

Governance of Historical and Cultural Heritage in Urban Wetland Landscapes

The Case Study of Xixi National Wetland Park

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Swedish University of Agricultural Sciences, SLU

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Abstract

Based on the Policy Arrangement Approach, this thesis analyses the conflict and its root causes between the government and the locals of Xixi Wetland in the conservation and management process of Hangzhou Xixi National Wetland Park. Through literature review, policy regulation analysis and telephone interviews, this thesis assesses the effectiveness and shortcomings of Xixi Wetland in terms of historical and cultural heritage governance. It is found that the government's uneven distribution of resources, differences in discourses and values in policy formulation and implementation are the main root causes of conflicts. Meanwhile the government's policy of forced demolition and resettlement, market-based governance and inefficient mechanisms for citizen participation are the main reasons for intensifying these conflicts. In order to solve these conflicts, this thesis proposes that the government and the locals of Xixi Wetland should strengthen communication and participation, fair resource distribution and integration of historical and cultural heritage with the locals, so as to promote the sustainable development and cultural inheritance of the wetland.

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1. Introduction

Xixi National Wetland Park is an important ecological reserve and tourist attraction located in Hangzhou City, Zhejiang Province, China, and the governance of its ecosystem and historical and cultural heritage is an important learning experience for other wetland parks in China (Li, 2021). However, the Hangzhou municipal government has implemented a policy of forced demolition and relocation of indigenous people during the conservation and development of Xixi Wetland, a decision that has triggered a conflict of interest between the government and the indigenous people of Xixi Wetland. The locals believed that this policy severed their connection to the land and affected their traditional way of life and cultural heritage, while the government emphasised ecological protection and economic development. After forcibly demolishing and relocating the Xixi Wetland locals, the Hangzhou government adopted a commercialised approach to the governance of the Xixi National Wetland Park, making the transmission and display of the history and cultural heritage of the Xixi Wetland superficial and shallow. During the interviews with the Xixi Wetland locals, it was found that the Hangzhou Municipal Government's public solicitation of opinions and suggestions on the Regulations on the Protection and Management of Hangzhou Xixi National Wetland Park (Revised Draft) did not achieve active resident participation.

The research questions of this thesis are: what specific conflicts have been triggered by the government-imposed policy of forced demolition and relocation of indigenous people, the weak mechanism of residents' participation, and the subsequent commercialised approach to governance in the process of historical and cultural preservation and management of the Xixi National Wetland Park in Hangzhou? What are the root causes of these conflicts? How can these conflicts be analysed through the Policy Arrangement Approach and effective solutions proposed to achieve a balance between ecological protection, economic development and cultural heritage?

In order to gain a deeper understanding of the root causes and impacts of this conflict, this study adopts the Policy Arrangement Approach to analyse the causes of conflict in the governance of the historical and cultural heritage of Xixi Wetland from four dimensions. Through literature review, policy regulation analysis and telephone interviews, the current status of the Hangzhou Municipal Government's governance of the historical and cultural heritage of Xixi National Wetland Park

was assessed, leading to a discussion of deficiencies in the governance process and the root causes of the conflict, as well as corresponding recommendations for improvement.

This thesis provides new perspectives and methods for theoretical research on the historical and cultural governance of wetlands through practical case studies, enriching the theoretical tools for policy analysis. This thesis also provides lessons and experiences for other wetland parks and similar ecological reserves in dealing with similar conflicts and problems, and is of strong practical guidance. This thesis emphasises the importance of the governance of wetland historical and cultural heritage, and calls on the government to value and protect traditional culture and community structures alongside ecological conservation and economic development.

2. Methods

This thesis adopts a case study approach to assess the effects, deficiencies, and conflicts in the protection of historical and cultural heritage in Xixi National Wetland Park in Hangzhou, using The Policy Arrangement Approach as a theoretical model through literature review, policy regulation analysis and telephone interviews. The specific methods are as follows:

2.1 Case study

2.1.1 Definition of case study

A case study is a research method that analyses a single or a small number of instances of social phenomena in depth, aiming to understand complexity through detailed description and explanation (Flyvbjerg, 2011). By focusing on a specific example (e.g. Xixi National Wetland Park in Hangzhou), researchers can reveal the multiple dimensions and contexts of the phenomenon, providing valuable insights for theory development and practice.

2.1.2 The benefits of case study

According to Flyvbjerg (2011), the benefits of the case study approach are multiple. Firstly, it allows the researcher to gain a deeper understanding and a nuanced description of the complexity of a particular phenomenon. Secondly, case study contributes to theory generation and validation, providing theoretical support for academic research. In addition, case studies emphasise practical knowledge, which is an important reference for policy making and management practice. Finally, case studies provide contextualised understanding, revealing unique developments and challenges in a particular context.

2.1.3 Conducting methodology

In this study, Hangzhou Xixi National Wetland Park was selected as the case study. Rich information on the history and cultural heritage governance of Xixi National Wetland Park was collected through literature search and analysis, interviews and theoretical model application, describing in detail the historical and

cultural context of the wetland park, analyzing the current status of the governance and the challenges, deficiencies and conflicts it faces, and providing invaluable theoretical support for urban wetland governance.

2.2 Literature search and analysis

2.2.1 Academic literature

First, this study systematically reviewed and analyzed the relevant academic literature through the following steps:

Search engines: Academic search engines such as Google Scholar, China National Knowledge Infrastructure (CNKI) and Web of Science were used.

Search terms: The keywords entered include but are not limited to "Xixi National Wetland Park", "cultural and historical heritage management", "Hangzhou Wetland Protection". The search results were limited to literature within the last fifteen years to ensure the timeliness of the research.

Filtering and classification: The search results were filtered to exclude the literature that was not related to the research topic. The literature was categorized according to the theme, which mainly included wetland conservation and management, cultural heritage protection policies and specific case studies of Xixi National Wetland Park in Hangzhou.

2.2.2 Regulations and policies

Next, in terms of the acquisition of policy and management documents, the following methods were mainly adopted:

Sources of policy documents: Officially released policy documents and management regulations were obtained through official government websites (e.g. Hangzhou Municipal People's Government, Xixi National Wetland Park Management Committee official website).

Key documents: The focus was on analysing the Protection and Management Regulations of Hangzhou Xixi National Wetland Park, which is the core policy basis of the thesis. In addition, relevant national and local wetland protection policy documents and management plans were also referenced.

Content analysis: The acquired policy documents were analyzed to assess their specific measures, implementation effects and problems in historical and cultural heritage protection.

2.2.3 Newspaper articles

In order to supplement the academic literature and policy documents, this study also cited relevant newspaper articles: Newspaper sources: News websites with high credibility were selected.

Content selection: News reports, expert comments and public opinions related to the conservation of Xixi Wetland were cited to enrich the perspective and data sources of the thesis.

Analysis method: The relevant contents in newspaper articles were summarised and analysed and combined with other content sources to comprehensively assess the conservation effects and problems of Xixi National Wetland Park.

2.3 Interviews

In order to gain a more thorough understanding of the actual management situation and conservation effects, remote telephone interviews were also conducted in this study. The main focus was on indigenous residents living in Xixi National Wetland Park in Hangzhou, whose families have lived in the area for generations. Through these interviews, the aim was to reveal the local residents' views on the current governance policies and management structure, especially its shortcomings and areas of conflict, and whether the actual level of participation of stakeholders and residents, had been taken into account.

2.3.1 Type of interviews

Semi-structured interviews were used in this study. This method allowed the interviewer to frame the questions according to a pre-determined framework of questions, but also gave the respondents some freedom to express their views and experiences. This flexibility helped to gain insight into the real feelings and thoughts of the interviewees.

2.3.2 Interview methods

The interviewees were six indigenous residents of Xixi National Wetland Park in Hangzhou, whose families have lived in the area for generations and who have a deep understanding and feeling of the history and culture of the wetland park. Due to geographical constraints, all interviews were conducted remotely by telephone.

2.3.3 Interview Techniques

Detailed notes were recorded for each interview to ensure accuracy and completeness of information. The interviews were structured around the following areas:

Evaluation of Governance Policies and Management Structures: Interviewees' perceptions of the current governance policies and management structures, in particular shortcomings and conflicts.

Stakeholder Consideration: Respondents' perceptions of whether current policies adequately take into account the interests of all stakeholders, including indigenous residents, citizens, etc.

Resident participation: Respondents' perceptions of the level of participation and willingness to participate of indigenous residents and citizens in the governance of wetland parks, exploring whether there are barriers to participation.

2.3.4 Interview Process

First contact: Initial contact was made with interviewees by telephone to introduce the background, purpose and importance of the study and to seek their consent to participate. An ethical statement for the study was provided to ensure respondents' informed consent.

Formal Interview: A telephone interview is conducted at a predetermined time, following a pre-set framework of questions and recording the respondent's answers and views.

Re-contact: A second contact is made to clarify or add anything not covered in the previous interview.

Closing contact: Confirming whether the interviewee has anything further to add and thanking them for their participation.

2.3.5 Transcription of results

All interview transcripts were collated in text form and included direct quotes from interviewees and observations from the researcher. These transcripts were subsequently analysed to identify key insights.

2.4 Application of Theoretical Framework

This study adopts The Policy Arrangement Approach as a theoretical framework to analyze the policy arrangement and governance model of Hangzhou Xixi National Wetland Park. The specific steps are as follows:

2.4.1 Introduction of the Policy Arrangement Approach

The Policy Arrangement Approach seeks to link structural social and political changes in society to changes in the day-to-day practice of policy processes (Arts et al., 2006). A policy arrangement is defined as "the temporary stabilization of the content and organization of a particular policy domain at a certain policy a level or over several policy levels" (Arts & Leroy, 2006).

According to Arts and Leroy (2006), the structure of a policy arrangement can be analyzed from the following four dimensions (Figure 1), the first three of which refer to the organizational aspects, while the last one refers to the substantive aspects of policy:

- the actors in the policy domain and their coalitions;
- the distribution of resources among these actors leads to differences in power and influence, where power relates to the mobilization and deployment of the available resources, and influence on who decides on policy outcomes and how they decided;
- the rules of the game that are currently in operation, from the perspective of formal procedures of decision making and implementation as well as the informal rules and 'routines' of interaction; and
- the current policy discourses, where the discourses consist of the views and narratives (norms, values, definitions of problems and approaches to solutions) of the actors involved.

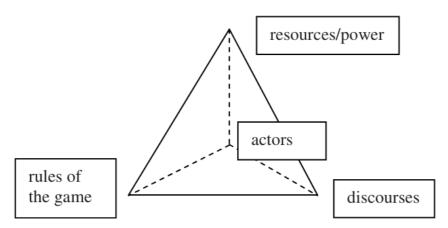


Figure 1. The tetrahedron, symbolizing the interconnectedness of the four dimensions of a policy arrangement (Arts & Leroy, 2006), if one corner of the tetrahedron changes, i.e. one of the dimensions of the policy arrangement, the other dimensions will change accordingly.

2.4.2 Application Processes

Actor Dimension

The governance of the cultural and historical heritage of Xixi National Wetland Park involves multiple actors, including government agencies, community organizations, residents, enterprises and NGOs, etc. The Actor Dimension of the Policy Arrangement Approach allows for a detailed analysis of the roles, objectives and interactions of these actors. By identifying and analyzing the key actors, the governance structure of the cultural and historical heritage of Xixi Wetland can be optimized to enhance cooperation among stakeholders and ensure active participation of all parties in wetland governance.

Resources/Power Dimension

Xixi National Wetland Park involves multiple stakeholders, and the resources/power dimension of the Policy Arrangement Approach can help to analyse the distribution of power, control of resources, and discourse of each stakeholder in the governance of the historical and cultural heritage of the wetland. By understanding the distribution of power and influence of different stakeholders, it can identify which stakeholders have more influence in the governance process and which resources are utilised how, to systematically evaluate the policy arrangement and governance effectiveness of Xixi Wetland in historical and cultural heritage protection and identify the deficiencies and conflicts.

Rule Dimension

The Protection and Management Regulations of Hangzhou Xixi National Wetland Park is multiple rule that are mainly involved in the governance of the historical and cultural heritage of this wetland. The rule dimension of the Policy Arrangement Approach allows for a systematic analysis of these regulations and their impact on the governance process. By examining the effectiveness and limitations of the existing rules, it aims to suggest improvements to ensure that the historical and cultural heritage is effectively protected and rationally utilised.

Discourse Dimension

In the governance of historical and cultural heritage in Xixi National Wetland Park, different stakeholders have different discourses and perspectives, such as priority of ecological protection, priority of economic development or priority of cultural heritage protection, etc. The discourse dimension of The Policy Arrangement Approach can analyse these different discourses to derive the positions and perspectives of the different actors. By understanding and reconciling different discourses, the aim is to develop more coherent governance goals and strategies among different actors, thus improving the acceptability and implementation of policies.

Through the above methods, this study systematically evaluates the current situation of Hangzhou Xixi National Wetland Park in the protection of historical and cultural heritage, analyses its deficiencies and conflicts in the process of policy implementation, and puts forward corresponding suggestions for improvement. These research methods ensure the reliability of the content sources.

3. Results

3.1 Results of Literature Analysis

3.1.1 General Introduction of Xixi Wetland

Xixi National Wetland Park (Figure 2), located in the western part of Hangzhou city (Zhou et al., 2010), is an important part of the greenland ecosystem of Hangzhou. Xixi National Wetland Park is currently the first and only national wetland park in China that integrates urban wetland, agricultural wetland and cultural wetland (*Hangzhou Xixi National Wetland Park Masterplan*, 2020). The historical Xixi Wetland covers an area of about 60 square kilometres, and the total area of the Xixi National Wetland Park, which is now under protection, is about 11.5 square kilometres, and its history can be traced back to the Neolithic Age of 5,000 BC (*Hangzhou Xixi National Wetland Park Masterplan*, 2020). About 70 per cent of the park is water, and there are more than 100 bridges. 696 species of wetland plants and animals have been added over the past 10 years, of which 474 species of vascular plants have been added to the existing 1,040; 43 species of birds have been added to the existing 196, which is close to half of the total number of bird species in Hangzhou; and 6 species of fish have been added to the existing 56 (*Hangzhou Xixi National Wetland Park Masterplan*, 2020).

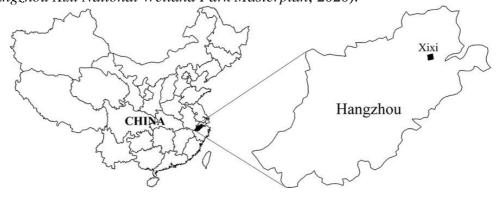


Figure 2. Location of Xixi National Wetland Park in China (Zhou et al., 2010).

3.1.2 History of Xixi

According to the *Hangzhou Xixi National Wetland Park Masterplan* (2020), the historical changes of Xixi Wetland are described as:

During the Eastern Jin Dynasty (317-420 AD), the Northern and Southern Dynasties (420-589 AD), the Sui Dynasty (581-618 AD), the Tang Dynasty (618-907 AD), and the Five Dynasties and Ten Kingdoms (907-960 AD), Xixi Wetland was discovered, and a number of monasteries were built on the south side of the hill.

During the Northern Song Dynasty (960 AD to 1127 AD), temples continued to be built, while natural and other human attractions were developed. Xixi was established as a town at that time, but the environment was still relatively remote.

During the Southern Song Dynasty (1127-1276 A.D.), Xixi developed greatly as the imperial family moved southward, which was related to the opening of the Xixi Carriage Road by Emperor Gaozong of the Song Dynasty (a carriage road to Xixi with "stones as flat as a stone," a road used exclusively by the emperor for travelling to one of his palaces). During the Southern Song Dynasty, the imperial family planted bamboo trees on the south bank of Xixi, and built temples and stone bridges that remain to this day. Residents of the Southern Song Dynasty developed arable land and fisheries and grafted and cultivated persimmon trees on a large scale in the Xixi Wetland, where many tourists came to row boats and drink wine. Xixi Wetland was loved by the literati of the Southern Song Dynasty, who left behind poems and songs that have been handed down to this day.

During the Ming Dynasty (1368-1644 AD), in addition to repairing the landscape of the Song Dynasty, many tourist projects were developed. For their part, residents cultivated plum blossoms in large numbers, and by the middle of the Ming Dynasty, going to Xixi Wetland to see the plum blossoms had become a tourist programme. At the same time, dragon boat races in Xixi Wetland began to rise during the Dragon Boat Festival, a traditional Chinese festival, and this traditional event is still held today. At the end of the Ming Dynasty, going to Xixi Wetland to view the reed flowers also became a popular tourist item

The Qing Dynasty (1636-1912 AD) overthrew the Ming Dynasty, but the army did not damage the Xixi Wetland. As the Qing Dynasty gradually opened up to exchanges with western countries, European missionaries came to Xixi Wetland. Government officials of the Qing Dynasty constructed many new buildings in Xixi Wetland, and the Qing Dynasty intensified the development of Xixi Wetland, which ushered in the historical splendour of Xixi Wetland.

During the Republic of China (1912-1949 AD), many historical buildings in Xixi Wetland collapsed due to old age. With the change of residents' farming operations, residents no longer cultivated plum blossoms, the original plum blossom trees gradually withered and disappeared, and the planting area of rushes also shrunk year by year. 1919 Xixi Wetland underwent a large-scale repair work,

but in the end, it failed to restore the decline of the whole Xixi Wetland. The carriage road was also gradually abandoned because of the highway built in 1924. However, scholars did not forget Xixi Wetland, which was a paradise for poems and songs, and many of them were foreign scholars. When the Japanese invaded China, the Xixi Wetland was greatly damaged, for example, by fire prevention rounds, and the residents in the wetland could hardly continue their lives, so they could only cut down the trees for firewood, and so Xixi was left barren during the war against Japan.

After the liberation of China, in the 50's and 60's of this century, a lot of industrial factories and residential houses were built in the hilly area south of Xixi Wetland, and most of the attractions were damaged, and the temples with a history of over a thousand years were destroyed. from the end of the 70's to the present day, a large number of multi-storey buildings have been built, and the landscape of Xixi Wetland at the hilly area has almost been lost. Therefore, it is difficult to reproduce the old-time landscape of the south bank of Xixi Wetland now. On the north bank of Xixi Wetland, a large number of temples were destroyed in 1950 due to the government's land reform, and the historical relics inside were lost. 1958, the government's policy called for the conversion of a large number of reed fields into farmland, which was then abandoned due to droughts and floods, and in 1966, the Cultural Revolution took place in China, and the culturally rich historical buildings in Xixi Wetland were destroyed or converted into factories. In 1966, China's Cultural Revolution led to the destruction of the historical buildings in the Xixi Wetland and their transformation into factories and residential buildings. At that time, urban construction not only annexed a large area of land in Xixi Wetland, but the river channel of Xixi Wetland was also artificially filled and became narrower and narrower. The width of the Xixi Wetland channel was about 25 metres wide in the early 1960s, but nowadays it is only about 15 metres wide, and the water flow is not smooth and pollution is very serious. After the liberation of China, Xixi Wetland was abandoned due to the emphasis on industrial and transport construction, and the protection of natural resources was neglected.

Therefore, the history of the rise and fall of Xixi Wetland has gone through five stages: discovery in the Eastern Jin Dynasty, development in the Tang and Song Dynasties, full bloom in the Ming and Qing Dynasties, decline in the Republic of China, and abandonment after the liberation of the People's Republic of China. From the current situation, Xixi Wetland can be restored and optimised in some landscapes after governance and reconstruction, but some former landscapes can never be reproduced.

3.1.3 Historical and Cultural Heritage of Xixi Wetland

The history and cultural heritage of Xixi Wetland can be divided into five main areas: intangible cultural heritage, poems and inscriptions of historical relics, historical buildings, farming culture and food customs.

Xixi National Wetland Park is a classic tourist attraction of Zhejiang provincial intangible cultural heritage, where there are Dragon Boat Racing, a traditional activity of Dragon Boat Festival listed in the national intangible cultural heritage list; Xixi Small Flower Baskets, traditional processing and production techniques of persimmons, and Xixi Fresh Flower Festival listed in the provincial intangible cultural heritage list; and Blue Printed Cloth Printing and Dyeing Technique, Xixi Water Household Customs, Xixi Small Rowing Boat Traffic Customs. There are also many traditional projects reflecting folk customs and folk culture such as Xixi Boat Boxing, Yue Opera, Xixi Cake Dumpling, Xixi Tofu, etc., which have passed the evaluation of provincial experts, (Hangzhou Xixi Wetland Intangible Cultural Heritage Base, 2011).

3.2 Status of Governance

In order to protect the ecological environment of Xixi Wetland and at the same time promote tourism development, the Hangzhou government has implemented a policy of forced demolition and relocation of locals, resettling them outside the wetland scenic area. However, while this policy has brought economic benefits, it has also triggered many controversies, especially in terms of overcommercialisation, disregard for residents' participation, and fragmentation of traditional culture and locals. In order to understand the real situation, I interviewed six indigenous people who were evicted from their homes.

The interviews began with what the Indigenous people considered to be the merits of the policies implemented by the government, and the interviewees generally agreed that the government departments had made remarkable achievements in environmental management. Indigenous inhabitant 1 recalled that in the early 1990s, in order to pursue economic benefits, every household raised pigs, and there were stinking ponds everywhere, with the faeces of tens of thousands of pigs discharged directly into the river, not to mention how dirty it was. The interviewee also recalled the Xixi Wetland at that time as having dark grey and bubbling water, with oily green algae, fish floating in the waves, and even dead bodies of rats, pigs and dogs. He also mentioned that in addition to environmental pollution, the river was also damaged by the construction of roads around the ponds, and Xixi gradually shrank to just over 10 square kilometres, one-sixth of its earliest size.

In Hangzhou Xixi National Wetland Park Masterplan, the relevant departments of Xixi Wetland Management Bureau believe that water is the soul of Xixi Wetland, and the focus is to improve the water ecology. Therefore, in terms of water management, the Xixi Wetland Comprehensive Protection Project firstly cleans the ponds and rivers of silt and opens some of the ponds. At the same time, plants with dense and developed root systems such as reeds and wild rice are planted, which can effectively resist the impact of river water on the embankment. And fish are scientifically rationed and stocked to restore and rebuild the best wetland ecosystem in the history of Xixi Wetland and strengthen the purification capacity of Xixi Wetland.

As the interview progressed, the interviewees pointed out that in September 2003, more than 4,000 indigenous households in the Xixi Wetland were compulsorily demolished and resettled by the government in their immediate vicinity. Former Indigenous Resident 2 said: Their families have lived in Xixi Wetland for generations. They used to make a living mainly by planting and fishing, and although their life was not rich, it was very stable, and their neighbours were very familiar and close to each other. The indigenous resident2 consider the wetland not only our home, but also our cultural roots.

The strong community cohesion among the locals in Xixi Wetland is also reflected in the fact that they almost share the same family name, with the Hong and Jiang families being particularly prominent. The Hong family has a long history in Xixi Wetland. The Hong ancestors moved to the Xixi Wetland during the Southern Song Dynasty (1127-1276 AD), and over the generations, they gradually developed into one of the important families within the Xixi Wetland. The Hong family made their living through agriculture and fishing, and their way of life was closely linked to the ecological environment of Xixi Wetland. The Hong Ancestral Hall (Figure 3) is the ancestral hall of the Hong family, built in the Ming Dynasty period. The ancestral hall is not only an important place for ancestor worship and family activities, but also a symbol of the history and culture of the Hong family. The architectural style of the ancestral hall is full of classical Chinese characteristics, and the interior is decorated with the genealogy of the Hong family, portraits of celebrities and historical artefacts, showcasing the glorious history of the Hong family, which is also one of the important historical buildings in Xixi National Wetland Park. Every year, the Hong family holds a variety of traditional cultural activities in the ancestral hall, such as paying tribute to their ancestors at Qingming Festival and enjoying the moon at Mid-Autumn Festival. These activities are not only a gathering of family members, but also an important way to pass on and promote the culture of Xixi Wetland.



Figure 3. The Hong Ancestral Hall.

The Jiang family also has a long history in Xixi Wetland. The ancestors of the Jiang family moved to Xixi Wetland during the Ming Dynasty (1368-1644 AD) and gradually developed into a prestigious family in Xixi Wetland. The Jiang family has made outstanding contributions in agriculture, water conservancy construction and education, and is highly respected by local residents. The cultural heritage of the Chiang family is mainly reflected in the family's architecture, traditional skills and educational endeavours. The old houses, family temples and ancestral halls of the Chiang family are now well-preserved, showcasing the history and culture of the family. There are many outstanding family members who have made remarkable achievements in various fields and won honours for the family. The Chiang family attaches great importance to education, and there are family schools within the family that have nurtured many talented people. The descendants of the Jiang family continue to carry forward the fine tradition of the family in the modern society, and actively participate in various fields, contributing to the development of the society. Therefore, the surname culture of Xixi Wetland not only demonstrates the lifestyle and cultural traditions of the local residents, but also reflects the unique historical background and humanistic landscape of Xixi Wetland, and more importantly, the surname culture fully reflects the community cohesion of the local residents.

The interview mentioned about the inheritance of intangible cultural heritage, the original indigenous resident5 introduced some bamboo art products, such as the inheritance of Xixi small flower basket, one of the intangible cultural heritages. He said: Xixi small flower basket is a basket used by us living in Xixi Wetland to catch fish or carry vegetables, and I learnt the craft of weaving Xixi small flower basket from my grandmother at the age of 6. Nowadays, in front of the bamboo industrial products shop in Xixi National Wetland Park, Ms Hong, a provincial-level nongenetic hereditary bearer who has mastered the art of weaving Xixi small flower baskets and also the owner of the shop (Figure 4), skillfully demonstrates this nearly lost weaving technique every day, surrounded by onlookers. The shop mainly

focuses on on-site teaching, but also sells some bamboo art products, with a turnover of up to 200,000 yuan a year when business is good. The transformation and upgrading of the primitive farming method has become a cultural tourism product and enhanced economic benefits, and the "wetland farmers" have changed into "wetland operators".



Figure 4. Ms Hong is weaving a small Xixi flower basket (SOHU, 2019).

Regarding the life after the demolition, the indigenous resident3 mentioned: after the demolition, we were resettled to the current community. The government gave us some compensation, but the new living environment is very different from before. The pace of life here is much faster and neighbours are not as close as before. We have lost a lot of our traditional way of life and cultural activities. Former Indigenous Resident 4 said: The biggest impact of the demolition is our cultural and emotional disconnection. We have lost the land where we have lived for generations, which is our roots. Many traditional festivals and events cannot be held as they used to be, and we have to buy tickets like ordinary tourists to enter the places where we used to live for generations. There are also economic pressures. Many families who used to rely on the wetland for their livelihoods now find it difficult to find jobs, and their incomes are unstable, but it is good that the government has introduced a policy for Xixi Wetland locals to return to the wetland to start their own businesses and find employment, which has solved the difficulties of employment for some of them.

When asked how they viewed the commercialised development of Xixi National Wetland Park now. The interviewed indigenous residents coincidentally felt that the commercialisation is now too much. Indigenous Resident 5 said: Now Xixi Wetland is full of restaurants, snack shops and souvenir shops, and much of the original cultural landscape has been destroyed. What tourists see is only superficial bustle, and they cannot feel the real culture of the wetland.

Regarding the voice and participation in the process of policy formulation and implementation, the original indigenous resident generally agreed that their

participation was very low at that time. The government did not really listen to us when making decisions. It is worth noting that the interviewees said they were unaware of the government's announcements seeking residents' views. Many indigenous resident were unaware of the specific policy and compensation details and had to passively accept and forcibly demolish and move out.

The indigenous and indigenous residents6 hope that the government will listen more to our voices and allow us to truly participate in the protection and management of the wetland. We also hope that there will be ways to preserve and pass on our culture, so that more people can understand the real Xixi Wetland instead of being confused by commercialised appearances. The interviewees all hope that their lives will gradually settle down and find a new way out in the new environment.

3.3 Policy Arrangement Approach

Xixi Wetland, as an important ecological reserve and tourist attraction in Hangzhou, the conflict between the government and the wetland locals is particularly prominent in the process of policy formulation and implementation. Through the Policy Arrangement Approach, the distribution of resource rights and discourses between the two major players, the locals and the government, can be systematically analysed.

3.3.1 Rules of the game

The Protection and Management Regulations (*Regulations on the Protection and Management of Hangzhou Xixi National Wetland Park*, 2023) of Hangzhou Xixi National Wetland Park is the main rule framework for the governance of Xixi Wetland. These rules include specific provisions on various aspects of wetland protection, land use, ecological restoration and wetland construction. The following are the regulations in the rules related to the governance of historical and cultural heritage:

Article 30 The management agency shall encourage and support the development of farming and fishery with the traditional characteristics of Xixi Creek, maintain the landscape pattern, topography and ecosystems such as mulberry forests and fishponds co-existing, persimmon groves and fishponds co-existing, bamboo forests and fishponds co-existing in the wetland park, and continue the spatial structure of various hydrologically related ecological environments in the wetland park.

Carry out farming and fishing activities, adopt green and comprehensive control measures, reduce the use of chemical fertilisers, pesticides and bait, and reduce the pollution of water bodies, soil and air.

Article 31 Religious temples, relics, ruins, characteristic buildings, stone carvings and other humanistic and historical features in the wetland park and the environment in which they are located belong to the humanistic and historical features resources of the wetland park and shall be strictly protected.

The management agency and the competent department of cultural relics of the city shall carry out a census of the humanistic and historical landscape resources in the wetland park, and prepare a protection list of the buildings, relics and ruins in the wetland park that are not immovable cultural relics or historical buildings but have certain historical and cultural values, and make it known to the society. The preparation of the protection list shall seek the opinions of stakeholders and experts of the buildings, relics and sites.

Buildings, relics and sites included in the protection list shall be protected in accordance with law, and encroachment and destruction shall be prohibited; where repairs are required, their original appearance shall be maintained.

Article 35 The management agency shall strengthen the protection and use of wetland resources and the research on the history and culture of wetland, establish a technical system for the protection and use of wetland, carry out the research and collation of the culture of wetland parks, organise traditional festivals and activities, and pass on the intangible cultural heritage.

The use of humanistic and historical style resources of wetland parks shall be mainly for visiting and scientific investigation, and its use for commercial activities shall be restricted.

Article 55 Anyone who violates the provisions of Paragraph 3 of Article 31 of these Regulations and encroaches upon or destroys the buildings (structures), relics or ruins listed for protection shall be ordered by the management agency to make corrections and shall be fined from 20,000 yuan to 200,000 yuan.

The government has the power to formulate and enforce these rules, and specific provisions in the regulations, such as the prohibition of destructive activities in wetlands and the strict control of commercial development, are the basis for the government's actual enforcement. Although these rules provide a basis for the protection and development of wetlands at the legal level, there may be neglect of the interests of the indigenous people in the course of enforcement. For example, these locals now even need to buy tickets to enter their former homes and to participate in the traditional festivals handed down by their families over the centuries. The life and cultural practices of the locals constitute their own informal system of rules, which include traditional agricultural and fishing activities, community living habits and cultural inheritance, etc. However, the government relocates these people with knowledge and traditions of the ancient farming culture out of the Xixi Wetland.

3.3.2 Resources/Power Analysis

In the governance process of Xixi Wetland, the allocation and control of resources is the key to conflict.

Government Resources:

Legal power: the government has the power to formulate and implement policies and can manage the wetland through laws and regulations.

Financial resources: the government has financial resources that can be used for wetland protection, infrastructure construction and commercial development to support the implementation of wetland protection and development projects.

Information resources: the government can obtain scientific research and technical information on wetland conservation and development through various channels.

Indigenous Resources:

Traditional knowledge: Locals have lived within the Xixi Wetland for generations and have long-term living experience and ecological knowledge of the wetland, and understand the ecological and cultural values of the wetland. The production and living activities of the Locals within the wetland form part of the wetland culture.

Social network: The social network and mutual help relationship of the indigenous community is its important social resource.

Due to the uneven distribution of resources, the government tends to have a greater say in policy implementation, while the opinions and interests of indigenous people may be ignored.

3.3.3 Discourses

Government:

Priority of ecological protection: the government emphasises the ecological protection and environmental restoration of wetlands, and has formulated strict ecological protection norms and strictly managed the use of wetland resources based on laws and regulations.

Economic benefits: In the process of wetland development, the government focuses on economic benefits and promotes the development of tourism and related businesses.

Scientific management: The government believes that through scientific research and planning, wetland conservation and commercial development can go hand in hand, and that a win-win situation for both ecology and economy can be achieved through strict management measures.

Policy implementation: The government sees the production and living activities of the indigenous people as a potential threat to wetland protection, and advocates relocating them out of the core area of the wetland. At the same time, the government believes that strict enforcement of the policy is necessary to ensure wetland protection and economic development.

Locals:

Traditional way of life; Locals emphasise the symbiotic relationship with the wetland and value the continuation of their traditional way of life and culture.

Community values: Indigenous communities value family and neighbourhood relationships, and community stability and mutual assistance as well as cultural heritage are their core values.

Due to the differences in discourses, there are conflicts between the government and indigenous values on wetland conservation and utilisation, leading to contradictions in the policy implementation process.

Ecological and cultural symbiosis: Locals believe that their way of life and the wetland ecosystem coexist harmoniously, that indigenous activities are part of the wetland culture, and that traditional activities are not destructive to the wetland ecology. Instead, it is the commercialised traditional cultural display activities that have been developed and protected by the government that have polluted the environment.

Protection of rights and interests: Locals are concerned about their land use rights and cultural heritage rights, and consider the government's forced demolition and commercial development as an infringement of their rights and culture.

3.3.4 Conflict Analysis

Unequal distribution of resources:

The government holds the main resources for policy formulation and implementation, while the indigenous people lack sufficient resources and voice in the decision-making process. This unequal distribution of resources leads to the root cause of the conflict.

Differences in Discourses:

Government and Indigenous people have different goals and standards for wetland conservation and utilisation. The government focuses on ecological conservation and economic development, while the Indigenous people value traditional lifestyles and community stability.

Differences in values:

There are differences in the understanding and expectations of wetland conservation and development between the government and indigenous people. The government believes in scientific management and strict policy enforcement, while indigenous people emphasise the rationality and necessity of traditional knowledge and lifestyles.

3.3.5 Solution Suggestion:

The government should establish an effective communication mechanism to ensure the indigenous people's right to participate in policy formulation and implementation. Meanwhile, resources for wetland protection and development should be allocated reasonably to ensure that locals can receive fair economic compensation and benefit sharing in the process of wetland protection and development. Integrate the diversified values of ecological protection, economic development and cultural inheritance in policy implementation, and find solutions that are mutually acceptable to the government and the indigenous people, so as to achieve a win-win situation. Through ecological and cultural education activities, improve the understanding of the government and the indigenous people of each other's cognitive framework, reduce cognitive differences, and establish common goals and visions.

4. Photo gallery

All photos were taken on site by the author.

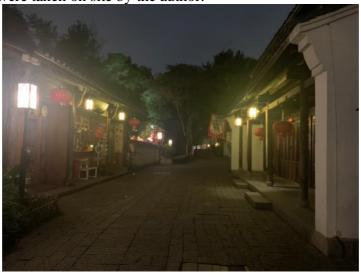


Figure 5. The former Xixi Wetland local residents' homes were turned into commercial streets.



Figure 6. Heavily commercialised, with yellow flags writing the name of the shop.



Figure 7. Local people walk in the area of the park that does not require an entrance fee.



Figure~8.~View~from~the~nature~reserve~towards~Commercial~Street.



Figure 9. Map of the Xixi National Wetland Park.



Figure 10. One of the ancient bridges in the Park.



Figure 11. Historical buildings in the park.



Figure 12. One of the historical buildings in the park.



Figure 13. Boating in the park.



Figure 14. One of the historical buildings in the park.



Figure 15. Traditional dragon boat races at the Dragon Boat Festival in the park.

5. Discussion

5.1 Forced demolition and relocation

Xixi National Wetland Park is an important ecological reserve with rich biodiversity and unique wetland ecosystem. The demolition and resettlement of the locals is to reduce the damage to the wetland ecology caused by human activities and to restore and protect the wetland ecosystem. The Hangzhou government hopes to protect and develop the Xixi Wetland to promote the development of local tourism and enhance the regional economy.

The policy of compulsory demolition and relocation positively affects the ecological protection effect, reduces the interference of human activities on the wetland, helps to restore the natural ecosystem of the wetland, and also protects the diversity of flora and fauna in the wetland. With the improvement of the ecological environment and through the development of tourism resources by the government, Xixi National Wetland Park will attract a large number of tourists, which will lead to the development of service and related industries in Hangzhou. Meanwhile, since most of the historical buildings in Xixi Wetland are poorly protected, some of the locals used to live in poor conditions. The government's demolition and resettlement can improve their living environment and enhance the quality of life of the locals.

The Government's policy of compulsory demolition and relocation also has negative impacts. Obviously, the policy has damaged the interests of the locals of Xixi Wetland. Although the government has provided new housing and financial compensation, the locals have been forced to leave their homes where they have lived for generations, which has dealt a blow to their living habits, social relations and cultural heritage. Meanwhile, in the process of forced demolition and resettlement, if the compensation given by the government is not fair enough or the new housing is not good enough, it will easily lead to social conflicts and dissatisfaction among the locals.

The policy of forced demolition and relocation also has many implications in the governance of the historical and cultural heritage of Xixi National Wetland Park. The traditional culture and lifestyle of the locals are part of the history of the wetland, and the departure of the locals will inevitably lead to the loss of some

cultural heritage. In terms of traditional lifestyles and customs, firstly, the locals of Xixi Wetland have long made a living from agriculture (mainly mulberry planting and sericulture) and fisheries, and their production methods and skills are an important part of the traditional culture of the wetland. The demolition will lead to the loss of these traditional skills, thus affecting the continuation of the culture. Secondly, the locals of the wetland have unique festivals and folklore, which are not only important expressions of local culture, but also a manifestation of social cohesion. The government's forced demolition will break the original community structure of Xixi Wetland, making it difficult to continue these traditional activities.

In terms of historical architectural heritage, the Xixi National Wetland Park has preserved many traditional houses and historical buildings with local characteristics. These buildings not only have practical value, but also carry rich historical information and cultural value. Lack of protection and restoration of these buildings during the demolition process will lead to permanent loss of cultural heritage. The village structures of the locals reflect the unique survival wisdom and ecological adaptability of the residents of Xixi Wetland, and are an important part of the cultural landscape of the wetland. Demolition and resettlement will change the original village structure and destroy the integrity of the cultural landscape.

The forced demolition and relocation policy also affects the social relationship and community culture of the Xixi Wetland locals. The social relationship network of the indigenous people is part of the history and culture of Xixi Wetland, and these relationships are based on a long history of living together and helping each other. After the demolition, the community was broken up and the original social relationship network was difficult to maintain, which impacted the community culture of the locals. It is worth noting that the locals of Xixi Wetland possess rich oral history and intangible cultural heritage, such as stories, legends, traditional medicine and handicrafts. These cultural heritages often rely on transmission from generation to generation, and once the community is dismantled, these intangible cultural heritages will be at risk of being lost.

It is not difficult to see that the forced eviction of Indigenous people and the commercialisation of the park have caused a disruption in the lives and cultures of the Indigenous people. Indigenous people are forced to leave their homes where they have lived for generations and lose their direct connection to the land, and the transmission of their traditional way of life and cultural practices will surely be broken. The disintegration of the indigenous community also leads to the interruption of cultural inheritance, making it difficult for the younger generation to experience and inherit the traditional crafts and history and culture of their ancestors. At the same time, the demolition of the Xixi Wetland has destroyed the original community network and social relations, and the locals are scattered in different parts of Hangzhou, so the community cohesion and mutual assistance

relationships have been broken, and it is difficult to rebuild the original social structure of the locals.

In terms of cultural identity and inheritance, the locals have a deep sense of cultural identity and belonging to Xixi Wetland. Forced demolition will weaken this sense of identity and lead to a break in cultural inheritance. In the traditional community of Xixi Wetland, cultural inheritance is often realised through daily life within the family and community. After the demolition, the locals will be dispersed, the traditional education and transmission mechanism will be destroyed, and the younger generation's understanding and identification with the local culture may be weakened.

5.2 Commercialisation

Xixi Wetland, as an important ecological reserve and tourist attraction in Hangzhou, the government has implemented a policy of forcibly demolishing and relocating indigenous residents outside the scenic area, while developing commercial neighbourhoods and commercial shops, such as restaurants, snack bars and souvenir shops, within the wetland. This policy aims to enhance tourism and economic benefits, but it has also brought about far-reaching cultural and social impacts.

The policy of compulsory demolition and relocation of locals has indeed promoted the protection of the ecological environment, and the introduction of commercial streets and shops has greatly enhanced the tourism attractiveness of Xixi Wetland and increased the flow of tourists. Tourists can not only go sightseeing in Xixi Wetland, but also shop and spend money, thus boosting Hangzhou's economy. The prosperity of tourism brings a large number of employment opportunities, and the development of commercial shops and services increases Hangzhou's financial income and the economic gains of its residents.

Analysing the cultural and social impacts, the policy over-commercialises the cultural heritage, thus leaving tourists with only a superficial cultural experience, and the lives and cultures of the real wetland locals are diluted and replaced. The commercialised cultural display lacks historical depth and authenticity, and cannot truly convey the historical culture of the wetland. Meanwhile, the original rich cultural content has been replaced by shallow displays driven by commercial interests, and many traditional handicrafts and folk activities have been turned into commercial performances, losing the original meaning of combining residents and culture.

The policy also brings limitations to the experience of tourists. What tourists come into contact with in commercialised wetland parks are mostly cultural displays that have been packaged and commercially processed, lacking historical authenticity and depth of content, and tourists are unable to truly understand and

feel the essence of wetland culture. The commercialised Xixi Wetland National Park pays more attention to economic benefits and neglects the function of culture and education, making it difficult to play the role of inheriting and promoting wetland culture.

The Hangzhou government chose the option of forcibly demolishing and relocating all the locals from the scenic spot in the governance of Xixi Wetland National Park, instead of integrating the locals with the wetland. It is understandable that the government did this because Xixi Wetland is an important ecological reserve in Hangzhou, and the government's top priority is to protect the ecosystem of the wetland and reduce the damage to the wetland caused by human activities. At the same time, Xixi Wetland, as a national wetland park, is planned to be an important tourist attraction, and the government hopes to promote local economic development through the development of tourism resources. However, by doing so, the government has directly led to the loss of the original ecological cultural landscape. The villages, buildings and lifestyles of the locals are an important part of the wetland's cultural landscape. After the forced demolition, these culturally valuable landscapes disappeared and the cultural integrity of the wetland was damaged. At the same time, the government has allowed the commercialised cultural model to replace the traditional cultural landscape, and by introducing a large number of commercial facilities in the scenic area, the cultural landscape of the wetland has been replaced by the commercial landscape, weakening the authenticity and uniqueness of the historical and cultural heritage of Xixi National Wetland Park.

5.3 Resident Participation

When the Hangzhou Municipal Government publicly solicited opinions and suggestions on the Regulations on the Protection and Management of Hangzhou Xixi National Wetland Park (Draft Revision), it only solicited opinions by fax and e-mail, and only posted announcements on the government information disclosure column of the Hangzhou Scenic Spot Management Committee's website. This practice limits to some extent the right of residents, especially indigenous residents, to have a voice and participate in the formulation of government policies.

In China, the use of fax and e-mail is very low, and such communication methods have limitations. Especially for ordinary residents, fax is now almost no longer in use, and email is not very popular in Chinese society, especially for older residents and those with a relatively low level of education, the frequency of use of these contact methods is low. Compared to social media platforms and mobile apps such as WeChat and Weibo, which are common in China, fax and email are both relatively less convenient and less popular, resulting in many residents not being able to access and feedback information in a timely manner.

Announcements are only posted on the government information disclosure section of the Hangzhou Scenic Area Management Committee website, which is not a source of information that residents frequently check on a daily basis. Many residents are not even aware of the existence of this column, resulting in a limited dissemination of information. In other words, the Hangzhou government announces information through a single channel, which makes the residents' access to information limited. At the same time, the government also lacks diversified ways of disseminating information. It is obvious that the government does not make use of traditional media, such as television, radio, and newspapers, as well as broader and more efficient dissemination channels, such as social media and community bulletin boards, which makes it difficult for the announcements to reach all stakeholders.

Indigenous voices are not adequately expressed in the process of policy and regulation development, and indigenous people may find it difficult to express their opinions and suggestions through the communication channels set up by the government due to differences in their culture and ability to access information. Such barriers make it difficult for their voices in policymaking to be heard and valued by rulemakers with higher rights. At the same time, the mechanisms for residents' participation are inadequate, and the lack of effective participatory mechanisms in the process of policy and regulation making makes it difficult for indigenous residents to fully participate in the process of revising the wetland protection and management regulations. Their lives and cultures are affected by the regulations, but they are unable to have a sufficient voice in the policy discussions.

With regard to the transparency of the regulation, the limited scope of information disclosure has led to a lack of transparency, making it difficult for residents to monitor and participate in the policymaking process due to a lack of understanding of the process. This not only weakens the democratic and scientific nature of policies, but may also lead to residents' distrust of the government. At the same time, the policies are not inclusive enough. The needs and opinions of different stakeholder groups are not fully taken into account in the policy formulation process. In particular, insufficient attention has been paid to the indigenous population, a group that has been affected, leading to doubts about the inclusiveness and fairness of the policy.

6. Suggestions for Improvement

The Administration should be more deeply aware that cultural conservation is as important as ecological conservation, so integrating the locals and Xixi Wetland is the first key step in historical and cultural governance. Therefore, in the process of conservation and development of Xixi Wetland, the locals should be allowed to continue to live and work in the wetland through rational planning and participate in the conservation and management of the wetland together. In tourism development, focus on the development of cultural eco-tourism, and enhance the quality of cultural experience for tourists through the way of living rather than commercialised cultural experience. The government has indeed made great progress in the restoration of historical and cultural heritage, but the protection of intangible cultural heritage is still far from enough. The government should preserve the traditional architecture and living space of the locals by setting up an indigenous cultural reserve in Xixi Wetland, protecting and displaying the original cultural landscape inherited from thousands of years of Xixi Wetland, so that tourists and the public can understand and identify with the cultural value of Xixi Wetland. It should also provide economic support to the locals to encourage them to continue to engage in traditional handicrafts, agriculture and fisheries, and to maintain their traditional way of life.

The government needs to realise the importance of balancing economic and cultural conservation. During the protection and development of Xixi Wetland, the government should pay attention to the protection of indigenous life and culture, and preserve and display the traditional life and cultural practices of the indigenous people. Moreover, the government should plan commercial development reasonably, and commercial development in the wetland should be combined with ecological protection and cultural inheritance to avoid excessive commercialisation and ensure that the development activities will not damage the natural and cultural environment of the wetland.

Regarding forced demolition and relocation, before demolition and relocation, the government should conduct a comprehensive cultural heritage census to record and preserve information on traditional architecture, oral history and intangible cultural heritage. And it should be more humane in resettling and compensating the locals who are forced to be demolished, ensuring that the locals are adequately protected both economically and in terms of their livelihood.

In terms of promoting community participation and benefit sharing, the government should fully listen to the opinions and needs of Xixi Wetland locals during the process of policy formulation and implementation, and ensure that they have the right to have a say and participate in the protection and development of the wetland. The government should broaden the channels of information dissemination and release information through multiple channels and forms. The government should make use of traditional media such as TV, radio and newspapers, as well as modern and community-based communication methods such as WeChat, Weibo, WeChat Public Number, and community bulletin boards, to ensure that the announcement information can be widely disseminated to all residents. At the same time, the government should also simplify feedback methods and add convenient feedback channels, such as through social media platforms, telephone hotlines and community service centres, to make it easier for residents, especially the elderly and those with relatively low literacy levels, to express their opinions and suggestions.

In terms of mechanisms to enhance residents' participation, setting up a participation platform is one of the options. Setting up resident participation platforms or organising hearings and symposiums in the community enables residents to express their views face-to-face and enhances the transparency and democracy of policy formulation. It is important that the Government should invite representatives of indigenous residents and community leaders to participate in the discussion and decision-making process of ordinance amendments to ensure that the collective voices they represent are heard and valued.

At the same time, the government should increase the transparency of its policies and make information public and transparent. In the process of policy formulation, the government should make it possible to disclose relevant information and progress in a timely manner, and accept monitoring and feedback from residents. Regularly update the revision process and residents' feedback through government websites and social media platforms. The government should provide clear responses and explanations to residents' comments and suggestions, so that residents feel that their opinions are valued and adopted, which also enhances trust and interaction between the government and residents.

7. Conclusion

The analysis of Policy Arrangement Approach shows that the conflict between the locals of Xixi Wetland and the government mainly stems from the unequal distribution of resources and differences in discourse power. The government holds the main resources and discourse power in the process of policy formulation and implementation, while the locals lack sufficient participation and expression channels in the decision-making process. The government focuses on ecological protection and economic development, while the indigenous people value traditional lifestyles and community stability. This difference in discourse and values has led to fundamental differences in policy objectives and implementation paths.

In the governance of Xixi National Wetland Park, the Hangzhou government chose the option of forcibly demolishing and relocating all locals from the scenic area, a decision that, although it has achieved some success in ecological protection and tourism development, has brought about many negative impacts in terms of historical and cultural governance. Future governance should find a balance between ecological protection and cultural preservation, and achieve sustainable development and cultural heritage of the wetland by integrating the locals and the wetland, and enhancing community participation and benefit sharing. This will not only promote tourism and economic development, but also protect and pass on the historical and cultural heritage of the wetland, so that the cultural value of the wetland can be better reflected and promoted.

In the governance and development of Xixi National Wetland Park, the Hangzhou Municipal Government has brought challenges at the cultural and social levels, although it has achieved economic benefits through commercialised development. Future governance should find a balance between economic development and cultural preservation to promote tourism and economic development, while at the same time passing on the true and humane historical and cultural heritage of Xixi Wetland, so that tourists can experience the true and rich wetland culture.

In the process of soliciting opinions and suggestions on the Regulations on the Protection and Management of Hangzhou Xixi National Wetland Park (Revised Draft), the Hangzhou Municipal Government adopted a limited communication method and information dissemination channels, which led to insufficient discourse

and participation of residents, especially indigenous residents. By broadening the channels of information dissemination, simplifying feedback methods, strengthening the mechanism for resident participation and increasing policy transparency, the right of residents to participate can be better safeguarded, ensuring that the formulation of policies is more democratic and scientific.

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