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**IMAGE OVER SUBSTANCE:
THE SOCIAL COHESION IN CULTURE-LED URBAN
REGENERATION OF SHANGHAI**

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PhD

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The Hong Kong Polytechnic University
Department of Building and Real Estate
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**Image over substance: The social cohesion in culture-led urban
regeneration of Shanghai**

Jiemei LUO

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

September 2023

CERTIFICATE OF ORIGINALITY

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Jiemei LUO

(Name of student)

Dedication

[*For my grandpapa Jianhe Zhao*]

Abstract

This study aims to examine social cohesion (SC) as part of the social impact, on local neighbourhoods under culture-led urban regeneration (CUR) in Shanghai, China. Special attention is given to the regeneration regime that involved social organizations in heritage reuse and urban design to understand how diverse social groups were integrated or excluded. Two Conservation Areas in Shanghai, Yuyuan and Xinhua, both well-known cultural neighbourhoods were selected as case studies. The study explores CUR's influences on SC by exploring the tensions between image and substance, and identify key factors that contribute to SC.

To understand the SC in CUR, this thesis investigated how SC performed in CUR at the neighbourhood level and how urban regeneration regime is formed and worked in CUR. Both quantitative and qualitative methods and techniques were adopted, including questionnaire survey, observations and interviews methods and the use of One-way ANOVA and structural equation modeling (SEM) analysis techniques to analyse questionnaire data; secondary data covering the period of 2018 to 2023 were also analysed. Specifically, the thesis integrates the concept of aesthetics and liminality into an analytical framework of urban entrepreneurialism to explore how CUR contribute to SC in cultural neighbourhoods.

The study demonstrates the CUR regime as formed by local state, private interest, and social organizations. The CUR is an integration of heritage reuse, cultural-creative industry development, and old neighbourhood regeneration. A neighbourly and social cohesive image is successfully (re)constructed by regeneration regime as perceived by the public. The amenities and shops, and daily

activities are the key factors forming a neighbourly image of a neighbourhood. Open spaces' cultural expressions, spatial features, and management is vital for achieving SC. The micro-regeneration approach and active social organizations contribute to the neighbourly image and enhance collective place attachment and identity.

However, a difference between the neighbourly image and social cohesive substance remains. The CUR in Shanghai, featuring an integration of heritage reuse and micro-regeneration, has been exemplified as a new state entrepreneurialism strategy in China, which justified and enhanced the state power. The CUR regime work as aesthetic regime simultaneously that transform and manipulate the aesthetic meaning of old neighbourhoods from deterioration (negative) to neighbourliness (attractive). Private and social sectors were employed by the state as neighbourhood branding tools. The social contribution of cultural neighbourhood regeneration, such as activating social interactions and community empowerment, is limited and fleeting. An extending commodification of neighbourhood spaces with commercial gentrification is observed that may threaten the long-term sustainability of local neighbourhoods. More attentions to wider social groups and caring for vulnerable groups, such as elderlies and lower-working class, is necessary.

Publications Arising from the Thesis

Journal Publications:

- [1] **Luo, J.**, Jian, I. Y., Chan, E. H. W., & Chen, W*. (2022). Cultural regeneration and neighborhood image from the aesthetic perspective: Case of heritage conservation areas in Shanghai. *Habitat International*, 129, 102689. doi:<https://doi.org/10.1016/j.habitatint.2022.102689>. (SCI/SSCI Index, IF: 6.8).
- [2] **Luo, J.**, Jian, I. Y., Yung, E. H. K., Chan, E. H. W., & Chen, W*. (2023). Pursuing social cohesion in cultural tourism destinations: liminality as a mediator. *Current issues in tourism*, 1-17. doi:10.1080/13683500.2023.2235878. (SCI/SSCI Index, IF: 8.0).
- [3] **Luo, J.**, Lu, T.T., Chan, E. H. & Chen, W*. Consuming neighbourliness: Cultural regeneration under state entrepreneurialism in China. *Urban Studies*. (Abstract accepted by 2023 Urban China Research Network Conference – Best Student Award Competition, Peking U, potential recommend for journal publication).
- [4] **Luo, J.**, Jian, I. Y., Wang, A., Chan, E. H. W., & Chen, W*. (2023). Growth regime promoting cultural integrated regeneration- Case of Yuyuan Heritage Conservation Area. *International Urban Planning*. (成长联盟推动文化融合的城市更新. In Chinese, Under Revision, CSSCI).

Conference Publications:

- [1] **Luo, J.**, Jian, I. Y., Chan, E. H. W., & Chen, W*. (2023). Green Open Spaces as Catalysts of Culture-led Urban Regeneration: Case of Yuyuan Cultural Heritage Neighborhood, Shanghai. *Proceedings of The 3rd International Conference on Sustainable Buildings and Structures*. (Accept, EI Index).

- [2] **Luo, J.**, Jian, I. Y., Qian, Y., Chen, W., & Chan, E. H. W. (2021). Space, event and social value in urban heritage reuse- Case of Shanghai and Hong Kong. *Proceedings of Annual Conference of China Association of City Planning 2021*. (城市文化遗产保护中的空间、事件与社会价值. In Chinese).
- [3] **Luo, J.**, Jian, I. Y., Chan, E. H. W., & Chen, W*. (2023). Real or rhetoric? Social organizations in urban redevelopment. Cases from Shanghai. 2023. *Social Works in New Development Stage*. Peking University, Department of sociology. (Conference presentation).

Book Chapters:

- [1] Chen, W., & **Luo, J.***, (2021). Understanding Shanghai Metropolitan Cultural Scenes- Case of Yuyuan, Julu, Panyu Road. *Shanghai Culture Development Report 2021. Shanghai Culture Development in the Fourteenth Phase*. Shanghai Academy of Social Sciences Press. (透视上海大都市文化场景 – 以愚园路、巨鹿路、番禺路为例. In Chinese).
- [2] Chen, W., & **Luo, J.***, (2023). Culture-led urban regeneration: Context, mechanism and scene. *Urban regeneration and urban design*. Tongji University Press. (文化城市更新：语境、机制和场景. In Chinese).

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Nomenclature

SC: Social cohesion

CUR: Culture-led urban regeneration

PLS – SEM: Partial least squares - Structural equation modelling

Bobo: Bourgeois-bohemian

SCAs: Shanghai conservation areas

CTDs: Cultural tourism districts

CUL: Cultural expressions

SF: Spatial features

MAN: Management

LIM: Liminality

SD: Standard deviation

CR: Composite reliability

AVE: Average variance extracted

CA: Cronbach's alpha

HTMT: Heterotrait-monotrait ratio of correlations

VAF: Variance accounted for

Chapter 1 Introduction

1.1 Background and motivations

1.1.1 Rise of culture in regeneration and their governance

Cultural regeneration is a strategy widely adopted worldwide to activate urban renaissance and catalyze economic and social transformation (Miles & Paddison, 2005; Garcia, 2005; Pratt, 2009). In the neoliberal context, cultural regeneration not only focuses on adding more cultural facilities or spaces, but also emphasizes the transformation of the image of a city or place to attract tourists, the creative class, and investment (Harvey, 1989; Paddison, 1993; Degen & Garcia, 2012; Connolly, 2013). Mega-campaigns like the European Capitals of Culture and other flagship initiatives are widely recognized as signals of image repositioning and rebranding (Eizenberg & Cohen, 2015; Garcia, 2017). At the local scale, neighbourhood image refers to a location's embedded meaning, ambiance, and style—particularly those elements that are increasingly seen as attractive and can further activate urban resurgence (Zukin, 1989; Lloyd, 2002; Gao, Yin, & Zhu, 2020). With the development of the urban amenity and creative class theory, a place ambiance that can be described as bohemian has been viewed as vital for economic resurgence in post-industrial cities (Florida, 2003).

Under the aestheticization of the urban economy and landscape, the aesthetic and cultural meaning attached to specific places can attract artists, lifestyle aesthetes, and their followers (Zukin, 1989, p. 82; Lloyd, 2002; Ley, 2003; Yeoh, 2005). Urban scenes related to certain aesthetic characteristics have been extensively discussed, including the Bohemian (Ulldemolins, 2014; Gainza, 2017), bourgeois-bohemian (Bobo) or Disney heaven (Sorkin, 1992; Zukin, 1993; Brooks, 2001; Billingham, 2017). However, a neighbourhood is a complicated concept and deeply involves local attachment and belonging, which require fine-grained examinations within a specific local context (Abbott, 1997; Silver & Clark, 2016;

Madden, 2018; Willer, 2021). Image promotion and branding interventions have been criticized as a “quick” policy that focused on the external audiences rather than internal ones (Cleave, Arku, Sadler, & Gilliland, 2017). A division between image promotion and real experience is also observed, which reflects ignored human needs (Kokosalakis, Bagnall, Selby, & Burns, 2006; Boland, 2010). Bering this in mind, the relationship between CUR and neighbourhood scale image from the perspective of aesthetic characteristics deserve more exploration; especially, the interaction between the observational factors in CUR and aesthetic characteristics embedded in the image of a neighbourhood based on the public perception.

Notably, understanding neighbourhood image requires situating cultural meaning within a particular place and time. Since most previous explorations are based on Western context, investigation in non-Western cities has the potential to contribute to enhance related literature, such as Shanghai.

At the neighbourhood level, culture is also actively employed as a catalyst for activating revitalization. A varied form of culture, including mega-event, creative clusters, artist quarters, and heritage, were examined as a cultural approach to their role in attracting investment and improving competitiveness in regional and global competition (Degen & Garcia, 2012; Dova et al., 2022; De Frantz, 2018; John & McDonald, 2020; Zhong, 2016). At the neighbourhood scale, an increasing number of deteriorating neighbourhoods face regeneration and redevelopment, which calls for further understanding of the potential of culture’s impact (Chen et al., 2020; Li, 2020). In cultural neighbourhood regeneration, social organizations that hold community events and attract indigenous residents to join the redevelopment program were viewed as key stakeholders (Lees & Melhuish, 2015; Mens et al., 2021). Their vital impact is also supported by introducing artistic and cultural elements into mundane neighbourhoods (García et al., 2015). Diverse benefits of social organizations were claimed, including social innovation, local identity, accumulating social capital, incubating social interactions, and providing artistic and cultural

education opportunities (Degen & Garcia, 2012; Mangialardo & Micelli, 2021; Hui et al., 2021). However, it is worth noting that many concepts and discourses related to cultural approaches and their social contribution were limited and overstated (Erdmenger, 2022; Lees & Melhuish, 2015; Wang & Li, 2017). The emergence of a self-organization version of regeneration also requires more understanding (Mangialardo & Micelli, 2021). The expectations of varied stakeholders, such as the state, developers, and local neighbourhood, deserve further explorations (Chen et al., 2020).

Entrepreneurial city is an influential theory for understanding the governance of urban redevelopment. Multiple policy initiatives related to culture were employed to exemplify entrepreneurial governance, which seeks to transform the city's image and attract investment and global competition (Chan & Li, 2017; Jokela, 2020). The entrepreneurial approach transforms urban space into consumption and tourism destinations to extract economic profits and release more urban spaces into commercialization and the market (Zheng, 2011; Raco & Gilliam, 2012; Su, 2015; Wang & Li, 2017), along with anesthetization of the urban landscape (Cao, 2022; J. Zheng, 2019). Though urban designers claim to plan for environmental quality and social needs, they can only do planning for reimagining a consumer society and accumulation (Biddulph, 2011; Knox, 2011). Under the anesthetization of the urban landscape, the concept of aesthetic regime is incorporated into the entrepreneurial governance to understand better the utilization of cultural practices for strategic political targets (Rancière, 2010). One emerging aspect is incorporating aesthetic regime and urban environment interpretation (He & Qian, 2023; Gerlofs, 2017; Waldman, 2022).

While urban redevelopment is at the forefront of neoliberalism in China, the controversies within the progress require more scrutinizing (He & Wu, 2009). State entrepreneurialism is featured as using market tools to enhance state power in China (Wu, 2018) with an entrepreneurial state (Zheng, 2010). After rising social conflicts in mass displacement, public participation is listed as compulsory in urban

regeneration in China, with more comprehensive employment of social organizations (Z. Wang et al., 2020; Hui et al., 2021). In China, the rise of cultural neighbourhood regeneration, featured as using a micro-regeneration approach and encouraging public participation, remains under documented and examined. It is worth questioning whether and how cultural neighbourhood regeneration is employed as a new entrepreneurial strategy in China.

1.1.2 The social cohesion in CUR

Enhancing the social benefits of urban development is a global primary concern. United Nations held World Summit for Social Development and announced the “Social Integration: approaches and Issues” report in 1994. With the expanding globalization in the late 20th century, a growing pattern of economic integration may produce insecure social and cultural tensions, including inequality and cultural malaise. It also produced by migration, at the national and international scale. People with different language and cultural backgrounds need to live in a city together, which create tensions among varied social groups and pressure existing social service. European Commission announced the Action Plan on Integration and Inclusion in 2016 and 2020 to “foster social cohesion and building inclusive societies for all” and “prevent the spread of extremist ideologies.” Social cohesion in contemporary cities is an essential security and human well-being issue.

Cultural redevelopment, especially cultural tourism development, has moved away from a previous focus on entrepreneurial economic growth toward a more sustainable, socially and economically balanced development (Ruiz-Ortega et al., 2021; Stevenson, 2021), accompanied by a growing demand for literature to understand how cultural tourism development practices affect social performance (Hoang et al., 2020; Zutshi et al., 2021; Qu et al., 2021; Butler, Szili, & Huang, 2022). Particularly social cohesion (SC), which is a vital dimension of the social impact of tourism activities but is not well

understood (Islam et al., 2021; Mair et al., 2021). SC refers to a society that is held and glued together, with key dimensions such as place attachment, collective identity, and social networks (Kearns & Forrest, 2000; Dekker & Bolt, 2005; Mugnano & Palvarini, 2013). Previous studies have identified the benefits of social achievements for consolidated tourism development (Wang et al., 2022; Wu et al., 2022). Specifically, achieving collective identity at the local level may generate new development opportunities (Mrđa & Carić, 2019; Wu et al., 2022). Recreation and entertainment activities further affect the atmosphere of a place, thus enhancing visitors' place attachment (Lai et al., 2021; York et al., 2021). Although cultural tourism development could enhance community pride, the increasing volumes of tourists still can lead to opposition in the local community (Butler, Szili, & Huang, 2022). Tourism development threatens immaterial cultural heritage, such as local residents' lifestyles (Tan et al., 2018), which indicates the key factors that affect tourism's social impact require further exploration. Cultural tourism destinations (CTDs) are destinations that draw attention to societal features such as arts and architecture; historical, cultural, and culinary heritage; literature; music; and creative industries and living cultures (UNWTO, 2017). These are places where diverse forms of culture exist, making the potential social conflicts more complicated. The study of SC in CTDs has the potential to provide a deeper understanding of the social impact of tourism and to support overall sustainable tourism development.

Meanwhile, urban regeneration strategies related to art and culture is widely adopted in China and Shanghai, but the social effects seem problematic (Gu, 2014; Zhong, 2016; Chan & Li, 2017). After the big reform in China, the transformation of urban land and management policy resulted in social segregation and exclusion (Zhu, 1999; Wu, 2002). How we can utilize art and culture to bring social cohesion in the city rather than polarize social segregation require further understanding. The key guiding principle for urban development includes "harmonious society" in 2004 and "people's city" in 2019 China, all indicating the requirement for social cohesion in urban development.

1.2 Research questions

Based on those mentioned above, the research seeks to fill the literature gap regarding the relationship between CUR, urban design, social cohesion, and urban governance. Three research questions with their associated sub-questions will be addressed in the study:

RQ1. How does CUR (re)construct neighbourhood image, especially aesthetic image?

- How to capture and describe neighbourhood images in CUR?
- What are the neighbourhood images in Shanghai in CUR, and how does it differ from Western cities?
- What are the key factors that impact neighbourhood image in CUR?

RQ2. How does CUR contribute to social cohesion?

- What key factors contribute to social cohesion in CUR at the neighbourhood level?
- What is the connotation of social cohesion in CUR at the neighbourhood level?

RQ3. How does CUR become a new strategy of urban entrepreneurialism?

- How do regeneration regimes form, and what are their motivations?
- What is the power relationship among stakeholders in the regeneration regime, especially in producing neighbourhoods' aesthetic image?

- How does CUR contribute to the extended commodification of space and result in social exclusion?

1.3 Research aims and objectives

Addressing the research questions, the study aims to explore the tensions between neighbourhood image and real social performances in CUR and understand the corresponding regeneration regime by linking the theory of urban design, urban entrepreneurialism, and urban sociology for empirical studies. Specific objectives are listed as follows:

A1. To understand the (re)construction of neighbourhood image in CUR by developing a framework to best describe neighborhood image in CUR, through identifying the key factors that impact image perception and revealing the relationship between CUR and image characteristics;

A2. To examine the social cohesion of CUR at the neighbourhood level by exploring the key factors that contribute to social cohesion and revealing the connotation of social cohesion through the lens of liminality;

A3. To demonstrate the urban entrepreneurialism in CUR by identifying the motivations of stakeholders that formed the urban regeneration regime and analyzing the power relationship among them.

1.4 Thesis structure

This thesis is divided into three main parts which are encapsulated in seven chapters ([Figure 1.1](#)). The introduction chapter introduces the background and context, research questions, aims, and objectives. The structure of the study is also illustrated in text and figures. The second chapter critically reviews previous studies on theoretical and methodological research in CUR, urban design, and urban entrepreneurialism. The fundamental theories and concepts, research gaps, and potential contributions were introduced by conducting the system boundary-based literature review. Subsequently, Chapter 3 presents the methodology adopted in the study. Quantitative and qualitative methods were applied, such as thematic analysis and structural equation modeling (SEM).

The second part compares the public perceived image, the substance, and the regeneration regime. **Chapter 4** provides a framework to capture neighbourhood images and identify key factors that impact image perception. **Chapter 5** examines CUR's impact on social cohesion, identifies the key factors in achieving social cohesion through the lens of liminality, and further examines the role of cultural activities and open spaces in detail. **Chapter 6** critically examines the motivations and role of diverse stakeholders in the regeneration regime and their social influences. In the end, conclusions, implications, limitations, and future research were discussed in **Chapter 7**.

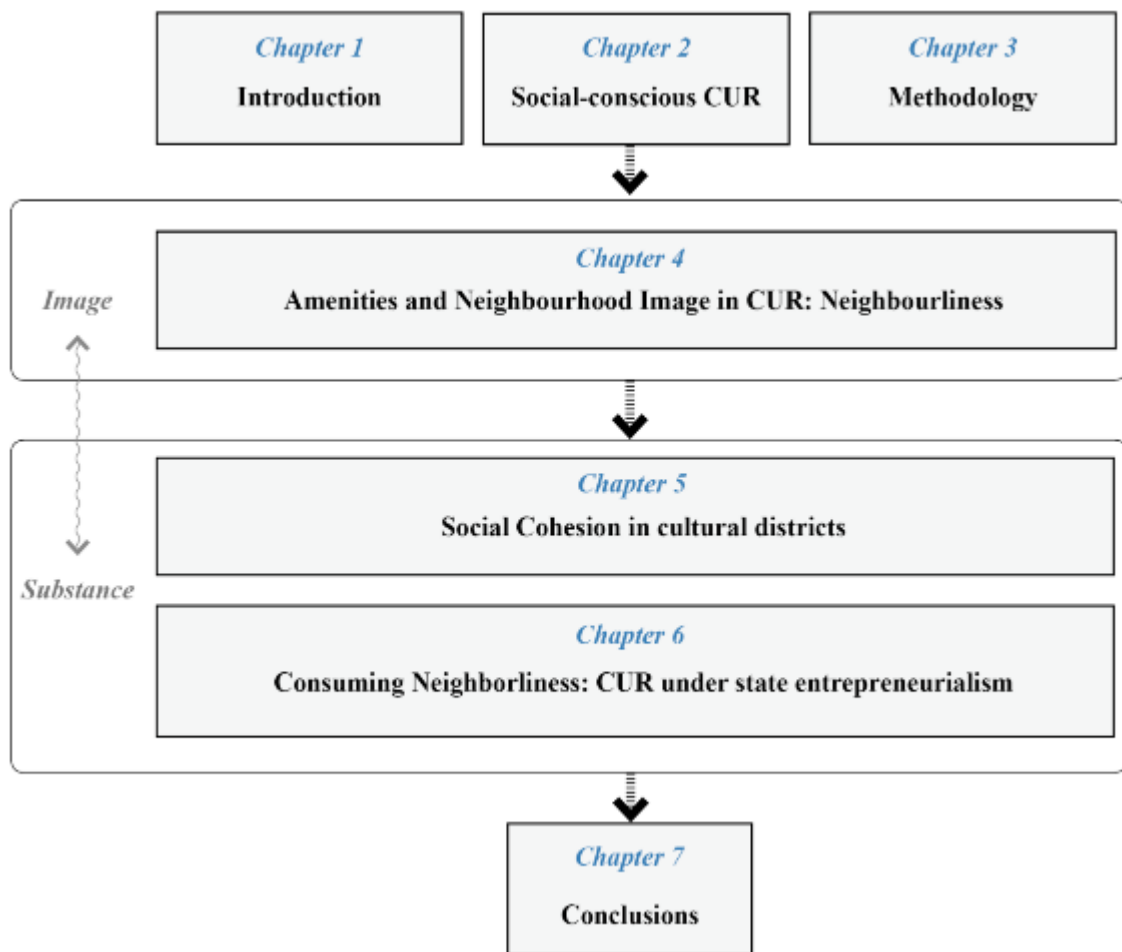


Figure 1.1 Thesis structure

Chapter 2 Literature review: Social conscious in CUR

2.1 A system boundary-based review

Whilst CUR has been widely employed as approaches to activate urban resurgence and redevelopment, more attention has been paid to the economic dimension of CUR, but the social dimension remains less clear. Recently, the social impacts of CUR received increased discussion, especially social cohesion and exclusion, but there is still a lack of consensus on their measurement and focus upon both forms of culture and factors impact social cohesion in CUR. Accordingly, the study start with a systematic literature review of the existing literature to identify and define the dimensions of CUR and social cohesion in CUR, highlighting a need for further research to fully understand the social dimensions of CUR.

The method for literature review is a system boundary-based review (Wang, 2021) that has not been applied in CUR, providing a more systematic approach to understanding literature about CUR (Figure 2.1). The full search code for Web of Science is listed as follows:

AB=((cultural OR culture OR art) AND (regeneration OR renewal OR renaissance OR resurgence OR revitalization) AND social) AND TS=((cultural OR culture OR art) AND (regeneration OR renewal OR renaissance OR resurgence OR revitalization) AND social)

The time period was limited from 2010 to April 2020 and, 12 research fields were set as urban studies, geography, sociology, regional urban planning, architecture, social sciences interdisciplinary, cultural studies, management, economics, political science, social issues, and environmental studies. We only included the papers published in journals with a minimum of three related publications; then a final 155 papers were set as the core literature dataset.

Ten Boundaries elements been set: B1: Background, B2: Form of culture, B3: Scale of CUR, B4: Social influence, B5: Criteria, B6: Research method, B7: Data source, B8: Year, B9: Location, B10:

Boundary 1-3 been setting for understanding what is culture in CUR, boundary 4-5 for defining social cohesion and integration in CUR, boundary 6-7 summarizing the research method, and boundary 8-10 reflecting the time-spatial research trend.

Literature collection	Step 1: Systematic literature identification	
	Step 2: Literature classification and database establishment	
Literature analysis	Step 3: System boundary model setting B1: Background, B2: Form of culture, B3: Scale of CUR, B4: Social influence, B5: Criteria, B6: Research method, B7: Data source, B8: Year, B9: Location, B10: Research source	
	Step 4: Explain what is culture in CUR (B1-B3)	Result 1: Post-industrial development as the main background (B1)
		Result 2: Open space with cultural activities is the dominant type (B2)
		Result 3: Flagship project in neighborhood (B3)
	Step 5: Define social cohesion (B4-B5)	Result 4: Identification of 5 social cohesion dimensions (B4)
		Result 5: Identification of 38 social cohesion criteria (B5)
		Result 6: Relationship between social cohesion and methods (B4 & B5)
	Step 6: Summarize research methods (B6-B7)	Result 7: Mixed methods as qualitative studies dominant (B6)
		Result 7: Identificaiton of data resources (B7)
	Step 7: Time-spatial trend (B8-B10)	Result 8: A clear booming after 2010 (B8)
		Result 9: Global wide distribution of cases (B9)
		Result 10: Journals caring CUR research (B10)

Figure 2.1 System boundary-based review

A similar literature search was also conducted from 1990 to 2010 to obtain a more comprehensive vision of research on CUR. An apparent rise of attention to the social dimension of CUR is revealed based on the literature publication time, especially after 2014 (Figure 2.2).

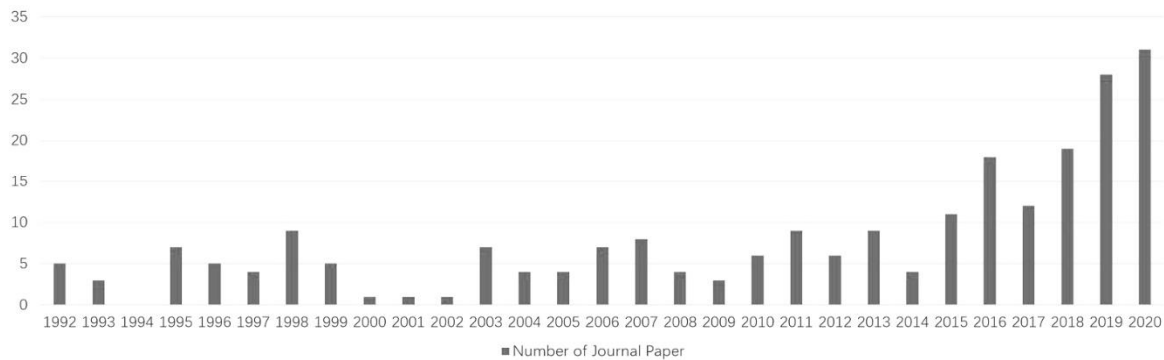


Figure 2.2 Distribution of journal paper by year

2.1.1 Forms of culture in CUR

The form of culture in CUR can be summarized into two main types, the physical cultural space, and cultural events and activities (Table 2.1). Cultural spaces include classical cultural space, heritage, cultural-creative clusters, cultural commerce, open spaces with cultural activities; and cultural events mainly constituted of mega-event and (neighbourhood) participative events. All these diverse forms of culture usually did not exist individually but mixed in CUR in varied ways.

Based on the relationship between culture and urban regeneration, three types of CURs can be further divided as culture-led regeneration, cultural regeneration, and culture and regeneration (Evans, 2005). In culture-led regeneration, the role of culture is more like a catalyst and activator; cultural regeneration

indicates an integrated role of culture and overall local and neighbourhood targets and benefits, such as overall quality of life; and in culture and regeneration, a minor role of culture is revealed.

Table 2.1 Forms of culture in CUR

	Form of culture	Specific forms	Literature example	Case Location
Cultural space	1, Classical cultural space (exhibition and performance)	Museum	(Murray, 2021)	UK, Bankside, London, Tate Modern
		Art gallery	(Gu, 2014)	China, Shanghai, M50
	2, Heritage	Reuse of historic housing	(Zhong, 2016)	China, Shanghai, Tianzifang
		Heritage conservation	(Zhong & Chen, 2017)	China, Shanghai, Xintiandi, Tianzifang, Bugaoli
		Historic areas	(Liu et al., 2019)	China, Beijing
		Historical Urban Center	(Akin, 2018)	Turkey, Tokat
	3, Creative cluster, industry		(Karvelyte, 2018)	China, Shanghai
		Creative clusters	(Della Lucia & Trunfio, 2018)	Italy, Naples, Favara
			(Zhong, 2016)	China, Shanghai, M50, Red Town
	4, Hip- street, trendy shops	Shops	(Gainza, 2017)	Spain, Bilbao
	5, Open space with cultural activities	Public space in relation to sports	(Cognigni & Vettori, 2020)	EU
			(Strunk & Richardson, 2019)	USA, Rock Island, Illinois
		Community garden	(Zhong & Leung, 2019)	China, Shanghai, An Shan Si Cun
		Public art	(Rius-Ulldemolins & Klein, 2020)	Spain, Raval district, Barcelona

			(Sacco et al., 2019)	USA, New York, High line
			(Aharon-Gutman, 2018)	Jerusalem, Musrara
		Pop-up art event on open spaces	(Zebracki, 2018)	UK, England, Dismaland
			(Sitas, 2020)	South Africa, Dlala Indima
		Graffiti	(Torre, 2020)	Colombia, main street Avenida 26, Bogota,
		Bottom-up cultural experiences	(Cerquetti & Cutrini, 2020)	Italy
			(Zheng, 2017)	China, Shanghai
		Sculpture	(Zhong, 2016)	China, Shanghai, Red Town
			(Gu, 2014)	China, Shanghai, M50
		Traditional markets	(Sacco et al., 2019)	Qatar, Souq Waqif in Doha
Cultural events, program	1, Mega events	Expo,	(Chan & Li, 2017)	
		Cities of Culture, EU		
		Olympic games		
	2, Participative events	Future landscape architects workshop for children	(Zhong & Leung, 2019)	China, Shanghai, An Shan Si Cun
		Neighbourhood walks	(Zhong & Leung, 2019)	China, Shanghai, Xinhua Road
		Painting project	(Sitas, 2020)	
		Arts-led regeneration	(Ward, 2018)	UK, England, Margate

2.1.2 Dimensions of social cohesion in CUR

According to the literature analysis, five dimensions of social cohesion were identified: Social order, sense of belonging, social inclusion, participation and engagement, and social interaction and network (Table 2.2).

Table 2.2 Dimensions of social cohesion in CUR

Dimensions	Sub-dimensions	Explanations	Literature examples	Exemplified literatures
1- Social order		Tensions and conflicts among varied stakeholders, social groups	(Wang, 2011, Mugnano & Palvarini, 2013, Zheng, 2017, Zhong & Leung, 2019, Torre, 2020).	Total of 285 petitions with 172 collective petitions regarding relocation were issued in Shanghai (Wang, 2011)
2- Sense of belonging				Old residents to consider moving out because they did not feel comfortable with the expectations from the general trends (Semm, 2011). many of the artists are not from Shanghai and have no sense of connection with the city or M50 (Gu, 2014).
	2-1 Local attachment	Emotional link with place	[-] (Chen et al., 2020)	
	2-2 Collective identity	Varied stakeholder and social groups have collective similar recognition of the district's image and identity	[-] (Boland, 2010, Semm, 2011, Zhong & Leung, 2019, Torre, 2020); [+] (Kim, 2016, Rius-Ulledemolins & Klein, 2020)	The failure of institutional efforts to promote a brand of Bogota as a “City of Memory”, Socio-political divisions over the interpretations of the country’s past result in multi-scalar conflictive negotiations between politics and practices on the street (Torre, 2020)
3- Social inclusion				Old residents to consider moving out because they did not feel

and displacement			comfortable with the expectations from the general trends (Semm, 2011).
3-1 Eviction, displacement	Relocation or displacement because large development project linked with cultural project	(Zukin, 1987, Zukin, 1989, Yang & Chang, 2007, Pratt, 2009, Gu, 2014, Kim, 2016, Sacco et al., 2019)	The pragmatic wedge of their displacement is rising rents and higher sale prices for homes in gentrifying neighborhoods (Zukin, 1987).
3-2 Consumption pattern	Price out-forcing out or no use because of rising price of housing/rent/consumption	[-] (Zukin, 1987, Semm, 2011, McLean, 2014, Hyra, 2015, Gainza, 2017, Strunk & Richardson, 2019, X.L. Chen et al., 2020, Torre, 2020); [+] (Imai, 2013, Sitas, 2020, Rius-Ulledemolins & Klein, 2020)	Compatible with middle-class consumers' aestheticization of an industrial past (X.L. Chen et al., 2020)
3-3 Usage, behaviour in open space	Different lifestyles regarding to the usage of open space	[-] (X.L. Chen et al., 2020); [+] (Sitas, 2020, Imai, 2013)	Old residents having planting pots in the alleyways, and high-rise apartment have strict gated (Imai, 2013). hunting small crabs, frogs, fish and shrimps from the river, while after CUR stepping into the water, and even fishing, have been strictly prohibited (X.L. Chen et al., 2020).
3-4 Interpretations of local culture,	Division of interpretations and representations	[-] (Kim, 2016, Chen et al., 2020); [+] (Rius-	Has failed to restore the lychee trees that representing traditional culture (Chen et al., 2020).

	collective memory and history.	of local memory between regeneration regime and old residents	Ulldemolins & Klein, 2020)	
4- Participation and engagement				
	4-1 opportunity to join the cluster	Artists or cultural-creative enterprise use the space in the cultural cluster	(Gu, 2014, Zhong, 2016)	Extremely strict selection process in M50 (Gu, 2014), started from his acquaintance (Zhong, 2016)
	4-2 participation in art work, events	Opportunities and accessibilities to join artistic activities (program\events accessibility)	(Zhong, 2016, Sitas, 2020)	Elite artists and municipal officials together determined the types of artworks (particularly sculptures) on display in Red Town (Zhong, 2016).
	4-3 participation in regeneration process	Opportunities and accessibilities to join regeneration process	[-](Semm, 2011, Gu, 2014, Zhong, 2016) [+] (Zhong & Leung, 2019, Sitas, 2020)	Non-elite artists virtually had no decision power with regard to place-making and local cultural agendas, TZF (Zhong, 2016).
5- Social interaction and network		Interaction level between individuals, social groups	[-] (Gu, 2014); [+] (Kong, 2009, Semm, 2011, Sitas, 2020)	The hip-pop music, dancing and graffiti events tend to attract young people. They are seen as a good platform for discussing important issues and for networking (Sitas, 2020).
Note: [+] indicate positive influence to SC, [-] indicate negative influence to SC.				

Social order indicates severe tensions among different social groups (Wang, 2011; Mugnano & Palvarini, 2013; Zheng, 2017; Zhong & Leung, 2019; Torre, 2020). For example, 285 petitions with 172 collective petitions regarding relocation were issued in Shanghai (Wang, 2011).

The sense of belonging has a local attachment and collective identity. Local attachment reflects the preference, emotion, and link between people and specific places. Place attachment in CUR emphasizes attachment based on similar cultural tastes (Kim, 2016) rather than attachment based on memory (Gu, 2014). Once the cultural style does not fit the cultural preferences, even old residents with many memories of the place may consider moving out (Semm, 2011).

Creating a collective identity and a new image of the place is a critical goal in CUR. However, the result can be extremely different. Positive results are the new image of a place (Kim, 2016; Rius-Ulledemolins & Klein, 2020). An apparent division between what the regeneration regime intended to produce and what has been conceived by the general public shows a failure to produce a collective identity (Boland, 2010; Semm, 2011; Zhong & Leung, 2019; Torre, 2020).

Cultural displacement is one feature that distinguishes CUR from general urban regeneration. As culture indicates the way of life, it is related to displacement resulting from different open space usage, indigenous culture interpretation, and consumption preferences. General displacement and eviction usually relate to demolishing or relocating old residents (Yang & Chang, 2007; Wang, 2011; Sacco et al., 2019). Pursuing culture provides a rhetorical excuse to mobilize the new development project, resulting in mass displacement. Old neighbourhoods were replaced by gated communities or large shopping malls and science parks, resulting in fragmented urban patches (Wu, 2002). Consumption displacement can be easily understood as “price out” (Zukin, 1987; Zukin, 1989; Yang & Chang, 2007;

Pratt, 2009; Gu, 2014; Kim, 2016; Sacco et al., 2019). The working class is not evicted because of conventional relocation but has been priced out because of the newly built up-market housing (Murray, 2021).

The usage of open space also reflects the culture in terms of lifestyle. A shared space is created if diverse ways of use can be allowed (Sitas, 2020; Imai, 2013). If the way people can use the open space in CUR is restricted to a particular type, people who prefer to use it differently are excluded naturally (Boland, 2010; X.L. Chen et al., 2020). Interpretations of local culture reflect a different aspect of cultural displacement. Old residents treat lychee trees as the representation of traditional culture, but the governmental institution states the local culture can be kept with the absence of lychee trees (Chen et al., 2020).

Considering the range of participation and engagement, it has three sub-aspects, including the opportunity to join the cultural cluster (Gu, 2014; Zhong, 2016), as some clusters have a rigorous selection process (Zhong, 2016). Participation in cultural activities may result in social harmony and sharing (Degen & Garcia, 2012). When the type of artwork can only be decided by elite artists, an exclusion approach appeared (Zhong, 2016; Sitas, 2020).

Social interaction and networks reflect the relationship among diverse individuals and groups. The issue regarding interaction is that even the artists physically together may remain communication absent (Kong, 2009; Zheng, 2011) or interaction within certain elite artist groups (Zhong, 2016). The link between artists and the surrounding community is missing and received criticism (Kong, 2009).

Compared with general social issues being addressed in CUR, defining social cohesion (integration) focuses on aspects directly linked with art and culture. This research emphasizes the intangible social landscape regarding social networking, cultural preference and taste, and mental conditions. The general

social issues, including unemployment, poverty, and crime, received attention in much literature but were not the focus of this study.

Regarding the factors contribute to social cohesion in CUR, main factors can be summarized as physical environment, cultural events, and social groups (Figure 2.3). Detailed variables can be further identified.

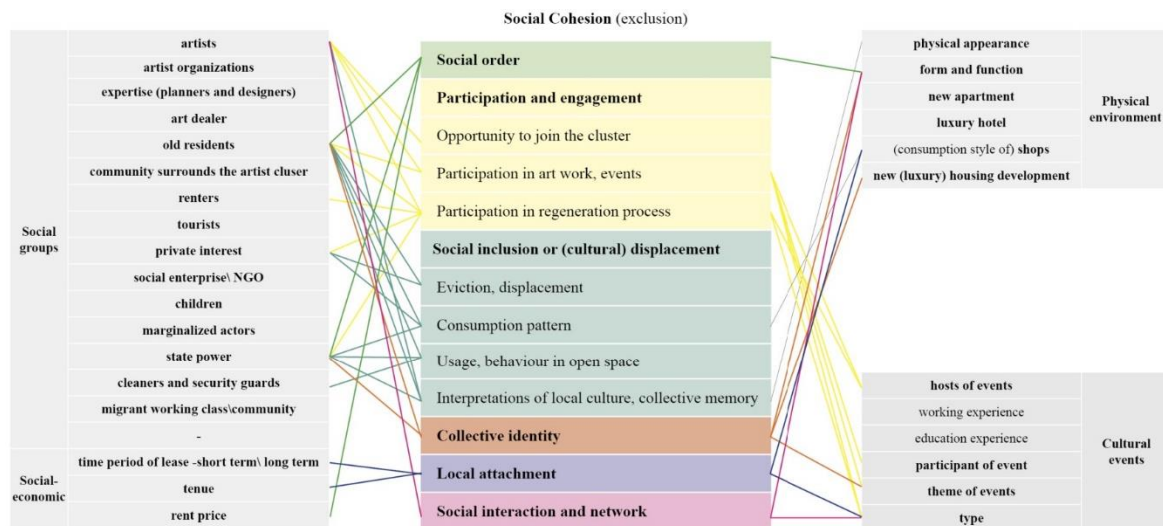


Figure 2.3 Factors impact social cohesion in CUR

2.1.3 Trend and feature of CUR in Shanghai, China

With the understanding of the literature internationally, the practices of CUR in Shanghai have also been analyzed. From a summary of related policies and a list of practices, the new feature of CUR in SH is the combination of heritage reuse with neighbourhood micro-regeneration (社区微更新) (Figure 2.4). Although some research has paid attention to the emerging “social turn” of urban regeneration in

Shanghai (Wang, 2011; Zhong & Leung, 2019), the social consciousness of CUR in SH has not been fully documented and examined.

Practices in SH	Timeline	Law, Policy, Initiative	Key reflections and actions
(v) Xintiandi, (v) Tianzifang, (v) M50			
	2003	Conservation Area and Historic Building Protection Rules 上海市历史风貌和历史建筑保护条例 (first version)	12 Conservation Area
	2005	Shanghai Conservation Planning 上海历史文化风貌区保护规划 (控制性详细规划)	Little social conservation (Wang, 2011)
(v) Red Town, (v) 1933			
(v) EXPO	2010	EXPO	Mass relocation (Chan & Li, 2017)
(X) Yuyuan 愚园	201505	Shanghai Urban Regeneration Rules 上海城市更新实施办法	The principle transit from displacement to regeneration (拆、改、留, to 留、改、拆); first emphasis on public participation 公众参与
(v) Xinhua 新华	2016		
(v) Anshanicun (v) Jinglao Cun			
	201712	Promotion the Cultural-creative Industry Development 关于加快本市文化创意产业创新发展的若干意见 (全文)	50 policies of Cultural- creative Industry 文创 50 条
	201801	Shanghai 2035 City Planning (2017-2035) 上海市总体规划 (2017-2035)	Creativity, humanity, eco. Happiness and humanity- 15 minutes' life circle (neighbourhood planning)
	201801	Conservation Area and Historic Building Protection Rules 上海市历史风貌和历史建筑保护条例 (草案) (fourth	First time use adaptive reuse (rather than conservation); encourage participation in conservation
	201802	Enhance the sophisticated governace of Shanghai 《加强本市城市管理精细化工作的实施意见》三年行动计划 (2018—2020 年)》	Beautiful Neighbourhood, Home, Countryside
	201802	Three years Action Plan for Beautiful Residential Neighborhood	Co-governance in community

Note: (v) Cases been documented, (X) New Practice.

Figure 2.4 Cases, practices, and policies in Shanghai

For the rising trend of new practices in Shanghai, one case has been documented as participation in urban regeneration- the elderly-friendly regeneration with a participative workshop in Jinglao Cun in Xinhua. It seems Shanghai is pursuing the preservation of living heritage on the “right track,” and our research suggests a longitudinal follow-up (Zhong & Leung, 2019).

From the comparison between Shanghai and global cases, the understanding and expression of social concern express a noticeable gap. For example, the studies of Shanghai show concern and reflections of little interaction between artists and the surrounding neighbourhood (Zhong, 2016). The trend toward urban fragmentation has increased with the emergence of Cultural clusters (Zheng, 2011). While the

social issues of CUR in Shanghai discussed the residents have no opportunity to join artistic activities related to regeneration, global experiences have developed diverse approaches to doubt the influence of participative activities (Evans, 2005; Lees, 2015).

After the big reform in China, the transformation of urban land and management policy resulted in social segregation and exclusion in China (Zhu, 1999; Wu, 2002). The culture was involved in market-orientated property development (Yang & Chang, 2007). The CUR in Shanghai experienced a rise of social consciousness from demolishment to micro-regeneration, from economic leading to social effects. Xintiandi is a representative project of CUR in SH, emphasizing the reuse of Shikumen architectural features. However, it has been criticized for the large scale of replacement that breaks original social networks. One essential policy, Shanghai Urban Regeneration Rules was published in 2015. Within this initiative, the principle of urban regeneration in Shanghai changed from “demolish, regenerate, keep (拆、改、留)” to “keep, regenerate, demolish (留、改、拆).” This policy indicated the limitation of large-scale demolishment and the promotion of micro-regeneration, which means regeneration on a humble scale. In this way, Shanghai is trying to avoid breaking the existing social network by mass demolishment and relocation.

Traditional regeneration of the neighbourhood focuses mainly on basic infrastructural facilities, including walls, drainage systems, etc. Social-oriented regeneration of old workers’ housing has also been greatly expanded. However, regeneration focused more on infrastructure and basic facilities. Differently, the regeneration of working-class housing combined with CUR also cares about providing more shared spaces both indoor and outdoor, serving as a neighbourhood center.

2.2 Cultural scene and urban amenity¹

2.2.1. Scene theory and aesthetic dimensions

Scenescape is an analytical framework based on classical sociology research, including theatricality, authenticity, and legitimacy (Silver, 2012) (Table 2.3). These dimensions involve Norman Goffman's study of drama, Georg Simmel's study of authenticity, and Max Weber's study of legitimacy. The three dimensions and fifteen subdimensions of the scene are related to each other, and when we talk about the scene, we are not just talking about a single sub-dimension but a scene in which many sub-dimensions are superimposed. Scene theory provides a flexible framework, but its application must also be combined with specific local context and positivist guidance (Silver & Clark, 2016).

Table 2.3 Dimension and sub-dimension of aesthetics in scene theory (Silver, 2012)

Theatricality 戏剧性		Authenticity 原真性		Legitimacy 合法性	
Exhibitionistic 爱炫的	Reserved 矜持的	Local 本土的	Global 全球的	Traditional 传统的	Novel 新奇的
Glamorous 迷人的	Ordinary 普通的	Ethnic 族群的	Nonethnic 非族群的	Charismatic 领袖魅力	Routine 常规的

¹ This section 2.2 is emerged from the publication: Chen, W., & **Luo, J.** *, (2021). Understanding Shanghai Metropolitan Cultural Scenes- Case of Yuyuan, Julu, Panyu Road. *Shanghai Culture Development Report 2021. Shanghai Culture Development in the Fourteenth Phase*. Shanghai Academy of Social Sciences Press. (透视上海大都市文化场景 – 以愚园路、巨鹿路、番禺路为例. In Chinese).

Neighbourly 睦邻的	Distant 冷漠的	State 国家的	Antistate 非国家的	Utilitarian 功利主义	Unproductive 非生产性的
Transgressive 越轨的	Conformist 遵从的	Corporate 企业的	Independent 非企业的	Egalitarian 平等主义	Particularist 特殊主义
Formal 礼节的	Informal 非礼节的	Rational 理性的	Irrational 非理性的	self-expression 自我表达	Scripted 含蓄表达

Theatricality emphasizes the changes in human behaviour triggered by “seeing” or “staring” in the scene, especially those related to “self-presentation and expression.” It originated from Goffman's study of the influence of seeing and being seen on behaviour (Goffman, 1963). It gradually developed a description of the daily and theatrical behaviour traits as one main dimension, with exhibitionistic, glamorous, neighbourly, transgressive, and formal having more “theatrical” qualities. In contrast, reserved, ordinary, distant, conformist, and informal have more everyday qualities. Scenes influence people's behavioural states: the theatricality increase in mobility in contemporary society has turned an otherwise relatively stable living space into a theatrical space constantly flowing and inter-weaving. The mutual “gaze” of residents and tourists in the streets makes people's state unconsciously shift from every day to theatricality (Urry, 1992).

Authenticity is “what constitutes the source of your existence and where you come from” (Silver & Clark, 2016). Simmel (1978) pointed out that due to the modern division of labour and copying technology, the “alienation of the individual” is caused, and when the “spiritual essence” is eroded, you are no longer “the real you.” Authenticity encompasses the five sub-dimensions of local, ethnic, and state, as well as corporate and rational. Moreover, these defined “authenticity” qualities can quickly become a disguised object. Zukin observes: “As authenticity disappears, claims and disguises about authenticity become more common; It seems that just claiming authenticity occupies some kind of moral

high ground, if only for the enjoyment of the commercial benefits it brings” (Zukin, 2009). This is also a common dilemma CUR faces, whether culture is authentic or rhetoric (Evans, 2005).

Legitimacy originated from Weber's study of bureaucracy by establishing one's legitimacy (authority) to gain power, which implies implicit social principles or collective norms. In contemporary urban life, the sources of legitimacy can be diverse: what comes from “tradition” may naturally carry some convincing power, and leader can also become an authority, calculating “utilitarianism” or “egalitarianism” for the benefit of all, provides a standard by which individual choices can be judged. When the final criterion comes from the individual, then whether it is legitimate or legal is only a “self” choice (Silver & Clark, 2016).

2.2.2. Urban amenity as a way to express scenes

Urban amenities convey the value choices generated by social groups and are specific explanations of how post-industrial cities can attract human capital and promote urban growth (Figure 2.5). The analysis of scenes is usually scored on urban amenities and carried out at different spatial scales. It can be compared both between cities and between neighbourhoods within cities.

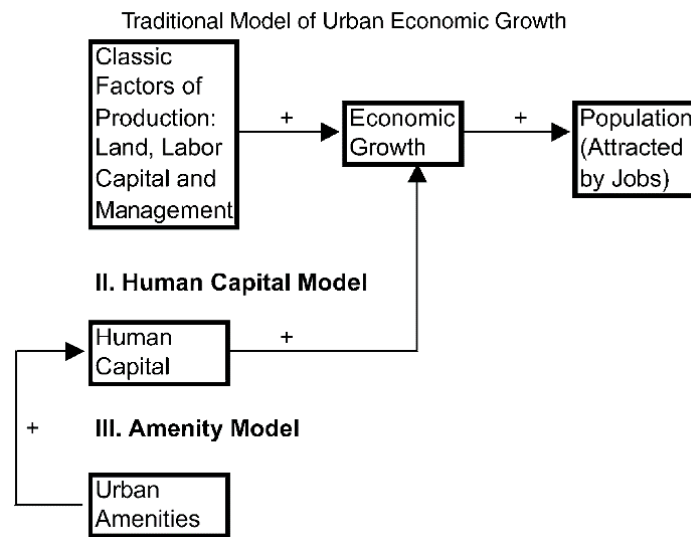


Figure 2.5 Urban growth model (Lloyd & Clark, 2001)

The connotation of urban amenities is not strictly defined, and there are two types of recognition. Glaeser believes that urban amenities include both life services and cultural consumption represented by specialty restaurants, theaters, and shopping centers, as well as environmental experiences represented by the style and beauty of buildings, as well as quality schools, transportation speeds, and even climate (Glaeser, 2001; Glaeser & Gottlieb, 2006); Clark divides urban comforts into four categories: 1) natural comforts, such as comfortable climate, humidity, temperature, water, general natural attractiveness; 2) Artificial comforts such as libraries, museums, opera houses, bookstores, food stores, Starbucks, bike lanes; 3) socio-economic composition and diversity, including residents' income and education levels, resident composition; 4) Residents' values and attitudes, such as friendliness, tolerance, risk-taking, individualistic values (Clark et al., 2002). Regardless of classification, the core value of amenities is to promote cities as attractive places to work and live (Andersson, 1985).

Differences in the type and quantity of urban amenities reflect differences in cities' cultural atmosphere and aesthetic characteristics. New York has a “glamorous” urban personality, with twice as many art galleries and art consultants as Chicago and Los Angeles; Chicago has more than three times as many bookstores as New York and Los Angeles combined, fueled by Chicago’s focus on the knowledge economy and community climate (Figure 2.6). Between 1999 and 2008, Canada experienced a transformation of the cultural industry as a whole, during which performing arts companies, independent artists, and dance companies increased significantly, while Canadians’ consumption of leisure arts also increased significantly (Silver, 2012). In short, urban amenities are the driving force of post-industrial urban revitalization and economic growth, rebirth catalysts, and they are an essential imprint of industrial transformation in post-industrial cities (Glaeser et al., 2001; Florida, 2002; Clark et al., 2002; Strom, 2002; Rosenthal & Strange, 2008; Falck et al., 2011; Borgoni et al., 2018).

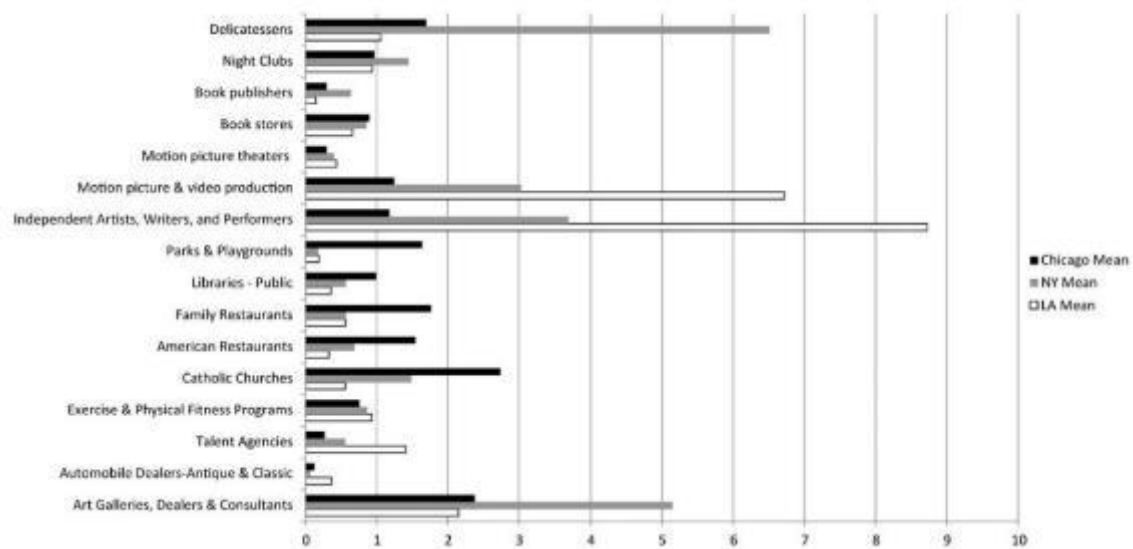


Figure 2.6 Comparing Amenities in New York, Chicago, and LA (Silver, 2012)

2.3 Neighbourhood image and aesthetics in CUR²

2.3.1. Neighbourhood image: A contested concept in CUR

Cultural regeneration is featured as using cultural facility, art, and cultural activity as catalyst, and integrating them into area strategic development (Wansborough & Mageean, 2000; Evans, 2005). An essential target of cultural regeneration is transforming city or place image to attract investment and talents and thus to activate its overall resurgence (Paddison, 1993; Connolly, 2013). The concept of the city image was originally introduced by Lynch (1960) to describe one's mental map of a city. City image reflects the relationship between people and place (Abbott, 1997). In the neoliberal context, the perception of neighbourhood image is no longer a purely cognitive issue but is deeply influenced by political-economic power with a strategic purpose. Neighbourhood image is a perception of what Lefebvre & Nicholson-Smith (1991, p. 51) has termed mental and symbolic spaces as the "subject's denial by the absurd rationality of space that term is the unconscious." Neighbourhood image reflects the cultural interpretation of place, and "an imaginary representation of the neighbourhood." (Patterson, 2016; Gainza, 2017) Cultural regeneration is, in this sense, a process of accumulating collective

² This section 2.3 is emerged from the publication: **Luo, J.**, Jian, I. Y., Chan, E. H. W., & Chen, W*. (2022). Cultural regeneration and neighborhood image from the aesthetic perspective: Case of heritage conservation areas in Shanghai. *Habitat International*, 129, 102689. doi:<https://doi.org/10.1016/j.habitatint.2022.102689>. (SCI/SSCI Index, IF: 6.8).

symbolic capital and seeking advantages in the global competition among cities, which has resulted in the aestheticization of the urban landscape (Lloyd, 2002; Yeoh, 2005; Harvey, 2001). Producing a new image for a place supports city branding and marketing (Pow & Kong, 2007; Ulldemolins, 2014), and transforming the image of a place could also contribute to forming local and community identity (Rius-Ulldemolins & Klein, 2020).

Previous studies have described place images in several different ways. One approach has involved considering transformations in the attitudinal reputation (Kokosalakis, Bagnall, Selby, & Burns, 2006). A second approach has been to describe a place in terms of one major character trait, such as eco-city, creative city, or music city (Brown, O'connor, & Cohen, 2000; McLean, 2014). Third, place images can also be described from an aesthetic perspective, which can be quite influential against the background of contemporary consumption and the increasingly aestheticized urban economy (Lloyd, 2017). This study seeks to extend the understanding of place image from the aesthetic and symbolic perspective, as “meaning” is an essential part of place (Tuan, 1975).

2.3.2. Aesthetic characteristic as neighbourhood image

Under the aestheticization of the urban economy and landscape, the aesthetic perspective of neighbourhoods has received significant discussion. Several prototypes based on neighbourhood aesthetic characteristics have been developed in prior studies, including the bohemian, bourgeois-bohemian, and Disney heaven. Artists and the bohemian scene are viewed as a vital part of cultural regeneration. Marginal artists, their independent artwork, and their related lifestyle together express a bohemian style that differs from mainstream culture and is often linked with transgressive and self-expressive features (Park, 1915; Zukin, 1989, p.2). Typical bohemian neighbourhoods include Lower East Side in New York and Wicker Park in Chicago, and many artist communities can be loosely

described as bohemian (Gainza, 2017; Lloyd, 2017). The bourgeois-bohemian (Bobo) is a fusion of two noteworthy social classes and lifestyles—the bourgeois and the bohemians (Brooks, 2001). A Bobo scene is rough and unadorned, but also expensive, serving for professionals (Zukin, 2008; Billingham, 2017). Disney heaven is one prototype, in which a standard visual language marks strict social control and surveillance of a tourism destination (Sorkin, 1992, p. 208; Zukin, 1993, p. 218). It marks the absence of a vernacular but is built upon a standard aesthetic choice as a theme park. To better understand the aesthetic dimension of place, a framework with fifteen criteria were proposed and had been widely used to capture urban aesthetic characteristics and urban development changes (Miller & Silver, 2015; Jeong, 2019; Silver & Clark, 2016), but they have not been examined in the neighbourhood under cultural regeneration from non-Western cities.

2.3.3. Factors affecting image perception

People's perception of place image can be influenced by many observational factors, including the environment, people, events, and branding strategy. It is necessary to further explore the relationship between these factors and specific aesthetic characteristics. In cultural regeneration, physical environmental elements include flagship regeneration projects, which typically take the form of a museum, gallery, or adaptive reuse of heritage buildings (Chen, 2011; Heidenreich, 2015; Psarra, 2018; Zeng et al., 2020). For place branding professionals, heritage and culture are viewed as a key branding catalyst (de Noronha, Coca-Stefaniak, & Morrison, 2017). Traditional building fabrics were used to illustrate authenticity in the case of Xintiandi, Shanghai (Yang & Chang, 2007; Kong, 2009). At the local scale, amenities and shops, especially storefronts at street level, express the spirit of the neighbourhood (Zukin, 2012; Tuttle, 2020; Kickert, 2021). A formal upscale ambiance can be found in traditional housing districts in central Shanghai with structures' reuse as high-class stores (Wang, 2011). The street and open spaces and landscape elements, such as sidewalks, street trees, and water, can

enhance the aesthetic appreciation of a district (Jacobs, 1961; Wansborough & Mageean, 2000; Vuignier, 2017; Carlino & Saiz, 2019). Public sculpture in open spaces may support the aesthetic regime (Zheng, 2017). In contemporary global culture, graffiti as a form of global hip-pop culture is widely recognized as a form of self-expression (Zebracki, 2018; Sitas, 2020).

Holding cultural mega-events always goes hand in hand with image reconfiguration and rebranding a place or city (Degen & Garcia, 2012; Connolly, 2013). Public art and seasonal street decoration also affect neighbourhood atmosphere (Rius-Ulldemolins & Klein, 2020). The daily life activities of local residents shape the neighbourhoods' ambience, while shared greetings and gossiping among residents enhance the sense of local authentic place (Rich, 2013; Yung, Zhang, & Chan, 2017; Sitas, 2020). As many cultural districts become popular consumption destinations, the interaction between visitors and local residents is a key aspect of local atmosphere (Stylidis, 2020). Privatization of public space occurs in many neighbourhoods experiencing cultural regeneration, so security and potential social surveillance affect the perception of equity in a place (Boland, 2010; Jian et al., 2021). The presence and cluster of the artist, aesthete, young professional, and creative classes can be both catalyst and target of urban resurgence, and in hip spots and Instagram-able locales, social media influencers' activity cannot be ignored (Lloyd, 2002; Zhong, 2016; Billingham, 2017; Stevens, 2021; Candra et al., 2022). Profiles of local residents set the foundation of a district: they become neighbourhood ambassadors (Stylidis, 2020). The presence of minor social groups has been linked to specific embedded meanings, while the presence of homelessness has been viewed as authenticity (Lloyd, 2002; Torre, 2020). A Gay index was introduced to grasp the bohemian scene (Florida, 2012).

In place branding, creating a neighbourhood narrative and myth has become a vital element of forming a targeted neighbourhood image. Appropriate naming has been turned into "toponymic commercialization" and further interacts with urban landscape changes (Nagaynay & Lee, 2020; Rose-

Redwood et al., 2019). Slogans for promotion events—such as “I am because you are”—can express a neighbourly atmosphere (Rich, 2013; Sitas, 2020). Visual language, such as logos and shop signs, can express the neighbourhood image and create an interpretation of the local culture (Vuignier, 2017; Rhodes, 2019). Appendix B Table 8.1 lists all the factors (10 factors and 33 variables) that affect image perception, as summarized from the literature. While previous studies mainly focused on (city) reputation change as general image reform, limited attention has been paid to aesthetic characteristics. The extent to which these factors are suitable for a neighbourhood under cultural regeneration remains unclear. It is also worth investigating how these factors affect specific aesthetic characteristic and their impact hierarchy (Figure 2.7).

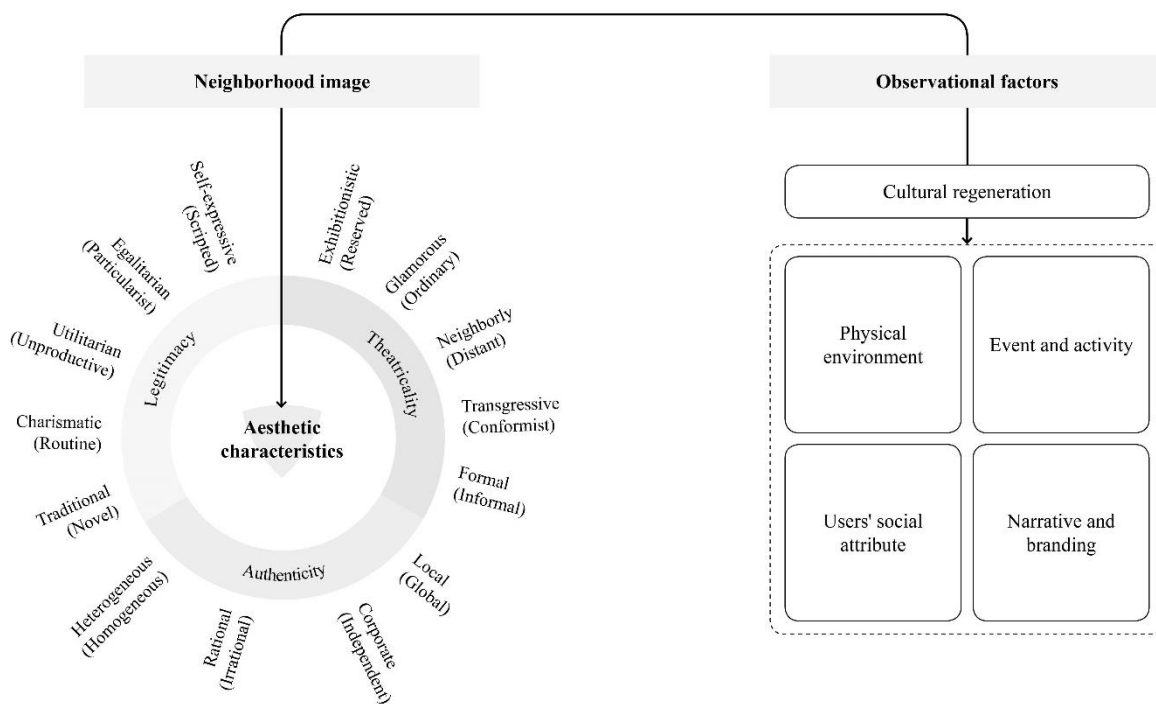


Figure 2.7 Theoretical framework of aesthetic image in CUR

2.4 Social cohesion in CUR

2.4.1. Cultural tourism development and its social impact³

Social cohesion refers to how a society holds together and how all its component parts somehow fit in and contribute to the collective project and well-being (Kearns & Forrest, 2000; Dekker & Bolt, 2005). In public policy, SC can be approached through social and cultural homogeneity, solidarity, trust, and a sense of belonging (Guibet-Lafaye & Kieffer, 2012). At the community level, there are five constituent dimensions of SC: social order, sense of belonging, solidarity, social network, as well as place attachment and identity (Kearns & Forrest, 2000; Mugnano & Palvarini, 2013). For mixed communities, de Souza (2019) divided SC into latent and manifest cohesion. In latent cohesion, people greet each other and may briefly chat, while manifest cohesion is formed from closer interactions (e.g., participating in activities together as friends). De Souza (2019) further revealed that latent cohesion is a comfortable and satisfied social interaction level among people with different social backgrounds.

While SC is a vital aspect of the social dimension of tourism development, especially community-related tourism (Islam et al., 2021), the measure of the impact of events on SC remains lacking (Mair et al.,

³ This section 2.4.1- 2.4.2 is emerged from the publication: **Luo, J.**, Jian, I. Y., Yung, E. H. K., Chan, E. H. W., & Chen, W*. (2023). Pursuing social cohesion in cultural tourism destinations: liminality as a mediator. *Current issues in tourism*, 1-17. doi:10.1080/13683500.2023.2235878 (SCI/SSCI Index, Q1, IF: 8.0).

2021). Tourism activities positively affect regional cohesion in the EU (Llorca-Rodríguez et al., 2021), but their effects on SC at the community level require further understanding.

Since the late twentieth century, culture—including art, cultural events, and, more extensively, lifestyles—has been widely employed to promote the development of cultural tourism for urban redevelopment (Degen & Garcia, 2012; De Frantz, 2018). This trend transformed some local communities into CTDs (Wang, 2011; Butler, Szili, & Huang, 2022). Open spaces, such as plazas, pocket parks, courtyards, and streets, are widely used for cultural tourism activities within CTDs (Sacco et al., 2019; Rius-Ulldemolins & Klein, 2020; Storhoff, 2020).

The social impact of cultural tourism development at the community level remains controversial. Tourism activities, such as community festivals and events, provide opportunities for the local area to accumulate social networks (Stevenson, 2016; Bagiran & Kurgun, 2016; Tavakoli et al., 2017). Using open spaces can activate social identification as “being part of” and encourage social interactions in shared spaces (Mugnano & Palvarini, 2013; de Souza, 2019). Participation in local associations and involvement of long-term residents further activates local attachment and promotes SC (Degen & Garcia, 2012). When local and neighbourly everyday life serves as inspiration and theme for cultural activities (conducted by local artists), the sense of social displacement and alienation declines (Rius-Ulldemolins & Klein, 2020). However, culture’s contribution to SC may also decline as few people join in cultural activities (Lees & Melhuish, 2015). Artwork in public spaces can also be window-dressing for high-end development, such as luxury hotels and private galleries, which may displace residents and cater exclusively to elite tourists’ consumption (Sacco et al., 2019). The social value of the cultural event for the local neighbourhood can be fleeting, momentary, rapidly evaporate, and lack long-term social achievements (Devine & Quinn, 2019; Musikavanhu et al., 2021). Therefore, it is worth further

investigating whether and how CTDs—especially their open spaces—contribute to SC at the community level.

2.4.2. Liminality and contemporary tourism experience

Van Gennep (1965) first introduced the concept of liminality in cultural anthropology research on rituals, identifying three stages: separation, liminality, and incorporation. The liminal stage is a moment during which the subjects are freed from the normative structural confinements that can produce identity reconfigurations and social interactions that were previously unattainable (Turner, 1975). Turner (1974) also noted that liminality goes hand in hand with *communitas*, a homogeneous, anti-structured relationship among people, and there are three types of *communitas*: *spontaneous*, *ideological*, and *normative*. Spontaneous *communitas* is temporary; ideological *communitas* is about shared views, beliefs, and beings, and normative *communitas* requires more time and maintenance (Turner, 1969; Wu et al., 2020). The liminality created by the transformed social space allows for more flexible social rules and non-traditional behaviors (Picard & Di Giovine, 2014).

Liminality has been extensively discussed in the context of tourism and related to diverse tourism activities and spaces. Although liminality was initially viewed as a sacred and ritualistic concept, it is now more applicable to everyday life (Pielichaty, 2015). Contemporary landscape of festivals represents a typical form of liminality (Brown et al., 2020; Rodriguez-Campo et al., 2020; Wu et al., 2020). Music festivals, for example, provide opportunities for participants to join a space that destabilizes and weakens social class structures, resulting in a more harmonious relationship among audience members (Lash et al., 1993; Brown et al., 2020; Storhoff, 2020; Wu et al., 2020). All three types of *communitas* can be found among participants in music festivals (Wu et al., 2020). Other leisure and sports activities, such as kayaking, surfing, and skateboarding, also activate liminality and build community among

participants that extends beyond the existing social hierarchy (Varley, 2011; Beaumont & Brown, 2016; O'Connor et al., 2022; Sang & Huang, 2022).

For tourism and consumption, liminality can be used to promote consumption activity (Hayward & Hobbs, 2007) and work as the mediator for hedonism and satisfaction in tourism (Rodriguez-Campo et al., 2020). A critical perspective is that the liminality of night-club is a “fully equipped block of time” (Debord, 1994), a designated zone, it is marketized liminality based on consumption, not an occasional result (Hayward & Hobbs, 2007). Varied types of space related to tourism activities have been identified as having the attribute of liminality (e.g., Preston-Whyte, 2004; Imai, 2013; Kochan, 2015). The beach, as a liminal space, is a setting with mixed emotional status, which is capable of being both calm and soothing or agitating, unruly, and frightening (Preston-Whyte, 2004). The liminality of the airport allows people to engage in activities they normally would not do in other public spaces, such as watching, chatting, and assisting other passengers (Huang et al., 2018). A special social meaning is embedded in seeing, gazing, and other eye contact activities, which changes the relationship among individuals (Urry & Larsen, 2011; Huang et al., 2018).

There is an increasing body of literature on liminality that focuses on open spaces (Sletto and Palmer, 2017; Gobel, 2022; Grabalov, 2022). Alleyways in a historic district that has experienced redevelopment are another example of liminal space, as they express hybrid lifestyles and nostalgic emotions (Imai, 2013). The edges of urban villages allow spatial fluidity and penetrability, offering users with a variety of mobility choices simultaneously and forming a liminal space that is far from class stratification (Kochan, 2015). By analyzing the everyday rhythm of open spaces in an informal settlement in Jallah Town, Sletto and Palmer (2017) documented its heterogeneous status as a liminal zone, serving diverse social groups and activities. This study extends such studies focusing on open spaces and examines the SC in CTDs through the lens of liminality.

2.4.3 Cultural heritage adaptive reuse and their social values⁴

The locality and authenticity of the participants in cultural activities are essential to reflect the social value of heritage revitalization. Compared with specific cultural producers, more important is who is the constructor of culture (Zukin, 1996). Local art institutions tend to benefit most from cultural activities, primarily through the accumulation of social capital through the organization of events (Bergsgard & Vassenden, 2011). When the organizers of cultural activities are mainly local institutions and use local life as the theme and source of inspiration for artistic production, these cultural and artistic activities convey a robust social link (Lazzeretti & Capone, 2015; Kim, 2016; Yung & Chan, 2012). Cultural enterprises are not necessarily a single commercial profit-seeking machine in this process. When cultural enterprises actively revitalize old communities, focus on local life and pay attention to the daily lives of ordinary people, they also become residents rather than just cultural enterprises (Kim, 2016).

On the contrary, if artistic and cultural activities do not serve the daily lives of local residents, they may become a booster of social differentiation and segregation. For example, there is a massive imbalance between commercial hegemony and public cultural services in Hong Kong. Neighbourhood agencies hoping to hold Mid-Autumn Festival events in the Plaza were stopped, while boutique restaurants

⁴ This section 2.4.3 is emerged from the publication: **Luo, J.**, Jian, I. Y., Qian, Y., Chen, W., & Chan, E. H. W*. (2021). Space, event, and social value in urban heritage reuse- Case of Shanghai and Hong Kong. *Annual Conference of China Association of City Planning 2021*. (城市文化遗产保护中的空间、事件与社会价值. In Chinese).

belonging to a consortium occupied a large amount of open space on the side of the Plaza (Barber, 2018). At this time, cultural and artistic activities are more about serving culture's capitalization and commodification process, promoting the development of high-end boutique consumption in its surrounding areas, and aggravating the demise of small-scale traditional commerce.

It is well established that hosting cultural festivals or events can catalyze urban regeneration, as with European cities' Capital of Culture designation (Quinn, 2005). Various hands-on cultural activities can affect individuals, participants, and communities (Evans & Shaw, 2004). However, the long-term social effects of large-scale, sometimes international events can vary. As seen in cases of post-Expo and post-Olympics cities, event-based regeneration does not always provide sustainable benefits for residents, as in cities such as Barcelona, Bilbao, Lisbon, Salford, and Sydney (Garcia, 2004; Evans, 2005). The Guggenheim Museum in Bilbao is also a paradigmatic case that brings out the so-called Bilbao effect (Plaza, 2000, 2008). Similar "superstar" museums include the new Louvre museums in Abu Dhabi and Lens (France) or the Centre Pompidou in Metz (Heidenreich, 2015).

The museum's role in its exhibition and events also can be the linkage of diverse cultural types. The museum could be the fusion of the global and the local, modern and traditional, stimulating local interest and talent in the arts (Sasaki, 2010). Understanding specific performance types and the social meaning behind them is necessary. For example, American jazz and rock may represent counter-cultures that oppose highbrow European culture presented by classical operas (Sasaki, 2010). The performance type and theme also reflect the quality of culture in CUR. Together with the theatre and philharmonic orchestra, the opera, a natural science and historical museum, the art house Essen, the Zollverein, and the Villa Hugel, it is part of a rich and variegated cultural life at the local level (Heidenreich, 2015).

"Whose culture," as Zukin (1989) asked, the social attributes of culture in CUR can be reflected by the detailed attributes of events. More specifically, who is organizing and who can join the events matters.

Rather than public open events, events for private or commercial benefits are frequently criticized. The meeting and dinner in the museum provide a social networking place for the local elite and their international guests, as a perfect place for social distinction (Heidenreich, 2015). Compared with a “local basis” social network that is activated by the museum (Lazzeretti & Capone, 2015), an elite-based social network is probably a closer description. Sponsoring and public relations events are private interests dominated by limited public social benefits. Most of the time, the events show a “domestic gesture” to local residents (Zebracki, 2018) rather than being real public cultural benefits. Free tickets or the low price could be a tool to encourage people to join and discuss the event, but the number of free tickets could be limited; sometimes supplement document is required (Zebracki, 2018). There are some excellent artists and design companies in Cultural clusters in Shanghai, but their participation rarely results from effective quarter initiatives (Zheng, 2011).

Privatizing open space is often accompanied by over-commercializing cultural heritage, eroding social values. Cultural activities can easily be misappropriated as a legal tool for privatizing open space, which is deceptive. When pop-up art events in open spaces lack the participation of local communities and are dominated by elites from around the globe, “art colonization” emerges (Zebracki, 2018). While public art is supposed to effectively focus on social issues and stimulate social reflection, public art in New York’s High Line is more about serving the surrounding luxury formats and introducing people into high-end consumption spaces (Sacco et al., 2019). Then the social critique of these artistic activities also disappears; they become tools for advertising and indoctrination, turning open spaces into consumer theme parks.

As a representative project in Shanghai, the symbolic conservation of Xintiandi has triggered people’s rethinking of the connotation of heritage reuse in China (Yu, 2011; Wu & Zhang, 2015). Whether it is historical buildings or industrial heritage, the reuse of cultural heritage has caused problems such as an

overwhelming proportion of consumption space, homogenization, and lack of social aspects such as connection with local communities. Conspicuous consumption became the protagonist of heritage reuse, and culture was preserved in architectural form but was alienated into hollow symbols and became decorations of consumption activities (Yang & Chang, 2007; Chen, 2011). Existing social networks are vulnerable to disruption in the process. The problem of social cohesion (integration) arose in the later period of the development of Tianzifang (Ding & Wu, 2018). As a cultural and creative park where artists gather, Red Fang lacks a connection with the surrounding neighbourhood and has become an independent art island (Wang et al., 2016). In the process of repurposing Red Fang, the status of grassroots artists and elite artists is very different, and there are considerable differences in the opportunities and degrees of participation in cultural activities (Zhong, 2016).

Whether they are Xintiandi and Tianzifang in Shanghai or Hong Kong, Asian cities actively use the activation of cultural heritage to enhance the charm of urban culture and promote the development of cultural and creative industries in the face of global urban competition. The social value must be multi-layered, from space to activities, to participants.

2.5 CUR under urban entrepreneurialism⁵

⁵ This section 2.5 is emerged from the publication: **Luo, J.**, Lu, T.T., Chan, E. H. & Chen, W*. Consuming neighbourliness: Cultural regeneration under state entrepreneurialism in China. *Urban Studies*. (Abstract accepted by 2023 Urban China Research Network Conference – Best Student Award Competition, Peking U, potential recommend for journal publication).

2.5.1 Urban entrepreneurialism, city branding, and CUR

Harvey (1989) noted the emergence of entrepreneurialism urban governance that featured an actively employed market to extend commodification and urban image reconstruction to serve consumption further. The study summarized the motivations for employing culture in entrepreneurial regeneration in three types, namely symbolic, economic, and political capital. The key dimension of culture related to entrepreneurial urban redevelopment is accumulating **symbolic** capital such as reputation and prestige (Harvey, 2009; Zhong, 2016; Luo et al., 2022). Culture-related programs have been viewed as signals of image reconstruction and city branding. Built environments are employed as a “hard branding” strategy for consumption spaces (Evans, 2003), which enhances and constitutes the entrepreneurial city (Jokela, 2020). Many historic districts have transformed the impression of deterioration and danger into prosperity through cultural programs. Image reconstruction attracts consumers and human talents (Jessop & Sum, 2000; Xian & Gu, 2020). While urban entrepreneurialism seeks to transform urban space from production to consumption, it could not be discussed separate from the aestheticization of urban economy and landscape (Ley, 2003; Luo et al., 2022). A new spectacular urban landscape forged and expressed the legitimization of entrepreneurial initiatives and urban design policies (Hubbard, 1995; Hubbard, 1996; Biddulph, 2011). The taste and trendy production were hidden behind the urban change and gentrification related to art and culture (Zukin, 1989; 1993). In China, A *Xiaozi* (小资) consumption taste is documented among the new middle class (Cao, 2022).

Incorporating the concept of the aesthetic regime, introduced by Rancière (2010), the manipulation of aesthetics of urban space for political purposes is documented, including golf green gardens, public art, and suburban green environment (Gerlofs, 2017; Zheng, 2019; Waldman, 2022). Symbolic meaning manipulation is also documented in heritage regeneration in Vienna (De Frantz, 2018). In Shanghai, non-elite artists have few opportunities to participate in cultural regeneration (Zhong, 2016). Just like

the aesthetics of grassroots citizens were filtered by professionals and experts who represent the institutional power in Guangzhou (Zheng, 2017; Chen et al., 2020). This reminds what Lefebvre (1991) stated “sops” in “imperious architecture” for the people. Thus, the study understands cultural regeneration as an aesthetic reproduction process, and then the regeneration regime also cooperates as an aesthetic regime with an entrepreneurial stance.

Pursuing the symbolic capital of cities deeply reflects the desire for economic and political capital. As Harvey (2009) noted, culture has become a commodity in urban redevelopment. For **economic**, the entrepreneurial redevelopment related to culture is widely recognized as a practical approach to attracting investment and capital in global competition. These actions have a close relationship to the experience or service economy (Harvey, 1990; Pine, 1999). More developable lands were released to the market in urban redevelopment to make more profits (Wu, 2018). Mass urban spaces have been transformed into space for consumption, along with (commercial) gentrification (Wang, 2011; Sun & Chen, 2021). The rising housing and rental price lead to the criticism that “always start with culture, but end up with real estate” (Evans, 2005). The “revenue-oriented local governments” also reflected the economic pursuit of entrepreneurial governance (Zheng, 2010). For **political** capital, culture-related initiatives can be helpful approaches to justify public funding (Hubbard, 1996; Zheng, 2017). In China, urban entrepreneurialism is an institutional arrangement that responds to and constitutes an urbanization process to win the central state’s policy preference in addition to capital investment (Su, 2015).

The growth regime is widely discussed to understand how urban entrepreneurialism is mobilized in urban redevelopment projects (Harvey, 2009). The role of the state and diverse cooperation models was documented. Local governments tactically grant the use of abandoned spaces to community organizations to wait for the real estate market's recovery and contradictions between them (Mangialardo & Micelli, 2021). A public sector-oriented urban regeneration was driven by cooperative real estate

players, ultimately towards market solutions (Baraldi & Salone, 2022). The key cultural producers as promoters in Melbourne are government, CEOs, and journalists, resulting in an elite sports culture (John & McDonald, 2020).

In the context of China, the role of the state is further emphasized in many ways, such as local state corporatism (Oi, 1992), entrepreneurial state (Zheng, 2010), and state-managed market (Su, 2015). Neoliberalism with Chinese characteristics is accompanied by a “rapid devolution of political-economy power” to local government (Harvey, 2007). The Chinese state was making efforts to legitimize and facilitate market actions involving the central state and the local government (He & Wu, 2009). The state is directly involved as a market player rather than regulating the policies independently; both public-public cooperation and public-private cooperation were found in utilizing creative clusters in Shanghai (Zheng, 2010). The state entrepreneurialism concept is introduced to grasp the utilization of market tools but ultimately enhance the state power (Wu, 2018). At a lower level, the district government designated a public corporation under the district government to financially support cultural events for urban redevelopment (Zheng, 2019). Though the redevelopment is implemented and managed by private interest, they are more like market instruments for the state (Wang et al., 2021). A range of forms of culture was understood as entrepreneurial governance in China, including creative cluster, heritage, mega-event, public art, and local culture (Zheng, 2011; Su, 2015; Zheng, 2017; Chan & Li, 2017). Though neighbourhood life could be an essential part of the civil culture in the city, little attention has been given to the latest cultural neighbourhood regeneration in China.

2.5.2 Social organizations in CUR

As urban development should contribute to human social needs rather than profit (Brenner et al., 2009), sufficient *merits* of social organizations, such as accumulating social capital in cultural activities and

activating social interactions in urban redevelopment. Community associations could play an active role in adapting state policy to local needs, gathering residents from differentiated areas of the city on common ground to achieve agreements (Degen & Garcia, 2012; García et al., 2015; Hui et al., 2021), resulting in “ordinariness” architectural style and social inclusion (Gillick, 2017). Compared with public-led or private-led development, wider stakeholder involvement results in higher publicness and accessibility (Leclercq et al., 2020). Kim et al. (2020) claimed that creating community involvement groups is an ongoing process and helpful for long-term regeneration. However, the long-term social benefit of cultural regeneration remains unclear. Little evidence was found for long-term community cohesion of cultural activities because economic targets are always over the social mission, and few people would like to participate in the art activities (Lees & Melhuish, 2015; Dova et al., 2022). Residents are unwilling to participate in the co-governance *per se* due to varied reasons, such as lack of time, access, and awareness (Erdmenger, 2022). The social value of the cultural event for the local neighbourhood was criticized as fleet, momentary, and soon evaporates (Devine & Quinn, 2019; Musikavanhu et al., 2021; Luo et al., 2023). For urban design in regeneration, the relationship between the poor and urban design benefits remains tangential, though design certainly has the opportunities to create jobs for deprived groups (Biddulph, 2011).

Social innovation and social entrepreneurship are concepts closely related to social organizations. Social innovation seeks to provide an alternative urban development approach, focusing on human needs and empowerment through innovation in the relations within neighbourhood and community governance (Moulaert et al., 2007). The governance tool deriving from social innovation aims to dismiss the pro-market public-private governance that structures neo-liberal urban policies (Iaione, 2016). They help to achieve the point based on the initiative of citizens (Pradel-Miquel, 2021). Another one, social entrepreneurship, is featured as employing a market approach to satisfy social targets (Grimes et al.,

2013). Pursuing social achievement over economic profit and employing marginalized social groups are vital criteria for examining social entrepreneurship (Kraus et al., 2017).

Many social organizations in neighbourhood redevelopment claim social innovation as their mission, but their practices tend to have constraints, limitations, and difficulties. Public institutions increasingly reference social innovation but translate into “flanking mechanisms” (Brenner & Theodore, 2002) with weakened transformative potential. The social innovation of social enterprises in urban development is settled within the neoliberal context that is deeply determined by the state and market power (Stapper & Duyvendak, 2020; Mens et al., 2021) and has a weak influence on decision-making in urban redevelopment (Yung & Sun, 2020). When divergent interests and distinct power exists, the participation level differences can seldom be demolished (Wang & Chan, 2020). When the funding landscape is challenging for community organizations, they tend to work against each other rather than cooperate (St Clair et al., 2020).

In China, though public participation is compulsory in urban redevelopment, the leading actor who has the decision power is still the state (Xu & Lin, 2019). The alignment of the state to social groups is temporal and fragile (Wang & Li, 2017). The participant activities were criticized as more about a symbolic governance process rather than the empowerment of residents. Rising social organizations in Chinese neighbourhood redevelopment claimed their contribution to social innovation and community empowerment (Zhong & Leung, 2019; Luo et al., 2022), which led to the question of understanding their strategies and impact.

2.6 Summary

This chapter starts with a systematic review to identify and define the key domain and dimensions of CUR and social cohesion in CUR, cultural spaces, and events with seven forms of culture, five

dimensions of social cohesion in CUR, and three key factors that impact social cohesion in CUR were summarized. After the systematic review, the vital role of CUR in image reform and the transfer of local neighbourhoods into consumption and tourism destinations under entrepreneurial urban governance has been identified as the key background of the rise of CUR. Thus, the aesthetic image in CUR, social cohesion in cultural tourism destinations, and urban entrepreneurialism are further discussed in this chapter to set the base for the following empirical studies.

Chapter 3 Methodology

3.1 Introduction

Chapter 3 includes three sections: first, the methodology and overall research design will be presented; section 2 will introduce and justify the case selection; section 3 will demonstrate the data acquisition and data analysis methods adopted in this thesis.

3.2 Methodological thinking and research design

The role of culture in contemporary urban life received attentions from varied research fields, including urban sociology, human and cultural geography, urban economy. A mixed methodology is chosen as the nature and social influence of culture in CUR is a highly contested fields relating to urban economy, urban sociology, cultural geography, cultural anthropology, tourism studies. The emergence of mixed method can be traced back to the work of sociologists and cultural anthropologists (Campbell, 1959; Johnson et al., 2007). After that the rising of multidiscipline research also promote the development of mixed methods. It also echoes the trend that research related with architecture was conducted in a more varied way (Groat & Wang, 2013). The advantage of mixed approaches is “the strengths of each specific approach will complement each other, while the weaknesses of each design will be substantially offset” (Groat & Wang, 2013). The weakness of this approach is it need a sophisticated understanding of each research design strategy, considering its unconventional nature (Creswell & Creswell, 2003; Denscombe, 2008). Within a mixed methods research design, a clear specifies of the sequencing and priority of each quantitative or qualitative element and how they are related is required (Denscombe, 2008).

This research adopted mixed methods, include both qualitative and quantitative methods. The data utilized in this study were obtained from both first-hand and second-hand resources. The first-hand

resources were mainly derived from fieldwork, observation, interviews, and survey, conducted several times from 2018 to 2023. Naturalistic observation of behaviours of residents and users of the open space and shopping amenities and participant observation of the cultural events been conducted frequently. Interviews were conducted with diverse groups, including senior manager of regeneration project, artists, merchants, local residents, and visitors. Questionnaire surveys conducted within the sites in two Shanghai cases. Photo records for usage analysis been conducted. Secondary information included planning documents, policy initiatives, newspapers, social media news and comment text. The use of diverse data resource ensured the depth and effectiveness of the information to build a whole landscape of the cases.

3.3 Case selection

As culture is abstract and difficult to express as concrete, single standard expressions, multiple-cases study been selected and further generate the comparative study, in order to ensure both the depth and comparative breadth (Groat & Wang, 2013). Both similarity and different conditions been considered when selecting the cases, and different usage of the case is conducted to best suits each research question (Ulldemolins & Arostegui, 2013; Park, 2016; Kim, 2016). Shanghai is an international metropolis that is actively making use of culture in urban regeneration (Kong, 2009; Zhong, 2016). After rethinking the connotations of culture in regeneration, one emerging stream of practices in Shanghai is the adaptive reuse of cultural heritage through micro-regeneration with rising social consciousness at a neighbourhood scale (Zhong & Leung, 2019). Shanghai announced 12 Conservation Areas (历史文化风貌区) in the inner city (Figure 3.1). Two cases, Yuyuan (愚园路历史文化风貌区) and Xinhua (新华路历史文化风貌区) Conservation Area in Shanghai were selected (Figure 3.2, 3.3). One case in Hong Kong, Conservation Central is selected. They are selected because they generate good comparative examples. They activate the regeneration at similar social background that the social conscious of urban

regeneration is emerging. The urban form of these cases is similar as they all have several open spaces for cultural activities. They have similar artistic and cultural strategies within the regeneration scheme, but the governance mode and the influence in social cohesion (integration) result as distinctive characters. Cases from Shanghai and Hong Kong been selected as the Asian city may have different expressions of similar concept, for example, the creative city (Karvelyte, 2018). It is necessary to compare the specific expressions in eastern Asian context.

The study focuses on the neighbourhood level. In the context of Shanghai, the latest CUR practices can be documented as cultural neighborhood regeneration, which is featured as a combination of heritage conservation and micro-neighborhood regeneration. The neighbourhood in this study is a spatial and social concept (Madden, 2018; Stevenson, 2021) and an economic concept as well. For the spatial dimension, the neighbourhood emphasized a relatively concentrated area, with several districts and many estates, and it was also where the CUR practice projects happened. The area scale is similar to what a 15-minute life circle covers and serves. Compared with the political management hierarchy, the neighbourhood in this study is similar to the Jiedao level, which is lower than the district level and upper to the Juweihui level. For example, the Yuyuan case mainly belongs to the Jiangsulu Jiedao, and the Xinhua case belongs to the Xinhualu Jiedao. The neighbourhood concept in this study also reflects the social dimension with special meanings to residents and out-comers who are also using the spaces. They reflect the sense of belonging within. The neighbourhood in this study also has an economic meaning, which refers to relatively affordable local amenities and shops that serve mundane daily life (e.g., traditional noodle bar) rather than commercial or gentrified taste distinction consumption destinations (e.g., newly opened trendy café).

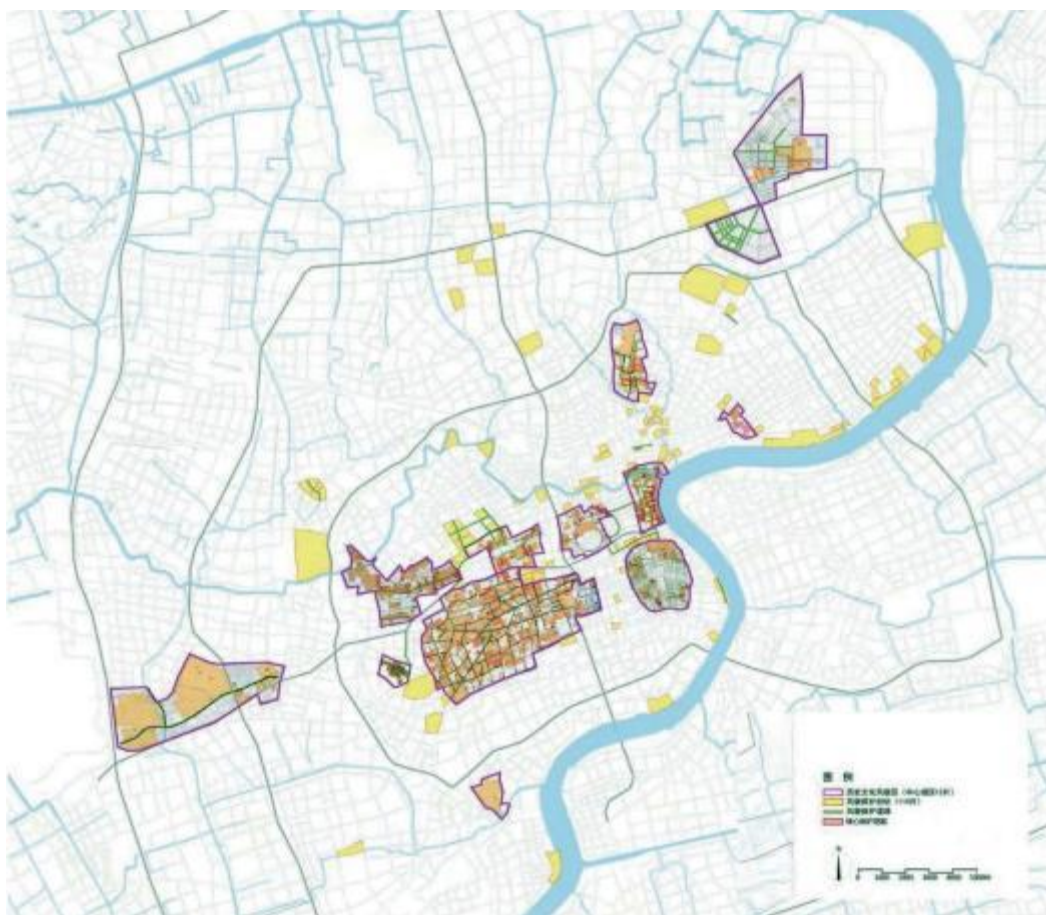


Figure 3.1 Conservation areas in inner Shanghai (Chen & Ruan, 2008)

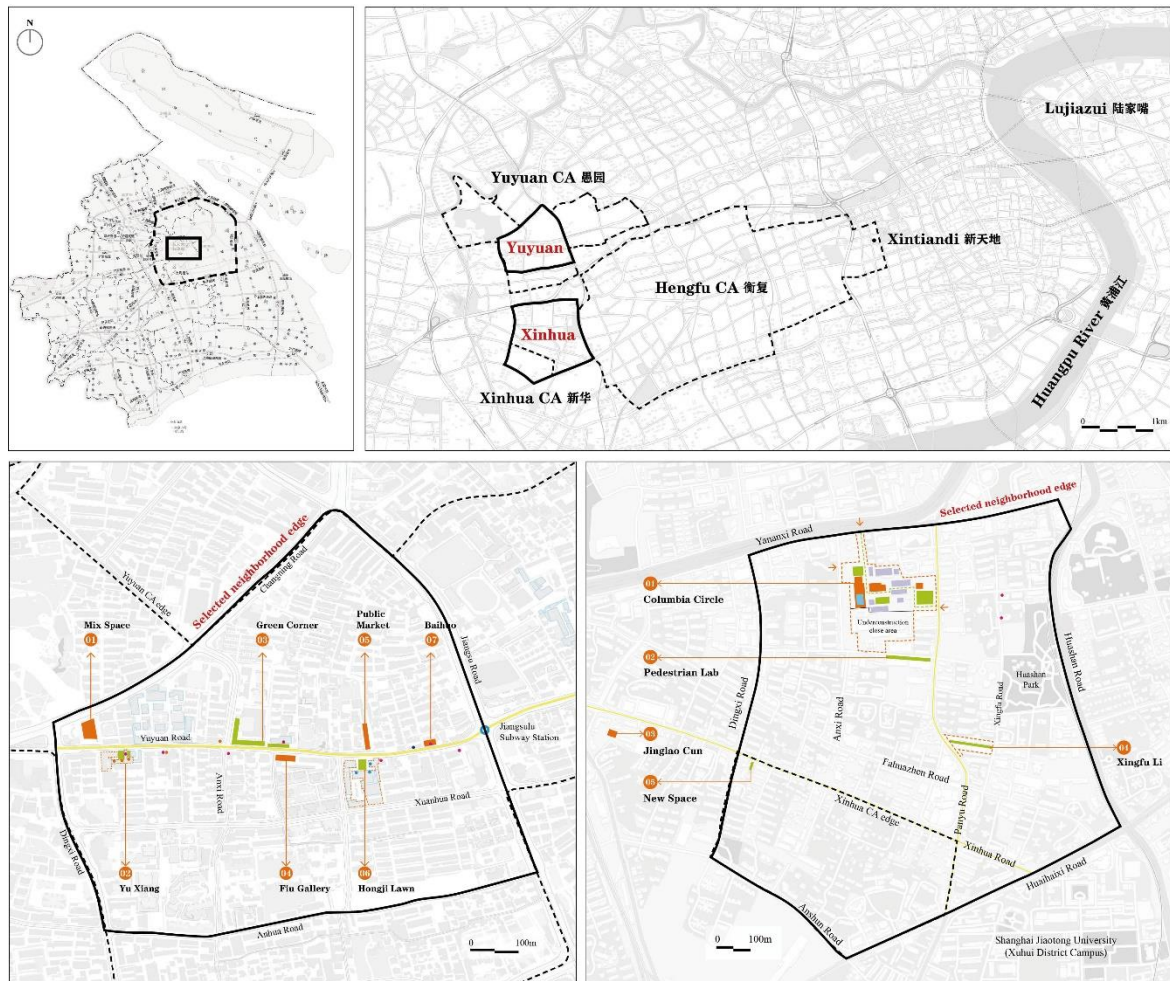


Figure 3.2 Location of Yuyuan and Xinhua (Shanghai)



Figure 3.3 Photos of Yuyuan (left) and Xinhua (right, Shanghai)

In addition to two main study cases, this study also selected two other cases to support in-depth understanding and provide comparative perspectives of the study in Chapter 5.2 and Chapter 6.3. One case is Jufuchang (巨富长), located in Jingan District, Shanghai; the other is the Central district in Hong Kong. Jufuchang is shorted from Julu road (巨鹿路) – Fumin road (富民路) – Changle road (长乐路), a well-known cultural district located within the Hengfu Conservation Area (衡复历史文化风貌区) in Shanghai (Figure 3.4). Conserve Central (保育中环) is a district-level heritage conservation initiative of Hong Kong rather than only conserve individual building (Figure 3.5).

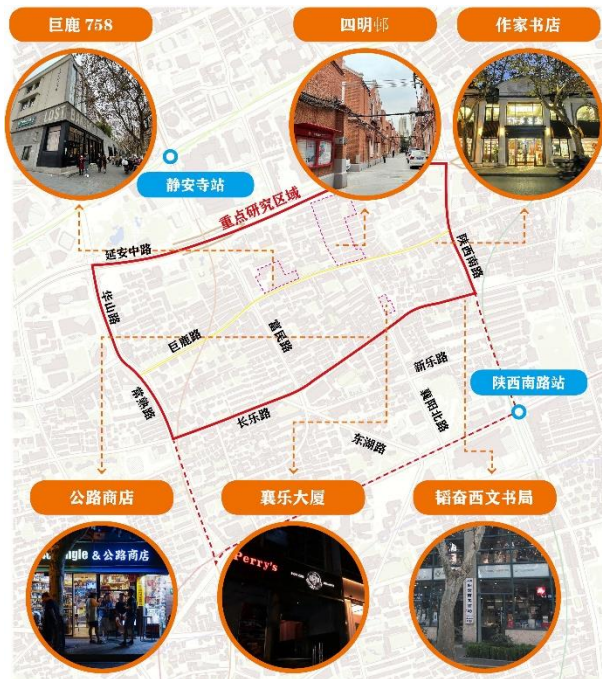


Figure 3.4 Location and photos of Jufuchang (Shanghai)



Figure 3.5 Location and photos of Central (Hong Kong)

3.4 Data acquisition methods

3.4.1 Literature review

Both systematic and comprehensive review were adopted to best summarize the research background and identify research trend and gap in the study. A boundary-based systematic review was adopted at the beginning of the study to explicitly identify fundamental elements, research questions, and key

dimensions of social concerns in CUR, while boundary-based reviews approach has the advantage of clear definition and in-depth classifications.

3.4.2 Expert interview and survey

To preliminarily define the focus of the study and identify essential dimensions relate to each specific research question, two rounds of expert interview were conducted. For the first round of expert interviews, professionals who have worked at least three years in the field of architecture and urban planning and have on-site visiting experiences to the study cases were selected; for the second round of expert interviews (the expert panel rating in Chapter 5.2.3), experts who have published at least three journal papers and English-Chinese scholars were selected. While expert interview is an important way to quickly obtain the overview and representative issues of a research field, it also helpful to define the preliminary scope in this study.

3.4.3 Questionnaire survey and interviews

To obtain wider opinions from the public, a total two rounds of questionnaire were conducted with 722 respondents (Figure 3.6). Among them, 591 are validated respondents. Prior to the two rounds of public survey, two pilot studies were also adopted to help improve the clarity and representativeness of the questionnaire questions with 131 respondents.

Semi-structured interview and in-depth interviews were conducted to obtain in-depth observations from wider related stakeholders, including residents, experts, professionals, key promoters, visitors, and people who working in the two case studies. 59 interviewees participated in the interview with time range from twenty minutes to four hours. Specifically, the participants ranging from crucial promoters and participants, and professionals to the residents and visitors. The participants cover both varied level

activists in the regeneration action (St Clair et al., 2020). Among all the interviewees, 35 generates audio record after their allowing, and 24 without.

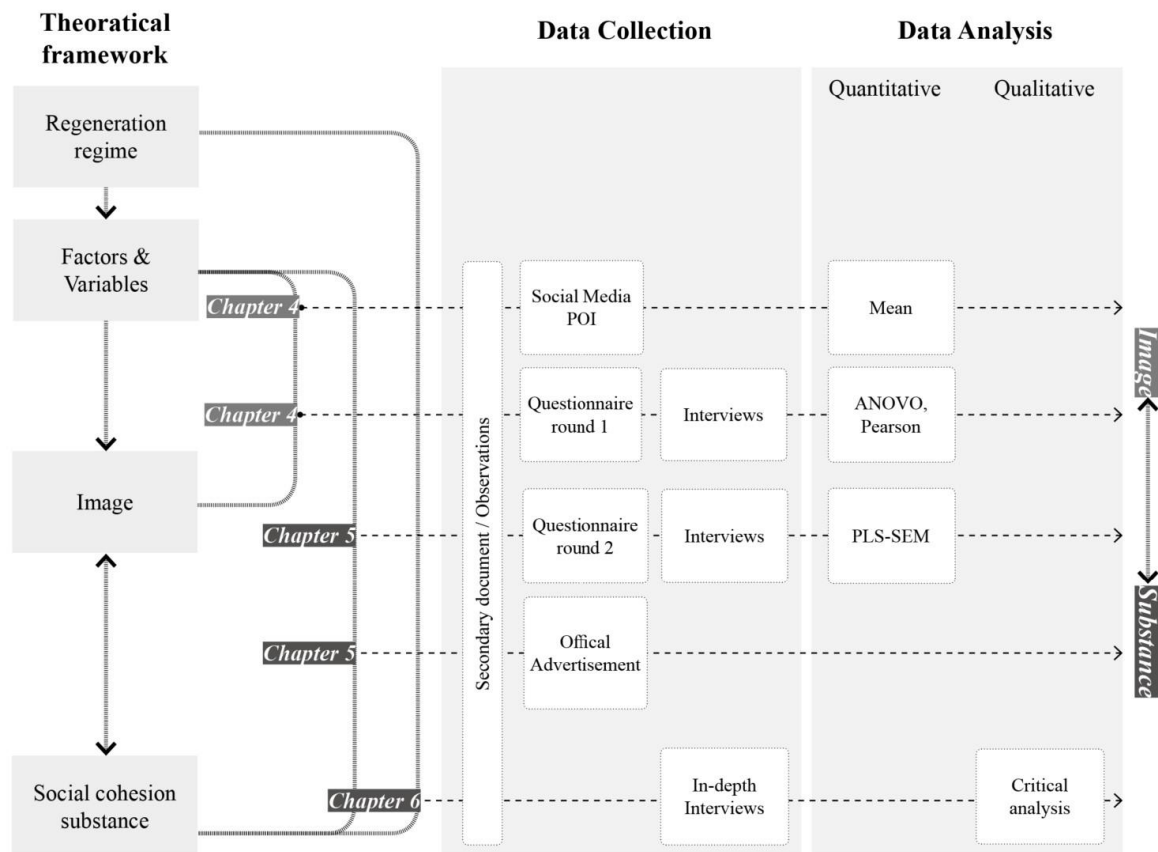


Figure 3.6 Research data and methods specification in thesis structure

3.4.4 Fieldwork and observations

The fieldwork survey conducted from March 2019 to May 2023, around four years. According to the photo recording, more than 107 times visits were made, the time ranged from twenty minutes to six hours, covering both workdays and weekends, all seasons.

3.4.5 Social media data

Along with the rise of internet and online social media, new media, such as Ctrip (携程), Mafengwo (马蜂窝), Douban (豆瓣), Zhihu (知乎), and Dianping (大众点评), all together provide new user-generated data resources to capture urban culture and consumption map.

3.4.6 Secondary data

Secondary data, including policy documents, the press, were also adopted to expand the preliminary understanding of the development context and basic information of the selected case studies.

3.5 Data analysis methods in brief

3.5.1 System boundary-based literature review

The system boundary-based literature review approach is emerged from the field of management and widely used in construction management (Pan et al., 2018; Wang, 2021). A system is composed of a set of elements and the boundary distinguish one system from another. The system boundary is defined by the investigator to clearly define the difference between a system and its surroundings. Though the identification of a system boundary is subjective, it contributes to extract the content more directly relate to the research purpose. Through the system boundary-based review, the representative forms of culture in urban regeneration and key dimensions of social cohesion in CUR is identified.

3.5.2 One-way ANOVA

For public perceived neighbourhood image, we used descriptive data (mean, SD) to present the neighbourhood image pattern. A one-sample *t*-test was used to indicate the relative significance and tendency rather than the absolute mean score value (Mak & Jim, 2018). To detect the impact of visiting experience to flagship regeneration project, one-way ANOVA was used. The data were analyzed with SPSS version 26.

3.5.3 Thematic analysis

Interview data were imported and thematically analyzed using NVIVO 12, an efficient tool to derive patterns in qualitative analysis (McEwan et al., 2020). Following the suggestions of Braun and Clarke (2006), the themes were first coded inductively by one researcher and then examined by a second researcher to minimize subjective bias.

3.5.4 Structural equation modeling

In the in-depth examinations of social cohesion, partial least squares – structural equation modeling (PLS -SEM) was selected as the data analysis method because it suits exploratory and theory-building research (Wolk & Theysohn, 2007; Wyllie et al., 2014; Taheri et al., 2016), exploring relationships exists or not (Ashill & Jobber, 2014). Compared with conventional covariance- based SEM, it requires minimal data to result in more reliable estimation of factor loading (Chin, 2010; Hair et al., 2011; Wolk & Theysohn, 2007). SmartPLS software will be used to analyse the data. Composite reliability, internal consistency, convergent validity and discriminant validity of all factors will be examined as the literature showed (Chin, 2010; Fornell & Larcker, 1981; Hair et al., 2011).

Chapter 4 Amenities and neighbourhood image in CUR: neighbourliness

4.1 Introduction of this chapter

This chapter first use urban amenities to capture neighbourhood image under CUR, then grasp public perceived neighbourhood image through a questionnaire survey, essential observational factors that impact image perception were also identified. The public perceived aesthetic image was further compared with typical aesthetic scenes in Western cultural neighbourhoods.

4.2 Urban amenity as neighbourhood image⁶

4.2.1 Introduction of this section

The competition of an international cultural metropolis includes hard cultural facilities, soft cultural atmosphere, and scene characteristics. In the Shanghai 2035 City Masterplan, “Innovation city, Humanistic city, and Eco-city” have been announced as three representative targets of the city development, “conserving unique historical heritage and cultivating an inclusive cultural milieu” has become essential content in the city. This section takes Yuyuan Road, Julu Road, and Panyu (Xinhua) Road in Shanghai’s Conservative Areas as the case studies, uses scenes theory to translate urban

⁶ This section 4.2 is emerged from the publication: Chen, W., & **Luo, J.***, (2021). Understanding Shanghai Metropolitan Cultural Scenes- Case of Yuyuan, Julu, Panyu Road. *Shanghai Culture Development Report 2021. Shanghai Culture Development in the Fourteenth Phase*. Shanghai Academy of Social Sciences Press. (透视上海大都市文化场景 – 以愚园路、巨鹿路、番禺路为例. In Chinese).

amenities and abstract cultural ambiance into tangible spatial characteristics, and discusses the culture of Shanghai's urban regeneration and the interactive relationship between the characteristics of the scene and the agglomeration of creative industries. The cultural atmosphere of Shanghai not only has the characteristics of anti-mainstream and anti-traditional "Bohemian" scenes but also embodies the "Bohemian-Bohemian" scenes that both focus on material life and desire romance. This research reveals how the metropolitan cultural scene affects the agglomeration and separation of creative industries in space and also provides a way of thinking about Shanghai's challenge to an international cultural metropolis in the tension between global and local culture.

Cultural scenes play an increasingly important role in the transformation of industry from post-industry and traditional manufacturing to emerging science and technology innovation industry. These cultural spaces' amenities and recreational opportunities attract creative human capital and inspire successful transformations in these cities (Zukin, 1989; Glaeser et al., 2001; Glaeser & Gottlieb, 2006; Silver & Clark, 2016). In this regard, the scene theory aims at the background of urban post-industrial development and explains the internal logic of culture and urban development from the perspectives of attracting human capital and stimulating the development of new industries.

4.2.2 Cultural scenes in Shanghai

a. Localized aesthetic dimensions of scene

This study mainly analyzes social media texts, including Ctrip, Mafengwo, Douban, Zhihu, and Dianping, and conducts research on the cultural scene of the Shanghai metropolis through semi-structured interviews with 13 planning professionals. Several aspects of the scene analysis framework were adjusted: 1) the two sub-dimensions of "ethical" and "state" that were not clearly represented in the Shanghai landscape area were deleted; 2) Adjust the sub-dimensional expression to make it more

figurative and typical, such as “formal - informal” is adjusted to “bourgeoisie – *yanhuo* (烟火),” and “rational-irrational” is revised to “rational-irrational, romantic” to make these expressions more suitable for Shanghai (Table 4.1).

Table 4.1 Aesthetic dimensions and sub-dimensions in Shanghai

(Adjusted sub-dimensions were marked in blue, and deleted sub-dimensions were marked grey)

戏剧性 theatricality		原真性 authenticity		合法性 legitimacy	
爱炫的 exhibitionistic	矜持的、 <u>低调的</u> reserved	本土的 local	全球的 global	传统的 traditional	新奇的 novel
迷人的、 <u>有魅力的</u> glamorous	普通的、 <u>平凡的</u> ordinary	族群的、少数族群的 ethnic	非族群的、非少数族群的 nonethnic	领袖魅力、 <u>名人效应</u> charismatic	常规的 routine
睦邻 <u>友好的</u> neighbourly	冷漠的 distant	国家的 state	非国家的 antistate	功利主义 utilitarian	<u>慢生活、治愈的</u> unproductive
越轨的 transgressive	<u>墨守成规的</u> conformist	企业的、 <u>连锁的</u> corporate	<u>独立的、个体的</u> independent	平等主义 egalitarian	特殊主义 particularist
<u>精致的、小资的</u> formal	<u>市井的、烟火的</u> informal	理性的 rational	<u>感性的、浪漫的</u> irrational	自我表达 self-expression	<u>照本宣科的</u> scripted

In the theatricality dimension, “neighbourly/neighbourliness” refers to “warm, caring members of a community joined with friends and fellows in camaraderie,” with typical scenes like greetings among people, children with family members, and interactions with strangers (Silver & Clark, 2016). “bourgeoisie – *yanhuo* (烟火)” is a localized expression of Shanghai about “formal-informal.” Many spatial elements, such as “bourgeois garden houses, western-style buildings, streets”; detailed components, such as “carvings, handrails, decorations”; and the appearance of people in the scene, such as “delicate makeup,” together depict an extraordinary, beyond everyday life, carefully created scene. “Exquisite, petty bourgeoisie, elegance, artistic” is a formal conformant of a certain etiquette, not an

informal state. At the other end of “exquisite bourgeoisie” are “homely flavour” and “strong *yanhuoqi*”, which are also words for the depiction of localized scenes that appear pretty frequently.

In the dimension of authenticity, the Conservation Area, as the “representative place of old Shanghai,” is closely related to many “international writers and designers,” people’s cognition of Shanghai has long regarded “global” as part of Shanghai’s “local.” There is a “sense of global” hidden in the authenticity of the spirit of Shanghai culture. This set of inclusive relationships is different from the antagonistic relationship between “local and global” in the original scene dimension, and the “global” in the Shanghai context does not point to foreign and heterogeneous attributes. At the same time, the Conservation Area is “the most romantic corner of Shanghai,” “rationality” and calmness are temporarily put down, and people’s “romantic style that cannot be hidden in their hearts” is ticked out.

In the dimension of legitimacy, “egalitarianism” means that “there are many folk amateur artists, and more mundane art are presented, whether it is the elderly or children, they can come in and stroll without any threshold.” In addition, “traditional” is “authentic” “*shengjian* (生煎), noodles with green onion oil,” “five flavours on the tip of the tongue overlapping repeatedly, outstanding and nostalgic,” “clothing craftsmanship, suit custom shop,” “vintage” neighbourhoods, walls, magazines, furniture, and old objects. The scene experience in the style area is a healing and soothing fast-paced life, which can make people feel the “unproductive, non-utilitarian” atmosphere.

b. Cultural scenes of three historic streets

Yuyuan Road, Julu Road, and Panyu (Xinhua) Road are all first-class historical protected roads in Shanghai, that is, “Shanghai’s roads that will never widen.” The study selected three sections of Dingxi Road-Jiangsu Road (located in the Yuyuan Conservation Area), Changshu Road-South Shaanxi Road of Julu Road (located in the Hengfu Conservation Area) and Yan’an West Road-Xinhua Road (located

in the Xinhua Conservation Area) of Panyu Road, all with a length of about 1,000 meters (Table 4.2). By crawling the basic information of shops along the street in Dianping and public reviews, the three street scenes were scored according to the framework of Table 4.1. Among them, 96 Yuyuan Road, 119 Julu Road, and 145 Panyu Road are amenities along the street, each amenity was scored by the research group with thirteen professionals according to social media information (Table 4.3). The neighbourhood score in each subdimension expresses the cultural scene characteristics of that neighbourhood (Figure 4.1).

Table 4.2 Overview of Urban Regeneration in Three Scenic Areas

Cases	Yuyuan	Julu	Panyu (Xinhua)
Key regeneration projects	Chuangyi Hongji Lawn (former Changzheng Pharmaceutical Factory, 长征制药厂), Yu Xiang, Mix Space Hongji Lawn	Julu 758 (former Shanghai Instrument Factory, 上海仪表厂)	Columbia Circle (former Shanghai Institute of Biological Products, 前上海生物制品研究所), Xingfuli (former Shanghai Institute of Rubber, 前上海橡胶研究所)
Photos			
Representative enterprise	Hongji, Mix Space	-	Vanke, Xingfuli Creative Industry Development Co., Ltd.
Typical regeneration design strategies	Remove the cluster fence, transform former parking lot in the factory into an open lawn, and open the street interface	The factory building along the street interface (about 90 meters) is updated as several fashion consumer stores, with a continuous gray facade	The regeneration within plot, setting up the entrance and exit on Panyu Road

Table 4.3 Examples of aesthetic score for amenities

Shop name	Address in Yuyuan Road	exhibitionistic / reserved	glamorous / ordinary	neighborly / distant	transgressive / conformist	formal / informal	local / global	corporate / independent	rational / irrational	traditional / novel	charismatic / routine	utilitarian / unproductive	egalitarian / particularist	self-expression / scripted
After5 Bistro	No.1388	1	1	2	1	1	0	-2	-1	-1	-2	-1	0	1
Yuyintang Music Park		0	2	2	1	-1	2	0	-2	-1	1	-1	2	0
1898 Café	No.1265	-1	1	0	0	1	1	-2	0	1	-2	-1	0	-1
element life	No.1381-1	1	1	-1	1	2	-2	2	-1	-1	-2	-1	0	1
HeyShop@ Yuyuan Road	No.1429	1	1	-1	1	2	0	2	-1	-1	-2	-1	0	1
randomevents	No.1385	1	1	-1	1	1	0	0	-1	-1	2	1	-1	1
3. Leo	No.1421	0	1	0	0	1	0	-2	0	0	-2	-1	1	0
ACAI STUDIO	No.1386	0	1	0	0	1	0	-2	0	0	-2	-1	1	0
Akimbo café	No.1018	1	2	1	0	1	0	0	0	-1	1	-1	1	1
CHAO'S CHAOS CIRCLECL	No.1329	1	1	-1	0	2	0	-2	-1	-1	-2	-1	0	1
EAN (shoe care)	No.1387	-1	0	-1	0	1	-2	2	0	-1	-2	-1	-1	-1
etc. CAFÉ	No.1381-1	0	1	1	0	1	1	-2	0	0	-2	-1	1	0
Gregorius	No.991	0	1	0	0	1	0	-2	0	-1	-2	-1	1	0
Jesus Love	No.1002	-1	0	-1	0	1	0	-2	-1	0	-2	-1	0	-1
LADY Y lifestyle	No.1253	1	1	0	0	2	0	-2	0	0	-2	-1	1	1
Le Glamor flower planting space	No.1382-1	1	1	-1	0	1	0	-2	0	-1	-2	-1	0	1
MVP Bespoke	No.1341	-1	1	-1	0	2	0	-2	-1	-1	-2	-1	0	-1
POBOX	No.1018	1	1	-1	0	1	-2	0	-1	-1	2	1	2	1
Pink Pig food	No.1255	1	1	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	-2	-1	2	1
REGALO	No.1284	-1	1	-1	0	2	-1	-2	-1	-1	-2	-1	0	-1
RE Perfumery	No.1288,1286	0	1	-1	0	2	0	0	-1	-1	-2	-1	0	0
T12 COFFEE @Heyshop	No.1429-1435	1	2	0	0	1	0	0	0	-1	0	-1	1	1

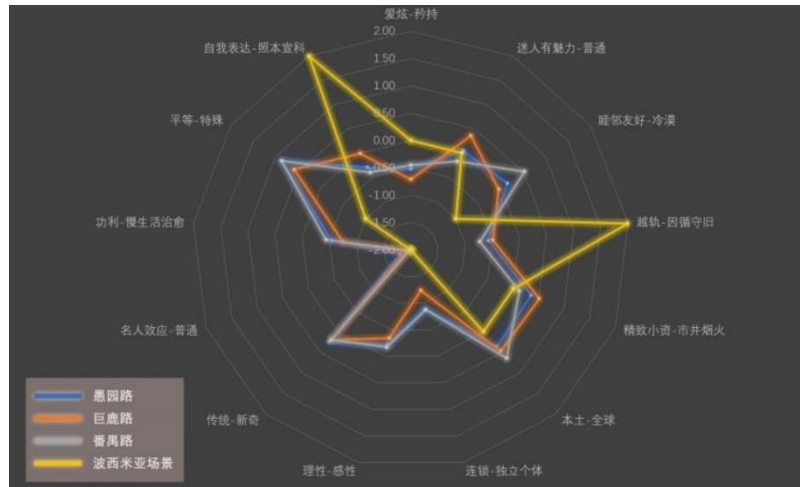


Figure 4.1 Comparison of Bohemia scene in western cities and Bobo scene in Shanghai
(scores for Bohemia scene from Silver & Clark, 2010)

b-1. Yuyuan Road: equal transgression

The scene characteristics of Yuyuan Road are “equal transgression.” Under dazzling art installations, the lawn beer festival plays swaying electronic music in the outdoor space, and people sit or lie down, running dogs and chasing children, attracting people to stop by. The uncle who rides a bicycle to get food and the white-haired grandmother who goes for a walk also cannot help but stop. On this open lawn, once an enclosed parking lot, a mild taboo in which everyone can participate is taking place. For bars at Yuyuan Road, they are mostly “warm and happy bistros,” “very suitable for chatting, you can talk about many topics that make people’s hearts vibrate;” “It may be smaller than expected, but with a gentle shop.” Like bars near universities, they are more affordable, do not require thousands of dollars in “desk fees,” have simple furniture and decoration (Farrer & Field, 2015), and are transgressive but still accessible. This “equal transgression” comes from the unique types of shops and events, but at the same time, it exudes a relatively open and welcoming attitude to all kinds of people.

On the whole, Yuyuan Road is more in line with a gradual, organic regeneration process, instead of arrogantly filling the entire block with a single design language, but making residents feel “something has changed, and nothing has changed.” The urban regeneration of Yuyuan Road began in 2015; in addition to the regeneration projects of Hongji Space and Yuyuan Space promoted by Hongji Properties (a relatively small local real estate enterprise in Shanghai), there are also embedded projects with the participation of small enterprises such as Mix Space and Debi. At the same time, the active cooperation between private interest and Changning District Government and Jiangsu Road Street has also promoted Yuyuan Road to complete some micro-regeneration of neighbourhood-oriented spaces, such as the parking lot in the once closed Hongji Space Park has been turned into an open lawn, so that the buildings and streets of the streets are gradually open and connected; Or the clever use of small open spaces as flexible spatial transitions makes the boundaries of different spatial types flexible and blurred, creating a threshold for spaces with different functions and styles (Imai, 2013; Kochan, 2015). These changes have encouraged the creation of a “neighbourly and friendly” place atmosphere shared by different social groups, and the flexibility of physical space boundaries and the blurring of boundaries have also stimulated the loosening and “communitas” of social space, further giving birth to the scene of “equality” (Turner, 1969; Wu et al., 2020).

b-2. Julu Road: distant bourgeois

The scene characteristics of Julu Road are “distant bourgeois.” Jufuchang (Julu – Fumin – Changle District) is a symbol of the spirit of Shanghai’s traditional western style district, one of the earliest “artistic roads” that affect Shanghai’s cultural taste, and is also the birthplace of Shanghai’s fashion trend culture today. Most of the shops on Julu Road are independent shop owners, with few chain stores and fast-moving clothing. Whether it is a bookstore, a boutique, a bakery, or a Western restaurant, they all carefully design their window displays along the street, conveying the atmosphere of petty-bourgeois.

These store designs full of independent personalities and unaffordable prices increase the sense of distance and alienation of the entire street from the general population. Julu 758, the original dilapidated factory interface was completely updated to a Western-style restaurant, bakery, and coffee shop, and the street interface of about 90 meters was uniformly changed to a light gray façade (Figure 4.2-a). As a new fashion consumption place on Julu Road, it presents a relatively single bourgeois taste. Compared with the regeneration alliance with the participation of multiple stakeholders in Yuyuan Road, the urban regeneration of Julu Road is more like the dynamic adjustment of commercial formats and architectural styles by individual independent tenants based on market demand. At the same time, because the bustle of commercial shops is mostly limited to the interface along the street, and there is little penetration into the hinterland of the street, Julu Road also presents an entirely distinct spatial segregation and division between the outside street and the inside neighbourhood.



Figure 4.2 Typical scenes of three historic streets

(a, Julu 758: bourgeoisie, independent; b, Music bar under residential housing: transgressive, self-expressive, closed at Jan 2020; c, Vinyl records shop, transgressive, self-expressive, reserved; d, Fried fish, wonton restaurant, Lottery betting stations: informal, local)

b-3. Panyu (Xinhua) Road: reserved self-expression

The scene characteristic of Panyu Road is “reserved self-expression.” Grocery stores, affordable noodle restaurants, casserole wontons, “Taikang Food, Lao Hongxing Handmade Dim Sum” can be found everywhere along Panyu Road, as well as lottery betting stations, print shops, and photo studios where grandfathers stay; they have no unique, exquisite decoration, and are all part of the everyday life of the city, providing convenient and affordable services for residents’ lives. Two of Panyu Road’s most famous urban regeneration projects, Xingxingli and Vanke-led Columbia Circle, are located on the east and west sides of Panyu Road. Compared with the regeneration process of top-down and bottom-up interaction on Yuyuan Road, Xingxingli and Columbia Circle are more like two relatively closed and independent spatial segments; their stylish and sophisticated atmosphere has not spread to neighbouring neighbourhoods, and the main street of Panyu Road still maintains the state of “informal” and “local” life (Figure 4.2 - d).

Outside the main street of Panyu Road, some spaces with the meaning of “transgressive and self-expression” are hidden in the back-alley space or lane. Under the clothes poles jutting out of the old housing, it was once the setting for underground music bars and independent documentary films, although they now leave only locked iron doors and graffiti on the side walls (Figure 4.2 - b). Entering from the entrance of the Pingwu Building, where the aunts chatted, deep in the basement is a vintage clothing store and a second-hand vinyl record store (Figure 4.2 - c). These spaces of “transgressive and

self-expression” are difficult to know if they are not explored in the streets and alleys, whether they are tourists or elderly people living here.

4.2.3 Comparison of cultural scenes in Eastern and Western

The scene characteristics of Shanghai have both commonalities with the Western bohemian scene – “independent, irrational, unproductive;” There are also differences – the “neighbourly, bourgeois, local, and egalitarian” in Shanghai’s Conservation Area is more in line with a “bourgeois-bohemian” scene (a bobo scene, Figure 4.1). Based on the close relationship between the bohemian scene and the creative industry revealed by Western studies, we began to examine the creative industry agglomeration in Shanghai’s Bobo scene and Conservation Area. We tried understanding the interactive relationship between the cultural scene and the creative industry.

Scenes can help us understand the cultural characteristics of different urban spaces and explain the intrinsic relationship between specific scene characteristics and urban economic growth and the development of new industries through the correlation analysis of scenes and economic data. For example, the number of patents, employment opportunities, population, income, and university graduates are prominent in scenes where “glamorous” and “self-expression” are prominent. It will increase significantly. When the scene is more “self-expression,” it is more likely to attract the agglomeration of technology clusters, leading to more job creation and higher neighbourhood rent levels and ultimately promoting urban economic growth and overall revitalization (Silver & Clark, 2016).

a. Western bohemian scene

In general, scenes with “transgressive (theatricality), independence (authenticity), and self-expression (legitimacy)” are considered to be the most relevant to the development of new industries (Florida, 2005;

Silver & Clark, 2016). Such scenes are shown in cities such as Chicago, San Francisco, London, and New York and are also known as bohemian scenes. The core of the bohemian cultural scene is anti-mainstream and anti-traditional, which was carried forward and developed in the twentieth-century hippie movement that advocated liberation and profoundly influenced the cultural life of Western metropolises. It encourages people to express themselves in artistic, fashionable, and experimental ways. In the twenty-first century, this spirit is integrated into the broader culture and economy with the rise of the creative class (Florida, 2003). People with anti-mainstream consciousness feel “relaxed and creative” in this scene, and the atmosphere of freedom and romance encourages people’s creative emotions and brings this creative spirit that desires to subvert tradition to work. The most famous of the characters who loved and inspired this scene was Steve Jobs.

Many successful urban transformations have bohemian scene qualities, such as Chicago’s Wicker Park, San Francisco’s South of Market Street (SOMA), New York’s Soho, and London’s Hoxton area. Chicago’s Wicker Park district around 2000 represents the bohemian scene, where vintage stores can be found everywhere, and second-hand clothing stores read “underground” to express the rebellious attitude against the mainstream. Wicker Park’s rich cultural atmosphere has attracted many start-up technology companies that prefer art activities and subcultural communities. San Francisco’s South Market District (SOMA), once home to San Francisco subcultures, is now the most concentrated area for start-ups on the West Coast, and the former dock warehouse is now the headquarters of Internet companies such as Twitter and Airbnb. London’s Hoxton Square, which was a hub for street culture in the seventies, “always had great open-air music and freelance artists often gathered here” (Pratt, 2009). With a penchant for multicultural neighbourhoods among emerging internet tech start-ups, the Shoreditch, near Hoxton, has attracted more and more tech companies to settle down in recent years. If someone wants to experience London’s rebellious and multicultural nature, East London is the best choice.

b. A Bourgeois-bohemian scene in Shanghai

Like the bohemian scenes of Chicago, San Francisco, New York, and London, Shanghai's historical and cultural districts also have an "independent, irrational, and unproductive" aspect. Instead of being flooded with chain stores, the Conservation Area is "mostly independent stores," a preference that expresses the new creative class's pursuit of uniqueness. Uniqueness is the self-expression of young people in post-industrial metropolises under the wave of globalization, whether from graffiti, street performances, niche brands, or "historical and cultural scenes" full of time. Therefore, from the perspective of cultural scenes and creative industries as catalysts and stimulates each other, Eastern and Western cities depict similar street scenes: a group of "flaneurs" mainly young people, seeking their unique place in the post-industrial metropolis, and the "requirements of individual independence and individuality" are fully externalized into various glamorous spaces (Wang et al., 2008). This group of people converged in such a scene and created new cultural values under the accumulation of historical time and space layers.

However, compared with the bohemian scene, which highlights the spirit of transgression, Shanghai's historic and cultural districts show remarkable characteristics such as "neighbourliness, bourgeois, locality, and equality," which is more in line with a Bobo scene that "focuses on material life and longs for romance." Brooks coined the term Bobo to refer specifically to the Bobo ethnic group of highly educated elites who sought to distinguish them from the rich but uneducated rich. Their behavioral traits include a preference for simple, primitive textures, a constant gesture of humility, and a penchant for buying the same things as proletarians. Brooks sees this as eclecticism and a way to "build a more bourgeois taste in simpler things" (David, 2000).

Specifically, from the expression of the sub-dimension of "neighbourliness," the daily life of residents is an essential component of the cultural scenes of the three historic districts, and the CUR and the

flourishing of creative industries in recent years have not eroded the imprint of neighbourhood life too much. In the Conservation Area, “people can see both the uncle in the slit and the fashionable young man, and it does not feel un-homogeneous,” on the lawn, “there are people walking babies and dogs.” Traditional noodle restaurants, food shops, old Uncle underwear shops that have been open for over 30 years, and onion oil pancakes queuing up all year round on street corners retain an intense “local” atmosphere. Moreover, this blend of old and new, the peaceful coexistence of diverse social groups, makes people feel “equality.”

On the one hand, the “bourgeoisie” in Shanghai’s cultural scene comes from the genetic inheritance of the advocate of Western-style life aesthetics in the 1930, and on the other hand, it coincides with Shanghai’s relatively “conformist” neighbourhood scene under the Conservation Area guidance of firm planning control and taste. Fiu Gallery, a famous independent gallery on Yuyuan Road, collaborated with Memphis artist Camile Walala, during which the artist used recognizable and impactful colors and lines on the façade along the street. However, this artistic creation lasted only three weeks before it was restored to a gray façade at the behest of the authorities, and the self-expression of the Fiu Gallery became a short-lived urban memory in the hearts of art lovers. It is rare to see scribbling graffiti walls in the bohemian neighbourhoods of Western cities in Shanghai. In Shanghai’s cultural scene, most of the expression of personality and self is more likely to exist in a more hidden and low-key way; it is rarely located on the main street, and most of the time, it may be hidden in winding alleys, which people can easily miss. Because of the characteristics of the Bobo scene, Shanghai’s Conservation Area attracts fashion and design companies, such as French AIA Design Group, Gossamer, and NEIWAI. However, there are fewer technology companies, which is very different from the technology start-ups attracted by the bohemian scene in Western cities. At the same time, due to relatively high rental costs, most of the creative industries clustered in Shanghai’s Conservation Areas have passed the start-up stage, and most of them are mature or leading enterprises in the industry.

4.2.4 Discussion

The Shanghai City Plan (2017-2035) sets the vision of urban development as a city of innovation, humanities, and ecology. Behind the “City of Innovation” lies not only the affordable cost of innovation and entrepreneurship but also the free atmosphere and inclusive soil that attracts diverse talents, pointing to “readable buildings and warm cities (建筑可阅读, 城市有温度),” and then to “humanistic cities.” “Humanities” is the foundation that nurtures innovation, “innovation” is the core that stimulates the rebirth of culture, and innovation and humanities are the two poles of the driving force of the development of Shanghai metropolis. In the face of the post-industrial transformation faced by global metropolises and the trend of CUR, scene theory provides us with a way to examine the connotation of physical space and abstract culture. This section reveals how the metropolitan cultural scene affects the agglomeration and dispersion of creative industries in space and also provides an idea for Shanghai to move towards the challenge of becoming an international cultural metropolis in the tension between global culture and local culture.

As a spatial carrier carrying the city’s unique cultural genes, the Shanghai Conservation Area is a critical spatial fragment that retains the “personality and self of the metropolis” (Tao & Chen, 2001). The scene analysis of the three streets of Yuyuan Road, Julu Road, and Panyu (Xinhua) Road shows the characteristics of the Bobo scene of “neighbourliness, bourgeois, locality, and equality,” which is different from the Bohemian scene in Western cities characterized by “transgressive, independence and self-expression.” However, no matter what kind of cultural scene, they all play a role in promoting industrial transformation and the emergence of a new economy. The imbalance between cultural production and consumption may lead to the lack of long-term benefits for the city, and how to use cultural consumption to guide the development of cultural production is an issue that needs to be paid attention to in the regeneration of future Conservation Areas.

4.2.5 Summary

This section localized and validated a framework, with three main dimensions and fourteen sub-dimensions, to explicitly describe the aesthetic characteristics in Shanghai, which response to RQ1, sub – RQ1. This section further captured the cultural scenes in Shanghai through urban amenities that response to RQ1, sub – RQ2. The representative cultural scenes in Shanghai is similar to the Bourgeois-bohemian scene rather than the Bohemian scene.

4.3 Public Perceived Neighbourhood image⁷

4.3.1 Introduction of this section

A systematic approach for understanding how the urban environment and regeneration influence neighbourhood image is lacking, particularly involving aesthetic perspective. This study considers image reform under cultural regeneration and quantifies neighbourhood image based on its aesthetic characteristics. Two Shanghai conservation areas (SCAs), also known as hip neighbourhoods, were

⁷ This section 4.3 is emerged from the publication: **Luo, J.**, Jian, I. Y., Chan, E. H. W., & Chen, W*. (2022). Cultural regeneration and neighborhood image from the aesthetic perspective: Case of heritage conservation areas in Shanghai. *Habitat International*, 129, 102689. doi:<https://doi.org/10.1016/j.habitatint.2022.102689>. (SCI/SSCI Index, IF: 6.8).

selected as study sites. Mixed methods, including a questionnaire survey of 242 users, semi-structured interviews with 36 participants, and on-site survey, were used to capture the neighbourhood image and explore the observational factors influencing image perception. An SCA scene is identified in this study, with a neighbourhood image shaped by the aesthetic characteristics namely glamour, self-expression, heterogeneity, and neighbourliness. Vital factors that affect image perception include amenities and shops, daily activities, street and open spaces, flagship projects, and cultural events. The findings provide cross-cultural insights into the interrelationships among observational factors, cultural regeneration, and neighbourhood image, with a particular focus on the aesthetic perspective. This study provides useful reference for city planning and management for image reconfiguration in urban redevelopment to benefit neighbourhoods.

Notably, understanding neighbourhood image requires situating cultural meaning within a particular place and time. Since most previous explorations are based on Western context, this study enhances the literature by contributing an investigation in a non-Western city, Shanghai. The city is an international metropolis that is actively making use of culture in urban regeneration (Kong, 2009; Zhong, 2016). After rethinking the connotations of culture in regeneration, one emerging stream of practices in Shanghai is the adaptive reuse of cultural heritage through micro-regeneration with rising social consciousness at a neighbourhood scale (Zhong & Leung, 2019). Two conservation areas that represent the latest trend of cultural regeneration in Shanghai were chosen as case studies: Yuyuan and Xinhua.

This study aims to systematically understand how observational factors affect neighbourhood image in cultural regeneration and how cultural regeneration contributes to image reconstruction from the aesthetic perspective. Both quantitative and qualitative methods were applied, including a questionnaire survey, semi-structured interviews, and an on-site survey. A Shanghai Conservation Area (SCA) scene that can be described with the aesthetic characteristics of glamour, self-expression, heterogeneity, and

neighbourliness, was identified in this study. This scene included two deteriorating historic districts that showed a clear rising reputation and popularity after cultural regeneration. Perceptual elements—including amenities and shops, daily activities, street and open spaces, flagship projects, and cultural events—were emphasized in the process of image formation.

The rest of the section consists of four sections. Following this introduction, Section 2 discusses the recent literature on neighbourhood image during regeneration, followed by an explanation of the data collection and analysis methods in Section 3. Section 4 presents the empirical case studies and the findings. Section 5 provides a discussion of the findings. The final section calls for further examination of the factors affecting neighbourhood image perception in diverse perspectives.

4.3.2 Methodology of this section

a. Background and case selection: Yuyuan and Xinhua

The utilization of culture in urban regeneration in Shanghai has had a long history but has received much criticism due to its social impact. Some of the examples include using culture as a rhetorical dressing for real estate development and lacking connections with the local community in the Cultural Industry Clusters developments (e.g., M50, Red Town, and 1933) (Yang & Chang, 2007; Chen, 2011; Gu, 2014; Zhong, 2016). With the rising social concern, micro-regeneration (*weigaizao*, 微改造, 微更新) became a dominant regeneration approach in Shanghai and China (Xian & Gu, 2020; Wang, Zhang, & Wu, 2021). It echoes the turning from “physical substitution” to “physical maintenance” in China’s urban conservation (Xie, Gu, & Zhang, 2020). Regarding heritage conservation, the Shanghai Municipal Government announced 12 Conservation Areas in the center of Shanghai in 2003, as well as Conservation Planning in 2005, to present detailed spatial control guidelines (Wang, 2011). Against this

background, the latest cultural regeneration in Shanghai has pursued a mixture of micro-regeneration and heritage reuse (Zhong & Leung, 2019).

Two cases, Yuyuan and Xinhua (Figure 3.2), were selected based on the following criteria: 1) they are both experiencing cultural regeneration that represents the latest approach in Shanghai; 2) both cases are experiencing an evident rise in reputation, indicating a clear image reconfiguration; and 3) they are 2 of the 12 conservation areas announced in 2003 within the inner city of Shanghai.

Since 2014, the Changning District government has cooperated with Hongji, a small Shanghai real estate enterprise, to conduct regeneration in Yuyuan. It promoted small-scale regeneration projects organically distributed throughout the whole neighbourhood and obtained wide popularity in 2018. Xinhua is mainly famous for the Columbia Circle, a cultural cluster that transformed historical and industrial buildings. Outside Columbia Circle, other regeneration projects are distributed throughout the neighbourhood. The local government cooperated with Vanke, China's leading real estate enterprise, and inaugurated the regeneration project in 2016. Since the opening in 2018, Columbia Circle has soon become a hip spot in Shanghai

b. Methods

Several methods were employed to explain image perception in regeneration, including public questionnaires, semi-structured interviews, and on-site observation. Their functions and interrelationship are shown in Figure 4.3. Considering the aesthetic meaning of a place is a concept related to multiple disciplines, both deductive (literature review) and inductive methods (interview) were used as triangulation to validate the framework of factors that affect neighbourhood image (Yung, Conejos, & Chan, 2016; Zhang & Xu, 2019). Be specific, a preliminary list of observational factors that affect image perception was summarized from a comprehensive literature review containing cultural

regeneration (Rich, 2013; Gu, 2014; Heidenreich, 2015; Torre, 2020), heritage conservation (Zukin, 2012; Psarra, 2018), place branding (Pow & Kong, 2007; Vuignier, 2017; Willer, 2021), neighbourhood redevelopment (Llyod, 2002; Tuttle, 2020), and environmental psychology (Patterson, 2016). The public questionnaire consisted of four parts, namely an explanation of the purpose of the study, scoring for aesthetic characteristics, neighbourhood usage (visiting experience to flagship projects), and a respondent profile. A series of 14 items inspired by Silver and Clark (2016) were used to assess aesthetic features. Before the public survey, a pilot study was conducted to ensure the applicability of the descriptive items for aesthetic characteristics in the context of cultural regeneration in Shanghai (Chen & Luo, 2021). One characteristic, heterogeneity, was added, and two characteristics, state, and ethnicity, were deleted. A five-point scoring scale (1= global to 5= local) was used to score for aesthetic characteristics. To emphasize the real neighbourhood image, we chose respondents with on-site experience only. Questionnaires were collected via on-site systematic random sampling and were distributed at different points and times to ensure the respondents were unbiased (Rodriguez-Campo, Brana-Rey, Alen-Gonzalez, & Fraiz-Brea, 2020). The period ran from December 15, 2020, to January 31, 2021, including both weekends and weekdays.

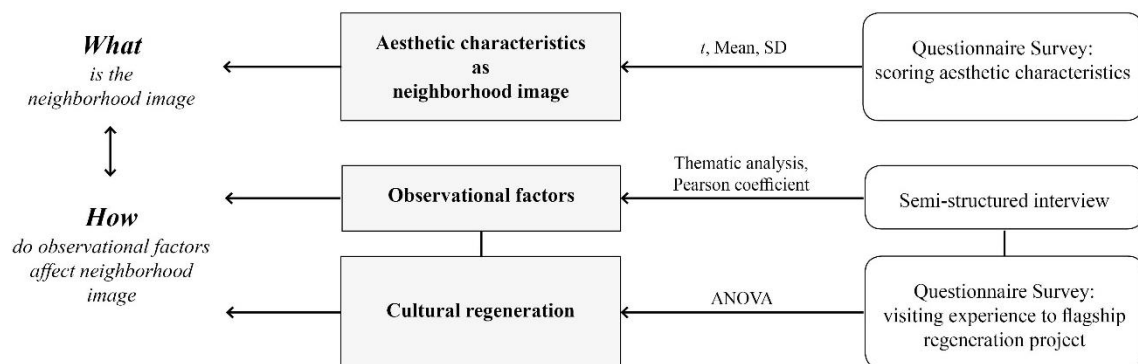


Figure 4.3 Methodological flow chart

The semi-structured interview included 36 interviews conducted along with the public questionnaire. Twenty-two participants were reached through snowball sampling. The survey was first sent to professionals. Respondents were invited to send the information to people who are professionals, residents, or visitors of the neighbourhoods. Fourteen volunteers contacted the research team through the information left on the questionnaire flyers. These interviews were conducted with the key protagonists and the public and they are diverse in gender, age, education, and visiting pattern. Full information about the participants is listed in Appendix B Table 8.3. The participants were asked to either describe each aesthetic feature, one by one, or to choose at least three features that best describe the neighbourhood image, and further explain the scene, at which point observational factors allowed them to perceive the aesthetic characteristics. The semi-structured interview lasted from 40 mins to 4 hours. On-site observations were conducted via regular site visits from December 2018 to the end of January 2021. Supporting secondary documents included government initiatives, local planning, newspapers, and social media news items, to identify representative regeneration interventions and projects.

c. Data analysis

We used descriptive data (mean, SD) to present the neighbourhood image pattern. A one-sample *t*-test was used to indicate the relative significance and tendency rather than the absolute mean score value (Mak & Jim, 2018). The identified aesthetic features were then further compared with prototype scores in Silver and Clark (2016) and Jeong (2019). Interview data were imported and thematically analyzed using NVIVO 12, an efficient tool to derive patterns in qualitative analysis (McEwan, Ferguson,

Richardson, & Cameron, 2020). Following the suggestions of Braun and Clarke (2006), the themes were first coded inductively by one researcher and then examined by a second researcher to minimize subjective bias. The terms defined for each theme were agreed upon by both researchers. The elements mentioned by the participants were compared to the criteria from the literature review (Appendix B Table 8.1), thus justifying the applicability to the specific situation of a neighbourhood under cultural regeneration.

To detect the impact of visiting experience to flagship regeneration project, one-way ANOVA was used. The data were analyzed with SPSS version 26. Combining the thematic analysis and ANOVA results, the researchers agreed upon five major observational factors and classified the remaining five factors as minor.

4.3.3 Findings and observations about Neighbourhood image

a. Respondent characteristics

The basic profile of the 242 total respondents is listed in Appendix B Table 8.2. Respondents aged 18–30 years accounted for more than half (61.98%) of the total. Compared with the population in Shanghai, the respondents in the cases have a higher education level (bachelor and above is 89.67% in cases vs. 33.87% in Shanghai) and are of younger age (age from 18-30 occupied 61.98% in the cases vs. age from 20-29 is 14.96% in Shanghai, SSPC, 2021). Users who had stayed more than 5 years within the area accounted for 33.06% of the population, and 28.80% of respondents in Xinhua had stayed for more than 10 years. A total of 32.23% of respondents visited the neighbourhood almost every day. More than half of respondents use or visit the neighbourhoods at least once a month (54.96%). As all the respondents had first-hand visiting experience and most residents make frequent visits, they are familiar with the

neighbourhood. The image perceived in this study was not a superficial branding-related image, but one that captures the real place image.

b. Shanghai Conservation Area scene

Respondents' perception of the characteristics of the 2 SCA cases according to the 14 aesthetic items is given in Table 4.4. For the one-sample *t*-test, for example, the null hypothesis for formal (informal) is the mean value of 3, which indicates that it is neither obviously formal nor informal. If the *t*-statistic is positive, the characteristic is closer to formal (5), whilst if it is negative, the characteristic tends to be informal (1). The bigger the absolute value, the more obvious the characteristic. The public perceptions of aesthetic characteristics in Yuyuan and Xinhua are largely similar (Appendix B Figure 8.2). To avoid duplicating the discussion, we chose to view the two cases together as representatives of typical SCAs.

Table 4.4 One-sample *t*-test result

Aesthetic characteristics	Mean	SD	<i>t</i>	Sig.
Glamour (迷人)	3.96	0.926	16.174	0.000 ***
Self-expression (自我表达)	3.90	0.887	15.798	0.000 ***
Heterogeneity (多元)	3.94	0.981	14.870	0.000 ***
Neighbourliness (睦邻)	3.73	0.942	12.006	0.000 ***
Egalitarianism (平等)	3.70	1.060	10.313	0.000 ***
Locality (本土)	3.68	1.110	9.499	0.000 ***
Charisma (名人效应)	3.49	0.974	7.791	0.000 ***
Irrationality (感性、浪漫)	2.44	1.275	-6.807	0.000 ***
Unproductiveness (非生产性)	2.52	1.209	-6.219	0.000 ***
Formality (正式)	3.40	1.027	6.133	0.000 ***

Independence (独立)	2.61	1.169	−5.168	0.000 ***
Transgression (越轨)	3.24	0.976	3.754	0.000 ***
Novelty (新奇)	2.75	1.155	−3.394	0.001 ***
Exhibitionism (张扬)	3.12	1.106	1.628	0.105

* Significance at 0.05 level, ** Significance at 0.01 level, ***Significance at 0.001 level.

Glamour has both the highest *t* value (16.174) and mean (3.96), indicating the public perceived glamour as the most obvious aesthetic feature of the neighbourhoods. Self-expression has the second highest *t* value (15.798) and the third highest mean (3.90), while heterogeneity has the third highest *t* value (14.870) and the second highest mean (3.94). These are followed by neighbourliness, egalitarianism, and locality, with *t* values 12.006, 10.313, and 9.499, respectively. According to the cluster analysis, glamour and neighbourliness have the closest relationship among all the aesthetic characteristics found (Appendix B Figure 8.3). Combining the result of the one-sample *t*-test and cluster analysis, the SCA is identified as glamorous, self-expressive, heterogeneous, and neighbourly.

The SCA is most similar to the Bobo aesthetic prototype (Figure 4.4), as they have similar aesthetic levels for glamour and self-expression (mean difference at 0.04, 0.10), as well as exhibitionism, egalitarianism, and locality (mean difference at 0.12, 0.30, and 0.32). An obvious difference is also revealed between SCA and the bohemian, as they differ widely in the features of being transgressive and neighbourly (mean difference at 1.76 and 1.73).

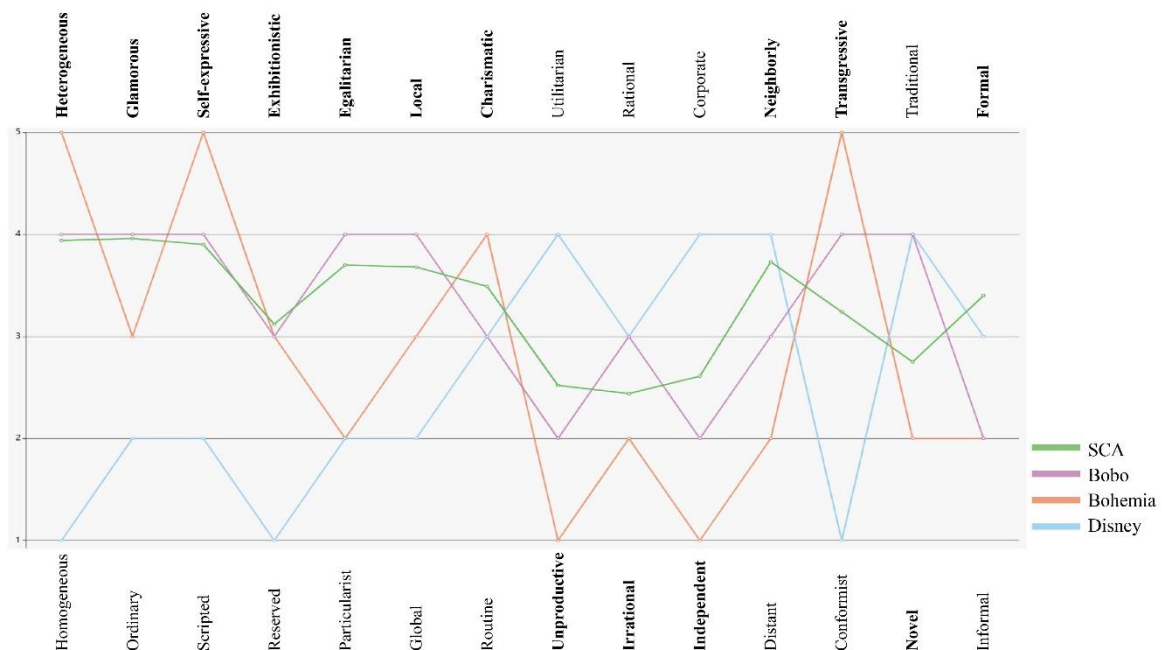


Figure 4.4 Comparison of the SCA scene and aesthetic prototypes (by the authors, data of Bobo, Bohemia and Disney is based on Silver & Clark, 2016; Jeong, 2019).

c. Major observational factors

The responses from the semi-structured interviews are referred to as sources, which are coded into different themes to become nodes. To avoid redundancy, these themes are categorized based on the ten established factors from the literature. The number of references indicates the number of times that the theme has been mentioned. Each node was coded into the reported aesthetic characteristics and the observational factors to generate the Pearson coefficient. To explore the extent to which the factors influence public perception of neighbourhood image, this study used quote frequency (Figure 4.5, Appendix B Figure 8.4), the Pearson coefficient (PC) among the nodes (PC>0.8, high correlation; PC=0.6–0.8, moderate correlation, PC<0.6 are left blank to indicate zero, Appendix B Figure 8.5) from

thematic analysis by NVIVO, and ANOVA results (Appendix B Table 8.4) together to show the impact of observational factors for aesthetic characteristics. Ten main themes with 42 sub-themes were derived from the thematic analysis (Appendix B Table 8.1). In the following, the factors and variables are discussed according to the level of importance, from high to low. Each factor is discussed from the quoted frequency of sources, Pearson coefficient, and then the related ANOVA results.

Code	Source	Reference
Observational factor	36	825
A. Physical environment	35	411
A2. Amenities and shops	34	219
A3. Street and open space	26	111
A1. Flagship project	26	81
B Event and activity	35	241
B2. Daily activity	29	116
B1. Cultural event	25	79
B3. Governance	21	46
C. Users' social attribute	32	136
C3. Diverse group	22	54
C2. Celebrity and influencer	22	53
C1. Local group	16	29
D. Narrative and branding	19	37

Figure 4.5 Thematic analysis by NVivo

c-1. Amenities and shops (A2)

Amenities and shops were the most common theme (n=34, 94.4%); this theme included storefronts, interior design, community facilities, prices, and coffee shops. Storefronts received the most attention among all 42 sub-themes (n=29, 80.6%), and highly affected eight features, especially heterogeneity (0.92). As one local resident noted, the composition of amenities along the street is diverse, with trendy shops and quotidian small shops distributed organically throughout the whole neighbourhood. It was also supported by the observation: “Michelin and Black Pearl fine dining restaurants are located here. If you walk further, you can also visit traditional breakfast diners and down-to-earth noodle bars.” The price of amenities is strongly correlated with the egalitarianism (0.81). Many interviewees stated that, as emerging cultural consumption destinations, some shops and products were expensive and even luxury focused, while a certain portion of restaurants, cafés, and stores remained at reasonable prices. Visiting the Public Market in Yuyuan has a strong correlation with assessing the area as heterogeneous ($p=0.011$) and informal ($p=0.002$) (Figure 4.6-1). The Public Market was transformed from an abandoned former college teaching building into a mixture of new cultural spaces, such as a community gallery, dance studio, and traditional stores (e.g., hand-made clothing shops, noodle bars, and grocery stores). The traditional stores are mainly run by local elderly people and lower-class working migrants from other provinces of China. The Public Market is viewed as both a hip spot and a community center.

c-2. Daily activity (B2)

The second most common theme was daily activity (n=29, 80.6%), which included social interaction, mundane behavior, pets, and photography. Social interaction, mundane life behavior, and pet activities largely contributed to the neighbourly feature (0.90, 0.81, and 0.67). The interactions between people here seem diverse and close. A young newly moved-in resident mentioned that when neighbours meet, they will say hi and chat for a while, and they collect packages for each other. Pet-related pursuits are a shared activity type among diverse social groups. One new renter mentioned that she goes dog walking

with an elderly owner. Another visitor mentioned, “I met a small baby pig on the street one time; people pass by and sometimes just stop, take a photo, and chat for a while.” Varied mundane life activities can also be easily seen in the two cases, such as enjoying the sunshine, kids playing, and shopping for food, and this creates a sense of everyday life.

Visiting Columbia Circle and Jinglao Cun in Xinhua is correlated with the perception of the area as neighbourly ($p=0.015$, $p=0.038$) (Figure 4.6-2). While Columbia Circle is a cultural cluster providing quality open spaces, Jinglao Cun is a project focusing on elderly-care housing. Local working-class older residents are frequently seen in the two sites and two cases. Interactions among them remain close: “You can easily see elders getting together, chatting, sometimes smiling loudly,” or an elderly person in a wheelchair napping in the sunshine. The open spaces in Columbia Circle serve as a good place for children to play and attract many families. People working there gave it the nickname “Columbia Circle Kindergarten.”



1. Public Market; 2. Columbia Circle; 3. Green Corner (Source: Authors)

Figure 4.6 Representative regeneration projects

c-3. Street and open space (A3)

Streets and open spaces were the third most common theme (n=26, 72.2%), and streetscape contributes most to the glamorous feature (0.92). The streetscape is about the human scale, greenery, and a well-maintained walkable street environment. As one elderly respondent said, “It’s human-friendly, under the sycamore tree canopy—I do not feel tired at all when I am walking on this street.” One visitor noted, “It’s not a big vehicle road, but a small street that you can walk on very slowly,” which echoes the unproductive languid ambiance (0.86). Reduced parking and fine public furniture make the human-scale street even more pedestrian-friendly. The overall street and alleyway network covered the whole neighbourhood, which provides opportunities for exploration. Many visitors (n=7) mentioned that some stores or historic buildings are hidden inside the neighbourhood: “you can go quite far from the main street.”

Open space also deeply contributed to the glamorous feature (0.88). Visiting three open spaces in Yuyuan—Yu Xiang, Hongji Lawn, and Green Corner—is also strongly correlated with the perception of the area as egalitarian ($p=0.003$, $p=0.016$, $p=0.006$) (Figure 4.6-3, Figure 4.7). The three open spaces are all representative projects transformed from former grey spaces, such as parking lots. Hongji Lawn is the former parking lot of the Hongji Cultural Cluster, which was regenerated in 2015; the wall of the cluster was demolished and the inner space was transformed into an open green space. The open spaces and public furniture are used by creative professionals working in the cluster, trendy youth visitor, residents, the lower working class, and marginalized social groups, including elderly people, cleaning workers, delivery men, and the homeless. During the local observation, one could see a group of cleaning workers jumping rope (a traditional game in China) and laughing, and a delivery man was resting and using the USB charger in a shelter.



1. Yu Xiang before regeneration; 2. Hongji Lawn before regeneration; 3. Yu Xiang; 4. Hongji Lawn.
(Source: Authors)

Figure 4.7 Two representative open spaces in Yuyuan

c-4. Flagship project (A1)

Flagship projects have the same frequency as streets and open spaces in the responses (n=26, 72.2%). This theme included architectural features, micro-regeneration, historic buildings, and museums and galleries. Architectural features are highly correlated with six aesthetic characteristics, especially heterogeneity (0.90), followed by glamour (0.88) and self-expression (0.86). This theme is about the multiple layers of local buildings (n=10), in terms of built time (1930s, 1980s, 2000s); form (garden house, low apartment, high apartment); and social meaning (working-class, high luxury). As observed by one participant, “you can encounter a residential apartment, following a traditional garden house—it’s unique that you can experience both lived daily life and historic markers simultaneously here.” Many

participants talked about the building restoration within the two cases (n=8), including façade redecoration, waterwork updates, or adding elevators for elderly housing, which simultaneously renovates old buildings in good condition and enhances the unique local character as a heritage district.

Micro-regeneration has also highly affected the heterogeneity characteristic (0.87). As some designers described, the regeneration projects are “like small dots.” Not all of the regeneration projects use a standard design language yielding a conspicuous change, but instead there is a mixture of new and old elements. As one resident noted: “we feel there have been only minor changes and it seems not changed.” Historic buildings contribute most to the locality characteristic (0.86). Quite a few historic buildings were mentioned, such as Sunke Villa in the Columbia Circle and the Navy Army Club: “These old buildings are a sign of local history and are irreplaceable.”

c-5. Cultural events (B1)

Cultural events were mentioned by 25 respondents (69.4%), including exhibitions and festivals, public art, and music. The self-expression characteristic mostly results from exhibitions and festivals (0.90). Both case areas provide diverse events, and important annual events include the Urban Regeneration Festival, Shanghai Film Festival, and Urban Space Art Season (SUSAS). The “Chengshi Design Festival” held in Yuyuan in 2017 and in Xinhua in 2018, is the first design festival focusing on the integration of micro-regeneration and culture. The festival invited a group of star architects to produce a series of micro-regeneration and public art works within the neighbourhood, including installations, pocket parks, and public furniture: “The theme was quite new and novel for me at that time, and that was the first time I went to Yuyuan,” a young urban designer remembered. Most events are seasonal and held throughout the whole year, including a beer festival in summer and fake snow in winter, an art book fair, and a meadows piano season. These activities are diverse in form and theme, and are perceived as creative, which adds unique attractiveness for both cases.

Visiting Fiu Gallery was correlated with the perception of self-expressiveness ($p=0.002$, $p=0.048$, $p=0.012$) (Figure 4.8). The Fiu Gallery is an iconic cultural spot in Yuyuan. The opening exhibition façade was designed by Camille Walala, a representative contemporary pop artist, who was also the supervisor of one of the gallery founders when she was studying at the University of the Arts, London. This helped the Fiu Gallery attain large popularity. The Fiu Gallery's themes and forms change frequently, but together they express a unique attractive character. Visiting Yuxiang and Mix Space was also correlated with self-expression ($p=0.012$, $p=0.048$). This indicates that open spaces were frequently used for public cultural events.



1. Before regeneration, 2009.
 2. Opening Walala exhibition, 2018
 - 3\4. Changing window decorations with historic-featured building façade, 2020.
- (Source: 1 and 4, Authors, 2 and 3, Fiu Gallery Official WeChat Public Account)

Figure 4.8 Fiu Gallery in Yuyuan (global, irrational, heterogeneous, and self-expressive)

d. Minor factors

Diverse groups (C3) was cited 22 times in total (61.1%). Background diversity indicates that people can meet varied social groups here, including the elderly, hip youth, and foreigners. Although the sartorial style of people was only cited by six interviewees (16.7%), it deeply shaped the formality characteristic (0.81): “The security guards in Columbia Circle dress like those in a five-star hotel.”

Like diverse groups, celebrities and influencers (C2) were cited 22 times (61.1%). Social media influencers contributed to the charismatic characteristic (0.79), and visiting Columbia Circle was strongly correlated with the perception of the area as charismatic ($p=0.007$). When we surveyed in Xinhua, almost everyone mentioned that Lijiaqi’s enterprise, the top online seller in China, is located within the cluster. Many artists invited to join events and owners of newly opened shop are also influencers.

Celebrities and influencers were followed by governance (B3, $n=21$, 58.3%). Many respondents ($n=6$) mentioned that the censorship of shop and cultural events is not too strict, and the local government encourages new experimental activities, which produce the egalitarian sense (0.70). Although security guards can be seen in many places, they did not appear to engage in strict surveillance of users, the usage of open spaces is flexible, and diverse activities are allowed. Having visited Jinglao Cun was strongly correlated with the feeling of the area as ordinary rather than glamorous ($p=0.037$). This indicates that continuous maintenance is a key element leading to the glamour of a place.

Nineteen respondents mentioned narrative and branding (D, 52.8%). Unlike most heritage reuse projects in Shanghai, which prefer to rebuild the appearance of 1930s upper-class Shanghai life, the two cases chose to interpret local culture, according to the local context, and reimagine both working-class life in the 1990s and upper-class life in the 1930s, and this is perceived as heterogeneous (0.76). The visual

language, mainly expressed in shop signs, showcase windows, and other graphic elements, highly affected features including self-expression (0.85), neighbourliness (0.81), and glamour (0.81).

The “Local” group (C1) received the least discussion (n=16, 44.4%). Both elderly and local residents enhanced the sense of a place as neighbourly (0.76 and 0.63) and heterogenous (0.73 and 0.68). The majority of local residents are elderly, as “both cases have more than 30% elderly older than 60.”

4.3.4 Discussion

a. SCA and image reform in cultural regeneration

Previous studies have already shown that aesthetic characteristics embedded in places foster local redevelopment. Silver & Clark (2016) introduced a series of aesthetic dimensions to capture urban scenes. The study extended such research by exploring in a non-Western context focusing on neighbourhoods under cultural regeneration. The mixture of new and old, mundane and luxury in the SCA scene deeply echoes the fusion atmosphere of the bourgeois-bohemian (Bobo) scene. Similar to the Bobo image targeting young professionals (Billingham, 2017), the rising SCA is also attracting such well-educated youth in Shanghai. While many districts relating to cultural regeneration were loosely described as bohemian and mobilized by artists’ activities, the daily lives of active residents made the SCA scene different from the bohemian. The identified SCA scene reflects the combination of heritage reuse and micro-regeneration, redecorated old building, and updated overall environment quality, while simultaneously maintaining the original form, character, and lifestyle of the neighbourhoods.

With heterogeneous amenities in the SCA, it is also different from former wholesale heritage reuse projects in Shanghai, which tend to form a luxury high-class image. Besides, by providing quality free open space and allowing diverse daily activities, the newly renovated cultural clusters (e.g., Hongji or

Columbia Circle) have a much closer relationship with local residents than formerly documented clusters in Shanghai. The findings are valuable for utilizing and managing cultural clusters in regeneration to benefit surrounding neighbourhoods.

The SCA contains two conservation areas experiencing cultural regeneration in Shanghai, which were transformed from no-name historic districts into well-known hip streets and cultural destinations. The rising reputation of these areas supports the idea of viewing the regeneration process as accumulating symbolic and aesthetic capital (Harvey, 2001; Yeoh, 2005). The rising popularity possibly also reflects the alternative preference of consumers and the public in Shanghai. After seeing massive demolition, the rising social consciousness made them appreciate districts that maintain a traditional lifestyle as neighbourly.

b. Major observational factors

The identified primary role of amenities and shops (A2) is essential for leasing and managing storefronts in cultural regeneration which echoes studies that paid attention to street commerce' social and cultural meaning (e.g., Kickert, 2021). Particularly, the importance of maintaining local stores as highlighted by Zukin (2012) that traditional stores are vital infrastructure for the vernacular aesthetics. In the case studies considered here, although many newly opened stores in the two cases are similar to a bourgeois shopping street, such as clothing stores, wine stores, and perfumeries, a certain portion of traditional local stores were kept in the regeneration process. As this study revealed, there is a close relationship between storefronts and a heterogeneous atmosphere; for historic districts seeking to reform their neighbourhood image, more attention could be given to the diversity of storefronts. Maintaining heterogeneous amenities and shops in the neighbourhood has the potential of resisting middle-class aesthetics homogenizing the whole neighbourhood and maintaining a balance between global populist culture and local lifestyle.

Daily activities (B2), such as social interaction and mundane life behavior, show a vital role in forming neighbourhood image, especially for features such as neighbourliness. As Rich (2013) noted, strong social ties could be a positive light for a new image. The cultural regeneration did not demolish existing social networks or change traditional lifestyles. This indicates a continuity with the original way of life in the process of heritage adaptive reuse as highlighted by Yung et al (2017). Unlike previous studies normally view social and daily activities as “local and authentic”, the study identified these activities that have been viewed as “neighbourly”. It is possibly because the interactions are not only among residents but also between residents and newcomers (visitors).

The importance of streets and open spaces (A3)—especially their close relationship to glamour—is consistent with classical urban design theory focusing on walkability as a key element of attractiveness (Jacobs, 1961). As open spaces are more often involved in leisure and commercial activities in recent days, the perceived egalitarian characteristics emphasize that open spaces with high accessibility and affordability contribute to spatial justice which echoes the view of Jian, Luo, & Chan (2020).

Flagship projects (A1) are mainly about the diverse form, built time, and social conditions of buildings in the districts as architectural features, which is perceived as heterogeneous. This is consistent with previous historic urban landscape studies, emphasizing the layered relationship of heritage areas (Psarra, 2018), and the acculturation happened in traditional districts’ redevelopment (Zeng et al., 2020). The importance of heterogeneous architectural features reaffirm Rius-Ulldemolins & Klein (2020) which commended the treatment of Ravel, Barcelona by combining heritage conservation for local features and expressing contemporary culture simultaneously. The close relationship between cultural events (B1) and self-expressiveness echoes former studies on artistic activity (Zukin, 1989). The seasonal and continuous cultural events, varied in theme and form, transform the traditional working-class residential area into a creative cultural district.

In terms of the minor observational factors, the discussion of social media influencers documented in this study possibly reflects how communication approach affects neighbourhood revitalization in the new media age (Candra et al., 2022). As the respondents in this study all have real visiting on-site experience, this possibly explained the minor discussion of naming, epigraphs, and slogans, which are more about place branding and city marketing.

In summary, the study identifies five major observational factors, amenities and shops, daily activities, street and open space, flagship project, and cultural event, that affect neighbourhood image in cultural regeneration. The dominant role of physical structures (e.g., storefronts, streetscapes, and architectural features) in forming neighbourhood image identified in this study echoes the importance of physicality and reality shown by Willer (2021). However, to be more specific, as “event strategy” has normally been viewed as the catalyst for cultural regeneration, a more influential role of daily life activities was revealed here, emphasizing the aesthetics of everyday life. Local authorities should therefore prioritize maintaining and activating everyday life or integrating artistic elements into mundane life beyond simply relying on cultural events.

By examining the impact of observational factors in cultural regeneration at the neighbourhood scale, the study provides insights into how cultural regeneration interventions affect image reconfiguration. The aesthetic characteristics of neighbourhood image are not formed by single a cultural construction or mega cultural event but by more extensive spatial elements and daily lives. The results indicate that understanding aesthetic images at the neighbourhood level is meaningful. It provides a fine-grained reference for image reform in cultural regeneration with neighbourhood caring. The findings could better guide the cultural regeneration for a local community and the integration of cultural elements into consolidated neighbourhood redevelopment. The survey results from the public, all with on-site experience, provide a guide to avoiding division between the promotion and experience image.

On a broader scale, the current study may guide governments seeking to (re)construct neighbourhood image. More attention could be given to aesthetic characteristics and their contributing observational factors. As the specific impact hierarchy of perceptual factors varies among aesthetic characteristics, the precise correlation pattern revealed in the study applies to the situations of Shanghai but provides a good reference, particularly the methodology, for decision-makers to achieve the targeted aesthetic characteristics in similar urban areas facing regeneration.

4.3.5 Summary

Addressing RQ1, this chapter developed and validated a framework to capture the aesthetic image of neighbourhoods with three main dimensions and fourteen sub – dimensions. A Shanghai Conservation Area scene is identified featured with glamour, self-expression, heterogeneity, and neighbourliness. Compared with typical cultural scene in the West, the SCA scene is largely similar to the Bobo scene rather than the Bohemian scene. Key factors that influence neighbourhood image were also revealed, including amenities and shops, daily activities, street and open spaces, flagship projects, and cultural events.

Chapter 5 Social cohesion in cultural districts

5.1 Introduction of the chapter

This chapter identifies the key factors that contribute to social cohesion (SC) in neighbourhood under CUR, which is cultural tourism destinations (CTDs), and examines the connotation of social cohesion through the lens of liminality. A CTD – Liminality – SC model is validated. Further detailed examinations were given to cultural events and the use of open spaces.

5.2 Social cohesion in cultural tourism destinations: Liminality as Mediator⁸

5.2.1 Introduction of this section

The social impact of cultural tourism remains controversial even though tourism development seeks a socially and economically balanced outcome. This article explores the potential of liminality as a means of explaining how cultural tourism development affects social cohesion at the neighbourhood level, particularly through open spaces. A quantitative survey of 349 respondents from two national-level

⁸ This section 5.2 is emerged from the publication: **Luo, J.**, Jian, I. Y., Yung, E. H. K., Chan, E. H. W., & Chen, W*. (2023). Pursuing social cohesion in cultural tourism destinations: liminality as a mediator. *Current issues in tourism*, 1-17. doi:10.1080/13683500.2023.2235878 (SCI/SSCI Index, Q1, IF: 8.0).

tourism districts in Shanghai, Yuyuan and Xinhua, was conducted using the structural equation modeling technique. Three attributes of cultural tourism destinations (CTDs) that affect social cohesion—cultural expressions, spatial features, and management—as measured by 12 items were identified and validated in the study. The results emphasized that CTDs' cultural expressions, such as the form and appearance of buildings, had a strong positive impact on social cohesion. However, the connotation of social cohesion in CTDs is more about latent cohesion than manifest cohesion, which means people share place attachment and a sense of belonging without necessarily having closer interactions. The findings also indicate that liminality, which provides a sense of reviving and freedom, mediates CTDs' contribution to social cohesion. The study provides a reference for tourism planning and management to enhance social cohesion and further achieve consolidated tourism development by facilitating liminality.

People's frequent travel experiences have fundamentally changed the relationship between people and place (Giddens, 1991; Tournois & Rollero, 2020). Thus, liminality, as a concept about the transitory and betwixt space (Turner, 1969), has gained increasing attention in capturing the interstitial spatio-temporal dimensions of a highly mobile tourism experience, as well as understanding places where multiple forms of culture exist (Thomassen, 2016; Bristow & Jenkins, 2020; Banfield, 2022). Tourism, including both local and long-term journeys, brings tourists to a liminal zone that is dynamic, not static (Beckstead, 2010; Foster & McCabe, 2015). Liminality can be expressed by an ever-changing status and ambience (Preston-Whyte, 2004), old and new constructions coexisting (Imai, 2013), or diverse usages that are mixed and permitted, serve to multiple, undesignated functions (Sletto & Palmer, 2017; Gobel, 2022). Music festivals and surfing provide a liminal experience that detaches participants from their everyday social status and gives rise to a sense of *communitas* and homogeneous relationships among them (Wu et al., 2020; Storhoff, 2020; Beaumont & Brown, 2016; Bristow & Jenkins, 2020). Typical spaces with liminal attributes include airports, hotels, nightclubs, and shorelines (Hayward & Hobbs, 2007; Pritchard

& Morgan, 2006; Huang et al., 2018; Trimbach, 2022). However, limited attention has been paid to the open spaces of CTDs, except for identifying the liminal attributes of alleyways in redeveloped historic districts in Japan (Imai, 2013). We therefore aim to reveal the main factors affecting SC in CTDs—especially the open spaces—through the lens of liminality.

Two well-known CTDs in Shanghai, Yuyuan and Xinhua, which are also heritage conservation areas, were selected for empirical investigation. These two districts are rich in historical buildings, human-scale streetscapes, and traditional lifestyle communities (Wang, 2011; Zhong & Leung, 2019). Both study cases have been exemplified as national-level representative tourism districts (MCT, 2022, 2023). Three constructs of open spaces in CTDs were validated: cultural expressions, spatial features, and management. The results highlight the cultural expressions and the catalyzing role of liminality in CTDs, which are valuable for SC, sustainable cities and communities (UN, 2015), and sustainable tourism. The framework constructed in this study to understand CTDs through the lens of liminality also expands the understanding of liminal experience in contemporary everyday life and provides a valuable reference for tourism planning and management.

We begin by critically reviewing social concerns in cultural tourism and liminality in contemporary life. This leads to the development of a series of hypotheses. We then describe the settings and methods, and the measurement instruments. Then, we discuss the findings in light of the prior literature and conclude with suggestions for cultural tourism planning and management.

5.2.2 Hypothesis development

Our conceptual model describes the relationships among open spaces in CTDs, liminality, and SC (Figure 5.1). Three constructs of open spaces in CTD were summarized from previous studies as cultural expressions, spatial features, and management. For cultural expressions, liminality can be expressed as

where the past meets a contemporary style, such as old low-rise wooden houses and high-rise apartments (Imai, 2013), and where global culture meets local culture (Bristow & Jenkins, 2020). Liminal spaces are subject to unceasing change ambience (Preston-Whyte, 2004; Sletto & Palmer, 2017).

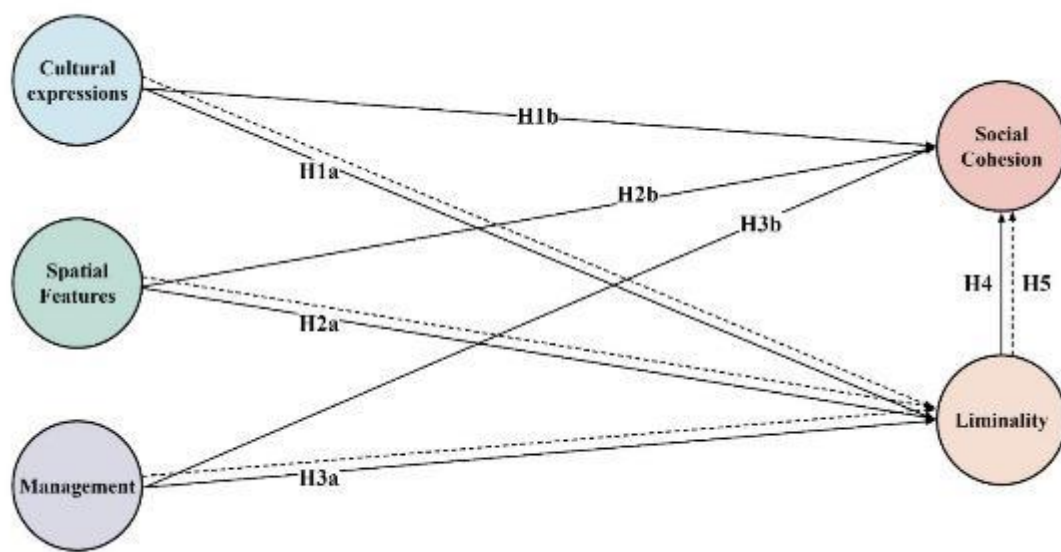


Figure 5.1 Conceptual model showing the relationship between factors influencing (a) liminality and (b) social cohesion. Note: H, Hypothesis.

Regarding social impact, festivals could be a platform for local businesses to motivate social exchange while allowing the emergence of liminal spaces (Duignan et al., 2018). Festivals largely activate a spontaneous sense of sharing, harmony, and belonging (Rodriguez-Campo et al., 2020; Wu et al., 2020). Representing and linking local culture and history in open spaces and building façades has the potential

to improve social performance (Yung et al., 2017; De Frantz, 2018; Domínguez-Quintero et al., 2020; Hoang et al., 2020). Based on this, we have developed the following hypothesis:

H₁: Cultural expression has a positive influence on (a) liminality and (b) social cohesion.

The loose edges of open spaces transform the buffer zone of the urban village into a liminal space with less social segregation (Kochan, 2015). Within open spaces, public furniture, such as chairs, benches, or shelters, as street art, could attract and bring different stakeholders together and facilitate potential social interactions (Crespi-Vallbona & Mascarilla-Miró, 2021). At the local scale, spatial complexity with multiple pedestrian routes and an irregular urban fabric accommodates changing needs and allows for social diversity (Chaskin & Joseph, 2013; Kochan, 2015; Jian et al., 2020). The spatial complexity reflects the potential urban diversity in form, function, and social attributes. We therefore hypothesize:

H₂: Spatial features have a positive influence on (a) liminality and (b) social cohesion.

Common spaces, as liminal zones, allow people of different ages and social positions to use a space in diverse ways (Sletto & Palmer, 2017), rich and poor (Shields, 1991), who live within and outside the district (Imai, 2013; Kochan, 2015; Zutshi et al., 2021) to use the spaces together.

Open spaces are liminal zone and allow varied usage approaches and behaviors, including both leisure and work, commerce (e.g., daytime market), or non-profit (e.g., resting, chatting) (Kochan, 2015; Sletto & Palmer, 2017). Strict surveillance and management invisibly exclude marginal groups from common spaces by prohibiting the ways they commonly use such spaces, such as keeping pets and barbequing (Chaskin & Joseph, 2013; Mugnano & Palvarini, 2013), which potentially constitutes the privatization of open spaces (Jian et al., 2020). Considering the leasing and marketing of local shops, the displacement

of traditional quotidian shops may result in commercial gentrification and social exclusion (Zukin, 2008).

We thus suggest:

H₃: Management has a positive influence on (a) liminality and (b) social cohesion.

A liminal zone allows individuals to do things they do not normally do, encouraging them to chat with strangers; it thus is a facilitating environment for social interaction (Ziakas, 2016; Huang et al., 2018; Gaillard, 2022). Residential camps, such as camps organized by the Youth Hostel Association in England, were introduced as a form of social tourism to create a liminal zone to overcome the issue of community segregation within neighbourhoods (Foster & McCabe, 2015). Prior studies have not yet come to a consensus on the relationship between open spaces in CTDs and SC (Lees & Melhuish, 2015; Leeson, 2019), which indicates there may be another factor mediating between these two dimensions. We developed the following hypotheses:

H₄: Liminality has a positive influence on social cohesion.

H₅: Liminality mediates the positive effects of (a) cultural expression, (b) spatial features, and (c) management on social cohesion.

5.2.3 Methodology of this section

a. Study location

Yuyuan and Xinhua, two conservation areas, also well-known CTDs in Changning District of Shanghai, were selected as the study sites. Their cultural revitalization programs started around 2015, and they have earned an increased reputation as CTDs (Figure 5.2). Yuyuan is a National Tourism and Leisure

District (MCT, 2023). Xinhua is a National Nightlife Culture and Tourism Consumption District (MCT, 2022).



1



2



3



Note: 1–3 from Yuyuan. 1. Hongji Space. 2. Yu Xiang. 3. Hongji Space. 4–6 from Xinhua. 4. Xianghuaqiao Corner. 5. Columbia Circle. 6. Xingfu Li. (Source: by authors).

Figure 5.2 Images of Yuyuan and Xinhua

Unlike modern construction in Shanghai, these conservation areas feature small-scale, pedestrian-friendly streets (Wang, 2011; Zhong & Leung, 2019). Open spaces, including pocket parks and small plazas, were deliberately added and are actively utilized for events and festivals. The cultural revitalization program also actively reuses heritage, resulting in a quite mixed cultural style on the streets, where newly opened trendy stores and small private galleries stand just next to traditional noodle bars (Luo et al., 2022; Zhang & Zhang, 2022). This situation allows us to understand the districts as liminal spaces. Cultural redevelopment in Shanghai has been criticized for lacking social concern. Cultural

clusters have little connection with the local community (Gu, 2014; Zhong, 2016); low-income residents were marginalized in heritage reuse and tourism-led peri-urban transformation (Wang, 2011; Li, 2020). While the two case studies demonstrate neighbourhood caring and social achievement (Zhong & Leung, 2019; Luo et al., 2022; Zhang & Zhang, 2022), achieving SC was the main issue that made the two cases worth examining.

b. Measurement

The methodology in this study was derived from previous studies (Taheri et al., 2016; Zhang & Xu, 2019; Tournois & Rollero, 2020; Rodriguez-Campo et al., 2020; Lai et al., 2021). An extensive literature review was used to generate the items to measure the constructs, which yielded 31 items in total. Related research fields included cultural tourism (re)development (Degen & Garcia, 2012; Lees & Melhuish, 2015; Sacco et al., 2019; Rius-Ulldemolins & Klein, 2020), events and festivals (Devine & Quinn, 2019; Rodriguez-Campo et al., 2020; Brown et al., 2020), neighbourhood redevelopment (Imai, 2013; de Souza, 2019; Islam et al., 2021), open space and urban design (Kochan, 2015; Yung et al., 2017; Jian et al., 2020), and liminality in contemporary life (Duignan et al., 2018; Huang et al., 2018; Storhoff, 2020; Wu et al., 2020).

The items were originally in English and translated by two English-Chinese scholars. Semi-structured interviews were also adopted with purposely selected 20 interviewees to cover diverse stakeholders in CTD, including long-term residents, local professionals, cultural tourism promoters, and tourists. After the interviews, “the feeling of less mental pressure” was added as one item of liminality, as 8 of 20 interviewees discussed this dimension of liminality. The expert panel rated all items as either “very representative” or “moderately representative” rather than “not representative at all,” and all 32 items were thus kept for the formal questionnaire (Taheri et al., 2016, Table 5.1). The indicators for liminality were devised by Huang et al. (2018) and Rodriguez-Campo et al. (2020). The SC measurement followed

Kearns and Forrest (2000) and Mugnano and Palvarini (2013). The final questionnaire had five constructs: three exogenous constructs, namely cultural expressions (4 items), spatial features (3 items), and management (6 items); and two endogenous constructs, namely liminality (7 items) and SC (12 items). A five-point Likert scale was adopted for construct measurement (Zhang & Xu, 2019; Tournois & Rollero, 2020; Lai et al., 2021), ranging from 1 (*strongly disagree*) through 3 (*neutral*) to 5 (*strongly agree*).

Table 5.1 Results of the measurement model assessment

Construct	Items	Mean	SD	Loading	CR	AVE	CA
Cultural expressions (CUL)					0.906	0.706	0.861
CUL1	The form and appearance of buildings could reflect local culture and history.	4.17	0.765	0.859			
CUL2	The state and ambience of these spaces is heterogeneous and fluctuating.	4.19	0.729	0.845			
CUL3	The type, form, and theme of cultural activities and public art are heterogeneous and diverse.	4.21	0.771	0.838			
CUL4	Both historical and contemporary modern styles are reflected in building style and overall open spaces.	4.09	0.772	0.819			
Spatial features (SF)					0.879	0.709	0.794
SF1	It has spatial complexity and allows people to move with multiple mobility choices.	4.09	0.765	0.890			
SF2	The edge and boundaries of the open spaces are not clear.	4.09	0.760	0.853			
SF3	The public furniture (e.g., benches and chairs) is sufficient and comfortable.	3.73	0.914	0.779			
Management (MAN)					0.859	0.551	0.798

MAN1	People using these spaces are diverse in social groups and social background.	4.17	0.734	0.811
MAN2	The ways people use these spaces are varied.	4.17	0.769	0.785
MAN3	The style of amenities and shops is heterogeneous and diverse.	3.87	0.864	0.749
MAN4	The price range of the shops around the open spaces is diverse, including both high and low.	3.56	0.910	0.698
MAN5	I do not feel pressure to consume here.	3.76	0.916	0.658
MAN6	The security guard does not make me feel uncomfortable.	3.71	0.928	n/a ¹
Liminality (LIM)			0.917	0.613 0.894
LIM1	It has been a reviving and revitalizing experience.	4.04	0.829	0.848
LIM2	I enjoyed a sense of freedom during my visit.	3.99	0.837	0.824
LIM3	I feel less mental pressure here.	4.06	0.760	0.809
LIM4	I consider that my visiting experience has been significant for me.	3.96	0.835	0.776
LIM5	The social status and orders are relatively flexible for me.	4.01	0.825	0.767
LIM6	I have experienced something new.	3.97	0.796	0.742
LIM7	I enjoy looking and watching on the street.	4.14	0.828	0.706
Social cohesion (SC)			0.899	0.559 0.868
SC1	I enjoy the overall ambience, atmosphere, style, and taste.	4.17	0.766	0.788
SC2	I feel a sense of sharing, harmony, and belonging with others.	3.87	0.838	0.788
SC3	I feel a sense of equality and egalitarianism.	3.86	0.838	0.783
SC4	I live here or would like to visit this district more/next time.	4.21	0.773	0.763
SC5	I would recommend this district to my friends.	4.27	0.759	0.729
SC6	I have collective experience with others.	3.73	0.913	0.689
SC7	I feel have a similar identity with others.	3.53	0.914	0.686

SC8	I have never seen any conflicts in the district.	3.72	1.066	n/a ²
SC9	When I meet other people, we say hi and chat for a while	3.32	0.950	n/a ²
SC10	We participate in activities together (e.g., hanging out, going to cafés, dog walking, exhibitions, community activities, and taking photos for each other).	3.06	1.213	n/a ²
SC11	We are familiar with each other (e.g., pickpockets for the neighbours, and kids playing together).	2.34	0.776	n/a ²
SC12	We are family more than friends (e.g., helping each other in daily life).	2.07	0.353	n/a ²

Note: SD: Standard deviation. CR: Composite reliability, AVE: Average variance extracted, CA: Cronbach's alpha. n/a¹: The item was deleted because the AVE was lower than 0.5 with the item. n/a²: The item was deleted as CA increased without the item. SD: Standard deviation. AVE: Average variance extracted. CA: Cronbach's alpha.

As Andrews and Roberts (2012, p 25) pointed out, “liminal” seems to have become a term that can be used for everything—so this questionnaire survey defined physical boundaries for two CTDs, with particular attention to open spaces (Appendix D Figure 8.6). The time range included workdays, weekends, and day and night.

c. Data collection and sample profile

The questionnaire was pilot tested with 18 respondents, and these responses were not included in the final analysis. After the pilot study, some items were modified and reworded for clarity (e.g., benches and chairs were added as examples of public furniture). A self-administered questionnaire was conducted; the responses were anonymous, so respondents were free to select answers following their own choices (Rodriguez-Campo et al., 2020). To obtain a wider range of respondents, the questionnaires

were collected on-site and online (Lee et al., 2021) from September 19 to November 25, 2021. The online survey used Tencent Questionnaire, and flyers printed with the survey's QR code were given to users of the two case study areas.

A total of 349 respondents, all with real on-site experience, returned with valid data for analysis (Appendix D Table 8.5). The sample size meets the requirement of partial least squares–structural equation modeling (PLS-SEM) that the number of respondents be more than ten times the number of items (Hair et al., 2011). In the study sample, 212 (60.74%) respondents were female, 53 (72.49%) were aged 23–35; 37 (10.6%) visited the districts almost every day, while 103 (29.51%) visited less than once a year, indicating that both residents and tourists were included among the respondents. The proportion of local users (51.29%) was similar to that of the respondents who did not live or work nearby (48.71%); both tourists and locals were involved.

c. Data analysis techniques

After the basic screening of the questionnaire survey data, three main analysis steps were followed. First, the adequacy, reliability, and validity of the measurement were tested. Second, the structural relationships between CTDs' open spaces, liminality, and SC were tested. PLS-SEM was selected for the model test because it suits exploratory and theory-building research and helps explore whether relationships exist (Wyllie et al., 2014; Taheri et al., 2016). In addition, PLS-SEM requires minimal data to result in a more reliable estimation of factor loading (Assaker et al., 2020; Domínguez-Quintero et al., 2020). Third, the mediation effects of liminality between CTDs' open spaces and SC were tested. SPSS 26.0 and SmartPLS 3.0 software were used to analyze the data.

5.2.4 Data analysis and findings

a. Measurement assessment

First, before testing the hypotheses, several tests were conducted to verify the adequacy and the preliminary reliability of the data in SPSS. The Kaiser–Meyer–Olkin (KMO) measure of sampling adequacy (0.929) and Bartlett’s test of sphericity ($p < 0.001$) indicated that the data were suitable for further analysis (Zhang & Xu, 2019; Tournois & Rollero, 2020). After deleting five items (SC8-SC12, Table 5.1), Cronbach’s alpha (CA) was 0.935, which indicated good scale reliability.

The measurement was further tested with composite reliability (CR), convergent validity, internal consistency, and discriminant validity in SmartPLS (Chin, 2010; Hair, 2014). As shown in Table 5.1, the CR is all above the suggested 0.7 (Hair et al., 2011). The average variance extracted (AVE) is used to assess convergent validity. One item was deleted (MAN6, Table 5.1) to meet the required 0.5 thresholds for AVE. For internal consistency, CA was tested, and all yielded more than the required 0.7. As shown in Table 5.2, a heterotrait-monotrait ratio (HTMT) estimate of less than 0.90 supports the discriminant validity of the tested constructs (Henseler et al., 2015; Lai et al., 2021).

Findings. All criteria supported the reliability and validity of the measurement items.

Table 5.2 Discriminant validity based on HTMT

	Social cohesion	Cultural expressions	Spatial features	Management	Liminality
Social cohesion	.000	.000	.000	.000	.000

Cultural expression	.834	.000	.000	.000	.000
Spatial features	.739	.683	.000	.000	.000
Management	.800	.876	.694	.000	.000
Liminality	.898	.803	.683	.717	.000

HTMT: Heterotrait-monotrait ratio of correlations. For discriminant validity, HTMT should all be under 0.90.

b. Structural model

The structural model was tested within SmartPLS (Figure 5.3) to examine the proposed hypotheses. Following Marcoulides (1998, pp. 295-336), the variance explained (R^2) values of 0.67, 0.33, and 0.19 indicate substantial, moderate, and weak consequences, respectively. The R^2 values of the endogenous constructs in this study were 0.713 for SC and 0.558 for liminality, respectively, which means the model has a substantial impact on SC and a moderate impact on liminality (Figure 5.3). This demonstrates the relatively well explained variance for the model. As shown in Table 5.3, all the $Q^2 > 0$, so the results indicated the good predictive ability of the model (Chin, 2010; Hair, 2014). The goodness-of-fit (GoF) index (0.521) was used as Tenenhaus et al. (2005) suggested, with small (0.10), medium (0.25), and large (0.36) effect levels, indicating a large effect size.

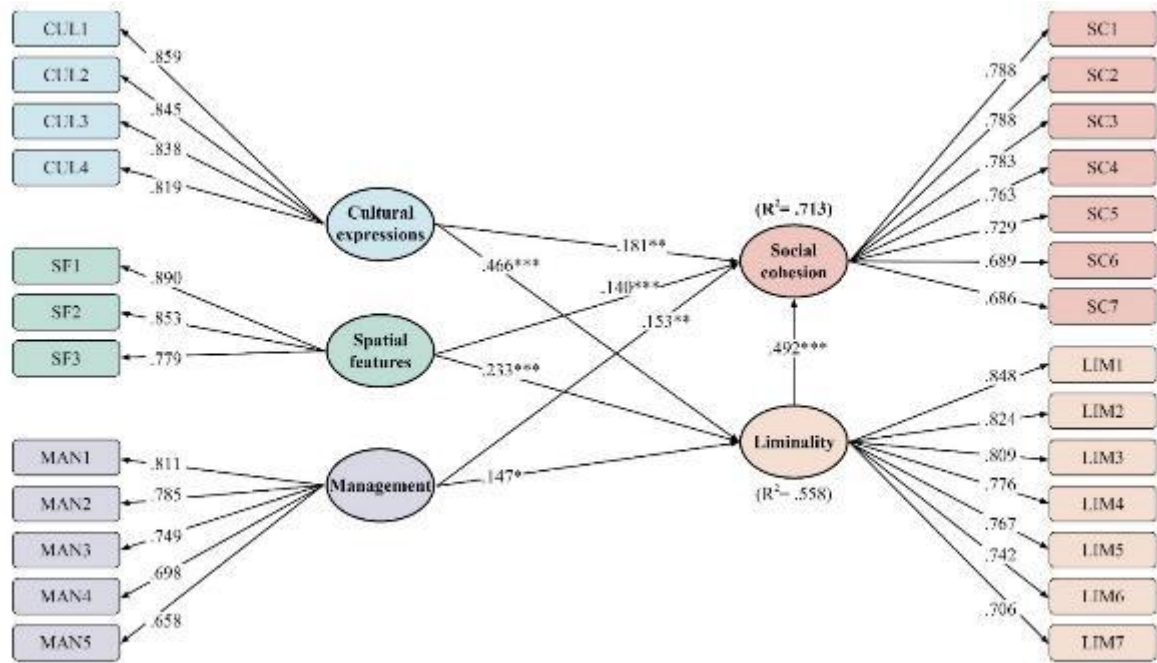


Figure 5.3 Structural model of CTD-Liminality-SC

Table 5.3 Blindfolding results

	R ²	OD=12		OD=7	
		Communality Q ²	Redundancy Q ²	Communality Q ²	Redundancy Q ²
Social cohesion	0.713	0.411	0.393	0.410	0.391
Spatial features	n/a	0.413	n/a	0.414	n/a
Management	n/a	0.332	n/a	0.329	n/a
Liminality	0.558	0.483	0.337	0.484	0.338
Cultural expressions	n/a	0.497	n/a	0.500	n/a

Note: n/a = not applicable. OD: Omission distance. Q² > 0 indicates the good predictive ability of the model.

Path coefficients (β) were used to understand the effects between the two constructs precisely. Following Donate and Sánchez de Pablo (2015), path coefficients below 0.30 indicate moderate, from 0.30 to 0.60 strong, and above 0.60 very strong effects.

Findings. Thus, cultural expressions have a strong positive impact on liminality and SC ($\beta = 0.466$, 0.410, Table 5.4), spatial features have a moderate positive impact on liminality and SC ($\beta = 0.233$, 0.254), management has a moderate positive influence on liminality and SC ($\beta = 0.147$, 0.225), and liminality has a strong positive impact on SC ($\beta = 0.492$). Thus, hypotheses H1ab, H2ab, H3ab, and H4 were supported (Table 5.4).

c. Mediating effect

Finally, mediation was tested by analyzing the decomposition of effects, including direct, indirect, and total effects (Table 5.4). To test the level of indirect effects, the variance accounted for (VAF) value was tested following Klarner et al. (2013), which presents the ratio of the indirect effect to the total effect, with higher values indicating stronger mediations.

Findings. As shown in Table 5.4, liminality partially mediated the effects of cultural expressions (55.85%), spatial features (45.28%), and management (32.00%) on SC. Thus, hypotheses H5a, b, and c were supported (Table 5.4).

Overall, the scale of each construct and the overall predictive effect of the structural model were examined and validated, all the hypotheses proposed in Section 3 were supported, so the theoretical framework of “CTD-Liminality-SC” was established.

Table 5.4 Results of hypothesis testing

Path	Standardized coefficients (t- values)			VAF		Hypothesis
	Total effects	Direct effects	Indirect effects			
SF → LIM	0.233 (4.034, 0.000***)	0.233 (4.034, 0.000***)				H2a (+)
CUL → LIM	0.466 (7.274, 0.000***)	0.466 (7.274, 0.000***)				H1a (+)
LIM → SC	0.492 (8.585, 0.000***)	0.492 (8.585, 0.000***)				H4 (+)
CUL → SC	0.410 (6.607, 0.000***)	0.181 (2.931, 0.003**)	0.229 (5.564, 0.000***)	55.85 %	PM, H5a (+)	H1b (+)
SF → SC	0.254 (5.066, 0.000***)	0.140 (3.604, 0.000***)	0.115 (3.541, 0.000***)	45.28 %	PM, H5b (+)	H2b (+)
MAN → LIM	0.147 (2.427, 0.015*)	0.147 (2.427, 0.015*)				H3a (+)
MAN → SC	0.225 (3.801, 0.000***)	0.153 (2.907, 0.004**)	0.072 (2.302, 0.021*)	32.00 %	PM, H5c (+)	H3b (+)

Note: * $t > 1.96$, $p < 0.05$, ** $t > 2.57$, $p < 0.01$, *** $t > 3.29$, $p < 0.001$.

VAF: Variance accounted for, CUL: Cultural expressions, SF: Spatial features, MAN: Management, LIM: Liminality, SC: Social cohesion.

VAF < 20%: No Mediation (NM), VAF 20%–80%: Partial mediation (PM), VAF > 80%: Full mediation (FM). (+): hypothesis supported.

5.2.5 Discussion

a. Determinants of Social cohesion in CTDs

Targeting the social benefits of tourism development, this study combined liminality in contemporary life with cultural tourism as a revitalization strategy. A theoretically derived structural model was developed that examined the relationships among open spaces in CTDs, liminality, and SC. Based on data from two CTDs, significant relationships were found between the constructs of cultural expressions, spatial features, management, liminality, and SC. Notably, cultural expressions and liminality have a

strong positive impact on SC. The relationships among all of the constructs have not previously been tested in a holistic manner, although they have been suggested by earlier studies.

The findings suggest that cultural expressions in CTDs' open spaces have a strong positive impact on liminality and SC. The revealed essential role of culture in this study is in line with many tourism studies in gastronomic or music festivals, which have pointed out that visitors come to join cultural events for a liminal experience (Duignan et al., 2018; Storhoff, 2020; Wu et al., 2020). It is also largely in line with studies addressing culture as an activator of social benefits in a community (Stevenson, 2016; Leeson, 2019). A place that reflects local culture and history contributes the most to this construct ($\beta = 0.859$). Within the cultural expression dimension, the highest loading for local culture corroborates previous studies (De Frantz, 2018; Domínguez-Quintero et al., 2020; Hoang et al., 2020; Rius-Ulldemolins & Klein, 2020). Then follows the heterogeneous and unstable ambience of open space in CTDs ($\beta = 0.845$). The ambience of open spaces varied between weekdays and weekends, daytime and night, and festival and non-festival, with trendier youth and larger crowd on weekends and with continuous artistic installations during festivals. The identified essential role of this unstable ambience echoes the description of "mixed emotional status" from Preston-Whyte (2004) on liminal space.

This study found that spatial features have a moderate positive impact on liminality and SC. This construct was mostly explained by spatial complexity ($\beta = 0.890$), which indicates that the diversity of the streetscape provides more routine choices leading to liminality. The findings echo those of Kochan (2015), who noted that complex streets and alleyways provide a liminal experience for users.

The findings indicate that management has a moderate positive influence on liminality and SC. Allowing people from diverse social backgrounds to use open spaces contributes most to this construct ($\beta = 0.811$). People's diverse uses for open spaces largely explain the management dimension ($\beta = 0.785$). In line with Sletto and Palmer (2017), as people use common spaces for multiple purposes, such as leisure,

working, and playing, this results in liminality. Once only certain behaviors and activities, such as commercial activities, are allowed in a space, lower-income social groups are displaced, which damages SC (Chaskin & Joseph, 2013; Tan et al., 2018). Open spaces serve various purposes in the two cases, including commercial events and daily activities not requiring consumption.

b. Liminality and social cohesion in CTDs

The findings suggest that liminality strongly and positively affects SC. The correlation between liminality and SC was the strongest among all the hypotheses in this model. This result deeply echoes contemporary studies describing liminality as a social facilitator (Huang et al., 2018).

The findings revealed that liminality mediates the effects of cultural expressions, spatial features, and management on SC (Table 5.4), which means the positive influences of cultural expressions, spatial features, and management on SC are even stronger if the mediating effects via liminality are included. The results suggest that enhancing the liminality in open spaces could help achieve SC. This study verified the most significant indirect effect of cultural expressions on SC as mediated by liminality (55.85%), compared with spatial features (45.28%) and management (32%).

5.2.6 Summary

This section validated the “Cultural tourism districts – Liminality – Social cohesion” theoretical framework to response to the RQ2, how does CUR impact SC. Regard to RQ2 – sub – RQ1, four factors, namely cultural expressions, spatial features, management, and liminality were identified. Among these factors, cultural expressions and liminality are vital factors that influence SC in CUR. Liminality mediates and enhances CTDs’ contribution to SC. Seven dimensions of social cohesion in CUR were identified, which answered RQ2 – sub – RQ2. Compared with previous SC in neighbourhoods, the SC

in CUR is more about the latent cohesion rather than the manifest cohesion. It means users in CUR share place attachment and a sense of belonging without necessarily having closer interactions.

5.3 Cultural activities, Open Space, and social value⁹

5.3.1 Introduction of this section

The conservation and reusing of urban cultural heritage not only involves the regeneration of space but also includes the cultural events and activities that occur therein, and the tangible and intangible states jointly affect the social value of cultural heritage. This section takes the Columbia Circle in Shanghai and Hong Kong Tai Kwun as examples and explores strategies to promote the social value of heritage by analyzing the two cases' governance background, spatial function, and cultural activities. Ways worth learning include balancing the spatial ratio of cultural production and cultural consumption, providing creative space for young grassroots artists, small-scale participatory activities to build new social networks, and providing open spaces and free public cultural activities within them. Events need to be organized in greater collaboration with community organizations, not just elite cultural sectors or

⁹ This section 5.3 is emerged from the publication: **Luo, J.**, Jian, I. Y., Qian, Y., Chen, W., & Chan, E. H. W*. (2021). Space, event and social value in urban heritage reuse- Case of Shanghai and Hong Kong. *Annual Conference of China Association of City Planning 2021*. (城市文化遗产保护中的空间、事件与社会价值. In Chinese).

commercial brands and be alarmed by the erosion of the social value of heritage by the standard culture of taste.

In post-industrial urban development, culture has been increasingly adopted as a way to promote urban redevelopment (Zukin, 1996; Bergsgard & Vassenden, 2011; Lazzeretti & Capone, 2015), which also makes the adaptive reuse of urban cultural heritage received significant attention. Zukin raised the question of “whose culture,” pointing out that the cultural turn of a city should pay attention to what kind of culture it conveys and which social group it represents (Zukin, 1996). As an essential part of the process of heritage reuse, cultural activities, and events may not only achieve the positive role of dissolving cultural privileges and promoting social sharing (Kim, 2016) but also become tools for commercial advertising (Sacco et al., 2019).

In the context of China’s new urbanization and high-quality development, heritage reuse emphasizes the protection of physical space and recognizes their potential threat to social values (Harvey, 2009; Liu, 2018). This section attempts to focus on balancing cultural vitality and excessive commercialization and highlight the social value of urban cultural heritage.

5.3.2 Comparison of cases in Shanghai and Hong Kong

a. Governance model

In the context of the awakening of urban social awareness, neither case involved large-scale land sales, no demolition and new construction, land and building ownership were owned by the government, and the partners were responsible for space operation by signing leases (Table 5.5).

Table 5.5 Cases overview: Columbia circle (Shanghai) and Tai Kwun (Hong Kong)

	Columbia Circle	Tai Kwun
Cultural heritage level	3 of buildings in the cluster are listed conservation buildings in Shanghai	All buildings are declared monuments in Hong Kong (the highest level of cultural heritage in Hong Kong)
Construction period	1920s Columbia Country Club, Navy Club; Sun Ke's villa in 1931; In the 1950s, the scientific research of Shangsheng Institute	Victoria Prison in 1841; In 1914, the Central Magistrate Shu; 1919 Police Headquarters Building
Heritage Reuse Mechanism	Government-led, Private-managing	Government-Nonprofit Partnerships
Representative heritage building		

After the World Expo, Shanghai showed a trend of combining heritage conservation with neighbourhood micro-regeneration (Ding & Wu, 2018; Ding & Wu, 2020). The reuse of Columbia Circle echoes the construction of a 15-minute life circle on Xinhua Road Street and strives to expand the social effect of heritage reuse in the community. From the Guideline on the Conservation of Conservation Areas and Historic Buildings in Shanghai to the Conservation Plan for Conservation Areas in Shanghai, Shanghai controls the physical spatial characteristics of conservation blocks and individual buildings (Sha & Zhang, 2019).

The name of Shangsheng “Xin” Suo (Columbia Circle, 上生新所) is derived from “Shangshengsuo (上生所),” short for the former Shanghai Institute of Biological Products, and this way of naming echoes

the heritage value of the site. The Columbia Circle has 3 Shanghai historic buildings, Columbia Country Club, Navy Club, and Sunke Villa, also known as “Columbia Circle.” Although other buildings are not legally protected, they also have the significance of building heritage because their construction period runs through the history of industrial development in China. In 2016, the Changning District Government cooperated with Vanke to start updating the site, which was officially opened to the public on May 25, 2018. In addition to leading the operation of the regeneration of the Columbia Circle, Vanke will cooperate with Xinhua Road Street to participate in micro-regeneration projects in surrounding communities, such as Pedestrian Lab at Panyu Road Lane 222 and the aging renovation of Jinglao Cun.

Located in the Central area of Hong Kong Island, Tai Kwun was declared a monument in Hong Kong in 1995 and consists of the former Central Police Station, the Central Magistracy, and Victoria Prison. Tai Kwun belongs to the Conservation Central project, one representative proposal in Hong Kong that attempts to promote heritage reuse at the neighbourhood scale (Yung et al., 2017), including Tai Kwun, PMQ, Central Market, and other parts. However, in practice, it is still mainly operated as an independent project, and Tai Kwun is one of the most influential projects.

In 2004, the government had planned to select private developers to undertake the regeneration through tenders. However, facing solid social opposition, the government finally announced a partnership with the Hong Kong Jockey Club, a non-profit organization, in 2007. Tai Kwun was officially opened in June 2018 and received the UNESCO Asia-Pacific Award for Excellence in Cultural Heritage Conservation in October 2019.

b. Physical Space - Balances between culture and commerce

b-1. Cultural production and cultural consumption

Neither the Columbia Circle nor Tai Kwun is entirely occupied by consumption space, and both have cultural production spaces such as artist studios and creative offices. Most of the Columbia Circle space is mainly commercial office space, and the fine dining, shopping, and cultural and art consumption spaces are mainly distributed on the first floor of each building. The office space of the Columbia Circle is mainly for enterprises related to the cultural and creative industry, providing a working space for the development of the cultural industry, and it is also a Municipal Cultural and Creative Industrial Park selected by Shanghai. Tai Kwun recruits young cultural and art workers in about ten groups each time through the Artist Studio Program, providing grassroots artists with free art workspaces, mainly concentrated in two buildings in the southwest corner of Tai Kwun. Artists participating in the Artist Studio Program are also required to host or participate in at least one art event in Tai Kwun, which not only promotes the artistic activity of Tai Kwun but also provides a stage for young artists.

b-2. Public culture and commercial culture

From the perspective of the proportion of public cultural space, Tai Kwun provides many public cultural spaces after its reuse. It renovated two large buildings into JC Contemporary, including Jockey Club Contemporary and Jockey Club Cube. The two buildings host public cultural events such as art exhibitions, performances, and lectures throughout the year. At the same time, there is a library of artists' books throughout the year and five free historical story spaces scattered throughout the park.

In contrast, instead of setting up fixed public cultural spaces, such as museums or theaters, the Columbia Circle flexibly uses the cluster space to hold cultural activities at different times. All three historic buildings have held public cultural promotion activities, such as the theme of Shanghai Cultural and Natural Heritage Day; It has also held many commercial branding activities. Strictly speaking, commercial brand cooperation accounts for a relatively large proportion, and purely public cultural activities are less. From the updated spatial function perspective, the Columbia Circle better balances

cultural production and consumption, while Tai Kwun better balances the proportion of commercial cultural space (Table 5.6).

Table 5.6 Main functions after heritage reuse

Function type		Columbia Circle	Tai Kwun
Cultural production	Cultural and creative space	Non-Historic Conservation Buildings (Industrial Buildings, Mumps Buildings, 麻腮风大楼 etc.)	Former Married Sheriff Dormitory, Unmarried Supervision Dormitory
		- Office Space for Rent	-Artist Studio Residency Program, free for 3-6 months
Cultural consumption	Fine dining	Historic Building - Naval Club	Former Central Police Station - Parade Square, 环检阅广场
	Boutique shopping	Historic Building - Columbia Country Club	Police Headquarters Building, 警察总部大楼 Barracks building, 营房大楼
Public culture or	Permanent free public cultural space (heritage building)	almost none	B1 of Police Headquarters Building Central Magistracy, 中央裁判司署 Reuse of B, D, and F warehouses in Lidoyu Prison, 利多域监狱
			Tai Kwun Museum of Contemporary Art (Jockey Club Art Square) - Lidoville Prison Renovation
Commercial culture	Open space with cultural activities	Celebration Square, 庆典广场	Review Square, 检阅广场
		Magnolia Plaza, 玉兰广场	Prison playground, 监狱操场
		Navy pool, 海军泳池	Laundry stone steps, 洗衣场石阶
			Courtroom, 法院庭

b-3. Open space for cultural activities

Columbia Circle and Tai Kwun exist in clusters containing a considerable amount of open space, but there are specific differences in the development and governance of open space activities in the two cases (Table 5.7). The open space of Tai Kwun is mainly the Review Square, but also includes the Laundry Stone Steps. It actively uses open space for free cultural activities, providing citizens with various cultural and artistic experiences, including Tai Kwun Midday Show, Sunday Stone Steps Cinema, and Magical Encounter. The open spaces of the Columbia Circle include Celebration Square and Magnolia Plaza, which often use the open space as a venue for commercial activities, and even turn the open space into a paid consumption space through markets and other forms during the event. For example, the Flavour Convention is held in the outdoor plaza of the Navy Club (admission is 80 yuan).

Table 5.7 Open spaces and activities

	Columbia Circle	Tai Kwun
	Celebration Square, 庆典广场	Review Square, 检阅广场
Representative open space 1		
	Author	Author
	Magnolia Plaza, 玉兰广场	Laundry stone steps, 洗衣厂石阶
Representative open space 2		
	Author	Author
Activities in	Brand show	Free performance

open spaces		
Daily life uses	Kids playing, elderlies talking	Youth lunch break
		
		
	Author	Author

From the perspective of the daily use of open space, both cases show the diversity of people and usage methods. In the Columbia Circle, we can often see older adults resting in open spaces in wheelchairs and often encounter families with children to play; Fashionably dressed hipsters and dressed residents can see it. We met a grandfather who lived nearby (about a ten-minute walk) and told us, “I come here every morning for a walk;” Under the shade, grandparents often gather to bask in the sun and chat. Whether it is a weekday or a weekend, we can see many families with children playing, and parents will say, “There are people who walk their babies and walk their dogs.” In the open space of Tai Kwun, we can also see children playing and elderlies resting on benches.

c. Cultural activities

c-1 Heritage conservation event

Both held themed events related to cities, cultural heritage, and urban regeneration, serving as platforms to raise citizens’ awareness of heritage protection. The new Architectural Preservation and Regeneration

in Urban Evolution showcases valuable details in the concept and practice of historical heritage conservation to the public; Hold the theme forum of the “2018 Urban Design Festival - Beautiful Xinhua” to combine cultural heritage with neighbourhood micro-regeneration and promote humanistic care and social thinking in urban regeneration practice. Tai Kwun participated in the 16th Venice International Architecture Biennale - Hong Kong Response Exhibition; It also collaborates with other heritage buildings to promote heritage conservation and revitalization awareness, such as the Happy Tung Wah Village campaign. In painting exhibitions, many use the city of Hong Kong as a source of inspiration and creative objects, such as The Art Story of Hong Kong.

c-2 Neighbourhood caring event

In the two cases, social care is practiced in different ways, and Tai Kwun offers different forms of free guided tours throughout the year, including the whole park, architectural themes, and guided tours for campus groups. The institute regularly collaborates with local neighbourhood committees, neighbourhood governments, and district governments to pay attention to vulnerable groups, such as the elderlies, and invite them to participate in the institute’s activities.

c-3. Types of cultural activities, modes of participation and organizational structure

From the perspective of activity types, the activities in the two cases are very diverse (Table 5.8), which can be divided into six categories: exhibitions, performances, seminars, public welfare, business, participation, and networking. Among them, according to the type of activity, the subdivision of the Columbia Circle can reach 47 types, and the number of Tai Kwun is 30. From the perspective of performance types, the Columbia Circle includes new popular culture forms such as electronic music, rap, talk show, and folk songs; Tai Kwun, on the other hand, is dominated by more classical and elegant art forms such as classical music, opera, and circus.

Table 5.8 Representative cultural activities, cooperative institutions and brands

		Columbia Circle	Tai Kwun
Official media account		WeChat public account	Official website
		WeChat applet	mobile application
Types of cultural activities	Free tour	almost none	Free guided tour (daily, multi-type)
		Pool Folk Festival, 泳池民谣音乐节	Metropolitan Opera HD Series – Puccini’s Madame Butterfly, Puccini’s Turandot
	Performance type	Fun Music Festival, 奇趣音乐节	
		Blank Pioneer Trend Art Festival, 空白先锋潮流艺术节: Rap, Band, etc.	HK Music Team X Tai Kwun: Chamber Music Concert Series
Cooperative agencies and brands	Government department	Shanghai Municipal Planning and Land Resources Administration	
		Shanghai Municipal Bureau of Cultural Relics	Hong Kong Arts Development Council - Planning Division
		Shanghai Housing Security and Housing Administration	Hong Kong Food and Health Bureau - Committee on Reducing Salt and Sugar in Food
		Changning District Culture and Tourism Bureau	
		Xinhua Neighbourhood, Juweihui	Hong Kong Center for Food Safety
	Cultural and Arts Organizations	Xinhua Road Neighbourhood Community Party Service Center, 新华路街道社区党建服务中心	
			City University of Hong Kong
		Shanghai Society of Architecture	Hong Kong-Shenzhen Bi-City Biennale of Urbanism and Architecture
		Cultural and Creative College of Shanghai Jiaotong University	Hong Kong Arts Festival Committee
		Shanghai Academy of Arts and Crafts	M+ Museum of Visual Culture, West Kowloon Cultural District, Hong Kong
		Pengpai City Hall, 澎湃市政厅（媒体）	Hong Kong Fashion Designers Association
		Shanghai Power Station of Art, 上海当代艺术博物馆	Hong Kong Philharmonic Orchestra, 香港管弦乐团
		Shanghai Tank Art Center	Rijksmuseum, 荷兰国立博物馆
		Huajian Group Historic Building	Seoul Art Sonje Center
		Conservation Design Institute	

Tung Wah Group of Hospitals Kwong
Wah Hospital Redevelopment Fund, 东
华三院广华医院重建发展基金

Social organization	Explore Shanghai Heritage (ESH)	The HKJC Charities Trust The Society for the Relief of Disabled Children Environmental Campaign Committee Mental Health Foundation Chinese Wushu Society
Commercial brand	Out cluster brands - Louis Vuitton, Sisley, Sephora, Kérastase Paris, Ed Hardy, Adidas, Johnnie Walker, Tmall, PUMA), etc.	In cluster brand - Campo Marzio (Italian accessories brand), Lotus, Atoile
	In cluster brand - Daocheng Space, Mars Gym	

In addition to large-scale events, small-scale participatory activities are also actively adopted in both cases. The size of these activities is often limited to under 30 people, and smaller groups are limited to about ten groups. Small-scale participatory activities tend to emphasize genuine interaction between people and contribute to reconstructing local social networks. For example, Tai Kwun's Easy and Happy Green Tour - Tai Kwun Writing Birthday gathered 15 groups of children aged 4-16; The Columbia Circle's Please Answer Book Club, with a maximum of 20 people, will be more conducive to in-depth communication in book sharing.

According to the difficulty of participating in the cultural activity, the activity can be divided into four categories: invitation-based, charged, free reservation required, outdoor, and free accessible. Regarding

fee-based activities, the proportion of fee-based activities in Tai Kwun is higher, and the average price is more expensive, which is twice the price of Columbia Circle. However, the proportion of invitation-only events is even higher, with 11.43% of the events only open to limited people. As one respondent said, “Places where you can spend money are not privileges.” The proportion of outdoor and free activities in Tai Kwun is more than twice that of the Columbia Circle. It is mainly due to Tai Kwun’s full use of the two outdoor open spaces, especially the Laundry Stone Steps, permanent outdoor free art activities, lunchtime performances, weekend movies, and dramas.

Regarding the partners holding the event, the partners of the new firm are mainly commercial brands, including Louis Vuitton and Sisley. Tai Kwun’s activities are mainly in collaboration with the government, public art institutions, and non-profit organizations, including the overseas Rijksmuseum, the local West Kowloon Cultural District in Hong Kong, and the Hong Kong Mutual Aid Association for Disabled Children. Although Tai Kwun also has activities in cooperation with commercial brands, most of them are shops in Tai Kwun, and its key building space and the entire cluster will not cooperate with commercial brands for large-scale advertising exhibitions (Figure 5.4).



Figure 5.4 Commercial brand decoration in Columbia Circle

5.3.3 Discussion

At present, the revitalization of cultural heritage in urban development cannot be viewed in isolation and idealization. From the two cases selected in this section, we can see many ways to contribute to the social values of heritage reuse. To better achieve the social benefits of cultural heritage, it is necessary to promote spatial functions and cultural activities jointly.

a. Balance of space ratios

Whether it is the balance between cultural production and cultural consumption space, or the balance between public cultural space and commercial, cultural space, it is of great significance to achieve the social value of heritage. Whether it is the cultural and creative office space of the Columbia Circle or the artist studio program in Tai Kwun, it provides creative space for cultural and art workers. In addition,

the balance between public cultural space and exquisite cultural consumption space will provide diverse cultural experiences for different social groups.

Free and open cultural activities and flexible governance in open spaces help cultural heritage better serve the daily lives of the wider public. The diversity of activities in open spaces is conducive to cultural heritage that better serves the lives of the wider public. Free outdoor performances and sophisticated business promotion activities, large-scale launches, and participatory workshops it is necessary to maintain the diversity of event types and status.

b. Embrace local neighbourhood life

Regarding the daily lives of citizens and actively establishing links with surrounding communities will help cultural heritage form a new social network with surrounding communities and maintain the cultural identity of the local area (Chen, 1998). This can be achieved by cooperating with local juweihui, neighbourhoods, and primary and secondary education institutions and controlling the activity scale. The event's theme can pay more attention to the local neighbourhood and focus on the daily life of ordinary citizens.

c. Diversity of cultural tastes

The issue of gentrification and the homogenization of cultural tastes still needs to be alerted. The new firm has cooperated with many commercial brands to hold pop-up exhibitions throughout the cluster, which can quickly become a decoration for commercials. The art forms such as classical music and opera selected by Tai Kwun convey the elite tastes and preferences. The diverse civic culture and prosperous daily life can become the object of the gaze and the theme of cultural creation. The lived lives of citizens need to be more fully integrated into the process of cultural heritage reuse.

5.3.4 Summary

This section introduced a framework to further examine the influences of cultural expressions on SC, which response to RQ2 – sub – RQ1. Key factors influence SC include functions, cultural events' theme, type, hosting organization, and accessibility. Practical approaches, such as free cultural events in open spaces, were identified as effective ways to achieve social cohesion. However, it is worth noticing that overwhelming cultural events held by luxury commercial brands or elite taste may threaten local civil culture.

Chapter 6 Consuming neighbourliness: CUR under state entrepreneurialism in China¹⁰

6.1 Introduction of this chapter

This study examines the latest urban redevelopment trend in Shanghai, China, a combination of heritage reuse and neighbourhood micro-redevelopment. Two conservation areas, Yuyuan and Xinhua, were selected as study cases. In-depth interviews, participative observations, and thematic analysis were conducted. It exemplified these practices as a new urban (state) entrepreneurialism strategy in China. A “state – private – social” regime is identified as the regeneration regime. The active role of social organizations in neighbourhood redevelopment justified the commodification of neighbourhood spaces and ultimately enhanced state power. The regeneration regimes work as an aesthetics regime simultaneously, transferring old districts’ embedded aesthetic meaning from deterioration (negative) to neighbourliness (attractive). However, the social organizations work more as branding engines than social engines, and their social contribution is limited and fleeting. Extending commercial gentrification is observed, which has the potential to threaten the sustainable development of local neighbourhoods and is worth more careful attention.

¹⁰ The section 6.1, 6.3, and 6.4 is emerged from the publication: **Luo, J.**, Lu, T.T., Chan, E. H. & Chen, W*. Consuming neighbourliness: Cultural regeneration under state entrepreneurialism in China. *Urban Studies*. (Abstract accept by 2023 Urban China Research Network Conference – Best Student Award Competition, Peking U, potential recommend for journal publication).

The study demonstrates the regeneration regime, motivations, and power relationship regarding urban design as neighbourhoods' aesthetics—specifically, the role of social organization and their social contributions. A political economy qualitative approach is adopted, with in-depth interviews, participative observation, and thematic analysis. The study argues that, although regeneration regime, with state – private – social sectors, as aesthetic regime successfully formed a neighbourliness neighbourhood image, little real social contribution is observed. Social organizations play a crucial role in producing the neighbourliness atmosphere as a vital branding engine rather than a social engine, ultimately enhancing state power.

6.2 Regeneration phasing of Yuyuan¹¹

According to the form of culture, involved regeneration actors, overall regeneration influences, the regeneration process of Yuyuan can be summarized into four main phases, 1) namely experiments, 2) synergy generation, 3) comprehensive neighbourhood regeneration, 4) self - update and extension (Figure 6.1). It is a process that from “culture-led” to “cultural” urban regeneration (Evans, 2005), varied form of culture and sectors were gradually involved in the regeneration process.

¹¹ This section 6.2 is emerged from the publication: Chen, W., & **Luo, J.***, (2023). Culture-led urban regeneration: Context, mechanism and scene. *Urban regeneration and urban design*. Tongji University Press. (文化城市更新：语境、机制和场景. In Chinese).

6.2.1 Phase One - Experiments: Aug 2015 to Sep 2017

In 2003, Yuyuan Road was announced as one of the Shanghai's roads that never widen, and belongs to the Yuyuan Conservation Area. In 2009, the Development Office (referred to as Hongqiao and Zhongshan Park Regional Function Development Office) clearly stated that "the regeneration plan of Yuyuan Conservation Area is a first-level goal of the Changning District Government and a primary work goal of the Hongqiao Office." However, due to complex property rights relations, there are multiple reasons such as the coordination of many stakeholders result in the delay of starting regeneration. It was not until 2015 that the Changning District Government facilitated the establishment of a joint enterprise between Chuangyi Industrial Co., Ltd. and Jiu Hua Group, a state-owned enterprise in the district and owning more than 40% of the shop property rights on Yuyuan Road, laying the foundation for the regeneration of "government guidance - enterprise operation" on Yuyuan Road. At the end of August 2015, the Changning District Government completed the renovation of 3 space nodes and 4 green plots, including Yuyuan Children's Library, Workers' Cultural Palace, Chuangyi Space Hongji and Xinlianfang. The direction of the transformation of Yuyuan to the development of fashion, creativity and other industries is basically clear.

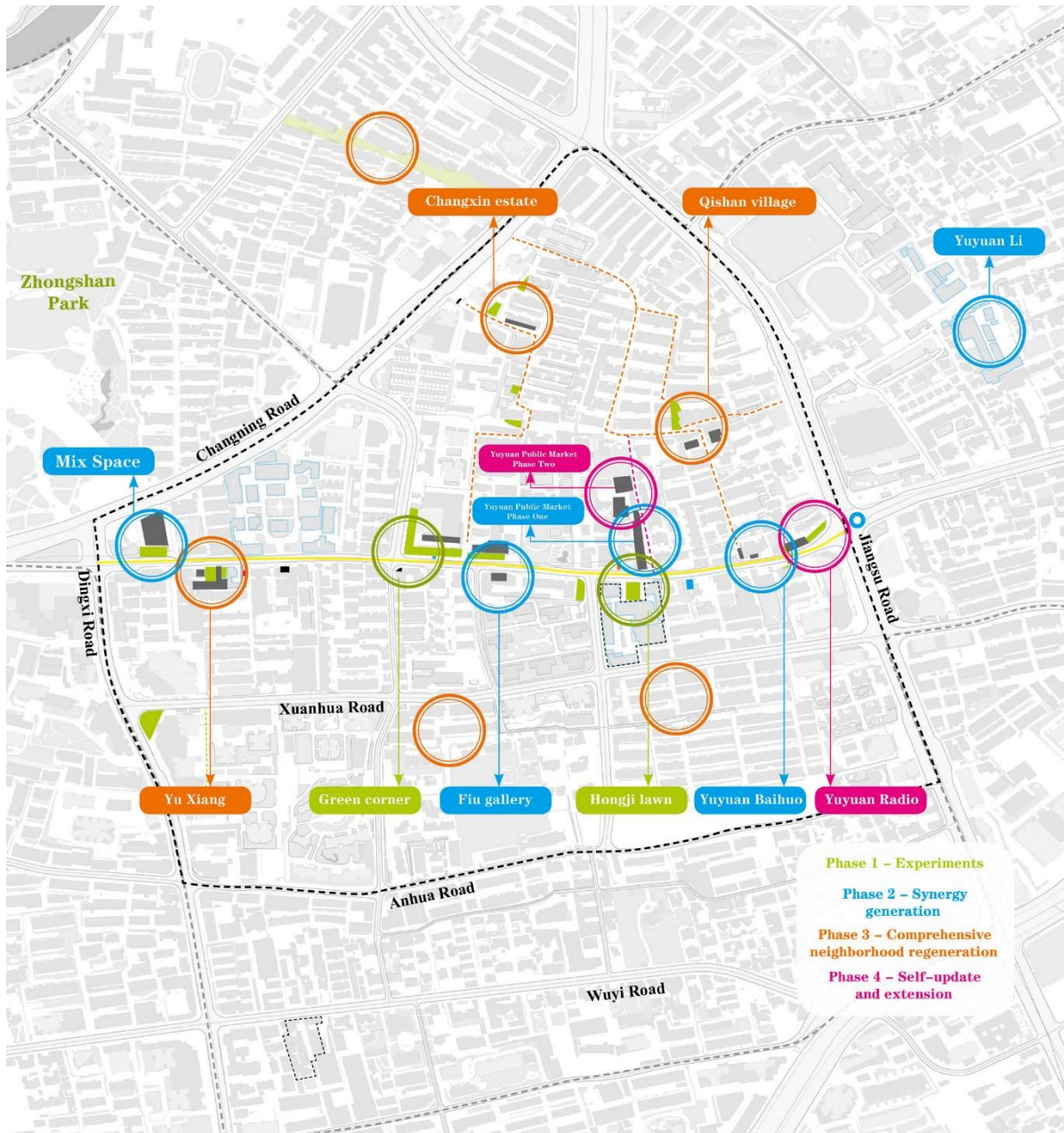


Figure 6.1 Regeneration phasing of Yuyuan

Among the regeneration projects completed in 2015, the most important is the Hongji lawn at the entrance of Chuangyi Hongji at No. 1107 Yuyuan Road (Figure 6.2). It is also known as the “most popular lawn of Shanghai on the internet.” The original parking lot of more than 380 square meters was

actively opened in the regeneration and transformed into an open trampling lawn, which became the venue for many important events since then, and a concert was held in 2015. This lawn also provides a different spatial opportunity for residents' daily life.



Figure 6.2 Representative regeneration spaces of phase one

In April 2016, the first group projects of Yuyuan were finished. In March 2017, after taking the lead in completing the collection of old houses below grade II, Changning District was the first to issue the Changning District 2017-2021 Urban Regeneration Overall Plan and the Changning District Urban Regeneration 2017-2018 Action Plan, laying the foundation for the overall regeneration.

Yuyuan also entered a new stage of integrity after the “scattered experiments” in the early stage. The “fragmentation” of the first stage is also an expression of organic and micro-regeneration, which emphasizes the small-scale of the regeneration space and the interaction between the regeneration space and the existing space.

6.2.2 Phase Two - Synergy generation: Oct 2017 to early 2019

Harvey believes that when the area in the city grows to a certain extent, it will produce a comprehensive benefit, change the perception of the region in people's minds, and receive greater attention, which Harvey calls the generation of "synergy" (Harvey, 2009). As far as Yuyuan is concerned, the opening of Yuyuan Baihuo (愚园百货公司) in December 2018 and the opening of Yuyuan Public Market in February 2019, as well as the many media reports accompanying their opening, all the discussions, public attentions, or the growth of visitors, can be understood as an important point in the generation of Yuyuan's synergy, and the gradual accumulation of a series of regeneration actions before this has contributed to the emergence of synergy.

First of all, in 2017, many star designers and architects participated in the Urban Design Festival, which greatly increased the popularity of Yuyuan Road, which implemented the concept of micro-regeneration of the integration of art and everyday life into people's mind through real practices. Among them, Yu Ting, as a representative Shanghai architect with good "*qiangdiao* (taste)," designed an art installation combining corner green space at the intersection of Jiangsu Road and Yuyuan Road. Shuhei Aoyama, the "model architect of reconstruction (改造男神)" from Japan, is also involved.

The regeneration projects in the Urban Design Festival are extremely small in scale, even miniature, and from the perspective of individual projects, they completely reflect "micro" regeneration; From the perspective of the entire street, newly regenerated spaces and the existing environment integrated together, deeply expressing the connotation of "organic" regeneration. Zebra crossings and bicycle parking spaces are decorated with colorful ground decorations; The trash bin became a modern bright shape as public decoration; Old phone booths are transformed into a set of urban furniture of different shapes, providing free resting places for couriers, cleaners, and even homeless people (Figure 6.3). On

the Hongji Lawn, the art installation created with wide bands not only echoes the history of Yuyuan (Shanghai Wide Belt Factory was once located in Qishan Village of Yuyuan Road), but also reflects the present artistic life in Yuyuan. These projects fully express the utility of art on space, and light up ordinary street life through art.



Figure 6.3 Practices in Chengshi Design Festival 2017

The Urban Design Festival is mainly hosted by the Assbook, with the participation of a series of design media, architects, designers, governments, enterprises, and other diverse groups. It has laid a solid material and popular foundation for Yuyuan Road to “lived art and artistic everyday life (艺术生活化, 生活艺术化)” and create a “cross-border life aesthetic experience district.”

Starting in the second half of 2018, two important fashion and art trendy spaces on Yuyuan Road --- Yuyuan Baihuo and FIU Gallery opened. In November 2018, FIU Gallery (Figure 6.4) held the first

exhibition in China of Camille Walala, a representative artist of Memphis, known as the Queen of Colors. However, two weeks after the exhibition, due to the color is too prominent, it was asked to remove the display decoration along the street and restore the original building façade. Both the new and bright colors of the façade along the street before the exhibition and the forced demolition of the façade after it attracted many admiring visitors, and people began to discuss the tensions between the conservation of historical buildings and novel art forms, and the intensity of governance of artistic works.



Figure 6.4 Fiu Gallery (left) and Yuyuan Baihuo (right)

The Yuyuan Public Market, which opened in 2019, was originally a dormitory for employees of a college and transformed into a new type of community center (Figure 6.5). On the first floor of this small building, including a community party building center, an elderly canteen, a tailor shop, a key shop, a traditional wonton shop, and a vegetable market with a fashionable decoration. On the second floor are dance studios, private galleries, and community art galleries.



Figure 6.5 Yuyuan Public Market

Su Shanghai Community Art Museum is the first project of Liu Haisu Art Museum's community art museum program, and its opening exhibition is a memorial of daily life in the 80s, expressing nostalgia for traditional lifestyles and respect for craftsmanship. Since its first exhibition, Su Shanghai Art Museum has continued to convey an artistic practice that integrates art with everyday community life. Su Shanghai also combines art exhibitions with participatory workshops and community discussions to actively attract the residents. Compared with classical art museums, with high ticket prices and internationally famous artists, Su Shanghai can only be regarded as a pocket art museum, and most of

the time it is free to visit, and most of the young artists are invited. In the exhibitions in Shanghai, there are paintings of children in the neighbourhood as the theme, and young artists are invited to take Shanghai neighbourhood life as the theme, all of which are designed to make art inspired by local life and make neighbourhood life as part of art. In order to attract and take care of the elderly, the coffee shop at Su Shanghai provides 10 yuan coffee for the elderly.

Yuyuan Public Market exemplifies the fusion of old and new, traditional and fashionable. It brings a new look to Yuyuan and attracts young people and tourists to visit; It also shows the cherishing of traditional life and neighbourhood relationship in CUR of Yuyuan Road.

The emergence of synergy in CUR is the cooperation and co-work of multiple stakeholders, and it is also the manifestation of the utility of the comprehensive role of multiple forces.

6.2.3 Phase Three - Comprehensive neighbourhood regeneration: mid-2019 to mid-2021

In 2019, while Yuyuan received large popularity, the Changning District Government and Jiangsu Road Jiedao (街道) together launched a more comprehensive neighbourhood regeneration work (Table 6.1). Different from the housing transformation in the 80s of the 20th century, or the “people’s livelihood project (民生工程)” in the early 21st century in Shanghai, the micro-regeneration of the neighbourhood in the old residential area of Yuyuan and the new and old lanes in the past two years is aimed at reshaping the neighbourhood image, using culture and art as new approaches. While comprehensively improving the basic living conditions of residents, the neighbourhood micro-regeneration has reshaped the neighbourhood culture and neighbourhood cohesion of Yuyuan. These cultural neighbourhood micro-regeneration projects include Qishan Village, Changxin Neighbourhood, Aerospace Building, etc. At the beginning of the comprehensive neighbourhood micro-regeneration that began to penetrate into the hinterland of Yuyuan and inside Lilong.

Table 6.1 Classification of key regeneration projects of Yuyuan

	Historic Building Preservation	Other buildings (post-industrial buildings, etc.)
Culture and Art Regeneration	● Art Yuyuan Art District ● Yuyuan Road Historic Wall of Celebrities (历史名人墙) ● Yuyuan Baihuo Company (Shi zhecun's Former Residence, 施蛰存故居 201810) ● Fiu Gallery (201807) ● Story Store (at the entrance of Qishan Village, 201908) ● Yu Xiang (愚巷)	● Yuyuan Public Market (Su Shanghai Community Gallery) ● Mix Space (米域) ● Yuyuan Public Market Phase II
		● Huayang Road Neighbourhood Community Center (华阳路街道社区中心)
	● Community Center of Jiangsu Road Neighbourhood (江苏路街道社区中心)	● Changxin Estate, Ten Sceneries of Changxin and Three Gardens of Changxin. (201903-202011)
	● Former Residence of Rewi Alley (路易艾黎故居, 201907-202012)	● Aerospace building micro-regeneration (航天大楼, 202012)
	● Jiande Fang No. 4 , Wu Shi former residence (俭德坊 4 号, 吴石故居, 电视剧《潜伏》余则成原型)	● [Elevator installation] The installation of elevators in Dongbang Estate (东浜小区, 20201223) Guide of Installing Elevators (加装电梯一本通, 202101) Section 11 of Jiangsu Road Neighbourhood (2020)
	● Former Residence of Qian Xuesen (钱学森故居, 2020)	● [Serving the Elderly] 1200 elderly people living alone in Jiangsu Road Street, Unified management of one network, serving the elderly (一网统管, 为老服务), smart water meter, AI outbound call, door sensor system, smoke alarm, infrared detection (202012 CCTV News Baiyansong) Xibang (西浜小区), Changyuan (长原小区) Happy Elderly good-neighbourliness point in the community (老年人和睦邻点, 2018-2020)
Comprehensive Neighbourhood micro-regeneration	● Qishan Village Lane Leader System (弄长制), No. 48 old house renovation, kitchen, etc., pocket garden at the entrance of the building, ivy green planting group, Changning District Green Management Center (202012)	● [Nomocracy Neighbourhood (法治街区)] Yuyuan Road Nomocracy Neighbourhod was selected as the second group of Shanghai socialist nomocracy brand positions (第二批上海社会主义法治文化品牌阵地, 202010)

In June 2019, Shequgengxin (Shequ, a social enterprise under Chuangyi that focuses on neighbourhood building) was officially established, organizing neighbourhood activities such as residents' story mobile

phones and neighbourhood walking as a social enterprise. In April 2020, Shequ organized a series of residents' participation workshops around the regeneration of Qishan Village, hoping to include more residents in the regeneration process. The Story Shop located at the entrance of Qishan Village was also proposed and launched by Shequ, a complex space that collects the stories of Yuyuan blocks and pretends to represent street memories. More artistic elements have been incorporated into the design in the neighbourhood micro-regeneration, including the illustration-style neighbourhood map of Changxin Neighbourhood, the wall painting with novel colors and jumps at the entrance of the Hangtian Building, and the cute cat LOGO in Qishan Village. Also, the regeneration of the internal public space of the No. 48 in Qishan Village, and the micro-regeneration of the community garden in front of the building.

6.2.4 Phase Four - Self-update and extension: May 2021 to present

In May 2021, Yuyuan began a second round regeneration of the earlier regeneration works. The wonton shops, noodle restaurants, and elderly canteens on the first floor of Yuyuan Public Market, which once marked the mundane everyday life of Yuyuan, have been replaced with burgers, coffee, and Japanese cuisine. At the same year, a similar self-regeneration conducted at multiple points on the main street. In the early days of its opening, Fiu gallery often used Shanghai's daily life as inspiration and theme for their exhibitions, and was a link between fashionable art and local life (e.g., Shanghai in the Sketch Box). From 2021, Fiu gallery's exhibitions has been launched in cooperation with commercial brands, almost becoming an marketing agent. In January 2022, luxury brand Louis Vuitton held a pop-up event at Yuyuan Baihuo (Figure 6.6 - 1), marking Yuyuans's new position in Shanghai's fashion and luxury consumption landscape.



Figure 6.6 Representative projects of phase four

At the same time, the scope of issues and spaces for neighbourhood micro-regeneration is also expanding (Figure 6.6). The regime has set up a series of “old and new” focusing on elderly care services and a “dream making plan” focusing on child-friendliness, including the construction of Huayang Jiedao Service Center for the Elderly, and the regeneration of Children’s Square in Minxin Estate. In May 2021, Shequ began to build a livable neighbourhood for the elderly at Lane 396 of Changning Road. At this

point, the regeneration of Yuyuan Road has extended beyond the legal boundaries of the Conservation Area to surrounding neighbourhoods. Yuyuan and its neighbourhood regeneration are expanding in space and connotation simultaneously.

6.3 Regeneration regime and social organizations under state entrepreneurialism

6.3.1 Yuyuan neighbourhood

a. Regime and power relationship of Yuyuan

Regime. Yuyuan, located in the Changning district, Hongqiao-Zhongshan Park Development Office, is the primary state section in charge of the developable places in the Changning district since 2008 (Figure 6.7). Other district-level bureaus, such as the Culture and Tourism Bureau and Commerce Bureau, are also actively involved in the regeneration promotion. Changning District government appointed the district-owned state enterprise, Jiuhua, which owns more than 40% of the storefronts on Yuyuan Street, to found an enterprise with the private side, the Shanghai Yuyuan Cultural-creative Development Enterprise, in 2014. Jiuhua invested 20% percent, and the private sector invested 80%. Thus, Jiuhua, as the state's representative, could also share the rising rent profits of the storefronts. At the Jiedao level, Jiangsulü Jiedao is the dominant state sector.

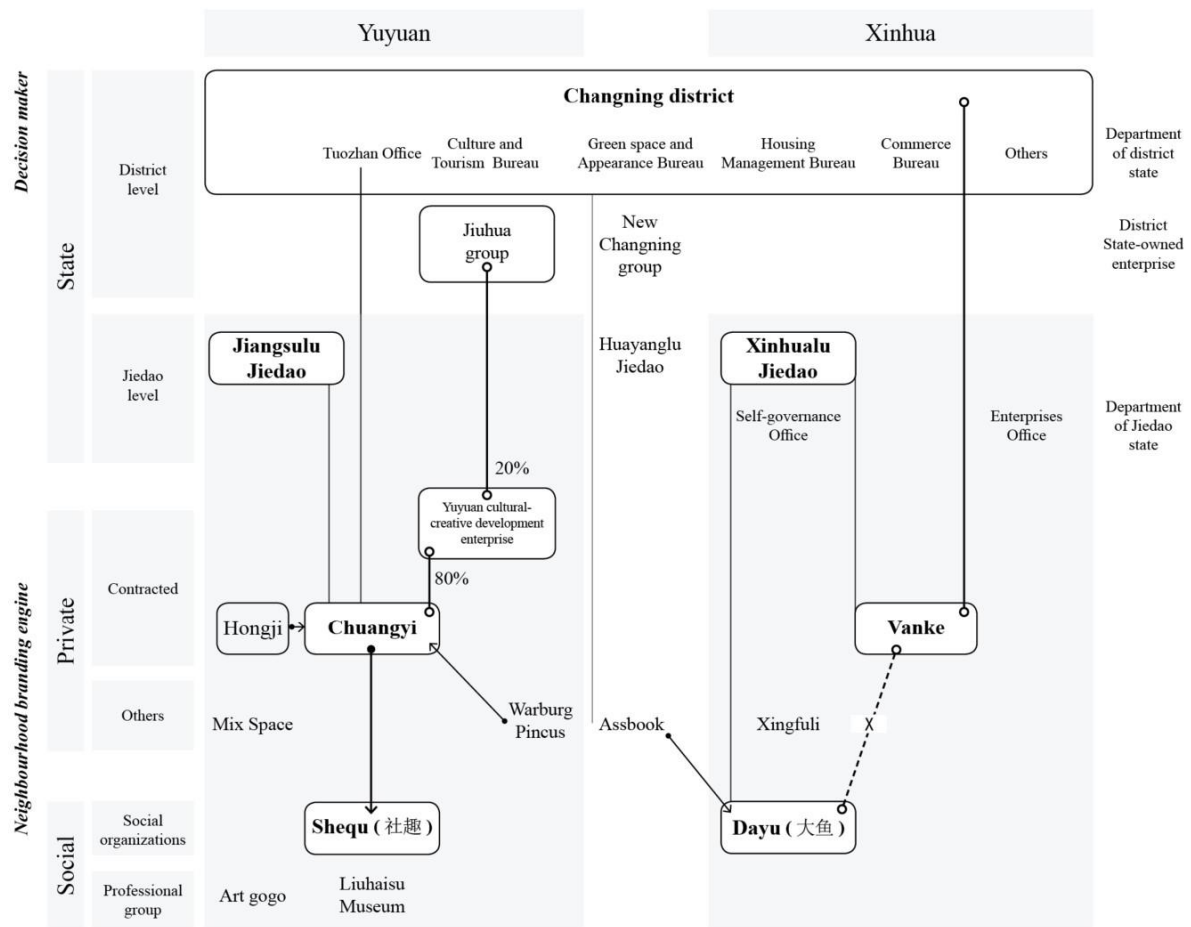


Figure 6.7 Regeneration regime of two cases

Chuangyi (创邑) is the key private section in Yuyuan, also the co-founder of YCD. The foundation of YCD also means the regeneration process has been formally activated. Chuangyi is in charge of the branding, marketing, and management of the whole neighbourhood. Specifically, the practices include leasing of storefronts, two cultural clusters, and two apartments; the security and cleaning of the open space and street; and organizing cultural events. Shequ (社趣) is the key social organization in Yuyuan found in June, 2019. For the public, Shequ registered as a social organization,

mainly focusing on community and place-making. In fact, the actors of Shequ were full-time employed by the branding department of Chuangyi.

Capital. Yuyuan simultaneously experienced a rapid reputation change from an old residential area into a hip street in public and official discourse. As one Shanghainese mentioned, “The tone changed dramatically when people heard about Yuyuan.” One resident proudly mentioned, “I invited my friends who live in another city to visit where I live nearby.” Though the regeneration started in 2014, the opening of Public Market, published in *Jiefang Daily*, and the mass youth attracted by Fiu Gallery and Yuyuan Baihuo; thus early 2018 could be viewed as a synergy timing of Yuyuan. Officially, Yuyuan received a series of representative titles, ranging from Cultural Tourism Route to 15 Minutes Life Circle. A worker from Shequ is proud to mention that “Story Shop was reported to the State Council in the central state (as a representative neighbourhood program),” many states sides from other cities also visited Yuyuan as examples. For Chuangyi, Yuyuan’s rising reputation also helps them get more opportunities to lead other projects as sophisticated in the regeneration sector, e.g., Luoxiu Road. Economically, the rent price of the stores and offices “at least doubled (even tripled),” both Chuangyi and Jiuhua profited from the rising rent. Holding cultural and neighbourhood events is also one profit source for Chuangyi, especially Shequ. At the end of 2019, Warburg Pincus, a leading global private investment corporation, invested in Chuangyi, funding around 20 million.

Power relationship. For the aesthetic design style of regeneration projects, events, and branding themes, the state is always the final decision maker, no matter how many public and professional processes before the final step. A hierarchy could be summarized for the aesthetic myth and descriptive themes: political needs over the market, market needs over the neighbourhood needs (Figure 6.8). The cooperation between Changning district and Chuangyi is very well, and deep trust is found between them. One Chuangyier mentioned, “The regeneration design proposal and event proposal reported the

state from us will definitely be permitted.” Furthermore, “The process is reversed. Once we propose a project, then the state will propose a need (normally, it should be the state initiating a project and finding a market sector to conduct, sometimes need bidding).” It seems Chuangyi has the decision power to decide the aesthetic design and event style. However, the trust and good relationship between the state and Chuangyi reflects that the Changning state is pretty satisfied with Chuangyi’s ability to understand, create, and train the market, with political rewards ultimately.

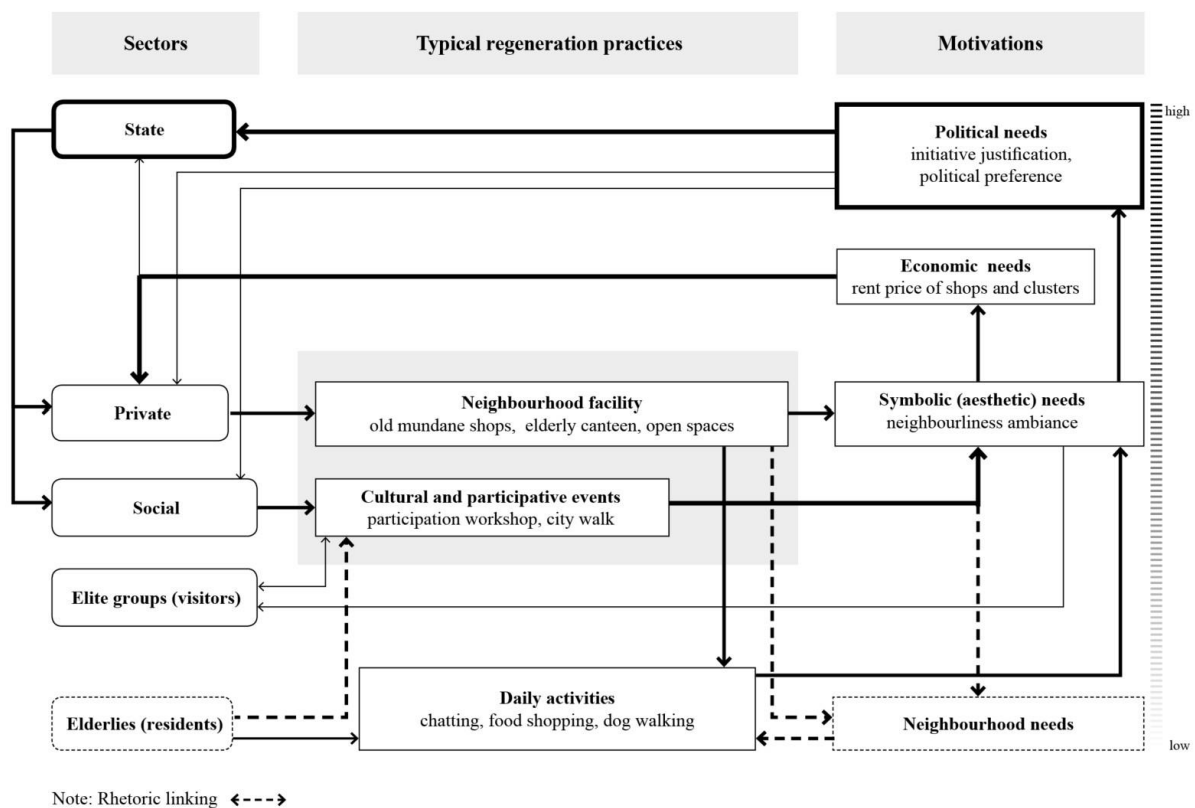


Figure 6.8 Regime sectors and their motivation hierarchy

b. Commercial gentrification and participation show

Branding setting. As the public perceived the mixture of old and newly opened shops as heterogeneous (Luo et al., 2022), the public did not know that the shops on Yuyuan Street were strategically and carefully selected, leased, and managed by Chuangyi according to the branding strategy. For the leasing stores, the interior design style will be guided and permitted by Chuangyi. While Story Shop is one project that reported to the central state as a representative social program, behind the Story Shop is the eviction and exclusion of mundane shops. To promote the neighbourly image in 2017, the Shandong Dumpling Restaurant was kept in the Public Market along with several similar traditional mundane shops (Figure 6.9). The shop owners, a lower-working class couple, were invited to join the fashion event to show the new presentation of mundane elements. The Dumpling restaurant changed into a similar Shanxi Noodle bar in 2019. The owner of Dumpling Restaurant decided to transfer the shop out and go back to their hometown because his child could not go to the public school in Shanghai without *Hukou*. At the beginning of 2021, the representative mundane shops in the Public Market were all replaced by trendy overseas cuisines, such as burgers, café, and overseas food (Figure 6.9). The reason for replacing the mundane shops is that the second phase of the Public Market is about to open, former style of the shops was no longer suitable for the taste of the creative class anymore. Many other old shops in Yuyuan were independently owned. Thus Chuangyi is not able to require them to move out. Then Chuangyi is happy to cooperate with them to promote the neighbourhood-caring image, for example, the Old Grandpa Underwear Shop.



Note: 1, Mundane shops (201903). 2, Replaced by trendy cuisines (202108). 3, Commercial event decoration (202304). Source: Authors.

Figure 6.9 Extending commodification of neighbourhood space

Participation show. Shequ organized many public participative workshops for regeneration projects, which claimed to involve public feedback or linking diverse social groups. Compared with Dayu, Chuangyi is more straightforward to mentioned that “(The participant workshop is) just a show(做样子).” A stratification of participants is observed in the survey. People who joined the community events were most young professionals, middle-class or higher middle-class. Though many elderlies participate in some community events, most of them are at least middle-class elderlies in a well-being family.

6.3.2 Xinhua neighbourhood

a. Regime and power relationship of Xinhua

Regime. Xinhua is also located in Changning District (Figure 6.8). Related district level bureaus include Culture and Tourism Bureau and Self-governance Office. Xinhualu and Huayanglu Jiedao are the main Jiedao level actors. Xinhua has one overwhelming flagship project, the Columbia Circle (CC). Changning District cooperated with Vanke, a leading real estate enterprise in China, to conduct the regeneration of the CC. Vanke is mainly focused on CC, and Vanke invested in regenerating abandoned

buildings. The rent of the cluster is all rewarded to Vanke. Vanke also participated in other neighbourhood regeneration projects in Xinhua to promote the neighbourhood caring image, including Pedestrian Lab and Jinglao Cun (Figure 6.10). Dayu Place-making (Dayu, 大鱼营造) is the primary social organization in Xinhua.



Note: 1, Pedestrian Lab lack maintenance (202012). 2, Jinglao Cun lack maintenance (202110). 3, Event of Xinhua Community-making Center (202208). Sources: Authors.

Figure 6.10 Regeneration projects of Xinhua

Capital. Xinhua also received many titles from the higher state. After its opening, the Columbia Circle soon became one hot cultural consumption spot in Shanghai. Vanke invited the global star architect firm, OMA, to design the architecture and open space of the Columbia Circle. While community-making social organization based on urban regeneration is an emerging field in China, Dayu is known as the leading social organization in Shanghai and China. Dayu's Founders actively participate in many public lectures to introduce and promote their spirit of community-making and social innovation, e.g., at *Yixi*. One leader in Dayu received 30 under 30 of Forbs China in 2021. Like Chuanyi, Dayu also expanded their works to other parts of Shanghai and other cities in China, such as Wuhan. The main profits of Dayu come from public investment in regeneration design, events, and neighbourhood branding. Even

a worker at Dayu mentioned, “I feel we are a neighbourhood branding department (rather than a community place-making organization).” As Dayuer mentioned, “The events and programs were organized for providing sources for political writing in Public WeChat Account.” A vital work content of Dayu is cooperating with the state side to write the state report. During the SUSAS festival, one Dayuer complained that the District Culture and Tourism Bureau reporting team was disruptive because they “contacted us very late, and they do not know details about the event at all.”

Power relationship. One worker in Dayu mentioned that the Jiedao states’ core need is neighbourhood branding, and the state leader usually proposes or prepares the theme and resources of the neighbourhood branding. The theme, narrative, and myth changed along with what the Jiedao or District state needs. “Recently, they require more narrative about self-governance.” In the practice process, Dayu worked extremely hard to dig into local history and talk with residents to document community history and stories of ordinary residents. The state has the final decision-making power; these narratives only validate when the state agrees and permit the stories. Once it cannot satisfy the needs of the state, the story will be altered. Most time, the narratives brought from Dayu will be permitted as the Jiedao state would like to promote a neighbourly and community-governance image. This also explains why Chuangyi stated that the state always agrees with their proposed programs because Chuangyi deeply understands what narratives the market and the state need.

A passive cooperation relationship was found between Vanke and Dayu in several neighbourhood regeneration projects, such as Pedestrian Lab and Jinglao Cun (Figure 6.10). These two projects are all representatives of Xinhua with neighbourhood caring in 2018. However, neither Vanke nor Dayu provided follow-up maintenance after the reconstruction. Both projects deteriorated after the original reconstruction soon. In the exhibition of Sunke Villa held in late 2020, introducing the regeneration activities of Vanke, both projects were still introduced as representatives of neighbourhood caring

projects. Nevertheless, before that, both projects have already messy, almost as before the reconstruction. In the SUSAS held in 2021, the Pedestrian Lab was moved out from the exhibition list, but the Jinglao Cun remains. One Pedestrian Lab resident mentioned, “How disappointing you are (come to watch this project deliberately); it is like mending patches now.” The branding strategy of the Columbia Circle from Vanke is different from the neighbourly but a top luxury one. It also reflected by many interviewees noticed the “two worlds” inside and outside the Columbia Circle, which resulted in social-spatial segmentation in the neighbourhood.

b. Public participation as elite cultural consumption

Though Dayu tried to attract diverse social groups, the participants and audiences of their events were most well-educated youth. In the Yingshengji city walk of the SUSAS festival, university students from Tongji, ShanghaiU, and Normal East U, constitute the majority of the participants—only one woman, around forty years old. Similar situations can be easily found in the events held by Dayu; limited local elderlies can be found. Though Dayu claimed they held community events, most participants are outsider young visitors.

As one Dayuer confirmed, “Yes, that is embarrassing...” Another Dayuer also expressed a similar situation, “I have few opportunities to get familiar with residents, not even get in touch with them. Our project time and energy are limited.” Attracting wider participants seems a tricky mission, though several approaches were taken, including Juweihui promotion, posters, and on-site flyers. “The elderlies have their existing leisure habitus, and the children are very busy with school work.” From another aspect, the general residents of Xinhua do not know Dayu, from women with kids and young lawyers to scholars, even for scholars doing research in Xinhua, because he is not interested in cultural consumption trends (e.g., community-making).

As the participants of events are limited, the resulting social networks are even more limited, especially the intra-class interactions. The key social organization promoters accumulated solid social capital with professionals, young students, and people interested in neighbourhood matters. All these people became their potential customers, consumers, and cheap laborers. However, for the participants, as one visitor mentioned, “The networking result is disappointing, though I am eager to make new friends in these events.” The intra-class interactions are even weaker than the inner-class interactions. Both positive social interactions and conflicts can be found in the WeChat group chat of Xinhua. “Every time the pet lost, they could be found back,” and “Many residents fighting in the group chat, complaining why their housing area is not regenerated.”

A series of filtering processes result in the empowerment show of public participation. While social organizations usually claim they improve community empowerment and self-governance, the representative way is through their participant workshops. As we discussed before, only a few residents join these workshops. Even participating in the workshops, it is hard to say whether the residents and citizens propose the regeneration design. The residents usually do not know about environmental reconstruction; even if they could tell the needs, “They do not know how to propose.” Dayu is proud of the tools they developed to educate and help the residents reimagine the neighbourhood, but it is more about “Let them make the choices,” the preliminary options that preliminary proposed and selected by Dayu. The option pool simultaneously ensures the proposal processing and “empowerment” of people. After the selection workshop, Dayu will summarize the feedback from the residents and report to a higher filter, usually the state. The state always has the final decision power. Once the state did not support any ideas, Dayu had to alter them accordingly. Even after the reconstruction is done, it could be demolished once the state-appointed other need for the space.

While Dayu usually emphasizes that they are designing and speaking for the residents, it seems they do not understand their real needs. After a so-called open day for public participation, the Pedestrian Lab does not meet local users' needs at all (Figure 6.10). As one founder of Dayu said, what they take home from Pedestrian Lab is "If you love someone, you can only love the way it is, rather than change him." However, the elite designers did not know what the neighbourhood needed, as the Pedestrian Lab soon returned to messy condition before the regeneration, neither for understanding the shop owners' needs.

Participating in the Yingshengji event, the inner motivation of shop owners is to attract more consumers, no matter what they say about how much they love the neighbourhood and are happy to join the cultural events. The servers of the Crossover Café became extremely nervous and highly alert when the tourists entered their shop, and the workers in the Fruit Shop were also eager to promote their fruits. More than one Café owner complained that they feel the community events are consuming their shop rather than their shops benefiting from the visitors attracted by the events. During the event's preparation stage, Dayu tried very hard to invite more shops to join the events, but at least two shops originally planned to join quitted before the preparation started. Most of the shops in Xinhua are not familiar with Dayu.

Real community needs and consuming neighbourliness are two markets. One reason the shop owners who participated in the Yingshengji event are not satisfied with the result is a market mismatch that Dayu did not realize. The independent shops in Xinhua mainly serve residents' mundane daily life; their selling point is the actual service quality, which is not part of the cultural taste consumption. However, the event participants are mainly young professionals who are taste consumers. The event did not contribute to the daily life service small business but embraced the taste consumption. Most of the shops in Xinhua are local community services shops that have stayed a long time in the district, so they have stable resident consumers. These shops do not need Dayu's help to inject symbolic content into their shop.

A clear competition relationship is observed between Shequ and Dayu in the two cases. One founder described the reason Dayu's practices are mainly concentrated in Xinhua because they are residents in Xinhua and would like to provide a better environment for their kids while working as an architect. The real reason for working in Xinhua is that Yuyuan cooperates with Chuangyi. Dayu was developed from the "Dayuxiaoyu (大鱼小愚)" community-making group at Urban Design Festival in Yuyuan 2017.

6.4 Discussion

6.4.1 State entrepreneurialism and cultural displacement

With the knowledge of urban entrepreneurialism, cultural urban regeneration, and social organizations, this study documented and exemplified cultural neighbourhood regeneration as a new entrepreneurial strategy in China, transforming deteriorating historic districts into hip neighbourhoods along with aesthetics meaning transformation. Public-private-social cooperation is documented in the regeneration regime through the lens of urban entrepreneurialism in Shanghai, in addition to the public-public or public-private one (Zheng, 2010). As He and Wu (2009) pointed out, the state continuously legitimized the market actions in China. This study revealed that social organizations were involved as a new form to embrace the market cultural consumption need. In line with what Wu (2018) termed state entrepreneurialism, the social organizations were employed as market instruments and branding engines that ultimately serve the state power. Social organizations' activity, expressing the sense of neighbourliness, justified the commodification in regeneration that cater to elites' tastes and consumption. The state power remained and enhanced in regeneration by utilizing social organizations with the rising neighbourhoods' reputation. Though it seems the market or social sites own the decision power in some conditions, the co-governance power relationship is temporal. Overall, the state owned

the power to decide when to start or stop and who to cooperate with. Unlike holding mega cultural events, such as Shanghai EXPO, implemented by the multilevel state, from jiedao (街道) to the central state (Chan & Li, 2017), the states involved in neighbourhood regeneration concentrated in the district and jiedao level, which possibly reflects the severe inner-city competition in attracting capital, consumers, and talents.

The regeneration regime also functions as an aesthetic regime, simultaneously producing and consuming the sense of neighbourliness. By employing social organizations, the regeneration regime successfully produced and trained the aesthetics of neighbourliness as an alternative cultural consumption prototype in Shanghai, which is similar to articulating the aesthetics of authenticity in New York (Zukin, 2008), with a purified environment (Gerlofs, 2017; Waldman, 2022), shopping and participating in neighbourhoods with frequent community events becomes an exclusive taste. The concept of the aesthetic regime can be contextualized and applied in that cultural activities are essentially politics, and aesthetic hegemony remains in cultural redevelopment fields in Shanghai. Like no one appreciated loft living before the 1970s in New York (Zukin, 1989), the old neighbourhood was viewed as a symbol of development obstacles in China (Zhang, 2006) before the micro-regeneration. The regeneration turned old neighbourhoods' aesthetic meaning into a sign of neighbourliness and produced a new trendy space prototype in the city. Similar to using traditional architectural elements as rhetoric dressing of local culture in Xintiandi, wider local elements, including the residents, old shops, neighbourhood events, and daily social interactions, have been utilized as settings for the neighbourliness ambiance. The rising reputation of neighbourliness districts possibly reflects that the public is tired of the mass demolition and social cutting off in China's urbanization. Like other cultural space products, these neighbourhoods have been experienced as fashionable and distinctive (Li, 2020). Similar to bourgeois bohemia, they are expensive (Zukin, 2008). However, in summary, no matter its *xiaozi* (小资), neighbourliness, or bourgeois-bohemia, they are just moving from one myth to another.

While the micro-regeneration approach has usually been claimed as social benefiting without mass displacement, the commercial gentrification identified in this study echoes what Wang et al. (2021) claimed the changes of micro-regeneration are still fundamental. The regeneration commodified the listed historic building, many using or disused neighbourhood space, and street and open spaces. Commercial gentrification reflects a cultural displacement of the mundane lifestyle. The favor of neighbourliness justified the neighbourhood regeneration initiatives, hiding the extending continuous opening up of more neighbourhood space into the real estate, tourism, and consumption market. Social organizations' claimed cultural and neighbourhood caring functions also justified more public funding and investment. The community cultural space and events are the concrete evidence of the state and the elite's aesthetic regime manipulating the public into accepting commercialization and gentrification and distracting themes from serious discussion of the regeneration initiatives (elderly caring) to bring about neighbourhood regeneration.

6.4.2 Social organization as branding engine

Though social organizations solved some conflicts, residents have disagreements on where and how regeneration is conducted. Ironically, while Chuangyi manages Shequ, a branding department with solid economic support, Dayu was struggling with surviving most time. The fake social organization (Shequ) has a better relationship with residents and local shop owners than the actual social organization (Dayu). For social organizations in poor economic conditions, putting social targets over economic ones is difficult to be over a slogan for them (Lees & Melhuish, 2015; St Clair et al., 2020). Even though social organizations seek to attract varied groups to their events, class segregation and exclusion remains. However, just like Lazzeretti & Capone (2015) pointed out, the accumulated social capital is mainly concentrated on the event holders, reflecting an uneven distribution of social capital. The limited intra-class interactions remind us what Lees & Melhuish (2015) and Dova et al. (2022) observed the social

contribution of cultural events is fleet and momentary. According to what happened in West Kowloon Cultural District in Hong Kong (Raco & Gilliam, 2012), the results of the participant workshop hardly get to the bottom-up social innovation in community governance but use the activities to form a democratic image. It seems to echo “sops” in “imperious architecture” (Lefebvre, 1991).

With the rising neighbourhood reputation, collective identity and pride were formed, but just as Harvey (1989) warned, “image over substance.” (Figure 6.11) It is not about whether the regeneration has social neighbourhood benefits; it is about how much it benefits the marginal groups compared with the privileged ones. Without dismissing the pro-market public-private governance (Iaione, 2016), the social organizations in the study became part of the pro-market regime, serving a new rhetoric discourse base. For the survival of social organizations, even the funding landscape is not in a severe condition like what St Clair et al. (2020) warned; a competition relationship was found among social organizations (between Shequ and Dayu). It is possibly because the social organizations all work as market instruments for the state. Though social organizations actively claim their mission of them as social innovation but rarely achieve any goal related to the innovation goals as defined by Moulaert et al. (2007), echoes the situation in the Netherlands that social innovation is determined by the state and the market in a neoliberal context (Mens et al., 2021).

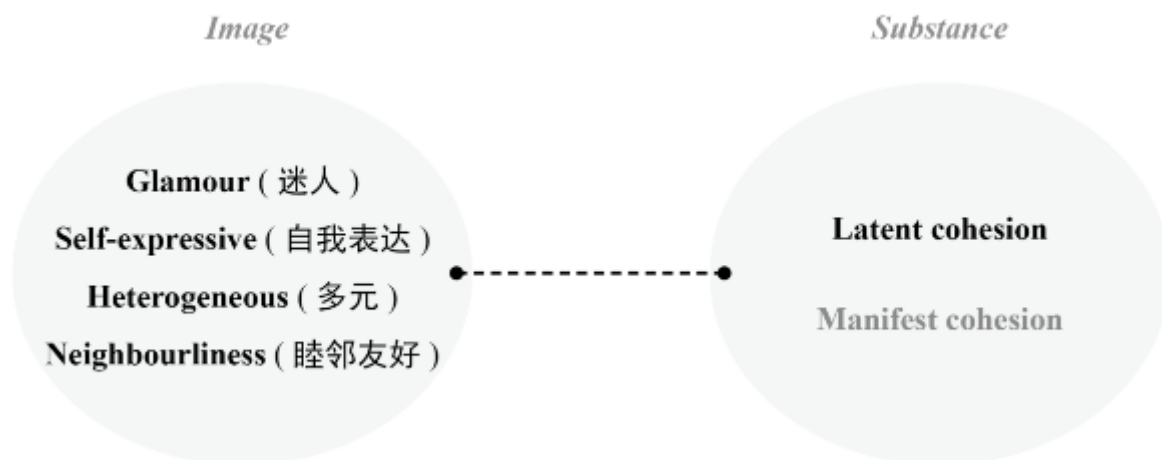


Figure 6.11 Tensions between image and substance

6.5 Summary

This chapter documented and exemplified the CUR practices as a new strategy of urban (state) entrepreneurialism in China. The regeneration regime is formed by “State – private – social” sectors, which partially response to RQ3 – sub – RQ1. Compared with previous “Public - public” or “Public – private” regime in Shanghai’s CUR, the social organizations were actively employed in the latest CUR in Shanghai. The motivation of involved sectors can be summarized as pursuing political, economic, and symbolic capitals, which also partially response to RQ3 – sub – RQ1.

Regarding RQ3 – sub – RQ2, incorporating the aesthetic regime theory, the regeneration regime also works as aesthetic regime simultaneously. A power relationship hierarchy, political over economic, over symbolic, and over neighbourhood needs is identified. Through the private and social sectors conducting and managing the regeneration projects, they were all employed by the state as marketing and branding tools that serve to enhance state power ultimately. The district – level state is the key sector as the decision maker.

Concerning RQ3 – sub – RQ3, an increasing commodification of neighbourhood spaces is observed, which has the potential to threaten SC. The neighbourliness aesthetic characteristics contribute to neighbourhood branding that provide an alternative elite cultural consumption taste, which possibly result in social segregation in the neighbourhoods. The newly activated social network is more about inner-class interaction rather than intra-class interaction. The participative planning organized and conducted by these social organizations hardly speaks for residents but is mere “a show” that contributed to justifying the commodification of neighbourhood spaces. Overall, in a stricter perspective, the social contribution of CUR remains limited and is soon to evaporate.

Chapter 7 Conclusions

7.1 Introduction

This chapter start with reviewing the research questions of this study. Following the key research findings and the contributions. Finally, the limitation and future studies are also mentioned and discussed.

7.2 Addressing the research questions and objectives

As discussed in Section 1.2, the research questions of this thesis are to examine and understand the social performance, especially social cohesion, in CUR at the neighbourhood level. Three research questions were proposed: first of all, it focused on how CUR (re)constructs neighbourhood image from the aesthetic perspective. The second research question focused on identifying vital factors that contribute to social cohesion in CUR through the lens of liminality. The third research question examined whether and how CUR became a new strategy of urban entrepreneurialism, especially state entrepreneurialism. It elucidates how the urban regeneration regime is formed and their impact on the social cohesion of neighbourhoods under CUR.

RQ1. How do CUR (re)construct neighbourhood image, especially aesthetic image?

To understand how CUR (re)constructs neighbourhood image, both urban amenities as neighbourhood image and image perceived by the public were compared. Response to RQ1 – sub – RQ1, in Chapter 4.2, a framework with three main dimensions and fourteen sub-dimensions were validated to capture

the aesthetic image characteristics as the pilot study before the public survey. To capture the neighbourhood image perceived by the public and identify the key factors that influence image perception, a methodology and a framework were introduced and validated in Chapter 4.3, which answered RQ1 – sub – RQ2 and 3. A Shanghai Conservation Area scene, similar to the Bobo scene, featured as glamorous, self-expressive, heterogeneous, and neighbourliness, were identified through both urban amenities (Chapter 4.2.5) and public questionnaire survey (Chapter 4.3.6), which answered RQ1 – sub – RQ2. For RQ1 – sub – RQ3, to reveal key perceptual factors that impact aesthetic image perception, ten factors with 42 variables were summarized in Chapter 4.3. Five factors, amenities and shops, daily life, street and open space, and cultural event were identified as key factors.

RQ2. How do CUR impact social cohesion?

For RQ2 – sub – RQ1, to identify the key factors contribute to social cohesion at the neighbourhood level, a Cultural tourism destination – Liminality – Social cohesion (CTD – Liminality - SC) theoretical model and a Structural Equation Model (SEM) were proposed and validated in Chapter 5.2, with five constructs and 26 items. As summarized in Chapter 5.2.6, three factors, cultural expressions, spatial features, and management, with 12 items, were identified as key factors. Especially cultural expressions, such as the architectural style of buildings, have strong positive impact on social cohesion. The mediation and catalyst role of liminality is also validated in the model; the social cohesion could be enhanced once liminality is achieved in cultural tourism destinations.

To understand key factors that contribute to social cohesion more explicitly, the utilizations of cultural activities and open spaces were summarized and compared in Chapter 5.3, which further answered RQ2 – sub – RQ1. As summarized in Chapter 5.3.4, Key factors influence SC include functions, cultural

events' theme, type, hosting organization, and accessibility. Practical approaches, such as free cultural events in open spaces, were identified as effective ways to achieve social cohesion. However, it is worth noticing that overwhelming cultural events held by luxury commercial brands or elite taste may threaten local civil culture.

Concerning RQ2 – sub – RQ2, seven dimensions of social cohesion in CUR were identified (Chapter 5.2). Compared with previous SC in neighbourhoods, the SC in CUR is more about the latent cohesion rather than the manifest cohesion. It means users in CUR share place attachment and a sense of belonging without necessarily having closer interactions.

RQ3. Whether and how do CUR become a new strategy of urban entrepreneurialism?

To examine the SC of CUR in a stricter way, the urban regeneration regime, their motivations, power relationship, and influence on SC were analyzed through the lens of urban entrepreneurialism from a political economy perspective in Chapter 6.4. The cultural regeneration featured as combination of heritage conservation and neighbourhood micro-regeneration was exemplified as a new strategy of urban (state) entrepreneurialism. Response to RQ3 – sub – RQ1, as summarized in Chapter 6.6, a regeneration regime formed by “state- private- social” sectors were identified. The motivation of involved sectors can be summarized as pursuing political, economic, and symbolic capitals. Image reconstruction in CUR was utilized to accumulate symbolic capital that has been transferred into economic capital and further served to accumulate political capital.

For RQ3 – sub – RQ2, within the regeneration regime, both private and social sectors were employed as tools to conduct and implement regeneration, but ultimately served to justify state policy and enhance

state power. The regeneration regime also works as an aesthetic regime to manipulate the aesthetic meaning of old districts, transferring their aesthetic meaning from deterioration (negative) to neighbourliness (attractive). The active role of social organizations, both real social organizations and rhetoric social organizations (funded by the real estate sector), are employed as neighbourhood branding engines rather than social engines. A power relationship hierarchy, political over economic, over symbolic, and over neighbourhood needs is identified.

Regarding RQ3 – sub – RQ3, the newly activated social network is more about inner-class interaction rather than intra-class interaction. The participative planning organized and conducted by these social organizations hardly speaks for residents but is mere “a show” that contributed to justifying the commodification of neighbourhood spaces. Increasing commercial gentrification is observed, which threatens mundane life and presents taste distinction. Overall, in a stricter perspective, the social contribution of CUR remains limited and is soon to evaporate.

7.3 Contribution of the research

7.3.1 Theoretical contributions

For **image reconstruction** in CUR, in summary, the study identifies five major observational factors, amenities and shops, daily activities, street and open space, flagship project, and cultural event, that affect neighbourhood image in cultural regeneration. The dominant role of physical structures (e.g., storefronts, streetscapes, and architectural features) in forming neighbourhood image identified in this study echoes the importance of physicality and reality shown by Willer (2021). However, to be more

specific, as “event strategy” has normally been viewed as the catalyst for cultural regeneration, a more influential role of daily life activities was revealed here, emphasizing the aesthetics of everyday life.

By examining the impact of observational factors in cultural regeneration at the neighbourhood scale, the study provides insights into how cultural regeneration interventions affect image reconfiguration. The aesthetic characteristics of neighbourhood image are not formed by single a cultural construction or mega cultural event but by more extensive spatial elements and daily lives. The results indicate that understanding aesthetic images at the neighbourhood level is meaningful. It provides a fine-grained reference for image reform in cultural regeneration with neighbourhood caring.

Under the aestheticization of the urban economy and expanding cultural regeneration, it is vital to understand public perception of neighbourhood image from the aesthetic perspective. This work presents a study that both quantitatively and qualitatively examined public perception of neighbourhood image in a non-Western city, which expands our knowledge of the interrelations between observational factors, neighbourhood image, and cultural regeneration. This study also provides a methodology for identifying neighbourhood image and exploring factors that affect it, especially for the aesthetic characteristics based on real site experience. An SCA scene, dominated with glamorous, self-expressive, heterogenous, and neighbourly features, was identified in this study. This neighbourhood image was mainly formed by amenities and shops, daily activities, streets and open spaces, flagship projects, and cultural events.

The neighbourhood image documented in this study presents a scene similar to the bourgeois-bohemian (Bobo) scene (David, 2000; Zukin, 2008; Billingham, 2017), but that is obviously different from the bohemian (Gainza, 2017; Lloyd, 2017). The image-forming variables identified in this study further explained how the SCA is similar to or different from former prototypes. By capturing the neighbourhood image, this study also examined the latest cultural regeneration practices of micro-

regeneration under heritage conservation in Shanghai. The SCA scene indicates the effectiveness of micro-regeneration in both physical and social conservation, improving from the “little social conservation” in previous practices (Wang, 2011). The essential variables identified in this study provide a better understanding of how the built environment, observational factors and regeneration interventions affect psychological space.

Concerning the **social cohesion** in CUR, the study makes several theoretical substantial contributions to the study in several areas. First, this study identified and validated vital factors contributing to SC in CTDs, beyond the common dilemmas previously discussed in the literature through the lens of liminality. The study expands the knowledge and theory on sustainable tourism development by validating the essential role of open spaces in CTDs for SC. The importance of outdoor environmental stimulus has received increasing attention from diverse fields, including urban design, cultural redevelopment, and neighbourhood revitalization (Sletto & Palmer, 2017; Jian et al., 2020; Soccali & Cina, 2020; Gobel, 2022; Grabalov, 2022), which could also inform tourism scholarship. This study highlighted the primary role of cultural expressions in achieving SC among diverse social groups, covering both residents and tourists, rich and poor, old and young. The findings support studies addressing social issues through cultural approaches in tourism literature and urban studies.

Second, regarding the notion of SC in the cultural tourism context, this study identified seven items that explained SC in CTDs. The connotation of SC found in this study mainly echoes what de Souza (2019) called latent cohesion in a community rather than manifest cohesion, which emphasizes mental recognition and comfortable interaction at a distance. For CTD users, it may be enough that people share the harmonious ambience, and they do not feel that they have to develop a closer relationship as friends. Reflecting the connections between liminality and *communitas*, the SC in CTD identified in this study has possibly achieved *spontaneous* and *ideological* *communitas*, which is temporary and has shared

views and beings, but *normative* *communitas* was absent. Compared with the five main dimensions of SC identified by Mugnano and Palvarini (2013), these attributes of SC in CTDs are primarily about a sense of belonging and place attachment and identity rather than solidarity and social networks. The absence of solidarity and social networks may also reflect the “soon-to-evaporate” social benefits of cultural events (Devine & Quinn, 2019; Musikavanhu et al., 2021).

Third, this study further expands the classical studies of liminality emerging from ritual study to liminality in everyday life. The seven dimensions of liminality in CTDs identified in the study are similar to liminality in festivals, which provide a clear reviving and revitalizing experience (Rodriguez-Campo et al., 2020). The validated liminal attributes of CTDs expand the classical concept of liminality from typical tourism fields into the local community. This study also expands our current understanding of liminality as a mediator and catalyst of SC. The mediation effect verified the positive role of liminality in promoting SC for the cultural expressions, spatial features, and management of open spaces.

For the **governance** of CUR, a state–private–social regime is identified and documented as a new strategy of urban entrepreneurialism in China, which is different from previously documented “public - public” or “public - private” regime (Yang & Chang, 2007; Zheng, 2019). It provides critical observations of China’s state entrepreneurialism. In line with many previous aesthetic regime of spatial projects (Gerlofs, 2017; Zheng, 2019; Waldman, 2022), the regeneration regime works as an aesthetic regime simultaneously to manipulate the aesthetic meaning of neighbourhood space, which provides an in-depth understanding of the regeneration regime’s role and impact in contemporary CUR. The role of social organizations was also examined in that they work more as branding engines than social engines, enriching global literature in social organization and public participation in CUR, which express similar

situation that limited social innovation of them under state and market power (Stapper & Duyvendak, 2020; Mens et al., 2021).

Focusing on urban governance in CUR, the study criticizes a rising regeneration trend in China that actively involves social organizations as a cultural approach but end up with expanding commodification, commercial gentrification, and social exclusion. It enriches the literature on urban entrepreneurialism by demonstrating the regeneration regime and power relationship, especially in aesthetics articulation, and links it to the aesthetic regime concept. The role of social organizations in cultural neighbourhood regeneration was also examined. A neighbourly image was successfully produced for alternative consumption destinations, but merely an image that serves for branding and consumption. The regeneration regime produce and consume neighbourliness simultaneously, which is largely similar to “consuming authenticity” and the deliberately produced Bobo scene to attract young professionals (Zukin, 2008; Billingham, 2017). The state employed social organizations as market tools to produce the neighbourliness image and ultimately serve economic and political powers.

Under the heritage conservation and micro-regeneration policy, there is no mass demolishment and displacement in the cases most residents remain living in the neighbourhoods. However, retail gentrification and cultural displacement have emerged as new social exclusion forms in micro-regeneration, which possibly repeated the exclusion resulted from the different expected lifestyles (Semm, 2011; Hyra, 2015). A stratification of neighbourhood space requires a more fine-grain examination. As pointed out in former studies, the micro-regeneration still massively impacted local neighbourhoods in daily life (Wang, Zhang, & Wu, 2021). Social organizations’ activities express a strong sense of neighbourliness, but the social capital accumulated remains concentrated and unevenly distributed, which is similar to what happened in the UK (Devine & Quinn, 2019). Social organizations in the neoliberal context employ market tools to gain economic benefits and ensure that social

achievement is possibly necessary. A full set mechanism for social organizations in expressing bottom-up initiatives remains an emergency to further enhance socially benefited neighbourhood redevelopment.

7.3.2 Practical implications

For cities seeking to reconstruct neighbourhood image in cultural regeneration, careful attention should be given to storefronts, the streetscape, and architectural features. Allowing and activating daily activity and holding more cultural events are also helpful in transforming aesthetic features. For local government and real estate stakeholders, who want to conduct place branding along with cultural regeneration in the future, the variables emphasized in this study would help them to avoid the mismatch between image promotion and real on-site perception of place. Given the benefits of cultural regeneration in the neighbourhood scale, it is important to align the aspects of aesthetic characteristics that people enjoy with the views of decision-makers for urban design to best to mobilize cultural regeneration in historic districts.

On a broader scale, the current study may guide governments seeking to (re)construct neighbourhood image. More attention could be given to aesthetic characteristics and their contributing observational factors. As the specific impact hierarchy of perceptual factors varies among aesthetic characteristics, the precise correlation pattern revealed in the study applies to the situations of Shanghai but provides a good reference, particularly the methodology, for decision-makers to achieve the targeted aesthetic characteristics in similar urban areas facing regeneration. Local authorities should therefore prioritize maintaining and activating everyday life or integrating artistic elements into mundane life beyond simply relying on cultural events. The findings could better guide the cultural regeneration for a local community and the integration of cultural elements into consolidated neighbourhood redevelopment.

The survey results from the public, all with on-site experience, provide a guide to avoiding division between the promotion and experience image.

Regarding key factors that contribute to SC in CUR, the results of this study related to spatial features provide a valuable reference for departments and developers in charge of district redevelopment. This study strongly recommends providing multiple tourism route choices at the district level. For cultural expressions, some competent authorities in charge of planning cultural events have paid attention to providing cultural events of diverse types, forms, and themes (Rodriguez-Campo et al., 2020; Wu et al., 2020). These may include the incorporation of more detailed considerations in employing classical and popular art, traditional and novel, and high and civil culture, such as piano and rap music, local opera and contemporary dance, professional seminars, and community gardens. Reflecting and maintaining the local traditional style of buildings in CTDs is highlighted, such as reusing heritage buildings and sustaining existing streetscape and urban patterns (Yung et al., 2017; De Frantz, 2018; Domínguez-Quintero et al., 2020; Hoang et al., 2020). Moreover, introducing new styles into a historic district is also recommended because it links young people and visitors attracted by the novelty and residents' familiarity with traditional elements.

Concerning spatial features, for representative open spaces in the community, such as plazas, pocket parks, and urban gardens, dissolving the boundaries and maintaining flexible edges is recommended, which allows diverse groups to use these open spaces. Removing fences and walls might be necessary to encourage people to use the open spaces and enjoy public cultural events accidentally.

For management, as many CTDs are under private management or managed by several stakeholders, a flexible management approach is highlighted rather than strict surveillance. Specific suggestions have been made about allowing diverse social groups, including both affluent and less wealthy consumers,

and usage behaviors, including both commercial and non-profit daily activities, such as dog-walking and children's play (Chaskin & Joseph, 2013; Kochan, 2015; Sletto & Palmer, 2017). Amenity and shop leases are vital dimensions of CTD marketing and management. Leasing strategies should pay attention to diversifying the composition of amenities in terms of embedded style, including old and new, bourgeois and mundane, and local and international (Zukin, 2008; Imai, 2013).

7.4 Research limitations and future work

Although this study tried to reach and include varied age and social groups, the respondents remained mainly young users. More future studies could be conducted focusing on marginal groups, especially the elderly. It is noted that the factors which contribute to the urban image could be very different for inhabitants of a neighbourhood and the occasional visitors of that neighbourhood. While this study mainly explored observational factors, the perception of aesthetic characteristics can also be affected by other causes, such as subjective factors including time of living and staying, visiting pattern, age, education, tenure condition, and other socio-cultural background. Further research is therefore suggested to empirically examine socioeconomic variables. The validated framework in this study could be further contextualized in varied cultural and development backgrounds.

The two SCA cases have similar aesthetic characteristics at the neighbourhood scale, a potential urban segregation within Xinhua was observed in the interviews. Old and new amenities are all small scale and distributed organically with each other within Yuyuan. The relative concentration of bourgeois consumption stores in Columbia Circus has the potential to accelerate aesthetic segregation within Xinhua. As scale is essential in the study of aesthetics, exploring within the neighbourhood is necessary to find out whether the mixture of amenities is real cohesion (integration) or a rhetorical collage masking

segregation. The current perceived heterogeneous feature, derived from amenities and shops, possibly indicates the middle-class aesthetic has not purified the whole neighbourhood yet, but the redevelopment program is still underway. As the place image may create a façade to hide inequities of the neighbourhood, in-depth longitudinal studies are necessary.

It is prudent to mention that this study primarily used quantitative positivistic approaches based on the context of two domestic CTDs in Shanghai, China. To enhance the generalizability of the present findings, it would be worthwhile to expand this research to other CTDs in different contexts. Another limitation of the current study is the possible bias of the sample toward the younger population. Future studies could include more elderly respondents, such as residents above 65 years, to enhance representativeness to cover the entire spectrum of ages.

Longitudinal studies are needed to examine the stability of the findings in this study. New cultural tourism development projects are still under construction, which requires further examination. Investigating SC through the lens of liminality could generate significant observations on CTDs' social impact and further contribute to sustainable tourism development.

Appendix

Appendix A Questionnaire of Public perceived image



Figure 8.1 Flyers examples of questionnaire survey

Appendix B Appendix of Image perception

Table 8.1 List of factors affect image perception and representative statements from the interviews

Observational element	Literature	Representative statements from interviewees
A. Physical environment		
A1. Flagship Projects		
Museums and galleries	Kong, 2009; Wang, 2011; Heidenreich, 2015; Nagaynay & Lee, 2020;	The style of Fiu gallery suits Yuyuan Road very well, and the appearance of Fiu is unique.
Historic buildings	Yeoh, 2005; Chen, 2011; Wang, 2011; Zukin, 2012; de Noronha, Coca-Stefaniak, & Morrison, 2017; Yung, Zhang, & Chan, 2017; Psarra, 2018; Carlino & Saiz, 2019; Nagaynay & Lee, 2020; Zeng et al., 2020; Willer, 2021	Columbia Circle has many historic buildings. I think it's something you can only find in Shanghai, which makes it quite local.
Architectural feature	Yeoh, 2005; Pow & Kong, 2007; Degen and Garcia, 2012; Vuignier, 2017; Psarra, 2018; Carlino & Saiz, 2019; Rose-Redwood et al., 2019; Willer, 2021	Varied building types you can see here, for example, buildings in grey and while color built at former colonial periods, or traditional working-class apartments with small window shops.
Micro-regeneration	Rius-Ulldemolins & Klein, 2020; Zeng et al., 2020	There is no large scale demolishment here, many places were kept naturally, leaving a heterogeneous atmosphere.
A2. Amenities and shops		
Storefronts	Yeoh, 2005; Pow & Kong, 2007; Kong, 2009; Boland, 2010; Chen, 2011; Wang, 2011; Zukin, 2012; Silver & Clark, 2016; Yung, Zhang, & Chan, 2017; Rhodes, 2019; Jian et al., 2021; Candra et al., 2022	The style of shops here is quite in diverse, both Western foodie, beef restaurant, and typical local style, breakfast, noodle bar (xiaolong, tangbao), you can find all of them here.
Community service facilities	Degen & Garcia, 2012; Sitas, 2020;	The Public Market is quite like a community center, with multiple daily life service functions.

Price	Kong, 2009; Yung, Zhang, & Chan, 2017;	I found the average consumption price is acceptable for me, and the cluster is free to enter, so I don't see it as particularism.
Coffee shops	Kickert, 2021; Candra et al., 2022	Many coffee shops are here, but they are independent ones, not chains like Starbucks.
(+) Interior design		The furniture and lighting of the shop makes me feel there is a slower life tempo.
A3. Street and open space		
Streetscape	Zukin, 1993; Zukin, 2012; Degen & Garcia, 2012; Heidenreich, 2015; Foroudi, 2016; Psarra, 2018; Rhodes, 2019; Carlino & Saiz, 2019; Willer, 2021; Vuignier, 2017; Kickert, 2021;	The scale here is quite small and human-based, I can spend whole afternoon walking here.
Open space design	Pow & Kong, 2007; Kong, 2009; Vuignier, 2017; Rhodes, 2019; Jian, Luo, & Chan, 2020; Nagaynay & Lee, 2020; Jian et al., 2021; Ahirrao & Khan, 2022	It's quite enjoyable to spend time on the Hongji Lawn, in the open space, and you eat food, picnic, or just talk with friends.
Mural and graffiti	Rhodes, 2019; Sitas, 2020;	The mural presents some historic celebrities related to the neighbourhood.
(+) Soundscape		It's not very noisy with traffic, but much quieter here.
(+) Smell		The meat smell from the butcher shop contributes to the heterogeneous atmosphere.
B. Event and activity		
B1. Cultural event		
Exhibitions and festivals	Paddison, 1993; Yeoh, 2005; Kong, 2009; Wang, 2011; Degen & Garcia, 2012; Connolly, 2013; Eizenberg and Cohen, 2015; Vuignier, 2017; Garcia, 2017; Zebracki, 2018; Nagaynay & Lee, 2020;	I know this place because the Hao Art Festival was held here.
Public art	Zheng, 2017; Sitas, 2020; Rius-Ulledemolins & Klein, 2020	I went to the open space in the Columbia Circle quite frequently because the outdoor

		decorations and public art there changed quite often.
(+) Music list		The music played in the shop expressing an unproductive ambience.
B2. Daily activities		
Social interaction	Kong, 2009; Zukin, 2012; Heidenreich, 2015; de Noronha, Coca-Stefaniak, & Morrison, 2017; Yung, Zhang, & Chan, 2017; Rich, 2013; Sitas, 2020; Styliadis, 2020;	Many senior citizens are seated together in the Green Corner, talking and gossiping, and you can feel the close relationship among them.
Mundane behavior	Zukin, 2012; Torre, 2020;	A lot of people sit and enjoy the sunshine in the open space once the weather allows.
Photography	Candra et al., 2022	In the coffee shop, you can see some people taking photos, but they aren't taking photos all the time, so it's not very annoying.
(+) Pet related		Many people walk dogs in the neighbourhood, you can see them all day, especially in the evening.
B3. Governance		
Policy support	Gu, 2014; Zhong, 2016; Torre, 2020;	It's obvious that this event is encouraged and supported by the local government, linking artistic activities to the local residents.
Security guards	Pow & Kong, 2007; Boland, 2010; Jian et al., 2021	The security guards have not limited people's diverse activities.
Flexible use (or not)	Zheng, 2017;	The themes and forms of events were discussed and decided by our team members; the government does not have very strict limitations.
Maintenance	Jian, Luo, & Chan, 2020;	Once the Pedestrian Lab lacked maintenance, it became quite messy, even worse than it was before the regeneration.
C. Users' social attribute		
C1. Local groups		

Local residents	Pow & Kong, 2007; Wang, 2011; Zukin, 2012; Foroudi, 2016; Billingham, 2017; Stylidis, 2020; Rius-Ulledemolins & Klein, 2020; Kickert, 2021;	Visitors rarely come to the neighbourhood, it's mainly used by local residents.
Community organizations	Degen & Garcia, 2012; Zhong & Leung, 2019; Sitas, 2020;	The Qiao Family reader group has a long history in this neighbourhood.
(+) Elderly		Many retirees come back here, to the former industry factory, to see the places they worked in.
C2. Celebrities and influencers		
Celebrities	Zheng, 2017;	Many houses used by celebrities are located within this area; for example, Qian Xuesen and Shi Zhecun.
Influencers	Stevens, 2021; Candra et al., 2022	Though the scale and population of Lijiaqi's enterprise is not very big, but it has multiple effects.
Entertainment stars	Silver & Clark, 2016	Many entertainers have been to this district, e.g., Dili Reba, Huang Jue.
(+) Famous professionals		Some historic buildings in this area were designed by the famous architect, Laszlo Hudec.
C3. Diverse groups		
Artists	Zukin, 1989; Lloyd, 2002; Ley, 2003; Kong, 2009; Wang, 2011; Gu, 2014; Zhong, 2016; Zheng, 2017; Rius-Ulledemolins & Klein, 2020	Many artists, and fashion and creative professionals are working and using the neighbourhood, and they make the district quite self-expressive.
Youth	Zukin, 1989; Zukin, 2008; Billingham, 2017; Kickert, 2021;	The trendy shops attract many young people to this district.
LGBT	Florida, 2012;	Several gay bars are concentrated along Xingfu road.
Background diversity	Lloyd, 2002; Torre, 2020; Sitas, 2020;	You can meet senior citizens, kids, foreigners, and youth wearing very trendy clothing: all kinds of people here.

(+) Sartorial style		The foreigners in the neighbourhood wear quite casual slippers and shorts; they are not in formal suits.
(+) Female		The majority of the users are female, and our aesthetic style is also female dominated.
D. Narrative and branding		
Slogans and names	Paddison, 1993; Rich, 2013; Rose-Redwood et al., 2019; Sitas, 2020; Nagaynay & Lee, 2020; Rius-Ulledemolins & Klein, 2020; Willer, 2021	The name Columbia Circle expresses a Western style.
Local context	Pow & Kong, 2007; Foroudi, 2016; Vuignier, 2017;	The regeneration interpreted traditional materials in a novel way.
Visual language	Zukin, 2012; Rhodes, 2019; Nagaynay & Lee, 2020; Rius-Ulledemolins & Klein, 2020; Willer, 2021; Ahirrao & Khan, 2022	One shop featured in an orange color is quite self-expressive and impressive, with a big window showcase in a shining orange color.
(+) Products		Many products you can buy here are something you cannot get online or anywhere else.

Note: Sub-themes mark with (+) are derived from the thematic analysis.

Table 8.2 Basic profile of the questionnaire respondents of public image perception

	Full sample		Yuyuan		Xinhua	
	Number	%	Number	%	Number	%
All	242		117		125	
Gender						
Female	162	66.94%	73	62.70%	89	71.20%
Male	79	32.64%	44	37.30%	35	28%
Not listed	1	0.41%	0	0	1	0.80%
Age						

>65	3	1.24%	1	0.80%	2	1.60%
45–65 (inc)	20	8.26%	6	3.40%	14	4.80%
30–45 (inc)	58	23.97%	24	6.80%	34	13.60%
18–30 (inc)	150	61.98%	84	52.50%	66	37.60%
12–18 (inc)	11	4.55%	2	2.50%	9	6.40%
Education level						
Postgraduate and above	86	35.54%	38	32.48%	48	38.40%
Bachelor or college	131	54.13%	72	61.54%	59	47.20%
Senior or junior high school	24	9.92%	7	5.98%	17	13.60%
Primary	1	0.41%	0	0	1	0.80%
Period of stay in the area						
not live or work nearby	79	32.64%	35	29.91%	44	35.20%
less 3 years (inc)	67	27.69%	38	32.48%	29	23.20%
3–5 years (inc)	16	6.61%	8	6.84%	8	6.40%
5–10 years (inc)	25	10.33%	17	14.53%	8	6.40%
10+ years	55	22.73%	19	16.24%	36	28.80%
Frequency to visit						
rarely come	67	27.69%	34	29.06%	33	26.40%
1 time/half year–1year	42	17.36%	13	11.11%	29	23.20%
1 time/month	19	7.85%	7	5.98%	12	9.60%
1–3 times/week	37	15.29%	12	10.26%	25	20.00%
almost every day	77	31.82%	51	43.59%	26	20.80%

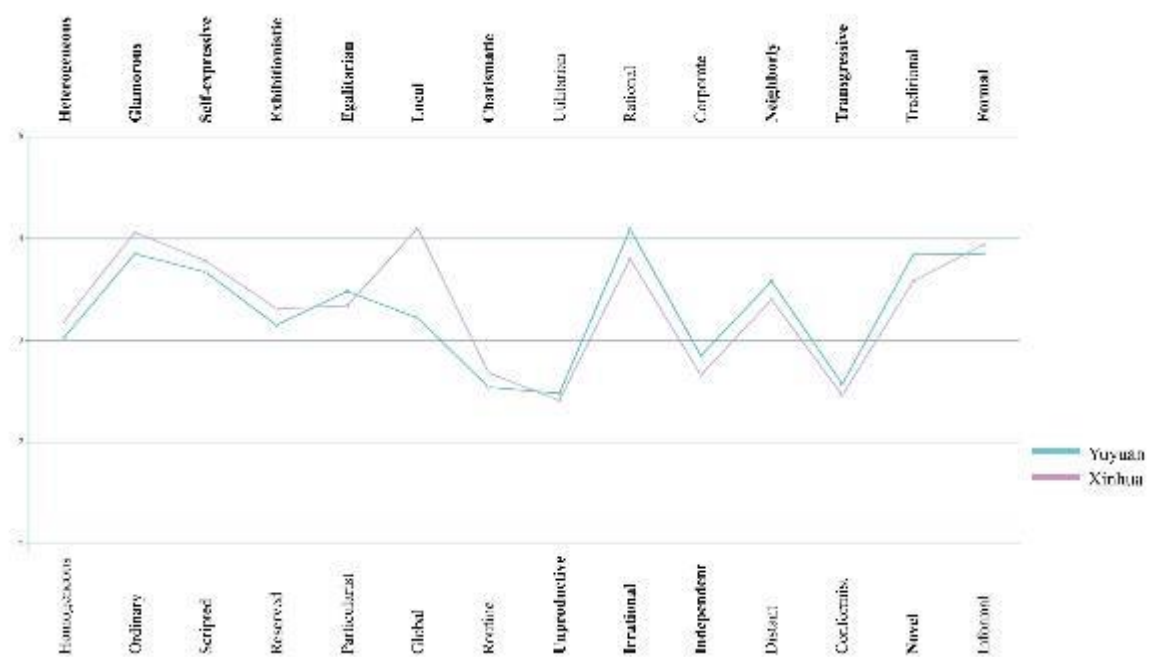


Figure 8.2 Comparison of aesthetic image of Yuyuan and Xinhua

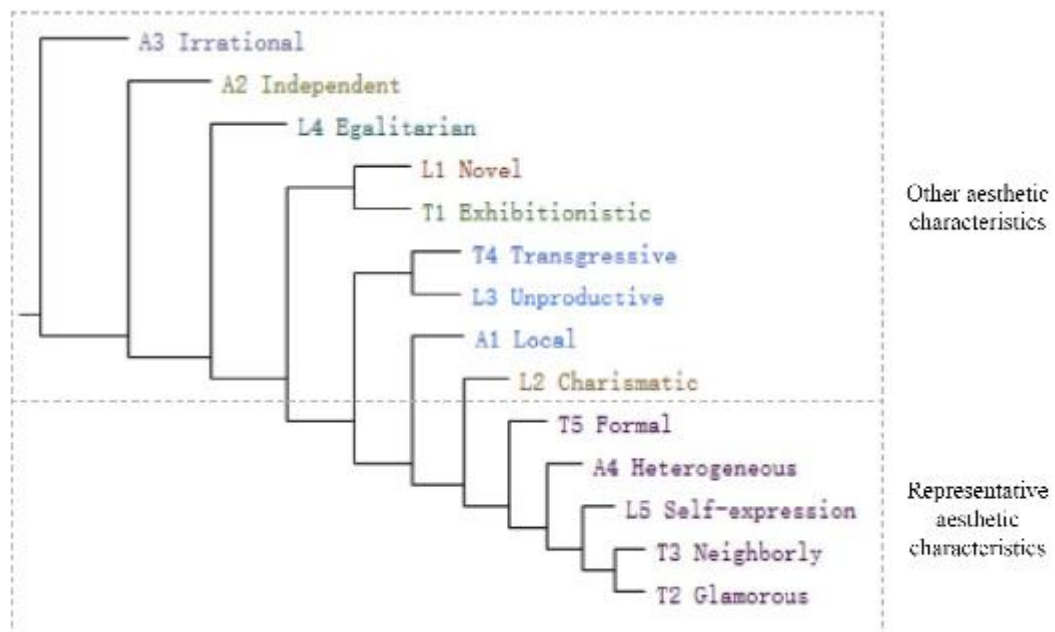


Figure 8.3 Cluster analysis of the aesthetic characteristics by NVivo

Table 8.3 Profile of interview participants.

	Number	%
All	36	
Gender		
female	27	75.00%
male	9	25.00%
Age		
>65	1	2.78%
45-65 (inc)	3	8.33%
30-45 (inc)	16	44.44%
18-30 (inc)	16	44.44%
Education level		
Postgraduate and above	18	50.00%
Bachelor or College	16	44.44%
Senior or Junior high school	1	2.78%
Primary	1	2.78%
Period of stay in the area		
not live or work nearby	11	30.56%
less 3 years (inc)	7	19.44%
3-5 years (inc)	9	25.00%
5-10 years (inc)	3	8.33%
10+ years	6	16.67%
Frequency to visit		
rarely come	4	11.11%
1 time/ half year- 1year	7	19.44%

1 time/month	2	5.56%
1-3 times/ week	4	11.11%
almost every day	19	52.78%

Code	Source	Reference	Code	Source	Reference
Observational factor	36	825	C. Users' social attribute	32	136
A. Physical environment	35	411	C3. Diverse group	22	54
A2. Amenities and shops	34	219	Background diversity	14	21
Storefronts	29	143	Youth	6	8
Community service facilities	18	26	(+) Sartorial style	6	13
Price	12	21	Artists	4	5
Coffee shops	11	15	(+) Female	3	5
(+) Interior design	9	14	LGBT	1	2
A3. Street and open space	26	111	C2. Celebrity and influencer	22	53
Streetscape	20	65	Influencers	11	16
Open space design	16	31	(+) Famous professionals	9	10
(+) Soundscape	7	11	Entertainment stars	8	14
Mural and graffiti	3	3	Celebrities	7	13
(+) Smell	1	1	C1. Local group	16	29
A1. Flagship project	26	81	(+) Elderly	11	16
Architectural feature	19	36	Local residents	6	7
Historic buildings	11	15	Community organizations	2	6
Micro-regeneration	9	15	D. Narrative and branding	19	37
Museums and galleries	8	15	Local context	11	12
B Event and activity	35	241	Visual language	9	20
B2. Daily activity	29	116	(+) Products	3	3
Social interaction	20	46	Slogans and names	2	2
Mundane behavior	16	36			
(+) Pet related	15	24			
Photography	7	10			
B1. Cultural event	25	79			
Exhibitions and festivals	24	67			
Public art	6	11			
(+) Music list	1	1			
B3. Governance	21	46			
Flexible use (or not)	13	24			
Security guard	6	9			
Policy support	5	9			
Maintenance	4	4			

Figure 8.4 Thematic analysis by NVivo

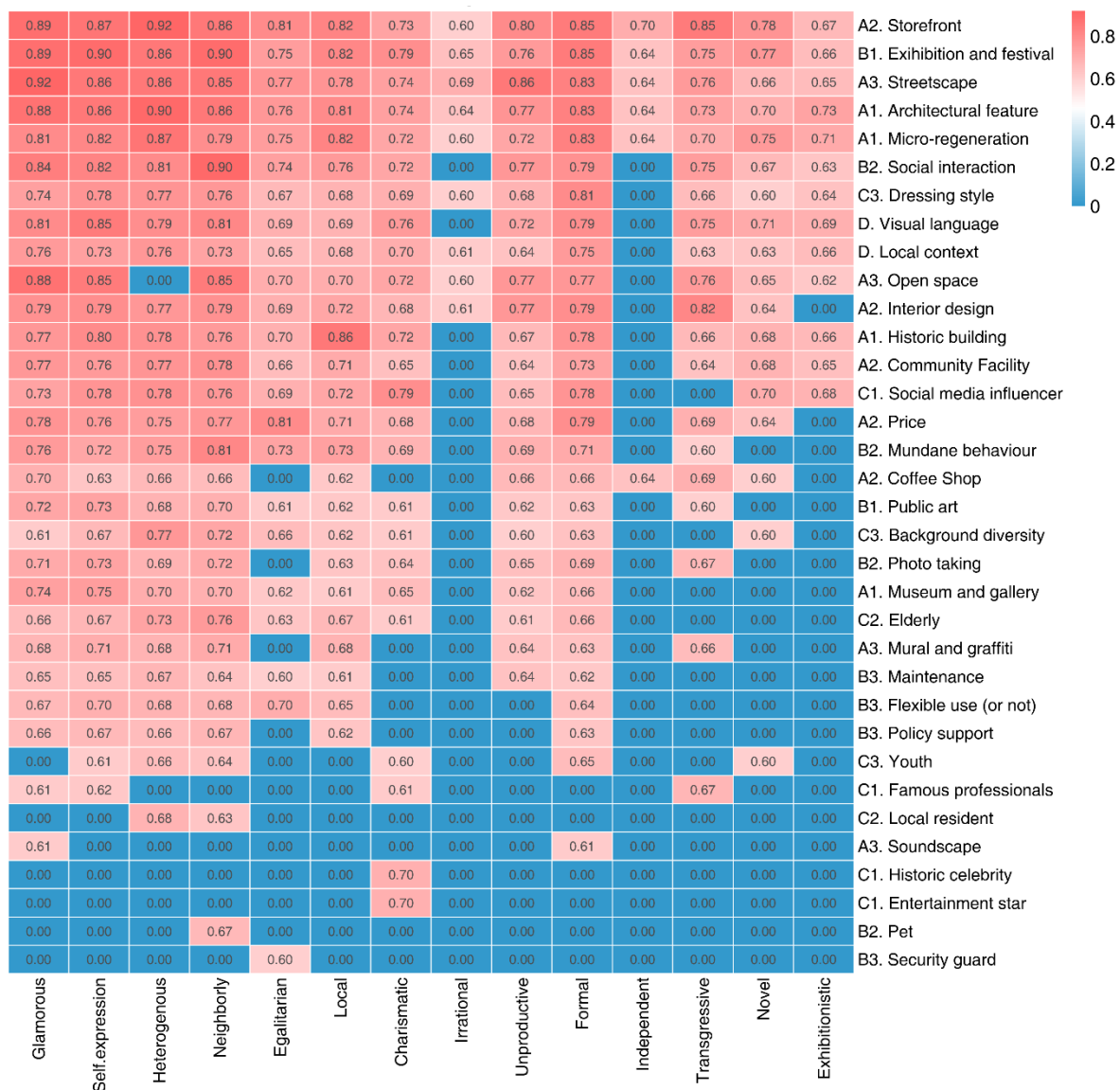


Figure 8.5 Pearson coefficients among codes (Note: PC<0.6 are left blank to indicate zero)

Appendix C Questionnaire of CTD – Liminality - SC

Usage information

How often do you use or visit the Yuyuan (or Xinhua) neighbourhood (mainly about the area within the red circle)?

Yuyuan



Xinhua



Almost every day ; 1 time / week; 1 time / month; 1 time / half year; Seldom; Never have been to this area before

How long does it take for you to the district?

Less than 0.5 h; 0.5–1 h; 1–2 h; 2–5 h; Travel from another city

About the open spaces in the districts, to what extent do you agree with the followed statement (1, strongly disagree; 2, disagree; 3, neutral; 4, agree; 5, strongly agree).

- 1) The state and ambience of these spaces is heterogeneous and fluctuating.
- 2) The type, form, and theme of cultural activities and public art are heterogeneous and diverse.
- 3) The form and appearance of buildings could reflect local culture and history.
- 4) Both historical and contemporary modern styles are reflected in building style and overall open spaces.
- 5) The edge and boundaries of the open spaces are not clear.
- 6) It has spatial complexity and allows people to move with multiple mobility choices.
- 7) The public furniture (e.g., benches and chairs) is sufficient and comfortable.
- 8) People using these spaces are diverse in social groups and social background.
- 9) The ways people use these spaces are varied.
- 10) The style of amenities and shops is heterogeneous and unstable.
- 11) The price range of the shops around the open spaces is diverse, including both high and low.

- 12) I do not feel the pressure that I must consume here.
- 13) The security guard does not make me feel uncomfortable.
- 14) I have experienced something new.
- 15) I consider that my visiting experience has been significant for me.
- 16) I enjoyed a sense of freedom during my visit.
- 17) It has been a reviving and revitalizing experience.
- 18) The social status and orders are relatively flexible for me.
- 19) I enjoy looking and watching on the street.
- 20) I feel less mental pressure here.
- 21) I have never seen any conflicts in the district.
- 22) I feel a sense of sharing, harmony, and belonging with others.
- 23) I have collective experience with others.
- 24) I feel a sense of equality and egalitarianism.
- 25) When I meet other people, we say hi and chat for a while.

- 26) We participate in activities together (e.g., hanging out, going to cafés, dog walking, exhibitions, community activities, and taking photos for each other).
- 27) We are familiar with each other (e.g., pick pockets for the neighbours, and kids playing together).
- 28) We are family more than friends (e.g., helping each other in daily life).
- 29) I enjoy the overall ambience, atmosphere, style, and taste.
- 30) I live here or would like to visit this district more/next time.
- 31) I would recommend this district to my friends.
- 32) I feel have a similar identity with others.

Personal information

You would identify your gender as:

Male; Female; Other

Your age is:

Max 18 (include); 18–23 (include); 23–35 (include); 35–45 (include); 45–55 (include); 55–65 (include);
65–75 (include); Above 75

Your education level is:

Have not been formally involved in school; Primary school; Junior high school; High school; College; University; Master ; Doctoral degree and above

Your monthly expenditure is:

Under 3000 yuan (under 447 USD); 3000–10000 yuan (447–1490 USD); Above 10000 yuan (above 1490 USD); Prefer not to say

Your staying experience is:

Not live or work nearby; Less than 1 year (include); 1-5 years (include); 5-10 years (include); 10-20 years (include); More than 20 years

Appendix D Appendix of CTD – Liminality - SC

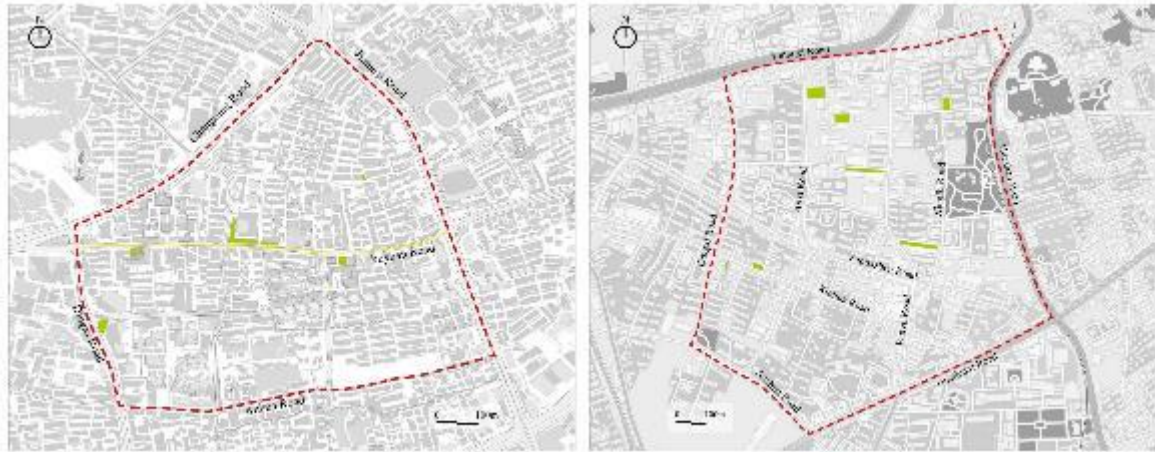


Figure 8.6 Study site and representative open spaces (Left: Yuyuan, Right: Xinhua)

Table 8.5 Participant characteristics (n = 349)

	Level	Frequency	%
Gender	Male	130	37.25
	Female	212	60.74
	Other	7	2.01
Age	Max 23	33	9.46
	23–35	253	72.49
	35–45	46	13.18
	Above 45	17	4.87
Education	High school	6	1.72
	College	17	4.87

	University	149	42.69
	Master's degree and higher	177	50.72
Expenditure/m	Under 3000 yuan (under 447 USD)	46	13.18
	3000–10000 yuan (447–1490 USD)	200	57.31
	Above 10000 yuan (above 1490 USD)	94	26.93
	Prefer not to say	9	2.58
Frequency	Almost everyday	37	10.60
	1 time/week	48	13.75
	1 time/month	73	20.92
	1 time/half year	88	25.21
	Seldom	103	29.51
	Never have been to this area before	0	0
Time to the district	Less than 0.5 h	109	31.23
	0.5–1 h	137	39.26
	1–2 h	68	19.48
	2–5 h	7	2.01
	Travel from another city	28	8.02
Time of stay in the district	Not living or working nearby	170	48.71
	Less than 5 years	114	32.67
	5–20 years	40	11.46
	More than 20 years	25	7.16
Site	Yuyuan	196	56.16
	Xinhua	153	43.84

Appendix E Summary of in-depth interviewees

NO. interviewees	Type of involvement	Case	Gender
1	Key promoter and participator	Yuyuan	Male
2	Key promoter and participator	Yuyuan	Female
3	Key promoter and participator	Yuyuan	Male
4	Professional	Both	Female
5	Key promoter and participator	Yuyuan	Female
6	Key promoter and participator	Yuyuan	Female
7	Key promoter and participator	Both	Female
8	Residents	Yuyuan	Female
9	Residents	Yuyuan	Female
10	Residents	Xinhua	Female
11	Residents	Yuyuan	Female
12	Residents	Yuyuan	Male
13	Residents	Yuyuan	Female
14	Residents	Yuyuan	Male
15	Professional	Both	Female
16	Professional	Both	Female
17	Residents	Yuyuan	Male
18	Professional	Both	Male
19	Professional	Yuyuan	Male
20	Professional	Both	Female
21	Key promoter and participator	Yuyuan	Female

22	Visitors	Xinhua	Female
23	Visitors	Xinhua	Female
24	Visitors	Both	Female
25	Visitors	Yuyuan	Female
26	Residents	Xinhua	Female
27	Key promoter and participator	Yuyuan	Female
28	Residents	Yuyuan	Male
29	Visitors	Yuyuan	Female
30	Visitors	Yuyuan	Female
31	Visitors	Yuyuan	Female
32	Professional	Yuyuan	Female
33	Key promoter and participator	Yuyuan	Female
34	Residents	Yuyuan	Female
35	Residents	Yuyuan	Female
36	Residents	Yuyuan	Male
37	Key promoter and participator	Yuyuan	Male
38	Residents	Xinhua	Male
39	Visitors	Xinhua	Male
40	Visitors	Xinhua	Male
41	Visitors	Xinhua	Female
42	Key promoter and participator	Xinhua	Male
43	Key promoter and participator	Xinhua	Female
44	Professional	Xinhua	Female
45	Professional	Xinhua	Female

46	Professional	Xinhua	Female
47	Professional	Xinhua	Female
48	Professional	Xinhua	Female
49	Professional	Both	Male
50	Key promoter and participator	Both	Female
51	Key promoter and participator	Xinhua	Female
52	Key promoter and participator	Xinhua	Female
53	Visitors	Xinhua	Female
54	Residents	Yuyuan	Female
55	Residents	Yuyuan	Female
56	Residents	Yuyuan	Male
57	Residents	Xinhua	Male
58	Professional	Xinhua	Male
59	Professional	Both	Male

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