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Global–local relationships and governance issues at the Great Wall World Heritage Site, China

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Heritage preservation and tourism use are inevitably intertwined at heritage sites and are characterized by both symbioses and tensions, particularly at World Heritage Sites, where international initiatives interact with local priorities. The international designation impacts heritage preservation, tourism development and community well-being at the local level, especially in developing countries. This paper examines global–local relationships, as well as involvement and governance at intermediate scales, and their implications for preservation and development at Badaling Great Wall World Heritage Site in Beijing, China, through examinations of its management structure, heritage preservation and development plans, and the opinions of the local business community. Interviews were conducted with key officials of the Management Office and questionnaire surveys were distributed with local business operators. It is shown that multiple stakeholders operate in a hierarchical, multi-departmental management structure. International linkages are weak and via central government. Positive economic impacts from tourism are highly valued. High awareness of heritage preservation and positive attitudes toward tourism are identified among local business operators with relatively high tolerance for negative environmental impacts. Potential conflicts between global priorities by World Heritage designation and local needs for tourism development are illustrated. Practical implications for heritage and tourism planning and management are discussed.

Keywords: World Heritage; the Great Wall; stakeholders; community; preservation; heritage tourism

Introduction

Heritage is commonly a contested phenomenon with its multiple potential uses and scales of operation (Graham, Ashworth, & Tunbridge, 2000). Tourism takes place at many heritage sites and the relationships between tourism and the preservation of heritage resources are characterized by both symbioses and tensions (Nuryanti, 1999; Tunbridge, 2007), on which the ultimate sustainability of a site can depend. World Heritage status is regarded as very special, the outcome of an international agreement to promote the identification, preservation and better management of heritage that is deemed to be of universal value. Tensions between heritage preservation and tourism are, however, especially pronounced at World Heritage Sites with the involvement of international, national, regional and local stakeholders and it is difficult to achieve a balance between them, particularly in developing

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countries (Black & Wall, 2001; Li, Wu, & Cai, 2008). With 40 World Heritage Sites as of 2010 (World Heritage List [WHL], 2011), there is an increasing concern to address this issue in China (Li et al., 2008).

The Great Wall, designated as a World Heritage Site in 1987, is a symbol of Chinese nationality, culture and history, and a very popular tourism destination. The majority of visitors to the Great Wall, both domestic and international, are attracted to Great Wall sites in Beijing, where the Badaling section of the wall was the first to be developed for tourism, and is the most visited and renowned Great Wall site in China.

This paper addresses issues concerning heritage preservation and tourism development at Badaling Great Wall World Heritage Site. The management structure, heritage preservation, development plans and tourism impacts on the local community are explored to achieve the research goal of enhancing the understanding of relationships at multiple scales in heritage preservation and tourism development at World Heritage Sites. These relationships influence the management of sites and, hence, the sustainability of the resources and the communities that depend upon them. Practical implications for heritage and sustainable tourism planning and management are discussed.

This paper adds to the growing discussion of governance in the study of sustainable tourism (see Bramwell & Lane, 2011). It adds to the growing literature on the evolving governance of tourism in China (Sofield & Li, 2011). And it is an addition to the complex study area of heritage tourism (McKercher & du Cros, 2002).

Literature review

On 16 November 1972, the Convention Concerning the Protection of the World Cultural and Natural Heritage (World Heritage Convention or WHC) was adopted by the General Conference of the United Nations Educational, Scientific and Cultural Organization (UNESCO) in Paris. This is widely acknowledged as the most influential international treaty concerning heritage. The mission of the WHC is to encourage the identification, protection and preservation of cultural and natural, as well as mixed, heritage sites with outstanding value to humanity through a standardized World Heritage nomination and designation process (UNESCO WHC, 2010). The first sites were designated in 1978. Since then, the WHC has played an increasingly important role in heritage preservation and management worldwide. The World Heritage list is growing rapidly and the awareness of its significance is also increasing (Shackley, 1998). There are currently (February 2012) 188 states that are parties to the convention; there are 936 confirmed World Heritage Sites and 1,509 further sites are under discussion, and on a tentative list (WHL, 2012a).

According to Graham et al. (2000), heritage is characterized by location, distribution and scale. Components of heritage can be of local, national or global significance (Ashworth & Howard, 1999; Potter, 2003). The different scales may undermine or reinforce each other (Graham et al., 2000). Being defined, planned and managed at various scales, heritage often embodies a confusion of messages (Graham et al., 2000). Thus, the importance of relationships at multiple scales is acknowledged implicitly in heritage research, particularly at World Heritage Sites where designation involves an international agency but much management occurs at the local level. International assessment occurs following nomination of a site but, once listed, although subject to review, international input is largely limited to providing guidelines and professional expertise, which restricts direct international involvement at the site. Direct intervention at sites by UNESCO is rare: only two sites have ever lost WHS status (WHL, 2012b). Taking advantage of global standards, experiences

and expertise, which is often lacking at the local level, and incorporating local knowledge and aspirations, ideally the local, intermediate and global players should cooperate in a supportive manner (Graham et al., 2000). However, the diversity of stakeholders makes the coordination of global and local interests and priorities a difficult task, especially at World Heritage Sites where the global inevitably meets the local in heritage preservation and tourism development.

Due to the gap in experience, and lack of resources for managing heritage between developed and developing nations, international assistance in heritage planning and management has frequently occurred in the latter. Dredge (2004) found that when consultants undertake projects in different cultural contexts, a top-down planning approach is usually undertaken, which reduces, or even ignores, local cultural values, ideas and knowledge. As a result, local professionals may devalue their local knowledge in the presence of international experts (Dredge, 2004). Therefore, Logan (1995) argued that international assistance should not be in the form of western experts taking on the work. Instead, local professionals should make key decisions according to their own vision with help from the international community in the form of advice based on comparable situations elsewhere, training, technical support and financial assistance.

Because of the cultural and natural significance of World Heritage Sites, tourism frequently occurs and often exists prior to designation. Heritage can supply genuine attractions for tourism but excessive tourism may threaten preservation. The potential of tourism activities to generate income and public support for heritage preservation is also recognized (Aas, Ladkin, & Fletcher, 2005; Peters, 1999). In addition to the special characteristics and fragility of the resources themselves, many heritage management challenges lie within the interactions between stakeholders (Hall & McArthur, 1998). Thus, the importance of stakeholder involvement and collaboration is well recognized (Aas et al., 2005; Nuryanti, 1996; Peters, 1999; Serageldin, 1986). From a tourism perspective, a stakeholder is anyone impacted by a specific tourism development either positively or negatively (Aas et al., 2005). Given that World Heritage Sites are supposedly of universal value, theoretically this could include everyone in the world – a point emerging in the paper by Briassoulis (2011) about the use of online petitions. The growing use of online petitions potentially presents new global issues to the concept of stakeholder consultation. As argued by Aas et al. (2005) in the tourism context, normally stakeholder collaboration refers to a process of joint decision making among key stakeholders to solve problems and management issues related to tourism planning and development. Stakeholder collaboration could enhance their sense of responsibility, self-reliance and awareness of issues and, thus, a higher degree of consensus and shared ownership might be achieved (Aas et al., 2005; Medeiros de Araujo & Bramwell, 1999). Developed and practiced more in developed countries, stakeholder collaboration is increasingly being conducted in developing countries (Reed, 1997; Timothy, 1997). However, with identified operational, structural and cultural limits to stakeholder collaboration, especially regarding local participation, it is usually difficult to implement a collaborative approach to tourism development and, hence, to heritage planning and management, in developing countries (Tosun, 2000).

Conflicts commonly exist between proponents of preservation and tourism use of the same heritage. In order to achieve a mutually beneficial accommodation that is both economically viable and socially acceptable, it is necessary to identify the major stakeholders, their interests and their roles (Aas et al., 2005; Reed, 1997). According to Timothy and Boyd (2003: 182), in heritage tourism, these are likely to include local communities, governments at different scales, heritage conservation advocacy groups, public agencies, business associations, non-governmental organizations and so on.

Among stakeholders involved in heritage tourism, local communities as the “owner” and custodian of the heritage (Aas et al., 2005; Nuryanti, 1996) are among the most affected. Relationships between tourism and local communities are multi-dimensional, encompassing economic, social, cultural, ecological and political forces (Singh, Timothy, & Dowling, 2003). Nuryanti (1999) argued that, in addition to the usually considered employment and incomes, issues of land ownership, competition between the old and the new, changing lifestyles and adjustments to changes should also be considered when heritage tourism impinges upon local communities, especially in developing countries.

Often considered as an essential part of tourism, local communities play multiple roles in tourism development. They can act as service providers, sellers of products, craftspeople and even ethnic “attractions” at destinations (Scheyvens, 2003). Moreover, members of local communities commonly possess rich knowledge of local environments, social and cultural traditions and have the experience and capability to deal with local issues. These are critical elements in ensuring that tourism development is well-informed, appropriate (Bramwell & Lane, 1999; Gray, 1989; Healey, 1997; Yuksel, Bramwell, & Yuksel, 1999) and not at odds with local traditions and environments.

Although affected by tourism development, local communities seldom have genuine control over the nature and direction of tourism within their communities (Scheyvens, 2003). Wall (1996) argued that local communities support tourism development mainly because they want positive changes, such as higher incomes and job opportunities. However, they may not be aware of other often inevitable modifications that occur along with tourism development, such as changes to the environment, social structures and the distribution of power (Wall, 1996). Therefore, their voices should be sought, information should be shared and their concerns addressed, so that the potential negative social impacts of tourism can be minimized and a higher tolerance for tourists and more satisfactory tourism development can be achieved (Timothy & Boyd, 2003; Timothy & Tosun, 2003).

In summary, along with all the common characteristics of heritage in general, World Heritage Sites possess higher values to humankind, a larger variety of stakeholders and more requirements and opportunities for interactions at multiple scales. This complicates the preservation and development of sites. Thus, it is necessary to explore these relationships to understand and manage the tensions between preservation and tourism at World Heritage Sites, particularly in developing countries.

Badaling Great Wall

The Great Wall is a symbol of Chinese nationality, culture and history. It was among the first places in China designated as a World Heritage Site in 1987. The Great Wall, as it can be seen today, was built mostly during the Ming Dynasty (1368–1644). It stretches across the north of China, including the provinces of Liaoning, Hebei, Beijing, Tianjin, Shanxi, Inner Mongolia, Ningxia, Shaanxi and Gansu. Most visitors to the Great Wall are attracted to sites in Beijing, China’s capital.

As the most famous and most visited Great Wall site in China, Badaling Great Wall was the first Great Wall site to be renovated in 1953; it was opened to tourists in 1958. Located in Yanqing District, 60 km northwest of Beijing, Badaling was a crucial pass through the mountains and the wall protected Beijing as “the key to the North Gate of Beijing”. Now it is conveniently linked to central Beijing by the Badaling Expressway. The length of the Great Wall open to tourists stretches 3,471 meters with Guan City linking eight watchtowers in the south and 12 watchtowers in the north. Every year, more than 6 million visitors are attracted to Badaling, which makes it among the top five most-visited tourism sites in

Beijing, with 60% of all Great Wall visitors in Beijing, according to 2003–2006 annual statistics from Beijing Tourism Bureau. Annual tourism income at Badaling reached 5.9 million RMB (0.9 million USD) in 2006 (Beijing Tourism Bureau, 2006).

Due to its geographical importance, architectural features and position in heritage protection and tourism, Badaling received the “certificate of human cultural heritage” issued by UNESCO as the section of the wall recognized as representing the Great Wall of China (The Great Wall at Badaling Guide Map, 2008). Badaling Great Wall also enjoys the highest government attention in terms of heritage protection and tourism development. This has had significant impacts on local communities. Badaling County consists of 15 villages: tourism affects all of these and even extends beyond them.

Methodology

A mixed methods research design was employed, integrating quantitative and qualitative methods in data collection and analysis (Creswell, 2003). Questionnaire surveys with local business people, key informant interviews with managers and other officials and field observations were used, complemented by the collection of secondary data, including site plans and tourism statistics.

Key officials at Badaling Special Zone office were contacted and interviewed, including the Director of the Party Committee and the Director of Badaling Special Zone Program and Investment Office. Semi-structured, face-to-face interviews were conducted focusing upon issues of tourism development at the site, heritage protection strategies and actions, World Heritage designation responsibilities and impacts, key stakeholders and their responsibilities, site management structures, costs and benefits to the local community from site development, the vision for future development and the making and execution of the site development plan.

Representing the interests of the local community, small business operators are key participants in tourism site development. Their lives are highly dependent on tourism and they are directly impacted by any changes introduced by the decisions of higher level jurisdictions. Insights into preservation–development tensions and global–local relationships were augmented by acquiring their perceptions of the Great Wall and the importance of World Heritage Site status, opinions on tourism and the experience of doing business at the site and their involvement in site planning and management. A questionnaire survey of small business operators was conducted to explore their opinions on, and experiences with, heritage protection and development, the ways and level of local participation and their views on costs and benefits to the local community. The questionnaire has four major parts. Part one differentiates factors such as business type, ownership and location of the outlet. Part two was designed to acquire information about the business operation, using both yes-no and open-ended questions. Part three consists of three-point Likert scale questions measuring respondents’ perceptions of impacts of World Heritage designation, economic, environmental, social and cultural impacts of tourism and overall evaluation of local tourism development. The last part gathers information on the demographic and socio-economic characteristics of respondents (a copy of the questionnaire can be found as an Appendix to the online version of this paper at www.tandfonline.com/JOST). A pilot test was conducted leading to the adoption of three-point instead of five-point Likert scales, because potential respondents had difficulty understanding and answering with five options, probably due to low education levels and lack of familiarity with questionnaires.

November and December are the slack season for Badaling. Through observation, the number of tourists usually peaks in late morning and drops gradually in the afternoon.

Therefore, the survey was undertaken from 3 pm to 5 pm during weekdays in December 2008 when business operators were less busy. At each outlet, the purpose of the research was explained and participation invited. About one-quarter of respondents completed the questionnaire by themselves, asking for clarification only when they had questions. The other three-quarters were administered in Mandarin by the first author. Each questionnaire took 20–25 minutes to finish. Of the approximately 200 business outlets on the site, a total of 78 questionnaires were collected.

The researchers' on-site observation contributed first-hand information, which was helpful in the execution of the survey and interviews, and also complemented the analyses based upon them.

Findings and discussion

Findings are presented and discussed in terms of the management structure, heritage preservation, development plans and tourism impacts on the local community.

Management structure

In 1981, the Badaling Special Zone was established as a government office of Yanqing District Government with some independence in its administration, to oversee the daily operation and management issues at Badaling Great Wall Tourist Area. According to the policy of Beijing Municipal Government on the initiation of the Special Zone, key issues concerning heritage protection and the development directions of Badaling Special Zone are directly guided by Beijing Municipal Government. On the other hand, daily management issues are supervised by Yanqing District Government. According to the Director of Badaling Special Zone (henceforth called the Director), heritage preservation and tourism development are considered as the two major responsibilities of the agency. Both Yanqing District Tourism Bureau and the Administration of Cultural Heritage provide regulations and supervision within their area of specialization for Badaling Great Wall Tourist Area. Due to the special position of Badaling Special Zone, the municipal Cultural Heritage Department sometimes imposes direct supervision on heritage-related issues. The government supervision is primarily hierarchical from district, to municipal and national levels. In comparison, horizontal cross-departmental communications are minimal.

The management and operation at Badaling Great Wall involve many stakeholders, leading to managerial and operational complexity, particularly regarding land ownership structure. Badaling Special Zone takes responsibility only for its designated office area and the Great Wall, with 200 meters at each side as the protection area and 500 meters on each side of the Wall as the control area according to Beijing Great Wall Protection Regulation. The ownership of most land within the tourist area is shared between Chadao village, Badaling County and Badaling Forestry Office. Roads going through the tourist area are managed by the Highway Bureau and vegetation on the mountain is under the jurisdiction of Badaling Forestry Office. Therefore, operation and management at Badaling Great Wall involves complicated coordination between different departments.

Based on interviews with management staff of Badaling Great Wall, the complex management structure is shown in Figure 1. Management from national to district level is primarily hierarchical. However, the site-level management and operation, as illustrated by black arrows in Figure 1, feature constant multi-directional collaborations between Badaling Special Zone, Badaling County and Badaling Forestry Office.

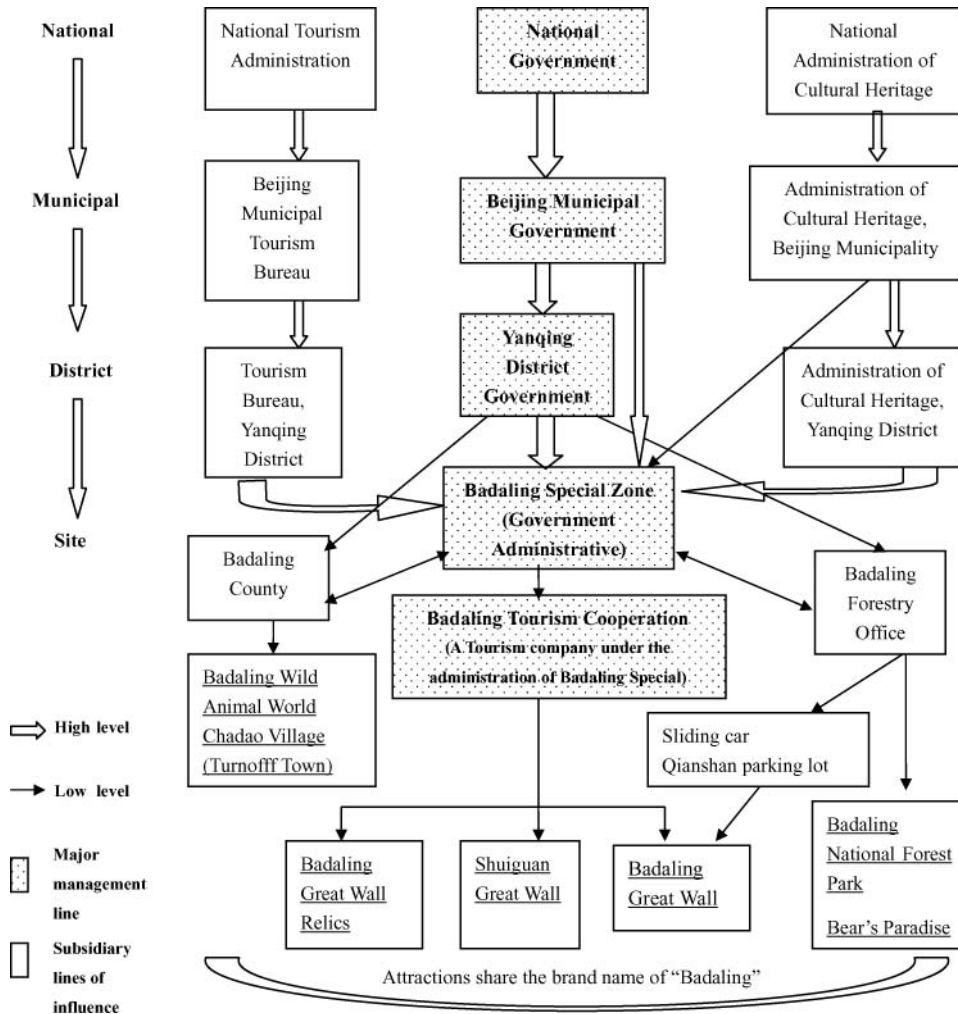


Figure 1. Management structure for the Badaling Great Wall in Beijing.

Badaling Tourism Corporation was formed under the Badaling Special Zone as the company entitled to operate and manage the Badaling Great Wall Tourist Area. In addition to the Wall, Badaling Tourism Corporation manages multiple tourism attractions nearby, including Badaling Great Wall Relics and Shuiguan Great Wall. Moreover, various tourism attractions near Badaling Great Wall also share the brand name of Badaling, including Badaling Wild Animal World managed by Badaling County, Badaling National Forest Park and Badaling Bear's Paradise managed by Badaling Forestry Office. Within Badaling Great Wall Tourist Area, the Qianshan parking lot and the slide way,¹ mainly serving tourists to Badaling Great Wall, are managed by Badaling Forestry Office, which inevitably further complicates the operation and management of the site.

Through more than 50 years of development, Badaling Great Wall tourist area is equipped with many tourism facilities managed by various tourism enterprises. According to the official website of Badaling Great Wall (2010), there are 142 enterprises with more

Table 1. Major enterprises at Badaling Great Wall tourist area.

Enterprises	Ownership of business	Number of employees
Badaling Special Zone	State-owned	1,300
The China Great Wall Museum	Managed by Badaling	90% from Yanqing District and 10% from villages nearby with a very few recruited through other channels
The Great Wall Full-Circle Cinema	Special Zone	
Badaling Restaurant		
Badaling International Travel Agency		
The Badaling Arts and Crafts Corporation		
Cable Car	Private investment	N/A
	Follow the Safety regulation of Badaling Special Zone	
Sliding car	Managed by Badaling Forestry Office	N/A
Badaling Bear's Paradise	Managed by Badaling Forestry Office	N/A

than 400 service spots and over 4,000 jobs at Badaling Great Wall. Major enterprises are listed in Table 1.

Heritage protection

One crucial responsibility of Badaling Special Zone is the protection and renovation of the Great Wall. The Director indicated that this is considered central to the economic improvement of the district. The Department of Cultural Heritage of Badaling Special Zone is in charge of heritage preservation issues, including regular inspection and maintenance, as well as specific renovation and restoration projects which require approval from the Administration of Cultural Heritage at district, municipal or national level depending on the scale of the project. The management structure at Badaling Great Wall follows a hierarchical administrative structure ranging through site, district, municipal and state levels, involving both systems of the Administration of Cultural Heritage and Tourism Bureaus (Figure 1). The Administration of Cultural Heritage has comparatively higher power. Any renovation or construction activities must be reported to and approved by the Administration to ensure proper protection of the Great Wall.

To better preserve the Great Wall, the area within 500 meters along each side of the Wall is assigned as the non-construction area and from 500 to 3,000 meters along each side of the Wall is the construction control area. This is based on "Beijing Great Wall management regulation (1 August, 2003)" and "Notice 428 of the temporary preservation area for the Great Wall (2003)" made by Beijing Administration of Cultural Heritage and the Planning Committee.

Great efforts from the central government have been put into the renovation and protection of Badaling Great Wall since the establishment of the People's Republic of China. Financial resources for protection and renovation are shared by the Badaling Special Zone Office and national or municipal government departments, including the State Council, Beijing Municipal Bureau of Landscape and Forestry and Beijing Municipal Administration of

Cultural Heritage. According to the Director, Badaling Special Zone puts aside 20% of its annual tourism income, mainly from entrance fees, into a protection fund, which is administered by Badaling Special Zone Office. In addition, the national fund-raising campaign, "Loving our China, repairing our Great Wall", advocated by Chairman Deng Xiaoping was the major funding source for the renovation of Badaling Great Wall from 1984 to 1987. Of the total renovation funding of approximately RMB 15.3 million (2.3 million USD) for Badaling Great Wall, 28% came from Badaling Special Zone Office, 62% from Beijing Municipal government, and 10% from public donations. The percentage of government support should be even higher as no monetary figure is available for the start-up renovation from 1953 to 1957 that was supported by the national government. Heritage preservation at Badaling Great Wall receives substantial government financial support.

Although periodical reports are required under the UNESCO World Heritage Convention, interviews with higher level officials of Badaling Special Zone Office indicated that they did not recognize regular communication with, or supervision by, the UNESCO World Heritage Convention in terms of heritage preservation as being as important as their relationships with higher levels of government in China. Essentially, they are under the direct supervision of relevant higher level departments of the Chinese government. This suggests that communications with UNESCO concerning the Badaling Great Wall are mainly conducted through state-level departments rather than by site-level managers. The exchange of information between site managers and UNESCO apparently is routed through the hierarchical government system.

Development plans for Badaling Great Wall

Badaling County is not suitable for agricultural development because 70% of the land is mountainous. Great Wall tourism has been the core economic activity and income generator for the area for decades and village residents are very dependent on tourism. Over the last 10 years, various plans concerning development of Badaling Great Wall have been prepared at different scales and from different perspectives, such as the Master plan for Badaling County in 2001, Detailed Control Plan for Badaling Core Area and Badaling Great Wall Tourism Service Area in 2003, Heritage Preservation Plan for Badaling Great Wall in 2005, Plan for Badaling Guan City in 2005 and Plan for Badaling – Ming Tombs Scenic Area in 2007 (Song, 2008). Planning is generally chaired by Badaling Special Zone Office, and coordinated through different stakeholders such as Yanqing District Government, Badaling County and nearby villages such as Chadao village. Relevant policies and regulations for heritage protection promulgated by Beijing Municipal Government are referred to in the planning process. Experts are consulted for their professional ideas, including specialists in Great Wall studies, cultural heritage and traditional architecture. Approvals from Beijing Municipal Government Departments of Tourism, Cultural Heritage and Transportation are required, as is approval from the State Ministry of Construction. Badaling County Plan and Big Badaling Scenic Area Plan will be discussed and compared in detail. Although the complete planning document for Big Badaling Scenic Area was not made available to the researchers, a summary written by Director Song (2008) was obtained which provides a comprehensive overview of the vision and the current progress of the Plan.

The 2001 version of Badaling County Plan is a cooperative effort between Badaling Special Zone Office and Beijing Municipal Institute of City Planning and Design. The plan recognized the special importance of Badaling Great Wall tourism to Badaling County. The reputation of Badaling Great Wall and the rich natural and cultural resources are considered as key advantages for overall County development, while the high requirements for

heritage and environmental protection are recognized as development limitations. Through developing tourism-related industries, the ratio of primary, secondary and tertiary industry in terms of total revenue is to be adjusted from 2:23:75 to 1:15:84, reflecting a shift away from the primary and secondary sectors to the tertiary sector in Badaling County.

The Big Badaling Scenic Area Plan addresses a 98-km² area under the supervision of Badaling Special Zone and Badaling County. It should incorporate and reflect the "Great Wall comprehensive military defensive system", including primarily Badaling Great Wall, Shuiguan Great Wall, Badaling Great Wall Relics, Chadao village, the Guangou Gorge and Juyongguan Pass, to create a comprehensive understanding of their historical, cultural and military importance for Badaling visitors. The planning process started in 2001 with more than 100 experts consulted about the history, cultural heritage, planning, architecture, landscape design, ecology, forestry, tourism and environmental protection. This expert-driven plan was approved by Beijing Municipal Planning Committee in April 2005.

Heritage preservation is prioritized before economic development in both plans, recognizing the value of the Great Wall. Both plans made efforts to enhance heritage protection, minimize commercialization, and restore the original views of the Great Wall. Particularly, Badaling County Plan intends to remove all business outlets and operations within 500 meters along both sides of the Wall. In total, 22 hectares of business outlets and 17 hectares of village will be removed to restore the original look of the Great Wall and reduce the commercial atmosphere.

Tourism is recognized in both plans as the "pillar" industry with other sectors planned in relation to tourism. Badaling core tourism resources are similarly summarized as "one axis, two cities, three belts". One axis refers to a line of watchtowers of the Great Wall defensive system. Two cities refer to Chadao village and Guan City. Three belts refer to Tubian Great Wall, the Great Wall in Yanqing District with Badaling Great Wall and Badaling Great Wall Relics, Guangou 72 sights and Shuiguan Great Wall. Badaling County Plan additionally raises the concept of "three areas" based on Badaling County's environmental characteristics, referring to mountain, forest and agricultural landscapes. Limitations of current tourism development are also recognized by both plans. As Director Song commented, the Great Wall serves as the primary attraction at Badaling with the great majority of visitors staying only for several hours on the Wall. As clearly stated in the Big Badaling Great Wall Scenic Area Plan, a change from sightseeing to leisure tourism should be stimulated. New tourism products and attractions should fully utilize the cultural and natural resources available and the brand name of Badaling Great Wall, including agricultural tourism in nearby villages, leisure vacation resorts, ski resorts and horse riding clubs, which will be targeted at satisfying the diverse needs of potential visitors and encouraging visitors to stay longer and spend more.

Although from different perspectives, zoning systems proposed in the two plans are similar and to some extent overlapping, with Badaling as the core area for development. Badaling County is to be developed into six zones: Badaling Great Wall tourism zone, tourism conference and recreation zone, physical and recreational activity zone, tourism county zone, forestry and fruit agriculture zone and tourism product manufacturing zone. The first three zones are categorized as 137 hectares of land for tourism use in the county land use plan. In comparison, Big Badaling Great Wall Scenic Area is planned with five zones: the 32 km² World Cultural Heritage core protection and control zone, the 12 km² service zone, the 7 km² physical and recreational activity zone, the 2.5-km² town center economic development zone and the 40-km² related industrial development and ecological conservation zone. The World Cultural Heritage core protection area refers to Badaling Great Wall and the control area includes Shuiguan Great Wall, Great Wall Relics, Tubian

Great Wall, Chadao Village and Shixia Castle. Acquisition of funding was identified by Director Song as the major challenge for implementation.

Document reviews and interviews indicate that the planning process at Badaling is essentially a top-down procedure, involving primarily the site management office, government at different levels and experts in related fields. Local residents are generally excluded from the consultation and planning process. Local residents are not well informed about the contents of the plans, although their businesses and living environment will be affected. The plans address local community development mostly from economic perspectives, in terms of providing more employment opportunities and increasing local incomes. However, the cultural and social impacts of tourism on the local community are not considered in either plan.

The review of plans illustrates governmental recognition of the importance of heritage preservation, the necessity of tourism development, and the intention to balance the two. Relevant departments and specialists were drawn into the planning process to represent stakeholders at different levels in the complex management framework. However, the local community, an important stakeholder, was not consulted for their opinions. Their interests were indirectly reflected primarily from an economic perspective. The lack of representation and minimal socio-cultural considerations of the local people and the singular reliance on – and planned growth of – mass tourism may add to the potential challenges to the sustainable use of Badaling Great Wall.

The local business community

According to the Director, the whole of Badaling County and its 15 villages are benefiting from tourism at Badaling Great Wall. With the tourism-induced development of transportation, infrastructure and facilities, as well as agricultural tourism programs in nearby villages, the economy has grown. In Badaling County Plan (2003), the total GDP of Badaling County ranked fourth and GDP per capita ranked third among the 15 counties in Yanqing District in 2002. Badaling Great Wall Tourist Area generated 61.2% of the Badaling County GDP. Chadao village, the closest village to Badaling Great Wall, is considered to be the place receiving most direct impacts from Badaling Great Wall development in terms of increased job opportunities and tourism income. In addition, in recent years, Chadao Village has been developed as a tourism destination featuring traditional houses and village landscapes of the Ming (1368–1644) and Qing Dynasties (1644–1912).

Seventy-eight questionnaires were collected in the survey of small business operators at Badaling Great Wall. A reasonable age span, with 40% aged 35–44 and 29% aged 45–54, is included. More females (70%) than males (30%) are in the sample, which is consistent with field observations and can be considered representative. Respondents have a middle level education with 56% with junior high school education and 44% with senior high school education. Long local residence is observed with 67% living locally for more than 10 years. Most (77%) are from Badaling County, with 13% from Yanqing District, 3% from other districts in Beijing and 8% from other cities outside Beijing. Of the 60 small business operators from Badaling County, 53% are from Chadao village, the closest village to the site, and 28% are from Xibuozi Village and the rest are dispersed among other villages within Badaling County.

Souvenir outlets are the major business type at Badaling, comprising 60% of the total outlets. Food and beverage outlets account for around 16% and restaurants account for 11%. Small numbers of outlets for snack food, local produce and photographic equipment also exist.

Table 2. Location of business outlets at Badaling.

	Number of questionnaires	Percentage in the survey (%)	Approximate total number on site	Percentage on site (%)
<i>Qianshan parking lot</i>	23	29	60	30
Business Type				
Souvenirs	9	6	30	50
Food & Beverage	2	14	10	17
Snack food	2	14	9	15
Local produce			6	10
Restaurant	1	7	3	5
Photographic equipments			2	3
<i>Guntiangou parking lot</i>	41	53	115	70
Business Type				
Souvenirs	38	93	80	58
Food & Beverage			12	10
Snack food				
Local produce				
Restaurant	3	7	16	14
Photographic equipments			5	4
<i>The pathway</i>	14	18	25	13
Business Type				
Souvenirs	15	65	10	40
Food & Beverage	3	13	10	40
Snack food				
Local produce	3	13		
Restaurant			3	12
Photographic equipments	2	9	2	8

Business outlets are concentrated at three locations: Qianshan parking lot, Guntiangou parking lot and the pathway between the two parking lots. The business outlets at the three locations differ in business types and the origins of business operators, due to the site plan design and their different management structures. According to Director Song, Qianshan parking lot is managed by Badaling Forest Centre, and the Guntiangou parking lot and the pathway are managed by the Badaling Special Zone Office, which gives preference when renting outlets to local business operators from Badaling County. Therefore, 93% of small business operators at Guntiangou parking lot and the pathway are from Badaling County. At Qianshan parking lot, only 39% are from Badaling County; 39% are from Yanqing District and 22% are from other districts in Beijing or from outside of Beijing. Thus, outlet location is an important indicator to be examined in the research.

The three locations will now be examined and compared. Guntiangou parking lot and the pathway host small business outlets selling souvenirs, food and beverages, restaurants and photographic equipment. Qianshan parking lot has more diverse business types with local produce and snack food outlets besides the above common categories. The distribution of questionnaire surveys collected in the three locations is in line with the overall distribution of business outlets on site (Table 2) except for souvenir outlets which are over-represented at each location, especially for Guntiangou parking lot with 93% souvenir outlets in the sample in comparison with 58% on site.

One reason for the high percentage of souvenir outlets in the sample is that most souvenir outlet operators are from Badaling County. They are easy to talk to. They know each other well and follow the example of their neighbor if the latter completes the questionnaire. In contrast, certain types of business operators are especially hard to survey. At Qianshan

parking lot, local produce and snack food operators are always busy preparing and selling food and, as a result, it is very difficult to get them to complete a questionnaire. Most potential respondents in these two business types refused to participate. At Guntiangou parking lot, most restaurant owners refused to complete the questionnaire; thus, a very small sample of restaurant owners is included in the sample. Survey results are discussed in four parts: characteristics of village small business operators, basic information on business operators, perceptions on World Heritage designation and general tourism development and tourism impacts on the local community.

With respect to satisfaction with business, the majority of respondents agree that their income increased after doing business on the site (68%) and they are satisfied with current business (53%). In addition, almost all (96%) said that they did not receive help from the government to start their business. In contrast, 74% pointed out that they benefit from beneficial policies or regulations from the government or site management. Through further probing, it was found that the major beneficial policy referred to is tax relief. Among 70 valid answers, 68 respondents (97%) indicated that they started their business by personal savings and two said they also got loans from the bank in addition to their personal savings. However, only 5 (7%) among 75 valid answers indicated that respondents had knowledge of the site plan. No statistically significant differences in opinions were found at the .05 level using chi-square tests across age groups, gender, education level and business types, indicating similar opinions are shared among small business operators at Badaling.

Incomes from a business vary depending on type, size and location, operational skills and seasonality. Among 50 valid answers, 30% of respondents reported that their monthly income ranges from RMB 1,000 to 2,000 (150 to 300 USD) and 62% from 2,000 to 5,000 (300 to 750 USD), which is the income level of the majority of operators of small business at Badaling. Four respondents (8%) reported incomes higher than RMB 10,000 (1,500 USD) per month. No respondents from restaurants and photographic equipment outlets provided their monthly income. No statistically significant difference at the .05 level in income was found among different business types with the available income data.

World Heritage designation is recognized by small business operators as enhancing the site's international reputation (89%), increasing tourist numbers (85%) and helping heritage protection of the Great Wall (82%) (Table 3). However, divergence of opinions was found concerning whether the designation helps site tourism development and local business development: 40% and 41%, respectively disagreed with the statements. This may be due to restrictions on business development due to high requirements for heritage preservation as mentioned by local business operators during the questionnaire survey. For example, stores originally located adjacent to the Wall were moved to designated market areas at

Table 3. Impacts of World Heritage designation on the local community.

Impacts of World Heritage designation	Disagree	Neutral	Agree	N	Mean	S.D.
World Heritage designation helps tourism development at site	40%	1%	59%	75	.19	.982
World Heritage designation improves the site international reputation	8%	3%	89%	75	.81	.562
World Heritage designation brings more tourists	12%	3%	85%	75	.73	.664
World Heritage designation helps the protection of the Great Wall	9%	8%	82%	74	.73	.626
World Heritage designation has positive impacts on local business	41%	1%	57%	75	.16	.987

parking lots to minimize impacts of commercial activities on the Wall and restore its original look. However, this preservation activity creates physical distance between businesses and visitors, their potential customers, which negatively affects their business. On the other hand, local business operators also recognized the improvement of the environment and the view of the Wall due to the relocation of business outlets, illustrating their complicated feelings and the struggle between heritage preservation business development and short-term economic gains. Furthermore, The Great Wall would likely be an important tourism site, regardless of its designation as a World Heritage Site.

Small business operators' general evaluations of the tourism development were also examined, including their satisfaction with tourism development, recognition of benefits, preference for future development and local impacts. Positive evaluations predominate as shown in Table 4. Most (79%) respondents are satisfied with current tourism development and agree that more benefits come from tourism development (81%) than other activities. Almost all (95%) support further tourism development by the local government. However, more government attention to tourism impacts on local residents is favored by 85% of respondents.

Economic, environmental and social and cultural impacts of tourism on the local community were examined using three-point Likert scale questions (Table 5). Agreement commonly occurs in most items within each category, except that more varied opinions are observed in items in the environmental impacts group.

First, economic impacts are explored with agreement found in most factors. The majority agrees that local economic development (88%) and local service standards (18%) are improved by tourism, and local job opportunities (84%), living standards (89%) and local incomes (82%) are enhanced. The statement that the majority of local people benefit from tourism is accepted by 76% of respondents. Moreover, the importance of tourism to the local economy is recognized by 90% of respondents. Increases in local prices are also observed by 52% of respondents.

Second, environmental impacts of tourism are explored using seven factors. There is general agreement on tourism's positive impacts on the protection and maintenance of the Great Wall (83%) and beautifying the environment (75%). Two thirds (66%) do not agree that tourism negatively impacts the environment and 68% think that tourism has helped to improve local public facilities. About half deny that tourism is associated with negative environmental impacts such as traffic congestion, noise and crowding but a substantial minority express concern at different levels, suggesting the emergence of recognition of some negative environmental impacts.

Third, social and cultural impacts of tourism are examined through six factors. Almost all (93%) of respondents agree that awareness of cultural heritage is improved through

Table 4. General evaluation of tourism development.

General evaluation of tourism development at site	Disagree	Neutral	Agree	N	Mean	S.D.
I am satisfied with current tourism development	8%	12%	79%	73	.71	.612
There are more benefits through tourism development	7%	12%	81%	73	.74	.578
Local government should continue to promote tourism development	4%	1%	95%	73	.90	.414
Local government should pay more attention to tourism impacts on local residents	1%	14%	85%	73	.84	.409

Table 5. Impacts of tourism on the local community at Badaling Great Wall.

Economic impacts from tourism development	Disagree	Neutral	Agree	N	Mean	S.D.
Tourism development improved local economic development	5%	7%	88%	73	.82	.509
Tourism development provided more local job opportunity	10%	7%	84%	73	.74	.624
Tourism development improved local living standard	4%	7%	89%	73	.85	.462
Tourism development increased local income	6%	13%	82%	71	.76	.547
Tourism development led to the increase of local prices	31%	17%	52%	71	.21	.893
Most local people benefit from tourism development	10%	14%	76%	72	.67	.650
Tourism development improved local service standard	11%	24%	65%	71	.54	.693
Tourism is important in local economy	4%	5%	90%	73	.86	.451
Environmental impacts from tourism development	Disagree	Neutral	Agree	N	Mean	S.D.
Help the protection and maintenance of the Great Wall	10%	7%	83%	72	.74	.628
Beautify the environment in local community	11%	14%	75%	72	.64	.678
Bring negative impacts to surrounding environment	69%	14%	17%	71	-.52	.772
Improve local public facilities	7%	25%	68%	72	.61	.618
Bring more traffic congestion, difficult to go out	52%	14%	34%	71	-.18	.915
Bring more noise, destroy the local peaceful atmosphere	55%	17%	28%	71	-.27	.878
Tourists causes crowding at site	51%	32%	17%	71	-.34	.755
Social and cultural impacts from tourism development	Disagree	Neutral	Agree	N	Mean	S.D.
Help build friendly community atmosphere	11%	11%	77%	71	.66	.675
Enrich local life	31%	17%	51%	70	.20	.894
Improve the awareness of cultural heritage in local people	1%	6%	93%	70	.91	.329
Deepen the understanding of Great Wall culture of local people	3%	13%	84%	70	.81	.460
Make local people realize the attractiveness and characteristics of their home town	1%	16%	82%	68	.81	.432
Make local people like to work and live at their home town	0%	16%	84%	68	.84	.371

tourism and the understanding of Great Wall culture is deepened among local people (84%), contributing to tourism development. Results indicate that the development of tourism helps to raise the awareness of cultural heritage at Badaling. Most (82%) respondents agree that tourism promotes recognition of the attractiveness and characteristics of their hometown and 84% think more local people like to work and live in their hometown as a result of tourism. In addition, a friendly community atmosphere is considered to be supported by tourism by 77% of respondents. However, only 51% respondents consider their local life is enriched due to tourism development.

Results of the questionnaire survey show that small business operators at Badaling demonstrate high recognition of the positive impacts of World Heritage designation on site reputation and tourism development, Great Wall protection and local business performance. Positive evaluations of tourism are also observed. Consistently, positive economic, social and cultural impacts from tourism are recognized by a large majority of respondents. In contrast, a divergence of opinion is observed on two environmental items, suggesting that environmental costs, with implications for heritage protection, have been recognized by some local people as a price that is being paid for economic benefits.

Discussion and conclusion

This study explored hierarchical relationships in heritage preservation and tourism development at Badaling Great Wall through examination of its management structure, heritage preservation, development plans and the opinions of the local business community. The Great Wall has underpinned tourism development at Badaling since 1958. Tourism imposes threats but also supports heritage preservation financially. With Great Wall tourism as the “pillar” industry for Badaling County, people from nearby villages and across Yanqing District are drawn to do business near the Great Wall.

Although global values and local meanings of a heritage site may often be at variance (Black & Wall, 2001), no obvious difference exists for this Great Wall site with its consistent meaning and significance across local, national and global scales. Badaling is distinctive, as indicated by its architectural structures, history and cultural context. From a universal (the term used by UNESCO) perspective, its significance can be readily identified, understood, interpreted and presented to people with different historical interests and cultural backgrounds. World Heritage designation represents the global recognition of the significance of the site and the international desire to preserve it. Nevertheless, while there is wide recognition, including at the local level, of the need for preservation and restoration, there is greater urgency for development locally. Thus, the tendency is for the global to be equated with preservation and the local to give priority to tourism development. However, it is more complicated than this for some local government departments have a preservation mandate and the plans espouse a preservation perspective while giving most attention to development opportunities.

The designation process and requirements bridge the global, intermediate and local scales in heritage preservation and tourism development at specific sites, providing an official channel for global–local interactions in heritage issues. However, at Badaling, the official global–local interaction is not directly evident, apart from the occasional sign, at the local or site level. Consistent with previous research findings (Bandarin, 2004; Yan & Morrison, 2007), World Heritage designation also has had limited impacts on site tourism development, international reputation or increases in the number of tourists, for the Great Wall was already famous. Rather, direct regulation and supervision are delegated to and come from the local government and its relevant departments through China’s hierarchical management structure. As the first section to be opened to tourists and a UNESCO-designated representative section of the Great Wall, Badaling Great Wall Tourist Area receives considerable direct financial and managerial support from Beijing municipality and the state government. Badaling Special Zone Office, as the management office of Badaling Great Wall, is granted a special position as an independent part of Yanqing District Government, responsible for both heritage preservation and tourism development. This suggests that World Heritage designation has had considerable impacts, both financial and managerial, on directing governmental support to the designated site, corresponding

to Shackley's (1998) finding that World Heritage status improves a country's or site's accessibility to conservation funding from governments or from other sources.

Through an examination of the management structure and the planning process of Badaling, it has been shown that World Heritage management in China involves stakeholders from national, provincial, municipal and district to the site level. Besides, the shared landownership at Badaling draws various local stakeholders into its lower level management structure. Both the hierarchical and multi-departmental management structure and the complicated land ownership contribute to site-level management complications, increasing tensions between preservation and tourism and complicating the community participation process, which is not highly developed. The general message to be taken from this is that the management of World Heritage Sites is complex, that the institutional arrangements are likely to vary from place to place reflecting national systems of governance, with implications for the priorities that are set among preservation and development and for the sustainability of the resource and local communities.

With no village directly on site but several nearby, the local community at Badaling Great Wall can be considered to be the residents in nearby villages. As shown through the questionnaire survey, the majority of small business operators are from the local area. The strong attachment of local residents to the Great Wall, which enhances their tourism participation (Su & Wall, 2010), has been built up through their everyday interactions with Great Wall preservation and tourism development for years. As indicated by residents, many of them had been involved in renovation of the Great Wall at a very early stage and take pride in their close relationship with the Great Wall. This has been magnified by the Great Wall's international reputation and increasing tourism development. Although not effectively consulted in the planning, nor effectively informed of the plans, local participation in tourism is, nevertheless, widespread, consistent with Li's (2006) examination in Jiuzhaigou Biosphere Reserve of China. The local community is highly dependent economically on tourism. Positive economic impacts from tourism are highly valued by the local community, the government and the management office, and this is reflected in the plans for Badaling County and the site. Thus, local benefits from tourism development are being emphasized, but greater attention could be paid to social and cultural implications.

High awareness of heritage protection and positive attitudes toward tourism development are also identified by the local business community. Without living very close to the site but having a close economic linkage with tourism, the majority of small business operators surveyed demonstrated high tolerance toward negative environmental impacts such as traffic congestion, crowding and noise at the site. In addition, a considerable portion of respondents also recognized negative impacts on tourism and local business development due to the high requirements of World Heritage designation and associated preservation, illustrating the potential conflicts between global priorities and local needs for development. Badaling Great Wall has encountered issues regarding visitor capacity with daily tourist numbers exceeding the maximum evaluated by Beijing Tourism Bureau (2008) during peak seasons. Crowding and congestion are challenges to managers of Badaling Special Zone. Thus, higher attention from site management toward heritage preservation, environmental protection and visitor management is desired in the future. It will be a challenge to enhance local benefits from tourism without overdeveloping tourism at the site.

As a long-established and well-known tourism site, Badaling Great Wall attracts both international and domestic visitors. However, as pointed out by officials and noticed by small business operators, another management challenge is that most visitors stay at Badaling Great Wall only for several hours, get a somewhat superficial experience on the Wall and spend little at the site. Badaling Great Wall needs to share its full cultural and natural assets

with visitors in order to bring the true cultural and historical values of the Great Wall to them, thereby enriching their experience and encouraging them to stay longer and spend more.

This research has explored heritage tourism planning and management at Badaling Great Wall World Heritage Site through perspectives from both the management authorities and the local community. Although efforts were made to forge connections with heritage personnel, interviews were conducted primarily at the site level. Although their experience and knowledge of heritage issues from a macro-level would be directly reflected in the hierarchical governmental control and supervision in heritage preservation and tourism in China, government officials from Tourism Bureaus, Administration of Cultural Heritage and the Ministry of Culture at national, municipal and district levels were not successfully approached for interviews due to lack of contacts. Their perspectives should be explored in future research, if connections can be forged, to enhance understanding of the management structure and the governmental role at heritage sites in China.

The research primarily focused on perspectives of key stakeholders: the local business community, site management office and the local government. Relatively little was done to explore the roles and perceptions of other stakeholders such as visitors, tourism enterprises and intermediaries, international heritage and tourism organizations and non-governmental organizations (NGOs). Research of this type could be undertaken to explore opinions of a greater range of stakeholders and to examine how to incorporate them effectively into heritage tourism planning and management. In particular, visitors are the consumers of heritage tourism. Their expectations of heritage tourism experiences and their opinions on heritage preservation and tourism development should be explored. Thus, their interests and concerns could be understood and incorporated into the planning and management of World Heritage Sites. Moreover, officials at UNESCO and the United Nations World Tourism Organization (UNWTO) could be approached in future research to understand their perceptions of the global–local relationship in heritage preservation and tourism, the role of international organizations and how international organizations could cooperate effectively with local strengths to preserve and develop heritage sites.

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Note

1. The slide way is a form of cable-hauled rack railway with numerous small individual cars.

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