

Pacific News #33

News | Notes | Insights from the Asia-Pacific Region

SPECIAL ISSUE ON CONTEMPORARY URBAN CHINA

Global Change and China's Clusters
Restructuring of Guangzhou's Textile District

Planning Issues in a Pioneering City
Urban Redevelopment in Shenzhen

Singapore as a role model?
The China-Singapore Suzhou Industrial Park





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EDITORIAL

Dear readers

By now, the fact that the Pacific News has undergone another change will not have escaped your notice. The number of Pacific News articles in English language has continuously increased overtime and this is the first issue that only publishes articles in English. Consequently, and also in order to accommodate the ongoing internationalisation in the regional sciences, we have decided for the Pacific News to be fully published in English.



Dr. Michael Waibel



Dr. Julia Albrecht

In addition, this is the first ever Pacific News to be published as a Special Issue. The focus is on contemporary urban development in our, by all standards, largest transforming economy, China. All related contributions result from research conducted in the context of the Priority Programme 1233 „Megacities - Megachallenge: Informal Dynamics of Global Change“, funded by the German Research Foundation (DFG); case studies examine recent developments in Shenzhen, Guangzhou and Suzhou.

Four additional articles address rural or peripheral areas in Southeast-Asia and the Pacific. Peter Höffken discusses challenges, efforts and successes in protected area management in Thailand. Stefanie Wehner presents findings of a German Ministry of Education and Research (BMBF) funded project in the Yunnan province in China. As a result of both, repeated media attention as well as Kathy Marks' "Lost Island" (Free Press, 2009), Pitcairn Island is often associated with child abuse and the related court cases. Maria Amoamo now draws attention to the cultural and economic development of the island from the initial settlement by the Bounty mutineers to current efforts and challenges in tourism. Heike Schänzel's contribution investigates tradition and the formation of identity in domestic tourism in contemporary New Zealand.

We hope to provide an enjoyable and engaging read and wish you all a safe and happy holiday, and a successful New Year.

The Editors

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COVER PICTURE:



Kite of Hope

Demolition Area in Central Beijing

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Global Change and China's Clusters: The Restructuring of Guangzhou's Textile District

Friederike Schröder / Michael Waibel / Uwe Altröck



Construction activities at the periphery of
Guangzhou's Textile District

Economic globalization has increasingly exposed nations, regions, and cities to strong local competition and inter-city rivalry. This is also the case in the Pearl River Delta (PRD) of South China. As a highly dynamic growing mega-urban region, it has a longstanding reputation as China's economic powerhouse and as the "factory of the world". Once a pioneering area of market economy reforms, the PRD nowadays faces fierce competition with other major metropolitan areas such as Beijing-Hebei-Metropolis and the Yangtze Delta Region, including Shanghai. This calls for constant adaptation of urban development strategies, which nowadays progressively aim at economic restructuring from labor-intensive manufacturing towards knowledge-intensive and service-oriented industries. The ascent along the value chain is particularly apparent within economic clusters, which are a long-established feature of China's local economy.

However, despite the restructuring of the economy, there is still scope for an "upgrading" of existing clusters even when they seem to represent low value-added economic sectors. The Zhongda textile cluster in Guangzhou is a fascinating showcase example for this phenomenon. Not only is the textile manufacturing and trading sector re-establishing its role in the city, but it has even proven possible to conduct the restructuring process in situ in a densely-populated and completely built-up area. This paper will focus on the restructuring process as it took place over time in both economic and spatial terms. In the process, it will also reveal how global and local forces interplay in shaping the physical as well as the economic re-development of this cluster.

Economic Clusters in China

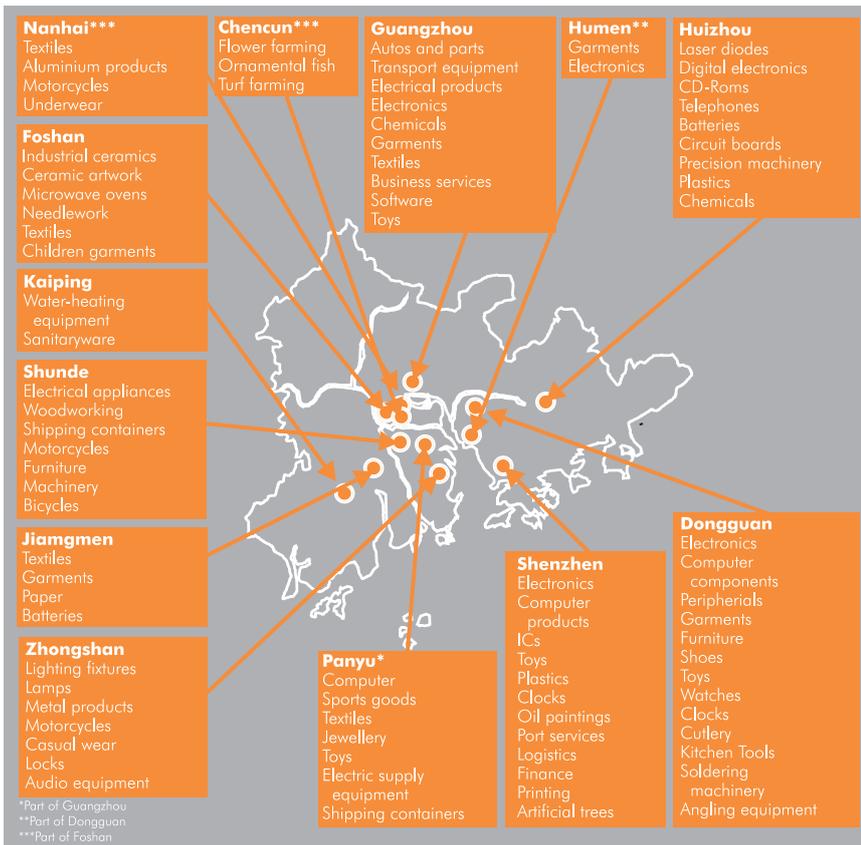
China has a long history of cluster development – some clusters have emerged relatively recently, while the origins of others date back hundreds of years (Enright et al. 2005). Various jurisdictions all over the country have specific industrial profiles, some of which have been developed into vibrant local or regional clusters of companies and industries (e.g., the Beijing biotech cluster). Neither national nor regional economies are emerging as pockets isolated from each other, but they rather tend to develop in a spatially concentrated manner characterized

by buyer-supplier links and shared technologies, channels, and customers. This reduces transaction costs for producers and consumers. Moreover, township economies in the PRD are organized as clusters, too (see fig. Industrial Clusters). The region has established a wide variety of clusters, mostly in light industry and consumer products. It is famous as a manufacturing base for garments and textiles, footwear, toys, plastic products, electrical goods, electronics, automobiles, and logistics. Some of these clusters have a leading role in the global markets. The municipality of Foshan,

for example, is the world's largest manufacturer of microwave ovens. Guangdong also dominates the textile industry – China is by far the leading source country for textiles with a world export share of 23.8 percent in 2006 (Global Production.com, 2008), and Guangdong together with Zhejiang province is the leader in China's textile industry.

As in other countries, the spatial agglomeration of companies and related associations eases linkages with suppliers and buyers and encompasses a combination of cooperation and competition that can give rise to successful local economies as

All Photos except on p. 7 bottom: Michael Waibel



Industrial clusters in the Pearl River Delta region

long as the mixture is adequately balanced (ibid.).

The Zhongda Textile District

One remarkable example of an economic cluster that was established in the more distant past is the Zhongda textile district (Zhongda Bu Pi Shi) south of the campus of Sun Yat-Sen-University in Guangzhou's Haizhu district. This quarter accommodates about 300,000 inhabitants, many of whom are migrants employed in one of the manifold businesses related to the textile sector. Since the late 1980s, the area has grown from four villages into a vibrant center for textile and other related industries.

The area is presently characterized by a densely built-up agglomeration of "kissing buildings" (see also 3D-view and photo p. 7 right) that is typical of the "Urbanized Villages" in the heart of the cities in the PRD, where many of the migrant workers live – some of them even working for the textile sector from their apartments. However, these buildings, though mostly used for residential purposes, also house a great number of different retail shops, storage facilities, and manufacturing workshops related to the textile industry in their ground floors. While the production of accessories and

a wide variety of specialized traders are concentrated in the areas adjacent to the streets and alleys, a great number of four- to five-storey factory buildings line the streets south of the residential areas.

Alongside the emergence of various textile-related industries within the Zhongda textile district, other manufacturing sites have been developed mostly in the outskirts of the area. Thus, the value chain has become increasingly

comprehensive, ranging from the production of fabrics and accessories to processing, coloring, storage, and the spot sale of garments. The district aims to serve as a one-stop fabric and accessories center that provides integrated functions of international purchasing and trading, logistics, exhibition, information, consultation, technology exchange, and staff training. In particular, the areas next to important roads connecting the district to other parts of the city are home to various types of garment markets. The surrounding areas have also profited from the boom in textile trading and have seen the development of hotels, catering, banking, and information industries. The Zhongda textile district currently constitutes the second-largest textile trading area in China and includes over 40 textile industry-related centres, both on a large and a small scale, with an agglomeration of over 10,000 shops (Haizhu District CCPC, 2009). With the completion of the Guangzhou Textile Expo Center, currently the largest construction project in the area in terms of investment and space, the Zhongda textile district will become the largest textile commercial area in China, replacing the Keqiao market area in Zhejiang province (Invest Guangzhou, 2007).

The whole area has recently exhibited the typical signs of economic and physical restructuring that follow in the wake of increasing global and domestic competition, as well as a general increase of living standards in the region. Countries such as Cambodia or Bangladesh are



3D-view of parts of Zhongda Textile District with its fragmented building structures from wholesale centres, high-rise condominium to dense kissing-buildings typologies.



Female sewer within a small workshop

able to produce more cheaply, which has placed serious pressure on China's textile sector. In order to facilitate an upgrading of the district, a smaller street cutting through the district was redeveloped into a major thoroughfare. As a consequence of the restructuring process, several huge seven-storey wholesale centers (see also 3D-view) have been erected close to this new main traffic artery linking the district to the highway system, whereas some of the former two-storey bazaar-like markets were torn down (Guangzhou News, 2008). Older factories and residential buildings are being demolished and replaced by bigger and more modern ones, presumably with noticeable effects for smaller workshops and the dependent manufacturers. Derelict manufacturing buildings are being temporarily used as warehouses. Evidently, the textile district is currently experiencing restructuring processes from a predominantly manufacturing area to a wholesale district on the one hand, as well as concentration and specialization processes on the other. All of the latter processes aim at keeping the area competitive in the global market. This can also be seen in the erection of high-rise complexes organized into gated communities occupying the southern edge of the area. While the wholesale centers attract traders and factory managers from all over China who sell and buy fabric for the regional and national markets, the newly-built high-rise condominiums have not only changed the general appearance of the entire area but also transformed its social structure, as they attract affluent

people to a neighborhood that was formerly dominated by migrant workers. In physical terms, they complement the wholesale centers: both surround the "Urbanized Villages" shielding them from the main traffic arteries and add a completely new scale to it as they form high-rise complexes that are inaccessible to the general public and therefore also block easy access to a newly developed park.

Looking at the development of the Zhongda textile district over time, four development phases can be identified: (1) incubation from 1988 to 1996, (2) initial upgrading from 1996 to 2001, (3) expansion from 2001 to 2004, and (4) super-structure development since 2004. In the development over time, the Haizhu District Communist Party Committee and the Haizhu District Government have apparently played the leading role, as shown in the following.

Incubation: 1988 to 1996

The origin of the Zhongda textile district can be dated at least back to the late 1980s (for following: see particularly: Haizhou District CCPC, 2009). As part of an inner-city upgrading program, informal mobile vendors selling knitting wool and other textile fabrics were relocated from the central banks of the Pearl River to the then southern periphery of the urban fabric in central Haizhu river island. At that time, the area south of the campus of Sun Yat-sen University consisted of just four villages and was only sparsely populated.

Following a rather stagnant develop-

ment at the beginning, purchase volumes have increased substantially since 1990, with customers coming from as far away as Northern China to buy their knitting wool. With the introduction of corrugated iron sheds equipped with shelves to store goods, the business became more professional, and consequently, mobile street trading was successively replaced.

Initial Upgrading: 1996 to 2001

The successful business activities led to a rather spontaneous densification of the built environment. A chaotic assembling of market sheds coincided with a massive influx of population. Combined with a lack of enforcement of statutory planning due to weak local administrative capacity, this led to a highly fragmented pattern, with trading facilities scattered all over the area. Serious urban problems resulted due to the inability to prevent pollution and fight fires effectively. Also, the area suffered from increasing security problems as theft and other crimes became rampant. The largely unplanned development of the Zhongda textile district in its early years with its mainly temporary buildings thus impeded its further development.

Finally, the Haizhu District Government initiated and implemented the first upgrading program for the Zhongda Textile district in 1996. Businesses had to move indoors as the original corrugated iron sheds were replaced by simple brick shops. Nevertheless, problems remained, as passageways between shops were still narrow, with cars and people occupying public spaces.



Inside one of the biggest wholesale centres

At the same time, the Zhongda textile district faced increasing strong intra- and inter-city competition. On the one hand, the establishment of a new important textile district located in the city center of Guangzhou led to a relocation of other major businesses to that area. On the other hand, cities in other provinces such as Zhejiang (with its close proximity to Shanghai) increased their export volume of textiles and clothing, challenging not only the Zhongda textile district, but the entire province of Guangdong to compete vigorously for its leading status in the national and global textile industries.

Expansion: 2001-2004

Starting from 2001, the Zhongda textile district entered a boom period. During this time, upgrading and modernization efforts within the area achieved tangible results. The cluster became one of the priority development areas of the local authorities (Yao, 2008). The Guangzhou municipal government issued the “Development Plan for a Commodity Network in Guangzhou (2003-2010) [Guang Zhou Shi Shang Ye Wang Dian Fa Zhan Gui Hua (2003—2010)]”. Additionally the Haizhu district government published the “Upgrading Plan for Zhongda Textile Area [Zhong Da Bu Pi Shi Chang Zheng Zhi Gui Hua Fang An]”.

As a consequence, a special-purpose association to govern this economic cluster was founded in 2004 – the so-called Management Committee of Zhongda Textile Area. From the beginning, it comprised various departments such as the police, representatives of industry and commerce, taxation authorities, and operators of communications infrastructures. Subsequently, the busi-



Demolition activities and upgrading along a canal

ness environment received a regulatory framework, and the economic activities within the area took off. This formalization process came at a price, however, because it coincided with increasing taxes on traders.

Super-Structure Development: After 2004

With the termination of the ten-year transition period of the “Agreement on Textiles and Clothing (ATC)” on 1 January 2005, the trade in textile and clothing products was no longer subject to quotas under a special regime outside normal WTO/GATT rules. Today, worldwide trade is governed by the general rules and ordinances embodied in the multilateral trading system. Enterprises, irrespective of whether they are state-owned or private, large-scale or small, are entitled to engage in export and trade. This was a significant globalization boost for the Chinese textile sector in general.

It can be safely assumed that the Haizhu District Government, along with the Management Committee of the Zhongda Textile District, has been more than eager to take this opportunity. Around the same time, drastic measures were undertaken to solve the remaining problems in the area, such as transportation, firefighting, and security, especially through additional planning, upgrading, management, and infrastructure facilities. In this context, a first super-structure, the gigantic Guangzhou International Textile and Accessories Center, was built. Its floor area covers 300,000 square meters with room for more than 4,000 shops. According to officials, the trading center is to serve as a spearhead and role model for the future development of the whole area, ultimately bringing to an end the “chaotic” structures of the incubation phase. The mega-mall represents a one-stop center for fabrics and accessories, providing integrated functions for international purchasing and trading, modern logistics, transportation, exhibition, information consultation, technology exchange, and staff training. It is explicitly linked to the global market. Fashion shows and other events are organized there regularly, too. In this way, the mall is developing into an urban entertainment center. Though currently the biggest in the Zhongda textile district, the mall is only part of a whole set of huge, super-structure wholesale centers currently under construction. The most recent malls will explicitly also target retail consumers from the rapidly growing urban middle and upper



Rendering of an Urban Entertainment Centre related to textile trade

Source: Altröck, 2009

classes. The massive concentration and modernization processes will have profound impacts on the overall economic and physical structures of the surrounding areas. It still remains to be seen, for example, whether manufacturing will eventually become a relic of the past in an area totally dominated by the service sector.

Conclusions

The integration of China into the global economy in the course of transition was substantially driven by the textile sector, in which the country now holds the leading position worldwide. Globalization has made China's textile industry one of the most important economic engines, especially during the early transition phase. Due to fierce worldwide competition, there is a constant need for adaptation, modernization, and restructuring (see also Kiese, 2009). If those restructuring processes are not successful locally, relocation processes can be expected to set in. This is especially true for China's coastal areas, where increasing salaries and rising environmental standards are threatening the important economic role of this industry.

With its economic restructuring, upgrading along the value chain, and the rapid physical implementation of shifting development strategies, the Zhongda textile district proves to be an interesting showcase in terms of governance over time. An analysis of its physical and economic transformation has shown that the reorganization of the wholesale trade is accompanied by an enormous jump in scale physically. Restructuring has, in this context, meant the upgrading of key infrastructures, the demolition of outdated markets that only existed for a few years, an extreme densification of the urban fabric, an upgrading of important parts of the district, a widespread improvement of public spaces, and the construc-

tion of huge market facilities for trade. However, they are still organized as trade centers with a great number of individual shops and company offices. Thus, economic concentration processes have presumably only taken place to a limited extent – namely, as far as the development and operation of the wholesale centers is concerned.

This brief case study shows, rather surprisingly, that restructuring of the textile sector can take place in the inner city. Manufacturing has not completely disappeared so far, but constitutes an important complement to the trading markets due to its specialized structure. Although one would expect a relocation of the textile-related cluster to the periphery, it can apparently survive in situ. This is the result of both densification and expansion of the built-up area into the former wetland area directly south of the cluster. Where higher profits can be generated by displacing the existing land uses, as in the case of the northern edge of the district next to the university, textile markets are demolished and replaced by high-rise apartment buildings. Thus, the land-use pattern of the area is gradually reorganized. In the center of the area, however, the chaotic physical fabric of the "Urbanized Villages" survives in wide areas and is even upgraded in some places, e.g., along highly polluted canals (see photo). There, it can be assumed, local owners of kissing buildings, who rent out living space to low-skilled workers or operate specialized small workshops, are still resisting the large-scale redevelopment efforts of the district government.

The findings described above only offer a first insight into the complexities of the ongoing restructuring process of Guangzhou's textile district. They open the door to a variety of further questions, such as: How is this spatial cluster being redeveloped? What future will the manufacturing sector have in this (and other)

inner city neighborhood(s)? Who are key decision-makers in planning and implementation? What are their political objectives? In which way are decisions taken? The investigation of these questions will result in a broader picture of the organizational logic driving the ongoing economic restructuring processes and their governance in urban China.

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Contemporary Planning Issues in a Pioneering City: The Governance of Urban Redevelopment in Shenzhen, China

Christian Wuttke / Friederike Schröder / Liu Xiao

As the People's Republic of China celebrates the 30th anniversary of reform and opening its borders to the global economy, the birthplace of reform, Shenzhen, again faces challenges concerning its pioneering role and position in the urban hierarchy.

Shenzhen is home to China's first and most successful Special Economic Zone (SEZ), established in 1980 and has since then evolved into a modern metropolis. The city consists of two administrative districts (Bao'an and Longgang) which are outside the SEZ and the SEZ itself which consists of four administrative districts (Nanshang, Futian, Luohu, and Yantian) (see map). Shenzhen is characterized by its diversity – it is not one but many places with different economic, social, and administrative spaces (Clark, 1998) which present a whole set of challenges to urban planning processes.

As China's primary experimental area and role model at the forefront of transition, it enjoyed considerable discretion and autonomy. Experiments with market mechanisms or administrative innovations have been frequently backed or at least tolerated by the central state. A newly set-up administration, no pre-existing local business or political networks, and the influx of millions of migrants as well as foreign direct investment (mainly from or through Hong Kong) allowed for breaking new ground without much of the constraints of political or economic heritage of communist China that other cities were struggling with (and still do). With its modern city center, the skyline and wide green park areas, Shenzhen today looks like any other modern capitalist city in the world (Ng, 2003).

However, three decades of break-neck growth produced new challenges. Much of Shenzhen's once vast land resources have been consumed to pave way for its phenomenal economic development and the building of an "overnight city". Since land resources have become scarce, existing built-up areas need to be renewed. Yet, the renovation of existing quarters automatically reveals dif-



Administrative Division of Shenzhen

ferent, often contradictory interests within and between administrations, as well as with the population and companies which need to be conciliated. Thus, new approaches to urban development and renewal are needed to maintain Shenzhen's role as a pioneer and major economic hub.

Shenzhen's New Agenda

So far, urban development basically followed a logic of spatial expansion. High national and international demand for investment space led to an extensive land-consuming pattern. Urban development was more often than not determined by informal processes rather than state planning, which was – due to the decades-long timeframes common in master planning – generally outpaced by the speed of economic development (Ng and Tang, 2002, Zacharias and

Blick, 2008). Scattered manufacturing, warehouses, and industrial parks pose serious structural challenges to the future of Shenzhen. Upgrading the urban economy and the clearance or modernization of older residential, industrial, and mixed-use areas are main issues of contemporary urban development processes in Shenzhen. For the first time in its short history, urban renewal and redevelopment have become a major issue and theme.

The governance of urban renewal and redevelopment in Shenzhen is complicated by a multitude of different interests that the once all-encompassing party state is not well equipped to deal with. The responsibilities of the city's administrative units are often overlapping, fragmented and lack coordinating bodies or mechanisms. Legal issues arise as different policies still apply to the city

Cartography: P. Konopacka 2009; Conceptualization: F. Schröder

districts within and outside of the SEZ; the spatial structure of the built-from-scratch SEZ is also very different from the more organically grown areas outside of it.

Multi-Stakeholder Environment

The hierarchically organized party-state suggests a top-down approach in planning and implementation. In reality, however, China's political and administrative system is highly fragmented with complex linkages between vertical and horizontal chains of command (Lieberthal, 1995). Moreover, private interests penetrated the state domain of urban land and property development in Shenzhen as early as the 1980s (Zhu, 1996). Urban renewal in particular involves the interests of the government, developers, land owners and the public that differ with regard to planning, land pricing, compensation for demolition and ownership.

A number of urban state agencies are involved in policy-making and planning with regard to urban renewal and redevelopment. For example, the Bureau of Trade and Industry is responsible for industrial policies and the overall industrial strategy. The Bureau of Urban Planning drafts/designs/prepares the spatial layout and is carrying out the reconstruction planning of the older industrial areas within the SEZ. The Bureau of Land Resources creates policies for the restructuring of former industrial zones with the creation of favorable policies for areas outside of SEZ but not within. These different bureaus create different urban redevelopment and renewal policies.

As a result, urban development is a long and complicated process of negotiation without any institutionalized coordination mechanism. Urban planners have therefore proposed to establish a Reconstruction Bureau in charge of the renewal of former or older industrial, residential, and commercial areas. Moreover, the bureau should be responsible for information exchanges and conflict resolution. For these purposes, the Re-

construction Bureau should organize a round table involving the Bureaus of Planning, Land Resources, Commerce and Industry, Communications, Environmental Protection, Development and Reform, and Fire Control (UDPIS 2008). An initial step in this direction is made by a joint effort of the Shenzhen Urban Planning Bureau and the Bureau of Trade and Industry by commissioning the first "Shenzhen Industrial Distribution Research and Plan" after four municipal and 31 executive meetings in 2006. For the first time, spatial and general industrial planning has been integrated into a single plan.

Nevertheless, local officials in charge of urban renewal have to deal with more than administrative fragmentation. A number of different interests beyond the state is involved in urban renewal and redevelopment particularly developers, land owners and the public more generally. Conflicts revolve around planning, land and housing prices, compensation of demolition and ownership transfer. Moreover, the (local) party state struggles assessing the needs and wants of its constituents. In democratic Western countries, the development of public space is mostly contested by a multitude of different actors and interests, be it NGOs, business associations, political parties, powerful individuals or voters. These political processes also serve as an important source of information for governing coalitions and public management organizations. In China, however, there is no such mechanism. Interest groups are generally incorporated into the party state and private interests are generally pursued through the informal channels of personal networks (*guanxi*). Even the much wooed and seemingly powerful large international companies have to maintain a personal hotline to high-level officials in order to keep their businesses operating smoothly.

Stubborn Districts

Another prevalent issue in urban China are conflicts between municipal and district governments. Lower levels of-

ten try to bypass higher-order governments, while higher-level governments try to expand their administrative capacities into the fields of subordinate units. Municipal governments often cannot stop their formally subordinated district governments from pursuing their own development agenda, even if it is in direct competition with municipal projects. This is mainly due to a certain degree of financial autonomy as well as differences in land ownership of districts located outside the SEZ. Municipal governments may only choose to deny them their support for district projects, which usually is an important factor of success. In Shenzhen, such conflicts arose between the municipal government and the districts outside of the SEZ.

An illustrative example of this issue is the invention of a "special district" in Shenzhen. As the Bao'an District proved to resist municipal urban redevelopment initiatives, the municipal government applied to central government to set up the Guangming "special district." The scheme was as follows: Development districts or zones, a common economic development instrument throughout China, are usually governed by municipal-level governments (although there are district-level development districts as well). Officials generally are either appointed by municipal governments or municipal officials assume additional posts within the district administration. Development districts, if approved by provincial and/or national government, then enjoy substantial preferential policy treatment designed to guarantee a favorable and secure investment environment as well as to achieve stipulated development goals by attracting foreign investments. In effect, the area of a development district is no longer within the scope of the formerly responsible district-level government – a circumstance the Shenzhen municipal government made use of. It was allowed to create "functional" districts for "special reasons." In doing so, a new opportunity emerged to expand and execute its power over "stubborn" district govern-

New City Centre of Shenzhen



ments and their territories.

The Guangming New District was created in 2007. Almost 90 square kilometers were taken out of Bao'an District and are now governed by an administration set-up directly by the municipal government. The district officials were also appointed by the municipal government. Unlike traditional development districts, its functions are not purely economic. Rather, it can be understood as a special purpose area. It is meant to serve as an innovative experimental area administratively, economically and ecologically.

Shenzhen officials envisaged the transformation of the Shenzhen Special Economic Zone into a Special Political Zone – that would have allowed for local political experiments. Such plans, however, were highly controversial and in the end vetoed by national authorities. Wen Jiabao, China's Premier, encouraged Shenzhen officials during a visit to the city to pursue administrative reforms instead. The Guangming New District is one such example. Economically, "[t]he new district shall become a model district of circular economy and independent innovation, an experiment district to build a regional innovation system, an ecological district of resource saving and environment-friendliness, a concentration district of knowledge-intensive and technology-intensive industries" (Shenzhen Municipal Government 2007). The new district administration is encouraged to experiment with new and more efficient public management mechanisms.

Statutory Planning & Public Participation

Since democratic decision-making is politically unfeasible in China, planners are looking for tools to close information gaps. A first attempt to increase trans-

parency and legitimacy in the planning processes already started with the introduction of statutory planning in Shenzhen, a mechanism imported from Hongkong in 1998. It was established to complement the traditional master- and detail planning (for an overview of the Chinese urban planning system, see e.g. Yeh and Wu, 1999). In addition to technical documents and plans, statutory plans include regulations and policies to base and support the planning and approval process on legal procedures. Annually produced statutory plans are publicly announced and legally binding, covering planning details such as land use, development intensity, infrastructure and transportation. Within 30 days following the announcement, the public is invited to participate in planning; the Shenzhen Municipal Planning Board (SMPB) accepts, reviews and decides over "suggestions" from the public. For the purpose of statutory planning, legislative authority is delegated to the 29 members of the SMPB by the Shenzhen People's Committee to issue planning bylaws to control urban development.

Public Participation is an additional instrument recently introduced by urban planners in Shenzhen. It is used to be better able to assess and consider the needs and wants of the public – which have been largely ignored in the past – during the planning process. The variety and supply of public service facilities is too small. Living and housing are comparatively expensive. In addition, the real estate market has proven vulnerable to speculation and is frequently overheating. Infrastructure and transport faci-



Source: Allrock, 2009

**Urban renewal in the city centre of Shenzhen:
Demolition of Gangxia Village in Futian District**

lities are convenient for car-owners but inadequate for a majority without cars in the spacious city structure. As a local scholar complained, "Shenzhen is a city for business and not a place for living." The ignorance of urban planning of the needs of the public also threatens the social stability in the city.

Public participation is meant to address these issues. The term is misleading, however. Public participation should not be understood as active participation of the public such as citizens' initiatives, civil society dialogue, voting or other mechanisms familiar to the Western observer. Rather, public participation means that planners distribute questionnaires among the public in order to find out about necessary public service provisions such as transport facilities, schools, and the like. It is social research rather than public participation as understood in democratic countries.

However, Shenzhen again serves as a pioneer in China's urban develop-



ment putting emphasis on the promotion and implementation of public participation in its urban development processes. In the context of the new master plan (2007 to 2012), a company named "Public Power" was established in 2007 to organize public participation in Shenzhen. In search of innovation and inspiration to better manage the city in the course of transition, the municipal government decided to spin-off a private company to collect public opinions on urban developmental issues and the current master plan using questionnaire survey, telephone consultation, randomized interviewing, SMS platform, etc. In this way, diverse groups of local citizens, academics, and different associations should be given the opportunity to discuss merits, limits, and effects of current urban development programs. This was the first time in China to do public investigation during a planning process. Since then, the company has been involved in different urban development events to organize public participation in Shenzhen but also in other cities of China.

Outlook

Over the past three decades, Shenzhen has clearly been a beneficiary of both China's reform and opening-up process as well as the reorganization in the global economy. But therein lay many challenges to the future of the city's development as bygone industrial transitions in many locations around the world serve as a reminder. The (over-)dependence on labor and resource intensive manufacturing and export-oriented industries, however, most likely cannot be sustained in the future. Other countries in East and

South East Asia as well as China's vast hinterlands are also developing quickly. Moreover, labor prices have been rising steadily and steeply over the past years, towering above competing domestic and foreign regions and thereby challenging the transitional development model of Shenzhen and the Pearl River Delta more generally. Unsurprisingly, the region has suffered heavily as the current global financial and economic crisis struck China – in spite of earlier upgrading initiatives (Wuttke, 2009).

These dangers have well been recognized by local leaders and scholars. The logic of expansion in economic development is no longer applicable. Restructuring developed areas automatically involves the interests of current stakeholders. Therefore, new mechanisms to involve and mediate among different interests are an important part of any development and upgrading strategy. However, new approaches in urban redevelopment are limited by political constraints and governance capacities. Shenzhen needs to continue to innovate and pioneer reform initiatives despite such limitations. Moreover, it is even expected to maintain its status as an exemplar by the national government. Local initiatives as outlined above may serve as an important contribution for the future of Shenzhen in an increasingly competitive environment. More importantly, the (perceived) success of urban regeneration in Shenzhen will have important implications for urban governance in China more generally.

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Endnote

1) For the purpose of this paper, urban renewal is defined as the sum of renewal measures for the improvement of living conditions in deteriorated housing and old industry districts. Urban redevelopment in contrast to urban renewal involves reorganization of the structure of a city, e.g. the mixing or separation of places of employment and residential areas, or the transformation of central areas into residential zones (Evert, 2001).

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Singapore as a role model? The China-Singapore Suzhou Industrial Park

Friederike Schröder

“Social order in Singapore can be reckoned good because they enforce very strict management. We should draw upon their experience and run our country even better.”

Deng Xiaoping during his famous Southern Tour in 1992.

In February 1994, China’s Vice Premier LI LANQING & Singapore’s Senior Minister LEE KUAN YEW signed an agreement for the two governments to jointly develop a special economic area in the city of Suzhou – the China-Singapore Suzhou Industrial Park (CS-SIP). Serving as a model for economic development cooperation, the park with its comprehensive functional layout and transnational urban design is a showcase for the aspirations of China’s major metropolises to become “world class cities”.



All photos by Friederike Schröder & Michael Waibel 2009



PACIFIC NEWS PICTURES

Established as a collaborative project between the governments of China and Singapore, the CS-SIP serves for both countries to mutually benefit from (foreign) direct investment. As China's transition process gained momentum in the late 1980s, more and more Chinese delegations visited other nations in the region, namely the four tiger economies Hong Kong, Taiwan, South Korea, and Singapore. Their rapid economic progress, achieved mainly through the policy of export-led industrialization, was regarded as a role model. Also, the Chinese visitors were keen to attract investment capital and modern technology from these countries.

Singapore in particular perfectly understood how to promote its own development path as a model to other countries in the region (e.g. Indonesia, Malaysia, Vietnam), mainly done via semi-state development corporations such as Keppel Corp. Ltd. or Sembcorp Ind. In this way, Singapore has been able to generate additional sources of income. Its strategy also fosters economic regionalization to sustain economic growth, which is naturally limited within the small city state. For China, Singapore's development path and strict pro-growth regime represents a role model due to its high living standards, continuous high growth rates, and last but not least its rather flexible and pragmatic economic policies which result into a high adaptability to global-economic change. At the same time, it can be safely assumed that Singapore's capacity to sustain authoritarian rule including the de facto

one-party system looks rather enticing to leading cadres of the Chinese Communist Party.

Hence, China and Singapore agreed to build CS-SIP as a platform for transferring economic development and management techniques and as a testing ground for the application and adaptation of Singaporean economic management tools in China. As the largest economic and technological cooperation project between the China and Singapore governments, the area of CS-SIP covers 8,000 hectares out of the Suzhou Industrial Park total jurisdiction area of 28,000 hectares. After a rather slow start, the CS-SIP today contributes a substantial part to Suzhou's GDP. The companies located there focus on Information & Communication Technologies (ICT), TFT-LCD production, automotive and aeronautical parts, software, outsourcing services, biopharmaceutical, and nanotech industry.

The significance of CS-SIP was not just to be another industrial park in China. Rather, the CS-SIP represents much more than a mere economic entity. It has been built as a comprehensive urban environment in the eastern part of Suzhou city combining industrial, urban residential and commercial areas. It was aimed to develop into a new township and to serve as new Central Business District (CBD) of Suzhou. In this way, development pressure was taken from the ancient inner-city areas. The latter has been increasingly preserved as an outstanding cultural heritage attracting mainly domestic tourists.

Furthermore, CS-SIP stands for the actively promoted shift from labor-intensive manufacturing towards modern service and high-tech industries. Therefore, the park's layout is designed using a mixture of highly emblematic, architecture combined with a renewed emphasis on elements of traditional Chinese symbolism. This so-called transnational urban design contributes to place-making which has become a key feature of contemporary urban space production in China. It also serves to communicate modernity, to attract investments, highly skilled labor force as well as to satisfy the distinctive needs of the rapidly growing middle and upper class. However, despite the comprehensive urban development approach with its spacious layout, the area has not become very lively, yet. A lack of vibrancy can actually be observed in other similarly top-down planned urban environments, too, such as the Shanghai Zhangjiang High-tech Park or Guangzhou Science City.

Over and above, the CS-SIP has been the spearhead for economic and technological cooperation between both governments of China and Singapore. Besides significant financial benefits it has contributed to trust-building. The success can be seen in the recent establishment of further joint cooperation, now dedicatedly in the field of high-tech and science-based developments such as the Sino-Singapore Tianjin Eco-city (2007), Sino-Singapore Guangzhou Knowledge City (2009), and Hangzhou-Singapore Eco Park (2009).

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PACIFIC NEWS PICTURES



Changing landscapes and livelihoods in Xishuangbanna, SW China

Stefanie Wehner

Sixty years of Communism and 30 years of liberalisation have brought tremendous transformations to the environment and the peoples of the (sub-) tropical Dai Autonomous Prefecture Xishuangbanna. Environmental degradation and loss of cultural and economic independence are among the clearly negative results of the political and economic integration processes. Increasing external influences, like new land use institutions and new market structures pose challenges for local communities, offering increased opportunities for cash income, but also severe changes to livelihoods.

A short history of land use

Xishuangbanna Dai Autonomous Prefecture (XSBN) is a border area in the southern part of Yunnan Province, PR China. Until 1950, it was an independent feudal kingdom with close cultural and political links to the Tai-kingdoms of Laos, Thailand, and Burma. The majority of the population belonged to the ethnic group of the Dai Lue, who dwelt in

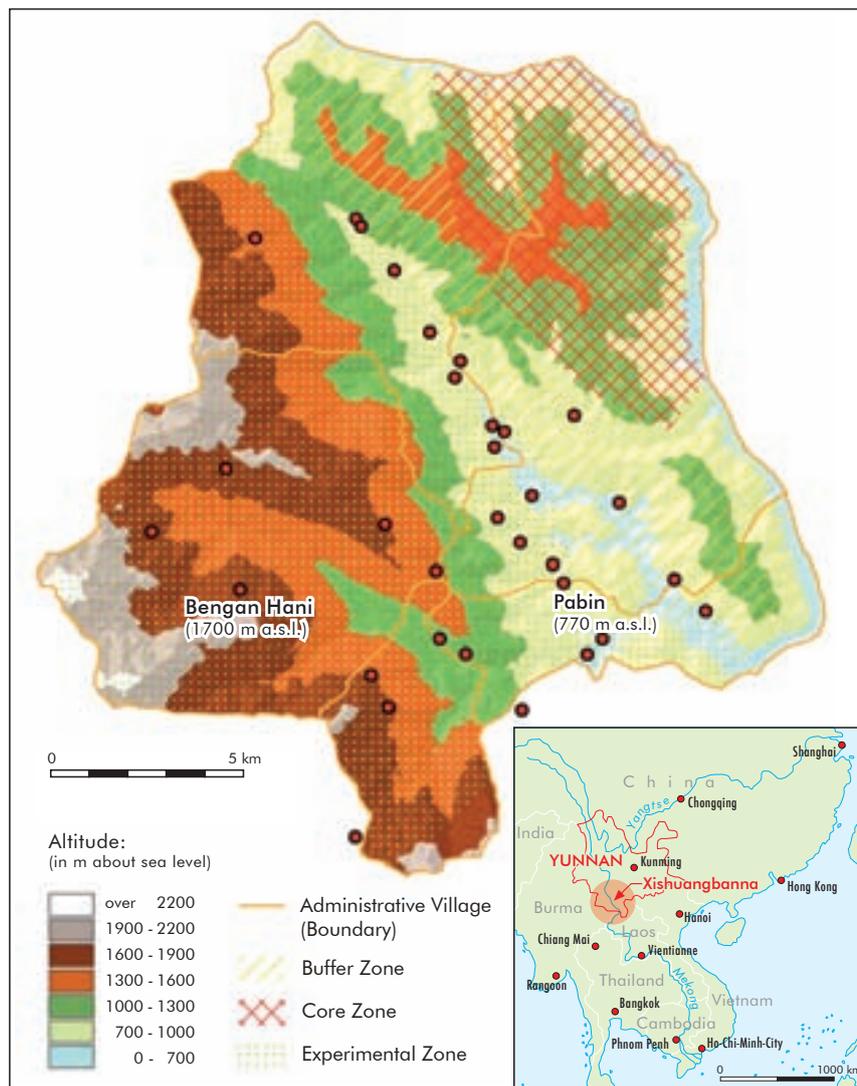
the fertile valleys – mainly engaged in paddy rice cultivation. The mountainous areas of Xishuangbanna were inhabited by other ethnic groups, which engaged in shifting cultivation and hunting and gathering. These upland groups enjoyed a large degree of independence and could thus develop or maintain their own social structure, culture, and land-use systems.

Abundance of forests and land, a low density of population, and strict local institutions governing land use allowed for a rather sustainable use of natural resources. For example, long fallow periods of 10-20 years were observed within shifting cultivation regimes, which enabled a re-growth of natural vegetation and helped to maintain biodiversity.

In 1950, XSBN was “liberated”, became part of the Chinese nation-state, and was integrated into the centralised political and administrative system of the People’s Republic of China. Local farmers lost their independence and were forced to abandon their traditional lifestyles and cultural practices. The traditional, customary institutions which facilitated maintenance of ecosystem functionality and a balanced relationship between humans and the natural environment were abolished and partly replaced by regulations based on Maoist ideology and modern technologies. These ideologies left no space for environmental concerns – nature and environment were to be subdued by technical means. Land was collectivised, and especially during the Cultural Revolution, forests were logged, to be replaced either by rubber plantations or, in less favourable environmental conditions, by fields used for shifting cultivation (Shapiro, 2001).

The new institutions failed to maintain the balance between environmental and economic interests, leading to a decline in forest cover and of (agro-) biodiversity, and to a degradation of arable land.

After Mao Zedong’s death, a shift in thought and accordingly policies placed the country on a track of liberalization. With the land-tenure reform in the beginning of the 1980s, the collective system was abandoned, and individual households once again became economic units with access to private land resour-



Naban Natural Nature Reserve: Administrative Boundaries and Borders

Map Sources: Geodata Catalogue LILAC Project (as of November 2009), elevation based on ASTER data (METI), NASA (2009); ASTER Global Digital Elevation Model, ASTER; Cartography: Claus Carstens & Stefanie Wehner

ces, based on middle-term lease contracts. Simultaneously, market structures were introduced, providing incentives for these small-scale farmers to increase productivity. From 1979 until 1984, China's agricultural production grew at an astonishing rate of 7,4% per year (Huang, 1998).

At the same time, environmental concerns were slowly reintroduced to the political agenda, hampered by the legacy of the Cultural Revolution and new environmental problems emerging together with the expansion and modernisation of agriculture.

XSBN, situated on the Tropic of Cancer, is one of the few areas in China suitable for rubber cultivation. In the 1960s, state rubber farms were established to meet China's growing demand for natural rubber. After the reforms of the 1980s, the production of rubber was also expanded to small-scale farmers as a lucrative cash crop. Rubber production fulfilled several functions: to meet the growing global demand for rubber, and to serve as a means of rural poverty reduction. The latter aspect was paramount to the government, which believed that the new policy would decrease social and political tensions in sensitive minority areas and drive modernisation



Modern Land Use in NNNR: Rubber and Rice

of still backward mountainous agricultural systems. Thus, rubber cultivation was strongly and rather successfully promoted by state agencies.

The expansion of agricultural production in Xishuangbanna, driven mainly by subsistence and cash-crop production and an increase in population, came at a high environmental cost, however: Between the 1940s and the 1990s, the share of native forests was reduced from 70% to 26%, while population density increased through natural growth and high rates of immigration from other provinces from 10 persons to 50 persons per km² (Shapiro, 2001, Henin & Flaherty, 1994).

Despite the strategic importance of cash-crop production, the ecological value of Xishuangbanna was acknowledged by the government. The region is part of the Indo-Burma Biodiver-

sity Hotspot, and despite covering only 0,2% of China's land area, it is home to 16 % of the higher plant species found in China (Zhang & Cao, 1995). Formerly established Nature Reserves were revived, and new areas were, at least nominally, put under protection. Currently, the province features five Nature Reserves covering almost 13% of the prefecture's 19,700-km² area.

Case Studies at NNNR

One of those Nature Reserves is the Naban National Nature Reserve (NNNR), which was established in 1991. It covers an area of 260 km², includes 32 villages, and is home to about 5,500 people from six different ethnic groups. The Reserve Area itself is highly diverse, for example in terms of land-use systems, resource use, topography, and vegetation types. With two-thirds of the area classified

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as state land and state forest, the forest coverage of approximately 60 % is well above the average for Xishuangbanna.

Based on UNESCO's Man and Biosphere Concept, the objective is to combine biodiversity protection with sustainable social and economic development. The Nature Reserve is divided into three different zones. The core zone, covering some of the best-maintained primary forest in XSBN, is protected from any extractive activities. The buffer and experimental zones are mainly used for agricultural activities – rubber, tea, or subsistence farming, depending on elevation (Garnier, 2008).

Compliance with regulations on the ground is monitored by forest guards from local villages under the management of the Nature Reserve Administration.

Based on two sample villages, we will analyse two different typical land-use systems as well as the underlying land-use changes and their implications for the community, together with the most important actors and their influence on land-use change.

1. Pabin

The first case study is the village of Pabin, which consists of 38 households and 149 people from the Akha/Hani ethnic group. It is located in the buffer zone at an elevation of 770 meters. In close proximity to the State Rubber Farm, Pabin was one of the first villages in the area to introduce rubber monoculture in the mid-1980s. Information on markets and prices and knowledge of cultivation technology was provided by the members of the state farm. The rubber boom has brought relative wealth to the community. With an annual (2007) income of 5,500 Yuan per person, Pabin is now one of the richest villages in

NNNR. Since the introduction of rubber, land-use and the economy have gradually changed from diverse agricultural activities like corn, rice, and upland rice production to a mono-structured system. The negative impact of the dependency became evident at the end of 2008, when rubber prices dropped from 3 US\$/kg to 1 US\$/kg.

The villagers seem to have little interest in the conservation and protection of the native forests surrounding their village. Only two decades ago, native forests and wildlife were abundant in the village area. In order to maximise the area available for rubber plantations, they replaced major parts of their forests with rubber, leading to increasing pressure on the remaining forests and the adjacent protected state forests. In order to finance the improvement of village infrastructure, parts of the remaining forest areas were even sold to an external investor, who transferred the area into a rubber plantation.

The introduction of rubber has also changed people's everyday lives. Farmers have to get up very early to finish rubber tapping before noon. Because the local residents have a lot of "leisure time" at their disposal, the consumption of alcohol and gambling has – according to the villagers – significantly increased. The interest in subsistence production, however, has declined. The relatively favourable economic situation of the households enables them to purchase rice and other food, allowing villagers to avoid the arduous labour of a second rice harvest.

2. Bengan Hani (BGH)

BGH, another Akha/Hani village, is home to 833 people in 172 households. It is located in the experimental zone of

the NNNR at 1700 meters – an elevation that is unsuitable for rubber cultivation. The land-use system is highly diverse, including paddy rice, upland rice and corn for subsistence production. Tea and, more recently, hemp harvests generate an average cash income of 2400 Yuan per farmer (2007).

NTFPs are still an important part of their daily diet and medicinal supply. Villagers have developed or maybe maintained a stewardship relation to their forests and manage them very well, in cooperation with the Nature Reserve Administration. The villagers themselves have reforested areas around the village over the last 20 years for aesthetical and practical considerations. With the emergence of regional and even international markets for NTFPs in recent years, villagers have been able to reap good profits from the collection and sale of bamboo shoots.

Since 2006/07, farmers have been strongly encouraged by different government agencies to produce fibre-hemp to supply a new factory. The plant, recently established in the county capital Menghai as one of the most modern and largest worldwide, is a joint venture of private investors and the People's Liberation Army, with local government agencies strongly propagating the expansion of hemp production. The introduction of hemp has diversified and increased farmers' cash income. Nonetheless, with the new cash crop, farmers shorten the fallow periods of land subjected to crop rotation, possibly leading to a decline in soil quality and a shorter period for the succession of natural vegetation. Moreover, due to shortage of production in animal fodder, animal husbandry – especially of pigs – has declined. This has traditionally been an important



Preparation of a rubber tree



Farmers visit the bamboo-processing factory



Farmer splitting hemp fibres



Bengan Hani Village, with the area dedicated to large-scale bamboo plantation in the background

source of fat and nutrients in the daily diet of the mountain dwellers.

In 2005, another actor appeared in Bengan: A private investor leased, for a period of 25-years, about 50% of the area subjected to shifting land use from the Village Collective to establish a large-scale bamboo plantation. Even though a monoculture plantation of this size constitutes a violation of NNNR regulations, the NNNR Administration does not have the power to overrule other government agencies that approve external investments in these rural areas.

On top of the pressure added by hemp cultivation, bamboo further decreases the amount of land available for farmers. This “loss” of land has also had an unexpected impact on social life: In the past, following a kind of “transhumance”-system, one generation from each household would spend several months of the year in “field-houses” in their plots of land remote from the village. Now that they have leased out those remote areas, all members of the household stay in their village house throughout the year, putting more pressure on social life with three or four generations permanently living under one roof.

Concluding remarks

The shift from a command economy to

a market economy, accompanied by the emergence of new and increasing efforts on the part of the Chinese government to decrease rural poverty, the formerly sparsely populated mountains and the local communities of Xishuangbanna have undergone intensive transformations over the last decades. While rural societies remained self-sustaining and independent in the past, retaining far-reaching autonomy over their resources, an increasing number of other actors have now expanded their influence over rural land resources.

The nationwide and global increase of demand for natural resource products has led to a valorisation of land resources, even in remote and inclement environments. For the chronically poverty-stricken farmers, this creates opportunities to participate in markets and increase their cash income, of course. However, mono-structured villages like Pabin in particular have become highly vulnerable due to fluctuations of the world market. This development has been accompanied by a sharp increase of environmental costs. The case of Bengan Hani shows the increasing worldwide dilemma of a declining land-per-capita ratio, combined with competing and conflicting interests between food production, production of raw ma-

“Living Landscapes China” (LILAC)

This project, subtitled “Rural development through land use diversification: actor-based strategies and integrative technologies for agricultural landscapes in the south-western Chinese highlands” is an interdisciplinary research effort involving partners from the Universities of Hohenheim, Gießen, Hannover, Kassel-Witzenhausen, Passau, and HU Berlin in close cooperation with various Chinese research institutes from the Chinese Academy of Science, including the Xishuangbanna Tropical Botanical Garden (XTBG), Mengla.

Research results from subprojects in diverse disciplinary fields (economy, ecology, and social sciences) are combined in a GIS model to develop a decision-making tool for sustainable land use planning for the Mountainous Mainland Southeast Asian region. The project is funded by the Federal Ministry for Education and Research (BMBF) from June 2007 until the end of 2010.

material for industrial production, and the conservation of nature and the environment.

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New Issues in Old Forests: Recent approaches to conserve Thailand's major protected areas

Peter Höffken

To counter the loss of its natural forests and biodiversity, Thailand has pushed for an extensive network of protected areas to be imposed on the last forests of the country and – in some cases – the people within. However, as management capacities and political will appear to be marginal, forests and biodiversity remain under constant pressure. By means of new management approaches, ministerial reorganization and consolidated cooperation with NGOs, the government has started a new attempt to save Thailand's remaining natural heritage.

Semi-evergreen monsoon forest in
Khao Yai National Park

Forest trends in Thailand

Thailand experienced a major loss of natural forests between 1938 and 1985 when more than 43% of the country's terrestrial area was deforested and subsequently converted into agricultural land (ENGLAND 1998:60). Logging operations have accelerated since the 1950s when the Royal Thai Forest Department (RFD) allocated large scale logging concessions mainly to domestic companies with close ties to – or in possession of – the government. Additionally, the government implemented a policy to encourage cultivation of cash crops for export. Although lumber companies were contracted to reforest the areas, peasants employed the new logging roads to reclaim the cleared land. As a consequence, the proportion of natural forest cover of Thailand's total land area was reduced from over 60% to less than 30% from the 1950s to the 1980s (TITTO 2005). Following flash floods and human casualties caused by illegal

logging operations in South Thailand, a complete logging ban comprising all natural grown forests (except for mangroves) was enacted in 1989. Although most large-scale logging operations had ceased at that time, the forests have continuously been degraded primarily by small scale encroachment as well as publicly disputed development projects. Between 1990 and 2000, 1,120 km² of forest were lost per year; this equals an annual deforestation rate of 0.7% (FAO 2006). By 2005, primary and secondary forests accounted for only 22.3% of Thailand's land area (FAO 2006). Experts who commented on the current situation in the context of this research project estimated the effective percentage of natural forest cover in Thailand as being between 15% and 21%.

Protected areas under pressure

With a share of 19.53% of Thailand's territory, national parks and wildlife sanctu-

aries represent the most significant types of protected areas in Thailand (ONEP 2005). Wildlife sanctuaries, where no utilisation except research is permitted, are legally best-protected. The first protected areas were established in the 1960s and today comprise nearly all considerable forest areas left in the country. The RFD's rapid and extensive designation of protected areas arose not only from the desire to conserve nature, but also aimed at retaining comprehensive control over the dwindling forests (BUERGIN 2001). In 2002, amidst a constitutional reformation, stewardship for the protected areas was assigned to the Department of National Parks, Wildlife and Plant Conservation (DNP) under the newly-created Ministry of Natural Resources and Environment. Previously, the RFD had been in charge of all forest areas and designated forest areas in Thailand since 1896.

Approximately 12 million Thais reside in, or adjacent to, the forestlands of the

country, many of whom still depend on the forests economically (BUGNA & RAMBALDI 2001). The steep decline of natural forest area from 72% in 1938 to 22% in 2005, and the exclusion of utilisation of the extant forests by designating protected areas, led to severe conflicts between the rural population and the government. Hence, local people, often driven by poverty as well as a desire to improve standards of living, developed ways of evading restrictions. At the same time, activities of powerful businessmen and politicians did not set good examples, as deforestation frequently was a result of large-scale development projects, e.g. resorts, dams and roads. As a consequence, forest encroachment and poaching continually threatened the integrity of protected areas and biodiversity. In Khao Yai for instance, Thailand's oldest, most prestigious and best staffed national park, tigers became extinct in 2004/2005. 20 years ago, the area was one of the last strongholds of this endangered big cat species with an estimated population of 50 individuals (LYNAM et al. 2006).

The DNP, supported by considerable input of foreign expertise and capital, has been cautiously implementing and applying new procedures to cope with the threats for several years. Significant elements of a new ecosystem approach are the strict protection of core conservation zones according to a zoning scheme, participation of all stakeholders in management decisions and the creation of income alternatives for the local population, e.g. through tourism, enhancements in agriculture and job training. Furthermore, protected areas adjacent to each other as well as other fragmented forest patches are operationally and, where applicable, physically linked to form "Forest Complexes". The reason for this procedure is based on the knowledge that small forest areas cannot sustain viable wildlife populations and are prone to rapid degradation. The country's largest forest area, the Western Forest Complex, serves as pilot site in this process.

In order to determine their level of effectiveness, the new management approaches were analysed in three wildlife sanctuaries and one national park in 2008. Examined sites were the wildlife sanctuaries Huai Kha Kaeng and Salak Phra, located in the Western Forest



Fig. 1: Examined field sites and other protected areas in central Thailand

Complex, as well as the Dong Yai Wildlife Sanctuary and the Khao Yai National Park situated in the Dong Phrayayen - Khao Yai Forest Complex in Eastern Thailand (see Fig. 1). In addition to field visits, interviews were conducted with 23 experts of local and international NGOs, DNP officers and researchers of domestic universities.

New approaches – Same old problems?

The margins of Khao Yai National Park and the wildlife sanctuaries Dong Yai and Salak Phra are continuously deteriorating. Settlements and fields often constitute a sharp edge to the forest, because many of the previously existing buffer zones or community forests have been utilised for agriculture. In the past, conservation activities were very much limited to forests inside the parks and sanctuaries while the surrounding areas were neglected. Pressure as a result of hunting and encroachment is particularly severe in the vicinity of settlements. Sharp edges have also led to increased human-wildlife conflicts with regular casualties, mostly among the animals. In dry seasons, water and food is sufficiently available only outside the forests, where nutritious field crops are grown next to the boundaries. In order to tackle the problem, staff at Dong Yai Wildlife Sanctuary constructed a small dam inside the sanctuary to provide water year-round for the roughly 100 elephants. Additionally, it is planned to cultivate nutritious

plants in the sanctuary to prevent elephants and gaurs from foraging the surrounding fields. The situation became worse as dry seasons have intensified in recent years, according to the director of the Dong Yai Wildlife Sanctuary. Over the last ten years, confrontations have cost the life of two humans and four elephants in that area. At Salak Phra Wildlife Sanctuary in Western Thailand, the first 10 km of a projected 35 km electric fence have been constructed as part of a special arrangement between local people and the authorities. The fence cuts off a piece of originally protected forest from the elephant habitat and serves as an example that protected area boundaries are a matter of negotiation at times.

Despite new protective measures, poaching activities still take place on various levels and by different parties. Deer and wild boar are hunted mainly by local people for their own consumption or for wildlife restaurants in small towns nearby. Around Khao Yai National Park, "some communities are by 100% involved into poaching activities", according to the conservation organisation PeunPa, which works in the park. Valuable species such as bears, big cats, elephants and Aloewood are also poached by professional hunters, increasingly as part of an organized criminal network supplying purchasers in the big cities or abroad. Khao Yai National Park is perpetually subject to severe pressure from hunting. While tigers recently became extinct in the whole area, wild boar and

Protected Area	Staff (short-term contracts)	Area (km ²)	Staff per 100 km ²	Guard stations
Khao Yai National Park	382* (305*)	2,168	17,5	21
Huai Kha Kaeng Wildlife Sanctuary	169 (150)	2,575	6,6	19
Salak Phra Wildlife Sanctuary	168 (91)	858	19,6	13
Dong Yai Wildlife Sanctuary	34 (28)	313	10,9	5

Source: Own compilation based on information given by senior protected area personnel.
 * Source: Submission for nomination of DPKY forest complex as World Heritage Site (2004)

Table 1: Personnel/ area ratios in selected protected areas

gibbons have disappeared in most parts of the park. Despite an elaborate network of guard stations to protect the park, frequency and range of patrols are too low due to management deficiencies (PARR 2007). An initiative launched in 2002 to jointly develop a participatory income scheme with each of the 118 surrounding villages was only implemented in two villages. In one settlement at the northern boundary of the park, villagers and park staff managed to resolve initial conflicts and designed a range of services for tourists. More important than the financial return of this activity is the creation of a joint responsibility for the national park, according to the village committee.

Positive stimuli derive from the pilot sites for the ecosystem approach in the Western Forest Complex. The area encompasses 18,000 km² consisting of 17 protected areas, settlements and infrastructure. Together with one other sanctuary, Huai Kha Kaeng Wildlife Sanctuary constitutes its core area and strict conservation zone. The other 15 protected areas will either be designated as buffer zone or also as strict conservation zone. A current project provides for a physical connection from

the western forests to the large Kaeng Krachan Forest Complex to the south. Therefore, several forest and non-forest areas in use by the military or subject to private ownership are being rededicated to become a forested wildlife corridor. Huai Kha Kaeng Wildlife Sanctuary remains the most important tiger habitat in Thailand with an estimated population of 60 to 80 individuals, according to field surveys conducted by the Wildlife Conservation Society (WCS). WCS is cooperating with public authorities to reduce hunting pressure and stabilise wildlife populations. The resulting considerable influx of knowledge, capital and equipment serves to make an impact, as poaching activities have significantly decreased in the first months of this project. A firm patrol scheme, strict law enforcement and regular monitoring constitute a different approach than most other conservation organisations pursue, which focus on communities and environmental education.

Between 2004 and 2006, joint efforts of a stakeholder committee for the Western Forest Complex have successfully prevented the construction of two new roads through the area. Although a rising civil society has the means to

question and sometimes to prevent large-scale development projects, it is commonly believed that powerful individuals are continuously able to defy environmental laws in order to pursue their own interests.

Given the dynamic of the considerable decline of wildlife in the last decades, certain large mammal species are not expected to survive long-term in Thailand if management deficiencies persist. Patrol frequency is too low in all surveyed protected areas except Huai Kha Kaeng. Many of the protected area employees show little motivation as senior staff is subject to frequent relocations. Political instability and a patronage system are the main reasons for this regular job rotation, which causes lack of identification with the position. On the ground level, government staff is increasingly being replaced by short-term workers who receive low salaries and little or no social benefits. The lack of financial and social appreciation for the rangers contributes to low patrol efficiency. Short term workers account for up to 89% of the staff in the reviewed protected areas (see Table 1).

Official mechanisms for participatory approaches are not in place. Newly formed stakeholder committees like the one in Dong Yai Wildlife Sanctuary are merely used for information exchange and nature education. Successful examples for income creating activities and management participation are usually based on initiatives of single actors.

Conclusion

As a consequence of poaching, many of Thailand's large mammal species are threatened with extinction. Although the



Brand new reservoir for elephants in Dong Yai Wildlife Sanctuary



Electric fence cutting through Salak Phra Wildlife Sanctuary

Source: Peter Höfken



Source: PeunPa, Bangkok

Poachers arrested in Khao Yai National Park

boundaries of the examined protected areas are demarcated and communicated to the local population, fringes are slowly degrading. Adequate participatory management plans comprising efficient patrolling schemes, satisfactory salaries for rangers and participation of all stakeholders are urgently required. Joint efforts of authorities and conservation organisations show good results, but funds and project run-times are limited. Achieving sustainable improvements poses a challenge as procedures often switch back to former conditions after programmes are closed. A key function of NGOs, secondary to capacity building, is to act as mediator between opposing interest groups.

Some government officers at the DNP are practising conservation in an outstanding and dedicated manner. Yet others do not identify with their work and lack a supportive attitude towards

conservation. This may stem from a century of regarding the forests and other natural resources as a facility to generate as much income as possible. The main stimulus for the RFD and also the DNP for the management of the forests has always been the commercialisation of natural assets; formerly by selling timber, nowadays by promoting tourism activities and increasingly by maintaining wildlife breeding centres, of which 23 already exist in the country. A change of mind in people who hold high government positions regarding the appreciation of natural resources is immediately required, most importantly to ensure they serve as role models for public officers and citizens.

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Domestic tourism in New Zealand: The Kiwi family holiday

Heike Schänzel

In New Zealand, 56 % of all tourism earnings come from domestic tourism (Ministry of Tourism, 2009), yet the attention by the government is primarily directed towards international tourism. In fact, Interactive Travellers, New Zealand's target market, comprise young people and more mature tourists travelling without children (Tourism New Zealand, 2009) creating a gap for families with children. This article looks at the significance of domestic holidays for New Zealand families. It establishes a definition of Kiwi family holidays and explores additional aspects of national and social identity formation.

Domestic tourism in New Zealand remains an under-researched area as governmental attention is on attracting overseas tourists and export earnings. Yet, NZ\$ 8.1 billion was spent by domestic travellers in 2008 making up over half of all the tourism economic activity (Ministry of Tourism, 2009). The family, including children, represents a large domestic market for the tourism industry but gets little recognition largely because family holidays are perceived as less economically valuable than the international tourists coming to New Zealand. This differs from the New Zealanders or Kiwis themselves who perceive the annual family summer holiday as a well-loved Kiwi icon and a symbol of Kiwi identity. Enjoyment of New Zealand's outdoors, and particularly its extensive coastal areas, is considered an essential part of the Kiwi lifestyle (Barnett and Wolfe, 1993). Camping holidays have featured strongly for the Kiwi families

over the years and are appreciated for their back-to-basics approach and ability to increase social relationships with family and friends (Department of Conservation, 2006).

Domestic holidays must be understood here within the context of New Zealand being an island nation with a small population (4.33 million in October 2009), varied natural resources, and relative distance from other countries. This article is based on a study of family holidays in New Zealand to find out the social experiences and meanings of holidays for all the family members over time (Schänzel, 2009). It highlights the significance of domestic holidays for the families themselves by establishing a definition and giving examples on social connectedness and national identity formation of children.

Domestic family holidays

The concept of relationships and interaction between family members is considered essential to any notion of family and underlies most literature on family tourism. According to Shaw et al. (2008) parents with children differ from other tourists because of their strong focus on social values like family togetherness and generativity (or guiding the next generation). This indicates a purposive element to family holidaying that involves connections with, rather than escape from, social relations (Larsen et al., 2007). It has been acknowledged in the literature that domestic tourism can produce benefits such as fostering a greater sense of national awareness but little is known about the social processes in which people experience national identity through tourism (Palmer, 2005). Even less is known

about how families experience domestic holidays.

Methodology & Analysis

A combination of quantitative and qualitative methodology was used in order to understand the holiday behaviour of families in New Zealand. First, a parental survey through five primary schools in the Wellington region was conducted in November 2006. The questionnaire contained open-ended questions which were coded for key themes. This was followed by three rounds of whole-family interviews with families recruited through the survey over a period of about one year from December 2006 to November 2007 (before and after their summer holiday in January 2007) to capture anticipation, and short- and longer-term recollections of holiday experiences. The inherently private nature of families and their mobility on holiday did not allow for research access during the holiday. The qualitative part of the study was based on 10 families (10 mothers, 10 fathers, and 20 children; 11 boys and 9 girls, ranging from 6–16 years) and involved interviewing all family members as a group (collectively) and individually (sequentially) to ensure that their family group and their personal perspectives were being captured. To give a gender perspective on parenthood, only two parent/guardian families were selected (94% of the 110 survey respondents fitted this family form). This allowed for step-parents, however, no blended families volunteered, meaning the sample was made up of 10 sets of biological parents and their children (between one and three children per family). The participants were all white, Anglo-New Zealand, middle-class, and residents



Families at hot water beach
in the Coromandel

in the Wellington region, making the families relatively homogenous.

The iterative research was analysed using grounded theory methodology. This meant that the successive stages of research involved the concurrent collection and analysis of data informing the next stage or constant comparative analysis (Glaser and Strauss, 1967) which led to the modification of the interview questions as the study progressed. The grounded theory approach resulted in establishing a definition of family holidays based on the parental survey and the whole-family interviews as well as a theoretical framework of the main themes of family time and own time. Family time encapsulated the purposiveness of spending time together with the immediate and extended family and included idealised notions of novelty or change of routine, social connectedness, and social identities. In contrast, own time encapsulated freedom from those family commitments to pursue familiar interests alone or with peers, which increased in importance with age of the child(ren). The themes discussed here and illustrated with selected quotes from the interviews are social connectedness/visiting friends and relatives (VFR) and social identities/traditions which are part of family time or time spent together with the family rather than time apart from the family. New Zealand birds are used as pseudonyms for family names.

Sociality in NZ family holidays

The definition that resulted from the study below establishes that family holidays within New Zealand have a purpose of spending time together 'with' the family (including extended family and friends) rather than just an escape/break 'from' normal routines (see Larsen et al., 2007). Family holidays, then, offer a social time to (re)connect with people and for parents to spend quality time with the child(ren) for at least a weekend. This might not involve overnight trips but using the home as a base for experiences that are different to normal. Including children in the research process highlights fun as essential to family holidays.

For example, an 8 year old said: "It is not a holiday if it is not fun. If it is fun then it is a holiday." Allowing for the perspectives of all family members has ascertained that individual pursuits, compro-



Source: Department of Conservation (2006)

Family holiday on Great Barrier Island near Auckland.

mise, and conflict are as much a part of family holidays as the social and fun aspect. The following definition emphasizes the overall importance placed on the social dimension of holidays while also revealing possible negative family group dynamics and individual needs for time away from the family:

A purposive time, at least a weekend, spent together with the whole and extended family having experiences different from normal routines that are fun. This centres on a balance of time that includes individual pursuits and which may involve compromise and conflict.

Within a domestic holiday context, VFR and social connectedness played an important role for families to (re)connect with the wider community of friends and family. In fact, all the interviewed families on their summer holiday stayed with, visited, or had family and friends coming along on holiday:

"We tend to do a bit of a meander around to catch up with people, very much the same way continuing contacts and renewing friendships." (Tui mother, final family interview)

"I like [holidays] because we see all the family and I think we should see them more. I like it because of that aspect. You are so far away nowadays you just don't get that involvement." (Weka mother, post-holiday family interview)

"Just grandparents and cousins

make the holiday for me I reckon." (Tui girl, final individual interview)

This highlights the significance that New Zealanders place in using their holidays to reconnect with extended family and friends and as a form of social networking. It also emphasises that families in New Zealand today increasingly live geographically dispersed from the rest of their families.

National identity as part of social identity

National identity and traditions were both linked to domestic tourism behaviour and social connectedness. The first was about a national identity and the latter was about a family identity, while together they were about social identities and perpetuating family rituals in the form of a holiday tradition. Family holidays signified a continuation of a Kiwi tradition passed down from generation to generation:

"I like the idea of having a family holiday every year. That seems to be a good Kiwi thing to do. I grew up with it so it is nice to pass that on to the kids." (Kea mother, final individual interview)

"For me it is a continuation of letting the children enjoy a summer beach holiday which is something of a privilege I had as a child." (Kereru mother, final family interview)



At the Wairarapa coast

Domestic holidays were also about fostering an appreciation of New Zealand or national identity in the children by showing them around the country. This provided parents with a conscious opportunity for guiding their children (or generativity):

“I guess almost the educational aspect of [holidays] as well. That is our opportunity to teach the kids holidays around New Zealand, to teach them about New Zealand and for us to learn as well.” (Kakariki mother, final individual interview)

“I am a big fan of seeing New Zealand and I hear a lot of international people saying that sort of thing, too...I want to expose my kids to things within New Zealand.” (Kea father, post-holiday family interview)

“New Zealand is stunning and we need to expose our boys to a number of places in New Zealand so they have an appreciation of it...We want them to know and love home. We want them to have that and then go overseas but we want them to go overseas knowing that they have a beautiful

place to come back to and to let other people know that it is great. We would actively encourage them to go overseas but they also need to know what New Zealand is first.” (Pukeko mother, post-holiday individual interview)

For the parents holidays were also about heritage and belonging to an extended family:

“It adds a different dimension. Also it really helps the kids perhaps reinforce who they are and their heritage gets kind of passed on which to me is important that it reinforces them as a member of this family.” (Tui mother, post-holiday family interview)

All these responses demonstrate the parents’ deliberate efforts in generativity related to establishing family traditions and social connections as well as national identities in their children. This purposiveness was deliberate by the parents but remained unrecognised by the children. Holidays were also considered a symbolic time out of the normal that warranted remembering and was used for generating social identities in its family members. The social identity encompassed belonging to the immediate and extended family, to a nation, and, ultimately, to a society.

Conclusion

The main conclusions drawn from this study regarding the significance of domestic holidaying were that the Kiwi families defined family holidays as serving the purpose of (re)connecting through tourism. Domestic holidays can be seen as a social practice that involves networking in a New Zealand where extended families live increasingly apart from each other. Holidays for the New Zealand parents became about providing quality time, social connectedness with extended family and friends, and

establishing social identities, and not just as having fun together or pursuing own interests. Instilling a national identity in the children was part of the generativity or guidance of the next generation that parents performed on holiday. This belonged to the purposive nature of family time and reflected obligatory aspects of holidaying as a taken-for-granted aspect of parental responsibility. Holidays, then, were considered a symbolic time out of the normal that was used for generating a sense of belonging in its family members. Domestic holidays were used to foster a greater sense of national awareness or identity in the children by exposing them to different aspects of New Zealand. This was encompassed in the social identity of belonging to an immediate and extended family, to a nation and ultimately to a society. Within this context, the establishment of social capital included membership in a national New Zealand society. The parental intention of a national identity formation, however, remained unrealised by the children.

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Bounty Bay landing site and cruise ship Hanseatic

Pitcairn Island: Home of “Bounty” Mutineers and Their Descendants

Maria Amoamo

This article draws on my year’s experience on Pitcairn Island from August 2008 to September 2009 as I accompanied my partner and appointed Medical Officer to this small community in the southwest Pacific. The following narrative hopes to impart a sense of ‘unique isolation’ and discuss the obstacles and potential for tourism development to this remote Pacific Island community whose early history is inextricably bound to Eastern Polynesia and the latter day mutineers of HMAS Bounty whom, in 1790 made Pitcairn their home.

Pitcairn Island Bounty Bay

Pitcairn is a small volcanic island situated halfway between New Zealand and South America and is often referred to as the most isolated island in the world. The island is 3.2km long by 1.6km wide with an irregular shape of which only 8% is flat. It has a rugged coastline, steep slopes and cliffs and its highest point is 347 meters above sea level. Pitcairn enjoys a sub-tropical climate and is part of the Pitcairn Island Group and a British Overseas Territory which also includes Henderson, Ducie and Oeno Islands. Oeno and Ducie are small low atolls while Henderson is a much larger raised coral island and UNESCO world

heritage site. It offers a rare collection of native fauna and flora including nine endemic plants, four endemic species of birds and numerous migratory species. As the only inhabited island of the group Pitcairn’s nearest landfall is Mangareva in the Gambier Islands, part of French Polynesia some 480kms north east. Due to its remote location accessibility is by 36 hour boat trip from Mangareva. The current service operates only four times a year but is expected to increase in the near future. Today Pitcairn’s inhabitants’ number only 52 people; many of whom are descendents of the Bounty mutineers. Their lifestyle offers a unique insight to a culture that is built on Poly-

nesian and British heritage, an intriguing history, remote location and lush natural surroundings. Notwithstanding these unique features, the difficult access has limited the development of tourism to irregular cruise ship and yachting visitors and some study groups including naturalists, divers and representatives of the Pitcairn Island Administration. However, recent steps towards more autonomous self government and community development projects to improve infrastructure hope to increase the flow of tourism to the island.

Pitcairn is infamous as a refuge for the mutineers of the HMAS Bounty. It is a place shrouded in history and intrigue;

All photos by Maria Amoamo



Pitcairn honey

its story legendary with five movies and over 70 books relating the tale. The *Bounty* set sail from Spithead, Portsmouth in December 1787 bound for Tahiti to collect breadfruit and transport them to the West Indies where they were to be cultivated to produce cheap food for slaves (Nicolson 1997). The ensuing mutiny on the *Bounty* in 1789 is well documented and today attracts visitors to experience this desolate rock where Fletcher Christian and eight *Bounty* crew accompanied by nineteen Tahitian men and women sought refuge from the British navy. They remained undiscovered until 1808 when the American sealing ship *Topaz* visited the island. By this time only one mutineer, John Adams and a number of Tahitian women and children were left. Adams had created a peaceful and pious community that closely followed the teachings of the Bible that accompanied the sailors to the island. The *Bounty* Bible takes pride of place in Adamstown's museum on Pitcairn today where most residents are now Seventh Day Adventists, having converted to the faith in 1887 as a result of the visit of an American missionary of that persuasion. Thus, it is the *Bounty* heritage that draws visitors to the island today. Over the past decade, interest in Pitcairn stamps, once the major source of income for the island, has

fallen and the small trading economy declined. Combined with reduced investments and limited success in diversifying the economy, tourism is being explored as an integral part of its current development strategy. With a small and ageing population Pitcairn is vulnerable and tourism is strongly mooted as a means of kick-starting the economy, providing jobs, encouraging entrepreneurial activity and improving links with overseas markets (Pitcairn Island Council (PIC) 2008). Residing on the island are also a school teacher (there are six school age and two preschool children), a doctor on annual contract, policeman, a Family and Community Advisor, Pitcairn Island Commissioner and UK Governor's representative who is appointed annually. There is one grocery store, a warehouse, church, post office and an office for the Treasurer and Secretary and a community Town Hall. Local Council consists of seven members including a mayor who is elected for a three-year term. All Pitcairners of working age have government jobs, and many are employed on infrastructure projects such as the current redevelopment of the landing site at Bounty Bay (see photo: Bounty Bay landing site and cruise ship *Hanseatic*).

Incomes are supplemented by the sale of curios to cruise ships and other visitors, and the sale of Pitcairn honey

(see photo: Pitcairn honey). Production of unique art and crafts are an important part of Pitcairn's social and cultural identity and during my stay I initiated plans towards developing a "mark of authenticity" for these products that include wood carving, weaving and tapa cloth making. All materials are sourced from the Pitcairn Island Group and handmade by locals. Much time is spent by the elder women collecting, drying, and preparing pandanus leaves for basket-weaving; a highly labour intensive job but one which has become an integral part of Pitcairn social life and livelihood.

The social and economic context of tourism

Pitcairners are robust and resourceful people whose lifestyle is fashioned by their rugged and isolated environment. They are well connected with the rest of the world with internet and television and much of their day to day life is committed to maintaining roads, building homes, upkeep of basic infrastructure, fishing and growing fruit and vegetables. A recent governmental restructuring programme has devolved operational responsibility for local governance to the community and aims to develop a more self sufficient local economic model and gives attention to bio-security, education, public health, agriculture and fisheries and culture and tourism. The intention is to increase autonomy, improve living standards and encourage expansion of the population (PIC 2008). Pitcairn is heavily reliant on budgetary aid administered by DFID (Department for International Development). DFID was established in 1997 by the UK government as a department working towards Millennium Development Goals (MDGs) agreed by the United Nations (www.dfid.gov.uk).

DFID continually monitors how Pitcairn uses money and regularly sends administrative staff to the island to assess current development. A number of obstacles have hindered tourism development in the past however progress is now being made towards more self-directed and entrepreneurial approaches to developing tourism as a means to economical growth. The 2006 Pitcairn Island Development Plan emphasized the need to further develop cruise ship tourism in order to increase Pitcairners' econo-

mic self-reliance (TRC 2008). However the reality is that the number of cruise ships visiting the island has been slowly declining. Out of an estimated 40 ships that cruise in this region, currently only between eight to ten ships make Pitcairn Island a port of call. Of those that do visit, several only classify Pitcairn as a “cruise-by” destination and almost half do not land passengers on the island. Part of the reason for this is thought to be the strong swells and the difficulty of landing ships’ tenders (TRC 2008: 1).

Current figures show a total of 2500-3000 cruise ship passengers during the cruise season October to March. There has been little change to this number for some years primarily because of: the relative isolation of Pitcairn Island, making it difficult to visit on a short cruise, perceived lack of facilities and things to do on-island, and the difficulty of getting passengers ashore, especially in heavy weather (TRC 2008). Pitcairn has no harbour or anchorage, and heavy swells pound the steep rocky cliffs for much of the year hence, landing visitors can present a significant challenge and risk for cruise passengers. The transfer of passengers ashore is usually undertaken by Pitcairn long-boats that are, in themselves an ‘attraction’ that many visitors to Pitcairn are keen to experience. Pitcairn men are skilled at navigating boats through the risky passage in to Bounty Bay; however the sometimes dangerous transfer between cruise vessel and long-boat, and the current set-up of the longboat (no seating except flat deck planking) does not suit many elderly passengers (see photo: Bringing passengers ashore to Bounty Bay). The long-boats have been the life-blood of Pitcairn for many decades and have enabled Pitcairners to visit and trade with passing container ships (see photo: Longboats “Moss” & “O’Leary”). This helps supplement the three-monthly supply ship that visits the island.

Addressing challenges in tourism

Current discussion between DFID and the Pitcairn Islands Government has seen the initiation of an ‘alternative harbour’ project planned for the western side of the island known as Ted-side. This proposed \$14million dollar venture will provide potential for up to 40% additional landing for cruise ships



Bringing passengers ashore to Bounty Bay

and safer passage for transfer between ship and shore. This will give the island two access points depending on weather conditions and increased passenger capacity. It is hoped this will attract more of the 40+ cruise ships that ply the Panama Pacific route. Passengers who land ashore are rewarded with a rich variety of culture, heritage, eco-tourism and adventure activities and of course, a chance to meet the descendants of the Bounty mutineers. When not possible to land any visitors, Pitcairn Islanders come to the ship to set up market stalls. The opportunity to take merchandise out to passengers is an additional source of income for many locals but can create problems with limited human resources. Crew are required to man the longboat, whilst locals also cater to those passengers who come ashore – offering quad bike sightseeing tours, walking tours, the sale of curios and souvenirs, and often hosting an informative lecture and lunch for visitors in the town square. At times specialist groups such as ornithologists, divers and botanists visit the island by private charter during the cruise season. These Bounty ‘enthusiasts’ are a growing niche market as well as visiting “yachties” during the sailing season April to June. Steps are being taken to promote and market the Pitcairn experience and the local Tourism Board has recently initiated plans to develop a promotional DVD for existing and potential cruise agencies and operators. This will also help change market perceptions of ‘lack of on-island activities for visitors’. The

Tourism Board has also recently developed a website and produced brochures to aid this process. For independent travellers to the island accommodation can be provided with local families for a cost of USD\$75.00 per person per night including meals and internet access. Home stays are popular with Pitcairn Island families and visitors alike, providing an opportunity for social exchange and insight to island life. However, these opportunities are restricted to the infrequent shipping schedule between Mangareva and Pitcairn. Visitors who stay ashore can experience stunning scenery and hikes to such sites as St. Paul’s rock pools, Christian’s Cave, Ships Landing, Highest Point, and Garnet’s Ridge. An eco-trail has been created en route to Christian’s Cave with interpretation signage that informs visitors of Pitcairn’s native flora and fauna (see photo: St Paul’s rock pools). Another feature that gives visitors a personally rich ‘narrative’ of the island are the descriptive names for many of the geographic features, e.g., Ned Young Ground, John Catch-a-Cow, Nancy’s Stone, Little George Coconuts, and the ever popular Where Dan Fell.

The future of tourism on Pitcairn Island

It is interesting to note that, although Pitcairn was uninhabited at the time the Bounty mutineers arrived in 1790, the remains of a vanished civilization were clearly visible. The mutineers discovered four platforms with roughly hewn stone statues, similar, apparently, to those on



Longboats "Moss" & "O'Leary"

Rapa Nui (Easter Island). Unfortunately, the English, being good Christians, destroyed the platforms and threw the images into the sea (Falk 2004). Evidence remains however, including burial sites, stone axes and ancient petroglyphs discovered at an area called "Down Rope" at the eastern end of the island. These

drawings, which have been the subject of numerous archaeological studies over the past century, have never been fully interpreted but together with other native artifacts, are considered to be Polynesian in origin. For those adventurous enough, the steep cliff face descent to Down Rope is rewarded with a glimpse

of these rock drawings and a chance to explore Pitcairn's only sandy beach – a great fishing spot (see photo: "Sleeping Elephant" and route to "Down Rope" site).

The history of Pitcairn is an important part of its cultural survival. This was evident when I became involved with a local heritage project during my time on the island. The 'cemetery project' was a community project to map, catalogue and re-dedicate the Pitcairn cemetery. Its current site was established from 1856 onwards when the entire population of 194 persons relocated to Norfolk Island because Pitcairn had become too small for their growing population. Many of these descendants stayed on Norfolk but a small group were homesick for Pitcairn and returned over the period 1859 – 1864. Due to neglect of the cemetery over time it was decided that it would be a worthwhile project to identify where possible, every known grave at the cemetery, map and catalogue the information, and order commemorative plaques from New Zealand. There was widespread enthusiasm from many local



residents whom, over a two-week period progressively marked each burial site and checked details against the Pitcairn births and deaths register. The input of elder knowledge was crucial to this process and many stories and anecdotes were shared. A comprehensive alphabetical list of all births and deaths was collated that aided correction of several errors in the island's current register. The cemetery project has contributed to the social and cultural fabric of Pitcairn society and its ongoing preservation will be entrusted to a local trust or committee. The timing of this project was very relevant as 2009 marks the 150th anniversary of Pitcairners' return from Norfolk Island on 17th January 1859. The Pitcairn Island Commissioner Leslie

Jacques commented that "Pitcairn is honouring the past and taking responsibility for the future". Hopefully tourism development will provide a sustainable economic industry for the livelihood of this small community of Bounty descendants. Tourists who are prepared to go the 'extra mile' to this remote island paradise are rewarded with a rich and 'bountiful' experience.



St Paul's rock pools

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"Sleeping Elephant" and route to "Down Rope" site



CHINAS METROPOLEN IM WANDEL



POSTERAUSSTELLUNG

Der Wandel in der Volksrepublik China spiegelt sich nirgendwo so deutlich wider wie in den großen Städten. Hier zeigt sich die ganze Vielschichtigkeit des seit Ende der 1970er Jahre eingeleiteten Transformationsprozesses wie in einem Brennglas. Die Metropolen sind Motoren des wirtschaftlichen und gesellschaftlichen Wandels. Gleichzeitig stellen sie das Schaufenster Chinas zu einer zunehmend globalisierten Welt dar, in der „das Reich der Mitte“ eine immer wichtigere Rolle spielt.

Die Ausstellung präsentiert auf 20 Tafeln in Bild und Text diese Entwicklung und trägt zum Verständnis der Folgen dieses Wandels bei.

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