



# Life and History: Challenges on Urban Conservation and a Possible Solution: Case Studies on Historic Quarters in Beijing and Shanghai, China

Yanhan Zhu

## Abstract

In recent decades, the redevelopment process in Chinese cities has challenged historic quarters. While conservation awareness rises, scholars started to criticise these quarters for being restored in “improper methods”. Moreover, property privatisation and tourism development in historic quarters caused dilemmas: the majority of inhabitants were relocated under the monetary compensation system; the overwhelming tourism activities resulted in a significant loss of the uniqueness of living elements. They all pushed the local government and the inhabitants to a deeper collaboration with other stakeholders. This paper first overviewed the approaches to urban conservation, from integrity conservation to the Historic Urban Landscape, and analysed their merits and defects. Focusing on two cases in Beijing and Shanghai, it further illustrated processes of inhabitants’ participation and collaboration modes with other stakeholders, including local organisations and authorities, to safeguard the architectural heritage and redevelop the historic quarters. The measures could provide feasible approaches to balance the conflict between urban conservation and redevelopment in the aspect of heritage management.

## Keywords

Stakeholder collaboration · Urban conservation · Historic quarter · China

## 1 Introduction

Chinese scholars started to pay attention to urban conservation in 1982 when three of them promoted the “Historic City” title. Architectural history knowledge, conservation legislations, safeguarding methods, and intercultural communications developed rapidly. Nowadays, most of the cities in China are willing to make the proposal of listing a monument or a historic area. However, scholars started to criticise these quarters for being restored in the “improper methods” (González Martínez, 2016) and the urban redevelopment still pressures architectural heritage in most cities (Shan, 2007).

Equipped with insufficient infrastructure, degenerated facilities and dilapidated buildings and possessing a high-density population, historic areas are in danger of being demolished and reconstructed. While the government emphasises architectural preservation, the revenues of land and profits achieved with business interests are at the expense of social improvement (Shin, 2010). The increasing awareness of *genius loci* encourages maintaining the significance of the place. However, it stimulates nostalgia for antiques, which results in rapid tourism development and radical changes in tangible and intangible elements (Zhu & Zhang, 2012).

The government and planners are accustomed to transforming historic areas into museums or disneyfied historic quarters. For instance, the Kuan-zhai Alley in Chengdu, the Xin-tian-di quarter in Shanghai, and the Dao-wai historic quarter in Harbin have transformed from living neighbourhoods to commercial lands and lost most of their social elements (He & Wu, 2005; Xie & Heath, 2018, 2–3; Yin & Wang, 2014). While the monetary relocation compensation system attempts to move the inhabitants out of these areas, the deficient housing and uneven benefit allocation block the process (He & Wu, 2005).

On the contrary, scholars discussed the significance of the local community. Smith (2006) and Pouilos (2014) argued that maintaining the local community is crucial for sustaining

Y. Zhu (✉)

Department of Architecture and Urban Studies,  
Politecnico Di Milano, Milano, Italy  
e-mail: [yanhan.zhu@polimi.it](mailto:yanhan.zhu@polimi.it)

its living mode, handicrafts, and folklore. In China, it is more remarkable for burdening memories that provide clues for the regional construction techniques for architecture (Wang, 2009). The inhabitants' oral narratives could also supplement the insufficient written records and help recognise the values of historic materials (Wang & Dong, 2018). Therefore, their participation in the conservation process and collaboration with other stakeholders are noteworthy.

Under this circumstance, the paper first overviewed the approaches for urban conservation, from integrity conservation to the Historic Urban Landscape, and analysed their merits and defects. Focusing on two historic quarters in Beijing and Shanghai, it further illustrated the processes of inhabitants' participation and collaboration modes with other stakeholders, including organisations and the local authorities, to safeguard the architectural heritage and redevelop the quarters.

## 2 Overview of Urban Conservation

### 2.1 Integrated Conservation

The beginning of urban conservation probably started in the first half of the twentieth century. When Gustavo Giovannoni promoted the idea of thinning out the historical buildings, integrated conservation of historic areas became prevailing. Giovanni Astengo (1915–1990), Luigi Angelini (1884–1969), Giuseppe Campos Venuti (1926–2019), and Pier Luigi Cervellati adopted it to the master plan of several Italian cities and towns. Architects and urban planners also paid attention to the “historic centre” and stimulated the agreement to publish the *Charter of Gubbio* which highlighted the conservation's economic merit and social benefit.

Despite Italy, the idea of integrated conservation widely spread in European countries. The Committee of Ministers of the Council of Europe promulgated the *Declaration of Amsterdam* (1975) which stressed the significance of architectural heritage's surroundings and integrating its conservation into urban planning. One year later, the General Conference of the United Nations Educational, Scientific and Cultural Organization (UNESCO) in Nairobi passed the *Recommendation concerning the Safeguarding and Contemporary Role of Historic Areas* (1976) which underlined the consideration of safeguarding the historic area into urban revitalisation. Based on the cultural value of architectural heritage and the economic value of land, the historic area was seen as a trigger for urban redevelopment in the following practices.

In addition, the conventions and declarations have already started to consider social factors. Radical changes in “*the social composition of the residents*” was not encouraged (Committee of Ministers of the Council of Europe,

1975), and radical transformation of social activities, and social structure are not appreciated (UNESCO, 1976). The inhabitants' involvement was believed to be an effective method of urban conservation. Then, a comprehensive approach involving stakeholders was promoted and published as ‘Historic Urban Landscape’.

### 2.2 Historic Urban Landscape (HUL) Approach

In the 1970s, urban conservation stood at its turning point when the political situation “*changed from centrally controlled management towards market-oriented economy*” (Jokilehto, 2007). Conservation of historic centres became an investment of private entrepreneurs that the revitalisation and tourism brought them considerable financial benefits (Bonfantini, 2015). The mega-events, like the Olympic Games and the Expo, are probably one of the triggers to improve public spaces, collected services, and living conditions in historic urban areas. However, gentrification, Disneyfication, overwhelming tourists, and unstoppable changes might follow.

The reflections occurred at the beginning of the twentieth century. The requirement of sustainable development stimulated the competition in heritage discourse between the heritage authority and the local community. The integration of heritage preservation and urban development regained attention through the Historical Urban Landscape approach. Following the idea of urban heritage—“*a resource for the entire city and for its sustainable development*” (Bandarin & van Oers, 2015), the approach aims at “*preserving the quality of the human environment, enhancing the productive and sustainable use of urban spaces, while recognising their dynamic character, and promoting social and functional diversity*” (UNESCO, 2011). It involves the planning, regulatory, and financial tools in the conservation process and highlights participation and collaboration between stakeholders, including inhabitants, the local community, NGOs, developers, and local authorities. Moreover, the HUL approach is supposed to combine preservation, management, and regeneration of the historic area.

### 2.3 Development of Urban Conservation Through Comparison

The integrated conservation method prevailed before the twenty-first century when architects and planners were designated to make the conservation plan, and the authorities controlled and managed the decision on plans. The buffer zone planning method that considered the environment and surrounding areas of urban heritage was widely adopted to make it realise. And it required detailed records of the

buildings and urban fabric, which usually took decades for the field survey.

While the HUL approach involves all the stakeholders in the conservation process, it seems that the responsibility for the conservation of urban heritage is separated partly from the local authority to the other stakeholders. Among these stakeholders, the local community is regarded as a significant participator who could lead the decision-making and assist in implementing plans on their properties. Moreover, after the restoration and rehabilitation, it would still play a significant role in managing the heritage for sustainable development (Table 1).

### 3 Case Studies on Historic Quarters in Beijing and Shanghai

Several years before, Fan (2014) claimed that in China, stakeholders' participation in preservation preferred donor engagement rather than collaboration under the drastic governmental administration. Significantly, community involvement is not sufficient where top-down decisions were made. Nevertheless, the situation was complex. In the following two cases, the local community managed to participate in the urban conservation process and collaborate with other stakeholders.

#### 3.1 Nan-Luo-Gu-Xiang Historic Quarter, Beijing

Nan-Luo-Gu-Xiang (NLGX) historic quarter is located in the Jiadaokou zone, Dongcheng district, Beijing. It was one of the oldest areas in the city's historic town and covers an area of 0.84 square kilometres. The quarter was formed more than seven hundred years ago and maintains the fabric of hutong, tens of traditional courtyard houses, Daoist temples, the site of school architecture, the site of commercial buildings, and the site of the imperial hospital (Fig. 1). Due to several reforms on land, the houses were occupied by a large group of inhabitants who could not afford the removal.

There were three phases of urban conservation in the NLGX historic quarter. The 1st stage occurred in the 1980s and the 1990s. The population of inhabitants was extremely high, and the living and hygienic conditions were not livable. Meanwhile, Beijing was put into the first list of Historically and Culturally Famous Cities, which are appreciated on the historical and cultural aspects. To improve the situation and be careful on the historical remains, Liangyong Wu, from Tsinghua University, managed to practice his Organic Regeneration theory in the plot—Ju'er Hutong. The project aimed to maintain the fabric and street structure of the historic remains rather than the total

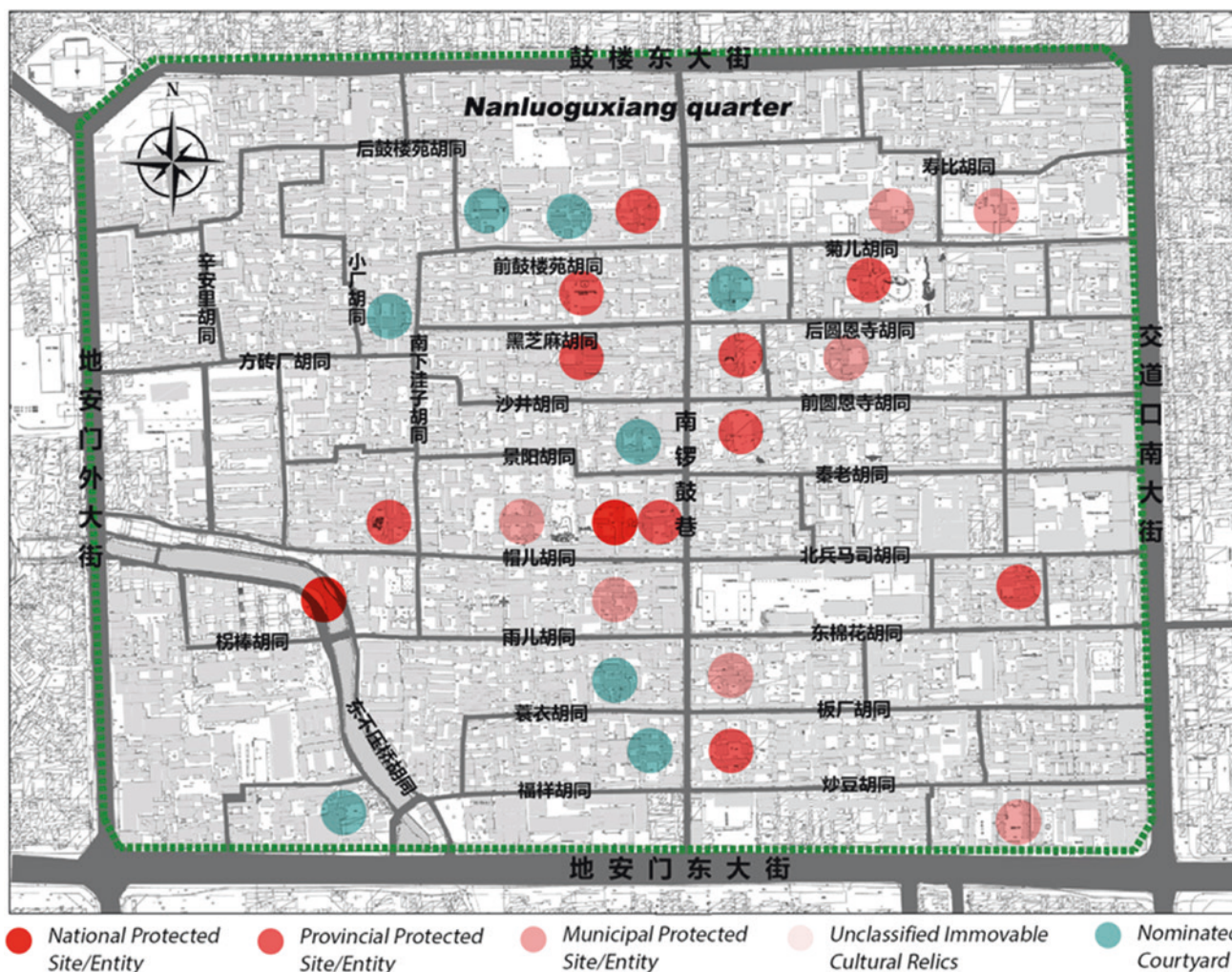
demolition and reconstruction. The result fulfilled the goals and considered history in the design process, achieving the 'UN-Habitat Award'. After this valorisation, the whole historic quarter was included in the first 25 Historic and Cultural Quarters for Safeguarding. The 2nd step started in 2005. It was a premise and preparation for the 2008 Olympic Games. The goal was to transform the dilapidated quarter into a cultural and leisure zone. Accompanied to conserve the historic features, multiple plans and regulations on planning and management, including *Conservation and Development Plan for Nan-Luo-Gu-Xiang (2006–2020)*, *Regulation on Adapting the Fund Allocation for Commercial Activities in Nan-Luo-Gu-Xiang*, *Handbook for Training Inhabitants and Operators on Management and Serving in Nan-Luo-Gu-Xiang*, and other regulations from diverse perspectives. The plan stimulated a dramatically increasing number of small businesses operated by external entities or by the local inhabitants in the following years (Figure). The media also publicised the quarter as a worthwhile place for visiting. The result seemed an extraordinary success of the plan. In the extreme case, it attracted 100,000 visitors per day, which excessively overpassed the recommended number of 17,000. The conflict between tourists and the remaining inhabitants became a vital problem. In the 3rd phase, the quarter applied to remove its title of AAA Tourist Attraction<sup>1</sup> in 2016. That is, the quarter no longer encourages a large number of tourists to visit. Besides, the number of visitors is strictly controlled through the reservation and check process. Meantime, *Guidelines for Protecting and Controlling Features of Nan-Luo-Gu-Xiang Historical and Cultural Quarter (2016)* was published for owners to manage the restoration and rehabilitation of their properties. It also designates the Management Committee of NLGX to supervise the implementation, survey the insensible changes of built heritage, hold meetings between stakeholders, and improve the facilities (Fig. 2).

The stakeholders involved in the urban conservation of the NLGX historic quarter played their roles in the dynamic and long-term procedure. Local government plays a decreasing role from the decision-making to the implementation. According to the national and municipal acts on safeguarding historic cities, the Government of Dongcheng district is responsible for organising the making conservation plan for NLGX historic quarter. The local government made the final decision, while it guided the public via regulatory tools for implementation and management. On the other hand, when conflicts occur, the local government can

<sup>1</sup>The *Classification and Evaluation of the Quality Level of Tourist Attractions (GB/T 17,775–2003)* required a AAA Tourist Attraction to be equipped with satisfying scenes, services, facilities, and so on, as well as the capacity of serving 300,000 individuals per year.

**Table 1** Comparison of integrated conservation method and HUL approach through declaration and recommendations (drawn by the author)

	The Declaration of Amsterdam (1975)	Recommendation concerning the Safeguarding and Contemporary Role of Historic Areas (1976)	Recommendation on the Historic Urban Landscape, including a glossary of definitions (2011)
Relationship between conservation and development	<b>Integrating the conservation</b> of architectural heritage into urban and regional planning, as well as considering social factors	<b>Safeguarding monuments with their surrounding</b> built and natural environment; considering protection and restoration of historic areas with revitalization activities	<b>Integrating</b> historic urban area conservation, management and planning strategies into the local development process and urban planning to <b>realize sustainable development</b>
Attitude to changes	Inducing new activities to heritage; non-isolation of the monument	Preventing damages caused by misguided or insensitive changes	Accepting new functions through innovations; managing the changes
Stakeholders	Government and population	Government, <b>citizens in site</b> , voluntary groups, NPOs, architects and town planners, etc.	Government, <b>local community</b> , international organisations, NGOs, etc.
Degree of public participation	<b>Being informed</b> of the decision and obeying the plan	<b>Cooperation</b> with other stakeholders to realize the plan	<b>Participating in the whole process</b> as much as possible
Significances for safeguarding	Cultural value and use-value	Manifestations of all periods	Dynamic nature and cultural diversity
Tools	Planning policies, financial interventions, and restoration and rehabilitation methods	Legal and administrative tools, and technical, economic and social tools	Civic engagement tools, knowledge and planning tools, regulatory systems, and financial tools



**Fig. 1** Distribution of listed heritages in NGLX historic quarter (drawn by the author, the base map is from (Urban Design and Regeneration Institute of Engineer and Technology of Beijing & Architectural Design and Research Limited Company of Beijing, 2016))

collect feedback and adopt or remake the plans for the following decade (Hu & Morales, 2016).

Local inhabitants and introduced groups took part in the implementation and the proposal to improve the plan. They started to participate in the urban conservation process from the implementation phase (Zhang et al., 2012). Following the improvement of public infrastructure and tourism development, the inhabitants could benefit from operating commercial activities. Recently, the voluntary relocation policy provides the inhabitants with considerable compensation for moving out. The policy also provided the possibility of living in a better environment after clearing informal construction.

The Management Committee of NLGX (MCN) became the mediator between the stakeholders in the management phase. The governmental MCN was established to supervise the process and assist in fulfilling the implementation. For example, to organise regular checks with other

governmental offices and adapt the local economy structure by collaborating with the non-governmental Commercial Association of NLGX (CAN). It is noteworthy that most buildings in the quarter belong to public property or the entity's property which has been "occupied" for a long time. In this case, the MCN makes a great effort to communicate with the inhabitants to notice the newest policy, analyse the advantages and weaknesses, and sometimes induce the decision.

The Commercial Association of NLGX played the assistant role in the implementation and management phase. It is composed of the operators of businesses in the quarter and has significant impacts on the management of commercial activities. During the 3rd phase, it collaborated with the MCN to adapt the economic structure. With the agreement through the whole association, upgrading to creative and economic operations became possible. The cooperation mechanism is shown in Fig. 3.



**Fig. 2** Streetscape of current NLGX historic quarter (photo by the author)

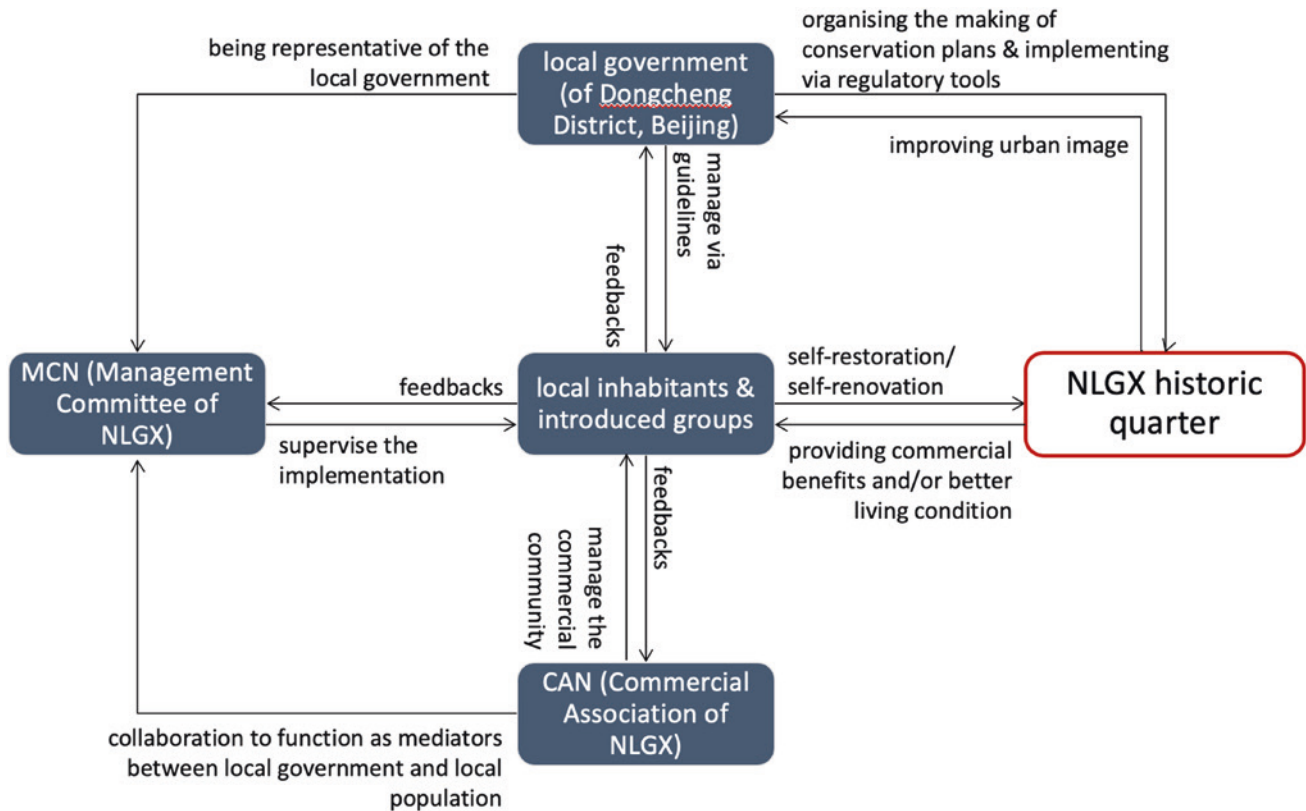
### 3.2 Tian-Zi-Fang Historic Quarter, Shanghai

Tian-Zi-Fang (TZF), the No.210 alley (quarter) of Taikang Road, is located in the Dapujiao zone, Luwan district (a part of the current Huangpu district), Shanghai and covers an area of 7.2 ha. It was formed in the 1920s. Due to the third expansion of the former French concession and the struggle of Chinese merchants and wealthy people, it soon developed into a complex area of small factories, Lilong houses,<sup>2</sup> and stores with features influenced by colonisation and intercultural communication. After the industrial depression and the long-time neglect of property management, the majority of collective buildings were overcrowded, and the factories were abandoned. Nowadays, hundreds of buildings near the TZF quarter have been listed as protected sites or excellent buildings. Yet, the buildings

in the quarter which are believed less significant are not on the list (Fig. 4).

There were three phases of the urban conservation of TZF during the past three decades. The 1st stage began with reusing the abandoned factories in the quarter. In 1998, the local government office of Dapujiao zone transformed the former Needle Factory of Shanghai into an internal grocery market for the first attempt. Then, it introduced artists, artisans, and designers to operate creative businesses. It soon attracted attention, and around 2002, the factories' tenants reached a saturation point. The 2nd stage began with the conflict between the demolition-reconstruction plan published by the Government of Luwan district and the resistance of introduced artisans and inhabitants. During that time, Yisan Ruan and Shiling Zhen, from Tongji University, provided the *Plan on Conservation and*

<sup>2</sup>Lilong houses indicate two or three-floor terraced houses which distributed along the alleys.



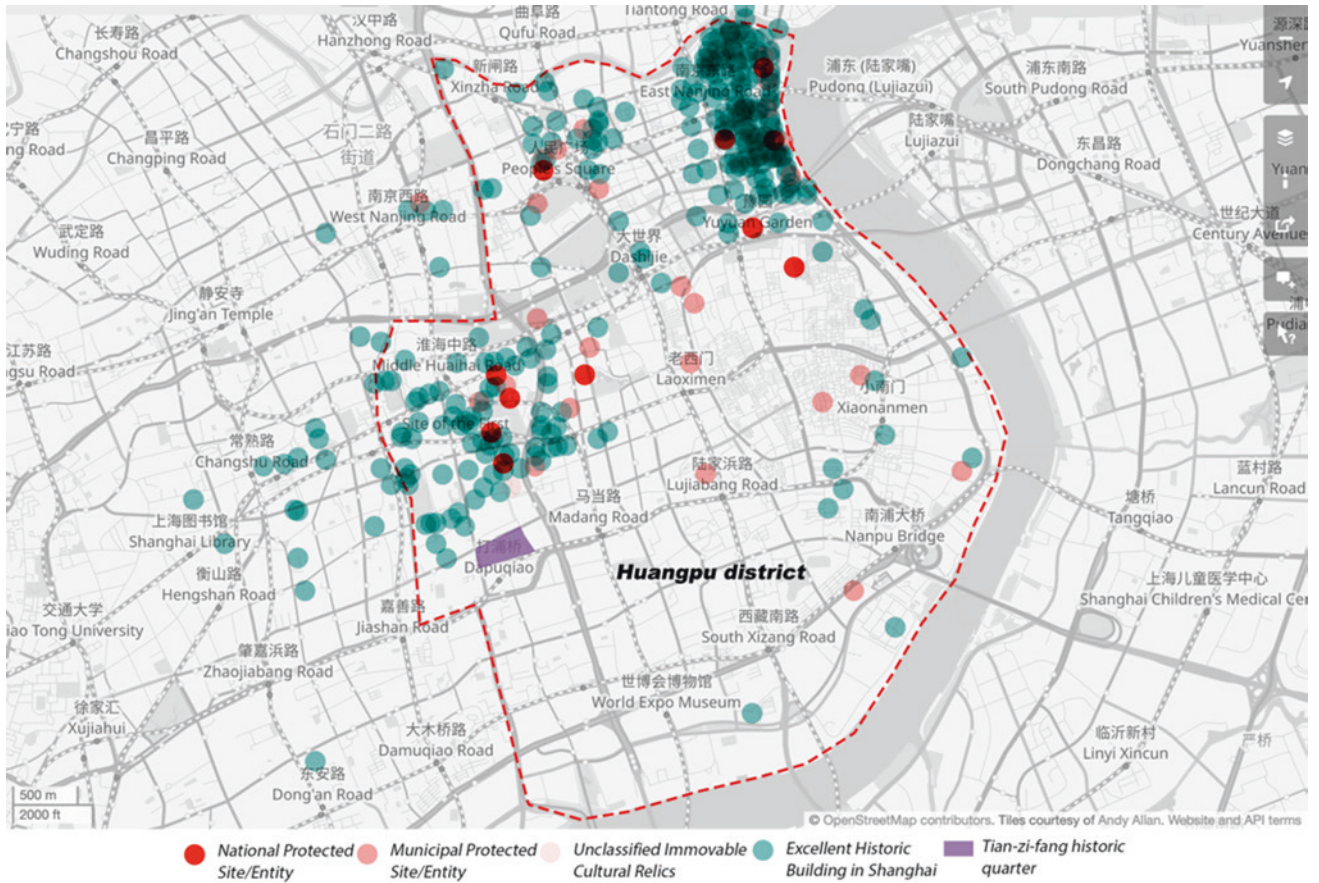
**Fig. 3** Cooperation mechanism between main stakeholders in NLGX (drawn by the author)

*Reusing of Historically Imaged Quarter of Taikang Road, Shanghai*, to stress the integrated conservation of architectural heritage with its surrounding historical quarters. The Shanghai Association for Science and Technology (SAST) promoted the *Proposal on Conservation of Historically Imaged Quarter of Taikang Road, Shanghai: the Museum of Lilong Shikumen Houses in Shanghai (2005)* to attract the municipality's attention to conservation and redevelopment. As a result, the municipal government decided to maintain the whole area of TZF that year. Meantime, the inhabitants attempted to reuse the houses for commercial activities to realise the initiative redevelopment and established their association—Proprietors' Committee on the management of TZF (PCMT)—to strengthen their initiative management. Like other quarters of the commercial transformation, the TZF quarter met the conflict between inhabitants and business operators and the radical transformation that damaged the historic streetscape (Fig. 5). In the 3rd stage, the governmental Management Committee of TZF (MCT) was set up to help the daily management. It managed to improve public spaces and manage changes in the buildings by establishing workflows for each service and guidelines on preventing damages. The inhabitants made

the self-rehabilitation of their houses under the guideline for Lolong houses in Shanghai. Thus, the quarter was put into the first municipal list of *Streetscape to be Safeguarded* (2016).

The roles of stakeholders and their cooperation altered. The local government seemed to step back from the conservation process. The distinction between the governmental decision and the local office's development consideration led to the conflict between them. Compromising the inhabitants' and users' opinions, the local government provided an accessible environment for the creative and commercial transformation of the quarter. Adapted to the contemporary context, the regulation on the use of houses was open to other kinds of activities, while following the strict application procedure.

The local government office and inhabitants collaborated to play a leading role in decision-making and implementation. They presented their power on the redevelopment approach's decision-making, accompanied by technical support provided by academic experts. They organized the Allies on the Protection of Intellectual Property Rights of TZF with the agreement on safeguarding the architectural features and attracting external investment (Zhong, 2016).

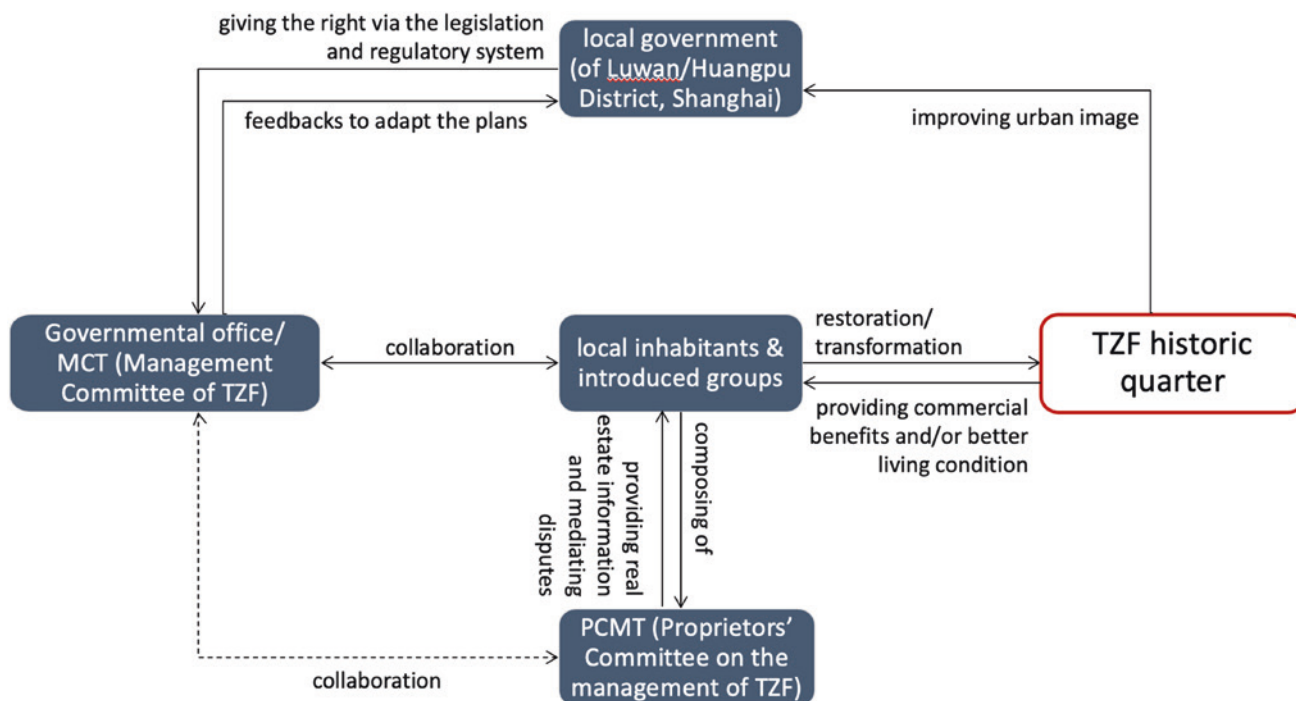


**Fig. 4** Distribution of listed heritage in Huangpu District and the location of TZF historic quarter (drawn by the author, the base map is from [openstreetmap.org/copyright](http://openstreetmap.org/copyright))

**Fig. 5** The local residential space and tourists' space combined in the TZF historic quarter (derived from Yung et al., 2014)







**Fig. 6** Cooperation mechanism between main stakeholders in TZF (drawn by the author)

They also made bold attempts at the utility transformation and encouraged the local government to adopt it. The inhabitants benefited from renting or using the houses as ground-floor stores. It is undeniable that the market-led process caused gentrification and the loss of artisans, which stimulated organisations' intervention.

The non-governmental and governmental organisations played as the bridge between inhabitants and the government. The inhabitants and artists who established the PCMT contributed to providing real estate information and mediating disputes, especially between inhabitants and business operators. It has an initiative bond between the owners and gathers the power of each individual. On the contrary, the governmental organisation—MCT had a solid power to keep the operation and relationship between stakeholders in order via the legislation and regulatory system. For example, the agreement on the regeneration of a building must be passed by more than two-thirds of the owners and tenants, and the acts on applying for the transformation from residential use to non-residential use. The cooperation mechanism is shown in Fig. 6.

#### 4 Conclusion and Discussion

This paper aimed to provide alternative methods to manage the historic area via collaboration with stakeholders. The two cases displayed stakeholders' collaboration modes in the whole process of urban conservation. Through the decades of development, stakeholders' participation has changed. The municipal or local government showed increasing concern for the need of inhabitants or individual users of heritages; the current requirement for living and working in historical quarters pushes the inhabitants to present opinions and participate in their initiative. That is, the discourse of other stakeholders, apart from the government, is rising.

Meantime, we should be aware of side effects. Contrary to depopulation, the collaboration might attract more inhabitants and businesses to settle down in historic quarters. For example, the total population in NLGX historic quarter increased from 22,000 in 2002 (Shin, 2010) to 46,000 in 2017 (Chen, 2017). Besides, the commodification and privatization of heritage might lead to emptying the historic

quarters. For instance, about 10% of the original 671 households stayed in TZF historic quarter (Zhong, 2016, 204). Therefore, the contemporary situation requires more measures to fulfil the conservation and redevelopment goals.

**Acknowledgments** The author would like to thank the editors of this proceeding and two anonymous reviewers for providing constructive comments. The research was supported by the Chinese Scholarship Council (NO.201806120033).

## References

- Bandarin, F., & van Oers, R. (2015). *Reconnecting the city and the future of urban heritage reconnecting the city*. Wiley
- Bonfantini, G. B. (2015). Historic urbanscapes for tomorrow, two Italian cases: Genoa and Bologna. *European Spatial Research and Policy*, 22(2), 57–71. <https://doi.org/10.1515/esrp-2015-0025>
- Chen, Z. (2017). Report of the people's government of Dongcheng District on the implementation of the plan for the protection and revitalization of the Nanluoguxiang area, a historical and cultural district (东城区人民政府关于实施历史文化街区——南锣鼓巷地区保护复兴计划情况的报告). Retrieved August 8, 2022, from <http://www.bjdch.gov.cn/n3201130/n3203907/n3203909/n6275910/c6276315/content.html>
- Committee of Ministers of the Council of Europe. (1975). *The declaration of Amsterdam*.
- Fan, L. (2014). International influence and local response: Understanding community involvement in urban heritage conservation in China. *International Journal of Heritage Studies*, 20(6), 651–662. <https://doi.org/10.1080/13527258.2013.834837>
- González Martínez, P. (2016). Authenticity as a challenge in the transformation of Beijing's urban heritage: The commercial gentrification of the Guozijian historic area. *Cities*, 59, 48–56. <https://doi.org/10.1016/j.cities.2016.05.026>
- He, S., & Wu, F. (2005). Xintiandi redevelopment project in Shanghai. *Journal of Urban Affairs*, 27(1), 1–23. <https://doi.org/10.1111/j.0735-2166.2005.00222.x>
- Hu, Y., & Morales, E. (2016). The unintended consequences of a culture-led regeneration project in Beijing, China. *Journal of the American Planning Association*, 82(2), 148–151. <https://doi.org/10.1080/01944363.2015.1131130>
- Jokilehto, J. (2007). International charters on urban conservation: Some thoughts on the principles expressed in current international doctrine. *City & Time*, 3(3), 23–42.
- Pouilos, I. (2014). *The past in the present: A living heritage approach—Mateora, Greece*. Ubiquity Press Ltd.
- Shan, J. (2007). Conservation of urban cultural heritage and construction of cultural city (城市文化遗产保护与文化城市建设). *City Planning Review*, 31(5), 9–23.
- Shin, H. B. (2010). Urban conservation and revalorisation of dilapidated historic quarters: The case of Nanluoguxiang in Beijing. *Cities*, 27, S43–S54. <https://doi.org/10.1016/j.cities.2010.03.006>
- Smith, L. (2006). *Use of heritage*. Routledge.
- UNESCO. (1976). *Recommendation concerning the safeguarding and contemporary role of historic areas*.
- UNESCO. (2011). *Recommendation on the historic urban landscape*. Urban Design and Regeneration Institute of Engineer and Technology of Beijing, & Architectural Design and Research Limited Company of Beijing (Eds.). (2016). *Guidelines for protecting and controlling features of Nan-Luo-Gu-Xiang historical and cultural quarter* (南锣鼓巷历史文化街区风貌保护管控导则 (试行)). Management Committee of Nan-Luo-Gu-Xiang quarter in Dongcheng District of Beijing.
- Wang, Y. (2009). The inquiry into the use of “oral history” methods in architectural history study—an example of the residential house investigation in Southwest Zhejiang Province (对建筑史研究中口述史方法应用的探讨——以浙西南民居考察为例). *Tongji University Journal Social Science Section*, 20(5), 52–56.
- Wang, H., & Dong, Y. (2018). A preliminary study on the value of vernacular dwelling building heritage based on oral history method: Taking Liaonan-Long Lund Manor as an example (基于口述史方法的乡土民居建筑遗产价值研究初探——以辽南长隆德庄园为例). *Journal of Shenyang University of Technology (social Science Edition)*, 20(5), 452–458.
- Wu, L. (1994). *The old city of Beijing and its juer hutong neighbourhood* (北京旧城与菊儿胡同). China Architecture & Building Press.
- Xie, J., & Heath, T. (2018). *Heritage-led Urban regeneration in China*. Routledge.
- Yin, H., & Wang, X. (2014). Cultural dying in urban historical block modification works: A case study of historical block of Daowai in Harbin (城市历史街区改造中的“文化之殇”——以哈尔滨市道外历史街区为例). *Modern Urban Research*, 6, 22–30.
- Yung, E. H. K., Chan, E. H. W., & Xu, Y. (2014). Sustainable development and the rehabilitation of a historic urban district—social sustainability in the case of Tianzifang in Shanghai. *Sustainable Development*, 22(2), 95–112. <https://doi.org/10.1002/sd.534>
- Zhang, C., Lu, B., & Song, Y. (2012). Involving the community in inner city renewal: A case study of Nanluogu in Beijing. *Journal of Urban Management*, 1(2), 53–71. [https://doi.org/10.1016/S2226-5856\(18\)30060-8](https://doi.org/10.1016/S2226-5856(18)30060-8)
- Zhong, X. (2016). *How could Tian-Zi-Fang be possible* (田子坊是如何可能的). Fudan Press.
- Zhu, Y., & Zhang, X. (2012). Nostalgic modernity: Thinking on renewal of harbin Chinese-baroque historic block (怀旧的现代性: 哈尔滨道外中华巴洛克历史街区更新思考). *Urbanism and Architecture*, 80–83.