Hangzhou Daily Newspaper*. In Figure 7.4 there are some actors mentioned by the interviewees who were not selected as interviewees in the first fieldwork. Their numbers are shaded grey in the matrix.

Figure 7.4 shows that several actors were mentioned much more often than others, indicating they had the most involvement in tourism policy-making. They are the Hangzhou Tourism Committee, Hangzhou West Lake Scenic District Management Committee and Experts or consultants, and they were all mentioned 15 times or more. Figure 7.5 shows the huge gap between these three actors and others, suggesting they had relatively much more involvement in Hangzhou's tourism policy-making processes. However, it is difficult to evaluate the actors' full importance in the networks without a more detailed understanding of their interactions.

No. of Mentions		1	2	3	4	5	6	7	8	9	10	11	12	13	14	15	16	17	18	19	20	21	22	23	24	25
2	1																									
2	2																									
5	3																									
5	4																									
4	5																									
4	6																									
5	7																									
24	8																									
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2	10																									
4	11																									
4	12																									
16	13																									
1	14																									
7	15																									
8	16																									
4	17																									
7	18																									
11	19																									



Actor List

Numbers	Organizational actors	Abbreviation
1	Upper-level government (2 people from the National Tourism Administration, and 1 from Zhejiang Provincial Tourism Administration)	ULG
2	Zhejiang PPC (1 person)	ZPC
3	Hangzhou Security Bureau (1 person)	Security
4	Hangzhou City Management Office (1 person)	CM
5	Hangzhou Forestry and Water Conservancy Bureau (1 person)	Forestry

6	Hangzhou Legislative Office (1 person)	Legislative
7	Hangzhou Finance Bureau (1 person)	Finance
8	Hangzhou Tourism Committee (3 people included)	HTC
9	Hangzhou Plan and Reform Committee (1 person)	P & R
10	Hangzhou Environmental Protection Bureau (1 person)	Environment
11	Hangzhou Land Use Management Bureau (1 person)	Land-using
12	Hangzhou Transportation Bureau (1 person)	Transportation
13	Hangzhou West Lake Scenic District Management Committee (1 person)	WLMC
14	World Leisure EXPO and West Lake EXPO Office (1 person)	EXPO
15	Hangzhou City Planning Bureau (1 person)	City Planning
16	Hangzhou Construction Committee (1 person)	Construction
17	Tourism and Trade Bureau in the District Government (1 person from the Xihu District Tourism and Trade Bureau)	TBD
18	Private business enterprises or organizations that invest on government tourism projects (2 persons - a manager from the Hangzhou Nandu Real Estate Group, and a manager from the Hangzhou Song Dynasty Tourism Group)	Investor
19	A journalist from the <i>Hangzhou Daily</i> Newspaper	Media
20	Includes all types of experts (The 3 interviewees are a researcher from the Zhejiang University Tourism Research Center, a researcher from the Hangzhou Education College Tourism Research Centre, and a researcher from the Chinese Academy of Social Sciences)	Expert
21	Designers and Construction Workers (3 people - a civil engineer from the Hangzhou City and County Construction Design Institute, a landscape architect from the Hangzhou Nanfang Landscape Design Institute, and a project manager from Hangzhou Zhongzou Construction Company)	DCW
22	Hotels, Travel agencies, and other tourism enterprises (2 interviewees from the Hangzhou World Trade Centre and a restaurant)	H&TA&B
23	Hangzhou Tourism Association (1 person)	Association
24	Community Committees (2 interviewees - from the Hubin Street Community Committee, and the Meijiawu Village Committee)	CC
25	Community and Tourists (1 person representing a community group)	C&T

Actor list in the grey shade (Actors mentioned by the interviewees, but who were not interviewed)

Numbers	Organizational actors	Abbreviation
26	Hangzhou Public Health and Sanitation Bureau	Sanitation
27	Hangzhou Education Bureau	Education
28	Hangzhou Housing Administration	Housing
29	Hangzhou Commodity Pricing Bureau	Pricing
30	Hangzhou Complaints Service and Hospitality Office	Complaint
31	Hangzhou Quality Supervision Bureau	Quality
32	City Management Law Enforcement Bureau under the City Management Office	Law Enforce
33	Subsidiary design institutes under the Hangzhou Construction Committee	DIC
34	Subsidiary design institutes under the Hangzhou Public Landscape and Historical Relics Bureau	DIL
35	District Police Substations	Police Offices
36	Hangzhou Public Bus Company	Bus Company
37	Hangzhou Consumer Association	Consumer Association
38	Scenic Spots Management Organizations	Scenic Spots Manager
39	Hangzhou Commerce Bureau	Commerce
40	Mayor, Deputy Mayors, and Municipal Secretary in Hangzhou Government	Mayors
41	Hangzhou MPC	HMC

Figure 7.4: Matrix of actor contacts in Hangzhou's tourism policy networks.

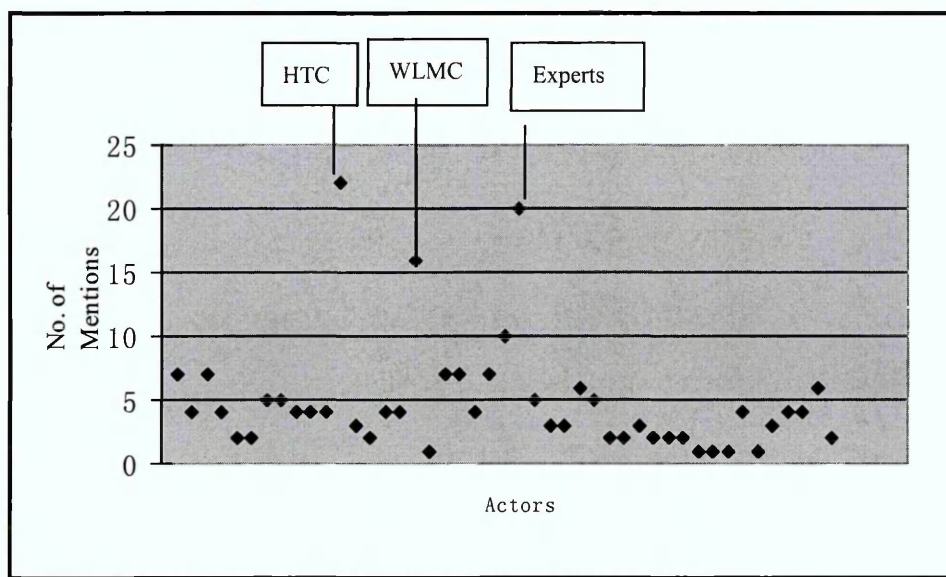


Figure 7.5: Number of times that actors' names were mentioned in the interviews.

7.7.2 Key actors in Hangzhou's tourism policy-making processes

This evaluation suggests that several actors had significant involvements in Hangzhou's tourism policy-making processes. Figure 7.5 indicates that the HTC, WLMC and tourism experts were perceived to have had the most contacts in the tourism policy-making processes. The actors in the first fieldwork were further asked 'What were your involvements and responsibilities in those tourism policy-making processes in Hangzhou?' and 'What were your interests during that involvement?' The responses indicate that the tourism administrative organizations (HTC and WLMC) were involved in all the tourism management, planning, and policy-making projects. As an official from HTC noted: *"We are responsible for all the tourism-related issues in Hangzhou"* (Interview, 23.12.2004). In the preparation period, however, it was clear that tourism experts were responsible for research and drafting policies. Second, because all the local policies had to be evaluated through the Hangzhou Legislative Office, and then approved by the Mayor, the Hangzhou MPC, and the Zhejiang PPC, these actors were also involved in all tourism policies as major decision-makers. The actor analysis therefore starts from these key actors.

7.7.2.1 The Hangzhou Tourism Committee

In the first fieldwork three people were interviewed from Hangzhou's Tourism Committee: the

Deputy Chairman, Director of the Planning Department and a senior engineer. They represented different parts of the committee but all were involved in tourism policy-making. They worked as a group inside the committee but represented the whole organization. They were asked about the responsibilities of this committee in tourism policy-making processes in Hangzhou. According to their responses and related government documents, eight types of responsibilities were held by the Hangzhou Tourism Committee.

First, their most important responsibility involved drafting tourism policies and then implementing them. When Hangzhou Municipal Government decides to apply tourism policies in Hangzhou, usually the Hangzhou Tourism Committee is in charge of the draft-making processes, including doing the research, planning, drafting and communicating with other related departments (Hangzhou's Tourism Committee, 1998a). HTC's Planning Department is responsible for most of the research and plans; its Legislative Department is responsible for providing information on regulations and drafting the policy with experts; and the HTC Chairmen are responsible for communicating with other government departments about possible cooperation (Hangzhou's Tourism Committee, 1998a). In addition, any tourism-related policies made by the Zhejiang Provincial Government, Zhejiang Provincial Tourism Administration, National Tourism Administration, and any related decisions made by all levels of the Congresses, are passed down to the Hangzhou Tourism Committee to be implemented. Having received these documents, the Hangzhou Tourism Committee will make plans to implement the policies, consider appropriate adaptations for each situation, examine the implementation for each part of the tourism industry, get feedback from the industry, and then pass that feedback to the upper level government.

The HTC's second responsibility is for tourism strategy making and tourism planning. The Director of HTC's Planning Department commented how the *"Hangzhou Tourism Committee makes strategies for tourism development for each time period, and it makes short-term and long-term tourism plans"* (Interview, 23.12.2004). Third, another HTC responsibility is to promote Hangzhou for tourism purposes in other cities and other countries. The Hangzhou Tourism Committee helps the Hangzhou Municipal Government to develop Hangzhou's tourism image, undertakes all the tourism promotional campaigns, organizes work for the 'Hangzhou

Tourism Image Promotion Committee', controls the tourism promotion budget, and it also assesses any feedback (Interview, 27.12.2004). Its fourth responsibility is managing the tourism industry as a whole in Hangzhou, including its travel agencies, hotels, local tourism organizations and tourism enterprises. In this context it evaluates the overall structure and health of the sector.

The HTC is also responsible for statistical information on the tourism industry, reporting on this to the Hangzhou Municipal Government and Zhejiang Provincial Tourism Administration (Interview, 27.12.2004). HTC also has to control labour movement into Hangzhou's tourism industry in order to balance tourism development and the city's capacity. Moreover, all external investment from other cities or countries is required to gain the approval of HTC in order to enter Hangzhou's tourism industry. External investors need to get permission from the subordinate agencies of HTC in order officially to invest in Hangzhou's corporations or to open new companies there. Finally, with the help of the Hangzhou Consumer Association, the HTC is responsible for dealing with complaints about service quality in tourism businesses (Hangzhou's Tourism Committee, 1998a).

All of the HTC's activities concern tourism development in Hangzhou. As the deputy chairman of HTC said: *"The general aim of the HTC is to improve the tourism industry in Hangzhou, and establish a good image for the city"* (Interview, 27.12.2004). The HTC is also quite independent in its work. The senior engineer of HTC claimed that: *"Compared to tourism administrations in other cities, the HTC has much higher independence and power. The government gives us great independence so that we can work more flexibly in using the resources and can have practical and effective results.... We can decide most of the tourism development issues in Hangzhou, except for especially important projects and policies. Those very important projects and policies need to be approved through the mayor or Congress. But usually they would agree with us"* (Interview, 23.12.2004). In other Chinese cities, the local tourism administration is called a 'department', while in Hangzhou it is called a 'committee'. In Chinese government a committee is the government unit that has the most authority and has greater independence than a 'department'. For example, it has separate office buildings from the government, and it has more independent authority in decision-making (Song, 2002). This indicates the relatively high

level of power of the HTC when dealing with tourism-related decisions. It also indicates that the Hangzhou Government is comparatively more concerned with tourism than is the case for some other Chinese cities.

In its tourism policy-making, the HTC cooperated mainly with tourism experts and the Hangzhou West Lake Scenic District Management Committee (WLMC). According to the conceptual frameworks in Chapter 3, the actors' skills in dealing with problems are based on their own innate skills and their learning skills (Marsh and Smith, 2000). Innate skills are difficult to change, while learning skills are more easily influenced by the actors' outside world. Most of the HTC's activities involved interaction with tourism experts and the WLMC, and these were the most influential for the HTC's learning skills around tourism development. While the tourism experts lacked proper authority because of their non-governmental positions, they provided their professional knowledge to the HTC and they also substantially influenced the HTC's decision-making. In the second fieldwork, all interviewees thought that the tourism experts were extremely influential in the decision-making processes. One government official said: *"The government officials lack professional knowledge about tourism. So they rely a lot on the tourism experts' opinions. Although the government makes the final decision, the experts' suggestions are taken very seriously"* (Interview, 14.01.2005). The WLMC is responsible for development and protection issues for the West Lake. Because West Lake is Hangzhou's main tourism attraction, the WLMC cooperates regularly with the HTC, such as by providing information about West Lake, suggesting policies for the area, helping in the implementation of tourism policies made by the HTC, and by jointly formulating policies for West Lake (Hangzhou's Tourism Committee, 2002).

7.7.2.2 West Lake Scenic District Management Committee

The WLMC is also called the Hangzhou Public Landscape and Historical Relics Bureau (PLB), which was its original name. Following Hangzhou's extensive tourism development since the 1990s, the city's government decided to establish one organization to lead the development of West Lake and also its protection due to this being the city's most important tourism attraction. The government decided to keep the same officials who had been in the PLB to manage West

Lake as they had expertise in environmental conservation. Therefore, the PLB is now regarded as the same as the WLMC. The organization manages both West Lake and the surrounding public landscape. According to the Director of WLMC's Scenery Management Department, and also to related government documents, the WLMC has eight responsibilities, and the PLB has three responsibilities (see Table 7.2).

Table 7.2 Working Responsibilities of the West Lake Scenic District Management

Committee (Adapted from Hangzhou Government, 2006b and Interview, 05.01.2005)

Responsibilities of the WLMC:

- Implementation of policies related to the West Lake area, and the formulation of draft policies about the protection and management of West Lake.
- Responsible for all project construction and evaluation work for the West Lake area.
- Formulating the Master Plan and Economic and Social Development Plan for the West Lake area.
- Land use planning, demolition of houses and moving people in the West Lake area.
- Financial budget management, statistics, and personnel management for work in the West Lake Scenic District.
- Public facility construction and management.
- Attracting and managing investment and external economic cooperation for the development of West Lake.
- Protection and management of the 'West Lake Long Jin Tea' production area.

Responsibilities of the PLB:

- Planning, management and inspection of the landscape and afforestation in the Hangzhou city area.
- Protection and management of Hangzhou's cultural and historical relics.
- Guiding the sub-districts and counties of Hangzhou to protect cultural and historical relics.

The WLMC's (and PLB's) working responsibilities all related to West Lake resource planning, conservation, business and development, including tourism development. The WLMC utilizes resources in the West Lake area, but the resources related to tourism at West Lake also have to be approved by the HTC. As the WLMC's Director explained, for *"Any issues related to tourism at West Lake, we need to discuss them with HTC"* (Interview, 05.01.2005). Thus it seems that both HTC and the WLMC had some overlapping work regarding tourism development at West Lake. The senior engineer of HTC explained how, *"WLMC works on the*

more detailed work. *HTC's work is more like providing general direction. WLMC's work is more to do with detailed aspects and implementation*" (Interview, 23.12.2004). In addition, the WLMC's Director of Scenery Management Department also argued that, *"Actually, the policy content is different. What we do concerns the detailed elements of tourism development, such as the regulations for scenic spot management, regulations for the protection of cultural relics, etc. These regulations are part of the more general tourism policy context provided by the HTC"* (Interview, 05.01.2005). Although they had different working areas, these differences were not widely appropriated. Both the HTC and the WLMC had authority, for example, in drafting tourism policies. Such unclear definitions and overlapping policy activities resulted in some misunderstandings among the public and other groups.

7.7.2.3 The Hangzhou Legislative Office

The Hangzhou Legislative Office (HLO) mediates between the final decision makers and the draft makers. All policy drafts have to be evaluated by the HLO before getting approval from the Mayor or the Congress system. Besides this policy evaluation, the HLO is also responsible for drafting general public policies, analysing current policies, making plans for policy-making, and policy implementation in Hangzhou (Hangzhou Government, 2006b).

Although the HLO works as the evaluator of the HTC and the WLMC in relation to tourism policies, the HLO does not have higher powers. This is because it neglects its role of evaluation and it usually simply agrees with all of the draft policies. As the Director of the HTC's Planning Department explained: *"With all the tourism policy drafts made by us, the Legislative Office usually will agree with us"* (Interview, 27.12.2004). The intention behind the HLO inspecting the draft policies from government departments is to ensure that the policies do not overlap or conflict in their content. However, in practice this work actually is already done by the 'Legislative Department' within each government department (Hangzhou Government, 2006b). Therefore, the HLO tends always to neglect to check the policy drafts once again.

7.7.2.4 The Mayors, Hangzhou MPC, and Zhejiang PPC

Hangzhou's municipal government has one mayor and seven deputy mayors (Hangzhou Government, 2006b). The mayor supervises all issues in the city. Each deputy mayor has different areas to supervise, but all of them need to assist in the work of the mayor. The mayor is the highest decision maker in relation to city development issues, except for the policy issue.

This is because Hangzhou's MPC is the highest authority, being responsible for local policy-making and implementation, the appointment of mayors and the standing committee members, and for the inspection of local government work (Lin, 2005). However, the Congress actually usually agrees with the government's decisions and policy drafts as long as their content will not bring negative consequences for the Communist Party. Its duties are not well performed, with one community interviewee claiming that: *"The Congress should represent our will. But now they only represent their own, that of the party and the government"* (Interview, 04.25.2006).

As mentioned earlier, the main decision-makers in Congress are not all Congress members, with some only being core members within the standing committee. The important difference is that Congress members are voted from the public, while the standing committee members are appointed from upper-level standing committees and the national government. The Congress meeting is held at least once a year, while the standing committee meetings are held at least once every two months (Lin, 2005). Therefore, the standing committee actually conducts most of the issues for the Congress. The members within it are all important CCP members and the Congress also has close links with the government. Indeed, the chairperson of the standing committee in the Congress is the CCP secretary of Hangzhou Municipal Government (Hangzhou MPC, n.d.). Such a close relationship can help encourage cooperation between the two organizations or group actors, but it can also weaken the inspection role of the Congress.

Compared to the Hangzhou MPC, the Zhejiang PPC acts more like a 'stamp-provider'. All the local policies within the Zhejiang Provinces have to be approved through the Zhejiang PPC before implementation is possible (Zhejiang PPC, 2004). Despite the responsibility of policy inspection and authority approval, the Zhejiang PPC acts just like a 'receiver', receiving the

document without any feedback. Most of the interviewees see the PPC as fairly pointless and part of a formalism from the past.

7.7.2.5 Tourism experts

There are various experts involved in Hangzhou's tourism policy-making processes: researchers from university research centres, professional experts from government departments, and experts from other private tourism consultancies or companies. No matter how different the individuals are, they all have something in common, which is their working responsibilities. They all do related research, work as consultants, and help the government in writing and designing tourism policy drafts. Because of their similar working area, this study views all of them as a collective actor.

From the interviews in the first fieldwork, it was found that experts are responsible for helping government to design the research processes, find problems, conduct search, write drafts, get feedback, and report back to government. Three tourism experts who were interviewed in the first fieldwork, concluded that the main aims of tourism experts in tourism policy-making processes are to improve self-learning and self-knowledge, assist the government in completing policy-making, and to work out practical and sustainable policy suggestions (Interview, 12.2004 and 01.2005). The tourism experts that work for government can earn extra money and also raise their position within their university or company (Interview, 04.01.2005). They do not have direct authority because they are not government officials, but their knowledge can have a large influence on the HTC's or WLMC's decision-making process.

In the second fieldwork, all interviewees were asked about the importance of tourism experts. All mentioned the crucial role of experts in tourism policy-making. One government official stated that *"Tourism experts are the key tourism policy makers. They provide suggestions to the government's key decision-makers and help in draft-making"* (Interview, 18.04.2006). Another HTC official asserted that *"We could not make tourism policies without experts. They have more knowledge than us, and they can assist us in drafting the tourism policies"* (Interview, 15.04.2006).

However, the tourism experts did not have higher power than the HTC or the WLMC. More than 80% of interviewees thought that the tourism experts needed to listen to the HTC's or the WLMC's views, particularly when they have disagreements. According to one government official: *"Although tourism experts are very important in government decision-making, they are still non-government officials. They don't have authority in the final decision-making. They can only provide some suggestions, but cannot make the decisions"* (Interview, 10.04.2006). The official meant that the experts work as highly capable assistants to the decision-makers. One expert suggested that *"What we have done is follow the instructions of the government. Usually the HTC or WLMC will tell us what they want and plan to do first. According to their aims, we help to set the objectives and actions. Also when we finish the plan, we need to show the results and explain them to the HTC or WLMC. It is their decision to say whether the plan will be implemented or not"* (Interview, 19.04.2006). Therefore, tourism experts have a crucial influence on decision-making, but they have less power than the tourism administration in government.

7.7.3 Other actors involved in tourism policy-making

Besides the above key actors, there is a diverse range of actors involved in the tourism policy-making processes. It is difficult to analyse every actor in detail, but it is possible to categorise the actors into different groups based on three features, namely their organizational responsibility, organizational role and organizational interests. Organizational responsibility relates to what the actors do in the tourism policy-making processes, the organizational role relates to the position of the actors in society (which is considered in an evaluation of organizational power in Chapter 8), and organizational interests relate to the motivations and aims of the actors. These three features can potentially explain why and how these actors are involved. Tables 7.2 to 7.8 divide the actors into eight categories according to these three features.

Category A involves actors involved in many tourism policy-related activities, that have a high interest in being involved in tourism policy-making processes, and they usually have a high level of power when they interact with other actors. There are three actors in this category: the

Hangzhou City Planning Bureau, Hangzhou City Management Office, and Hangzhou Environment Protection Bureau. They are all governmental departments and they have similar levels of authority. The City Planning Bureau is responsible for providing relevant city plans to the tourism policy drafters, because tourism planning forms part of the city plan (Interview, 05.01.2005). The City Management Office is responsible for managing and controlling the city's appearance and facilities, which are very important for tourism development (Interview, 10.01.2005). It was highly interested in tourism activities because the tourism image is important for the city's appearance and overall image. Tourism development and planning hugely influence and rely on the natural environment. Therefore, the Environment Protection Bureau also belongs to Category A in Table 7.3.

Table 7.3 Category A Actors and Actor Features (Adapted from Interviews, 01.2005. and Hangzhou Government, 2006b).

Category	Actors	Actor Features		
		Organizational Responsibility	Organizational Role	Organizational Interests
Category A: High socio-political status, relevant responsibility, and strong interest in tourism	Hangzhou City Planning Bureau	Provides relevant city plans to tourism policy draft makers, and makes relevant changes in city plans.	Government department	High interest in tourism policy-making because tourism development forms part of city plans.
	Hangzhou City Management Office	Managing and controlling the city's appearance and facilities, which are important for tourism development.	Government department	High interest because tourism image is close to the city's overall appearance.
	Hangzhou Environment Protection Bureau	Provides relevant environmental policies and environmental protection methods for draft tourism policies.	Government department	High interest in tourism policy when it relates natural environment protection

Category B in Table 7.4 includes nine government departments: the Hangzhou Finance Bureau,

Hangzhou Land Use Management Bureau, Hangzhou Transportation Bureau, Hangzhou Construction Bureau, Hangzhou Forestry and Water Conservancy Bureau, Hangzhou Commerce Bureau, Hangzhou Security Bureau, Hangzhou Plan and Development Committee, and the City Management Law Enforcement Bureau under the Hangzhou City Management Office. These organizations are considerably involved in the tourism policy-making processes. However, as their main aims are not closely related to tourism development, tourism policy issues are only of concern when the issues relate to their particular areas of activity.

Table 7.4 Category B Actors and Actor Features (Adapted from Interviews, 01.2005. and Hangzhou Government, 1998)

Category	Actors	Actor Features		
		Organizational Responsibility	Organizational Role	Organizational Interests
Category B: High socio-political status, relevant responsibility, but low interest in tourism.	Hangzhou Finance Bureau	Control of government tourism project budgets	Government department	Low interest in tourism policy development, as only interested in the budgets of tourism projects
	Hangzhou Land Use Management Bureau	Evaluates land-use as part of tourism policies	Government department	Only interested in tourism development when related to land-use issues
	Hangzhou Transportation Bureau	Provides transportation proposals for tourism developments	Government department	Only interested in tourism policy when it relates to transportation
	Hangzhou Construction Bureau	In charge of construction plans and evaluations related to tourism	Government department	Interested in tourism only when it involves construction
	Hangzhou Forestry and Water Conservancy Bureau	Manages and protects forestry and water resources and provision	Government department	Only interested in tourism development when it destroys forestry or water resources

	Hangzhou Commerce Bureau	Manages and controls tourism businesses.	Government department	Only interested in tourism when it relates to trade and business.
	Hangzhou Security Bureau	Looks after the security of citizens and their property	Government department	Helps in security issues when related to tourism policy
	Hangzhou Plan and Development Committee	Controls and plans city development projects	Government department	Only interested in tourism projects for listing in annual project plans
	City Management Law Enforcement Bureau under the Hangzhou City Management Office	Appearance and public facilities in the city, with punishments for the destruction of facilities or the city environment	Government department's subsidiary	Focus is on its own tasks, and not necessarily tourism.

Table 7.5 Category C Actors and Actor Features (Adapted from Interviews, 01.2005; and Hangzhou Government, 2006b)

Category	Actors	Actor Features		
		Organizational Responsibility	Organizational Role	Organizational Interests
Category C: High socio-political status, less relevant responsibility, and a high level of interest in tourism	National Tourism Administration and Provincial Tourism Administration	No direct involvement in tourism policy-making processes in Hangzhou.	Upper-level government departments	As national and provincial level tourism administrations, they are interested in tourism policies in all cities.
	Hangzhou Cultural Bureau	Manages the city's cultural development. No direct involvement in Hangzhou's tourism policy-making.	Government department	It views culture as rather different from tourism

Category C in Table 7.5 involves the upper-level tourism administration and the Hangzhou

Cultural Bureau. Both are government departments and have a high level of interest in tourism development, but they have very little regular involvement in tourism policy-making processes. The actors in Category D (Table 7.6) are those that have many activities related to tourism policy issues and they are greatly interested in tourism policy-making, but they have a lower position in terms of organizational roles than the government departments.

Table 7.6 Category D Actors and Actor Features (Adapted from Interviews, 12.2004 and 01.2005)

Category	Actors	Actor Features		
		Organizational Responsibility	Organizational Role	Organizational Interests
Category D: Low socio-political status, relevant responsibility, and high level of interest	Tourism and Trade Bureaus in District Government	Provide information and conducts research for those drafting tourism policies	District government department	Interest in all tourism development in their district
	Hangzhou Consumer Association	Deals with consumer complaints and provides relevant information to tourism policy-makers	Local organization	Interest in customer benefits from tourism activities
	Private companies interested in tourism	Invest in tourism projects	Private business	Seek out business opportunities
	Managers of scenic spot organizations	Manage scenic spots and related businesses	Private organizations	Generally not interested in tourism policy, except in changes that will influence them

Category E in Table 7.7 includes local communities, community committees, tourists, and tourist companies (such as restaurants). They have very varied interests, but they are only occasionally related to tourism policy issues. They all have lower socio-political status compared with government departments, and they have very little involvement in tourism policy-making processes. Nevertheless, they can be highly influenced by tourism development.

Table 7.7 Category E Actors and Actor Features (Adapted from Interviews, 12.2004 and 01.2005)

Category	Actors	Actor Features		
		Organizational Responsibility	Organizational Role	Organizational Interests
Category E: Low socio-political status, less relevant responsibility, and low level of interest	Departments (excluding Tourism and Trade Bureau) in District Government	Sometimes provide information for tourism projects or policy-making	District government department	Interested in different aspects of the district, but not tourism
	World Leisure EXPO Office	Prepares for large tourism events in Hangzhou.	Government-private sector partnership organization	Tourism policy relates to the success of its events
	Community	Feedback of views to policy makers	Local people	Personal living environment
	Other tourism enterprises	Feedback of views to policy makers	Private business	Seeks out business opportunities
	Tourists	Feedback of views to policy makers	Individual	Have a good trip
	Restaurants	Feedback of views to policy makers	Private business	Seek out business opportunities

In Table 7.8, Category F includes actors who have little interest in tourism policy issues and have a low socio-political status, but they are involved in activities related to tourism policy-making. They include subordinates to government departments (such as the Public Bus Company, and the police stations), landscape and construction design institutes, construction companies, and newspapers. The last category G, shown in Table 7.9, involves actors who have a strong interest in tourism policy issues but who have largely irrelevant responsibilities and a low socio-political status. The second fieldwork results showed that the Hangzhou Tourism Association has not yet matured, as it could not perform its real responsibilities very well and it still has very few members. Further, it does not have too much involvement in the tourism

policy-making processes. The travel agencies and hotels should be involved in the Hangzhou Tourism Association, but because of its perceived incompetence this has not been achieved.

Table 7.8 Category F Actors and Actor Features (Adapted from Interviews, 12.2004 and 01.2005)

Category	Actors	Actor Features		
		Organizational Responsibility	Organizational Role	Organizational Interests
Category F: Low socio-political status, relevant responsibility, and a low level of interest	Subsidiary design institutes under the Hangzhou Construction Committee	Construction and architectural designs for projects	Subsidiary of government department	Seek to finish its own work
	Other private landscape design institutes	Design landscape for customers	Private business	Seek to meet customer's requirements
	Construction companies	Organizing workers to construct facilities for projects	Private business	Seek to meet customers' requirements
	Public Transportation Bus Company	Provides bus service information for policy makers	Government business	Provides suitable bus routes and plans
	District Police Stations	Look after the security of people and their property in the districts during tourism project work	Subordinate of Security Bureau	Provide security in the districts
	Hangzhou Daily Newspaper	Publishes information about new tourism policies	Media	Only interested in reporting the events

Table 7.9 Category G Actors and Actor Features (Adapted from Interviews, 12.2004 and 01.2005).

Category	Actors	Actor Features		
		Organizational Responsibilities	Organizational Role	Organizational Interests
Category G: Low socio-political status, less relevant responsibility, high level of interest	Travel agencies and hotels	Feedback of their views to tourism policy makers	Private business	Look after business opportunities
	Hangzhou Tourism Association	Feedback of views to tourism policy makers about issues of interest to hotels, travel agencies and tourism enterprises	Non-governmental organization	Strong interest in tourism developments

Tables 7.3 to 7.9 divide the different actors into categories. The actors in each category share similarities in interests, knowledge and/or socio-political status, but they may have rather different and more specific features and experiences. Actors from one category can have different opinions and struggles with each other. The actors have different aims in applying their skills to use their resources. During their interactions, they exchange various resources with each other in order to reach their aims. In these processes, they often experienced many difficulties before reaching agreements. These issues will be examined in the next chapter.

7.8 Conclusion

This chapter has reviewed features of the macro-environment of Hangzhou's tourism policy-making processes, which included the system of public administration, the policy-making processes, the decentralization of governance, and general characteristics of actors related to the city's tourism policy-making. Because Hangzhou is the capital city of Zhejiang Province, it has the authority to make its own policies, including tourism policy, and it has great independence from the upper-level government. Most tourism policies are developed according to 'bottom-up' processes within Hangzhou's government. However, within Hangzhou the degree of decentralization in the tourism policy-making processes is rather limited. For example, people do not have a high level of awareness of the importance of actor involvement and they also lack relevant knowledge. In this situation, it appears that the involvement of diverse actors in tourism policy-making has only just started.

The study's research objectives are to apply the three levels of the conceptual framework to the Hangzhou case study. Chapters Two, Three and Six have reviewed the overall macro-environment influencing Hangzhou's tourism policy-making processes, including the socio-cultural, environmental, economic, and political contexts in China and Hangzhou. Chapter Six has presented details of the important macro environment in relation to tourism policy-making processes in Hangzhou. The present chapter has examined details of the political decentralization of governance in Hangzhou, and it was shown how this directly influenced the evaluation of Hangzhou's tourism policy networks. Chapter Eight applies the micro-level and meso-level conceptual frameworks to Hangzhou's tourism policy-making processes, and thus it considers the actor interactions, discourses, knowledge frameworks, power configurations and the dynamics of the city's tourism policy networks.

Chapter 8

Actor Interactions and Dynamics of Tourism Policy Networks in Hangzhou

8.1 Introduction

The previous chapter 7 has applied the macro-level conceptual framework to Hangzhou in order to evaluate the decentralization of tourism governance and the varied actors related to Hangzhou's tourism policy-making. This chapter applies the other two conceptual frameworks (the micro- and meso-level frameworks) to the case study so as to explain how the actors coped with the external environment, interacted with each other, and made decisions about tourism policies. The actors attempt to solve problems, learn how to intervene in the flow of social events around them, and to a degree they also monitor their own actions, observe how others react to their behaviour, and take note of the various contingent circumstances (Giddens, 1984:1-16). The advantage of an actor-oriented approach is that it aims to grasp precisely the actors' interactions through a systematic ethnographic understanding of the 'social life' of development projects – from conception to realization – as well as the responses and lived experiences of the variously located and affected social actors (Sardan, 1995:50-4). Thus, this chapter will evaluate the actors' interactions in social interfaces, including the actors' discourses, knowledge frameworks and power configurations. After that, the chapter evaluates the dynamics of the tourism policy networks based on the power relationships among actors. It further explains the major features of Hangzhou's tourism policy networks, including the policy community, network dynamics, and the network communication.

8.2 Actor interactions in tourism policy-making processes: enrolment, discourses, knowledge frameworks, and power configurations

8.2.1 Actor enrolment processes in Hangzhou's tourism policy-making

The previous chapter 7 outlined the different characteristics of actors. But the question is how do these actors get to know each other? How do they become partners working on one project? How do they exchange resources? And how do they finally reach agreements? From an

actor-oriented perspective, these issues all start from a process of 'project enrolment'. Actors are seen as active participants who seek to engage or 'enrol' other actors into their own 'projects', based on their own interests and worldviews (Murdoch and Marsden, 1995). Any actor can establish a project in order to reach its own interests and goals. It would be impossible to finish many projects if an actor has only limited resources, and thus actors need to enrol others into their projects, and exchange their resources. All actors who become enrolled into a project are more or less interested in the project, and they each try to secure their own aims through their involvement in the project.

During the project enrolment process, actors experience various difficulties due to their different project knowledge. They experience struggles and conflicts, make compromises, and finally they may reach agreements. These social interfaces typically occur at points where different, and often conflicting, social fields intersect (Long, 2001:177). The actors will become oriented to devising ways of 'bridging, accommodating to, or struggling against each other' (Long, 2001:177) in those so-called 'locales' (Giddens, 1981). An important aspect of the project enrolment process relates to knowledge processes. These concern the ways in which actors come to grips cognitively, emotionally and organizationally with the world around them (Long, 2001:242). In the project enrolment process, knowledge processes relate to how the actors understand each other and how they work together. Therefore, the following discussion explains the process of project enrolment, the social interfaces, and the knowledge processes.

When actors establish projects, they usually find that their limited resources hinder them in reaching their aims, and thus they need to enrol other actors and exchange resources. The actors communicate with each other during the process of resource exchange, not only for reaching understandings, but also to ensure that the actors to take part in interactions (Habermas, 1987:139). Any actor can establish a project, but often it is only when the actors have some exclusive resources or they have considerable power, will it be that their projects are successfully started and finished through the actor enrolment process. This is because often it is only the powerful actors that are able to organize and manage the long and complicated project enrolment process, who are able to take the lead during the actor interactions, and are able to achieve most of their original aims. In this study, the actors that start projects and manage the

project enrolment process are depicted as 'project leaders'.

In relation to Hangzhou's tourism policy-making, it was found that the project leaders were almost always the Hangzhou Tourism Committee (HTC) and/or the West Lake Scenic District Management Committee (WLMC). First, based on the actor evaluations in Chapter 7, it was found that the HTC was Hangzhou's key tourism administrative organization, and that the WLMC also dealt with many tourism policies at West Lake, this being where very many of the city's tourism activities took place. Second, from the analysis of tourism policy-making in Chapter 6, it was noted that the HTC and WLMC were the main draft makers and also project leaders for Hangzhou's tourism policies. Among the 12 main tourism regulations in Hangzhou, 7 were led and drafted by the HTC and 5 by the WLMC (Hangzhou government, 2006a). Third, three interviewees from the HTC and one interviewee from WLMC stated that they usually were the leaders in the city's tourism policies and projects. In addition, all the interviewees who were involved in tourism policy-making processes mentioned the strategic leadership of the HTC or WLMC.

While some other government departments or even leading government figures might also start tourism projects, the actor enrolment process would still definitely be led by the HTC or WLMC. For instance, the 'Project for Provincial Eco-standards' was originally proposed by the Hangzhou Environmental Protection Bureau (Zhejiang Provincial Legislative Office, 2003). But after it was discussed in government meetings, the mayor approved the project and decided to appoint the HTC as the project leader, with the Hangzhou Environmental Protection Bureau providing assistance (Zhejiang Provincial Legislative Office, 2003).

According to the conceptual frameworks, several changes occur among the actors when project enrolment happens. First, while each actor has its own resources, they are usually dependent on other actors for resources. Thus, in order to achieve their goals, these actors have to exchange their resources (Rhodes, 1997:36). The interview questions in the first fieldwork asked the interviewees whether they provided assistance to their contact actors, and about the kinds of working relations and assistance there was among them.

Table 8.1 Resource exchanges around the project leader in the project enrolment**processes.**

Actors	Resources provided to the project leader	Resources received from the project leader
Mayors, Hangzhou MPC, and Zhejiang PPC	Authority and approvals.	Information about the project and about tourism development in the city.
Provincial government and national level government	Evaluations and advice.	Implementation work, information on the results, and related documents about the project.
Government departments	Suggestions and documentation support.	They sought to win more emphasis on aspects of the current tourism policy related to their own work. They also sought to get reciprocal assistance from project leaders when they launched their own projects in the future.
Hangzhou Legislative Office	Supervision, evaluation of the policies, and related policy references.	Practical work on the tourism policies.
Experts	Professional knowledge, designs, writing of drafts, and professional advice.	Greater involvement in the government projects, which could bring them an enhanced reputation.
Private enterprises	Investment, opinions and feedback.	More business opportunities.
Landscape and Construction Design Institutes	Design work on the plans.	More business opportunities.
Tourists	Opinions and feedback.	Having happier and safer trips.
Communities and community committees	Feedback and opinions.	Guarantee on their better living environment and activities.

Because the project leaders were the key actors in tourism policy-making processes, most of the other involved actors had contacts with them. These interactions around project leaders could help to explain how the different actors sought to make agreements. Table 8.1 focuses exclusively on the main resource exchange activities around the project leaders, including what resources the other actors provided them with, and what resources they received back from the project leaders. This represents key aspects of the interactions involved in tourism policy-making processes.

Resource exchanges between other actors and the project leaders might be the most important feature helping to explain why and how the projects continue. But resource exchanges also happen among other actors without the project leaders. For example, various government departments transfer documents between each other and they have meetings to exchange opinions. An official from the Environment Protection Bureau stated that, *"We all are involved in the tourism policy-making processes, but we mainly just exchange documents and offer opinions to each other"* (Interview, 14.01.2005). In fact the types of resource exchanges among the government departments seemed very limited. This indicated that the government actors did not have a high degree of resource dependency on each other, except with the project leader.

Not only the government actors, but also most private sector actors did not have a high degree of resource dependency on each other in the tourism policy-making processes. Most of the interviewees only mentioned their interactions with the HTC or WLMC, and very few of them mentioned interactions with other private sector actors. This potentially indicated the centralized control and power of the project leaders (HTC/WLMC) in relation to resources in Hangzhou's tourism policy-making.

8.2.2 Discourses, knowledge frameworks and power configurations at the social interfaces

The different resources and dependencies on resources among the actors caused them to need to interact with each other. These social interfaces can drive the actors into negotiations, conflicts, disagreements and agreements (Long, 2001). The social interfaces provide arenas for actors to use their discourses, transfer their knowledge and perform their power, in order to reach their own aims. Knowledge interfaces are one of the most important types of social interfaces, representing discontinuities in knowledge between actors and also processes of knowledge transformation (Long, 2001). In other words, knowledge interfaces are social interfaces that are caused by knowledge differences. The following discussion explains the social interfaces for the following projects: 'Hangzhou's tourism regulation', schemes for the 'protection and development of West Lake', and a 'park construction project'. These examples illustrate the value of using the concept of social interfaces, and also of actors' discourses, knowledge frameworks and power configurations.

8.2.2.1 Social interfaces around 'Hangzhou's tourism regulation'

Several cases were selected in order to examine the social and knowledge interfaces among different actors, beginning here with Hangzhou's 'tourism regulation' (HTR). In the first fieldwork, four interviewees (including two from the Hangzhou Tourism Committee, one each from the Environmental Protection Bureau and the Finance Bureau) mentioned interfaces around decision-making for Hangzhou's HTR, which was formulated in August 2005. It was approved by Hangzhou's MPC in 2005 and by Zhejiang's PPC in 2005, and its implementation began in 2006 (Hangzhou's Tourism Committee, 2006). Although Hangzhou's tourism industry has developed dramatically over these years, there has not been a proper system of local tourism policies. The only previous tourism regulation was the Hangzhou 'tourism management method' of 1998 (Hangzhou's Tourism Committee, 1998b). This outdated 'method' had totally lost control of the operation of Hangzhou's tourism industry, so in 2005 a key aim was to update this tourism regulation.

After years of social pressures to update the city's tourism regulations, the formulation of the HTR established a new stage in Hangzhou's tourism management because it improved the industry's service quality and it improved the city's tourism image. The implementation of the HTR led to an explosion of media coverage about the city, such as in reports in the *'People's Net'* (2005c), the *'People's Daily'* (2005b), and the *'Chinese Journal of Tourism Research'* (Zhang, 2006). After this media coverage, some other local government areas, such as Xi'an and Nanjing, and the district government in Hangzhou (such as Yuhang and Fuyang), all started to formulate their own local regulations for tourism management.

In the formulation of the HTR, there were important difficulties in the actors' power, discourses and knowledge frameworks. The main drafter of the HTR was Hangzhou's Tourism Committee, but it also related to the Hangzhou Commerce Bureau, Hangzhou Finance Bureau, Hangzhou Transportation Bureau, Hangzhou Sanitation Bureau, Hangzhou Legislative Office, Hangzhou City Management Office, Hangzhou Environment Protection Bureau, Hangzhou Security Bureau, and Hangzhou Consumer Association (Hangzhou's Tourism Committee, 2006).

The HTR encouraged the Hangzhou government to put part of its finances specifically towards tourism development and resource protection related to tourism development (Hangzhou's Tourism Committee, 2006). This strengthened the financial support for tourism in Hangzhou and the government's determination in further tourism development. However, this financial priority led to dissatisfaction from other departments. According to an interviewee from the Finance Bureau: *"setting up special funds for tourism is good for Hangzhou's tourism industry, but it brings more complicated work for us. How much should we put aside just for tourism? Who can use the money? As you know, tourism is related to a lot of other departments. So does that mean that all of these related departments can come and apply for the money, or only the tourism administration? The Hangzhou 'Tourism Regulation' only specifies the need to set the money aside. But its implementation needs a lot of further work from us"* (Interview, 08.01.2005).

As the government budget controller, the Finance Bureau's discourses all concerned budget coordination, controls and balance among the different government departments. The Finance Bureau preferred to have a balanced approach to arranging the budgets of the different departments, which would not lead to conflicts between departments. Indeed, any change to the budget arrangements would concern the Finance Bureau because *"there was a very limited government budget mainly from local taxation"* (Interview, 08.01.2005). A Finance Bureau official also claimed that *"if we put aside some special funds only for tourism, other parts of the city's development might not get enough support"* (Interview, 08.01.2005). Based on such discourses, the Finance Bureau seems to have a knowledge framework of 'government funding controls' and of 'balanced societal development'.

While the Finance Bureau official complained about troubles brought by the HTR, the Hangzhou Tourism Committee (HTC) interviewee extolled the benefits of the 'tourism special funds'. He said that *"getting strong financial support from government could greatly speed up progress on some tourism projects"* (Interview, 23.12.2004). The HTC is Hangzhou's tourism administrative organization, and its discourses mainly related to tourism development, and their broader knowledge framework was of 'tourism as an economic catalyst', as distinct from

‘tourism and wider socio-economic and environmental improvement’. As the HTC Chairman explained: *“Tourism development is significant for Hangzhou at this moment. As a tourism city, the tourism industry could bring benefits to the city's other industries, and thus it brings prosperity for society”* (Interview, 27.12.2004).

The Finance Bureau was not the only actor that opposed the special fund decision for the HTR. Some tourism experts also expressed worries about setting up special funds. A tourism professor expressed his opinion in a newspaper: *“Too much financial support from government may limit private investment in tourism, and also limit the private sector's involvement in tourism projects”* (Jiang’nan Daily, 2006). These tourism experts also applied discourses related to concerns about sustainable tourism development and stakeholder involvement in tourism planning. Their wider knowledge framework thus tended to relate to sustainable development. Despite such opinions opposed to the HTR, some other tourism experts supported the ‘special funds’ idea. One tourism expert said that the *“special funds open the market for tourism development in the near future. It also allows for more decentralization in tourism decision-making”* (Interview, 16.01.2005). These tourism experts considered that the extra money from government could help tourism to be one of the prime priorities comparing to other industries in Hangzhou. Their wider knowledge framework, therefore, was more related to tourism development, with a focus on economic and political support.

When tensions occurred among the different actors around decision-making for the HTR, the idea of special funds was strongly supported by the city's government heads. From newspaper reports, it seemed that the government heads wanted to increase the speed of tourism development, and to promote Hangzhou as an international city. In the ‘City Express’ newspaper, Deputy Mayor of Hangzhou said, *“We need to develop both the quality and quantity of the tourism industry, to develop Hangzhou as an international tourism city. It is currently our biggest task”* (City Express, 2004). As this discourse indicates, the heads of government wanted to put tourism development as a key priority in government affairs, mainly because tourism brought Hangzhou many economic benefits and an international reputation.

The head of Hangzhou's government had considerable power in the HTR process as it had the

highest authority in government. This process also indicates that decentralized decision-making within the government was very limited, as the government head still had considerable centralized power. Because the government head's knowledge framework was similar to the HTC's, the knowledge framework around tourism development was most influential, and the decision to assign special funds was accepted.

Another interface around the HTR concerned the issue of promoting business tourism. In recent years, business tourism has become one of the most important components in Hangzhou's tourism industry. Because of the large profits in business tourism, most of Hangzhou's travel agencies are also passionate about it (Business Net, 2005). In the draft HTR, it stated that government departments, agencies, and other public organizations and companies were allowed to ask travel agencies to arrange their business travel (Hangzhou's Tourism Committee, 2006). However, after examination by the Hangzhou MPC Standing Committee, this item was deleted. One standing committee member from Hangzhou MPC explained in a press conference: *"Such regulation may encourage officials to use public funds for travelling, and also may cause corruption. Therefore, it is not yet a suitable time to adopt such a policy"* (Business Net, 2005). This idea was originally proposed by the Hangzhou Tourism Committee. The HTC's Dean claimed in the press that *"with careful management and control, the corruption problem can be avoided. Shanghai and Beijing are good examples because they have already adopted such a policy"* (Business Net, 2005). The HTC's discourse was more related to market-led tourism development and a focus on the market economy. One HTC official also used similar discourses in his interview. He said: *"There is a trend of having business tourism, even in the government. The market for business tourism is growing. That's why we think it is necessary to have regulations to improve it"* (Interview, 23.12.2004).

This idea was also supported by the Hangzhou government heads and it was then put into the draft. It seems that both the HTC and heads of the government were behind the knowledge framework of market-led tourism development, viewing tourism strongly as an economic catalyst. On the other hand, however, the MPC was behind the knowledge framework of 'legislative authority and political legitimacy'. Hangzhou's MPC was notably concerned about political problems, the communist party's image, and corruption problems within government.

This case, therefore, indicates that the political power configuration of the Congress had the strongest position in the decision-making, and that the MPC standing committee in this instance clearly provided more than just a rubber stamp.

8.2.2.2 Social interfaces around schemes for the ‘protection and development of West Lake’

Because Hangzhou’s West Lake Scenic District Management Committee (WLMC) (also named as Hangzhou Public Landscape and Historical Relics Bureau) planned a series of tourism projects and regulations around West Lake, in 2006 it organized an online discussion to receive opinions and suggestions from the public. The discussion got a huge public response, including from local community members, private sector actors, and also from some government officials. More than 100 people left opinions, most being critical about some of the tourism planning and regulations around West Lake (Hangzhou Government Discussion Board, 2006a).

The most common issue for complaint concerned fishing problems in West Lake. According to the ‘West Lake Water Area Management Regulation’, nobody was allowed to fish in West Lake, and this caused huge dissatisfaction (WLMC, 2002). One community resident said: *"We are not allowed to go fishing in West Lake. But why are some commercial interests allowed to catch and sell fish from West Lake? Their behaviour is illegal, but why is nobody concerned? They even use electric shocks to catch the fish!"* (Hangzhou Government Discussion Board, 2006b) Another community resident complained that: *"It is no use for us saying anything. The government will not listen to us. All the Directors and Mayors are appointed from upper-level government, and not voted by us. They surely will not consider our interests."* (Hangzhou Government Discussion Board, 2006b)

The online discussion seems to have been an effective approach to collecting community opinions. While people may not like to talk so openly, face to face, they may feel more comfortable using the internet. As a weak voice in society, the community residents seemed to feel safe expressing themselves through this medium and without fear of being influenced by stronger voices. Indeed, the fishing problem was the subject of 85 responses in this discussion, with 80% not being satisfied with the regulation (Hangzhou Government Discussion Board,

2006b). However, while the website allowed the community and government people to discuss together, there was no government official response about this problem. The fishing businesses around West Lake have continued their operations. But putting this discussion on a government website was a good start for improving community involvement in tourism policy making. When the number of the weak voices increase and becomes stronger, it eventually may also influence the decision-making of those in a stronger position.

Another major issue in this web discussion related to some interactions between the government decision-makers, experts, media, and community residents. At the start of this online discussion, the Director of the West Lake Scenic District Management Committee had commented in the media how: *"I think both the development and protection of West Lake should be based on humanity, which means all we have done and will do should consider the benefits for people, including the environment and the culture"* (Hangzhou Government, 2005). Based on the Director's word 'humanity', some experts went on to suggest the development of a small part of West Lake as a natural swimming pool to be free of charge. One expert said: *"Swimming in West Lake could show how close humans and the lake are. Such activity could also encourage people to exercise. I don't think swimming will influence the quality of lake water as long as there is no washing allowed in the water"* (Hangzhou Government Discussion Board, 2006b).

However, some community residents strongly objected to the suggestion of these experts. One resident said: *"It is difficult to image a beautiful lake with some people swimming in it."* Another person claimed that: *"Swimming will make the water quality worse, and also influence the image of the lake."* Another contended: *"Once again, it must be the expert's opinion! Actually they seldom do the necessary research. They just say what they think, even without evidence. But because they are so-call experts, the government will always listen to them"* (Hangzhou Government Discussion Board, 2006b). Although the 'natural swimming pool' idea has yet to be accepted, this discussion reflected the worries of the local community and their distrust of experts and of the government's decisions.

On the issue of the natural swimming pool, a similar idea was also reported in the *Hangzhou Daily*. Here it was stated that, *"A lot of experts and most community residents are passionate*

about building a natural swimming pool in West Lake. ... In the summer, most indoor swimming pools are full of people. It is a good suggestion to have a natural swimming pool" (Hangzhou Daily, 2006a). One community member noted this report on the online BBS, commenting: *"Most of the community people agree? I doubt it! They never did questionnaires or similar approaches to ask us. How do they know that most of us agree with such a stupid idea?"* (Hangzhou Government Discussion Board, 2006b) Another person said: *"The Hangzhou Daily? I hate this newspaper! The Government's newspaper! It does not serve us, but only the government!"* (Hangzhou Government Discussion Board, 2006b)

Strong opposition to the *Hangzhou Daily* was also found to be quite common in the interview results for this study. One community interviewee commented: *"The media only reports things that are good for the government. Newspapers will not report something saying government decisions are wrong"* (Interview, 06.01.2005). The *Hangzhou Daily* journalist even stated in his interview: *"After we finish drafts related to government decisions or activities, we need to show them to the related government officials before the drafts are printed out. Because those articles show the public the government's decisions, they have to be dealt with carefully"* (Interview, 21.12.2004). The *Hangzhou Daily* is the only official newspaper for the city's government and all government decisions are published in it (Hangzhou Daily, 2006b). Therefore, this newspaper becomes the government's window to the public and it is less concerned to expose the facts, than it is to make the government appear positive.

The above discourses indicate that community residents often used a 'living environment' knowledge framework. They cared about their living environment, including the natural and cultural environment, and they often opposed ideas that might damage it, such as by swimming and fishing in the lake. However, the experts in this case tended to adopt a knowledge framework based on their more privileged insights, and this sometimes might lead them to neglect community needs. In the interviews, for example, one expert argued that the reason why there was weak community involvement in Hangzhou was because: *"The community always lack tourism knowledge. They could not consider the comprehensive issues around each project. Therefore, they could not provide good suggestions"* (Interview, 15.04.2006). This expert's response shows how his understanding of tourism led him to an excuse for not doing detailed

research on community opinions. Such thinking may lead to mistakes in decision-making by Hangzhou's tourism policy community.

Both the media and experts are special actors that potentially can be close both to the weakest and also the strongest voices. But in Hangzhou these actors chose largely to neglect the weak voice, but leant instead towards the strongest actor or insisted on their own thoughts, and this contributed to the bridge between the community and the government remaining weak.

For the 'protection and development of West Lake', the government's knowledge framework was often that of economic development. For example, because commercial fishing brought a lot of income to the government, the government did not stop it. It could also be argued that although the proposal for a 'natural swimming pool' was to help 'humanity' through tourism development, it actually might also be good for West Lake's tourism promotion, and thus for economic benefits.

The discourses also suggest that the experts, media and the government tended to be behind a knowledge framework that views tourism as an economic catalyst for development. However, the final decision-making around this issue indicated that these actors also held a knowledge framework based on environment protection. The internet forum also sought opinions from different actors on 'development' and 'protection', which meant that the government was more likely to consider both development and protection. However, the government seemed to take the knowledge framework of tourism and economic development as its priority.

The government finally did not start the natural swimming pool project, perhaps because they did consider environmental protection issues, and also the community opinions. This case may thus also indicate that the community could have some influence on decision-making when the government provided the platform for them to express their views. The power of the community is often not based on individual opinion, but on shared agency and as collective individuals. To exercise influence or power in tourism decision-making, they still relied on the government to provide an arena for them to articulate their own discourses and knowledge frameworks. While the forum for expressing views was potentially a good start for Hangzhou government to have

greater decentralized decisions, it still indicated the substantial concentration of power in the government in Hangzhou's current policy-making. The lack of other arenas for the community to express views was a major limitation on further community involvement in Hangzhou.

8.2.2.3 Social interfaces around Hangzhou's park construction projects

Hangzhou's 'park management regulation' was approved and started to be implemented in 2001 (Hangzhou MPC, 2001). After this regulation, several park improvement projects started in Hangzhou, and these involved social interfaces between actors.

The first social interface developed around construction in the Botanic Garden. The Director of the Environmental Protection Bureau explained how: *"In this project, the Transportation Bureau proposed the idea of having a new bus route through the Botanic Garden. They claimed that the new bus route could save time and also solve the traffic problem outside the Garden. But we had a different opinion because we thought that traffic in the garden could cause pollution, and destroy the plants inside the garden. As we could not reach an agreement, the problem was left to the organizer, the West Lake Scenic District Management Committee. After discussion, the organizer still believed that the Transportation Bureau's idea was more profitable. And then we had to agree with it"* (Interview, 14.01.2005). From the above comments, it seems that the Environment Protection Bureau was influenced by a broad environmental protection knowledge framework, while the Transportation Bureau was more concerned about the city's economic development. It was difficult then for them to know whose view should prevail because both were government departments, and so a 'third party' was asked to intervene, which in this case was the WLMC. This third party always appeared to have greater authority, and in this case, because the WLMC had a similar focus to the Transportation Bureau in relation to city development and urbanization, the views of the Transportation Bureau prevailed.

The second case concerns a social interface between private and public sector actors. In the interviews, a real estate manager commented how, *"During the construction work in Hubin Park, we had difficulties with the Construction Committee. We were the main investor in that project,*

and thus we were invited to some government meetings. We were not satisfied with the arrangements of the construction company and the landscape design institute because we insisted on using some of our reliable partners who had cooperated with us for a very long time. But Construction Committee did not agree, and also insisted on using theirs. We had some meetings together to discuss the problem, but we still could not solve it. The problem was finally solved by coordination from the West Lake Scenic District Management Committee, which was the organizer of that project. Based on the profiles provided by our partners and those of the Construction Committee, the WLMC finally decided to choose the construction company from our profile, but the design institute from the Construction Committee's list" (Interview, 13.01.2005). These comments indicate there was some significant involvement of private sector actors in Hangzhou's tourism policy-making. The real estate manager, as the major investor, had significant power when his company had different opinions to those of the government actors. The involvement of the coordinator, the WLMC, in this social interface indicates that the private sector investor held similar political influence in this instance as the Construction Committee. The reason that this investor was able to exercise such influence or power was because of the notable role of his financial support. Money was a very strong influence on tourism policy-making processes in Hangzhou.

The private investors often expressed views reflecting a very commercial knowledge framework. They mainly focused on the project's practical progress and the resulting profits. Similarly, while the Construction Committee used its knowledge of city development, it also often made comments drawing on a clearly commercial knowledge framework. Because of China's public sector decentralization, government departments are responsible for their own profits and losses, and thus the Construction Committee was concerned to make commercial profits. The Construction Committee also was responsible for several profitable design institutes and construction companies. This is an important reason why it tried to use its own resources, instead of those of private sector investors. In the case discussed here the WLMC, as project coordinator finally decided to use the construction company associated with the investor and to use the design institutes connected with the Construction Committee. Thus, the WLMC's decision was still partly in favor of the Construction Committee, and while the private investor had much influence due to its financial resources, its power and involvement were still limited.

8.2.2.4 Conclusions related to the social interfaces around Hangzhou's tourism policy networks

The above discussion of social interfaces examined cases reflecting rather different specific situations. These interfaces were helpful contexts in which to study discourses, knowledge frameworks and power configurations, and thus to explain the actions of actors in the tourism policy-making processes.

It was found in these three cases, first, that there were several knowledge frameworks: notably, those focused on development, the environment, commercial concerns, and sustainable development. In the three cases the actors most concerned about development tended to be those with most political power. For example, the HTC often used a tourism development knowledge framework, and in the HTR example its views prevailed over those of the experts and the Finance Bureau. In the debates around West Lake's 'protection and development', the government's support of the local fishing businesses also indicates that a development knowledge framework was highly influential.

A second finding from the analysis was that the community could have some significant influence as long as the government provided arenas where community residents could express their views, as was seen in the debate around the 'natural swimming pool' proposal. Third, it was found that when two actors had similar institutional and political influence, they usually needed another more powerful actor to intervene and to arbitrate. The project coordinator or leaders usually took on that role. For example, the WLMC took on that role when there were differences in opinions between two government departments.

Fourthly, when the interviewees were asked about difficulties in their relations with other organizations in Hangzhou's tourism policy-making, 10 of the 23 interviewees stated that they did not have any difficulties when they wanted to reach agreements with other actors. Seven of these 10 were from government departments. As the Deputy Dean of the Construction Committee commented: *"No, I don't think so. I think we all work together very well, and the project leader can provide coordination in every situation. So we don't have any difficulties in*

getting agreements" (Interview, 12.01.2005). The other 6 government actors all expressed similar thoughts. For instance, one claimed that *"No, we don't have. The coordination of the organizer is always good"* (Interview, 07.01.2005). Another stated that *"We don't have difficulties because the Hangzhou Tourism Committee will effectively arrange our work"* (Interview, 09.01.2005). These and other similar comments indicate that coordination by a third party -the project leader- was common and seemingly often effective. The HTC was always considered the project leader for tourism developments. The positive comments probably also reflected how some of these government departments only occasionally had an active involvement in the tourism policy-making processes.

Fifth, it is notable that the interviewees seldom used the word 'conflict' when describing problems in their inter-organizational relations. The most frequently used word can be translated as 'disagreement', which is less emphatic or strong. There are probably two major reasons for this. One is again due to Chinese culture and philosophy, with Confucius teaching people to avoid conflict with others, and thus people tend to try to act inoffensively. Thus, they are often unwilling to contradict or oppose the opinions of others, and especially when the other actors are more influential. Another potential reason was the low level of actor involvement. The more the actors were involved, the more interfaces they would have and the greater the chance they would experience conflictual interactions.

8.3 Dynamics of Hangzhou's tourism policy networks

Evaluations of actors' discourses, knowledge frameworks, and power configurations help to explain how and why tourism policy-making processes develop in the ways they do. Based on the study's conceptual frameworks, the micro-level framework needs to be seen as interacting closely with the meso-level framework, as this interaction helps to explain the structure of the actors' relations. The idea of tourism policy networks provides a relational map of interactions between the varied relevant actors. The next section examines in more detail the dynamics of Hangzhou's tourism policy networks. It helps to explain how the various actors' social actions resulted in policy networks or structures.

An analysis of the relevant actors helped to identify the dynamics of Hangzhou's tourism policy

networks. First, the actors' different roles, knowledge frameworks and power configurations helped to identify the city's tourism policy community, this being the powerful centre of the whole tourism policy networks. Based on the relational ties between the policy community actors and other actors, it was then possible to identify different actors as contributing actors and as boundary actors of Hangzhou's tourism policy-making processes.

8.3.1 Defining Hangzhou's tourism policy community

Some researchers use the term 'policy community' to refer to all participants in governance structures and to the degree of integration among them (Coleman and Perl, 1999). Rhodes (1999:138) gives a clearer definition, however, which characterizes the policy community as having stable relationships, a highly restrictive membership, vertical interdependence, and also insulation from other networks. This study uses this latter definition. In this definition the policy community represents the power centre of the network, and it also largely influences the formation of knowledge and views in the network. In order to define policy community actors, rules about boundaries and shared beliefs are provided as criteria by Marsh and Rhodes (1992). The boundary rules help to identify the membership of the policy community, with properties including the level of openness, total size, membership stability, and density of information exchange (Coleman and Perl, 1999). Based on these criteria, the present study identified the actors in the tourism policy community as the Hangzhou Tourism Committee, Hangzhou West Lake Scenic District Management Committee, Hangzhou Legislative Office, various tourism experts, the Mayor, the Hangzhou MPC, and Zhejiang PPC.

In the first fieldwork, all interviewees were asked 'which organizations and individuals are most important in the tourism policy-making processes in Hangzhou'? Among the 37 interviewees, 26 people identified the most important actor as the HTC, 9 identified the WLMC, and 2 mentioned the Mayor of Hangzhou's Government. As discussed previously, the HTC and WLMC were also project leaders for the tourism policy-making processes. This clearly confirms that both the HTC and WLMC were tourism policy community actors.

Being policy community actors, both the HTC and WLMC have stable relationships, interdependence and they are highly influential in tourism policy-making processes. Being

project leaders and policy draft makers, they are in charge of very many actor enrolment processes. The earlier studies of social interfaces showed that both the HTC and WLMC have stable and strong power configurations. The HTC's influence is based on its position as the key tourism administration organization in Hangzhou, and this does not change between different tourism projects. The WLMC's power configuration is also based on its position in government, which is that it is the only department dealing with all issues around West Lake, and the importance of West Lake for Hangzhou's tourism industry is very unlikely to change.

As discussed in Chapter 6, the tourism policy-making was very dependent on the knowledge of tourism experts. And the HTC and WLMC regularly used experts to develop their opinions and policies around tourism-related work. In the policy draft-making process, the tourism experts were also invited to the regular meeting and their opinions were always considered to be constructive.

Although only two interviewees mentioned the 'Mayor' as the most important decision maker, the Mayor clearly did have a significant role. Here the 'Mayor' is a generic actor, representing the Mayor and all the Deputy Mayors in Hangzhou's government. This is because they have a similar degree of influence as top government heads, and because they tended always to take similar stands on tourism policy-making issues as they also tended to make decisions together. The Mayor manages the general direction of the city's development, evaluates the objectives and quality of important government projects, and also plays an important role in approving some tourism policies (such as the tourism standards or rules). The decisions of the Mayor influence the direction of the work of the HTC and WLMC in relation to the tourism industry's development.

While no interviewee identified the Legislative Office and Congresses as the most important decision-maker, their positions in the tourism policy-making processes are clearly highly significant. Together with the Mayor, they are the key overall decision-makers for tourism policies. First, all tourism policy drafts have to be reviewed by the Hangzhou Legislative Office, and then they are handed by the Legislative Office to the Mayor or the Congresses. The congresses are responsible for the approval of all tourism regulations, while the Mayor needs to

approve all tourism standards. Consequently, though they are not greatly involvement in detailed policy-making, it is not possible to exclude the Congresses, Legislative Office and Mayor from the centre of power, that is from the policy community. In conclusion, the HTC, WLMC, various experts, the Mayor, the Legislative Office, Hangzhou MPC and Zhejiang PPC are included within Hangzhou's tourism policy community.

8.3.2 Other dynamics related to Hangzhou's tourism policy networks

There are also different potential definitions of policy networks. For example, Marin and Mayntz (1991:15) define policy networks as the networks that represent the social infrastructure of policy formulation and implementation. Rhodes (1999:138) defines a policy network as a cluster or complex of organizations connected to each other by resource dependencies and distinguished from other clusters or complexes by breaks in the structure of resources dependencies. These definitions indicate that a single policy may be implicated in more than one policy network, depending on the various relevant actors' resource dependencies. This situation applies in Hangzhou. For example, with Hangzhou's 'tourism regulation' of 2004, the tourism policy community included the HTC, tourism experts, the Legislative Office, Mayor, Hangzhou MPC and Zhejiang PPC. However, a specific tourism policy network could involve the policy community and also certain government departments, such as the Construction Committee, City Management Office and City Planning Bureau. While the HTC and tourism experts were the major draft makers, some other relevant government departments could be responsible, for example, for providing information to them. And, at the same time, another policy network in the same policy-making process could include the policy community, private sector investors, and local tourism businesses. This policy network could be based, for example, on the HTC policy that tried to attract more private sector investors into Hangzhou's tourism industry and to cooperate with local tourism businesses. As this example shows, one tourism project could have more than one tourism policy network with the same tourism policy community. Therefore, it is difficult to describe all the tourism policy networks, but it is possible to evaluate some dynamics of the tourism policy networks.

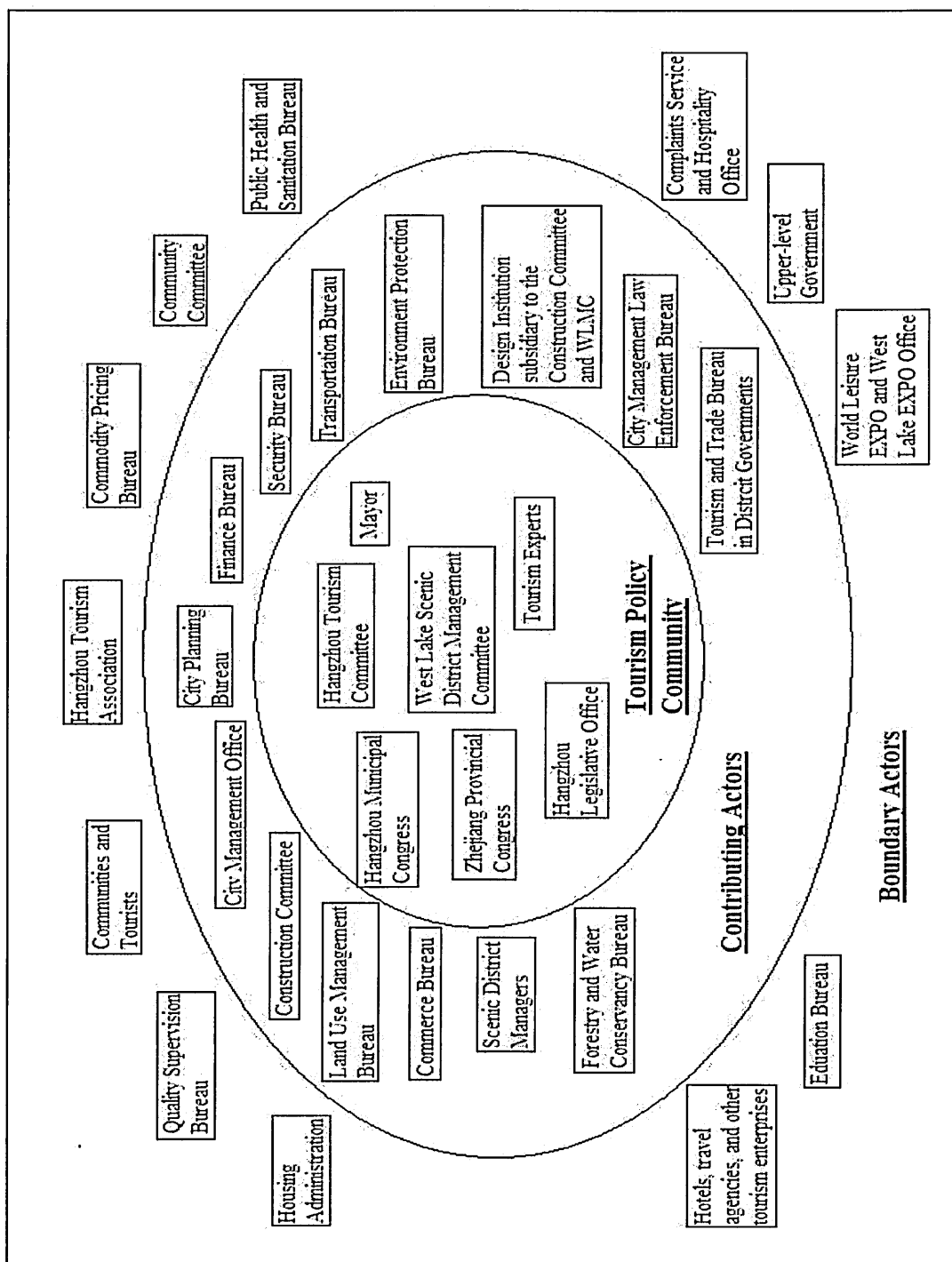


Figure 8.1 Dynamics of Hangzhou's tourism policy network

Figure 8.1 represents three key dynamics of Hangzhou's complex tourism policy networks. First, it shows the tourism policy community at the core or centre of the network dynamics. Second, the circle next to the tourism policy community includes all actors who are regularly involved in the city's tourism policy networks and policy processes. They meet the Criteria A set out in Table 8.2. Contributing actors found it difficult to enter the policy community itself because of barriers in the system of China's public administration and policy-making, with decision-making power still highly controlled by the tourism administration, head of government and Congress system. Unless political decentralization extends further, the barriers around the policy community will remain difficult to break down.

Table 8.2 Criteria A for contributing actors of Hangzhou's tourism policy networks

Actors with four or more contacts in Figure 6.4 (excluding tourism policy community actors).
Actors who have a direct involvement in tourism policy-making processes (excluding tourism policy community actors).
Actors whose responsibilities are directly related to tourism policy-making (excluding tourism policy community actors).

(Any actor meeting at least one of these conditions is considered a regular member of Hangzhou's tourism policy networks)

All actors outside the previous two circles are boundary actors of Hangzhou's tourism policy networks, being seldom or never involved in the city's tourism policy processes. Their selection is based on Criteria B in Table 8.3. The barriers between regular and boundary actors are less restrictive than those between the policy community and the contributing actors. The contributing actors are involved in most current tourism policies in Hangzhou, and their involvements include joining policy-making meetings and discussions, providing information and documents, and taking part in implementation work. By contrast, the involvement by boundary actors in tourism policy-making processes has very limited depth. Some are unable to join the decision-making processes even though they have considerable interest in tourism policy-making. For example, the Hangzhou Tourism Association is much interested in tourism-related issues, but it is neglected by the government because of its immature management system and small number of members. Others of the boundary actors choose not to be involved in depth even though they have considerable influence, such as the upper-level

governments. Because of decentralization, it is not necessary for upper-level governments to intervene too much at the local level where the Congress system is in charge. And others among the boundary actors are interested in tourism policy-related issues, but they are seldom involved because they are currently weak voices in China's society, such as the local communities, the tourists, and the community committees. Other boundary actors are less interested in tourism policy-making, but they may have links to one or more contributing actors. For example, the Housing Bureau may need to provide relevant advice to the Land Use Bureau in order to help the latter in its work on land control and in its management of tourism projects.

Table 8.3 Criteria B for boundary actors of Hangzhou's tourism policy networks

Actors who have less than four contacts in Figure 6.4.
Actors whose activities are only indirectly related to tourism policy and who are indirectly involved in the processes.
Actors whose responsibilities are not related to tourism policy.

(Any actor meeting at least one of these conditions is considered an irregular member of Hangzhou's tourism policy networks)

8.3.3 Actors' relational maps around Hangzhou's tourism policy networks

The dynamics of the different actors were mapped according to the tourism policy networks. The following discussion explains some of the actors' relations in this map. To understand some of the relations among the actors, the interviewees were asked four related interview questions, as shown in Table 8.4.

Table 8.4 Interview questions used to develop the actors' relational maps

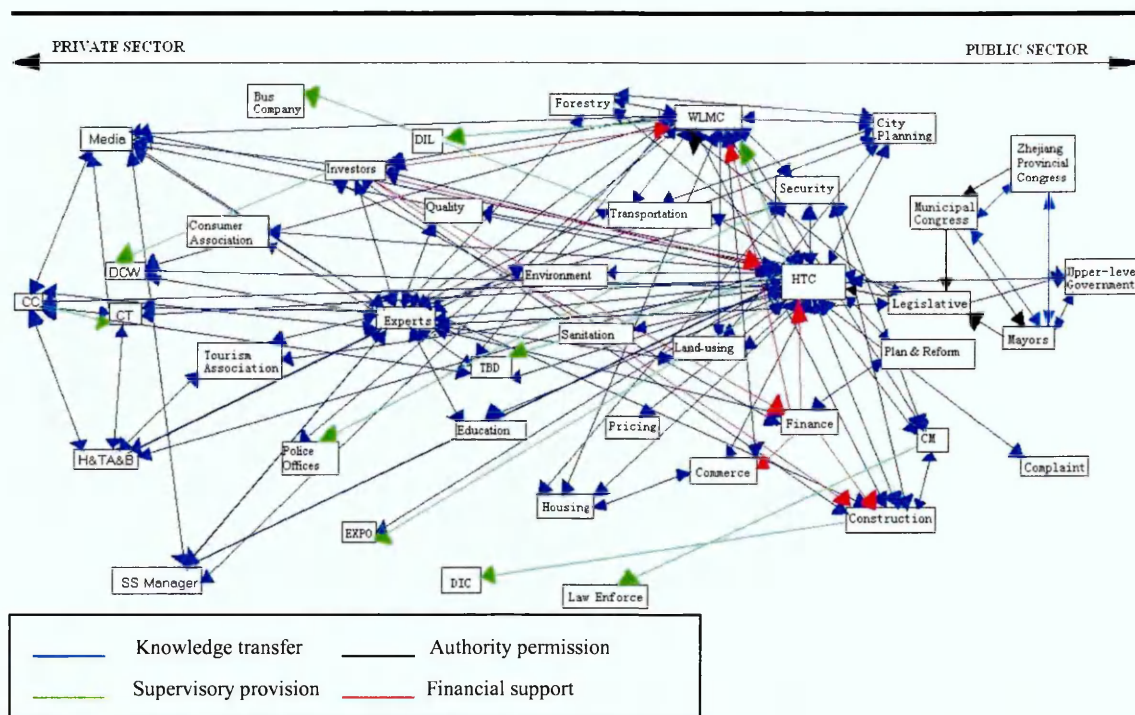
'For each of those organizations and individuals, what kind of working relations have you had?'
'For each of those organizations and individuals, have you given them any help or assistance?'
'For each of those organizations and individuals, have they given you any help or assistance?'
'For each of those organizations and individuals, how do you make contact with each other?'

These interview questions were intended to help understand the patterns of resource exchanges among actors in the networks. The interviewees' responses were categorized into four different

types of resource exchange patterns: knowledge transfer, authority permission, supervisory provision, and financial support. Knowledge transfers were the most common type of resource exchange within these networks, with the actors regularly transferring information, such as to supplement their own knowledge and reach agreements. In the relational maps, the knowledge transfers are shown with two-way direction arrows because when two actors transfer knowledge this often involves fairly equal positions. Both of them have their own information and they transfer part of their knowledge to the other in order to fulfill their own interests and needs. Therefore, their relationships are fairly equal and thus two-way direction arrows are applied.

All the other three relational types use single-headed arrows, as their relations are much less commonly based on an equal power basis. For example, authority permission usually involves one actor being in a position of greater authority in order to give permission allowing another actor to conduct certain activities. Therefore, ' $A \rightarrow B$ ' means that A gives authority permission to B, and it indicates that B could not continue work without A's permission. In this sense A has higher power than B. Similarly, supervisory provision usually involves one actor being subordinate to another. ' $A \rightarrow B$ ' therefore means that B must work following A's guidance and supervision. The fourth kind of resource exchange, that of financial support, means that an actor provides financial support to another actor in tourism policy-making. In this context, ' $A \rightarrow B$ ' could involve A providing financial support to B. Figure 8.2 gives a broad indication of the overall patterns of resource exchanges among Hangzhou's tourism policy network actors, and also of the kinds of resources that they exchanged.

Figure 8.2 shows the cited instances of all four types of resource exchanges among actors. To the left are private sector actors, while actors to the right are in the public sector. The further left they are, the generally weaker are their exchange relations with the government, and actors to the furthest right generally have stronger links with the government. This figure also shows that the most common relational type is knowledge transfer among actors. All four types of relations are explained subsequently.



Note: for the full names of organizations see Table 8.5

Figure 8.2 Resource exchanges among actors in Hangzhou's tourism policy networks.

Table 8.5 Full names of organizations for all the figures.

Abbreviation	Full Name	Abbreviation	Full Name	Abbreviation	Full Name
HTC	Hangzhou Tourism Committee	City Planning	Hangzhou City Planning Bureau	Pricing	Commodity Pricing Bureau
Legislative	Hangzhou Legislative Office	Security	Hangzhou Security Bureau	Forestry	Forestry and Water Conservancy Bureau
Zhejiang PPC	Zhejiang Provincial People's Congress	Finance	Hangzhou Finance Bureau	Environment	Hangzhou Environment Protection Bureau
Upper-level Governments	Upper-level Governments	Construction	Hangzhou Construction Committee	Sanitation	Public Health and Sanitation Bureau
MPC	Hangzhou Municipal People's Congress	WLMC	West Lake Scenic District Management Committee	Housing	Hangzhou Housing Administration
Mayors	Mayors	Transportation	Hangzhou	Law Enforce	City

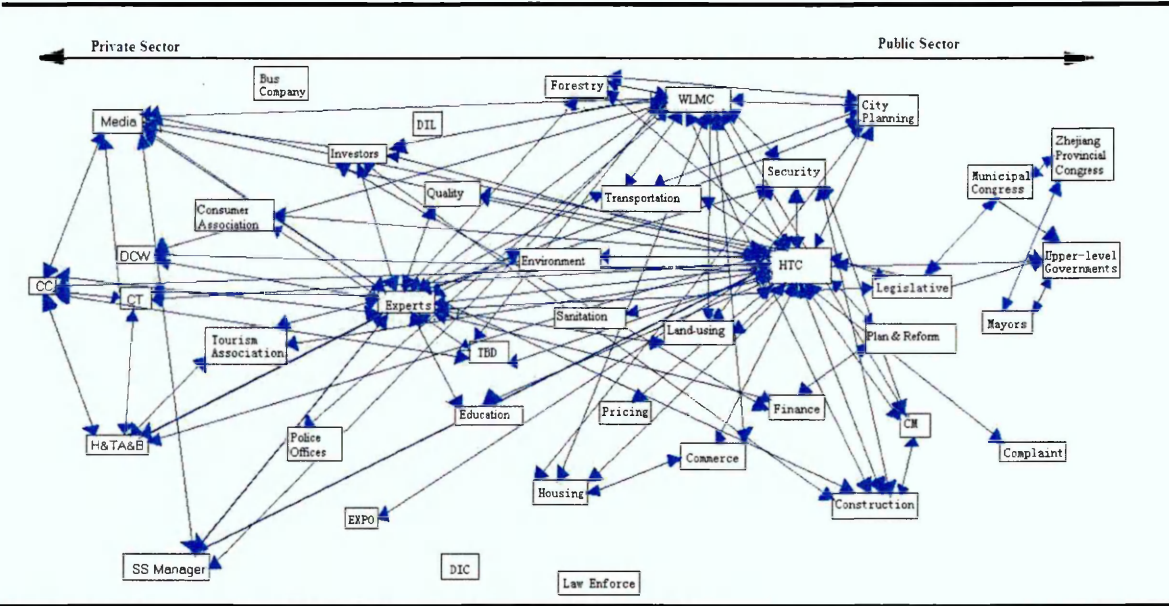
			Transportation Bureau		Management Law Enforcement Bureau
Plan and Reform	Hangzhou Plan and Reform Committee	Land Use	Hangzhou Land Use Management Bureau	DIC and DIL	Design Institution subsidiary to Construction Committee and WLMC (DIC and DIL)
CM	City Management Office	Commerce	Hangzhou Commerce Bureau	Quality	Hangzhou Quality Supervision Bureau
TBD	Tourism and Trade Bureau in District Government (TBD)	Education	Hangzhou Education Bureau	Experts	Tourism Experts
Investors	Private Sector Investors	EXPO	World Leisure EXPO and West Lake EXPO Office	Police Offices	Hangzhou Police Offices
Consumer Association	Hangzhou Consumer Association	Tourism Association	Hangzhou Tourism Association	SS Manager	Scenic District Managers
H & TA & B	Hotels, travel agencies, and other tourism business	DCW	Designers and Construction Workers (DCW)	Media	Media
CC	Community Committee	Bus Company	Hangzhou Public Bus Company	CT	Communities and Tourists
Complaint	Complaint Service and Hospitality Office				

8.3.3.1 'Knowledge transfer' relations

Knowledge transfers are the most common relational type in Hangzhou's tourism policy networks. Here actors exchange information with each other, so that they can use other actors' information, gain new information or knowledge, and perhaps also reach new agreements.

Figure 8.3 shows the actors who transferred information with each other. It indicates several issues.

First, there are three main information providers in the network: the Hangzhou Tourism Committee (HTC), the experts, and Hangzhou's West Lake Scenic District Management Committee (WLMC). A very high proportion of actors exchanged information with the HTC. This is because it is Hangzhou's only tourism administration, being in charge of most tourism projects and managing much of the city's tourism development (Hangzhou's Tourism Committee, 1998a). In tourism policy-making processes, this committee is the main decision-maker, and thus most actors get their tourism information from it.



Note: for the full names of organizations see Table 8.5

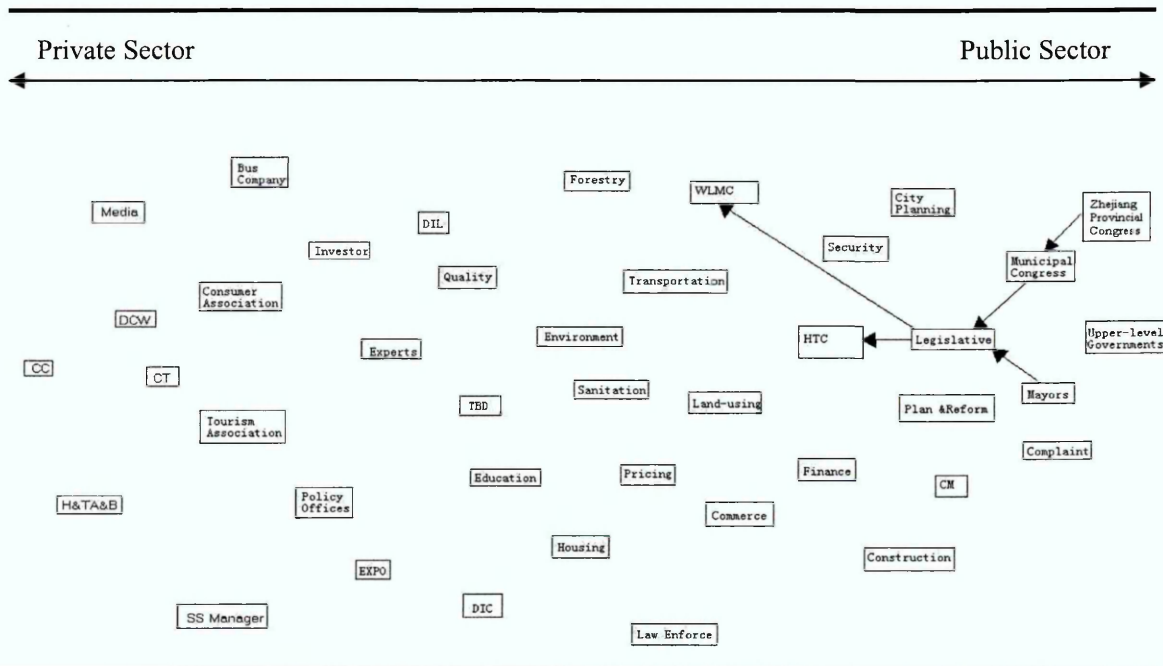
Figure 8.3: Knowledge Transfer Relational Type.

Meanwhile, the committee also gets useful knowledge from other actors. The experts are another notable provider of tourism knowledge, such as to government departments, tourism businesses and even to the local communities. The actors who are in contact with these experts in turn provide information to help the experts in their research and to increase their own knowledge. The WLMC is also a substantial knowledge provider because this bureau is often in charge of tourism projects and policy-making processes around West Lake.

Second, the government departments often exchanged information due to their related interests, and similar status in the tourism policy-making processes. They needed to cooperate with each other to obtain necessary information and to help to achieve their goals. Third, the upper-level governments, including the regional and national level governments, were interested in Hangzhou's policy-making processes, but they did not intervene greatly in them. Thus they tended only to secure information from the Tourism Committee, the Legislative Office, the Mayors, and the MPC.

8.3.3.2 'Authority permission' relations

Authority permission involves actors securing permissions from other actors before making decisions. Figure 8.4 shows that this type of exchange only exists between government heads and the tourism policy makers. This occurs because drafts of tourism regulations, which are mainly made by the HTC or WLMC, have to be approved first by the Legislative Office, and then they have to be approved by the Mayors or the MPC.



Note: For the full names of organizations see Table 8.5

Figure 8.4: Authority permission relations.

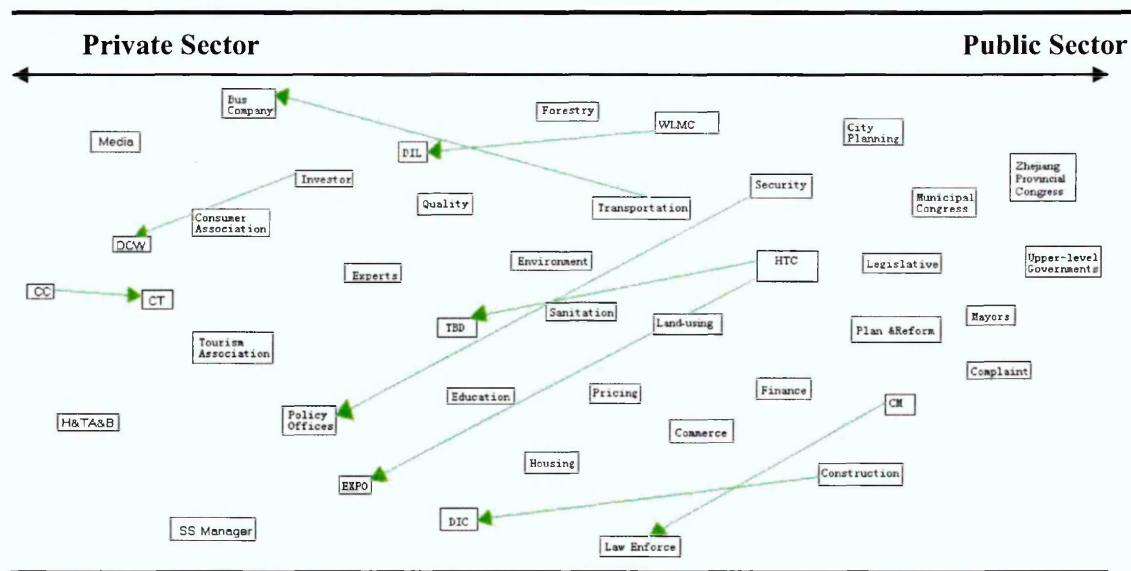
8.3.3.3 'Supervisory provision' relations

Supervisory relations exist between actors and their 'subordinates' when they supervise and

guide the work of another actor. Figure 8.5 shows several actors that are involved in such supervisory relations. For instance, the bus company is subordinate to the Transportation Bureau, the police offices to the Security Bureau, the Law Enforcement Bureau to the City Management Office, and the district tourism bureaus to the HTC. Similarly, the Landscape Bureau and Construction Committee have subsidiary design institutes.

There are also similar supervisory relations in the private sector with for example landscape architects, designers and construction companies all needing to follow investors' instructions. In tourism projects, designers seldom have complete free choices in their designs as they have to take detailed institution on what the investors want. As one landscape architect claimed: *"Sometimes it is difficult for us to do good designs sometimes because we have to design according to the requirements of investors. It always happens that what they want is totally different from what we think. Sometimes, we even hate such design requirements"* (Interview, 30.12.2004).

The local community committees are in a related subordinate position in some respects, being the 'grassroots' for the CCP. The community committees are responsible for policies within local community areas, they assist in local government's work with communities, and they report on residents' problems to local government (NPC, 2001). It seems that community committees transfer knowledge from the government's side to the community, while also guiding community members about government activities.

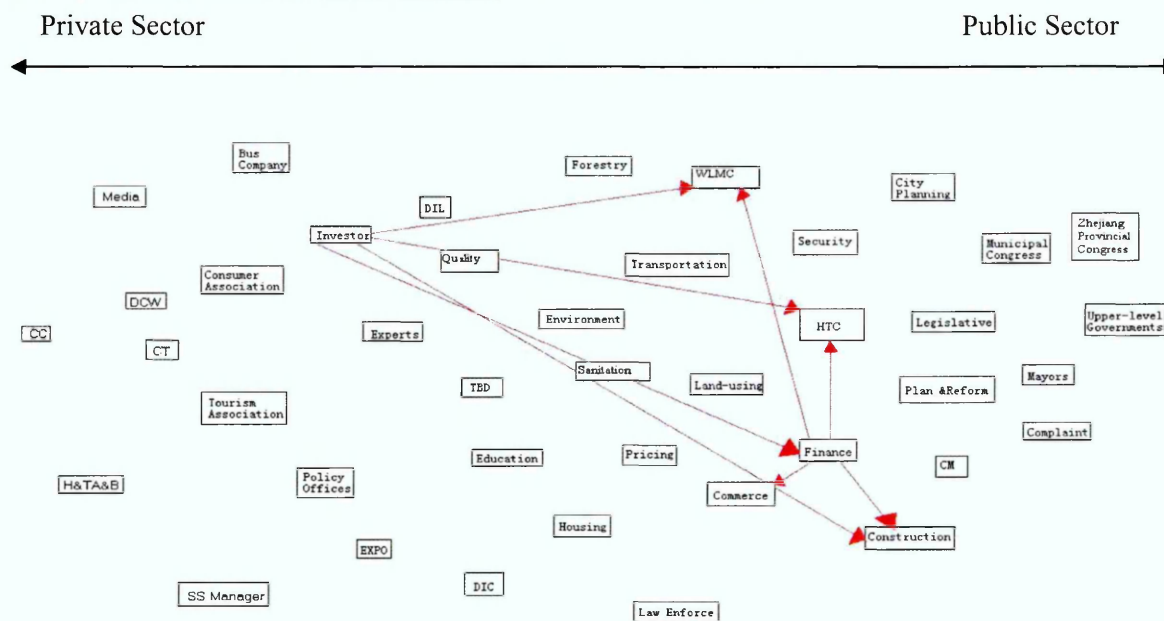


Note: For the full names of organizations see Table 8.5

Figure 8.5: Supervisory provision relations.

8.3.3.4 'Financial support' relations

Figure 8.6 shows that there are two major financial supporters in the network: the Financial Bureau and private investors. The Financial Bureau provides government funds to government departments in order to help to progress tourism projects. However, the government budget is rarely sufficient, and some private sector enterprises are willing to invest in these government departments in return for a financial return and for better relations with government, in an expectation of future contracts or investment opportunities.



Note: For the full names of organizations see Table 8.5

Figure 8.6: Financial support relations.

8.3.3.5 Methods of communication among actors

The last question in Table 8.3 was designed specifically in order to understand the methods used to make contact between actors. Based on the interviews several methods of communication between actors were identified. In particular, they had formal meetings, face-to-face discussions, exchanges of documents, telephone/email/letters, contacts at exhibitions and open meetings and contact through formal interviews and other research methods. Meetings were the most usual method used for communication between actors. Meetings regularly took place between governmental departments, the legislative office, experts and major investors. The meetings involved planning work, arranging responsibilities, discussing difficulties, locating benefits, and reaching agreements. Meetings tended to be held in the office of the more powerful actor engaged in a project, such as the office of the Mayor, HTC or WLMC. For example, one government official commented how: *"For the West Lake Protection Project, the WLMC will arrange for relevant government departments to have regular meetings in the WLMC's offices"* (Interview, 16.01.2005). Another government official noted that: *"For tourism policy-making processes, we will have meetings in the offices of the Hangzhou Tourism Committee"* (Interview, 15.01.2005).

The second most common approach was to pass documents between different government departments, with all such departments using this approach to spread information. A third and quite common method involved face-to-face discussions among government departments. Sometimes, actors went to the offices of other organizations to discuss smaller issues or problems. Again the place where these informal discussions were held could indicate the power of the actors in a specific project. For example, one Environment Protection Bureau official said that: *"Sometimes, we will go to the offices of the Hangzhou Tourism Committee to find Directors for us to have some discussions"* (Interview, 14.01.2005). A HTC official also said: *"We will go to our Director's office to talk to him. ... If we need to contact the Deputy Mayor or Mayor, we need to go to find them. ... Of course, we cannot expect them to come to find us because they are government heads"* (Interview, 23.12.2004). This indicates that the arena where discussions often happen is based in the offices of the more powerful actor in a project.

Other common methods of communication identified in the interviews were phone calls, emails and maybe letters in non-urgent cases and for less important problems. Face-to-face discussions and phone calls/emails/letters were popular for private sector actors. The experts were relatively more likely to use interviews, questionnaires and other research-related methods to contact other actors (like local communities, tourists and governmental officials). The HTC, WLMC, or government heads occasionally organized public meetings to get opinions and suggestions. They also occasionally organized model exhibitions and advertisements to get opinions from the local communities and from business people.

8.3.4 Actors that interviewees felt ought to be involved in Hangzhou's tourism policy networks

The study also asked interviewees in the first fieldwork stage: 'in your opinion, which organizations or individuals should be involved in the tourism policy-making processes in Hangzhou?' The intention here was to identify the selected actors and to explain why they were mentioned. It was possible to discern from the replies likely reasons why these potential actors might not be involved or might not be more involved.

Altogether 37 interviewees in the first fieldwork answered this question. Two interviewees stated that they did not know, and one claimed this applied to all governmental departments. Thus 34 interviewees provided more or less detailed answers. Table 8.6 reveals that the actors that it was thought ought to be involved were in two categories. First, actors currently outside the network but that should be involved, and, secondly, actors already in the network but that should be more involved.

In the context of actors outside the current network but that should be involved, Hangzhou's Cultural Bureau was mentioned by most respondents, that is by 24: 3 experts, 5 from the private sector, and 16 from local government departments. Many considered that the Cultural Bureau should be involved because tourism and culture are inseparable. However, the Cultural Bureau was not involved in the network because this bureau's responsibilities are to manage Hangzhou's culture performances and shows, and to manage issues related to books, videos and audiotapes, which are not considered to be tourism issues.

The Hangzhou Electricity Bureau was next most frequently mentioned, that is by 5 interviewees. It was argued that electricity provision was just as important as water and other utilities but they were not involved and they ought to be. For example, the Hangzhou Tourism Committee's senior engineer said that the *"Electricity Bureau, currently, has no relations with our tourism work. But if it can be involved, then it could solve a lot of problems around electricity supply for tourism development needs, especially in the hot summers and freezing winters"* (Interview, 23.12.2004).

Table 8.6 Actors that interviewees felt ought to be involved in Hangzhou's tourism policy network.

Actors outside the current network but that should be involved	Actors already in the network but that should be more involved
Hangzhou Cultural Bureau (24 respondents)	Tourists (31 respondents)
Hangzhou Electricity Bureau (5 respondents)	Local communities (31 respondents)
Hangzhou Religions and Ethnic Bureau (3 respondents)	Tourism enterprises (25 respondents)
Hangzhou Economic Committee (2 respondents)	Hotels and travel agencies (25 respondents)
Hangzhou Food and Medicine Supervision Bureau (2 respondents)	Hangzhou Tourism Association (16 respondents)
	Hangzhou Quality Supervision Bureau (5 respondents)
	Hangzhou Public Health and Sanitation Bureau (4 respondents)
	Hangzhou Education Bureau (2 respondents)

Hangzhou's Religions and Ethnic Bureau was only mentioned by three people, despite similar bureaus being very important tourism policy network actors in some other Chinese cities, like Kunming, San'ya, and Guangxi, where ethnic groups have produced successful tourist products. However, in Hangzhou more than 99% of the population comprised the Han ethnic group (Morning Express, 2002). There are a few ethnic cultural resources with tourism potential. Indeed, Hangzhou has a Buddhist culture and temples that have attracted many tourists to the city, with the Buddhist temples in particular being major tourist attractions. However, the Religions and Ethnic Bureau has very weak responsibilities in promoting religious culture and in relating it to tourism development, and this certainly could be improved.

And Hangzhou's Economic Committee was mentioned by two interviewees because it is responsible for the city's overall economic development plan, which includes tourism. However, Hangzhou's Economic Committee has never worked on tourism projects before, and instead it has always contacted Hangzhou's Legislative Office or the mayors in relation to broad economic plans and policies.

Hangzhou's Food and Medicine Supervision Bureau is responsible for controlling and assessing dangerous chemicals, and sometimes for assessing food chemicals in hotels and restaurants. Therefore, two interviewees thought it should be involved in tourism policy-making processes.

In relation to organizations and groups already in Hangzhou's tourism policy networks that it felt could be involved more fully, the respondents mentioned the tourists and local communities, hotels, travel agencies and tourism enterprises, and they also mentioned the Hangzhou Tourist Association, Hangzhou Education Bureau, Hangzhou Public Health and Sanitation Bureau, and Hangzhou Quality Supervision Bureau.

Thirty-one of the 37 interviewees mentioned that they considered that the tourists and also the local communities should have a higher level of involvement. This was because tourists and communities are two of the biggest groups of actors affected by the in tourism industry. However, the city's tourism policy-making processes treated them only as passive receivers of policies, and their opinions are seldom considered. Hotels, travel agencies and tourism enterprises were mentioned by 25 interviewees, with the consideration that these organizations are significant players in the tourism market and ought to be involved.

There were also 16 people (3 experts, 5 in the private sector, and 8 in government departments) who thought that Hangzhou's Tourism Association should have more involvement. The current involvement of Hangzhou's Tourism Association was limited only to providing information to government and passing information down from government to association members. However, with growing understanding of the association's benefits, more people are beginning to consider working with the association.

8.3.5 Actor awareness of the tourism policy networks

All the actors were located in different positions in Hangzhou's tourism policy networks. The earlier discussions evaluated their interactions to identify their different interests, use of different resources, and different skills. It is also important to know how they viewed the tourism policy networks, and how much awareness they had of tourism policy issues, especially

for those actors that were distant from the inner policy community.

Their awareness of the tourism policy networks could partly help to explain their current positions within the networks, and it could also help to analyse the potential for their future involvement in those networks. The more awareness an actor has, the more opportunities they may have to gain access to the policy community in the future. In the first fieldwork, interview questions related to this theme were asked of the 14 interviewees not directly involved in tourism policy-making processes but who were influenced by tourism policies. The questions asked of these actors who were relatively remote from the policy community explained their different levels of awareness of tourism policy issues, their views on being involved and not being involved in the policy-making processes, and the sources of information about network issues for those outside the network. The specific questions are listed in Table 8.7.

Table 8.7 Questions concerning actors' awareness of the tourism policy networks.

'How interested are you in policies for tourism development in Hangzhou? Why?'

'Where do you hear about the tourism policy issues in Hangzhou?'

'Is it easy enough for you to hear about those tourism policy issues?'

'Do you think being more involved in tourism policy-making activities in Hangzhou would benefit you and your group? If yes, how? If no, why not?'

'Do you think your organization should be involved in the tourism policy-making processes in Hangzhou? Why?'

8.3.5.1 Actors' interest in Hangzhou's tourism policy issues

The first question (Table 8.7) asked interviewees: 'How interested are you in policies for tourism development in Hangzhou. Why?' Only 4 out of the 14 people stated that they were not interested in tourism policies, while 10 claimed to have a degree of interest in the tourism policies and policy-making processes. Several different reasons were given as to why the four people had no interest in the tourism policies. First, some thought that the people making tourism policies were in government and that this policy-making was not relevant to the private sector. A civil engineer in Hangzhou's City and County Construction Design Institute said: *"I am not so interested in that because the tourism policy-making seems to be a governmental activity and it doesn't have any influence on me"* (Interview, 30.12.2004). Perhaps because they

have been ruled and oppressed for a long time in Chinese history, the Chinese people have gained a peaceful personality, that will not revolt and is easily satisfied (Mou, 2003). While China has experienced dramatic socio-economic and political developments, some people still hold to these values and they do not think they can change the government's decisions. A villager from Meijia Wu Village expressed such thoughts: *"Emm... I am not interested. Even though we are concerned about these policies, what can we do about them? We could not change anything. ... And they won't change our daily lives"* (Interview, 06.01.2005).

Another reason for their disinterest was their misunderstandings about tourism and tourism policies. A designer from Nanfang Landscape Design Institute replied: *"Tourism? ... That is not related to my working areas"* (Interview, 30.12.2004). The Dean of Meijia Wu's Community Committee also stated: *"No. I seldom read tourism policies. Do we have tourism policies? I don't know about that, and also I don't want to know because it seems to be outside of our work and our lives"* (Interview, 06.01.2005). It is common in China for people to regard the tourism industry as only about hotels and travel agencies. Tourism education in Chinese universities has been focused on techniques for hospitality management and for tour guiding, although some tourism policy and planning courses have recently begun in some universities (Wu and Feng, 2000). This contributes to many people having little idea about tourism policy and about why tourism needs policy. This disinterest may also be because tourism policy and planning has only taken place recent times in Hangzhou, and the city still has relatively few tourism policies.

8.3.5.2 Actor communication in relation to tourism policies

The 14 respondents were asked: 'Where do you hear about the tourism policy issues in Hangzhou?' and 'Is it easy enough for you to hear about those tourism policy issues?'. All 14 mentioned newspapers, six mentioned TV programmes, five talked about the radio, three said government documents; and one mentioned using a website. Clearly the newspapers were the most important method of communication. While the government website that includes much information on government issues and policies has been greatly improved, and it is now updated every day, it was seldom used as a source of policy information. As one construction project manager noted: *"The government website is good, I think. It has a lot of useful information. But*

the website design, emm... It is just too plain and boring, not interesting. It would not attract people to go their website" (Interview, 03.01.2005). It seems that the design and promotion of government websites may affect usage.

Among the 14 respondents, 12 felt that the current methods of communication about policies were sufficient for them. One tourism organization manager claimed: *"It is enough for me. There is enough information in the Hangzhou Daily, for example. In addition, we don't read news about tourism policies too much"* (Interview, 13.01.2005). One landscape architect said: *"Tourism policies are not so relevant for my working area. So the current information is enough for me"* (Interview, 30.12.2004). Thus, it seems that people generally are satisfied with the current sources of information, which might be because they lack of awareness about tourism policies more generally.

It seems, therefore, that actors located at the boundary of the network had a fairly poor awareness about tourism policies and policy-making. Although most had some interest in tourism policy issues, they weren't greatly concerned to become involved or to receive more related information. Their limited awareness also indicates that it would be quite difficult to change their position in the tourism policy network. To get these actors on the boundary of the tourism network more involved, it would require them to take a greater interest and perhaps also would require educational measures.

8.3.5.3 Willingness to become involved in the tourism policy network

The 14 actors at the network boundary were asked: 'Do you think being more involved in tourism policy-making activities in Hangzhou would benefit you and your group?', and 'Do you think your organization should be involved in the tourism policy-making processes in Hangzhou?' Seven of them said that it was not necessary to involve them, six people thought it would be good to involve them and that they would benefit from that, and one did not know whether it would be good or not. It seems that these actors did not have a strong desire to be more involved. Their unwillingness may reflect their limited awareness of the importance of involvement in tourism policy-making.

Among the interviewees who were willing to be involved, they all felt it would be useful to be involved as they then could be updated about tourism developments and this might help them to ensure their work was fully suitable for the market. However, some of them, such as a supervisor from the World Trade Centre, commented that the involvement of large numbers of actors could lengthen the policy discussions and make it harder to reach agreements (Interview, 21.12.2004). They felt their involvement needed to be very practical, and some said that developing a tourism association could be a practical way to enlarge hotels, travel agencies and enterprises (Interview, 21.12.2004). A landscape designer also suggested the government could hold some open meetings to learn about the opinions and suggestions of the private sector (Interview, 30.12.2004). Respondents that did not think they should be involved gave several reasons for this. The upper-level government did not want to be involved because they wanted to reduce intervention from regional and national level government as part of the decentralization process (Interview, 15.01.2005). By contrast, the Dean of the Meijia Wu Village Committee and also a villager both thought that tourism policies were totally unrelated to their lives and work (Interview, 19.01.2005). The unwillingness to be involved was also sometimes influenced by actors' distrust of government. A civil engineer said: *"some people still feel the government is too centralized and will not involve the private sector"* (Interview, 30.12.2004).

8.4 Conclusion

This chapter has evaluated the tourism policy networks in Hangzhou based on an actor-oriented approach. This approach was predicated on the belief that interactions among actors are the most important driving forces in the formation of network structures and in the development of the network as a whole. An actor-oriented approach considers that actors come from different living environments and conditions that cause differences in their values, interests, status, knowledge and their ways of living. Their differences then result in the differing social and knowledge interfaces.

This chapter first evaluated how the actors used differing discourses that reflected broader knowledge frameworks and how they held differing levels of influence or power when they encountered the various social and knowledge interfaces. Based on the actors' social actions and

their differing knowledge frameworks and power configurations, it was possible to identify Hangzhou's tourism policy community. The policy community was the most influential dimension of Hangzhou's tourism policy networks. The research also evaluated some other dynamics of the city's tourism policy networks. It identified in particular the 'contributing actors' and 'boundary actors' of these networks. The research studied various other relational patterns among actors in the tourism policy networks, including how they communicated with each other. Finally, an examination of the uninvolved actors in the tourism policy networks indicated potential future actors who might be incorporated within an enlarged tourism policy network.

This chapter has sought to combine an actor-oriented approach with policy network theory in order to research the tourism policy networks in Hangzhou. Because the idea of a network is a very broad concept and within networks there are very many different projects, this chapter could only provide a limited number of examples of how to bring these concepts together. The next chapter will focus on one specific project, the West Lake Protection Project, and it will apply both an actor-oriented approach and policy network theory in rather more detail.

Chapter 9

Actors, Discourses, Knowledge Frameworks and Power

Configurations for the West Lake Protection Project

9.1 Introduction

The previous two results chapters (Chapters Seven and Eight) have applied the three-level conceptual framework to Hangzhou in order to evaluate the city's macro environment for tourism policy-making, the dynamics of the tourism policy networks and the actor interactions around tourism policy-making. This chapter also applies these same conceptual frameworks but in a more detailed case study, that of Hangzhou's West Lake Protection Project (WLPP). Three sub-projects within that larger project – the 'Meijia Wu Tea Area Project', 'Leifeng Pagoda Rebuilt Project' and the 'New Lakeside Project' – were also selected in order to examine the dynamics of their tourism policy networks, decision-making processes and actor interactions. These included the actors' discourses, knowledge frameworks and power configurations.

First, the chapter identifies and indicates the dynamics of the actors in the WLPP Head Office for the WLPP and for the three sub-projects. Second, the analysis seeks to identify and understand the actor interactions (including discourses, knowledge frameworks and power configurations) in the three selected sub-projects within the WLPP. Finally, it applies the meso-level framework to locate actors in the wider dynamics of tourism policy networks related to the WLPP.

The West Lake Protection Project (WLPP) is the most important of Hangzhou's tourism-related government projects in recent years. The project aims to protect the natural and cultural resources of West Lake, regain the original size of West Lake, and to recover and redevelop some of the lake's tourist attractions (Yang, 2004). This project started in 2002 and finished in 2005 (WLMC, 2005). The whole project recovers, repairs, and redevelops over 80 tourist attractions, enlarges the water surface from 5.6km² to 6.5km², moves about 7,000 people out of the West Lake scenic district, and demolishes more than 450km² of the areas' buildings

West Lake is located in Hangzhou's city centre. It is the most important tourism resource for the city as it has more than a thousand years of history. With many historical, cultural and natural resources, both the local and national government are seeking to improve West Lake's chances when applying for its designation as a UNESCO World Heritage Site (Wang, 2005). However, because the lake is so near to industry and full of human activities, lots of its resources have been negatively influenced or destroyed. The lake has become very sensitive and it suffers from the high tourist volumes. West Lake has been listed in the UNESCO candidate list since 1999 (Wang, 2005). However, it has failed year after year in the formal evaluations of UNESCO applications. One key objective of the WLPP is to help West Lake to be successfully included in the World Heritage List in the near future (Wang, 2005). The Hangzhou government believes that gaining UNESCO approval also means gaining more access to international markets.

The WLPP was developed from the idea of a former Director of the West Lake Scenic District Management Committee. Former Director Wu proposed the idea of a protection project for West Lake at the end of 2000 (WLMC, 2005). This idea was highly praised by Hangzhou's government heads and the city government quickly decided to put it into practice. The WLMC was appointed in charge of the whole project. To assist the WLMC, a head office was established for the WLPP work. The whole project was to last for 4 years, and it related to numerous government departments and also the private sector. Altogether there were to be three periods of construction, and more than 10 sub-projects in the WLPP (Yang, 2004). Because this project is so large, only three of the most important sub-projects are examined against the conceptual frameworks: the Meijia Wu Tea Area Project, Leifeng Pagoda Rebuilding Project, and New Lakeside Project. They have had the most influential media exposure and they were most often mentioned by the interviewees in both fieldwork visits.

9.2 The WLPP Head Office

9.2.1 Actors in the WLPP Head Office and actor enrolment process in preparing for the WLPP

The WLPP Head Office is the headquarters for the whole project, and it involves 9 Deputy

Directors from 9 government departments (Hangzhou Government, 2006b):

- Deputy Director Zhu from the West Lake Scenic District Management Committee (Hangzhou Public Landscape and Historical Relics Bureau);
- Deputy Chairman Li from the Hangzhou Construction Committee;
- Deputy Director He of Hangzhou's City Planning Bureau;
- Deputy Chairman Cui of Hangzhou's Tourism Committee;
- Deputy Director Fan from Hangzhou's Transportation Bureau;
- Deputy Director Chen of Hangzhou's Forestry and Water Conservancy Bureau;
- Deputy Director Zhang of Hangzhou's Land Use Management Bureau;
- Deputy Director Wang of Hangzhou's Environmental Protection Bureau;
- and Deputy Director Chen of Hangzhou's Finance Bureau.

Because WLMC is in charge of the project, Deputy Director Zhu was appointed as the office head. To direct and manage WLPP efficiently, the involvement of government heads is useful because they can push for rapid progress and shorten decision-making for aspects of the project under the higher authority's direction. Deputy Mayor Xiang therefore directly manages the project's progresses, and he supervises the head office. Figure 9.1 shows the relations among these head office actors. Deputy Mayor Xiang is positioned higher than the other head office actors, and Deputy Director Zhu is in the second place because he takes on the role of head office head and he guides the other participants in order to get agreements within the head office.

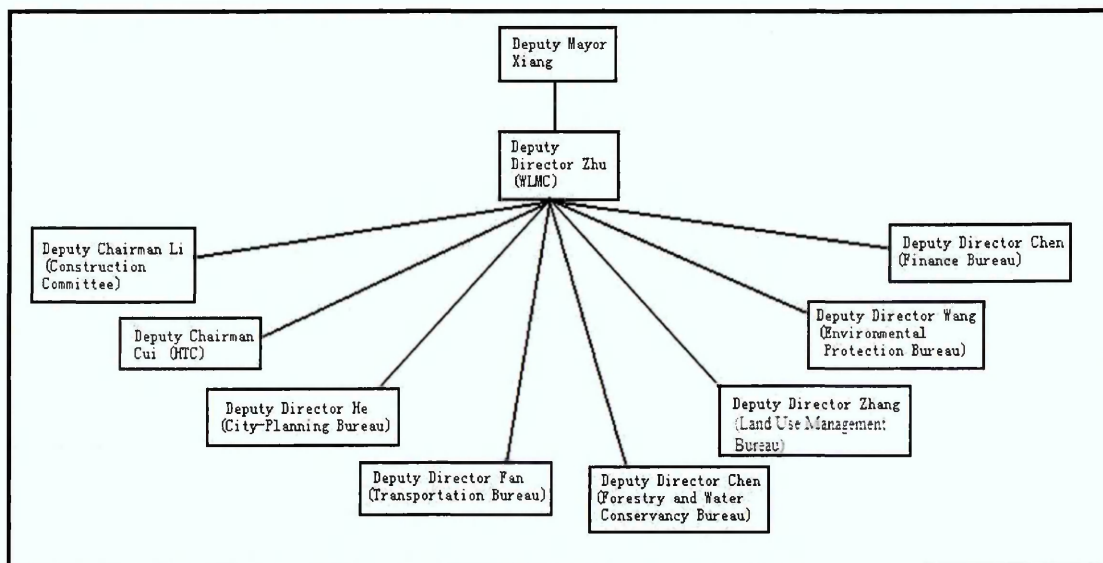


Figure 9.1: Structure of the WLPP Head Office

The discussion first considers the role of the WLPP's leaders. The Deputy Mayor of Hangzhou. Deputy Mayor Xiang is a full-time politician who leads both the WLPP and the Hangzhou Tourism Committee (Hangzhou Government, 2006b). He was appointed as Communist Party Secretary for Tonglu County within Hangzhou, and later he became member of the Communist Party Committee for Hangzhou's municipal government. In 2000, Xiang was appointed Deputy Mayor of Hangzhou, and in 2001 he was also appointed chairman of Hangzhou's Tourism Committee (Hangzhou Government, 2006b). As Deputy Mayor, he is responsible for government work on tourism, education, commerce, religion, nationality, public landscapes, historical relics, and city afforestation. He is also responsible for management issues for the West Lake Scenic District and Zhijiang Resort District (Hangzhou Government, 2006b).

It seems that Hangzhou's Tourism Committee got more authority after 2001 when Xiang became its chairman. The year 2001 was a crucial year for Hangzhou's tourism development because it was the first year of the 'Nine-Five National Economic Plan'. This was a national plan developed by the National Government and National Congress in 1995 that sought to improve the national economy, living standards, and modernization over the period 1996-2000 (Xinhua News, 2005a). Zhejiang Province also formulated a provincial 'Nine-Five' plan in order to follow the national development plan, requiring all the cities within the province (including Hangzhou) to formulate relevant municipal plans which aimed to increase income and industrial development. Zhejiang's 'Nine-Five' plan specifically aimed to increase international tourist number by 12% every year (Zhejiang's Reform and Development Committee, 1996). Hangzhou, as the capital city of Zhejiang Province, became the key contributor.

Based on the 'Nine-Five' plan, the governments of Zhejiang and Hangzhou supported tourism industry growth, such as through additional funding, more government tourism projects, more transparent tourism decision-making and greater authority to the HTC. The 'Nine-Five' plan in Hangzhou helped to shorten tourism decision-making, reduced political constraints, and provided more opportunities for market-led development (Jiang, 2002), and the tourism industry experienced huge growth during its plan period. The average growth of international tourist numbers during the 'Nine-Five' was 12.5% (Ji, 2002).

Following with the 'Nine-Five' plan's success, the subsequent Hangzhou 'Ten-Five' (2001-2005) plan also focused on tourism development, especially by focusing on the West Lake's application for UNESCO World Heritage Listing (Hangzhou's Reform and Development Committee, 2001). It also led to the West Lake Protection Project from 2001. Also from 2001, the Public Landscape and Cultural Relics Management Bureau was renamed the West Lake Scenic District Management Committee, and it was appointed to lead the WLPP. While the project sought to promote West Lake as a world natural and cultural heritage site, this aim was explained within the context of an economic development plan. It was rooted in an economic benefit knowledge framework among the WLPP actors. Indeed, the appointment of the Deputy Mayor as the HTC's Chairman was closely related to the intention of developing tourism as a major catalyst for Hangzhou's economic growth. His appointment helped tourism development to directly gain authority from the government heads and to shorten tourism decision-making processes.

However, Xiang's dual roles also bring into question his working efficiency. In reality the daily work for the HTC was given to Deputy Chairman Cui, with Xiang more responsible for major tourism decisions and projects. As Deputy Chairman Cui of HTC revealed in the interviews, Xiang's responsibilities are mainly strategic around devising annual and long-term tourism development plans for hotels, travel agencies and scenic spots, as well as drafting tourism regulations and standards, and designing Hangzhou's tourism image (Interview, 2004-12-27).

Mr. Cui is also the press representative for Hangzhou's Tourism Committee (Hangzhou Government, 2006b), which means the media can only get news about committee decisions from him. This means that information about the Tourism Committee is highly controlled, thus avoiding any critical opinions getting out from the committee. This raises some doubt about whether reporting in the Hangzhou's newspaper is unbiased.

As discussed earlier, after the 2001 'Ten-Five' economic plan, Hangzhou's Public Landscape and Historical Relics Bureau (PLB) was also named the Hangzhou West Lake Scenic District Management Committee (WLMC). In order to give West Lake a development focus, the

government decided to have a special agency for its management and development. The PLB was chosen as the agency for several reasons. The PLB is responsible, firstly, for the management and protection of all the historical and cultural sites in Hangzhou, for the planning of all public parks, and government-managed visitor attractions (Hangzhou Government, 2006b). As the West Lake Scenic District contains most of the city's historical and cultural sites and visitor attractions, it is clearly suited to be managed by the PLB. For Hangzhou, West Lake is not only a major visitor attraction, it is also the key contributor to the city's culture, development and living environment (Li, 2001), and this suggests that the HTC is not the best manager of West Lake, and that instead another Bureau might be better to protect the area's natural and cultural attractions. Another reason why the government did not choose HTC was because the HTC was busy with other general tourism projects and the city's overall tourism management. Thus, it made sense for the HTC to leave the detailed management and implementation of the WLPP to the PLB/WLMC.

Since 2001, the WLMC has mainly focused on managing the West Lake Scenic District, including tourism development, facility construction, environmental protection and projects around West Lake (WLMC, 2004a). Although the organization still operates under both names, the responsibilities of the PLB have reduced since 2001, with the major works in Hangzhou's park management and heritage protection.

The government heads planned to establish cooperative relationships between the HTC and WLMC, but in practice their overlapping responsibilities for West Lake's tourism management have caused confusion and problems. It is difficult for the public to differentiate which organization they should report to in relation to West Lake tourism issues and policies. In fact some important tourism policies for West Lake were actually formulated by both organizations together, such as the 'West Lake Scenic District Management Regulation' (WLMC, 2004a), indicating the close relationships between these organizations. A WLMC officer commented on its differences compared with HTC: *"HTC works more in relation to Hangzhou's tourism development plans, including West Lake; while our responsibility is more related to implementing their plans for West Lake, as well as formulating regulations related to other aspects of West Lake, such as the management of cultural relics"* (Interview, 05.01.2005).

The second organization, the Hangzhou Construction Committee, is a government department that focuses on project construction issues (Hangzhou Government, 2006b). When government projects need to be constructed, the Construction Committee arranges suitable construction plans and construction designs, arranges for suitable construction companies, calculates the construction budget and reports to related department, such as the Finance Bureau and Plan and Reform Committee (Hangzhou Government, 2006b). The committee also evaluates project proposals from the private sector. In sum, all construction projects must be approved by the Construction Committee.

As with all government departments, there are several deputy directors of the Construction Committee. Deputy Director Li, who represents this committee in the head office, is mainly responsible for tourism construction projects and construction design. In his interview, he revealed that he also used to work in the City Planning Bureau and in the Tourism Committee (Interview, 12.01.2005). This helps explain why he is in charge of tourism-related projects in the construction committee. It also indicates how the transfer of politicians across different roles is common within Hangzhou's government. This might be valuable because it gives them more understanding about different government departments, but it also indicates how political power is concentrated around a small group of politicians, these usually being important CCP members. It further questions the democratic character of government elections and the influence of the CCP.

The project plan itself is part of the city plan. Therefore, a third organization, the Hangzhou City Planning Bureau, is involved. The Hangzhou City Planning Bureau is responsible for making monthly, quarterly and yearly city development plans, supervising city planning projects, collecting city planning information and passing it to other departments, drafting planning regulations, and directing districts or counties to develop their district/county plans (Hangzhou Government, 2006b). The City Planning Bureau seeks to ensure that the WLPP's general plan is coordinated with the city's plans. Deputy Director He in the City Planning Bureau is especially responsible for developing and evaluating the government's project plans (Interview, 15.01.2005). This is why he represented the City Planning Bureau in the WLPP head office.

For such a big project, the plans had to consider diverse influences, such as the environment, transportation routes and promotion. The Transportation Bureau is responsible for the city's transportation management, such as the related transportation route plans, bus arrangements, regulations, and new streets plans relevant to West Lake. Deputy Director Fan stated that he is mainly responsible for making city transportation plans and evaluating the city's transportation situation (Interview, 15.01.2005). The Hangzhou Environment Protection Bureau is responsible only for natural environment protection, and it mainly focuses on water, air and pollution management, and planning and management of open 'green' land (Hangzhou Government, 2006b).

The Forestry and Water Conservancy Bureau controlled both forestry and water resources in the city. Deputy Director Chen was responsible for forestry resource management, including doing afforestation plans and protecting and building shelter belts (Interview, 16.01.2005). She represented the bureau in the WLPP head office, indicating that the area's forestry resources were taken as more important for the project than water supply and management. In fact West Lake is surrounded by several forests which not only influence the lake's appearance but also influence its environment, climate, and water quality.

Projects have two necessary elements: a location and funds. The project location relates to the Land Use Management Bureau's work. As China is a Communist country, land property is in public ownership, with proprietary rights belonging to the Congresses (The State Council, 2004a). Land use in China is highly controlled by the government, with the law mentioning the importance of the Congress because it represents the rights of the people. However, because the Congress system is manipulated by the standing committee of important CCP members, it can be claimed that the real land owner is the CCP. The Land Management Law also says that government at each level should establish a land management department to ensure appropriate planning and use of public land (The State Council, 2004a). The government therefore still highly controls the land use. This helps explain why Hangzhou's Land Use Management Bureau is involved in WLPP's head office. The other important condition for project completion is funding, and the Finance Bureau makes this possible by putting the project costs into

governmental budgets. The Finance Bureau also attracts private sector investors to the project to supply sufficient funding for the WLPP (Interview, 08.01.2005).

As mentioned earlier, the original WLPP idea came from the former Director of WLMC and it was soon listed in government work schedules. The Office Head of WLMC stated in his interview that the project's original aim was to re-plan the west side of West Lake in order to regain the size, water depth, and several old scenic spots on the lake's west side (Interview, 05.01.2005). The government heads quickly became interested in the project because it could not only improve the environment of West Lake, but it also could help West Lake to win UNESCO designation. Therefore, the WLMC, as the project leader, soon enrolled the other key actors.

It firstly enrolled the Deputy Mayor and HTC because the Deputy Mayor represented the recognition and authority of the heads of Hangzhou's government. To progress the WLMC it was sensible to enrol a government head. With the Deputy Mayor enrolled in the WLMC's project, it gained more power because its power configuration was based on political legitimacy and authority. As explained in Chapters 6 and 7, the HTC is closely linking with the WLMC's work, and Deputy Mayor Xiang is also Chairman of the HTC. As the specialist authority for tourism development, the HTC was closely involved in the WLPP's preparation stage when formulating the tourism management plans. Although the HTC did not have much involvement in the later construction stage, it remained highly influential in the head office because of its tourism authority and legitimacy with the government. Other government actors would not challenge its knowledge about tourism. After the enrolment of the HTC and Deputy Mayor, other head office actors were also enrolled, such as the Environmental Protection Bureau, Construction Committee, City Planning Bureau, Land Use Management Bureau, Finance Bureau, Forestry and Water Conservancy Bureau, and Transportation Bureau. Their enrolment happened at almost the same time as the enrolment of tourism experts. The next section discusses the discourses, knowledge frameworks and power configurations around this enrolment process.

9.2.2 Discourses, knowledge frameworks and power configurations within the head office

The discourses, knowledge frameworks and power configurations within the head office are now evaluated in order to understand the actor interactions around the WLPP decision-making. Within the head office three actors were especially influential in the decision-making: the Deputy Mayor, WLMC and HTC. It was found that these three actors used similar discourses, all related to environment improvement and tourism development around West Lake. In addition, they all considered gaining a place in the UNESCO heritage list as the project's major aim.

An official from WLMC said: *"Our responsibility in the project is to make sure that the environment is improved, the lake size is enlarged properly, and better management methods are used for future tourism development around West Lake. What we have done for the project could help it to be successfully listed by UNESCO"* (Interview, 23.12.2004). The Deputy Chairman of HTC also emphasised *"the significance of tourism development for West Lake"* and *"the benefits of getting into UNESCO"* (Interview, 27.12.2004). In a speech by Deputy Mayor Xiang on the WLPP, he claimed that: *"It is everyone's aim to recover the full and original view of West Lake. We protect and improve the environment around the Lake. ... Let's continue the hard work protecting West Lake, and let's promote Hangzhou as an internationally famous tourist city"* (Xiang, 2003). The 'international' flavour was evident in many parts of the project. The original aim was to be listed by UNESCO in order to improve the city's international reputation, although to date West Lake has still not gained that listing. Yet Hangzhou's government actually seemed quite happy with the result, as they felt the project had met their key objective: *"to raise the reputation of Hangzhou as an international tourism city"* (Interview, 04.01.2005). The interviewees representing the above three actors did not use discourses directly related to economic benefits, but this was an indirect implication of their discourse of 'tourism development'. For them, development meant prosperity for the area, enlargement of the tourism industry, and increased recognition among competitors and tourists. These indications are all closely linked with economic revenues from tourists.

The three actors' discourses were very close to the major aims of the project, indicating that these three actors' knowledge frameworks were very influential, and that their views prevailed.

This was also indicated in comments made by other actors. For example, the Transportation Bureau's Deputy Director suggested that: *"At the beginning of the plans, we proposed several new methods for solving traffic jams during the project construction, such as changes to bus routes and opening some temporary new bus routes. These methods were not agreed by several directors because they thought the change of bus routes would conversely cause traffic problems. We insisted on our plans, and after we provided detailed explanations of the bus routes, the proposals were approved. It was highly approved by the head of the head office, and even the Deputy Mayor. Although there are still a few people not satisfied with it, the method later proved to be a successful plan"* (Interview, 05.01.2005). A WLMC officer also described how: *"The directors in the head office always have different opinions. It is very normal. Consequently, it is always necessary to have a coordinator to solve these problems. Our director Zhu is in the office head, therefore, to be the coordinator. Usually when other directors have different opinions in meetings, they will explain the issue first. Then according to the problem, the director decides which way it is best to solve the problem. If the coordination fails, then Deputy Mayor Xiang will come to coordinate the situation"* (Interview, 05.01.2005).

These two statements, suggest that when actors in the head office encounter differences of opinion at this social interface, then a mediator will step forward to solve the issue. The mediator might be the WLMC or Deputy Mayor. Using a mediator at this social interface means of course that the decision-making largely depends on the discourses, knowledge frameworks and power of the mediator (the WLMC and the Deputy Mayor). The WLMC was the head office head that led most head office meetings and the implementation process. The Deputy Mayor was a key actor behind the scenes, making sure about the project's general direction, such as its 'international' flavour.

The WLMC was a key player behind the knowledge framework of establishing a balance between establishing an 'international image and reputation' and 'tourism and the wider social, environmental improvement'. On the one hand, the WLMC has responsibilities to improve West Lake's environment in order to satisfy society, while it also sought to secure West Lake's recognition by UNESCO. The WLMC held considerable power in the head office because it was appointed as its leader. The WLMC's power configuration could be summarized as based

on its political legitimacy and authority in relation to tourism management around West Lake.

The Deputy Mayor's knowledge framework could be considered to be based on the ideas of securing an 'international image and reputation', 'tourism as an economic catalyst', 'tourism and the wider social, environmental improvement', and also the power of the 'legislative authorities'. As with the WLMC, the Deputy Mayor focused on both international reputation and social-environmental improvements. As mentioned before, the Deputy Mayor in the WLPP had an economic focus due to his priority towards 'development'. As head of the government, the Deputy Mayor was also eager to see the project's economic benefits. In addition, as one of the final decision-makers in tourism policies, the Deputy Mayor had much legislative authority.

While the HTC did not have the lead role in the head office, its significance cannot be ignored. This is because the Deputy Mayor Xiang is also Chairman of the HTC, and also because the HTC was also heavily involved in the head office decision-making around the WLPP's plans. As a WLMC officer explained: *"In the preparation stage of the plans, we mainly worked on plans for environment improvement, while the HTC was mainly responsible for the tourism plans"* (Interview, 05.01.2005). The WLMC's environmental improvement plans directly related to construction, while the HTC's tourism plans decided the future operations of the facilities in the area. The tourism plans largely determined whether the project could in the future be *"successful in relation to gaining economic incomes and an improved tourism image for Hangzhou"* (Interview, 15.04.2006).

The Deputy Chairman of HTC said: *"Our main involvement in the head office is to formulate tourism-related plans. This closely relates to the WLPP's major aim of environment protection because an improved environment could promote a healthy image for West Lake and could attract more tourists to Hangzhou"* (Interview, 27.12.2004). Based on such discourses, the HTC had a knowledge framework that viewed tourism as a catalyst for economic development. Yet its emphasis on 'the healthy image' also indicates that the HTC had a knowledge framework related to wider considerations about sustainability and socio-cultural impacts. The other officers in the head office seldom challenged the HTC's tourism plans because the HTC's power configuration is based on its tourism-related authority.

Apart from the Deputy Mayor, WLMC and HTC, the other head office directors have a similar degree of influence or power, which was based on their political positions and control of tourism-related resources, such as transportation, land use rights and water supplies. However, it seems that the Construction Committee and Transportation Bureau have more involvement in the head office than the other officers, which meant they had more opportunities to be influential. As the WLMC's Office Head noted: *"We have the closest relations with the Construction Committee because the whole project needs much construction work. ... The Transportation Bureau's involvement is also vital to the whole project. We also have very frequent contacts"* (Interview, 05.01.2005). The Deputy Chairman of the Construction Committee also said: *"The WLMC, our department and the Transportation Bureau are the WLPP's major participants"* (Interview, 12.01.2005).

Although all interviewees were asked about whether they had any difficulties when working with other actors, they seldom provided examples of difficulties that occurred in the head office. The Construction Committee's Deputy Chairman even said: *"We don't have any difficulties with others"* (Interview, 12.01.2005). The Construction Committee had quite a lot of involvement in the WLPP in relation to construction work. Its specialist knowledge of construction work may explain why it had little difficulty working with other actors, together with the domination of decision-making by the Deputy Mayor, WLMC and HTC.

There was one other important actor group in the preparation work for the WLPP, this being the tourism experts. Thus a HTC officer described how: *"The WLPP proposal was formulated by the WLMC, us and also the tourism experts. We also had some preparation meetings with other head office actors to get some suggestions"* (Interview, 23.12.2004). A WLMC officer also noted how: *"We cooperated closely with some tourism experts, coming mainly from Zhejiang University, some other universities in Hangzhou, and even from Beijing"* (Interview, 05.01.2005).

So far the analysis has focused on the dynamics among actors around the WLPP as a whole. The chapter now focuses on selected WLPP sub-projects for a detailed examination of the discourses, knowledge frameworks, and power configurations related to their tourism policy networks. The

first sub-project discussed here is the Meijia Wu Tea Area Project. This project included the refurbishment of village houses, displacement of some villagers, and change of village houses into teahouse businesses. The second project evaluated here is the Leifeng Pagoda Rebuilding Project, which involved the reconstruction of the Leifeng Pagoda and its surroundings. The third project is the New Lakeside Project. This is the largest project in the WLPP, and it entailed a widening of the lakeshore, new construction along West Lake's shore and also some displacement of residents from near the lakeside.

9.3 The Meijia Wu Tea Area Sub-Project

The first sub-project concerns the development of a tea area in Meijia Wu. This was chosen because it was mentioned by most interviewees in the two fieldwork stages when they were asked to provide examples of actor interactions. Meijia Wu village is located 6 km west of Hangzhou city centre, and within the West Lake Scenic District (Meijia Wu Tea Museum, 2006). The village is the largest tea production area in Hangzhou, with more than 1500 acres of tea trees on hills around the village (See Figure 9.2) (Xinhua News, 2005b).



Figure 9.2: Tea trees and the surroundings of Meijia Wu Village.

The project seeks to develop a new tourism and leisure destination based in this village. The government also hopes this scheme will promote the Tea Culture of Hangzhou, and thus that it will attract more tourists to Hangzhou (WLMC, 2004b). There are several important elements to this project. First, a Tea Museum has been built near the village. Second, all the village houses have been refurbished to be in the same style. Third, the project has improved the quality of the current teahouses and also developed more teahouses. Fourth, more public facilities have been built for the needs of tourists, such as car parks and road signs. Fifth, transportation to the village has been re-planned so as to make sure there will not be congestion outside or inside the village.

9.3.1 Actor enrolment in the Meijiawu sub-project

The original idea for the Meijia Wu project came from the WLMC. It sought to develop a new tourism resort to attract some tourists from the West Lake area and thus to reduce tourist pressure on the lake, to improve Hangzhou's image as a leisure city, and to assist with the city's 2006 World Leisure EXPO (Interview, 18.04.2006).

Hangzhou benefited from the 2006 World Leisure EXPO through the city's association with this symbol of westernisation and of 'international' standing. Due to the influences of westernisation, the Chinese people are strongly loyal and trusting of 'international' brands and icons, believing them to mean quality, reputation and global opportunities. Especially in Hangzhou, where modernity and commercialisation have been particularly marked among China's cities, the people often view international events as important paths to economic profits and an international reputation. They tend to see international events as bringing more global customers who have high demands and spend a lot more than domestic customers. This is why various industries in Hangzhou were enthusiastic to invest in the World Leisure EXPO, and why substantial resulting income went to the organizers: the Hangzhou government and World Leisure Organization. Second, the Hangzhou government is determined to increase the city's international reputation, and it believed that this 'international event' was a key step to enter global markets. Third, the idea of a leisure destination fits the iconic image that the government wants to create for Hangzhou. This promotional idea also derived from the recent recognition of the need for a balance between a quality living environment and economic benefits.

The Meijia Wu Tea Area Project resulted from this thinking, and notably from the image of quality living environments and leisure life styles. As with most other WLPP sub-projects, the Meijia Wu Project also began with a discussion between the Deputy Mayor and the Head Office, and they then enrolled other related actors. Within the head office, the WLMC acted as the leader of the project, with the HTC responsible for the associated tourism development. The Legislative Office was also involved in formulating regulations for the project. In addition, *“The financial support for the Meijia Wu Tea Area Project only came from the Finance Bureau”* (Interview, 08.01.2005). The Construction Committee was also notably involved in this project through the construction plan and actual construction work. Thus, *“The project landscape designs were done by the Design Institute which is subordinate to the Construction Committee”* (Interview, 12.01.2005), and *“the construction company was also selected by the Construction Committee”* (Interview, 12.01.2005).

The Transportation Bureau was also involved in the Meijia Wu Project in relation to the planning for new transport routes. The plan was to enlarge one main road into the village and to change the routes into and out of the village, which increased the use of the main road passing through the village (WLMC, 2003). The intention was to attract people to the village or just to stop over in the village (Interview, 15.01.2005). The Environmental Protection Bureau, Forestry and Water Conservancy Bureau, and Land Use Bureau all had less involvement than the above actors. The roles of these three actors were only to provide related documents and to take part in head office meetings.

The Head Office and Deputy Mayor also enrolled the following actors for the Meijia Wu Tea Area Project: tourism experts from Hangzhou’s Education College, upper-level government heads, the Plan and Reform Committee, Hangzhou’s Security Bureau, Hangzhou’s City Management Committee, Hangzhou’s Commerce Bureau, the Xihu District Government, a construction company, the Meijia Wu village committee, and various villagers and individual tea business investors.

The upper-level government heads were enrolled in most WLPP sub-projects, but they only

contributed by increasing the press coverage. The upper-level government heads were interested in the WLPP because *“the project in the provincial capital city could bring prosperity and reputation for the whole province”* (Interview, 15.01.2005). Thus the provincial Governor, Deputy Governor, Zhejiang Provincial CCP Secretary, and Director from Zhejiang Provincial Tourism Administration would sometimes go to the WLPP construction sites or press conferences to express their support for the project.

All official projects by Hangzhou's government have to be approved by the Hangzhou Plan and Reform Committee (P & R) in relation to their construction. The former Chairman of the P & R said in his interview: *“During the WLPP preparation stage, we received the proposal from the WLMC, and then we approved it together with further plans for construction”* (Interview, 07.01.2005). This was the only involvement that the P & R provided, and as discussed earlier the P & R actually approves most government proposals without hesitation. The present role of the P & R is simply as a stamp-provider nowadays, but it has to be involved because of ‘Chinese formalism’ (Jiang, 2002). It is a step of the process, and as such cannot be removed even though it has already lost its original function. Although formalism is gradually disappearing within China's government, it still exists for some departments or issues, especially in relation to the CCP system. The Plan and Reform Committee was established to control the pace of socialism in China, and it exists in every Chinese city. It worked efficiently at the start of China's economic reforms, but later some Chinese cities, such as Hangzhou, developed fairly mature economic markets due to modernization and westernisation. Under such influences, the pace of socialist development changed, the market was beyond the control of the P & R, the P & R had to loosen its power to affect these socio-economic changes, and gradually it lost its position in government.

The Security Bureau and Xihu District Police Office were also involved because the project involved the displacement of villagers due to new construction (Interview, 07.01.2005). The Commerce Bureau was enrolled to develop the teahouse businesses in the village, and also to help to attract individual teahouse business investors for the villagers. Individual investors were attracted through the Commerce Bureau's advertisements, but some were attracted directly from among the villagers. But many villagers were not confident enough to operate these new

business, and some of them preferred to rent their teahouses to ‘outsiders’. They felt it was easier to receive mostly rentals without the risks of running the business.

As well as the municipal government, the district government of Xihu was also enrolled. In fact Xihu District Government actually undertook some of the more detailed implementation work, such as *“contacting the village committee about the displacements, examining the construction process, and giving feedback to the Head Office”* (Interview, 29.12.2004).

The construction work for Meijia Wu Project was done by two private sector construction companies, both selected by the Construction Committee. The villagers were not involved in the decision-making processes, but they were substantially influenced by the project. In Meijia Wu village, the village committee acts as the village administration and management agency for all issues in the village. The village committee was especially important in the Meijia Wu Project because it acted as the intermediary between the government and the villagers, but also because it was influential in changing villagers’ decisions.

The process of actor enrolment reflected why the actors were involved and also their responsibilities in the project. The discussion now focuses on the actors’ social interactions around the Meijia Wu Project. It examines their discourses, knowledge frameworks and power configurations around this project.

9.3.2 Discourses, knowledge frameworks and power configurations around Meijia Wu Project

9.3.2.1 Social interfaces around the displacement of villagers

One of the most important aspects of the Meijia Wu Project was the displacement of some villagers. The plan required some villagers to be moved out of the area and for the area’s reconstruction with other public facilities, such as car parks and a small leisure area with bridges and artificial scenery (WLMC, 2004b). When construction began this decision caused much disagreement and conflict from the villagers. This was because some villagers had to move out of their houses and to be relocated at places far away from the village.

As one villager argued: *"The houses are built by our grandfathers. Our families have been living here for a very long time. Although the places they want us to move to are still in the village, we really don't want to move"* (Interview, 23.04.2006). In the second fieldwork, all 22 interviewees were asked whether there was any conflict around the construction. Eight interviewees, including four local villagers, one expert, and three government officials, answered that there was conflict, with all mentioning conflict between the villagers and construction workers. One villager said: *"When the construction people came, some villagers who are not willing to be moved or not satisfied with the plan went to the construction site, quarrelled with the workers, and prevented them from continuing the work"* (Interview, 23.04.2006). Another villager added: *"They (villagers and construction people) quarrelled fiercely. This situation happened more than once"* (Interview, 23.04.2006). Several villagers suggested there was a conflictual social interface between the villagers and construction workers. However, this was seldom reported in the newspapers, and the responses of the government officials were generally rather different.

One government official said: *"Yes, there were some conflicts during the construction, mainly between the villagers and construction workers. But those issues were very small, and not serious. The villagers soon agreed to leave after persuasion from their village committee"* (Interview, 13.04.2006). Two other government officials made similar claims, noting conflicts during the construction, but all suggesting these were minor problems. The villagers' answers, however, suggest that the conflicts were not easily resolved through persuasion by the village committee. They sometimes indicated that both the village committee and Xihu District Police Office sought to stop the conflict, but that the opposition was not quietly halted. One villager said: *"The village committee came and tried to persuade the villagers to go back to their homes. But it was no use. Then, the police came and forced the villagers to go back"* (Interview, 23.04.2006). This social interface reflected the weak voice of the villagers, and also the low perceived status of the villagers for the government.

While the discourse of villagers who were displaced differed a little from those of villagers who remained, their knowledge frameworks were broadly similar. The villagers who were displaced

to new places outside the village expressed much dissatisfaction with the plan, complaining about their displacement, and their sense of helplessness about the final decision. On the other hand, some of them said they were satisfied with the money paid in compensation. Because of difficulties in approaching displaced villagers, the study only found one villager who was displaced. He said: *“Some villagers have been displaced very far from the village. We were luckily just moved to here, and although we had to move out from our original house, we are still within the village. It is quite sad to move out because we had lived there for more than three generations”* (Interview, 25.04.2006). He also said: *“We tried to oppose the construction, but it was no use. We tried to complain to the government, but also without effect. I think because the plan was so important to the government, they won’t give up. ... Our compensation money was not too bad. In addition, we also have a new house in very good condition”* (Interview, 25.04.2006). His comments reflected a knowledge framework focused on their living environment and also on economic benefits.

Villagers who remained in the village, especially those with teahouse businesses, used slightly different discourses compared with those who were displaced. They had less complaints about the plan, and they were more satisfied with the economic benefits. A villager said: *“I feel a little bit uncomfortable about the changes in the village. The refurbishments completely changed the look of the village. But I can see the benefits from the project, of course. The teahouse businesses now bring a lot of customers to us”* (Interview, 23.04.2006). Another villager commented how: *“I personally am quite satisfied with the project. Our houses have been refurbished. They look very nice now. We rent two of our houses to the people from the city for teahouse businesses. We can receive the rents very regularly”* (Interview, 23.04.2006). These discourses indicate that the knowledge framework of villagers remaining in the village were also related to concerns about the living environment and economic benefits. But compared with the villagers who were displaced, they were more focused on the economic benefits rather than the living environment.

Despite their weak voices and view that the government was disinterested in them, the villagers did complain as the issue substantially adversely affected their personal living environment. The interviewees were also asked whether the villagers would continue to complain, and 17 of 22

interviewees said that they would. The 5 other interviewees thought the villagers would not complain. One government official said: *"The villagers will not complain because they don't have confidence in the government"* (Interview, 15.04.2006). An industry respondent said that: *"The villagers have the weakest voices in society and they always recognise their weakest positions. Therefore, they will think there is no point in complaining"* (Interview, 20.04.2006). Among the 17 interviewees who thought the villagers would complain, eleven respondents said that the villagers would mainly go to the village committee to complain. The other 6 people said that the villagers would also try the Xihu District Government and the Mayor's Line.

Chapter 8 discussed the weak voice and power configuration of the local communities. Compared to communities in urban areas, however, the villagers had a relatively strong power configuration. That is why sometimes they were prepared to complain. Their stronger position was based on rights due to their possessing land and their direct election of politicians. China's Land Law states that peasants and villagers have the right to own their land (The State Council, 2004a). China's direct elections are the first step for people to become a politician, and these occur in villages, towns, and counties (Zhan, 2001). By contrast, indirect elections are used to select the most important politicians - such as Mayors, CCP Secretaries, or Congress Standing Committee members – and they are appointed by upper-level governments or CCP agents (Zhan, 2001). The importance of the political background of villagers gives them real powers in direct elections. Thus, villagers have some political power, but this case illustrates their weakness compared to the power of the government.

The interviews indicated that villagers would at times complain to their village committee, often because they *"trust the committee could help them"* (Interview, 23.04.2006), and also because they often actively worked for the villagers' benefits. The secretary of Meijia Wu village committee said: *"As the committee in the village, we manage the villagers' complaints and difficulties. In this small village, all the villagers, including the members within the village, all know each other. Some of us are friends and some of us are relatives. As we are elected from the villagers, the committee members have to work for their benefit. They voted for us because they trust us"* (Interview, 06.01.2005). His discourse indicates that the village committees were not just the information platform between the government and the villagers, but were also

concerned about the villagers' difficulties.

The village committee's power was based on its tightly knit, self-organizing functions and its political role in direct elections, but the community committees in urban areas had a different power configuration. One tourism expert explained: *"The village committee is more important than the community committee because the village is different from a community in urban areas. The village is more self-organized, and more remote to the urban. The village committee has more involvement in managing village issues and has more authority in the village. But in urban areas, the community committee's roles are replaced by district governments"* (Interview, 19.04.2006). Community Committees in urban areas are mainly responsible for providing basic community services, such as child care, housing information and policy notification (Legislation Daily Newspaper, 2000). Many management issues are dealt with instead by local district government, and many people view community committees as old-fashioned service agents of government because of the government's substantial meddling and direction for community committees. The government has a huge influence on the election of community committee members, with most being retired CCP members. To prevent the community committee losing its position, in 2004 the government renewed the '1990 Community Committee Organizational Law' and strengthened their management and operations (The State Council, 2004b). Since 2004, the management of community committee has been slightly improved, with some community committees in Hangzhou operating formal recruitment processes to select members, even from the universities (City Express, 2005).

Besides the differences in functions, the village committees are also more powerful than community committees also because village committees have stronger official political powers from the CCP due to the direct elections. The village committees are responsible for organizing local direct elections, while the community committees are not (Zhan, 2001). Direct elections mean that politicians are elected by votes from cities, districts, villages and counties, while indirect elections involve important positions being appointed by upper-level government (Xinhua News, 2004). Because village committees have this powerful role, local government seldom intervenes in village committee issues, and they act more like local 'government'. Another reason for the strength of village committees is because villages have always had more

autonomy than urban areas and have their own close-knit social structures. Thus, in Meijia Wu the village committee is the most important organization for local villagers for complaints and reporting on issues.

Yet after the village committee reporting the complaints to district government, the project still continued according to the original plan. The villagers own their own land and have more negotiating power, however, and thus the villagers finally got more compensation money than specified in the original plan. Consequently, while this demonstrates the stronger power of government, the enhanced compensation payments also indicate that the village committee and villagers also had a degree of influence and power.

9.3.2.2 Social interfaces around the refurbishment of teahouses

A second key issue for the Meijia Wu Project involved the refurbishment of village houses to become teahouses, this happening for all houses near the main road into the village. Most villagers were happy with this plan. As one villager said: *"Of course we are happy with it. We got free refurbishment, and had the chance to do business to make more money"* (Interview, 25.04.2006). While most villagers were satisfied because of the economic benefits, other actors were not mainly concerned about commercial profits. Some tourism experts, for example, expressed significant worries and disagreements. One expert asserted that: *"The old houses should be kept. Those old styles actually represent the area's cultural and local flavour. However, the newly refurbished houses all have the same style and look like a theme park with artificial buildings"* (Interview, 19.04.2006). The 'Daily Business' (2004) also reported one tourism expert's worries: *"The Meijia Wu plan should be considered again. Those brand new teahouses in the same style are so out of keeping with the feeling of the local tea culture. It has destroyed the local culture actually. I think it is not a sustainable approach. In addition, too many villagers' houses are now teahouse businesses, it is also not positive for local tea product development. The village is being swept along with commercialisation"* (Daily Business, 2004). These tourism experts often expressed the discourses of sustainable development and of cultural protection.

Not all the tourism experts conveyed ideas based on the same knowledge frameworks. The tourism expert from Hangzhou's Education College, for example, claimed that: *"The plan was carefully planned and designed. It aimed to protect and promote the tea culture, and at the same time to speed up the village's economic development. We show the village to tourists to let them know about tea culture in Hangzhou. It could enriched the culture in Hangzhou and improve the cultural image of Hangzhou"* (Interview, 16.01.2005). The Hangzhou Education College Tourism Research Centre was the major consultant in the plan for this project. The interview with this respondent indicated that their knowledge framework concerned not only cultural protection, but also tourism as an economic catalyst. In fact all the tourism experts were concerned about cultural protection, but they had different ways of expressing this. The tourism experts involved as consultants in the project thought the promotion of tea culture could educate people about tea culture. They preferred to use tourism development to tell others about tea culture, and then that could sustain the tea culture from disappearing. By contrast, some experts not involved directly in the project were concerned about possible changes due to the commercialisation of tea culture. They thought that tea culture might be changed merely into a commercial product after tourism development. However, it was the experts involved as consultants who controlled the development here, and their power arose from their role as consultants to the Head Office.

In fact after the villagers ran their teahouse businesses, their village lives become more urbanized. Although the local villagers are happy with the economic benefits, they are often quite worried about the village's future development as it becomes more commercialised and urbanized. Currently, villagers who own teahouses either run the businesses themselves, or they rent the teahouses to investors from the city Centre or other cities. The village now has a highly commercial flavour, and the villagers come out of the teahouses and even stand in the middle of the road to solicit for business. They stop the cars and people walking by, and sometimes they almost drag people to their teahouses. This behaviour frightens customers, as one tourist wrote in his online web page: *"It frightened us. The lady suddenly stood in front of my car and forced me to have an emergency break. The lady knocked on my window and frightened my daughter. ... We could see that a lot of villagers do the same thing there. The traffic therefore always is seriously congested there"* (Hangzhou News, 2005a). It seems that the income from

teahouses benefits the locals, but also changes their worldviews and daily lives. In addition, most villagers do not have high education levels, so they only have a partial understanding of modernity and urbanization.

Most teahouses are rented to 'outsiders' from central Hangzhou or even other cities, and they tend only to want to maximize profits. They know nothing about local dishes and local culture, which reduces the quality of these teahouses. Some teahouses even changed their businesses activity in order to get better profits, with one even rented as a material company (Daily Business, 2005a). After Meijia Wu was open to the public for about six months, the government started to realize that the teahouses had serious business difficulties. The government then developed a second plan for Meijia Wu, which involved improved management and some quality control regulations for the teahouse businesses (WLMC, 2004b). For example, the government provided teahouse business people with short training courses, and evaluated the teahouse service quality (WLMC, 2004b). The teahouses were divided into different grades, so that tourists could choose the best ones, and the competition is now very high to get the higher grades.

These improvements worked for a while, but subsequently they were still ineffective. After one year more than 20 teahouses were being advertised for renting (Morning Express, 2006) because people were becoming very tired of the village. One interviewee said: *"It is a very disappointing place. People come here for relaxation and also for tasting the village life. But here it is more like a theme park"* (Interview, 25.04.2006). One visitor said on his blog after his visit: *"Now I understand why people don't like to go to Meijia Wu. It is good for the first time, but after that, you don't want to go there again. There is nothing unique there, but it is now more like everyday urban life"* (Fang, 2006). Another reason why Meijia Wu was struggling for business is that the government was developing other projects similar to Meijia Wu, such as the Maojia Bu Project (Hangzhou News, 2005b). There are now more than 600 family teahouses in Hangzhou (Hangzhou Statistics Bureau, 2006). Comparing this new project with Meijia Wu, one tourist said: *"The dishes in Maojia Bu are very local, the scenery is also good. The most important thing is the convenient transportation to Maojia Bu. There are a lot of public buses to Maojia Bu, not like Meijia Wu, where there is only one bus line. Most people need to drive"*

9.3.2.3 Social interfaces around the transportation issue

Indeed, transportation to Meijia Wu was another major problem after the project was finished (Figure 9.3). In the first fieldwork, the Transportation Bureau's Deputy Director said: *"There were some disagreements when we designed the transportation plan for the Meijia Wu Tea Area Project. The WLMC asked us to widen the road to Meijia Wu and change some road plans so that transportation to the village would be easier. The tourists, especially families, could drive their cars to the village during weekends. But we thought the plan would cause some problems, especially because of possible congestion in that area"* (Interview, 15.01.2005). Although the Transportation Bureau explained these potential problems to the WLMC, the plan continued as that was what the WLMC wanted. In the head office, the WLMC still has more power than the other actors, such as the Transportation Bureau. As the Bureau predicted, traffic congestion became a significant problem at the entrance to the village because many cars and buses had to pass through the village from the southwest side of Hangzhou city in order to get to the city centre.

The Transportation Bureau's knowledge framework generally was based on sustainability and the transport carrying capacity. However, WLMC's knowledge framework focused more on tourism as an economic catalyst and on tourism development. A WLMC officer said: *"Tourism development in Meijia Wu village could help to solve the carrying capacity problem of West Lake, could establish a new leisure centre for tea culture, and also bring economic benefits for the locals"* (Interview, 18.04.2006). Because of the WLMC's power in the head office, its knowledge framework has tended to guide decisions on the ground.



Figure 9.3: Traffic congestion at the entrance to Meijia Wu Village.

There is another transportation problem at Meijia Wu due to a plan to establish four car parks in the village for the convenience of tourists (WLMC, 2004b). However, this plan led to many disagreements. Many villagers opposed the car parks as they would damage their living environment through air pollution and noise. An Environmental Protection Bureau official said: *"We disagreed with the plan for car parks in the village. We warned the other actors in the head office that these car parks would cause too much environmental pollution"* (Interview, 14.01.2005). One tourist expert claimed that: *"I told the WLMC before that those car parks are unsuitable in the village. They would only encourage more private cars to come, especially during weekends or holidays. The pollution for the local villagers is a key issue"* (Interview, 15.04.2006). The car park plan created disagreements even within the head office. The interviewee from the Land Use Management Bureau commented that: *"I think the tourists could use car parks outside the Botanic Garden, and then walk into the village. It would be nicer both for the environment and the locals"* (Interview, 13.01.2005). Also, because of these car parks, many more cars drive into the village, causing the traffic congestion. However, based on the WLMC and main consultants' strong recommendations, the car parks were still established. The main consultant, from Hangzhou Education College, said: *"The car parks are vital for the convenience of tourists. We carefully choose the locations of the car parks in order to reduce their influence on local people. For tourism development, this facility is essential"* (Interview, 16.01.2005).

This issue highlights some of the actors' differing discourses and knowledge frameworks. The Environmental Protection Bureau, for example, used the discourses of environmental concern, notably around the pollution. A tourism expert who was not involved as the main consultant,

used the discourses of sustainable development and environmental protection, and the Land Use Management Bureau also focused on the language of environmental concerns. However, the WLMC and main tourism consultant often had a different emphasis, and their views generally prevailed. The WLMC supported the main consultant who considered that the car parks were 'extremely necessary', seemingly because their knowledge framework put so much emphasis on tourism development. Yet the consultant also said that they chose the location carefully so as to reduce the impacts on locals, indicating that their knowledge framework also paid some attention to the ideas of sustainable development.

While the project resulted in many problems, some interviewees still thought that it had brought numerous benefits, even for the locals. A WLMC official said: *"I think the plan was successful. Local people not only get economic benefits, but they also upgrade their facilities to better their lives. For example, because of the project, their power shortage problem is solved. In addition, more than 500 electricity cables were provided in the village to improve their lives"* (Interview, 18.04.2006).

9.3.3 Tourism policy networks around the Meijia Wu Tea Area Project

9.3.3.1 Actor contacts in the tourism policy networks around the Meijia Wu Tea Area Project

The intention next is to map the actors involved in the Meijia Wu Tea Area Project's tourism policy network. This helps to understand the patterns of discourses, knowledge frameworks and power configurations within the various social interfaces already described. Figure 9.4 shows all the actors involved in the Meijia Wu Tea Area Project and their contacts with each other. In the first fieldwork, all interviewees were asked about the actors that they worked with in relation to this project. The far left column shows the number of times each actor was named in relation to this interview question.

Number Mentioned		ULG	Mayor	Gov Heads	DM	Legislative	P&R	WLMC	HTC	City Planning	Construction	Land Use	Forestry	Environment	Transportation	Finance	Security	CM	Xihu DG	Experts	Design	Construction Co.	Bus Company	VC	villagers	Tea Investors	Tourists	Media	Xihu Police
03	ULG																												
06	Mayor																												
04	Gov Heads																												
16	DM																												
03	Legislative																												
01	P&R																												
20	WLMC																												
12	HTC																												
12	City Planning																												
15	Construction																												
12	Land Use																												
12	Forestry																												
12	Environment																												
13	Transportation																												
12	Finance																												
15	Security																												
15	CM																												
21	Xihu DG																												
18	Experts																												
05	Design																												
07	Construction Co																												
03	Bus Company																												
08	VC																												
08	Villagers																												
04	Tea Investors																												
05	Tourists																												
19	Media																												
07	Xihu Police																												

Actor List:
ULG: Upper-level Government Heads, including provincial government and national government heads.
Mayor: Mayor of Hangzhou Government
Gov Heads: Other Hangzhou Government Heads, including deputy mayors except Deputy Mayor Xiang, and Hangzhou's CCP Committee Secretary.
DM: Deputy Mayor Xiang
Legislative: Hangzhou Legislative Office
P&R: Hangzhou Plan and Reform Committee
WLMC: West Lake Scenic District Management Committee
HTC: Hangzhou Tourism Committee
City Planning: Hangzhou City Planning Bureau
Construction: Hangzhou Construction Committee
Land Use: Hangzhou Land Use Management Bureau
Forestry: Hangzhou Forestry and Water Conservancy Bureau
Environment: Hangzhou Environmental Protection Bureau
Transportation: Hangzhou Transportation Bureau
Finance: Hangzhou Finance Bureau
Security: Hangzhou Security Bureau
CM: Hangzhou City Management Committee
Xihu DG: Xihu District Government
Experts: Hangzhou Education College Tourism Research Centre and other consultants.
Design: Private Design Institutes for landscape, architecture, and civil engineering.
Construction Co.: Private Construction Companies
Bus Company: Public Bus Company
VC: Village Committee
Villagers and Tourists
Tea Investors: Teahouse private investors
Xihu Police: Xihu District Police Office
Media

Figure 9.4: Actors and actor contacts related to the Meijia Wu Tea Area Project.

Figure 9.4 indicates first that the WLMC and Xihu District Government had most involvements in the project. While the WLMC was especially busy with management tasks, Xihu District Government was notably involved in implementation and coordination work, including evaluation of the construction processes and coordination of the villager displacements. Xihu District Government had less power than the head office actors even though it had considerable involvement in the project. Second, except for the WLMC, all the other head office actors and the Deputy Mayor had similar numbers of actor contacts. It is also evident that the head office actors mainly had contacts with other head office actors. Third, it is evident that the experts had

considerable contacts with most of the other actors. Based on the experts' discourses, knowledge frameworks and power configurations, it is also clear that the experts had a fairly central position in the tourism policy networks. Finally, Figure 9.4 shows that the media worked with various actors in the project in relation to developing reports and spreading information.

9.3.3.2 Goal similarity among actors involved in the Meijia Wu Tea Area Project

An evaluation was made of how similar were the goals of the actors involved in the Meijia Wu Tea Area Project. Figure 9.5 shows that the Deputy Mayor, WLMC and experts were key players in establishing the official goals of the Meijia Wu Project, which were to establish a leisure image for the city, gain more economic profits, develop the tourism industry, and protect the tea culture. The head office actors, the Mayor and other government heads also had similar goals for the project. The goals of the project were mainly decided by those key government actors and tourism experts.

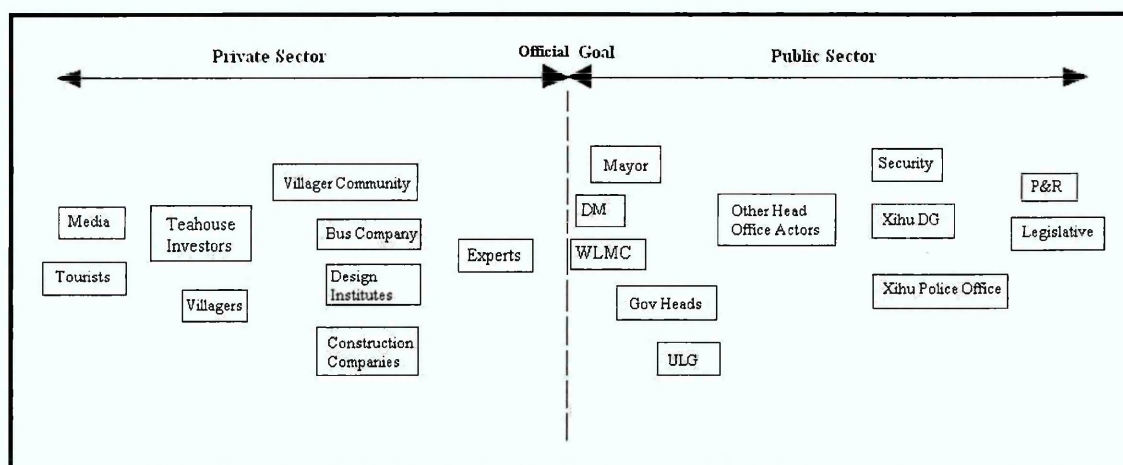


Figure 9.5: Goal Similarities in the Meijia Wu Tea Area Project.

9.3.3.3 Resources exchanges in the Meijia Wu Project

It is important to understand the character of the contacts among the actors, such as the resources that they exchanged and the supervisory relations among them. These different contacts together establish the overall project policy network. The interviewees were asked 'what kind of working relations have they had for each of their contacts'. Their answers were categorised into four broad types of relations: authority permission, financial support,

supervisory provision and knowledge transfer. Authority permission means that one actor needs to secure permission or authority from another actor in order to continue his/her project. Financial support occurs when one actor financially supports another actor; and supervisory provision occurs when one actor needs to follow another actors' supervisory and guidance in order to do its work. Knowledge transfer is the most common type of relation, and it involves actors transferring their knowledge to each other in order to supplement their own knowledge. Figure 9.6 gives a general map combining all four types of resource exchange relations between the actors. Then, Figures 9.7, 9.8, 9.9 and 9.10 relate in turn to the four categories: authority permission, supervisory provision, knowledge transfer and financial support. All the resource exchanges are shown with a single direction arrow, except for knowledge transfers. Unlike the others, the knowledge transfers often indicate an equal resource exchange between both actors, and thus lines without any arrows are used.

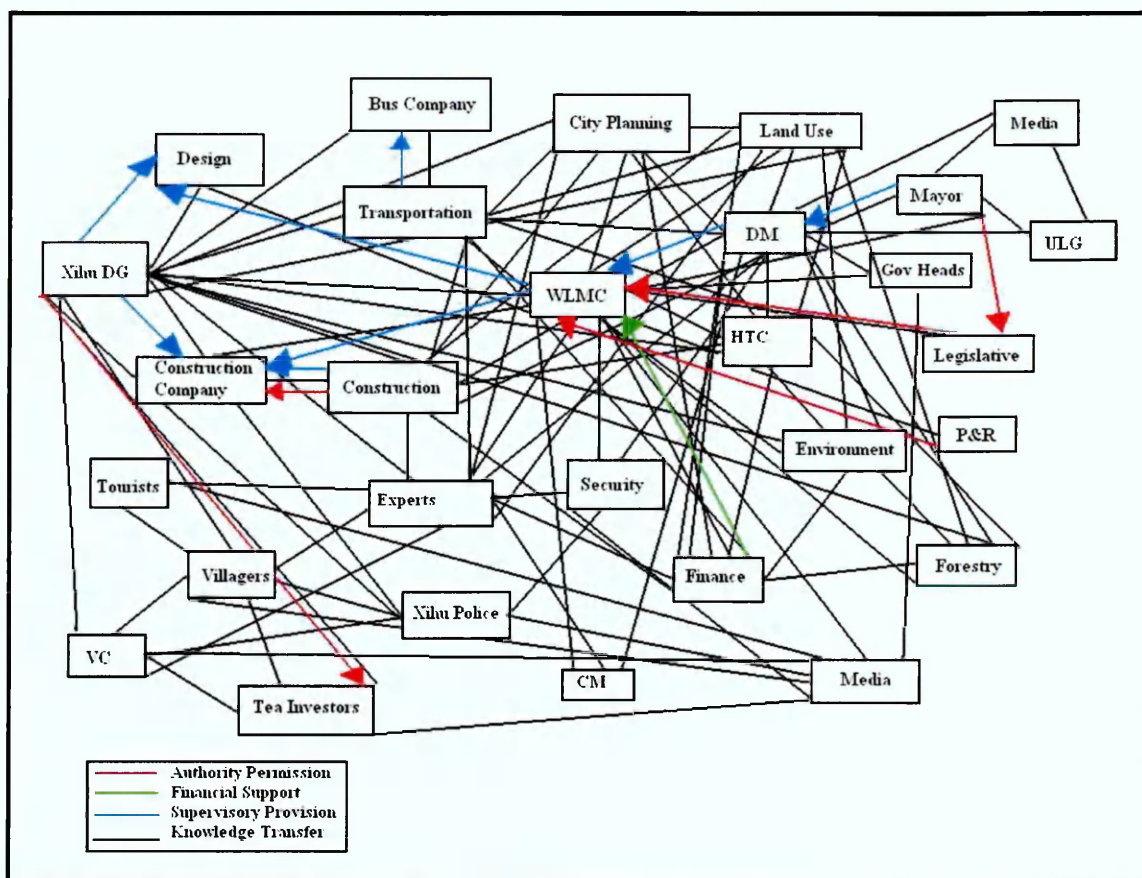


Figure 9.6: General Pattern of Resource Exchanges for the Meijia Wu Tea Area Project.

Figure 9.7 shows authority permission relations among actors involved in the Meijia Wu Project.

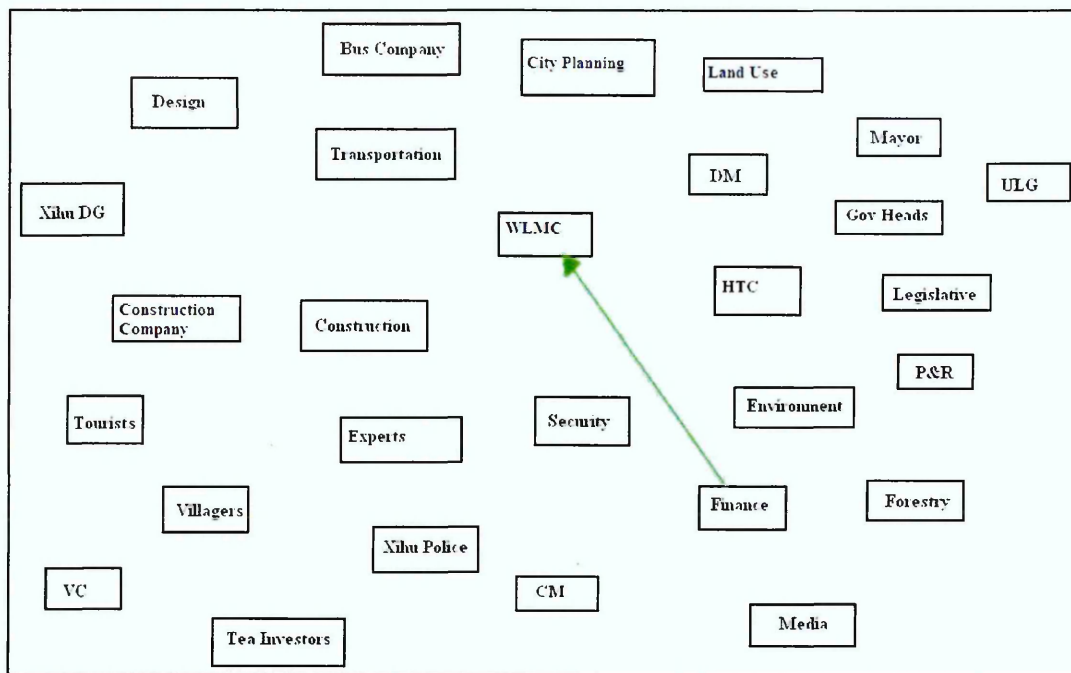


Figure 9.8: Financial Support Relations for the Meijia Wu Tea Area Project.

Figure 9.9 shows the category of relations based on supervisory provision, with this usually occurring between one actor and its subordinates. In this case the upper-level government provided supervisory influences on the Mayor, the Mayor also supervises the Deputy Mayor, and the Deputy Mayor also supervises the WLMC. The WLMC supervises both the design institutes and construction companies. The district government also supervises both of these latter groups in order to monitor their daily work. The Construction Committee also provides supervision of the construction companies so as to control the quality of their construction. Xihu Police Office is also involved in this project to prevent conflicts happening during the project, and it is a subordinate to the Security Bureau. A similar subordinate relation occurs between the Public Bus Company and the Transportation Bureau.

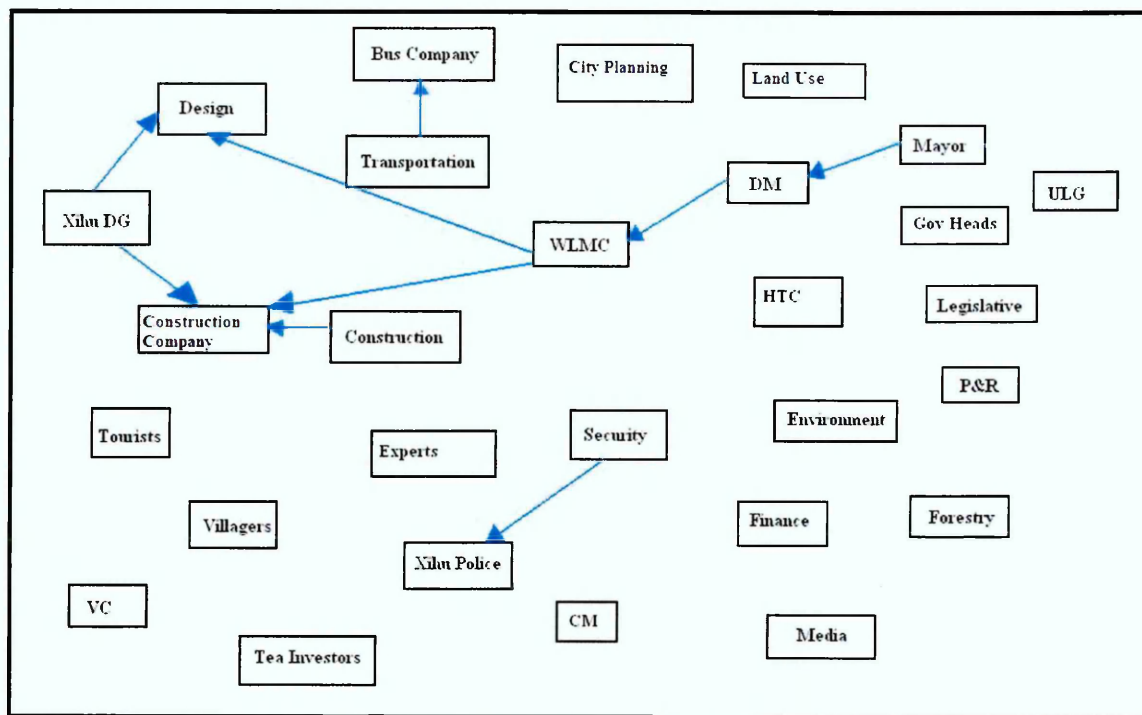


Figure 9.9: Supervisory Provision Relations for the Meijia Wu Tea Area Project.

Knowledge transfers (Figure 9.10) occur among most of the actors. They are often involved in knowledge interfaces and can help different actors to reach agreements around projects. The discussion has examined two important issues for the Meijia Wu Project around which knowledge transfers often took place.

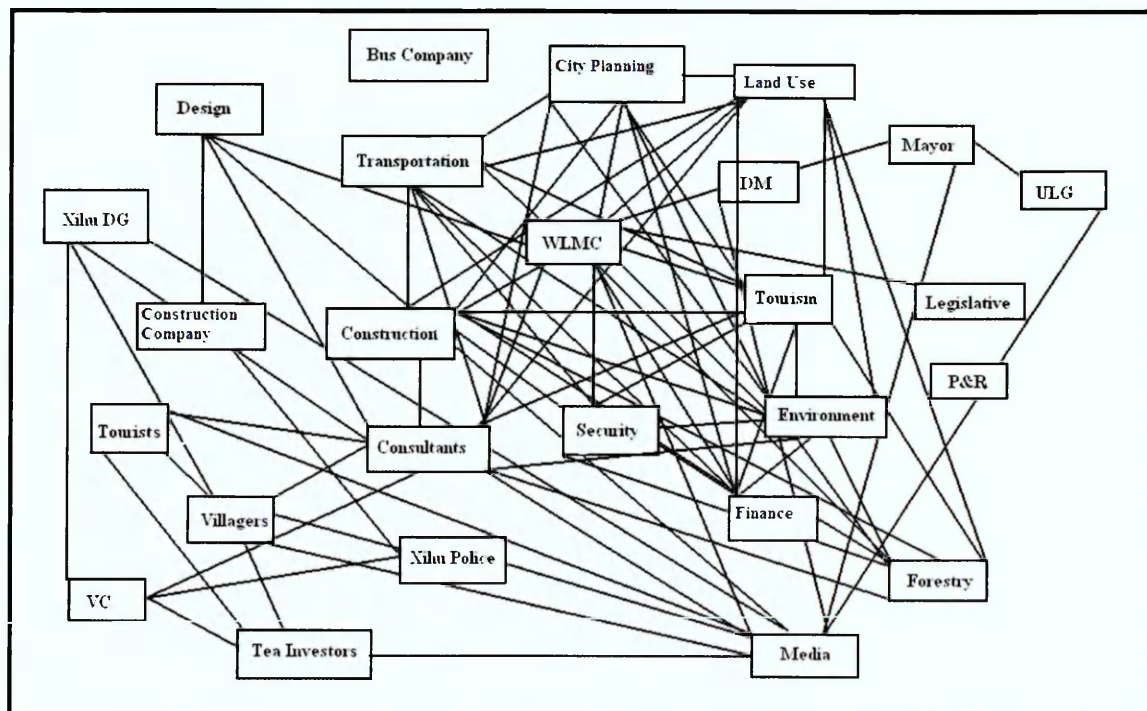


Figure 9.10: Knowledge Transfer Relations for the Meijia Wu Tea Area Project.

9.3.3.4 Dynamics of the tourism policy networks around the Meijia Wu Tea Area Project

The analysis of actors' goal similarity, discourses, knowledge frameworks and relational maps helps to identify several actors with high levels of power in relation to the Meijia Wu Tea Area Project. The next task is to establish the 'policy community' at the centre of the tourism policy networks for the Meijia Wu Tea Area Project (Figure 9.11).

At the centre of Figure 9.11 is the tourism 'policy community', this being the key actors and their associated knowledge frameworks involved in tourism policy-making for the Meijia Wu Tea Area Project. It included the Head office actors, Deputy Mayor, Mayor, experts, and Legislative Office. The project was planned and managed by Head office, especially by the WLMC staff. As discussed in the earlier analysis of the actors and of actor interactions, the knowledge frameworks of the WLMC and Deputy Mayor were similar. They both put an emphasis on tourism development, improving Hangzhou's international image, considering tourism as an economic catalyst, and on resource protection. Their knowledge frameworks formed dominant 'knowledge' for the Meijia Wu Project, and influenced the whole head office.

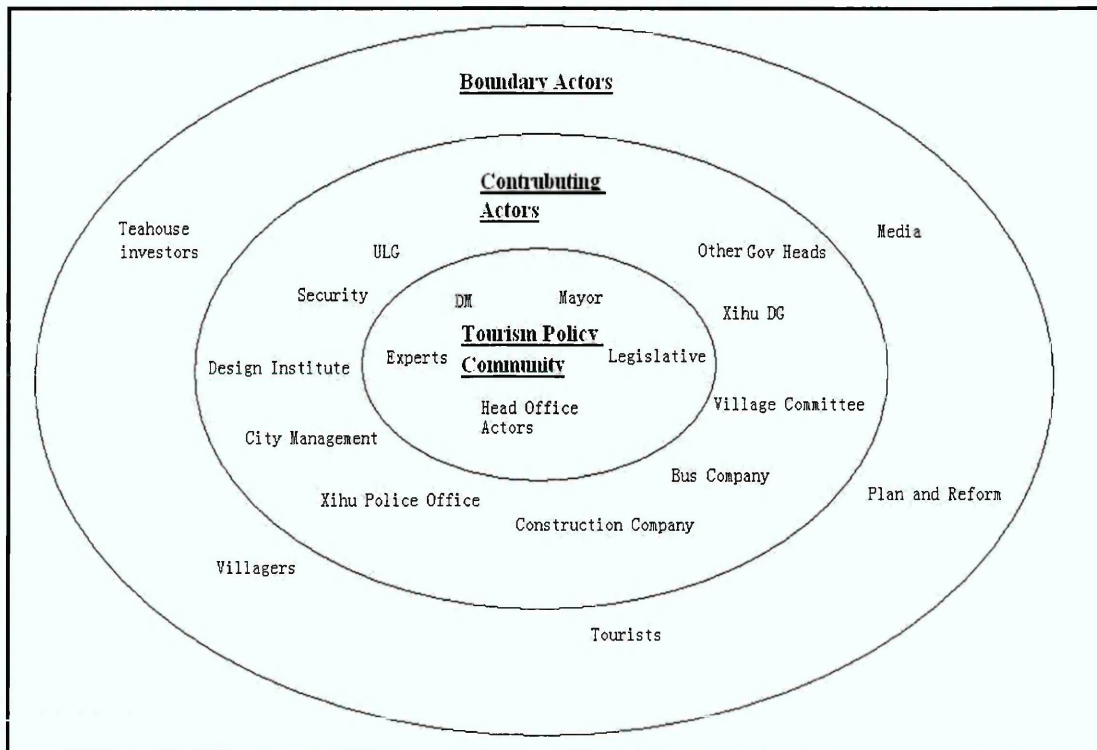


Figure 9.11: Tourism policy networks related to the Meijia Wu Tea Area Project.

Experts were also key players in the Meijia Wu Tea Area Project. They were prominent in the planning, construction and also evaluation stages, acting as consultants for the Head Office in their decision-making. In this project, their knowledge frameworks considered the issues of sustainable development, protecting the tea culture, and tourism as an economic catalyst. Their knowledge frameworks were very similar to those of the Deputy Mayor and Head Office. They all considered both development and protection and they all emphasised the idea of tourism as an economic catalyst. These knowledge frameworks were behind the discussions for the teahouse businesses, the altered transportation routes to get more visitors, and displacements in order to build car parks. All of these activities indicate the importance to tourism development, and the view that tourism development could help in cultural and natural resource protection.

The Legislative Office's knowledge framework was based on 'legislative authority'. This reflected its position where it did not need to consider whether the tourism planning was suitable, whether the environment was improved, and whether there were sufficient economic benefits. Rather the Legislative Office only needed to ensure the contents of the policies met certain technical requirements.

The Mayor was seen as a member of the policy community for the Meijia Wu Project because he approved several of its regulations, such as regulations for 'Power supply methods for the Meijia Wu Tea Village in the summer time' (Hangzhou Legislative Office, 2003a), and for 'Emergency methods for tea tree protection' (Hangzhou Legislative Office, 2003b). These regulations were all also evaluated by the Legislative Office. The Mayor's knowledge frameworks were very wide-ranging, including giving priority to sustainable development, economic growth, securing an international reputation, and improving the socio-cultural and environmental living conditions.

Figure 9.11 also identifies some 'contributing actors', who had a moderate degree of influence on project decision-making. The Security Bureau and City Management Office were two municipal government departments who supported the work of the tourism policy community but were not a part of it. Xihu District Government was also excluded from the inner side but it had much involvement in the project in relation to implementation and coordination. Both Xihu

District Policy Office and the Bus Company were subordinates to the Security Bureau and Transportation Bureau respectively. Their knowledge and feedback about implementation issues were also considered by the Head Office staff. A Design Institute and Construction Company were also employed in the project's implementation stage, with their feedback and professional knowledge being considered by the policy community actors. The Meijia Wu Village committee had generally very weak power in the tourism policy networks, but it still had some influence due to its electoral role. Thus, this committee was considered to be a 'contributing actor'.

The final category of actors in the tourism policy networks around the Meijia Wu Tea Area Project was the 'boundary actors'. The Plan and Reform Committee, the media, villagers, tourists and the teahouse investors were included in this category. They made the least contribution to project decision-making and their knowledge frameworks were least influential. Among them the Plan and Reform Committee is the only government actor. It is involved in all tourism projects but it had no power to influence tourism decision-making and it simply approves the government projects.

The Villagers and tourists are the weakest voices in these policy networks. Yet the villagers were shown to have some limited ways to seek to influence the policy community actors. They usually contacted their village committee or Xihu District Government to express their opinions, or else they used the 'Mayor's Line' for complaints, but the final decisions indicate that their complaints were not given much weight. Finally, the tourists probably did not have much interest in being involved in the decision-making. In addition identifying representatives of the tourists would in any case be very difficult and the Head Office was not interested in involving tourists. Nevertheless, the negative feedback from tourists on the quality of the teahouse businesses did force the head office to re-evaluate the quality of services in village.

The teahouse investors only sought economic profits from the Meijia Wu Tea Area Project. They appeared to be quite happy with the project decisions, which brought many opportunities for them to invest. As individual businessmen, they were not interested in taking part in government decision-making. On the other hand, the Head Office also ignored the involvement of teahouse investors. As one of the most important knowledge frameworks for the Head Office,

especially that of its leader the WLMC, viewed tourism as an economic catalyst, the teahouse investors had exactly the same knowledge framework. Their cooperation stopped, however, simply at economic activity. Media was another boundary actor. As discussed before, Hangzhou's media only acted as a platform for information dissemination, and it was also controlled by the government. Therefore, it exercised almost no independent power.

The case of Meijia Wu Tea Area Project was used in order to apply the study's conceptual frameworks to a detailed tourism project. First, in Chapter 5 the macro-level conceptual framework was applied to evaluate the external contexts influencing Hangzhou and the Meijia Wu Tea Area Project. Second, in this Chapter, the micro-level framework was applied to evaluate actors' discourses, knowledge frameworks, and power configurations around several social interfaces. Finally, the meso-level framework was also used to evaluate the tourism policy networks around Meijia Wu Tea Area Project, which identified the actors' relations, relational types, goal similarities, and network structures. The full application of the three levels of the conceptual frameworks to the Meijia Wu Tea Area Project provides a good example of how to apply the conceptual framework to a detailed tourism case study.

The two cases that now follow, of the New Lakeside Sub-project and the Leifeng Pagoda Project, are only examined in relation to the application of the micro-level framework. Thus those two cases are evaluated only for the actors' discourses, their knowledge frameworks, and their power configurations. Based on all of the analysis in the chapter, the chapter then concludes with a summary of the tourism policy networks for the whole WLPP.

9.4 The New Lakeside Sub-Project

The New Lakeside sub-project is the most important and largest sub-project in the WLPP. There are two construction periods for this project. The first period related to the area nearest to West Lake - the main area for the 'New Lakeside Project' - and it started in December 2002 and finished in October 2003 (Daily Business, 2005b). The second period started at the end of 2003, and finished in October 2005 (Daily Business, 2005b). The aim of the whole New Lakeside project is to improve the lakeside landscape and the surrounding environment of West Lake (Interview, 05.01.2005).

The New Lakeside Project was planned and organized by the WLPP Head Office, and it was funded by both the government and private investors (Interview, 05.01.2005). It is located on the east shore of West Lake, including Hubin Street, the most important street on the lake side (Hangzhou Daily, 2003b). The Hubin area is considered the most prosperous area in Hangzhou (Xinhua News, 2003), and it is seen as a leisure centre in Hangzhou because it is full of shops, restaurants, teahouses, and some traditional stores. In order to enlarge the size of the lakes and also to prevent water pollution from the shops, the government decided to move all the shops, restaurants, and a small number of community residents out of the area, and then to re-organize the area. Thus the project involved moving some people out of the area, pulling down buildings near the lake, rebuilding the street near the lake, making the street pedestrian-only, adding more trees and green land, putting more public facilities for the needs of tourists, and also developing one street to be a very modern, high class shopping street with high fashion stores (Interview, 23.12.2004). Figure 9.12 shows the planners' projected view of the new landscapes and also the appearance of the lakeside landscapes at September 2007. The sub-project involved major changes and related to a large number of actors. 18 of the interviewees in the first fieldwork, for example, were involved in the New Lakeside project, while 12 interviewees in the second fieldwork responded to the questions related to this project.

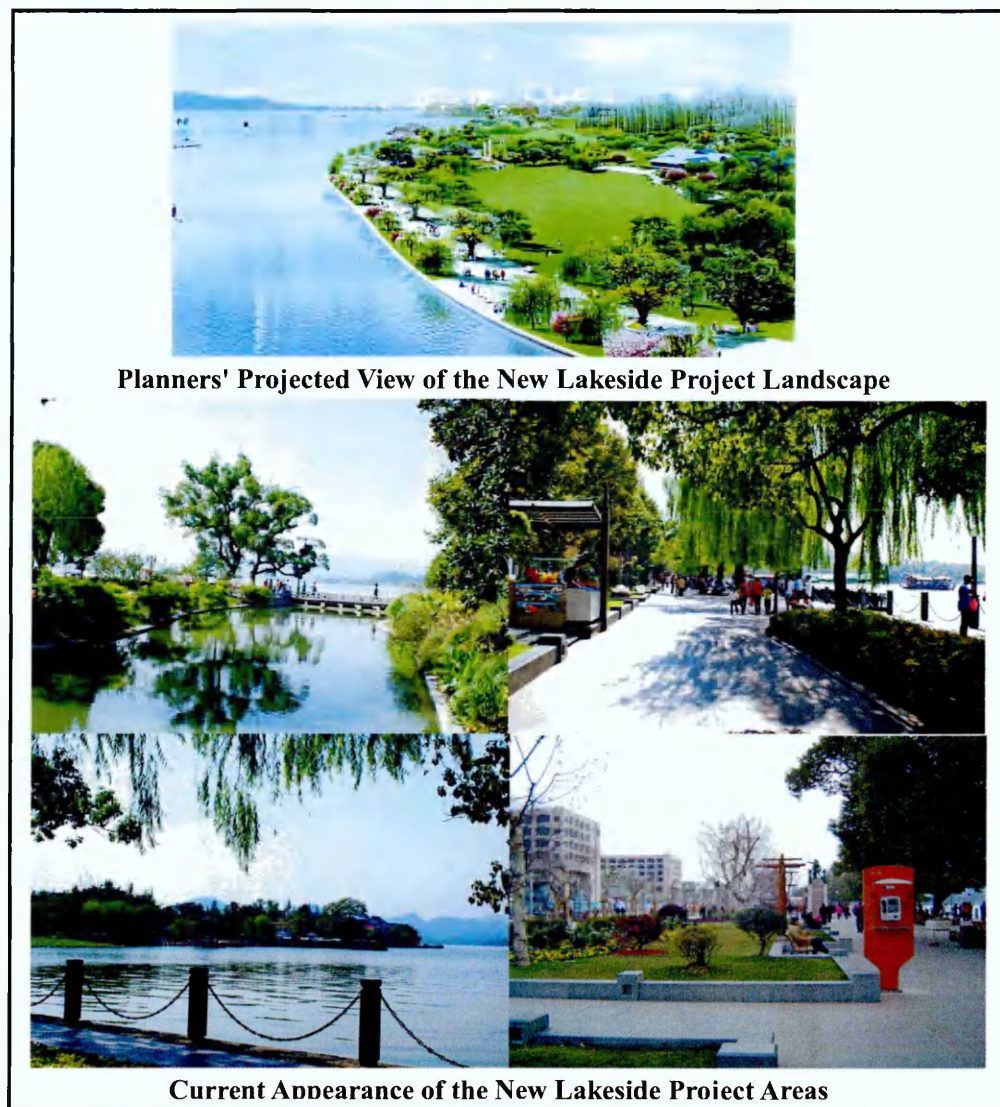


Figure 9.12: Landscapes of the New Lakeside Project.

9.4.1 Actor enrolment in the ‘New Lakeside’ project

Similar to the Meijia Wu Tea Area Project, the actor enrolment process for the New Lakeside Project started with discussions between the Deputy Mayor and the Head Office, and then they enrolled various other government departments and private sector actors. The idea for this project was devised by the WLMC (Interview, 05.01.2005). This sub-project is the main project in the WLPP because its aims are closest to the core knowledge of the policy community, and also because this project covers the largest area and affects the largest number of people. After the idea was approved by Deputy Mayor Xiang, the head office actors worked together to plan it in detail. This included planning for transportation, construction work, the landscape designs, actions to relocate local people, funding sources, improvements to water quality, further tourism development, and integration with the city’s overall development.

Upper-level government heads were enrolled because of the project's overall importance to the WLPP. As with the Meijia Wu Tea Area Project, they did not have a direct involvement in the project, but they did contribute by increasing its press coverage. The New Lakeside Project was a big project that involved several regulations and standards affecting people's activities. For example, the regulations on the 'Management of the Service Industry in Hangzhou' sought to control pollution from the restaurants and shops, especially around West Lake (Hangzhou Legislative Office, 2004). In addition, the regulations on 'Changes in City Green Land Management in Hangzhou' and on the 'West Lake Scenic District Management' were made to improve the results of the WLPP project (Hangzhou Municipal Congress Standing Committee, 2005; and Zhejiang Provincial Congress Standing Committee, 2005). The regulations and standards directly affected the New Lakeside Project. Other actors also involved in the policy-making processes were the Hangzhou Legislative Office, the Mayor, the Hangzhou Municipal Congress Standing Committee, and the Zhejiang Provincial Congress Standing Committee.

As with the Meijia Wu Tea Area Project, the Head Office also enrolled experts, the Plan and Reform Committee, Security Bureau, City Management Office, Xihu District Government, and Bus Company, and again for similar reasons. Besides these actors, this project also entailed enrolling other public and private sector actors, such as the Law Enforcement Bureau, Hangzhou Commerce Bureau, Xihu District Government, investors (such as the Zhejiang Nandu Real Estate Group), the media, Landscape Design Institute, Civil Construction Design Institute, private construction companies, local communities, shops, community committee, and tourists.

A group of experts from different institutes also again worked as researchers and consultants for the Head Office. The main consultants came from Zhejiang University's Tourism Research Centre. The Plan and Reform Committee was asked to provide official approval of the project. The Director of Hangzhou's Security Bureau explained why they were enrolled: *"We are important in the New Lakeside Project because the project relates to moving people out of the area, pulling down buildings, and establishing new facilities. It might cause conflict between the*

workers and locals who are asked to be moved. The dangerous construction works also might result in some injuries, and the new public facilities around New Lakeside might be destroyed or damaged. The Security Bureau needs to plan actions to avoid and solve these possibilities” (Interview, 07.01.2005).

The new public facilities along the lakeside, such as toilets, street lights, pay phones and tourist information points were planned and managed by the City Management Office (Interview, 10.01.2005). It identified suitable locations for these facilities, and it sought to prevent damage to them such as due to theft. Director Chen of the City Management Office said: *“The office always works together with the Security Bureau to prevent and punish these behaviours. We have a subordinate department, the Law Enforcement Bureau. When our office is responsible for planning facilities, than the Law Enforcement Bureau is responsible for preventing bad behaviour. When that behaviour becomes crimes, then it needs help from the Security Bureau”* (Interview, 10.01.2005). Therefore, the Law Enforcement Bureau was also enrolled.

The New Lakeside Project area is within Xihu and Shangcheng Districts, and thus these two district governments were also highly involved in the project. These district governments arranged to move people and pull down houses in the project area (Interview, 29.12.2004), and these activities caused much conflict and difficulties. A Xihu District Government official said: *“It is impossible for just one government department within district government to complete the work, rather it needs several related departments to cooperate”* (Interview, 29.12.2004). The Bus Company was also involved in work on re-arranging bus routes during and after the project construction.

Hangzhou Commerce Bureau was responsible for commercial planning and management for the New Lakeside Project (WLMC, 2005) because the street near the lakeside had to be re-planned and new commercial enterprises needed to be attracted to move in. The Commerce Bureau assisted in deciding on the theme of the street, including the kind of shops needing to be attracted in, and where to locate them. The bureau also contacted the related shops and enterprises, promoted the street to business people, and attracted them to open businesses on this street. The street’s theme was to be a fashionable street of high-class clothes and furnishing

stores, and mid-quality restaurants and coffee shops. Although some doubts were expressed about the survival of these stores because of their expensive prices, the businesses were accepted by the head office decision-makers because of the potentially high profits.

The Zhejiang Nandu Real Estate Group was the main private sector investor in the scheme. This Group was founded in 1993, and it was one of the most influential real estate companies in Zhejiang province (Bokee, 2006). The company was experienced in investing in real estate in government projects. The scheme required substantial funds to rebuild the street and improve the landscape, and the Finance Bureau needed to find private sector investors to assist in this. The Nandu Group won the bid process to join this government project. Their project manager directly joined in a few of the head office meetings to discuss the plan (Interview, 13.01.2005). Nandu Group was also responsible for discussing the design and construction plans, and for supervising the construction quality (Interview, 13.01.2005). The enrolment of Nandu Group is illustrative of a growing trend towards public-private cooperation by Hangzhou's government, with this usually associated with attracting private sector investment. In the second fieldwork interviews, 18 of the 20 respondents said that securing investment from the private sector was the most common reason for public-private sector cooperation.

The government retained control over the general development plans for the New Lakeside Project, but Nandu had much control over the detailed work on design and construction. However, a landscape architect described how the Nandu Group had decided to use private sector landscape architect design institutes for its design work, but the WLMC insisted instead that the Hangzhou Landscape Architecture Design Institute should be in charge of the design process with private companies assisting it. The Hangzhou Landscape Architecture Design Institute in fact is the subordinate design institute under the WLMC (Interview, 30.12.2004). This institute was founded in 1949 and it then was state-owned. In 2002, however, the institute became a privately owned company (Interview, 30.12.2004). But, while it became privately owned, the institute actually was still directly managed by the WLMC. It received government projects from the WLMC, and it also gave part of its profits to the WLMC.

The project also influenced the weakest groups of actors: the locals and tourists. The locals

included owners of the original shops and restaurants, and nearby community residents. The displacement of these people and demolition of their homes and businesses totally changed their living environment and businesses. Despite having to move away from their homes and established workplaces, only a small number of them were dissatisfied with the move as they felt they were receiving reasonable compensation money. The tourists were strongly attracted to the New Lakeside as it was the nearest part of Hangzhou to the West Lake.

9.4.2 Discourses, knowledge frameworks and power configurations around the New Lakeside Project

As with the Meijia Wu Tea Area Project, all interviewees in the first fieldwork were asked whether they experienced any social and knowledge differences during their interactions with other actors concerning the New Lakeside Project. The analysis here evaluates the actors' discourses, knowledge frameworks and power configurations. The discussion focuses on four major aspects of the New Lakeside Project: re-styling Hubin Street, the displacement of the original residents around the lake side, the involvement of private investors, and the pulling down of the enclosure walls around the lakeside parks.

9.4.2.1 Social interfaces around the re-styling of Hubin Street

A first issue of note is the re-styling of Hubin Street. The original Hubin Street was a locally well-known shopping street, full of local stores, restaurants and some traditional shops (WLMC, 2004c). However, the government saw these restaurants and stores as rather disorderly. An Hangzhou Tourism Committee official explained that: *"Especially those restaurants, some of them don't even have proper licenses. And, also, because the street is too close to West Lake, the pollution from the restaurants influences the lake"* (Interview, 23.12.2004). To restore the street's reputation, the government planned to style it as a prestige shopping street by moving out the original restaurants and stores, and by attracting new businesses in. It was felt this would attract more tourists and locals to shop there. Another reason why the government sought to replace the original businesses was because it was the style of the street. A WLMC office head commented how: *"The original businesses on Hubin Street did not fit the style of Hangzhou city. Those stores were disorderly and old. We planned to design the area as a modern shopping area,*

which was suitable for current Hangzhou's development" (Interview, 05.01.2005).

The government decided to re-style Hubin Street into a modern-style shopping and leisure centre. In addition, to avoid affecting the West Lake too much, it was decided to develop Hubin Street to be a pedestrian-only street. The decision caused some arguments among the public. The old Hubin shopping street mainly included small and medium size restaurants, stores, and some traditional old shops. Most of the restaurants were run by Taiwanese companies and in a Taiwanese cuisine style. Although they were small in size and did not represent Hangzhou cuisine, they were very welcome among local people. There are some traditional shops on Hubin Street, such as 'Wangxingji Fan Shop', 'Maoyuanchang Glasses Store', and a 'Vegetarian Food Store' (WLMC, 2004c). Most of them had hundreds of years of history, and represented part of Hangzhou's culture. Consequently, their relocation caused some arguments among the experts, the public and even within the government.

Although the decision was made through the head office, this did not mean that all head office actors agreed with the idea. An office head from the Environment Protection Bureau said: *"We thought the theme of the street should be traditional. We wanted to keep those traditional stores, and also move some other traditional stores into this street. It could help to establish Hangzhou's cultural image"* (Interview, 14.01.2005). Here the Environment Protection Bureau manager used discourses about protecting traditional culture within a general knowledge framework of cultural sustainability. Similar discourses were also used by some other head office actors, such as representatives of the Transportation Bureau and the Land Use Management Bureau.

On the other hand, the modern style was highly supported by the WLMC. The HTC's senior engineer explained how *"WLMC said in a head office meeting that it is very difficult to find so many traditional shops to be located on one long street. Second, because of privatisation, most of those traditional shops do not have a healthy business. Some of them even became bankrupt. Third, the WLMC thinks the traditional shops cannot attract both tourists and locals for shopping. The locals are tired of these traditional things, and most of the tourists are only window shopping to look at those traditional products"* (Interview, 23.12.2004). This suggests

that the WLMC's knowledge framework here related strongly to business operations and to seeing tourism as an economic catalyst. The WLMC was concerned about whether the street could sustain numerous shops with healthy economic returns and whether their businesses could attract enough tourists.

The business difficulties attributed to the traditional stores was one reason for not relocating them in the new shopping street. When the knowledge framework of business operations and of tourism and economic activity encountered the knowledge framework of cultural sustainability, the position of the WLMC prevailed due to its greater power and legitimacy as the lead party in the head office. By contrast, the Environmental Protection Bureau and other head office actors were in subordinate positions in the head office.

Some experts also expressed disagreement with the modern theme for new Hubin Street. One expert explained his opinions in a newspaper: *"The disadvantage of such a decision may cause the decline of local businesses"* (Qianjiang Evening Newspaper, 2003). Another expert commented in their interview: *"I don't think these international and modern shops are suitable for Hangzhou's current image. They are totally different. Hangzhou is in some senses, modern. But more importantly, Hangzhou is a place full of local culture. But I think the local culture is losing"* (Interview, 19.04.2006). In addition, some experts also argued that the relocation process for these traditional stores would speed up their business decline. Because many experts expressed concerns about the traditional stores being relocated, the government then decided to move these traditional stores to main roads within the city centre and also to support their businesses (Hangzhou Daily, 2004). Through the media and other channels, these experts expressed ideas based on a knowledge framework of cultural sustainability and city identity. Their power was based on their professional knowledge and respected position in society and they were more effective than the other head office actors in prompting the head office to do something for these traditional shops. However, the WLMC retained its dominant position, and the experts' opinions had not changed the original decision not to keep the traditional shops in Hubin Street.

Although some experts argued that the WLMC should not emphasize too much the profitability

of the traditional shops, the business situation of these shops was actually quite critical. Many had suffered from poor trading for some years. The Wangxingji Fan Factory, for example, is very famous in China, being established for more than one hundred years. The fan product, together with silk and tea, are the 'three symbols' for Hangzhou and they used to be given as tributes to the ancient Chinese emperors (Lin, 1999). However, after privatisation, this former state-owned company needed to be re-structured, as the company's business profits had declined over the subsequent 10 years. The original store had two floors and a floor area of more than 300 m². But currently, it is left with only a 20m² store on a small corner of the new shopping street.

The final decision was to attract high-class international brand shops into the street, such as Prada, Armani, and Swarovski. Figure 9.13 shows the appearance of the current shops on new Hubin Street.

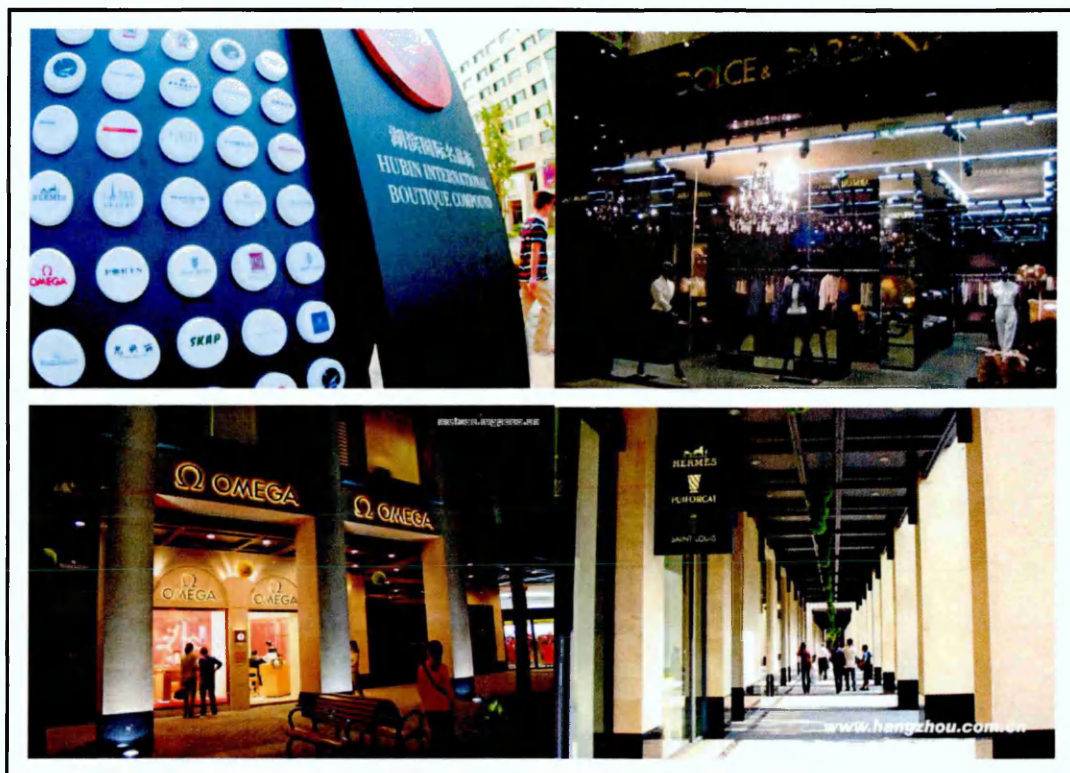


Figure 9.13: Appearance of the New Hubin Street.

The means to attract companies to the street was through a bidding process (WLMC, 2004c). Through this bidding, the government made substantial profits. While, some head office actors had proposed the idea of putting both traditional and modern shops together in the street, this

went against the very popular notion in Chinese culture that there should be unifying themes in city planning or business planning. Chinese people believe that themed features look nice, neat and orderly. In Chinese aesthetics beautiful things are usually in good order, symmetrical, and neat. Therefore, most of the head office actors and even the experts preferred to have the street based on one theme.

Proposals and the results for Hubin Street were also welcomed by most people in Hangzhou and also by most tourists. In the second fieldwork the interviewees were asked whether they liked the current shopping street or not. Concerning the traditional stores, 9 out of the 22 interviewees said that they had some regrets about their relocation. However, 20 out of 22 interviewees said that they liked the current street compared with the old one. For the community and tourists, they liked the new street because the designs and buildings are all brand new and have a modern flavour (Interview, 21.04.2006). The street is also in a very good order because no cars can be driven there, which is seen as suitable for a shopping area (Interview, 21.04.2006). The communities drew from a knowledge framework focused on concerns about their living environment and aspirations for a modernized world, which Chinese people often associate with commercialisation.

Although most people liked the new street, it is difficult to say whether the high-class fashion stores have increased overall retail sales and brought more income to the government, as the head office expected. In the second fieldwork, only two of the 22 respondents said that they had shopped on the street, and some interviewees indicated that the high prices were more than they could afford. One person claimed in a newspaper forum that *"The rents for those stores are too high. So, the stores also need to raise their prices."* Another claimed that *"It seems that the government needs the money urgently. That's why the rents are so high, and why they only can rent to those international big companies. But they neglect about the level of people's spending"* (Hangzhou News Newspaper, 2005c).

This also suggests that a lot of people realized that the government's focus was on business aims. It also hints that the government might not have achieved their aims as overall spending levels may be less. Another problem is that the famous brand stores are found in all other big cities,

and this may not be a feature attracting tourists to the city. Another reason why the public welcomed the street was because of its new restaurants, bars and coffee shops (Interview, 25.04.2006), and while they were of a high quality they had more affordable prices. These restaurants and coffee shops were welcomed by both locals and tourists because they also have good views of the lake scenery.

9.4.2.2 Social interfaces around the displacement of residents and shops

A second major issue concerns the displacement of the original residents and old shops from the lakeside area. 474 families and 77 shops were moved out of the area, and an area of 1055 m² of buildings was cleared for the project (Qianjiang Evening Newspaper, 2005). Shangcheng District Government and Xihu District Government were responsible for most of the plans for these removals. The possible difficulties between the locals and government were considered in various pre-plan arrangements. Zhang Mingfang, Shangcheng District Government Magistrate, said in an interview in the *Hangzhou Daily*: *"To arrange successful removals, we needed to tell local people about the details of the removal plans, including the importance of this project for Hangzhou, their arrangements during the moves, and also the level of compensation money. I think that as long as people know the aims and importance of this plan, then they would like to move"* (Hangzhou Daily, 2002). This indicates the pre-plan arrangements for the removals, and it also suggests that the government was confident about reducing or avoiding conflicts with the locals.

There were several reasons for this confidence. A key factor was that, although a few people were unwilling to move, most local people were willing to accept the plan. In addition, most local people were quite satisfied with the compensation money and other arrangements made by the government. The interviewees were asked whether they had heard about any complaints during the removals. 17 out of 22 respondents said that they had not heard of any. One local person asserted that: *"Most of us are happy with the arrangements that the government have provided for us. Although we moved out, we have got some compensation money and a new flat to live in. This new apartment is much bigger than where we lived before. So why shouldn't we agree with the plan?"* (Interview, 21.04.2006) It seemed that many local people were also

focused on a knowledge framework of economic benefits, albeit a rather different one.

Another local community resident, however, claimed that *“Yes, some people are not willing to move. But they have no choice. If the removal plan is decided by the government, the community people have to move no matter whether they agree or not. Otherwise, the government would find it very difficult to take the next necessary steps for the project”* (Interview, 21.04.2006). This suggests that another reason for people's agreement was because of the strong powers of the government. The locals had to move no matter whether they agreed or not, because it was a government project.

A final reason for the local acceptance was due to communication between the mediator and the locals and the government. Compared to the village committee in the Meijia Wu Tea Area Project, the community committee here had much less power and it was more on arm of the government. But the community committee worked as information conduit between government and the locals. As one old Hubin Street resident noted: *“Before the project started, the community committee told all the residents about the aims of the plan, and the requirements of the plan -- to move out”* (Interview, 21.04.2006). One tourism expert also said: *“The community committee provided some local information to the government, such as about how many families lived there, the structure and construction map of the area, and also the local people's opinions”* (Interview, 19.04.2006). Despite these activities, however, the community committee lacked the power based on land possession and the political role of the Meijia Wu village committee. Instead the community committee worked only as an information conduit between government and the locals.

The government won a lot of positive support from the locals by successfully explaining to them the plan's aims and expected results. Nearly all the interviewees said it was necessary to move the residents out of the area. One local people said: *“We should cooperate with the project. The project is doing something good for the environment and for the West Lake”* (Interview, 21.04.2006). Another resident said: *“For such a big project, people should understand the government and give assistance. The plans that they showed us seemed very good!”* (Interview, 25.04.2006) The detailed information about the project and removal process reduced the

potential for conflict between the community and the government.

9.4.2.3 Social interfaces around the involvement of private investors

A third issue for the New Lakeside project concerned the role of private investors. While there were several private sector investors in the project, the Nandu Real Estate Group was taken here to be a representative of these investors. But, not only was it the main investor, but it had also attended several government meetings and discussions at the head office. A manager from Nandu Group explained, however, that: *"We have very few involvements in government meetings. But we did join some"* (Interview, 13.01.2005). Although the private investors provided most of the project's funds and also managed the practical design and construction work, it seems that their involvement in head office decision-making was very limited. As one government official from the Finance Bureau noted: *"The investors are more responsible for supervising the construction and design qualities. The quality of the project is also the most important thing they want to know. They have been involved in some head office meetings that are about design and construction plans, but not regularly"* (Interview, 08.01.2005).

The limited involvement of private investors in decision-making was not only due to the centralized decision-making at the head office, as it was also due to the limited interest in participation among the private investors. Rather than joining government meetings, the investors preferred to be told about the plans and about how much profits they might make. Participation was far less important than the issue of whether the profits seemed good for the investors. The manager of Nandu also said: *"We are businessmen and we don't know much about government project plans. I don't think it will make any differences for us to be involved in government meetings. We know nothing about how to make such a big plan. We can provide some information, but we could not make the decisions because we don't even know which decision will be the best for the whole city. What we can do is to make sure that the plans from the government and our money can be used in the right place, and also in a good process. So we have more contacts with design institutes and construction companies, rather than with the government"* (Interview, 13.01.2005). These comments suggest that the investors' knowledge framework related most to economic income from their investments, while their position

depended on their financial support.

The investors had rather more interactions with the designers and construction staff. The project manager in the Nandu Group said: *"Sometimes, we did not agree with the designers' designs. After some discussions, we could always find a way out"* (Interview, 13.01.2005). The landscape designer of the Nanfang Design Institute, however, indicated these issues were solved largely because the designers had to follow Nandu's instructions. This designer explained that: *"When we have different opinions from Nandu, we have to follow their decisions because they are the boss, they pay us to do the project"* (Interview, 30.12.2004). The Project Manager from Zhongzhou Construction Company also said that, *"Most time we will have some arguments with the designers when they are not satisfied with what we have done. Usually these problems will soon be sorted out by ourselves, but in some serious cases, we need the manager from the Nandu Group to make the decision"* (Interview, 03.01.2005). This suggests that both the design institute and construction company emphasise a knowledge framework based on business operations. They work for the investors and thus they have to follow the investors' requirements.

9.4.2.4 Social interfaces around the 'common-pool' tourism resources

The last issue concerns the demolition of the walls enclosing the parks around West Lake in order to integrate the lake together with the parks and the city. This work started and was completed in 2002 (Renming Daily, 2002), and it resulted in the whole lake bank of West Lake - a length of 15 km - being open to the public (Huadong News, 2002). From 2003, the government also decided to cancel all admission fees for tourist attractions around the lake, except for some historical and cultural sites, such as the Lingying Temple. This government decision attracted huge media attention, mostly positive. Although some people argued that this was a mistake because it would reduce profits, or else that it would exceed the carrying capacity of the lake area, this government decision improved Hangzhou's positive reputation among Chinese cities. However, some tourists thought that it was not a sensible measure because the city could lose substantial tourist income (Xinhua Net, 2005c). Indeed, the WLMC's own estimate was that cancelling the admission fees could result in the loss of more than 26 million

RMB per year, and also that it entailed spending more than 30 million RMB per year in extra administration and management expenses (WLMC, 2005).

However, the government could compensate for these lose by renting retail stores near West Lake. In this case again the government put the newly available stores into a bidding process. The highest bid was 88,000RMB per 10 m² for a 10 year lease. It was predicted that all the rents could increase to more than 50 million RMB each year which means that the incomes and expenses could be in balance (Xinhua News, 2005d). Zhou also claimed in his interview that: *“The profits are more than that. With the media influence and positive reputation, more tourists will come to Hangzhou. With the increase in the number of tourist attractions around West Lake, the tourists would stay longer in Hangzhou and also spend more”* (Interview, 19.04.2006). Thus, it seems that the scheme represents a way for the city to improve its reputation and make more money overall.

The government, however, stated that their major reason for this scheme was to ‘Return the lake to the people’ (WLMC, 2005). However, some experts argued that the scheme might add further visitor pressures on the lake. One professor reflected how *“Currently, because people’s education quality is not so high in China, it is an ethical problem. Opening the whole lake and surrounding environment to the tourists is a very critical test for the tourists. The possible damage from human activities to the lake could even destroy all the government efforts”* (Xinhua News, 2005d). Other experts also claimed that the additional tourists attracted to Hangzhou and West Lake could exceed the lake’s carrying capacity (Xiandai News, 2004). Despite these worries, the government was still happy with the plan because it felt that the benefits for the government outweighed the problems. The community and tourists were also quite happy because of the improved scenery and free tours. It seems that the Head Office’s thinking was influenced by two knowledge frameworks, that of environmental sustainability and tourism as an economic catalyst. The Head Office planned to improve the natural environment around the lake side, while also making more money from the area’s improved reputation. The experts however, focused more on the knowledge frameworks of sustainability and of environmental carrying capacity.

This scheme relates to the general problems of ‘common-pool’ tourism resources (CPRs). Common-pool resources are natural and human constructed resources characterized by subtractability and nonexcludability (Briassoulis, 2002), which means that with CPRs it is not possible to limit the resource availability from one person to another’s use, and it is difficult to exclude or limit potential users from consuming them (Ostrom, Gardner and Walker, 1994:6). Tourism is highly dependent on these kinds of common-pool resources (Bosselman, Peterson and McCarthy. 1999:15). Research on CPRs indicates the dilemmas of the over-use of CPRs and the negative consequences, and this research is relevant to the ‘pulling down of the enclosure walls of the parks’ around West Lake. Hardin (1968) expounded the idea of the ‘tragedy of the commons’, which uses the analogy of the overgrazing of an imaginary commons with open access to farmers. Because the resource belongs to no one individual, it is in the interest of each user to harvest as much forage as possible. In addition, no individual will invest to improve the resource because there is no assurance that the returns to the investment could be captured by the investor. The result is an overuse of the resource that tends toward a terminally degraded state (Healy, 1994).

In the current case, the pulling down of the walls meant there was no entrance restraint to these natural and cultural resources. To prevent the above deficiencies of CPR resources, some ethical issues need to be considered. As Goodpaster (1998) points out, ethics are about the moral adequacy of human actions. The people in Hangzhou need to consider the ethical issues involved with CPRs, otherwise the CPRs around West Lake will be changed substantially for the future.

9.5 Leifeng Pagoda Project

‘Leifeng Pagoda’ was the first sub-project undertaken in the WLPP. It was started in 1999 and finished in 2002 (WLMC, 2005). It was a special case within WLPP because this project actually started before the WLPP. The project sought to rebuild the pagoda that had collapsed in 1924, and to protect this cultural and historical site. The project was intended to regain the famous scenery of the ‘Beauty of sunset at Leifeng Pagoda’, which is one of the ‘West Lake Old Ten Sceneries’ (WLMC, 2005). The ‘West Lake Old Ten Sceneries’ are used as promotional sights and attractions for tourists, and they represent the most beautiful and most important

scenery round the lake. However, some of this scenery has already been damaged or destroyed by nature or human activity, including at the Leifeng Pagoda. Leifeng Pagoda used to be the iconic symbol of Hangzhou because there are famous legends about it (Lin, 1999). Therefore, the Tourism Committee intended to restore the pagoda and its scenic importance.

9.5.1 Actor enrolment around the Leifeng Pagoda Project

The original plans for the project were already published in 1999. Construction work started from the end of 2000, and it finished in October 2002 (WLMC, 2005). After its construction was half way through, this project was included within the WLPP. It was located within the WLPP's plan area and the themes of the pagoda project harmonized with those of the WLPP. Therefore, the actor enrolment process for this sub-project was different from the others.

The project leader was not the WLMC, rather it was the 'Home Affairs Security Office' (HASO) together with the HTC (Interview, 19.04.2006). The HASO is a sub-department within Zhejiang's Security Bureau. Zhejiang Security Bureau is responsible for safety and immigration issues within Zhejiang Province, and it is responsible for the safety of important government officials and international visitors during their stays in Zhejiang (usually in Hangzhou).

The offices of the HASO are located near to Leifeng Pagoda. Because of decentralization government departments have to be responsible for their own earnings and expenditure, and this has meant that many government departments have started working with private businesses. This applies in the case of the HASO. Because of its location the HASO was asked to be the manager of the Leifeng Pagoda Scenic District. It also had more time for this as the functions of the HASO had declined because government officials and international visitors do not today need such strict security as before. Wang (2002) considers that the old period of Mao in China was all about politics, but that currently China is more about the market. In past periods, therefore, the security of important politicians was a top issue for local government. While Hangzhou is visited by many important domestic politicians and international visitors, there is no longer such a need for their strict protection. Losing its original security functions means that the HASO has more time for commercial activity. Besides the management of Leifeng Pagoda, it also runs Xizi Hotel (Xizi Hotel, 2005). Xizi Hotel used to be an official hotel that only

received important government officials and international visitors (Xizi Hotel, 2005). Following the privatisation of parts of government departments, the Xizi Hotel was also opened to the general public because the previous VIP business no longer covered the hotel's expenses. The HASO has also enrolled some private investors as partners to run the hotel. Because the location of the hotel is near Leifeng Pagoda, the hotel was also enrolled in the Leifeng Pagoda Project.

The original idea for rebuilding Leifeng Pagoda came from the Hangzhou Tourism Committee (Interview, 14.04.2006). The HTC then asked the HASO to be a key decision-maker in this project, since the Leifeng Pagoda is under the HASO's management. These two actors then asked Zhejiang University's Tourism and Culture Research Institute to work as the consultant for the project (Interview, 19.04.2006). Thus Zhejiang University's Tourism and Culture Research Institute became the main tourism expert for the project. Their plan for the rebuilding project involved using about 40m² belonging to the Xizi Hotel (Interview, 19.04.2006). Therefore, the Xizi Hotel was also enrolled, and the individuals who had invested in the hotel were also asked to invest in the pagoda rebuilding project.

To effectively plan the Leifeng Pagoda Project the HASO decided to establish a company to invest in and to manage the new Leifeng Pagoda Scenic District as a long-term business asset. The substantial investment involved first needed support from private sector actors, so several individuals were approached, and they agreed to invest in the project (Interview, 19.04.2006). The idea of establishing a company also attracted the WLMC as an investor. Therefore, the Leifeng Pagoda Cultural Management Company (Leifeng Company) was finally established at the start of 2000, with several individuals as main investors, together with the HASO and WLMC (Interview, 18.04.2006). For various reasons the HTC was not involved in the company business, but because this project was a key tourism development the HTC still had a major role in the decision-making. The Zhejiang University's Tourism and Cultural Institute became the chief consultant for both the HTC and the Leifeng Company (Interview, 19.04.2006).

At the start of 2000, the WLMC suggested that the Leifeng Pagoda Project should be the first project within the WLPP, with the pagoda construction having already started (Interview, 19.04.2006). This proposal was soon agreed by Deputy Mayor Xiang and then put into practice.

However, because the project at that time has already half finished, the head office had relatively little work to do on it. The key decision-makers remain the HTC, Deputy Mayor, Leifeng Company, and the experts. However, within the Leifeng Company, the real decision-makers are just the WLMC and HASO. The individual investors were little involved in decision-making for the project. Thus an expert from Zhejiang University's Tourism and Culture Research Centre claimed that *“The private sector investors have very little involvement, they do not even attend the discussions. But we will always report the designs and progress to them”* (Interview, 19.04.2006). It seems that these individual investors left the decision-making to the public sector related agencies.

A great deal of interest was shown in the project by the Mayor and the upper-level government, including provincial government, national government, municipal level CCP committee, and municipal level Congress (Hangzhou Daily, 2000). They are key actors in terms of public support for the project, notably through media reports. The design institute and the construction company were selected through a public open bidding process and through public votes on their respective proposals (Interview, 14.04.2006). However, although they are open to public votes, the decision was finally made by the Leifeng Company and their experts, and it did not really rely on the voting result. Contrary to the voting by the public, the Qinghua University Architecture Design Institute was selected as the main designer of the pagoda by the experts, the Leifeng Company and the HTC (Interview, 19.04.2006). A local construction company won the contest for the construction work.

9.5.2 Discourses, knowledge frameworks and power configurations in Leifeng Pagoda Project

9.5.2.1 Social interfaces around selecting the design for the pagoda

Certain social interfaces were important influences on the development of the Leifeng Pagoda Project. The most important of these involved the arguments about the design of the pagoda. The HTC's Deputy Chairman suggested that *“the Leifeng Pagoda Project is of interest to all people in Hangzhou, and it is even influential for the whole nation. This is because the legend of Leifeng Pagoda has become one symbol of Hangzhou City. People like it and hope to have the*

pagoda rebuilt. To satisfy the people and their concerns, we decided to ask for open votes on the design model of Leifeng Pagoda” (Interview, 27.12.2004). The process to select the design model was through a public vote which involved Hangzhou's citizens voting through the media.

This project was a major issue in Hangzhou, and most newspapers gave much coverage to the government's activities and its use of a public voting process (eg Hangzhou Daily, 2000; City Express, 2000). These processes also received nationwide media coverage. This level of interest was due to the importance of the Leifeng Pagoda Project and also because public voting in relation to a government decision is rare in China. This indicates that Hangzhou's government intended to work more closely with the private sector and also with the public. Such intention was encouraged by the decentralization trend in China, with the boundary between the public and private sectors and the wider public became more blurred. The Hangzhou government also wanted to demonstrate its transparency through these activities, which could improve its reputation.

As discussed in Chapter 6, there are many constraints on community involvement in China. One constraint is that people are usually unwilling to deal with government issues. However, many residents were enthusiastic about voting in relation to the Leifeng Pagoda. The candidate models were published in *Hangzhou Daily*, City Express and the Qianjiang Evening Newspaper, and people were encouraged to vote by phone for them. A lot of people took part in the voting. Among the ten community respondents interviewed in the second fieldwork, seven had voted for one of the Leifeng Pagoda proposals. This government project was of genuine interest for people and in that circumstance the community were happy to get involved.

Some models had traditional and some had modern designs. That is, some sought to recover the original design of the pagoda, while others were very modern. People generally supported a traditional design because they feel that it would help to sustain the legends and the name of Leifeng Pagoda. The People who supported the modern design generally did so because they thought the modern design was suitable for the current modern image of Hangzhou city. In the second fieldwork, the 10 community interviewees, 3 experts, and 3 industry actors were asked for their views on this project. Fourteen of these 16 respondents said that the current and more

modern pagoda model was not their own choice. While most people had voted for a traditional model, a modern design was actually chosen. In the second fieldwork, some interviewees felt aggrieved about the voting process. One community actor complained that *"It is very discouraging! The voting process is no use at all"* (Interview, 22.04.2006). Another community actor said: *"I think the original idea of having a voting process was good, but it was not well managed"* (Interview, 23.04.2006). Figure 9.14 shows the current modern design of Leifeng Pagoda, a design that led to a lot of dissatisfaction among the community and tourists.

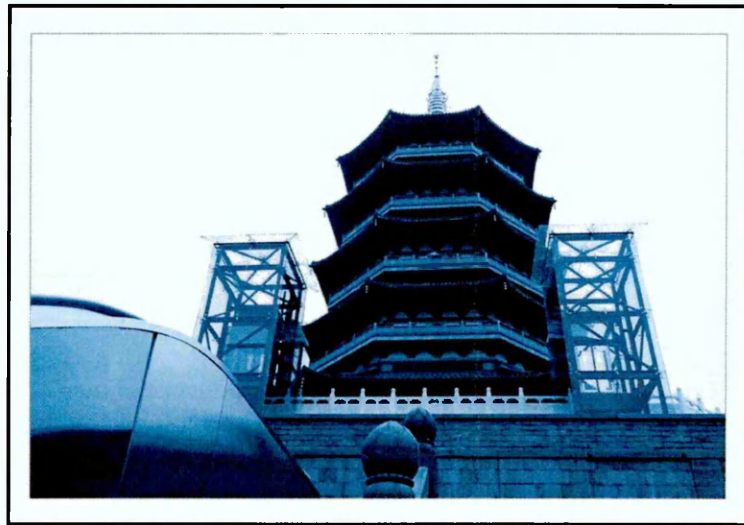


Figure 9.14: Current modern design of Leifeng Pagoda.

When the interviewees were asked for their views about the current pagoda, one community respondent said: *"The design is too modern and overdone, I think"* (Interview, 22.04.2006). Another community actor said: *"I don't like this new pagoda at all. It does not fit those romantic legends of Leifeng Pagoda"* (Interview, 25.04.2006). One tourist noted in his blog travel notes: *"I was so excited on the way to Leifeng Pagoda because I so love those legends about the pagoda. ... However, I felt nothing from the newly rebuilt pagoda. It totally disappointed me. It is only a pagoda, but not the Leifeng Pagoda that we are familiar with"* (IT Moushui, 2006). Another visitor noted on his website: *"I could not link this new pagoda with the 'Snake White Love Story'. The pagoda is too modern; it totally breaks the links between the pagoda and the meaning of the 'Leifeng Pagoda'"* (China News Digest, 2006). Such dissatisfaction was found in tourist comments on several websites.

The responses of the public and tourists used similar discourses around traditional cultural

concerns. Because of the old pagoda's associations with traditional culture, they supported the traditional models that reminded them of the original cultural features of the pagoda. Many among the public and tourists viewed the approved pagoda as destroying their good memories of the old pagoda and its beautiful legends. However, the result was not determined by their votes, rather it was finally decided by the HTC, WLMC and the experts, and the government and the experts strongly supported the new design.

The accepted pagoda design was produced by Qinghua University's Architecture Design Institute and it was finally decided upon by municipal and provincial level government heads (Zhu Bingren Copper Design, 2000). One HTC official argued that: *"The current pagoda has a lot of benefits. First, it uses more than 250 tons of bronze. This can help the pagoda to resist deterioration for a very long period. It will not be influenced by environmental problems. Second, I think the pagoda is very luxurious and it could be a special model in the history of Chinese pagodas. Third, the pagoda still keeps the features of the Southern Song Dynasty and it protects the heritage very well. So I think it is good"* (Interview, 15.04.2006). According to a *Hangzhou Daily* newspaper report (2000), the building materials for the pagoda could last for more than 3000 years. The HTC, representing the head office, focused on the pagoda's functions, its practical operations, and on the protection of heritage through tourism development. The discourses it used about the pagoda focused on cultural concerns, but these differed from the cultural concerns of the community and tourists. The culture that the HTC and head office have concerned about was based more on historical features, while the community and tourists focused more on the ambience of the historical stories and fairy tales.

One tourism expert from Zhejiang University's Tourism Research Centre noted that: *"Most people do not like the current pagoda because they think it is too modern. But we are more concerned about how long the pagoda can survive, how to protect the cultural heritage products inside the pagoda, and also how to establish the tourist attraction here. The general public care about the appearance of the pagoda, but as the main consultant for the project, we need to consider more than that"* (Interview, 19.04.2006). Another tourism expert explained that: *"We selected this design because it is suitable for the current image of the city of Hangzhou. We try to combine both traditional and modern elements into one design. Leifeng Pagoda is a symbol*

of Hangzhou, and therefore it should show the distinctive flavour of the city, which has both traditional and modern elements” (Interview, 19.04.2006). These two tourism experts expressed similar discourses to the HTC, which focused more on functional and practical concerns and on viewing the pagoda as a symbol of the city of Hangzhou.

The divergence of opinions on the Leifeng Pagoda design was reflected in people’s different knowledge frameworks. The head office of WLPP, as the key project decision-maker was influenced by the knowledge frameworks of practical business functions and operations, and of historical cultural protection. Because it also sought to affect the different actor perspectives, it also decided to use a public vote to assist in selecting the pagoda model. Nevertheless, its focus was clearly on the functional and operational concerns of tourism business in the pagoda area. Therefore, it chose the model that might be longer-lived in terms of actual operations, even when the public voted differently. The head office was also influenced by a knowledge framework of historical cultural protection, so it selected the pagoda based on a Song Dynasty style and that it felt would protect the cultural heritage beneath the pagoda.

The tourism experts also focused on the knowledge framework of functional and operational concerns, so they supported the model that used copper building materials and that thus could last for a longer time without deteriorating. The tourism experts also considered the pagoda as a symbol of Hangzhou city and its cultural identity and they reflected a knowledge framework of sustainability in order to maintain the pagoda between generations. Both the general public and tourists tended to draw on the same knowledge framework related to cultural protection and based on their understandings of fairy tales and historical stories.

The interviewees in the second fieldwork were asked whether they would complain if they disagreed with the project. Only one expert said that he had tried to express his disagreements to the government and media (Interview, 15.04.2006). None of the other respondents had made any complaint. Thus, while most people were dissatisfied with the pagoda, most chose not to complain. One community interviewee argued that *“It is no use complaining. They have already decided on the model. Even if we complain, so what? The government will still continue with its plan”* (Interview, 21.04.2006). Another interviewee commented how *“It was too late when we*

knew the result. When the newspaper published the final decision, the government already started to do the construction. They wouldn't wait until our complaints" (Interview, 22.04.2006). The varied comments indicate that the public voting substantially raised the community's interests in being involved in the project, but that they were marginalized in the actual decision-making by the head office, where the real power lay. The events also indicate that the decentralization of decision-making in Hangzhou still has a long way to go.

9.5.2.2 Social interfaces around the lifts outside and inside the pagoda

The second important interface in Leifeng Pagoda Project concerned the lifts around and within the pagoda. Because the pagoda is on a small hill, the new design involved 2 lifts on each side of the pagoda to send visitors from the foot of the hill to the pagoda entrance (Interview, 19.04.2006). There is also one big elevator that delivers people from the hill foot to this entrance. Inside the pagoda, two modern lifts then deliver visitors to the top of the pagoda. These lifts have a very modern design using transparent glass, as shown in Figure 9.15.



Figure 9.15: The lifts outside and inside of Leifeng Pagoda.

These modern facilities highly provoked much criticism among the community and tourists. One community respondent said: *"I have never heard of any pagoda having lifts! They are totally not suitable. A pagoda, and a modern lift? I don't know how they came up with this idea!"* (Interview, 23.04.2006) Another community member admitted that: *"The lifts do help the tourists to have a very beautiful sunset view up the top of the pagoda. It is especially useful for*

disabled people. But they look really silly with the Leifeng Pagoda. The glass lifts in the centre of the pagoda are totally unsuitable for the taste of the pagoda” (Interview, 21.04.2006). The community again expressed strong discourses around a knowledge framework of traditional cultural concerns. They were concerned more about the traditional pagoda's style, and neglected features of modernity and commercialisation.

In the second fieldwork, 10 of the 15 respondents mentioned their dissatisfaction with the lifts. This dissatisfaction was also found in much online blogs comment provided by visitors. For example, one visitor stated on the website after his visit that: *“The pagoda with the modern lifts was really a shock to us. We were looking for the remains of those legends, but we could only see a modern, artificial big toy”* (Shuzai, 2005). This indicates that the tourists shared similar discourses and knowledge frameworks as the local community.

The expert from Zhejiang University's Tourism Research Centre explained why the experts and the government had decided to have the lifts. He said: *“The idea for the lift design was developed by us and Qinghua Design Institute together. We think all the current tourist attractions in Hangzhou tend not to consider the functions of the scenic district. These lifts not only could work for disabled people, but they also can benefit all the visitors. We want to regain the ‘Leifeng Sunset Scenery’. The lifts can easily and quickly bring visitors up to the top of the pagoda, where they have beautiful views”* (Interview, 19.04.2006). The tourism experts often used discourses based in their professional knowledge of tourism development. They were especially concerned about tourism's operational issues and disabled services in tourism development. As Chen (2007) has indicated, a concern for the needs of disabled people in tourism development is necessary in the new global environment, and it is also a common problem in China. The tourism experts displayed much knowledge of tourism planning and development, but they seem to have neglected the suitability of local features. The HTC also directly drew on the experts' opinion about the Leifeng Pagoda Project, and they were powerful actors in the decision-making.

9.5.2.3 Social interfaces around the protection of cultural relics

A final issue for this project concerned the protection of cultural relics in the Leifeng Pagoda. At the start of the project the construction workers found many cultural and historical relics under the pagoda, and the government intended to protect them and show them to the public. Most of them were displayed on the first and second floors of the pagoda, with some having glass barriers to protect them from visitors. However, this approach was perhaps influenced by pressure from some experts through the media. One expert argued that: *“The relics should be showed to the people, but there should be a better plan for their security, management and also research. Then these relics can be appreciated. The display of those relics should be carefully planned, especially after the necessary research. The most valuable items should be put properly into the Zhejiang Museum”* (Daily Business, 2001). The previous Mayor of Hangzhou, Mr. Qiu, who now is Deputy Director of the National Government’s Construction Department, also criticized the decisions for these relics. He claimed that: *“First, the construction should be guided by the archaeological research. Leifeng Pagoda’s construction lacks such research. When all the relics are displayed in one place, their mystery disappears. The value of these relics is not only their historical value, but also their mysterious flavour”* (Qiu, 2003). All of these discourses related to concerns about historical values and the protection of cultural relics.

Despite the negative comments, the Leifeng Pagoda Company did not make any changes to the display of the relics. It was also found that some of these objects were adversely affected by the visitor activities. This problem became especially crucial since 2005, since when many tourists have thrown coins into the display (Shuzai, 2005). There was a rumour that throwing coins in could protect people’s safety and health. Some experts have already warned about the impact of this situation. One architectural expert from South eastern University claimed in the Morning Express (2005): *“The coins not only destroy the view of these relics, but also have done damage. I am worried that the pagoda may collapse again one day, but because of these coins.”* Such comments continued for at least a year through the media. The Leifeng Pagoda Company introduced more rules to forbid visitors throwing coins into the display, and it also strengthened the security (Morning Express, 2005b). Figure 9.16 shows the Leifeng Pagoda’s relics with only a handful of coins, which is the current situation.



Figure 9.16: Coins and relics within Leifeng Pagoda.

The establishment of the Leifeng Company is a good example of public-private cooperation because its management team involved both private sector investors and government departments. Because the HASO and WLMC are both involved in the Leifeng Company's operations only on a part-time basis, a lot of issues after the Leifeng Pagoda was rebuilt have been decided by the private sector investors. However, the private investors are concerned more with profits, and they might neglect the value of the relics and the importance of protecting them. Attracting more tourists has probably become the core aim of the Leifeng Pagoda Company. The knowledge framework of this company appears to focus very largely on economic profits. It is only when other issues have become serious and led to a lot of media criticism, that the head office has started to intervene and to put pressure on the company to resolve the issues. From the end of 2003, all the historical relics were covered by glass for protection, and the throwing of coins was not allowed within the pagoda (Ruan and Lin, 2004).

9.6 Tourism development and conservation in the West Lake

As well as for the above three sub-projects, the arguments between tourism development and conservation existed for most aspects of the WLPP process. The actors' knowledge frameworks frequently related to the twin issues of development and conservation. For example, when the HTC and tourism experts concentrated on the functional and operational aspects of the Leifeng

Pagoda Project, they were actually concerned with tourism business development issues. In the same project, however, the community and tourists were much more preoccupied with traditional cultural protection and the maintenance of a traditional cultural ambience around the Leifeng Pagoda. In the case of the Meijia Wu Tea Area Project, the Head Office emphasized the knowledge framework of tourism development, and how to develop tourism and attract more tourists based on tea culture. On the other hand, the Head Office also drew on a knowledge framework of tea culture conservation. The discussion next explores in more depth some of the arguments related to the tensions between development and conservation in the WLPP.

At the start of the WLPP, the original motivation was to get West Lake added to the UNESCO list. The reasons why it was unsuccessful in this were explained in the UNESCO evaluation report. It was said that the West Lake area was too urbanized and commercial, and that the conservation of some historical sites around West Lake was poor (UNESCO, 1999). It seemed that for UNESCO the problem of West Lake was mostly about conservation. The aims of the WLPP were also strongly related to conservation. The main aims were to protect the natural and cultural resources of West Lake, regain the original size of West Lake, and to restore and redevelop some tourist attractions around the lake (Yang, 2004). These aims do indicate that the government was resolved to improve the conservation situation for West Lake's resources. The motto of the WLPP became to 'Return the lake to the people' (WLMC, 2005).

However, the above three sub-projects of WLPP indicate that in practice there has been a very unclear priority between economic development and conservation. For example, in the Leifeng Pagoda Project the aims were to rebuild the pagoda, to recreate the ambience of the legends, and to protect the historical resources under the pagoda. However, the final project results all illustrate prominent commercial features and aims. The pagoda scenic district, for instance, was operated by a private sector company. Although the company stakeholders involved government departments, the main knowledge framework informing the company's actions was still based in commercial profits and not in conservation. In addition, the modern designs for the pagoda were also not considered to be a good way of recreating a suitable ambience for its legends and cultural legacies. The historical relics under the pagoda have also been damaged and adversely affected by the way they have been displayed to the public.

In the New Lakeside project, the commercial aims are also extremely clear. Hubin Street has been totally transformed into a highly commercial street, and this has brought high profits for the government through the increased rents. The Meijia Wu Project reflects a similar situation. Although the teahouse businesses have brought profits for the teahouse investors, the economic development of the Meijia Wu area seems to be the key priority. These cases all show that the WLPP has made economic development its priority in its practical work, and it has not fully followed the project aims. This helps to explain why West Lake has still not been listed by UNESCO even after the project. While West Lake is still on the UNESCO candidate list, it is not clear if or when the lake will be successful, especially as currently there are hundreds of Chinese candidates.

In the second fieldwork, all interviewees were asked three questions about their views on development and conservation in the WLPP. The first question was: 'For the WLPP project for West Lake, which has been the top priority: conservation or economic development?' Among 22 interviewees, 11 respondents said that they thought that economic development has been the top priority. Six people thought that both conservation and economic development equal priorities. Five interviewees, including 4 government officials and one tourism expert, said that conservation was the top priority. The result indicates that at least half (11 of 22) thought that economic development was given a higher priority than conservation in the WLPP.

The second question was: 'What do you consider should be the top priority for tourism policies for West Lake: conservation or economic development?' In response as many as 18 out of 22 interviewees thought that conservation should be the top priority. Two commented that conservation and economic development should be equally important, and 2 thought that economic development should be most important. One interviewee said: *"The resources around West Lake have become very fragile because the lake is so near to the city and human activities. So I think we should ensure that conservation is the first priority rather than economic development"* (Interview, 20.04.2006). Another respondent contended that: *"When we can do the conservation work better, then the economic development definitely could be improved. Conservation is the basis for further development"* (Interview, 15.04.2006). However, a tourism

expert asserted that: *"I think both conservation and economic development are important because once we have enough of an economic basis, we can do more on conservation. But when we develop the economy, we also need to consider conservation. We could do nothing if the resources are destroyed"* (Interview, 19.04.2006).

People's differing views on development and conservation reflected their different aims and interests. The third question was 'Is your organization's main interest in tourism development or in conservation around West Lake?' This revealed that for all the community respondents their main interest was in tourism conservation rather than development around the lake. As one community interviewee claimed: *"We care more about conservation because a good environment also benefits our lives. We live close to the lake. We would like to see good natural resources and also the conservation of cultural resources"* (Interview, 21.04.2006). Another complained that: *"The tourism development will attract more tourists to the area, but it is not good for our daily lives"* (Interview, 22.04.2006). Three tourism experts all said that they were concerned about both conservation and development, which might reflect their professional awareness of sustainable tourism. Among the three tourism industry people, the Hangzhou Tourism Association respondent said that they considered both development and conservation. The other two industry people said that their main interest was in development because it brought more economic benefits for them.

There was more divergence in the stated main interests of the government officials. The official from the Construction Committee had a great interest in tourism development, while the Environment Protection Bureau official was more interested in tourism conservation. Of course these answers were related to their work responsibilities. The other four officials from the HTC, WLMC and Legislative Office all said that their organizations were concerned equally with development and conservation. While most government officials claimed that their organization was concerned with both development and conservation, this was also a safe answer and it also allowed them flexibility to focus on development or conservation between different projects. Also it might indicate that they were actually unsure about which one should be the priority. It has also been shown how for quite a lot of actors, and especially the major decision makers (the HTC and WLMC), they expressed ideas drawing on development and conservation knowledge

frameworks. However, in practice development was given more prominence than conservation in the policy decisions.

9.7 The tourism policy networks around the WLPP

Figure 9.17 summarises the general pattern of tourism policy networks around WLPP, this being based on the analysis of the three sub-projects.

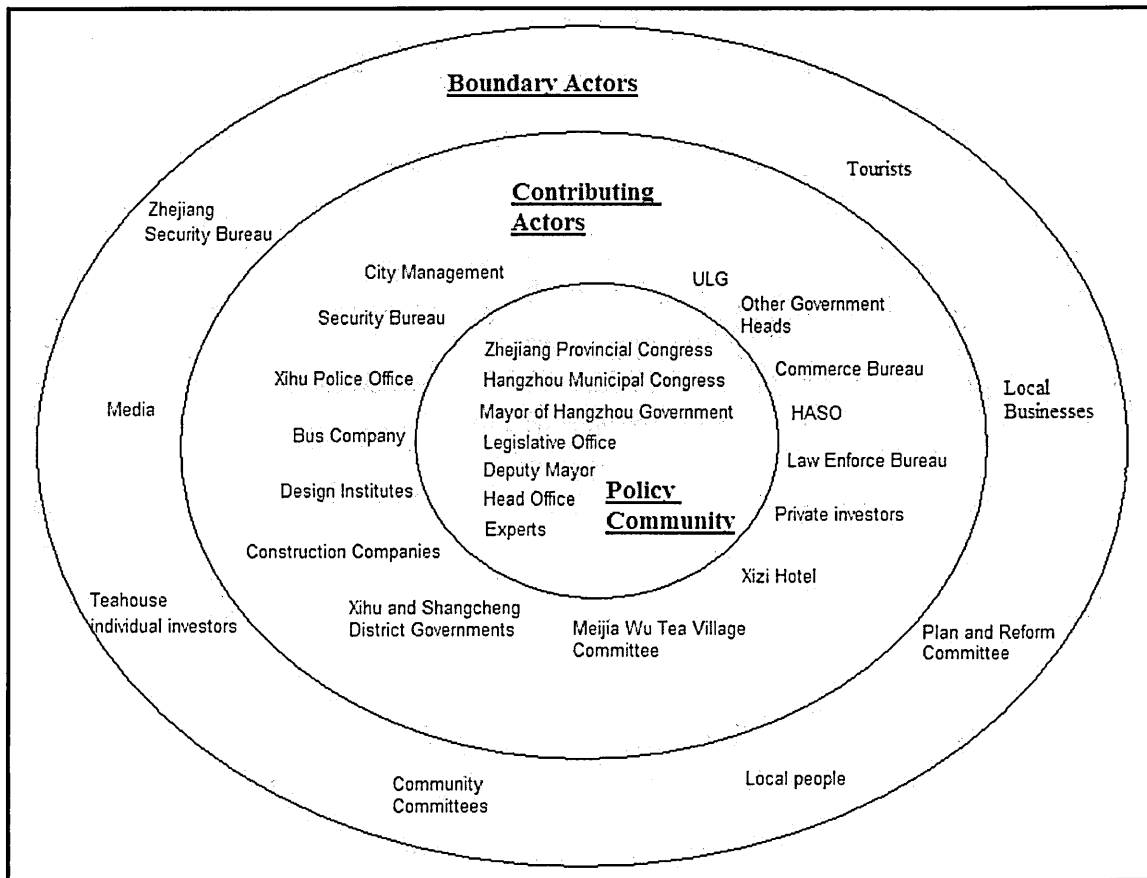


Figure 9.17: Tourism policy networks for the WLPP.

The central tourism policy community is where the most power and influence lay. As in Figure 9.11, which shows the tourism policy networks around the Meijia Wu Tea Area Project, the Mayor, Legislative Office, Deputy Mayor, Head Office and Experts were again also policy community actors. The Deputy Mayor, Head Office and Experts had most involvement in the WLPP, all working on the planning, construction and evaluation stages of the WLPP. They had notable political power as the key decision-makers. The Meijia Wu Project only required legislation about local standards in Hangzhou, so approvals only were required from the Legislative Office and Mayor. However, in the WLPP as a whole, there were many regulations

that had to be approved through the Congress system. In Figure 9.17, therefore, the Zhejiang Provincial Congress and Hangzhou Municipal Congress are identified as policy community actors, based on their considerable power. The tourism policy community of the WLPP is remarkably similar to the tourism policy community for Hangzhou's overall tourism networks, as shown in Figure 8.1. Except for the WLPP head office, all the other actors are the same, indicating that there is considerable continuity and concentration among the policy community actors.

The 'contributing' actors are those actors who had some influence on the decision-making of the policy community. They were the upper-level government heads and other government heads in Hangzhou, as well as such municipal-level government departments and their agencies as the City Management Office, Security Bureau, Commerce Bureau, Law Enforcement Bureau, the Bus Company and the Xihu Police Office. The municipal government departments were important for the successful implementation of the project. Xihu and Shangcheng District Governments mainly contributed in the implementation stage. HASO, from Zhejiang's Provincial Government, was an exception in the WLPP. It only worked on the Leifeng Pagoda Project, but it had a crucial involvement in the decision-making process for that project. The Design institutes and construction companies mainly concentrated on maximizing their own economic returns. Meanwhile, their professional knowledge about landscape design and construction was necessary for the project construction. Private investors, such as the Xizi Hotel for the Leifeng Pagoda Project and the Nandu Real Estate Company for the New Lakeside Project, had important involvements due to their substantial financial investments. The Village Committee in Meijia Wu had opportunities to influence policy making for the Meijia Wu Tea Area Project due to the pattern of land possession and indirect political elections.

The boundary actors were remote from the policy community and their knowledge frameworks were least considered. They also had least opportunities to influence policies and policy decisions due to their related political power. As was also the case in Figure 8.7, the Plan and Reform Committee, villagers, tourists, teahouse investors, and media were boundary actors. Teahouse investors were individual investors who were indirectly contacted by the government, and their money was invested in the village businesses and not in the government. Therefore, in

contrast with the big investors in the other two projects, the teahouse investors had little involvement in the decision-making processes. The communities and local shops had the weakest voices in the tourism policy networks. Both the community people and villagers were boundary actors, but the latter had more power because the villagers owned land and the villages were involved in indirect elections. Although it was a government actor, the Zhejiang Security Bureau, as head of the HASO, did not have much involvement in the project as it simply received some income through the HASO.

Figure 9.17 serves as a generic map to show where actors were located in the tourism policy networks for the WLPP. It shows the tourism policy community as the key decision-makers in the WLPP, and it also shows the actors that contributed to the decision-making processes, and the actors that had least opportunities to influence the policy processes.

9.8 Conclusion

This chapter is based on a case study of Hangzhou's West Lake Protection Project, and it explains how different actors were enrolled into tourism projects and sought agreements. It examined the actor enrolment process and it evaluated the actors' discourses, knowledge frameworks and power configurations through several social and knowledge interfaces. The study also took the Meijia Wu Tea Area Project as one example for the application of the meso-level conceptual framework after the prior evaluation of micro-level actor perspectives. Finally, the study also summarized the pattern of tourism policy networks for the whole WLPP.

The analysis has shown how, first, the actors had different knowledge frameworks in the three sub-projects. Very generally, their knowledge frameworks could be divided into two broad types: development and conservation. Although many actors drew on a knowledge framework based on conservation ideas, the practical results for the three sub-projects indicated that development priorities often prevailed. Second, it was shown that the WLPP reflected China's trends towards decentralization and governance. Some private sector actors were involved in the project. The private sector investors have much more involvement than other private sector actors and they were able to join the decision-making process with other head office actors. Various government departments were also involved in the decision-making processes so that potentially it was

possible to consider their various issues and concerns. The upper-level government had given considerable autonomy to Hangzhou's government, indicating that vertical decentralization from upper-level government to local actors was quite important.

However, within Hangzhou itself the processes of decentralization and governance were actually very limited. Various government departments were involved, but they had limited opportunities to influence the policy decisions as final decision-making was tightly controlled by the head office. Although the private sector actors were involved, they had very weak voices in the decision-making. Their knowledge frameworks were easily accepted when they were the same as that of the key decision-makers, but they would be blocked if they were different. The government provided some opportunities for public involvement and for wider participation in the WLPP's decision-making processes, such as in the selection process for the Leifeng Pagoda Project. However, the government still blocked the preferences of the public for the pagoda and, even within the head office, there was notable centralized decision-making. The WLMC, HTC and Deputy Mayor were always the major contributors to the aims, objectives and final decisions of the WLPP.

The WLPP was used as a case study to apply the conceptual frameworks. The tourism policy networks were identified for the WLPP and each of the sub-projects. Consideration was also given to the relations between policy outcomes and actor interactions. This chapter extended the analysis in Chapters 7 and 8, which applied the conceptual frameworks to the wider tourism political environment of Hangzhou. Next, the overall findings and conclusions for the study are examined in Chapters 10 and 11.

10.1 Introduction

This chapter reviews the main findings that emerged from applying the conceptual frameworks to Hangzhou and also to the West Lake Protection Project. These findings are summarized according the sequence in which the conceptual frameworks were applied. The main objectives of the study were to develop the conceptual frameworks, assess them in the contexts of Hangzhou and the West Lake Protection Project, and to examine their overall value. This chapter summarises the development and application of the conceptual frameworks, while the final chapter evaluates their overall utility.

The philosophical and theoretical basis for the conceptual frameworks are discussed first. As stressed early in the study, the agency-structure duality is a key idea behind the framework, with social development seen as the outcome of both actors' interactions and external structural changes. This chapter follows the sequence of the conceptual frameworks: moving from the macro-, to the micro- and meso-levels, in order to summarize the key findings from the Hangzhou and WLPP case studies.

In the literature review chapter, China is discussed as different from other developing countries, being categorized as a transitional society, from a socialist state economy to a more market-oriented economy. Thus, there are many unusual factors in China's macro-environment that had to be considered during the application of the macro-level conceptual framework. These factors are summarized early in this Chapter. The application of the micro-level conceptual framework is discussed next. It includes findings about the various actors, the processes of project enrolment and their interactions. The discussion of the meso-level's application then follows, and it summarizes the tourism policy-making processes for Hangzhou and for the West Lake Protection Project. There is a summary of the actors' values, interests, and power relationships, together with mapping of the overall tourism policy networks in

Hangzhou. The duality of agency and structure is shown to be central to Hangzhou's tourism policy networks.

10.2 Theoretical and philosophical basis of the conceptual frameworks

The conceptual frameworks are a key contribution from the study. The frameworks were developed from several theoretical fields, notably from Giddens' (1984) approach to agency-structure relationships, the ideas of discourses, knowledge frameworks and power configurations as developed by Long (2001), and from Rhodes' (1997) typology of policy networks. This section evaluates the theoretical basis of the conceptual frameworks.

The duality of 'agency' and 'structure' is a key philosophical basis of the conceptual frameworks. 'Agency' means the actors' capacity to act upon situations, while 'structure' means the wider social world (Sibeon, 1999). The interaction between agency and structure draws on the 'structuration' ideas of Giddens (1984). His opposition to any single-minded attachment to overly structure-oriented or overly agency-oriented accounts of social life has influenced many social science studies (Bramwell, 2006). His approach indicates that structures are drawn on in the making of actions, and then there are also the intended and unintended outcomes of countless recursive actions made by knowledgeable agents (Giddens, 1979:5). It is suggested that agency produces the structures in society, and that they are at the same time influenced and constrained by the structures. Both structures and agency co-evolve over time and space.

Although the debate about agency-structure has been a key strand in social science since the 1970s, there are very few applications in tourism research. Long's (2001) actor-oriented approach also draws on certain aspects of this agency-structure relationship. Bramwell (2006) has critically applied agency-structure relationships and on actor-oriented approach in a recent study of Malta's tourism growth limits. The present study is also based on the duality of structure-agency and it evaluates tourism policy-making processes in relation to agency and structure interactions. Long's actor-oriented approach and Rhodes' policy network theory were applied in this research as the major means to bring together agency and structure.

The philosophical basis of the study in the duality of 'agency' and 'structure' resulted in three

conceptual frameworks at micro, meso and macro levels. These all show the links between agency and structure, and notably relations between the outside environment and 'agency-structure'. They came out of another philosophical position, this being the idea of dialectic relationships among actors, networks and the wider environment. There is often a great deal of heterogeneity and unevenness in the relational processes of interconnections, interactions, and tensions in society (Bramwell and Meyer, 2007). There is a growing recognition of these heterogeneities in recent social science research. Jessop (2001) and Murdoch (1998) think that there are unhelpful dualisms in the social sciences between developed and undeveloped, social agency and structural determination, necessity and contingency, holism and individualism, and local and global. However, it is argued that using a relational and dialectical approach can help to can explore the relations between these entities, and overcome these unhelpful dualisms, by seeing "social systems as complex wholes or systems of relations, and then examining these relations and their inherent oppositions or contradictions" (Hook, 1962:52).

Marsh and Smith (2000) advocate the use of dialectical ideas specifically to understand policy networks, and they highlight the importance of examining relationships between three kinds of network elements: between external contexts, structures, and actors (Evans 2001; Hay and Wincott 1998). Based on these three network elements, the conceptual framework here examined the macro external environment, the meso level policy networks, the micro level of actors and agencies, and also the dialectical relations between them. The benefit of such a dialectical or relational approach is to create a 'contingent openness' (Bramwell and Pomfret, 2007) in the study that allows for emergent patterns and for change over time.

The use of this relational dialectic meant that it was possible to break into the conceptual frameworks from any level, with the dialectic loop connecting all the levels. However, it was decided to start with the macro level framework first, followed by the micro level, and then the meso level framework. In terms of practical application, the macro environment is the easiest level to explain. The influence of the macro environment on the actors and structures is manifested through tangible signs and processes. However, the actors' values or relations can only be evaluated through the ways in which they deal with the macro environmental influences.

For example, China's decentralization policies can only be noticed because people see less central government, people find more public-private cooperation, and at times they see shorter and less time-consuming policy-making processes. However, how people think about this situation, and how people react to the change must be evaluated through further study of the consequences of the decentralized decisions. Therefore, it is recognized that the macro environment influences are always experienced, and that experience affects change.

The actors have to cope with the complexities in the macro environment in society. The structural context can be better understood after the major actors in the wider environment have been identified. But the application should not stop here, as there is a need to link the meso-level back to the macro- and micro-level situations. The study followed a sequence of macro-, micro- and meso-level application to the case studies, and this was also the sequence for explaining the main findings later in this chapter.

The micro-level framework is arguably the most important part of this research. An actor-oriented approach is particularly focused on this level. Actors are seen as active participants who seek to engage or enrol others into their own projects, based on their own interests and worldviews (Murdoch and Marsden, 1995). All the actors mentioned in the general conceptual frameworks are institutional actors, who represent the interests and values of individuals, but they also have institutional agency. Institutional actors not only have their own values but they also represent the common values and interests of their institution, and they also perform this institutional power in these social interactions.

The notions of discourses and knowledge frameworks were also important. Long's actor perspective sees knowledge frameworks as the ways in which actors come to grips with the world in the context of the struggles, negotiations, and accommodations between themselves and others. When actors encounter each other they attempt to enrol other people in their 'projects' and to get these people to accept particular frames of knowledge. Knowledge frameworks also intersect with each other in social interactions and discursive practices, and they are transformed in these processes (Foucault, 1972). There are often many knowledge frameworks in one decision-making process. While they all involve contradictions, ambiguities,

and negotiations, some are more fragmentary, partial, and provisional than others (Bramwell, 2006). Therefore, it is not very helpful to draw sharp distinctions between them.

A discourse represents “a set of meanings embodied in metaphors, representations, images, narratives, and statements that advance a particular version of ‘the truth’ about objects, persons, events, and the relations between them” (Long, 2001:51-2). This idea is very important in explaining the broader notion of knowledge frameworks. Both the knowledge frameworks and discourses help to explain what is included and what is excluded in discussions, including the objects of concern, the preferred narratives for making sense of the issues, the actors that policymakers consider, and the agendas for action (Stenson and Watt, 1999).

The notion of power configurations is also applied in the conceptual frameworks. While discourses and knowledge frameworks identify the different values, interests and knowledge among varying actors, power configurations help to define the different level of performed power among them. It is considered that power is not just based on actors’ social class or position, rather it is actively performed through social processes. Power configurations are depicted in terms of the idea of interlocking actors’ projects made up of heterogeneous sets of social relations imbued with values and meanings, and with notions of authority and control, domination and subordination, and these are sustained by specific patterns of resource distribution and competition (Long, 2001:242). In other words, power configurations are a kind of power construction, which understands power through actors’ heterogeneous sets of social actions and relations.

The ideas of discourse, knowledge frameworks and power configurations are important for the application of the conceptual frameworks. Although they are not directly shown in the frameworks, they should be seen as key elements in their application. At the micro-level, the idea of social interfaces is also crucial to the conceptual framework. Discourses, knowledge frameworks and power configurations are all indirectly involved in social interfaces. Social interfaces represent critical points when different actors meet each other. They must be analysed as part of ongoing processes of negotiation, adaptation and the transformation of meanings (Long, 2001:243). It is through such ongoing social interfaces that discourses, knowledge

frameworks and power configurations can be defined.

The use of relational or dialectic thinking suggests it is reasonable to apply the conceptual framework starting from macro level, then the micro level, and finally the meso level. The conceptual framework was applied to the case of Hangzhou, China. Because the case study is located in China, the research also examined relevant theoretical background information about China, including issues around 'power', 'values' and 'interests' in Chinese contexts. For instance, Chinese philosophy, which is influenced by traditional Confucianism, as well as Western capitalism, modernity and Chinese communism, was seen to be notable and often contradictory influences on the values and interests of Chinese people today. It was also shown how the Congress system in China is a key influence on much political behaviour. Recent changes in China's decentralization reforms were shown to be another important influence in the macro-environment. The patterns of power were deeply affected by the patterns of Chinese governance and the influence of Chinese politicians. The next section explains the study's main findings from the case studies at the macro-, micro- and meso-levels.

10.3 Interweaving of the macro-environment and the actors' 'values' 'interests' and 'power'

Hangzhou's macro environment substantially influenced people's values, interests and social status in society, with this composed of the interweaving influence of socio-cultural, political, economic, and environmental domains. The summary here reviews the significant influence on actors' values, actions and decision-making deriving from the socio-cultural and political domains. Those two domains are intimately connected in Hangzhou's macro environment, and they produce some significant tensions. But, while they are in conflict with each other, there is an apparent resulting balance in the society. The discussion considers the tensions among actors' values caused in particular by the contradictions between economic development and environmental protection.

10.3.1 Actors and dialectical relations between political and socio-cultural domains

First, Hangzhou's tourism policy-making process is located in a general political environment, which is also influenced by global forces, such as by political and economic globalisation.

Influenced by the needs of societal development and the globalisation of economic development, a series of decentralization reforms have been adopted in China and Hangzhou. Hangzhou has benefited from China's vertical decentralized reforms, as it is the provincial capital of Zhejiang Province. Vertical reform is seen as vital in contemporary China due to the nation's huge territorial area and dynamic levels of administration (Zhan, 2001). It suggests a degree of decentralizing of power from central to local government. However, due to the immature governance system in China and because of the unbalanced development between areas, in some places there has been unhealthy competition, corruption, and a disordered legislative system (Wu, 2002). Therefore, vertical decentralization has been limited by central government in order to mitigate such problems. This is one reason why central government still sustains the central position, and why it only allows a few cities to have authority to formulate local policies. But, as a provincial capital city, Hangzhou is eligible for significant decentralization.

The significance of the vertical reforms can only be explained when the horizontal decentralized reforms are evaluated at the same time. The horizontal decentralized reforms not only required a major reduction in the number of government departments and officials, but also increased the independence of each department, especially after the relevant reforms in 1998. In this way, the tourism administration has also become more independent from central government. However, the horizontal decentralized reforms made tourism administration more dependent on other actors, including both the public and private sectors while government departments can have more authority than before, the horizontal reform required them to depend much more on their own profit and loss. Within the government, there is a new need for more entrepreneurial management, and thus resource dependency is a much more complex consideration for government to finish its tasks. Thus, the government department becomes more independent in managing its tasks, but also more dependent on others' resources.

This is one important reason why Hangzhou Tourism Committee and the West Lake Scenic District Management Committee needed to invite other government departments and even the private sector actors to help them in their work. This means there is no longer only one decision-maker for tourism policies in Hangzhou, with a gradually increasing number of participants. Further, changes in the political environment have also increased the number of

actors involved in Hangzhou's tourism policy-making. When more varied actors were involved in tourism policy-making in Hangzhou, there were also more social interfaces for actor interactions.

Another key issue in the political environment is the influence of the Chinese Congress system on tourism policy-making. While decentralization has allowed more independence and involved more players, the Congress system has become a significant hinderance. According to the Chinese Congress system, although Hangzhou government has the authority to formulate local policy, all final decisions need to be approved by Hangzhou's Municipal People's Congress and then also by Zhejiang Province's People's Congress. The key officials in these Congresses are usually appointed by upper-level politicians in the central government and National Congress, so that the final decision-making still tends to lie within a centralized environment. This discourages participants in the tourism policy-making process and it also limits the extent of actor involvement in decision-making. It is a key reason why the decentralization in Hangzhou and China is rather different from that found in Western countries.

There is another important issue in Hangzhou's political environment: the existence of Chinese versions of capitalism and of communism. While China is influenced by Western capitalism because of globalisation, several researchers (Berger, 1986; Redding, 1996 and Yeung, 2004) suggest that, Chinese capitalism is embedded within a very specific political and socio-economic context (Yeung 2004:4). It is argued that Chinese capitalism has absorbed some features from Western capitalism, such as private ownership and non-state decision-making. But it is also contended that Chinese capitalism has not greatly affected the political domain, but that it is more actively restricted to the socio-economic environment, such as in a market-led economy and a freer business environment. In addition, there is a kind of economic culture, defined by Berger (1986:24) as a 'structure of consciousness', that constitutes a more distinct Chinese capitalism that keeps some traditional features from traditional Confucianism and from Chinese communism, such as is seen in the continuing importance of the centralized Congress system.

Indeed, there is another key 'Chinese political product', that of Chinese communism, which is

China's dominant political ideology. While Chinese capitalism has more to do with socio-economic behaviour, Chinese communism is involved more in the political arena. Communist ideology seeks to establish a classless, stateless social organization based on common ownership of the means of production (Screpanti, 2004). Based on Soviet communism, Chinese communism has been re-defined based on the specific situation of China. It is often called 'Communism with Chinese characteristics', and it accepts that there will be conflicts between traditionalism and capitalism in Chinese society. This helps to explain the existence of political and economic imbalances in the country. It is also arguably well designed for Chinese people, whose values are influenced by different, competing philosophies. It allows for the imbalance between different regions, for example, but it retains the final aim of societal development to establish a classless and equal society. Chinese communism allows part of the people to get rich first, on the basis that it will bring prosperity to the whole of society subsequently (Jiang, 1992). It also indirectly allows the emergence of classes in society during the development process.

There are certain tensions within Chinese communism. First, the Communist Party focuses on 'atheism' and 'equality' (Jiang, 2002), encouraging people to trust their own abilities and to try their best in society, without relying on religion. However, while people may become more active in working for themselves and more confident, a lack of religious support may also cause confusion in people's values. Second, Chinese communism teaches that people are equal in status in society (Chinese Communist Party, 2002), but the single Communist Party domination of government, and the indirect election (from central or upper-level government down to the local level) of important politicians and the control of decisions by the Congress system all suggest there is inequality in Chinese society. This conflict indicates that the people can have more freedom and power than before, but that the centralized power in government is very unlikely to be changed. This is one reason why in Hangzhou's tourism policy-making process most actors are from the government, although more private sector actors are becoming involved than before.

It is evident that there are no clear boundaries among the political, social and economic influences resulting from Chinese capitalism and Chinese communism. Although Chinese

capitalism and Chinese communism derive from political concerns, they are also actively related, for example, to socio-economic domains. This also indicates that the assumptions in the study's macro-level conceptual framework were broadly correct, as it assumes that these macro-environmental domains are interwoven with each other. For instance, in the socio-cultural domain, traditional Confucianism is an important influence on people's values, interests and power. Chinese philosophy is a combination of both traditional and modern ideas, with Confucianism being the most influential traditional philosophy for Chinese people. Its main doctrines include the ideas of 'graded love', 'a virtuous life' and the 'Doctrine of the Middle Way' (You, 1994). 'Graded love' teaches people to have greater ethical obligations toward those who are bound to one by special relationships, such as those between ruler and minister, father and son, husband and wife, elder and younger brother and between friends (Mou, 2003:104). The idea of a 'Virtuous life' focuses on these obligations, and it requires people to follow these obligations to have a virtuous way of living (Yu, 1998). Thus, 'virtue' becomes an important element in Chinese people's values.

Under such doctrines, Chinese people are often cautious about many things. They prefer routines, for example, and they can be easy to satisfy. Part of their values tells them to try not to have conflicts with others, especially with the government. In traditional Chinese society, the government and the ruler, always hold the highest positions. The idea of 'graded love' gives the impression that people need to obey their rulers because this is a virtue in society. The consequences of such traditional doctrines can still be seen in current Chinese society. This is an important reason why Chinese people are not so active in working to gain their own profit, especially when dealing with issues related to the government.

Traditional philosophy influences values and also people's interests and power. When values suggest that obeying the ruler is a virtue, it also indicates the high power of the ruler. This helps to explain why in contemporary Hangzhou, the government still retains a great deal of power in the city. Traditional doctrines also encourage people to lose interest in fighting for their benefits, and thus few interactions and conflicts are found in the tourism policy-making processes. This is also why relatively few conflicts were evident in Hangzhou's tourism policy-making processes. While many of the actor interfaces in the study were characterized by some disagreements, there

were few serious conflicts. However, this was probably also influenced to some degree by interviewees not being willing to talk openly about their conflicts with others. Traditional Chinese Confucianism means that people may not admit to conflicts so as not to offend someone; on the other hand, people care rather less about conflicts because they focus more on their own immediate surroundings rather than the wider society.

When advocates of Chinese Confucianism discuss ‘government leadership’ (Tu, 2001), they may hold different views of Chinese capitalism. Chinese capitalism is partially influenced by Western capitalist modernity, which makes people more active and aggressive, especially when pursuing their own economic benefits, even from the government. Under this influence, the government is not the only powerful societal player as some rich people or company executives also benefit from the power game. However, full capitalism is not allowed in Chinese society because the different characteristics of Chinese communism and the bedrock beliefs of Confucianism are crucial (Redding, 1993). In this context, Chinese communism, as the dominant political value system in Chinese society, needs to provide some balance for the notable contradictions between Chinese capitalism and traditional Confucianism. This form of communism increasingly allows public-private sector cooperation, and this provides opportunities for private sector actors to join in government affairs. At the same time, it still keeps the central domination of China’s government in socio-economic activities.

Both the general Chinese and Hangzhou’s socio-cultural and political environments influence local people in the city. In its past, Hangzhou was considered as a place for royal exiles, especially for scholars, poets or officials banished by the ancient Chinese government (Yang, 2004). Influenced by these talented scholars and poets, historically Hangzhou has gained much cultural richness, and reputedly this made the local people more sensitive and emotional. People in Hangzhou are also considered to have a more leisured living style than people in other Chinese cities. Recently, Hangzhou was regarded as suitable for city branding as the ‘Leisure Capital’ and ‘Quality of Living City’ (Chongqing Evening Newspaper, 2007). In addition, it was selected to hold the first World Leisure EXPO in 2006 (City Express, 2007). In this environment, it is suggested that Hangzhou people prefer participating in leisure, cultural and economic activities, rather than joining in politics. Supposedly, the features of being sensitive, emotional,

relaxed and leisured make Hangzhou people less interested in political power. Thus, actors involved in tourism policy-making may not be so aggressive about taking the lead or having more power, and this too many help to account for why there were few serious conflicts in this process.

China's regionalism may also influence the values of Hangzhou's residents. For centuries, the nation's capital cities were always located in the north. Influenced by this, it is argued that northern cities are more active in political activities and are more aggressive about power, and southern cities are more leisurely and more focused on economic development. Zhang (2002) also indicates that in north China the public sector dominates most resources, while in the south, the marketplace controls most resources and local government has to work more with the non-public sectors. In cities like Shanghai and Hangzhou, where both local government and the marketplace are well developed, the status of city governance is located somewhere between the northern and southern models. Therefore, when Hangzhou people pursue economic profits, they are moderately rather than markedly limited by government decisions.

10.3.2 The influences of economic development and environmental protection

Economic development is another important domain influencing actors and their relations. Hangzhou is considered to represent an economic frontier in China. One reason is because Hangzhou is located near the east coast and within the 'Chang River Economic Development Delta'. Its proximity to the coast means it is usually easier to do international businesses there than it is in inland cities. It also benefits relatively fully from China's economic reforms, which have been adopted most along the southeast and east coasts. The 'Chang River Economic Development Delta' (Chang Delta) has been an economic priority in China in recent years, with this mainly involving 16 cities in Jiangsu, Shanghai and Zhejiang provinces (Xin, 2007). The Chang Delta is widely regarded as a key economic motor driving the Chinese economy (Ning, Shi and Cha, 1998). These cities represent some of the most prosperous places in China, and they are still the focus for development strategies by the central government. One important aim of the Chang Delta is to support Shanghai to be an international business centre, with its cities providing the necessary resources for Shanghai, but also sharing economic benefits with Shanghai (Chen and Yao, 2003). As the central city of this delta and the nearest city to Shanghai,

Hangzhou holds a leading position there. Further, and as explained in the literature review chapter, many of China's top politicians were politically rooted in Shanghai and this has meant that they tended to develop Shanghai in order to consolidate their political power and status. To support the development of Shanghai, the neighbouring cities have been developed sufficiently to establish its resource base, while Hangzhou, as the nearest city has become one of the main beneficiaries.

Second, Hangzhou's political decentralization has also provided reduced constraints on economic development. There has been a declining proportion of state-owned enterprises, a rapid growth of local enterprises, and an expanded market-based system (Yeung 2004: 56-57). The market-based economic reforms have also assisted in the process of governmental decentralization. For instance, although state funding from central to local government is still important, there is an increasing trend of using private funding in the city's local government projects.

When Chinese capitalism and modernization play a part in the economic domain, they result in specific consequences. Chinese modernization has specific features, and it represents a Chinese response to coping with globalisation. Therefore, it differs from Western modernization and is based on the particular Chinese circumstances. Modernization in Hangzhou is perhaps best depicted as commercialism, not the more fully developed forms of modernization. Chinese modernity is a cultural product that reflects all the problematic struggles over the trajectory of socio-economic change in the country. As Oakes (1998) suggests, in China modernity is a particularly tense and paradoxical process through which people produce, confront and negotiate a particular kind of socio-economic change. Commercialism is only one of several processes of Chinese modernization, however, because modernization is the process through which people deal with a wide range of tensions around broad socio-cultural and political changes.

Economic development has brought evident prosperity to Hangzhou. The resulting material satisfaction has brought great stability for the society. This prosperity has itself driven people to more actively engage in economic activities. But people's satisfaction in Western society is not

only related to economic growth but it also concerns political issues in society. However, with Chinese modernization, which largely is at the stage of commercialism, people are still more concerned about economic growth, and they are less interested about political issues. This is also one reason why most private sector actors involved in tourism policy-making in Hangzhou are largely seeking economic benefits from the process.

While economic development has brought prosperity, it has also led to materialism in Hangzhou's society. Too much emphasis on short-term material satisfaction has caused many problems with Hangzhou's tourism development. When the tourism planning and development has focused too much on economic profit, it has adversely affected the direction for tourism development and it has resulted in negative environmental consequences. This is a key explanation as to why Hangzhou's West Lake development plan could not meet the UNESCO requirements to be listed as one of their cultural heritage sites. While the lake is neat, beautiful and orderly, it has lost key heritage features, with inadequate resource protection and lack of sustainability. To be listed in the UNESCO heritage list, there needs to be adequate protection of the site from changes in the social and economic conditions. Unfortunately, the West Lake tourism plan focuses greatly on attracting tourists, rather than on resource protection.

Materialism has led to a greater emphasis on economic profits, and it has also encouraged mass tourism in Hangzhou. While mass tourism has brought many benefits to the city in terms of prosperity, it has resulted in problems such as exceeding the local carrying capacity, negative environmental impacts, loss of local resources, damage to the local socio-cultural context and problems of economic leakage (Khan, 1997). Based on an awareness of these problems, but also influenced by economic globalisation, Hangzhou is beginning to recognize it must make some changes to its mass tourism. Economic globalisation is driving Hangzhou to try to be an international city, to get into international tourism markets, and meet international development criteria. This helps to explain why the West Lake Protection Project planners have sought to attract international tourism markets, and to meet the UNESCO requirements for its cultural heritage.

Economic development is often in tension with environmental protection, yet concern for such

protection often increases after that development (Pearce and Warford, 1993). When people have rising living standards, when society becomes more stable, and when peoples' educational level becomes higher, they often become more aware of quality of life standards, such as the natural environment. On the other hand, rapid economic development often also brings negative environmental consequences, such as water and air pollution. In Hangzhou economic development is beginning to lead to an awareness of the requirement for sustainable development. Sustainable development is often taken to mean that society must consider not only the resources for the present, but it must also "consider the resource availability for the next generation" (Costanza and Daly, 1992:38). This requires effective planning for resource use.

Contradictions around short-term economic profit and long-term sustainability were highlighted in the West Lake Protection Project. Economic profit was certainly the primary aim of the Hangzhou Tourism Committee and West Lake Scenic District Management Committee for the West Lake Protection Project. Based on this project, Hangzhou's tourism administration sought to sell West Lake to international tourists in order to boost the city's reputation and economic development. But the planning process was also influenced to some degree by considerations about long-term sustainability, such as by concerns about the protection of cultural and historical heritage sites, water pollution, and even the visual aesthetic of some buildings. The tensions between such concerns and economic profit have clearly affected some of the social interfaces among Hangzhou's actors.

The four domains in the macro-level conceptual framework were significant external and internal forces altering Hangzhou's society and actors. Changes in these four domains have altered people's values, interests and power, and they have influenced actor interactions in the city's tourism policy-making processes. These four domains are also interwoven together to produce these forces affecting the city.

10.4 Understanding the tourism policy-making processes through actor interactions

10.4.1 Collective actors and individuals involved in Hangzhou's tourism policy-making processes

The focus of the analysis of tourism policy-making in Hangzhou was on collective actors rather than on individual people. Long (2001) suggests that collective actors are a coalition of actors who share some common definition of a situation, or similar goals, interests or values, and who agree, tacitly or explicitly, to pursue certain courses of social action (Long, 2001:56). In the present study the collective actors mainly relate to specific organizations. In Hangzhou's tourism policy-making processes, most of the more influential actors are collectives or organizations, with few individuals not in organizations being involved. But there are some individuals who are very powerful in the city's decision-making processes. There are two kinds of highly influential individual actors in this context: powerful politicians and rich private investors. 'Power' and 'money' were two influential elements helping these individuals to hold important positions alongside other actors in the tourism policy-making processes. In particular, the Mayor, Deputy Mayor and Municipal Party Secretary of Hangzhou Municipal Government were important individual players.

The responsibilities of Deputy Mayor Xiang in relation to the West Lake Protection Project, for example, included planning, management, control and evaluation work, and he influenced key decisions around the project. The Mayor was the important link between the government and the Congress that influenced the city's overall planning direction. The Municipal Party Secretary was also the top political position in the government, representing the Communist Party in all aspects of the city's governance. With the West Lake Protection Project, the Municipal Party Secretary was prominent in media coverage of the project, in this way associating it with the achievements of the Communist Party, and thus, promoting the Party's positive image. In addition, he also went on site visits to evaluate the project's progress and to ensure it was developing appropriately.

The power of 'money' for new investments meant that some individual private investors also took part in the city's tourism policy-making. When government decentralization gained in

prominence, government departments become more independent and they become responsible for financial profit and loss. With tourism being a big industry in Hangzhou, the main tourism organizations Hangzhou Tourism Committee and the West Lake Scenic District Management Committee found it increasingly necessary to cooperate with private sector actors to get enough financial support for their projects, and so some individual investors were involved. With the Leifeng Pagoda sub-project of the West Lake Protection Project, a group of individuals together with the Home Affairs Security Office invested in the rebuilding of Leifeng Pagoda. Although they were not directly involved in discussions or meetings around the project, they were important players in the final decision-making.

10.4.2 Actor enrolment processes around Hangzhou's tourism policy-making processes

The actor enrolment process for projects was emphasized in the micro-level conceptual framework. A project here in this study was usually taken to be a particular policy, one single government decision, or a specific development scheme. For example, the 'Hangzhou Tourism Regulation', which was discussed in Chapter 7, was one tourism policy or project, and the social interfaces around it were evaluated. The construction of walls enclosing the park around the lake is an example of a government decision discussed in this study. And the West Lake Protection Project could be viewed as one development scheme that included government decisions related to the city's tourism policies.

In establishing a project, there is usually a project initiator or leader that starts the project and leads the project enrolment process. With Hangzhou's tourism policy-making processes the major tourism organizations (HTC or WLMC) were always the project leaders. This was because in Hangzhou the extent of decentralization was unlike that in Western countries, with policy-making still being highly controlled by government and with the involvement of private sector actors also being relatively weak. On the other hand, Hangzhou has begun to decentralize decisions more fully, with policies not only drafted by the Mayor's or Legislative Offices, but more by each individual government department. The tourism organizations, therefore, are increasingly responsible for tourism planning and policy-making.

The city's tourism administration would usually identify on its own specific problems in the

daily tourism planning and management, and it would try to solve them using current tourism regulations. When it was realized new regulations were needed, it would start a new project enrollment process, enrolling other related actors to help to finish the project together. But normally the first actor to be enrolled was the government head (the Mayor) because the project could not start without his approval. Most of the main tourism projects in Hangzhou were started by the Hangzhou Tourism Committee, but in recent years the West Lake Scenic District Management Committee has taken on more of a project leader role, together with Hangzhou's Tourism Committee. This is because the significant position of West Lake in the city's development has become increasingly clear. West Lake is increasingly seen as the symbol of Hangzhou, and thus resource protection and image improvement of West Lake has probably become the most important focus for Hangzhou's city development (Zhou and Li, 1997). In effect, West Lake is now viewed as Hangzhou's city brand.

As discussed in relation to the macro-environment, Hangzhou's residents have started to realize the importance of the quality of the living environment, while at the same time wanting the city to secure major economic returns from its investments. Therefore, in recent years more tourism projects are seeking to balance protecting the environment and earning more economic profit. WLMC used to be called the Public Landscape Bureau, and it included many professionals working on landscape planning and environment protection. Therefore, to balance these competing priorities the HTC is allied to the WLMC in most projects relevant to the lake. Of course, another reason is that West Lake is the key product in Hangzhou's tourism industry, and with the city's rapid economic and social development, the lake has suffered a lot from negative industry influences, such as water pollution and inappropriate tourist management (Chen, 2002). Hangzhou's government is increasingly realizing that improving the environment and natural resources of West Lake is the key task for continuing tourism development. As discussed in relation to the macro-environment, there is an emerging trend in the city's policies from short-term economic development to long-term sustainability.

Resource inter-dependency is a notable cause of HTC and WLMC seeking to enrol other actors into their tourism projects, so that they can exchange the resources necessary to finish them. In the city's tourism policy-making, there has always been a substantial involvement of public

sector actors and a growing but still limited involvement of private sector actors. To progress the tourism projects it is first necessary to gain the support of government heads, so support is sought from people in key political roles, such as the Mayor, and members of the Municipal Congress and Provincial Congress. Projects need to get their approval in order to start and also again before they are put into practice.

The city's tourism organizations also rely greatly on consultancies. In Hangzhou, Zhejiang University's Tourism Research Centre has become the most important consultant to government organizations for tourism-related developments. To finish the outline proposal for a tourism project, the project leader would also enrol other related government departments to gain their support. For example, the City Planning Bureau provides the city's overall land use plans, the Construction Committee provides the more specific construction plans and it is also responsible for tourism project construction and quality control, and the Financial Bureau provides the government budget for tourism projects. All of these government departments have necessary roles to provide support for tourism development projects, and they therefore need to be enrolled.

Interestingly, the tourism organizations have always tended to consider that they could gain enough resource support from government departments, and thus they have usually neglected to enrol non-government actors. On the other hand, influenced by the macro socio-cultural environment, some non-government actors also do not wish to become involved or enrolled because they don't care much about government work. The end result is that the involvement of non-government actors in tourism policy-making in Hangzhou is very limited.

Among non-government actors, the tourism experts were the most powerful in Hangzhou's tourism policy-making. They are regarded here, as quasi-private sector actors. This is because most came from universities, and while most Chinese universities are state-owned, they are quite independent from government, and worked more like private sector organizations. These experts provided professional knowledge about tourism planning and management for project leaders and other public sector actors. They even took part in policy drafting and they also influenced the final decision-making. Zhejiang University is Hangzhou's highest rated

university and it also has a good reputation for tourism research. Therefore, researchers in its tourism research centre had a considerable involvement in Hangzhou's tourism policy-making processes. There were also some other private sector actors who provided consultancy services to the project leaders. Local hotels, travel agencies and other tourism companies are sometimes enrolled in related projects as they can provide related information and services. These private sector actors provided useful knowledge about tourism businesses, such as data on hotel occupancies and business profits. The other important group of private sector actors was the project investors who provided project funding, while they also earned financial profits through their alliance with government.

Among non-government actors, the local communities are a complex group. The project leaders usually involved local communities because they were most directly affected by the projects, which sometimes could change their overall living environment. Local people were also sometimes involved so that the tourism projects could bring more benefits to the people living there. However, generally the level of community involvement in Hangzhou's tourism policy-making processes was very poor. There are several reasons for this. First, there was often a general mental estrangement between the government and communities, this probably being influenced by traditional Confucianism, which tends not to encourage people to challenge the government. In addition, Chinese people frequently tend to distrust the government due to its reputation for corruption.

Lack of awareness and education about tourism planning seemed also to be a very important barrier. People in Hangzhou still lacked awareness about the importance and methods of community involvement. On the other hand, the government also always neglected community involvement, which meant it did not provide enough related information to the people and it did not provide clear instructions about how the community could become involved. The government's busy work schedule also meant that the project leader lacked the time to consider the community. All of these factors contributed to the very limited degree of community involvement in Hangzhou's tourism planning.

10.4.3 Actors' discourses, knowledge frameworks and power configurations around the West Lake Protection Project

Because of the differences between the varied actors involved in tourism planning, there were sometimes difficulties around the social and knowledge interfaces between the actors. The actors had varying values, levels of power and also interests in relation to the projects. Nevertheless, at times they reached agreements about some project goals. The social interfaces around projects provide a useful context in which to study actors' discourses, knowledge frameworks and their power configurations. Based on the social and knowledge interfaces around three sub-projects in West Lake Protection Project, this study identified five significant broad knowledge frameworks. These were around first, 'legislative authority and political legitimacy'; second, the tensions between 'tourism as an economic catalyst' and 'tourism and wider socio-economic and environmental improvement'; third, the privileging of the 'scientific' notion of 'sustainable tourism'; and fourth, the concerns of 'environment protection' and fifth, the 'quality of the living environment' as distinct from an emphasis on 'economic benefits'.

The first knowledge framework emphasized the importance of the existing pattern of 'legislative authority and political legitimacy'. Some actors, such as the Hangzhou Municipal Congress, Zhejiang Provincial Congress, the Mayor of Hangzhou, Hangzhou's Legislative Office, and the Plan and Reform Committee most often adopted this knowledge framework. Of course all of these actors had considerable governmental authority. The Provincial Congress, Municipal Congress and the Mayor are notably in charge of the final approval of tourism policies, and they represent the highest authority in Hangzhou's local policy-making. It is perhaps unsurprising that they emphasized issues of control due to their political power.

In the interviews, a Hangzhou Legislative Office official (HLO) repeatedly noted his office's role in creating 'local legislation' (Interview, 10.01.2005), and he emphasized its focus on the control of drafts of local policies, rather than on tourism development. His discourses clearly focused on wider public policy-making in Hangzhou. He also indicated that the HLO worked as a gatekeeper between the tourism organizations and the final policy decision-makers (the Mayor and Congresses). But, the interviews with other tourism organizations indicated that getting past this gatekeeper was relatively easy. A Hangzhou's Tourism Committee official (Interview,

23.12.2004) noted that local tourism policy drafts had to be evaluated by the Hangzhou Legislative Office, but they 'never had problems getting them through'. It was also suggested that, although the HLO frequently used this political knowledge framework, it lacked the same power as the Congresses and the Mayor.

The Congresses and Mayor, however, had considerable power in relation to tourism policy-making processes. By contrast, the Plan and Reform Committee has been losing significance since the government's decentralization reforms. Formerly, it was responsible for controlling all Hangzhou's government projects, but after decentralization government departments became more independent in decision-making. The Plan and Reform Committee (P & R) gradually became a 'rubber stamp' provider for project documents, having lost its real power in this arena. The former chairman of the Plan and Reform Committee argued that it was involved in 'project control' (Interview, 07.01.2005), but he mainly discussed very routine matters of documentation rather than real influence over policy. In the case of the P & R power was not produced in interactions, rather it was already established through previous interactions and actors' experiences. Its weak standing was already widely recognized.

The second type of knowledge framework related to tensions between a view that emphasized 'tourism as an economic catalyst' and a view that tourism should secure 'wider socio-economic and environmental improvement'. Two key groups of interviewees, in the Hangzhou Tourism Committee (HTC) and West Lake Scenic District Management Committee (WLMC), frequently discussed these differing objectives and their efforts to recognize them. They both used similar tourism managerial and development discourses, and they tended to consider social and environmental issues, while also emphasizing economic development. Their comments often revealed the tensions between economic development and social or environmental values.

As noted before, a major aim of the WLMC was to protect the West Lake's natural environment. However, the WLMC's social interactions and knowledge frameworks indicate that it still has a strong economic focus. In the New Lakeside sub-project, the decision-making around re-theming Hubin Street represented quite significant social and knowledge interfaces, notably between the head office actors and the experts. The head office actors included nine Deputy

Directors from nine different government departments: the Hangzhou Tourism Committee, West Lake Scenic District Management Committee, Hangzhou City Planning Bureau, Hangzhou Construction Committee, Hangzhou Environmental Protection Bureau, Hangzhou Finance Bureau, Hangzhou Transportation Bureau, Hangzhou Land-use Management Bureau, and the Hangzhou Water and Forestry Conservancy Bureau (WLMC, 2005). They were the key actors in charge of the planning, management and evaluation of all sub-projects in the West Lake Protection Project.

A few head office actors, led by WLMC, were of the opinion that the new Hubin Street should be designed as a high-class and 'modern' shopping street. Some other actors, however, such as the Environmental Protection Bureau, supported the idea of retaining 'traditional' stores and developing the street with a 'traditional' flavour. The tourism experts involved in this project also supported this focus on 'traditional' shops. Those powerful actors had several meetings and discussions to solve this problem, but finally most head office actors agreed with the WLMC's preference to design the street with a 'modern' theme.

The WLMC disagreed with keeping the traditional stores because previously they had been unsuccessful businesses. This of course reduced their potential to pay business tax to the government. The WLMC suggested international, high-class fashion shops in the street so that they could raise higher business taxes, although they also saw this as yielding more tourist expenditure. This indicated that WLMC's first priority in this case was economic rather than socio-cultural. Around this social interface, a clear economic discourse was expressed by the WLMC, but there were also some environmental discourses (e.g. as expressed by the Environmental Protection Bureau), and some social discourses (e.g. as expressed by some tourism experts). As one tourism expert said: *"Since these traditional stores have had unprofitable businesses, we have a responsibility to help them so that their traditional activities could be retained for society"* (Interview, 19.04.2006). Although the tourism experts and Environmental Protection Bureau gave more discursive prominence to sustainable development, the WLMC's more economic focus won the day in terms of actual decision-making.

This case also concerned differing interests in, and views about, 'tradition' and 'modernity'. The

related knowledge frameworks reflected the strong belief in modernity in Hangzhou, with many people being more interested in the 'modern' rather than in 'tradition'. The Director of the WLMC said: *"The 'modern' theme is suitable for the image of Hangzhou at this moment. Hangzhou now has very rapid economic development. You can see the city is very 'modern' at this moment. We need to connect to the international market and standards"* (Interview, 18.04.2006). Although the decision to develop a 'modern' shopping street reflected commercialism rather than Western modernity, it also indicated that commercialism was now considered as part of Chinese modernity and was accepted by most Chinese people. This research shows that most interviewees were very satisfied with the results of this project, including the local community residents who lived there. Generally they loved the improved living environment and the ambience of a Western style shopping street, seemingly accepting the change to commercialism. Indeed, commercialism is widely considered to be part of the city's culture, and this is generally accepted by people in the city.

For most of the social interfaces evaluated in this study that involved the key tourism organizations (the HTC and WLMC), the broad knowledge framework gave priority to commercialism and economic profits. In the Leifeng Pagoda Project, for example, despite the different opinions expressed by local communities in the media, such as in the *'Hangzhou Daily'* and *'City Express'* newspapers, the HTC and WLMC together with the tourism experts put forwarded a 'modern' model for the new pagoda. The Deputy Chairman of Hangzhou's Tourism Committee (Interview, 27.12.2004) asserted that the 'modern' design was suitable for the current 'modern and fashionable city image' of Hangzhou, while another Tourism Committee official (Interview, 23.12.2004) expressed his satisfaction with this project due to the 'increased number of tourists attracted after it opened' and due to the resulting 'improved tourism image' for Hangzhou. This clearly being because economic benefits were a key objective for the lead actors involved in the project.

Nevertheless, while the HTC and WLMC had a very strong economic focus, the actors involved in these organizations also expressed views conveying social and environmental discourses. The West Lake Protection Project itself, for example, was explained through environmental and sustainable development discourses right from the beginning. However, after closer examination

of the related decision-making processes, an economic discourse did clearly play a stronger influence on the decision-making. More generally, the HTC and WLMC were project leaders for new tourism projects, and their dominant position in decision-making meant that economic development retained a priority.

A third related focus for the differing knowledge frameworks was around the notion of sustainable development. The tourism experts and the City Planning Bureau often adopted a broad set of discourses associated with sustainable development. The City Planning Bureau held a more neutral position in the actor interactions around the West Lake Protection Project. As their chairman said: *"the main aim of the City's planning Bureau is to make sure that the tourism planning can be harmonized with the general city plans"*, and it is to ensure the city adopts a *"sustainable development track"* (Interview, 05.01.2005). However, the city's Planning Bureau did not have much involvement in the actor interactions, and therefore did not have many opportunities to express its preference for sustainable development.

The discourses of the tourism experts often privileged 'scientific' language and expressions when they advocated sustainable tourism. One could argue that this language of science helped them to sustain their power in the planning processes. Their power more generally was based on their professional knowledge. However, a closer examination of the views of these interviewees indicated that commercialism was often a key knowledge framework behind their views on sustainable development and tourism. In the Leifeng Pagoda project, for example, the major tourism consultants supported using the 'modern' design for the pagoda, arguing that the 'modern' design had infrastructure and materials of a better quality, and thus it would 'last a very long time' and it would 'protect the cultural relics under the pagoda' (Interview, 16.01.2005). However, without a fuller consultation with the community to identify their own concerns this could not be a sustainable approach.

In the Meijia Wu Tea Area Project, the tourism experts again showed their preference for discourses of commercialism, despite their advocacy of sustainable development. On the one hand, they proposed that the old village houses should be refurbished in order to *"sustain these old buildings"* (Interview, 16.01.2005) and *"make the village more harmonized with the*

surrounding environment” (Interview, 19.04.2006). But, on the other hand, they also suggested that the village houses alongside the main road should all change into teahouse businesses, because *“tourism can then directly benefit the local villagers”* (Interview, 16.01.2005). They argued that the redevelopment of Meijia Wu would displace some of the tourism pressures on West Lake, and that it would bring additional business from the teahouse businesses. In effect, the ideas about ‘sustaining the old buildings’ began to change into a focus on modern infrastructure for commercialism. The project leader (WLMC) and most of the head office actors undoubtedly supported these ideas because they coincided with their own preferences for economic and commercialised development.

The case of Meijia Wu shows how the macro environment influenced the actors’ knowledge frameworks and decisions, with commercialism and modernism being widely held priorities for the people in Hangzhou. As the tourism experts were often the only non-government actors involved in key tourism decision-making processes, they were relatively more influential than other private sector actors. The tourism experts also had more opportunities to influence the discussions, or to perform their power. The tourism experts’ power was actually hugely influenced by Confucianism philosophies, again a feature of the macro environment. Since Confucian times, scholars have been highly respected and regarded in society (Dong, 2001). In traditional Chinese society there is an almost unquestioning acceptance that scholars are virtuous, and thus the tourism experts’ knowledge and related knowledge frameworks had much influence.

The fourth knowledge framework in the WLPP case concerns environmental protection. Several government departments, such as the Environmental Protection Bureau, Land Use Management Bureau and Forestry and Water Conservancy Bureau, expressed ideas around this knowledge framework. These three government departments often used environmental discourses to highlight their interest in environment protection. For example, in the Meijia Wu Tea Area Project the Environmental Protection Bureau was the actor which opposed the car park plan. An official from this Bureau argued that the car parks within the village would cause much air and noise pollution (Interview, 10.04.2006). This organization’s views did not prevail, however, because the project leader and tourism consultants considered the car parks were necessary for

the area's tourism development. The main tourism organizations and Mayor were the key tourism decision makers and other government departments were assumed to work more as their supporters rather than as opponents. This shortened the decision-making process, but it also reflected how power was centralized.

However, the environmental protection discourses were not totally overlooked by the WLPP. Since the WLPP's original aim was to improve the West Lake environment, the environmental knowledge framework was also used and considered by the project leaders. With the New Lakeside project, those actors advocating environmental concern focused on changing the lakeside street into being pedestrian only, and by blocking all traffic from the lakeside. These proposals were agreed by the HTC and WLMC and were soon implemented. This indicates that, although the HTC and WLMC had a very strong economic focus, they were still concerned about a broad notion of environment protection and even sustainability. Thus, the HTC and WLMC were not solely focused on an economic knowledge framework.

The fifth knowledge framework related to the 'quality of the living environment'. Local communities tended to put forward this knowledge framework. These communities included city centre citizens and also villagers who were concerned about their living environment, including the natural, cultural and economic environments. As one tourism expert noted, people in the local communities would complain only when *"the projects influenced their living environment, such as due to a shortage of electricity, blocked pipes, construction noise or even asking them to relocate and change their living environment"* (Interview, 15.04.2006). They were greatly affected by the tourism policy-making processes because their living environments were being changed. For example, most of the community people liked the new Hubin street and surrounding environment because *"the environment looks neat and pleasant"* (Interview, 21.04.2006) and because there was *"less air and noise pollutions from traffic"* (Interview, 23.04.2006). Besides concerns about the natural living environment, the local communities sometimes also commented on cultural and social issues related to their quality of life. With the Leifeng Pagoda Project, for instance, most residents supported the traditional design of the pagoda because they considered that *"the traditional model represented the culture of the pagoda, and it could pass that culture to the next generation"* (Interview, 22.04.2006).

Local community members also expressed opinions about economic issues within this knowledge framework of the quality of the living environment. They were sometimes very concerned about whether the tourism projects would change their economic environment, such as their employment, businesses, or more indirect economic prospects. Compared to the citizens in the city centre, the villagers had a stronger focus on the economy in their concerns about the quality of the living environment. In the Meijia Wu Tea Area Project the villagers were generally quite happy about the change to running teahouse businesses and about the refurbishment of their houses, because *“the project provided large amounts of income for the villagers through house renting and teahouse businesses”* (Daily Business, 2004). As one villager said: *“We don’t need to pay for the refurbishment. I like the new look of our house. ... Our family has also earned a lot from renting out teahouse businesses to other businessmen from the city”* (Interview, 25.04.2006). Again these discourses suggest the strong influence of Chinese modernism, presented here as commercialism.

As discussed earlier, the communities were the weakest political actors in Hangzhou’s policy-making processes. However, within these community groups, the power of citizens in the city centre and the villagers were at different levels. The villagers seemed to have greater power than the city centre residents, probably because the villagers had more power through their possession of land. In China villagers usually own their own land, while urban residents generally do not (The State Council, 2004a). By owning land the villagers had clear rights to stay in their homes and they have greater power to fight for their rights. Land represents their power.

With the city centre Leifeng Pagoda and New Lakeside Projects, the citizens only had significant disagreements with policies when they were clearly not satisfied with specific aspects of the project. However, with the more rural Meijia Wu Tea Area Project, some villagers engaged in physical violence and other conflict with the construction workers because they refused to move from their living environment. One reason that they could be more aggressive to get additional compensation from the government was because they had greater power based on land possession than residents in the city centre. Because of this greater power, the villagers

also complained more to the government than did the urban citizens.

The study has shown in such ways that the micro-level conceptual framework helped to understand Hangzhou's detailed tourism policy-making processes, such as the actor interactions and the actor enrolment around projects. At the micro-level, it also helped to identify different discourses and knowledge frameworks related to the West Lake Protection Project, as well as the power configurations among the different actors in the tourism policy network. The discussion next explains how the study explored the general policy networks and their relational dynamics, this being focused more at the meso-level conceptual frameworks.

10.5 Mapping the actors and networks around Hangzhou's tourism policy-making processes

This section explores key patterns in the actors' interactions related to tourism policy networks. The benefit of applying both an actor-oriented approach and policy-network theory is that this helps to explore the detailed actor interactions involved in the tourism policy-making. A first step is to map out the network structures among the actors. In this study, the relational maps among actors are called a network. The difference between a network and a map is that a network describes flexible and changing social relations, while maps describe fixed and unchanging relations at one moment in time. Networks are more suitable to explain social actions as they are caused by complicated and dynamic actor interactions. The application of such ideas in this study revealed three key features of Hangzhou's tourism policy networks: the central policy community, the dynamic interactions among regular members, and their connections to the irregular members at the network periphery.

10.5.1 The policy community: the more powerful actors in Hangzhou's tourism policy networks

The study sought to identify the power centre within Hangzhou's tourism policy-making networks, which was called the 'policy community'. In Rhodes' (1999) typology, he defined the policy community as a group of actors with stable relationships, a highly restrictive membership, vertical interdependence, and with this group being somewhat insulated from other networks. In Hangzhou's tourism policy-making, the policy community actors included the Zhejiang

Provincial Congress, Hangzhou Municipal Congress, the Mayor of Hangzhou Government, Hangzhou's Legislative Office, the Hangzhou Tourism Committee, the West Lake Scenic District Management Committee, and the tourism experts.

Policy-making processes in Hangzhou are still under the system of the Chinese Congresses and of the Communist Party, which means that all policies are drafted by the government and then approved by the Municipal Congress and then the Provincial Congress. Some local rules or standards are part of the policies, but those do not need to be approved through the Congress system. The Mayor is the final decision-maker. All the policy drafts made by government departments have first to be evaluated by the Legislative Office before they are handed over to the Mayor or the Congress system. The HTC and WLMC were the two major organizations that drafted tourism-related policies.

The policy drafting process usually involved consultation with tourism experts, and the drafts were then evaluated by the Legislative Office. If the policy was stipulated as a rule or standard it needed the approval from the Mayor, but if the policy was stipulated as a more substantial regulation it needed approvals from not only the Mayor, but also from the Municipal and Provincial Congresses. These relations indicate that they are the key decision-makers for tourism policy-making, and that they form a highly restricted membership. Their positions were irreplaceable and vital, and the relationships were both stable and fixed. There was clearly a consistency in the policy community actors in the case of both Hangzhou's overall tourism governance and in the more specific West Lake Protection Project.

For the three sub-projects in the West Lake Protection Project and for the overall tourism governance in Hangzhou, it was found that they all involved the same policy community actors (the Zhejiang Provincial Congress, the Hangzhou Municipal Congress, the Mayor of Hangzhou Government, the Hangzhou Legislative Office, HTC, WLMC and the tourism experts). In the WLPP, the key decision makers included these seven actors and also other WLPP head office actors. The sub-projects too had some different key players who were involved. For example, for the Leifeng Pagoda Project, the Zhejiang Home Affairs Security Office was a key player because it was both a project leader and also a major investor. And in the New Lakeside and

Meijia Wu Projects, other WLPP head office actors also played important roles in decision-making. Thus it seems that the key players could be changed somewhat based on different tourism projects, although the positions and responsibilities of the seven key actors never changed. This clearly suggests that the seven actors and their relations met the requirements of being a policy community.

Each will be considered briefly. The WLMC was the head of the WLPP head office, with the HTC working more like the key planner. The HTC and WLMC worked on all the tourism projects relating to West Lake. HTC had the overall plan for the lake area, and it was responsible for the overall project evaluation, while the WLMC worked for this plan and put the plan into practice. Thus they had very close relationships. The WLPP, HTC and WLMC stand out together as having greater influence than the other head office actors. The other actors inevitably agreed with their decisions, and even when they had different opinions, the final decision was still made according to the WLMC's and HTC's suggestions. The position of the Legislative Office, the Mayor, and the Municipal and Provincial Congresses could never be changed, although they did not often attend meetings or have discussions with other key actors. Probably this was because tourism policies could not be implemented unless they were approved by these actors, and thus they had almost absolute power. The tourism experts were the only non-government sector group of actors in the policy community. In different projects there were different tourism experts involved, although their responsibilities and roles were the same. In the WLPP the tourism experts also influenced the decisions of all the head office actors.

Overall, then, that was a consistency in the policy community actors between the different tourism projects in Hangzhou. It is also evident that this policy community was the centre of influence and power in Hangzhou's tourism policy networks. It was mentioned earlier that the tourism organizations (HTC and WLMC) were always the major project leaders. These tourism organizations were also within the tourism policy community. The project leaders were always powerful players in the decision-making and implementation processes.

10.5.2 Dynamics among the regular and irregular members of Hangzhou's tourism policy networks

Hangzhou's tourism policy networks are complicated, although it was possible to define the power centre. However, it is difficult to explain the other relevant actors because they kept changing based on the different projects. Therefore, the analysis only sought to evaluate the overall structure of the tourism policy networks, and not every single actor. The study defines regular and irregular members in these policy networks, which helps to clarify the general structure and dynamics. Put simply, the regular members here actors who were regularly involved in the city's tourism policy-making; while the irregular members were actors who were seldom involved.

The majority of regular members came from the public sector (the government), such as the City Planning Bureau, Construction Committee, Land Use Management Bureau, and Transportation Bureau. These government departments all had tourism-related work and they had closer relations with the HTC and WLMC than did others. There were also several private sector actors who were regular members: the media, scenic district management companies, investors, and landscape design institutes. The role of the media in China is more as an 'official' channel for disseminating information on state intervention, rather than as a more neutral informational and debating platform. Some of Hangzhou's scenic districts have been privatised and are run by management companies, and these companies had regular involvements in projects related to their scenic districts. The landscape design institutes worked regularly for the HTC and WLMC on tourism projects. Although both the HTC and WLMC had their own subordinate design institutes, most projects used competitive bidding to attract better designs, including from the private sector. The investors had more involvement and higher power than the other private sector regular members. As mentioned before, financial cooperation between private sector actors and the government is very popular in Hangzhou, with more government projects enrolling private investors to secure their additional financial resources. With the inducement of their 'money', the investors could then join some of the government meetings and discussions during the tourism policy-making processes.

The irregular members of the tourism policy networks were also the peripheral actors. They

were a mixture of both public and private sector actors. But all of these actors were less tourism-related, such as the Quality Control Bureau, Education Bureau, Letter and Complaints Office, Consumers Association, hotel and travel agency association, and upper-level governments.

10.5.3 Extent of diversity and decentralization in Hangzhou's tourism policy networks

One benefit of the use of policy network theory was that it helped to evaluate the extent of diversity and decentralization in Hangzhou's tourism policy networks. In fact it was found that extent of decentralization in Hangzhou was still very limited. First, there was still a highly centralized and consistent power centre. Within the power centre, except for the tourism experts, all actors came from the higher levels of government and Congress. All tourism policies had to be evaluated by the Legislative Office, and approved by the Mayor and Congresses. Thus the decision-making was highly controlled by the head of the government and politicians. The limitation of Hangzhou's decentralization was also seen in the regular members of the tourism policy networks. The majority of these come from government departments, indicating that the entry of private sector actors was restricted. The most feasible point of entry for private sector actors was through their expert knowledge or their money. For example, the design institutes were regular members because they had professional design skills, and the investors could even take part in decision-making meetings because they provided vital funding. This shows that the link between the government and the private sector was still fairly weak. Relations between the government and private sector were mostly based on financial cooperation.

While the extent of decentralization is limited in Hangzhou, it was also revealed how decentralization was increasing, and its potential for further development was discussed. With the financial cooperation between the government and the private sector, Hangzhou at least has begun to step out from its former extensive centralization. Among the irregular members, it was noticed that some associations, such as hotel and travel associations, were gradually becoming known and emphasized by the other actors. There is potential opportunity that these associations may have more involvements in the future. Some features of decentralization could also be found in governmental activities, such as the public bidding method to win opportunities of cooperating (financial investment, designs or plans) in governmental projects, and through the

public voting process to get community residents to select between competing tourism policies or options. Therefore, although limited by continuities in the power centre, a decentralized process is becoming evident in Hangzhou and it looks set to continue.

10.5.4 Dialectical relations between the network structures and the macro-environment

As discussed before, decentralization in Hangzhou is influenced by the consequences of political, socio-cultural, and economic changes at the macro-scale. In the political domain, the decision to decentralize has been made by China's central government and it reaches down to the local level. The decentralized political reforms involve both vertical and horizontal decentralization in the country's public administration. Under the vertical decentralized reforms, municipal governments in provincial capitals became the first beneficiaries. Thus, Hangzhou, as the capital city of Zhejiang Province, was allowed to draft its own local policies. The horizontal decentralized decisions have also influenced the extent of decentralization inside Hangzhou's government, with government departments now run in some similar ways to private corporations. Each department has gained more authority from the government and it works more for its own priorities. Each is also now responsible for its own profit and loss.

However, in China's political environment the public administration is still also highly controlled by the Congress system. Even though municipal government has the authority to draft local policies, the drafts have to be approved by municipal and provincial Congresses. The way in which politicians in the Congresses are elected means that decision-making by the Congresses is very centralized and controlled by central government politicians. This political environment clearly limits the development of decentralization in Hangzhou.

In the socio-cultural domain, capitalist ideology from Western countries has influenced the Chinese people to have more open minds, and it has encouraged people to be more aggressive to fight for their own interests, even in their encounters with government. This has increased people's interest in being more involved in government activities. However, traditional Chinese ideology, such as of Confucianism, is still very influential. This means that Chinese people are often unwilling to get involved in government projects, and they tend often simply to agree with the powerful government officials so as to avoid conflicts. These socio-cultural features have

further limited decentralization. Economic development in Hangzhou has also encouraged people to be more focused on economic benefits. One implication is that people in Hangzhou care more about economic activities than political activities. Another is that some investors in Hangzhou have started to search for new business opportunities other than government projects. These two features have further restricted past decentralization and also the potential for more decentralization.

The study has shown various patterns in the interactions among actors at the micro-level that are characteristic of broad relational structures. Meanwhile, the macro-environment influenced both the actors and the relational structures around tourism policy-making. The tourism policy-making process was the result of ongoing interactions between the external environment, the network structures, and actor interactions. The driving forces for the tourism policy-making process came simultaneously from both external and internal sources, with this being a fully dialectical relationship.

10.6 Conclusion

This chapter has explained the key empirical findings of this research, in particular it summarized the actors' interactions and the tourism policy networks in Hangzhou and for the West Lake Protection Project. It highlighted the importance of China's shifting socio-economic and political contexts, including the significance of changes in views about cultural tradition in the macro-environment that could affect actors' interactions and their structural relationships. It seems that political stability in China is influenced by the conception of authority as "deriving ultimately from a single, exceedingly centralized source on high" (Shue 2008:141), as seen in the centralized power of the government decision makers in Hangzhou's tourism policy community. However, even under such a highly restricted political structure, there has been a gradual decentralization in China that has allowed some more agency for various actors in other arenas. This has been due to the reforms in China that have sought to 'modernize' the country through a more market-oriented economy, but still within the ideological frameworks and socialist system led by the Communist Party. It has been shown that in this context actors have used their discourses, knowledge frameworks and power to achieve their aims in the tourism policy-making processes. The tourism policy-making processes are affected by both pressures from the broad external contexts and the

struggles of the actors. These findings signify the duality between agency and structure in the contexts of a socialist country. Although most theoretical interpretations of 'agency-structure' dialectics have been developed in relation to capitalist societies, these may still have relevance in a Communist Party-led socialist political system.

Chapter 11

Conceptual Conclusions

11.1 Introduction

This study employed policy network theory (Rhodes, 1999) and an actor-oriented approach (Long, 2001) in order to explore the actors and relational networks within tourism policy-making processes. Policy network theory was regarded as a promising approach to examine the dynamics of policy-making processes. The study reviewed the policy-making process as clusters of network structures that reflect a clear relational map characterized by differential power and by different values and interests. Rhodes' (1999) policy network typology helped to explain the structure and centrality in the pattern of governance. However, it was argued that policy network theory could only fully explain the structural level of policy-making processes, and that it needs to be accompanied by an actor-oriented approach to reach the actor level and to explain actor interactions during the policy-making processes. Applying an actor-oriented approach allows an understanding of the policy-making process as a process of social interactions among social actors.

Thus, by combining policy network theory and an actor-oriented approach the study examined the policy-making process as one of active social interactions among social actors, with these social relations existing within the network structures. The research applied this combined approach to the tourism industry to explain the dynamics of tourism policy-making processes. There is very little existing research in the tourism field using a similar combined approach. However, some existing research, such as by Bramwell (2006), and by Bramwell and Meyer (2007), has suggested the significance of using both policy network theory and an actor-oriented approach.

A major overall aim of this study was to develop conceptual frameworks that combined these approaches and that could be used to study tourism policy-making processes in developing countries. The second overall aim was to assess the value of these conceptual frameworks in the specific case of the 'West Lake Protection Project' at Hangzhou in China. Hangzhou was chosen

as the case study because it is seemed to be at the vanguard of political decentralization in China and because it has a mature tourism industry. It provided the opportunity to look at the extent to which the conceptual framework has explanatory value when applied here, and to look at decentralization and other issues that may eventually affect other places in China and in other developing countries, which relates to the third aim of the research.

To reach the above aims, five more specific objectives were developed. The first such objective was to critically evaluate literature on tourism and policy networks, on an actor-oriented perspective to social research, and on development in China. The results were presented in Chapters Two and Three. Chapter Two examined literature on policy-making, governance, policy network theory, an actor-oriented approach and the agency-structure duality within a dialectical approach. Chapter Three looked at the context of contemporary China, including the country's tourism development, the influence of Chinese philosophy on society, and China's political background, which helped to gain a better understanding of the actors' behaviour in tourism policy-making in the case study. For the study's second objective, various conceptual frameworks were developed in Chapter Four in relation to policy network theory and an actor-oriented approach. Chapter Five, as the methodology chapter, provided links between the study's theoretical basis and the practical applications in later chapters. The study then applied the conceptual frameworks to Hangzhou in order to examine the tourism policy-making dynamics (Chapters Six, Seven and Eight), this relating to the third objective. Fourth, a further case study of West Lake Protection Project was examined in Chapter Nine so as to assess the actor interactions and decision-making around this project. For all the case studies the actors' discourses, knowledge frameworks, and the patterns of their power configurations were evaluated. Chapter Ten provided a summary of the application of the conceptual frameworks to Hangzhou and to the West Lake Protection Project. Finally, the fifth objective is met in this chapter, which assesses the value of the conceptual frameworks for the research and for wider applications in other contexts.

The study involved two periods of fieldwork and a series of interviews with various actors related to tourism policy-making processes in Hangzhou. It identified actors involved in Hangzhou's tourism policy-making processes, clarified their interactions, explained their

interests and different levels of power, and it also evaluated the dynamics of the whole process. To apply the conceptual frameworks in relation to one tourism policy, the 'West Lake Protection Project' was selected as the largest and most important recent tourism project in Hangzhou.

The previous chapter reviewed key empirical findings from the study and it also evaluated the value of the conceptual frameworks through their practical application. This final chapter returns to the assessment of the value and strength of the research's conceptual frameworks. It also discusses their possible contributions for other destinations and for other areas of social science research. Another intention of this last chapter is to draw out some methodological limitations in the research, and to explain how the research tried to avoid or reduce those limitations.

11.2 Contributions of the conceptual framework and strengths of the study

The current section reviews the contributions of the conceptual frameworks, which also represent some of the study's key strengths. Some other strengths of the study are also discussed later in this section. The conceptual frameworks have helped in evaluating the dynamics of policy development in Hangzhou and they have potential value in other contexts. Some key features of the frameworks that might interest other researchers are now outlined. First, the frameworks see development as resulting from the collective interactions of social environment, social relations, and social actors. Through social activities, the actors interact with each other to build their social relations and to fit into their changing social environment. Changes in their relations and activities are also part of the social environment. Therefore, development is an ongoing process and consequence of both internal social activities and external environmental influences. The conceptual frameworks in this study divide social development into three levels: the micro-level, the meso- or structural level and the macro-environment level. Identifying these levels makes it easier to analyse the consequences of development.

The micro-level conceptual framework helps to analyse the basic units within social development: social actors and their activity. It is here that actors interact with each other and it is here that the main aims of having social activity emerge. At this level there are important discourses, knowledge frameworks, and power configurations, and these embody some of the

reasons for social development. The meso-level conceptual framework helps to evaluate the structure of social relations among actors, and the macro-level refers to the wider external environment, the elements in that environment, and how the external environment influences social activities.

There are existing studies that assess these three dynamics separately, such as the application of policy network theory (Rhodes, 1999; Stokowski, 1994; Smith, 1999; Pavlovich, 2003a), and of actor-oriented theory (Long, 2001; Verbole, 2000, 2003). Generally, there is much more research on the wider social environment. One major contribution of the study's conceptual frameworks is that they bridge the dualism of these three different levels and bring them together to explain the duality between structure and agency. The conceptual frameworks indicate that these three levels are not fragmented, rather they are interwoven together. While the actors are the entities of social development, they are influenced by the social environment, which leads them into social interactions. Their social activities lead to changes in social relations, which at the same time are part of the social environment. It means that these three levels have dialectical relations with each other.

The dialectical relations among these three levels show the application of Giddens' theory of the structure and agency duality. As Giddens insists, structures shape people's social actions, but it is also people's actions that constitute structures. Structure and agency are far from being opposites, as in fact they support each other. However, such 'dual' relationships between structure and agency are not widely applied in the social sciences. Especially in social policy research, structures tend often to be over-stressed. The social policy arena is often viewed as bureaucratic, structural and functional. The power relations in the social policy system are often seen as the key factors influencing policy outcomes. However, such approaches neglect the ability of actors in the policy making process actively to construct and alter the power relations and to influence the decision making. In addition, even when the duality of structure and agency has been discussed, the application of this idea is usually weak, fragmentary and inconsistent. This study makes a new contribution by not only creating conceptual frameworks that focus on agency and structure, but also by applying this duality in a sustained manner in a highly detailed case study.

The conceptual frameworks integrate key concepts from both policy network theory and an actor-oriented approach, in order to explore the structure and agency duality. The idea of policy community was particularly helpful for indicating the power centre of policy-making processes, and the concepts of discourses, knowledge frameworks and power configurations helped to explain how actors interact with each other and construct social policy networks. The conceptual frameworks stressed the loose structure and dialectical relations among the three levels (micro, meso and macro), in order to make the application easier and practical for a wider range of contexts.

The second contribution of the conceptual frameworks is that it helps the researcher to organize their social research in a logical manner, and also to ask revealing questions. The application of network and policy network theory connects public policies with their strategic and institutionalised context: the network of public, semi-public, and private actors participating in certain policy fields (Kickert, Klijn, and Koppenjan 1997:1). Just like a tourist's travel map, applying policy network theory can help to map the different actors according to their influence and power in social development and according to the relations among them.

The mapping based on the conceptual framework helps in describing and organizing the mass of data into groups. For example, with tourism policy-making the mapping function can assist to locate various actors into policy community actors, regular members, and irregular members, with the policy community actors being most powerful and the irregular members usually the least powerful in the policy-making. The conceptual framework thus can help to allocate data into different groups, also it can help to understand more complex actor interactions within an open and dynamic approach.

However, there is a danger that the idea of networks and policy network theory could become a mechanistic approach, when social development is actually an ongoing process. The position of different actors and their relations are constantly changing, and thus too much emphasis on policy network theory might discourage a full understanding of social development. In the approach adopted here, however, the use of an actor-oriented approach and consideration of the

external environment are seen as appropriate responses to this problem.

A third useful contribution of this conceptual framework is to provide a clear view of power relations in social development. The tourism policy-making process is all about power, and the conceptual framework assists by focusing on the power of actors and where that power lies in the policy-making process. The emphasis on the micro-level shows how the power configurations of different actors arise from their interactions. Power emerges from the tensions between actors, and it is mediated and realized in actor-specific practice (Long, 2001). From the application of the conceptual framework, it also indicates that power arises both from social relationships, and from accumulated “specific patterns of resource distribution and competition” (Bramwell and Meyer, 2007:768), such as those based on money, authority, land possession, and professional knowledge. It is argued that power is not simply ‘possessed’, but it is performed.

The conceptual framework helps in evaluating not only actors’ power, but it also indicates the centre of power for the wider network of social relations. It indicated, for example, that actors in the ‘policy community’ were the most powerful players and key decision makers in the particular social development.

The conceptual framework also indicated some of the current conflicts and compromises in Chinese society, as reflected in tourism governance relations in the city of Hangzhou, and it is hoped that this analysis may contribute to wider work in the social sciences about China. It could provide a wider understanding of issues around Chinese society, Chinese people's philosophy, and the ongoing changes in China. The study has contributed to all of these issues in both the literature review and in the application of the study’s macro-level framework.

The macro-level framework divides the environment into four general domains: the political, environmental, economic, and socio-cultural. The Chinese political environment is a mixture of Chinese capitalism, itself influenced by Western capitalism, and of Chinese socialism. Western and Chinese capitalism has influenced Chinese society through its encouragement to societal modernity, decentralization of governance, more private sector involvement in political activities, and even to changes in Chinese people's values. Capitalism has caused unbalanced

regional development in China, and enhanced the social inequalities among Chinese people, despite traditional socialism denying these are permanent features (Parekh, 1976). One key political conflict in China is that between Chinese and Western capitalism and traditional socialism. Chinese socialism perhaps helps to resolve these contradictions as it combines certain elements of capitalism with socialism. Chinese socialism insists on the basic idea of traditional socialism, which aims eventually to secure equality for everybody in both the political and economic spheres. Based on that final objective, it allows for social differentiations during its earlier development stages.

Several conflicts occur in the socio-cultural environment due to the tensions between traditional Confucianism and modernism. Traditional Confucianism encourages people to accept routine, to be more sensitive, and to avoid conflicts with others, while modernism encourages them to be more assertive in struggling for their own interests, and to be more open-minded. Both of these two philosophies have had a great impact on Chinese people, and they reconcile the tensions and conflicts between them.

In China today, there is also a notable conflict between economic development and environmental protection, including in the tourism industry, as this study has shown. While development has caused environmental problems, without economic growth better environmental protection in China is unlikely. Some people question which should be given priority: development or protection? Yet this is too simple for China today. Although most of China's projects have economic development as their primary aim, strong advocates of environment protection are emerging in the research and academic communities. Awareness of the importance of environment protection is getting stronger, and it might gain status a little nearer to economic development in the near future.

The loose conceptual frameworks and their application to China also indicate another strength of the study, which arises from the cultural challenges of using concepts originating in the West within research on the East. The structure and agency theories were developed and are mainly used in the western world. Consequently, this study contributes to research by showing how the sensitive use of western theories in a socialist country in the East can provide valuable, context

dependent insights. But this depends on ensuring that the theory is broad, quite loose and also flexible, so that it can accommodate major socio-economic and cultural differences. This applies to the concepts used in this study, where rigid, overly structural or context-specific ideas were avoided.

Much previous research on development has set up a strong distinction between the western world and the developing world. Thus, the developing world can be depicted as typified by corrupt and inefficient practices, while the West is seen as rational and as based on more legitimate and efficient bureaucratic principles (Mitchell, 1998:144). Based on this distinction and the idea of western rationality, the sociological theory of modernization suggests that progress means replicating the rationalization of the West, and that development means copying the accomplishments of the West (Peet and Hartwick, 1999:85). However, this thinking is increasingly criticized as teleological and allowing for only a limited and deficient explication of purposive human action in different, highly specific contexts (Peet and Hartwick, 1999:87). There is a growing assertion that not only is the East quite distinct, but that it can chase its own distinctive paths to development, and that these will likely vary from place to place. There may be distinctive paths, for example, for the different socialist countries in the East. This present study indicates how in socialist China, modernization is clearly distinctive from the West. The study uses a western model, but it is broad and flexible, so that it embraces distinctive changes that are influenced by the specific societal actors, their changing social actions and the evolving wider societal environment. This societal environment in China is affected by both traditional Confucianism and communism, with these being evolving influences that are played out in a distinctive and emergent way. Development is not a universal and fixed-end process, rather it varies between different contexts and environments and it is affected by context-specific human agency. The environments affecting social development are diverse due to, for example, the substantial differences between developing countries.

The study showed that selected concepts derived from academic debate in the West do have considerable analytical value in the very different context of socialist China. This was because the conceptual frameworks used only very loose, flexible and dynamic concepts that are not specific to a particular socio-economic system or culture. In particular they make no

assumptions about the merits or importance of western rationalization or about the relative value of different economic systems and modes of governance. Instead, the conceptual frameworks allow a great deal of space for contextual differences in order to understand those different contexts and situations. This study thus contributes by providing concepts that are sufficiently flexible to allow for comparisons between the West and the East in social science research that respect their differences.

As a result, the potential transferability of the approaches developed for this study is another of its contributions. The conceptual frameworks are not limited only to their application in Hangzhou, as they could be applied in other places and contexts. Tourism policy-making processes comprise of different actors' interactions, networks of social relations, and macro-environment influences within all contexts. Thus, the conceptual frameworks, based on these three levels, could be applied to understand tourism policy making in many other situations. The approach may be appropriate for other developing countries, but it may also be valuable for studies based in Western countries. In Western countries, for example, decentralization is often further developed, and this means there is often a larger variety of actors, from the public, private and voluntary sectors, involved in tourism policy-making. In more developed countries the policy communities, the patterns of social interfaces, and the dynamics of tourism policy networks might be rather different from the case of Hangzhou. For instance, social interfaces may be characterized by higher levels of conflicts among different actors, and it might take longer for actors to resolve issues at the social interfaces because of the tensions among them. The policy communities in tourism policy networks may involve more private sector actors and their stability may be less than in this study of Hangzhou. Although the detailed application of the study's frameworks to Western countries may need some changes, the broad approach and concepts are likely still to be relevant. The proposed analytical sequence may also be valuable. This began with applying the macro-level framework to understand the macro-environment, then the micro-level framework was used to identify relevant actors, and then the relational structures and networks were examined using the meso-level framework. At the same time, because of the dialectic relations between these three levels, this sequence may change according to the different conditions that may be found.

The proposed conceptual frameworks may also represent a useful approach in other areas of social science, not just in tourism studies. The conceptual framework is based on two groups of theories: an actor-oriented approach and policy network theory, and both are derived from work in the general social sciences. They could be used in other research fields to study decision-making processes. A fundamental basis of the conceptual framework is that social development emerges due to the dialectic of both external forces in the environment and internal actor interactions. This basis is not just relevant for tourism, as it has relevance for all social activities.

The empirical findings from the Hangzhou case study also have some transferability, and may have relevance for other cities in China, and in some other developing countries. Hangzhou has experienced quite significant decentralization in its tourism governance. In this it is been among the vanguard cities in China and its experiences may become more widespread. Like other major Chinese cities it has been substantially influenced by Western and Chinese capitalism, Chinese communism, and traditional Confucianism. And many other cities in China have also been boosted by rapid development and a maturing tourism industry. Some of these characteristics are relevant not just to other cities within China, but also to cities in some other developing countries, such as in India and Turkey.

The study has also a number of methodological strengths. The role of the researcher, for example, was crucial as the researcher acted as the bridge between the western theoretical concepts and the socialist context of China. This was greatly assisted by her being Chinese, having lived for many years in Hangzhou, and by her having studied for six years in the West. This allowed for much contextual sensitivity, but it also encouraged the use of the more 'external' critical lens of perspectives from the capitalist West. During the research, the pilot study was helpful in increasing the cultural sensitivity, as the interview questions were then tested on two knowledgeable actors for their validity, usefulness and appropriateness. Especially when the questions were translated from English to Chinese, the pilot interviews indicated whether the translations were suitable and accurate in Chinese contexts. Notable care was taken that the survey content would not be offensive or conflictual in the Chinese context. The researcher stressed her role as a research student during all the interviews in order to make the

interviewees feel comfortable with answering questions about policy and politics that could be sensitive topics in China.

In addition, the snowballing method of identifying interviewees was found to be very useful in the Chinese political context. The researcher interviewed the Chairman of the Hangzhou Tourism Committee in the first pilot study, and he provided many contacts from other government departments who were relevant to Hangzhou's tourism policy making. When the researcher contacted them, she always mentioned that their contacts were introduced by the HTC Chairman. Most government interviewees quickly accepted the interview invitations, and then talked quite openly during the interviews. This was partly because these government officials knew that a senior government official (the HTC Chairman) had already been interviewed, and that there would not be very sensitive issues in the interview. The importance of this method for approaching government officials was based on the researcher's accumulated experience of research work in China and in Hangzhou prior to starting her PhD. The substantial reading related to agency and structure before the fieldwork also helped the researcher to reflect on these western approaches before applying them in the Chinese context during the interviews. The researcher made personal notes after each interview, and applied agency-structure theory to understand the interview outcomes.

Finally, this study also brought some awareness for the researcher about future potential research directions. She now recognises some further gaps in tourism research on both policy and the duality of agency and structure. The conceptual frameworks could also be applied to other contexts, such as to different cities and countries, or to comparisons between the West and the East. The relational approach that was applied in the study could be further explored, so that some of the implications could be evaluated more fully. This study of China's contexts, such as its transitional economy, tensions between modernization and traditionalism, tensions between short-term profitability and long-term sustainability, and its macro-environment which is affected by Confucianism, communism and western capitalism, also led the researcher to an interest in exploring other aspects of tourism development in China.

11.3 Limitations of the research methodology

The study applied an actor-oriented approach, which focused on differentiations and interactions among various actors, and the in-depth interviews considerably assisted in understanding these features. Through face-to-face interviews, the researcher gained vital, detailed insights into actors' thoughts and behaviours, and this survey technique helped the actors to feel more comfortable in talking openly. It was especially helpful in this study because the study sought to gain an understanding of people's feelings about specific social interfaces. The importance of traditional Confucianism in China means that people are reluctant to talk much about their interactions and conflicts, especially around government activities. The face-to-face, in-depth interview, and a clear explanation of the research purpose in advance, did help to encourage people to be reasonably frank in these 'conversations'.

The interview schedule helped the actors to talk openly, but it also assisted in retaining relevant information by bringing the interviewees gently back to relevant topics. The combination of research techniques and sources helped to apply the conceptual framework well to the study, especially in relation to the micro-level framework. However, there are also some less successful features of the research methods used in the study. First, there were numerous interviews with government officials, and tourism industry people, but there were probably too few with the tourism experts and especially with members of local communities. The views of tourism experts may well vary according to their different research areas and institutional backgrounds, and it would have been interesting to have explored this in more depth. And local communities are a special group of actors in the study. They represent vast numbers of people and individual people within them will have very different experiences and may well have diverse values and opinions. Unfortunately, these limitations restricted the number of local community members who were interviewed, and it is recognized this is an area where there is a need for much more research in the study area.

Another study limitation was that there were no interviews with tourists. Tourists are also actors in tourism policy networks because they are affected by the results of tourism policies. However, it is very difficult to sample tourists because of their large numbers, their mobility, and their different backgrounds. In addition, although tourists are actors within the tourism policy

networks, they are not very influential in tourism policy decision-making.

Another issue to note is that, while the way the interviews were organized helped the respondents to talk openly, they might not have talked as openly as they might because of the sensitivity of the topic. Some interviewees, especially the business people, might have been very careful when they were answering the questions. In China, people are always very reserved about talking about the government or politics. However, while the main aim of this study was to understand Hangzhou's tourism policy-making, this did not necessarily entail talking about sensitive political issues, and the interview questions did allow the respondents simply to explain the government's activities.

Finally, the research was based on two fieldwork phases and with two sets of interviews. After the first fieldwork it was found that many interview questions had focused on the overall network structure, the tourism policy-making processes and actor relational mapping. They had not provided an extensive and deeper view of the actors' own personal perspectives and thoughts, and further questions were needed in order to apply an actor-oriented approach more fully. Therefore, a second fieldwork stage was organized, with new interview questions focused more on understanding actor perspectives, their behaviours and their social interactions. This second fieldwork assisted greatly in the researcher's understanding of the actors' social and knowledge interfaces.

11.4 Conclusion

The study is the result of a four and half years and ongoing process that started in October 2003. The research combined an actor-oriented approach with policy network theory to develop its conceptual framework, and this was then applied to the tourism industry. These two approaches were derived from wider social science research, and they have been very seldom applied to the tourism field. This caused some difficulties in identifying related literature and other related case studies in order to establish the conceptual framework. In addition, there is also limited existing research on China's tourism policy-making. Fortunately, there is much published material on China's political system, its tourism development, and its public administration. This existing research was valuable in understanding the macro-environment of Hangzhou's

After the review of relevant literature and development of the conceptual framework, the researcher undertook two periods of fieldwork in Hangzhou. The interview schedules were designed according to the three levels in the study's conceptual frameworks so as to explore the actor perspectives, their social relations, the network structures, and also influences from the macro-environment. The final results addressed the original study aims and the conceptual framework was shown to be useful for this study. It was shown that the combined use of an actor-oriented approach and of policy network theory could be very effective and could have a wide application. The general conceptual frameworks could be suitable for applications in many other situations. The findings from the case study of Hangzhou could also help to understand tourism policy issues in other Chinese cities and also in other developing countries.

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1. BACKGROUND INFORMATION (for all the interviewees)

(Question 1-2 seeks to understand the background of the actor and to make sure that we find the right person)

1. In your organization/group, what is your position and what are your responsibilities?

2. What is your organization's main activities or responsibilities in society?

(Question 3-4 aims to find out whether they have other positions, to identify the network structure, and to help to understand their power)

3. Apart from this present position, do you have any other positions in any other organizations at the national, provincial or local level?

4. What are they? And what are your responsibilities in these

positions?

2. WORKING RELATIONSHIPS FOR SNOW-BALLING (For all the interviewees)

5. Which of your activities and responsibilities are related to public policy or public administration?

6. Which of your activities and responsibilities are related to public policy for tourism?

(Question 7 seeks to establish other related actors' name)

7. When you deal with tourism-related activities, with which organizations and individuals do you have contacts in order to carry out your job? (Please give the names of the people and their organizations)

(Question 8 aims to identify activities involving contacts between actors, and to further understand their relationships)

8. In relation to which activities do you have contacts with those

organizations and individuals?

3. ACTOR PERSPECTIVES ON TOURISM POLICY PROCESSES IN HANGZHOU

(Questions 9-11 are for all the interviewees)

(Questions 9-10 aim to understand tourism policy processes and general policy processes in Hangzhou)

9. Briefly, how do public policy-making processes work in Hangzhou?

10. Briefly, how do tourism policy-making processes work in Hangzhou?

11. Have you ever been involved in any tourism policy-making processes in Hangzhou?

If yes, answer questions 12-25 (14 questions in

total); If no, answer questions 26-34 (9 questions in total)

(Responsibilities)

12. What were your involvements and responsibilities in those tourism policy-making processes in Hangzhou?

(Linked actors' names)

13. With which organizations and individuals have you worked in the tourism policy-making processes in Hangzhou?

(Relationships and resources)

14. For each of those organizations and individuals, what kind of working relations have you had?

(Approaches)

15. For each of those organizations and individuals, how do you make contact with each other?

(Ties and frequency)

16. For each of those organizations and individuals, how often do you make contact with each other? (daily? occasionally? or do you contact them just when needed?)

(Questions 17 and 18 relate to resource mapping)

17. For each of those organizations and individuals, have you given them any help or assistance?

18. For each of those organizations and individuals, have they given you any help or assistance?

(Interests)

19. What goals or objectives do you or your organization have in relation to tourism policy-making processes in Hangzhou?

(Power and strength of ties)

20. Which organizations and individuals are most important for you in achieving those goals and objectives?

(Power)

21. In your opinion, which organization and individuals are most important in tourism policy-making processes in Hangzhou?

22. In your opinion, which organizations or individuals should be involved in the tourism policy-making processes in Hangzhou?

(Social interfaces)

23. Are there any difficulties for you to reach agreements with other actors during the tourism policy-making processes in Hangzhou?

(Social interfaces)

24. If yes, could you explain those difficulties and give some examples?

(Arenas)

25. In which places have you reached important agreements, faced important struggles, or identified important solutions in tourism policy-making processes?

[Questions only for respondents who answer 'no' to Question 11] (respondents who haven't been involved in any tourism policy-making processes in Hangzhou)

(To understand the actors' involvement in tourism policy-making)

26. Are you involved into any activities related to tourism policy-making in Hangzhou?

(Actors' perspectives on the pattern of involvement)

27. If yes, how are you involved? If no, do you think you should be involved in any tourism policy-making activities, and why?

(Actors' concerns about tourism policy issues in Hangzhou)

28. How interested are you in policies for tourism development in Hangzhou? Why?

29. Where do you hear about the tourism policy issues in Hangzhou?

30. Is it easy enough for you to hear about those tourism policy issues?

31. Do you think being more involved in tourism policy-making activities in Hangzhou would benefit you and your group? If yes, how? If no, why not?

(Potential actors in the networks)

32. In your opinion, which organizations or individuals should be involved in the tourism policy-making processes in Hangzhou?

(Power)

33. In your opinion, which organizations and individuals are most important in the tourism policy-making processes in Hangzhou?

34. Do you think your organization should be involved in the tourism policy-making processes in Hangzhou? Why?

4. ACTOR PERSPECTIVES ON ...

(Question 35 is for all the interviewees)

35. Have you been involved in ...?

(If yes, can answer Questions 36-52; if no, please go to question 53)

(Responsibilities)

36. What were your involvements and responsibilities in ...?

(Linked actors' names)

37. With which organizations and individuals have you worked in relation to ...?

(Relationships, resources)

38. For each of them, what kind of working relations have you had?

(Approaches)

39. For each of those organizations and individuals, how do you make contact with each other?

(Ties and frequency)

40. For each of those organizations and individuals, how often do you make contact with each other? (daily? occasionally? or do you contact them just when needed?)

(Questions 41 and 42 relate to resource mapping)

41. For each of those organizations and individuals, have you given

them any help or assistance?

42. For each of those organizations and individuals, have they given you any help or assistance?

(Interests)

43. What goals or objectives do you or your organization have in relation to ...?

(Power and strength of ties)

44. Which organizations and individuals are most important for you in achieving those goals and objectives?

(Power)

45. In your opinion, which organizations and individuals are most important in relation to ...?

46. In your opinion, which organizations or individuals should be involved in policy-making process in relation to this issue?

(Social interfaces)

47. Are there any difficulties for you to reach agreements with other actors in relation to ...?

(Social interfaces)

48. If yes, could you explain those difficulties and give some examples?

(Arenas)

49. In which places have you reached important agreements, faced important struggles, or identified important solutions in tourism policy-making processes?

(Other actors' social interfaces)

50. Are there any difficulties among the other actors in relation to getting agreements about ...?

51. If yes, could you explain them briefly?

(Satisfaction)

52. To what extent are you satisfied with the progress made in relation to ...?

5. GENERAL VIEWS ON TOURISM POLICY (for all the interviewees)

53. How important is local tourism policy for society in Hangzhou?

54. Do you think there are any aspects of the tourism policy-making system in Hangzhou that could be improved? If so, what aspects?

55. What are the most important tourism policy issues to be dealt with now and in the future in Hangzhou?

(That is the last of the questions. Thank you for your assistance!)

Appendix II Questions in the Second Round of Interviews

Areas for further probing after the first round of interviews:

1. The extent of decentralization and independent governance in Hangzhou.
2. The role of upper-level government in tourism policy-making processes in Hangzhou.
3. The role and importance of experts in tourism policy-making processes in Hangzhou.
4. The actors' views about policy-making processes (Centralization, Decentralization, Transparency, Actor involvement.)
5. The extent of community involvement and whether it is desirable.
6. More details about the interfaces and arguments about the three sub-projects: 'the design of

Leifeng Pagoda’, ‘the new lakeside environment’, and ‘the car park and other issues related to the Meijiawu tea area’.

Interviewees for the second round of interviews:

Experts: 3 (40 questions)

Local government: 8 (40 questions)

Industry: 3 (40 questions)

Community: 10 (5 people from Meijiawu village, 3 from Leifeng Pagoda area, and 2 from Lakeside area) (48 questions)

Altogether: 24 people

(Those bold and underlined questions are crucial questions, the questions with underlined are important, and others are the less important.)

DECENTRALIZATION TO HANGZHOU (all the interviewees except the community people)

1. Are you aware of any reforms or changes towards decentralized policy-making in China?
2. **Do you think Hangzhou has successfully and fully applied the reforms for decentralized policy-making in China?**
3. What do you feel about these changes in recent years towards greater decentralization in Hangzhou? Any benefits? Or any aspects that could be further developed?
4. Has decentralization affected your own work or life?
5. How do you feel about the transparency of tourism policy-making in Hangzhou? Do you think it is important? Why?
6. **Please would you explain the current roles of the Zhejiang Provincial government and the National government in tourism policy-making processes in Hangzhou? Do you think it is appropriate? Are they involved too much or too little?**
7. Does Hangzhou government get enough funding from the national level? Does it get enough funding from the private sector?
8. **Does the Hangzhou government need to report to the provincial government or national government about issues such as policy priorities? Is it given too little or too much independence from the provincial and national government? Why do you say that?**

DECENTRALIZATION WITHIN HANGZHOU (all the interviewees except the community people)

9. **Do you think it is necessary always to seek Municipal congress approved for the draft**

policies of the Hangzhou government? Why?

10. What do you think is the role of the Municipal Congress in the policy-making processes?

(Question 11 is for all the interviewees, including community)

11. **Do you think it is important to involve various actors in tourism policy-making processes, such as the private sector and local community? If individuals or organizations have complaints or suggestions about tourism policies in Hangzhou, where will they go to report them? (Which department, or the congress?)**

12. Are there any pressures for the public and private sectors to work together? If so, from where? If no, then why?

13. Are you aware of any instances where the public and private sectors work together in tourism policy-making issues in Hangzhou? Examples?

14. Do you think there is enough cooperation between the public and private sectors related to Hangzhou's tourism policy-making?

ROLE OF THE PRIVATE SECTOR (all the interviewees)

15. Do you think it is necessary to involve the private sector in tourism policy-making processes in Hangzhou? Why? If so, to what extent? Who from the private sector should be involved? How should they be involved?

16. **How recently did the privatization of tourism businesses begin in China? In Hangzhou? What are the changes resulting from this privatization in Hangzhou? (e.g. funding sources, authority, staffing issues, and etc. What aspects in Hangzhou remain controlled by the government, what are not?)**

17. After privatization, does the Hangzhou government still receive financial support from these private sector tourism businesses? If so, in what form? How?

18. **Why do you think that the Hangzhou Hotel Association and Travel Agency Association are not involved more in Hangzhou's tourism policy-making processes?**

ROLE OF THE COMMUNITY (all the interviewees)

19. Do you think it is necessary to involve the community in tourism policy-making processes in Hangzhou? Why? If so, how should they be involved?

20. **How might the community better express their opinions so that they could influence tourism policy-making in Hangzhou? Do you know which departments they can go to?**

21. Do you think that in practice the government will fully consider the opinions of community groups about tourism in Hangzhou? If no, why? If yes, how will they consider their opinions?
22. Do you think the community is willing to report their problems and complaints about tourism policies? Why? What do you consider to be the possible barriers to the community expressing them to the government?
23. What kind of people in the community would complain to the government about tourism policies? What kind of issues might the community complain about to the government?
24. Have you heard of '12345 (the mayor's line)' or 'the Letters and complaints department'? Do you know if any people use them? Is it useful?

ROLES OF EXPERTS (all the interviewees)

25. Tourism experts often do some tourism planning for the government. What do you think about their roles in the tourism policy-making processes? Are they key decision makers? How important they are?
26. Are the universities in Hangzhou funded by the local government? Who funds Zhejiang University?
27. How much independent authority do the tourism experts get from the government when they are helping in drafting tourism policies?
28. If the experts have different opinions to those of Hangzhou Tourism Committee during the tourism policy-making processes, how would they solve that problem? Who would listen to whom?

THE THREE SUB-PROJECTS: (only for the community, except question 29)

(for all the interviewees)

29. For the tourism policies for West Lake which has been the top priority: conservation or economic development?
30. Do you consider what should be the top priority for tourism policies for West Lake: conservation or economic development?
31. Is your organization's main interest in tourism development or in conservation around West Lake?

Leifeng Pagoda

32. In your opinion, was there a good process to select the favorite design model for Leifeng Pagoda was chosen?

33. Do you like the old pagoda?
34. Which one of these models was your favorite?
35. What are your views about the current pagoda?
36. If you are not satisfied with the pagoda, have you tried to express your opinion to the government? If so, where have you expressed your opinions? If not, why?
37. Who do you think is the main decision maker for the pagoda?
38. Do you feel the community is happy with the pagoda? Have you heard any complaint about the pagoda from them? If so, what are these complaints about?
39. Would the community be likely to complain even if they were not fully happy?

New Lakeside

40. Did you like the old Hubin Street?
41. What do you feel about the new Hubin Street now?
42. Do you remember any traditional stores on the old Hubin Street?
43. Do you know how to find these stores now? Do you have any regrets about these changes?
44. Have you done any shopping in the current shopping street by the lakeside?
45. Do you think the current shopping street is too commercial?
46. Do you like the current environment around lakeside and around Hubin Street?
47. Do you think it was necessary to move all the residents away from the lakeside for this project?
48. Have you heard any complaints among the community about being moved from lakeside? If not, do you think this was because they were happy to be moved? Or some other reasons?
49. Would they be likely to complain even if they were not fully happy?
50. What were the roles of the community committee during this project? What did they say or do about the need for people to move out of the area?
51. What were the relationships between local people in the area, the community committee

and local government or government departments?

52. What kind of people work on the community committees? (Full-time or part-time? Communist? Old or young? Retired?)

Meijia Wu Tea Area (For all the interviewees)

53. **What do you think about the car parks within the Meijiawu Tea area?**
54. **What do you think about the current plan and design for Meijiawu?**
55. **Do you think the business development in Meijiawu will benefit all the local villagers?**
56. **What do you think are the influences of the developments on the villagers?**
57. **Do you think these plans can benefit the tea culture in Hangzhou or bring negative influences to it?**
58. **Are the local villagers satisfied with the project and the related changes?**
59. **Do local villagers consider that the effects of the project have been fair for all villagers?**
60. **Would the villagers be likely to complain even if they were not fully happy?**
61. **Have you heard of any complaints during the construction there? Have you heard any complaints from villagers? What are they? Where do they go to complain?**
62. **Have you heard of any conflicts during the construction between the villagers and the construction workers?**
63. **What was the role of the village committee in this project for the local villagers and local government?**

Appendix III Themes and Questions in the First Set of Interview Questions

THEMATIC AREAS	QUESTIONS	AIM OF THE QUESTIONS
a. Background information	1-2	Question 1-2 seeks to understand the backgrounds of actors partly to ensure that the researcher had the right person.
	3-4	Questions 3-4 aim to find out whether they have other positions beside their main responsibility, thus helping to identify the relational structure and their power according to their positions.

b. Working relationships for snowballing	5-6	Questions 5-6 aim to clarify interviewees' responsibilities related to public policy-making, and tourism policy-making in Hangzhou.	
	7	Question 7 attempts to identify other related actors.	
	8	Question 8 seeks to identify actor contacts and their relations with each other.	
c. Actor perspectives on tourism policy-making processes in Hangzhou	9-10	Questions 9-10 aim to understand tourism policy processes and general policy processes in Hangzhou.	
	11	Question 11 seeks to differentiate between actors who have been involved in tourism policy-making processes in Hangzhou and those who have not.	
	12-25	Questions 12-25 ask the involved actors in tourism policy-making processes about their interactions.	Questions 12-18 help to map the actors and their relations in the tourism policy network, including their responsibilities, linked actors, working relations, and changing resources.
			Questions 19-22 asked about the reasons for actors' interactions.
			Questions 23-25 examine actors' social and knowledge interfaces during their interactions.
	26-34	Questions 26 to 34 are for respondents who had not been involved in tourism policy-making processes in Hangzhou.	Questions 26-27 aim to understand their involvement in the tourism policy-making processes.
			Questions 28-31 seek to know whether or not the respondents wish to be involved in the tourism policy network.
			Question 32 attempts to identify potential actors in Hangzhou's tourism policy network.

			Questions 33-34 help to define the power center and the powerful actors within Hangzhou's tourism policy network.
d. Actor perspectives on the WLPP	35	This clarifies whether or not the actors are involved in the WLPP.	
	36-52	Questions 36-52 seek to understand actor interactions in the WLPP.	Questions 36-42 help to map the actors and their relations in the WLPP, including their responsibilities, linked actors, working relations, and changing resources.
			Questions 43-46 ask about why the actors interact in the WLPP, based on their interests and their power relations.
			Questions 47-51 examine the actors' social and knowledge interfaces during their interactions in the WLPP.
			Question 52 asks about the actors' satisfaction with the WLPP process.
e. General views on tourism policy	53-55	They seek to understand the actors' perspectives on the general tourism policy-making issues in Hangzhou, and their suggestions about the future development of Hangzhou's tourism.	

Appendix IV Themes and Questions in the Second Set of Interview Questions.

THEMATIC AREA	QUESTIONS	INTERVIEWEES
Decentralization to Hangzhou	1-8	All except the community
Decentralization within Hangzhou	9-10	All except the community
	11	All
	12-14	All except the community
Role of the private sector actors	15-18	All

Role of the community		19-24	All
Role of the experts		25-28	All
The three sub-projects	Protection and development around West Lake	29-31	All
	Leifeng Pagoda Project	32-39	Only the community
	New Lakeside Project	40-52	Only the community
	Meijia Wu Tea Area Project	53-63	All

Appendix V Thematic N-Vivo Codes in the First Fieldwork Stage

Coding Index	Interview Question	Explanation
1. Actor Background		
1.1 Represents	Question 1	The organization or group that the interviewee represented
1.2 Position	Question 1	The interviewee's position in that organization/group
1.3 Responsibility	Question 1	The responsibilities of the interviewee in that position

1.4 Overall responsibility	Question 2	The responsibilities of the organization
1.5 Other positions	Question 3	Other positions of the interviewee in society
1.6 Other responsibility	Question 4	The responsibilities in other positions mentioned in Question 3.
1.7 PP responsibility	Question 5	Responsibilities in relation to public policy-making
1.8 TP responsibility	Question 6	Responsibilities in relation to tourism policy-making
1.9 Actors		
1.9.1 Names	Question 7	Related actors that deal with tourism policy issues
1.9.2 Relations	Question 8	Related working relations with the actors mentioned in Question 7
2. Process		
2.1 PP process	Question 9	The interviewee's understanding about public policy-making processes
2.2 TP process	Question 10	The interviewee's understanding about tourism policy-making processes
3 Hangzhou tourism policy-making processes		
3.1 Included	Question 11	Interviewees answering 'yes' when asked whether he/she has been involved in tourism policy-making processes in Hangzhou
3.a Resource mapping		
3.1.1 Responsibility	Question 12	Related responsibilities in tourism policy-making processes in Hangzhou
3.1.2 Contacts	Question 13	Linked actors' names in Hangzhou's tourism policy-making processes
3.1.3 Relations	Question 14	Relation types between the interviewee and the linked actors
3.1.4 Resources	Questions 17 and 18	Resources that they exchange with other related actors
3.1.5 Approach	Question 15	Approaches that they used in exchanging resources
3.1.6 Frequency	Question 16	How often they contacted with each other
3.b Interests in the HTTP		
3.1.7 Interests	Question 19	Interviewees' interests when involved in tourism policy-making processes in Hangzhou
3.c Power and power center in Hangzhou's tourism policy network		
3.1.8 Strength	Question 20	The most important actor to the interviewee
3.1.9 Power	Question 21	The most important actor the tourism policy-making processes in Hangzhou

3.d Potential actors that can be involved in the network		
3.1.10 Potentials	Question 22	The interviewee's views on who should be involved in Hangzhou's tourism policy-making processes
3.e Social interfaces		
3.1.11 Interfaces	Questions 23 and 24	Social interfaces around the interviewee and other actors in Hangzhou's tourism policy-making processes.
3.1.12 Arenas	Question 25	The places where the interviewee was involved in key interfaces
3.2 Excluded	Question 11	Interviewees who answered 'no' when asked whether he/she has been involved in tourism policy-making processes in Hangzhou
3.f Extent of related involvement		
3.2.1 Activities	Question 26	Activities around Hangzhou's tourism policy-making issues
3.g Actors' perspectives on the pattern of involvement		
3.2.2 Reasons	Question 27	Why and why they were not involved
3.2.3 Concern	Questions 28 and 31	Awareness of the interviewee about involvements in tourism policy
3.2.4 Willingness	Question 34	Whether the interviewee is willing to be involved
3.h Sources of information		
3.2.5 Sources	Question 29	Where they hear about tourism policy information
3.2.6 Extent	Question 30	Whether the information is enough for the interviewee
3.i Power center in the network		
3.2.7 Potentials	Question 32	Who the interviewee thinks should be involved in tourism policy-making
3.2.8 Power center	Question 33	Who the interviewee thinks is the most powerful actor
4. WLPP		
4.1 Included	Question 35	Interviewees who answered 'yes' when asked if he/she had been involved in the WLPP
4.a Resource mapping		
4.1.1 Responsibility	Question 36	Related responsibilities in the WLPP
4.1.2 Contacts	Question 37	Linked actors' names in the WLPP
4.1.3 Relations	Question 38	Relation types between the interviewee and the linked actors
4.1.4 Resources	Questions 41 and 42	Resources that they exchanged with other related actors in the WLPP
4.1.5 Approach	Question 39	Approaches that they used in exchanging resources in the WLPP

4.1.6 Frequency	Question 40	How often they contacted each other in the WLPP process
4.b Interests in the project		
4.1.7 Interest	Question 43	Interviewees' interests when involved in the WLPP
4.c Power and power centre in the network		
4.1.8 Strength	Question 44	The most important actor for the interviewee
4.1.9 Power	Question 45	The most important actor in the WLPP
4.d Potential actors that can be involved in the network		
4.1.10 Potentials	Question 46	The interviewee's views on who should be involved in the WLPP
4.e Social interfaces		
4.1.11 Own interfaces	Questions 47 and 48	Social interfaces between the interviewee and other actors in the WLPP
4.1.12 Arenas	Question 49	The places where the interviewee experienced key social interfaces
4.1.13 Other interfaces	Questions 50 and 51	Social interfaces among other actors in the WLPP
4.f Satisfaction		
4.1.14 Satisfaction	Question 52	How much satisfaction the interviewee felt with the WLPP
4.2 Excluded	Question 35	Interviewees that answered 'no' when asked whether he or she had been involved in the WLPP
5. Views on tourism policy		
5.1 Importance	Question 53	The importance of local tourism policy for Hangzhou
5.2 Improvements	Question 54	Aspects needing to be improved in relation to tourism policy-making in Hangzhou
5.3 New Issues	Question 55	Important issues in the near future in relation to tourism policy-making in Hangzhou