Living Heritage in Post-Nomadism: The Change and Continuity of Ger in Inner Mongolia, China

Xuanlin Liu MA, MSc, MPhil

PhD

University of York

Department of Archaeology

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Abstract

This thesis delves into the dynamic realm of nomadic heritage in Inner Mongolia, China, with a specific focus on the Mongolian ger. The Mongolian ger, a circular nomadic dwelling, symbolizes the core values of the Mongolian nomadic lifestyle, including reverence for nature and communal unity. However, seismic shifts in Inner Mongolia's pastoral economics, urbanization, and cultural interactions have driven significant changes in ger construction and usage. Therefore, nomadic heritage is fraught with challenges and variability in the face of changing times, rendering the significance of its heritage existence increasingly ambiguous and diverse. However, the current limitations in the research on Mongolian ger heritage hinder our reevaluation of these changes, necessitating a comprehensive study to reexamine this postnomadic era heritage.

This thesis adopts a Critical Heritage Studies approach, emphasizing the multifaceted nature of living heritage. It explores diverse practices and understandings of gers within changing communities, seeking to reconstruct the discourse of living heritage. The study also reframes nomadic heritage in the context of the post-nomadic era, capturing the socio-cultural landscape in flux. It critically examines the ontology of living heritage, bridging theories with reality, and strives to redefine the logical concepts embedded in heritage.

The research employs a combination of ethnographic precision and Grounded Theory methods to unravel the factors influencing change and continuity in ger practices. It reveals the complex interplay between economic, social, environmental, and individual reflexivity factors. Policy shifts, such as grassland management policies and environmental protection regulations, have impacted the sustainability of gers. The industrialization and commercialization of ger production have transformed traditional craftsmanship, while economic considerations drive the adoption of gers in the last remaining nomadic regions. These findings underscore the intricate web of factors influencing ger practices in the post-nomadic era.

In conclusion, this thesis represents a significant contribution to our understanding of living heritage, particularly within the context of nomadic culture in Inner Mongolia. It underscores the importance of recognizing the evolving nature of heritage and the agency of diverse stakeholders in shaping its trajectory. This research not only enriches the discourse on gers but also advances the methodology of living heritage studies. It sets the stage for further exploration of nomadic heritage in broader Inner Asian contexts, promising new insights into the complexities of heritage in the post-nomadism.

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Abbreviation and Acronyms

AHD Authorized Heritage Discourse

ANT Actor-Network Theory

CC Canvas Caravan

CCP China Communist Party
CHS Critical Heritage Studies

Ger is equivalent to Yurt.

GT Grounded Theory

HUL Historic Urban Landscape
ICH Intangible Cultural Heritage

ICOMOS International Council on Monuments and Sites

MRT More-Than-Representative Theory

NRT Non-Representative Theory
RC Realistic Constructionism

UK United Kingdom

UNESCO United Nations Educational, Scientific and Cultural Organization

WH World Heritage

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In this enchanting odyssey through the realms of Inner Mongolia's post-nomadic era, where the living heritage of the Mongolian ger, takes center stage, I find myself on the precipice of gratitude. To all those who have embarked on this intellectual journey with me as readers and discerning reviewers, your presence in this narrative is an ode to camaraderie and curiosity. As I reflect upon this study, encapsulating a decade of contemplation, it's akin to a tale that began with the prologue of my master's thesis, embarked on a sojourn during my tenure with UNESCO, and was enriched through the symphony of dialogues at conferences, only to evolve into an epic quest during my doctoral pursuit. The ger, like a cherished character in a timeless novel, has been my constant companion, offering not only a vivid glimpse into the realm of nomadic cultural heritage but also a reservoir of inspiration throughout my scholarly expedition. I extend my heartfelt thanks to those who have unfailingly supported my resilience and embraced the significance of this literary endeavor.

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Declaration

I declare that this thesis is a presentation of original work and I am the sole author. This work has not previously been presented for a degree or other qualification at this University or elsewhere. All sources are acknowledged as references.

To the time to life, rather than to life in time

- Blaise Pascal (1623: 166)

Chapter 1: Introduction

1.1 Why Should Ger Be Studied?

I grew up in a border city in Inner Mongolia, China. Although it is part of the Inner Mongolia Autonomous Region, its size is comparable to that of the United Kingdom. Situated in the grasslands, the city is surrounded by extensive prairies. In these sparsely populated areas, the sight of white nomadic dwellings (yurts or gers) emitting wisps of smoke in the distance is a captivating scene, as if a painting with only the sky, land, and gers. It speaks of the solitude and warmth of the vast grasslands. However, I am not of Mongolian ethnicity, so living in a Mongolian region has been akin to studying a foreign culture. Nevertheless, the ubiquitous culture feels strangely familiar, giving me a sense of regional identity. Consequently, my identity and upbringing have shaped my perspective on nomadic culture, both foreign and familiar.

What truly sparked my research interest were intriguing phenomena that puzzled me since childhood. Although gers are nomadic dwellings used on the grasslands, they seem to be everywhere. They appear in urban decorations, restaurants, stages, and various forms on the grasslands. Even when I traveled to Europe, I encountered applications of gers. However, people always seem to view these gers with a sense of negation as they use them. It appears that experts are everywhere, and everyone has an idea of what a ger is and what it should be. For instance, my father, an architect, led a local government project to build what was claimed to be the largest ger in Inner Mongolia on the grasslands. However, when I asked about his concept, he denied building a ger, insisting it was merely a grassland structure, not a ger. Yet, when it came to defining what a ger truly was, he offered a vague answer, as if it were a distant and somewhat divergent story from contemporary times. There seems to be a perpetually unsatisfactory answer here, where reality and ideals are in constant opposition.

When I came to the United Kingdom to study cultural heritage, I began exploring the concept of material conservation from the perspective of sustainable development in architecture. I then delved into speculative heritage studies, examining heritage concepts from a human perspective. I discovered that a central theme in discussions of cultural heritage is "change." This change pertains not only to how traditions are preserved and perpetuated but also to the control of change itself. It involves discussions about its management methods and the broader societal context, along with considerations of how change is perceived. Later, when I worked with UNESCO, it seemed that people were continually seeking and fine-tuning charters that could effectively manage change. However, these methods appeared to be overly macro frameworks

in my view, as they did not deeply understand the underlying causes of these changes, the attitudes of communities toward change, and the impacts of change. Therefore, I yearned to explore a speculative perspective to elucidate the changes in cultural heritage. Consequently, I embarked on a heritage-focused study of the contemporary changes in the core heritage of nomadic culture, the Mongolian ger.

Traditional nomadic material culture emphasizes harmony and unity with nature, which entails minimizing the traces of human habitation. Compared to the material cultures of other civilizations, nomadic culture leaves relatively few, if any, material remnants. Particularly in the context of traditional nomadic life, each seasonal migration leaves no trace, aiming to maintain ecological balance and ensure a sustainable food supply for livestock. However, in contemporary times, tangible representations of nomadic culture are ubiquitous, manifessting in diverse forms and advocating for protection from a heritage perspective. This process of materialization reflects the phenomenon of heritagisation, encompassing a range of behaviors and ideologies. Therefore, it is the transition from the intangible to the tangible that captivates my interest.

Gers, circular dwellings utilized by nomadic populations on grasslands, possess a distinctive feature: their mobility. This characteristic arises from the millennia-old nomadic traditions of Central Asia (Yurt 2018). Among Mongolian nomads, gers hold a significant role as historical and cultural symbols, representing the natural, cultural, and social values of the Mongolian nomadic lifestyle (Dream Yurt Project 2017). The design and adornments of gers symbolize the nomads' reverence for the sky and the cosmos, mirroring their principles of harmonious coexistence with nature and communal unity (Bai and Mei 2017).

However, gers in Inner Mongolia have undergone significant transformation due to the Chinese permanent grazing policy of 1984, which mandated the cessation of migratory grazing practices (ZCY 2016). This shift in Inner Mongolian pastoral economics has impacted the nomadic way of life and traditional culture (Humphrey and Sneath, 1999). Concurrently, the increasing cultural interactions between Mongolian and other ethnic communities and rapid urbanization in China have prompted local nomads to transition towards a settled lifestyle (Liu 2017). This shift has consequently altered the developmental trajectories of gers in both tangible and intangible aspects. Furthermore, concerns related to comfort and outdated facilities (Li, Hu, and Hirobumi 2009) have further driven changes in construction techniques and materials.

The traditional Mongolian ger, originally a mobile dwelling, was a product of natural selection, seamlessly integrating production and living spaces. However, Inner Mongolia is currently

undergoing a significant societal transition. The shift from nomadic to settled and seminomadic lifestyles, the demarcation of grazing areas, and the gradual onset of modernization are gradually replacing traditional nomadic ways of life. As a result, Inner Mongolia has entered a post-nomadic era, a period marked by the transformation of traditional nomadic lifestyles (Peng 2016). Due to economic demands, housing improvements, and changes in living environments, the traditional Mongolian ger has gradually been marginalized and has become something of a relic in a different temporal and spatial context. In contrast to previous evolutions of the Mongolian ger, which were spontaneous, the current changes are driven by a passive uncertainty.



FIGURE 1 TRADITIONAL GER (DISCOVER MONGOLIA 2023) AND MODERN GERS

To comprehend the evolving interpretations of the ger within contemporary Mongolian society, it is crucial to first explore its representation within the heritage discourse. In contrast to other historical and architectural structures, such as wooden and brick constructions in China, the ger has not traditionally been recognized as tangible heritage necessitating registration and protection. This is despite the fact that Mongolian gers have been marketed and commodified as tourist attractions for non-Mongolian visitors following China's Reform and Open Up policy in 1978. Following China's active ratification of UNESCO's Intangible Cultural Heritage (ICH) Convention in 2004, the craft of ger-making was designated as a nationally protected ICH element in 2008 (National List 2013). Subsequently, in 2013, "Traditional Craftsmanship of the Mongol Ger and its Associated Customs in Mongolia" was inscribed on UNESCO's Representative List of the ICH of Humanity (UNESCO 2013). Consequently, the concept of the ger in Inner Mongolia, China, has been defined as "heritage" under the strong influence of the Chinese authoritative heritage discourse (National List 2013). Consequently, this official discourse and associated protective measures often conflict with alternative discourses and practices, as observed in the contemporary communities' everyday use, maintenance, adaptation, and commodification of gers. Additionally, the perspectives and practices of other relevant stakeholders are often not considered.

In the Critical Heritage Studies approach, Heritage is considered a product of values, interpretations, and identities perpetually molded by present-day individuals via an ongoing process of generating significance or heritage formation (Bendix 2009; Harvey 2001; Smith 2006). From this perspective, the ger can be seen as embodying heritage values and meanings recognized, created, negotiated, and transmitted by relevant stakeholders in the present, drawing from their past experiences, for the benefit of both current and future generations (Smith 2006; Waterton, Smith and Campbell 2006; Winter and Waterton 2013). This approach emphasizes the pivotal role of individuals and their associations with the heritage in understanding the articulation of heritage discourse (Hall 2001; Smith 2006) and the performance of cultural customs (Smith and Akagawa 2009). In China, there is generally a top-down approach (Maags and Svensson 2018), which tends to marginalize the diverse and dynamic heritage discourse and cultural practices of community members (e.g., owners, builders, local ethnic groups) and cultural intermediaries (tourism managers, entrepreneurs, restaurant owners).

Just as the ger was shaped into an expert discourse as heritage in the 2000s, the construction process by non-official groups remains largely undocumented. Therefore, understanding how "Mongolian Ger" is understood, created, re-created, and utilized as a dynamic and living heritage by these stakeholders is essential to comprehending the construction, consumption, and safeguarding of the ger in diverse and evolving heritage-making processes, resulting in varied and developing meanings and significances. Theoretically, this approach not only critiques fixed cultural heritage discourses but also challenges the notion of continuity by emphasizing the dynamism inherent in living heritage.

Exploring diverse discourses and cultural practices unveils the agencies that people exercise within varied heritage-making processes. In addition to questioning the intangibility of not only intangible heritage but also other forms of heritage (Smith 2006; Smith and Akagawa 2009), scholars have increasingly investigated the subjectivities of individuals, such as their skills and experiences, in the heritage-making process. Paddock and Schofield (2017), for instance, contend that cultural custodians' understanding depends on the relationships between people, objects, and structures, and highlight that the sustainability of Mongolian gers depends on the understanding of cultural custodians. Conversely, Chinese scholars suggest understanding Mongolian gers from perspectives including time, space, and residents' perceptions (Bai and Mei 2017). Thus, this study will continuously employ the communities and their practices of making ger.

It is noteworthy that research on ger is not novel; rather, it has a well-established foundation in fields such as history, architecture, and material anthropology (see Chapter 2 for details). However, this study investigates the question of the contemporary practices of ger, an area often overlooked by researchers who typically undervalue the significance and behaviors of contemporary heritage from a preservation perspective. This research aims to explore how current communities respond to changes in the post-nomadic environment, examining the heritage preservation of ger, its forms of manifestation, and how its heritage value is understood, interpreted, and constructed.

1.1.1 Objectives and Research Questions

In broad terms, this thesis aims to explore the status of nomadic heritage in Inner Mongolia, China. It seeks to reveal this phenomenon by elucidating the present state of the Mongolian ger and the perspectives and behaviors of its practitioners. Furthermore, this research aspires to reenvision an Integrated Living Heritage Approach for analyzing changes and continuities in heritage use. The specific objectives are as follows:

1. To reconstruct the discourse of living heritage through the analysis of diverse practices and understandings within communities.

These first objective aims to understand how the elements of living heritage are shaped within communities. Capturing these dynamics helps us grasp the vitality not always apparent in textual representations, fostering a bottom-up understanding of heritage in its contemporary context. Detailed insights can provide a foundation for the subsequent two objectives. Specific questions include: How do various stakeholders narrate and enact their heritage, and what conceptual frameworks inform their understanding? How do individuals influence change and continuity in their practices?

2. To reframe nomadic heritage in the context of post-nomadism.

This objective seeks to capture the socio-cultural landscape in flux, providing a deeper understanding of the mechanisms behind change and continuity. It complements the study of cultural heritage in the post-nomadic era and advances the understanding of nomadic heritage within the heritage studies field. Specific questions include: What representations of nomadic heritage exist in contemporary Inner Mongolia? How do various factors determine the heritage considering changing social contexts?

3. To critically examine the ontology of living heritage, bridging theories with reality.

The final objective of this research is to advance our comprehension of living heritage by reshaping theoretical constructs based on real-world observations. This culminates in the development of an integrated living heritage approach that can be applied to the sustainable preservation of heritage. It acknowledges that heritage is not merely confined to the past or textual representations but recognizes its evolving value, the neglected realities, the practitioners, and non-human elements. This approach aims to provide a more comprehensive and inclusive method for capturing the contemporary essence of heritage preservation. Specific questions include: How can elements of New Materialist Theory align with traditional heritage values? How can findings from lived experiences expand conventional understandings of heritage?

1.1.2 Structure of the Thesis

This thesis comprises 6 chapters. Following this Introduction, Chapter 1.2 provides a historical overview of Inner Mongolia, China, encompassing both the nomadism and post-nomadism. This chapter elucidates the historical transformations of traditional nomadic culture and the shifts observed in the current post-nomadism. It offers a comprehensive examination of research related to the post-nomadism, recognizing the need for more multidimensional sociocultural research to supplement this emerging academic concept. Therefore, it is argued that cultural heritage can provide a more specific manifestation of this concept. Considering that the Mongolian ger represents the quintessential nomadic heritage and embodies significant temporal characteristics, Chapter 1.3 delves into an in-depth exploration of ger studies. This includes their origins, cultural significance, transformations, and research related to cultural heritage. The research gap identified lies in the lack of contemporary and speculative perspectives on the ger, the dynamic capture of its essence, and the involvement of practitioners. Thus, it is emphasized that ger research greatly benefits from a comprehensive and systematic cultural heritage research perspective.

Chapter 2 reviews the most relevant and recent literature on cultural heritage theory. Firstly, it examines the discussions on living heritage approaches both internationally and in China. While attention to living heritage has increased in recent years, the research has suffered from a lack of comprehensive case studies. However, existing living heritage approaches have introduced the concept of continuity, albeit in an overly objectified manner, laying the foundation for subsequent research. The continuity, and change are key considerations when

exploring contemporary Mongolian ger heritage. Therefore, separate discussions are conducted on these concepts. First, continuity is explored, revealing the need to construct a more diverse and integrated concept to help elucidate the dynamic evolution of structures like the ger. Then, the concept of changes is discussed in the later part of the chapter, specifically in the section on endangerment.

To construct a theoretical framework from a speculative heritage perspective, a discussion of heritage research over the years is required. Thus, the study delves into the evolution from object-focused heritage protection to people-centered heritage research. As the craftsmanship of the Mongolian ger falls under the Intangible Cultural Heritage list, it aligns with the people-centered conservation domain. Consequently, these two aspects are discussed together. Furthermore, the heritage field has generated discussions about emphasizing the processual nature of heritage. Theoretical contributions from the humanities and social sciences, such as Latour's Actor-Network Theory (ANT), explore new elements influencing heritage, emphasizing the equal importance of both objects and people. Given the potential influence of individual creativity and environmental factors on the Mongolian ger, Ingold's Meshwork Theory is cited to complement dynamic heritage theory. These theories provide a research foundation for explaining changes in ger and offer theoretical space for the introduction of a dynamic and vital new theory.

Lastly, as the research aims to establish a sustainable approach, a study of change is essential. Thus, a review of heritage endangerment and creative concepts is conducted. Additionally, the concept of heritage temporality, whether static or dynamic, past or future, is explored. Finally, to establish a sustainable approach, an examination of sustainable heritage is conducted, clarifying the relationship between continuity and sustainability. These concepts contribute to a comprehensive conceptual framework, aiding in the formulation of new heritage approaches.

As the research's objective is to construct new heritage theory through real-world practices, a grassroots research approach capturing present-day dynamics and changes is necessary. Therefore, Chapter 3 explores various approaches to living heritage research methods. Considering the construction of people and non-human factors, the study applies a constructivist approach, particularly Non-Representational Theory, to investigate everyday life. Importantly, to extract a living perspective and theory from the logic of the Mongolian ger, the study requires a grounded approach to case study elements. Grounded theory aids in exploring case elements and building theory, serving as an applied method for this research. However, a detailed description method is needed for in-depth exploration of cases. Ethnography helps describe details and their contexts, serving as the second research method. Additionally, semi-

structured in-depth interviews and observations are employed as methods to extract supplementary data. Overall, the research aims to establish a comprehensive approach for indepth case investigations, using it as an exploratory example for investigating living heritage research methods.

Starting from Chapter 4, the research delves into the collected data. Chapter 4 reports on the research findings and scenarios presented in ethnography and emphasizes region-specific phenomena. Chapter 5 couple data and literature reviews to form theoretical connections. Since two research methods are applied, Chapter 4 is divided into two parts. The first part presents the situational issues reflected in research fields as seen in ethnography, with a notable regional emphasis. The second part provides an analysis of the elements of continuity and change presented through grounded theory. Consequently, it formulates a logical relationship for the elements of living heritage using ger as an example. All the data presented on heritage issues will be advanced in Chapter 5 to respond to the third research question, fostering the integration of reality and theory and covering the answers to the first two questions. In the discussion section, an analysis of the characteristics of the post-nomadic era and the expression of heritage is provided. The diverse expressions of the ger by different individuals and their agency are used to interpret its multifaceted manifestations. Through Meshwork and ANT theory, a new understanding of change and continuity is presented, and based on grounded theory results, a comprehensive new approach to living heritage is established.

By presenting the entire framework and a blueprint of the research goals, the thesis aims to provide a better understanding of the research topic. The next chapter begins the narrative from the research background.

1.2 Background- Contexts of Post-Nomadism

1.2.0 Introduction

The purpose of this chapter is to introduce the temporal context of the study, known as the post-nomadic era. To better comprehend this era, it is essential to establish a clear understanding of nomadism as a concept. Subsequently, I will delineate the historical evolution and associated events in Inner Mongolia, gradually introducing the concept of the post-nomadism. It is important to note that the post-nomadism is not a fully matured academic concept until so far. Therefore, the distinctiveness of this research lies in its utilization of a heritage perspective to conduct an in-depth investigation of the post-nomadism, thereby contributing to the academic discourse surrounding this concept.

1.2.1 Nomadism

Nomadism is centered on the concept of harmonious coexistence 'with' and 'within' the natural surroundings, as opposed to seeking domination or exploitation. Consequently, it embodies a culturally specific method for subsistence that excels at maximizing the utilization of ecological opportunities and socio-political conditions as a means of ensuring survival (Schloz and Schlee 2015). The term "Nomadism," according to the Encyclopedia's 2023 definition, represents a socioeconomic lifestyle deeply rooted in the intensive domestication of livestock, requiring a recurring community movement in an annual cycle to maintain the communal ecological system. Nomadism is also recognized as a socioecological cultural approach (Scholz 1995). Crucially, nomadism has exhibited a remarkable capacity to reemerge in novel and unique manifestations, independent of both temporal and geographical constraints, signifying a departure from the conventional stages of settled lifestyles. However, nomadism is not aimless wandering; it follows a seasonal rotational grazing pattern at the family level (May 2015).

The origins of nomadism remain veiled in uncertainty, with a prevailing belief that it evolved in response to a range of environmental factors, including fluctuations in climate, dwindling resources, and mounting population pressures. According to Deck (2019), some 12,000 years ago, during the Neolithic Era, nomadism began to take shape alongside the inception of agriculture and the domestication of animals, coinciding with the establishment of villages and urban centers.

The historical path of nomadism in Inner Asia is intricate and open to a myriad of interpretations, influenced by the diverse array of sources and perspectives. Over time, pastoral nomads organized themselves into various structures, be it clans, tribes, confederations, or at times even formidable empires, such as the Xiongnu, the Huns, the Turks, the Mongols, and the Manchus (May 2015). These nomadic empires regularly engaged with, posed challenges to, or even conquered the sedentary civilizations found in China, India, Persia, and Europe, leading to the establishment of expansive networks encompassing trade, culture, and religion that spanned the vast expanse of Eurasia (May 2015).

The contemporary landscape of nomadism in Inner Asia is influenced by an array of factors, including state policies, market dynamics, shifts in the environment, and societal transformations (Kradin 2019). During the twentieth century, nomadism faced significant challenges from the socialist regimes in Russia, China, and Mongolia, which aimed to enforce collectivization, sedentarization, or modernization among nomadic communities (Humphrey

and Sneath 1999). In the post-socialist era, certain regions witnessed a resurgence of nomadism as these communities regained a measure of autonomy and access to resources (Humphrey and Sneath 1999). Nevertheless, nomadism now confronts fresh threats originating from processes of globalization, urbanization, land degradation, climate change, and cultural assimilation (Humphrey and Sneath 1999).

Mongolian culture areas are in northern Central Asia, including Mongolia and Inner Mongolia of China. Due to the anticyclones of Siberia's climate, there are big differences in temperature between day and night, summer, and winter. There is limited precipitation and freezing temperature in winter; the Mongolian area has a very dry, cold, and bleak nature. The extreme climate of Siberia determines a highly different production system of lived people compared with the agricultural societies. Their production mainly relies on feeding animals, including sheep, cows, horses, and camels. In China, pastoral regions span across 13 provinces and 268 pastoral and semi-pastoral cities, collectively covering more than 40% of the country's land area (Peng 2016). Consequently, nomadic culture constitutes one of the principal cultural elements in China.

To keep the sustainability of the grassland, the Mongols take the 'nomadic migratory circuit' as a way of herding, and they usually have four seasonal camps (Tisserand and Hermann 2004:71). Nomads usually move 15-20 km in the areas with the better ecosystem, but they could also move over 150 km in harsh environments (Tisserand and Hermann 2004). Thus, the Mongols' perception of space is not obsessed with the land's possession but utilisation of the land (Jagchid et al. 2018). Due to the extermination and extreme natural environment, it causes Mongols to prefer keeping their distance from people rather than living together (Jagchid et al. 2018). They value the relationship with nature, including dealing with climate and measures to their animals, rather than conflicts with others comparing farming Asian culture (Jagchid et al. 2018).

These factors determine how life adapts to migration, including transportation, dwellings, food, and attitudes towards life. Meanwhile, with nomadism it is hard to maintain an integrated culture like that which has characterized Chinese civilization due to the unstable pastoral economy and enormous land. However, "inherent in the nomadic state was a strong tendency to fragmentation and dissipation of power" (Jagchid et al. 2018:5). These fragmented but cultural values could affect diverse understandings of Asian values in heritage concepts. The nomadic material culture in Central Asia is highly fluid and resilient and pursues a balance between nature and humans (Bunn 2010). It identifies a dynamic culture between change and continuity; varied histories and creations are always brought into each improvisatory occasion

(Hallam and Ingold 2007). The nomadic attitudes on material culture pay great attention between humans and non-humans and represent a migratory style, which could help us reflect new relations in current heritage values.

1.2.2 Changing past of Inner Mongolia

Inner Mongolia did not exist as a distinct entity before the 1920s; it was created when the Manchu administration separated it from Outer Mongolia (Bulag 1998). Following World War II, the Chinese Nationalist Party took control of Mongolia. However, during the Chinese civil war in 1945, Mongolian Chinese speakers lent their support to the Communist Party, including influential figures like Ulanfu and some members of the Mongol Party. They played a crucial role in garnering Mongol support for the Communist Party over the Nationalist Party (Bulag 1998). Subsequently, the Inner Mongols fell under the governance of the contemporary Chinese political party. In 1947, the Inner Mongolian Autonomous Government was established, making it the first ethnic minority Autonomous Region in China. Consequently, the Mongols became recognized as an ethnic minority within the Chinese state.

The economic structure of Inner Mongolia has undergone a series of transformations, evolving from its initial traditional pastoral economy into its current diverse economic landscape. These changes have been influenced by various factors. One pivotal factor has been immigration policies, primarily involving the migration of the Han ethnic group, China's predominant ethnic majority, to Inner Mongolia since the late Ming dynasty through the early Qing dynasty (1600-1644). This migration was initially triggered by the turmoil of dynastic transitions and the famines caused by natural disasters, prompting many farmers to move to the eastern regions of Inner Mongolia. During the late Qing dynasty (1636-1912), the imperial government once again implemented policies to relocate people to eastern Mongolia with the aim of cultivating crops to support the military presence on the borders (Bulag 1998). Different nobles and princes controlled various parts of Mongolia, owning their territories, and maintaining favorable relations with the Qing government. Many Mongolian princes relied on leasing land to immigrants for agricultural purposes (Bulag 1998). During the period of Nationalist Party rule in China, the central government took measures to administratively control eastern Mongolia. These diverse political ideologies notably fostered the development of agricultural economic forms (Bulag 1998). In summary, these immigration policies have led to a diversified economic structure in Inner Mongolia, oscillating between nomadic and agricultural forms. According to Burensaivin's research (2007), the Mongol population's varying attitudes toward Han immigrants (the major Chinese ethnicity) have resulted in different levels of cultural assimilation. In the eastern regions of Mongolia, the Mongols embraced farming and chose to become farmers. These large-scale migrations have molded the territorial composition of Inner Mongolia into a more intricate political-cultural system compared to Mongolia.

Secondly, in the early stage of China Communist Party between the 1950s and the 1980s, the production mode in Mongolia adapted to the common economy, which is controlled by the state and disturbed reliance on each supply and marketing cooperatives. China faced a transition from a planned economy towards a market economy, thus, in the 1984, the administration of Inner Mongolia decided to change the pastureland into permanent pastures for individual households, it is called the 'livestock contract program' (Li and Huntsinger 2011), which highly influenced the nomadic lifestyle and traditional culture. The grassland contract policy aims to maintain effectiveness and equality in the market economy in private ownership (Ybarra 2008). Therefore, the traditional pastoral economy of Inner Mongolia has undergone a profound transformation.

1.2.3 Post-Nomadism

The post-nomadism refers to a period since the Qing Dynasty until the present day, during which the pastoral culture in the Inner Mongolia region has undergone profound transformations. The post-nomadism signifies a time when various factors such as Qing Dynasty rule and control over Inner Mongolia, influx and competition of foreign immigrants and traders, modernization processes, and impacts of market economy led to significant adjustments and changes in the production, life, ideology, and values of pastoral ethnic groups. Consequently, the pastoral culture underwent diverse and multifaceted shifts, resulting in the emergence of a new sociocultural environment. In Inner Mongolia, a prominent feature of the post-nomadism is the transition from a nomadic to a settled lifestyle. By 2015, China largely completed the task of settling herders, marking the entry into the post-nomadism (Peng 2016). This study is based on the contemporary backdrop of post-nomadism, necessitating a comprehensive discourse on the subject and what it means in terms of heritage creation and identity.

The concept of post-nomadism is a nuanced term that, while academically employed, has not garnered widespread application. Notably, Humphrey and Sneath's work "The End of Nomadism?" (2001) elaborated on the socioeconomic changes in Inner Asia post-Soviet Union and post-People's Republic of China transformation, emphasizing the complexity arising from the shift away from traditional "mobile pastoralism," with variations under different states. In China, the performance of herders has been relatively favorable with the continuous growth of the national economy and effective market mechanisms. Since the 1980s, economic reforms

and privatization policies were implemented, leading to a shift towards individually owned livestock and the emergence of patron-client relationships, posing challenges and complexities. These findings contribute to our understanding of post-pastoralism, shedding light on the herders' struggles in the face of modernization and economic transformation.

Prominent scholars have distinctly defined post-nomadism in the context of China's political and social landscape. Peng (2016), in his study of the national identity of nomadic groups in China, defined the post-nomadism as a period marked by the influence of China's "Settlement Project," wherein many pastoral ethnic groups in China's vast pastoral areas transitioned from nomadism to a semi-settled or settled lifestyle, leading to changes in their living habits and reliance on traditional methods. Wang (2006) specified distinct stages within the "Settlement Project," dividing it into three phases, emphasizing the transition from pure nomadism to seminomadism to settled pastoralism, and highlighting significant changes in grassland landscapes, economic production, lifestyles, and the relationship between local communities and state power during the second phase (1950s-1980s). Wang further attributed these shifts to the collective system, strengthening state control, and the introduction of policies and institutions that led to the transition. Notably, the individualized contract-based fixed grazing economy after 1984 led to a fundamental alteration of the traditional nomadic lifestyle (Peng 2016). The shift from mobile to settled pastoralism was primarily driven by China's policies and economic changes, with influences from both internal and external forces. However, the post-nomadism does not necessarily denote a complete abandonment of nomadic practices. For instance, in areas with a partial transition to settled pastoralism, a rotational grazing system has been established, maintaining elements of both lifestyles (Inner Mongolia Autonomous Region Animal Husbandry Department 2000).

Post-nomadism exhibits two major characteristics. Firstly, during the winter, herders reside in village-like settlements with brick houses and practice grazing on individually allocated grasslands. Settlements aim to enhance social welfare at the grassroots level, including commercial, educational, and medical services (Wang 2006). Secondly, settled grazing contributes to improved efficiency in the livestock economy, as traditional year-round nomadism posed challenges to production efficiency. The organized structure of settled communities facilitates cooperative efforts among herders, leading to improved livelihoods and livestock growth (Inner Mongolia Party Committee Policy Research Office 1987:19-20).

Research on the transformation of settled communities in China's pastoral regions is prolific. The studies explore diverse aspects, including the socio-cultural shift (Cui 2002), economic effects (Lei 2011), and adaptive processes (Li 2011). However, research on the post-nomadic

era in Inner Mongolia is limited, and many discussions emphasize the negative aspects of settlement, overlooking in-depth investigations into the subsequent sociocultural changes.

Given this context, research into the cultural heritage of post-nomadism holds paramount importance. Most studies concerning Inner Mongolia's post-nomadism primarily focus on the transition from nomadism to settled communities, paying less attention to the continuity and changes in their heritage. This approach often restricts the protection and inheritance research to macro-level analysis, lacking in-depth examinations of specific cultural elements. Furthermore, studies on the symbolic significance of nomadic heritage often remain superficial, lacking exploration of their profound impacts.

In the studies of post-nomadism in other world nomadic areas, Tiberghien (2020) proposes a new perspective on the dichotomy between traditional nomadic culture and the emerging new nomadic culture in Kazakhstan, highlighting its significance in the political discourse surrounding the interests of stakeholders in the tourism industry. The manifestation of the new nomadic culture in tourism development is seen as a validation of Kazakhstan's contemporary cultural identity and a reflection of globalization's impact on nomadic heritage. Tiberghien and Xie (2018) introduce the concept of a "new nomadic tourism culture" to represent the post-authenticity state of Kazakhstan's cultural heritage. In line with other relevant studies in Kazakhstan (Prideaux and Timothy, 2008), the term post-nomadism is also utilized to assess how commercial interest groups reshape the perception of nomadic culture in the context of tourism.

In this light, investigating the cultural heritage of post-nomadism becomes a necessary and pivotal task. Firstly, the socioeconomic structure of pastoral ethnic groups underwent a transformation during this era, necessitating an examination of the influence of these changes on their cultural heritage and ways of life, as well as the challenges and opportunities arising in the process. By focusing on the changes and continuity in pastoral cultural heritage, we can gain insight into the evolution of traditional culture in settled lifestyles and its significance in contemporary society. Exploring the interaction between post-nomadic pastoral heritage and modern society reveals how pastoral ethnic groups maintain their cultural identity amidst challenges posed by modernization. As we saw earlier, with pastoral regions encompassing huge percentage of Chinese land, therefore, researching the cultural heritage of China's post-nomadic era holds a significant place in localized heritage studies, providing diverse perspectives and reflections for cultural practitioners in the post-nomadic era, thereby holding both academic and practical significance.

Taking the Inner Mongolian ger as an example, it stands as a crucial subject of study in the context of post-nomadism cultural heritage. As a representative dwelling structure of nomadic groups, the ger was emblematic of their lifestyle. However, as modern society advanced, some pastoral ethnic groups gradually transitioned to settled living, leading to reduced use of the ger and alternative development forms. Consequently, investigating the changes and continuity of the ger contributes to understanding the evolutionary process of this traditional dwelling structure in the post-nomadic era. Such research can provide targeted insights into the changes and continuity of post-nomadic heritage, offering valuable guidance for cultural preservation and inheritance. Therefore, exploring the cultural heritage of the Inner Mongolian ger holds significant contributions to the study of the post-nomadism.

1.3 Ger Studies

1.3.0 Introduction

This chapter aims to review the existing research on gers, highlighting the reasons for considering them as a distinct subject of study. Gers have already established a relatively comprehensive body of research spanning various fields, including history, structural analysis, architectural concepts, cultural values, and more. Therefore, this chapter will provide an overview of the significant research contributions in the field of gers and analyze their status in the context of heritage studies. Ultimately, I will propose innovative and feasible research directions to advance the heritage study of gers.

1.3.1 The Origin and Development of Gers

The Mongolian ger, also known as a yurt, is a portable, circular tent used by the Mongol and other nomadic peoples of the Inner Asian region. It consists of a detachable wooden lattice structure covered with felt material (Vladimirtsov 1979). The origin of the ger can be traced back to the ancient nomadic lifestyles of various peoples, with the earliest written records dating back to the Scythians of Central Asia, around 600 BC to AD 300 (King 2011). Its conical structure allows for rapid assembly, disassembly, and long-distance migration, making it well-suited for the grassland climate and showcasing ingenious design (Zhang 2018). The ger's uniqueness lies in its mobility, a direct consequence of the traditional nomadic life that persisted for centuries in Central Asia (National Geographic Society 2018). Over 100 ethnic groups worldwide use the ger as their dwelling, including not only the Mongols but also the Kazakhs, Kyrgyz, Evenks, Yugurs, Tatars, and Tajiks in China (Yu 2012). Although the structural foundations of the ger remain similar among these ethnic groups, local variations exist.

Gers are more than just homes for nomads; they are historical and cultural symbols representing the natural, cultural, and social values of nomadic societies (Dream Yurt Project 2017). The structure and decorations of the ger reflect nomads' reverence for the sky and the universe, embodying their values of harmony with nature and unity among people (Bai and Mei 2017). The ger encompasses the essence of nomadism, daily practices, production methods, and a deep connection to nature. It serves as a vessel for nomadic perceptions of the earth and its rituals, constructing the cosmology of nomadism (Chabros and Dulam 1990; Cheneviere and Cheneviere 2007). Mauvieux (2014:151) aptly describes the ger as "a remarkably round world ordered in time and space, where everything falls into place. Ger is a map of the Universe as a whole and in which the canopy of heaven is reflected through the arched roof from inside."

The origin and early history of the Mongolian ger are subjects of debate among scholars, with various interpretations regarding its origin time and dissemination process. One viewpoint suggests that the ger emerged around the 1st century AD among Turkic-speaking groups and gradually spread to Mongolian and other ethnic communities (Vainshtein 1979). The "Secret History of the Mongols," written around 1240, mentions several types of dwellings, including the ger, indicating its usage during that period. Regarding the dissemination of the ger, one perspective asserts that the Mongols borrowed the concept from the Turks, which is evident in the regional variations of ger structures in the 13th century (Vainshtein 1979). Another viewpoint argues that the ger was an indigenous creation of the Mongols themselves (Jamcha 1988).

In ancient Chinese literature, there are records of the "qionglu," a term synonymous with the ger. These records date back to the pre-Qin period over 3000 years ago. The earliest documentation of the qionglu is found in "Records of the Grand Historian" under the section "Book of the Heavenly Officials," which reads: "The Northern Yi's aura resembles that of a cluster of livestock qionglu." This suggests that the qionglu has a history of more than 3000 years and has been intertwined with the production, life, and warfare of northern ethnic groups throughout this time (Yu 2012). Various dynasties in Chinese history have documented the qionglu, highlighting its importance in the dwellings of northern grassland ethnic groups. Based on historical records and archaeological findings, the earliest known period of the ger's formation is the Northern Wei dynasty. Historical records indicate that during this time, the Toba Xianbei, Tuoba Xianbei, Rouran, and Gaoche peoples used a tent named "baizi zhang" that exhibited ger-like characteristics. As such, the Northern Wei dynasty is considered the earliest period for which documentary evidence supports the formation of the ger (Yu 2012). Additionally, archaeological excavations in 2000 revealed wall paintings with triangular

symbols found in Northern Wei tombs, providing the earliest-known archaeological evidence of ger models (Zhang 2001).

Additionally, concerning the origin of the ger, another viewpoint posits that it stems from the emulation of natural elements by nomadic peoples, with its dome resembling the blue sky and its white felt covering resembling clouds (Amurbat, 1997). Another perspective suggests that the ger originated from the tent structures of various ancient northern ethnic groups, gradually evolving over an extended period to develop the distinctive characteristics of the Mongolian ger (Pan 2004). The ger underwent a developmental progression from a conical shape to a quadrangular cone shape, gradually adopting structural features conducive to swift assembly, disassembly, and mobility (Zhang 2001). Scholars have also analyzed the evolutionary process of the ger's transformation from temporary migratory use to gradual sedentarization (Liu and Fan 2000). Despite the lack of detailed descriptions regarding the structural evolution of the ger across different periods, existing research has comprehensively illuminated the ger's origin and developmental evolution.

In historical context, the most emblematic representation of the ger is the documented Mongol Yuan Golden Ger, also known as the Yellow Ger. It played a pivotal role in the Khan's authority, serving as an iconic edifice within the Khan's court. Eminent in the summer capital of Shangdu during the Yuan Dynasty, the Mongol empire in China (1271- 1368), it served as the epicenter for political, economic, religious, and recreational activities. This vividly underscored the enduring continuity between the Yuan Dynasty and the grand Mongol Empire. The legacy of the Yellow Ger's significance persisted in subsequent locations such as Kuduge-Aral and Kara-Korum, ensuring its continued importance (Na 2012). During the 13th and 14th centuries, not only the Yuan Dynasty but also several other Khans possessed Yellow Gers, accentuating its role as a symbol of political authority across Mongolian rulers. Post the Yuan Dynasty era, this tradition persevered and thrives to this day (Na 2012). Therefore, the most recognized form of the ger has matured and developed since the 13th-century Mongol Yuan era (E 2022). Importantly, it is recognized that the prototype framework of the traditional Mongolian ger, which is currently prevalent, took shape during the 13th century (Erdemutu 2022; Bayanbat 2022).

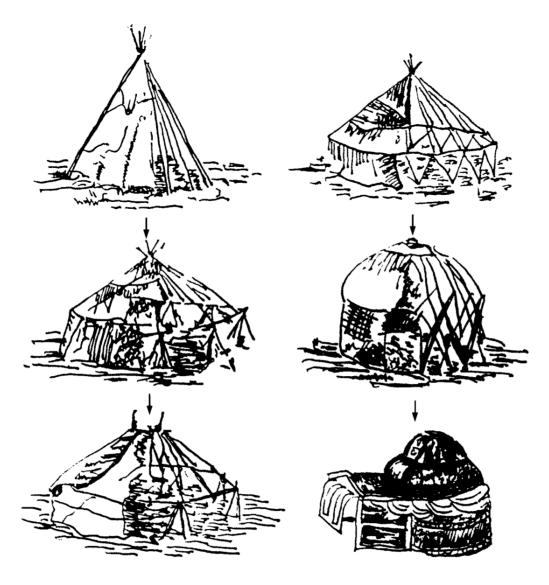


FIGURE 2 TRANSFORMATION OF GER (ZHANG 2001:13)

1.3.2 The Structural Characteristics of Mongolian Ger

The Mongolian ger is designed to suit the nomadic way of life and can be quickly assembled or disassembled within hours (Lacaze and Borel 2006). The fundamental structure of the ger comprises five key components: Toon, Unn, orhaalga, Ghana, and baganas (refer to the figure). A classic ger can be categorized into a three-part configuration that can be separated and reassembled (Guo 2007). The distinctive features of the ger include its round roof and body, symbolizing reverence for the sky and considerations for thermal regulation. The door is oriented towards the southeast to align with prevailing wind directions. Significantly, this alignment holds religious significance, representing the respect paid to Susun in Shamanism (Mauvieux et al. 2014). Typically, a settlement accommodates 2 to 3 gers, arranged from west to east in decreasing size. The functional arrangement of gers is of utmost importance. This architectural tradition stems from the preferences of Chinggis Khan, as documented in "The

Secret History." While gers are primarily white, representing the Mongol's favored color, various colors are also employed in decorations to denote social status. For instance, nobility often favored blue toon, and esteemed monks utilized red or yellow (Mauvieux et al. 2014).

The Mongolian ger, as an ancient type of nomadic dwelling, embodies a profound cultural significance in its distinctive structural form and intrinsic design. A comprehensive review of the literature reveals that scholars have deeply explored the structural characteristics of the Mongolian ger from various perspectives.

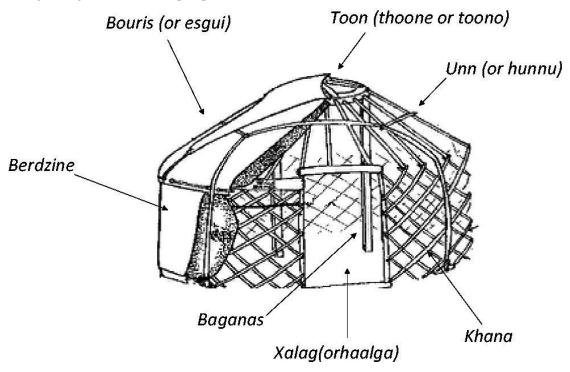


FIGURE 3 FUNDAMENTAL STRUCTURE OF TRADITIONAL GER (MAUVIEUX ET AL. 2014)

In terms of its structure, the Mongolian ger primarily consists of a wooden framework, felt coverings, and ropes. This straightforward and practical composition facilitates rapid assembly. The conical shape of its roof not only minimizes damage from wind and snow but also symbolizes the unity and togetherness of the nation (Guo 2007; Mauvieux et al. 2014). The south-facing door leverages sunlight resources effectively and contributes to ventilation regulation (Zhang 2006). The open interior space, centered around a hearth, accommodates diverse daily needs (Wang 2013).

In terms of design philosophy, the Mongolian ger exhibits remarkable adaptability to climatic conditions and efficiency in resource utilization. Its conical structure and dome-shaped roof effectively resist the onslaught of wind and snow, while the south-facing entrance harnesses natural sunlight for heating (Jia 2014; Bai 2013). Simultaneously, the use of local materials and

an architecture conducive to reuse and disassembly significantly mitigate environmental degradation, rendering it one of the least environmentally impactful housing types in human history (Zamolyi 2015; Jia 2014).

Internally, the ger reflects the worldview and lifestyle of nomadic cultures. The interior space of the ger is intricately divided to accommodate gender, status, sacred, and secular functions (Aljanova et al. 2013), epitomizing the alignment of spatial layout with cultural norms and spiritual needs. The central hearth is imbued with veneration for reproduction and continuity (Bai 2013). The opulent interior decorations also underscore the Mongolian people's distinctive aesthetic sensibilities (Li et al. 2019).

In summary, scholars have extensively examined the Mongolian ger from multiple angles, yielding profound insights into its origins, evolution, structural attributes, functional significance, and cultural meanings. This collective scholarship enhances our understanding of this key manifestation of nomadic heritage.

1.3.3 Cultural Significance of the Mongolian Ger

The emergence of the Mongolian ger is a product of nomadic culture, a culture characterized by its fluidity and mobility, where all material constructions and conceptual creations revolve around the notion of "movement" (Gao, 2011; Wu 1999). This nomadic culture enabled the Mongolian people to adapt to their natural environment, ensure the sustenance of livestock, and maintain the growth of pastures. "Movement, as a conservation of survival energy from nature, simultaneously entails the continuous acquisition of survival energy. 'Movement' denotes a state of motion. Materiality primarily exists in a state of motion. Nomadic culture can only exist and develop while in motion" (Wu 1999). As a Mongolian proverb suggests, even if a grazing sheep dies, the grazed grass will still regrow. In the ecosystem, all elements endure cyclically with the changing seasons (Wu 1999). "The pragmatic functionality of Mongolian nomadic culture imparts a distinctly practical character to its culture... Nomadic culture is a utilitarian culture, requiring minimal accumulation of material products. Mongolian people adapt to social changes with the same ease and flexibility as their adaptation to the natural environment. The ecological nature of culture determines this instinctive behavior of Mongolian people" (Wu & Ge 2001). The ecological attribute of the Mongolian ger precisely reflects the adaptable nature of nomadic culture. The construction of a Mongolian ger requires minimal bricks, mud, and earth. Instead, it utilizes minimal amounts of wood, felt, and leather strips. Furthermore, it is designed for reusability, convenient disassembly, and ease of relocation (Gao 2011).

The Mongolian ger embodies the Mongolian people's worldview and values. Ancient Mongolians revered the circle as an auspicious and complete symbol (Mo 2014). Both the outer shape and the base of the ger are circular, and the skylight (Tona) is also circular. Some suggest that the shape of the skylight resembles the Buddhist ritual object "Horilao" (the Dharma wheel), while the Tona (sky window) and Oni (roof poles) together form a radiant image akin to the sun (Ba 2003). The Mongolian ger, a traditional yurt dwelling, reflects the Mongolian people's understanding of the heavens, showcasing their beliefs and aesthetic perspective toward the sun and moon (Liu 2005). Their belief has been influenced by elements of Shamanism and strong Buddhist influences (Jagchid et al. 2018: 150).

As a robust dwelling, the Mongolian ger fulfills diverse needs, ranging from material to spiritual, for the Mongolian people (Man 2003). Additionally, the ger reconciles fundamental contradictions among people, nature, and the self, possessing multiple dimensions as both a material culture and a representation of social organization and spiritual values (Man 2003). For instance, its spatial layout reflects the Mongolian people's openness and collectivist spirit (Wang 2013). Decorative patterns carry rich symbols of ethnic culture, representing religious beliefs and customary practices (Li Gao 2011; Siklos 1994.). As a quintessential embodiment of nomadic civilization, the Mongolian ger stands as an emblematic structure of Mongolian identity (Liu and Fan 2000).

To sum up, within current cultural heritage studies, we observe a noticeable gap – a deficiency in the reflection and investigation of the vernacular concept representing nomadic heritage within the academic realm, especially in the understanding of the evolution and continuity of cultural heritage. Although the concept of fluidity is of crucial importance in comprehending the changes and continuity of cultural heritage, the literature currently offers relatively limited insight into its explicit manifestation within heritage studies. Particularly, the discussion on the vernacular concept embodying the nomadic lifestyle, representing an essential aspect of nomadic heritage, remains underexplored. Therefore, a comprehensive exploration of how this concept of fluidity is specifically represented in cultural heritage studies, particularly regarding changes and continuity, is needed to complement and enrich the existing viewpoints. Notably, representative of nomadic heritage, the Mongolian ger's unique attributes of fluidity have not yet been fully unearthed within the current literature. Studies on the preservation methods and techniques for the Mongolian ger often restrict themselves to considerations of traditional building techniques and historical cultural backgrounds, neglecting the significance of the fluidity concept embedded in nomadic culture. However, it is precisely this fluidity concept that imparts adaptability and perpetuity to the Mongolian ger and similar nomadic heritage,

enabling it to thrive amidst the ever-changing natural and social landscapes, passing down through generations.

Addressing this research gap holds immense significance. A profound examination of the vernacular concept representing nomadic heritage within cultural heritage studies can yield fresh perspectives and insights, expanding the horizons of research and enriching scholarly discourse. Through in-depth exploration of its evolutions and continuities, we can better comprehend the adaptability and persistence of these heritage elements through historical transformations. Concurrently, such research can offer comprehensive and holistic strategies and methods for contemporary heritage preservation and inheritance. By incorporating the concept of fluidity, we can reevaluate the current modes of heritage continuity, offering insightful and forward-thinking explorations for the future protection and management of heritage.

1.3.4 Discussion of Changes

The Mongolian ger, as a distinctive traditional dwelling of the Mongol ethnicity, reflects the evolution and transformation of Mongolian culture. Scholars have examined the evolution of the ger from various perspectives and its significance to Mongolian culture. The fundamental reasons for these changes are shifts in production methods and lifestyles. Starting in the 1950s, the state promoted settled pastoralism policies in the pastoral areas, gradually leading the Mongolians towards a sedentary lifestyle (Wang 2006). Industrialization and urbanization processes have also altered employment, living conditions, and the grassland ecosystem (Su 2010). Moreover, advanced construction and communication technologies have provided alternative options for traditional living arrangements (Li 2005), creating a social environment conducive to the functional transition and formal evolution of the ger.

During the period of nomadic economy, the ger was the predominant dwelling form. However, with the shift towards settled production, the ger has gradually been replaced by brick and wood structures (Sun Le et al. 2013), moving from mobile to fixed housing (Zhang 2018). Its function transformed into a symbol of ethnic cultural identity (Si 2011; Li 2005). Some scholars argue that the evolution of the ger reflects the transition of Mongolian culture from traditional to modern (Su 2010). In the new environment, the ger exhibits trends of functional transformation, formal evolution, spatial compression, while still retaining cultural connotations. However, the debate on whether the ger becomes a symbol of ethnic identity rather than just a physical presence remains unresolved (Zhang 2018).

Inner Mongolian pastoral economic changes have influenced the nomadic lifestyle and traditional culture (Humphrey and Sneath 1999). Simultaneously, due to increased interactions between Han and Mongolian cultures and rapid urbanization in China, local nomads have gradually opted for a settled life (Liu 2017), resulting in the ger's development taking different trajectories in both tangible and intangible aspects. Under the influence of immigration and agricultural expansion, nomads have progressively transitioned their dwellings towards kilns and bungalows. This has resulted in situations where gers and settled houses coexist within individual families (Tang et al., 2014) (see figure). Notably, the ger is no longer solely the primary dwelling for nomadic families. It has become supplementary storage and even extra storage space, leading to a diminished focus on its decorations and construction. While the ger continues to serve as the primary dwelling in summer camps, it is often used for storing food and furniture in winter camps (Tang et al. 2015:54). Another factor contributing to the deviation from tradition is the industrialized production of ger. In the 1950s to 1960s, craftsmanship shifted to factory production in Inner Mongolia, leading to standardized ger production. This process resulted in homogenization and a consistent contemporary understanding of the ger (Tang et al. 2015).



FIGURE 4 LIFE IN SETTLED PASTORALISM (TANG ET AL. 2015:36)

The photo reflects dwellings in settled pastoralism (see Figure 4). In response to the discourse surrounding the integration of 'socialist content and ethnic forms' during the 1960s, Mongolian cultural elements were incorporated into modern architectural designs (Tang et al. 2015). An

illustrative example is the utilization of Genghis Khan's dome (see Figure 5), which amalgamated the roof structure of the ger with the architectural body of modern buildings. This fusion was adorned with Tibetan Buddhist decorative elements in 1954. Architects sought to establish meaningful connections between contemporary structures and traditional Mongolian dwellings. Amidst the development of a market economy in the 1980s and a period of stagnation during the Cultural Revolution in the 1970s, architectural concepts from the 1950s were upheld (Tang et al. 2015). Numerous approaches to incorporating Mongolian elements were experimented with in a quest for cultural coherence. As the era of post-modernity emerged, more intricate methods of integrating gers into architectural designs have come to the forefront.



FIGURE 5 ILLUSTRATIVE INSTANCES OF GER-STYLE BUILDINGS (TANG ET AL. 2015;40)

There are distinct instances of ger-style buildings in Inner Mongolia, China, serving varied purposes as highlighted by Bai, Rong, and Han in 2016. These instances include:

- 1) **Folk Tourism and Restaurants**: Ger-style buildings are utilized as venues for folk tourism experiences and dining establishments. These structures provide visitors with an immersive encounter of Mongolian culture and lifestyle while enjoying traditional cuisine.
- 2) **Nomadic Dwellings in Grassland**: Ger-style buildings continue to function as authentic nomadic dwellings in the expansive grasslands. These structures maintain their original purpose, providing a tangible connection to the traditional way of life for both locals and tourists.

- 3) **Festival Celebrations:** Gers are utilized during various festival celebrations as spaces for cultural activities, performances, and gatherings. These buildings contribute to the preservation and presentation of Mongolian traditions and festivities.
- 4) Visual Symbolic Decorations for Building Constructions: Ger-style elements are employed as symbolic decorations for contemporary building constructions. By incorporating ger-inspired designs, architects infuse modern structures with cultural identity and historical resonance.

These varied applications showcase the versatility of ger-style architecture in Inner Mongolia, reflecting both tradition and adaptation in response to evolving societal needs and cultural contexts.

1.3.5 Heritage Exploration of Ger

After three to four decades of forsaking the traditional ger, these structures have embarked on a multifaceted journey (Evans and Humphrey 2002). Humphrey, a British scholar, characterized this sturdy Chinese ger as "graves" bereft of Mongolian essence. The ger encapsulates a "microcosm of the social world of the Mongols," encompassing attributes such as age, gender, genealogical hierarchy, affluence, and religious standing (Humphrey 1974). However, this contemporary ger conveys no Mongolian identity, reflecting instead the Chinese comprehension of Mongolian culture. Furthermore, Humphrey delves into this ger's role as a "contemporary archaeology" artifact, offering a prism through which to view 20th-century narratives (Buchli 2007; Buchli and Lucas 2001), thereby rendering it emblematic of cultural transformations through archaeological heritage portrayals.

In comprehending the diverse interpretations of ger in modern Mongolian society, it becomes imperative to initially grasp the shaping of ger within the discourse of heritage. While other historical wooden and brick architectural marvels in China have garnered recognition and preservation, the ger hasn't been accorded the status of tangible heritage requiring registration and safeguarding, despite its role as a commodified tourist attraction for non-Mongolian visitors post-China's Reform and Open Up policy in 1978. Following China's endorsement of UNESCO's ICH (Intangible Cultural Heritage) Convention in 2004, the crafting artistry of the Mongolian ger was granted national ICH protection in 2008 (National List 2013), and subsequently, the "Traditional Craftsmanship of the Mongol Ger and its Associated Customs in Mongolia" was included in UNESCO's Representative List of the ICH of Humanity in 2013 (UNESCO 2013). Consequently, ger in Inner Mongolia, China, has been molded into "heritage"

by the robust Chinese Authorized Heritage Discourse (AHD) (Smith 2006), thereby imposing the concept as outlined in the Chinese ICH AHD onto ger's recognition, management, and preservation. As the Chinese ICH AHD, to a large extent, is influenced by conventional tangible heritage AHD that emphasizes material authenticity (Su 2018a; Wu and Qin 2016), the official discourse and protection measures often clash with alternative discourses and practices witnessed in the everyday usage, upkeep, adaptation, and commodification of ger by local communities.

Discussion surrounding the repercussions of ger's contemporary development has spurred inquiry. Recent analyses of authenticity concerning ger by Paddock and Schofield (2017) underscore its connection with the interplay between people, objects, and structure, emphasizing that ger's sustainability hinges on cultural stakeholders' comprehension. In contrast, Chinese scholars suggest delving into ger's authenticity via dimensions of time, space, and dwellers' perceptions (Bai and Mei 2017). Worth noting, Liang and Zhou (2020) propose that the modern portrayal of "nomadism" might be a fabricated outsider's lens towards ethnic history. An inherent contradiction arises between rejuvenating ger through tourism and fitting ger's lifestyle within modernity. The authors encapsulate three pivotal transformations of ger in ethnographic research within a small village in western Inner Mongolia: 1) nomadic dwellings have shifted from open sites to private locales; 2) daily rituals have diminished; and 3) ger's functions have morphed. While their ethnographic research provides valuable insights into cultural space analysis, it lacks significant humanistic interpretations. Of equal significance, their discourse on the imagination of the past remains unsubstantiated, as it lacks an in-depth exploration of whose imaginations are involved and the intricate interplay amid these two contradictory facets.

1.3.6 Exploration of Ger Evolution and Continuity

Scholars in China have undertaken a comprehensive investigation into the evolution and continuity of Mongolian gers, encompassing themes such as their origins, historical progression, shifts in geographical distribution, transformations in functionality, shifts in physical forms, cultural preservation, heritage transmission, and transformations in cultural identity. Through these explorations, it's evident that gers, as traditional residential structures of nomadic peoples, have undergone numerous adaptations throughout history, while also persisting and evolving in contemporary society. Scholarly attention has been directed towards understanding ger's transformations and continuities. Examination of ger's origins and historical evolution reveals a lengthy trajectory, progressing from its initial rudimentary circular tent form to a larger-scale, multifunctional dwelling (Qiu and Yuan 2019; Guo 2018). Likewise, studies on shifts in

geographical distribution illustrate certain variations across regions, yet gers remain widely distributed and maintain their distinct cultural characteristics across different locales (Aliya 2020; Gao 2017). Chen et al. (2019) investigated the utilization status of gers in certain areas of Inner Mongolia Autonomous Region, finding a declining trend in ger usage due to urbanization and industrialization processes, coupled with a waning sense of user identification with gers.

Research on the historical evolution of ger functionality reveals its versatility and changeability. Evolving from its original role as a dwelling to its present multifaceted applications, the ger now serves not only as a traditional habitation but also accommodates functions such as storage, religious rituals, and tourism, catering to contemporary societal demands (Bai and Bai 2012). Furthermore, modern gers find application in various multifunctional settings such as hotels, clubs, and themed restaurants (Liu and Yi 2019; Wang 2020). This evolution in functionality has left a mark on the spatial morphology of gers (Hao 2018; Lu 2021).

Scholars have also explored strategies for the transmission of ger heritage in modern contexts. Approaches such as landscape design, product design, and digital technology have been suggested for preserving ger craftsmanship and cultural heritage (Zhang 2020; Liu and Meng 2020; Wu 2021; Wang 2021). Additionally, the idea of preserving ger's cultural essence while altering its material technology to align with modern functional requirements has been proposed (Bai 2022). Furthermore, a legal framework and management mechanism for ger cultural heritage protection has been called for to ensure its effective transmission and preservation (Teregle 2018; Ying 2020).

Furthermore, the adaptation of Mongolian ger culture in modern forms has been deliberated. This involves transforming traditional ger forms into cultural and artistic products (Zhao 2020; Liu 2020) and incorporating ger's cultural symbols into architectural and landscape designs (Zhang and Wang 2022; Chang 2019). Simultaneously, adopting ger's design principles, such as spatial transparency and environmental friendliness, in modern architectural design has been proposed (Gao et al. 2009), fostering the continuation of these principles. This approach involves translating traditional culture into contemporary design language, resulting in new ethnic architectural styles that resonate with the spirit of the times (Bai 2022). Additionally, Zhao et al. (2021) explore applications and innovations of ger in contemporary art creation, suggesting that gers can serve as a wellspring of inspiration, seamlessly integrating with modern artistic forms to yield novel artistic effects and modes of expression.

Currently, scholarly attention in the domain of Mongolian ger tourism primarily centers around the development and utilization of ger tourism resources, the creation of ger tourism products, and the expansion of the ger tourism market. Scholars have observed that many grasslands tourism sites in Inner Mongolia currently fail to meet tourists' experiential demands for grasslands and Mongolian ger culture, revealing an imbalance between market demand and tourism product supply (Han 2017). However, Liu (2006) contends that the Mongolian ger is the soul of grassland tourism, and Inner Mongolia's grassland tourism must pivot around this core content of grassland culture to cultivate its distinctiveness and robust allure. Hence, in the realm of ger tourism product development, Han (2017) proposes modular transformation designs to enhance the tourist experience through improved comfort, spatial quality, transparency, and aesthetic appeal. Li (2018) suggests the creation of dual-purpose ecological gers that harmonize pastoralist living with tourist experiences to drive pastoral economic development. Liu Xiaofeng et al. (2020) investigated the development and utilization of ger in tourism, highlighting its immense potential and advantages, while also underscoring the importance of preserving its originality and authenticity. Overall, contemporary research provides theoretical underpinning and practical guidance for the development of ger tourism, but it notably lacks an in-depth exploration of the humanistic dimensions, including the intricacies of ger's evolution and utilization, the tensions among societal rights, policy implications, and other related aspects.

The notion of modernity as a primary driver, along with the ensuing contradictions within the lives of nomads, has been extensively acknowledged. Numerous studies have delved into urbanization and gers in Ulaanbaatar (e.g., Deiner and Hagen 2013; Dore & Nagpal 2006; Marin 2008; Sneath 2006; Tuvshintur 2018; Park, H. *et al.* 2019; Caldieron2013; Fan et al. 2016). However, there's a dearth of discussion on the modernity and postmodernity of gers in Inner Mongolia. Significantly, a research gap exists in examining contemporary people's sensorial experiences of gers in Inner Mongolia. Notably, there's an absence of exploration on the contemporaneous nature of nomadism from heritage perspectives, which could unveil the process of cultural sustenance and transformation. My previous research has revealed that the cultural significance of traditional gers can't be replaced by modern gers that embrace modernity and tourism (Liu 2015). This illustrates Mongolian people's recognition of both current and traditional gers, as well as their comprehension of the erosion of nomadic lifestyles (Liu 2017). However, these findings have conspicuously overlooked contemporary people's agency and practices concerning gers.

Chapter Summary

The Mongolian ger, a traditional mobile dwelling of the Mongolian ethnic group, traces its origins back to the nomadic era of centuries past. Research on this topic has been underway since the 1930s, gaining prominence in the 1960s with the rise of ethnic architecture studies. Over nearly a century of investigation, a wealth of knowledge has been amassed concerning the ger's origins, structure, layout, cultural significance, and more. Spanning disciplines such as history, anthropology, and architecture, scholars have delved deeply into its roots, evolution, structural principles, and cultural meanings, laying a foundation for future inquiries.

However, despite the comprehensive nature of the aforementioned research, there remain gaps. Existing studies often focus on the functional transitions of gers during the process of settling, paying less attention to cultural transmission during the post-settlement period. The fusion of traditional nomadic culture with the modern era also presents unexplored avenues. Insufficient attention has been paid to the current situation and diverse groups' utilization, necessitating a broader perspective on the heritage's continuity and innovation in the modern context. First, a more profound study of the multifunctional applications and cultural identity of gers in modern society is essential to clarify their status and roles. Second, the issue of cultural balance in Mongolian ger tourism development requires more attention to strike a balance between commercial interests and cultural preservation.

Ger, as a distinctive cultural heritage, presents challenges and explorations for critical heritage. Existing research tends to focus on historical value and heritage transmission, lacking attention to the present state, reasons for change, and user demographics. While architectural perspectives have explored innovative development, viewpoints mostly centre on design and usage considerations. Current heritage research perspectives lag behind, emphasizing protection and transmission, while lacking in-depth research on utilization, change, and the agency of user groups. From a critical heritage standpoint, heritage is a tangible aspect of societal transformation, necessitating broader coverage of variability, power dynamics, and more. Examining the modern cultural heritage of gers from this perspective will enrich the research landscape.

The transformations of Mongolian gers reflect the evolution of Mongolian culture from traditional to modern, providing insights into the nomadic heritage of the post-nomadic era. The research will adopt a subjective and critical perspective to explore the agency and actions of local communities in heritage formation, as well as the continuity between cultural bearers and materials. The study will unveil the diverse motivations behind ger construction and delve

into the definition and negotiation of meanings during usage. Departing from the "dwelling" perspective (Ingold 1993; 2010), which focuses on "bring from into being," the study will spotlight participatory environmental processes, investigating the story of Re-nomadism within the heritage context of Mongolian gers. Simultaneously, the research will investigate the historical and cultural backdrop of gers and their transformations, offering a deeper understanding of the changes and connections between traditional and modern practices.

Chapter 2: Literature review – Living Heritage Studies

2.0 Introduction

In this literature review chapter, I will comprehensively examine relevant studies on the theory of living heritage, with the aim of establishing a robust theoretical foundation for the postnomadic era heritage. Furthermore, to provide a more comprehensive explanation of the changes in gers, I will delve into the critical analysis of pertinent theories. This section encompasses five main components, including existing research on living heritage, a critical deconstruction of its theoretical framework within the domain of heritage discourse, and an exploration of potential new constituent elements.

Firstly, I will review the current trends and expectations in China's research on dynamic heritage, affirming the potential value of nomadic heritage in Inner Mongolia. Secondly, I will critically assess existing international approaches to dynamic heritage, re-examining their core concepts and augmenting them where necessary. Thirdly, within the existing framework of critical heritage studies, I will dissect the key elements that are currently receiving attention in the exploration of heritage dynamics, transitioning from object-centered to human-centered research and further incorporating discussions on the interplay between human and non-human elements, thereby illustrating the evolving trend in heritage studies. Consequently, I will introduce new theoretical perspectives to revaluate the dynamism of heritage. Fourthly, building upon the dynamic research orientation, I will conduct an in-depth examination of one of the central themes of this study, change, extending the discussion to encompass creativity within the realm of heritage. Finally, considering the temporal nature of living heritage, which encompasses the past, present, and future, I will revaluate the temporal and sustainability aspects of relevant theoretical perspectives within the field of heritage, aiming to construct a comprehensive new framework for living heritage. This framework will incorporate elements such as adaptability within specific contexts, a solid theoretical foundation with extensions, and an ontological orientation.

2.1 Revitalizing Cultural Heritage in China: A Movement of Change

In a groundbreaking moment on December 30, 2013, Chinese President Xi Jinping introduced a revolutionary concept for cultural heritage in China during the twelfth collective study of the Political Bureau of the Central Committee of the Communist Party of China (Gov. 2013). This

concept aimed to transform cultural relics, historical texts, and heritage sites from static artifacts into vibrant elements of contemporary life. The central objective was to strike a harmonious balance between historical culture and modern society, protecting while also utilizing these precious assets. This vision emphasized proactive maintenance, practical usage, and responsible urban planning.

President Xi Jinping's emphasis on cultural heritage surpassed previous administrations. The phrase "Make cultural relics alive" (让文物活起来 Rang Wen Wu Huo Qi Lai) (Gov. 2013) encapsulates this shift and has become a ubiquitous expression in China's cultural heritage discourse. Referred to as the "Revitalizing Cultural Heritage" movement in this study, this concept triggered a cascade of administrative actions and societal responses.

In 2016, Chinese Prime Minister Li Keqiang endorsed President Xi's approach to heritage management and societal engagement (Gov. 2016a). He underscored the integration of traditional culture into modern society, underlining the significance of cultural relics in fostering moral values and propelling development. This endorsement paved the way for comprehensive policies that merged protective measures with practical utilization, nurturing historical, cultural, and scientific value.

The momentum further intensified in the same year with the State Council's announcement of guidance to strengthen cultural relics (Gov. 2016b). The State Administration of Cultural Heritage (SACH) subsequently released official documents (Gov. 2018), setting forth opinions on the judicious use of cultural relics and implementing inspections to actualize the "Make cultural relics alive" concept. These measures encompassed a spectrum of initiatives, from innovative exhibition methods and online endeavors to museum engagement campaigns and the integration of cultural artifacts into creative industries.

While the prevailing ethos of cultural heritage invigoration has gained traction in diverse social spheres, official experts and institutions (Peng 2015) have raised concerns. Scholars such as Dong (2017) and Peng (2015) argue for a more somber approach to heritage protection, highlighting its distinction from commercial pursuits and the imperative to preserve historical integrity. These viewpoints contribute to the ongoing debate surrounding the concept of "living" (活 Huo) heritage, as heritage practices evolve, encompassing various participation models, commercial ventures, and innovative heritage creations. This research focuses on understanding the societal impact of this movement and its influence on heritage utilization.

In the preceding years, China's administrative frameworks shifted towards prioritizing heritage protection over utilization (Yan 2018). The 1997 Circular on Strengthening and Promoting the Protection of Cultural Relics (Gov. 1997) marked this transition, followed by the 2002 Law on Protection of Cultural Relics (Gov. 2002), which emphasized both protection and controlled utilization. Despite these efforts, governmental authority continued to be the primary driver of heritage promotion, with public involvement serving as a secondary consideration (Yan 2018). However, the "Revitalizing Cultural Heritage" movement has elevated the importance of heritage utilization, presenting a paradigm shift in Chinese heritage management.

The annual Bluebook of Cultural Heritage (Su and Zhang 2018) between 2017 and 2018 delved into the paradox of protecting and utilizing cultural heritage amid China's rapid societal development. This context spurred the need for innovative research into reconciling these contradictory goals. The General Office of the Central Committee of the Communist Party of China echoed this sentiment in October 2018, highlighting the need for innovative strategies to bring cultural relics to life. However, the Bluebook also acknowledged the overuse of heritage resources while advocating for innovative means of utilization. These complexities underscore the challenge of achieving balanced and sustainable heritage protection and utilization.

China's heritage management has adhered to the principle of "Governmental leading, Social participation," a mode emphasized in the 2012 18th National Congress of the Communist Party of China. The government assumes a central role in protection, while heritage professionals, cultural elites, and communities act as supporting elements (Zhang 2019). Yet, this approach often diverges from grassroots-level public practices, leading to a disconnect between official discourse and public engagement (Zhang 2019). The emerging "Revitalizing Cultural Heritage" movement aims to invigorate public participation, potentially bridging this gap. The question arises: can this movement transform passive public involvement into active engagement?

Extensive research has explored public participation and its interaction with official measures (Tan and Altrock 2016; Zhai and Ng 2013; Fan 2014; Zhang 2017; Fu et al. 2017). However, understanding the public's evolving role in heritage management remains an ongoing endeavor. Early-stage public participation necessitates a comprehensive framework to integrate local perspectives into heritage administration (Verdini et al. 2017). Simultaneously, the reevaluation of heritage meanings during the management process lacks adequate attention. Furthermore, power dynamics and motivations among diverse heritage practitioners in China require thorough examination. Ultimately, the social values attributed to cultural heritage by grassroots communities are often underestimated. Concurrently, the introduction of new heritage policies

introduces new stakeholders with fresh perspectives and cultural practices, sparking tensions and influencing heritage values.

In conclusion, the "Revitalizing Cultural Heritage" movement spearheaded by President Xi Jinping signifies a transformative phase in China's heritage management. This movement embraces a holistic approach, balancing heritage protection and utilization, and stimulating public engagement. Its implications extend beyond administrative boundaries, inviting scholars and practitioners to explore the intricate interplay between heritage, society, and governance in China.

2.1.1 Debates on Living Heritage in China

The distinction between the concepts of "vitalizing heritage"(让遗产活起来 Rang Yi Chan Huo Qi Lai) and "living heritage" (活态遗产 Huo Tai Yi Chan) is essential. These ideas are interconnected by following discussions about what constitutes "living" within heritage management.

In 2014, ICOMOS China revised The Principles of Chinese Cultural Relics and Monuments Protection, introducing narratives concerning living heritage. These narratives encompassed cultural landscapes, historical villages, blocks, and cultural routes (ICOMOS China 2014). These forms of heritage are closely tied to contemporary life, retaining their original functions and cultural significance. Such heritages exhibit characteristics of "living" due to their ongoing relevance (ICOMOS China 2014). The preservation of living heritage hinges on safeguarding cultural traditions (Lv 2015).

Scholars in China have provided insights into living heritage. They suggest that living heritage must maintain heritage values, original functions, and contemporary relevance (Lv 2016). These views parallel ICCROM's (2009) definition, which includes heritages sustaining their original functions. Some scholars have applied these notions to specific cases. Traditional Chinese villages, for instance, necessitate adaptable protection based on community needs (Zou 2016). Architectural experts emphasize cultural memory in living heritage, distinct from static museum artifacts (Huang et al. 2017). The Blue Book (Su and Zhang 2018) distinguishes between static and living heritage, highlighting the intrinsic value within living heritage. Nevertheless, little research delves into the dimensions of "living" concerning evolving communities and creations.

The ICOMOS China Principle (2014) outlines the utilization of living heritage: maintaining original functions, protecting traditional practices, and responsibly repurposing heritages that have lost their original functions. This approach predominantly emphasizes architectural perspectives and traditional elements. However, it doesn't adequately prioritize the role of heritage users, practitioners, new requirements for utilization, or creative elements. This has sparked debates regarding the management of living heritage (Lv 2016; Zhang 2019).

A key source of contention is the plurality of heritage authentication versus the singular authorization of heritage recognition in China's current context. Critical heritage studies emphasize that heritage management, conservation, and utilization are distinct uses of heritage (Smith 2006), involving behaviors for diverse purposes (Lowenthal 1985; Harvey 2002; Harrison 2013). This approach calls for recognition of personal, everyday experiences within heritage spaces (Waterton and Watson 2013). Furthermore, contemporary heritage creation shapes the contemporary heritage with future-oriented values, rendering heritage a living entity.

This research asserts that the concept of living heritage should be people-centered, rooted in continuous community practices and future-oriented creation. However, China's current heritage administration often centers around top-down directives. This neglects the valuable non-expert, non-official contributions to heritage, leading to underestimated values (Li 2019). The discourse on "vitalizing heritage" by President Xi in 2014 has influenced heritage practices, particularly in tourism and cultural industries, calling for an investigation into its background and dynamics.

In China, the term "living heritage" encapsulates cultural politics stemming from new heritage actions. Governmental heritage policies shape practices at different governmental levels, generating new heritage discourses that shape cultural practices (Zhang 2018). This illustrates the power dynamic where governmental policies define acceptable discussions and practices. This governance of living heritage extends China's controlling influence over daily practices, impacting social life. Investigating this influence and uncovering the meanings of living heritage among diverse heritage practitioners is a key focus of this research.

2.1.2 Policy Impact and Practical Significance

China's shift towards "living heritage" has re-energized cultural preservation, linking historical heritage with contemporary life. President Xi Jinping's call to "bring cultural relics to life" has driven administrative reforms and societal participation, injecting new vitality into cultural treasures. This initiative can be seen as a powerful embodiment of China's cultural heritage

Authorized Heritage Discourse (AHD) (Smith 2006), which has subsequently sparked a series of supportive policies and active responses from both society and academia. The policy trend is increasingly oriented towards mass participation, while practical efforts focus on multifaceted utilization and exploration.

First, the impact of these policies is evident in the systemic improvements in cultural heritage management. The government has introduced a range of policy measures to encourage and regulate the protection and utilization of cultural heritage. These policies encompass various aspects, including the digitization of cultural heritage, community involvement, and the integration of creative industries. For instance, the "Action Plan for Cultural Heritage Protection and Inheritance" implemented by the Ministry of Culture and the State Administration of Cultural Heritage (2023) emphasizes the role of social forces in cultural preservation, promoting interaction and cooperation between museums, heritage sites, and communities. The implementation of these policies has not only strengthened the protection of cultural heritage but also enhanced public awareness and engagement.

Second, in terms of practical significance, these policies have fostered numerous innovative practices and explorations. Cultural heritage preservation is no longer confined to traditional methods of restoration and display; it now integrates various approaches into modern life. Museums and heritage sites are engaging more public participation through interactive activities, educational programs, and cultural experiences. The application of digital technologies, such as virtual reality and augmented reality, allows cultural heritage to be presented and disseminated in novel ways, further expanding its influence and appeal. Local governments and communities are also actively exploring ways to convert cultural heritage resources into drivers of economic and social development through cultural tourism and creative industries.

However, despite significant progress in policy and practice, there remain gaps in research. Current studies tend to focus on policy analysis and case studies, lacking in-depth exploration of social participation, innovative practices, and the interaction among diverse stakeholders. The nuanced dimensions of "living heritage," especially its connections with evolving communities and creativity, require further investigation. Additionally, the dominant role of national policies sometimes underestimates the importance of public participation. Balancing government leadership with public involvement in policy formulation and implementation is an issue that merits deeper examination.

In conclusion, China's cultural heritage management has achieved a harmonious integration of preservation and modern utilization through revitalization efforts. Future research should prioritize social participation, innovation, and stakeholder collaboration. A thorough understanding of "living heritage" will reveal its impact on China's heritage landscape and social structure. As China continues this transformative journey, exploring governance, participation, and social dynamics is crucial for uncovering the diverse meanings of "living heritage" among heritage practitioners.

Moreover, within China's diverse cultural spectrum, the dynamic heritage from a nomadic perspective has been notably overlooked. Therefore, responding to the current call for dynamic heritage research clearly requires studies involving various types and perspectives. This will contribute to a comprehensive understanding and protection of China's rich cultural heritage, ensuring its vitality and continuity in modern society. The mutual promotion of research and practice will ultimately propel the cultural heritage preservation enterprise to new heights, providing sustained momentum for the inheritance and innovation of Chinese culture.

2.2 The Approach of Living Heritage

In the past, cultural heritage conservation methods were often regarded as mainstream notions, advocating that specific items should be preserved for the benefit of future generations and emphasizing that material protection is a moral duty. This conservation paradigm first emerged in the late 19th century and was part of a broader cultural shift towards knowledge and specialized regulation (Smith 2006). Items deemed to possess historical value began to be constrained by new categorization, recording, and documentation standards. Once these artifacts and structures were incorporated into catalogs, lists, and archives, they became subject to the assumptions of preservation (Harvey 2001). The obsession with material preservation is so deeply ingrained in 20th-century thought that it's difficult to separate understanding and significance from concerns about how to protect and preserve these fragments (Lowenthal 1975). The relics of the past seem to exist solely in being protected and preserved. In the early 20th century, a plethora of laws ensured the expectation of permanent protection for designated entities (Yazdani 2019). Although the concept known as "historic preservation" has become complex in reality, it retains the potential for redefinition and repositioning, as well as the opportunity for critical reflection on the choices we make in its name (Lowenthal 1996).

In the past, as emphasized in the Venice Charter, cultural heritage was seen as evidence of specific civilizations, significant developments, or historical events (ICOMOS 1964). Today,

although repurposing monuments for socially useful purposes may aid in protection, it should not alter the structure or decoration of the buildings (UNESCO 1964). Additionally, contemporary environments are not perceived as important as historical ones, and the notion of preserving buildings in their original locations is gradually weakening (Heritage Council 2009).

Aligned with the tenets of the Critical Heritage Studies approach and the subjective lens of Intangible Cultural Heritage (ICH), this research endeavors to reinterpret the concept and formulate a theoretical framework for the concept of continuity, thereby enhancing the living heritage approach that encompasses both tangible and intangible heritage elements. To date, various critical perspectives have been advanced to critique the conventional static, materialistic, and preservation-centric conservation paradigm. For instance, the values-based approach, originating in the 1980s and subsequently integrated into the ICOMOS Burra Charter (ICOMOS 2013) after the 1990s, seeks to define heritage sites through the lens of cultural significance, particularly the social values attributed by communities (Jones 2017). However, shortcomings have been identified in the values-based approach (Fredheim and Khalaf 2016; Poulios 2010), as it tends to prioritize professional expertise, thereby perpetuating the dominance of tangible and material authenticity (Poulios 2010).

Novel approaches have emerged to elucidate heritage as a dynamic, dialogical, social, and community-oriented phenomenon (Poulios 2010; 2011; 2014a; 2014b), with the International Centre for the Study of the Preservation and Restoration of Cultural Property (ICCROM) proposing a 'people-centered approach' (Court and Wijesuriya 2015). Wijesuriya (Wijesuriya and Sweet 2018; Wijesuriya 2017) emphasizes the concept of 'living heritage' as a means to underscore the central role of community in heritage sites and their relationship with safeguarding heritage, while also focusing on the idea of continuity to address authenticity issues. Theoretical underpinnings for this approach include Poulios's concept of heritage continuity in terms of function, spatial configuration, and community presence. Additionally, the vernacular approach (Plevoets and Sowińska-Heim 2018) advocates for a grassroots-driven adaptive reuse of heritage and situational ethics, contextualizing conservation efforts (de la Torre 2013).

The living heritage approach proves invaluable for analyzing contemporary heritagization, as it shifts the emphasis from mere preservation to active creation (Poulios 2010, 2014b). Ioannis Poulios delves into the challenges of managing sites like Meteora in Greece, which are significant for both their religious importance and tourist appeal. He examines the dynamic interplay between monastic traditions, heritage conservation, and tourism growth, highlighting the conflicts and potential collaborations among these aspects. While the monastic communities

at Meteora have embraced tourism through a philanthropic and missionary approach, bringing economic and social benefits, this has also led to significant management issues, particularly regarding space usage. The influx of tourism has pressured traditional monastic practices, necessitating a new balance between preserving religious activities and accommodating tourists. Although tourism has contributed to heritage conservation, it has also compromised traditional monastic life, as most tourists do not engage in monastic rituals and frequent construction projects often clash with religious principles. Poulios recommends that monastic communities re-emphasize their religious traditions while more seamlessly integrating tourism and heritage protection into monastic life. Achieving this balance will help sustain the site's religious and cultural importance while ensuring its relevance in the modern world, providing a useful model for managing similar heritage sites globally.

Nonetheless, Poulios's work fails to adequately address the intangible aspect of heritage (2014b). In accordance with the principles of Critical Heritage Studies, all types of heritage, not just Intangible Cultural Heritage (ICH), should be regarded as intangible heritage (Smith 2006; Smith and Akagawa 2009). This perspective stems from the belief that the core of heritage resides in intangible aspects, encompassing meanings, significances, and identities. Consequently, building upon Poulios's living heritage approach and extending it to encompass intangible heritage, this research strives to develop a holistic living heritage framework that encompasses both tangible and intangible dimensions.

Wijesuriya can be considered one of the pioneers in promoting the concept of the living heritage approach. Although Intangible Cultural Heritage (ICH) is often referred to as living heritage, Wijesuriya (2015) argues that it is limited to the scope of ICH alone. Drawing on the context of Sri Lanka, he examines the relationship between temples, people, and beliefs to argue for a broader understanding of living heritage. His work at ICCROM further advanced the formal publication of the living heritage approach (Wijesuriya 2015; Wijesuriya, Thompson, and Court 2017). A recent publication by Wijesuriya (2017) particularly underscores that the living heritage approach is applicable to all categories of heritage and emphasizes its community-centric nature. However, this perspective lacks specific guidance on managing intangible heritage and does not adequately address engagement with diverse communities. Living heritage is a perpetually evolving, inhabited, adaptable, and continually re-created concept rooted in the collective embodied knowledge, skills, beliefs, and practices of all individuals.

The notion of continuity, akin to authenticity, emerges as a pivotal concept in various international conventions, including the 2013 UNESCO Intangible Heritage Convention, the

2015 UNESCO Convention on the Protection and Promotion of the Diversity of Cultural Expressions, and the ICCROM Living Heritage Site Program of 2003. Continuity is closely tied to the mutability of heritage. This research centers on exploring the dynamic aspects of heritagization concerning both tangible and intangible heritages. In the realm of World Heritage, Stovel (2007) proposes the framework of functional and contextual continuity. Within the living heritage approach, Poulios (2010, 2011, 2014b) puts forward a framework of continuity encompassing original function, spatial arrangement, and the physical presence of a heritage site's specific community. Wijesuriya (2019) accentuates the relevance of continuity in living heritage conservation, highlighting its association with original usage and extending it to the notion of creation within core community connections, expressions, and concerns. Nonetheless, prevailing concepts of continuity fail to capture the intricate process of heritage's continuous creation, inhabitation, adaptation, and re-creation across diverse and dynamic contemporary communities. Poulios (2012a: 133-139) identifies the potential for changes in communities connected to a heritage site, especially when external factors substantially shift its contextual landscape, suggesting four evaluation factors for site management:

- Analysis of evolving elements
- Interpretation of old-new relationships
- Assessment of heritage conservation's impact
- Development of a "present-future" continuity plan

As noted by Wijesuriya (2018), understanding the potential meanings of these connections aids negotiations with communities in heritage management. Anchored in the Critical Heritage Studies approach and the lens of ICH, this research will adopt a new stance to investigate the roles and perspectives of relevant stakeholders concerning continuity. As earlier indicated, an authenticity concept germane to heritagization necessitates discussions encompassing people, tangible artifacts, and intangible aspects. This study aims to explore how pertinent stakeholders manifest their capabilities in their interactions with heritage sites, encompassing construction, usage, adaptation, re-creation, and commodification, to imbue them with relevant meanings and significances. As such, this research, focusing on the construction of meanings and significances within living heritage, will adopt a critical approach to uncover how relevant stakeholders wield their agency to sustain the continuity of these meanings and significances. While continuities in function, setting, space, and presence remain pertinent to the case, the study will unearth the more intangible a facets of continuity entailed in the process of heritagization. The findings will culminate in a conceptualization of living heritage, delineating the continuities delineated and practiced from various stakeholders' perspectives.

2.3 The Concept of Continuity

Continuity bears profound implications in the assessment of historical transitions, turning the past into the present, thereby endowing objects with the status of heritage. As articulated by Harvey (2015:922), "by acknowledging discontinuity, temporal rupture, silence, and a purposeful (and perhaps positive) reluctance to remember, we can evade the trap of simplistically amalgamating past/present/future." In essence, the exploration of continuity and discontinuity holds the potential to cultivate reflexivity towards ingrained heritage assumptions. Nevertheless, continuity isn't synonymous with objectivity; it has the capacity to drive change. Ingold's 'perdurance' (2013:104) captures the notion of change within the framework of consistency, standing in contrast to permanence. Our world is a canvas shaped by narratives spanning from the past to the future.

However, the partial comprehension of continuity has given rise to a superficial understanding of its application and evolution. This section critically evaluates prevailing typologies of continuity while underscoring the role of practitioners in shaping the connections between the past, present, and future. This research contends that continuity can be viewed as a process of plural subjectivities embedded in cultural practices. By comparing with elements of change in heritage, the study delves into the priorities of contemporary applications (Harvey 2000). Within this context, continuity is deployed as a metric to trace changes and developments in cultural components, distinguishing between the 'living' and the 'frozen,' and highlighting divergent emphases among different communities in contemporary China.

In the domain of conservation studies, Mnuos-Vinas (2017) introduces 'conservation alters,' asserting that all interventions in heritage engender changes, all of which are imbued with sentiment rather than objectivity. In other words, continuities cannot be perceived as steadfast facts transitioning from the past to the present; they are products of decision-making. Similarly, Yarrow (2019:13) agrees with this viewpoint, asserting that the need for conservation's continuity can appear in various, possibly contradictory manifestations, including the persistence of procedures or the persistence of material and structure. In this vein, continuity within heritage conservation seems to manifest through transformations. Echoing this, both Smith and Holtorf reject the notion that heritage remains immutable. Smith (2006) advocates for a politically sensitive human rights perspective, employing postcolonial viewpoints to analyze challenges through discursive analysis, while Holtorf emphasizes conservation within the built environment. Holtorlf (2015) asserts that heritage constitutes a continuous embodiment of change over time, aligning with anthropological concepts by Ingold (2010) that view the built environment as a human life in perpetual cycles of birth, reconstruction, creation,

and transformation. Holtorf contends that heritage's dynamism resides in its process of construction and that even forms of heritage can evolve or be lost as long as certain meanings persist. This perspective underscores how continuity is guided by people's agency in the transformative decision-making process.

Recent works by Khalaf (2020a;2020b; 2021) clarify the relevance of 'continuity' within world heritage frameworks. Khalaf's research underscores the role of continuity in the Living Heritage Approach (LHA) and the Historic Urban Landscape (HUL) approach, emphasizing heritage and community sustainability. Her contributions include the division between cultural and natural heritage, dimensions of living heritage, and community rights. While Khalaf's work makes notable strides in understanding continuity's significance in world heritage evaluation, it often neglects the concept's practical implications in contemporary conservation. Continuity cannot solely rest within policies; it necessitates narratives encompassing daily heritage practices and critical conceptualizations grounded.

The exploration of continuity within a humanistic context is evident in Thomas Yarrow's article (2018a), which draws on anthropological perspectives to examine the logic of continuity in conservation. Yarrow defines 'living' as 'character,' encapsulating human agency, architectural attributes, integrated elements, and historical temporality. Worth noting is Yarrow's nuanced portrayal of character as an interactive 'eco-skeleton,' (Webb Keane 2016:97) illustrating its dynamic emergence through the interplay between people and objects. Yarrow's work exemplifies the influence of social practices and human decision-making on heritage sites, demonstrating how unchanged elements (continuities) result from negotiations and selections endorsed by professionals.

The concept of continuity serves as a gauge for assessing changes in conservation, affecting both its legitimacy and practices. However, this analysis appears to be lacking in the exploration of constructive viewpoints, instead focusing more on intrinsic values. Additionally, the research seems to have overlooked the perspective of communities engaged in conservation, neglecting the democratic views that could reshape conservation practices. Furthermore, the research remains confined to singular sites or monuments, predominantly guided by professional measures. Although at times these measures may vary to accommodate modern needs, they fall short in addressing the inherent instability of heritage itself. Heritage is a constructive concept that extends beyond mere practices and considerations; it embodies supplementary qualities. Consequently, the research by Yarrow remains entrenched in essentialism. On the other hand, character is employed as a measure to comprehend a spectrum of human factors (Yarrow

2018b). To transcend essentialist notions, my research will offer a constructed perspective on how and why continuities manifest among diverse communities, thereby overcoming the essentialist stance of defending continuity as it stands.

Reflecting on the foundational research within the realm of humanity, a more profound comprehension of continuity emerges. Continuity is defined as "the fact of something persisting over an extended period without alteration or interruption" (Cambridge dictionary 2019). The earliest instances of continuity can be traced back to Western philosophical discourse, such as the 'Ship of Theseus' (Jokilehto 2006), which challenged the authenticity of an object as its components were continually replaced. Approaching from an archaeological angle, the continuity of tradition can be preserved through materiality (Bond and Gilliam 1997) and by uncovering elements from the past (Harvey 2000). An anthropological perspective on continuity, specifically cultural continuity, delves into the transmission of a cultural script across generations, encompassing the methods of its dissemination (Eggan, 1956). In terms of essence, continuity stands as a foundational touchstone for culture (Greenfield and Cocking 1994). However, when culture and its environment undergo shifts or loss, continuity becomes entwined with social 'value orientation' (Greenfield and Cocking 1994). Additionally, it is imperative to illuminate continuity through the lens of transmission, comprehending the cultural patterns and practices that embody the social values of a culture (Comunian and Owe, 2000). Thus, continuity encompasses more than just unaltered cultural content; it revolves around the ongoing 'transmission of human experience' (Comunian and Owe 2000). Echoing Smith's sentiment (1982:135), "continuity is the synthesis through which tradition maintains persistent viability through adaptation, and change becomes the innovative manifestation of a lasting identity."

Continuity has been harnessed as a potent political tool in influential literature, strategically wielded to bolster existing authorities' legitimacy and control. Colson (1975) underscores the role of continuity and tradition in upholding power structures, prioritizing certain groups' historical narratives over others. Hobsbawm's examination in "Invented Tradition" (Hobsbawm and Ranger 1983) elucidates how the past is manipulated to consolidate authority's legitimacy. This practice employs continuity to establish relevance by weaving a sequence of traditional events. Similarly, Harvey (2000) unveils continuity's manipulation within a medieval Cornish church, exposing how ecclesiastical authority exploits prior heritage to enhance credibility. He accentuates the correlation between continuity, contemporary authority, and the strategic reuse of previous forms to perpetuate social legitimacy and administrative power.

However, this political utilization of authorized continuity necessitates concurrent exploration of marginalized powers' continuity. Delving into personal daily practices reveals diverse interpretations of heritage, often differing from nationally defined connections to the past. Such potential disparities underscored in the previous chapter prompt an examination of varying continuity understandings. This comparative analysis facilitates comprehension of heritage's multifaceted existence within distinct practices, unearths contemporary needs, and exposes the discordant 'living' discourse in China.

In recent cultural heritage research, continuity emerges as a pivotal attribute entwined with political ideology in heritage deployment. Alonso González (2016) illuminates continuity's role within communist countries, exploring how they manipulate historical past to shape new national identities by manipulating heritage's continuity and changes. Drawing on Eleazar Baller's work "Communism and Cultural Heritage" (1984), heritage crystallizes through both continuity and "conscious action, critically evaluating inherited cultural values and creatively utilizing them" (1984:57). Additionally, continuity itself can be categorized within 'progressive' and 'regressive' contexts of heritage application. In progressive scenarios (preserving old elements in new constructions), continuity is integral to showcasing the objective values of a social movement (Baller 1984). However, the research by González and Baller appears to dichotomize continuity and change, presenting heritage construction for political purposes in stark contrasts. Similarly, Strathern (1992) representing the Euro-American perspective, contemplates the interplay of change and continuity, asserting, "Continuity makes change evident" (p. 1). Yet, these perspectives, emphasizing change, potentially overlook the significance of 'dis-continuity' as a novel approach to interpreting the interplay between change, continuity, and other factors. Thus, I propose that dis-continuity should be viewed as a contrast to continuity and even as a potential integration thereof.

Considering heritage studies from a broader perspective, a transition is observed from the notion of 'know-what' to 'know-how' in the comprehension of continuity. Critical Heritage Studies propose that heritage is an ever-evolving compilation of values, meanings, and identities, shaped by present individuals in a dynamic process known as heritagisation (Bendix 2009; Harvey 2001; Smith 2006). Continuity, as an essential facet, serves to establish a connection with the historical past within the realm of heritage.

In essence, the concept of continuity can be interpreted as a constructive process within heritage studies, embodying a dynamic progression to conceptualize heritage. Harvey (2001) even describes continuity as a 'verb,' capturing the dynamic nature of heritage's conceptual evolution. Moreover, representations of heritage, whether actual or recreated, encompass all elements of

continuity (Edson 2004), embodying the idea that "one reality lives at the expense of countless others" (Ames 1985:160). To embrace a multifaceted perspective on the constructive nature of continuity, this research endeavors to explore continuity within the political landscape of China, as mentioned in the background. This exploration seeks to unravel how dynamic continuities are perceived and employed creatively by various practitioner groups in the realm of heritage.

The conceptualization of continuity within heritage studies can be expanded further. David Lowenthal's "The Past is a Foreign Country" (1985) posits continuity as one of the four prominent 'valued attributes' of the past, alongside antiquity, termination, and sequence. He asserts that continuity suggests a living past interwoven with the present, rather than one that is starkly distinct or obsolete. This perspective examines the phenomenon and attitudes of individuals who consistently engage with artifacts from the past. However, it is apparent that Lowenthal's analysis of continuity is anchored in the perspectives of antiquity, and the linkages between the past and present life are often artificially constructed. Consequently, relying solely on Lowenthal's concept of continuity proves inadequate for exploring intangible cultural heritage in contemporary society. It falls short in capturing how heritage thrives within people's lives and is perpetually forged through daily practices.

Within Lowenthal's framework, another perspective that can be integrated into the understanding of continuity is the concept of sequence. Lowenthal defines sequence as giving historical events a temporal position, shaping the past, and providing context to our own lives (1985:63). This conception places heritage within a chronological context, where present circumstances are the result of past actions. However, Lowenthal's explanations of continuity are somewhat incomplete. While he does touch on the alteration of the past in the present, there seems to be a gap in addressing continuity in relation to the evolving present. Moreover, as previously mentioned, many heritage researchers primarily explore how past elements are repurposed for current needs, neglecting the impact of contemporary cultural expressions and practices on the future. Lowenthal suggests that chronology is more relevant to the past since the future remains unpredictable, stating, "it is mainly the past for which chronology counts" (1985:63). However, this approach appears insufficient when considering continuity's role in fostering creation within contemporary society and neglects the significance of present-day heritage practices.

Comparatively, the use of past forms, or "past in the present," serves to establish a connection between past, present, and future (Smith 1982). This linkage underscores that culture can only maintain continuity if people possess the conditions necessary for its production and recreation (Van Zanten 2004:37). To critically conceptualize continuity, it is crucial to recognize its

subjectivity as a process. Edson (2004) underscores the relevance of continuity in heritage identity, illustrating how individuals utilize past objects or events to position themselves within societies by interpreting them in a specific historical context (Goudsblom et al. 1996). Following a similar anthropological perspective on continuity, the concept of "spatio-temporal continuity" is integral to heritage identity (Edson, 2004:338). Additionally, Edson introduces the notion of "psychological continuity" to elucidate people's incentive for referencing the past. Individuals uphold historical objects and places to enhance credibility and construct contemporary identities. In this context, continuity is a subjective and constructive process, not merely an objective connection to the past.

Furthermore, continuity is generated when new heritage is created (Sorokin 1957), and its manipulation often corresponds with heritage creation. Kevin Walsh (1992) underscores that the past has been detached from people's daily experiences and rendered as a diluted essence used to legitimize modernity and progress. The transformation of heritage, similar to continuity, is a reaction to social legitimacy (Edson, 2004). In response to these dynamics, this research will approach continuity as a subjective and constructive concept influenced by both personal motivations and societal legitimization. Personal motivation, in this context, pertains to the unofficial practice of subjectively engaging with living heritage, while social legitimacy relates to the national effort to "revitalize heritage." This study will critically investigate the distinctions between these two forms of continuity – authorized interpretations of continuity and continuity as expressed in daily practices.

Summary

The concept of continuity holds significant significance within the domain of heritage studies, encompassing historical transitions, heritage transmission, and the relationships between the past, present, and future. However, continuity is not solely synonymous with permanence; rather, it constitutes a dynamic shaping process influenced by change. Present research critically examines various typologies of continuity, emphasizing how continuity molds heritage through practitioners' decision-making and community engagement. The study recognizes the multidimensional nature of continuity and the implicit assumptions it unveils regarding heritage. Additionally, the research delves into the application of continuity within political contexts, accentuating its role in bolstering authority's legitimacy and control. Nonetheless, the study also acknowledges the importance of considering marginalized voices and everyday heritage practices. Furthermore, the research underscores the significance of continuity in diverse heritage preservation methods and evaluations of world heritage. It elucidates that continuity is a construct influenced by individual motivations and societal recognition.

Despite the study's comprehensive exploration of the various dimensions of continuity and its implications in heritage research, certain limitations remain. Firstly, while the study addresses the manipulation of continuity for political purposes to some extent, further depth can be added by incorporating comparative case studies from distinct cultural backgrounds, offering a broader perspective on continuity's function within power dynamics. Secondly, the study primarily concentrates on the role of continuity in shaping the past and present, yet there could be enhanced emphasis on how continuity influences future narratives and expectations. Moreover, a fruitful avenue for exploration could be the role of memory and forgetting in the discourse on continuity, as they substantially contribute to the selective preservation of heritage elements. Lastly, the research could undertake a more comprehensive examination of the practical impacts of continuity, especially concerning policy implementation and heritage management, thereby providing insights beyond theoretical deliberations.

In my perspective, the concept of continuity in heritage research is multi-faceted, encompassing not only the transmission of heritage but also its interconnectedness with innovation and change. This study underscores that understanding continuity requires surpassing a perspective limited to maintaining unaltered heritage elements and recognizing it as an active dynamic construction process. The application and development of continuity in heritage research are influenced by various practitioners, community involvement, and cultural contexts. Additionally, the study emphasizes that the exploration of continuity should extend beyond historical and present dimensions to consider its influence on future narratives and expectations. Investigating how continuity, as a verb, is selectively harnessed by contemporary populations is a promising avenue for further exploration. Thus, through the examination of contemporary heritage evolution in Inner Mongolia, this research aims to enrich the comprehension of continuity and its myriad manifestations in the modern world.

2.4 Heritage Studies

As gers belong to the intangible cultural heritage system and considering the need for a more profound exploration of heritage theories, I need to review the research related to the theoretical orientation of intangible cultural heritage. This review aims to provide a comprehensive perspective for the development of living heritage approach.

2.4.1 Embracing a People-Centered Paradigm

The 1994 Nara Document on Authenticity emerged as a critical response to the evolving debates on the conservation and management of cultural heritage worldwide. Rooted in the principles established by the Venice Charter, the Nara Document emphasizes the importance of cultural diversity and the need to respect the varying concepts of authenticity in different cultural contexts. The document underscores that authenticity should not be judged solely by fixed criteria but must be understood in relation to the specific cultural, social, and historical contexts of the heritage in question. This approach broadens the understanding of authenticity, moving beyond a Eurocentric perspective and recognizing that each culture has its own unique ways of defining and preserving its heritage (ICOMOS 1994).

One of the key contributions of the Nara Document is its advocacy for a more inclusive and pluralistic approach to heritage conservation. By acknowledging that authenticity is a culturally relative concept, it encourages heritage practitioners to consider local values, traditions, and practices in their assessments. This has significant implications for the management of both tangible and intangible heritage, as it calls for an appreciation of the living traditions, social practices, and cultural expressions that give meaning to physical heritage sites. The Nara Document thus represents a pivotal shift towards a more holistic and context-sensitive understanding of authenticity in heritage conservation (Larsen 1995).

The distinction between tangible and intangible cultural heritage (ICH) has long been a subject of debate among heritage professionals and scholars. Traditionally, tangible heritage has been associated with physical artifacts, monuments, and sites, while intangible heritage encompasses the practices, representations, expressions, knowledge, and skills that communities recognize as part of their cultural heritage. However, recent discussions and theoretical advancements have increasingly emphasized the interconnectedness and interdependence of these two domains, challenging the rigid boundaries that have often separated them (Smith & Akagawa 2009).

The blurring of boundaries between ICH and tangible heritage highlights the dynamic and evolving nature of cultural heritage. Tangible heritage is often imbued with intangible values and meanings that are transmitted through oral traditions, rituals, and social practices. Conversely, intangible heritage frequently relies on physical spaces and objects for its performance and transmission. This interrelationship suggests that effective heritage conservation must adopt an integrated approach that considers both the tangible and intangible dimensions. Such an approach not only enriches the understanding of heritage but also enhances

its sustainability by ensuring that the living traditions and cultural contexts that sustain it are preserved alongside the physical structures (Kurin 2004).

This integrated perspective is particularly relevant in the context of living heritage, where the continuous interaction between communities and their environment shapes the ongoing significance of both tangible and intangible elements. By recognizing and addressing the fluid boundaries between ICH and tangible heritage, heritage practitioners can develop more comprehensive strategies that respect and nurture the full spectrum of cultural expressions, ensuring that heritage remains a vibrant and integral part of contemporary life (UNESCO 2003).

The introduction and propagation of the 2003 UNESCO Intangible Cultural Heritage Convention brought about a substantial shift in the perception of heritage towards a more people-centered approach. The debate surrounding ICH has significantly influenced heritage studies, transitioning from an emphasis on monuments to UNESCO's broader understanding of heritage (Smith 2004, 2006; Harvey 2001). This shift primarily emerged as a response from non-Western nations with diverse perspectives on traditions and material culture (Sorensen and Carman 2010). The evolution of ICH has been instrumental in countering the Euro-centric discourse of heritage that favored architectural and archaeological sites, as exemplified by the 1970 UNESCO World Convention on Heritage (Akagawa and Smith 2018).

The convention states that ICH comprises elements "that communities, groups, and, in some cases, individuals recognize as part of their cultural heritage" (UNESCO 2003, Article 2.1), thereby underscoring the significance of community engagement in the global heritage discourse (Blake 2018). Differing from the context of World Heritage Sites, the ICH convention considers the international imperatives of promoting "sustainable development, cultural diversity, and human rights" (Blake 2018:17). Consequently, the 2003 Convention effectively reshaped heritage preservation, transitioning from a focus on value to the representation of human rights (Blake 2018).

However, it is crucial to acknowledge that people can also become objects of preservation (Webmoor and Witmore 2008). In fact, the preservation of ICH can even be perceived as an extension of the conservation of physical objects, given that preservation practices aim to sustain a historical narrative passed down through generations. As Smith (2015, 2018) suggests, the ICH framework remains, to some extent, entwined with the ideology of Authorized Heritage Discourses, which leans towards a viewpoint centered on monuments and expertise. Consequently, ICH appears less favorable than tangible heritage when considering non-expert

communities and the empirical accuracy of historical narratives. This calls for a fresh perspective on the static conservation discussed in the preceding section and prompts a reevaluation of ICH safeguarding strategies. Such reevaluation should be rooted in practitioner-driven and contextually grounded approaches to safeguarding, prioritizing values beyond "historical" or "expertise" considerations (Akagawa and Smith 2018:11).

2.4.2 Embracing the Creative Dimensions of ICH within Development

In the pursuit of sustainable development for Intangible Cultural Heritage (ICH), creativity has emerged as a pivotal discourse. The 2013 UNESCO Hangzhou conference underscored the integration of heritage, diversity, creativity, and knowledge transmission into sustainable development agendas (UNESCO 2013:12). The 2005 UNESCO Convention on the Diversity of Cultural Expressions emphasized the connection between stakeholders and ICH communities (Blake 2018), promoting ICH as a vehicle for creative practices that empower communities to exercise agency over their traditions. Akagawa and Smith (2018) highlighted that safeguarding has transitioned from merely preserving historical traditions to embracing ongoing ideas and adaptable practices for ICH. Bortolotto (2009:21) argued that ICH serves as a 'symbolic and living space,' fostering vibrant and innovative knowledge rather than being confined to a static 'masterpiece.' Unlike traditional heritage's fixation on the past, ICH encompasses future temporality, necessitating a focus on transformative analysis in its safeguarding.

The notion of 'living heritage' has evolved from being limited to material objects to embracing the immaterial and dynamic nature of ICH. It signifies a creative entity interlinked with diverse values and growth. A recent study by Tan et al. (2019) creatively applied a framework based on "actor, audience, affordance, artifact, and apprentice (5A)" to support sustainable ICH by tracing narratives within the World Heritage Sites of Malaysia. This framework draws from Glăveanu's (2013) analysis of social creativity, allowing Tan and colleagues to explore the agency of individuals and organizations in shaping 'new affordance' during the ICH safeguarding process. Cominelli and Greffe (2012) emphasized that ICH embodies both tradition and creativity, fostering a continuous dialogue among bearers to drive quality advancement. They advocated for collaborative partnerships between corporations and universities as an effective strategy for safeguarding ICH, incorporating new designs and consumption practices.

The safeguarding and protection of Intangible Cultural Heritage (ICH) necessitate addressing challenges related to ownership, copyright, and creativity, which are vital for maintaining the

heritage's durability and cultural relevance. According to UNESCO's Convention for the Safeguarding of the Intangible Cultural Heritage (2003), it is crucial to protect ICH through various strategies, including the identification, documentation, research, conservation, and revitalization of cultural practices. The Convention aims to uphold and advocate for the rights of communities, groups, and individuals who develop, sustain, and transmit ICH (UNESCO 2003).

ICH ownership is inherently collective, frequently involving multiple stakeholders. This collective nature complicates traditional intellectual property rights concepts, typically grounded in individual ownership. Emphasis is thus placed on communal ownership and stewardship, acknowledging the contributions of entire communities. UNESCO promotes the participation of local communities in decision-making processes to ensure their rights and interests are safeguarded (UNESCO 2003). The communal aspect of ICH presents challenges for conventional copyright systems designed for individual creators (George 2010). Consequently, community-based management and protection strategies are necessary to respect communal ownership and facilitate the intergenerational transmission of cultural practices.

Intellectual property rights, including copyright, introduce additional complexities. Traditional IP laws may not entirely cover ICH, but community protocols and agreements can prevent misappropriation and ensure equitable benefit-sharing from ICH usage. These mechanisms aim to protect the inherent creativity and knowledge within ICH, fostering an environment where traditional practices can continue to develop and flourish (UNESCO 2006). Unlike tangible cultural heritage, which can be physically preserved, intangible heritage requires an environment that promotes ongoing creativity and adaptation (Lenzerini 2011). Copyright law has been criticized for not adequately addressing the unique characteristics of ICH, especially its collective and evolving nature (Lixinski 2013). Overall, the protection of ICH requires a nuanced approach that actively involves local communities in the safeguarding process.

2.4.5 Reflections

A critical examination of the transformation of ICH practices is lacking due to the prevailing uncritical stance towards ICH development. According to Basu and Modest (2014), heritage and development are no longer opposing temporal discourses due to increased international facilitation. However, the concept of development has, in some instances, hindered people's ability to determine their pasts, silencing alternative visions of the future that emerge from

suppressed heritages (Basu and Modest 2014:10). They argued that heritage development is rooted in a 'perspective of freedom' (Sen 2001), enabling individuals and communities to shape their values and aspirations, thereby fostering the liberty to define their past and future (Basu and Modest 2014:14).

Similarly, Chinese anthropologist Yue (2020) critiqued ICH development in China using the term 'decontextualization.' On one hand, there is a bias towards preserving ICH in a historical context. On the other, even as proponents of the 'living heritage theory' acknowledge ICH's dynamism, there's a risk of it being commodified into a tool for development, thereby aligning with governmental policies and their commodification of heritage resources. This warrants further investigation and consideration in heritage development plans. As such, 'living heritage' should be reconceptualized as a critical approach to examine heritage development as a reflection of human capacity rather than a solely people-centered perspective.

In China, ICH stands as an exemplar of global convention promotion, boasting the highest count of UNESCO ICH and national ICH designations since its 2014 participation in the 2003 convention. However, the Chinese ICH inscription system tends to homogenize safeguarding practices, leaving the preservation of traditions vulnerable to government analysis and regulations (Graezer and Yan 2018). The free will of ICH bearers is at times compromised, treating inheritors as mere 'objects' for preservation (Beardslee 2016). Moreover, ICH in China has become a competitive arena, with some inheritors leveraging social capital to secure recognition. Marketing strategies and the adaptation of authorized narratives also play significant roles (Maggs 2018, 2020). Yet, efforts have been made to address the inequality between inscribed ICH inheritors and non-inscribed practitioners, resulting in a shift in power dynamics through collaborative endeavors (Maggs 2018; 2016). Consequently, ICH development in China reflects a diverse assemblage marked by contestations among actors, methods, and power relationships.

I believe that a comprehensive view of development must span multiple dimensions. Prominent scholars like Maggs, who critically analyze ICH in China, tend to scrutinize the interplay between state and non-state actors, evaluate ICH policies and their outcomes. Space remains to delve into heritage revitalization, the perceptions of heritage practitioners regarding its construction, and explore new configurations. Investigating people's agency offers a way to evaluate the extent of heritage's scope, critique heritage development, and ultimately redefine the living heritage approach in ger 's ICH discourses.

2.5 Living in the Realm of Critical Heritage Studies

This section aims to examine the key points and recent achievements in the field of critical heritage studies, with the intention of revisiting the shortcomings of existing active heritage methods and unearthing new elements for development.

2.5.1 Processual and Humanistic Lens in Critical Heritage Study

Within the realm of humanism, contemporary heritage has experienced a profound transformation (Bultler 2006). As the critical turn gained momentum in heritage studies, the understanding of heritage evolved from being an object of study to a processual interpretation (Harvey 2001). Rather than possessing a fixed structure, heritage has embraced instability, allowing virtually anything to establish a connection with the past (Harvey 2001). David Lowenthal's work (1985; 2015) *The Past is a Foreign Country* transitioned heritage from a foundation in materiality to one rooted in sociopolitical engagement (Gentry and Smith 2018; Olwig 2003). Consequently, heritage has become a dynamic process of encoding, encompassing diverse significances, cultures, politics, and ideologies—an endeavor more profound than conserving a material past.

Jacques Derrida's concept of 'iterability' from linguistics and philosophy, which suggests that meanings can be extended through circulation, finds relevance here. This idea, explored in *Signature Event Context* (Derrida 1988), posits that the originality and individuality of the starting point must adapt to broader contexts for dissemination. When we reinterpret something in our words, it cannot remain entirely authentic, generating new meanings. Similarly, the concept of heritage has undergone transformation in diverse regional, local, and situational contexts, causing specific practices and meanings of certain heritages to become multifaceted.

The Foucauldian discursive shift introduced the concept of the Authorized Heritage Discourse (AHD) by Laurajane Smith (2006) to critique Western, expertise-driven, material-centric conservation. This approach neglected marginalized values and heritage practices (also Byrne 2008; Waterton 2011). Maintaining vigilance against material-centered conservation, peoplecentered views recognize alternative non-expertise communities or silent groups in heritage (Waterton and Smith 2009; Adair, Filene, and Koloski 2011; Sandell and Nightingale 2012; Roued-Cunliffe and Copeland 2017). Consequently, heritage study has transitioned into a social constructivist approach that examines the politics behind heritage-making processes (Henich 2011).

This perspective offers a critical insight into the Living Heritage Approach's critiques with robust theoretical foundations. Waterton and Watson (2012) emphasized that Critical Heritage Studies unveil the motivations behind representations rather than focusing solely on structural analysis in heritage management. Yarrow (2019) highlighted how the critical turn in heritage conservation emphasizes political dimensions. He (Yarrow 2019:4) highlighted "how conservation objectifies the past in ways that reproduce specific interests, values, and marginalize alternative perspectives".

However, while critical heritage scholars (Herzfle 1991; Smith 2006; Byrne 2008, etc.) may have certain expectations of heritage management and its context, their critical attitudes might be perceived as negative. Anthropologist David Greber (2001:30) contended that a drawback of semiotic and critical theory is its bleak perspective, portraying a world threaded with violence and domination. He explained that critical theory's essential purpose was to unveil hidden structures of power, dominance, and exploitation beneath even the most mundane aspects of daily life (Greber 2001:30). The current critical heritage discourse, rooted in post-structuralism, challenges 'hegemonic meanings' through 'semiotic theory' (Waterton and Watson 2012:3). Therefore, discussing Critical Heritage Studies is an effort to solidify the Living Heritage Approach's conceptual foundations rather than taking a negative stance toward heritage management. It aims to make us conscious of heritage's disposition within contexts and explore spaces that encompass individuals' agency.

In the analysis of the term 'living heritage,' we encounter mixed realities. Some scholars, especially when discussing locals' attachments or responses to heritage management, differentiate between 'living heritage' and 'dead heritage.' Sorenson (2020:181) defines the difference based on the pre-existing symbolic relationship people have with their heritage. A 'living heritage' involves elements created by people that challenge heritage authorities, while a 'dead heritage' is linked to historical knowledge (2020:181). Moreover, locals' creativity is not confined to preserving the original; new developments can also establish continuity with heritage, contributing to the formation of local identity (Jones 2006).

Overall, the current discourse on living heritage perpetually grapples with issues of agency in contemporary society. Beyond the dichotomy between subjectivity and objectivity, people and objects, these debates consistently push the boundaries and definitions of heritage within everyday practices. As Yarrow (2019:4) aptly stated, "deconstructive criticism sheds light on the discursive construction of conservation in general terms that frequently elide understanding of the specific everyday practices through which these are located."

2.5.2 Actor-Network Theory in Heritage

The recent discourse in critical heritage studies has increasingly focused on Actor-Network Theory (ANT), which provides new and balanced perspectives on heritage. In this section, the role of the ANT in heritage studies will be critically examined. This theoretical perspective is relevant to this study because it provides insights into the various constituent relationships within the domain of heritage. The influence of posthumanism is growing within contemporary heritage studies (Sterling 2020). Instead of merely focusing on contestation within heritage, as Rodney Harrison (2013) emphasizes, there's an increased emphasis on 'Materiality' and 'connectivity' (39). Material agency now takes precedence over a people-centered approach, with a focus on the concept that material culture and its surroundings shape our ways of life (Tilley et al. 2006; Olsen et al. 2012; Pétursdóttir 2018; DeSilvey 2018). Through the application of Bruno Latour's Actor-Network Theory (ANT) and the notion of assemblages, Harrison (2013:35) characterizes "heritage as a strategic socio-technical or bio-political assemblage composed of various people, institutions, apparatuses, and relations between them." He contends that heritage is not a standalone entity but rather a composition of diverse actors or actants forming a social network (Latour 2005).

However, Harrison's theoretical application of ANT to contemporary heritage analysis may have some limitations. It appears that Harrison (2013) employed ANT to focus on the interconnections within heritage networks, exploring "relations to these mixed social/material collectives" and "the ways in which agency is expressed and distributed across them" (p33). This perspective seems to underscore the concept of heritage as an assemblage, which might prioritize the constitution of heritage over its dynamic nature. This limitation could be attributed to the constraints of the assemblage concept itself, intended to overcome Cartesian limitations (DeLanda 2006; Harrison2015; Bennett 2010).

Furthermore, Antczak and Beaudry (2019) argue that assemblage theory in archaeology should advance with a dynamic focus on human daily practices and emotions. They propose that assemblies should be seen as practices that better navigate "changes, continuities, and transformations in human-thing entanglements" (Antczak and Beaudry, 2019). This perspective suggests that lived experiences might offer more valuable insights than the objects themselves (Delanda 2006; Robb 2015; Witmore 2014; Ingold 2014, as cited by Antczak and Beaudry 2019). Therefore, it's imperative to advance the notion of heritage assemblage within complex, changeable contexts that encompass intricate human and nonhuman interactions.

Reflecting on Smith's work, there could also be certain limitations. The Authorised Heritage Discourse (AHD) might oversimplify the network of actors or the heterogeneous makeup of a community. It appears that Smith tends to define authority and community characteristics in black and white terms, disregarding the gray areas and interactions between different levels of groups. In this context, ANT is valuable for critiquing AHD as it recognizes the flexible constitution of actors in heritage. However, ANT should not replace heritage theories entirely; otherwise, heritage studies would lose their foundational principles guiding management. Instead, ANT can serve as a supplement to explore practices or values that enhance heritage inclusivity.

In practical application, Harrison (2013) employs ANT to explore an 'indigenous ontological perspectivism or a connectivity ontology' to reconsider the universal value of heritage (p216). This approach is closely aligned with his prior archaeological work within Australian Indigenous groups. However, it might still be a surface-level analysis of his proposal that heritage should involve a 'dialogue' (p217) between the human and nonhuman world, adapting to various scenarios (p219).

ANT provides a balanced understanding of material culture. For instance, in a recent article (Yan 2020), heritage assemblages are highlighted, and the limitations of AHD in discussing power negotiations are pointed out. Yan supports the role of ANT in analyzing the assembly process of World Heritage in China. He suggests that ANT could further explore social networks through human and nonhuman factors in social activities, rather than solely focusing on the link between humans and nature—a clear indication of ANT's value in real-world analysis.

When applied to heritage management, Yarrow (2019) utilizes ANT to reframe daily conservation work "as a way of thinking, seeing, and acting that practically performed by tracing actions that assemble people, places, buildings, documents, representational technologies, and materials, in various configurations" (p5). This method allows us to discern power dynamics within heritage and remain attuned to the heterogeneous composition of heritage in different contexts (Hill 2018; Brumann 2018). The focal point becomes "how those multiple modes of being work towards the production of multiple specific futures" (Harrison 2018:1378). However, ANT is not without its flaws, and it is not the sole social theory that can be innovatively used in heritage studies. Therefore, I need to continue exploring other comparable theories for comparison.

2.5.3 Applying Meshwork in Heritage

In the field of social anthropology, another theory that emerged after ANT and has garnered widespread attention is the discussion of the relationships between humans and non-humans. It's worth acknowledging Tim Ingold's development of ANT through the concept of Meshwork (2011). This idea originated from Henri Lefebvre's Meshwork (1991) and Gilles Deleuze and Felix Guattari's work on the rhizome (2004). Ingold proposes that the world's elements aren't made up of 'interconnected points' but rather 'interwoven lines' (2014:70). Hence, the network is better understood as a Meshwork (2007), where ANT meets the intricacy of spiders (2011).

As an anthropologist, Ingold (2011) asserts that the agency of objects pales in comparison to the complexity of human beings, and he highlights individual power in terms of creativity and movement in shaping lives. He emphasizes the importance of 'correspondence' in comprehending the "dynamic in-betweenness of sympathetic relations" that conceptualize assemblages (Ingold 2015:148). These lines are woven through the correspondence of individuals with the world, reflecting not as mere attachments but rather as a natural, sympathetic connection (Ingold 2015).

Ingold's correspondent perspective states that "everything tangles with everything else" (2015:3) within a Meshwork, and that "everything may be something, but being something is always on the way to becoming something else" (2011:3), signifying life's continuous evolution. His work, from the concept of dwelling that stresses how things continuously grow through interactions between humans and their surroundings (1993), to his later emphasis on 'thinking through making' (2013), and recent exploration of 'lines' (2007; 2015), all interlink within an ecological ideology of lived experience between things and humans (2012). The meanings of the world aren't inherited; rather, they're created by those who inherit them.

Comparing these two theories that analyze social relations of objects within heritage, Harrison's critical heritage approach focuses on a 'relational' analysis, whereas the Meshwork approach could excel in exploring individual agencies and their dynamic connections (2011; 2013; 2015) in heritage practices. For example, "our ability to act is not an intrinsic characteristic of us as individual entities but derives from our embeddedness in a network of links to other entities" (Latour 2005). Nevertheless, the Meshwork's emphasis is on the individual rather than the network, emergence rather than planning, and investigating personal actions rather than complex research combinations (Ingold 2011; Haraldseid 2019). This could enable heritage studies to pay greater attention to community agencies, individual perceptions, and creations in their daily heritage practices.

In the context of Heritage Futures, ANT expands heritage possibilities by introducing emerging forms, linking heritage with development, new meanings, and new element constitutions, effectively employing ANT as a tool for shaping futures (Malm 2018). This approach further develops relational ideas that connect the past, present, and future, linking heritage to global challenges like climate change and future concerns. While not explicitly mentioned, this concept partially parallels the Meshwork's ideas, as it recognizes that heritage is a dynamic process in relation to its environment. However, it may still harbor risks of falling into the development trap, as noted in the final chapter, where a somewhat taken-for-granted attitude towards development is present, with limited attention to human capacities for heritage creativity.

Haraldseid (2019) applied the Meshwork concept to examine the influence of entrepreneurship in a project involving heritage communities. He underscores the significance of various stakeholders' creativity in contributing to a vibrant space. Additionally, he draws from Stuart McLean (2009) to emphasize that creativity extends beyond individual agency to encompass broader activities that contribute to the material world through various forms of change and representation. Similarly, Maco Jacob (2019) employed ANT to understand different ICH and 'heritage communities' within the context of the Faro document. While he attempts to link ANT with the ICH field and prioritizes actors over their actions, his analysis tends to oversimplify the complexities present in real-world situations, especially within contested extensions of heritage boundaries. Thus, this research will continue to explore the possibilities of applying Meshwork to real heritage worlds.

2.5.4 Being Critical in Heritage Dynamism

The combination of ANT and Meshwork provides a solid foundation for heritage studies, enabling the investigation of emerging actors and their actions in shaping heritage during its ongoing process. However, I find myself not entirely aligned with Harrison's assertion that ANT serves as a tool for harmonizing various stakeholders' values, as both agreements and conflicts should coexist in reality. To me, it appears that Harrison, as a heritage futurologist, might be somewhat lacking a political view of ANT. In his earlier work "The Pasteurization of France" (1993), Latour proposed:

"It does not matter that some define human actors and others define nonhuman agents. Such distinctions are less important than the attribution of meaning and the construction of the spokesmen who express, for others' benefit, what is being said by the unconscious, the rabies virus, or the print worker. Such distinctions among types of actors matter less than the fact

that they are all renegotiating what the world is made up of, who is acting in it, who matters, and who wants what. They are all created; this is the important point-new sources of power and new sources of legitimacy, which are irreducible to those that hitherto coded the so-called political space." (p40)

Latour's perspective can be applied to heritage analysis, suggesting that what constitutes heritage is less important than who interprets the past, speaks for whom, and takes what actions. This leads us back to critical discussions by political heritage scholars. The key difference here is that we need to trace actors within the heritage network to understand how power is formed within it, rather than just focusing on disputes. Latour's political view encourages us to observe how weakness gains strength by tracing alliances among diverse actors, establishing a goal by considering each actor's efforts in the process, without dismissing anything. Different actors, despite their varied purposes, can unite toward a common goal, becoming equivalent (Latour 1993).

Harvey (2015:920) emphasizes the importance of considering political contexts and reaching beyond the self in discussions about performance, the ephemeral, and the emergent in heritage, to avoid supporting exclusivist, elitist, or racist heritage discourses. The analysis of tracing actors in heritage, as presented in Meshwork and similar frameworks, should retain a sense of 'sensibility' (Harvey 2015:921). Waterton and Watson (2013) advocate for a combined approach, incorporating both Smith's (2006) and Harrison's (2013) theories, constructing a transcendent perspective from 'everyday experience and practice' (also Latham 2003).

By considering the concept of disposition (Latour 1993) which highlights the potential for alternatives within the characteristics of things, heritage can be understood as a way of examining the dispositions of things through engagements with various communities across time. However, these dispositions may vary, necessitating specific case studies within the contemporary heritage landscape. This research aims to utilize Meshwork and ANT as theoretical foundations to better understand heritage dispositions in the living world, with a focus on people, their creations, and contemporary practices in the post-nomadic world.

Overall, the research aims to uncover how power is generated through community engagement and the network constructions of power/agents, shifting the focus from conflicts between authorities and non-authorities. This approach seeks to offer a fresh perspective on community formation by analyzing ordinary heritage practitioners (Edmonds 2006) and reassessing the heritage value chain as it operates within the current revitalization and regeneration contexts in China.

In summary, there is a discernible trend towards theoretical shifts in critical heritage studies. Here, I must elucidate my own position within this field of inquiry. Initially, Laura Jane Smith's critique regarding intangible heritage and inclusivity undoubtedly influenced this domain. Represented by Harrison, proponents of new materialism affirm the connectivity of heritage and the significance of non-human factors. However, Smith has repeatedly criticized the failure of new materialist studies to construct a social critique theory, instead re-entering the discursive domain of material heritage and maintaining a friendly stance towards practitioners (Smith & Campbell 2024). She contends that proponents of new materialism compromise with materialism, neglecting societal issues such as power, class, and race, and predominantly focusing on marginal concerns (Smith 2020). She consistently argues that heritage is an "unfinished practice" (Butler 2010), necessitating detachment from practice to examine the controllers of material rules (Smith 2020).

However, I contend that this approach is not conducive to practice and harbors a narrow understanding of new materialist concepts. Subsequently, I will elaborate on the theory's insightful perspective on marginalized groups and factors, albeit not applied with a critical attitude. I believe that any theory should provide a rational explanatory framework for research questions. This study offers a diversified interpretative space for dynamic heritage typologies like Mongolian yurts, grounded in reflections on practitioners and aiming to expand the possibilities of heritage. Consequently, this study leans towards the direction of new materialist heritage theory, evolving the MESHWORK theory from Actor-Network Theory (ANT) to explore the indeterminate connections among humans, objects, and environments.

2.6 Heritage Change and Creation

This section initiates a re-examination of the central theme of this paper, which is change. Building upon the preceding chapter regarding emerging research areas in heritage, specifically the future of heritage, this section delves into the topic of change. Skepticism toward change in heritage might be attributed, in part, to concerns about the scarcity of heritage's essence. Therefore, within this section, I will explore the concept of change from two dimensions: the essence of heritage and its development. However, this research also aspires to broaden the understanding of the change concept further. Given the inherent innovativeness of the Mongolian ger case, I experimentally combine the concept of creativity with the concept of change to facilitate a more profound theoretical exploration.

2.6.1 Endangerment and Transformation

Suppose we consider heritage as a living entity; this perspective poses a challenge to the prevailing discourse surrounding the preservation of heritage. In this section, we delve into the ongoing debates about heritage endangerment within the current field of heritage studies. Endangerment encapsulates the complex temporal relationship between the past and the present, impacting people's perceptions of the past. Moreover, it serves as a significant factor in defining the value of heritage, identifying threats to it, and formulating strategies for its protection (Maggs 2018).

The origins of UNESCO's mission can be traced back to its efforts in safeguarding heritage sites and monuments during and after the World Wars. UNESCO initially focused on heritage threatened by armed conflict in 1954 and later expanded its purview to encompass threats stemming from decay and socio-economic transformations, as stipulated by the 1972 World Heritage Convention. To counter these dangers, UNESCO advocates for intergovernmental collaboration to protect cultural and natural heritage (Art. 5.3). Additionally, the creation of a World Heritage in Danger list has been accompanied by the implementation of a system for evaluating levels of risk, which serves as a guiding factor in decision-making. The 2003 ICH convention has drawn attention to the challenges arising from globalization and the growing emphasis on diversity (Maggs 2018). Consequently, endangerment has become a pivotal facet of contemporary heritage discourse.

May (2019) has proposed a compelling argument against the notion that heritage must be perceived as an endangered resource tied to the past. She illustrates her point using the case of a shepherd who examined the values of the English Lake District, a World Heritage Site. Rather than fixating on the idea of an endangered past, the shepherd highlighted the importance of public participation in heritage. May contends that heritage offers avenues for participation, creation, and sustenance that are not inherently tied to endangerment. Fredheim (2018) similarly challenges the discourse of endangerment, suggesting it can exploit heritage volunteers and hinder the evolution of heritage into dedicated democratic activities for society. Interpretations of risks associated with heritage conservation are closely linked to expertisedriven preservation, potentially making endangerment a catalyst for the AHD. Both May and Fredheim advocate for prioritizing social benefits over the notion of "rescuing an endangered past" (May 2019:13) when considering public engagement, as failure to do so could render the past a hindrance to public actions. Scholars such as Fredheim (2016), Harrison (2013), Holtorf (2015, 2016), and Fairclough (2009) have all advocated for a paradigm shift in heritage, emphasizing present activities and rethinking the construction of meanings, thereby promoting a notion of 'move-on' in heritage.

The discourse on loss within heritage debates has been categorized by DeSilvey and Harrison (2020) into three distinct forms. First, the "inevitability of loss" underscores heritage as a non-renewable resource, necessitating structured frameworks for its management (DeSilvey and Harrison 2020). Second, the "politics of loss" interrogates the phrase "for future generations," scrutinizing the current generation's responsibilities in heritage preservation (DeSilvey and Harrison 2020). This category probes decision-making dynamics and inclusivity in the process. Third, the "potential in loss" entails embracing transformations, focusing on the interplay between people and material culture (DeSilvey and Harrison 2020).

A recent publication, Heritage Futures (Harrison et al. 2016), contributes case studies exploring loss within heritage. These studies explore the need for adaptation and the emergence of inclusive attitudes amidst climate change and socio-economic challenges (Harrison et al. 2020). This shift in perspective aims to accommodate changing forms of heritage and engender an evolving, relational heritage involving human and nonhuman agencies (DeSilvey 2017; Harrison 2013; 2015; Harrison et al. 2016; Petursdottir 2014).

Hortolf (2006, 2012,2015) strongly advocates for the transformation of heritage within the realm of conservation. His stance asserts that heritage should not remain stagnant in its historical context. His previous articles draw upon essential references that support the notion of heritage evolution (e.g. Ouzman 2006; Hamilakis 2007; Russel 2012). However, Holtorf (2015) introduces the economic concept of 'averting loss aversion' to illustrate the constraints faced by heritage conservators who strive to maintain values in unchanged forms (Holtorf and Fairclough 2013). He posits that heritage should now be viewed through the lens of persistence and change, advocating for a continuous process of growth and creative transformation (2015:418).

It's worth noting that Hortolf (2006:410) considers the essence of heritage to lie in 'destruction and loss' rather than 'loss aversion.' He argues that heritage's value endures longer through material forms, and its influence can even extend to encompass negative heritage (Meskell 2002). This perspective suggests that loss contributes to the enrichment of heritage values. DeSilvey's (2017) concept of heritage, termed 'letting it go', introduces an ecology of memory. This concept emphasizes that materiality should align with memory, facilitating ongoing transformation as a continuous process rather than a finished outcome (DeSilvey 2006). Sterling (2020) reinforces the notion that heritage's status as endangered diminishes when it experiences constant regeneration and transformation. Scholars engaging in heritage futurology are actively exploring the evolving connections between people and the ever-changing nature

of heritage.

Conversely, the concept of endangerment is intricately intertwined with another notion that shapes contemporary heritage practices: equity for future generations. 'Our Common Future' (1987), conceived by Norwegian Prime Minister Gro Harlem Brundtland and Chair of the World Commission on Environment and Development, stands as a milestone in discussions of sustainability (expounded upon in Part I section 2) and underscores the sensitivity towards endangerment. The book portrays the future as fragile and imperiled, aiming to cultivate an awareness of risk laden with emotional resonance. However, this perspective is not exempt from criticism, as it could lead to a unidimensional view of the future, disregarding its inherent diversity (Harrision et al. 2020). Heritage serves as our collective assets, and the role of current consumption cannot be overlooked. Taylor and Marcal (2022) argues that the prevailing discourse often confines heritage usage to current individuals and transfers authority to conservation professionals rather than local communities. In light of the principle of equity, envisioning that future generations will engage with heritage in the same manner as the present populace implies that conservation should encompass long-term preservation. The mantle of this responsibility for the future is assumed by conservation expertise through the AHD framework (Smith 2006). Spennemann (2007a, 2007b) delineates a future that occupies the nexus between the past and the present, thereby constraining the transition of the 'catchphrase' from the present to the future.

Numerous assertions have critiqued the entrenched linear narratives of the past (e.g., AHD by Smith 2006; Thinking Collective by Holtrof & Hogeberg 2015; Patrimonial Regime by Hafstein 2012), denouncing their linear perception of time that demarcates the past from the present (Holtrof & Fairclough 2013). Chinese scholar Ma (2020) also champions a 'peoplecentered' perspective of heritage research and management, foregrounding living heritage. He engages in research discussions concerning people's capacity to understand heritage and their involvement in conventions at both international and national levels. Ma (2020) contends that there is ample room for progress in shaping the image of Chinese heritage management to better align with people, as the current focus remains excessively material-centered, impeding the discourse of vitalizing heritage. However, a review of his recent work reveals a shift toward built heritage, exploring the importance of intangibles in accommodating changes driven by individual volition. This shift could also constrain other scholars (e.g., Holtorf 2015; Poulios 2010; Hafstein 2012) who tend to endorse alternative practices critiquing material-centric conservation. In consideration to ICH field, the notion of pastness should extend beyond material relevancy, embracing reinvention and imaginative recontextualization. Crucially, this imaginative reconstruction should be considered objective, potentially constricting the subjectivities inherent in contemporary practices.

However, achieving consensus on adopting transformational thinking for heritage is challenging. Consider antiquities that have lost their original living context over time – can they readily embrace the concept of letting it go (DeSilvey 2017). On the other hand, heritage with ongoing cultural practices or those requiring further development may find it more accommodating. Current research trends predominantly advocate the notion of letting go, favoring surface-level consideration over deeper reflection (unlike the approach of Hortolf). This idea is often applied to exceptional cases, such as emerging heritage in future contexts, rather than becoming a standard practice. This divergence could potentially bewilder heritage professionals across diverse cultural contexts and exacerbate the gap between community and expert recognition of heritage. Consequently, it's imperative to scrutinize perceptions of change and apprehensions of loss across various social milieus. These investigations must extend beyond theoretical examination to empirical exploration, as disregarding non-expert perspectives would perpetuate an AHD narrative.

Rico (2016) introduces the concept of constructing destruction as a framework to evaluate preventive measures for heritage changes, guided by people's perceptions and the terminology used in heritage contexts. She primarily critiques the notion of heritage 'at risk' from a decolonial perspective (p19). She contends that prevailing Western cultural values shape the mobilization of current Asian perceptions of destruction. The discourse of heritage practice is persistently influenced by the rhetoric of decay aligned with universal heritage values, thereby often clashing with indigenous vernacular practices and values (Rico 2016).

In ancient China, the awareness of endangerment often coincided with periods of national decline, wherein antiquarianism emerged as a response to threats against people's identities (Zhu and Maags 2020). The influence of Western culture, evident with the establishment of the 'China Society of Architecture' in the 1930s, spurred architects to recognize the importance of exploring and safeguarding traditional Chinese architecture. This sentiment persisted through World War II, the establishment of the Chinese Communist Party (CCP), the impact of industrialization, and the cultural upheaval of the Cultural Revolution. These multifaceted factors collectively shaped the discourse surrounding heritage engagement. A pivotal shift occurred during the Economic Reform of the 1980s, marked by innovative approaches to rejuvenating historical contexts to facilitate economic development (Yan 2018).

Additionally, China's participation in the UNESCO 1972 World Heritage Convention, especially in 1982, had a notable impact on intensifying discussions about heritage

endangerment within the country (Maggs and Svensson 2018). According to Svensson and Maggs (2018), this process was initially driven by academia and officials who adapted UNESCO's frameworks for domestic application. Subsequently, scholars and official media further disseminated the discourse, consistently emphasizing the notions of "disappear" and "rescue" (p26, p38). This discourse not only addressed economic goals but also served the political agenda of the CCP, reinforcing discourses like 'harmonious society,' 'scientific outlook on development,' the growing demand for cultural and material enrichment (Holbig 2009:50).

In this context, it becomes evident that the phrase 'heritage is at risk' has permeated every facet of published domestic guidelines and conventions for heritage management. However, the challenges and potential refinements of this discourse, especially in relation to the conflicts between discourse and actual practices, will be further elucidated in the subsequent background section.

Overall, the prevailing critiques of heritage endangerment are closely intertwined with material preservation efforts that often hinder changes to accommodate the evolving needs of contemporary communities. Nonetheless, I posit that if the perception of loss is confined solely to material interventions, it drastically limits the understanding of heritage's fluid boundaries in reality. This viewpoint appears to exclude other types of endangerments, particularly those pertaining to ICH, as explored in Chapter 2.4.2. Consequently, the critique of endangerment extends beyond mere criticism of current practices; it serves as a judgment on the entire ideology underpinning the heritage discourse and its management systems. Scholars endeavor to liberate individuals from the constraints of rigid heritage regulations, allowing heritage to dynamically evolve and resonate with present values and aspirations.

On the contrary, there exist alternative perspectives to consider within the realm of heritage engagement. The discourse of endangerment, rather than solely a negative force, can serve as a catalyst for change and a source of motivation for development. The inherent vulnerability associated with heritage constructs its value (Heinich 2011), arousing people's awareness of the past and captivating their attention.

Drawing from the concept of 'disconcertment,' as expounded in the context of teaching anthropology (Pandian 2019:63), I find it apt to describe the ongoing discourse on heritage endangerment—an unsettling feeling, a sense of incompleteness. Throughout the literature review, it is evident that heritage remains an ongoing construction, perpetually evolving. Thus, the notion of endangerment disregards the agency of current heritage practitioners and their contributions. The crux of the matter lies in determining which present individuals are deemed

'appropriate' for participation in this ongoing construction. Furthermore, the concept of the 'future generation' is often cast as the ideal conduit for heritage transmission, rendering the present generation somewhat translucent.

Research underscores that heritage endangerment is a pivotal element that binds heritage discourse to its historical context, placing limitations on contemporary engagement. The reasons for the perception that heritage cannot be a living entity have been elaborated upon. While the discourse of 'heritage under threats or risks' remains adaptable in diverse conservation contexts, its universal value in comprehending the intricacies of heritage meanings is questionable.

In the Chinese context, as articulated by Maggs (2020), the discourse of endangerment emerged in the 1980s alongside heightened heritage awareness. Nonetheless, this discourse is also intertwined with varying political ideologies in post-socialist periods. Moreover, the notion of endangerment can serve as a unique selling point in heritage initiatives and promotions by specific community groups. Consequently, the various interpretations of endangerment within Chinese heritage practice and each distinct case warrant comprehensive examination.

Reflecting on the conservation of heritage, previous discussions have extensively explored themes of pastness, materiality, and evolving attitudes towards present activities. However, these debates may be inadequate to address the contemporary landscape of heritage practices, especially considering the growing emphasis on revitalization, adaptive reuse, and innovative heritage creations. This revised perspective on heritage contemplates a transition from the present to the future. Central questions include how individuals forge connections between past, present, and future, and how the narratives of the past continue to challenge our understanding of heritage.

2.6.2 Creativity

The concept of creativity is explored in this section, emphasizing its role in facilitating changes in heritage from the past to the future within the present context. The section begins with a quote from Hastrup (2007) that highlights the uniqueness of living experiences. Creativity is presented as a force that drives the cultivation of the future in the present moment, and this section aims to examine how people's capacity for change interacts with the current framework of heritage.

The term "living heritage" narratives are introduced, which not only reflect transformations in

heritage practices but also serve to question the role of creativity in reshaping the existing structure of heritage discourse. This questioning implies the potential emergence of a new paradigm for understanding heritage.

The definition of creativity is provided according to the Cambridge Dictionary (2021), referring to the ability to generate original and unconventional ideas. It could highlight how creativity is connected to an individual's capacity to construct uniqueness. Furthermore, the philosopher Martin Heidegger's perspective is introduced, associating creativity with authenticity. Heidegger's idea suggests that living an authentic life is essentially living a creative life, one that is self-constructed and lived on personal terms. Heidegger's notion implies that creativity enables individuals to find or express their authentic selves, as it allows them to make choices and gain awareness of their emotions and freedoms within social contexts (paraphrased from Ringmar, 2019).

In essence, this section delves into the concept of creativity and its relationship with heritage, considering how creativity plays a role in reshaping heritage narratives and challenging existing frameworks.

Creativity in Agency

This section delves into the interplay between individual agency and social structure in the realm of creativity within social science. The focus is primarily on human agency, with attention to the relationship between creativity, temporality, and heritage transformation.

Mignosa (2020) outlines a key characteristic of creativity as the process of connecting various elements to generate something new. This perspective is echoed in works by Pratt (2004), KEA (2009), and Santagata(2002). Wagner (1986) emphasizes that creativity is a continuous phenomenon, adapting as people evolve.

The distinction between agency and structure is pivotal to the research on living transformations within heritage discourse and practices. The research seeks to differentiate between living and non-living values in heritage valuation, while also addressing the roles of individual actors and the overall heritage structure, particularly in the context of living heritage.

Exploring the nexus of creativity and temporality, this section references the 2005 Conference of Association of Social Anthropologists at the University of Aberdeen, which centered on Creativity and Cultural Improvisation (Hallam 2007). Within this framework, discussions on

the relationship between creativity and tradition arise. Hirsch and Macdonald (2007) contribute by offering an anthropological analysis that reconsiders "presentness" (Wagner 1986) across different cultural perceptions, viewing creativity as an improvisational element bridging pastness and temporal agency.

In the first paper, creativity is viewed as a facet of human agency, shaping the significance of the past, and inheriting traditions (Hastrup and Ingold 2007). Pastness is seen as an ongoing embodiment of social life, continually generating new forms, histories, and combinations (Bourdieu and Passeron 1990; Fabian 2002). Hastrup and Ingold (2007) argues that creativity transcends historical time, effecting changes and novel creations, while also serving as a bridge between present actions and historical past through the imaginations of people.

The second paper discusses T.S. Eliot's (1946) notions, asserting that creativity doesn't challenge social structure directly; creative works still require recognition to endure. The concept of creativity is associated with an improvisation of the past. However, Hughes-Freeland (2007) emphasizes the significance of discussing the interplay between creativity, agency, and structure across different timescales, freeing individual agencies from systemic, structural, or cultural collectivities within distinct temporal contexts. This aligns with the potential for considering creativity as an agent within discussions of non-linear temporality in anthropology.

While acknowledging differing cultural interpretations of creativity, the research's focus is on the discourse of living heritage, specifically examining how this discourse impacts heritage practitioners at various levels. Furthermore, the section contemplates that while tradition can serve as an agency rather than a structure, creativity does not necessarily have to be an agency; it could potentially function as a structure, especially within post-nomadic complex context under the influence of the revitalizing heritage.

2.6.3 Heritage Creativity

The interconnection between creativity and sustainable cultural heritage is integral. This concept has garnered global attention within various international conventions and agendas, such as the UNESCO 2005 Convention on the Protection and Promotion of the Diversity of Cultural Expressions, the UNESCO 2014 Florence Declaration on Culture, Creativity, and Sustainable Development, and the UNESCO 2019 report on Thematic Indicators for Culture in the 2030 Agenda. Even the European Commission's recent reports (2022) underscore heritage creativity, emphasizing its role as an ongoing process of innovation and creation rather than just historical artifacts. This creativity emanates from activities that involve the transmission,

reinterpretation, and reshaping of heritage, enabling its sustained relevance and value. This creative engagement extends to domains like education, art, and the creative industry, fostering community cohesion and cultural identity while also exerting a positive influence on socioeconomic development, including boosting tourism, creating employment opportunities, and enabling community rejuvenation.

The intersection of heritage and creativity has been explored extensively in cultural industry research (Cerisola 2019; Lucia and Trunfio 2018; Barrere 2013; Raj Isar and Anheier 2010). Cerisola (2019), as a cultural economist, developed a new model to analyze the nexus between cultural heritage and economic development, with creativity serving as a primary gauge of their interconnectedness. Notably, the intersection of heritage and creativity has been understudied in critical heritage studies.

Sustainist Michiel Schwarz (2016) highlights the promising challenges posed by the convergence of matured areas like creative design and heritage study, resulting in "heritage design." This convergence necessitates the interaction of values, narratives, and methodologies from both domains, as exemplified by Adaptive Reuse in the heritage field. Colin Sterling's recent work (2020) raises concerns about the potential dangers of creative interventions in conservation and their impact on marginalized individuals within an improved environment. This argument encompasses the topic of gentrification, which has been extensively discussed within heritage studies, highlighting concerns about the displacement of local communities due to the influx of capital from emerging groups. This leads to a transformation of the original environment, often leaving residents as outsiders.

It is important to approach the integration of creativity in heritage studies with caution. As Sterling (2020) emphasizes, creativity should not be employed as a mere slogan to advocate for heritage concerns in a future-oriented context. Attention must also be directed towards the "silent voice" within the creative process. Similarly, Judith Scheele's work (2007) prompts a reconsideration of the objective notion of creativity. Scheele highlights that while change and creativity are seldom questioned in objective facts, they can take on an unchanging character when employed within a moral framework that transforms change into a societal convention. Scheele echoes Herzfeld's (1997) idea that creativity might not represent individual agency or "real change"; instead, it can function as an alliance. The notion of creativity must be contextualized within local discourse and practices rather than treated as an unquestionable tool in social sciences research.

The concept of heritage creativity embodies a departure from structuralism. Colin Sterling's

work in *Reterritorializing the future* (2020) introduces the Anthropocene to discuss a future temporality where contemporary times are seen as past. This shift heralds a new 'imaginary' of heritage, relinquishing the human-centric perspective that has traditionally dominated (p215). Creative value becomes a crucial criterion for heritage assessment, particularly within the realm of living heritage (as discussed in Part I 1.1). Holtorf (2017) also critiques the age-centric view as limiting when it comes to reconstructing heritage, even in simulated forms (2018). The perception of pastness in the present is crucial (Muñoz Viñas 2004; Araoz 2013), and we must grasp the rationale and values driving its new uses. Creativity sustains associations between people and built heritage, a key component ensuring continuity in the present (Poulios 2010). Contemporary scholarship emphasizes reassembling fragments of ruins and integrating new resources to grant heritage a second life (Shanks 2012; Harrision 2020; Kirshenbalatt-Gimblett 1998; 2006).

Additionally, within the context of transitions in heritage future, creative practices can facilitate a bottom-up approach to management by fostering inclusive participation (Jones 2017) through 'emerging potentiality' (Povinelli 2012 :454). With 'plural heritage ontologies', heritage practices can be seen as an emergent reality that blends diverse elements (material, technology, value, etc.) in spatial and temporal interactions. Creativity unlocks this multiplicity. Furthermore, the past can serve as a catalyst for creativity, enhancing the resilience, mutuality, and resistance of pastness (Harvey and Perry 2015), and enabling communities to create alternatives in response to changes in the past. Therefore, creativity is considered an emergent factor that shapes heritage ontology.

Notably, Karin Stadhouders' project on Interstitial Wastelands (2017) analyzes the influence of creative pioneers (urban explorers, artists, locals, etc.) in revitalizing abandoned industrial sites. Though these sites may not be traditionally considered heritage, the innovative practices undertaken by non-official developers have led to their reimagining and the reconstruction of their meanings. Stadhouders, drawing inspiration from Hannah Arendt, employs the philosophical theory of Kairos and Nunc stans (standing now) to emphasize the significance of the present moment that merges the past and present, resulting in novel inventions. While a more comprehensive publication on the project's concept is not readily available, this approach strives to foster a strong connection to the 'now' that harmonizes past and present for creative purposes.

Tim Ingold's work in *Thinking through Making* (2013) asserts that creativity signifies thinking and "making in which sentient practitioners and active materials continually answer to, or 'correspond,' with one another in the generation of form" (p23). This process is illuminated by

an understanding of the phenomenal. Ingold suggests that creativity is a force imbued in materiality, one that animates the unfinished nature of artifacts (Woodward 2014). As previously discussed (Chapter 2.5.3), Ingold contends that artifacts are inherently unfinished. Thus, the significance of this creative force lies in its ability to sustain and renew human experience of the world. The interplay between human and non-human elements results in the continuous unfolding and emergence of new artifact lives (Woodward 2014).

Discussing creativity in the context of heritage has gained significant traction in China. Wei (2017) highlights the transformative potential of emerging creative power on the discourse of heritage in China. This includes shifts in perspectives on authenticity, craftsmanship, and museum settings. The integration of the official emphasis on creative entrepreneurship is explored to gauge its impact. This trend can be traced back to 2014 when the Premier of P.R. China introduced the concept of Created in China, a move to elevate Chinese industrial production from made in China. This led to a renewed interest in drawing inspiration from the past, particularly in combining creative industries with cultural heritage.

Conversely, some Chinese scholars acknowledge heritage values in valorizations, especially within tourism studies. Su (2020) underscores the need for a shift in heritage discourse within tourism from tangible, historical values to intangible, dynamic, present, and personal experiences, along with emotional values. This perspective aligns with Ingold's notion that viewing a work involves becoming a fellow traveler with the artist, observing its unfolding in the world. Gao (2017), an ICH scholar, advocates for shifting ICH safeguarding from a focus on tradition to a focus on liveness, where creativity plays a central role. Creating traditions can foster shared values, cross-cultural development, and a transformation of otherness into a collective identity. The emerging debates on creativity within heritage valorization in Chinese academia signify a growing interest and need for critical exploration. Ultimately, the influence of creativity on the heritage discourse and its potential to reshape heritage practices from their traditional frameworks is a pivotal aspect of contemporary living heritage discourse.

2.7 Heritage Temporality and Sustainability

In this section, the fundamental essence of living heritage will be reexamined. The primary objective is to clarify that heritage is interconnected with the past, the present, and the future. This implies the necessity of understanding how heritage has undergone changes and evolution across different temporal dimensions. Consequently, temporality becomes an indispensable element within the domain of heritage. Furthermore, it calls for a systematic approach to delve

into the temporal aspects. Hence, I have opted to employ the theory of sustainable heritage development to reassess the temporal dimensions of living heritage.

2.7.1 Heritage Temporality

The interaction between people and the past in terms of time has been widely discussed, albeit not always explicitly. In his work *The Representation of The Past*, Kevin Walsh (1992) emphasized the significance of considering temporal aspects of place, particularly in postmodern times, as individuals engage with and manage changes on a site. He advocated for local temporality to enhance site awareness by intensifying and diversifying activities (Lynch 1972:173). Similarly, Halbwachs (1992:40) explored 'the past in the present,' examining how individuals utilize 'mnemonic agencies' within their social connections to construct their experience and understanding of history.

Yarrow (2018) noted a shift in the temporality of heritage conservation from a material temporal paradox rooted in 19th-century European values, towards a perspective that heritage 'can be acquired over time,' focusing on its potential for change. Hartog (2015) described the relationship between heritage and time as one that thrives on ruptures, questioning the order of time, and intertwining absence and presence, visibility and invisibility, which shape the everevolving ways of producing meaning. However, the research emphasizes the importance of considering 'distinct heritage temporalities' associated with preservation, resource, and habitus, and how these coexist and interact in relation to development (Basu and Modest 2014:7).

Drawing from Heidegger's philosophy, temporality is defined as a combination of the past, present, and future, shaping individual identity (Critchley 2009). David Harvey (2001: 320) highlighted the concept of 'presentences' in the 'theorization of temporality' within heritage studies. He mapped out the intricate development of heritage discourse and management, influenced by different organizations, regions, and interest groups, asserting that heritage notions are gradual, tentative, and intrinsically changing (p336). Harvey proposed that heritage is a ritual embedded in everyday life, gaining popularity and becoming a focal point of engagement (Harvey 2001:336). He linked changes in heritage understanding to advancements in technology, which have enabled a more intense, deep, and broad exploration of the past (2001:337).

Building on critical theory, David Harvey (2015:151) emphasizes the 'temporal dynamism' within ordinary practices that challenge existing conceptions of power, identity, and agency in narratives of the past. Solene Prince (2018), a tourism scholar, applies dwelling theory to

tourism, focusing on the formation of a space of everyday living in touristic activities. "Ingold's temporality implies that the cultural landscape evolves through the rhythms of everyday life" (Prince 2018:68). The discussion often centers on how heritage affects daily life, but it is equally valuable to explore how daily lives influence heritage dynamics.

Tilley (2006) observed that heritage landscapes serve as foundations for identity in response to modern transformations. However, he highlighted the concept of landscape as a theoretical verb. Mary-Catherine Garden (2006) introduced the concept of heritagescape, emphasizing dynamic, changing spaces where people engage mutually. This approach focuses on understanding how elements construct past senses and the underlying reasons, rather than fixating on authenticity. While I concur with Garden's critique of heritage image, which tends to be seen as static, out-of-context, and homogeneous, I believe his concept of heritagescape should also consider boundaries, cohesion, and emotional visibility, and consider the complexities of displacement and emotion (Burlingame 2019).

In conclusion, the research aligns with the emergent view that cultural identity is constructed through new configurations in daily life. "Through the affective qualities of landscape and place, people become entangled in their complexities; heritage ultimately is not a thing but a quality – how the historic environment is experienced by individuals or communities situated in a place or landscape" (Last 2020:44).

Multi-Temporalities

Michael Herzfeld's work *A Place in History: Social and Monumental Time in a Cretan Town* (1995) delved into historical houses in Rome, revealing the embedded social inequality in the control of time and its unpredictability (Harney 2014). Herzfeld introduced the concept of monumental time, representing authorized and collective narratives of time, and 'social time,' denoting personal daily experiences. These two temporalities often contest each other, underscoring time's socio-cultural manifestations. Similarly, Christopher Gosden (1994:181) distinguished between habitual forms and public time, where habit shapes life's basic structure, and public time involves conscious problem-solving derived from habits, influencing power relations. He introduced a third form of time, extended beyond individual and public constructions, embodied in cultural traditions.

Gosden drew on the works of philosophers like Heidegger, Hegel, Goethe, Husserl, Foucault, Bourdieu, and Nietzsche to understand time embedded in archaeological objects and sociological narratives of construction. He emphasized that time is a human creation, rooted in everyday practices, social rhythms, and temporality, not just clock control. While Gosden's

cases focused on archaeological contexts, his ideas can be applied to contemporary heritage, focusing on daily practices, continuity, discontinuity, discourses, and static versus dynamic aspects.

A recent work by Zhu and Hein (2020) explored multiple temporalities in urban conservation in Shanghai, China. They identified heritage time as legislative time, economic time, and citizen time, highlighting the conflict between citizens' time and other considerations in urban development. Thus, the research underscores the importance of considering narratives of ordinary time in China's heritage discourse.

Overall, this section has illuminated the multifaceted nature of heritage temporality and its impact on the dynamics of heritage. The heritage temporality is a multidimensional and dynamic concept that continually shapes heritage discourse and practices. Through further exploration of community engagement, power dynamics, and individual actions, future research can reveal new dimensions of heritage temporality, contributing to a more comprehensive understanding of heritage experiences, negotiations, and constructions within time.

2.7.2 Sustainability

Sustainable heritage represents the integration of conserving cultural and natural heritage with the diverse aspects of sustainable development. The establishment of sustainable heritage was made official at the 2013 Congress, where UNESCO formally identified the theme as "Culture: Key to Sustainable Development," known as the "Hangzhou Declaration" (UNESCO 2013). While the previous dimensions of sustainable development emphasised on our responsibility for our ancestor's functions to our future generations, overlooked the present values. It continuously changed by developing conventions, such as the Faro Convention (Council of Europe 2005) pointed out the significance of people and their present lives in sustaining heritage to our future generations. This later convergence underscores the simultaneous pursuit of safeguarding heritage sites' exceptional universal value and enhancing the well-being and resilience of local communities. As asserted by UNESCO (2015), sustainable heritage acknowledges heritage's role not only as a source of identity and pride but also as a catalyst for innovation and equitable growth. The concept underscores the intricate interplay between heritage and sustainable development dimensions, encompassing social, economic, and environmental considerations.

The alignment of sustainable heritage with the United Nations' 2030 Agenda for Sustainable Development underscores its global relevance. Encompassing 17 Sustainable Development Goals (SDGs), this agenda acknowledges the transformative potential of culture, particularly cultural heritage and creative expressions, across diverse dimensions of development (UN 2023). These cultural aspects are catalysts for social cohesion, economic empowerment, environmental stewardship, and education. This alignment underscores the catalytic role that heritage plays in fostering holistic and inclusive development. Sustainable heritage initiatives, exemplified by the World Heritage and Sustainable Development Programme (UNESCO 2015), the Intangible Cultural Heritage and Sustainable Development Programme (UNESCO 2003), and the European Framework for Action on Cultural Heritage (European Commission 2018), tangibly manifest this alignment through policy frameworks that harmonize heritage conservation with sustainable development objectives. Through these initiatives, the concept of sustainable heritage materializes as a potent driver for resilient and balanced progress.

The sustainable heritage perspective is multifaceted, encompassing both the management of change and the role of heritage as a catalyst for sustainable development. Sustainable heritage is characterized by two distinct approaches. The first approach, the responsive approach, emphasizes the vulnerability of heritage to risks and deterioration, necessitating protection and oversight (Fouseki et al. 2022). In contrast, the dynamic approach underlines the potential of heritage to act as a catalyst for various forms of sustainable development, such as environmental, social, and economic (Fouseki et al., 2022). Together, these perspectives highlight the inherent changeability of heritage and its capability to drive sustainable transformation. Though it may seem paradoxical, the term sustainable heritage symbolizes a constructive balance between accepting and managing change, reflecting heritage's complex and dynamic socio-cultural nature (Smith 2006; Fouseki et al. 2022). The interplay between change and sustainability in heritage is intricate, requiring a nuanced understanding and strategic management that recognizes heritage as both subject to change and a driving force for sustainable transformation (Fouseki et al. 2022).

Examining heritage strategies, some scholars argue for a reorientation towards creatively accepting and utilizing change for sustainable heritage futures. Guttormsen and Skede (2022) emphasize the changeable and dynamic nature of heritage, advocating for an understanding of change and continuity as intrinsic values in heritage practices. This perspective calls for a shift in heritage strategies from merely managing change to creatively harnessing it for sustainable heritage futures (Roders & van Oers 2013; Fouseki et al. 2022). The Living Heritage Approach further reinforces the causal relationship between continuity and sustainability, where understanding continuity can lead to a more sustainable representation of heritage. The dynamic

nature of heritage calls for strategies that creatively embrace and employ change, recognizing continuity as a tool for achieving sustainability (Guttormsen and Skede 2022; Fouseki et al. 2022).

The relationship between sustainability and development is complex, revealing contradictions and tensions that require a nuanced approach. Giddens (2011) argues that sustainability and development, in linguistic terms, have contradictory meanings, with sustainability implying continuity and balance, and development indicating dynamism and change. However, Guttormsen and Skede (2022) propose a perspective that integrates both elements, suggesting that sustainable use of heritage can involve developmental, transitional, and transformative approaches, maintaining the remnants of the past while managing and developing heritage for future generations. The juxtaposition of sustainability and development reflects contrasting notions that can be reconciled through a comprehensive approach, recognizing the multifaceted roles of heritage (Giddens 2011; Guttormsen and Skede 2022).

Applying change theory, scholars have identified three types of change—developmental, transitional, and transformational—to understand heritage management (Marshak, 1993; Guttormsen and Skrede 2022). Transformational change signifies a profound shift in form, nature, or appearance and requires recognizing heritage as a process and transient feature. This transformative dimension has been underestimated in terms of heritage value from a sustainability perspective. For instance, cultural heritage can serve as an educational tool to foster social and cultural sustainable development when transformation is valued (Sollis 2013; Guttormsen and Skrede 2022). Change theory elucidates the complex interplay between change and sustainability in heritage management, emphasizing the importance of transformational change and its potential to contribute to sustainable development (Marshak 1993; Guttormsen and Skrede 2022).

Dimensions of sustainability

The dimensions of the continuity perspective can be further explored through the lens of sustainability, drawing insights from relevant research. Sustainability's well-known dimensions encompass cultural, economic, environmental, and social value orientations, considered essential prerequisites for balanced heritage development (CHCfE 2015; Albert et al., 2017). Temporal relationships are continuously emphasized, and the present significance of these four elements is highly regarded (Sustainability 2020). However, these dimensions have expanded in various contexts. For instance, Ren and Han (2018) introduced policy as a dimension within World Heritage Management in China, while Fouseki (2022) identified 'deep meanings' as an

additional consideration in urban invisibilities. Some proponents argue that the 'cultural' dimension should transcend others, as other priority concerns tend to overshadow the inherent social value in culture, particularly when culture is not explicitly integrated into the sustainable development framework (e.g., Hawkes 2001; Dessein et al. 2015; Throsby 2017; Skrede and Berg 2019: 87). Therefore, the integration of the cultural dimension becomes vital, mainly due to its role in enhancing the sense of place, cultivating identities, and more. This perspective aligns with the argument that culture enriches the notion of sustainability beyond traditional dimensions, contributing to the multifaceted nature of heritage and underscoring its holistic contribution to societal well-being and long-term sustainable development objectives.

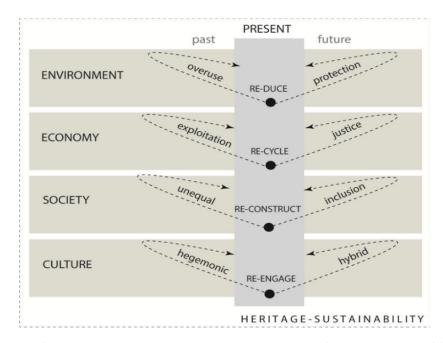


FIGURE 6 FOUR PILLARS OF SUSTAINABLE HERITAGE (BORGES, ET AL. 2020)

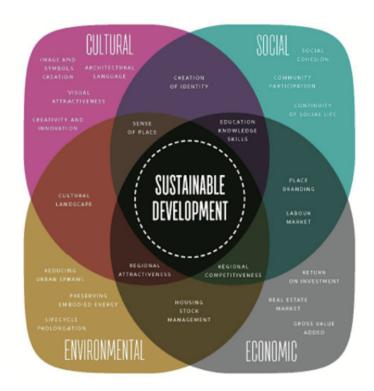


FIGURE 7 RELATIONS OF THE FOUR PILLARS OF SUSTAINABLE HERITAGE (CHCFE CONSORTIUM 2015)

Auclair and Fairclough (2015) emphasized the importance of focusing on present daily lives and communities in cultural sustainability, as it enhances the sense of place and community well-being (Fairclough 2011). Borges and Hammami et al. (2020) critically applied neighborhood assessment tools (NSAs), such as BREEAM Communities (BREEAM-C) and LEED Neighborhood Design (LEED-ND), in sustainable heritage. These tools boost diverse communications between formal and informal, authority and community, present and future. By emphasizing the evaluation of cultural heritage at various levels, Petti and Trillo et al. (2020) shaped the concept of heritage sustainability. They asserted that achieving sustainable development through cultural heritage conservation requires recognizing the multifaceted and pluralistic benefits that vary between states. This necessitates careful integration by governments and heritage stakeholders into the development of multidimensional Sustainable Development Goal (SDG) indicators. Kenter, J. O., et al. (2019) claimed that sustainability should encompass social science considerations, focusing on various dimensions, including individual and collective values, discrete and embedded values, static or changeable values, descriptive or normative valuation, social and relational values, rationalities and integration of values, and the influence of power in resolving value conflicts.

The most recent research on sustainable heritage involves more social values, climate changes, and innovative approaches. Public participation is well-discussed (Gallou and Fouseki 2022;

Suzuki 2022; Lee 2022) on how to develop SD work with communities. The climate changes and new ways of looking at heritage into environmental issues are addressed (Bonazza 2022; Anatole-Gabriel 2022; Boccardi 2015; Turner 2015; Yadollahi 2015; Forero 2015). Additionally, new technopolitical methods from other disciplines are applied to Sustainable heritage (Dragouni 2022; Orr 2022). Labadi (2021) delineated sustainable heritage through 17 UN Sustainable Development Goals, encompassing aspects like cultural diversity, learning, and urban planning, significantly broadening the application spectrum. In subsequent work, Labadi (2022) adopted an innovative, wide-ranging, and methodical approach, furnishing the inaugural complete chronicle of global strategies concerning culture (including heritage) for growth.

It's worth noting that discussions of sustainability are quite limited in the study of ICH. Erlewein (2015) emphasized the importance of conventions mentioning the relations between the two. The revised ICH conventions (UNESCO 2013c: para. 53) claimed the synergy and mutual relationship between ICH and sustainable development concepts. It also involves understanding how non-material cultural legacies should promote enduring growth, explores expressions of non-material cultural heritage for boosting sustainable progress, and addresses the linkage between protective strategies and other growth policies at the national level. The UNESCO 2015 Conventions pointed to "based on heritage, diversity, creativity, and the transmission of knowledge and including clear targets and indicators that relate culture to all dimensions of sustainable development" (UNESCO 2015: 6), further implying ICH sustainability on welfare and communities. The unspecified sustainable ICH was due to its inclusion in the cultural dimension of the SD goals (Erlewein 2015). However, ICH should be deepened in SD studies, as it contains highly dynamic, people-centered characteristics, which may require different preservation methods. A sustainable approach to ICH developments in contemporary heritage works and societies is essential and warrants further exploration and interpretation.

In sum, the exploration of sustainability in heritage continuity provides a comprehensive view, rich with potential and complexity. The emerging trends, current limitations, and innovative directions offer valuable guidance for future research and practice in heritage continuity. This understanding contributes to a more holistic view of sustainability, change, and continuity in our shared cultural legacy, emphasizing the importance of balancing these diverse aspects within the evolving context of heritage management.

Chapter Summary

The content of this chapter provides us with a comprehensive theoretical framework to understand the dynamism, change, and continuity of heritage. Our discussion has highlighted the need for a more diverse set of dynamic constituent concepts in contemporary heritage research. Existing theories on dynamic heritage exhibit significant limitations in both theoretical development and practical application. However, within the realm of critical heritage study, there is a growing demand for a systematic and coherent framework for studying living heritage.

In this context, I have reviewed the roles of human and non-human elements, placing a stronger emphasis on the agency of various social groups in shaping the development of heritage. As a result, the research is moving towards a dynamic combination of diverse elements, utilizing Ingold's Meshwork as a potential theoretical framework for reevaluating the dynamics of gers. With these theoretical underpinnings, the subsequent research phase requires an in-depth exploration of the elements and challenges presented by contemporary Mongolian gers. This exploration aims to revalidate theoretical assumptions and advance the development of new methods for studying living heritage within the context of post-nomadic heritage.

Chapter 3: Methodology

3.0 Introduction – Taking Constructivism

After critically discussing the literature surrounding the topic, this research aims to adopt an Integrated Living Heritage Approach to examine the realities of nomadic heritage in Inner Mongolia. Recognizing that debates on living heritage often oversimplify the complex realities, the existing approach has primarily focused on preservation. However, it's time to explore how people construct heritage realities and narratives in real-world situations. Embracing a grounded approach to data collection is deemed most suitable to meet the research objectives.

Epistemologically, constructivism is the foundation for analyzing narratives, descriptions, and understandings, as well as practices, through various human perspectives (Clarke and Virginia 2013). Social constructionism, often rooted in postmodernism and phenomenology (Alvesson and Skoldberg 2018), is valuable for questioning established facts with meta-understandings. It argues that "reality" is constructed by those who believe they have uncovered and investigated it (Watzlawick 1984:10). Reality is not an objective fact "out there"; it's shaped by individuals through language and diverse socio-cultural contexts (Guba and Lincoln 1994; Berger & Luckmann 1967; Burr 1995; Gergen 1999). As Navon (2001:624) points out, "for constructivists, the mind creates reality and asserts that facts are produced by human consciousness." Language, discourse, and culture serve as key tools in social construction.

However, the structural and people-centered approach has been critiqued within the context of realistic constructionism (RC) (Elder-Vass 2011; Archer 1995; Sayer 2000, etc.). Critics of RC argue that individuals' subjectivities should not be solely determined by social contexts such as culture, region, or historical background; individuals possess the capacity to make their decisions (Elder-Vass 2011). Tshis implies that studying living heritage in China should not be entirely patterned on vernacular analyses but also consider individual agencies. Additionally, as highlighted by Latour (2005), nonhuman actors play a role in constructing the social fabric, going beyond a purely human-centered view of constructionism. Latour's Actor-Network Theory (ANT) demonstrates that reality emerges through the interactions between humans and nonhumans; it's not solely a product of human agency. A flat research approach is advocated, rejecting binary divisions between micro and macro, top-down and bottom-up research (Latour 2005). ANT aims to trace associations between actants, acknowledging that these associations are fluid and ever-changing (Alvesson and Skoldberg, 2018). This approach encourages a natural and humble analysis of how actants, both human and nonhuman, construct their connections. Researchers should "follow the actants" (Latour 1999:45) to analyze society

without preconceived theoretical assumptions. This approach aligns perfectly with the research's goal of re-conceptualizing the living conditions of heritage. The latest version of constructionism guides the research toward a grounded perspective.

Qualitative methodology aligns well with constructivism, enabling researchers to visualize what is constructed in reality (Silverman 1985; Bourdieu 1984). This approach seeks to understand or explore meaning-making processes and how individuals attribute meaning, as opposed to proving theories or establishing relationships between factors (Sutton and Austin 2015). Qualitative methodology aids in developing an interpretative framework for the complexity of real-life situations and gives voice to marginalized groups or issues (Sutton and Austin 2015).

In line with realistic constructivism, this research employed two qualitative approaches: Ethnography and Grounded theory. These methodologies offered specific applications and dimensions within heritage studies, emphasizing emergent understanding over preconceived notions. More-than-representative theory enhances a realistic view by analyzing daily practices, providing insights beyond discursive analysis. Grounded theory offered specific methods to guide the construction of theories based on data. These methods informed the research's methodological interpretations, and the cases were be introduced to address the redefined research questions. Additionally, common research methods found in related RC works (such as Callon 1980, 1986; Law 1994; Latour 2005) were be incorporated. Therefore, this research used a mixed qualitative approach, including semi-structured interviews, observation, and discourse analysis, to capture changing heritage practices in contemporary nomadism. The goal is to construct a comprehensive framework for the sustainable future of nomadic heritage.

3.1 Ethnographic Case Study

The research explores diverse applications of nomadic heritage and their implications for the essence of heritage in contemporary Inner Mongolia. It utilized an ethnographic methodology to delve into integrated living heritage narratives and practices related to gers: encompassing tangible, intangible, and mixed aspects. The study seeks to transcend a limited perception of living heritage that solely focuses on specific heritage categories. Moreover, the Living Heritage Approach (LHA) is adopted with a constructivist lens, aiming to reveal the process of heritage creation within real-world contexts. The chosen case exemplified how individuals construct and interpret changes and continuities within the realm of heritage within their everyday routines, portraying each facet of heritage as an ever-evolving process shaped by

ordinary viewpoints. Ultimately, the research endeavours to augment our understanding of the dynamic essence of nomadic heritage and foster awareness about its significance in the realm of sustainability.

Regarding the chosen methodological approaches within field settings, this study adopted ethnography as its research method. Ethnography, by embracing multiple theories in fieldwork, serves as a comprehensive method to gather data on both human interpretations and environmental factors (Vannini 2014). Moreover, ethnography employs grounded theory, focusing on humanistic narratives and offering in-depth descriptions to capture subjective viewpoints (Charmaz and Mitchell 2001). Grounded theory facilitates the theorization of descriptive data into categories while maintaining alignment with research objectives (Bigus et al. 1994; Charmaz 1983, 1990, 1995; Glaser 1992, 1994; Glaser and Strauss 1967; Stern 1994; Strauss 1987).

Ethnography is a method "that offers holistic insights into people's perspectives and actions, as well as the environment they inhabit, through detailed observations and interviews" (Reeves et al. 2008:512). As heritage is considered "a contemporary human phenomenon" (Filippucci et al.2009:321) and a product of "communities and interest groups" (323), ethnography can foster public engagement in heritage management (Kersel 2009). Smith (2006:5) suggests that heritage ethnography aims to comprehend the essence of heritage and how the past is employed in the present. Additionally, heritage ethnography recognizes heritage as a multifaceted entity that can be reconceptualized in context (Andrew 2009). By exploring diverse perspectives within different heritage groups, ethnographic research avoids oversimplification of heritage formation (Filipucci 2009).

However, the current perception of heritage ethnography as the peculiarity of cultural heritage practices within human action (Samuels 2018:3) and as supplements to conventional or authorized definitions of heritage overlooks the fact that heritage itself is a construction process, not solely focused on preserving completed facts. Ethnography can be constructivist, adopting personal viewpoints to understand how individuals construct the meanings of their realities (Delaney 2017; Hendry 1999; Herzfeld 2000; Denzin 1989). Building upon this view, this research applied the Living Heritage Approach as a constructivist lens to examine how different agents contribute to heritage construction (Pablo Alonso Gonzalez 2014; Harrison 2015, 2020).

In my study of gers, it is crucial to clarify the positionality of the ethnographer. Historically, ethnographic research was often conducted under the ideologies of colonialism or racism, where researchers observed, described, and interpreted social groups and cultural practices

deemed "primitive" or "alien" with a superior attitude (Fisher et al., 1997). This approach often carried implicit biases and prejudices, undermining the dignity and rights of the subjects being studied. First, I respect the ethnic cultures, customs, and religious beliefs of different ethnic groups during the interview process. I seek to understand their current cultural attitudes and feelings towards past traditions, including their sense of pride. Although I am of the majority Han ethnicity, I have never judged the practices of different ethnic groups based on my own ethnic behaviors and logic.

Secondly, the attitude of the researcher and the researched is crucial. If the researcher adopts a 'top-down' perspective of heritage preservation (Brown 2011), it is often seen as an arrogant research attitude. In the field, subjects sometimes become nervous upon learning that I am an international doctoral student, as they assume I am already knowledgeable about many aspects. Therefore, I have learned that it is essential to approach research with humility and equal respect for the interviewees, respecting their ethnicity, professions, and ways of life.

3.2 Methods: Exploring Heritage Construction and Individual Agencies

3.2.1 Semi-Structured Interviews

The combination of observation, discourse analysis, and semi-structured interviews represents a common approach in ethnographic research. As highlighted by Mason (2002), ethnography encourages the collection of firsthand data, with participant observation and interviews being pivotal in steering this process. Furthermore, textual materials are utilized as valuable sources for gaining insights into how individuals and institutions present themselves and others (Mason 2002). This mixed-methods approach can gather data on people's responses to the usage and changes in heritage within their daily routines.

To gain a deeper understanding of specific issues, qualitative and subjective semi-structured interviews with targeted groups were conducted. This involved key interviewees who have been identified based on the context of each case. The objective is to uncover individuals' contributions to heritage construction and their perceptions of change.

Within the context of Mongolian ger, the social actors encompassed creators, officials, tourists, and Mongolian people. This investigation delved into their perceptions of change and their novel approaches to participation. Similarly, in the embroidery case, the focus was on educated craftsmen who are emerging in the field. Their creations and conflicts with traditional

embroidery practices were explored. In the case of the pagoda, interviews involved designers, bookshop owners, and local communities, shedding light on how their connections have been revitalized through dynamic projects. These interviews aim to illuminate how these individuals engage with heritage practices, including registration, management, conservation, construction, building, maintenance, use, and even preservation.

Qualitative interviews, as defined by Mason (2002:63), "construct or reconstruct knowledge with depth, nuance, complexity, and a roundedness in data." However, these interviews tend to "construct or reconstruct knowledge more than excavate it" (Mason 2002:63). Therefore, the interview questions should be open-ended to encourage exploration rather than seeking predetermined answers (Howell 2013). However, for the sake of cross-case comparability in multiple-case study research, a semi-structured interview format is suitable (Bryman and Bell 2022). This approach provides structured questions while allowing interviewees to shape the conversation through mutual interactions, yielding flexible results (Howell 2013). The interview questions are listed in Appendix 1.

Given the Chinese context, it's advisable to establish contacts through introductions rather than initiating cold emails or phone calls. Consent forms presented to interviewees before each interview. Additionally, most transcriptions will be conducted in Chinese, considering that all interviewees are Chinese. Partial translation of key findings will facilitate analysis using NVivo software.

3.2.2 Observation

Observation is a method to observe people's daily activities, material manifestations, and interactions, offering insights into their engagement with heritage. It serves as a complement to interviews (Willis and Trondman 2000; Mason 2002) and is particularly beneficial for individuals who may struggle to express their thoughts comprehensively during interviews (Adler and Adler 1998). Observation also contributes to shaping follow-up interview questions and even the overall research direction (Coffey 1999; Atkinson et al. 2001; Mason 2017), allowing real-world situations to influence the research process.

This research observed ger practitioners' daily practices and their interactions with materials and cultural expressions. This approach aligns with the understanding that observation is both an intellectual and physical engagement with the research field (Coffey 1999:68). However, the observations in this study are unstructured, accompanying the naturally occurring behaviors in the field. Firstly, they are used to understand the interview information provided by the

respondents, such as the parts of the ger and the processing procedures. Secondly, they help verify the accuracy of the information, ensuring that the respondents' information aligns with the actual outcomes. More importantly, these observations assist in elucidating the field's environment and circumstances. The field sites span across four major regions in Inner Mongolia, with diverse research locations within each region, including grasslands, urban areas, factories, offices, etc. Therefore, human behaviors are diverse, and the different application environments of gers create variations in their forms and modes of existence. These environments need to be documented, including people's behaviors, lifestyles, the material environment, and the culture surrounding gers.

These pieces of information are recorded through my observations in the form of photographs. Some information (as in Chapter 4.4) regarding observations of the landscape, nomadic behaviors, and the usage methods of gers, along with their living environments, is documented in detail.

3.3 Grounded Theories as a Supplemental Method of Building Research Theories

Grounded Theory (GT) is a fitting qualitative research strategy for guiding the goals of this research. It shares a fundamental principle with Latour's Actor-Network Theory (ANT) by focusing on the dynamic interactions among various actors, rejecting preconceived notions, and adapting to the real-world complexities. GT is particularly well-suited for a study like this, where there is a lack of comprehensive discourses on the living heritage approach in the literature, and where reconceptualization is necessary. Importantly, GT provides a clear methodological framework that can be followed step by step.

According to GT theorist Charmaz (2006), theory-building should be an iterative process that continuously revises and accumulates data. Charmaz uses the term 'theorizing' to describe this process as one that is eclectic, drawing from what works and fits within the context (p. 48). Given the research's aim to analyze the disposition of heritage and understand people's actions while re-conceptualizing underground heritage values in China, empirical data collected from the fieldwork is crucial. GT allows for pre-existing knowledge and concepts to be considered as provisional and open to questioning, providing a solid foundation for building revised theories, such as the concept of continuity.

The concept of Grounded Theory was first introduced in "The Discovery of Grounded Theory" by Glasser and Strauss (1967), later developing into one of the most widely used qualitative research methods in social science since the 1980s (Bryant and Charmaz 2007). Initially, GT aimed to challenge existing scientific paradigms and develop theories grounded in people's real perceptions (Glaser 1978, 1992,2012; Strauss 1987). It arose as a reaction to the inadequacy of prevailing theories that frequently did not correspond to the actual circumstances and continued to be unrelated to the individuals involved. (Layder 1993).

However, GT is not about rejecting existing theories; rather, it embraces the concept of 'trust in emergence,' which allows for discoveries to shape the theory. Charmaz (2006, 2011) introduced Constructivist Grounded Theory, which emphasizes the interactions between researchers and participants and considers contextual factors that impact individuals in their interactions with general facts. This aligns with Latourian theories that highlight interactions between human and non-human actors in specific situations.

While the GT approach is traditionally considered to be constructivist in nature, and cultural heritage studies are recognized as interdisciplinary fields exploring sociocultural complexities (Sorenson and Carman 2009), the widespread application of grounded theory in cultural heritage research remains in its nascent and exploratory stages. Nevertheless, recent research indicates that the application of GT in cultural heritage studies has begun to gain prominence, providing a robust tool for a deeper understanding of the intricacies of cultural heritage.

GT has found extensive application in the study of cultural tourism (Tiberghien et al., 2020; Xie et al., 2020; Matteucci and Gnoth, 2017; Johnston 2014). These studies center on individuals' experiences and perceptions of tourism site development. For example, Matheson's (2006) research employed the grounded theory approach to explore tourists' experiences at heritage sites, with a particular focus on the interaction and interpretative processes between tourists and heritage sites. This study underscored the value of the grounded theory approach in delving into tourists' perceptions and evaluations, providing valuable insights for heritage site managers to better meet tourists' expectations.

Furthermore, Shafqat et al. (2022) investigated the application of grounded theory in researching sustainable heritage in informal settlements. Their investigation brings attention to the connection between cultural heritage and sustainable development, underscoring the importance of cultural heritage in the realms of urban planning and community development. This research introduces a fresh viewpoint, emphasizing the promise of the grounded theory

approach in comprehending the correlation between cultural heritage and societal welfare and lasting sustainability.

Similarly, Bakri et al. (2021) explored the tensions between the local community and a UNESCO World Heritage site in George Town, Malaysia. Through observations and interviews, the authors gathered residents' perceptions and evaluations of the heritage site. They discovered that residents held diverse and intricate values concerning the heritage site, including historical, cultural, religious, economic, social, and emotional aspects. These values were influenced by various factors, including individual, collective, and environmental elements. The authors also proposed a paradigm model of the interaction between the community and heritage based on the grounded theory approach and discussed its implications for heritage management.

Another intriguing study by Seyfi, Hall, and Fagnoni (2018) utilized grounded theory to analyze different stakeholders' varying perspectives on sustainable tourism development at a potential World Heritage site in northern Iran. This study emphasized the value of the grounded theory approach in exploring the complex relationships among multiple stakeholders, particularly in dealing with issues involving international significance and domestic opposition.

Finally, Li's (2022) study investigated the influence of digital communication on the crafts related to intangible cultural heritage, while also scrutinizing the variables that shape this influence through the grounded theory methodology. This research underscored the capacity of the grounded theory method in comprehending the connection between present-day cultural heritage and emerging digital technologies, presenting a novel outlook on the digital safeguarding of traditional culture.

In summary, although the grounded theory approach has not yet gained widespread popularity in the field of cultural heritage studies, it has started to emerge and has played a significant role in understanding the complexities of cultural heritage, relationships among multiple stakeholders, and the connections between cultural heritage and social well-being and sustainable development. Making GT an appropriate method for generating explanations of events and relationships based on individuals' lived experiences (Jennings and Junek 2007:202). In conclusion, this research on the integrated living heritage approach seeks to explore the nuanced 'living' meanings among people within the current revitalization context in China. GT, designed to interpret human behaviors, will facilitate a procedural investigation that traces heritage actors' nuances in enhancing the scope of heritage representations. It will assist in summarizing emerging alternatives of heritage through people's creations.

GT not only emphasizes constructive research but also provides a clear methodology for conducting research. Previous significant GT research (Charmaz 1990; Glaser 1992; Strauss 1987; Strauss and Corbin 1994, etc.) has outlined essential steps in conducting GT (see Table 2). This research will follow these procedures and adapt them to its own context and objectives (see Table 2).

1)	" Simultaneous data-collection and	Start collect data for the case study about
	analysis" (Charmaz and Mitchel	change and continuity.
	2001:160).	
	,	
2)	"Pursuit of emergent themes through	Summarized the similarity and differences
	early data analysis" (Charmaz and	among findings of the case.
	Mitchel 2001:160).	NVivo will be used to help coding the data.
	,	1 2
3)	"Discovery of basic social processes	Distinguish the situation of heritage
	within the data" (Charmaz and	practices in reality and clarify how does it
	Mitchel 2001:160).	work in reality.
	,	•
4)	"Inductive construction of abstract	
	categories that explain and	rest of the data.
	synthesize these processes"	
	(Charmaz and Mitchel 2001:160).	
5)	"Integration of categories into a	Bring the findings into previous theories,
	theoretical framework that specifies	living heritage approach, change and
	causes, conditions and consequences	continuities.
	of the processes" (Charmaz and	
	Mitchel 2001:160).	
	Milionei 2001.100).	

TABLE 1 TRANSLATING GROUNDED THEORY PROCESS IN RESEARCH METHODS

3.2.1 The Grounded Theory Research of Ger

Scholars in the field of gers have recognized the self-transformation brought about by the changing modern demands for gers, thus giving rise to a bottom-up construction approach. A particularly noteworthy contribution is Professor Bai Liyan's doctoral thesis (2020), which interprets the modern translation methods of gers from an architectural perspective. Professor

Bai employs grounded theory as an investigative methodology, commencing with contemporary pastoralists' residential needs, employing architectural genealogy as a framework for architectural transformation. This research can be regarded as a representative architectural exploration of ger changes from an architectural perspective, with the added dimension of incorporating humanistic viewpoints for learning and consideration. Importantly, it offers an architectural perspective on the attitudes toward ger transformations and continuities from the architects' vantage point. However, the research doesn't sufficiently anchor itself in the sociocultural context when considering the transmission and utilization of cultural heritage. Thus, this study can be perceived as a cognate research endeavor, but it distinguishes itself in terms of research perspective.

Liu and Bai (2022) employed a grounded theory approach to analyze 35 current international and Chinese cultural heritage conservation charters. Their aim was to use these findings as a theoretical guide for the protection of Mongolian ger cultural heritage. They identified four key heritage conservation elements: community participation, cultural respect, community needs, and emotional identification. The approach used in this research on living heritage is also intended to guide the management of similar living heritage, with the four heritage elements serving as a reference. However, their research is limited to a review of existing top-down guidelines and does not include an analysis of bottom-up group perspectives and the current status of gers, nor does it provide comparative interpretations. Therefore, the practical significance of constructing living heritage support is evidently lacking.

In summary, there is a dearth of research on gers that utilizes grounded theory as a method. Internationally, such research has not been found, and in the Chinese academic community, studies represented by Bai Liyan and her doctoral student Liu Xingyu are few and far between. This research also employs grounded theory as a method to study the construction of living heritage for gers. On one hand, it can draw from Liu's interpretation of cultural heritage theory and Bai's interpretation of the practical needs of gers. On the other hand, this study will address the shortcomings of both by focusing on the construction of cultural heritage theory and reexploring the contemporary changes and continuity of gers using a bottom-up approach. In the discussion section, we will compare the similarities and differences found in our research to validate the accuracy of our research results.

3.5 Research areas

Inner Mongolia is an autonomous region in northern China, situated in the northern part of China. Geographically, it falls within the Inner Asia region and shares its borders with Mongolia and Russia, covering a vast area of approximately 1.183 million square kilometers (Gov. 2013). It is one of the largest provincial-level administrative units in China. According to data from the Inner Mongolia Autonomous Region Bureau of Statistics (2021), the ethnic composition of Inner Mongolia is primarily Han Chinese, accounting for 80% of the population, followed by Mongols at 17%, and other ethnic minorities at 3%, signifying its status as a multiethnic region. Inner Mongolia experiences a continental monsoon climate (Gov. 2005), with hot summers that can reach temperatures up to 30 degrees Celsius and frigid winters with temperatures plummeting to as low as minus 30 degrees Celsius. This climatic diversity results in a variety of pastoral practices throughout the year.

Given the vast geographical expanse of Inner Mongolia, it encompasses a diverse range of landscapes, including grasslands, deserts, forests, rivers, and lakes, leading to distinct economic characteristics from east to west (Gov. 2013). For my research, I focused on three representative pastoral areas (Hulun Buir, Xinlinhot, and parts of Chifeng), along with the capital city of Inner Mongolia (see Figure 8). The selection of these locations is primarily due to the prevalence of grassland-based nomadic economies in eastern Inner Mongolia. Consequently, the use and distribution of gers in this region are more typical. Within each region, I carefully selected several specific locales. These areas included those known for their tourist attractions, thriving animal husbandry, concentrated ger industrialization, and even a conservation area unique to Inner Mongolia that lacks the division of grazing zones. Each place presented its own distinctive contradictions and challenges. Given the vast and sparsely populated expanse of Inner Mongolia, coupled with low urban population density, these locations are often quite remote and predominantly located on non-urban grasslands. The characteristics inherent to these locations provide comprehensive insights into the post-nomadic era's use of gers in Inner Mongolia.

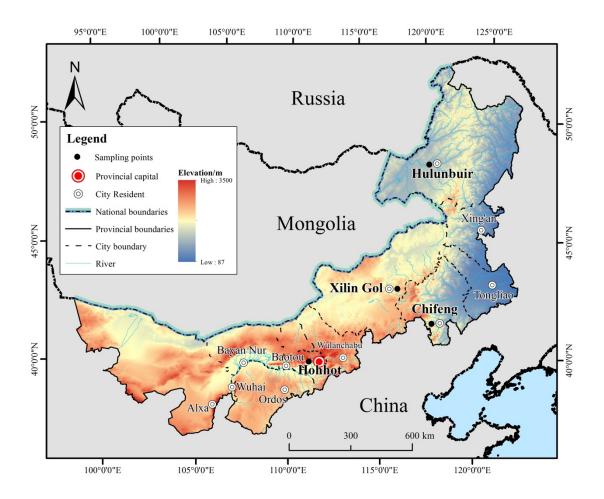


FIGURE 8 A MAP OF RESEARCH LOCATIONS IN THE INNER MONGOLIA, CHINA

Hulunbuir

Hulunbuir City, located in the northeastern part of Inner Mongolia, covers an expansive area of 250,000 square kilometres, making it the largest prefecture-level administrative city in China (Manduhu 2016). Hulunbuir is renowned for its vast grasslands and thriving animal husbandry, drawing considerable attention to its burgeoning tourism industry. Therefore, it serves as a solid foundation to investigate nomadism and the adapted use of gers in the context of tourism. My research journey commenced in Hulunbuir, which encompassed Hailar (the capital of Hulunbuir), the New Barag Right Banner area, the New Barag Left Banner area, the Ewenki Banner, and the Old Barag Banner area (see Figure 9). These locations were chosen due to their representation of typical grasslands and regions with developed animal husbandry. Simultaneously, they have a well-established grassland tourism sector, providing me with abundant research materials.

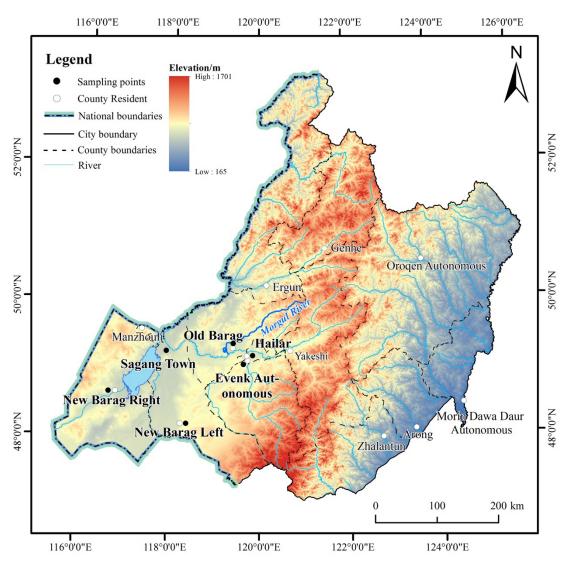


FIGURE 9 A MAP OF RESEARCH SITE IN HULUNBUIR

Xilingol

Xilingol League is located in the central-southern part of Inner Mongolia Autonomous Region, sharing borders with Mongolia, adjacent to Ulanqab City to the west, and bordered by Chifeng City to the east (Manduhu 2016) . This region is renowned for its vast grasslands, hills, and mountains, boasting spectacular natural landscapes. It serves as a significant dwelling place for the Mongol ethnic group, preserving deep-rooted traditions of Mongolian culture .

Xilingol stands out for having the most developed ger production factories and businesses in comparison to other areas in Inner Mongolia. The Blue Banner, in particular, has earned a prominent reputation for modern ger production since the establishment of the People's Republic of China. Notably, the only UNESCO World Heritage Site in Inner Mongolia, the

Site of Xanadu, is in the Blue Banner area. This site showcases a series of practices and events related to the Mongol ger.

Furthermore, the grazing practices in Xilingol are highly esteemed within Inner Mongolia, making the region a rich resource for nomadic culture. Notably, the Chinese tourism department designated the west Sonid as 'the village of gers' due to the highest proportion of nomadic families still using gers (Xilingol Government, 2021). This highlights the high utilization of gers in this area. Therefore, Xilingol was my second research destination, encompassing Xinlinhot (the capital of the city), the Blue Banner area, the Sonid Right Banner, and the West Ujimiqin Banner area (see Figure 10). These regions provided me with valuable materials for the industrialization of ger production and the governance of cultural heritage in the postnomadic era.

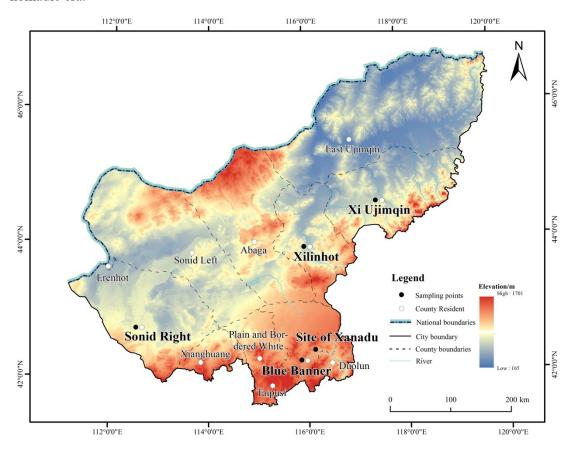


FIGURE 10 A MAP OF RESEARCH SITE IN XILINGOL

Hohhot

Hohhot, the capital of Inner Mongolia (see Figure 11), is situated in the central part of the Inner Mongolia Autonomous Region. This city stands out for its vibrant social and academic scene, particularly renowned for its innovative approaches and research in ger design and related fields. For these reasons, I chose it as my third research destination, focusing on conducting interviews

with designers and architects. Furthermore, Hohhot is home to several universities in Inner Mongolia, making it a strategic location for engaging with scholars in the region.

Moreover, as the administrative capital of the autonomous region, Hohhot holds a pivotal role in shaping the discourse on heritage and cultural management. Hence, I conducted interviews with the heritage conservation centers based here, aiming to gain insights into contemporary interpretations of nomadic cultural management. In summary, Hohhot provided me with a wealth of interview resources related to ger design, academia, and management, enriching my research endeavors in these domains.

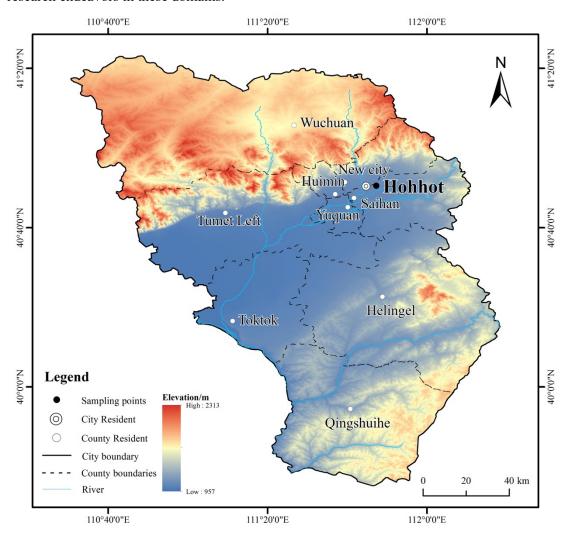


FIGURE 11 A MAP OF RESEARCH SITE IN HOHHOT

Chifeng

Chifeng City is situated in the northeastern part of Inner Mongolia Autonomous Region, nestled at the southern foothills of the Greater Khingan Mountains. The region boasts diverse geographical features, including mountains, grasslands, and forests (see Figure 12). Its

economy primarily revolves around agriculture, animal husbandry, forestry, and mining (Manduhu 2016). Chifeng served as my final destination, an unexpected yet invaluable addition to my research journey. My decision to visit this area was influenced by the recommendations of a local government leader and an esteemed academic professor. The timing was opportune, as Ar Horqin Banner had recently been designated as a Globally Important Agricultural Heritage System by the Food and Agriculture Organization of the United Nations (FAO) in 2022 (FAO 2018). Notably, the Gogestai Hanwul National Nature Reserve Park in Bayanwenduer Sumu, a nomadic village, stands as a well-preserved area within the banner, upholding traditional practices of mobile grazing. The utilization of gers in a postnomadic context is relatively uncommon here, offering unique insights into heritage conservation and providing a wealth of data on ger usage in the daily lives of nomadic communities.

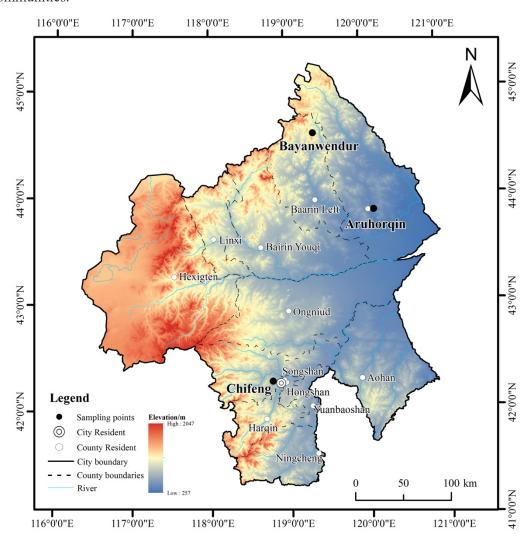


FIGURE 12 A MAP OF RESEARCH SITE IN CHIFENG

My interviewees comprise ger practitioners, including nomads, designers, officials, factory owners, and brokers. These individuals play pivotal roles in the direct actions concerning gers, encompassing their design, usage, management, production, and more. The narrative surrounding the transformation of the ger as a cultural heritage asset is intricately linked to the evolving lifestyles within post-nomadic communities. The dynamics and agency of different practitioners have a significant impact in this context. Consequently, I conducted interviews with each of these groups, and the details of the interview locations and times are presented in

Table 3 below.

Place	Hulunbuir	Xilingol	Hohhot	Chifeng
Month	April- June	June	July	August
Location	Inheritors' workshop	Designer's workshop		Forest Park
	Nomads' families	Factories	Coffee shops	Bureaus:
	Factories	Inheritor's home	Designers' workshop	Installed of ICH preservation centre
	Architects' workshop	Architects' workshop	Universities	Tourism and Culture management
	Touristic sites	Touristic sites		
	Bureaus: Tourism and Culture management	Bureaus: Tourism and Culture management		
	Institute of ICH preservation center	Forest and Grassland management		
	Forest and Grassland management	Natural resources management		
	Natural resources management			
	Environmental management			

TABLE 2 RESEARCH LOCATIONS AND GROUPS OF INTERVIEWEES

3.6 Data Collection & Accessing the Sites

This section primarily outlines the process of data acquisition. Firstly, regarding to recording methods, I have predominantly transcribed interviews by typing the responses onto my laptop while in the presence of the interviewees. This approach was adopted because some participants expressed their reluctance to leave any voice recordings as evidence. Additionally, certain interviewees found it difficult to engage deeply with the questions when audio recording devices were visible. This method allowed me to closely follow the interviewees as they spoke, making it possible to annotate new findings during transcription and continue the investigation by posing relevant follow-up questions. This approach yielded minimal omissions in each interview and was perceived to be more accurate than recording devices, as electronic transcription might introduce errors through misunderstandings during translation. Live transcription proved to be an effective strategy for capturing interviewees' reactions and saved time during the subsequent data analysis phase. Each interview comprised approximately 3000 words in Chinese, resulting in a total word count of nearly 240,000 words (see link under Appendix 2).

Furthermore, in addition to interview transcripts, various documents and private publications emerged during the conversations. These materials were not initially considered in the literature review. For instance, interviews with officials touched on the impact of current land policy changes and management. However, a portion of this information pertained to internally undisclosed policy management and could only be recorded through verbal accounts of relevant individuals. Additionally, some interviewees provided insights into shifts in the discourse of cultural management, drawing from newspaper clippings and other sources (see Appendix 4). Furthermore, during interviews with Mongol ger factories in the Blue Banner area, I learned about published standards for ger production. I obtained these standards from the personal collection of one of the interviewees and included them in the appendix (see Appendix 4). These materials play a vital supplementary role in evaluating the contemporary influences on gers and have emerged from insights garnered during the interviews. As such, they serve as additional reference material.

When it comes to the practical arrangements for conducting interviews, my journey was marked by a series of steps that ultimately enabled the successful completion of my research. Despite having grown up in Hailar, the capital of Hulunbuir in Inner Mongolia, the Mongolian communities seemed like an entirely different world to someone of Han ethnicity like me. Given my inability to speak Mongolian and my lack of Mongolian relatives, initially bridging

the cultural gap posed a significant challenge. Fortunately, I was able to leverage my family's social networks in the region, and I employed various approaches to establish connections.

Firstly, I reached out to my family to initiate contact with potential interviewees. Through these family connections, I was introduced to several institutions responsible for managing ger utilization. These were primarily governmental bureaus, and their initial interactions with me revolved around providing insights into their work. Subsequently, they introduced me to other contacts within their networks. Similarly, family members and friends involved in relevant sectors introduced me to their contacts in different research areas. This network expansion technique resembles a snowballing approach to building social connections and proved highly effective and targeted in the context of my fieldwork.

Secondly, I proactively initiated contact with various participants via email and social media platforms, including designers, university staff, and factory groups. I was fortunate to find that many of these individuals extended a warm welcome once I disclosed my status as a PhD candidate at the University of York and shared the necessary consent forms. Importantly, mentioning my roots as a Hulunbuir native had a significant impact. It often led to an even warmer reception, with these kind individuals expressing pride that I, as a local, had the opportunity to conduct research in the UK. My Mongolian participants frequently appreciated my interest in their traditions as someone of Han ethnicity. This heartwarming response surprised me and boosted my confidence in approaching a different culture, particularly as I had initially harbored concerns regarding potential cultural barriers and issues related to ethnic identity before embarking on my fieldwork.

Engaging with nomadic communities on the vast grasslands posed a series of unique challenges. Due to the sheer expanse of the grasslands, reaching a single family often required lengthy journeys, making it essential to have acquaintances introduce me to their families, which facilitated building trust. Language barriers emerged as the most formidable challenge, necessitating the presence of a Mongolian translator, typically a friend of mine. These translators were often connected to the nomads through friendships or acquaintances.

The nomadic participants, usually of a rather reserved nature, initially provided minimal information, as they regarded their daily lives as quite ordinary. However, spending time with them allowed me to gather unadorned insights. I always adhered to customary etiquette by preparing gifts for each visit. Moreover, I partook in their hospitality, sharing their traditional offerings like milk, tea, and cheese. To better understand their daily routines and reliance on gers, I occasionally stayed with them for a few days.

Furthermore, I actively immersed myself in their festivals and special occasions to gain insights into the diverse uses of gers in various situations, such as Mongolian weddings, Saddam, and fete. I even had traditional Mongolian clothing tailored to display respect for these occasions. Surprisingly, this gesture garnered favorable reactions and facilitated the smooth progress of my research. The nomads generally welcomed me without hesitation, especially during sacred shamanistic rituals. Nevertheless, I always approached them with care when seeking permission to take photographs. Despite their friendliness and appreciation of my interest in their traditions, I remained cognizant of the fact that I still felt like an outsider to the Mongol communities. This sense of otherness could be attributed to our differing lifestyles, worldviews, and languages. However, it may be a fitting perspective for researching a heritage that requires a neutral analysis of its often taken-for-granted realities.

Lastly, I had to secure official permissions to access specific sites, which became particularly relevant during my research in Chifeng, my last stop. The Gogestai Hanwul National Nature Reserve Park restricted access for non-locals, aiming to maintain peace and preserve the natural environment from outside interference. Attaining permission involved coordination with the leaders of the Sub-Bureau of the Forest and Grassland. Learning about these restrictions proved challenging, and I only became aware of them after embarking on a four-day journey. To gain access, I once again leveraged my social networks, making use of my contacts within the bureau. Additionally, I preemptively reported the purpose of my research journey before arriving in Chifeng. This involved submitting a formal report detailing the research objectives, including interview questions. I also made a commitment to adhere to respectful conduct and to avoid any activities or speech that could compromise ethnic integrity and the reputation of the state. Fortunately, I did not encounter any obstacles or censors during the journey. Overall, the establishment of trust emerged as a crucial step in ensuring the smooth progression of my research.

3.7 Ethics

The entire data collection process strictly adhered to the Ethics Guidelines of the University of York (see Appendix 5). I ensured that my activities aligned with the commitments outlined in the consent forms. Compliance with ethics involved several key principles, including anonymity, non-harmful research and right to be informed. In terms of image use, I primarily featured images of gers to prevent the inclusion of identifiable individuals in the photographs. All photographs were taken with the explicit consent of participants and could be made public.

Regarding the signing of consent forms, I successfully obtained signatures from 78 out of the 98 interviewees. Some individuals expressed concerns about the potential use of the research data in the future. Notably, governmental communities exhibited caution when signing any documents or providing personal information, as they were apprehensive about the potential impact on their reputations from any discourse that might appear in my publications. This caution was amplified by the Chinese central government's cultural policies that emphasized a sense of national cultural unity over distinct community identities (Gov. 2021). Consequently, interviewees, especially government officials, were more circumspect in their responses and hesitant about discussing ethnic traditions during interviews. This phenomenon is specific to this research and was not encountered in my previous research on ethnic cultures. It is worth noting that these concerns are unique to this context and not representative of my prior research experiences. In addition, due to language barriers, some individuals from Mongolian ethnic groups declined to provide their names on the consent forms. I respected their decision and did not pressure them to sign.

'The University of York's Code of Practice for Good Ethical Governance' (Appendix 5) underscores the importance of respecting the rights and preferences of local communities when dealing with politically or culturally sensitive questions. It also underscores the necessity of preventing any potential harm to the welfare and interests of participants, researchers, cultural heritage, the environment, the University, academia, and the broader community. Research activities should refrain from engaging in practices that could pose a direct or indirect risk of serious harm.

As such, during interviews, especially when addressing sensitive topics, I exercised caution and did not insist on pursuing such questions if it made participants uncomfortable or raised potential risks. In these situations, I adjusted my approach by transforming the questions or shifting the focus, which allowed the research to proceed smoothly without causing any harm to my interviewees. This approach was designed to uphold ethical standards while ensuring that the research could continue effectively.

3.8 Coding

In qualitative research, codes play a vital role as symbolic representations of words or brief phrases, which succinctly encapsulate and describe specific sections of language-based or visual data. These codes are employed to condense, emphasize important aspects, and elicit meaning from the data (Saldana 2016). When dealing with open-ended questions, codes are used to transform qualitative data into a form that can be quantified or measured (Collingridge 2019). Organized codes help researchers navigate through a wide range of quotations, actions, opinions, and depictions of reality.

For the coding process, I utilized NVivo, a well-established software designed for the analysis and categorization of various types of data, including textual information. NVivo is a versatile analytical tool that aids researchers in identifying themes and exploring connections among them (King 2004). Initially, I employed NVivo to progressively group similar phrases together, facilitating the recognition of common themes during the analysis.

The data analysis process required two coding procedures and two forms of coding. In the ethnographic phase, quotations served as the sole form of coding. Each code or theme in NVivo was linked to specific phrases, and various interviewees were associated with each theme. Using phrases as quotations provided direct insights into individuals' sentiments and significantly enhanced the accuracy of the content analysis. This approach revealed that most interviewees could offer comprehensive narratives based on their past and current work, practices, and experiences. Consequently, the use of quotations contributed to the creation of an extensive narrative that effectively captured the essence of ger across historical timelines and storytelling.

Within the domain of GT, a coding model assumes a central role, and an illustration of this can be observed (Figure 13). Strauss and Corbin (1990) emphasize that grounded theory is characterized by the continuous and in-depth analysis of raw data to construct an interpretative theoretical framework. Their study provides a detailed breakdown of the steps involved in the coding analysis process. During the initial open coding stage, researchers engage in a meticulous, line-by-line examination of the data to ensure that no essential concept or theme is overlooked (Strauss and Corbin 1990: 61). This stage is not a mere superficial categorization of data but rather a process focused on uncovering the deeper meanings inherent in the data. It requires labeling and describing every word and sentence, essentially creating a first-level categorization (Glaser 1978). The outcome of this process is the emergence of conceptual data.

As the research advances, the selective coding stage becomes pivotal. During this phase, the previously identified concepts begin to intertwine and evolve into higher-level categories. To ensure the research's accuracy and comprehensiveness, researchers need to engage in a more systematic data analysis at this point (Strauss and Corbin 1990: 96). This involves discerning the relationships between each previous categorization, including case, context, contingencies,

consequences, covariances, and conditions (Glaser 1978). Ultimately, the selective coding phase provides a clear direction for the entire research. Researchers select a core category around which the entire theoretical framework is built. This phase not only requires revisiting previous codings but also demands that the final theoretical framework is logically, structurally, and conceptually coherent (Strauss and Corbin 1990: 143). The logistical relationships and core categories aid in the transformation of research data into heritage theories. Detailed results will be presented in the next chapter.

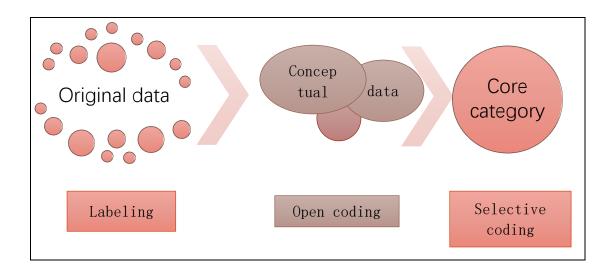


FIGURE 13 CODING PROCESS OF THE GROUNDED THEORY

Chapter 4: Data Analysis

4.0 Introduction

This chapter of the thesis presents the data collected within the research fields. It commences by introducing the fieldwork situations to establish data validity. Subsequently, it outlines the data analysis process to provide a structured framework that allows for a reevaluation of the methodology during the results analysis. As discussed in Chapter 3 (Methodology), the constructivist approach emphasizes a perspective of emergence over preconceived notions, underlining the importance of comprehensively understanding the research field. This study adopts both the Non-representative theory and Grounded theory from the outset, with the aim of providing an integrated perspective on people's experiences, opinions, and a systematic analysis of theories.

To reconstruct a comprehensive approach for understanding, recognizing, and preserving the heritage values of gers in Inner Mongolia, this research employs multiple dimensions, such as reassembling living discourse, connecting theories, and critically examining the ontology of heritage. It is crucial to note that a singular data analysis procedure is inadequate. Therefore, this chapter employs two distinct analytical approaches and is divided into two parts. The first part provides a textual summary of the research stories through ethnographic descriptions in purpose of the Non- representative theory, while the second part focuses on the results of the grounded theory analysis.

In line with Charmaz's (2006) suggestion that Grounded Theory may reach saturation when researchers no longer discover new themes or content in the interviewees' narratives, such a point was reached during the data analysis process. It was found that only 10 summaries of interviewee narratives offered clear guidance for the research, with no new issues or themes emerging. These 10 interviewees are considered sufficient as they represent the most pertinent issues contributing to the research. In sum, the research involved interpretations of all interview data, while the Grounded Theory analysis specifically utilized the narratives of these 10 selected interviews. However, before delving into the introduction of details, I would like to provide a brief summary of the data

4.0.1 Summative data

There are nearly 100 photographs were taken during the fieldwork. A total of 98 interviews were conducted; however, only 78 of them are considered valid. The selection of these 78

interviews was based on several factors. Firstly, these interviews provided substantial data with prominent issues and a clear understanding of the interviewees' experiences. Importantly, all 70 participants signed research consent forms, which ensures that their data can be legally used in compliance with university ethical regulations. The remaining interviews that lacked consent forms were excluded due to privacy concerns.

The interviewees represent 8 distinct community groups based on their occupations: designers, cultural creators, inheritors, touristic brokers, factory owners, scholars, nomads, and officers. Detailed information on the interviews can be found in Appendix 2, while the distribution of these groups as a percentage of the total sample is presented in Figure 1 below. Notably, the distribution appears relatively balanced across the different groups. In certain cases, such as officers and touristic brokers, larger percentages are observed due to their roles spanning multiple occupational categories. The officer group, for instance, comprises individuals from five different bureaus, each with distinct responsibilities, while the touristic broker category encompasses both site owners and herder's home operators. Additionally, some individuals may exhibit multiple group affiliations. For example, some factory owners are also inheritors of ger handcraftsmanship. In sum, the findings encompass a comprehensive range of ger practitioners in contemporary contexts.

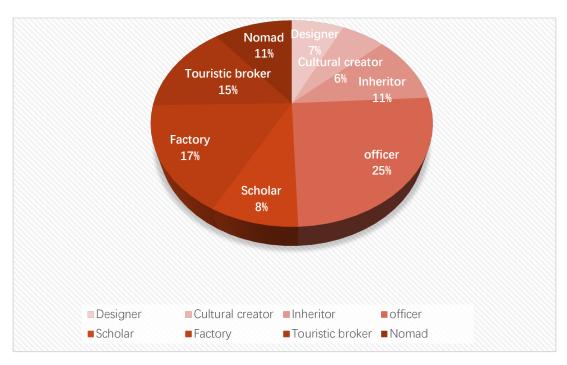


FIGURE 14 PERCENTAGE OF DIVERSE GROUPS OF INTERVIEWEES

In NVivo, a total of 580 codes were generated. Although my initial intention was to maintain a concise code list, the open-ended nature of the interview questions, the breadth of contexts

covered, and the richness of narratives made it challenging. Consequently, 22 main themes emerged from the data (see Table 4). While not all these themes were employed in the analysis to address the research questions, they contained valuable firsthand information. Each theme consists of phrases from various groups of interviewees.

These themes in NVivo primarily serve the purpose of ethnographic analysis, with a focus on factors such as utilization, policies, and the intersection of industrial and nomadic practices. Complementary subthemes were included to enhance the analysis. For instance, under the policies theme, environmental aspects and unified discourse were addressed. The analysis of touristic gers fell within the utilization theme, and the symbolism subtheme aligned with the concept of unified discourse, situated under the broader policies theme. Furthermore, certain heritage-related themes, including change, continuities, heritage, revitalization, and traditions, were used as supplements in the second part of grounded theories. These themes possess a more theoretical nature and are not tied to specific background knowledge.

代码	Q <i>搜索 项目</i>	∄				
•	名称 -	文件	参考点			
+ 0	BLUE BANNER 蓝旗蒙古包厂	15	46			
+ 0	CHANGE 变化	29	70			
+ O	CHIFENG 赤峰林场	6	31			
+ 0	COMPARISION TO MONGOLIA 蒙	5	6			
+ O	CONTINUITIES 延续	27	54			
+ 0	CURRENT REPRESENTATIONS当	12	18			
+ O	DIFFICULTIES 蒙古包困境	8	35			
+ 0	ENVRIONMENTAL CONTROL 环保	24	43			
+ O	HERITAGE 遗产	23	40			
+ O	INDIVIDUAL EXPERIENCE 个人从	20	40			
+ O	INDUSTRIAL GER 蒙古包产业	18	41			
+ 0	KEY POITS 重要蒙古包发展结点	4	5			
+ O	LOCATIONS 调研各地情况阐述	12	23			
+ 0	POLICES 草原政策	22	110			
+ O	POST-NOMADISM后游牧时代	23	57			
+ 0	RECOGNITIONS 蒙古包认知	38	101			
± 0	REVITALISATION 复兴	5	9			
+ 0	SYMBOLISM符号化	16	47			
+ O	TOURISTIC GER 旅游蒙古包	36	81			
+ O	TRADITIONS 传统	18	37			
+ O	TYPES 蒙古包类型	34	77			
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TABLE 3 NVIVO RESULTS CATEGORIZES

Coding in one's native language, particularly in Chinese, is essential for grounded theory research. It serves as a fundamental component of qualitative inquiry, allowing researchers to meticulously capture and retain the subtleties and nuances inherent within the dataset. This is imperative as nuances may be lost or distorted during translation processes. Strauss and Corbin highlight the indispensable nature of coding, emphasizing its role in concept identification and development in terms of their respective attributes and dimensions, thereby facilitating a more comprehensive and authentic portrayal of participants' experiences and perspectives (Strauss and Corbin 1990).

Moreover, coding in the original language provides valuable insights into human behavior, as evidenced by Coates, Jordan, and Clarke in their analysis of interview responses, which reveal themes pertinent to hypothesis formulation (Coates et al. 2021). Additionally, Sommer stresses the importance of coding within the original context to seamlessly integrate multimodal data within a social semiotic framework, thereby expanding the analytical scope to encompass various sign modes (Sommer 2020).

The deliberate focus on grounded theory coding ensures the preservation and comprehension of the data's original meaning within its generated context, thereby augmenting the validity of ensuing research endeavors. Furthermore, the use of one's native language enhances the efficiency of tasks, as it leverages superior understanding and familiarity with the linguistic environment. Consequently, coding in Chinese within NVivo, including the contents displayed in the Appendix, is paramount. However, for presentation purposes in the paper, these codes are meticulously translated into English to facilitate reader comprehension.

Demographic variables were assigned in NVivo, primarily focusing on occupation and ethnicity. The allocation of these variables aimed to explore the diverse practices and perceptions of gers among different groups of people. Additionally, interviewees were connected based on their geographic backgrounds. By considering variations in locations, such as policies, governance, and industrial characteristics, it became possible to conduct comparisons and understand contextual responses. For example, industrialization is prominent in Xinlingol, particularly in the Blue Banner, while tourism is renowned in Hulunbuir. Therefore, a site variable was introduced to capture the influence of location on the provided answers. The site demography encompassed the main counties in my research areas, namely Hulunbuir, Xilingol, the Blue Banner in Xilingol, Chifeng, and Hohhot.

Regarding ethnicity variables, they followed the Chinese Ethnicity Classification, which includes the Han majority and 55 ethnic minorities. Within my research, three ethnic groups

were observed: Han, Mongols, and Ewenki. The Mongols comprised the nomadic population, while the other groups included both nomads and settled individuals. Notably, there was only one Ewenki participant, who was an inheritor of the willow ger-making tradition. These variables were closely associated with the codes in grounded theories, enabling an exploration of the relationship between ethnicity and the research findings.

In the coding process of Grounded Theory, it is essential to consider the quantity of data results, which holds comparable significance to the ethnographic coding in NVivo. From a personal perspective, I find that, in practical applications of the GT, the use of NVivo is not suitable. This is because the process involves manual coding across various Word documents. During this process, it is imperative to accurately document diverse pieces of information and categorize them. Consequently, I made the decision to discontinue the use of NVivo as a tool. It is worth acknowledging that this coding process represents the most time-consuming phase of the entire data analysis. I spent six months completing the coding in NVivo and an additional three months on the GT coding. The coded results are presented in Appendix 3, comprising a total of 827 manually generated codes that have been categorized into different coding areas (as detailed in Chapter 4.5.0). Specific data and coding analyses will be expounded upon in the subsequent chapters.

4.0.2 Chapter Structure

The analysis consists of two parts, each serving a specific purpose. The first part is focused on identifying key elements, while the second part is dedicated to theory generation. The ethnographic segment of the analysis delves into the conditions and implications of heritage practices and phenomena. It primarily explores people's perceptions, experiences, and emotions concerning the current utilizations and contexts of gers. Given its subjective nature, this analysis emphasizes the qualitative aspect of understanding. In contrast, the grounded theory approach prioritizes the actual data themselves over the data generation process, rendering it a more objective method for theory emergence (Charmaz 2006). By utilizing both analytical procedures, a balanced and integrated approach to data interpretation is achieved.

Each part of the analysis serves a specific purpose in elaborating on the data themes. Part I focuses on deconstructing the current phenomena occurring in the nomadic world. It examines these phenomena through the perspectives of various actors, both human and non-human, and their practices. Critical issues emerge from people's narratives, supplemented by relevant background information. Given that the three major research fields represent distinct prominent issues, particular emphasis is placed on certain locations for specific issues. Consequently, Part

I is divided into four perspectives: diverse utilizations, policy influences, industrialization, and the last nomadism's place. Part II, the GT analysis, centers on key themes related to the concepts of change and continuity. It involves factor analysis and explores their associations.

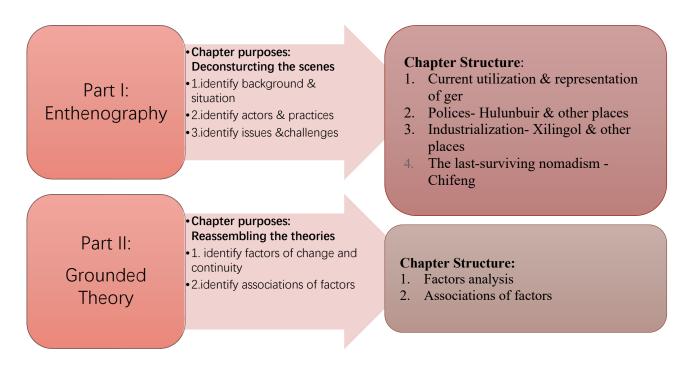


FIGURE 15 STRUCTURE OF DATA ANALYSIS

The logistical structure is illustrated in Figure 15. Having addressed some of the background issues related to conducting this research and building upon the methodology discussed in the earlier chapter, the subsequent section will present the initial findings of the research. These findings are derived from the ethnographic work.

Part1. Ethnographic Descriptions

4.1 Current Utilizations & Representations of Ger

4.1.0 Introduction

During the research process, it was discovered that many non-traditional ger designs have been invented and utilized, and the usage of some ger types is highly controversial. These ger types are considered non-traditional, and their inventions have gradually gained recognition and support from users, spreading through popular usage. The development and recognition of these new ger types have always been in an exploratory and contentious state. This chapter

summarizes all the observed forms of ger encountered during the research, including the practices and perspectives of the manufacturers and users.

Before delving into the current various types of gers, it is essential to provide an in-depth examination of traditional craftsmanship. This includes an exploration of its constituent elements, the intricacies of the manufacturing process, and an assessment of its strengths and weaknesses in practical usage. Of paramount importance is an analysis of the ways in which contemporary individuals have sought to innovate and modify it. Subsequently, the study will proceed to showcase the diverse forms of these modifications.

4.1.1 Different types of ger

Traditional ger

Let us begin by examining the fundamental structural elements of the ger. Regarding the materials used in the construction of a ger, in the early stages, walls were constructed using willow, elm, and birch wood and referred to as "khana." The exterior was covered with felt. However, with technological advancements, materials such as waterproof fabric and synthetic fibers replaced the use of felt. The celling and top window, known as the "unn" and "toon", and were made using elm and birch wood and required several processes, including scraping, drying, smoking, pressing, and drilling. Typically, a ger requires various types of poles to support its structure. The traditional construction of a ger involves primarily the following materials. The information presented is derived from summarized data collected from interviews with individuals from various factories and inheritors, along with observations made during field research.:

-Wood: The main structural material used in traditional gers is wood, typically selected from flexible and resilient options such as willow, elm, and birch. After careful processing, these woods are used to create support poles for the khana and the framework for the door frame, providing stability to the ger's structure.

-Felt: Felt is the primary material used to cover the khana of a ger. It can be made from wool or horsehair. In the traditional felting process, wool or horsehair is treated with water and an alkaline solution, then undergoes processes such as pressing, kneading, and drying to create thick and soft felt. Felt offers insulation, waterproofing, and durability, effectively isolating the ger from the cold and moisture outside.

-Leather: Animal leather is often used for the doors and windows of a ger. Traditionally, cowhide or sheepskin is commonly used, crafted into appropriately sized and shaped door and window curtains to facilitate entry, exit, and ventilation.

-Ropes: Ropes are used for assembly and securing during the construction of a ger. Traditional ger ropes are typically made from horsehair, cow hair, or wool, woven together. These ropes are strong and elastic, used to secure the structure of the khana and door frame, ensuring the overall stability of the ger.

-Soil and Grass: The bottom of a ger requires the use of soil or grass to increase ground smoothness and comfort. Traditionally, soil with good drainage and wear resistance or dry grasses like hay or straw are chosen.

The construction of the Mongolian ger, is an important manifestation of traditional craftsmanship among the Mongolian ethnic group. Traditional Mongolian ger production involves 110 individual processes in contemporary times (interview, Yilete, 09/06/2022:Xilingol). The following is a summary of the traditional craftsmanship gathered from the interviews and my observations:

-Wood processing: The wood used in traditional gers requires meticulous processing, including scraping, drying, smoking, and other steps. These skills require proficiency and experience to ensure the quality and durability of the materials.

-Khana construction: The khana is the wall component of a ger, typically constructed using willow, elm, and birch wood. Constructing the khana involves processing the wood into slender poles and inserting them into the ground at specific intervals and angles. This process requires precise measurement and adjustment to ensure the stability of the wall.

-Khana covering: Felt is typically used to cover the khana of a Mongolian ger, made from wool or horsehair. Traditional felting involves soaking wool or horsehair in water and an alkaline solution, then manually or mechanically pressing, kneading, and drying it to create felt. The felt is securely fastened to the wooden poles, using ropes for binding, to ensure firmness and resistance to wind and water.







FIGURE 16 PROCESS OF TRADITIONAL GER MAKING

- **-Structure assembly**: Assembling a ger is a crucial step in traditional craftsmanship. During the installation process, the toono (crown, or ceiling) is connected to the khana and secured with ropes or straps. This requires skill and collaboration to ensure the stability and integrity of the structure.
- **-Embroidery and decoration**: Both the interior and exterior of a ger are often embellished with embroidery and decorations, showcasing the Mongolian aesthetics and artistic expression. Embroidery is typically done using colored thread or wool, featuring various patterns and motifs. These embroideries and decorations not only enhance the visual appeal of the ger but also preserve and showcase the cultural traditions and artistic expressions of the Mongolian people.

In summary, the construction of a ger involves multiple traditional skills, including wood processing, khana construction, khana covering, structure assembly, as well as embroidery and

decoration (see Figure 16). These skills have been passed down through generations, demonstrating the rich craftsmanship and adaptive abilities of the Mongolian people to their natural environment.

During the interview process, a significant number of respondents conveyed their willingness and appreciation for the use of traditional Mongolian gers. However, concurrently, they also exhibited a certain degree of dissatisfaction. This dissatisfaction primarily emanated from the noticeable drawbacks of traditional gers when applied in contemporary contexts. Therefore, the following discussion will delve into the attitudes of the interviewees towards traditional gers, encompassing both their points of appreciation and discontentment:

People's appreciation to the traditional ger:

- 1. **Cultural heritage**: The traditional Mongolian ger, as a representative of the traditional dwelling structure of the Mongolian ethnic group, holds significant historical and cultural heritage value. It embodies the unique characteristics of Mongolian folk culture, lifestyle, and adaptability to the environment, allowing people to experience the atmosphere of traditional life (interview, Barhu¹,19/05/2022: Hulunbuir).
- 2. Adaptability to natural environment: The traditional ger is made of natural materials such as willow, elm, and birch, which are easily accessible and have minimal environmental impact (interview, Father², 03/02/2020: Hulunbuir). The design and structure of the traditional ger allow it to adapt to the natural environment of the grassland region. Constructed with natural materials like wood and felt, it offers excellent insulation and provides a warm living environment during harsh winter seasons. Additionally, its round shape helps reduce wind resistance and increases stability (interview, Zheng³, 18/07/2022: Hohhot).
- 3. **Portability and mobility**: The lightweight and easy-to-assemble structure of the traditional ger make it highly portable. This allows Mongolian herders to migrate with the seasons and adapt to different geographical conditions and grazing needs (interview, Dongqi⁴, 17/04/2022).

¹ Barhu is an owner of touristic site in Hulunbuir, Mongolian.

² Father is an Architect who dominated the governmental Ger project Baiyinhada in Hulunbuir,

³ Zheng is an ICH scholar in Hohhot, Mongolian.

⁴ Dongqi is a Factory Owner in Hulunbuir, Han.

People's discontentment to the traditional ger:

- 1. **Structural limitations**: The structure of the traditional ger is relatively simple, typically consisting of wood and felt, which may have certain structural limitations and stability issues. In extreme weather conditions such as strong winds or heavy rain, the stability of the ger may be compromised (interview, Heishantou⁵, 10/05/2022: Hulunbuir).
- 2. **Durability and maintenance costs**: The use of natural materials and traditional craftsmanship in the construction of traditional gers can result in lower durability. Parts such as felt covers, skylights, and door frames may require frequent replacement, while wooden materials are prone to rotting, necessitating regular maintenance and repairs (interview, Chenqi ⁶, 18/05/2022: Hulunbuir). Especially in modern commercial production, some manufacturers may use lower-quality materials to reduce costs and increase efficiency, resulting in shorter product lifespans (interview, Z⁷,17/06/2022: Xilingol).
- 3. **Incompatibility with modern needs**: With the development of modern society, people's demands for living environments and facilities have evolved. The simple structure and functionality of the traditional ger may not meet modern expectations for comfort, privacy, and convenience. For example, the lack of independent sanitary facilities, storage space, and electricity supply (interview, Zhao ⁸, 16/05/2022: Hulunbuir).
- 4. **Labor-intensive production process**: The production of traditional gers involves multiple steps, including scraping, drying, smoking, and pressing, making the process complex and time-consuming. "The production process of the ger is very complex, involving multiple steps. For example, to make the wooden frame, the wood needs to be scraped, dried, smoked, and pressed, resulting in poles of varying lengths. Each pole goes through seven steps. A complete ger requires 32 poles and one piece of cover. The diameter is usually 4.3 meters" (interview, Dongqi, 08/04/2022: Hulunbuir)⁹.

⁵ Heishantou is an owner of touristic site in Hulunbuir, Han.

⁶ Chenqi is a factory owner in Hulunbuir, Han.

⁷ Z is factory owner in Xilingol, Han.

 $^{^{\}rm 8}$ Zhao is a owner of touristic site in Hulunbuir, Han.

⁹ Dongqi is a factory owner in Hulunbuir, Mongolian.

In conclusion, the advantages of the traditional Mongolian ger include cultural heritage, adaptability to the natural environment, and portability. However, it has disadvantages such as structural limitations, durability and maintenance costs, and incompatibility with modern needs. These pros and cons need to be balanced and considered in the development and improvement of the traditional ger to preserve traditional culture while meeting modern requirements.

Even though these traditional materials not only blend harmoniously with the natural environment but also showcase the Mongolian people's ingenuity in sustainable resource utilization and lifestyle, there is an ongoing process of adaptation to make them a contemporary dwelling solution. From observations, the following is a summary of the methods employed in these adaptations:

- 1. Structural and material improvements: The traditional ger typically consists of a wooden frame and a felt cover. In improvements, steel frames are used instead of wooden frames to enhance the stability and durability of the ger. Additionally, there have been changes in the production of felt, with modern production using cellulose or synthetic materials instead of wool to improve durability and convenience.
- 2. **Fixing and reinforcement**: Respondents mentioned that they would re-fix wooden gers later on (interview,Xiqi¹⁰, 09/04/2022: Hulunbuir). They use steel beams to secure the ger to the foundation, increasing stability. This practice is similar to fixing tents.
- 3. **Improvement of internal facilities**: To enhance living comfort, improvements have been made to the internal facilities of traditional gers. Modern gers are often equipped with ventilation windows, moisture-proof mats, insulation layers, and gas heaters to meet the housing needs in different seasons and climates.
- 4. **Optimization of production processes**: Modern manufacturing techniques, such as machine carving, have been introduced to improve production efficiency and product consistency. Meanwhile, traditional manual craftsmanship is still preserved and inherited to maintain the traditional charm and uniqueness of the ger.

¹⁰ Xiqi is a factory owner in Hulunbuir, Mongolian

- 5. **Expansion and diversification of functions**: In addition to being used as residential and living spaces, gers are also employed in various fields such as tourism, camping, and vacationing. Functional improvements have been made, such as the inclusion of mosquito nets, solar charging devices, and collapsible portable structures, to meet the needs of different users.
- 6. Cultural heritage and innovation: Throughout the development and improvement process, the traditional ger has maintained a certain cultural heritage and primitive charm. At the same time, some designers and manufacturers are also attempting innovation by combining traditional elements with modern designs to introduce distinctive ger products.

In summary, there are some challenges and issues regarding the traditional wooden ger in terms of purchase sources, durability, and fixing methods. Respondents addressed these issues by resorting to self-making, reinforcement, and transitioning to iron gers, emphasizing the advantages of iron gers such as robustness and convenient installation. These viewpoints reflect their concerns regarding the quality and practicality of gers.

Traditional Willow Woven Ger

The willow-woven ger is a traditional dwelling structure primarily utilized by herders, including various ethnic groups such as the Ewenki and others in Inner Mongolia. The use of willow gers is more prominent during certain seasons, primarily in the summer, as they enhance ventilation and drainage of the structure. They are commonly found in the Hulunbuir region. The main raw material for crafting willow gers is red willow (see Figure 17), which has strong regenerative properties and is manually woven (interview, Wu¹¹, 20/05/2022: Hulunbuir). Different regions may have slight variations in the details of their gers. However, in the 1980s, occasionally there were gers without "khana" (wall), which facilitated easier construction. During research conducted in Chifeng, a rarely used type of willow-woven integrated ger was discovered (see Figure 18). This unique structure was made using willow branches due to the difficulties in transportation and constructing houses in the desert. In the past, people would apply cow dung on the surface to make it waterproof (interview, Manchuria¹², 18/08/2022: Chifeng).

 $^{^{\}scriptscriptstyle 11}$ Wu is an officer of cultural management in Hulunbuir, Mongolian.

¹² Manchuria is a nomad in Chifeng, Manchuria.



FIGURE 17 TRADITIONAL WILLOW GER IN EWENKI, HULUNBUIR (EWENKI AUTONOMOUS BANNER CULTURAL MUSEUM 2013)



FIGURE 18 WILLOW-WOVEN GER IN CHIFENG

As time passed, starting from the 1990s, the use of iron frames and canvas in gers increased, resulting in a decline in the traditional willow gers (interview, Wu, 19/05/2022: Hulunbuir). However, there are still some people involved in the production and use of willow gers, especially among inheritors and tourist sites that are gradually reintroducing their use. Traditional gers had lower walls, but now the design has been improved, increasing wall height to accommodate more people entering and exiting and to facilitate leadership inspections. The willow ger, as a traditional dwelling structure of the Mongolian nomads, represents their way of life and cultural characteristics. Crafting willow gers is an important job for some herders in certain areas, as they consider it a source of joy and pleasure, and it contributes to the preservation and inheritance of their ethnic culture. The process of setting up and dismantling a ger creates a close connection to history and culture, making people aware of their identity and sense of belonging as Mongolian people (interview, Chen¹³, 14/04/2022: Hulunbuir).

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¹³ Chen is an inheritor of ICH in ger making in Hulunbuir, Mongolian.

Furthermore, crafting a willow ger requires special skills and techniques. Willow weaving requires patience and proficiency, and when a complete ger is erected, people feel a sense of pride and accomplishment. This craftsmanship is not only a tradition but also a symbol of the Mongolian people. However, in modern society, willow gers are gradually being forgotten. Modern houses have replaced traditional gers, putting the latter at risk of being lost. Moreover, crafting a willow ger requires a relatively high cost, with labor costs amounting to approximately 100,000 (interview, Chen, 14/04/2022: Hulunbuir). Nevertheless, there are still some people involved in the production and use of willow gers, especially among inheritors and tourist sites that are gradually reintroducing their use. However, opportunities for children to participate in the crafting of willow gers are decreasing, as more people choose to pursue other professions, posing challenges to the inheritance of this craft (interview, Chen, 14/04/2022: Hulunbuir). Fortunately, individuals like Chen's daughter and E, who are inheritors, actively engage in the production and revival of willow gers, aiming to preserve this craftsmanship and showcase their cultural heritage to the world (interview, E¹⁴, 17/04/2022: Hulunbuir).

In conclusion, the willow ger is a traditional dwelling structure of Mongolian nomadic herders. It offers excellent mobility and adaptability, with good ventilation and drainage during the summer season. The statements from the interviewees reflect their recognition and value for the willow ger, as well as their determination to preserve and inherit this traditional craft. Preserving and inheriting the craftsmanship of willow gers is not only a tribute to the past but also a commitment to the future.

Cement Ger

The cement ger is a variant that has emerged since the 1990s, using cement as a construction material instead of traditional materials for gers (interview, Bai, 06/07/2022: Hohhot)¹⁵. Its emergence may have been influenced by urbanization and market demands. Cement gers have been widely used in certain regions and have even temporarily replaced the traditional gers, particularly in urban areas (see Figure 19).

The development trajectory of cement gers differs from the traditional form of gers, and market orientation is also a factor in their development. In the past few decades, cement gers were generally considered an advanced architectural form and were extensively used in urban construction. However, over time, people began to question whether cement gers truly align

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¹⁴ E is an inheritor of ICH in ger making in Hulunbuir, Mongolian.

¹⁵ Bai is a scholar researching the modern transformation of gers in Hohhot, Han.

with the authentic definition of gers. Gers require specific elements such as iron materials and horsehair ropes, which cement gers do not possess. Therefore, some people have raised doubts about referring to them as gers. Many respondents hold a negative view of cement gers, considering them not genuine gers. This is because they primarily use cement as the main construction material instead of traditional materials like willow branches or bamboo, resulting in an emphasis on appearance rather than the essence and connotation of gers. However, some respondents have an open-minded attitude, believing that the material itself is neutral, and the key lies in design and craftsmanship. From a professional perspective, both cement structures and structures made of willow branches are forms of artistic expression, dependent on design, proportions, and spatial exploration.



FIGURE 19 CEMENT GERS IN A TOURISTIC SITE

Cement gers are generally more expensive, but they offer advantages such as durability and ease of construction, making them particularly suitable for constructing Mongolian-style buildings in urban areas. Some argue that the development of cement gers should focus on urban areas for entertainment, leisure, and other purposes (interview, No, 08/04/2022: Hulunbuir)¹⁶. This is because constructing cement gers on the grasslands may face various challenges, such as difficulties in demolition and restrictions due to construction policies.

During interviews, it was observed that despite acknowledging the structural strength and durability advantages of cement gers, respondents held their respective negative views. A professional architect stated, "Traditional Mongolian gers use natural materials and blend with the natural environment, whereas cement gers are overly modern and lack a connection with

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¹⁶ No is an officer of natural resources management in Hulunbuir, Han.

nature. We should protect and inherit the construction techniques and materials of traditional Mongolian gers" (interview, Father, 03/02/2020). A herder expressed, "For us herders, the development of cement gers may be more suitable for recreational and leisure purposes rather than actual living. We prefer to keep a small traditional ger as part of our customs and cultural heritage" (interview, Xiqi, 07/05/2022: Hulunbuir).

Two ger builders stated,

"Cement is not the original ger" (interview, Yang, 12/06/2022: Xilingol)¹⁷.

"Cement is a round building, not a Mongolian ger. There are requirements for what constitutes a Mongolian ger, and we, Blue Flag, have our own standards. Cement doesn't count! It lacks the essential components and features. Round buildings are not called Mongolian gers. Mongolian gers are supposed to be movable and easy to assemble and disassemble. Cement cannot achieve that. In reality, traditional Mongolian gers were not that large. The books mention large gatherings before Kublai Khan's banquet, but we asked the elders how they were built. In the end, they said bamboo, wireless with columns, and then dismantled. Bamboo was important; it could be opened and closed in a batch. That's the largest building we've heard of" (interview, Z, 17/06/2022: Xilingol)¹⁸.

Therefore, they believe that even though cement gers can expand the size of ger construction, they are no longer considered gers and can only be classified as a type of architecture. An academic scholar stated, "A fixed cement ger will never become a cultural heritage" (interview, Zheng, 17/07/2022: Hohhot). He believes that fixed buildings lack symbiosis. Thus, there are significant differences between the development trajectory of cement gers and the traditional form of Mongolian gers, involving factors such as cultural identity, practical needs, economy, and policies. Perspectives on cement gers also vary among respondents, but the majority hold negative views due to their deviation from tradition.

Iron Ger

The iron ger is a variant of the traditional Mongolian ger, where the entire internal structure is supported by iron or steel (see Figure 20), connected through welding techniques, while the external materials do not differ significantly from traditional gers. According to the survey, the cost of iron gers is usually half that of traditional wooden gers and they can also be disassembled. However, the disassembly process is not traditional collapsible storage but rather block-like

¹⁷ Yang is a factory owner in Xilingol, Han.

¹⁸ Z is a factory owner in Xilingol, Han.

assembly. Although iron gers have been more widely used compared to cement gers, their existence has also sparked discussions and differences among respondents.



FIGURE 20 STRUCTURE OF IRON GERS

According to a touristic and nomadic respondent, iron gers are commonly used in commercial and tourist sites (interview, Hong, 16/05/2022: Hulunbuir), while wooden gers are more prevalent in pastoralist households (interview, Dongqi, 17/04/2022: Hulunbuir). Respondents believe that iron gers are associated with the market economy due to their lower price, making them more suitable for consumers who are less familiar with the culture (interview, Z, 17/06/2022: Xilingol). The transition from traditional wooden gers to iron gers is attributed to the perceived sturdiness and convenience of installation of the latter. In contrast, wooden gers typically require ropes for stability due to the less robust nature of wood (interview, Z, 17/06/2022: Xilingol). However, some individuals question whether iron gers can truly represent the cultural characteristics of traditional Mongolian gers.

From an economic perspective, iron gers have a certain market demand in the tourism industry. They are widely used for hosting wedding banquets, celebrations, children's educational milestones, and group activities due to their durability (interview, Z, 17/06/2022: Xilingol). However, some respondents mentioned that in humid environments in the southern regions, iron gers may not be comparable to wooden gers. Wooden gers, due to their isolation from the ground and differences in load bearing, are better suited for such environments and have a longer lifespan.

Although iron gers have gained popularity in the market, some industrial respondents (interview, Chenqi, 18/05/2022: Hulunbuir) believe that they do not fully replicate the style and cultural characteristics of specific historical periods of Mongolian gers. In comparison, wooden

gers better represent the traditional way of life and ethnic culture. For those who value quality and cultural values, they tend to prefer wooden gers.

In conclusion, as a commercial and tourist-oriented product, iron gers have a certain position in the market economy. However, there is still debate regarding whether they can truly represent the cultural characteristics of traditional Mongolian gers. For those who emphasize cultural heritage and quality, wooden gers are more appealing. The different perspectives and attitudes demonstrate varying understandings and interpretations of iron gers, providing further food for thought in discussing and researching the development of gers.

Framed Structure Ger

As the evolution of gers entered the modern era, framed structure gers gradually gained acceptance and application in the tourism industry. Framed structure gers have changed the use of materials, no longer solely relying on willow branches or wood as in the past, but incorporating materials more suitable for modern living, such as steel frames, while retaining 70% of the elements of traditional gers (see Figure 21). Due to the use of a steel-wood combination frame, this improved ger is referred to as a framed structure ger (interview, Z, 17/06/2022: Xilingol). Compared to traditional gers, the framed structure ger has higher structural safety and space utilization, is more durable, and is more susceptible to deformation caused by climate changes. Framed gers are more stable, better equipped to withstand various natural conditions, and reduce maintenance costs (interview, Liu, 10/06/2022: Xilingol). However, framed gers are not limited to steel-wood combinations; there are also frame structures composed entirely of solid wood. The steel-wood structure is more popular due to its lower cost. As stated by the director of Q Factory, "but looking at the entire steel-wood structure, you won't see any trace of steel, it's all decorated with wood. Solid wood is more expensive, thicker, and requires more material. Some people prefer steel-wood, while others prefer solid wood frames" (interview, Yang, 12/06/2022: Xilingol)¹⁹.

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¹⁹ The interviewees in this section are primarily factory owners providing information.



FIGURE 21INSIDE AND OUTSIDE OF A FRAMED GER

A factory owner in Xilingol mentioned that this type of framed ger is based on the modification of the form of the Mongolian ger from the 13th century (interview, Zh, 16/06/2022: Xilingol). The construction of this ger is more prevalent in Mongolia, and some respondents mentioned learning from Mongolia. However, individuals like Miss Zh, who are inheritors and factory directors, emphasize the restoration of the 13th-century form rather than learning from Mongolia.

In Mongolian ger tourist sites, there are also special designs. For example, the base of the ger in a near tourist site uses a brick and tile structure, while the upper part is a steel-wood combination. Although the assembly and disassembly of this improved ger require some time and effort, compared to traditional structures, this improved design is more stable and better at maintaining the shape and stability of the ger, while preserving the original flavor of the ger. Scholars also recognize the historical significance of this type of ger, defining it as a "ger with a large wooden structure and decorative elements, although improved, essentially maintaining its original form" (interview, Zheng,18/07/2022: Hohhot). In the eyes of tourism users, this new type of framed ger is an upgraded version of the traditional ger and represents a high-end ger:

"Nowadays, they are all high-end, beautifully designed, and made of good materials. The market demand is for high-end and mid-range options, standard rooms, and so on. You have to upgrade. Traditional gers will gradually be phased out, and framed gers are more practical, without deformation, and easy to assemble and disassemble. Traditional gers require a skilled master, but for this framed ger, you can assemble it following instructions. Look at the framed ger, it appears to be made of wood, but behind it, there are steel pipes. It's a steel frame structure, but it's all wood carving. Cover it with fabric" (interview, Xiwu, 21/06/2022: Xilingol).

The disassembly method of framed gers differs from the folding method of traditional gers; they can only be dismantled, so they are not particularly suitable for nomadic movement. Therefore, some factories have developed a movable type of framed ger called a caravan-style ger (interview, Guinness, 14/06/2022: Xilingol). In summary, the improved ger has undergone structural and material innovations, providing improved comfort and stability to meet the needs of modern individuals. The evolution of the ger demonstrates the fusion of traditional culture and modernization, offering a unique living and tourism experience.

Innovative Gers

During the research process, gers have also been filled with creative concepts, and some of them have been realized. These gers retain the circular spatial structure of traditional gers while adding convenience or artistic appreciation. They have explored more in terms of materials and design, deviating from the use of some traditional materials. These practices have significantly expanded the boundaries of ger transformation and greatly developed non-traditional creative approaches.



FIGURE 22 AN EXAMPLE OF INNOVATED GER (PROVIDED BY INTERVIEWEE BAI)

Bai is a distinguished young Mongolian ger designer, based in Hohhot, where he operates his own studio and leads a team. They engage in an in-depth exploration of Mongolian ger culture year-round, integrating contemporary practical considerations, resulting in significant innovative forms for the Mongolian ger. I have summarized the key points of the design for the new Mongolian ger, using Bai as a representative example. These points reflect the designer's design philosophy, aiming to imbue it with modernity while preserving the core elements of the traditional Mongolian ger to meet contemporary needs. The following is an integrated academic paragraph that includes quoted verbatim language while also providing analysis and discussion.

Bai's interview offers crucial guiding principles for the design of the new Mongolian ger. Firstly, he emphasizes the importance of preserving the "circular space and conical roof, which are core

features of the Mongolian ger. These can be achieved through techniques such as geometric cuts" (interview, Bai, 06/07/2022: Hohhot). This viewpoint underscores the respect for the traditional appearance of the Mongolian ger. Maintaining these core structural elements helps ensure that the new Mongolian ger retains its traditional cultural characteristics.

Secondly, Bai mentions the need to "retain the flexibility of wooden structures like 'khana' and the rope system, showcasing the ger's detachability. Mechanical devices can also be introduced to assist in assembly " (interview, Bai, 06/07/2022: Hohhot). This flexibility and adjustability contribute to the adaptability of the Mongolian ger in different settings and purposes. By doing so, the new Mongolian ger can better accommodate modern lifestyles while preserving its traditional detachable nature.

Thirdly, he further stresses the significance of "preserving traditional materials and craftsmanship, such as felt, to reflect cultural heritage. However, bold use of new materials is encouraged, without being confined to tradition" (interview, Bai, 06/07/2022: Hohhot). This comprehensive utilization of both traditional and new materials helps enhance the durability and practicality of the Mongolian ger. This viewpoint highlights the balance between preserving nomadic cultural heritage and embracing modern material innovations.

Bai's design philosophy revolves around "innovating while preserving the core elements of the Mongolian ger, ensuring it inherits culture and caters to contemporary needs" (interview, Bai, 06/07/2022: Hohhot). This philosophy underscores the dual task of designers, necessitating both cultural confidence and open-mindedness. This approach enables the new Mongolian ger to simultaneously carry forward tradition and cater to contemporary requirements.

Furthermore, he suggests "drawing inspiration from European architectural decorative techniques, pursuing elegance rather than crude simplicity" (interview, Bai, 06/07/2022: Hohhot). This perspective indicates that incorporating elements from different cultures in the design process can enhance the aesthetics and sophistication of the Mongolian ger. Crosscultural inspirations inject innovation into the design, making it more appealing.

Finally, Bai's viewpoint also includes "emphasizing universal value, transcending specific cultural groups, and promoting cultural inclusivity and openness" (interview, Bai, 06/07/2022: Hohhot). This ideology highlights the universality and cultural inclusivity of the design, allowing more people to appreciate the value and functionality of the Mongolian ger. This open and inclusive design approach fosters cultural diversity and cross-cultural exchanges.

In conclusion, the key points of the design for the new Mongolian ger encompass the preservation of core elements, modernization, universality, cultural heritage, and practicality. Bai's perspectives provide robust support for these points, and by quoting his verbatim language, we gain a more precise understanding of his design philosophy and how it harmoniously integrates traditional Mongolian ger elements with contemporary societal demands. This holistic design approach ensures that the new Mongolian ger continues to thrive today while upholding its unique cultural significance.

Canvas Caravan

The canvas caravan (CC), also known as a color steel house, is a new type of popular mobile housing on the grasslands in recent years. It has a square shape, with four tires supporting the entire structure and hooks around the perimeter to secure the body (see Figure 24). The interior is equipped with accommodation and kitchen areas, while the exterior is covered with iron sheets, and the roof is fully enclosed. There is a hook at the front for connection to a motor vehicle, enabling towing and mobility. A canvas caravan manufacturer described the experience of introducing the first CC from Russia, stating that the structure of the caravan at that time was relatively rudimentary, using heavy iron sheets and foam construction. This type of caravan has relatively low costs, and the use of fiberglass materials is economical and easy to clean and maintain (interview, Caravan, 06/06/2022: Hulunbuir)²⁰.



FIGURE 23 CANVAS CARAVAN

Respondents mentioned that the proportion of color steel houses used in the Hulunbuir area is significantly higher compared to other parts of Inner Mongolia, which is also evident in my

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²⁰ Caravan is the owner of an caravan-making factory in Hulunbuir, Han.

field observations. They speculated that this may be due to Hulunbuir being the northernmost part of Inner Mongolia, with a colder climate, hence the greater need for color steel houses (interview, Caravan, 06/06/2022: Hulunbuir). Furthermore, herders generally believe that CC provide better insulation in winter compared to gers. Living in a ger during winter becomes very cold once the fire is extinguished. Even with insulation measures inside the ger, there are still drafts when the door is opened, making it less warm. On the other hand, CC has modern insulation settings that alleviate this concern (interview, Dongqi, 17/04/2022: Hulunbuir)²¹. However, I noticed during the research that not all herders choose to live in CC during winter. Some herders have their own brick houses in the winter camp, which provide better insulation and stability. For those who do not have the economic means to live in brick houses, their expectations for color steel houses are higher. For example, a young newlywed herder couple currently living in a ger expressed their desire to switch to a color steel house as soon as possible. They believe that the cost of living in a CC is lower and more economical compared to a ger. Although the initial cost of a panel house is higher, it offers more convenience, especially for cooking during summer (interview, Xiqi,17/04/2022: Hulunbuir). Overall, current herders still have expectations for CC as an upgraded product that improves some inconveniences of gers.

Several herders from the Cuogang region in Hulunbuir stated that color steel houses play an important role in their nomadic life. They carry the CC with them during their nomadic journeys. The typical usage time for CC is from June to November, lasting approximately five months. In the past, when they moved their pastures, they had to dismantle the gers and transport them using carts. However, with the convenience of tractors and vehicles, they can now move the CC as a whole (interview, Cuo, 17/04/2022: Hulunbuir)²². However, some herders pointed out that some elderly people still prefer living in traditional gers, which may be related to their habits and personal preferences (interview, Xiqi,17/04/2022: Hulunbuir).

Compared to CC, gers are slightly more humid, sturdy, and less prone to swaying. The taller height and lack of echo make the circular space of gers more comfortable. As mentioned in an interview, "Gers are slightly more humid than canvas caravans, but they are sturdier, don't sway, and are taller without echo. But the round space is still more comfortable" (interview, Ar, 09/08/2022: Chifeng). Additionally, living in a CC is convenient, as it can be easily towed and provides comfort, especially during travel. However, the circular space of a ger is still considered more comfortable. Furthermore, individuals who have their own tents have their own preferences and choices.

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4.1.2 Touristic ger

In this section, I will focus on the contemporary applications of gers in tourism, as their usage and transformations are most pronounced in this context. First, I will introduce the practices of businesses involved in tourism and discuss the tourists' demands for gers as obtained from their perspective. Next, I will analyze the innovations and cultural interpretations of gers within the tourism sector. I will also present a representative government-sponsored ger project in the tourism industry, highlighting its design principles and transformation ideas. However, it's important to note that different individuals and groups may hold varying attitudes and perspectives regarding these developments. Therefore, in the conclusion of this section, I will utilize a word cloud to visually represent the diverse viewpoints on tourist gers. Overall, this section will provide a wealth of material from both human and material perspectives to shed light on the reasons behind the changes in ger usage.

An experienced tourism official stated that "ger is almost the most popular accommodation option for grassland tourism" (interview, Dong, 19/05/2022: Hulunbuir). The rise of ger tourism sites began in the 1990s, with significant development occurring in the early 2010s. According to information provided by businesses, government-led tourism site construction mainly took place in the 1990s, primarily for hosting purposes and receiving officials. Private tourism sites started to emerge in the early 2000s, catering more to out-of-town tourists or travel groups. It started with operating a few gers in the grasslands for dining and sightseeing purposes and later developed into larger-scale tourist attractions.

"The grassland hotel, we were the first, the first in Inner Mongolia, established in 1989. It was run by a herder for receptions, organized by the Foreign Affairs Office. There was no place for receptions, so the government took it over, and the Ewenkiqi government developed grassland culture in this area. It started with a few small kitchens for receptions" (interview, Bay, 18/05/2022: Hulunbuir).

"If I feel good today, I'll expand more tomorrow. The golden ger was built in 1993 (the largest tourism site in the Morgul River Area). When the owners around here started, there were no fences, no roads, nothing. At that time, they watered the grass for two months just to receive a ministerial-level cadre. The gifts they presented were all silverware. They wanted to leave a good impression on the visitors from outside" (interview, Nan, 06/05/2022: Hulunbuir).

"At that time, I specialized in receiving photographers because the scenery here is beautiful. We operated as a restaurant during the day and later offered accommodations. Initially, it was ten yuan for a bed. As more people came, little by little, we accumulated over the past ten years. Now we have two beds, a bathroom, running water, and the conditions have improved" (interview, Hong, 16/05/2022: Hulunbuir).

Due to climatic reasons, the peak tourism season in Inner Mongolia is generally concentrated from June to October, but businesses indicated that the busiest period is typically from July to September, reflecting a highly seasonal tourism economy. According to business accounts, the economic benefits were substantial between 2012 and 2017, but significant changes occurred after 2018 due to policy adjustments (explained in the next chapter). It is worth noting that significant changes to gers are often seen in large-scale investment tourism sites, while gers at smaller tourism sites tend to be relatively simple.

According to the information provided through interviews and observations, the development of tourism gers can be summarized by the following characteristics:

- 1. Relationship between Gers and Tourism Industry: The rise of the tourism industry has had an impact on the development of gers. Gers are widely used for tourist accommodations and have become one of the most popular accommodation options in grassland tourism. Some herders have started producing gers to meet the tourism demand, and there is a high demand for gers in tourist sites. Some tourism sites feature gers as their main offering, providing gers of different sizes and styles for tourists to choose from, catering to different customer needs. The development and sales of gers are closely linked to the tourism industry, with an increasing demand for gers in certain regions, making tourism sites the primary market for sales.
- 2. Fusion of Traditional and Modern Styles: The design and decoration of tourism sites vary based on customer demand and market positioning, with the choice between traditional and modern styles of gers. Traditional gers are more simplistic, while modern gers focus on decorative elements. Some cultural tourism departments focus on the inheritance and innovation of gers, proposing suggestions to increase tourism appeal, create popular tourist destinations, and provide unique experiences. Regarding the development of gers, some believe that gers can become a brand for tourism sites by creating unique experiences and attractions to attract more visitors.

3. Commercialization and Customization of Tourism Sites: Some tourism sites have gradually undergone commercialization changes, influenced by the increasing number of visitors from southern regions, leading to changes in demand. This subtle change has transformed gers from traditional dwellings of northern nomadic herders to a modern community.

According to touristic sites owners (interview, Golden, 17/06/2022: Hulunbuir; Bayn, 18/05/2022: Hulunbuir), some tourists may have preferences for the style and material of gers. They may prefer traditional wooden gers or have a particular interest in different types of gers, such as gers covered with wool felt or gers with modern design styles. Some tourists may lean towards a more primitive and rustic experience, while others prioritize comfort and modern facilities. Selectivity and personalization are key factors: some tourists expect a variety of choices to match their preferences and needs. They may desire the option to select gers of different sizes and configurations to accommodate varying numbers of individuals or groups.

Based on the interviews, we can further specify the experiences and demands of tourists in Mongolian ger tourism as follows:

1) Accommodation Environment and Comfort: Tourists have certain requirements for the accommodation environment of gers, including cleanliness, a cozy atmosphere, and comfortable bedding. Some tourists expect modern facilities inside the gers, such as running water, toilets, and electricity, to provide more convenient living conditions. To meet the diverse needs of different tourists, the facilities of gers are gradually being upgraded and improved. Shower facilities, air conditioning, and heating are being added to provide a more comfortable and convenient accommodation environment.

"For a bit, it became commercialized. For example, in the past, ger sites were all grassland. But once people came, there were bugs everywhere, or it was dusty, and there was dust when eating inside the ger. So, gradually, the ground was paved. Southern visitors said there were no toilets and they needed to be able to take showers. Southern people have different requirements compared to us. Southern people can be quite messy" (interview, Nan, 06/05/2022: Hulunbuir).

"There must be toilets; otherwise, non-local guests won't come. Neither will we use the grassland as a toilet. It's uncomfortable. Children must have toilets. It caters to the needs of tourists and reflects the development of living standards. Look, even in pastoral areas, homes have toilets" (interview, Geri, 09/06/2022: Xilingol).

"Southern tourists suggested dealing with the issue of too many mosquitoes by enclosing the bottom of the ger, and they wanted to see the stars and enjoy the scenery. It's all about tourists. The owners didn't have that awareness, but I communicated with the tourists about how to improve. We're afraid that the grassland people might drink too much and for safety, we have anti-theft doors. Sound insulation is something everyone is used to; it's part of grassland culture" (interview, Buren, 18/04/2022: Hulunbuir).

2) Upscale Experiences: Tourists have certain expectations for the accommodation environment and comfort of gers, and some are willing to pay higher prices for luxurious ger facilities. Some tourists want to experience the authentic ger lifestyle but also desire modern facilities and comfort. This contradiction reflects the demands and values of modern individuals.

"In reality, tourists prefer places where everything is readily available upon entering. But when non-local people come, they just draw a stroke when drinking milk tea. Actually, non-local people just want to ride horses, have good tea, and comfortably stay" (interview, Bayin, 18/05/2022: Hulunbuir).

"When I receive guests, they want to see the authenticity, but they don't want to endure the hardships. They want the present life, a luxurious life. They want to experience the authenticity but cannot live in it. So, I purposely set up two gers, both made of grass and in their original form. I asked, 'Do you want to eat in this ger?' They replied, 'No, it should have tiles, and then we can eat inside a clean ger.' Hahaha, isn't it contradictory for modern people?" (Interview, Hong, 16/05/2022: Hulunbuir).

Despite the contradiction between aspirations and practical needs, in recent years, there has been a high demand from external tourists for the management and upscale development of gers. This has subtly influenced the taste migration and manufacturing changes of gers. For example, in ger tourist sites, some high-end hotels may offer luxurious ger accommodations with modern facilities such as private bathrooms, air conditioning, and high-speed Wi-Fi. Such facilities can meet the demands of non-local tourists who have higher requirements for comfort and luxury experiences. It is worth noting that the quality of internal facilities and the size of the ger space are crucial factors determining whether a ger is upscale or not, rather than the materials used in its construction.

"Regardless of whether it's a felt or brick ger, it's about the internal facilities and the cost of installation and decoration. The room rates differ accordingly. A brick ger needs to reach 80 square meters. The first impression of whether it's upscale or not depends on size. An 80-square-meter ger and a 20-square-meter ger are of different levels; bigger is better" (interview, Bayin, 18/05/2022: Hulunbuir).

Therefore, ger tourist sites offer gers of different sizes and styles for tourists to choose from, which steers gers towards the direction of hotel-style accommodations. Business owners also mentioned, "In recent 3-4 years, high-end reception has been the most lucrative. There aren't many truly high-end receptions, and we want to strive for that. Build big, spend on the interior, and have high-end amenities like flush toilets" (interview, Bayin, 18/05/2022: Hulunbuir).

As upscale facilities can provide satisfying experiences for tourists, they also enhance the economic value of ger operations. It can be observed that the development of tourism gers is trending towards high-end hotelization.

"Accommodation still needs to be of better quality. Those who don't mind the cost will go for high-end options. They are all the same; lower-end options won't do. After staying, it's still comfortable to have running water" (Interview, Hong, 16/05/2022: Hulunbuir).

"We initially had 100 regular gers, but later, we dismantled them all. Having toilets is practical; it's for spring and summer trips. High-end gers are available now. Our large bus tour groups from 2016 transitioned to more self-driving trips, so it developed into a middle-to-high-end market" (interview, Herder, 15/06/2022: Xilingol).

- 3) Natural Environment and Landscape Appreciation: The location of ger tourist sites and the grade of the surrounding scenic areas influence tourists' choices and satisfaction. Facilities and service levels may vary in different scenic areas. The location of gers and the natural environment surrounding them are also points of interest for tourists. They prefer gers situated in beautiful settings, such as near grasslands, lakes, or mountains, to appreciate the natural landscapes and experience the tranquility of nature.
- **4) Added Value through Ethnic and Cultural Experiences:** Tourists want to experience the unique culture and ethnic characteristics of the Mongolian people. They seek opportunities to taste traditional Mongolian cuisine, enjoy ethnic singing and dancing performances, and participate in equestrian activities to enrich their travel experiences. Mongolian ger tourism is no longer limited to traditional accommodation and culinary

experiences but offers a more diverse range of activities. For example, activities such as grassland exploration, horseback riding, bonfire parties, and traditional handicraft workshops have been added, allowing tourists to have a comprehensive understanding and participation in Mongolian cultural life (interview, Barhu, 19/05/2022: Hulunbuir). Local ger operators stay updated on industry trends and tourist demands by visiting other tourist sites and participating in coordination meetings with travel agencies. They receive support and suggestions from cultural experts and the government (interview, Heishantou, 10/05/2022: Hulunbuir). Collaborating with local cultural centers, theater troupes, and tourism bureaus, they jointly plan and promote Mongolian ger projects, including organizing Mongolian weddings and stage performances. Ger operators also attend coordination meetings and cooperate with travel agencies to learn about tourism projects in other regions and introduce some of those projects to Hulunbuir (interview, Barhu, 19/05/2022: Hulunbuir).

Ger Interpretations in the Tourism

When designing and constructing Mongolian gers, businesses refer to the dimensions and heights of gers in other regions and combine them with the characteristics of local Mongolian ethnic tribes. The design and decoration draw inspiration from Mongolian history and patterns, such as cloud patterns, sun, moon, and other elements. The Barhu Tribe, which I interviewed, is one of the popular tourist attractions in Hulunbuir, Inner Mongolia. They have built hundreds of Mongolian gers, including regular brick and concrete yurts as well as special starry sky gers. These special ger have gradually evolved based on the demands of tourists.

"We have hundreds of gers, with the most common ones being made of bricks and concrete, with iron covers. After being rated as a 4A tourist attraction, we introduced starry sky gers. How did it come about? When we were designing, we saw container villas with glass roofs that allowed people to see the stars. At least when we built it, it was original. They are particularly popular, even more so than larger brick and concrete gers. The panels of the steel structure gers are made to look like traditional gers with felt and canvas, and you can't tell that they are made of steel. The steel structure is cost-effective, while brick and concrete yurts require cement. Why did we previously build brick and concrete ger? Because we didn't go out for inspections at that time. Later, we realized that we needed to have unique features and provide a comfortable living environment that is neither too hot nor too cold. We plan to convert our red-roofed gers into two-story gers to meet the higher requirements of southern guests who want to stay together as a family during their trip"(interview, Barhu, 19/05/2022: Hulunbuir).

The Barhu Tribe has both regular brick and concrete gers and special starry sky gers (see Figure 25). The inspiration for the starry sky gers came from observing the design of container villas, where the roof was replaced with glass, allowing guests to enjoy the view of the stars. These unique gers are highly popular, even more so than larger brick and concrete gers. The steel structure yurts have paneling that resembles traditional gers, with decoration using felt and canvas, effectively concealing the steel structure. Steel structures are cost-effective, while brick and concrete gers require cement. Previously, the decision to build brick and concrete yurts was made without conducting surveys in other areas. However, it was later realized that yurts needed to have distinctive features and provide a comfortable living environment that is neither too hot nor too cold. There are also plans to convert the red-roofed gers into two-story gers to meet the higher requirements of southern guests who prefer to stay together as a family during their trip.



FIGURE 24 SART- WATCHING GERS IN TOURSTIC SITE

In their efforts to expand and enhance the facilities of gers, businesses have aimed to make them comparable to hotel rooms. They recognize the need for modern gers to meet tourists' expectations of hygiene and comfort. Therefore, they have undertaken renovations to include amenities such as washbasins, toilets, hot water, private bathrooms, televisions, and Wi-Fi. The provision of these facilities is considered a necessary requirement for business development.

"Nowadays, gers should be renovated. Previously, there were no toilets inside, but now we can provide them. We have manufactured gers with these improvements. In the past, gers did not have two floors, but brick and concrete structures can be used for this purpose. While gers in pastoral areas may be suitable for local residents' accommodation needs, they may not meet the expectations of visitors from other regions. As times change, people's expectations for living conditions increase. The improvements to gers also include the installation of underfloor heating and kangs (heated beds), which are decorative elements

that were not present in the past. Additionally, gers are equipped with electrical appliances" (interview, Guinness, 14/06/2022: Xilingol).

"Modern gers need to meet the convenience requirements of washroom facilities. We strive to incorporate ethnic elements while also fulfilling hygiene needs. The demands in this regard are quite high; it is not acceptable to have outdoor toilets. Furthermore, design is crucial. We can select materials such as leather or wood and design products that cater to these needs" (interview, D, 04/05/2022: Hulunbuir).

"The West Suh gers have made good progress in developing residential tourism. The facilities are well-equipped, including bathrooms and other amenities. Their biggest issue is the cleanliness of bedding. This problem must be addressed, or else people will no longer choose to stay there. They collaborate with hotel chains to provide laundry services and enhance pest control and dust prevention measures, which are of particular concern to visitors from outside the region. The bedding at the nomad homes is very dirty, making it unsuitable for use" (interview, Ximeng, 28/06/2022: Xilingol).

"Tourists from other regions enjoy staying in gers for the experience. While hotels offer greater comfort, gers provide a unique experience. Guests sleep under blankets at night, and during the day, it can get hot for about two hours. We use pressure tanks and well water, just like at home. The pressure tanks supply water, and there are drainage pipes and septic tanks that require regular cleaning. We cannot provide year-round tourism as the average stay is around one and a half to two months, and there is no need for cooling or heating facilities" (interview, Herder, 15/06/2022: Xilingol).

In ger scenic areas, to expand their operations and increase visitor spending, some larger attractions construct massive gers capable of accommodating hundreds of people for dining. Some of these gers are designed with two stories and are predominantly made of brick and concrete or steel structures. They are typically used for large-scale group dining for tourists or hosting wedding banquets and other events.

These large-scale gers exhibit distinct differences from the gers used by nomadic herders. "Previously, the gers we lived in were not as large, luxurious, or adorned with as many decorations. It is the customers who have provided these improvement requests" (interview, Buryat,06/05/2022: Hulunbuir).

Interestingly, traditional decorations and furnishings, such as Mongolian ethnic furniture, are found inside their traditional gers. However, these gers are only used for museum purposes, showcasing Mongolian folk culture and other exhibits, rather than for accommodation and living (see Figure 26). The operators believe that foreign tourists are not accustomed to staying in these traditional gers, and that a comfortable experience is key to increasing satisfaction. Therefore, many large-scale tourist attractions feature relatively traditional wooden gers.



FIGURE 25 AN EXHIBITED GER

"We primarily use wooden gers, and some are entirely handmade. They require annual maintenance, including the replacement of the ger roof every other year. It is essential to have handmade gers as they are characteristic of the scenic area. We also have projects to demonstrate ger construction. There are small gers of sizes ranging from six meters to twelve meters" (interview, Golden, 16/05/2022: Hulunbuir).

"There are also many iron gers in tourist spots, which primarily serve functional purposes. They may have round tables, at most. The guest room is not essential for receiving visitors, but it enhances the visual impact when people pass by the tourist spot. The visual effect plays a role even for those inexpensive gers. Visitors from outside the region also appreciate seeing traditional gers. There are usually two or three of them, and tourists are not oblivious" (interview, Ximeng, 28/06/2022: Xilingol).

However, despite these efforts, many interviewees expressed concerns about the commercialization and neglect of cultural representation in the tourist areas.

"There is a greater focus on pursuing luxury and grandeur, while cultural elements are scarce" (interview, Zh, 16/06/2022: Xilingol).

"Tourism and experiences will greatly evolve to resemble a hotel-like feeling. However, currently, gers may have an exterior appearance but lack substance on the inside" (interview, M, 20/05/2022: Hulunbuir).

A Representative Case of Touristic Ger

The Silver Hadag Palace Ger is a government-led iconic tourist attraction in the Hulunbuir region, representing innovative designs of Mongolian ger (see Figure 27). It was promoted as the world's largest five-unit ger and a five-star palace-style ger (interview, D, 04/05/2022: Hulunbuir). It incorporates Mongolian elements but resembles a brick-and-concrete structure. The project is located on the public grassland of Chen Barag Banner near the Hailar River and the Imn River, covering an area of 25 square kilometers. The initial purpose of building the Silver Hadag Palace was to provide high-end reception, and it has hosted central leaders (interview, Baiyinhad, 04/04/2022: Hulunbuir). For the accommodation, dining, and entertainment needs of modern people, traditional individual gers are not suitable (interview, Dong, 13/04/2022: Hulunbuir). Therefore, improvements were made in terms of functionality. Additionally, the materials used for the gers were modified to cater to modern lifestyles.



FIGURE 26 SILVER HADAG PALACE GER

I conducted an in-depth interview with the chief designer to understand the concept behind the variations of the Mongolian ger. His philosophy is to transform the ger into a public building while preserving its cultural characteristics. He believes that although traditional gers are not suitable for modern production and lifestyle, their concept can be preserved and continued, especially the dome-shaped architectural form.

"The production method must be integrated into the global model based on inheritance. We cannot be self-centered like the Outer Mongolian style, which is backward and not suitable for light industry and industry. Handicrafts and cultural artifacts can only be displayed in museums and should not be used in people's production and daily life"(interview, Jiang, 01/05/2022: Hulunbuir).

"The dome-shaped structure of our ancestors is the most reasonable in terms of load-bearing. Inheritance must inherit the advantages and reject things that are not in line with the times. I only improved the materials to make them more suitable for modern lifestyles. What you see is only superficial. If I change the materials, it may not be considered a Mongolian ger anymore. Indeed, it is not, but the scientific and rational aspects of it have inherited its advantages. Everything goes through negation and then development. Our ancestors' level of industrialization was not enough, but now that we have enough industrialization, we can change the materials. However, the overall load-bearing system and essence remain the same. This dome is used worldwide" (interview, Jiang, 01/05/2022: Hulunbuir).

The decision to construct the Silver Hadag ger as a five-unit ger was determined by functional considerations. The architect considered the needs of the building and determined the facilities that a five-star hotel should have. The architecture was integrated with the surrounding tourist attractions and grassland environment. The scale and number of beds were calculated based on the requirements, taking into account the scarcity of land in urban areas. The design adopted a small depth, north-south ventilation to achieve natural ventilation.

"Group construction, like a courtyard, or elongation for larger scales. These factors determine why I chose a single structure instead of a group. The flow of people and logistics are better organized in a single structure, and Mongolian dining culture is not suitable for group construction. By combining Western, Mongolian, and Chinese cuisine in one building, we can better organize the scientific and reasonable aspects inside, which is beneficial for operational efficiency. If I had chosen group construction, it would not have been harmonious with the environment and would have appeared chaotic. It is one building" (interview, Jiang, 01/05/2022: Hulunbuir).

Regarding possible improvements, the chief designer mentioned the use of steel and concrete structures to improve construction efficiency. In terms of material selection, he emphasized the importance of regional and ethnic architecture, advocating the use of locally sourced materials. Wood structures were chosen as they are considered characteristic materials of Hulunbuir, and red bricks were used as exterior decorations. Overall, the chief designer focuses on the

functionality and rationality of the ger as a public building. He aims to preserve and develop the ger's load-bearing system and architectural culture.

During the interviews regarding the Silver Hadag project, it was evident that opinions on the matter varied among individuals. A representative from a Mongolian ger manufacturer acknowledged the boldness and innovation of using steel structures for the Khagan Palace ger, stating, "The Khagan Palace ger is impressive, with its steel structure. It's complex, beyond what we could imagine" (interview, Buren, 18/04/2022: Hulunbuir). From the perspective of the builders, this kind of improvement was seen as a necessary measure to enhance the quality of reception. However, it also required a higher level of expertise for maintenance. Meanwhile, representatives from the Tourism Investment Company emphasized their pursuit of grandeur and splendor in the Mongolian ger. They appreciated the beauty of the wooden structures and design elements for heating within the ger. They aimed to define the ger as a spiritual pasture and enhance the experience by creating the world's largest five-unit ger and offering diverse experiential activities, rather than being overly concerned with adhering to tradition (interview, D,04/05/2022: Hulunbuir).

Nevertheless, there were also individuals who held skeptical views. A forestry and grassland official believed that large-scale gers like the Silver Hadag had lost their connection to Mongolian culture and considered them to have been modified and deviated from their original essence. A manager expressed the opinion that tourists were more inclined to experience traditional gers rather than seeking high-end reception in large-scale structures. Other tourism operators expressed concerns about the disruption of feng shui in the design of the Silver Hadag, suggesting that the promotional effect of the entire structure was not as impactful as before, and they hoped to attract visitors through elements with greater cultural significance.

In summary, there is a divergence of opinions among different individuals regarding large-scale gers. Some consider the improvements necessary to meet modern demands and enhance guest experiences, while others feel that these large-scale gers have lost their connection to traditional Mongolian culture, raising doubts about their feng shui and cultural value.

4.2 Ger Under Political Governance in Contemporary Inner Mongolia

4.2.0 Introduction

This section sheds light on the pivotal grassland and cultural governance policies in contemporary Inner Mongolia that significantly influences ger dwellers' rights and ways of life.

These policies play a crucial role in shaping the conditions under which they reside and determine their forms of existence. While the impacts of these policies have been primarily observed in my research conducted in Hulunbuir, their reach extends to other research fields as well (e.g., Chifeng, Xilingol). This section will use the analysis of my interview data involving 21 people from the region, to provide an in-depth analysis of the current policy changes within the backdrop of Inner Mongolia, covering key aspects such as the implementation of the 1984 grassland allocation policy, environmental regulations, business governance, and the emergence of unified national discourses. But before presenting my analyses, I will offer a short political history of the region, which provides context for those analysis. While these contents are all collected through the information of the interviews. Most of these interviewees are officials in charge of government agencies in various regions. These interviewees were primarily accessed through personal connections and were the easiest to find and contact upon arrival in the area. Most of them provide information based on their past management experience and their perception of dealing with present challenges, collectively forming the current landscape of ger management.

4.2.1 Policies Background

The grassland allocation policy implemented in 1984 aimed to effectively manage and allocate agricultural land resources. This policy, driven by the perspective of agricultural cultivation, aimed to mobilize productivity and stimulate individual labor enthusiasm. The primary objective of grassland allocation was to enhance resource utilization efficiency while avoiding wastage and complacency. However, as detailed in Chapter 1.2's background, this 1984 policy had an impact on traditional nomadic practices, and its implementation also yielded a series of consequences. Firstly, the grassland allocation restricted the traditional nomadic way of life, significantly impacting the livelihoods of herders. Secondly, the installation of fences gradually reduced the prevalence of traditional Mongolian gers as a living form, being replaced by more permanent brick houses. Additionally, the construction of fences sparked controversies regarding enclosed spaces and communities. Despite the policy's original intention of effectively managing grassland resources, it faced various challenges and controversies during implementation.

The implementation of the grassland allocation policy witnessed a series of chronological events. Starting in 1984 and lasting until 2025, the policy aimed to maintain stability for thirty years, with a revision planned after twenty-five years. From 1984 to 1997, grassland allocation primarily occurred at the collective level, without individual household divisions. However, in terms of its political implementation, the Hulunbuir region only began dividing grasslands at

the household level in 1997, leading to further changes in the lives and livelihoods of herders. The use of wire fences restricted herders' nomadic way of life, limiting their ability to freely graze on the grasslands (Interview, Dong, 13/04/2022: Hulunbuir)²³. With the construction of fences, the traditional gers gradually decreased, and herders increasingly chose settled residences, such as brick houses. These changes directly weakened traditional nomadic culture and lifestyles, while also sparking debates about fence installations and enclosed spaces.

Over time, the grassland management policy underwent adjustments and changes. In 2002, the Chinese government implemented the "Retirement of Grazing and Rehabilitation of Grasslands" plan (Gov. 2003), aiming to promote grassland ecological restoration and protection. Additionally, the national policy promoted cooperative operation models to support herders in collective management. However, despite some successful cooperative societies, overall success cases remained limited, with many cooperatives facing challenges related to poor management and insufficient profitability (Interview, Dong, 13/04/2022: Hulunbuir). Furthermore, grassland allocation led to the widespread use of wire fences, making traditional nomadic practices unfeasible. However, recent policies, such as the 2021 "Further Regulation on Grassland Fence Construction" in the autonomous region, emphasize the dismantling of nonfunctional fences and support the construction of necessary fences. These policies aim to balance grassland protection and resource utilization, promoting grassland ecological restoration (Interview, M, 20/05/2022: Hulunbuir) ²⁴. Despite the practical difficulties in grassland management, grassland allocation and fence usage will continue to be implemented to adapt to evolving environmental and societal demands.

While the grassland allocation policy stimulated individual labor enthusiasm, improved living conditions have led herders to prefer settled brick houses. However, the government is actively exploring new nomadic practices within a fixed grazing economy. For instance, the emergence of cooperative ger-based management provides herders with a nomadic alternative. In MangLai Gacha (a nomadic village) in the West Banner, over 90 herder households engage in joint livestock management, expanding the scope of grassland allocation from small-scale to large-scale. Nonetheless, the effectiveness of these initiatives has been mixed. Furthermore, the central government's land transfer policy promotes the expansion of grassland allocation from small to large areas, enabling mechanized production (Interview M, 20/05/2022: Hulunbuir). Nevertheless, due to the challenges inherent in grassland management and the lack of effective

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²³ Dong is an officer of Grassland Management in Hulunbuir.

 $^{^{24}}$ M is a former officer of Grassland Management. As I know her through family connections, she offered sufficient information with insider's perspectives.

alternatives, the practice of using wire fences to allocate and graze on grasslands will continue beyond 2025, persisting for another 30 years. Consequently, under the influence of this policy, the widespread use of Mongolian gers gradually diminishes in real-life situations, no longer serving as a necessity in herders' lives but rather as a resting place, coexisting with the emergence of alternative forms such as mobile homes.

In this study of the usage and heritage transformation of gers, a series of interviews revealed the importance of land use rights and building permits. According to a representative of the environmental protection agency (interview, Bao, 20/05/2022: Hulunbuir), grasslands, including pastures, are state-owned, but people have usage rights rather than occupancy rights. Both farmers and herders can lease state land, which is now in its third round of leasing. The leased land is primarily used as family pastures or ranches, and some are also rented out, if they have the legal land and forest procedures. If it's within a nature reserve, leasing is not possible. Anyone wanting to use these lands must first handle relevant forestry and land procedures.

Regarding the construction of Mongolian gers, as stated by a representative of the forestry and grassland department (interview, Dong, 13/04/2022: Hulunbuir), they can be divided into permanent and temporary, each with its own specific regulations and conditions. The construction of gers on the grasslands, whether for tourism, personal use by herders, or cultural heritage protection and display, must go through the audit and approval of the Department of natural resources. Temporary structures, such as gers for tourist purposes, are usually approved for use for two years, after which the vegetation must be restored. Permanent structures can occupy for up to forty to fifty years. For personally used gers and small-scale summer camps, as stated by a representative of the grassland department (interview, Landqi, the Blue Banner: 05/06/2022), they generally do not need to be declared, but if it involves 5-10 gers used for tourism operations, then approval is needed. Overall, the construction and use of gers are strictly regulated by laws and policies, aimed at protecting the valuable natural grassland and forest resources.

However, on the grasslands, fixed cement gers are a common sight, a lingering issue from lax policy management in the early 1990s during the construction of the tourist economy. With fixed grazing, gers no longer partake in nomadic movements, their form tending more towards that of brick-and-tile houses. People deem the cement-fixed gers as more durable and wind-resistant, and their distinctive Mongolian features attract outsiders. Another prevalent phenomenon is that ger tourism business owners consider these fixed cement gers as houses, thus assuming them to be fixed assets, while traditional movable felt gers do not fall under this

category. The application and value of cement gers and felt gers can be seen from the following interview with a tourism business owner:

"As business owners, we value land and real estate; fixed assets are solid investments. No matter how good a felt ger is, it is not a fixed asset. We build on existing foundations, but now it's particularly difficult to apply for land. The regulations are very strict. The value of fixed assets lies in the land, which was bought for 50 cents per square meter. We need to behave well now, and it would be exceptionally good if we could get it for 400 Yuan. The road is 400 to the north and 800 to the south. The ger houses we built have property certificates, transfer packages, which are different. At normal times, when you want to go public, felt gers can't make it, how much property is worth how much money. When it is sold formally, it's the same, we have a property certificate, property right certificate, and only brick ones have property right certificates. A commercial property could reach ten thousand Yuan per square meter." (Interview, Bayn, 02/05/2022: Hulunbuir)

Overall, Mongolian gers gradually lost their original mobility function, and a fixed form of development emerged under such a historical context. However, policies continue to adjust and change in response to sociocultural governance issues, during which many ger practitioners and new measures have evolved to adapt to these changes. The following is an analysis based on detailed descriptions of the study's interview subjects during the research process. Policy lag has caused many contradictions, directly affecting the changes and continuity of the Mongolian gers.

4.2.2 The Changing Policy of Grassland Governance

It is necessary here to provide a brief introduction to the backdrop of China's transition in environmental governance. The Chinese government's emphasis on environmental issues began with the United Nations Conference on the Human Environment in 1972 (United Nations 2023), which highlighted the global importance of protecting and improving the human environment. This issue was further emphasized at the beginning of the 21st century, particularly after 2005 when Chinese President Xi Jinping first proposed the concept of "Lucid waters and lush mountains are invaluable assets" (Gov. 2021) during his inspection tour in Jiangxi, underlining the need for ecological priority and green development, discarding the notion that GDP growth is the absolute principle.

In the subsequent years, President Xi's concept has been widely promoted and implemented across the country. In 2016, at the National Ecological and Environmental Protection

Conference, Xi re-emphasized this idea and pointed out the need to promote harmonious coexistence between man and nature in a new modern construction pattern (State Council 2023a). The same year, the Chinese government launched the 13th Five-Year Plan for Environmental Protection (2016-2020), outlining a series of environmental protection goals and tasks, including the prevention and control of air, water, and soil pollution, ecological protection and restoration, and environmental risk control (State Council 2023b).

As for Inner Mongolia, the region began implementing grassland protection policies in the 2000s, including a grazing ban policy to reduce the overuse and degradation of grassland. It later specified measures for the protection and restoration of grassland ecology and requiring specific implementation plans at the local level. However, according to feedback from recent research, the most significant adjustment impacting environmental problem governance in recent years would be post-2018. In 2018, the Ministry of Environmental Protection of China conducted a nationwide central environmental protection inspection, which included a comprehensive review of each province and region, including Inner Mongolia, revealing some significant environmental issues and requiring rectification in areas with existing problems.

In the pastoral culture of China, the process where herdsmen build their residences on their own pastures, known as "Zhai Ji Di (宅基地)", including the construction of permanent Mongolian Ger in tourist areas, has been fraught with numerous challenges and issues within the scope of China's environmental policy and management. Essentially, this phenomenon is reflective of the legislative gaps and practical difficulties faced in grassland management.

The Grassland Law was promulgated in China in 2003, however, it has been inadequately enforced. The law explicitly mandates a process for grassland use, but actual management lags behind. The main issue stems from the insufficient resources and manpower in the grassland management department; a mere four individuals are tasked with managing vast expanses of grassland across the nation. Additionally, the land department has not taken grassland management as a main duty, bypassing the grassland procedure altogether, leading to extensive conversion of grasslands for non-pasture purposes. As elucidated by two officers of grassland management:

"The management of grasslands was subpar, primarily because there was not enough importance placed on it. In 2019, there were only four people managing the vast grasslands in the country, under the Department of Pasture in the Ministry of Agriculture. The grasslands were managed as part of livestock production, without consideration for ecological functions.

It was only in 2018 that the management was transferred to the National Forestry and Grassland Administration, treating it with the same importance for its ecological function as forestry." (Interview M, 20/05/2022: Hulunbuir)

"Since the founding of the country, there was a Ministry of Forestry, but no corresponding entity for grasslands. Only a few individuals were managing the nation's grasslands, and historically, we were given a low status; we were at a primary level." (interview, Landqi, the Blue Banner: 05/06/2022)

However, around 2018 or 2019, the situation began to shift. With the intervention of environmental inspections, grassland management began to receive heightened attention. The nationwide institutional reform in 2019 also redefined some roles in grassland management. For cases of conversion of grassland for non-pasture purposes without the necessary permissions, penalties were implemented, followed by the need to apply for the relevant permissions or the offending structures would be demolished. This policy extends to not only the residences of herdsmen but also to activities such as those in scenic spots that require grassland use procedures. As for Zhao, an operator of tourist sites, in terms of his experience, the procedures for handling paperwork in the past were chaotic and later became strict. However, some of these procedures were never completed due to conflicting policy changes:

"At that time, almost no formalities were in place, except for the travel arrangements. However, there was no land permit because you need to occupy the land. In the past, why did they apply for temporary structures instead of destroying the grassland? So later, due to the fear of destruction, they didn't go through the procedures because they couldn't get them approved. If you want to build a house, you need to go through the process of land acquisition (land, grassland, forest). You also must pay for vegetation restoration because you are damaging the grassland. You need to go to the Land Bureau to apply for commercial land, change the land use, and then you can build permanent structures." (Interview, Zhao, 16/05/2022: Hulunbuir)

Despite this, there is a thorny issue in the process, that is, many physically constructed buildings have become a fait accompli, leaving the government departments with only corrective measures. For instance, the "Notice of the Office of the People's Government of the Inner Mongolia Autonomous Region Forwarding the Opinions on the Rectification of Grassland Occupancy Projects without Fulfilling Review and Approval Procedures of the Agricultural and Pastoral Department of the Autonomous Region" (The Ministry of Ecology and

Environment of the People's Republic of China 2017). In reality, this document is in conflict with the law as it mandates the restoration of vegetation, theoretically implying the demolition of structures, but due to considerations such as waste of resources, fines are often the chosen recourse (Interview M, 20/05/2022: Hulunbuir). Therefore, this document was not made public but has been widely used to rectify cases of unauthorized grassland occupation (Interviewe, D,16/06/2022: Xilingol)²⁵. This situation once again highlights the legislative and practical challenges of grassland management in China. Overall, grassland management in China faces both legislative and practical challenges and needs further enhancement of management and reform of the system to protect the grassland ecosystem while satisfying the needs of socio-economic development.

4.2.3 The Influence of Environmental Governance

In the context of environmental governance in China, the General Secretary has put forward the guiding principle of prioritizing ecological conservation and promoting green development. As one tourism investor stated, "Present Xi has consistently emphasized that green mountains and clear waters are as valuable as mountains of gold and silver" (interview, D, 04/05/2022: Hulunbuir). However, an official of tourism management expressed their frustration, saying, "In reality, we are holding a golden rice bowl and yet begging for food. We cannot resolve the contradiction between ecological conservation and development" (interview, D,12/05/2022: Hulunbuir)

With the strengthening of environmental policies, in 2017, investigations were launched into illegal constructions dating back to 2014 and 2015, including unreported structures. The government began subsidizing grassland protection, encouraging the concentration of residential areas on the grasslands to facilitate the centralized construction of environmental facilities for wastewater and coal ash treatment. However, this posed challenges for the tourism industry. On one hand, they needed to develop extensive infrastructure, but the vast expanse of the grasslands and the establishment of ecological conservation red lines maoeant that commercial activities and production had to cease (interview, Bao, 20/05/2022: Hulunbuir)²⁶.

Starting in 2018, environmental policies became even stricter, leading to the dismantling of buildings that did not meet environmental standards. However, due to inadequate laws and regulations in the past, some buildings had legally obtained usage rights, but their compliance with environmental requirements needed to be redefined (interview, Lincao, 15/05/2022:

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²⁵ D is an officer of Natural Resources Management Bureau in Xilingol.

²⁶ Bao is a former Environmental Officer in Hulunbuir, who is also a family contact.

Hulunbuir)²⁷. This created issues of demolition and compensation for some herders and tourist sites. The environmental official pointed out, "Many businesses were not aware of the need for land requisition and occupation on the grasslands. It was only when environmental protection measures were implemented that they had to comply" (interview, Bao, 20/05/2022: Hulunbuir). The central environmental inspection team has also had an impact, as indicated by the grassland official, who stated, "The second round of environmental inspections focused on protected areas. Although we are an autonomous region, decisions made by the central environmental inspection team take precedence over our local authority. It has affected our income. If we fail to rectify issues, we must bear the costs of vegetation restoration" (interview, Lincao, 15/05/2022: Hulunbuir). Thus, environmental issues have become a crucial factor that overrides other policies, and national decisions completely surpass local development policies, resulting in numerous inconsistencies and contradictions.

In addition, it should be noted that environmental requirements have always existed; the issue lies in the fluctuating stringency of policies. The interviewees provided specific examples, such as the policy prohibiting tourism development in wetlands, which did not exist previously. Negotiations between the forestry and wetland departments and the government resulted in compensation and relocation of affected individuals (interview, D, 16/06/2022: Xilingol)²⁸. Some operators of grassland tourism sites also mentioned the process of change, reflecting how local governments turned a blind eye to strict enforcement of environmental policies in order to promote local economic development, leading to the subsequent contradictions and significant impact on the operators' usage rights.

"The government informs us of what needs to be done, and we comply. However, when environmental protection measures were introduced, we had no land transfer agreements. It's like constructing a building without proper land allocation. After we bought the land, they simply told us to demolish it. How many businesses were demolished during that time!" (Interview, Hong, 16/05/2022: Hulunbuir)²⁹.

It is evident that in current grassland governance, environmental requirements have become a significant factor above other policy. However, the policy changes in China's environmental governance have brought about many contradictions and challenges for tourism operators in Inner Mongolia. The strengthened environmental policies no longer tolerate non-compliance,

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²⁷ Lincao is another Officer of Grassland Manangement.

²⁸ D is an officer of Natural Resources Management Bureau in Xilingol.

²⁹ Hong is a touristic broker in Hulunbuir.

leading to the necessity of demolition and compensation. Throughout this process, particular attention is paid to the legality of land usage rights and construction procedures.

The Influence on Ger

The evolution of the Mongolian ger intertwines closely with the impact of environmental policies. The traditional ger design aimed to serve the nomadic lifestyle, which allows for easy migration with minimal impact on the grassland ecology. However, as a designer from Xilingol points out, "the cement ger, a product of a specific period, resulted in less effective control over land resources. Yet, it is durable, cost-effective and convenient to construct, which makes it popular despite its adverse environmental impact" (interview, Liu, 10/06/2022: Xilinhot). Although the cement ger led to considerable environmental degradation, its convenience facilitated its widespread use in tourism.

In response to the environmental challenge, the state introduced a series of environmental policies intended to transform the construction and usage habits of gers. The official from the Natural Resources Bureau explained that "the current regulations prohibit the construction of gers with cement bases. This would be considered as destruction to the grassland. We are now advocating for temporary land use. Absolute pressure on grass by gers is forbidden. Gers made from cement are prohibited, and we are also required to sign a grassland restoration agreement" (interview, D, 16/06/2022: Xilingol). These policies promoted novel architectural forms, such as floating gers, to protect grasslands while maintaining the mobility of gers.

However, implementing these policies has encountered challenges. As the designer in Xilinhot states, "with these policies, the cost of building and moving gers increased. The thermal and airtight performance of wooden gers is poor, making them unsuitable for migration. This is particularly the case with cement bases" (interview, Liu, 10/06/2022: Xilinhot). Although these changes are beneficial for the environment, there are still issues regarding cost and performance.

Despite these challenges, new ger construction and transformation forms are essential for the sustainable utilization and protection of grasslands. This includes floating ger designs, as mentioned by a staff member from a tourism spot, "we plan to build a floating city under gers. Ger is placed above, completely floating and not damaging the grass at all. If needed, it can be moved with ropes. In 15 years, we aim to construct movable gers" (Interview, Barhu, 19/05/2022: Hulunbuir). This design minimizes damage to the grassland environment while also accommodating the nomadic lifestyle.

In this process, finding a balance between environmental requirements and human needs is crucial. An environmental official posits, "We advocate for an environmentally friendly approach that ensures harmonious coexistence between humans and nature. This is our goal in promoting the development of ger construction and transformation: to protect and restore the grassland ecology while meeting people's living needs" (interview, B, 20/05/2022: Hulunbuir). The official also noted that the modern fixed ger goes against this principle, in stark contrast to traditional nomadic life, which preserved and sustained the environment (interview, B, 20/05/2022: Hulunbuir). Therefore, ger originally designed to accommodate the nomadic lifestyle, has been ironically limited by fencing regulations, hindering its primary function. However, state environmental policies have reshaped the 'nomadic' concept and encouraged the development of new forms of mobile and non-fixed gers.

4.2.4 The Contradicted Individual Business 'the Herder's Homes

Since 2018, with the deepening implementation of environmental policies, there have been profound transformations in land use and tourist attractions across Inner Mongolia. Particularly noteworthy is the operation of individual Mongolian ethnic tourism, commonly referred to as ger-style "Herder's homes (牧民之家)". These homes encompass small-scale nomadic-style tourism activities conducted by herders or other individual operators in sub-contracted grazing areas on the grasslands. The activities include accommodations in traditional Mongolian gers, as well as horseback riding and other experiences. During the operational process, in order to attract tourists, the gers have become ubiquitous on the grasslands, serving as a prominent display and utilization of the traditional Mongolian dwelling.

Contradictions with Environmental Governance

Around 2010, local governments encouraged the establishment of herders' homes as part of their efforts to stimulate economic development and alleviate poverty. However, the procedural aspects of this initiative existed in a gray area. Over time, as environmental governance intensified, the government began to regulate and gradually phase out the existence of herders' homes. This period witnessed numerous conflicts arising from operational and procedural discrepancies, resulting in the dismantling of many gers and exerting an impact on the continuity and evolution of the ger culture. Consequently, herders' homes represent a compelling case study, exemplifying the challenges faced by the preservation and evolution of gers under the contemporary landscape of policy governance, entwined with diverse practices and perspectives of various stakeholders. This research specifically investigates the circumstances surrounding herders' homes along the banks of the Morgul River in Hulunbuir

and the surrounding areas of the Blue Banner in Xilingol League, elucidating both commonalities and regional variations.

Around 2005, national policies began encouraging herders to attract investment and foster the development of ecotourism, with the objective of augmenting local revenue through tourism activities. The environmental officer regarded this as a "poverty alleviation encouragement" measure implemented by the government, supplemented by certain funding incentives (interview, Bao, 20/05/2022: Hulunbuir). This policy incentivized herders with access to grazing lands to establish their own tourism facilities, thereby increasing their income. Particularly, in the 2010s, numerous individuals began investing in this sector and established family-run ger tourism projects.

Nonetheless, challenges emerged during the policy implementation process. The procedural aspects proved to be complex and at times unclear, encompassing requirements such as grassland use certificates, tourism reception permits, water extraction permits, restaurant licenses, and environmental compliance records.

"At the time, there was no distinction made between temporary and permanent structures. However, permanent structures could not be approved. The situation was somewhat perplexing, so we built gers that could generate income for herders." (Interview, Bao, 20/05/2022: Hulunbuir)

"Both tourism and environmental protection were not implemented in accordance with the prevailing policies. Initially, there were no specific policies in place, and the government did not invest in any hotels or undertake associated projects. It was the private sector that took the initiative, driven by the encouragement provided at that time." (Interview, Noname, 08/04/2022: Hulunbuir)

Difficulties in navigating the procedural requirements led many individuals to abandon their endeavors, while those with connections were able to successfully comply with the regulations and operate their businesses. Local governments, driven by their commitment to fostering economic growth, actively supported and encouraged such entrepreneurial practices.

"During the implementation of the designated national policies, there was a sense of blind implementation, and local governments were irresponsible in their execution. In our case, which involves animal husbandry and tourism, the intention was to increase local income through tourism. However, many people were unable to continue their operations if they

strictly adhered to the requirements. It was easy to continue operating by bundling and reapplying for procedures, with the help of connections and understanding of the social relationships and policies." (Interview, Nang, 19/05/2022: Hulunbuir)³⁰

From the above statements, it is evident that the encouragement policy for herders' homes was hastily implemented without proper standardization, leading to spontaneous and ill-defined measures. Coupled with the absence of proper management procedures, numerous subsequent issues arose, resulting in public complaints towards the government.

As mentioned earlier, environmental policies became increasingly stringent starting in 2016, with significant shifts in national policies occurring in 2018. Subsequently, central environmental inspections scrutinized and controlled the operations and procedures of herders' homes. The policy emphasized environmental protection and conservation, requiring all operations to comply with new environmental standards. This resulted in many existing tourism facilities failing to meet the requirements. Numerous individuals were forced to cease their operations due to incomplete procedures or failure to meet environmental standards. In a specific county of Hulunbuir, nearly 300 herders' homes were demolished, leaving only around 70. Boss Zhao described the situation:

"Most of them lacked the necessary procedures, which couldn't be rectified. To obtain the procedures, one would have to reapply for land approval. In most cases, the procedures were incomplete. They were encouraged, but the procedures were not granted. Once the policies changed, they were kicked out again." (Interview, Zhao, 16/05/2022: Hulunbuir) 31

Throughout this process, many people expressed their dissatisfaction with the government's contradictory governance policies regarding herders' homes. At the national level, environmental regulations were introduced, but at the local level, the government yielded to national governance. On the one hand, the early policies encouraged herders to establish familyrun tourism facilities. However, as environmental policies were strictly enforced, many herders discovered that their investments did not yield the expected returns. This was due, in part, to the lack of clear policy explanations from local governments, resulting in many herders not considering the potential risks when making their investments. On the other hand, some herders, despite possessing business permits and other relevant procedures, were unable to sustain their

concerning herders' homes, which he finds significant for research.

³⁰ Nang, an official of Grassland Management in Hulunbuir, led me to discover the issues

³¹ Boss Zhao, a prominent broker of herders' homes in Hulunbuir, saw his business affected by policy changes.

operations under the pressure of environmental policies. For example, a business owner, was forced to switch to running a restaurant because she could not renew her grassland use certificate: "Without complete procedures, it was impossible to renew them." (Interview, Buryat,06/05/2022: Hulunbuir). Similarly, the owner of Zhao explained:

"At that time, economic development took priority, and environmental considerations were overlooked. In recent years, major cases of ecological destruction have been cracked down upon. The initial intention was to promote economic development and pastoral tourism, with many things being implemented before official approval and procedures being rectified later. However, many officials didn't know how to handle these procedures. They invested in it but couldn't obtain the necessary approvals. In my case, it was due to a lack of land certification, and the government suspended my operations. If they demolished it, it would be considered a violation. But I wasn't " (Interview, Zhao, 16/05/2022: Hulunbuir).

As a result, when the government stopped issuing land certificates, the previously obtained procedures of these businesses could not be completed.

Apart from the strict environmental inspections and controls on herders' homes, another significant factor affecting the region of Hulunbuir is the special phenomenon of government acquisition and rectification of tourism sites. The Morgul River scenic area is a well-known tourist destination in Hulunbuir due to its beautiful grasslands and river landscapes. It was once a popular site for herders' homes. However, in order to develop it into a 5A-grade scenic spot, the government imposed stricter standards on the operations. Activities that did not meet the requirements were prohibited, and only a few well-maintained operations were allowed to continue. Consequently, many tourism facilities were unable to meet the standards and were forced to close. According to statistics, the government dismantled the operations of over 70 herders' homes in the Morgul River area, leaving only 5 selected sites for unified operations (see Figure 28). It is worth noting that although many herders' homes attempted to rectify their procedures to continue their operations, the government intentionally delayed the remaining procedures to facilitate industrial upgrading. As a result, the local government started controlling the reentry of businesses into the scenic area, leading to numerous conflicts and tensions (Interview, Lincao, 15/05/2022: Hulunbuir).

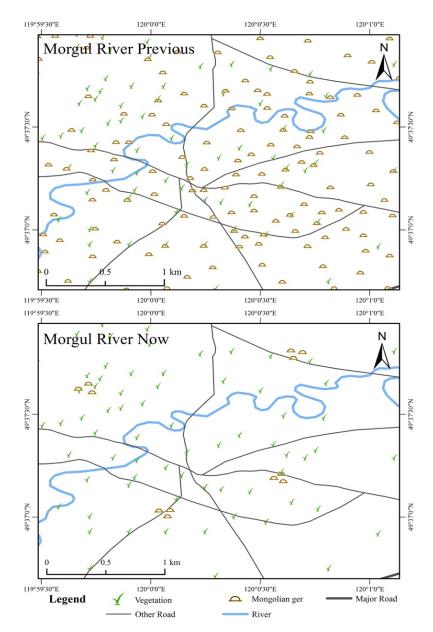


FIGURE 27 GERS IN MORGUL RIVER AREA BEFORE AND NOW

The investments and efforts of many herders did not yield the expected returns. Many businesses were forced to close due to the strict enforcement of environmental policies, with no compensation for the losses incurred during the closure. The government began full-scale acquisition of herders' homes.

"Initially, we completed all the negotiations and assessments. I was compensated for the surface structures, but there was no compensation for the business losses. The government prohibited operations in 2020, but they did not compensate for the losses incurred from not being able to operate. They simply didn't provide any compensation..." (Interview, Zhao, 16/05/2022: Hulunbuir)

"A reasonable compensation is usually 50% of the value. If there were no infrastructure projects, no compensation was given. Although I received full compensation, I believe the government only utilizes you when they need you and then kicks you out when they don't!" (Interview, Nan, 06/05/2022: Hulunbuir)³²

Contradictions with Static Historical Site

In the development of the herders' homes, conflicts have arisen between the planning of the historical heritage site protection zone and the operation of ger accommodations in the Blue Banner area of Xilingol, Inner Mongolia. This further highlights the conflict in cultural governance of Inner Mongolia. Notably, this event can be seen as a clash between the conservation of historical sited heritage and utilizations of living cultural heritage.

The region boasts the only World Cultural Heritage site in Inner Mongolia, the Xanadu Site. Located in the Xilingol League, it holds significant cultural and historical value as one of the former imperial capitals during the Mongol Empire. Situated in the Blue Banner area, the site covers a vast area, including a core zone, a first-class buffer zone, and a second-class buffer zone (UNESCO 2023b). Development and tourism activities within these zones are strictly prohibited according to conservation regulations. This policy was established after the site was recognized and listed as a World Heritage site in 2012, with the restrictions reaffirmed in 2017. The construction of herders' homes in the region began in 2016, and the government initially provided support and approval, even providing cement houses. However, the scope of the buffer zones has been extending since the 2012, which prohibited the tourism development in the Blue Banner. Interestingly, during the initial stages of herder's homes construction, the operators of these homes were unaware of the restrictions within the core and buffer zones of the heritage site (see Figure 29). This lack of symmetry in information and the absence of explicit policy guidance led to the erroneous site selection of herders' homes.

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³² Nan is another major broker of herders' homes.

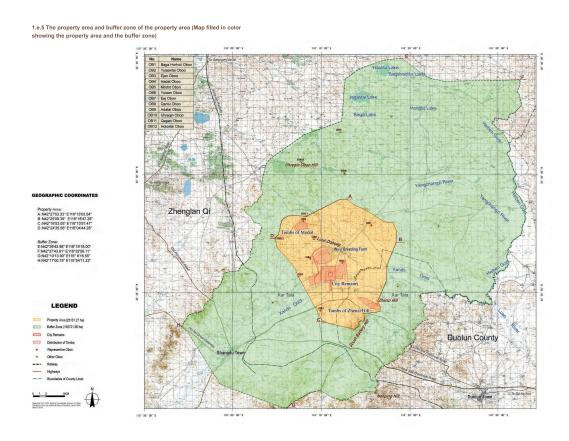


FIGURE 28 BUFFER ZONES IN XANADU SITE, XILINGOL (UNESCO 2019C)

"We are governed by a local policy. Since the application for the inclusion of the Xanadu Site on the World Heritage List in 2012, the designated area was expanded significantly, resulting in the restrictions we face. The area is vast, stretching from the eastern boundary to Duolun (多伦) (a county near the blue banner), encompassing the core zone, first-class buffer zone, and second-class buffer zone. Development and tourism activities are not allowed according to a document from 2012. However, we were not informed of these restrictions until 2017. Our construction began in 2016. Currently, the government is facing difficulties. We have obtained documentation for the construction in 2016, but there are no land acquisition permits. We have provisional construction permits. Currently, the government requires us to improve our land acquisition procedures. Additionally, the government is unable to assist us because our location falls within the core and buffer zones of the heritage site. During the construction, neither we nor the government were aware of these restrictions. We invested 5-6 million RMB. The homes have not been demolished, but we are not allowed to operate them" (interview, Herder, 15/06/2022: Xilingol)³³.

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 $^{^{\}scriptscriptstyle 33}$ Herder is a touristic site broker in the buffer zone of Xanadu Site.

Furthermore, land management for herders' homes in the Blue Banner area involves a special authority, the Xanadu Site Management Bureau (Blue Banner Office), which operates at the departmental level and reports directly to the Xilingol League. This authority is responsible for legitimate site selection and preliminary work. According to information, this authority has gradually become more standardized and effective. Under the authority's supervision, many small-scale herders' homes within the buffer zone have been demolished, while the larger ones in the vicinity of the Xanadu Site are yet to be demolished. Initially, there were over 300 homes, but currently, only 29 remain (interview, Herder, 15/06/2022: Xilingol). The demolition is primarily due to incomplete procedures since these small-scale herders' homes are situated on herders' own pastures and operate seasonally with only a few gers during the summer. It is understood that the herders are unwilling to bear the expenses for obtaining permits, and furthermore, operating permits for herders' homes are not allowed within the natural protection zone. Thus, their demolition is a consequence of incomplete procedures (interview, Lanqi, 15/06/2022: Xilingol)³⁴.

However, for the larger herders' homes that have obtained operating permits, they have never acquired legitimate land use permits. Although they have not been demolished, they are currently not permitted to operate. The incomplete land procedures are also part of the problem. Although the government provided approvals during the review process, conflicts arose between the requirements for land acquisition and heritage site management, resulting in the inability of herders' homes to complete the land acquisition procedures.

"As we all face land issues, we don't know what to do. During the initial stages, we did not have land use permits, only provisional construction permits. In 2017, we failed to obtain approval for our application due to the impact of cultural heritage. We also faced difficulties with the buffer zone. However, during the process, we were able to secure temporary grassland husbandry permits from the enforcement team of 11 departments in 2019. The temporary permits can be used for up to two years. Originally, cultural heritage was managed by the state, but now it is managed by the city as a World Cultural Heritage site" (interview, Wu, 21/06/2022: Xilingol)³⁵.

The temporary land permits pose significant challenges for larger herders' homes (consisting of several hundred gers) as it is difficult to relocate them after they are established according to the two-year requirement. Therefore, large-scale ger accommodations require the completion

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³⁴ Langi is an officer of grassland management in the Blue Banner, Xilingol.

³⁵ Wu is an officer of tourism management in the Blue Banner. His extensive grassroots experience enables him to understand the practical contradictions.

of permanent land acquisition procedures. However, during the initial stages, to boost the local economy, the government allowed a gray area for these procedures. It is understood that in February 2021, as part of the "Special Action for the Destruction of Grassland and Forest Land" (Autonomous Region), all land issues had to be fully rectified. In particular, those lacking reasonable and legitimate land use procedures within the protection zone of the Xanadu Site and the natural protection zone were automatically considered illegal land use (interview, Wu, 21/06/2022: Xilingol).

These events have had a series of impacts on herders' homes and the local community. The economic losses incurred by herders' homes have been significant. Several tourist sites have been demolished or renovated during the rectification process, resulting in substantial investment and losses for operators. Additionally, the lack of clear policies and improper coordination between the government and herders' homes have exacerbated conflicts. The interests of herders and tourism operators have not been adequately addressed, further intensifying social tensions and grievances.

"You're telling me that the locations of the buffer zones have been used for decades, even centuries, and only after it became the World Cultural Heritage site did, they say it's not allowed to use?" (Interview, Herder, 15/06/2022: Xilingol).

"It was claimed to be poverty alleviation, but one case involved two sons of a family who had graduated from university but couldn't find jobs. They started operating their own pastures for tourism, which gained popularity online. However, due to the pandemic, their income was affected, and when their father fell ill, they had no income. If their operation is demolished, they will become impoverished. We have been discussing and reporting these issues to higher authorities. Some matters have not been studied properly, and the contradictions are too great. The government should pay attention to the development of the Blue Banner, the herders, and the SMALL tourism sites. They have not taken care of these weak people" (interview, Wu, 21/06/2022: Xilingol).

In summary, conflicts arise between land management and the use of herders' homes in Hulunbuir and the Blue Banner region. Environmental governance and the planning of World Heritage site protection contribute to these conflicts. However, these conflicts pose challenges and threats to the autonomy of the local population in operating ger accommodations. Issues with policy implementation and information dissemination have limited the site selection and development of herders' homes. The operators of herders' homes face challenges in terms of

restricted operating scope and increased economic burdens. The emergence of widespread complaints and discontent among the public highlights the severity of these conflicts.

It is particularly important to emphasize that the control of herders' homes has imposed strict limitations on the use of gers. According to conservation policies, the construction and use of gers are subject to certain environmental requirements and are strictly prohibited within the buffer zone of the heritage site. This change not only undermines the traditional significance of gers in the operation of herders' homes but also has irreversible and far-reaching impacts on the use and dissemination of Mongolian traditional cultural elements.

The Adjustments of Ger in Herder's Homes

In contemporary Inner Mongolia, the governance of gers encompasses a variety of factors including their temporary or permanent nature, and their utilization for commercial or private purposes. Field surveys of nomadic dwellings have revealed that the use of gers has been subjected to regulatory controls and subsequent adjustments.

Expanding on the phenomena related to ger regulations, current environmental protection mandates have progressively intensified. As a result, gers situated near ecological preservation zones or rivers have been dismantled. The environmental official in Hulunbuir elaborated, "Gers that have been taken down were ones located too proximate to the rivers, such as along the Hulun Lake. Following the initiation of ecological preservation efforts, these gers, not being of the traditional variety and mostly purposed for hospitality, were all dismantled" (interview, Bao, 20/05/2022: Hulunbuir). However, for gers within unregulated areas, nomads' use of these structures is largely uncontrolled provided they are portable, which also extends to prefabricated steel caravans (interview, Xiqi, 07/05/2022: Hulunbuir)³⁶. This perspective is premised on the widespread belief that such movable structures are environmental-friendly adaptations of traditional forms (interview, Cui, 17/05/2022: Hulunbuir)³⁷. Furthermore, such transient structures are not categorized as fixed assets, thereby typically receiving lesser compensation than concrete gers under governmental compensation policies (interview, Herder, 15/06/2022: Xilingol). However, gers intended for hospitality services (more than 5), must comply with a series of protocols such as forestry procedures, land-related procedures, project proposals, source of water and environmental assessment, commercial registration, and tourism site registration, among others (interview, N, 09/06/2022: Xilingol)³⁸.

True is a professional of ICH institute.

³⁶ Xiqi is a nomad in Hulunbuir.

³⁸ N is an officer of grassland management in Xilingol.

In response to environmental regulations, an innovative form of ger has emerged, which is elevated above the ground (approximately 15 centimeters above the grassland) to minimize damage to the grassland. However, this type of ger is not a definitive concept formally proposed by the authorities, but a grassroots innovation devised to comply with policy requirements. Nonetheless, authorities retain the discretion to determine which designs could potentially harm the grassland, thus directly influencing the evolution of ger designs. For instance, a tourism official in Hulunbuir stated that concrete gers would be uniformly denied during the evaluation of star-rated tourism reception facilities. Construction practices deviating from traditional norms or those causing ecological damage are unacceptable. Material selection should also advance in line with contemporary requirements. Another environmental official echoed this sentiment, suggesting that fixed gers are perceived as structures detrimental to the grassland, warranting demolition and subsequent payment of ecological compensation by the operator:

"The ger is elevated, a notion not proposed by us. However, we initially considered that such an elevation would not cause pasture degradation. Erecting wooden panels, we believed, would not cause harm... The gers we currently construct are fixed, permanently occupied. Fixed structures are mandated for demolition. Hence, our rectification standards dictate that any permanent structures must be dismantled." (Interview, Bao, 20/05/2022: Hulunbuir)

However, when assessing compensation policies, the asset value of an elevated ger is considerably lower than a concrete ger. Once elevated, a ger is no longer deemed to occupy the actual land area.

"A 30-square-meter ger, if elevated, does not account for occupying 30 square meters. If it's not considered as occupying the grassland, then there is no need to pay compensation!" (Interview, Bao, 20/05/2022: Hulunbuir)

"There's one located in the core buffer zone, constructed right at the boundary, adjacent to a wetland. The concrete ger, not brick but concrete, was built later. It's permanent, akin to a house, complete with necessary procedures and land occupation. Eventually, 10 million was compensated for 6,000 mu of land, this piece of land is worth three hundred million. The total investment reached over 30 million, the total capital was about one hundred million." (Interview, Herder, 15/06/2022: Xilingol)

Concrete gers are tantamount to fixed buildings, while elevated gers, though not easily relocated, are viewed as temporary, modular constructions. However, during the renovation and construction process of the new gers, there are discrepancies between ideals and reality.

Although one ger factory manager said that there was little impact in their actual production, the biggest change was made to the base. However, real tourism operators stated that it is difficult to use gers only as temporary facilities in practical tourism use.

"Luxury gers all have floors. They need to be staked up to avoid damaging the grassland. The grassland is uneven, and any flattening means damage. Several routes mean occupation, requiring stakes, all built above the grassland - a huge inconvenience. If you want to construct according to requirements, it's certain that you can't build a systematic establishment. Look at the baths, toilets, and drainage - all these elements damage the grassland. Any disturbance of the turf means paperwork, and the procedures take a long time and are complicated." (Interview, Zhao, 16/05/2022: Hulunbuir)³⁹

"Later, the environmental conditions could not keep up, toilets, and environmental requirements could be pumped away, and such requirements could not be met. It was restricted because it could not meet the operating conditions. A large toilet used a stainless steel barrel, and then pumped it out. Theoretically, this requirement should be met, but it generally cannot be met. There was no compensation." (Interview, Dong, 13/04/2022: Hulunbuir)⁴⁰

Because gers in modern tourism serve as accommodations for outsiders, many modern facilities have been added to the grassland, such as toilets and sewers, air conditioning, etc. Under such conditions, it is very difficult for gers to be relocated at any time. Even if the elevation requirement is met, the placement of these modern facilities will also damage the grassland, making it difficult to achieve a win-win situation between tourism operations and environmental protection. This demonstrates that the official ecological definition of gers has added many challenges to the operators in practical applications. Fixed gers in the past have well-prepared ground, operators are reluctant to dismantle them as it wastes effort and incurs loss.

"I smoothed the ground, used bricks in the past, and later cemented the surface, then bricks. The platform is supported by logs underneath, and I spent over 200,000 on it!" (Interview, Zhao, 16/05/2022: Hulunbuir.

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³⁹ Zhao is a touristic broker in Hulunbuir.

⁴⁰ Dong is an officer of grassland management in Hulunbuir.

At the same time, the cost of base modification is high, which also causes economic losses to tourism operators. Not only are there demolition costs, but new gers must also be purchased and elevated treatments done. After two years, there will also be relocation costs.

"In 2016, all bases were modified to be 15 centimeters above the ground. A 5-meter ger costs 6-7 thousand to change the base, not to mention the labor costs for the iron frame and wooden floor! Many herders are hesitating about what to do." (Interview, Wu, 21/06/2022: Xilingol)

"The gers are movable, but the ground is also a cost. Demolishing a ger costs 5,000, hundreds of gers would cost how much? I spent 150,000 on labor costs for demolishing half of them. For viewing rooms, you have to use a crane, like a container. It costs money to change the foundation when you relocate." (Interview, Zhao, 16/05/2022: Hulunbuir)

"In 2018 it changed, 2018 was the rectification year, and we were told to scale down, and elevate the bases. Demolished once and made mistakes once. They used to be bricks, all the bricks were demolished, and iron frames were set up again. There were many losses at that time." (Interview, Herder, 15/06/2022: Xilingol)

Due to tightening policies, operators of herder's homes have had to adjust their gers repeatedly. First, demolish the non-compliant concrete gers, followed by elevation treatments for existing wooden gers. Each step is an investment. Meanwhile, under the restricted operating environment, coupled with the test of the COVID-19 epidemic, the operating environment is deteriorating daily, even ceasing operations. Herders are dissatisfied with the changes in policy and the uncertainty of rectifications, believing that the construction of tourist spots and ecological construction are contradictory and cannot be matched.

In conclusion, the management and construction of ger face challenges brought about by environmental requirements and policy restrictions. A balance must be found between protecting grassland ecology and promoting tourism development, but there may be gaps between ideals and reality in actual operations, and conflicts and contradictions may arise between officials and actual operators."

4.2.5 The State Unified Discourse and its Influence on the Ger

The concept of forging a national community refers to a series of policies and measures aimed at strengthening national unity, promoting ethnic exchange, and fostering shared prosperity. The protection and transmission of ethnic and cultural heritage play a pivotal role in the

formation and development of a national community. From the interview discourse, it becomes apparent that individuals occupying diverse roles such as designers, assessors of intangible cultural heritage, and cultural merchants all underscore the significance of national community consciousness. However, the emphasis on the concept of community inadvertently erodes the distinctiveness of ethnic and cultural elements. The bolstering of such discourse leads to the adoption of selective measures that exhibit bias during the practice of cultural heritage preservation and transmission. Consequently, this affects the way the Mongolian ger, as elements of Mongolian culture, are sustained and understood.

The introduction of the discourse on forging a national community is associated with two pivotal documents. The "Urgent Notice on Strengthening National Unity and Further Maintaining National Unity and Solidarity Struggle Concerning the Overall Situation" (Gov. 2019) was jointly issued by the Central Committee of the Communist Party of China and the State Council in 2014. This notice emphasizes the importance of strengthening national unity and presents specific requirements, such as enhancing ethnic interaction, promoting ethnic exchange, and advancing socioeconomic development among different ethnic groups. In September 2019, the "Opinions of the CPC Central Committee on Strengthening National Unity and Safeguarding National Unity and Stability in the New Situation" (Batel 2019) underscored the significance of strengthening national unity and put forth a series of policy measures and work requirements, including promoting ethnic exchange, protecting and inheriting ethnic cultural heritage, and more. However, it is worth noting that several interviewees have mentioned that such related management policy documents were circulated internally and not made publicly available. Thus, the existence and requirements of these documents can only be evaluated based on the statements of the interviewees.

Firstly, in the current cultural construction within Inner Mongolia, great importance is placed on fostering national community consciousness and eliminating disparities. For instance, a designer from Hulunbuir articulated that contemporary national cultural publications consistently emphasize the consciousness of cultivating the Chinese national identity while underscoring the significance of unity in diversity (Appendix 4.1). They believe that within the domestic context, it is necessary to emphasize five identifications in the pursuit of the cultural heritage enterprise, namely the identification with the Chinese nation, the Communist Party of China, socialism, the Chinese national identity, and ecological values. The nation employs heritage to consolidate its mission and foster national community consciousness, with particular emphasis on aligning with the new era, thereby mitigating the emphasis on national sentiment. According to the designer:

"The ger is a remnant from historical epochs. It ought to embody ecological values, facilitate ethnic exchange, and contribute to shared prosperity. Thus, in the sentiment of the older generation, it is preferable to minimize their prominence. In the new era, China utilizes its cultural heritage to solidify its mission and establish a national community." (Interview, X, 28/04/2022: Hulunbuir)

Similarly, an official from the Hulunbuir Cultural Tourism Bureau highlighted a significant ideological shift in the management of intangible cultural heritage. Formerly, cultural governance primarily addressed disparities, whereas presently, the focus has shifted to fortifying a community-oriented framework. While acknowledging the correctness of the central government's notion that culture should be open and inclusive, fostering a climate of diverse opinions and expressions, the official noted the propensity for local authorities to lean excessively towards either political left or right orientations during implementation. Consequently, striking a balance within the inheritance of ethnic heritage has become increasingly challenging (interview, No name, 17/07/2022: Hohhot) ⁴¹. Furthermore, a representative from the Construction Bureau mentioned that the current national policy discourages the exaggeration of minority cultures and other elements, emphasizing instead the unity of multiple ethnic groups and cautioning against overemphasizing singular cultural aspects within the broader scope of the Chinese nation (interview, No, 08/04/2022: Hulunbuir).

For example, a scholar and assessor of intangible cultural heritage pointed out that past evaluations of intangible cultural heritage exhibited some biases. The majority of assessors were Mongolians, and there was a tendency to prioritize Mongolian assessors whenever possible. However, they believed that such biases were problematic and advocated for evaluations based on qualifications and abilities rather than merely ethnic background. They also highlighted a shift in the past, where Mongolians were associated with furniture, polo, equestrianism, and so on, but now there has been a change, and the emphasis is no longer solely on Mongolian ethnicity but on the concept of Inner Mongolia (Interview, Zheng, 18/07/2022: Hohhot). This development reflects an evolving understanding of the issue, as the state's emphasis on intangible cultural heritage has transitioned from regional and ethnic characteristics to a more balanced national perspective. The heritage official also expressed that the present discourse even avoids emphasizing Inner Mongolia and instead adopts a perspective that emphasizes the fusion of ethnic minorities in the northern region (interview, No name, 17/07/2022: Hohhot). Among them, the cultural designer stated that for practitioners focused

⁴¹ Interviewee Noname is governmental professional of Intangible Cultural Heritage Institute, who provided key insider's perspectives and information.

on showcasing traditional gers and antique objects, the current limitations and challenges restrict their continuity (interview, X, 28/04/2022: Hulunbuir). However, for innovative and contemporary ger designs that possess features aligned with the times, the present moment presents a highly opportune time for development.

"The Mongolian ger, similar to the portrait of Genghis Khan, is considered a prohibited symbol."

In reality, the Mongolian ger, which serves as an emblem of the intangible cultural heritage of the Mongolian ethnic group in Inner Mongolia, has encountered certain restrictions and influences. An authoritative figure from the department responsible for safeguarding intangible cultural heritage in the core region of Inner Mongolia disclosed significant internal information to me. According to this source, the Mongolian ger has gradually assumed the status of a proscribed cultural symbol. Although it may still exist as an architectural manifestation on specific occasions, such as within guesthouses, it has regrettably relinquished its original symbolic connotations and authentic essence. Nonetheless, the mastery involved in constructing Mongolian gers has become a primary focal point in the preservation of intangible cultural heritage, accentuating its ingenious design and sophisticated production techniques.

This informant underscored that the Mongolian ger currently represents a pivotal cultural symbol of the Mongolian ethnic group, necessitating a meticulous adherence to political correctness in its interpretation across diverse cultural heritage contexts. However, the appropriate employment of this symbol has become enigmatic, leaving a dearth of consensual guidelines regarding its proper utilization. The informant in ICH institute remarked,

"As the ger embodies cultural symbolism, it previously stood as a representative depiction of elements such as pastoralists' abodes. It was an indispensable architectural presence, with various symbols and depictions associated with Khan commonly appearing. Regrettably, these symbols have now all been proscribed and are no longer permissible. Numerous exhibition halls, private museums, and equestrian culture museums have been compelled to remove these symbolic representations." (Interview, No name, 17/07/2022: Hohhot)

"Museums are compelled to rectify this situation, with the extent of rectification contingent upon guidance from higher authorities. Currently, we find ourselves in a stage of self-examination and reporting, awaiting leadership decisions. The prescribed rectification measures may entail removal or concealment. Thus, it falls upon local entities to act accordingly at the grassroots level." (Interview, No name, 17/07/2022: Hohhot)

The Political Temporality of the Mongolian Ger

However, for some Han Chinese practitioners of Mongolian culture, it is seen as a form of release and liberation, allowing them the freedom to express themselves without constraints. In their view, the excessive emphasis on Mongolian elements in the past has made the Mongolian cultural industry narrow and exclusive, granting the Mongolian ethnic group a dominant voice and raising concerns among others.

For instance, designer X, who is of Han Chinese ethnicity but involved in the development and utilization of Mongolian cultural creative products, mentioned facing criticism from Mongolian individuals due to his non-Mongolian identity, resulting in a loss of sovereignty in discourse. However, the current emphasis on the unity of the community and Chinese culture has enabled him to regain a sense of control over the interpretation of cultural heritage. He also emphasizes the importance of Han Chinese involvement in the development of Mongolian cultural heritage:

"When I was excluded, there was a leader who questioned why a Han Chinese person would study Mongolian culture. I think they were narrow-minded. True Mongolian herders are not like that. It's about mutual respect. I am Han Chinese, and it was only after studying these things that I deeply realized the fusion of cultures. Back then, I didn't dare to mention it; I could only talk about ethnic characteristics. But in reality, from the perspective of patterns and architectural structures, I deeply experienced this fusion. For example, these patterns already existed during the Zhou Dynasty's rituals. It's because Central Plains culture is so rich, and nomadic cultures also aspire to it. We always borrow and appreciate each other's culture, which gives a sense of preciousness. As we keep using them, we Han Chinese have lost them, thinking they belong only to the Mongols. In reality, they are integrated, especially in terms of patterns. As for the pigments and furniture decorations of the Mongolian ger, they imitate Han Chinese designs. Even the carpenters learn from Han Chinese. If you excessively emphasize a particular ethnic group, it will hinder development." (Interview, X, 28/04/2022: Hulunbuir)

A similar experience occurred with another Han Chinese Mongolian ger maker. Most of the Mongolian gers he produces now are non-traditional designs, such as square-shaped gers, mobile homes, and gers with iron frames. He believes that in order to tap into a broader market, it is essential to align with the discourse of the community, emphasizing the fusion and innovation of various ethnic cultures rather than solely focusing on Mongolian or Inner Mongolian identity. He believes that traditional inheritance and emphasis contradict the current political discourse in the country:

"So, any minority culture, including Mongolian culture, cannot stand alone. The reason I can adapt is that I don't contradict the country. You can't promote something that goes beyond the nation; you must first talk about Chinese culture! 'You just need to integrate it into Chinese culture. You can add elements from other ethnic groups or Han Chinese." (Interview, Han, 16/06/2022: Xilingol)

Another example is seen in the work of B, whose Mongolian ger production and utilization have acquired characteristics under the leadership of the Communist Party of China. The Mongolian ger, in this case, serves as a cultural product capable of fulfilling political tasks. B has achieved prosperity through Mongolian ger production and has his own techniques and factory. However, currently, the Mongolian gers he produces are mainly used for constructing party and community service training centers, focusing on educational purposes aligned with the party's principles. Previously, local governments also utilized his Mongolian gers as symbols of ethnic culture in various activities. Inside gers, there are exhibitions of ideological and educational materials, while outside gers, traditional Mongolian ger-making techniques are showcased, mainly for the visits of newly joined party members and children. Therefore, in his understanding, the Mongolian ger must incorporate political characteristics and can serve as a means and tool for political propaganda (Interview, Bayn, 18/05/2022: Hulunbuir).

"This place used to be an abandoned quarry, and the Propaganda Department attached importance to us and established a party branch. I became the branch secretary, seeing the significance of what I was doing, I went out to learn about the great cause. Now, one-third of our activities are related to studying, party building, and one-third is about Mongolian ger. I love this industry, and when I talk about these things, I am echoing the oral accounts of the elderly.

I got to know the government through Mongolian ger. I accepted the political task of hosting the Tourism Development Conference. Others couldn't take on this task. We may have suffered hardships and exhaustion, but it didn't hinder our work. When national leaders are expected to visit, I can confidently say that I can complete the preparations in three days, even though it would normally take seven days. It's done exceptionally well, and the leaders are very satisfied... Every year, we set up the Nadam Fair in winter. We never let the government down, even in such cold weather. I joined the Party in 2017; I've worked hard for everything. These important matters have received attention in our district. We can receive important leaders for visits." (Interview, Bayn, 18/05/2022: Hulunbuir)

From the above interviews, it is evident that the application of the Mongolian ger is heading towards the direction of emphasizing Mongolian ethnic characteristics in the present day. If the Mongolian ger is considered as a cultural heritage with political attributes, practitioners not only feel no anxiety but also experience a sense of pride. It is apparent that in the current advocacy and avoidance of sensitive consciousness, the development direction of the Mongolian ger as a national heritage has been subtly influenced. If it is regarded as an exclusive cultural heritage of the Mongolian ethnicity, it has become a symbol of narrow-minded nationalism and is taboo. However, if the Mongolian ger is considered as a historical and cultural product of multi-ethnic fusion and is utilized primarily as a cultural heritage that downplays ethnic characteristics, it can continue to thrive. Furthermore, if it can serve as a means to promote political objectives, it can find a secure place in society.

4.3 The Evolution of Ger Factories: Family Inheritance and Marketisation

4.3.0 Introduction

Ger production has a long history as it has existed, with many factories being family-owned and passed down through generations as we discussed in Chapter 1.3. In recent decades, due to the emergence of marketization in Inner Mongolia, the ger industry has experienced a growing commercialization trend, where private factories now dominate the market. The Blue Banner region in Xilingol is a well-known hub for ger production in Inner Mongolia (see figure), with nearly 23 factories of different sizes and a ger union for maintaining production standards. During my research, I interviewed owners of 3 main factories (interview, Yang, 12/06/2022; interview, Yang, 12/06/2022; interview, Zh, 16/06/2022: Xilingol) and an innovative small factory (interview, Han, 18/06/2022: Xilingol), all privately owned and reflecting the trend of marketization in ger production. The full transcripts of all interviews can be found in the link under Appendix 2.

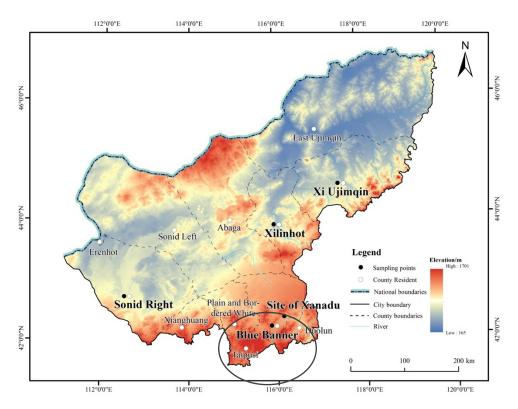


FIGURE 29 THE MAP OF XILINGOL INDICATING THE LOCATION OF THE BLUE BANNER

In the early days of ger production, the industry was dominated by state-owned enterprises. However, with the introduction of market-oriented reforms in the 1980s, the industry gradually shifted towards private ownership. Today, the private sector dominates the ger industry in Inner Mongolia, with many factories being passed down through family inheritance. The current directors of the ger factories I interviewed all inherited their positions from previous generations. This trend of family inheritance has contributed to the preservation of traditional ger-making techniques and the passing down of cultural knowledge from generation to generation. At the same time, the marketisation of ger production has led to increased competition and a focus on efficiency and profit. Private factories have invested heavily in modern machinery and production techniques, resulting in increased productivity and quality control.

Thus, this section conveys a synthesis of family inheritance and marketization by narrating the stories of the factories in the Blue Banner. This results in a distinctive amalgamation of traditional craftsmanship and modern production techniques. In this section, I will first outline the narrative of the development of the Mongolian ger industry in the Blue Banner based on interview findings to provide background context. Next, I will elucidate the prominent characteristics of gers in this region and delve into the reasons behind the outstanding industrial development. Finally, I will explore the status and people's perceptions of the entire ger industry,

drawing from interviews with factory owners in other regions such as Hulunbuir, Hohhot, and Chifeng. Therefore, this section presents development and challenges of the ger-making industry in the Inner Mongolia.

4.3.1 Chronicles of Factory Development

During the late 1950s and early 1960s, grassroots communities across China established joint factories for self-sufficiency. The artisans in the Blue Banner region had already mastered the necessary skills, and the development of the area proceeded gradually in later periods. The current leader factory director, boss Z, inherited the position from his father, who had worked there since the 1960s. From the 1960s to the 1980s, the elder Z worked in the factory, and the younger Z has been there for over 20 years. Before him, there were even more generations of workers in the factory. He, along with another factory owner, Yang, provided me with a historical account of the area's development, as follows (Interview, Z, 17/06/2022; Interview, Yang, 12/06/2022; Xilingol).

The development of the Mongolian ger industry in the Blue Banner region had a long history. The factories in the area originally produced felt, then gradually expanded to making gers, and produced carpets at one time. This industry went through many stages, from felt-making to germaking, particularly since the establishment of a ger factory in 1962 when the government ordered two people to establish a factory within a week to improve the living conditions of the local people. During the 1960s, when many nomads were living a nomadic lifestyle and lacked access to bricks, they needed to collect wood and felt to construct their gers. As a result, individuals with woodworking and felt-making skills were gathered to form a collective, each with their own tools, to establish the factory. At that time, making a ger was considered a luxury item and was not something that could be done casually. Gers produced by state-owned enterprises were not sold, but rather distributed through a rationing system.

The Blue Banner region is gradually renowned for its production of industrial gers, which are essential for daily life in the area. From 1984 to 1988, people stopped their nomadic lifestyle and settled down in the region, which led to a decrease in the demand for gers as traditional mud-brick houses were built. However, in 1989, China ushered in economic reform and opening up, transitioning from a collective state-owned economy to a market-driven one. Consequently, the ger industry began to shift towards market-oriented reforms. The first batch of gers were sold to Jincheng Grassland in Fengning County, which were used as tourist accommodation. The industry underwent significant structural changes in 1999, transitioning from a collective system to a shareholding system. This resulted in more than 50 factories being

split up and becoming independent entities. Presently, there are 23 factories forming a chamber of commerce.

The shift towards marketisation in the ger industry in Blue Banner is indicative of larger economic and social changes in Inner Mongolia. The region has undergone significant transformation, with an increasing number of people settling down and transitioning to a more sedentary lifestyle. This has led to a shift in demand for gers, from being a necessary component of a nomadic lifestyle to a commodified product for tourists and other consumers. The industry has adapted to these changes by adopting a shareholding system, allowing factories to become more independent and competitive in the market. The establishment of a chamber of commerce also demonstrates a commitment to maintaining standards of production and promoting the industry as a whole. Thus, the ger industry in Blue Banner is an example of how traditional practices can adapt and thrive in a changing economic and social landscape.

In the early years of China, the country belonged to the light industry system, and since its founding, it had undergone several transformations. Initially, goods were distributed, then independent sales, and later, share concentration. Workers in the original enterprises were allocated state-owned assets, with one share valued at 3,000 to 6,000 RMB (about 300-600 pound) depending on the length of their employment. After the restructuring, share concentration occurred, and ownership of enterprises was centralized under the state. Previously, leaders and workers had the right to own shares, but now only those with the capability to organize the enterprise could do so, and they had to use personal funds to purchase the shares, which then became their own. Enterprise personnel could either go out and establish their own factories or pursue other occupations.

Ms. Zh, a former workshop director, recalled her experience during the restructuring, stating,

"I was in my 40s and opened my own factory that partially inherited from my father's factory (elder Zhao)" (interview, Zh, 16/06/2022: Xilingol). Mr. Yang, who was in charge of procurement, said, "I've been in the business for over 20 years, and I was involved in the buyout restructuring in around 2002. At that time, various enterprises were gradually expanding and developing, each with its own unique characteristics. In my area, we mainly focused on catering and tourism, and we expanded our business significantly" (interview, Yang, 12/06/2022: Xilingol).

In the same interview, Mr. Yang further elaborated on how factories collaborated with one another to enhance their marketing capabilities, stating,

"Due to the overwhelming demand for our products, we couldn't keep up with production at the Blue Banner Mongolian Ger Factory. Therefore, we decided to collaborate with other factories, even if they were not related to us by blood. We had a strong sense of unity among our factories. Our materials and production costs varied, which resulted in different pricing strategies. We didn't compete with each other and maintained our own cost calculations for our unique products," Boss Yang explained (interview, Yang, 12/06/2022: Xilingol).

Boss Z, also the leader of the ger union in the Blue Banner, explained that their product was sensitive to global economic changes, stating,

"Our product is the most sensitive to world economic movements. For instance, during the 1996 and 1997 world economic crises, our product was the first to be affected, and we experienced a sudden drop in orders. The meaning of the phrase 'ethnic group' is particularly significant in this regard" (interview, Z, 17/06/2022: Xilingol).

In the past, workers in the factory were involved in the production of carpets and participated in Mongolian Ger building exchanges with 13 countries, including those where Mongolian was spoken, to study ger construction techniques. Therefore, these stories demonstrate the ger factories in the Blue Banner experienced a strong reassembled process alongside the development of Chinese economy, meanwhile, it successfully established world trade through the Chinese business opening.



FIGURE 30 A CORNER OF A GER FACTORY IN BLUE BANNER, XILINGOL

4.3.2 Reasons for Being Well-known

The Blue Banner Factories are well-known for a variety of reasons. Firstly, their geographical location near Hebei province means there are many skilled craftsmen who have mastered the production techniques of Mongolian ger. According to Boss Yang who used to oversee procurement at the former state-owned yurt factory and now runs his own private factory, "After people from Hebei came in, they made Mongolian gers for us. At first, we didn't know how to make Mongolian ger, but local craftsmen had already learned this craft. Blue Banner is completely remaning Chaha'er craftsmanship (a Mongolian tribe in southern Inner Mongolia)" (interview, Yang, 12/06/2022: Xilingol). Therefore, the factories have a significant geographic advantage in producing Mongolian gers.

Secondly, the factories adopt strategies of using locally sourced materials, which are collected from nearby Chinese regions. Boss Yang stated, "We all have our own channels to obtain raw materials. We use materials from Hebei and Shandong, which are very close to us. Everyone around here produces this. You can't find it in Hulunbuir (northern area of the Inner Mongolia). We don't grow willows in our banner. Now all material plant manually" (interview, Yang, 12/06/2022: Xilingol). This approach not only saves costs but also ensures product quality.

Lastly, the factories have a wide market coverage and excellent sales channels. Boss Yang said, "The material resources market is unpredictable. If we have fewer materials this year, we'll switch to another place next year. For other woods, Songshan is imported from Tianjin port, and Luan pine is imported from Manzhouli and Erenhot" (interview, Yang, 12/06/2022: Xilingol). Boss Z stated, "The Covid even has a minor affection to us although it has strong influence on tourism. As we have business to export and consistence selling around the entire country" (interview, Z, 17/06/2022: Xilingol). This indicates that the company has a strong market channel and business network for Mongolian ger.

Therefore, Blue Banner Mongolian Ger Factory can ensure its development through various factors such as its geographical advantages, skilled craftsmen, locally sourced materials, and a wide range of business channels.

4.3.3 Industrial Standard

Industrial standards (See Appendix 4.2) play a crucial role in regulating and guiding the development of the ger industries in Blue Banner. Master Zhang, a senior ger designer and manufacturer in Hohhot, was involved in the formulation of the ger industry standards in Blue Banner. He played a significant role in this process, contributing his expertise to the

development of the Inner Mongolia Autonomous Region's ger standards. He collaborated with boss Z 's father as well as other stakeholders in the industry, including the producers of the "Hongshandake" program, which promoted policies like "grazing ban, grassland recovery" and "enclosed grazing to improve pasture quality" (interview, Zhang, 16/07/2022: Hohhot). Master Zhang was invited to create props for the 26-meter ger showcased on the Inner Mongolia Television program. In the absence of historical records of the Yuan Dynasty capital city of Dadu, Master Zhang provided his own creative interpretation of the ger's design, including the installation of four pillars and the suggestion to hang the ger from the outside. In addition, he was invited to assist in the development of the enterprise standards for the ger industry and regularly collaborated with the Inner Mongolia Light Industry Bureau on this work (interview, Zhang, 16/07/2022: Hohhot). The process of developing industrial standards involves the participation of experts and stakeholders, including government agencies and private enterprises, to ensure that the standards are comprehensive, appropriate, and effective in guiding the development of the industry.

In the Mongolian ger industry, technical supervision and cultural approval are two separate concepts. Master Zhang pointed out that there used to be a technical supervision bureau, and all ger products that were put on the market for sale had to go through its report review. Without this report, the products could not be sold and circulated in the market (interview, Zhang, 16/07/2022: Hohhot). However, cultural approval belongs to the Ethnic Affairs Commission, which has an economic department, an economic office, and a technology office. Under the influence of these institutions, the standards and brands of Mongolian ger need to be approved. In addition, the national government has some policies to support ethnic enterprises, which also provide support for the development of the Mongolian ger industry to some extent. Master Zhang emphasised the importance of these policies and stated that understanding and mastering these policies are crucial for enterprises (interview, Zhang, 16/07/2022: Hohhot).

This standard guideline (see Appendix 4.2) (p1) highlights the significance of the ger as a crucial living product for various ethnicities. It delineates the benefits of the ger (p3), including its durability, aesthetic appeal, easy settlement, and ability to withstand rain and wind. The guideline also defines the key elements of the ger (p2) and provides size standards for small, medium, and large gers based on their diameters. In addition, it specifies the appropriate materials that should be used in different parts of the ger (p4), although it does not provide a standard for the size of fittings, such as doors, khana (ceilings), or unn (walls), as each factory may have its own standards. The guideline does, however, differentiate between good and poor quality gers as a satisfactory commodity (p5). As a result, this guideline serves as a pivotal moment for modern industrial production and the marketization of gers.

4.3.4 Innovation

The development trends and practices of the Blue Banner Mongolian Ger Factory can be examined through various stages. Initially, the competition between the authors led to cost reduction measures being implemented, resulting in a decrease in quality. However, the factory regained its ambition and returned to its traditional methods, resulting in higher quality gers. Later on, the factory expanded into urban tourism by producing gers that were more suited for modern people, with added features such as carvings. However, the rapid changes in consumer preferences, especially among younger generations born after 1990, led to a reversal in the factory's practices, with a shift towards more traditional designs.

One significant improvement in the Blue Banner ger was their modification to a style used in Mongolia, called Steel Frame Ger, which eventually became popular in Inner Mongolia. The traditional Mongolian design, dating back to the 13th century, included a ger with a neck and a curved frame, similar to the common ones. The factory's designer, Bai, notes that the design was modified to incorporate the curvature of the common styles, making it more durable (interview, Bai, 06/07/2022: Hohhot). In summary, the Blue Banner Factory underwent several stages of development, from cost-cutting measures to a return to traditional practices and an expansion into urban tourism, followed by a shift towards more traditional designs that incorporated Mongolian influences.

Overall, the tendency of factories' innovations in Mongolian ger are of great practical significance and cultural value. By using new materials and redesigning the shape, they have improved the durability and practicality of the Mongolian ger, making it better suited to the needs of modern life. The mobility of the ger has also enhanced its flexibility and diversity, allowing people to use it more freely.

The innovations of this factory on ger are reflected in the following details:

Material: The factory uses steel structure and polyester fibre materials to manufacture ger, which is more durable and sturdier than traditional felt and wood. All the frameworks are made of pine and cannot do without pine. Modern gers are made of pine, while traditional ones in the past were made of willow, elm, and pine. The frame for the door is made of pine, and the ribs for the roof are made of hard miscellaneous wood, while the crown wheel and the wall poles are made of willow.

Design: The factory has redesigned the shape of ger to make it more suitable for modern living needs. For example, they have increased the size of the door to make it more convenient for people to enter and exit and added windows to make the interior of ger more ventilated and brighter.

Ms. Zh is the daughter of the elder boss Zh and now is in charge of another private factory, as well as being Ger's inheritor in the Banner. She explains that the Mongolian ger is a traditional dwelling, and even in the past, it was used by people who traveled by ox cart. "It's not like we're making improvements," she emphasizes (interview, Zh, 16/06/2022: Xilingol). The factory has updated the design of the ger, using steel and wood for the frame instead of the traditional two wooden poles, which makes it more durable. Additionally, the larger ger models have a separated space for a bathroom, which not only saves space but also enhances the waterproofing. Ms. Zh notes that while they can make custom modifications to the ger design, they must ensure that the structure and dimensions remain reasonable.

When it comes to the design of the ger, Ms. Zh says it is mostly their own creativity and ideas that drive the process (interview, Zh, 16/06/2022: Xilingol). Sometimes, they take inspiration from Mongolian culture, other times from the wisdom of the elderly. The design process involves breaking through boundaries and exploring new possibilities, such as going from a two-pole to a three-pole frame, and from three poles to three unn (intermediate poles). The larger three uuni ger models no longer require support columns and maximize the use of space. An example could see in Figure 22, the primary objective of the Innovated ger is to challenge itself and achieve maximum volume in pursuit of innovation.



FIGURE 31 OUTSIDE AND INSIDE OF A GIANT FRAMED GER

Assemblage: Mongolian ger from this factory is no longer designed for easy disassembly

and assembly like the traditional ger, providing convenience for relocation and storage. Their ger are considered a consequence of industrial commodity with stronger material improvement that are stable for living. As for the production process, the factory no longer produces the traditional wooden poles, which are now sourced from Hebei province. Raw materials have been sourced for seven or eight years now. Currently, the factory produces completed unn (ceilings) and frames, while the production of khana (walls) is partially outsourced as semi-finished products. The size of unn is not standardized, and the material used for the cloth is determined by the factory. The felt used in the production is a blend of synthetic fibers and a small percentage of sheep's wool, which is stronger than pure wool. In the past, there was no canvas on the outside of the ger, so the felt material had to provide warmth. Despite being industrial semi-finished products, even with an entire day of sewing, the production of only a few can be completed.

Process: Currently making a Mongolian ger involves over 110 steps. To begin, the hide of the animal must be scraped and dried, then smoked over a fire before being pressed and formed into the desired shape. Each individual wooden pole that makes up the structure of the ger must also undergo a rigorous process of preparation. Once cut down, each pole is stripped of its bark and smoothed down with four separate scrapings to create a polished surface. Approximately 70% of the way through the drying process, the remaining skin is removed, and the pole is left to dry for an additional 10 days before being smoked to give it a final, hardened finish.

After the poles are prepared, they are assembled into the basic frame of the ger, which consists of a single central pole and a series of radiating roof supports known as crown poles. The number of poles required for each ger varies depending on its size, but a typical ger requires around 32 poles, each measuring about 1.75 meters in length. These poles are then arranged in a circular pattern, with each end of the poles being fitted into specially designed holes in a wooden base plate. Once the base plate is secured to the ground, the poles are raised into position and secured in place using ropes.

The walls of the ger are made up of a series of modular panels, typically six in number, that are made from wooden boards. These panels are held together with metal brackets and can be easily dismantled and reassembled as needed. The door of the ger is also made from wood and is typically placed on the southern side of the structure. The dimensions of a standard ger vary depending on its size, but a typical ger has a diameter of around 4.3 meters. Overall, the process of making a Mongolian ger is a complex and time-consuming one, requiring a great deal of skill and expertise.

In summary, this factory has comprehensively innovated the Mongolian ger, making it more suitable for the needs of modern people, while still retaining the traditional style and cultural connotations of the Mongolian ger.

4.3.5 Characteristics of the Blue Banner Factories

The research delves into the factors contributing to the comparatively more developed infrastructure of gers in the Blue Banner, as opposed to other regions within Inner Mongolia. Based on the categorization of interviews through NVivo, the results demonstrate the presence of multifaceted factors that have long shaped the distinctive attributes of Blue Banner's gers. Subsequently, an elucidation of these characteristic factors follows (see Figure 32).

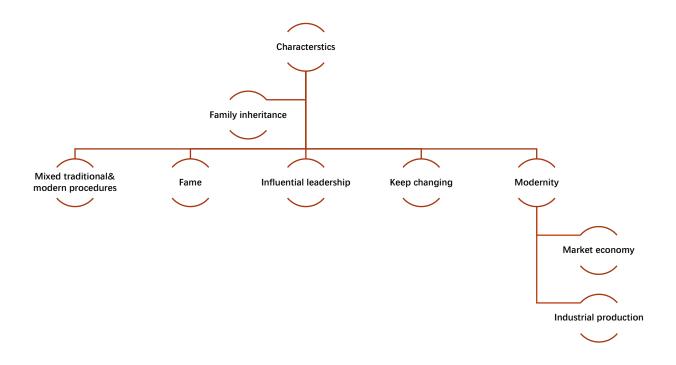


FIGURE 32 ILLUSTRATION OF NVIVO CATEGORIES ON CHARACTERISTICS OF GER IN THE BLUE BANNER

1) Keeping change

The characteristics of maintaining change of the Blue Banner Ger can be reflected in the following aspects:

Constant adoption of modern materials and techniques: The production process of the Blue Banner Ger is constantly changing, shifting from manual to mechanized production, and utilizing modern materials and decorative techniques such as paint-free and fabric decorative carving.

Passive changes in materials and techniques: Changes in materials and techniques in the production process of the Blue Banner Ger are often driven by demand and market forces. For example, carpenters do not sew, so the use of sewing machines and mechanized production has emerged in the production of Blue Banner Gers.

Maintaining a balance between tradition and modernity: In the production process of the Blue Banner Ger, traditional elements are maintained while modern technology and materials are constantly adapted to meet the demands of the modern market. This balance may not be achieved to the extreme, but the trend of seeking development while maintaining a balance between tradition and modernity remains unchanged.

As Boss Z, the head of Blue Banner Ger production, said, "We must follow this thing and move forward. People demand what they demand, and they don't know what they want. The elders still like the past, but young people don't need you to be more traditional, they like to use more modern materials and techniques. So now I use modern materials such as paint-free and fabric decorative carving" (interview, Z, 17/06/2022: Xilingol). In the future, the production trend of Blue Banner Ger will be influenced by market demand and material and technical advancements. This change is related to changes in human labour and thought.

2) The mixed tradition and modern procedures utilised in the manufacturing process

Boss Yang mentioned traditional craftsmanship has been preserved and integrated with modern techniques such as steel frames and advanced materials. However, the fundamental elements of ger, such as the use of skins and the construction of the walls, have remained unchanged.

Boss Yang emphasised the importance of preserving traditional elements in the manufacturing process, saying, "Our craftsmanship is still using the traditional materials, such as the skin straps and the Hana walls. Although we use modern steel frames, we still maintain the traditional elements. This is a slow process" (interview, Yang, 12/06/2022: Xilingol). The size of ger has also undergone changes, and now it is categorized based on diameter, with the original sizes ranging from six to eight pieces and the size of the Ger used by the royal family being 7 meters in diameter.

The Blue Banner Ger's manufacturing process has evolved over time, with modern materials and techniques being incorporated while preserving the traditional elements. This mixed approach has allowed for Ger to adapt to changing market demands while maintaining its cultural significance.

3) Influential leadership

The leadership in the production of the Blue Banner Mongolian ger is also influential in shaping the standard of the craft. As Master Zhang states, "In a small place in the Banner, the Banner Chief can show up to invite us to participate in industry meetings. The Blue Banner ger belongs to economic efficiency, and we made a lot of them when his father was still around" (interview, Zhang, 16/07/2022: Hohhot). The boss Z also sees himself as a guide in the industry and has improved the ger's framework after several trips to Outer Mongolia. This improvement in the framework was then used by the ger suppliers (interview, Z, 17/06/2022: Xilingol). Additionally, changes have been made to the materials used in production. In the past, the traditional willow branches were used in a bundle of six, but this has now been changed due to the requirements of modern life. The current gers are now made with flat boards and assembled into various shapes. This influential leadership and constant innovation have contributed to the evolution of the Blue Banner Ger.

4) Fame

The fame of the Blue Banner Ger has spread to various countries including Canada, Australia, England, France, South Korea, and Japan. Some clients come through intermediaries while others come to visit the factory out of curiosity. In fact, many scholars from Japan have visited the factory to study the structure of ger. As Boss Z mentioned, "the decreased tourism in the Inner Mongolia has not affected our factory, we have customers from Xinjiang, Gansu, and southern China. It has a significant impact on small factories" (interview, Z, 17/06/2022: Xilingol).

The international recognition of the Blue Banner ger has helped to increase its popularity and demand. Clients from different parts of the world are attracted to the unique design and traditional craftsmanship. The ger has become a symbol of Mongolian culture, and the Blue Banner Ger in particular, with its modern twist, has gained widespread recognition. The interest of scholars in the structure of ger also highlights its significance as a cultural artefact and an architectural wonder.

The impact of ger's fame has not only affected the factory but has also brought economic benefits to various regions. Small factories in different parts of China have also gained business due to the increased demand for the Blue Banner Ger. ger's fame has also helped to promote Mongolian culture and tradition, making it more accessible to a global audience.

5) Modernity

The Blue Banner ger factories in China have undergone significant changes towards modernisation in both their production processes and approach to the market economy. Industrial production has shifted towards greater use of modern equipment and materials, while the market economy has forced these factories to adapt to changing consumer demands and shift towards a more market-oriented approach. While some factories have successfully navigated these changes, others have struggled to keep pace, resulting in a widening gap between the most successful and struggling factories. Thus, the Blue Banner ger factories are facing the challenge of balancing tradition with modernization in an increasingly competitive marketplace.

• 5.1 Market economy

The development of the market economy has had a significant impact on the factories. As Boss Zhao notes, the shift in mentality from "people used what they had" to "people tell you what they want, and you make it" has forced these factories to adapt their manufacturing processes to meet changing consumer demands (interview, Z, 17/06/2022: Xilingol). In the past, these factories produced goods in bulk and distributed them to households. However, as the market economy has taken hold, they have had to shift to a more market-oriented approach, producing goods in smaller packages that can be sold individually.

This transition has not been without its challenges, as many factories have had to adjust their production processes and find new ways to reach customers in a more competitive market. Nevertheless, some factories have been able to successfully navigate these changes and even explore new opportunities in tourism. As Boss Z notes, in the late 1980s, some factories began to shift towards tourism as a way to diversify their offerings and appeal to a wider range of customers (interview, Z, 17/06/2022: Xilingol).

The impact of the market economy on these traditional factories has been uniform in industrial standards and compete in the market. While some have been able to adapt and thrive, others have struggled to keep pace with changing consumer demands and have seen a decline in their fortunes as a result. This has led to a widening gap between the most successful factories and those that are struggling to survive. Overall, the development of the market economy has had a profound impact on the traditional blue banner factories in China. While some have been able to successfully adapt to the new market-driven model, others have struggled to keep pace with

changing consumer demands. As the market economy continues to evolve, it will be interesting to see how these factories continue to adapt and compete in an increasingly competitive marketplace.

• 5.2 Industrial production

The Blue Banner factories have undergone significant changes in their industrial production processes. In the past, production was 100% manual, but now it is necessary to achieve over 80% modern equipment production. As one worker explained, "Our sewers are all over 40 years old, and there are no younger ones who want to do it. This requirement forces our enterprise to improve equipment" (interview, Z, 17/06/2022: Xilingol). Materials used in production have also changed, with modern materials such as metal and plastic being utilized. With the mechanisation of sewing and woodworking, the production process has gradually shifted towards modernisation.

As Boss Z explained, "After the package production period, the factory stopped. Later, we gradually emerged from the market economy and tourism" (interview, Z, 17/06/2022: Xilingol). The Blue Banner Ger factories previously had several workshops for different manual tasks, including hat-making, felt rolling, sewing, and leather tanning. However, now the factories have shifted to a more modernized production process, with only a few workshops remaining for woodworking and sewing. Traditional furniture and leather production have largely ceased, with over 80% of production now utilizing modern equipment. As a result, the number of workers needed for tasks such as leather production has decreased from over ten to just a few.

4.3.6 Discursive Analysis on Industrializations of Ger

In this section of discourse analysis, this research aims to delve into the Mongolian ger industry, encompassing its current state and the challenges it encounters. Through the utilization of the specialized tool NVivo, a systematic classification and arrangement of the discourse from 16 interviewees were conducted. These interviewees represent diverse segments, including tourism brokers, government officials, factory owners, and cultural creative industry professionals. Through this analysis, the objective is to gain a comprehensive understanding of the diversity and complexity within the Mongolian ger industry.

Interestingly, among these 16 interviewees, factory owners constitute the majority, surpassing half of the total. This underscores the pivotal role played by factory owners within the Mongolian ger industry, as they are directly involved in the production and manufacturing processes, possessing profound insights into the industry. However, there is relatively little

disparity in the numbers of other groups, each focusing on different aspects of the industry. Government officials emphasize the significance of government funding support, cultural preservation, and policy formulation. Tourism brokers are concerned about the business opportunities stemming from the tourism sector, while cultural creative industry professionals prioritize the development of cultural creative products. This diversity of viewpoints and concerns provides us with profound insights into various dimensions of the Mongolian ger industry.

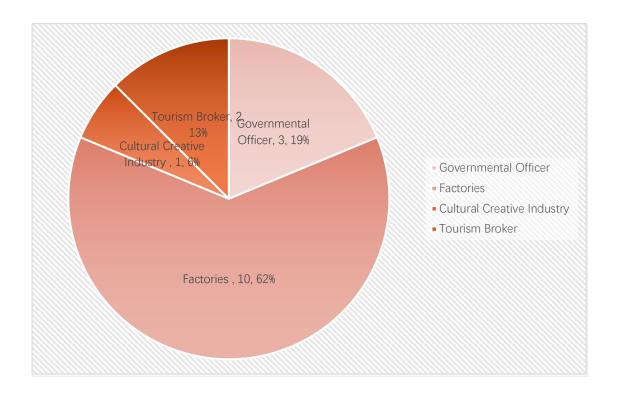


FIGURE 33 PERCENTAGE OF INTERVIEW GROUPS IN CULTURAL INDUSTRY

Current Situation

1. Diversity: The ger industry encompasses various types, including traditional gers, cement gers, and colored steel gers, reflecting the market's demand for different styles of gers. Factory Manager A noted, "In the past, we had a few designs, and that was it. Now, things have changed. We can make gers that are 30 or 40 meters long. We even applied for the Guinness World Record for the largest ger" (interview, Guinness, 14/06/2022: Xilingol). This indicates that the ger industry has gradually diversified, no longer limited to traditional forms but capable of meeting the demands for different sizes and materials. This discourse reveals the industry's internal diversity and changing market demands, highlighting the adaptability and technological innovation of Mongolian ger manufacturers.

- **2. Customization Demand**: The demand for customized products is on the rise, leading the industry towards customization to meet the diverse requirements of customers. Factory Manager mentioned, "In the past, people used what we made. Now, it's different; we make what people want" (interview, Harlar Tent, 06/04/2022: Hulunbuir). Additionally, a cultural heritage official observed, "Some projects are better off industrialized and commercialized. Gers are doing quite well, with many made to order" (interview, Cui, 17/05/2022: Hulunbuir). This discourse indicates that the industry has shifted from traditional standardized production to catering to market demands.
- **3.** Cultural Inheritance: The Mongolian ger industry is not just a commercial field but also carries the legacy of Mongolian traditional culture. A tourst broker stated, "Through performances and cultural dissemination, I try to let more people understand Barhu culture, including customs and folkways" (interview, Barhu, 19/05/2022: Hulunbuir). This illustrates the industry's significance in cultural inheritance. By means of cultural performances and dissemination, this industry provides a platform for the preservation of Mongolian traditional culture and garners more attention and customers. This discourse emphasizes the cultural value of Mongolian gers, showcasing their broad applications and potential in the cultural domain.

These discourses reflect the multidimensionality of the ger industry, encompassing both technological innovation and market orientation, as well as cultural inheritance and social responsibility. The industry's internal diversity and adaptability enable it to stand out in a competitive market while also fulfilling the mission of preserving traditional culture and contributing to the development of local communities.

Challenges

1. Economic Challenges: The Mongolian ger industry faces challenges due to the high cost of production and maintenance, coupled with intense market competition that leads to price wars, reducing profitability. A seasoned factory Z highlighted the economic dilemma, stating, "When it comes to economic benefits, sometimes there's a conflict with cultural industries! If you focus on economic benefits, not all aspects of culture are adequately covered... You see, the patterns that used to be handmade by herders, who would buy them now? They're expensive, and handmade work takes a lot of time. Machines are not as good as that" (interview, Z, 17/06/2022: Xilingol). This discourse emphasizes the high production costs associated with traditional handmade Mongolian gers and the constraints of market prices. The industry needs effective ways to reduce production costs and enhance competitiveness to ensure economic sustainability.

- **2. Lack of Government Support**: In some regions, there is insufficient government support, including funding and policy support, for the ger industry. Factory Manager X mentioned, "Without subsidies, even if it has been passed down for hundreds of years, development requires government funding" (interview, Xiqi, 09/04/2022: Hulunbuir). However, Officer L pointed out the shortfall in allocated funds, stating, "We still owe 700,000 yuan" (interview, Long, 28/05/2022: Hulunbuir). Government support can assist the industry in preserving traditional craftsmanship, promoting economic sustainability, and creating more opportunities for cultural inheritance.
- **3. Market Diversity**: The market exhibits diverse demands for various types and styles of Mongolian gers, which, in turn, increase the complexity of research and development and production. A forward-thinking heritage official emphasized, "What Mongolian cultural heritage needs the most now is commercialization, the development of cultural and creative products, and better representation as a symbol of nomadic culture" (interview, Cui, 17/05/2022: Hulunbuir). However, when it comes to actual implementation, a seasoned Mongolian ger innovator mentioned, "I've been doing this for ten years. Innovating in the industry is very difficult without capital. Research and development require funds" (interview, Liu, 10/06/2022: Xilingol). On the other hand, when the above-mentioned standards for Mongolian ger craftsmanship faced enterprises, there were also challenges. One of the drafting experts, Factory Manager Z, stated, "The most resistant to these standards, especially in terms of traditional craftsmanship, are enterprises. Enterprises need innovation" (interview, Zhang, 16/07/2022: Hohhot). This discourse indicates that the Mongolian ger market's diversification and the gradual shift from traditional Mongolian ger production have raised concerns and challenges.

In summary, these discourses highlight the economic, policy, quality, and market challenges faced by the Mongolian ger industry. Addressing these issues requires collaboration between the government, manufacturers, and relevant stakeholders to formulate policies, provide funding support, improve production processes, and promote cultural heritage. Additionally, the industry needs innovation to identify business opportunities to cope with economic challenges.

Words Cloud to Ger Industry

To delve deeper into the distinct emphases of different groups in the discourse of the Mongolian Ger industry, this study employed Word Cloud analysis to visually represent the key terms used by each group. Below are the word clouds representing different groups:

Government officials	Ger manufacturers	



FIGURE 34 WORDS CLOUD

Government Officials:

Government officials' discourse centers around key terms found in documents such as "art good", "cultural craftsmanship support," "financial assistance," and "arts product development." Their communication underscores the delicate balance they strive to achieve between cultural preservation and economic advancement. They stress the Mongolian ger industry's potential as an artistic craft, highlighting the need for its further development. Government officials aim to foster an environment that promotes the sustainable growth of the Mongolian ger industry through policy support and financial aid. Their discourse mirrors the government's pursuit of equilibrium between preserving cultural heritage and fostering industrial progress.

Ger Manufacturers:

For ger manufacturers, key terms encompass "development phases," "meeting people's needs," "market demand," and "ger utilization." They are acutely attuned to the influence of the market environment, emphasizing varying impacts during different periods, such as the frequency of occurrences during favorable tourist seasons compared to pandemic periods. Ger manufacturers also delve into discussions about modernization trends in gers, the establishment of associations, market demands, and competition with other regions. Their discourse reflects the significant challenges ger manufacturers face, particularly in striking a balance between meeting contemporary market demands and preserving traditional values.

Cultural Creatives:

Key terms pertinent to cultural creatives include "new designs," "innovative products," "meeting customer needs," and a notable emphasis on "development dimensions." Cultural creative Xu primarily focuses on designing cultural products associated with gers. He deliberates on market demand, aesthetics, and the cultural value of Mongolian ger-related cultural creative products. His objective is to create ger derivatives that possess cultural significance and appeal to the market. His discourse indicates that cultural creatives, while pursuing business opportunities, are equally committed to the further development of cultural assets.

Tourism Business Owners:

Tourism business owners' discourse revolves around key terms such as "showcasing Mongolian culture," "ger representations," and "tourist attractions." These roles accentuate the practical utilization of Mongolian gers in the tourism sector, such as promoting Mongolian culture through performances and cultural activities. Their primary objective is to entice tourists and provide them with unique cultural experiences. Their discourse underscores the business potential of Mongolian gers within the tourism industry, while simultaneously highlighting the significance of cultural preservation to safeguard the heritage of Mongolian gers as valuable cultural assets.

In summary, the discourse analysis of these distinct roles reveals their individual concerns and focal points within the ger industry. While they generally share an emphasis on the development of the ger industry, culture, and meeting people's needs, the specific aspects they prioritize, such as "arts," "year," "development," and "culture," vary due to the distinct industry environments in which they operate. These diverse perspectives and concerns collectively contribute to the multifaceted nature of the Mongolian ger industry.

4.4 The Last-Surviving Nomadism in Inner Mongolia: Maintaining Cultural Landscape

4.4.0 Introduction



FIGURE 35 INNER MONGOLIA GOGESTAL HANWUL NATIONAL NATURE RESERVE
MONUMENT

My research is conducted in Chifeng, located in the northeastern region of Inner Mongolia (see Figure 12), which is recognized as a prominent agricultural economic production area. In 2022, Ar Horqin Banner was designated as a Globally Important Agricultural Heritage System by the Food and Agriculture Organization of the United Nations (FAO). This nomination acknowledges the preservation of nomadic practices and attributes it to both natural and mutual factors. It encapsulates the transformation of an entire region into a heritage site, highlighting the exceptional cultural landscape of nomadism characterized by the traditional gers. However, the recent management changes associated with the nomination have adversely affected nomads and their grazing practices. On one hand, these changes have introduced negative consequences that impact the nomadic communities. On the other hand, it is remarkable that despite these challenges, the nomads have displayed unwavering dedication and positive attitudes towards the preservation of their cultural traditions.

The location is exceptionally picturesque, resembling an untouched primitive grassland where modern concrete structures are absent, and only white gers dot the undulating slopes of the grassy hills. The grassland is surrounded by mountains, and lush trees are scattered throughout the forest, undisturbed and unspoiled. These forests are meticulously protected by sturdy fences, rendering them inaccessible to people. These grasslands serve as summer grazing grounds for herders, preserving a primitive nomadic way of life, characterized by tending to livestock from

sunrise to sunset. The surroundings are encompassed by natural beauty, flowing streams, and herds of cattle and sheep. Spending the night in a Mongolian ger, one can hear the contented sighs of the animals. The interiors of the gers are quite similar, equipped with basic facilities and beds. Some gers are made traditionally from willow twigs, while others are constructed from iron. Several herders have shared that staying inside the ger during summer is comfortable and convenient. Although the iron gers offer modern convenience, there is still a preference for the traditionally crafted Mongolian gers.

On July 17th, I conducted research at the Gogestai Hanwul National Nature Reserve Park in Bayanwenduer Sumu, a nomadic village in ArKhorchin Banner (see Figure 36). Accessing the park was challenging as the forest rangers restricted entry for individuals from other provinces, permitting only those with official travel permits or those who had obtained approval from the station chief. According to them, this was due to the local herders expressing their desire to limit the number of outsiders entering the area. Fortunately, through personal connections, I was able to seize this research opportunity. Fortunately, Mr. Wu, a Mongolian ger inheritor at the autonomous regional level, acted as my guide. He shared his experiences in traditional Mongolian ger craftsmanship. Additionally, he introduced me to five of his relatives and acquaintances for interviews, including his brother, sister, friend, brother-in-law, and village official. After visiting the park, I interviewed a local scholar who had participated in the project nomination process with the FAO. This individual provided valuable insights into the official procedures and preferences involved. Consequently, the research encompassed a total of seven interviewees. Through their collective input, a comprehensive understanding of the landscape emerged, encompassing historical experiences, current conditions, and underlying conflicts. This deep and continuous research proved to be immensely worthwhile.



FIGURE 36 NATURAL ENVIRONMENT AND GERS IN GOGESTAI, CHIFENG

The establishment of settled areas in the nomadic region began around the 1980s, and the nomads have been living in this manner ever since. In the 1980s, the grazing areas and winter camps were divided and designated. The significant change in the nomadic lifestyle started around the 1990s. In 2003, the establishment of summer camps was officially implemented. According to national regulations, from March to June, the grazing areas are enclosed to protect the grass's growth. On June 15th, the nomads move to the summer camps within the designated grazing areas (see Figure 37), utilizing Mongolian gers. By the end of September, they transition to fixed brick and tile houses for the winter camps. From June 15th to September 15th, there is a collective nomadic relocation period known as "gacha." The gacha government requires the nomads to reach the designated location within three days, facilitating the counting of livestock. According to one 35-year-old herder, this kind of relocation practice has only been in place for three to four years; previously, there were no fixed dates for moving to the summer camps. This suggests that the notion of the "last- surviving nomadism" may have been somewhat manufactured, deviating from previous mobilization habits.

"In the past, the way of moving and the current way of moving are different. In the past, we used carts to transport the Mongolian gers, and the cattle and sheep would arrive here, even if it took more than a day. Now, they have to arrive on the same day. If they don't, there are more complications with property rights and such, it's troublesome. It's like a battle on the road, everyone trying to squeeze through. In the past, there was no such crowding. Today and tomorrow, the cattle and sheep graze along the road. Now they have

to come on the same day, and the sheep get scattered. It's like a battle between two countries. It makes me angry when outsiders come to see our nomadic lifestyle. We are already busy, and they still have to come" (interview, Brother in law, 17/08/2022: Chifeng).

The elder nomads' statement sheds light on the differences between past and present nomadic relocations. The nomads express concerns about the consequences of not adhering to this strict timeline, such as crowded roads, increased population density, complications related to property rights, and the resulting inconveniences. The presence of outsiders observing their nomadic lifestyle further exacerbates their frustration, as they are already overwhelmed with their responsibilities. This reflects the nomads' dissatisfaction with the new regulations regarding their mobility. From the government's perspective, implementing unified management of nomadic movements was seen as a means to facilitate easier control over aspects such as grassland protection and the division of grazing areas among households. The intention was to streamline the process and ensure better management overall.



FIGURE 37 NOMADIC MIGRATION IN GOGESTAI, CHIFENG (FAO. 2018)

4.4.1 Current Situation and Changing Issues

The current situation in the area inhabited by permanent nomadic residents consists of 150 households. In recent years, the establishment of a protected area has brought about changes in their way of life. One significant change is the reduction in available grazing land, which has made the grassland smaller. Additionally, access to the forests within the protected area has been restricted (Baikezhishi 2023). The establishment of the protected area has led to a specific allocation of summer grazing areas, with each person allotted approximately 400 acres (see Figure 38). This contrasts with the past when there were no precise measurements of grassland size. Previously, nomads were able to graze as many livestock as they desired, but now they are required to reduce their numbers due to the limited resources available.

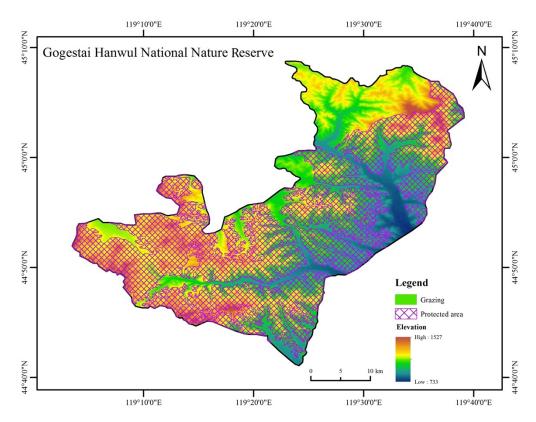


FIGURE 38 PROTECTED AREA IN GOGESTAI HANWUL NATIONAL NATURE RESERVE

The implementation of the protected area has introduced restrictions on grazing practices that were previously unrestricted. Nomad express concerns about the insufficiency of available grassland, especially during dry periods when rainfall is scarce. These limitations have had a significant impact on the nomads' livelihoods, as the reduction in available land exacerbates their challenges. To alleviate the situation, the government provides subsidies for grassland and protected areas. However, these subsidies are minimal, typically amounting to a few thousand yuan per household. The allocation of subsidies varies among households and is based on their population size. Overall, the establishment of the protected area has led to changes in the nomads' way of life, particularly in terms of reduced grazing land and restricted access to forests. The implications of these changes, coupled with the minimal subsidies provided, highlight the challenges faced by nomadic communities in sustaining their traditional practices and livelihoods within the context of the protected area.

The differences between childhood nomadism and the present are evident in the restrictions on grazing areas. In the past, there were no protected areas, and nomads could graze their animals freely. However, with the establishment of protected areas, grazing is now prohibited in certain locations, resulting in a shrinking space for nomadic activities. The ecological conditions have also changed, with an increase in animal populations. In the past, nomads thought they had a higher level of environmental awareness, resulting in less ecological damage.

Currently, each family is assigned a specific location for raising cattle, unlike before when there was no division of land. In the past, nomads could move their livestock to wherever they pleased, as sheep and cows have different preferences for grazing. However, this is no longer allowed. The division of land is now organized by grouping seven families together, and there is no more available land for allocation. Previously, without designated areas, nomads would settle wherever they pleased and claim the land for themselves during the division process.

Another main difference lies in the locations where nomads set up their camps during different seasons. In winter, they settle at the foot of the mountains, while in spring, they move closer to the sun. The choice of location depends on practical factors such as convenience and accessibility to water sources, which are now typically wells in their winter fixed locations. In the past, they relied on springs for water, but now rivers are the main water source for livestock in the current summer relatively settled camps.

"In the past, there was no fixed grazing area. I used to go to the places I liked, such as Chifeng and Xilingol League, for grazing. It was better to go to colder places with more grassland during the winter. However, now it's not allowed anymore. We can go during the summer, but in winter, they come. At that time, the cattle and sheep would become well-fed, especially during the winter. But now, we have fixed grazing areas where the available grassland is limited. Cattle often say that if they don't come for more than twenty years, they will eat better after a certain period. Just like eating rice every day, wouldn't you get tired of it? Going to a more distant place means more grass to pick and eat, but now they can't eat enough" (interview, Brother in low, 17/08/2022: Chifeng).

The flexibility of nomadic movement in the past is highlighted by the accounts of older nomads. They could freely choose their preferred locations, such as heading to Chifeng or Xilingol. In winter, they would travel to regions with colder temperatures, as it was beneficial for the livestock to fatten up. However, these choices are now restricted, preventing them from accessing the areas they desire. Consequently, the grasslands they occupy do not provide as much sustenance for the animals. The older nomad emphasizes that the cattle and sheep used to benefit from roaming longer distances and having access to a greater variety of grass, but now they are not satiated.

The current form of nomadism is no longer as free and unrestricted as it used to be. The nomads remark that even though they still call it "nomadism," they are now confined to fixed locations. Previously, they could go to Xilingol, but now they are restricted. The nomads believe the cattle

and sheep lack calcium because the fixed locations do not have the same grass as before. In the past, they could choose the grass that the animals preferred, but now, due to the fixed locations, the animals are forced to graze on grass that may be deficient in calcium. Previously, they would enjoy the grass available at each location, picking and consuming it daily.

In summary, despite the preservation of a relatively unchanged nomadic lifestyle within the protected area, there have been certain changes and restrictions in their nomadic practices. Firstly, there has been a shift from the nomadic practice of moving freely throughout the year to a fixed pattern of relocating to specific locations during the winter and summer seasons. Secondly, a significant portion of the forested areas within the protected area are now off-limits for grazing, greatly limiting the grazing areas available. This restriction has led to inadequate nutritional intake for the cattle and sheep, preventing the expansion of livestock numbers and causing difficulties for the nomads. Furthermore, the management of nomadic movements has transitioned from a previously flexible schedule to a unified time management system, which has made the nomads feel constrained. Although these conservation efforts have preserved certain characteristics of nomadic life and maintained isolation from external disturbances, they have also imposed a sense of forced management, making the nomads feel unnatural and uncomfortable in their practices.



FIGURE 39 A NOMAD HOME IN GOGESTAI, CHIFENG

4.4.2 Attitudes to the Reserved Park

Through the analysis of the interviews with the nomads, an interesting contradiction can be observed in the local community's attitudes. While they express complaints about the current changes, they generally hold a high level of agreement with the government's protective

measures. They take pride in the uniqueness of their region and wish to preserve the traditional nomadic way of life.

"Protecting traditional nomadism, it's definitely the government's... protection, right" (interview, Newphre, 17/08/2022: Chifeng).

"The township government doesn't allow it, which is good for the grassland. If we use dragnets, this place will be gone, right? It's not pleasing to the eye when we divide it ourselves. It's also the township government's way of protecting it" (interview, Brother in low, 17/08/2022: Chifeng).

The interviewed nomads explicitly acknowledge the positive impact of the government's protective measures on the grasslands, particularly the policy of prohibiting grazing in certain areas. They believe that these restrictions reflect the local government's efforts to protect the natural environment and express appreciation for such initiatives.

However, they also express a sense of nostalgia and awareness regarding the impact of these protective measures on their way of life. The establishment of nature reserves and stricter regulations have limited their grazing rights within the protected areas, leading to tension between the nomads and the authorities. In the past, they were allowed to graze and forage within the protected areas without disrupting the ecological balance. These practices are heavily restricted, and violations may result in fines.

Nonetheless, park officials argue that this has made the relationship between the herders and the protected areas more regulated and managed:

"It used to be quite harmonious. Grazing and foraging were allowed as long as they didn't harm the ecology. But now, it's completely prohibited. We have no choice but to comply. The national-level protected area has regulations and management. If the herds of sheep and cattle are not properly supervised and enter the protected area, the herders are conscientiously driven out" (interview, C, 09/08/2022: Chifeng).

Furthermore, the park officials also emphasize the traditional aspects of nomadic life, including the seasonal migration pattern and limited contact with the outside world in the past. They point out that despite the convenience brought by modern developments like wireless networks, the essence of their nomadic culture remains unchanged. The park leaders believe that the herders are generally satisfied with the current situation and emphasize their primary concern in protecting their way of life and cultural identity.

Overall, these interviews reflect the complex perspectives of the local community, acknowledging the importance of the government's protective measures and the significance of the nomadic tradition, while also recognizing the challenges associated with them. The interviews highlight the importance of finding a balance between protective measures and the sustainable livelihoods of the nomads.

4.4.3 The Reasons for Preserving Tradition in the Region

Two Managemental Systems

One of the key factors contributing to the preservation of tradition is the existence of two separate management systems. The protected area includes a forest region and a pastoral region. The forest region, which is managed by the forestry department, is distinct from the pastoral region. The pastoralists consider the pastoral land as their own while recognizing the forest as belonging to the forestry department. Initially, the focus was on protecting the forested areas as natural ecological reserves, but later efforts were made to establish protected areas for pastoral activities as well. This resulted in the coexistence of two sets of government officials, with separate departments, courts, and law enforcement agencies for both the forest and pastoral regions. Despite the division, the authorities coordinate their efforts to protect the land and respect each other's rights. The government established regulations to allow grazing activities while ensuring the preservation of forested areas. Consequently, the current conservation efforts primarily target forested regions (interview, Bu, 16/08/2022: Chifeng).

The inseparability of forest and pastoral areas: The presence of a forest region within the protected area further complicates the division of land. The forest region is managed by a forest department and is situated alongside the pastoral land. Due to the historical absence of land division, it has become impossible to separate the two areas. The interviewee mentions that if the forested mountains were to be divided, it would cause the collapse of the soil, leading to undesirable consequences. Therefore, the forest region is protected alongside the pastoral land, forming an integrated landscape that is preserved as a whole.

By maintaining two separate management systems and recognizing the inseparability of the forest and pastoral regions, the traditional way of life in this area has been preserved. The protection of forests and the establishment of regulations for grazing activities demonstrate a concerted effort to balance ecological preservation and the needs of pastoral communities.

Avoiding Conflicts of Pastoral Division and Invalid Policy

The preservation of traditional practices in the given area can be attributed to the historical absence of land division, the scarcity of grazing land, and the avoidance of individual land allocation policies. According to the statement made by Scholar Bu, the region had not undergone land division or allocation for the past thirty years. The area consisted of collective lands belonging to several "GaCha" (herding groups). Even after the liberation period, when the region transformed into a single village, the lands remained undivided due to the overlapping nature of the territories. This lack of land division prevented conflicts among herding communities.

The scarcity of grazing land in the region has also played a role in preserving traditional practices. With limited available pastureland, households are located in close proximity to one another. The shared understanding is that each GaCha does not distinguish between individual land ownership, ensuring efficient land utilization and preventing resource shortages. The practice of not dividing summer campsites among individual families also contributes to the effective use of available land (interview, Newphre, 17/08/2022: Chifeng).

A comparison is made with Hulunbuir, where individual land allocation has taken place. In contrast, the given area, covering over 90,000 square kilometers, has not undergone individual land division. This broad expanse of grassland allows for the preservation of nomadic practices. The speaker highlights (interview, Bu, 16/08/2022: Chifeng) the challenge of dividing such vast lands and emphasizes that the average land area per person in the given area is significantly smaller than in Hulunbuir. The allocation of individual land and the restriction of nomadic movement in Hulunbuir are cited as examples of policies that limit traditional pastoralism.

Therefore, the preservation of traditional practices in the given area can be attributed to the historical absence of land division, the scarcity of grazing land, and the avoidance of individual land allocation policies. These factors have contributed to the harmonious coexistence of herding communities, efficient land utilization, and the protection of nomadic practices.

Ancestry Awareness

The preservation of traditional practices in the area is driven by an awareness of ancestry and a desire to maintain the original state of the region. According to an official, there is a government regulation that emphasizes the need to preserve the place as it has been for generations. This reflects a recognition of the ancestral heritage associated with the area (interview, Lao,

17/08/2022: Chifeng). The nomads in the region also express a strong connection to their ancestry, as indicated by their statement, "Father, grandfather, and previous generations have been here" (interview, Brother in low, 17/08/2022: Chifeng). This highlights the importance of ancestral ties and a sense of continuity in the local community.

The scholar's viewpoint further supports the notion that the concept of division was not prevalent in the past. The scholar states that there was no concept of dividing the land, and people would gather in the winter and move as a group in the summer. This suggests a collective mindset and a small population at the time, where individuals had the freedom to go wherever they wished. The scholar's perspective provides insight into the historical context and the absence of a division mindset among the nomads (interview, Bu, 16/08/2022: Chifeng).

Therefore, the preservation of traditional practices in the area is closely linked to the awareness of ancestry and the desire to maintain the region's original state. The regulations set by the government, along with the nomads' strong connection to their ancestral heritage, contribute to the preservation of the traditional way of life. The absence of a concept of division in the past, as highlighted by the scholar, further emphasizes the collective and interconnected nature of the community.

Preserving Traditions

Preserving traditions holds significant importance in the region, influenced by various factors. Firstly, preserving traditions is closely related to the mindset and ideology of the region. An official state that the people in the region share similar values and aspirations with other places. They resist external influences and strive to maintain their unique identity and traditions (interview, Lao, 17/08/2022: Chifeng). This reflects their pride in their culture and their emphasis on traditional values.

Secondly, ancestry awareness plays a vital role in preserving traditions. The residents of the region have deep connections to their land and traditions, tracing back to their ancestors (interview, Newphre, 17/08/2022: Chifeng). This ancestral awareness strengthens their sense of responsibility and love for their traditions, further fueling their determination to preserve them. Furthermore, there is a strong sense of protectionism in the region. People emphasize the importance of preserving the original state and natural environment. They believe that once the land is divided or restricted by fences, the pristine condition will be compromised. Thus, preserving traditions is closely linked to the protection of land and natural resources.

Lastly, preserving traditions does not imply backwardness or lack of progress in the region. Officials emphasize that the region is not comparatively backward but rather has its uniqueness (interview, Lao, 17/08/2022: Chifeng). This indicates that preserving traditions is a conscious choice, driven by a genuine appreciation for traditional culture and the maintenance of a distinct identity. Thus, preserving traditions in the region is motivated by various factors. It encompasses mindset, ancestry awareness, protectionism, and the maintenance of a unique identity. These factors collectively drive the community in the region to uphold traditional ways of life and protect cultural heritage.

Governmental Control

In 2016, a national-level protected area was established in the region with the initial goal of preserving the natural ecosystem, particularly the forests in the mountains. However, this land also served as the livelihood for local farmers, and therefore, the farmers were included within the scope of protection. This protected area, which focused on a pastoral system, was jointly managed by different entities with varying conservation designations, such as national forest parks and natural ecological reserves. However, conflicts and disputes started to arise, particularly regarding land ownership. The government took a measure that allowed grazing but prohibited damage to the forests.

After a visit by the Minister of Agriculture to the region, it was recognized that the conservation efforts were well-executed, leading to a suggestion to declare it a national heritage project. This created a contradiction since the Ministry of Agriculture and the Ministry of Culture did not fall under the same department, yet the intangible cultural heritage project in the area involved both ministries. The Minister of the Cultural Department of the autonomous region questioned the direct reporting to the Ministry of Agriculture. Eventually, this issue was resolved by the Agricultural and Animal Husbandry Department of the autonomous region reporting first to the regional leadership and then to the Ministry of Agriculture. Under the attention of the Chairman of the autonomous region, leaders from the Agricultural Department and the Cultural Department participated in the reporting conference. The government pledged to protect the pastoral cultural heritage, allocating a budget of over 10 million and following the reporting procedures, ultimately obtaining approval in 2014.

After the establishment of the protected area, grazing was no longer allowed in the forests, leading to conflicts among herders. Although the process of resolving these conflicts was complex, they were gradually mitigated through mediation and coordination. The government proposed protective measures that no longer expelled herders but instead allowed them to freely

graze within the protected area. Previous policies required herders to move out of the protected area and receive compensation. However, the new policy, after being nationally recognized, relaxed these mandatory grazing restrictions, fostering harmonious coexistence between the herders and the protected area.

In the summer of 2017, government representatives, including Chairman Bu Xiaolin of the autonomous region, personally conducted an inspection of the pastoral system protected area. This inspection served not only for publicity and photography purposes but, more importantly, to demonstrate the government's stance and support. Although the opinions of experts and scholars were important, the ultimate decision-making power remained in the hands of the government. Several local scholars unanimously agreed with and supported the declaration of the protected area. In 2018, the pastoral system protected area became a protected unit at the autonomous region level and was submitted for consideration as an Important Agricultural Heritage System by the Food and Agriculture Organization of the United Nations (FAO) in 2019.

However, due to an unexpected epidemic, the acceptance by the United Nations was postponed and ultimately revoked in 2020. It was not until May 7, 2023, that the region successfully passed the United Nations' acceptance and became the only Important Agricultural Heritage System, recognized by the Food and Agriculture Organization of the United Nations (FAO), associated with a pastoral system worldwide. During this period, the government conducted drills and online reporting, providing explanations and responses to relevant issues. Ultimately, the declaration of the area received unanimous approval.

As analyzed by scholars, the current situation can be described as follows:

"Why is it called a pastoral system rather than pastoral culture? It includes animal husbandry, agriculture, and forestry. This coordination means we protect the ecology, forests, and herders simultaneously" (interview, Bu, 16/08/2022: Chifeng).

In the end, the protected area continued to exist and sustain itself as a pastoral system. This section, through the organization of events and timelines, emphasizes the subsequent measures taken in response to conflicts and the role of the government in the protection and heritagization of the pastoral system. The concept of the "ultimate pastoral system" has certain objective factors, but it also exhibits significant human intervention. As stated by an official:

"We didn't build roads here to protect this place. The inconvenience in transportation is also an advantage. We want to maintain the original appearance and status of this place and discourage disorder. We don't want it to become a tourist area" (interview, Lao, 17/08/2022: Chifeng).

Therefore, it can be observed that the government's implementation of measures to protect the forests, address conflicts related to herders' nomadic practices, and the implementation of closed management during certain periods directly contributed to the preservation and development of the traditional aspects of the protected area. However, this temporal development was not entirely natural but rather a development within a different spatial dimension, as the contrasting temporalities between the region and external modernization became evident.

4.4.4 Opinion to Ger

The current gers in the area are makeshift and temporary dwellings, unlike the original ones where people used to live throughout the year. They are relatively simple due to economic considerations. Good quality gers cost over 20,000 yuan, while simpler ones cost a few thousand or ten thousand yuan. Traditional gers can be made of iron, which is preferable during windy or rainy weather. In the summer, the government does not allow long-term housing construction, making gers an ideal living option for the herders in the protected area.

The herders' perspective on Mongolian gers in the protected area reveals several key factors based on an analysis conducted using NVivo software (see Table 5). Six factors summarize the nomads' opinions on gers, including 'used to be', 'feeling well', 'suitable for mobile life', 'updated settings', 'building restrictions' and 'as a storage in winter'. Firstly, many herders have a strong attachment to gers as they have been living in them since childhood. They appreciate the nomadic lifestyle and find it suitable for their seasonal location changes between summer and winter. Secondly, some herders believe that modern buildings, in contrast to gers, hinder the sense of togetherness within families due to their compartmentalized design. Thirdly, herders find gers to be pleasantly cool during the summer months and even upgrade their ger's furniture with modern technological advancements.

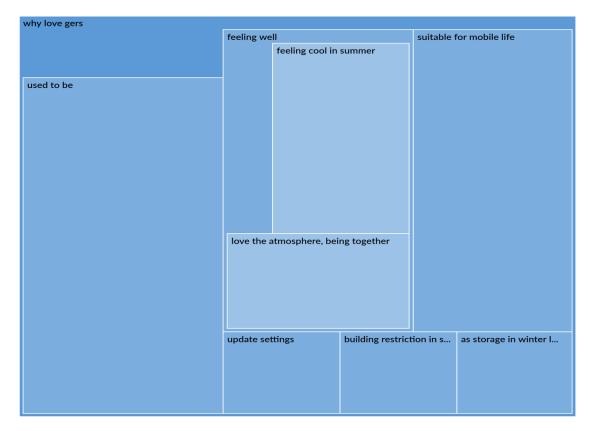


TABLE 4 NOMADS' OPINIONS TO GER IN GOGESTAI, CHIFENG

Part 2. Grounded Theory

4.5 The Analysis of Grounded Theory Results

4.5.0 Introduction

As Strauss and Corbin (1990) elucidated, the essence of grounded theory lies in the continuous and profound analysis of raw data to deduce an interpretative theoretical framework. Their study expounds in detail on the steps of coding analysis. During the initial open coding stage, researchers are tasked with line-by-line, exhaustive data scrutiny to ensure no pivotal concept or theme is overlooked (Strauss & Corbin, 1990, p. 61). This is not merely a simplistic data categorization endeavor, but a process aimed at understanding the deeper meanings embedded within the data.

As the research progresses, axial coding emerges as a pivotal step. In this phase, the previously identified concepts start to interrelate and culminate into higher-level categories. To ascertain the research's accuracy and comprehensiveness, researchers at this juncture need more systematic data analysis (Strauss & Corbin, 1990, p. 96). Ultimately, the selective coding phase offers a clear direction for the entire research. Here, researchers select a core category around

which the entire theoretical framework is constructed. This phase not only necessitates a revisiting of previous codings but also requires the researchers to ensure that the final theoretical framework is coherent in logic, structure, and content (Strauss & Corbin, 1990, p. 143).

Consequently, this study conducted a coding analysis on the representative primary interview data collected from the 10 interviews, following coding steps in Chapter 3.8 Table 6. Initially, through the open coding process, data manifested various perceptions about the ger, such as its incompatibility with current production and living patterns, its symbolic representation of home, and the need to transform it into a public building. A total of 474 raw data points were identified. Upon further examination, these responses were grouped into concepts. For instance, the notion that traditional gers are ill-suited for modern lifestyles was supported by multiple data points (a1, a10, a11, a13, a14, a37, a137). Similarly, the idea that gers represent the Mongolian home stemmed from multiple responses (a4, a73, a353). From the open coding process, a total of 282 initial concepts emerged. Subsequently, these concepts were categorized based on their similarities and relations. It was an iterative process, necessitating continuous comparison, reflection, and adjustments. This ensured that each category maintained internal consistency while remaining distinct from other categories. Then, a total of 51 categorized data emerged.

Selective coding then attempted to discern the interrelationships among these categories. The outcome was the identification of 5 primary categories and 14 subcategories. Some of the main categories highlighted the perpetuation of nomadic culture, the preservation of the core form of the ger, and the implications of contemporary needs on the evolution of the ger. The subcategories delved deeper into specific relationships, such as that between herders and gers, the conservation of the ger's core space, and challenges posed by limited raw materials and traditional construction skills.

Organize	Open Coding		Selective Coding		
Memorandum					
Original Data	Tagged Data	Conceptual Data	Categorized Data	Main Categories	Sub-categories
"The traditional	a1. Not suitable for the current	aa1. Traditional gers are not	A1. The inheritance and	AA1. The core of	aal.
Mongolian ger may	mode of production and living	suitable for the modern lifestyle	development of the	nomadic culture	Continuation of the
not suit the current	a2. The concept of the ger can be	of people (a1, a10, a11, a13,	Mongolian ger must	continues.	relationship between
production and	extended.	a14, a37, a137).	meet the constantly	AA2. The essential	herders.
lifestyle, but its	a3. Ethnic style is required.	aa2. The concept of the ger can	changing production	form of the ger remains	Continuation of the
principles can be	a4. The ger symbolizes the idea of	be extended (a2).	and lifestyle demands	preserved.	relationship between
preserved."	home.	aa3. Ethnic style is required	of modern people (aa1,	AA3.Contemporary	herders and gers.
	a5. Transforming the ger into a	(a3).	aa7, aa26, aa35, aa40,	demands guide the	Continuation of the
"There are no	public building.	aa4. The ger is the home of	aa57, aa60, aa86,	changes.	relationship between
standardized	a6. Traditional gers were all about	Mongolian people (a4, a73,	aa115, aa141, aa227).	AA4. Various factors	herders and the grassland
specifications for	nomadic living.	a353).		influence the heritage.	environment.
wooden structures;	a7. Production, daily life, and	aa5. Transforming the ger into a	A2. The traditional	AA5. Macro factors	
without them,	survival determined the formation	public building (a5).	cultural customs	guide and constrain.	aa2.
construction cannot	of the ger.	aa6. The ger was essential for	embedded in the		Preservation of the core
commence. The	a8. The notions of humans and the	past nomadic lifestyles (a6,	Mongolian ger need to		form of the ger.
central dome lacks	environment are encapsulated	a167).	be preserved (aa2, aa11,		Preservation of the
support pillars,	within the ger.		aa16, aa47, aa72,		essential space of the ger.
allowing for a					

spacious interior. It	a9. (Elevating the ger camp above	aa7. The formation of the ger is	aa124, aa176, aa206,	Preservation of the
is an affordable	the riverbank) is driven by the fear	determined by production, daily	aa234, aa244, aa245).	fundamental structure of
option for hosting	of floods and environmental	life, and survival (a7).		the ger.
weddings and	contamination.	aa8. The idea of coexistence	A3. The ethnic and	
dining."	a10. The reception capacity of the	between humans and the	regional characteristics	aa3.
	ger as a dwelling doesn't align with	environment is present in the	of the Mongolian ger	Change guided by
"There is a demand	modern human life, productivity,	ger (a8, a54).	need to be preserved	functional needs.
for a traditional	and survival.	aa9. Constructing a ger should	(aa3, aa36, aa272).	Change guided by usage
ethnic style. In	all. Accommodations, food, and	not pollute the environment (a9,		requirements.
those times,	transportation provided by a ger fall	a32, a150).	A4. The Mongolian ger	Change guided by cultural
Mongolian gers	short of modern demands.	aa10. Public buildings on the	is a collection of	needs.
were scattered, and	a12. Public buildings on the	grassland require significant	memories of pastoral	
they should be	grassland require substantial	volume to meet demands (a12).	life, and the behaviors,	aa4.
referred to as	volume to meet the needs.	aa11. Both ideology and culture	order, and emotions	Limited and costly raw
dwellings rather	a13. The ger fails to satisfy the	adhere to the principles of the	within it need to be	materials.
than public	modern traveler's requirements.	ger (a15).	continued (aa4, aa6,	Few successors and lack
buildings."	a14. Faced with new functional	aa12. To preserve the ger,	aa53, aa87, aa89,	of continuity.
	demands, a traditional ger is	development of the ger is	aa107, aa109, aa145,	Loss of traditional
"But why call them	inadequate.	necessary (a16, a30, a42, a43,	aa150, aa158, aa181,	construction skills.
dwellings? The	a15. Both ideology and culture	a58, a76, a102).	aa189, aa190, aa191,	
term "ger" is not of	adhere to the principles of the ger.		aa242).	Aa5.

Chinese origin; it is	a16. Heritage must come hand in	aa13. Changes in the ger are		Guided by national
a transliteration	hand with development.	determined by functional	A5. The current	policies.
from the Manchu	a17. Functionality takes	requirements (a17, a20, a44).	development of the	Driven by market forces
language, meaning	precedence.	aa14. Architecture should blend	Mongolian ger needs to	and choices.
"home." My	a18. Architecture should harmonize	with the grassland environment	meet the public	
concept revolves	with the grassland environment.	and adapt to the local context	functional needs of the	
around how to	a19. Clustered structures don't	(a18, a59).	grassland regions (aa5,	
transform the	harmonize well with the grassland	aa15. Grassland community	aa30, aa129, aa140,	
Mongolian ger into	environment.	buildings oriented towards	aa267).	
a public building.	a20. Fulfilling functional	tourism do not harmonize with		
Initially, I	foundations is a prerequisite.	the grassland environment (a19,		
envisioned Hulun	a21. The nomadic cultural elements	a108, a109).		
Buir being covered	need to be transplanted.			
in gers, one after	a22. Imbue the ger with a certain		see Appendix 3 (4)	
another, forming a	sense of rootedness.			
cluster.	a23. Modern ger halls with wooden			
	structures are the most structurally			
"However, gers	viable.			
were originally	a24. The dome is the most effective			
designed for a	load-bearing form.			
nomadic lifestyle,				

and there were a	a25. Upholding the ger's structural			
few key principles	system through generations.			
when setting them				
up: they needed to	see Appendix 3 (2)	see Appendix 3 (3)		
be close to water,				
yet not by the				
river."				
"Three essential				
elements,				
production, life, and				
survival, determine				
the form of the ger.				
Production dictates				
that it must be				
mobile, and life				
inside must have				
sunlight and				
ventilation,				
emphasizing				
survival. But why				

this particular					
shape, and how did					
it come about?"					
see Appendix 3 (1)					
Original data	474 items	282 items	51 items	5 items	14 items

TABLE 5 CODED CONSEQUENCES OF THE GROUNDED THEORY

4.5.1 Results Analysis

Through the encoding process, five primary categories were identified (Table 6). Here are the explanations for them:

1.1 AA1 Sustaining Nomadic Cultural Core

The sustaining of the nomadic cultural core can be elucidated through four subcategories: "Continuity of Interpersonal Relationships," "Continuity of Relationship with Gers," "Continuity of Relationship with the Grasslands," and "Cultural and Emotional Resilience."

Continuity of Interpersonal Relationships

The continuity of interpersonal relationships among nomadic communities is a critical cornerstone for the sustainability of their unique way of life. Various forms of social interactions, such as traditional gatherings, storytelling, and other cultural activities, serve as the medium through which social bonds are maintained and strengthened. As shown in code (A4), "A ger is not just a physical dwelling; it is a social and cultural symbol connecting the community." The seamless merging of 'new relationships' with 'old relationships' through these traditional practices helps in preserving the collective identity, thereby enhancing the community's resilience.

• Continuity of Relationship with Gers

Gers are not just physical structures but are deeply ingrained in the cultural and spiritual dimensions of the nomadic lifestyle. According to scholar (A2), "Even with government-provided housing aids, gers continue to be an indispensable part of our lives." This affinity towards gers indicates the symbolic importance they hold, beyond just being a shelter, in maintaining a continual relationship with cultural traditions.

• Continuity of Relationship with the Grasslands

The symbiotic relationship with the grasslands is vital for the nomadic communities' physical and emotional well-being. Based on code (A6), "Maintaining a spiritual relationship with the grasslands can be emotionally and physically demanding, but it is crucial for the community's happiness." This relationship is not merely about resource acquisition; it is a complex interplay of emotional and cultural bonds. As codes (A3) and (A10) elaborates, the grasslands serve not just as material resources but are sources of cultural inspiration. (A14) emphasized ecological value is the core to continue significance of ger.

Additionally, the nomadic lifestyle demands a high degree of adaptability and emotional resilience, which are fostered through the integration of these relationships. Cultural practices and beliefs, from folklore to traditional rituals, contribute to this resilience. These forms of cultural knowledge output—as expressed through storytelling, song, and dance—act as externalization processes, similar to academic publications in a scholarly context.

As this study elucidates, the sustainability of the nomadic cultural core is supported by these four intertwined subcategories. Each of these dimensions, as narrated by our interviewees underlines the multifaceted nature and enduring adaptability of nomadic culture. This multi-dimensionality not only preserves the traditional aspects but also allows for a balance between tradition and modernity, signifying the adaptive and sustainable characteristics of the nomadic way of life.

1.2 AA2 The Essential Form of the Ger Remains Preserved

The preservation of the ger is nurtured by three primary dimensions: "Preservation of the Core Space of Ger," "Preservation of the Essential Structure of Ger," and "Preservation of the Fundamental Form of Ger."

• Preservation of the Core Space of Ger

The core space of the ger holds multifaceted significance, encapsulating both functional and cultural aspects. According to architect (A12)," the circular design is not merely an architectural feature but serves a broader symbolic role, representing unity and inclusivity". Similarly, scholar (A30) asserted "The domed space of the ger needs to be preserved," highlighting its structural utility and cultural symbolism. It is also a practical implication for facilitating ventilation and natural light.

• Preservation of the Essential Structure of Ger

The Mongolian ger stands as both a practical dwelling and a symbol of cultural heritage. Experts have debated what modifications are permissible to meet contemporary needs without compromising the ger's essence. Several key aspects surface as being fundamental to the structure's integrity.

- Prioritizing Traditional Materials

Manufacturer emphasizes that traditional materials of making ger components like khana, unn, and toon are not merely optional but indispensable. (A18) "The essential materials are important; other components, not necessarily so". This underscores the conviction that the original building materials are critical in maintaining ger's integrity.

- The Symbolic Round Shape

The manufacturer insists on the paramount importance of preserving ger's round shape. This form serves a dual function (A 51): "it's not only practical for the nomadic lifestyle but also symbolic of deeper cultural elements. Preserving the overall round shape is most important".

- The Essence Amidst Simplification

Architect raises a cautionary note against overly simplifying ger's design in the name of modernization, (A42) "Complexity has been simplified in modern versions, but the essence needs to be retained".

- Flexibility in Preservation

Designer suggests a more flexible approach. Change is inevitable and even welcome, if core elements remain intact (A40) "for me, everything can change, as long as one thing remains constant". Several core features merit preservation:

- 1. The round and domed space must be maintained.
- 2. The craftsmanship, especially the Hana technique, needs to be conserved, capturing its essential logic.
- 3. Other elements like the structural framework, felt, and ropes, as well as the wisdom in their combination, are worth preserving.

However, not every element needs to be preserved in its entirety, it is selectively placed depending on the situation. In sum, the ongoing modernization of ger calls for a nuanced approach that respects both practical needs and cultural imperatives. The collective points toward a balanced path that honors the heritage while also embracing inevitable changes.

• Preservation of the Fundamental Form of Ger

Maintaining the ger's traditional form remains central to its identity, both as a living space and as a cultural artifact. Manufacturer stated the round form of ger (A10)"It must have a soul and points of support," thereby addressing both the tangible and intangible aspects of the ger. Official concludes (A12) "even if the interior undergoes modern changes, the form should retain the appearance of a traditional ger". According to (A11), the wooden form is core value of a ger.

Preserving the essential form of the ger is not just about maintaining its structural or aesthetic elements; it is about safeguarding a multifaceted cultural artifact. Each contributor provides unique perspectives that collectively underscore the intricate relationship between the ger's

utilitarian function and its cultural significance. Hence, preserving these elements becomes not just an architectural concern but a cultural imperative.

1.3 AA3 Contemporary Demands Guide the Changes

The guiding framework for changes in response to contemporary demands can be categorized into three sub-areas: "change guided by functional needs," "change guided by usage requirements," and "change guided by cultural needs."

Change Guided by Functional Needs

Functional needs have driven significant transformations in ger, primarily aimed at enhancing service quality and convenience. These changes encompass upgrades to internal amenities, including state-of-the-art restroom facilities and improved living conditions. The modifications aim to meet the increasing expectations of tourists, thereby making ger more adaptable to the modern tourism market.

Tourism owner stated (A9)"In tourism you must provide modern facilities to adequately host guests, including resting, entertainment, and dining spaces." Architect said (A15)"Culture is fading, and people are exploiting it. From the perspective of contemporary urban spaces, public facilities express the psychological state. Different people attach different identities and representations to ger in modern times. Providing variation to the ger also diversifies its representation and identity."

Change Guided by Usage Requirements

Traditional gers face limitations when it comes to modern usage requirements, such as challenges in installing air conditioning and poor sound insulation. How to retain the traditional features of the ger while meeting modern demands has become an urgent issue. Potential solutions could include utilizing new materials for modification or adjusting the design. According to architect (A14) "The traditional ger is not suitable for modern living, but the philosophy behind the Ger can be continued." Tourism owner (A19), "The original gers don't provide sufficient protection against insects or wind, nor can they accommodate air conditioning. The sealing is not good, which can be a problem."

• Change Guided by Cultural Needs

Cultural demands influence ger mainly in design and aesthetic aspects. In modern society, people not only look for the utility of a ger but also want it to symbolize a particular culture and tradition. Hence, designers and manufacturers are striving to strike a balance between preserving traditional elements and fulfilling contemporary requirements. According to code

(A25) "Both the Mongolian ger and the prairie culture are inherently inclusive. The notion that these should be museum pieces is too narrow. They need to evolve alongside the times to sustain their vitality; otherwise, they'll become relics."

The interplay between modern needs and cultural preservation forms a complex interaction in the evolution of ger. These factors highlight the multidimensional aspects of social and cultural considerations, revealing both challenges and opportunities faced by ger in its ongoing development. Balancing these diverse needs and integrating them into the design and structure of ger is not only an architectural challenge but also a cultural responsibility. It calls for collaborative efforts from designers, manufacturers, and cultural stewards to ensure ger can adapt to modern life while retaining its cultural and historical value.

1.4 AA4 various factors influence the heritage

The various factors that influence the heritage are constituted by three subcategories: "limited and costly raw materials", "few successors and lack of continuity" and "loss of traditional construction skills".

Limited and Costly Raw Materials

In the context of traditional craftsmanship, the availability and cost of raw materials are particularly pronounced issues. According to (A43) "Environmental restrictions exist; one must go through approval procedures to harvest." "The scarcity of raw materials, the production costs are high." Similarly, manufacturer stated (A43) "the raw materials have become more expensive, willow branches and the like have turned into scarce resources, smuggled from abroad."

The substitution of traditional wool with artificial felt and synthetic fibers, which not only raises costs but also potentially poses health risks. Such inferior materials make it difficult to maintain the quality of traditional crafts and may lead to a shorter lifespan for the products, thereby increasing long-term costs. These issues, when combined, not only affect the transmission of traditional crafts but also impact consumer trust and experience. When consumers find that paying a premium still doesn't secure a high-quality, durable product, they may turn to alternatives or abandon purchases altogether.

Overall, the scarcity and high cost of raw materials have become a serious issue that requires the attention and solutions from industry, government, and society. Within the larger context of sustainability and environmental conservation, the challenge of balancing cost, quality, and supply to ensure the continuity of traditional crafts in modern society is a complex issue that demands in-depth research and resolution.

• Few Successors and a Lack of Continuity

The transmission of traditional crafts relies not only on the availability and quality of raw materials but also heavily depends on having individuals willing to learn and continue these skills, an issue that is becoming increasingly serious. As per (A46) "Young people don't want to do it, it takes too much time. It's hard work, and they are not interested." Similarly, officials express (A46) "The biggest difficulty now is that it is too strenuous to pass down the skills. Although we have training classes every year, mostly it is the middle-aged who come to learn, and young people rarely participate." A cultural center director observed that young people are not interested in traditional lifestyles; they prefer living in buildings, and even if they have gers, they often question their utility.

These issues collectively create a worrying situation: due to the lack of interest and participation from the younger generation, traditional crafts are at risk of experiencing a generational gap. This may lead not only to the loss of craftsmanship but also to the difficulty of transmitting the associated cultural and historical values. The gap extends beyond the level of crafts and may impact the continuity of entire communities and cultures.

Therefore, along with focusing on raw material and quality issues, the transmission of traditional crafts also needs to address the issues of insufficient successors and a lack of continuity. This requires a multi-stakeholder solution, involving aspects such as education, social awareness, and government policies. Finding a way to protect and pass down these valuable skills in the face of modernization and urbanization is an urgent issue that needs resolution.

Loss of Traditional Construction Skills

When discussing the challenges faced by traditional crafts, the loss of traditional construction skills for ger presents severe challenges. As shown on inheritor (A47) "When I was a child, there were many masters crafting gers; now they are all gone. Skills are being lost." This suggests that many experienced older craftsmen have either passed away or can no longer engage in this work, and there are fewer and fewer new inheritors.

Manufactory mentioned (A46) "This craft needs to be passed on; our older generation is almost done, we're in our 80s, and young people are not learning." He revealed that in his factory, only three people are transferring these skills, indicating a severe shortage of talent. Officials offered a more specific example (A50) "The only thing that cannot be recovered now is the 'crown' (roof wheel)," describing the intricate process that involves specialized woodworking

techniques. He also noted that due to the lack of suitable timber locally, the technique has become extremely complex and difficult.

In summary, the loss of traditional construction skills is a multi-dimensional problem. It's not only related to a decline in the number of skilled people and the aging of the older generation but also concerns the loss of specific techniques and the shortage of appropriate raw materials. These interacting factors place traditional construction skills at grave risk of decline and potential extinction.

1.5 AA5 Macro factors guide and constrain

The macro factors guide and constrain are comprised of two subcategories: "guided by national policies" and "driven by market forces and choices". In the first part of the data analysis, these factors are all addressed, such as the impact of policies in Part I. It is reflected in codes (A37) emphasizing the need for policymakers to comprehend local traditional culture; (A28) highlighting the pivotal role of national policies in the preservation and development of gers; (A29) noting the influence of industrialization on the advancement of Mongolian gers while also raising concerns about their cultural heritage.

4.5.2 Associations of Categories

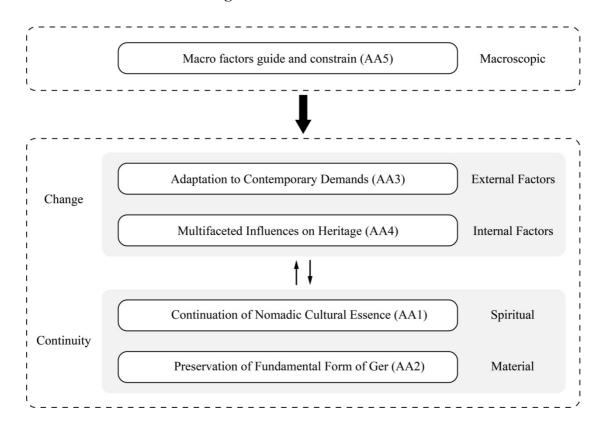


FIGURE 40 THE ASSOCIATIONS OF CATEGORIES WITHIN GERS IN THE RESULT OF THE GROUNDED THEORY

Categories of Continuity

- Continuation of the Core of Nomadic Culture (AA1): This core category represents the essential elements of Mongolian nomadic culture, including its historical depth and cultural significance. It is classified as a category of continuation because it signifies the enduring and indispensable nature of the cultural essence. Even in the face of various challenges and transformations within contemporary society, this cultural essence remains a constant core of Mongolian nomadic culture.
- Cultural Manifestations (AA2): This category represents the evolving and changing forms of culture in specific practices and expressions to adapt to changing environments and needs. It is classified as a continuation category because, while it represents cultural changes and adaptability, it still serves as a complement and extension of the cultural core, aimed at preserving the fundamental characteristics of the culture.

Categories of Change

- Adaptation to Contemporary Demands (AA3): This category emphasizes the need for culture to adapt to the demands of modern life, which may require adjustments in the functionality, design, and materials of the Mongolian ger. It is classified as a category of internal change because it focuses on adjustments and changes in culture at the micro-level of demands.
- Multifaceted Influences on Heritage (AA4): This includes the various influences on culture, such as resources, skills, and policies. It is classified as a category of external change because it emphasizes the multifaceted influences on culture from external factors that can alter the direction and manifestations of culture.

Macroeconomic Factors Category

Guidance and Constraints from Macroeconomic Factors (AA5): This category represents
the external macroeconomic factors that guide and constrain the continuation and changes
in the essence of nomadic culture. It is classified as a macroeconomic factors category
because it highlights the impact of national policies and market dynamics on the direction
of culture.

Overall, the interactions and influences among these categories constitute the complex process of both continuation and change in culture. First, there is an interaction between the categories of continuation and change, representing the dynamic interplay between what remains unchanged and what evolves. From a macro perspective, these macroeconomic factors exert influence on both change and continuation. They represent a higher-level macro control force that affects both internal and external changes. Additionally, they conditionally affect the forms of continuation, such as how ethnic elements are preserved under market choices.

4.5.3 Results Validity

In this study, one highly representative interviewee was selected from each community group based on the quality of the conversation and the interviewee's professional qualifications. A total of 8 interviewees were involved in the GT coding process. After coding the sixth interviewee, it was observed that the coding content from the seventh and eighth interviewees overlapped with the existing coding content, and no new codes emerged. Therefore, it was concluded that the coding content had reached saturation. Furthermore, the coding content matched the research questions and the author's understanding of the issues discovered during the research process, confirming the accuracy of the coding logic. Moreover, certain coding content, such as that of AA4, aligned with the logic of Part 1 of the study, demonstrating the effectiveness of the coding and its complementarity with other content.

Chapter 5: Discussion

5.0 Introduction

This chapter aims to answer the research questions posed in this study by integrating the theoretical framework outlined in the Literature Review (Chapter 2) with the findings obtained from the ger investigations (Chapter 4). In the Chapter of Data Analysis (Chapter 4), this study explores the multidimensional and complex relationships underlying gers in different regions. It was found that gers are currently undergoing diverse transformations, and practitioners have expanded beyond traditional nomadic groups to individuals from various backgrounds. These transformations reveal contradictions in the industrial ecology and management policies of different regions, highlighting that the emphasis on the protection of traditional craftsmanship in the current heritage discourse is insufficient for addressing and supporting heritage in the contemporary post-nomadic era.

Reviewing the shortcomings identified in the Literature research (Chapter 1 and Chapter 2), several issues arise: Firstly, there is a noticeable gap in the study of post-nomadic heritage, leading to a lack of understanding of the characteristics of the post-nomadic era. Secondly, despite numerous studies on gers, there is a lack of speculative and contemporary research that delves into their changes and protection, often presenting a superficial attitude. Thirdly, the current methods and theoretical elements of living heritage, within the framework of speculative heritage research, are overly simplistic and inadequate for understanding cultural heritage like gers. These issues may arise from the overly uniform research methods and top-down expert perspectives, which fail to capture the dynamics of contemporary changes adequately. Moreover, there is insufficient attention to non-nomadic groups today, as their value is often not recognized.

Therefore, this study employs a comprehensive fundamental research approach to objectively interpret the changes in gers and their associated practitioners. It discovers more comprehensive and robust explanations of heritage elements, enabling a reevaluation and understanding of heritage within the context of ongoing changes. This chapter first elucidates the characteristic elements of the post-nomadic era presented in the case as background narration. Second, it presents the diversity of heritage through a re-comparison of the discourse characteristics of the respondents. Content results further reveal the characteristic elements of heritage in the post-nomadic era, forming a more comprehensive framework for changing local heritage. Third, this chapter integrates both reality and theory to enhance our comprehension of heritage theory. It

redefines the concepts of heritage change and continuity, thereby defining the core concept of nomadic culture in the post-nomadic era.

Furthermore, the research reconsiders the reliability of its application through a reflection on the research methods. In the fourth section, it reevaluates the contribution of a comprehensive fundamental research approach to the development of heritage theory. Finally, this chapter proposes a theoretical concept, the "Integrated Living Heritage Approach," based on judgments from reality and theory, to reconstruct our understanding of living heritage. Overall, this research provides a summary that emphasizes the contributions of living heritage research to the study of post-nomadism.

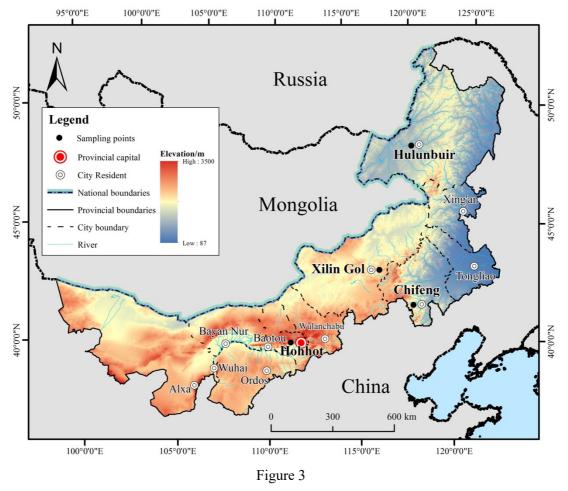
5.1 Post-Nomadism

5.1.0 Introduction

This section aims to reestablish the definition of post-nomadism, based on the narratives presented in Chapter 6, Part I. As discussed in Chapter 2, the definition of the post-nomadism remains vague, and there is a dearth of cultural heritage research in this context. Therefore, this chapter delves into the characteristics, temporality, and manifestations of post-nomadism as revealed in the field investigations, with the goal of providing a comprehensive supplement to the research background.

5.1.1 The Persistence of the Post-Nomadism

The persistence of the post-nomadic era manifests diversely across different geographical landscapes, as substantiated by the research findings. This study encompassed four distinct regions within Inner Mongolia: Hulunbuir in the eastern part, Arukorqin Banner in Chifeng and Xilin Gol League in the central region, and Hohhot to the south (see Figure 3). These regions represent a spectrum of activities, including tourism, manufacturing, governance, pastoralism, and design. From the accumulated data, three prominent states of nomadic persistence emerged across these locales: 1) Pastoralism without nomadism, 2) Both pastoralism and nomadism coexisting, and 3) the Absence of both.



In Hulunbuir, a vast expanse of nomadic persistence is evident. Here, herders graze their livestock in designated private pastures while employing gers. The thriving tourism industry in this region, which is undergoing rectifications, underscores its classification under the 'Pastoralism without nomadism' category. Xilin Gol League, predominantly pastoral like Hulunbuir, exhibits similar pastoral tendencies. However, it distinguishes itself with a more frequent use of gers and a renowned ger manufacturing industry in the Blue Banner region. Hohhot, being the capital city of Inner Mongolia, epitomizes complete urbanization, thus fitting the 'Absence of both' category. Arukorqin Banner in Chifeng stands out as the last bastion in Inner Mongolia where both nomadism and pastoralism persist, thereby categorizing it under 'Both pastoralism and nomadism co-existing'. Although its short-distance migrations and fixed winter-summer camps align it with Hulunbuir and other nomadic regions, its pastures, governed by a collective economic model, deviate from the individual ownership prevalent in other locales.

Given that this research primarily centers on the ger, the nomadic persistence serves as a supplementary context to discern the legacy of the post-nomadic era. Thus, certain regions in Inner Mongolia that have largely transitioned from a nomadic to an agrarian economy

(BurenSaiyin 2007) have not been explored in this study due to their limited relevance to the ger. Yet, they can be encompassed under the aforementioned 'Absence of both' category concerning post-nomadic persistence.

The findings of this research illuminate the multifaceted and intricate nature of nomadic culture across various geographical terrains. Each region mirrors its unique socio-economic and cultural characteristics, which are instrumental in comprehending the relationship between the ger and the legacy of the post-nomadic era. While the ger remains the focal point of this study, the nomadic practices across these regions underscore the diversity and adaptability of the nomadic culture, reiterating its continued relevance in contemporary society. It is important to note that although some areas have transitioned from a nomadic to a market-based economy, this transition does not signify the end of the marginalization of nomadic culture. On the contrary, such shifts demonstrate the culture's adaptability and resilience in response to external changes. Collectively, these insights provide a nuanced and profound perspective, shedding light on the intricacies of the post-nomadic legacy and its significance in today's societal fabric.

5.1.2 The Temporal Definition of the Post-Nomadism

The commencement of the post-nomadism era remains an ambiguous concept, as its definition hinges on a myriad of fluctuating factors. When assessed from the standpoint of settled nomadism, 1984 emerges as a pivotal year. However, research reveals that the actual allocation of grazing lands to many herders occurred predominantly between the 1990s and 2010s, as corroborated by interviews with Interviewees Hong, Long, and Xiqi (see Appendix 2). Furthermore, if the rise of tourism serves as the benchmark, the 1990s can be pinpointed as the initial phase. This assertion stems from studies indicating that while the tourism industry began to burgeon in the 1990s, it truly flourished in the 2000s. Yet, the peak profitability was achieved in the years leading up to 2017, as inferred from interviews with tourism operators and manufacturers in the Mongolian ger industry.

From these findings, it becomes evident that the transition into the post-nomadism era was a gradual process, shaped by the evolving stages and influences of varying elements. A recurring theme discerned from the interviews is that the distinctive features of the post-nomadism era predominantly hinge on three transformative shifts: the migration from nomadism to settled living, the surge of the tourism industry, and urbanization. Intriguingly, all these facets underwent transformations, primarily influenced by the economic market liberalizations introduced towards the end of the 1980s.

In understanding the nuances of the transition from nomadism to post-nomadism, primary data from first-hand accounts were invaluable. An interviewee elucidated on the socio-economic changes experienced by herders in the wake of economic reforms during the late 1980s and 1990s. They noted:

"It wasn't until the late 1980s and throughout the 1990s that, with the unfolding of economic reforms, grazing lands were allocated to the herders. This ushered in a brief but rapid expansion phase for the herders. Their lives improved drastically. They bred livestock which they were reluctant to sell, leading to ever-increasing numbers. It felt like walking with a mobile bank. But then, an unexpected realization dawned." (Interview, A. 18/07/2022: Hohhot).

Complementing this perspective, another interviewee shed light on the broader cultural and economic transformations that paralleled this shift:

"Apart from the evident shifts, like livestock no longer roaming freely and being penned instead, and people transitioning from a nomadic to a settled lifestyle, another industry began to flourish — tourism. Without ownership of the land, tourism would have been impossible. Furthermore, the emergence of the Chinese middle class played a pivotal role. With improved economic conditions and an increasing number of people earning decent salaries, there was a surge in interest in tourism." (Interview, Zheng, 16/07/2022:Hohhot).

These insights underscore the intricate interplay of economic, socio-cultural, and policy-driven factors that shaped the post-nomadism era.

5.1.3 Elements of the Post-Nomadic Era

In the current post-nomadic era as presented in my research, four elements can be identified: settled pastoralism, the tourism industry, post-modern expression, and continued nomadism.

Firstly, the implementation of settled pastoralism has led to a weakening of nomadic behaviors. As observed in the research (in Chapter 4.1.1), housing on the grasslands has become fixed, transitioning away from the mobile mode that facilitates migration. There's an increased sense of pastoral management, as described at the beginning (Chapter 1.2), suggesting that settled pastoralism, to some extent, represents individual economic activities and largely enhances productivity. The restrictions on the development of tourism-oriented gers, as elaborated in

Chapter 4.1.2, further indicate the operational state of an independent pastoral economy. Thus, compared to the collective nomadism in Aru Kerqin Banner, Chifeng, which can be seen as a microcosm of the nomadic era, settled pastoralism has instilled a sense of private ownership, thereby emerging as a significant factor in the transition to the post-nomadic era. As stated by interviewee Designer Bai, "In the past, the distinction between your pasture and mine was somewhat blurred, jointly maintaining an ecological balance" (interview, Bai, 06/07/2022: Hohhot). Currently, the demarcation is clear. The herders involved in the research operate on a family basis, and the varying housing needs reflect the differential accumulation of individual economic wealth.

Secondly, the post-nomadic era prominently reflects market economy characteristics. As delineated in Chapter 4.3, the commercialization of the Mongolian ger has been evident since the economic reforms of the 1980s, gradually transitioning to privatization. With expansion, the production demands for the ger have been consistently modernized, continually evolving based on customer needs. As a factory manager, mentioned, "Our product is highly sensitive to global economic fluctuations. An economic crisis can instantly affect us" (Interviewee, Z,17/06/2022: Xilingol). This suggests that products from the nomadic era are now intricately linked with the modern economy. Most conspicuously, the tourism industry has flourished in Inner Mongolia, with Mongolian-themed tourism and pastoral tours becoming commonplace. Nomadic tourism, based largely on market economics, primarily focuses on entertainment consumption. As indicated in Chapter 4.1.1, the ger, traditionally used by families, has evolved into public infrastructure to cater to a broader demographic. On the grasslands, nomadic experiences like horseback riding and dance performances are curated for tourists, translating pastoral life into consumable experiences.

Furthermore, the post-nomadic era manifests conspicuous modernization demands. The tourist-centric gers, as described in Chapter 4.1.2, have seen evolving expectations, gradually transforming into exotic hotel rooms. Other innovative ger designs, such as framed, cemented, or mobile versions, have emerged in response to contemporary living and production needs. As Designer N articulated, "Nomadic culture needs to experiment more to adapt to the environment" (Interview, Nand, 07/07/2022: Hohhot). Touristic officer also stated, "Off-road vehicles and motorcycles have replaced horses in pastoral activities. Cultures aren't static; they adapt and embrace useful innovations" (Interview, D, 12/05/2022: Hulunbuir). Echoing these sentiments, most interviewees not only owned pastures but also constructed permanent residences on their winter pastures. Some even had dwellings in nearby towns, providing their children access to enhanced educational resources (Interview, Cuo, 17/04/2022: Hulunbuir).

Lastly, and crucially, nomadic traditions persist. Places like Hulunbuir and Xilingol epitomize this age-old practice in its modern context. Despite global trends leaning towards urbanization and technological advancements, vast grasslands in these areas remain untouched, standing as testaments to the enduring spirit of the nomadic lifestyle. The Aru Horqin Banner in Chifeng remains a poignant reminder of this tradition. As the last bastion of traditional nomadic culture, it continues to employ age-old rotational grazing, utilizing distinct pastures in summer and winter to optimize land and livestock health. Interviews highlighted that many herders still cherish this lifestyle, viewing it not just as a means of livelihood but as a treasured cultural heritage. By relying on cattle and sheep herding, these herders have carved a sustainable niche for themselves in an increasingly globalized world. While modernization poses challenges, their resilience in maintaining this way of life underscores its significance. Moreover, these traditional practices, juxtaposed against the backdrop of modern China, paint a rich tapestry of cultural evolution, where ancient traditions harmoniously coexist with contemporary practices.

In light of this research, the post-nomadic era emerges as a nuanced tapestry interwoven with both traditional and modern threads. Four distinct elements surface - settled pastoralism, a burgeoning tourism industry, modern articulations, and the indomitable spirit of nomadism. While settled pastoralism underscores a shift towards privatization and individual economic endeavours, the rise of the market economy in the region, particularly evident in the tourism and ger industries, mirrors global economic trajectories and consumer behaviours. The palpable demand for modernization, ranging from the transformation of gers to cater to tourist preferences to the adoption of new technologies in pastoral life, signifies a culture poised for adaptive evolution. This study not only elucidates the multifaceted nature of the post-nomadic era but also accentuates the imperative of safeguarding and understanding cultural evolutions in an increasingly globalized milieu. Hence, to delve deeper into the evolution of nomadic culture, the subsequent section will provide an intricate examination of the ger as a representative heritage, elucidating how it is narrated and reshaped within contemporary perspectives.

5.2 Representations of Heritage in Post-Nomadism

5.2.0 Introduction

In continuation of the discussion of the research background in the previous chapter, the aim of this chapter is to deliberate on the research subject. The research subject primarily encompasses both human and non-human elements, namely the practitioners and the evolving Mongolian ger. Firstly, in the initial three sections of this chapter, I will reevaluate the discourses of

different groups, aligning them with the concept of "multi-temporalities" discussed in Chapter 2.7.1 to reveal the temporal orientations of Mongolian ger change as articulated by various practitioner groups. This highlights the distinct roles of individual agencies in the creation and utilization of gers, and I will therefore incorporate the theoretical framework on "agency and creation" from Chapter 2.6.2 to expound on this aspect. Subsequently, the discussion of factors affecting gers is multifaceted, and this section will integrate the factors discussed in Chapter 4, categorizing them into broader categories to examine the current status of Mongolian gers. Finally, this chapter revisits the manifestations of cultural heritage in the post-nomadic era, summarizing its characteristics.

5.2.1 Diverse Understandings and Practices of Ger

My interviewees include eight distinct groups: designers, government officials, ger manufacturers, herders, tourism operators, scholars, cultural and creative industry professionals, and intangible cultural heritage inheritors. They, as practitioners involved with gers, serve not only as sources of information but, more importantly, as the constructors of Mongolian gers. Each group holds a subjective perspective on gers and possesses the agency to shape them to varying degrees. Their roles are as follows:

Designers play a pivotal role characterized by creativity and innovation. They continuously explore the boundaries of ger development and put their ideas into practice. As demonstrated in Chapter 4.1, new Mongolian ger designs are characterized by imaginative freedom while rooted in deep exploration of the core principles of gers. For instance, in the case of inflatable gers, interviewee Bai emphasizes the mobility at the core of gers, which must be preserved, but allows for changes in materials and spatial layout (interview, Bai, 06/07/2022: Hohhot). In a representative case involving tourist gers, it is deemed necessary to transform them into public buildings, preserving their form while making alterations in materials and spatial layout to accommodate a wider audience. From this perspective, gers, under the influence of designers, become flexible and dynamic spaces, with a temporal orientation toward the present and the future.

"Whether it's a Mongolian ger or grassland culture, it's actually a very inclusive state. It's quite narrow now when people talk about gers, as if they're stuck in museums. But we believe that grassland culture and gers should be inclusive and forward-looking to have a way out and continue to thrive. Heritage is not about preserving something and treating it as a relic! It must develop together with the times to be truly vibrant; otherwise, it becomes an antique." (interview, Bai, 06/07/2022: Hohhot)

Similarly, in the perception of designers in the touristic site Silver Hadag Palace, the decisive factor for gers is their contemporaneity rather than their historical legacy. He states, "The three elements—production, living, and survival—determine the formation of gers. Production determines that it must be mobile, and living inside must have sunlight and ventilation, emphasizing survival" (interview, Jiang, 01/05/2022: Hulunbuir). Therefore, in his view, the core essence of gers needs to be inherited and developed, but a Mongolian ger transformed into a public building is no longer a true Mongolian ger; instead, it becomes a reflection of the spirit of the times, guiding people to draw inspiration from the past and develop contemporary ethnic architectural features. Their temporalities can be understood as *present and future- oriented*.

Government officials, as policy implementers, play a crucial role in managing and influencing the changes in gers. The interviewed government officials represent a diverse group, including officials responsible for grassland management, heritage management, environmental inspection, land resources, and tourism management. Their narratives revolve around policies related to gers, reflecting on the phenomena and consequences resulting from these policies and their personal experiences. As presented in Chapter 4.2, the grassland management is fraught with limitations and contradictions. First, fixed grazing policies have led herders to abandon their nomadic lifestyle, combined with their desire for improved living conditions, causing gers to transition from essential nomadic dwellings to supplements of nomadic life. The Grassland Law established in 2003 contained management flaws, leading to extensive commercial use of gers without proper permits, driven by economic incentives. During this period, many fixedform gers, such as the prominent cement brick structure Mongolian ger described in Chapter 4.1.1, were widely adopted. However, in 2019, stricter environmental regulations led to the removal of large-scale commercial gers. Among the hardest hit were individual economic entities colloquially known as "herders' homes," which initially contributed to local economies but, lacking proper documentation, were allowed to operate in a gray area. Nonetheless, under national policy governance, gers ceased to develop in a free and unregulated manner, transitioning from fixed structures to temporary constructions. This demonstrates that changes in management policies have a direct and positive correlation with the use and development of gers, which are no longer primarily a means of production and living but rather a product of economic interests and policy management.

Moreover, the study found that heritage officials, while focused on protecting and declaring traditional and historical aspects, also tend to adopt more utilitarian and diversified perspectives in exploring the development of heritage. For example, heritage officials in Hulunbuir

emphasized the need for marketability and the development of cultural and creative products to better promote the representation of nomadic culture. For example:

"When applying for the project, we first establish the project, indicating which groups are involved. Then, when applying for heritage inheritors the following year, we prioritize those who have made significant contributions to the project. In competitive situations, we prioritize personal qualities, such as a person's ethics and values (e.g., being less concerned with material rewards during participation in activities, lack of enthusiasm for cooperation, and reluctance to pass on knowledge). We also provide training classes for apprentices, and the inheritor decides whom to choose." (Interview, Cui, 17/05/2022: Hulunbuir)

In the interviews with heritage officials in Chifeng, there was thoughtful emphasis on the vitality and livelihood of heritage. They stressed the need for innovative and development-oriented approaches when protecting intangible cultural heritage, distinguishing it from the concept of cultural relics:

"Every year sees different developments, meeting people, encountering things, experiencing life. We start with protection, excavation, and promotion, then return to life and spread it. It's different from cultural relics. It's dynamic. You call it heritage, but it's still about cultural inheritance! Intangible cultural heritage must be exceptionally well maintained to stand. You can't say that once a project is established, it becomes static. It must be highly participatory to continue the inheritance." (Interview, C, 10/08/2022: Chifeng)

They emphasized the importance of integrating traditional culture into modern society and ensuring its continued transmission, which poses a challenge. Heritage officials play a proactive role not only in defining what constitutes heritage and what needs protection but also in promoting heritage integration into daily life and the market. This is crucial for showcasing the traditional foundation of gers in a contemporary context. Therefore, we can define the temporal orientation of government officials as predominantly rooted in the *present*, while they also navigate the boundaries between tradition and the future.

The role of Mongolian ger manufacturers is crucial in presenting and promoting gers in the present. They strive to maintain the traditional structure of gers, with Z, a factory manager, stating, "A ger can only be called a ger if it adheres to the 60% rule; otherwise, it becomes a wooden outdoor activity room" (interview, Z, 17/06/2022: Xilingol). However, considering efficiency, "in the past, everything was 100% handmade, but now we must achieve over 80% modern equipment production" (interview, Z, 17/06/2022: Xilingol). Therefore, the ger

manufacturers in the Xilingol region, exemplifying the current state of the industry, aim to preserve some traditional elements while employing modern tools and materials for improvement.

Interestingly, it was observed during interviews that ger manufacturers have a competitive spirit and strive for innovation. Another factory in Xilingol achieved the Guinness World Record for the largest Mongolian ger in 2020. This accomplishment served as a symbol of their strength and expertise. Z's sister, who also manages a ger factory and is an inheritor herself, mentioned, "But I'm always one step ahead. Like the 16-meter one... Look, the materials are limited, so the sumu roundwood can only be transformed into 6 meters. One layer below and one layer above, the largest one we made is 50 meters" (interview, Zh,16/06/2022: Xilingol). Therefore, ger manufacturers not only pursue improvements but also value breakthroughs. They are rooted in tradition but place greater emphasis on the present. So their temporality is defined as *past-present oriented*.

Intangible cultural heritage inheritors often include ger manufacturers, some of whom own their own factories. The study found that those operating within the industrialized system tend to have better economic benefits and sustainable development. However, those focusing on traditional craftsmanship often have lower efficiency and higher prices, operating on a small-scale individual economy that faces sustainability challenges. They emphasize the traditional craftsmanship aspect:

"This work is too exhausting, unlike others using machines. Everything is about bending; can it be changed? It can't. Some people use machines, but the bending isn't enough. Han people can lie there with machines and do it all. People here don't want this kind of house, no matter how much it costs... Without this kind of skill, it falls apart in two years. In the future, iron will replace it. I won't do it anymore, and it will be gone. ... This work is built up over the years, and I've been doing it for 35 years." (Interview, Xiqi, 09/04/2022: Hulunbuir)

However, they face challenges such as a lack of interest among young people: "Young people don't want to do it" (interview, Dongqi, 08/04/2022: Hulunbuir) and difficulties related to raw materials, complicated craftsmanship, and high prices, leading to an uncertain future. Therefore, among this group, their influence on the ger landscape is more substantial when they engage in market-oriented practices, while those operating at the level of traditional craftsmanship have limited influence due to low production volumes. However, in terms of heritage preservation

and display, traditional craftsmanship is prominently featured in official promotions. Overall, this group's temporal orientation leans toward the *past*.

Nomads, as a surveyed group, tend to have a nostalgic view of Mongolian gers. Most nomadic interviewees mentioned that when herders get married, their parents buy them a traditional Mongolian ger, which serves as a symbol within the herding community. Common expressions include: "A nomad's family must have a Mongolian ger when getting married" (interview, Dongqi, 08/04/2022: Hulunbuir). Often, elderly nomads prefer living in Mongolian gers and are more accustomed to them, as exemplified by statements like: "Older people are willing to live in gers. The Balhu people don't like to live in flat houses much, they prefer gers for convenience. Mongolian gers are cool, and the elderly like them" (interview, X, 07/06/2022: Hulunbuir). Additionally, traditional Mongolian gers are easy to assemble and store, making them a practical choice for temporary shelter in specific situations, as mentioned by a nomad: "For weddings, each family sets up a Mongolian ger. After the wedding, it's dismantled. The quality is excellent. When guests come, each family sets up a ger for them to stay in. Families with flat houses store their gers. We use iron stoves, and this one is equipped for winter" (interview. Cuo, 17/04/2022: Hulunbuir).

Furthermore, although the interview results do not explicitly show it, observations during the study revealed that Mongolian gers also play a role in Mongolian ethnic traditional celebrations and festivals, as well as in rituals and ceremonies. It is noteworthy that in the shamanistic rituals of Mongolian traditional religion, Mongolian gers are a necessary part of the ritual space and cannot be substituted. A seasoned Mongolian shaman facilitator explained:

"The shaman's ritual space cannot do without a Mongolian ger, and trees extend from the ger to the outside. Inside, there are specific rituals, and the Great Urxin people's shamanic rituals are performed in Mongolian gers. Generally, important ceremonies must use Mongolian gers. Setting up a ceremonial space requires Mongolian gers. It's something indispensable. It's a requirement in shamanism. The arrangement inside is relatively fixed. Several ethnic groups have basically the same arrangement. Shamans say that they invite spirits, and they come from the trees and enter this space. If there's no Mongolian ger, they won't come. The Mongolian ger is an essential part of the ceremonial space, something that can't be lacking." (Interview, Xi, 29/05/2022: Hulunbuir)

In traditional rituals, as depicted in the Figure 41, as mentioned by Xi, traditional Mongolian gers serve as essential ceremonial spaces. The image represents a shamanic ritual that I attended, where the ger's roof opening is kept uncovered and the ger itself is positioned in a tree,

symbolizing the welcoming of divine spirits. Furthermore, there are specific orientation guidelines for the arrangements inside the ger. In traditional rituals, ger is a traditional presence that upholds the ritual's traditions for its participants.



FIGURE 41 A GER IN A SHAMAN RITUAL

Finally, in the specific context of nomadic herding in the last pastoral frontier, the preservation of the traditional collective economic nomadic lifestyle and conscious efforts to preserve nomadic culture are evident. In the summer camps of Ar Horqin Banner, Mongolian gers are the sole housing for herders engaged in production and living. The results of the survey on the nomads' living experiences in Chapter 4.4.4 indicate that this herding community is satisfied with living in Mongolian gers due to their suitability for production methods and year-round adaptability.

In summary, the entire nomads community exhibits a predominantly traditional understanding and usage of Mongolian gers. This is directly influenced by their way of life, traditional festivals and rituals, religion, and the necessity of maintaining cultural heritage. Hence, the temporality in nomads' group should identify as the *past-oriented*.

Here, it is noteworthy that I am cognizant of the inherent risk posed by generalization and stereotypical depictions when it comes to indigenous communities inhabiting traditional lifestyles. Researchers are duty-bound to honor contemporary indigenous communities, acknowledging their unique cultural rhythms and traditions in the context of modern life (Ruffo, 1997; Peters-Little et al., 2011). It is imperative not to oversimplify the complexities of pastoralist existence (Dolker, 2021).

However, my existing data indicates a noticeable preference among interviewed pastoralists for the traditional Mongolian yurts. Their cognitive perception of temporality tends to lean towards tradition. This sentiment is predominantly evoked as nostalgia, particularly among elderly pastoralists and those with prior experience in pastoral regions. Furthermore, the frequent utilization of traditional yurts in various ceremonial contexts reinforces their symbolic significance as revered and ceremonious structures. Consequently, their understanding is somewhat influenced by the practical applications of these traditional dwellings.

In interviews with **scholars**, the influence of ger is predominantly at the cognitive level, and its temporality exhibits complexity. Among the 5 academic scholars interviewed, four of them adopt a folkloric perspective to interpret the ger:

"When examining the living heritage, it is a link to our ancestors' culture and cognition, the fundamental essence of being human. Therefore, one can argue that the ger, as a physical entity, indeed holds value in terms of archaeology, appreciation, and cultural preservation." (Interview, A, 18/07/2022: Hohhot)

"If we talk about keeping up with the times, it becomes a Chinese thing. The changes have altered its heritage status; the utility has evolved, and the purpose has shifted. Can it still be considered heritage? From my perspective, any heritage in China lacks the possibility of dynamic continuity. It is no longer utilized in daily life; it has lost its practicality and exists solely within the realm of government-guided tourism, as an alternative form. However, its essence has been lost." (Interview, Bai, L.Y., 17/07/2022: Hohhot)

"Have you seen the gers recently? It's a chaotic phenomenon... What kind of architecture is a ger? I've observed that underneath the tourism hype, there is some abnormal development. I believe we should seriously reconsider our approach to studying it as a heritage. Many people now consider the ger as a type of architecture. If you look at it from a cultural perspective, it naturally incorporates that aspect, but if you focus on its architectural aspects, you lose the cultural essence." (Interview, E, 09/07/2022: Hohhot)

"Adapting to production methods was essential when it met production demands, but in today's commodity economy, it has become a symbol." (Interview, Zheng, 18/07/2022: Hohhot)

However, the last scholar, who also incorporates Grounded Theory into her research, is oriented towards exploring a contemporary form of the ger. Thus, overall and through my research,

scholars' perspectives generally tend towards traditionalism, with a sense of skepticism regarding contemporary changes. Nevertheless, some scholars, particularly those with a background in architecture, are forward-looking and explore the boundaries of the ger, similar to designers. Therefore, this group's temporality could define as *both past and present-oriented*.

The understanding of **individuals within the cultural industry** is similarly multifaceted and closely tied to their professional backgrounds. This research project included interviews with 3 cultural creative professionals, and their practices related to nomadic culture are diverse. However, these three professionals have different attitudes. The professional of Mongolian ethnicity approaches ger changes with caution, believing that any deviation from its original construction and materials means it is no longer a true ger:

"Straying from its original construction and materials makes it no longer recognizable as a ger. We must understand the issue from the perspective of demand: 'Who are the gers made for?' If they are for businesses, tourist sites, guesthouses, and hotels, these improvements are justifiable. Business owners aim to maximize profits, which drives the creation of a series of products to cater to customers." (Interview, Hu, 10/07/2022: Hohhot)

"If it is for the preservation of Mongolian nomadic culture, then the traditional method should be retained. Look at that, the central leather strap. Firstly, the ger must have a cylindrical shape, which is not easy to fold and does not require additional labor. The traditional approach should be employed to construct it. This is the original form of the ger. Those made from cement, bricks, or metal constructions are considered architectural structures resembling the ger's appearance."(Interview, Erut, 08/05/2022: Hulunbuir)

Interestingly, as mentioned in the earlier section on political temporality (Chapter 4.2.5), many Han Chinese professionals view change as an opportunity to shape industry discourse. They consider the preservation of the ger in its unaltered form to be overly narrow in terms of ethnicity. Ger changes serve as a symbol of diversity, offering more opportunities for industrial practice:

"The mobile ger represents the unification of social and economic values. New types of gers are constructed using drought-resistant and soundproof materials on the exterior. They can be disassembled when not in use, providing both sound insulation and insulation. The ger industry has seen significant development. Nowadays, every industry needs to evolve; you

have to be economically viable. You must serve politics and actively promote production development. If you can't serve, you can't survive. Look, there are very few food-related items; they are mostly related to craftsmanship. That means your industry conversion rate is too low, so you'll go out of business. Emphasizing the new era, new perspectives, and a new appearance is a must." (Interview, X, 28/04/2022: Hulunbuir)

The final professional works in cultural creative practices within academia. Her perspective is relatively balanced, believing that if it is intangible cultural heritage, it should be preserved. However, in practical applications, the ger is an ever-changing entity:

"If it's an intangible cultural heritage project, it should remain authentic. But if it's combined with tourism, it should have its own concept. What was considered traditional in the past is no longer traditional; society is evolving, and materials and techniques are changing... The ger is something that is constantly evolving and adapting to nomadic life. Unlike houses, it's not fixed. It's also a house, but a mobile one. Nomadic culture is special." (Interview, Xi, 29/05/2022: Hulunbuir)

Therefore, the temporality of the cultural creators' group tends to *mix of past, present and future-oriented*. Overall, the temporality of the ger in the eyes of different professionals is multifaceted. The past represents identity and cultural heritage, the future represents political implications, and the present embodies practicality. Among the interviewed groups, **tourism operators** are the most concerned with the *present*, leading to a wide variety of changes in the gers. In the previous Chapter 4.1.2, research on tourism-related gers was extensively explained, highlighting the industry's focus on sustainable economic benefits and the creation of comfortable, exotic experiences for out-of-town tourists, emphasizing the performance and experiential aspects of the gers.

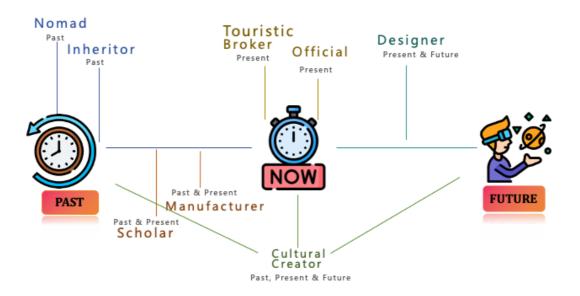


FIGURE 42 HERITAGE TEMPORALITIES AMONG DIVERSE GROUPS

5.2.2 Communities and Their Agencies in the Context of Gers

In this study, the ger serves as a symbolically rich case study to explore the construction and preservation of cultural heritage and how various stakeholders exercise subjective agency to maintain the continuity of this cultural element. Firstly, the ger case exemplifies the diversity and dynamism of communities, expanding the understanding of communities in the heritage field beyond singular groups (Wijesuriya 2019). Secondly, individual agency plays a pivotal role in shaping the continuity and transformation of the ger. While this study focuses on the ger, its goal is to extract profound insights to investigate the nature and diversity of living heritage more broadly.

This section delves into the perspectives of different groups regarding the temporality, preservation, evolutionary directions, and discourse authority surrounding the ger. As a symbol of Mongolian culture, the ger attracts individuals with diverse backgrounds and interests, resulting in a spectrum of viewpoints and attitudes, broadly categorized as follows:

1. Traditionalists (e.g., some scholars, cultural creatives, nomads) emphasize the traditional value of the ger, considering it a part of the nomadic cultural tradition. They advocate for preserving its traditional form to uphold cultural identity.

- 2. Modernists (e.g., designers, manufacturers) are more open to adapting the ger to contemporary needs and market trends. They believe in allowing some degree of evolution and modernization.
- 3. Economic Stakeholders (e.g., tourism operators and industry professionals) place great importance on the economic potential of the ger. They see it to attract tourists and generate economic benefits, emphasizing sustainability and market appeal.
- 4. Policy Implementers (e.g., various government officials) exert influence on ger changes to varying degrees, and their discourse authority can be decisive in shaping ger transformations within the framework of national policies.

Through analysis, it is recognized that the continuity of the ger, as a cultural element, involves not only the material aspects of inheritance but also the continuous construction of symbols and subjectivity. The diverse viewpoints and practices of various stakeholders shape the diversity of the ger and reveal that the continuity of cultural heritage is a complex and multifaceted process. Heritage is not a stagnant relic of the past (Smith 2006; Harrison 2013). By elucidating the subjective continuity of individual groups (Smith and Waterton 2010), a new conceptualization of living heritage is formed.

As mentioned in the literature review, existing living heritage approaches (Court and Wijesuriya 2015; Poulios 2010) capture a people-centric perspective but severely lack interpretations from diverse groups. Thus, this study fills a gap in existing methodological research, particularly in cases involving diverse groups, providing a deeper and more comprehensive understanding of cultural heritage preservation and evolution. The previous methods categorized groups into core and peripheral, but research shows that populations associated with a dynamic heritage can undergo significant changes. The cognitive and practical contributions of each changing group affect the temporality of heritage. Every group possesses heritage core values and intrinsic driving forces for practice. Therefore, a comprehensive approach to living heritage must acknowledge the values and non-judgmental differentiation of diverse groups. The significance of this study lies in extending the concept of cultural heritage continuity beyond its presence in the past to include its continuity in the present and future.

Overall, in the context of Mongolian ger cultural heritage transmission, individual agency plays a significant role in how various stakeholders utilize subjective agency to maintain the continuity of this cultural element. Serving as a symbol of community diversity and dynamism, the ger epitomizes the manifestation of individual agency in the process of cultural heritage sustainability and transformation. Individual agency refers to individuals' unique cognition, values, and actions that shape and influence the inheritance and evolution of heritage. In the case of the Mongolian ger, the individual agency of different groups plays a pivotal role in balancing its traditional and modern aspects, as well as its economic and cultural values. Traditionalists emphasize preserving the traditional form of the ger to safeguard cultural identity, while modernists are inclined to adapt the ger to contemporary needs and market trends. These groups' individual agency determines their understanding and values regarding cultural heritage, thus influencing the direction of its transmission and evolution.

The Heritage Actor Network Theory provides a beneficial theoretical framework for understanding the diversity and complexity inherent in the transmission of cultural heritage. This theory underscores that cultural heritage is shaped by a network of various actors and relationships, who collectively influence its form and significance through interaction and communication. In the case of the Mongolian ger, diverse groups such as traditionalists, modernists, economic stakeholders, and policy implementers form a complex heritage actor network. Through their viewpoints, practices, and interactions, these actors jointly determine the ger's trajectory and value orientation. Thus, the Heritage Actor Network Theory offers a robust framework for comprehending the diversity and dynamics involved in cultural heritage transmission processes.

The intertwining of individual agency and the Heritage Actor Network Theory constitutes the complexity of cultural heritage transmission and evolution. Individuals continuously shape the form and meaning of cultural heritage through interaction and influence within the heritage actor network. The theory provides a framework for understanding how individual agency, through interaction and relationships with other actors, affects the transmission and evolution of cultural heritage. In comparison to existing approaches to living heritage, this study fills a methodological gap by offering a deeper and more comprehensive understanding of cultural heritage preservation and evolution, particularly in cases involving diverse groups. Hence, the significance of this study lies in extending the concept of cultural heritage continuity from its historical existence to its continuity in the present and future.

5.2.3 Creative Agencies in the Evolution of Gers

The theoretical research on creative agency has been explored in the literature review (Chapter 2.6.2). Therefore, its role in shaping the evolution of gers can draw from previous theoretical frameworks such as Structuration Theory (Giddens 1984) and Creativity Theory (Heidegger

1984; Ingold 2013). The interplay between these theories elucidates the complex dynamics of the ger as an example of living heritage.

Structuration Theory, proposed by Anthony Giddens (1984), provides a robust theoretical foundation for understanding the intrinsic agency in the evolution of gers. This theory emphasizes the duality of structure and agency, positing that individuals are not passive recipients of social structures but actively engage with and reshape these structures through their practices. In the context of gers, different communities and individuals exercise their agency by interacting with structural elements related to tradition, adaptability, and cultural significance. Moreover, Heidegger's existential philosophy (1984) offers valuable insights into the intersection of creativity and agency. Heidegger argues that true existence is marked by individual creativity and choice, reflecting one's unique self. In the context of gers, the choices made by various stakeholders manifest their creativity and contribute to the ongoing transformation of gers. This aligns with Heidegger's viewpoint that true existence is achieved through creative self-expression within a social context.

Ingold's perspective (2013) provides a deeper understanding of creativity, particularly in cases involving material culture like gers. He suggests that creativity is a perceptual dialogue between practitioners and active materials, continuously shaping and reshaping artifacts. For gers, creativity is evident in craft and design choices, resulting in different forms and functions in various contexts.

The interplay between agency and creativity becomes evident in the evolution of gers. Different communities, each with unique historical, ecological, and cultural backgrounds, exercise agency by adapting gers to meet their specific needs. This adaptability is not merely a response to external factors but also reflects deliberate choices made by individuals and communities to ensure the continued relevance of gers in their lives. For nomadic herders, gers represent a mobile and efficient dwelling consistent with their way of life. Their agency is evident in choices related to ger applications, such as using canvas, brick, or metal gers. These adaptations are creative responses to their environment and livelihood needs. Manufacturers and designers also exercise agency and creativity in the construction and decoration of gers. They inherit traditional techniques while incorporating creative elements into their designs, making gers not only functional but also aesthetically rich. This creative agency not only enhances the practicality of gers but also elevates them to the status of cultural symbols. The diverse roles of gers in contemporary contexts, such as tourism and cultural preservation initiatives, demonstrate the agency and creativity of communities. By reimagining the functionality and meaning of gers, they blend tradition with modernity, showcasing their creativity.

This discussion has significant implications for heritage research, particularly in the context of living heritage. Structuration Theory and Creativity Theory provide a solid theoretical framework for analyzing the intrinsic creative agency in the evolution of cultural artifacts. In the case of gers, these theories allow us to move beyond simplistic narratives of tradition and change, recognizing the active roles of individuals and communities in shaping their heritage. Furthermore, their interplay emphasizes the dynamism of living heritage. It underscores the importance of acknowledging different voices and perspectives in heritage discourse. By embracing the agency and creativity of communities and individuals, heritage research can become more inclusive and better reflect the complexity of cultural preservation and adaptation in a diverse and ever-changing reality. In summary, creative agency is intricately intertwined with the evolution of gers. Structuration Theory, Heidegger's existential philosophy, and Ingold's Creativity Theory provide valuable perspectives on understanding this interplay. Recognizing and valuing the agency and creativity of different stakeholders enriches our understanding of living heritage and its relevance in contemporary society.

5.2.4 Gers as a Result of Constraints and Compromises

Chapter 4.2 discussed the factors associated with policies related to gers, which include the influences of environmental governance, the control of pastoral households, and the reinforcement of ethnic communities. These factors can be understood as environmental, economic, and socio-cultural factors, respectively. However, in contemporary usage, traditional gers have gradually fallen out of sync with the modern lifestyle demands. In the present societal context, the practical use of traditional housing faces numerous constraints. Moreover, the traditional structure and facilities of gers have faced continuous criticism. This phenomenon can be termed as reflexivity, as it represents a specific and practical factor that is distinct from the other three elements, which are relatively macroscopic and less tangible. Therefore, the reflexivity of gers needs to be considered separately as an important constraining factor.

Firstly, based on the research findings, it is evident that after 2019, with the strengthening of environmental governance, the use of gers has been greatly restricted and has evolved in specific ways. Gers have gradually become standardized, necessitating clearance, disassembly, and enhanced comfort. The oscillating nature of environmental policies has led to significant conflicts among the public over land use, resulting in the abandonment of many previous assets, with the most prominent contradiction being between fixed housing and cement-based gers. Tourist establishments have been compelled to vacate, with the most significant impact observed in the Morgul River area of Hulunbuir. The conflict between static sites and active

operations was most evident in the Yuan Dynasty World Heritage site within the jurisdiction of the blue banner. Due to the oscillations in policies, tourist attractions within the heritage buffer zone were demolished. Overall, national policy priorities have shifted towards the protection of natural environments and historical sites, while the spontaneous cultural tourism development of grassroots communities is perceived as requiring constant governance and concessions, with its value far less than the other two.

Secondly, the suppression of gers during the crackdown on pastoral households illustrates the influence of economic control factors on ger development. Local governments have encouraged the development of pastoral households, resulting in the extensive use of gers for purposes such as dining and accommodation. However, faced with heightened environmental policies, economic development has had to yield to environmental governance. This has led to varying degrees of losses for operators. While the government provides compensation, many groups that were primarily focused on active development faced procedural shortcomings and became passive in the face of such rectification. For those businesses that received explicit government acquisitions and compensation, the opportunity cost they incurred was not considered. The inconsistency in policies has resulted in a sudden shift in the use of gers as representatives of nomadic cultural display - they once flourished as a favorable means for local economic development but were suddenly perceived as a historical error and replaced due to environmental governance.

Furthermore, in the marketization section of ger production in Chapter 4.3, it is evident that not only market factors, but also environmental factors influence the economic development of gers. The economic vitality of factories in the Blue Banner is constrained by market volume, with a significant reduction in tourism resulting in reduced production output. The reformative development of tourist gers also affects the design and production of factories. Environmental governance has a significant impact on the tourism industry. On the other hand, the factories' raw materials have also been restricted due to environmental protection efforts, replacing free logging with imported materials and extensive cultivation, leading to significant changes in ger materials compared to traditional ones. Many factory managers have stated that raw material prices have not only increased but also that the current raw materials are less durable than wild wood. Therefore, it can be inferred that environmental factors indirectly impact the economic production of gers.

Thirdly, the influence of social environmental factors on the discourse system that strengthens ethnic communities will be both a constraint on and a driving force for innovative development of gers. In the previous chapter's section on control practices regarding ethnic discourse and

expression, if the ger is associated with nationalist symbolism (Chapter 4.2.5), it is considered narrow in scope. However, if it is considered only as a traditional architecture of the northern region rather than a Mongolian past, it could be appreciated as an innovative development. Non-heritage workers in the Inner Mongolia Autonomous Region find themselves in a dilemma, as the preservation of tradition tends to emphasize the unique Mongolian past, which contradicts the contemporary emphasis on the unity of the Chinese nation with diverse elements. As demonstrated in the concluding part of the second section of the second chapter, this presents opportunities for many non-Mongolian practitioners who are no longer criticized for not emphasizing authenticity. Furthermore, if the utilization of gers can be reasonably explained in terms of Party building services, it holds greater contemporary value. Therefore, it can be inferred that social policy orientation imposes restrictions on the survival of gers, which will have to choose an adaptive path.

Additionally, the factors of 'few inheritors and no successors' and 'loss of traditional building techniques' inferred from the GT approach are also constraints to consider in socio-cultural factors. Among the interviewees, including inheritors and ger factory managers, young people are unwilling to engage in traditional ger production due to the challenges and labor involved. They also indicated that restrictions related to traditional materials are limiting factors. Furthermore, some individuals stated, for example: "Given the choice of occupation, it is easier to work for wages than to engage in this" (interview, Hailar Tent, 06/04/2022: Hulunbuir). Therefore, in an era where gers are not a necessity, with limited tourism opportunities and labor-intensive production, fewer and fewer people choose to continue in the ger production industry. This indicates an association between socio-cultural factors and economic factors and an indirect connection with environmental factors.

Most interestingly, the factors constraining the survival of gers are highly reflexive. In my interviews, although the respondents expressed poetic yearning and nostalgia for the traditional ger lifestyle, the majority leaned towards modern housing. A young couple living in a ger expressed their greatest wish as residing in brick and tile houses or campers, as it would facilitate improving their living conditions. Other pastoralists do not choose to live in gers during the winter because they cannot meet their heating needs. Although gers possess scientific functionality, their lack of zoning, poor insulation, and absence of sanitary facilities, among other factors, make them unsuitable for modern living. This is very evident among respondents related to tourist gers, as most operators stated that out-of-town visitors are not accustomed to staying in them. Therefore, on the one hand, gers are gradually being replaced by other forms of housing due to changing lifestyle needs. Furthermore, factors such as 'functional needs drive change' and 'usage requirements drive change,' inferred from the

Grounded Theory results, indicate that gers are gradually changing and evolving due to their outdated functionality and usage requirements. Because of changes in social, cultural, and economic environments, gers appear incompatible with the times, transitioning from a necessity in nomadic life to a supplementary and consumable product in tourism.

Overall, the contemporary post-nomadic era has significantly constrained the survival space of gers. This has formed a mutually constraining sustainable development pattern, with four key factors - environmental, economic, socio-cultural, and self-factors - interrelated and mutually influencing the development of gers. These factors are interconnected, and the following provides an explanation of these interrelationships:

1. The Association between Environmental and Economic Factors:

Stringent environmental governance policies challenge the economic model of gers by requiring standardization and comfort enhancements, thereby increasing costs. The balancing act between economic development and environmental protection also forces economic concessions for the sake of environmental governance. This implies economic losses for operators, especially those who do not receive government compensation.

2. The Association between Environmental and Socio-Cultural Factors:

Stringent environmental governance policies shape the cultural development direction of Mongolian gers, transforming them from mere economic tools to cultural symbols aligned with environmental policies. This affects the socio-cultural value and symbolism of gers. However, there is a balance to be struck between environmental policies and the protection of gers as cultural heritage, as the traditional land use of gers may conflict with the conservation of natural environments and historical sites.

3. The Association between Economic and Socio-Cultural Factors:

There is an interaction between economic development and the cultural heritage of gers. The economic development of the ger model requires a degree of cultural inheritance, but when faced with economic development giving way to environmental governance, traditional cultural values may be impacted. Some operators may need to strike a balance between cultural preservation and economic losses by adjusting the cultural inheritance of gers to adapt to new market dynamics and policy orientations.

4. The Association between Reflexivity and Other Factors:

Reflexivity is closely linked to economic and socio-cultural factors. As a symbol of traditional culture, the development and sustainability of gers are intricately tied to socio-cultural

dynamics. Firstly, reflexivity manifests in the diminishing cultural status of gers in contemporary society due to reduced demand. Economic pressures may lead operators to seek new economic opportunities, potentially in other industries or by offering modern accommodations and services.

Secondly, socio-cultural factors also shape the future development direction of gers. In some cases, gers are viewed as part of ethnic culture, closely tied to ethnic identity and traditional values. However, with increasing social diversity and globalization, the cultural status of gers may face challenges as they might be perceived as narrow ethnic symbols. This can affect government policies and social support, further influencing the economic viability of gers.

Considering these interconnections, it becomes evident that the interaction among these four factors is complex. Changes in environmental policies may lead to adjustments in economic models and cultural inheritance. Economic constraints may impact the direction of cultural development, and changes in socio-cultural factors may, in turn, shape the implementation of environmental policies. Gers, as symbols of nomadic culture, continually adapt to new challenges in the evolving socio-economic environment, seeking ways to preserve their traditional values in contemporary society.

In response to multiple constraints, gers have gradually compromised and embarked on an adaptive development path. This development process reflects significant changes in various aspects, including the materials, structure, and form of gers.

Firstly, in the tourism sector, gers have undergone significant changes in terms of diversity, creativity, public access, and comfort. This is because gers need to meet the increasing public demand, especially since the 1980s, when more fixed and durable gers started appearing on the grasslands. These changes reflect the importance of Mongolian gers as tourist resources and the need to satisfy tourists' demands for comfort and diversity.

Secondly, in terms of environmental protection, the structure of gers has gradually strengthened, returning to a detachable mobile structure, with a clearance of 1.5 centimeters above the ground. Although these changes are fraught with implementation contradictions, they are made to comply with national environmental protection policy requirements. This also means that gers need to strike a balance between environmental and cultural preservation to ensure their sustainable development.

Finally, in the industrialization sector, the structure of gers has gradually been reinforced, resembling the framework-style gers of Outer Mongolia, creating more utility and economic value. This indicates that Mongolian gers are not just cultural heritage but also have the potential to meet different economic needs and play a significant role in the process of industrialization.

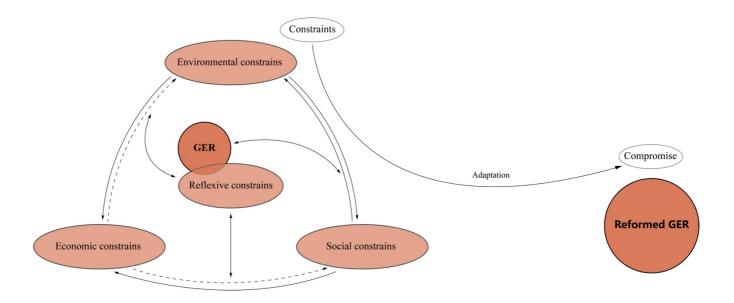


FIGURE 43 ILLUSTRATION OF CONSTRAINTS AND ADAPTATION OF GER

In summary, the adaptive development of gers is a response to multiple constraining factors (see Figure 43), including environmental, economic, and socio-cultural factors. Through transformation and compromise, gers have gradually adapted to the needs of different sectors, maintaining their significance in contemporary society. This process demonstrates the evolution of the complex relationship between gers as cultural symbols and practical life tools, as well as the interplay between cultural heritage preservation and economic development.

5.2.5 Representations of Cultural Heritage in the Post-Nomadic Era

In the post-nomadic era, there have been significant changes in the representation of cultural heritage. Policy orientation has played a prominent role during this period, as mentioned earlier. In this era, traditionalists of nomadic life may emphasize the preservation and inheritance of nomadic culture, considering it a valuable heritage. However, modernists may argue that nomadic culture needs to adapt to the demands of contemporary society, undergo a certain degree of evolution, and modernize improvements. Those driven by economic interests may prioritize the economic potential of nomadic culture, viewing it as a means to attract tourists

and achieve economic benefits. Policy implementers also hold significant influence during this period, determining the direction of change in nomadic life.

In the past, nomadic life was seen as a practical way of life, but now, the spiritual representation of nomadic life is more often viewed in contemporary times as a fervent longing for traditional ways, a nostalgia for past lifestyles. This nostalgia emphasizes the spiritual value of nomadic culture, considering it a continuous cultural heritage rather than just a way of life from the past. People consciously attempt to preserve certain aspects of nomadic culture as a form of memory. The representation of nomadic culture in the post-nomadic era also highlights the multidimensionality of cultural heritage. It is not only a material inheritance but also involves the continuous construction of symbols and emotions. This mode of representation reflects how people understand the past, placing it in a contemporary context to give cultural heritage new meaning and value.

1) Commercialization in the Entertainment Industry: As an Exotic Experience and Functionalism

The industrialization of gers in the tourism industry is a significant trend. In tourism, gers are regarded as an exotic experience, attracting tourists and travelers seeking an experience different from traditional urban life. This industrialization emphasizes the functionality of Mongolian gers as tourist attractions and accommodation choices. Gers are not only a dwelling but also a form of entertainment and leisure, catering to modern society's desire for unique experiences. Each establishment's style of gers is distinct, creating a competitive market. They are increasingly moving toward high-end, hotel-like developments, prioritizing comfort and experiential luxury. Traditional gers are static exhibits in some tourist areas, while newly designed gers, despite being seen as deviating from authenticity, are in a dynamic state of being used and developed by more people.

The development of the ger manufacturing industry is indeed directly influenced by the tourism industry, and this relationship between upstream and downstream industries is crucial for the evolution of the ger industry. The development of the Blue Banner Mongolian Ger Manufacturing Factory serves as a specific case to illustrate this.

Firstly, the development of the Blue Banner Mongolian Ger Manufacturing Factory represents the industry's flexible response to market demand. With the growth of the tourism industry, the demand for gers has been continuously rising. The Blue Banner Ger Manufacturing Factory innovated on the traditional base by improving manufacturing quality, adopting modern craftsmanship techniques, and establishing industry quality standards, enabling them to meet

the market's demand for high-quality gers. Secondly, market regulation plays an essential role in the development of the ger manufacturing industry. As competition in the tourism market intensifies, ger manufacturers are forced to continuously improve product quality and service levels to remain competitive. This market competition drives manufacturers to continually improve the design and manufacturing processes of gers to meet the diverse needs of tourists. Finally, the structure and functionality of gers as cultural heritage are indeed subject to dynamic adjustments. Manufacturers must consider how to maintain the traditional characteristics of gers while adapting to the needs of modern travelers. Striking this balance requires ongoing research and innovation to ensure that gers, while preserving their cultural value, can provide a comfortable and convenient accommodation experience.

2) Postmodern Representations of Nomadic Heritage

Postmodernism has had a profound impact on the design and representation of Mongolian gers. Designers increasingly view Mongolian gers in diverse ways, considering them as material for creativity to explore issues related to multiculturalism, identity, and society. This diverse representation makes Mongolian gers no longer confined to traditional forms but rather transforms them into entities with multi-layered meanings. Postmodernism plays a crucial role in the representation of cultural heritage. Postmodern perspectives emphasize diversity, discontinuity, and uncertainty (Jameson 1991), and Mongolian ger design reflects these characteristics.

Heidegger's (1971) dwelling theory emphasizes the mode of existence of a dwelling and suggests that a dwelling is not just a physical space but is closely linked to human existence and cultural background. It is no longer simply considered a place of residence but is endowed with multiple meanings. For example, some artists may use Mongolian gers as their creative theme to explore the relationships between identity, mobility, and multiculturalism. This diversity reflects the core postmodern view that cultural heritage is not fixed and unchanging but evolves over time and in different social contexts.

Furthermore, the representation of Mongolian gers in the contemporary context is characterized by discontinuity and uncertainty. Each group's practice timeline is different, and the time dimension chosen for Mongolian gers is fragmented, such as the Blue Banner Mongolian gers, which can be traced back to the Mongolian ger structure of the 13th Century, rather than reflecting recent characteristics. Some designers in Hohhot have inferred the form of Mongolian gers based on imagination and historical records. Additionally, the exploration of Mongolian gers also evolves based on the designer's subjective understanding of the present and the characteristics of Mongolian gers, which are subjective and variable. Therefore, as a

cultural heritage in development in the contemporary context, Mongolian gers are no longer a static entity but a dynamic symbol full of vitality, diversity, and continuous evolution.

This fusion of postmodernism and Heideggerian philosophy makes Mongolian gers a design object that reflects multiculturalism and multidimensional meanings, while also highlighting the vitality and transformation of cultural heritage in contemporary society. This further emphasizes the importance of Mongolian gers as a unique cultural symbol; not just a historical artefact, but a vibrant expression in today's world.

3) Nostalgic Inclination

The nostalgic inclination manifests as a conscious desire among people to preserve Mongolian gers as a form of memory, considering them as symbols of past ways of life. This sentiment emphasizes the symbolism and cultural significance of Mongolian gers, which are not merely practical structures but also represent the unique identity of nomadic life (Lowenthal 1998). In modern society, many communities and individuals adopt an attitude of "keeping one at home" (e.g. interview, Long, 17/04/2022: Hulunbuir), reflecting their deep emotional connection to traditional ways of life. This emotion turns Mongolian gers into symbols of cultural heritage, representing memories of times gone by and precious history (Tunbridge and Ashworth 1996).

In the last-surviving nomadic regions of Ar Horqin, collective economic nomadism has been preserved due to geographical factors, policy orientation, and local habits. This has created a sense of temporal alienation in the region, making it a unique site for preserving cultural heritage. During research, people showed a sense of appreciation for this area, emphasizing its rarity and a strong desire to maintain its original state. This sentiment can be understood as a commitment to traditional nomadic culture and a nostalgia for past eras.

People hope to use this region in Inner Mongolia as a marker of continuity during a period of contemporary transformation, to protect and pass on traditional nomadic culture. This nostalgic inclination reflects the importance of cultural heritage, which is not only a part of history but also carries a sense of identity and values for communities and individuals. Therefore, Mongolian gers, as symbols of memory, play a crucial role in cultural inheritance, while also reminding people of the loss of traditional nomadic culture.

5.3 Change and Continuity: A Rethinking

5.3.0 Introduction

In this section of the chapter, I will delve into the interactions among individuals, materials, and the environment by reanalyzing the data presented in this thesis and applying some theoretical framework to those data. I will explore how these interactions shape the concepts of transformation and continuity within the frameworks of Actor-Network Theory (ANT) and the "Meshwork" theory. Additionally, I will investigate the notion of 'mobility' within the framework of the post-nomadic era and how it continues to exist and evolve in modern society.

5.3.1 ANT and Meshwork in the Context of People, Materials, and the Ger Environment

The integrated data from Grounded Theory reveals detailed insights into the relationships and interactions among people, materials, and the environment:

1. Cultural Heritage Continuity:

- Continuation of Nomadic Herding Relationships: Within Mongolian nomadic culture, cooperation and traditional relationships among herders persist. They collaborate in constructing Mongolian gers, not only to fulfill their material housing needs but also to preserve ancient architectural techniques and cultural traditions. This cooperative relationship underscores mutual assistance among people while reflecting a reverence for traditional culture. The environment (grasslands) provides ample space for people to continue these cooperative traditions
- Preservation of the Core Ger Form: Despite changes in modern requirements and environmental conditions, the core structure of the Mongolian ger remains preserved. The circular structure and fundamental layout of the ger are not just physical features but also cultural symbols. This form, suitable for constructing on the grasslands, symbolizes the unity and inclusivity of nomadic communities. This cultural symbolism, combined with adaptability to the environment (grasslands), contributes to the continuity and development of Mongolian ger culture.

2. Influence of Contemporary Demands:

- Improvements in Internal Facilities: With the increasing demands of modernity, improvements have been made to the internal facilities of Mongolian gers. People have introduced modern amenities like electricity and heating systems, ensuring comfort while

adapting to modern life. These improvements respond not only to material needs but also result from interactions between people and the material environment. People modify the internal structure of gers based on modern requirements while considering environmental factors such as climate.

- Meeting Tourism Demands: Tourism demands have influenced the construction and layout of Mongolian gers. To attract tourists, gers are often made and decorated more elaborately. People alter the design of gers according to tourists' needs to provide a better experience. This change is a response not only to economic demands but also to interactions between people and the environment, as it reflects an understanding of both the environment and cultural traditions.

3. Multifaceted Impact:

- Limited and Expensive Resources: The production of gers requires specific materials, such as willow. The acquisition of these materials is constrained by environmental conservation regulations, forcing people to make choices within limited resources. This choice-making process is not only a consideration of environmental sustainability but also a demonstration of respect for cultural traditions. People seek more environmentally friendly and economical alternative materials, reflecting the balance in the interactions among people, materials, and the environment.
- Loss of Traditional Building Skills: Due to the gradual decrease in older generation craftsmen, specific skills and techniques are being lost. In such cases, people must integrate modern technology with traditional craftsmanship to preserve the distinctive features of Mongolian gers. This integration is not merely a response to technological challenges but also a comprehensive consideration of environmental changes and cultural heritage. People must find a balance between environmental conditions and cultural traditions to ensure the continuous development and preservation of Mongolian gers.
- Constraints of Macro Factors: As demonstrated in the previous chapter, Mongolian gers exhibit different states of existence under various policy regulations. This reflects the complexity of interactions among individuals, materials, and the environment during the production and maintenance of gers. These interactions involve not only material needs and adaptations but also the comprehensive influence of factors from culture, society, and the economy.

When exploring the relationships among people, materials, and the environment from the perspectives of Actor-Network Theory (ANT) and the concept of Meshwork, I encounter a

topic filled with complexity and speculation. This relationship extends beyond practical needs in daily life and encompasses multiple dimensions, including culture, emotions, power dynamics, and social constructions.

Firstly, as discussed in Chapter 2.5, ANT emphasizes the ever evolving and dynamic nature of relationships (Latour 2005). We can perceive the relationships among people, materials, and the environment as an ever-changing network, influenced by time, social changes, and individual actions. The construction of gers involves various material elements such as wood, felt, iron, design elements, etc., and the connections between people and gers constitute a network composed of these multiple elements. This network evolves over time, and people's emotional dependence on and cultural connections to gers also change accordingly. Thus, a ger is not merely a material presence but also a social network that evolves over time. Research indicates that it changes with the passage of eras, alterations in users, and even changes in social and environmental policies. Its mode of existence varies in different environments, such as the final nomadic grounds compared to other tourist destinations.

Secondly, the preservation and maintenance of gers can be seen as a process of social construction. From the perspective of ANT, gers are not just composed of material elements; they also encompass the cultural and social meanings attributed to them by people. People protect and maintain gers through social practices, including rituals, storytelling, and cultural activities. These social practices bind individuals, materials, and cultural values together, forming a complex assemblage.

Finally, the evolution and adaptation of gers can be regarded as an ongoing process of speculation. ANT and the assemblage theory focus on the interactions between technology, materials, and social practices. In the evolution of gers, people are not passive recipients but active shapers. They modify the form and function of gers according to contemporary demands and social practices while preserving their traditional cultural value. This speculative process reflects the complex interaction among people, materials, and the environment at various levels. It reminds us that our relationships are not only about passive adaptation but also involve active thinking and reconstruction, reflecting the intricate interaction between humanity and the material and environmental aspects of our lives.

As discussion in Chapter 2.5, ANT emphasizes interactions among various actors, both human and non-human, aiding in the tracking of these interactions, including people, gers, and the environment. The concept of Meshwork highlights the multidimensional relationships between

people and the environment, encompassing material, cultural, social, and economic dimensions. These complex relationships form a multi-layered ger ecosystem.

Ingold's (2011) perspective emphasizes the interwoven lines and dynamic connections within the Meshwork, in contrast to the concept of interconnected nodes in traditional networks. His anthropological viewpoint underscores the significance and creativity of humans in shaping life and heritage practices. He also emphasizes the concept of "correspondence" to understand the dynamic relationships and resonant connections between individuals and their surrounding environment. Unlike Harrison's (2013) critical heritage approach, the Meshwork approach may be more valuable in exploring individual agency and dynamic connections in heritage practices.

Meshwork theory and ANT represent two distinct but sometimes complementary theoretical frameworks for analyzing the continuity and change in culture and the complexity of social phenomena. Meshwork theory emphasizes cultural cores, individual creativity, and multifaceted influences, considering culture as a network constructed by interactive individuals who serve as both preservers and innovators. ANT focuses on interactions among various actors, whether human or non-human, and emphasizes how these relationships constitute social networks.

In the context of Mongolian ger culture, Meshwork theory highlights the role of individual creativity in driving both continuity and change within cultural cores, contemporary demands, and macroeconomic factors. Individual creativity becomes a central theme. Meshwork theory posits that individuals are not only inheritors of culture but also innovators. In the case of gers, individuals like traditional craftsmen, the younger generation of inheritors, and contemporary designers play crucial roles. Through creative thinking and practices, they merge traditional Mongolian gers with contemporary requirements, propelling cultural evolution. They not only preserve traditional elements but also innovate based on contemporary needs, such as improving materials, structures, and functionality to adapt to modern lifestyles. Meshwork theory emphasizes the multiplicity of individuals' perspectives (Ingold 2015), enabling them to consider and understand culture from various angles. This multifaceted cognitive capacity helps find a balance between tradition and innovation. The agency of individuals goes beyond thought and creativity to practical action (Ingold 2013). In the context of gers, designers and craftsmen must translate their creativity into practice by creating gers that meet contemporary needs. Their actions are pivotal in the continuity and innovation of cultural heritage.

In conclusion to this section, Meshwork theory provides us with a framework to better understand how the production and inheritance of gers in Mongolian culture are influenced by a complex interplay of various factors and actors. This fusion of Meshwork theory and ANT theory can offer a more comprehensive strategy for the protection and inheritance of Mongolian ger culture. It considers not only cultural cores and individual creativity but also the roles of external factors and actors. Ultimately, this fusion can provide valuable theoretical perspectives for the study of continuity and change in other cultural domains, offering insights into the complexity of interactions between culture and its multifaceted surroundings.

5.3.2 Change and Continuity: A Reexamination

In this discussion, I embark on a journey to reevaluate the concept of continuity in heritage studies, shedding light on its multidimensional and ever-evolving nature through subjective perspectives and a temporal lens.

One significant contribution of the study is the exploration of how subjective perspectives construct and interpret continuity within heritage, emphasizing the diversity of such viewpoints from a Meshwork perspective. Yarrow (2014) posits that heritage is not a singular entity but a dynamically constructed one influenced by various stakeholders. The data analysis presented in this thesis underscores this point. In the context of Inner Mongolia, individuals and communities hold diverse views on the preservation and adaptation of Mongolian gers. These perspectives are deeply subjective, rooted in personal experiences, cultural backgrounds, and contemporary needs. For instance, some community members regard the ger as a symbol of cultural resilience, emphasizing the importance of maintaining its core form and function. This perspective reflects their subjective attachment to the ger, viewing it as a representation of identity and history. Conversely, others consider the ger as an adaptable living space suited to modern needs, proposing a more flexible view of continuity. The interaction of these subjective viewpoints generates a dynamic dialogue challenging the notion of continuity as a singular and inherent traditional concept within heritage.

Traditionally, continuity has been perceived as a static concept, emphasizing the continuous transmission and preservation of cultural elements and traditional practices. However, research views heritage as an evolving and adaptive process. The data reveals how nomadic communities adapt their gers to meet modern demands while preserving their cultural core formations such as Khana(wall), Unn(celling), and Toon (top window), circular space in Figure 3. This dynamic approach perceives continuity as a complex cultural preservation process, acknowledging the interplay between tradition and innovation, and emphasizing that heritage is not solely rooted in the past but intimately linked to the present and future of cultural preservation.

Within the framework of ANT, human and non-human actors constitute different actornetworks, shaping distinct dimensions of heritage development. Temporality is another key dimension in our rethinking of continuity. Recognizing that continuity is not a singular dimension from the past to the present but a multi-dimensional post-modern concept that evolves over time. The changes in Mongolian gers illustrate their evolution from simple wooden structures due to practical considerations to iron and cement-shaped constructions. However, as cultural demands deepened and industrialization needs arose, gers transformed into steel-wood hybrid forms. Subsequently, due to modernization demands, gers gradually became functionalized; however, as grassland policies changed, they evolved into mobile structures. In contrast, in the final nomadic grounds, gers remain in a seemingly static state, continuing to be used. In the hands of herders, these gers tend to retain the appearance of the past as a form of nostalgia. Therefore, temporal considerations are especially crucial in the context of this multidimensional transformation. Heritage temporality is no longer simplistically viewed as a linear development from the past to the present but is considered a complex, multi-dimensional concept. Human and non-human actors together construct multilayered and multi-faceted perspectives on continuity.

In the case of Mongolian gers, the concept of cultural heritage continuity has undergone significant development, challenging the traditional notion of "endangerment" (DeSilvey and Harrison 2020). In contrast to the traditional view that cultural heritage gradually erodes when left undisturbed, the example of Mongolian gers reveals continuous evolution and adaptation. The form and function of Mongolian gers may change over time and with changing environmental conditions, but they still exist and play a role in contemporary life. This suggests that cultural heritage can be seen more as an active, ever-changing entity rather than a static, threatened one.

This dynamism reflects the power of cultural heritage to change with time and environmental shifts. Meshwork theory emphasizes the dynamic power of different actors within cultural heritage. Various decisions and interactions in the process of making gers reflect power dynamics among community members, governments, and other stakeholders. This aids in our understanding of the political nature of cultural heritage and challenges the notion of endangerment as it highlights power struggles and negotiations occurring within their ongoing interactions and adaptations. In their continuous interactions and adaptations, this means that the future of heritage is not simply predestined to gradually disappear, as predicted in traditional narratives. New observations and understandings may help reshape this notion, viewing gers as more flexible and diverse entities that continue to evolve.

The continuity of Mongolian gers underscores the dynamism of heritage, viewing it as an entity that continuously evolves and adapts. The power of community engagement and innovation plays a critical role in this process, as it helps overturn traditional perspectives. This new understanding provides a broader perspective and strategies for the sustainability and vitality of heritage.

5.3.3 Redefining 'Nomadism': Reassessing the Essence of Nomadic Life in the Context of Modern Transformation

As social and economic changes intensify, the nomadic way of life is undergoing significant transformations, and the application of the Mongolian ger is also evolving gradually. Redefining 'nomadism' involves a new understanding of nomadic life. In the past, nomadism was seen as a lifestyle in which nomadic peoples moved between different regions based on the seasons and the availability of resources. However, today, nomadic life is no longer limited to traditional nomadic practices alone. This reflects the adaptability and flexibility of nomadic life to meet the needs and challenges of modern society.

At the core of nomadic life is the concept of mobility (Sakznab 1980). Past nomadism had no restrictions, while contemporary nomadism is differentiated by individually contracted pasture economies. This distinction represents a reassessment of the essence of nomadic life, emphasizing a new understanding of nomadism in the context of modern transformation. This change highlights the dynamism of nomadic culture and how nomadic peoples adapt to the ever-changing social and economic environment (Wuyun 2001). Wuyun (2001:67) pointed out that "nomadic life itself is a utilitarian culture and has evolved as such." This means that nomadic life is not rigid but continually evolves and changes based on needs and the availability of resources. This utilitarian culture underscores the adaptability of nomadic culture as they seek new ways to sustain their way of life and ensure the continuity of their traditional values in modern society.

The Mongolian ger is a significant symbol of nomadic culture, and it has also undergone changes in the context of modern transformation. A nomad believes, "The ger is something always changing, always new, suitable for nomadic life. Unlike houses, it's not fixed. It's also a house but mobile. Nomadic culture is special" (interview, Long, 17/04/2022: Hulunbuir). This viewpoint emphasizes that the ger is a constantly changing and adapting structure suited for nomadic life. This aligns with the postmodern perspective that representations of cultural heritage are polysemic and can change based on different backgrounds and needs. This implies

that the ger is not just a place of residence but can be redefined as a multifunctional structure that adapts to various modern transformation contexts.

In modern transformation, the application of the Mongolian ger has changed, reflecting new roles and significance of nomadic culture in contemporary society. It represents not only a traditional dwelling but also holds special meaning for nomadic identity while reflecting the community's efforts to adapt to modern lifestyles. Reassessing the essence of nomadic life also involves redefining cultural heritage. The value of the Mongolian ger may change over time. People need to find a balance that preserves its core while adapting to the needs of modern society.

As emphasized by ANT and Meshwork, the 'nomadism' within nomadic cultural heritage represents an evolving way of life that results from interactions between humans and the material world, as well as the environment. Consider the changes in the materials and construction of the Mongolian ger as an example. Traditional felt gers required careful maintenance to prevent leaks, whereas modern production using mixed materials is more durable. This perspective suggests that the materiality of cultural heritage can also change based on the availability of technology and resources. Therefore, the 'nomadism' within nomadic culture is not just a way of life but also a reflection of cultural heritage that encompasses dynamic relationships between the past, present, and future.

5.4 Research Methodology in Ger Examination

5.4.0 Introduction

This section primarily reevaluates the perspectives and methods proposed by the methodology (Chapter 3) in terms of their accuracy and applicability to the materials collected in this study. The aim is to provide a more comprehensive framework for the methodology of heritage studies, particularly in the context of living heritage. As mentioned in the methodology section, this study adopts a Constructive methodology with the intention of comprehending the dynamic interplay of material and non-material aspects. Drawing upon the Non- representative theory (NRT) perspective of lived experiences (Waterton and Watson 2013; Tolia-Kelly et al. 2017), this research seeks to reshape the understanding and methods of living heritage by comprehending and capturing the diversity of communities and everyday practices. As previously discussed, NRT research in heritage studies generally focuses on three main aspects: performance, emotional, and relational dimensions. In this study, by capturing the practices and

cognitions of diverse and dynamic groups, the primary focus is on validating the role of NRT methodology in the aspects of heritage performance and relational dimensions.

As elucidated in previous sections regarding meshwork and Actor-Network Theory (ANT), it has been verified that various groups shape the contemporary concept and transformations of the Mongolian ger, establishing multiple connections among people, materials, and environmental elements in the context of the post-nomadic era. However, in existing research related to relational heritage, emphasis is placed on the correlation between people and material culture, rather than delving as deeply into the integration of multiple factors, especially the role of environmental elements, as this study does. On the other hand, the liveliness of the Mongolian ger has been coupled with the perspective of heritage performance. That is, the value of heritage is reshaped through the everyday doings of people (e.g., Haldrup and Boerenholdt 2015), which explores the often-overlooked diversity of contemporary communities and the emergence of new elements and changes, thereby challenging the conventional interpretations of the Mongolian ger in heritage texts, which often focus on its historical craftsmanship and housing function. Consequently, this leads to a broader contemplation of the Mongolian ger and an inclusive approach to heritage preservation.

In the first part of the data analysis, this study vividly portrays the situations in each research location using an ethnographic approach, highlighting the distinctive characteristics and representative issues of each region. This approach aims to provide an in-depth description of the collective understanding of NRT (Geertz 1973). Supplementary analysis to interviewee's quotations that plays a crucial role in comparing the differences in cognitive perceptions and attitudes among groups. Therefore, the methods employed in this study are effective in addressing the exploratory research questions.

Beyond exploring the roles of common research methods in heritage studies, I will focus on examining the application of Grounded Theory (GT) in qualitative research within the context of living heritage. The GT method exhibits a degree of innovativeness, particularly in the field of Mongolian ger research, where it is still in its exploratory phase, as discussed in Chapter 3.2. Therefore, I will continue the preceding discussion and, drawing from the experiences of this study, evaluate the creative manifestations of GT within the Mongolian ger research.

5.4.1 Comparing with Previous Ger Studies Using Grounded Theory

This section aims to compare the results of this study's Grounded Theory (GT) with existing literature to demonstrate the accuracy and breakthroughs achieved in the data analysis. In the

methodology section, it was mentioned that this research shares a similar starting point with Bai Liyan's publication (2021) on contemporary interpretations of the Mongolian ger, which focuses on architectural models to explain the transformations of the ger. In contrast, this study investigates the changes and continuity of gers within the socio-cultural context of the postnomadic era, aiming to provide insights into living heritage cognition and management. Therefore, while both studies employ GT methods to research contemporary Mongolian gers, there are notable differences between them. The following is a comparison of the two studies:

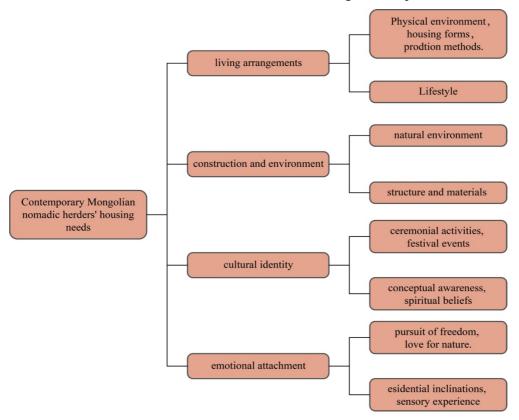


FIGURE 44 A GER STUDY OF GROUNDED THEORY (BAI 2021)

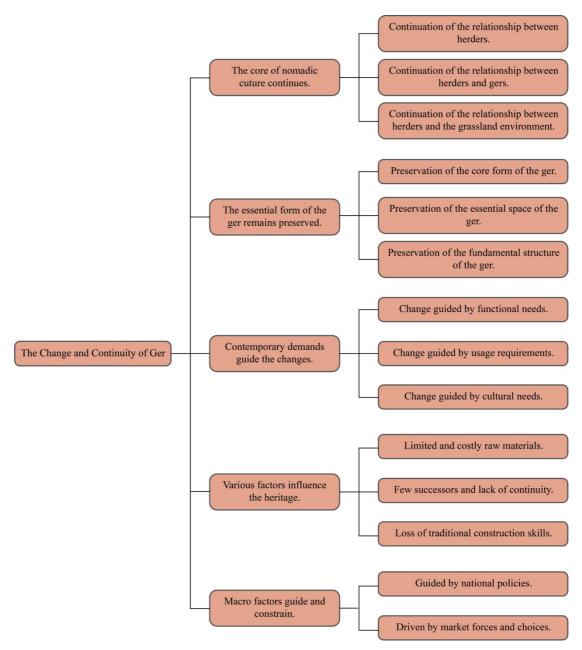


FIGURE 45 THE GROUNDED THEORY RESULTS OF THIS RESEARCH

Both studies discuss aspects of Mongolian pastoralists' living conditions, housing, and cultural identities. However, several key differences and connections exist. This section explores these differences and connections:

Both studies share a common theme: the investigation of Mongolian pastoralists' ways of life, including their housing, cultural practices, and emotional attachment to traditional lifestyles. They both acknowledge the significance of these elements in understanding the lifestyle and identity of Mongolian pastoralists. Cultural identity is considered a vital component of Mongolian pastoralists' way of life in both studies. They emphasize pastoralists' commitment to environmental conservation and respect for natural conditions and how they adapt to these

conditions. In general, both studies highlight how Mongolian pastoralists maintain their cultural traditions in the face of change. These commonalities validate the effectiveness of the data collected in this study.

However, there are significant differences in the research questions and study populations between the two studies. Bai's study primarily focuses on the needs of indigenous communities, i.e., pastoralists. In contrast, the groups included in this study are dynamic professionals related to the Mongolian ger. Bai concentrates on traditional Mongolian gers as the primary form of housing, while I acknowledge the emergence of different housing types, including newer forms as alternatives to traditional gers.

In terms of content, Bai delves deeply into the cultural and environmental aspects of Mongolian pastoralists' lives, including traditional practices and housing. She emphasizes the use of natural materials, cultural rituals, and sensory experiences as part of Mongolian pastoralists' cultural identity. In contrast, this study discusses contemporary changes and challenges, such as changes in housing types and the influence of external factors. My content highlights the role of diverse factors, such as resource scarcity, the impact of national policies, and market-driven housing choices, which affect the continuity of Mongolian ger practices.

In conclusion, while both studies share a common theme of investigating the changes in Mongolian gers, the original content of Bai's study is more focused on traditional aspects. On the other hand, this study's new content highlights contemporary changes in gers and how they adapt to evolving factors. These differences complement each other, enriching the current research on contemporary transformations of Mongolian gers.

5.4.2 The Grounded Theory Contribution and Limitations

In this section, I will assess GT's effectiveness in heritage research based on its performance in this paper. Firstly, the results of GT provide an objective validation for this study. While the coding process in GT carries some subjectivity from the researcher (Charmaz 2006), the categorization process of coding is highly systematic and objective. From the content of Data Analysis Part 1, we gain a clear understanding and insight into the broader context of the postnomadic era and external factors. Moreover, it offers a comprehensive interpretation of the current state of the Mongolian gers. However, regarding the participants' perceptual aspects, their valued factors, and insights into the changes and continuity of the ger, the ethnographic detailing may not be as systematic. Additionally, for a comprehensive understanding of the interplay between internal and external factors in shaping changes and continuity, other

methods lack the logical relationships presented by GT's axial coding. Overall, GT serves as a crucial complement in establishing the overall logical relationships of the study and capturing nuanced elements.

This study initially commenced with GT as the primary research approach, with data collection methods following the premise of having no preconceived notions (Glaser 2002). However, during the data analysis phase, shortcomings of this method became evident. Firstly, while this method demands rigor in the coding process (Glaser & Strauss 1967) and places significant demands on the researcher's workload, the textual narratives it produces are limited. This limitation falls short of meeting the narrative requirements of a doctoral thesis. Secondly, the method severely restricts the description of contextual backgrounds. Within this framework, it is challenging to provide vivid and realistic interpretations based on the temporality of fieldwork and the realities presented in different fieldwork regions. This limitation is mainly because this method follows a tightly woven logical line for research questions (Clarke 2005), making it challenging to accommodate alternative narratives from the field. Lastly, the results of this method lack the ethnographic detailing of local knowledge, and there are limitations in interpreting the researcher's actions and background stories.

In summary, this study required a diverse range of research methods to support its multifaceted research needs. It offered comprehensive interpretations of materiality, agency, adaptability, and contemporaneity. A single research method would inevitably impose constraints on exploring the research subject comprehensively. Initially, GT was experimented with as a primary research approach in the methodology. However, practical experience showed that this method served primarily for validation and supplementation. Therefore, the research concludes that a multi-complementary approach is necessary for the study of living heritage. Drawing on constructionism as a foundation, utilizing NRT for detailed explication, employing ethnography as an interpretive method, and utilizing GT for objective logical structuring and validation. Thus, the understanding of living heritage becomes both subjective and objective, encompassing the characteristics of qualitative research and quantitative analysis, thereby increasing the research's credibility.

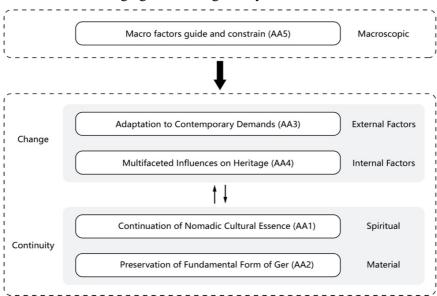
5.5 The Integrated Living Heritage Approach

5.5.0 Introduction

In this section, I introduce an Integrated Living Heritage Approach (ILHA) and discuss its groundbreaking potential in the realms of living heritage conservation and sustainable development. Initially, the section delves into the contributions of Grounded Theory (GT) to the development of the ILHA. By exploring the interactions among elements, it will dissect the relationship between the themes of change and continuity presented in the thesis and the factors of sustainable development, aiding in the understanding of this new approach from a sustainable heritage perspective. As a transformative paradigm, ILHA transcends the boundaries of traditional thinking and redefines how we perceive, manage, and utilize living heritage for greater societal benefits.

5.5.1 Theorizing the Grounded Theory Results in Living Heritage

The ultimate purpose of Grounded Theory is to construct theory. During the phase of theory development through selective coding, the task involves decoding the data to cultivate a comprehension of the essence of ideas, comparing them with each other, and thereby ascertaining the connections and interplays among them (Galal 2001). In this thesis, GT has been employed to construct the relationships between the elements of change and continuity in the context of the Mongolian ger (See Figure 40). The aim was to redefine and reinterpret the existence framework of living heritage. However, for constructing a heritage theoretical framework, it is insufficient to solely elucidate the relationships among the elements of ger case. The research needs to elevate its dimension by translating these elements into heritage theoretical terms and the emerging new heritage ecosystem.



(Refer to Figure 40 in Chapter 4.5.2 for the association of Grounded Theory factors)

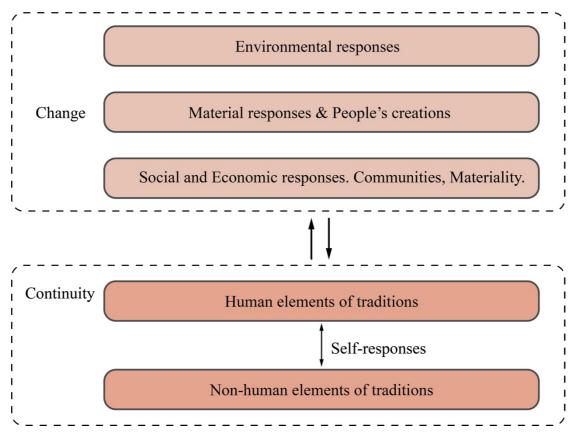


FIGURE 46 GROUNDED THEORY RESULTS IN HERITAGE TRANSLATION

In the characteristics of continuity, the factors AA1 and AA2 in the Figure 40 represent the preservation of core elements of the Mongolian ger in contemporary times, primarily manifested in the intrinsic characteristics of the ger, including people's emotional and material spatial needs. Therefore, this aspect is defined as the ger's response to these needs, with responses categorized as human elements of traditions and non-human elements of traditions, as depicted in Figure 46.

In the characteristics of change, In the domain of change, factor AA5 in Figure 40 encompasses external influences, such as management policies and alterations in the nomadic environment. Consequently, these changes are reflected in responses to environmental factors (both natural and human environments) illustrated in Figure 47. AA3 signifies shifts in people's evolving material requirements, with an emphasis on the mechanisms through which these changes occur, including creative modifications carried out by communities. Internal factors denoted by AA4 encapsulate the internal challenges faced by Mongolian gers, largely attributable to socioeconomic factors prompting transformations. These challenges have resulted in corresponding modifications in the practices of practitioners and the raw materials they utilize. All these translated discourses are presented in Figure 47.

Hence, in translating Mongolian gers of the post-nomadic era into the discourse of heritage, a theoretical framework is established that embodies the duality of continuity and change in living heritage. Continuity is the interaction between human and non-human elements, while change represents how people respond to environmental, social, and economic influences, particularly in terms of demographic shifts and creative material alterations. This reaffirms that living heritage is a product of the interplay between people, materials, and the environment.

Ingold 's Meshwork emphasized the triadic relationship between humans, objects, and the environment. His renowned statement, "everything may be something, but being something is always on the way to becoming something else" (2011:3), signifies that all entities can be regarded as a particular form of existence, yet this existence is perpetually undergoing an evolution and change process.

Ger (practitioners or groups of practitioners), through their connections with and comprehension of the surrounding world, trigger the emergence of additional phenomena and intersections. Ger is an ancient nomadic dwelling that has evolved from a simple form of existence into a diverse and intricate entity. This transformation is facilitated by the continuous interplay between humans, objects, and the environment, characterized by a state of symbiosis. In this dynamic process, ger is no longer perceived as a static entity but rather as dynamic elements interwoven with one another, in a perpetual state of development and evolution. This evolution is not solely reliant on existing data of this research but, to a greater extent, depends on the ongoing interactions among these elements.

5.5.2 Interplay of Sustainability, Change, and Continuity

Heritage management presents a multifaceted interaction between sustainability, change, and continuity. While sustainability often emphasizes protection and management against risks, it also recognizes heritage as a catalyst for broader development. Change is a dual-edged concept in heritage, signifying both a challenge to manage and an opportunity to exploit. Continuity acts as a bridge, connecting the strategic measures of sustainability with the dynamic realities of heritage.

The inherent dynamism and multifaceted nature of heritage are acknowledged both in sustainability and change. They call for a responsive approach that can adapt to evolving contexts. Sustainability and continuity, in particular, focus on the preservation of core values, reflecting the underlying purposes of heritage.

Though sustainability emphasizes long-term preservation, change underscores the evolving nature of heritage, as we saw in Chapter 2.7.2. The importance of creatively using change for future development contrasts with the emphasis on maintenance and balance in sustainability. Continuity integrates these aspects, showing them as complementary rather than contradictory.

Certain areas within heritage management require further exploration and development. The contradiction between sustainability, which implies preservation, and change, suggesting dynamism, creates a paradox that needs reconciliation. This calls for a deeper understanding of how these contrasting concepts can coexist in the heritage context. Additionally, the implementation of social sustainability in historical public spaces demands more robust and diverse methodological approaches. Transformational change, a dimension in heritage value from a sustainability perspective, remains under-researched, indicating a need for further exploration of its implications and applications. Finally, the complexity of the relationships between sustainability, change, and continuity necessitates the creation of comprehensive and integrative frameworks. Such frameworks would provide actionable insights for stakeholders, assisting them in managing and balancing these interconnected concepts effectively within heritage practice.

5.5.3 The Integrated Living Heritage Approach

Based on the heritage elements and their relationships identified in the previous results, this section outlines a new integrated approach to living heritage and highlights its transformative potential in heritage conservation and sustainable development, with specific reference to the characteristics of post-nomadic living heritage.

In the context of post-nomadic heritage, it becomes imperative to actively seek new modes of connection to ensure its vitality in the present and its sustained legacy into the future. Individuals emerge as pivotal agents in this process, serving as the bridges that link the past, the present, and the future, and thereby fulfilling an indispensable role. Their understanding and experiences function as the binding threads that connect the bygone era with the contemporary age, while their creativity paves the way for establishing connections with the future.

Within this framework, individuals assume a significant role in the inheritance of heritage. They not only preserve the essence of tradition but continually explore and expand upon it in new environmental settings, fostering the emergence of fresh relationships and possibilities. This

continual exploration and adaptability are instrumental in ensuring that heritage endures across diverse cultural and societal landscapes, rather than remaining stagnant in history.

Furthermore, the interaction between humans and the environment plays a crucial part in this process. The dynamic nature of the environment and the ever-evolving conditions of society exert an influence on the development and transmission of heritage. Consequently, individuals must adapt to these changes and innovate new approaches for sustaining and evolving heritage. This flexibility and creative thinking are paramount in guaranteeing the legacy of heritage.

In summary, the perpetuation of post-nomadic heritage necessitates the active involvement and contributions of individuals who serve as the linchpins connecting the past, the present, and the future. Simultaneously, they must adapt to new environments and challenges. This intricate interplay among various elements is of utmost significance in ensuring the vibrancy and continuity of heritage, thus positioning it not as a mere relic of the past but as an integral part of the contemporary and future landscape. The following is a summary of the key points of the Integrated Living Heritage Approach, based on previous research findings and theories, culminating in Table 7.

1. Dynamism and Adaptability

The dynamism and adaptability of the ger are evident in their continuous changes and adjustments to meet the evolving needs of different periods and cultural contexts (Chapter 4.1, 4.2, 4.3). This characteristic is reflected in the evolution of ger over time. As the structure and use of the ger have evolved, it has retained its status as a living heritage. This dynamic nature underscores the idea that heritage is, to some extent, malleable and can self-assemble. Whether influenced internally or externally, ger, its users, and its elements are constantly changing, integrating new components (Chapter 4.5.2, GT factor AA5in Section 4.5.1). It reflects to the Heritage Endangerment (Chapter 2.6.1) and Dynamism (Chapter 2.5.4) and refer dimensions to Heritage Temporality (Chapter 2.7.1) was past-oriented. It is argued that the adaptability of living heritage is self-adjusting and does not require external intervention.

2. Symbiosis of Human, Material, and Environmental Elements

Ger, as a living heritage, emphasizes the harmonious coexistence of humans with the natural environment (Analysis in Chapter 5.5.1). However, this symbiotic relationship is not traditional but rather a modern manifestation influenced by current management policies. Traditional gers represent an adaptive response to the natural environment and nomadic life. In contrast, modern gers passively adapt to various constraints, including environmental policies, economic

adjustments, and material needs (Chapter 4.1, 4.4, 5.2.4). The components of ger are constantly changing and improving, reflecting temporal and material adaptability. As mentioned in Section 4.5 above, the effect of the Meshwork and the ANT, this adaptability creates new connections between ger and the world.

3. Balance between Change and Continuity

As living heritage, ger strikes a balance between tradition and innovation. The perspectives of young designers provide evidence of this feature. Continuity involves preserving past values and forms, while innovation includes integrating them into the needs and aesthetics of modern society. Here, continuity can be seen as a form of transformation. What needs to change is not only at the material level but also at the spiritual level. Faced with multiple constraints, the core preservation of the ger indicates a response to external transformations in the form of faith and respect for traditional culture (see GT results in Chapter 4.5.2). Therefore, the mindset of ger practitioners needs to be recognized and appreciated in their pursuit of practices related to ger.

4. Integration of Social Life

As living heritage, ger reflects the integration of post-nomadic social life. Ger practitioners emphasize ger as an expression of traditional life and identity. Other practitioners express the hope that the Mongolian ger will continue to be used and adapted in the contemporary context (see Chapter 4.1), rather than becoming a museum artifact. Post -nomadic life is also further affected by various factors in discussion of GT results, factor AA5 and AA4. Despite the significant differences between post-nomadic life and traditional nomadic life, the changes in ger allow different social groups to integrate. It represents sustainable ways of daily life, which reflects theories of Sustainability (Chapter 2.7.2) and NRT (Chapter 3.1).

5. Collaborative Creation

It is worth mentioning that in the analysis of different groups and their behaviors in different environments in Chapter 5.2, two entities, humans, and ger, mutually complement each other. Practitioners become a group of people with the identity of ger practitioners, such as producers, operators, users, etc., by shaping ger. Similarly, ger takes on different forms due to the different agencies of this group of people.

Protecting living heritage, including ger, requires public participation, making it a collaborative creation process. This collaborative approach allows ger to maintain its dynamism and adaptability, ensuring that it is not only a historical heritage but also a part of contemporary society. Previous heritage concepts primarily viewed the Mongolian ger as the property of

nomadic herders (UNESCO 2006), ignoring the influence and recognition of other groups and their practices. Research indicates that multiple groups play diverse roles and are of importance in shaping the modern changes in ger (see GT factor AA1, AA2 and AA3 in Chapter 4.5.1). The continuity of living heritage necessitates the acknowledgment of different groups and support for their practices.

Research	Grounded Theory	Heritage Theory	Integrated Living Heritage
Findings	Coding	(Literature review)	Approach
(Data analysis	(Data analysis Part II)		
Part I)			
Chapter 4.1,	AA3.Adaptation to	Heritage Dynamism	Dynamism and Adaptation
Chapter 4.2,	Contemporary	Endangerment rethink	
Chapter 4.3	Demands	Temporality	
	(Chapter 4.5.2)		
Chapter 4.1,	Factors Associations in	Actor-Network Theory	Symbiosis of Human,
Chapter 4.4,	Heritage Translations	Meshwork	Material, and Environmental
Chapter 5.2.4	(Figure 46 in Chapter		Elements
	5.5.1)		
	Change and Continuity	Heritage Continuity	Balance between Change and
	Relations	Heritage Change	Continuity
	(Figure 40 in Chapter		
	4.5.2)		
Chapter 4	AA5.Macro factors	Post-nomadism Contexts	Integration of Social Life
Chapter 5.1	guide and constrain	Heritage Sustainability	
	AA4. Multifaceted	Non-representative	
	influences on Heritage	Theory	
	(Chapter 4.5.2)		
Chapter 4.1	AA1.Continuation of	Heritage creation	Collaborative Creation
	nomadic essence	Heritage continuity	
	AA2.Preservation of		
	fundamental form of		
	ger		
	AA3.Adaptation to		
	Contemporary		
	demands		
	(Chapter 4.5.2)		

TABLE 6 INTEGRATED LIVING HERITAGE APPROACH

In conclusion, ger as living heritage, embodies the characteristics of dynamism, adaptability, the symbiosis of humans and non-humans and the environment, integration into social life, and collaborative creation. Therefore, the study presents a framework for a comprehensive living heritage approach, as shown in Figure 47. These features together constitute the unique charm and value of ger as living heritage, making it enduringly appealing across different eras and cultural backgrounds. These traits provide a solid foundation for the development of a comprehensive heritage approach and offer new perspectives and examples for the advancement of living heritage methodologies.

5.5.4 Comparison with Previous Living Heritage Approach

Traditionally, The Integrated Living Heritage Approach (The LHA) has primarily focused on the preservation of cultural traditions, collective practices, and artifacts. The LHA places a strong emphasis on the role of communities, shifting the focus of heritage conservation from material protection to a people-centered perspective (Poulios 2010; Wijesuriya 2017). This approach (see Figure 48) typically originates from a strategic standpoint in heritage preservation and takes into consideration four key factors, as illustrated in the diagram below:

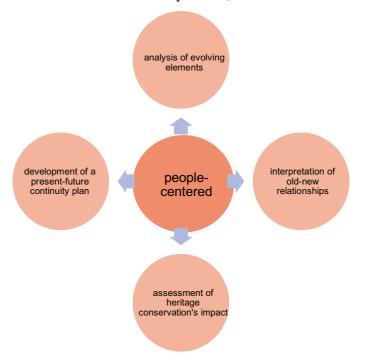


FIGURE 47 PREVIOUS LIVING HERITAGE APPROACH (POULIOS 2012A)

Although these efforts have incalculable value in preserving both tangible and intangible cultural heritage, they still perceive communities as supplementary elements in safeguarding traditional material culture rather than viewing heritage as a reconstituted entity. However, ILHA signifies a significant departure from the traditional paradigm. It is a response to the

contemporary dynamic and ever-changing nature of heritage. In contrast, the Integrated Living Heritage Approach (ILHA) demonstrates remarkable innovation. Firstly, it recognizes heritage as a complex interplay of people, objects, and the environment. It goes beyond merely emphasizing the role of humans in shaping heritage and instead underscores the adaptability and responses between human and non-human elements. It emphasizes a balanced relationship among these three components rather than focusing solely on human-centered perspectives. Overemphasizing any single aspect results in an unsustainable approach. In the case of traditional Mongolian gers, it is evident that a singular emphasis on traditional development is unsustainable, as adaptations are needed in response to changing needs and environmental conditions. Conversely, a sole focus on environmental factors, such as policy adjustments for economic development, would severely affect the rights and interests of individuals, significantly impacting the use of Mongolian gers. Thus, ILHA highlights the importance of a balanced approach in heritage conservation and practice that considers the interplay among people, objects, and the environment.

Secondly, ILHA not only focuses on the role of communities but also places a deeper emphasis on active participation and innovative utilization of heritage. ILHA acknowledges that heritage is an evolving, dynamic entity with the potential for transformation. This transformation stems from recognizing changes within heritage communities and the creative practices of individuals. Therefore, ILHA's perspective extends beyond heritage preservation to actively engaging with heritage in ways that promote community sustainability. Moreover, ILHA aims to integrate heritage into a broader agenda of sustainable development. It does not solely focus on people and material objects but also recognizes heritage as a catalyst for sustainability in social, economic, and environmental dimensions. The innovation of ILHA lies in transforming the paradigm of heritage management from passive protection to active participation and innovative utilization, encouraging communities to take a more active role in shaping the future of their heritage.

While previous approaches to living heritage also emphasized community involvement in heritage preservation, ILHA emphasizes the necessity of embedding living heritage into our daily lives. It advocates for active engagement with heritage, encouraging communities not only to preserve tradition but also to use it as a tool for achieving sustainable development. The value of heritage is continually reshaped within the context of change. This shift in perspective represents a more active and inclusive role for communities in shaping the future of their heritage.

ILHA is not merely a theoretical concept; it provides a practical framework for achieving sustainable development goals. By recognizing the potential of living heritage to drive positive change, this approach offers specific strategies for integrating heritage into development agendas. Through ILHA, heritage becomes an integrated consideration for promoting social cohesion, economic empowerment, and environmental resource conservation. ILHA bridges the gap between heritage and the broader framework of sustainability goals, showcasing the dynamic power of heritage in subtle ways.

In conclusion, the Integrated Living Heritage Approach represents a paradigm shift in understanding living heritage and its role in sustainable development. It transcends previous approaches to living heritage by advocating for a more inclusive, dynamic, and comprehensive engagement with heritage. ILHA offers a practical pathway forward in which heritage becomes an active force for positive change in our rapidly evolving world. This approach not only challenges traditional wisdom but also inspires us to rethink the possibilities of heritage in shaping a more sustainable and culturally rich future.

5.5.5 Living Heritage in China

The concept of living heritage in China has been influenced by the development of intangible cultural heritage and the official mobilization towards its revitalization and utilization. However, it is not merely a matter of conceptualization; the importance lies in the perspectives on conservation and recognition in the face of evolving heritage. As highlighted in the interview with scholar Bai, a significant number of respondents share the view that living heritage lacks continuity and is predominantly seen through the lens of official tourism exploitation.

"If we talk about keeping up with the times, it becomes a Chinese thing. The changes have altered its heritage status; the utility has evolved, and the purpose has shifted. Can it still be considered heritage? From my perspective, any heritage in China lacks the possibility of dynamic continuity. It is no longer utilized in daily life; it has lost its practicality and exists solely within the realm of government-guided tourism, as an alternative form. However, its essence has been lost." (Interview, Bai, L.Y., 17/07/2022: Hohhot)

However, this perspective is overly simplistic as it overlooks the value of dynamic communities and practices, as well as the negotiation processes between people and their environments. This paper argues that the recognition of living heritage lies in capturing its dynamism. The continuity and significance of heritage are found at the individual level, reflecting people's understanding and response to environmental changes, thus enabling the adaptive development of heritage. The concept of living heritage is not a misinterpreted notion in China, but rather a

continuously evolving perspective through practice. China encourages greater attention and utilization of heritage at the grassroots level, and the living heritage approach focuses on the practitioners and their role in shaping the heritage. This ensures the sustainable continuation of heritage.

Nomadic and agrarian civilizations are integral parts of Chinese civilization, and the unique human-geographical environment provides a diverse supplement to the understanding of living heritage. Traditional nomadism, in its collision with modern civilization and policies, has stimulated its inherent "nomadic" nature, with the resulting diversity associating it with a broader range of practitioners. The practice of nomadic heritage encompasses the dynamics of multiple groups, utilizing and creatively interacting with the changing environment and material transformations. The concept of living heritage broadens the recognition of heritage, making individual-level practices more inclusive and enhancing the sustainability of heritage.

Chapter Summary

In this chapter, the combination of theory and data is utilized to reexamine the manifestation, influences, and theoretical concepts of the post-nomadic era's living heritage. Additionally, a comprehensive living heritage approach is proposed.

This chapter sought to redefine the changes and continuities of the ger, and to evaluate the essence of nomadic life by scrutinizing the current state of nomadic culture through the lens of ger cultural heritage. It employed a multi-stakeholder interpretive approach and identified four constraining elements (economic, social, environmental, and reflexivity), along with aspects of the cultural heritage of the post-nomadic era (industrial commodification, commemoration, postmodern expressions, and policy determinants). In this context, it is crucial to recognize that contemporary research in the post-nomadic era has made significant advancements in exploring the diversity and complexity of nomadic culture. This research distinguishes itself from existing studies in several keyways, thus presenting a sharp contrast.

Firstly, this research adopted a multi-stakeholder interpretive approach. In contrast to many contemporary post-nomadic era studies that often concentrate on specific perspectives, this research employed a multi-stakeholder perspective to interpret nomadic culture. By engaging with various communities, a profound understanding of different communities' perceptions and cognitions of the ger and nomadic life was sought, thereby comprehensively grasping the diversity of nomadic culture.

Secondly, this research identified four constraining elements. It contextualized the development of nomadic culture within a broader social and economic framework by identifying the four constraining elements of economic, social, environmental, and reflexivity. This comprehensive analysis facilitated a better comprehension of the interplay between these factors and how they collectively influenced the evolution of nomadic culture.

Thirdly, in terms of theory, I explored the significance of the agency of various groups in shaping heritage through narratives of individual creative agency. Simultaneously, it affirmed the dynamism of people. In the concepts of change and continuity, the dynamic nature of heritage was affirmed through the coupling with meshwork and ANT theories. However, this dynamism is based on the interactions among people, objects, and the environment, rather than being a concept at the subjective or objective level. Overall, the comprehensive living heritage approach encompasses multiple elements and is a systematic method constructed at the grassroots level of everyday life. It offers a perspective for understanding heritage change.

In summary, through breakthroughs in multi-stakeholder interpretation, comprehensive element analysis, categorization of post-nomadic era cultural heritage, and emphasis on policy determinants, this study redefines change and continuity theories, offering a profound understanding of the development and evolution of nomadic culture within the context of modern transformations (Humphrey and Sneath 2001; Peng 2016). This research provides a comprehensive perspective, aiding in a better comprehension of the status and significance of nomadic culture in contemporary society. Furthermore, it offers valuable insights and directions for future research in the field of nomadic culture.

Chapter 6: Conclusion

This research has sought to redefine our comprehension of living heritage by examining the legacy of gers in the post-nomadic era. Considering China's increasing discourse on living heritage in recent years, there has been a gradual exploration of its application framework. Nevertheless, international living heritage frameworks have their limitations. Thus, this study delves into the heritage of non-mainstream nomadic ethnic groups in China, accompanied by speculative heritage theory, in order to offer a localized perspective and application of living heritage. This process has contributed to refining the discourse surrounding living heritage.

The research questions posed in this project (and outlined previously in Chapter 1.1, with corresponding methods in Chapter 3) represent three levels of exploration of living heritage. Firstly, through interviews and the analysis of respondents from various backgrounds, this study aimed to reconstruct a diverse understanding of gers as an example of living heritage. Secondly, by elucidating the changes and continuities of gers in the post-nomadic era, it sought to reshape the theoretical framework of living heritage within the practices of post-nomadic communities. Thirdly, through a combination of empirical and theoretical analysis, the research aimed to reconsider the logical concepts embedded in heritage.

The research extensively analyzed the existing research background (Chapter 1.2), the research subject (Chapter 1.3), and theoretical research (Chapter 2) in the past. Firstly, given the gaps in existing research, the study emphasized the potential prospects of research in the post-nomadic era. Secondly, although current Mongolian ger studies are diverse and in-depth, there was a limited focus on heritage-related studies in the present, which severely constrained the exploration of its continuity. Finally, concerning theoretical aspects of heritage research, the research found that while the heritage elements related to constructing active heritage theory were comprehensive, there was an overall lack of a targeted and systematic comprehensive approach to integrate them. These findings provided a solid theoretical research foundation for this study.

This research drew on the constructivist methodology (Chapter 3) to explore the relations between humans and non-humans, assembling new elements to reconstruct the current discourse on heritage. It was carried out with methods such as semi-structured interviews with diverse communities, observations in gers, and discourse analysis of their phrases. All the data was categorized through NVivo, and topics were generated. However, it was found that a singular interpretation of the methods was not sufficient for a doctoral thesis. Thus, the next data chapter combined a mixed analysis.

In chapter of data analysis (Chapter 4) was divided into two parts. The ethnographic analysis (Part I) and grounded theory analysis (Part II) were employed, and the paired data approach was utilized for interpretation. In the Part I ethnographic section, I provided detailed insights into the primary contradictions highlighted in the study. Section One of the chapter primarily presented the contemporary forms of gers and the perspectives and behaviors of the people behind their construction. These findings offered in-depth responses to discussions on the changes in gers and the underlying behavioral logic behind these changes.

Section Two outlined the grassland management policies currently implemented in Inner Mongolia, which significantly influence the sustainability of gers. The use of gers on the grasslands involves land management and the impact of environmental protection policies. A notable contradiction arises in the operation of "Mongolian-style homes" for tourism. Initially encouraged for local economic development as individual businesses, these establishments blurred the lines of regulation despite incomplete land-use permits. However, current environmental protection policies have necessitated a significant restructuring of established ger tourism businesses, resulting in substantial losses and policy conflicts. Gers have also adapted to these circumstances. Similar challenges are faced in the environmental management of the buffer zone of the Xanadu World Heritage Site in Xilin Gol League, where ger tourism operations have encountered obstacles, highlighting the contrasting attitudes toward the protection of contemporary and historical Mongolian cultural heritage.

Secondly, the discourse on ethnic communities has created a politically ambiguous standpoint for the expression of gers, affecting the rhetoric employed by stakeholders. This not only reflects the current situation in Inner Mongolia in the post-nomadic era and the utilization and management of nomadic heritage, but it also responds to an exploration of the factors influencing change and continuity in this context, further elucidating the dynamism of living heritage.

Sections Three and Four respectively discussed the industrialization and commercialization of gers, as well as their persistence in Inner Mongolia's last nomadic regions. Both chapters further illustrate the changing and enduring aspects of gers, as well as assess the influencing factors. Through research in Xilingol League, known as the production hub for traditional gers, it was revealed that the development of gers has passed through stages concurrent with China's economic development. Balancing familial-scale operations with market-driven adjustments and an emphasis on industry standards has allowed gers to find equilibrium between tradition and innovation. However, industrialization has subjected tradition to market forces, and

material shortages in traditional industries, coupled with a lack of skilled artisans, pose challenges to the traditional craftsmanship, which may be replaced by modern technology.

The final section of Part I explored the dependence on gers in Inner Mongolia's last remaining collective economic nomadic regions. The reasons for their preservation are rooted in history and, to some extent, accidental factors arising from management conflicts. Although these nomadic regions have been preserved, new conservation regulations have significantly reduced grazing areas, leading to dissatisfaction among herders. Inadequate economic gains and various constraints have left people feeling less free than before. Nevertheless, the utilization of traditional- style gers remains prevalent here, driven by a strong attachment and convenience. Therefore, the application of traditional gers requires a specific way of life. However, the preservation of this cultural landscape in the context of the post-nomadic era is subject to multiple conditional constraints.

Part I of the Data Chapter sets the stage for a detailed examination of the contradictions inherent in the research context, aiming to understand the reasons for the existence and disappearance of gers. Nevertheless, a systematic examination of the specific factors influencing living heritage required a comprehensive element analysis to comprehend their logical relationships. Thus, in Part II of the Data Chapter, the Grounded Theory's coding method was applied to delineate the changes and continuities of gers. Due to information saturation from the data, nine representative respondents from various backgrounds were selected for coding. This process yielded a comprehensive understanding of the dynamic factors and key elements within the context of living heritage related to gers. This, in turn, contributes to the development of a living heritage approach based on this study.

Therefore, in the discussion section (Chapter 5), the research engages in a theoretical discussion of cultural heritage based on the data results, reflecting on the research background, subjects, theoretical methods, and research methods. Consequently, it establishes a new paradigm for living heritage theory. Specifically, this thesis first summarizes the characteristics of the postnomadic era based on the results and further elaborates on its heritage attributes. Second, it summarizes the key elements of heritage attributes in the post-nomadic era, reanalyzing them within the context of a diverse group discourse and highlighting the role of individual agency in shaping heritage. The analysis categorizes factors influencing ger development into economic, social, environmental factors, and individual reflexivity factors. Thus, it infers that the post-nomadic era's heritage is primarily characterized by diversity, encompassing not only collective elements but also design elements and lifestyle elements, resulting in a mixture. Third, this thesis mainly explores the coupling of theory and reality. It delves into the concept of

change and continuity in the research theme and redefines it in connection with the core concept of 'nomadic' (i.e., change) in nomadic culture. By applying theoretical frameworks such as meshwork and Actor-Network Theory (ANT), it emphasizes the interwoven influences and associations between people, objects, and the environment within gers. This dynamic interplay gives rise to adaptability and dynamism in heritage, distinct from the adaptation of heritage within natural cultures, yet equally emphasizing change under various contextual choices.

In the reexamination of research methods, it becomes evident that Grounded Theory contributes logically to the study but may oversimplify descriptions of phenomena. Therefore, a comprehensive research method is deemed necessary for exploring living heritage similar to gers, involving analyses of various aspects such as background, demographics, and forms. This study adopts a combination of constructivist perspectives under a non-representative theoretical framework, ethnographic precision, and the objectivity framework of Grounded Theory, which has significant advantages for capturing changes in heritage.

This thesis proposes a new living heritage theory that emphasizes a balance among humans, objects, and the environment. It highlights the creative value of diverse ethnic groups, especially non-indigenous communities, and underscores the role of material evolution. Consideration of the environment necessitates multidimensional thinking. This approach connects with sustainable development theory, emphasizing the inclusivity and coexistence of heritage. It bridges the gap in heritage conservation, which often overly emphasizes the protection of objects or people, recognizing the value shaped by changes in heritage and its adaptability.

In conclusion, this study represents a breakthrough not only in ger research but also in the exploration of living heritage methods. Firstly, it summarizes the primary features of the postnomadic era through a detailed examination of its heritage. It provides a comprehensive exploration of gers' contemporary aspects from economic, environmental, social, and intrinsic perspectives, offering insights into their present-day value, creative diversity, and temporal multiplicity. Thus, it enriches existing heritage literature, which often emphasizes the traditional craftsmanship value of gers. Secondly, it advances elements in existing living heritage theories and establishes a new living heritage framework. It contributes to a comprehensive understanding of the characteristics and structure of living heritage. Thirdly, and finally, the proportion of research on nomadic heritage in existing heritage studies is relatively small. Therefore, this study, combining speculative heritage research and in-depth exploration of nomadic world heritage cases, will advance researchers' understanding of the current status and issues in the new nomadic world.

Future research on nomadic heritage and living heritage methods can explore broader and deeper dimensions. In terms of breadth, future research can expand the scope from Inner Mongolia, the focus of this study, to other nomadic ethnic regions in Inner Asia. This allows for comparisons between the current status of nomadic heritage under different sociocultural governance contexts, enriching the study of heritage in the post-nomadic era. In terms of depth, further exploration of the Inner Mongolia case is warranted, given the depth and complexity of issues in each research site. Furthermore, the understanding of living heritage methods presented here is based on a post-nomadic heritage perspective, and similar heritage types require ongoing exploration and comparison with the new living heritage approach. Thus, the theoretical construction of living heritage methods necessitates ongoing exploration and discovery in various cases, presenting an innovative research field in heritage conservation methods.

Appendix

Appendix 1: General Interview Questions

The general interview questions are as follows. However, due to the diverse and numerous natures of my interviewees, adjustments may be made during individual interviews.

Meaning and Definition of Heritage

- 1. How do you define the significance of ger?
- 2. How do you construct your ger?
- 3. What is your interpretation of ger?
- 4. What characteristics should a ger exhibit?
- 5. How does ger resonate with you?

Living Contexts

- 6. Could you share your background and personal stories related to ger?
- 7. How do you engage with ger?
- 8. How has ger evolved from your previous experiences to the present?
- 9. What historical or social factors have influenced the development of ger?

Change and Continuity

- 10. What aspects of ger can be modified?
- 11. What aspects are considered unchangeable?
- 12. What are the key strategies for preserving ger?
- 13. Could you describe what you have contributed and your vision for ger?
- 14. How can the current state of ger be enhanced?

15. In your view, what constitutes living and non-living elements within ger?

Sustainability and Support

- 16. What is the primary method for ensuring the preservation of this heritage?
- 17. Does your concept receive support from government institutions or relevant cultural experts?
- 18. What challenges are you currently encountering, and what type of support do you require

Appendix 2: List of Interviewees

NAME	IDENTIFICATION	TOPICS	PLACE	DATE	NUMBER
BAI	Designer	a. Type of ger	Hohhot	06/07/2022	1
		b. Changes & innovations			
		c. Understandings of nomadism			
		d. Challenges and development			
JIANG	Designer& Architect	a. Change & innovations	Hulunbuir	01/05/2022	2
		b. Understandings			
		c. Symbolism			
		d. Measures			
NAND	Designer & Architect	a. Key elements of ger	Hohhot	07/07/2022	3
		b. Attitudes to change			
		c. Ideas on new preservations			
BAIYINHAD	Architect	a. Details of the Baiyinhad project	Hulunbuir	04/04/2022	4
FATHER	Architect	b. Environmental values of ger	Hulunbuir	03/02/2020	5
		c. Attitudes to varied ger			
		d. Major architect in Baiyinhad			
		project			
LIU	Designer & Architect	a. Designs and innovations	Xilingol	10/06/2022	6
		b. Ecological value			
		c. Making of touristic ger			
ERUT	Creator of cultural	a. Ger difference between Mongolian	Hulunbuir	08/05/2022	7
	creative industry	tribes			
		b. Introduction to willow ger			
HU	Creator of cultural	a. Understandings of ger	Hohhot	10/07/2022	8
	creative industry	b. Change and continuity			
		c. Symbolism			
		d. Cultural industry			
X	Broker of cultural	a. The unified ethnic culture	Hulunbuir	28/04/2022	9
	creative industry	discourse			
		b. Attitudes to change			
		c. Commercialization			
		Heritage preservation			
XI	Cultural lover	a. Ger utilization in festivals	Hulunbuir	19/04/2022	10
		b. Shamanism			

SU	creative industry & Inheritor		Mongolian culture and symbols Change and continuity Symbolism	Hulunbuir	18/04/2022	11
CHEN	Inheritor	a.b.c.	Key of willow ger Difficulties & opportunities Change and continuity	Hulunbuir	14/04/2022	12
WUU	Inheritor	a. b.	Techniques of making willow ger Introduction to the place and people	Chifeng-Ar Khorchin Banner	08/08/2022	13
E	Inheritor	a. b. c.	Willow ger Personal background Inheritance	Hulunbuir	17/04/2022	14
MAGI	Inheritor	a.	General ger utilization (insufficient information)	Xilingol	19/06/2022	15
LONG	Officer- Bureau of cultural management	a. d.	Effect of the 1984 policy Introduction to a ger's project	Hulunbuir	28/05/2022	16
CUI	Officer- Intangible cultural heritage management	a.b.c.d.e.	Management Attitudes to change Supports Difficulties Industrialization need	Hulunnuir	17/05/2022	17
NONAME	Officer- Intangible cultural heritage preservation centre	a. b.		Hohhot	17/07/2022	18
DONG	Officer- Bureau of tourism management		Requirement to ger's type Grassland protection	Hulunbuir	19/05/2022	19
WU	Officer-Bureau of cultural management	a.	Preservation measures	Hulunbuir	20/05/2022	20
BAO	Officer- Environmental bureau (previous)	a. b.	Ger adaptation to environmental governance Policy to touristic sites	Hulunbuir	20/05/2022	21
N	Officer-Grassland management station	a.	Official management to different the of ger	Xinlingol	09/06/2022	22
C ET AL.	Officers-Intangible cultural preservation center		Living heritage concept Heritage should be creative Chifeng ICHs	Chifeng	10/08/2022	23

C	Officer- local government	a.	Management on the park	Chifeng-Ar Khorchin	09/08/2022	24
D	Officer-Bureau of natural resources	a. b.	Requirement to ger constructions Governance policy for both grassland and ger Environmental influence	Xinlingol	16/06/2022	25
NO	Officer- Bureau of natural resources	a.	Symbolic decoration on urban considerate	Hulunbuir	08/04/2022	26
НА	Officer- Bureau of cultural management	a.b.c.	Ger utilization in the places Craftsmanship preservation Ger in Mongolian weddings	Hulunbuir	11/04/2022	27
DONG	Officer-Grassland management	a. b. c.	Ger utilization in pastoral area Implement of the 1984 policy Attitudes and influence of the policy	Hulunbuir	13/04/2022	28
LANQI	Officer-Grassland management	a.b.c.	Recent environmental control Requirement to the buffer zone of the World Heritage Site Influence to touristic ger	Xilingol- the Blue Banner	15/06/2022	29
LINCAO	Officer- Grassland management	a.b.c.d.e.	Construction and demolition of the herder's homes Attitudes to touristic ger Land governance Conflicts on ger's utilizations Conflicts on environmental management	Hulunbuir	15/05/2022	30
NANG	Officer- Grassland management		Land management Conflicts in management	Hulunbuir	19/05/2022	31
M	Officer – Grassland management (previous)	a. b. c.	Land management and policy Grassland law Conflicts in management	Hulunbuir	20/05/2022	32
D	Officer- Bureau of tourism management		Attitudes to different ger types Management preference	Hulunbuir	12/05/2022	33
XIMENG	Officer- Intangible cultural heritage centre	a. b.	Influence to the new cultural management Introduction to ger's craftsmanship	Xilingol	28/06/2022	34

			in the entire place			
X	Officer- Local	a.	Guiding interview to elder nomads	Hulunbuir	07/06/2022	35
	government	b.	Sharing nomads' experience			
WU	Officer- Bureau of	a.	Conflicts between official and	Xilingol- the	21/06/2022	36
	tourism management		nomads	Blue Banner		
		b.				
		c.	Attitudes to current governance			
E	Scholar	a.	Tendency of ger development	Hohhot	09/07/2022	37
		b.	Opinions to changed ger			
		c.	History of ger			
		d.	Living ger			
	G 1 1	e.	Challenges of ger	TT 11 4	10/07/2022	20
A	Scholar	a.	Understandings about change	Hohhot	18/07/2022	38
		b.	Value of ger			
		c.	Touristic ger is symbol of consumption			
		d.	Purpose of research			
		e.	Living inheritance and cultural			
		0.	invention			
BAI,LA	Scholar	a.	Understanding of change	Hohhot	12/07/2022	39
ŕ		b.	Ideas on living heritage in China			
BAI,LY	Scholar	a.	Ideas on her research of ger	Hohhot	17/07/2022	40
BU	Scholar	a.	Process of the 'last nomadism'	Chifeng-Ar	16/08/2022	41
			project	Khorchin		
		b.	Reasons to the place preservation	Banner		
		c.	Understandings of nomadism			
		d.	Conflicts on the project			
XI	Scholar	a.	Intangible heritage creative project	Hulunbuir	29/05/2022	42
		b.	Understandings to ger			
		c.	Introduction to Mongolian			
			festivals			
ZHENG	Scholar	a.	Nomadism	Hohhot	18/07/2022	43
		b.	Controversial discussion on			
			heritage industrialization			
		c.	Symbolism			
		d.	History and knowledge of ger			

Z	Factory owner	a. b.	Industry development Marketing & economy	Xilingol- the Blue Banner	17/06/2022	44
		c.	Techniques & innovations			
		d.	Material & changes			
		e.	Challenges			
HAILAR	Factory owner	a.	Industry & marketing	Hulunbuir	06/04/2022	45
TENT		b.	Techniques & designs			
		c.	Traditions& innovations			
YILETE	Factory owner	a.	Industry& development	Xilingol	09/06/2022	46
	&Inheritor	b.	Values& preservations of			
			Traditions			
ZHANG	Factory owner&	a.	Ger's reinventions	Hohhot	16/07/2022	47
	Inheritor	b.	Ethnic cultural industry			
		c.	Designs& changes			
		d.	Changes and continuities			
		e.	Inheritance			
BUREN	Factory owner&	a.	Background	Hulunbuir	18/04/2022	48
	Inheritor	b.	Changes of ger			
		c.	Inheritance			
		d.	Governmental supports			
GERI	Factory owner	a.	Personal experience	Xilingol	09/06/2022	49
	&Inheritor	b.	Material & changes			
		C.	Inheritance challenges			
YANG	Factory owner	a.	Development history of the factory	Xilingol- the	12/06/2022	50
		b.	Innovations	Blue Banner		
		C.	Material changes			
		d.	Essentials of ger			
677777.67	-	e.	Marketing		40.40.5.45.05.5	
CHENQI	Factory owner	a.	Designs and symbols	Hulunbuir	18/05/2022	51
2011001		b.	Marketing		0.0 /0.4 /0.00	
DONGQI	Factory owner	a. 1	Traditional ger making	Hulunbuir	08/04/2022	52
		b.	Difficulties and challenges			
almana.	D.	C.	Nomad's utilization	37'1'	14/07/2022	50
GUINNESS	Factory owner	a.	Innovations	Xilingol	14/06/2022	53
		b.	Change and continuity			

	I					
		C.	Transitions between traditional and modern ger			
XIQI	Factory owner	a.	Designs and innovations	Hulunbuir	09/04/2022	54
AlQi	1 actory owner	а. b.	Contacts with Mongolia	Truiunoun	07/04/2022	J -1
711	.	c.	Change and continuity	T7'11' 1 .1	16/06/2022	5.5
ZH	Factory owner +	a.	Background of industrialization	Xilingol- the	16/06/2022	55
	Inheritor	b.	Changes and innovations	Blue Banner		
		C.	Steel framed ger			
CARAVAN	Factory owner	a.	Production & design of Caravan	Hulunbuir	06/06/2022	56
HAN	Factory owner	a.	Small business	Xilingol- the	18/06/2022	57
		b.	His own innovations	Blue Banner		
		c.	Attitudes to demolition			
HERDER	Touristic site broker	a.	Influence to policy changes	Xilingol- the	15/06/2022	58
		b.	Buffer zone of the World Heritage	Blue Banner		
			Site			
		c.	Ger's type and marketing			
BARHU BAO	Touristic site broker	a.	Ger's type	Hulunbuir	19/05/2022	59
		b.	Marketing			
		c.	Keys of touristic ger			
		d.	Tourists' attitudes			
BAYN	Touristic site broker	a.	Ger's type	Hulunbuir	18/05/2022	60
		b.	Ideas of deigns & marketing			
		c.	Ger serves to the country			
		d.	Land economy			
		e.	Tourists' attitudes			
HONG	Touristic site broker	a.	Ger's type	Hulunbuir	16/05/2022	61
		b.	Presentations of ger			
		c.	Influence of environmental policy			
		d.	Land conflicts with government			
AR	Touristic site broker +	a.	Type of ger	Chifeng-Ar	09/08/2022	62
	summer camp owner	ь.	Difference of ger between	Khorchin	097 007 2022	02
		0.	Mongolia and Inner Mongolia	Banner		
		c.	Policy of land utilization	Damiei		
		d.	Attitudes to ger and covered wagon			
HEISHANTOU	Touristic site broker			Hulunbuir	10/05/2022	63
HEISHANTOU	Tourishe she broker	a.	Ger's type	TIUIUIIUUII	10/03/2022	03
		b.	Marketing			

		c. Tourists' requirements		. =	
GOLDEN	Touristic site broker	a. Ger's types	Hulunbuir	17/06/2022	64
		b. Marketing			
		c. Preparation of 5A touristic site			
ZHAO	Touristic site broker	a. Ger's types	Hulunbuir-	16/05/2022	65
		b. Marketing adaptation and	Moron River		
		attractions			
		c. Conflict to land policy			
		d. Demolition			
XIWU	Touristic site broker	a. Mongolian culture representations	Xilingol	21/06/2022	66
		b. Attitudes to cement ger			
		c. Touristic requirement			
D	Touristic investment	a. Ger's history	Hulunbuir	04/05/2022	67
	company	b. Marketing			
		c. Baiyinhad project			
		d. Expectations			
BURYAT	Herder's home broker	a. Background of the site	Hulunbuir	06/05/2022	68
		development			
		b. Type of ger			
		c. Influence of official governance			
NAN	Herder's home broker	a. Ger's types	Hulunbuir	06/05/2022	69
		b. Marketing			
		c. Policy			
		d. Challenges & difficulties			
LONG	Nomad	a. Challenges to the 1984 policy	Hulunbuir	17/04/2022	70
		b. Nomadic life			
		c. Ger's utilization and other			
		dwellings			
CUO	Nomad	a. Experience of ger	Hulunbuir	17/04/2022	71
		b. Attitudes to ger's changes			
		c. Life changes			
BROTHER IN	Nomad	a. Nomadic life & preservations of	Chifeng-Ar	17/08/2022	72
LOW		traditions	Khorchin		
		b. Attitudes & feelings to ger	Banner		
		c. Land policy			
		d. Ger utilizations			
		a. Soi unizutions			

LAO	Nomad leader	a. b.	Situation and government of the place Reasons to the changes of the place and ger	Chifeng-Ar Khorchin Banner	17/08/2022	73
NEWPHRE	Nomad	a. b.	Changes of pastoral economy Attitudes to ger	Chifeng-Ar Khorchin Banner	17/08/2022	74
NOMAD	Nomad	a.b.c.	Situation of the place Situation of land economy Attitudes to ger	Chifeng-Ar Khorchin Banner	18/08/2022	75
MANCHURIA	Nomad	a.	Willow ger (in desert) techniques and utilization	Chifeng- Ar Khorchin Banner	18/08/2022	76
DONGQI	Nomad	a.b.c.	Experience to ger Nomadic life and difficulties Expectations to change	Hulunbuir	17/04/2022	77
XIQI	Nomad	a. b. c.	Land policy Grazing Utilizations of different dwellings	Hulunbuir	07/05/2022	78

Notes: The names used are all pseudonyms, intended to protect the privacy of the interviewees.

The interviewee on the list who has signed the research consent form.

All the interview transcripts are saved in this link:

https://drive.google.com/drive/folders/1rMlmu-

wgcQIEP5dPqkO2aG596cpycqgV?usp=drive_link

Appendix 3: Grounded Theory Coding List (Full)

Original Data

All the original data used in coding for the Grounded Theory are attached in this link with highlights:

https://drive.google.com/drive/folders/1bBbnDCBBUqvklk6WMCgLAagu-gK Em4b?usp=sharing

Open Coding		Selective Coding		
Tagged Data	Conceptual Data	Categorized Data	Main Categories	Sub- categories
a1. Not suitable for the current	aa1. Traditional Mongolian gers are not suitable for the	A1. The inheritance and	AA1. The core of	Aa1.
production and lifestyle.	modern lifestyle of people (a1, a10, a11, a13, a14, a37, a137,	development of the	nomadic culture	Continuation of the
a2. The concept of the ger can be	a361, a387):	Mongolian ger must	continues.	relationship between
continued.	(a1. Not suitable for current ways of life; a10. The capacity	meet the constantly	AA2. The essential	herders.
a3. Demands a national style.	of Mongolian gers as dwellings does not meet the needs of	changing production and	form of the ger	Continuation of the
a4. Ger represents the idea of home.	modern life and survival; a11. Food, accommodation, and	lifestyle demands of	remains preserved.	relationship between
a5. Transforming the ger into a public	transportation cannot satisfy the requirements of modern	modern people (aa1, aa7,	AA3.Contemporary	herders and gers.
building.	people; a13. Mongolian gers do not meet the needs of modern	aa26, aa35, aa40, aa57,	demands guide the	Continuation of the
a6. Traditional gers were used in	people (for tourism); a14. Faced with new functional	aa60, aa86, aa115,	changes.	relationship between
nomadic life.	requirements, a Mongolian ger is not suitable; a37. Large	aa141, aa227).	AA4. Various factors	herders and the
a7. Production, lifestyle, and survival	handmade Mongolian gers in Outer Mongolia are not suitable		influence the	grassland
determined the form of the ger.	for the needs of modern people; a137. Mongolian gers are not	A2. The traditional	heritage.	environment.
a8. The idea of harmony between people	suitable for living; a361. In fact, the practicality of original	cultural customs	AA5. Macro factors	
and the environment is embedded in the	Mongolian gers is not good; a387. Four people cannot fit in	embedded in the	guide and constrain.	Aa2.
ger.	one Mongolian ger, and the food cannot fit.)	Mongolian ger need to		Preservation of the
a9. (Setting up gers higher than the		be preserved (aa2, aa11,		core form of the ger.
riverbank) is both to prevent floods and	aa2. The concept of the Mongolian ger can be continued (a2):	aa16, aa47, aa72, aa124,		Preservation of the
protect the environment from pollution.	(a2. The concept of the Mongolian ger can be continued.)	aa176, aa206, aa234,		essential space of the
		aa244, aa245).		ger.

a10. The ger's capacity as a dwelling does	aa3. Requires an ethnic style (a3):		Preservation of the
not suit modern life, production, and	(a3. Requires an ethnic style.)	A3. The ethnic and	fundamental
survival.		regional characteristics	structure of the ger.
all. Food, shelter, and transportation do	aa4. The Mongolian ger is the home of the Mongolian people	of the Mongolian ger	
not meet the needs of modern people.	(a4, a73, a353, a125, a126, a251):	need to be preserved	Aa3.
a12. Public buildings on the grassland	(a4. The Mongolian ger means "home"; a73. The Mongolian	(aa3, aa36, aa272).	Change guided by
require larger structures to meet	ger is a house; a353. A Mongolian ger that is lived in for a long		functional needs.
demands.	time is a home; a125. The "ger" of the Mongolian ger means	A4. The Mongolian ger	Change guided by
a13. Gers cannot satisfy the needs of	"house"; a126. The Mongolian ger is the house used by	is a collection of	usage requirements.
modern people (for tourism).	Mongolian nomads; a251. The Mongolian ger is simply a	memories of pastoral	Change guided by
a14. Faced with new functional demands,	house, and the Mongolian word for it means "house.")	life, and the behaviors,	cultural needs.
a traditional ger is not suitable.		order, and emotions	
a15. Both thought and culture adhere to	aa5. Turning the Mongolian ger into a public building (a5):	within it need to be	Aa4.
the ger's concept.	(a5. Transforming the Mongolian ger into a public building.)	continued (aa4, aa6,	Limited and costly
a16. Inheritance must involve		aa53, aa87, aa89, aa107,	raw materials.
development.	aa6. The Mongolian ger was a necessity for past nomadic life	aa109, aa145, aa150,	Few successors and
a17. Function determines the design.	(a6, a167):	aa158, aa181, aa189,	lack of continuity.
a18. The building must blend with the	(a6. The original Mongolian gers were for nomadic life;	aa190, aa191, aa242).	Loss of traditiona
grassland environment.	a167. In Blue Banner, past nomadic life required Mongolian		construction skills.
a19. Group buildings do not harmonize	gers.)	A5. The current	
with the grassland environment.		development of the	Aa5.
a20. First, the basic functionality needs to	aa7. Production, life, and survival determine the formation of	Mongolian ger needs to	Guided by nationa
be satisfied.	the Mongolian ger (a7):	meet the public	policies.
a21. Nomadic culture needs to be	(a7. Production, life, and survival determine the formation of	functional needs of the	Driven by marke
transplanted.	the Mongolian ger.)	grassland regions (aa5,	forces and choices.
a22. Give the ger a certain root.		aa30, aa129, aa140,	
a23. The new ger hall's wooden structure	aa8. The idea of coexisting with nature is present in the	aa267).	
is the most rational for load-bearing.	Mongolian ger (a8, a54):		

a24. The best load-bearing form is the dome.a25. Inheriting the load-bearing system	(a8. The idea of coexisting with nature is present in the (Mongolian ger); a54. The idea of coexisting with the	A6. The idea of	
	(Mongolian ger); a54. The idea of coexisting with the		
a25. Inheriting the load-bearing system		harmonious coexistence	
	environment.)	between people and the	
of the ger.		grassland environment	
a26. It's not about imitating the ger but	aa9. Building the Mongolian ger should not pollute the	needs to be continued	
adopting the most scientifically	environment (a9, a32, a150):	(aa8, aa9, aa14, aa15,	
reasonable parts.	(a9. (Setting up the Mongolian ger higher than the riverbank)	aa23, aa27, aa37, aa59,	
a27. Showcasing nomadic architectural	is to prevent floods and environmental pollution; a32. It should	aa98, aa99, aa133,	
culture.	not pollute the environment; a150. The key to nomadic life is	aa169).	
a28. Use local materials.	to prevent damage to the grassland.)		
a29. Follow the site selection ideas of		A7. The demand for	
nomadic peoples.	aa10. Public buildings on the grassland need to be of a large	large-scale buildings on	
a30. Modern inheritance and	scale to meet the demands (a12):	the grassland needs to be	
development of the ger.	(a12. Public buildings on the grassland need to be of a large	met (aa10, aa29, aa64).	
a31. The essence and significance of	scale to meet the demands.)		
regional ethnic culture's production and		A8. The inheritance of	
lifestyle in new buildings.	aall. Both thought and culture follow the concept of the	the Mongolian ger needs	
a32. It must not cause environmental	Mongolian ger (a15):	to be built on a	
pollution.	(a15. Both thought and culture follow the concept of the	foundation of	
a33. The grassland lacks adequate	Mongolian ger.)	development (aa12,	
infrastructure.		aa265).	
a34. The degree of change is related to	aa12. To preserve the ger, it must be developed (a16, a30, a42,		
economic conditions and the level of		A9. Diverse functional	
modernization.	(a16. Preservation must go hand in hand with development;	needs lead to the	
a35. To meet the modern life needs.	a30. The modern preservation and development of the ger;	diversified development	
a36. The development of gers should be	a42. Development should be based on preservation; a43.	of the Mongolian ger	
environmentally friendly.	Preservation + development; a58. Developing on the existing	(aa13, aa67, aa128).	
	traditional foundation; a76. The ger needs development; a102.		
	Preservation should evolve with the times.)		

- a37. Large handmade gers from Outer Mongolia are not suitable for modern people's needs.
- a38. Traditional gers are a renewable resource.
- a39. The traditional ger construction form is not suitable for modern, densely populated places.
- a40. Public buildings require many functions.
- a41. The mode of change must be integrated into the global pattern.
- a42. Development based on inheritance.
- a43. Inheritance + development.
- a44. Change is determined by function, not merely by symbols.
- a45. The ger's load-bearing system is scientific and constant.
- a46. Changes in the ger are not for the sake of form alone.
- a47. Change is about negating what does not fit the times.
- a48. Improvement of materials.
- a49. More suitable for modern lifestyles.
- a50. Regardless of the changes, the ger's load-bearing system and essence remain unchanged.
- a51. It must have regional characteristics.

- aa13. Changes in the ger are determined by functional requirements (a17, a20, a44, a392):
- (a17. Function determines changes; a20. Function-based changes should come first; a44. Changes are determined by function, not just symbols; a392. I think using gers for tourism, cultural exhibitions, etc., is very distinctive, and its functions can be diverse.)
- aa14. Buildings should blend with the grassland environment, adapting to the local context (a18, a59):
- (a18. Buildings should harmonize with the grassland environment; a59. Adapt to the local context.)
- aa15. Tourism-oriented grassland constructions are incongruent with the grassland environment (a19, a108, a109):
- (a19. Group constructions are incongruent with the grassland environment; a108. Placing ovoo (shrines) on mountaintops within scenic areas is not in line with the natural state of the grassland and is not in harmony with its scale; a109. Vast numbers of gers at tourist sites are incongruous with the grassland.)
- aa16. The culture of nomadic people needs to be integrated into the continuity and development of the ger (a21, a27, a31, a183):
- (a21. Nomadic culture needs to be transplanted; a27. Displaying the culture of nomadic architecture; a31. The essence and content of regional ethnic culture's production and

- A10. In the inheritance and development of the Mongolian ger, it is essential to return to its essence and soul (aa17, aa32, aa38, aa42, aa138, aa205, aa266).
- A11. The traditional wooden structure of the Mongolian ger needs to be continued as it embodies the core culture of the ger (aa18, aa118, aa171, aa180, aa268).
- A12. The scientifically stable structural system and proportional relationships of the traditional Mongolian ger need to be preserved (aa19, aa20, aa45, aa82, aa172).
- A13. Passing on the advantages and wisdom inherent in the

		<u> </u>	
a52. The core value is the concept and	life should be reflected in new buildings; a183. They are	Mongolian ger in	
ideology of the harmonious coexistence	tracing the culture of the ger.)	modern architecture	
of humans and nature.		(aa21, aa54, aa70, aa86,	
a53. Use local materials and utilize	aa17. Bestowing a certain sense of origin on the ger (a22):	aa108, aa127, aa139,	
renewable energy sources.	(a22. Bestowing a certain sense of origin on the ger.)	aa209, aa281).	
a54. The idea of coexistence with the			
environment.	aa18. A wooden structure is the most suitable for bearing loads	A14. Continuing the	
a55. Form is only a surface phenomenon;	in the new-style ger hall (a23):	ecological value of the	
attention should be on essence.	(a23. A wooden structure is the most reasonable for bearing	Mongolian ger (aa22,	
a56. Avoid formalism, and return to the	loads in the new-style ger hall.)	aa28, aa52).	
essence.			
a57. Advocating the use of wood, but	aa19. The most suitable load-bearing form is the dome (a24):	A15. Modern	
also open to steel to adapt to	(a24. The dome is the most suitable load-bearing form.)	infrastructure is needed	
development.		in the Mongolian ger	
a58. Develop on the existing traditional	aa20. The scientific load-bearing system for preserving the ger	(aa24, aa194, aa258,	
foundation.	(a25, a50, a45):	aa123, aa247).	
a59. Adapt to the local area.	(a25. The load-bearing system for preserving the ger; a50.		
a60. Living environments and habits are	Regardless of how it changes, the load-bearing system and	A16. The inheritance	
constantly changing.	essence of the ger remain unchanged; a45. The load-bearing	and development of the	
a61. Changes in the external environment	system of the ger is scientific and immutable.)	current Mongolian ger	
force people to change their way of life.		are greatly influenced by	
a62. Culture determines one's	aa21. It's not about imitating the ger, but adopting the most	market demand (aa25,	
perspectives.	scientifically rational aspects (a26, a121):	aa66, aa94, aa104,	
a63. Museums are lifeless.	(a26. It's not about imitating the ger but adopting the most	aa116, aa119, aa126,	
a64. Culture and architecture serve the	scientifically rational aspects; a121. It's not about how closely	aa161, aa166, aa167,	
political system.	it resembles the ger.)	aa220, aa277).	
a65. Traditional ger proportions are			
stable.	aa22. Traditional gers use local materials, leveraging	A17. The Mongolian ger	
	renewable resources (a28, a53, a190, a224):	must adapt to the	

a66. Cultural image is promoted in scenic	(a28. Using local materials; a53. Utilizing local materials,	development of the times	
areas.	leveraging renewable resources; a190. Traditional gers use	(aa31, aa33, aa39, aa142,	
a67. Mongol ethnicity is strengthened.	local materials; a224. Traditional gers use locally sourced	aa199, aa216, aa273).	
a68. Decorative patterns are applied.	materials.)		
a69. Traditional gers are not updated and		A18. The materials of	
iterated at present.	aa23. Following the site selection principles of nomadic	the Mongolian ger are	
a70. Traditional gers are relatively less	cultures (a29):	continuously changing	
comfortable and weather-resistant.	(a29. Following the site selection principles of nomadic	(aa34, aa69, aa122,	
a71. Different groups have varying	cultures.)	aa213).	
perceptions of gers.			
a72. Gers are ecological buildings.	aa24. Inadequate infrastructure on the grassland (a33):	A19. The Mongolian ger	
a73. Gers are homes.	(a33. Inadequate infrastructure on the grassland.)	needs to be integrated	
a74. Gers are the embodiment of		into daily life to realize	
nomadic wisdom in a home.	aa25. The degree of change is related to economic conditions	its value (aa43, aa276).	
a75. Create a home that adapts to the	and the level of modernization (a34):		
times.	(a34. The degree of change is related to economic conditions	A20. National	
a76. Gers need to evolve.	and the level of modernization.)	development and	
a77. Amplify the advantages of gers.		construction policies	
a78. Improve the shortcomings of gers.	aa26. To meet the modern lifestyle needs of people (a35, a381,	will impact the	
a79. Address physical environmental	a390, a397, a446):	inheritance and	
issues of gers.	(a35. To meet the modern lifestyle needs of people; a381.	development of the	
a80. Change the materials.	Tourists like having everything in the ger; a390. Cleanliness is	Mongolian ger (aa44,	
a81. Preserve the dome space of the ger.	key for tourist area gers; a397. Traditional gers didn't have	aa97, aa117, aa146,	
a82. Furniture in circular ger layouts is	patterns outside; it's a modern requirement; a446. We want to	aa148, aa149, aa165).	
passive.	study a type of ger that doesn't need to be disassembled in		
a83. In our design, we added four large	winter, with good functionality.)	A21. The Mongolian ger	
rectangular door frames and windows to		in contemporary tourist	
the circular ger.	aa27. The development of the ger must be environmentally	spots has drifted away	
	friendly (a36):	from the traditional	

		·		
a84. People on the grassland live in	(a36. The development of the ger must be environmentally	Mongolian ger culture		
natural environments every day.	friendly.)	and is not a true		
a85. Nomads have no concept of		representation of the		
windows, but outsiders find them	aa28. Traditional gers are a renewable resource (a38):	Mongolian ger (aa46,		
necessary.	(a38. Traditional gers are a renewable resource.)	aa78, aa92, aa111,		
a86. People living on the grassland have		aa113, aa183).		
an interactive relationship with nature.	aa29. The traditional structural form of the ger is not suitable			
a87. Urban dwellers view the grassland	for densely populated modern spaces (a39):	A22. The shortcomings		
from a perspective of observation and	(a39. The traditional structural form of the ger is not suitable	of the Mongolian ger		
experience.	for densely populated modern spaces.)	need to be addressed in		
a88. We attempted to create a glass ger.		its inheritance and		
a89. We introduced the concepts of	aa30. Public buildings require a wide range of functions (a40):	development (aa48,		
mobility, scalability, and optional	(a40. Public buildings require a wide range of functions.)	aa49, aa162, aa185,		
components into the glass ger.		aa201, aa202, aa229,		
a90. Users have demands for changes in	aa31. The development of the ger must align with	aa232, aa260, aa261).		
the size of ger spaces.	contemporary external developments (a41, a217):			
a91. Our ger design is based on our	(a41. The manner of change must integrate with the patterns	A23. Traditional		
judgment.	of the entire world; a217. Past grassland culture was known as	Mongolian gers need to		
a92. The products we develop are	ethnic culture; now it needs to align with urban development.)	improve their weather		
upgraded based on market demand.		resistance and comfort		
a93. According to the market and the	aa32. Changes in the ger are not for the sake of altering its	(aa50, aa56, aa58, aa200,		
client's requirements.	appearance (a46):	aa255).		
a94. Constantly giving rise to other	(a46. Changes in the ger are not for the sake of altering its			
forms.	appearance.)	A24. Different cultural		
a95. We attempted to create an earth ger.		backgrounds of groups		
a96. Gers originally used willow	aa33. Change negates things that are incompatible with the	influence the diversity in		
branches, and in recent times, adobe, and	times (a47):	the inheritance and		
later concrete.	(a47. Change negates things that are incompatible with the	development of the		
	times.)	Mongolian ger (aa51,		
			<u> </u>	-

a97. The material itself is neither good		aa61, aa62, aa63, aa65,	
nor bad; it depends on how it's used.	aa34. The materials of the ger have changed (a48, a80, a178,	aa68, aa71, aa74, aa157,	
a98. Some people find concrete	a193, a184):	aa163, aa170, aa174,	
comfortable and cost-effective for living.	(a48. Material improvements; a80. The materials have	aa198, aa235, aa246,	
a99. Grassland culture is actually a very	changed; a178. There have been changes in materials; a193.	aa252, aa253, aa257,	
inclusive state.	The external materials have changed, it's now cloth and	aa269, aa270).	
a100. Grassland culture and gers should	synthetic felt, but in the past, it was all wool; a184. Nowadays,		
be inclusive and progressive.	most of it is modern lumber, plastic, and iron products.)	A25. The inheritance	
a101. Heritage is not meant to be		and development of the	
preserved as an artifact.	aa35. Creating gers that better suit the modern way of life (a49,	Mongolian ger should	
a102. Heritage should develop alongside	a75, a171, 179):	not overly pursue its	
the times.	(a49. Creating gers that better suit the modern way of life;	cultural aspects and	
a103. Nowadays, many people find the	a75. Building a house that suits the times; a171. Later on, as it	should not treat it as a	
patterns on the outside of gers too	entered urban tourism, creating gers that are better suited to	relic to be preserved	
common.	modern people; a179. Adapting to modern life.)	(aa73, aa88).	
a104. Many newly constructed gers lack			
exquisite craftsmanship in both their	aa36. The preservation and development of the ger must have	A26. It is essential to	
structure and decoration.	regional characteristics (a51):	continue the formal	
a105. The use of crude craftsmanship	(a51. It must have regional characteristics.)	elements related to	
perpetuates a negative cycle in the larger		nomadic culture (aa74,	
context.	aa37. The core value is the concept and ideology of harmony	aa132, aa251, aa254).	
a106. Mongolia has specialized training	between people and nature (a52):		
schools for ger heritage.	(a52. The core value is the concept and ideology of harmony	A27. The loss of	
a107. In Mongolia, there is more freedom	between people and nature.)	traditional construction	
and inclusivity in updating gers.		techniques hinders the	
a108. Placing a ger on the hilltop in a	aa38. The development and preservation of the ger should not	inheritance of the	
scenic area does not fit the scale and state	focus solely on form but return to the essence of the ger (a55,	Mongolian ger (aa75,	
of the grassland.	a56):	aa203, aa271).	
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a109. Large clusters of gers in tourist	(a55. Form is only a surface phenomenon; focus should be	A28. Support from		
spots do not align with the grassland.	on the essence; a56. It's not about formalistic imitation; it's	relevant national policies		
a110. The cultural output in tourist	about returning to the essence.)	plays a crucial role in the		
attractions is declining.		inheritance and		
a111. The Blue Banner has made	aa39. Advocating the use of wood but also considering steel	development of the		
improvements to the ger.	for adaptation to development (a57):	Mongolian ger (aa76,		
a112. Preserving the circular space.	(a57. Advocating the use of wood but also considering steel	aa77, aa103, aa168,		
a113. Preserving the dome space.	for adaptation to development.)	aa236).		
a114. Preserving the core logic in				
craftsmanship.	aa40. Living environments and habits are continually changing	A29. Industrialization		
a115. The logic of the ger, materials,	(a60):	has played a significant		
framework, felt, and ropes, along with	(a60. Living environments and habits are continually	role in promoting the		
the wisdom of their combination, are	changing.)	development of the		
worth preserving.		Mongolian ger but has		
a116. Our inflatable ger preserves the	aa41. Changes in the external environment force changes in	also raised issues related		
circular space, convenience, and	people's ways of life (a61):	to the cultural		
characteristics.	(a61. Changes in the external environment force changes in	inheritance of the ger		
a117. The diversification of gers in the	people's ways of life.)	(aa79, aa130, aa131,		
present.		aa154, aa155, aa218,		
a118. Expanding the boundaries and	aa42. Culture shapes one's worldview (a62):	aa222, aa279).		
definitions of gers.	(a62. Culture shapes one's worldview.)			
a119. Passing on the wisdom of the ger to		A30. The circular space		
modern architecture.	aa43. Gers should not be mere museum artifacts; they should	of the Mongolian ger is		
a120. I want to preserve the behavioral	be utilized to their full potential (a63, a134):	essential and needs to be		
order inside the ger.	(a63. Museums are lifeless; a134. Gers should be utilized for	preserved (aa80, aa83).		
a121. It's not about making gers look	their value, not just seen in museums.)			
more like traditional ones.		A31. The core logic in		
a122. I believe we should not be bound	aa44. Policies can influence the preservation and development	traditional Mongolian		
by culture.	of gers (a64, a456, a473):	ger construction needs to		
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a123. Culture is an accumulation of daily	(a64. Culture and architecture serve the political system;	be inherited (aa81,	
life.	a456. If the government doesn't pay attention, gers could	aa120, aa221).	
a124. Changes in the ger are market-	become extinct; a473. The market for making gers now is also		
driven.	influenced by related policies.)	A32. Different groups	
a125. The "ger" in Mongolian means		have varying demands	
"house."	aa45. The traditional proportions of gers remain stable (a65):	for the Mongolian ger,	
a126. Gers are houses used by Mongolian	(a65. The traditional proportions of gers remain stable.)	and its inheritance and	
nomads.		development should not	
a127. Nowadays, our definition of the ger	aa46. Gers at tourist sites and attractions are a cultural	be narrowly defined;	
has become increasingly narrow.	representation, not genuine gers (a66, a291, a385, a262, a296,	instead, its boundaries	
a128. User demographics are changing.	a327, a337, a341, a388, a389):	and definitions need to	
a129. What is consumed is the cultural	(a66. At tourist sites, they are cultural representations; a291.	be expanded (aa85, aa90,	
attributes of the ger.	Gers at tourist spots are all fake; real gers are very plain; a385.	aa91, aa96, aa101,	
a130. We don't make gers for	Tourist areas appear to have gers from the outside; a262. We	aa106, aa136, aa137,	
Mongolians to use.	traditional Mongolians find touristy gers commercialized and	aa239, aa264).	
a131. When we make gers, we provide	not true gers; a296. The gers at tourist sites are good for		
value to everyone.	tourists, but for us traditional Mongolians, they are fake; a327.	A33. In the process of	
a132. Offering a universal value.	The gers at tourist sites are chaotic; a337. The development of	inheriting and	
a133. Inclusivity and universal values are	gers during the tourist boom is not quite normal; a341.	developing the	
embedded in it.	Accepting touristy gers results in fewer genuine elements;	Mongolian ger, it's	
a134. Let the ger fulfill its value instead	a388. The gers at tourist spots are mainly for visual effect;	crucial to address the	
of being in a museum.	a389. Tourist areas rely on visual effects.)	conflicts between	
a135. Our ger customers are primarily		traditional culture and	
from scenic areas.	aa47. The Mongolian identity has been strengthened (a67):	contemporary culture	
a136. People think gers are inexpensive.	(a67. The Mongolian identity has been strengthened.)	and effectively convey	
a137. Gers are not suitable for permanent		the universal values	
residence.	aa48. Gers have become more decorated with patterns (a68,	present in the Mongolian	
a138. Gers are now in a state of being	a450):	ger (aa93, aa178).	
cultural symbols.			

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a139. Society has developed, and life	(a68. Decorative patterns have been applied; a450.	A34. The market value	
demands have increased.	Nowadays, the patterns on gers are artistic.)	of the Mongolian ger	
a140. The government provides houses		needs to be enhanced,	
for herders and has a strong influence.	aa49. Traditional gers lack updates and iterations currently	but core cultural	
a141. The ecological system has been	(a69):	elements must not be lost	
disrupted.	(a69. Traditional gers lack updates and iterations currently.)	(aa95, aa151, aa204,	
a142. In the past, there was collective		aa282).	
maintenance of ecological balance.	aa50. Traditional gers are relatively lacking in comfort and		
a143. The concept of common	weather resistance (a70):	A35. The inheritance	
development.	(a70. Traditional gers are relatively lacking in comfort and	and development of the	
a144. We must do gers well for them to	weather resistance.)	Mongolian ger require	
come alive.		collaborative efforts	
a145. We need to address the issues with	aa51. Different groups have varying perceptions of gers (a71):	from various individuals	
gers before we can develop further.	(a71. Different groups have varying perceptions of gers.)	(aa100, aa110).	
a146. How to guide people's awareness.			
a147. If the government notices, they	aa52. Gers are eco-friendly structures (a72):	A36. Professionals	
might approach the issue from that	(a72. Gers are eco-friendly structures.)	should engage in long-	
perspective.		term, systematic	
a148. Without a market, what we produce	aa53. Gers are the architectural manifestation of nomadic	research and guidance in	
cannot be sustained.	wisdom (a74):	the inheritance and	
a149. The core of nomadic life is herding.	(a74. Gers are the architectural manifestation of nomadic	development of the	
a150. The key to herders' nomadic	wisdom.)	Mongolian ger (aa102,	
lifestyle is to prevent damage to the		aa114, aa223, aa224,	
grassland.	aa54. Amplifying the strengths of gers (a77):	aa228, aa233).	
a151. The outdoor luxury tents that have	(a77. Amplifying the strengths of gers.)		
become popular in recent years are also		A37. Policy makers need	
an aspiration for nomadic life.	aa55. Developing by addressing the weaknesses of gers (a78,	to understand local	
a152. Gers bring a sense of continuous	a145):	traditional culture	
belonging.		(aa112).	

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a153. Activating the concept of	(a78. Developing by addressing the weaknesses of gers;			
nomadism in the modern context.	a145. Ger issues must be resolved to facilitate development.)	A38. Changes in		
a154. We extract things from nomadic		production and lifestyle		
and grassland life to meet needs.	aa56. Improving the living environment of gers (a79, a362):	significantly impact the		
a155. We need to work together with	(a79. Addressing the physical environment issues of gers;	continuity of the		
society to solve some things for culture to	a362. Improving the living environment.)	Mongolian ger (aa121,		
be respected by society.		aa187, aa188, aa211,		
a156. Culture is not just a simple symbol.	aa56. Preserve the dome space of gers (a81, a113):	aa215, aa219, aa243).		
a157. Those who make real decisions	(a81. Preserve the dome space of gers; a113. Preservation of			
have an insufficient understanding of	the dome space.)	A39. Modern		
culture.		approaches to the		
a158. Symbols have become a negative	aa57. Furniture in circular gers is passive (a82):	development of the		
term.	(a82. Furniture in circular gers is passive.)	Mongolian ger (aa125).		
a159. The public needs leadership from				
professionals.	aa58. Adding rectangular door frames and windows to gers	A40. Traditional		
a160. The core is the demand.	(a83):	frameworks can coexist		
a161. Changes in gers should be related	(a83. We have added four large rectangular door frames and	with new frameworks		
to household income.	windows to the ger in our design.)	(aa134, aa214).		
a162. The government provides houses				
for herders.	aa59. The people on the grasslands have a close relationship	A41. The transformation		
a163. In China, there are more concrete	with the natural environment (a84, a86):	of the Mongolian ger		
gers than true wooden structures.	(a84. People on the grasslands live in a natural environment	changes continually with		
a164. People have demands for quality of	every day; a86. People living on the grasslands have an	evolving thoughts and		
life.	interactive relationship with nature.)	times, and this change		
a165. There needs to be a customer base.		will persist (aa135,		
a166. Gers are portable and have strong	aa60. Herders have no concept of windows, but outsiders feel	aa153, aa207, aa212,		
folding capabilities.	that windows are necessary (a85):	aa230, aa256).		
a167. In the Blue Banner, gers used to be	(a85. Herders have no concept of windows, but outsiders feel			
a necessity in daily life.	that windows are necessary.)			

a168. After settling down, adobe houses		A42. Core cultural	
are rarely used.	aa61. Urbanites view the grasslands from a perspective of	elements within the	
a169. Starting from 1989, gers entered	observation and experience (a87):	traditional Mongolian	
the market as a form of tourism.	(a87. Urbanites view the grasslands from a perspective of	ger structure need to be	
a170. Initially, it was traditional, but later	observation and experience.)	passed down (aa142,	
competition led to cost reduction, and		aa144, aa184, aa248).	
eventually, they followed the past.	aa62. We attempted to create glass gers (a88):		
a171. In the later stages, they entered	(a88. We attempted to create glass gers.)	A43. When materials	
urban tourism and created gers more		change, the cultural	
suitable for modern people.	aa63. Concepts of mobility, expandability, and optional	characteristics of the	
a172. Now, they are improved	components were incorporated into the glass ger (a89):	Mongolian ger change	
residences.	(a89. Concepts of mobility, expandability, and optional	along with them (aa143,	
a173. It includes folk traditions.	components were incorporated into the glass ger.)	aa173, aa179, aa180,	
a174. The approach has been		aa186, aa237, aa241).	
modernized.	aa64. Users have a demand for changes in the size of ger		
a175. Due to the market, the focus is	spaces (a90):	A44. The true essence of	
gradually shifting towards tourism.	(a90. Users have a demand for changes in the size of ger	the Mongolian ger has	
a176. In the past, gers were used as long	spaces.)	always belonged to the	
as they were functional, but now they are		lives of herders (aa147,	
being used for hotels in urban areas.	aa65. Our gers are designed based on our judgment (a91):	aa160, aa192, aa195,	
a177. Traditional practices have been	(a91. Our gers are designed based on our judgment.)	aa193, aa196, aa263).	
improved.			
a178. There has been a change in	aa66. Changes in gers are influenced by market demands (a92,	A45. The traditional	
materials.	a93, a124, a197, a373, a442, a449, a455, a459, a466):	form of the Mongolian	
a179. Adapting to modern life.	(a92. Research and development are upgraded based on the	ger needs to be preserved	
a180. Transforming to meet the demand.	market; a93. Changes based on market and client needs; a124.	(aa156, aa164).	
a181. Within the transformation, 70% of	Changes in gers are market-driven; a197. Market demands;		
Mongolian ger elements are retained.	a373. In recent three to four years, high-end receptions are the	A46. The lack of young	
	most profitable; this might be the direction for renovations;	craft inheritors is a	

a182. Overseas, gers are purchased for	a442. The sales of traditional gers are not great now, and their	significant obstacle		
exhibition, with a focus on tracing	limitations are significant; a449. Transforming them into gers	faced in the inheritance		
Mongolian ger culture.	for residential use; a455. Fewer tourist sites and fewer orders;	of the Mongolian ger		
a183. Nowadays, the majority of gers use	a459. People in the tourism business prefer steel gers, which	(aa159, aa231, aa262,		
modern materials such as wood, plastic,	are sturdy and easy to set up; a466. Currently, gers are	aa278).		
and iron.	primarily a tourist product.)			
a184. Over 80% are produced with		A47. The production of		
modern equipment.	aa57. Gers need to continuously evolve and diversify into new	traditional Mongolian		
a185. Companies have improved their	forms (a94, a304):	gers used to be prevalent		
equipment.	(a94. Continuously evolving into other forms; a304. One ger	among herders in the		
a186. We preserve the structure of the	can be diversified into multiple forms.)	past (aa175, aa182).		
ger.				
a187. To be considered a ger, it must	aa58. We attempted to create earthen gers (a95):	A48. Traditional		
retain 60% of traditional ger elements.	(a95. We attempted to create earthen gers.)	changes are closely		
a188. The form of a ger must be retained;		related to changes in the		
it is the essence.	aa59. Gers initially used willow, more recent ones used adobe,	living context (aa210,		
a189. In the past, gers were made from	and later ones used concrete (a96):	aa225).		
local materials.	(a96. Gers initially used willow, more recent ones used			
a190. In the past, there was no concept of	adobe, and later ones used concrete.)	A49. The inheritance		
damaging the natural environment.		and development of the		
a191. Here, we use both traditional and	aa60. Material quality depends on how it is used, not	traditional Mongolian		
modern frameworks.	inherently good or bad (a97):	ger must also align with		
a192. The exterior materials have	(a97. Material quality depends on how it is used, not	the life needs and habits		
changed; now we use cloth, synthetic felt,	inherently good or bad.)	of herders (aa240, aa249,		
whereas in the past, it was all wool.		aa259).		
a193. In the past, there was no pollution.	aa61. Some people find concrete gers comfortable and			
a194. Production processes have slowly	affordable (a98):	A50. Traditional		
evolved.	(a98. Some people find concrete gers comfortable and	construction techniques		
	affordable.)	can be taught and passed		
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a195. The demand remains the same, but		down but require support
labor cannot keep up, so the production	aa62. Grassland culture and gers are inclusive (a99, a100):	from various parties
process must change.	(a99. Grassland culture is actually very inclusive; a100.	(aa274).
a196. Market demands.	Grassland culture and gers should be inclusive and	
a197. People's thinking has changed.	progressive.)	A51. The dome space of
a198. Older individuals prefer traditional		the Mongolian ger needs
designs.	aa63. Preservation is not about treating gers as mere relics	to be preserved (aa283).
a199. Younger people prefer modern	(a101):	
designs.	(a101. Preservation is not about treating gers as mere relics.)	
a200. The soul of the ger must be		
preserved.	aa64. Nowadays, many feel that the patterns on the outside of	
a201. The exterior decoration has	gers are too gaudy (a103):	
changed significantly.	(a103. Nowadays, many feel that the patterns on the outside	
a202. Gers have great development	of gers are too gaudy.)	
potential; they are easy to move and have		
unique features.	aa65. Traditional craftsmanship is fading away (a104, a105,	
a203. The grassland culture can be used	a333, a471):	
for hotels and leisure.	(a104. Many newly made gers lack fine craftsmanship in	
a204. In the past, you made what others	their structure and decoration; a105. Crude craftsmanship has	
used; now you make what others want.	created a vicious cycle; a333. Skills have declined from one	
a205. Now, we have reformed the design.	generation to the next; a471. Traditional craftsmanship is	
a206. Cement structures are not gers;	fading away.)	
gers must have the three essential		
elements.	aa66. Mongolia has specialized training schools for ger	
a207. Gers can be portable, easy to	preservation (a106):	
dismantle, and movable to be considered	(a106. Mongolia has specialized training schools for ger	
gers.	preservation.)	

a208. To restore the grassland ecosystem,	aa67. Mongolia has more freedom and inclusivity in updating		
the government requires that tourist site	gers (a107):		
gers be dismantled and not rebuilt.	(a107. Mongolia has more freedom and inclusivity in		
a209. Only 1-2 gers are allowed for	updating gers.)		
living.			
a210. Residential use is not permitted for	aa68. The cultural output at tourist attractions is decreasing		
tourism.	(a110):		
a211. To restore the ecosystem, only	(a110. The cultural output at tourist attractions is		
grazing is allowed.	decreasing.)		
a212. In my opinion, gers will eventually			
move towards the cities.	aa69. Ger factories have carried out spontaneous		
a213. Mongolians have gers at home for	improvements on gers (a111, a306, a383):		
personal memories.	(a111. The Blue Banner has made improvements to gers;		
a214. People from outside want gers for	a306. In the first half of the 20th century, some regions made		
business purposes; there is less pursuit of	improvements to gers, standardizing production and		
culture.	experimentation; a383. They made improvements to the felt.)		
a215. In the past, grassland culture was			
considered ethnic culture, but now it	aa70. The circular space of gers is important and should be		
needs to align with urban culture.	preserved (a112, a377, a401):		
a216. The ger must show its unihna (a	(a112. Preserve the circular space; a377. Gers must always		
sacred part); otherwise, it's not	be circular; a401. The circular shape of gers has scientific		
considered a ger.	qualities.)		
a217. Gers won't disappear; they will			
continue to exist in other forms, such as	aa71. Preserve the core logic in craftsmanship (a114, a417):		
shelters after disasters.	(a114. Preserve the core logic in craftsmanship; a417. What		
a218. Besides herders, people abroad like	we protect is traditional craftsmanship.)		
to use them as decorations.			
a219. The market economy has gradually	aa72. The structural wisdom of gers is worth preserving (a115,		
brought tourist gers out.	a187, a259):		
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a220. Nowadays, production workshops	(a115. The logic, materials, framework, felt, and ropes of		
are modernized.	gers, combined with their linking and assembly wisdom, are		
a221. Traditional furniture is no longer	worth preserving; a187. We preserve the structure of gers;		
being made.	a259. Traditional gers focus on materials.)		
a222. Traditional gers are made with			
local materials.	aa73. Preserve the round space and convenience attributes of		
a223. In the past, herders' homes had to	traditional gers (a116):		
be portable for easy movement.	(a116. Our inflatable ger preserves the round space and		
a224. Traditional gers must be passed	convenience attributes.)		
down.			
a225. We want to restore a production	aa74. Diversification of gers in the present (a117):		
museum, for example, featuring tools and	(a117. Diversification of gers in the present.)		
a ger production line.			
a226. Production has now become	aa75. Expanding the boundaries and definitions of gers (a118):		
mechanized.	(a118. Expanding the boundaries and definitions of gers.)		
a227. Gers have entered the urban market			
on a large scale.	aa76. Passing on the wisdom of gers in modern architecture		
a228. Gers serve as carriers of nostalgia.	(a119):		
a229. Young people are now reluctant to	(a119. Passing on the wisdom of gers in modern		
engage in the production of traditional	architecture.)		
gers.			
a230. Gers serve as carriers of nostalgia.	aa77. Preserving the behavioral order within gers (a120):		
a231. Young people are now reluctant to	(a120. I want to preserve the behavioral order inside gers.)		
engage in the production of traditional			
gers.	aa78. Shouldn't be held hostage by culture (a122):		
a232. We sell to local people, mostly for	(a122. I believe we shouldn't be held hostage by culture.)		
children's weddings, as it's a traditional			
inheritance.	aa79. Aspects of daily life within gers need to be preserved		
	(a123, a267, a340, a355):		

a233. In the past few years, we mainly	(a123. Culture accumulates bit by bit through daily life;
served tourist destinations.	a267. Pure daily life is what needs to be preserved; a340.
a234. We are handcrafted, and the work	Everything related to daily life in Mongolia is within the ger;
is slow, sometimes we can't deliver on	a355. While doing oral history, I've found that much
time.	knowledge is lost when it isn't practiced.)
a235. There have been some	
improvements in ger quality.	aa80. Our definition of gers is becoming increasingly narrow
a236. Now, this traditional handcrafted	(a127):
ger production is no longer in demand.	(a127. Our definition of gers is becoming increasingly
a237. The gers I make haven't changed; I	narrow.)
make them as they should be made.	
a238. Gers can't change; if they do, they	aa81. The user base is changing (a128, a130):
are no longer traditional.	(a128. The user base is changing; a130. We're not designing
a239. Some improvements have been	gers for Mongolians.)
made; they are smoother than before,	
with better quality.	aa82. Gers are currently consumed as a cultural symbol (a129,
a240. Now, with the focus on ecological	a138):
conservation and the ban on logging, the	(a129. What is being consumed are the cultural properties of
raw materials have become more	gers; a138. Gers are currently in a state of being a cultural
expensive, which significantly affects us.	symbol.)
a241. In the past, when we made gers, we	
opened tourist spots.	aa83. Gers should convey the universal values they represent
a242. Previously, I supplied to tourist	(a131, a132, a133):
destinations, even English summer	(a131. When we create gers, we aim to provide value to
camps have used our gers.	everyone; a132. Providing universal values; a133.
a243. Cultural institutions didn't pay	Inclusiveness and universal values are incorporated.)
much attention to me, so I just worked	
from home to make a living.	aa84. Our primary customers for gers are tourist attractions
	(a135):
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a244. Traditional gers are	(a135. Our primary customers for gers are tourist		
environmentally friendly.	attractions.)		
a245. We mainly make frames, furniture,			
beds, and herders sew their own felt.	aa85. The current market value of gers is not high (a136,		
a246. Traditional gers require wood;	a411):		
other materials won't do.	(a136. People perceive gers as inexpensive; a411. The		
a247. Without the expertise in making	market value of gers is not high.)		
frames, they'll fall apart in two years.			
a248. In Hebei, they use poles, and they	aa86. Society has developed, and living standards have		
fly away in the wind. Their structures	increased (a139, a164):		
lack weight, and the wood quality is	(a139. Society has developed, and living standards have		
insufficient, and it's not about the angles.	increased; a164. People have higher expectations for their		
a249. We make the entire set, while they	quality of life.)		
(Hebei) are produced in many places and			
assembled.	aa87. The government provides free housing to herders based		
a250. Traditional gers cannot be	on policies (a140, a351):		
changed; machine-made ones lack the	(a140. The government provides housing to herders with a		
proper curvature.	strong guiding role; a351. A series of policies provides free		
a251. Gers are simply houses; in	housing (brick houses) to herders.)		
Mongolian, it means a house.			
a252. In the past, the elders could make	aa88. The current ecological system on the grasslands is being		
gers anytime and anywhere.	damaged (a141):		
a253. Guiding entrepreneurship through	(a141. The ecological system is being damaged.)		
folklore.			
a254. Gers will exit the historical stage in	aa89. In the past, there was a shared responsibility for		
a few years.	maintaining ecological balance (a142):		
a255. Preserving culture conflicts with	(a142. In the past, there was a shared responsibility for		
contemporary culture.	maintaining ecological balance.)		
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a256. Iron gers and tradition are two	aa90. Common development (a143):		
different concepts.	(a143. The concept of common development.)		
a257. Wood is essential.			
a258. Mongolian families must have a	aa91. To make gers successful, it's necessary to guide people's		
ger for weddings.	awareness (a146):		
a259. Traditional gers place importance	(a146. How to guide people's awareness.)		
on materials.			
a260. Changing the materials	aa93. If the government notices, it might address the issue		
fundamentally changes the ger.	from a different perspective (a147):		
a261. Gers are our cradle.	(a147. If the government notices, it might address the issue		
a262. We all resent commercialized gers	from a different perspective.)		
at tourist spots; they have become			
commercialized and don't represent true	aa94. The development and continuity of gers require the		
Mongolian gers anymore.	support of a market economy (a148, a221, a169, a372):		
a263. In the past, women on the	(a148. Without a market, we cannot sustain what we		
grasslands could set up gers; now, even	produce; a221. The market economy has gradually led tourist		
men don't know how to.	gers to come out; a169. Since 1989, gers have been moving		
a264. After commercialization, it's all	towards the market as tourist gers; a372. Earlier		
about making money, and the tradition is	transformations were primarily economically motivated.)		
lost.			
a265. Felt is also essential.	aa95. The core of nomadism is pastoralism (a149):		
a266. After tourism, there's a break in the	(a149. The core of nomadism is pastoralism.)		
continuity of ethnic culture.			
a267. Pure, authentic life is what	aa96. The outdoor luxury tents that have become popular in		
perpetuates culture.	recent years also reflect a yearning for a nomadic lifestyle		
a268. Authentic, pure ecological	(a151):		
conditions without tourists.	(a151. The outdoor luxury tents that have become popular in		
a269. The wooden frame has become	recent years also reflect a yearning for a nomadic lifestyle.)		
iron because wooden frames tend to lean.			
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a270. In the past, gers could be dismantled and moved, but modern ones remain in place. aa97. Gers bring a continuous sense of belonging (a152): (a152. Gers bring a continuous sense of belonging.)
remain in place.
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a271. When relocating herding areas aa98. Activating the concept of nomadism in the modern
now, they use steel houses. context (a153):
a272. In the past, due to limited (a153. Activating the concept of nomadism in the modern
resources, everything was dismantled context.)
and moved. Nowadays, they use tractors
to pull steel houses. aa99. We extract what satisfies our needs from nomadic and
a273. We take steel houses when we go grassland life (a154):
herding; otherwise, we would have to (a154. We extract what satisfies our needs from nomadic and
disassemble and reassemble the ger. grassland life.)
a274. Now, when I hear the wind on the
steel roof, it's like a lullaby, very aa100. Cultural respect comes when we work together with
relaxing. society to address certain issues (a155):
a275. I can't sleep at school; only nature (a155. Cultural respect comes when we work together with
and home are comfortable. society to address certain issues.)
a276. My own inspiration comes from
the ger. aa101. Culture is not just a simple symbol (a156):
a277. Many city musicians come to the (a156. Culture is not just a simple symbol.)
ger and feel inspired.
a278. Being here on the grasslands is aa102. Decision-makers often lack a sufficient understanding
very relaxing. of culture (a157):
a279. Big cities can be tiring, while life (a157. Decision-makers often lack a sufficient understanding
on the grasslands has a slower pace. of culture.)
a280. We have always lived in gers.
a281. Nowadays, this ger is dismantled aa103. The term "symbol" has acquired negative connotations
and cleaned once a year. (a158):

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a282. Living in a ger is not a sign of	(a158. The term "symbol" has acquired negative		
backwardness. In fact, gers now have	connotations.)		
everything inside, like televisions and			
microwaves.	aa104. The public needs guidance from professionals (a159):		
a283. We don't buy new gers; we inherit	(a159. The public needs guidance from professionals.)		
our parents' gers.			
a284. We have another portable ger,	aa105. The core is the demand (a160):		
which we use for events like weddings.	(a160. The core is the demand.)		
a285. Nowadays, ecological			
conservation is strict, and many gers at	aa106. The evolution of gers should be related to household		
tourist spots have been dismantled.	income (a161):		
a286. Cement gers are no longer allowed	(a161. The evolution of gers should be related to household		
to be built.	income.)		
a287. In the past, they supported herders			
getting into tourism, but now they don't	aa107. The government provides herders with houses (a162):		
approve in favor of environmental	(a162. The government provides herders with houses.)		
protection.			
a288. Gers and containers are temporary	aa108. In Mongolia, there is more concrete modification of		
structures for civil use; they are not	gers compared to authentic wooden structures (a163):		
commercial and can still be used.	(a163. In Mongolia, there is more concrete modification of		
a289. In Xilingol, the gers are larger than	gers compared to authentic wooden structures.)		
ours. Every region has its differences in			
ger styles.	aa109. The development and continuation of gers require a		
a290. In Xilingol, the gers have been	customer base (a165):		
updated; they look the same on the	(a165. The development and continuation of gers require a		
outside, but they have more decorative	customer base.)		
elements inside.			
	aa110. Gers are portable and have strong folding capabilities		
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a291. Gers at tourist spots are not	(a166. Gers are portable and have strong folding		
authentic; real Mongolian gers are quite	capabilities.)		
simple.			
a292. Large tourist ger camps have been	aa111. After settling down, traditional gers are no longer		
modified according to tourists' comfort.	needed (a168):		
a293. Large ger camps have substantial	(a168. After settling down, traditional gers are no longer		
investments but aren't visually appealing.	needed.)		
a294. Brick houses require no			
maintenance, whereas gers need	aa112. Initially, it was traditional, but competition led to cost		
maintenance every year, costing over	reduction, and later, it followed past practices (a170):		
3000.	(a170. Initially, it was traditional, but competition led to cost		
a295. We don't have the skills for	reduction, and later, it followed past practices.)		
maintaining and repairing gers.			
a296. Tourist camp gers are excellent for	aa113. Present-day gers are improved dwellings (a172, a177,		
tourists but not traditional for us,	a235, a320, a239):		
Mongolians.	(a172. Present-day gers are improved dwellings; a177.		
a297. Many Mongolian customs have	Traditional methods have been improved; a235. Quality		
been turned into colorful, for-profit	improvements in gers; a320. Numerous proposals for		
activities to make money.	improving gers; a239. There are improvements, they're less		
a298. The history of the ger forms an	plain than before, and the quality is better.)		
authentic part of architecture.			
a299. Many aspects of the ger have	aa114. The development and continuity of gers should include		
remained unchanged.	folk elements and elements of traditional gers (a173, a181,		
a300. The coverings from the 13th	a188):		
century were very advanced, but mainly	(a173. It should include folk elements; a181. Transition that		
from Western imported goods.	includes 70% of the elements of traditional gers; a188. It's		
a301. "Ger-style architecture" is a	considered a ger if it contains 60% of traditional ger elements.)		
significant focus in Mongolian			
architectural research.			

a302. Foreign architecture becomes	aa115. Modernizing the construction of gers (a174, a406,	
Mongolized and localized.	a415):	
a303. A single ger can be used in many	(a174. Modernizing the construction; a406. The appearance	
different regions.	of tourist gers can maintain tradition, while the interior can be	
a304. A single ger can be diversified into	modernized; a415. Currently, we're exploring appearances that	
various forms.	resemble gers but with modern interiors.)	
a305. Changes in the nomadic lifestyle		
and the emergence of fixed living led to	aa116. Due to the market, gers are gradually transitioning to	
more modern ger styles.	tourism (a175, a443, a444):	
a306. In the first half of the 20th century,	(a175. Due to the market, they are gradually transitioning to	
some regions tried optimization and	tourism; a443. Gers are mainly used for tourism; a444. With	
standardization of ger production.	local tourism development where the Mongolian ethnic group	
a307. There were optimization attempts	is the majority, gers have gradually become popular.)	
and reform plans in the early Republican		
period.	aa117. In the future, gers need to move towards urban areas	
a308. Since 1949, building materials	(a176, a124, a229):	
have been updated about every ten years.	(a176. In the past, as long as it could be used, now they are	
a309. Felt gets updated most frequently;	used to build hotels in cities; a229. Gers will have a broader	
the most durable parts are the sky	market once they enter urban areas.)	
window and the decorative ceiling.		
a310. Herders move into modern gers.	aa118. The form must adapt to changing demands (a180):	
a311. In the past, each tribe had distinct	(a180. The form must adapt to changing demands.)	
architectural components, but nowadays,		
they have become mostly the same.	aa119. The exhibition function of gers is emerging (a182,	
a312. Now, components have started to	a322):	
become simplified.	(a182. Foreigners buy gers for display; a322. Gers are	
a313. Gers are showing a trend toward	transitioning from being residential to being used for tourism	
homogenization.	and exhibitions.)	
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a314. The structure of the "hana" has also	aa120. Changes in production processes (a185, a195, a196):		
changed significantly.	(a185. Currently, over 80% of production uses modern		
a315. The original Mongolian yurt has a	equipment; a195. Production processes are gradually		
high degree of authenticity; many	changing; a196. Demand remains the same, but labor cannot		
components remain unchanged.	keep up, so production processes must change.)		
a316. The homogenization in Inner			
Mongolia is due to industrialization and	aa121. Preserving the form of gers (a189):		
is somewhat related to urbanization.	(a189. The form of gers must be preserved, as it is the soul.)		
a317. Twenty years ago, there were gers			
next to adobe houses, but after a few	aa122. Preserve the form of gers (a189):		
years, they disappeared.	(a189. The form of gers must be preserved; it is the soul.)		
a318. Factories standardize and unify the			
production of gers.	aa123. There was no natural environment destruction or		
a319. The advancement of modernization	pollution in the past (a191, a194):		
led gers to shift from individual homes to	(a191. There was no talk of destroying the natural		
collective economic assets.	environment in the past; a194. There was no pollution in the		
a320. Various plans for improving gers	past.)		
emerged.			
a321. Modern gers, to a large extent,	aa124. Traditional and modern frameworks coexist (a192):		
inherit traditional craftsmanship.	(a192. In our region, traditional and modern frameworks		
a322. Gers transformed from residential	coexist.)		
structures to tourist and exhibition			
buildings.	aa125. People's thinking has changed (a198):		
a323. Gers transitioned from small	(a198. People's thinking has changed.)		
workshops to factory-style production.	(mas as a septer a miniming mas eminigeni)		
a324. Regarding the protection of	aa126. Older individuals prefer traditional (a199):		
heritage, I believe there is a lack of	(a199. Older individuals prefer traditional.)		
serious research.	(a177. Older marvidaais prefer traditional.)		
Serious research.	aa127. Young people prefer modern (a200):		
	aa127. Toung people prefer modern (a200).		

a325. There is a lack of long-term	(a200. Young people prefer modern.)		
thinking.			
a326. When living conditions change,	aa128. The soul of the ger must not be lost (a201):		
traditions change too.	(a201. The soul of the ger must not be lost.)		
a327. Gers at tourist spots are chaotic.			
a328. I think gers are composite	aa129. Gers have great development potential, they are easy to		
buildings, encompassing both residences	move, and they have unique features (a203):		
and official structures.	(a203. Gers have great development potential, they are easy		
a329. The present has changed, and gers	to move, and they have unique features.)		
have changed as well.			
a330. I think the issue of heritage	aa130. Grassland culture can be used for hotel leisure (a204):		
preservation lacks systematic research.	(a204. The grassland culture can be utilized for hotel		
a331. Nowadays, the quality of the gers	leisure.)		
being made is decreasing.			
a332. Regular people want affordable	aa131. In the past, you made what others used; now, you make		
gers, so the quality is particularly poor.	what others want (a205):		
a333. Skills are deteriorating from one	(a205. In the past, you made what others used; now, you		
generation to the next.	make what others want.)		
a334. There are very few people now			
who can make gers well.	aa132. The hana components have undergone innovative		
a335. Traditional gers require frequent	changes (a206, a314):		
maintenance.	(a206. We have innovated the hana; a314. The hana		
a336. Nowadays, it's hard to find	components in Mongolia have also undergone significant		
someone to repair them.	changes.)		
a337. The development of gers during the			
tourism boom is not entirely normal.	aa133. Concrete is a circular structure, not a ger (a207):		
a338. I believe that the discussion on	(a207. Concrete is a circular structure, not a ger.)		
preserving gers should seriously involve			
heritage research.			

a339. Preserving gers aa134. Iron is a ger because it contains the three elements of a should discussed from a cultural perspective, but ger (a208): from an architectural perspective, culture (a208. Iron is a ger because it contains the three elements of is lost. a ger.) a340. Everything related to daily life in Mongolia is in gers. aa135. In the past, herders' houses had to be movable (a209): a341. Tourism-adapted gers have less of (a209. To be considered a ger, it must be portable, easy to assemble and disassemble, and capable of mobility.) the genuine elements. a342. In Mongolia, there are many styles of gers, including Sunite-style and aa136. Previously, herders were supported in developing Qinghai-style. tourism; now, to restore grassland ecology, the government a343. In Mongolia, there are some people requires the removal of gers at tourist sites (a210, a287, a285, involved in ger preservation, but there are a286, a374, a454): (a210. To restore grassland ecology, the government not many young people interested in it. a344. A significant number of herders requires the removal of gers at tourist sites; they are not allowed to be constructed anymore; a287. Previously, herders have purchased steel-framed gers, which amounts to losing the cultural memory. were supported in developing tourism; now, environmental protection is so strict that they no longer approve these a345. In some places in Inner Mongolia, the original way of life still exists. projects; a285. Now, grassland environmental protection has a346. In some parts of Inner Mongolia, become stringent, leading to the removal of many gers at the original way of life still exists. tourist sites; a286. Cement gers are no longer allowed to be a347. Some herders don't live in brick constructed; a374. Without grass, there is nothing that can be houses, even if they can afford them, they done; a454. National environmental policies have shifted, and prefer living in gers. they no longer issue construction permits.) a348. Gers are clean and convenient. a349. Steel-framed gers get cold quickly, aa137. Gers can be used for living; keeping 1-2 gers (a211): while wooden ones retain warmth longer. (a211. Gers can be used for living; keeping 1-2 gers.) a350. I live in a ger, and although it's cold, it keeps me alert. Living in a

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building with heating isn't cold, but it's	aa138. Operating (tourism) is not allowed in residential areas
not as invigorating.	(a212):
a351. The government has provided free	(a212. Operating (tourism) is not allowed in residential
brick houses for herders as part of various	areas.)
policies.	
a352. Some herder families who	aa139. To restore the ecology, only grass can be cultivated
previously lived in gers are gradually	(a213):
getting used to moving into brick houses.	(a213. To restore the ecology, only grass can be cultivated.)
a353. Gers that are lived in long-term	
become like homes.	aa140. Mongolian people have gers in their own homes, kept
a354. The structure of a ger is simple, but	as a memory (a215):
the customs and traditions inside are	(a215. Mongolian people have gers in their own homes, kept
quite rich.	as a memory.)
a355. I've discovered through oral history	
that much knowledge is lost if you don't	aa141. People from outside want gers for business purposes;
live it.	there is little pursuit of culture (a216):
a356. The living customs in a ger are	(a216. People from outside want gers for business purposes;
complex and have many intricacies.	there is little pursuit of culture.)
a357. For me, making things is a	
harmonious interaction between heaven	aa142. It must reveal the unikhaana to be called a ger (a218):
and humanity.	(a218. It must reveal the unikhaana to be called a ger.)
a358. The earliest gers had very short	
doors, almost like the image of Genghis	aa143. Gers will not disappear; they will continue to exist in
Khan, and you had to bow your head to	other forms (e.g., shelters after disasters) (a219):
enter. But over time, this became	(a219. Gers will not disappear; they will continue to exist in
inconvenient, so they changed the door	other forms, such as shelters after disasters.)
height to over 2 meters.	
a359. In the past, the gers in Hulun Buir	aa144. Apart from herders moving their camps, outsiders like
had six doors. The construction of brick	gers for decorative purposes (a220):

houses continued this tradition, with the	(a220. Apart from herders moving their camps, outsiders like	
only addition being the inclusion of a	gers for decorative purposes.)	
toilet. Most herders didn't accept this		
because they believed toilets shouldn't be	aa154. Mechanization and modernization of ger production	
inside the house.	(a222, a228):	
a360. The original ger wasn't very	(a222. Currently, the production workshops are all	
practical, so it needed improvements for	modernized; a228. Production is now mechanized.)	
living conditions.		
a361. Hohhot mainly constructs brick	aa155. Traditional furniture is no longer being made (a223):	
and tile-style gers, while Zhenglan	(a223. Traditional furniture is no longer being made.)	
Banner constructs fabric-style gers.		
a362. When we look at gers, aesthetics	aa156. Traditional gers must be passed down (a226):	
are the main focus.	(a226. Traditional gers must be passed down.)	
a363. Hohhot mainly looks at folklore		
aspects.	aa157. We want to establish a production museum (e.g., tools,	
a364. In reality, gers were all later	ger production lines, etc.) (a227):	
modified by Mongols themselves.	(a227. We want to establish a production museum, including	
a365. I believe felt is very important.	tools and ger production lines.)	
a366. Those made of bricks and tiles		
don't conform to the traditional	aa158. Gers are carriers of nostalgia (a230):	
Mongolian style.	(a230. Gers are carriers of nostalgia.)	
a367. I think felt gers need to be		
improved and rebuilt.	aa159. Young people nowadays are unwilling to engage in the	
a368. Initially, improvements involved	production of traditional gers (a231):	
tearing down the original and rebuilding.	(a231. Young people nowadays are unwilling to engage in	
Later, there was more interior and	the production of traditional gers.)	
exterior renovation.		
	aa160. We sell to the locals, mostly for weddings, which is a	
	traditional practice (a232, a258):	

a369. I think the most important aspect of	(a232. We sell to the locals, mostly for weddings, which is a		
renovation is preserving the ethnic	traditional practice; a258. In Mongolian households, having a		
culture.	ger is essential for weddings.)		
a370. Previously, renovation was mainly			
focused on economic interests.	aa161. In previous years, we made them for tourist		
a371. In the past three or four years,	destinations (a233):		
upscale hospitality has become the most	(a233. In previous years, we made them for tourist		
profitable. This may be the direction for	destinations.)		
renovation.			
a372. Without grass, there's nothing more	aa162. We do it manually, and it's slow; sometimes we can't		
that can be done.	meet demand (a234, a236):		
a373. Traditional gers were comfortable	(a234. We do it manually, and it's slow; sometimes we can't		
to live in.	meet demand; a236. Traditional manual ger production is a		
a374. The core of making gers is to create	vanishing craft.)		
the local ethnic culture.			
a375. A ger must always be round.	aa163. The gers I make haven't changed; I make them the way		
a376. Other aspects of the ger, like	I was taught (a237):		
modern facilities, can be modernized.	(a237. The gers I make haven't changed; I make them the		
a377. Steel-framed gers are something	way I was taught.)		
we want for a modern touch.			
a378. The core of ger renovation is to	aa164. Gers cannot change; if they change, they're no longer		
incorporate modern elements and bring	traditional (a238, a427):		
back felt.	(a238. Gers cannot change; if they change, they're no longer		
a379. Tourists like it when they enter and	traditional; a427. Gers can only maintain the most authentic		
everything is there.	form, unlike clothing, which can be innovative; this should be		
a380. Traditional gers meet the needs of	done according to the original tradition.)		
herders' lifestyle.			
a381. Felt has undergone improvements.	aa165. Protecting the ecology nowadays means no more wood		
	harvesting; this has significantly impacted us (a240):		
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a382. There is a lack of traditional	(a240. Protecting the ecology nowadays means no more	
materials.	wood harvesting; this has significantly impacted us.)	
a383. In tourist areas, it's about creating		
the visual effect of a ger.	aa166. In the past, we opened tourist spots while making gers	
a384. Handmade gers are expensive.	(a241):	
a385. A ger for four people doesn't have	(a241. In the past, we opened tourist spots while making	
enough space for all the food.	gers.)	
a386. Ger accommodations in tourist		
spots are primarily about the visual	aa167. Previously, I made gers for tourist spots, including	
effect.	English summer camps (a242):	
a387. Tourist areas primarily rely on	(a242. Previously, I made gers for tourist spots, including	
visual effects.	English summer camps.)	
a388. The most important thing about		
renovation is ethnic culture.	aa168. The cultural center also didn't pay much attention to	
a389. The way of renovation previously	me, so I just work from home and make money (a243):	
was prioritized by economic benefits.	(a243. The cultural center also didn't pay much attention to	
a390. In the past three or four years, high-	me, so I just work from home and make money.)	
end reception is the quickest way to make		
money. This could be the direction of	aa169. Traditional gers are all environmentally friendly	
renovation.	(a244):	
a391. If there's no grass, there's nothing	(a244. Traditional gers are all environmentally friendly.)	
to work with.		
a392. Originally, gers were comfortable	aa170. We mainly make the framework, furniture, beds; the	
to live in.	herders sew the felt themselves (a245):	
a393. Even traditional ger makers can't	(a245. We mainly make the framework, furniture, beds; the	
stand living in them.	herders sew the felt themselves.)	
a394. To set up tourist spots on their own		
grasslands, they need to use traditional	aa171. To make traditional gers, you need wood; other	
gers.	materials won't work (a246, a257):	

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a395. Herders are particular about the	(a246. To make traditional gers, you need wood; other		
gers they buy.	materials won't work; a257. Wood is a necessity.)		
a396. Each ger can represent different			
municipalities or cities.	aa172. Without this technique (framework), it falls apart		
a397. In the past, gers didn't have	within two years (a247):		
external decorations; they are added	(a247. Without this technique (framework), it falls apart		
based on modern demand.	within two years.)		
a398. The new promotes the old, and the			
old promotes the new, and they develop	aa173. In Hebei, they use poles, and they get blown away		
together.	easily; their structures are not stable due to the wood quality,		
a399. If you only focus on innovation, the	not the angle (a248):		
original will be lost.	(a248. In Hebei, they use poles, and they get blown away		
a400. Nowadays, large enterprises are	easily; their structures are not stable due to the wood quality,		
establishing ger museums.	not the angle.)		
a401. The circular shape of a ger has			
scientific significance.	aa174. We make the complete set; in Hebei, they manufacture		
a402. Traditional gers were used a lot,	parts in various places and assemble them (a249):		
but now they are less common.	(a249. We make the complete set; in Hebei, they		
a403. Heirs and tourist spots are	manufacture parts in various places and assemble them.)		
gradually reintroducing the use of gers.			
a404. Herders who appreciate traditional	aa175. Previously, older people could make gers anywhere,		
culture are also using gers.	anytime (a252):		
a405. Handmade gers are costly to make.	(a252. Previously, older people could make gers anywhere,		
a406. The external appearance of gers	anytime.)		
used for tourism can maintain tradition			
while the interior can be modernized.	aa176. Initiating entrepreneurship based on folk customs		
a407. Iron-framed gers don't exhibit	(a253):		
cultural aspects.	(a253. Initiating entrepreneurship based on folk customs.)		

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a408. Culture refers to the wooden	aa177. Gers will be history in a few years (a254):	
framework of gers.	(a254. Gers will be history in a few years.)	
a409. Customs and traditions are		
essential for Mongolian culture.	aa178. There's a conflict between preserving traditional culture	
a410. The biggest challenge for gers is	and contemporary culture (a255):	
the aging population; young people are	(a255. There's a conflict between preserving traditional	
unwilling to make them.	culture and contemporary culture.)	
a411. The market value of gers is not		
high.	aa179. Iron-framed gers don't contribute to cultural	
a412. The scarcity of materials for	preservation (a256, a407, a423, a451, a458, a460):	
making gers has driven up costs.	(a256. Iron-framed gers and cultural preservation are two	
a413. Gers can now only exist in a	different concepts; a407. You can't see cultural elements in	
protective capacity.	iron-framed gers; a423. We don't want iron-framed gers; a451.	
a414. There are two development	Nowadays, most gers are made with steel structures, not in	
directions: tourism (folklore tourism) and	their original form; a458. Turning gers into iron-framed	
creating small-scale model exhibitions.	structures is not traditional and lacks ethnic characteristics;	
a415. We are currently exploring gers	a460. Iron-framed gers don't work for cultural preservation as	
that look traditional on the outside but are	the craftsmanship has changed.)	
modernized on the inside.		
a416. Nomadic practices have certainly	aa180. If the material changes, the essence changes (a260):	
been lost.	(a260. If the material changes, the essence changes.)	
a417. What we are preserving is		
traditional craftsmanship.	aa181. Gers are our cradle (a261):	
a418. The main issue is that our region	(a261. Gers are our cradle.)	
lacks suitable wood.		
a419. The scarcity of raw materials has	aa182. In the past, women could easily set up gers in the	
increased costs.	grasslands; nowadays, even men don't know how to do it	
	(a263):**	

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a420. We are attempting to restore	(a263. In the past, women could easily set up gers in the		
traditional methods, but it's too	grasslands; nowadays, even men don't know how to do it.)		
expensive.			
a421. We want to showcase regional	aa183. After commercialization, it's all about making money;		
characteristics.	there is no longer continuity, and national		
a422. Nowadays, there are fewer people			
learning to make gers.	culture is lost (a264, a266):		
a423. We don't want iron gers.	(a264. After commercialization, it's all about making money;		
a424. People who appreciate purely	there is no longer continuity; a266. After tourism		
handmade gers don't think they are	development, the continuity of national culture is lost.)		
expensive.			
a425. Nowadays, young people don't like	aa184. Felt is also essential (a265):		
making gers; they find it too time-	(a265. Felt is also essential.)		
consuming.			
a426. It's a tiring job, and young people	aa185. Natural and eco-friendly options do not attract tourists		
don't want to do it.	(a268):		
a427. Gers can only preserve the most	(a268. Natural and eco-friendly options do not attract		
original form. Unlike clothing, you can't	tourists.)		
innovate; it must be made following the			
original.	aa186. Iron frames are used because wooden ones tend to tilt		
a428. The biggest difficulty now is that	(a269):		
passing on the tradition is tough; young	(a269. Iron frames are used because wooden ones tend to		
people don't want to do it.	tilt.)		
a429. The art of making gers can't be			
popularized nowadays.	aa187. Gers used to be assembled and disassembled, but now		
a430. It's too dull; young people don't	they remain stationary (a270):		
want to do it.	(a270. Gers used to be assembled and disassembled, but now		
	they remain stationary.)		

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a431. Fewer people are making gers now,	aa188. When relocating grazing areas, colored steel houses are
and the primary focus is on making	used (a271, a272, a273):
furniture.	(a271. When relocating grazing areas, colored steel houses
a432. The more people learn, the happier	are used; a272. Previously, due to limited conditions, gers
we are, but it's difficult to persist.	were disassembled and moved; now, tractors pull colored steel
a433. Nowadays, smaller gers are more	houses; a273. We take colored steel houses to migrate;
common, and larger ones are rare.	otherwise, gers need to be disassembled and reassembled.)
a434. Once the craft is learned, it can	
become quite common.	aa189. In nature, inside a ger, it feels very relaxing (a274,
a435. Making gers is hard to make a	a275, a278, a279, a375):
living from, and it's too exhausting.	(a274. I now find the sound of the wind above the ger to be
Thoughts of giving up come in the	like a lullaby, very relaxing; a275. I can't sleep in school, but I
middle.	feel comfortable in nature and at home; a278. Living here on
a436. I can't make curtains from woven	the grassland is very mentally relaxing; a279. Big cities are
willow anymore because I'm getting	more exhausting; the pace of life on the grassland is slower;
older.	a375. Traditional gers were comfortable to live in.)
a437. If you treat a ger as an ornament, it	aa190. Self-inspiration happens inside the ger (a276):
will break quickly.	(a276. Self-inspiration happens inside the ger.)
a438. Gers that are used tend to last for	
more than ten years without issues.	aa191. Many urban musicians have a strong feeling when they
a439. There's a shortage of materials for	visit gers (a277):
making gers.	(a277. Many urban musicians have a strong feeling when
a440. The craftsmanship is quite	they visit gers.)
demanding.	
a441. Young people can't endure the	aa192. We have always lived in gers (a280):
loneliness; they don't want to make them.	(a280. We have always lived in gers.)
a442. Nowadays, the market for gers isn't	
great; it's too limited.	aa193. Now we have to disassemble and clean the ger every
	year (a281):
	year (a281):

	,		
a443. Gers are mainly used for tourism	(a281. Now we have to disassemble and clean the ger every		
now.	year.)		
a444. Local tourism development, with			
Mongols as the main ethnic group, has	aa194. Nowadays, gers also have many modern facilities		
led to a revival of gers.	(a282, a378):		
a445. To be successful in tourism, you	(a282. Living in a ger is not a sign of being outdated; now		
need some adornments and ethnic	gers have everything, like television and microwaves; a378.		
features.	Other items (ger facilities) should also be modernized.)		
a446. We're trying to research a type of			
ger that doesn't need to be taken down in	aa195. We don't buy new gers; we pass down our parents' gers		
winter and has good functionality.	(a283):		
a447. The structure of the gers we make	(a283. We don't buy new gers; we pass down our parents'		
has changed, and we've replaced the	gers.)		
wooden structure with steel frames. We			
can make gers up to 20 meters in	aa196. We have a portable ger that we take to events like		
diameter.	weddings (a284):		
a448. Making wooden gers is seen as	(a284. We have a portable ger that we take to events like		
low-grade. We want to create something	weddings.)		
high-end for better business.			
a449. We aim to transform gers into those	aa197. Gers and shipping containers are considered temporary		
suitable for traditional living.	civilian structures and can be used, not for commercial		
a450. The designs on gers have become	purposes (a288):		
more artistic.	(a288. Gers and shipping containers are considered		
a451. Modern gers mostly use steel	temporary civilian structures and can be used, not for		
structures, so they aren't traditional.	commercial purposes.)		
a452. The technology used in traditional			
ger making isn't high, but it's physically	aa198. In Xilingol, gers are larger than those in our area; there		
demanding.	are regional differences in gers (a289):		

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a453. National environmental policies	(a289. In Xilingol, gers are larger than those in our area;		
have changed; now, they don't grant	there are regional differences in gers.)		
construction permits.			
a454. With fewer tourist sites, there are	aa199. Gers in Xilingol have been updated; they look the same		
fewer orders.	from the outside, but the interiors have more variations (a290):		
a455. If the government doesn't pay	(a290. Gers in Xilingol have been updated; they look the		
attention, ger-making will be lost.	same from the outside, but the interiors have more variations.)		
a456. Nowadays, traditional materials for			
making gers can't be found because	aa200. Large tourist gers have been renovated for tourists'		
logging is restricted.	comfort (a292):		
a457. Turning gers into iron ones takes	(a292. Large tourist gers have been renovated to meet		
away from their traditional essence and	tourists' requirements and enhance comfort.)		
ethnic features.			
a458. People in the tourism industry are	aa201. Large gers require a significant investment but don't		
willing to use iron gers because they are	look as good (a293):		
sturdy and easy to set up.	(a293. Large gers require a substantial investment but don't		
a459. Using iron gers is fine for tourism,	look as good.)		
but it changes the craftsmanship.			
a460. In the western region, it's hard to	aa202. Brick houses don't require maintenance; gers need		
obtain good raw materials for gers	yearly repairs, costing over 3000 (a294):		
because logging is restricted.	(a294. Brick houses don't require maintenance, but gers need		
a461	repairs every year, costing over 3000.)		
. In Hebei, making gers is semi-	aa203. We don't know how to maintain and care for gers		
mechanized, and the shapes are machine-	(a295):		
pressed, losing the traditional aspect.	(a295. We don't know how to maintain and care for gers.)		
a462. The structure of the gers and the			
carved decorations have ethnic features.			
L			

	,	
a463. Chinese ger materials have good	aa204. Many Mongolian customs have been turned into	
adaptability.	extravagant attractions by the tourism industry to make money	
a464. Making traditional gers is too slow,	(a297):	
and the materials are hard to find.	(a297. Many Mongolian customs have been turned into	
a465. Nowadays, gers are mainly used as	extravagant attractions by the tourism industry to make	
tourism products.	money.)	
a466. Gers are now primarily used in		
tourism.	aa205. The history of gers forms a real presence within the	
a467. Modern gers should focus on	architecture (a298):	
practicality and economics.	(a298. The history of gers forms a tangible presence within	
a468. Traditional gers are too expensive.	the architecture.)	
a469. The core of a ger is the frame.		
a470. It's impossible to fully restore the	aa206. Many things inside gers have not changed (a299):	
tradition; the materials can't be found.	(a299. Many things inside gers have not changed.)	
a471. Traditional craftsmanship has been		
lost.	aa207. Coverings from the 13th century were luxurious but	
a472. In recent years, there aren't as many	mainly consisted of Western imports (a300):	
ger products, and the workforce has been	(a300. Coverings from the 13th century were luxurious but	
reduced.	mainly consisted of Western imports.)	
a473. The market for making gers is now		
influenced by relevant policies.	aa208. "Ger-style architecture" is a key focus in Mongolian	
a474. Gers made for herders are for	architectural research (a301):	
pastoral life.	(a301. "Ger-style architecture" is a key focus in Mongolian	
a475. In the western region, there are	architectural research.)	
attempts at using fiberglass gers, and the		
research and development are quite good.	aa209. Foreign architecture undergoes Mongolization and	
	localization (a302):	
	(a302. Foreign architecture undergoes Mongolization and	
	localization.)	
	<u>'</u>	

aa210. A single ger can be used in many different places (a303): (a303. A single ger can be used in many different places.)		
aa211. Changes in the nomadic herders' way of life and settlement led to the emergence of new ger-style architecture (a305): (a305. Changes in the nomadic herders' way of life and settlement led to the emergence of new ger-style architecture.)		
aa212. During the Republican period, there were optimization attempts and renovation plans (a307): (a307. During the Republican period, there were optimization attempts and renovation plans.)		
aa213. Since 1949, building materials have been updated roughly every ten years (a308): (a308. Since 1949, building materials have been updated roughly every ten years.)		
aa214. Among ger components, felt is replaced most frequently, but skylights and the top structure are the most durable (a309): (a309. Among ger components, felt is replaced most frequently, but skylights and the top structure are the most durable.)		
aa215. Herders are moving into new-style gers (a310):		

(a310. Herders are moving into new-style gers.)
aa216. The characteristics of ger components have been
simplified (a311, a312, a313):
(a311. The characteristics of ger components used to vary by
tribe, but that's almost gone now; a312. Ger components have
started to be simplified; a313. Features specific to each
Mongolian region have been simplified.)
aa217. Gers are showing a trend towards uniformity (a315):
(a315. Gers are showing a trend towards uniformity.)
aa218. Factories have led to the standardization and uniformity
of gers (a316, a318):
(a316. The trend toward uniformity in Inner Mongolia is due
to industrialization, and it also has to do with settling down;
a318. Factories promote standardization and uniformity.)
2210 Taranta a como mana la cata di nome della cata di nome d
aa219. Twenty years ago, gers were located near adobe houses,
but after a few years, they disappeared (a317):
(a317. Twenty years ago, gers were located near adobe
houses, but after a few years, they disappeared.)
aa220. The progress of modernization has led gers to transition
from individual to collective economies (a319):
(a319. The progress of modernization has led gers to
transition from individual to collective economies.)
Certainly, I'll replace "yurt" with "ger" in the provided text:

aa221. The new-style Mongolian ger largely inherits
traditional techniques (a321).
(a321. The new-style Mongolian ger largely inherits
traditional techniques)
aa222. Gers have transitioned from handmade workshop
production to factory-style production (a323).
(a323. Gers have transitioned from handmade workshop
production to factory-style production)
aa223. I believe there is a lack of serious research about
preserving tradition (a324).
(a324. I believe there is a lack of serious research about
preserving tradition)
aa224. There is a lack of long-term thinking (a325).
(a325. There is a lack of long-term thinking)
aa225. Traditional practices change as living situations change
(a326).
(a326. Traditional practices change as living situations
change)
aa226. Gers are composite structures, serving as both homes
and official buildings (a328).
(a328. I believe gers are composite structures, serving as both
homes and official buildings)
aa227. With current changes, gers have also changed (a329).

(a329. With c		
(2)	arrent changes, gers have also changed)	
aa228. I think	the issue of heritage lacks systematic research	
(a330).		
(a330. I think	the issue of heritage lacks systematic research)	
aa229. Gers m	ade for herders today are cheaper, so the quality	
is declining (a	331, a332).	
(a331. The q	uality of gers made today is declining; a332.	
People want t	hem to be cheap, so the quality is particularly	
poor)		
aa230. Exter	nal decorations have changed significantly	
(a202).		
	al decorations have changed significantly)	
aa231. There	s a lack of young people to carry on the tradition	
	344, a422, a425, a426, a428, a429, a430, a431,	
· ·	141, a452, a472, a410, a432).	
	are very few skilled craftsmen nowadays; a336.	
· ·	d someone to repair them nowadays; a344. There	
	people carrying on the tradition; a422. Fewer	
	rning how to make gers nowadays; a425. Young	
^ ^	days aren't interested and consider it time-	
	26. It's hard work, and young people don't want	
	. The biggest challenge now is passing on the	
	young people don't want to do it; a429. Ger	
	be popularized now; a430. It's too monotonous,	
and people do	on't want to do it. a431. There are too few ger	

makers; now, most of them focus on making furniture; a435.		
Making gers is difficult to make a living, and it's too strenuous,		
with thoughts of giving up in between; a440. Craftsmanship is		
quite demanding; a441. Young people can't stand the solitude,		
so they're not willing to do it; a452. Traditional gers use		
ancient techniques, and young people don't learn them, so it's		
hard to find workers; a472. In recent years, there aren't as many		
ger products, and the workforce has been reduced; a410. The		
biggest challenge for gers is aging; young people don't want to		
do it; a432. The more people learn, the happier it is, but they		
can't persist)		
aa232. Traditional gers require frequent repairs (a335).		
(a335. Traditional gers require frequent repairs)		
aa233. I believe that inheriting the tradition of gers should be		
discussed seriously in the context of heritage research (a338).		
(a338. I believe that inheriting the tradition of gers should be		
discussed seriously in the context of heritage research)		
aa234. Inheriting gers should be explored from a cultural		
perspective (a339, a371, a376).		
(a339. Inheriting gers should be explored from a cultural		
perspective, but from an architectural perspective, culture is		
lost; a371. I believe that the most important thing to change is		
national culture; a376. The core of making gers is to create		
local national culture)		
aa235. Mongolia offers various styles of tourist gers (a342).		
• • • • • • • • • • • • • • • • • • • •		

(a342. Mongolia also does tourism, but there are many styles	
of gers, including Sunite and Qinghai styles)	
aa236. In Mongolia, there are many people working on ger	
preservation (a343).	
(a343. In Mongolia, there are many people working on ger	
preservation)	
aa237. Steel-framed gers have lost traditional memory (a345).	
(a345. Many herders purchase steel-framed gers, which is like	
forgetting the traditional memory)	
aa238. In some parts of Inner Mongolia, the primitive way of	
life is still preserved (a346).	
(a346. In some parts of Inner Mongolia, the primitive way of	
life is still preserved)	
aa239. Some herders, even if they have the means, choose to	
live in gers instead of brick houses (a347).	
(a347. Some herders, even if they have the means, choose to	
live in gers instead of brick houses)	
aa240. Gers are clean and convenient (a348).	
(a348. Gers are clean and convenient)	
aa241. Steel-framed gers cool down quickly, while wooden	
ones cool down slowly (a349).	
(a349. Steel-framed gers cool down quickly, while wooden	
ones cool down slowly)	

aa242. Living in a ger, although cold, keeps one energetic;
living in a building with heating is warm but less spirited
(a350).
(a350. Living in a ger, although cold, keeps one energetic;
living in a building with heating is warm but less spirited)
aa243. Some families that used to live in gers have slowly
become accustomed to moving into brick houses (a352).
(a352. Some families that used to live in gers have slowly
become accustomed to moving into brick houses)
aa244. Gers have a simple structure, but their interior
understanding and customs are quite rich (a354).
(a354. Gers have a simple structure, but their interior
understanding and customs are quite rich)
aa245. The living customs inside a ger are very important
(a356, a365, a409).
(a356. The living customs inside a ger are very complex and
have many details; a365. In Hohhot, it mainly depends on folk
customs; a409.
aa246. Traditions are crucial in Mongolian ger culture (a357).
(a357. Traditions are crucial in Mongolian ger culture)
aa247. Traditional gers have undergone modifications (a358,
a447, a391, a475).

(a358. The earliest Mongolian gers had particularly low doors, as they featured an image of Genghis Khan, requiring people to bow before entering. However, this practice became less common, and doors were raised to over 2 meters; a447. The structure of the gers we make has changed, as we have shifted from wooden frames to steel frames, allowing us to create gers with a diameter of up to 20 meters; a391. An American visitor designed a double-decker ger after an inspection, which proved to be suitable for tourists; a475. Some regions in the western areas have experimented with fiberglass gers and made notable developments) aa248. In the past, gers in Hulun Buir all had six "khana," and this pattern was followed in building brick houses (a359). (a359. In the past, gers in Hulun Buir all had six "khana," and this pattern was followed in building brick houses) aa249. The only change back then was the addition of a toilet, which many herders rejected, as they believed that toilets should not be inside the ger (a360). (a360. The only change back then was the addition of a toilet, which many herders rejected, as they believed that toilets should not be inside the ger) aa250. Gers have different characteristics in different regions (a363, a396). (a363. In Hohhot, gers are primarily made with brick and tile structures, while in Zhenglan Banner, they are made with

cloth; a396. Each ger represents the unique characteristics of
their respective regions)
aa251. The style of gers is important (a364).
(a364. The primary focus is on the beauty of gers)
aa252. Mongolians themselves have modified gers (a366).
(a366. In fact, gers have been modified by Mongolians in later
periods)
aa253. I believe felt is essential (a367).
(a367. I believe felt is essential)
aa254. Brick and tile construction is not traditional Mongolian
architecture (a368).
(a368. Brick and tile construction is not the traditional
Mongolian way)
aa255. I think we need to upgrade and renovate gers (a369).
(a369. I think we need to upgrade and renovate gers)
aa256. Initially, the upgrades involved demolishing and
rebuilding the gers, but later it included both interior and
exterior renovations (a370).
(a370. Initially, the upgrades involved demolishing and
rebuilding the gers, but later it included both interior and
exterior renovations)

aa257. Steel-framed gers represent the modern touch we desire (a379). (a379. Steel-framed gers represent the modern touch we desire) aa258. Ger modifications are about introducing modern elements while retaining the essence of felt (a380). (a380. Ger modifications are about introducing modern elements while retaining the essence of felt) aa259. Traditional gers are well-suited to the herders' way of life (a382). (a382. Traditional gers are well-suited to the herders' way of life) aa260. There is a lack of materials for making traditional gers (a384, a412, a418, a419, a439, a457, a461, a465). (a384. There is a lack of traditional materials; a412. The limited availability of materials for making gers has driven up the cost; a418. The primary issue is the unavailability of suitable wood in our region; a419. The lack of materials has resulted in higher costs; a439. There is a shortage of materials for making gers; a457. There is currently a shortage of materials for making traditional gers, and deforestation is prohibited; a461. In the western regions, they also can't obtain good materials for making gers and are not allowed to cut down trees; a465. Making traditional gers is a slow process, and materials are hard to come by; a470. It's impossible to return to the traditional materials as they are unavailable)

aa261. Traditional handmade gers are expensive (a386, a405, a420, a424, a468). (a386. Handmade traditional gers are expensive; a405. The cost of traditional handmade gers is high; a420. We attempted to revive traditional methods, but the cost is too high; a424. Those who appreciate purely handmade gers do not find them expensive; a468. Traditional gers are too expensive) aa262. Even experienced ger makers can find the work challenging (a393). (a393. Even experienced ger makers can find the work challenging) aa263. Traditional gers are used by herders in their daily lives (a394, a402, a403, a404, a474). (a394. Traditional gers are used even when they create tourist sites on their own pastures; a402. Traditional gers are still in use, although not as widespread as before; a403. Inheritors and tourist sites are gradually bringing back the use of traditional gers; a404. Herders who appreciate traditional culture also continue to use gers; a474. The gers made for herders are for their nomadic lifestyle) aa264. Herders are particular about the gers they purchase (a395). (a395. Herders are particular about the gers they purchase)

aa265. New and old styles complement each other,		
contributing to mutual development (a398).		
(a398. New and old styles complement each other,		
contributing to mutual development)		
aa266. If you only focus on innovation, the original will be lost		
(a399).		
(a399. If you only focus on innovation, the original will be		
lost)		
aa267. Large companies are now establishing ger museums		
(a400).		
(a400. Large companies are now establishing ger museums)		
aa268. The core culture of gers is the wooden frame structure		
(a408).		
(a408. The cultural essence of gers is the wooden frame		
structure; a469. The core of gers is the framework)		
aa269. Gers can now only exist in a protected form (a413).		
(a413. Gers can now only exist in a protected form)		
()		
aa270. The development space includes two aspects: tourism		
(sightseeing and cultural experience) and creating small-scale		
model exhibitions (a414).		
(a414. The development space includes two aspects: tourism		
(sightseeing and cultural experience) and creating small-scale		
model exhibitions)		
model califoldons)		

aa271. Nomadism has inevitably been lost (a416). (a416. Nomadism has inevitably been lost) aa272. Ger development should emphasize local characteristics (a421, a445). (a421. We want to emphasize local characteristics; a445. To make it suitable for tourism, there should be embellishments	
aa272. Ger development should emphasize local characteristics (a421, a445). (a421. We want to emphasize local characteristics; a445. To	
characteristics (a421, a445). (a421. We want to emphasize local characteristics; a445. To	
characteristics (a421, a445). (a421. We want to emphasize local characteristics; a445. To	
characteristics (a421, a445). (a421. We want to emphasize local characteristics; a445. To	
(a421. We want to emphasize local characteristics; a445. To	
make it suitable for tourism, there should be embellishments	
and ethnic features)	
aa273. Currently, there are more small gers being made, and	
fewer large ones (a433).	
(a433. Currently, there are more small gers being made, and	
fewer large ones)	
aa274.	
Once the skills are learned, ger making can become more	
popular (a434).	
(a434. Once the skills are learned, ger making can become	
more popular)	
aa275. As people grow older, they may find it challenging to	
make willow screens (a436).	
(a436. As people grow older, they may find it challenging to	
make willow screens)	
make winow screens)	
aa276. Traditional gers should be used regularly (a437, a438).	

(a437. If gers are treated as decorations, they deteriorate		
quickly; a438. Using gers ensures they last for more than ten		
years)		
aa277. Making gers from wood is considered low-end, and		
some aim for higher-end production for better business results		
(a448).		
(a448. Making gers from wood is considered low-end, and		
some aim for higher-end production for better business results)		
aa278. Ger-making is not highly technical but can be labor-		
intensive (a453).		
(a453. Ger-making is not highly technical but can be labor-		
intensive)		
aa279. Machine-made gers lose some of the traditional		
elements (a462, a250).		
(a462. Most gers made in Hebei are semi-mechanized, with		
shapes produced by machines, losing some of the traditional		
aspects; a250. Traditional gers cannot be modified, and those		
made by machines lack the correct curvature)		
ac 200. The etweetyme and coming designs of some beauty their		
aa280. The structure and carved designs of gers have ethnic		
characteristics (a463).		
(a463. The structure and carved designs of gers have ethnic		
characteristics)		
aa281. Materials used for gers in China are adaptable (a464).		
(a464. Materials used for gers in China are adaptable)		

	aa282. Contemporary gers should prioritize practicality and cost-effectiveness (a467). (a467. Contemporary gers should prioritize practicality and cost-effectiveness)			
475 items	283 items	51 items	5 items	14 items

Appendix 4: Supplement Documents

1. Unified Discourses of Ethnic Cultural





2. Ger Industrial Standard Inner Mongolia, China. 1999 Publication

ICS91. 040. 99

P33

备案号: 10110-1999

DB15

内蒙古自治区地方标准

DB15/T326-1999

蒙古包 Yurt



1999-07-25 发布 1999-08-01 实施

内蒙古自治区技术监督局 发布

前 言

蒙古包是内蒙古自治区最具民族特色的少数民族特需用品,它具有坚固耐用、美观大方、装饰性好、拆装运输方便、防风防雨、防腐、防震等优点。为了保证产品质量,指导企业生产和销售,特制定本标准。

本标准由内蒙古自治区轻纺工业厅提出。

本标准起草单位: 呼和浩特市北方民族木器厂、正兰旗蒙古包厂。

本标准主要起草人: 王升、张德、乔燕、张喜登、赵振华。

内蒙古自治区地方标准

蒙古包

DB15/T326-1999

Yurt

范围

本标准规定了蒙古包的产品分类、技术要求、试验方法、检验规则、标志、包装、运输、贮存。本标准适用于传统的木制结构蒙古包。

产品分类

产品规格

按照蒙古包的直径大小分为以下三种:

小型: 直径在 5.0m 以下

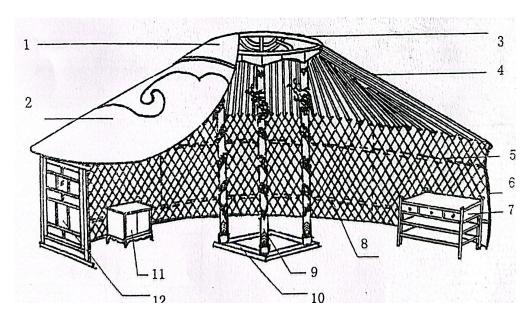
中型: 直径在 5.0~7.0m

大型: 直径在 7.0m 以上

其它规格按用户合同要求生产。

2 产品结构

蒙古包结构及主要部件如图 1 所示。



图中: 1-顶盖, 2-顶皮, 3-陶脑, 4-乌尼杆, 5-哈那扇, 6--围毡, 7-贡桌, 8-毛绳,

> 9-龙柱,10-底座,11-民族柜,12-门 图 1 蒙古包结构图

DB15/T326-1999

3.2.2 哈娜扇

每扇哈娜 15 头 32 根。应粗细均匀,弯度一致,刮杆光洁,无毛刺,前后左右合缝,用皮筋穿结,每扇哈娜 11 道皮筋,皮筋穿结松紧适当,拉伸自如。

3.2.3 陶脑顶

采用两粱、四柱、二圈为整圆或半圆型结构,要求木梁周正、对称、弧度一致, 孔距均匀、下口齐平、 不垫角, 结合牢固。

3.2.4 蒙古包门

门体周正、木梁一律出线,门面平整光洁、无毛刺、无裂缝,门插手采用硬质木料,暗扣结构,门扇合缝、开关自如。

3.2.5 乌尼杆

要求杆体光滑、粗细均匀,抗压、抗弯力强,上头斜面的角度一致、下头用鬃绳或毛绳栓结。

3.2.6 蒙古包龙柱

大型蒙古包每顶用龙柱四根,要求粗细一致,不劈不裂、无毛刺,采用盘龙图案油漆点缀,上柱顶 用榫头连接,周正紧固,下柱头有鼓型柱座。

3.2.7 漆面

漆面应平整光滑,不得有波皱、斑点、气泡,漆面干净,不得有干皮、毛刺,彩绘图案要周正、细致、清晰,具有民族特色。

3.2.8 连接件

主要用元钉、铁钉、皮筋子、骨肪、乳胶等连接牢固。总装用鬃绳和麻绳紧固。

- 3.2.9 蒙古包外套
- 3.2.9.1 睛伦毡、羊毛毡应厚度一致,外用白防水布,内用彩色涤确良或尼龙绸,其上下口沿边。
- 3.2.9.2 包上小顶用双层防雨布中间加毡片制成、上下布套应连接牢固。
- 3.2.9.3 应防雨、防腐蚀、经久耐用。
- 3.2.10 各种绳类

根据蒙古包规格大小确定绳的长度尺寸,应粗细均匀,松紧一致、股径统一。

3.3 性能要求

抗风性能强、防雨性能好

4 组装

严格按产品说明书规定组装。

- 5 试验方法
- 5.1 防雨性能

帆布顶盖四角用绳栓好,提到一定高度,帆布内倒入清洁冷水 5kg,连续 72 小时应不漏水。

5.2 其它项目: 目测、手感、尺量。

3 技术要求

3.1 原辅材料要求

原辅材料要求见表 1。

表1 原辅材料

名称	材料要求
哈娜扇	柳杆、落松杆
陶脑顶	硬杂木
门窗	硬杂木、松木
乌尼杆	落松、木杆、柳杆
龙柱	木质、合成材料
蘑菇钉	手工打制
油漆	调和漆 (各色)
防水布	10x10 或 8x8 白帆布、三防布
围顶毡	羊毛或腈纶
围绳	毛绳、麻绳、尼龙绳
皮筋	牛皮筋、驼皮筋
彩色布	的确良、起绒布、人造革、尼龙绸布

3.2 部件要求

3.2.1 蒙古包主要部件要求见表 2。

Appendix 5: University of York's Ethics Application Form

Note: The content of this table was developed based on the first-year doctoral program, including three cases, including the Mongolian Ger case. However, subsequent research was approved and transformed into research focusing exclusively on the Mongolian Ger case. All research methods remain unchanged, with only a reduction in the number of cases



Arts and Humanities Ethics Committee

STANDARD SUBMISSION FORM

To be used for:

Small scale evaluation and audit work

Low-risk research involving human participants

Not research involving vulnerable groups e.g.

Children

Those with learning disabilities

People with mental impairment due to health or lifestyle

Those who are terminally ill

Recently bereaved

Those unable to consent to or understand the research

Where research concerns sensitive topics / illegal activities

Where deception is involved

Any research requiring a CRB or DBS check

Following initial evaluation you may be required to submit a Full application to AHEC where ethical issues need more detailed consideration

Applicants are advised to read the AHEC guidance on designing participant information sheets and participant consent forms, and other specific guidance which can be found at:

https://www.york.ac.uk/hrc/ahec/guidance

Completed forms should be sent electronically by the Supervisor (if the applicant is a student) or Head of Department or Departmental Research Chair (if the applicant is a member of staff) to the AHEC Administrator at hrc-ethics@york.ac.uk, together with the relevant project information and informed consent forms.

The committee will respond to submissions within a maximum of four weeks, but will endeavour to respond sooner than this.

If you have any questions, you can contact your Departmental Ethics Officer (https://www.york.ac.uk/hrc/ahec/structure), the AHEC Administrator, or the AHEC Chair (hrc-ethics@york.ac.uk).

SUBMISSION FORM

1a. Please provide the following details about the applicant

Name of Applicant:	Xuanlin Liu
email address:	xl2521@york.ac.uk
Telephone:	07949007083
Staff/Student Status:	Second year PhD Candidate
Dept/Centre or Unit:	Archaeology

1b. Any other applicants (for collaborative research projects) at York or elsewhere

Name of Applicant:	
email address:	
Telephone:	
Staff/Student Status:	
University	
Dept/Centre or Unit:	
Head of Department:	
HoD email address:	
Head of Research:	
(if applicable)	
HoR email address:	

(if applicable)	
(if applicable)	

2. If you are a student please provide the following supervisory details for your project:

1 st Supervisor	Professor John Schofield
email address:	johnschofield@york.ac.uk
2nd Supervisor	Dr Louise Cooke
email address:	louisecooke@york.ac.uk

3. Please provide the following details about your project:

Title of Project:	Living heritage: vitalisation, uses and continuity of cultural
	heritage in China
Date of Submission to	13 July 2021
AHEC:	
Project Start Date:	1 August 2019
Duration:	3 years
Funded Yes/No:	Yes
Funding Source:	China Scholarships Council joint research scholarships
	2021/22
External Ethics Board	
Jurisdictions:	

4. Summary of research proposal

Aims and objectives of the research

Please outline the questions or hypotheses that will be examined in the research.

Re-conceptualising an Integrated Living Heritage Approach (LHA) in the analysis of heritage uses, changes and continuities in contemporary China:

To associate theories with practice: how do people re-purpose and reconnect with the past?

To reassemble living heritage discourse: how are the different narratives of 'living' to be formed?

To be critical about the ontology of heritage: how does the conventional understanding of heritage can be extended in narratives of daily practices?

Hypotheses:

By recognising heritage as a living thing, the research will render heritage is more sustainable and more relevant to society.

The research will examine different valorisations of heritage and its impacts on the ontology of heritage in contemporary China.

It will use an ethnographic method to explore the integrated 'living heritage' narratives and practices through three types of heritage, including tangible heritage (Historical Blocks in Beijing), intangible heritage (Xiang embroidery) and mixed heritage (Mongolian Ger). The multiple-case design aims to overcome the singular understanding of living heritage that only refers to a particular heritage. Beyond the differentiation in types of heritage, each case will have a different focus that aims to synthesise various realities to integrate the living heritage. LHA should be a constructivist to reveal the process of heritage making in reality. Precisely, cases will unfold how people construct and perceive changes and continuity of heritage in their daily practices and elaborate each heritage as a dynamic process of constructing through ordinary perspectives.

Methods of data collection

Outline how the data will be collected from or about human subjects (e.g. face to face interviews, online surveys, telephone surveys).

semi-structured interview

The interviews will be conducted in official or public places. It will be face-to-face and will also accept telephone/virtual interviews according to the conveniences of interviewees. The research will seriously follow the local governmental guidance on public health during the pandemic period.

The interview questions are:

How do you make your heritage? What do you understand about this heritage?

What should a heritage (more specific with the case, like ger or embroidery) look like?

What could be maintained and what needs to change in this type of heritage?

What is the key to safeguarding this heritage?

Does your idea be supported by government/ institutions or relevant cultural experts? Who has offered support to you?

What does this heritage mean to you, and what is the value?

Among the elements of authenticity or creativity, continuity, which one is the most important?

What is living and what are not living elements in your opinion?

The interviewees are as follows:

In the case of Mongolia ger:

Place	Participant type	Numbers
Tourism sites (governmental)	Owner + designer	>5
Tourist sites (private)	Owner + designer	>5
Restaurants	Owners	>5
Museum & heritage institution	Official, Professional	>3
Ger for living	Mainly nomads	>5
Ger making shop	owners	>4

In the case of Xiang embroidery:

Place	Participant type	Number
Research institute	Staffs/ designers	All
Shaping Village	Brokers, partitionner	>6
Embroidery City	Brokers	>4
ICH safeguarding center	Officials	>2

in the case of historic blocks in Beijing:

Place	Participant type	Numbers
Blocks	users	> 5
Xicheng Government	Officer in charge of the	1-2
	project	
HuaRong Investment corporate	Project manager or staff	1-2
Beijing Academy of Urban Planning and	Project manager	1
Design		

observation

In this sense, this research will gaze on how people engage with materiality, including observing material representations and people' practices. In materiality, it will observe the forms of Gers, patterns of embroidery, innovations in historical blocks. To people, it will see the daily practices of heritage practitioners and users, including activities on embroidery techniques, business activities and the ways of usage. The data will be recorded through photo-taking, writing and drawings during the observations.

Recruitment of participants

How many participants will take part in the research? How will they be identified and invited to take part in the study? How will informed consent be obtained?

It is estimated that 40 people will be interviewed, 12-13 for each of the three case studies.

Participants will be identified according to their responsibility relative to the case study. They will be contacted formally by email/telephone and invited to participate politely. In some circumstances, the participants who are difficult to get contact by email need to be introduced by my contacts, like a snowball, which will help the research keep going.

The consent form will be provided during each interview. Some e-signatures will be obtained if the interviews are conducted virtually. It is important to notice that the form will be translated into Chinese, which will ensure my participants fully understand the purpose of my research.

The research will ensure the participants are voluntary who can be motivated by my research contributions. For example, I will inform them that their participation will provide the research a realistic view of analysing the heritage, which could facilitate a better understanding of safeguarding heritage. Heritage belongs to everybody, their practices deserve to be recognised.

In observing their daily practices, the participants will be invited according to their locations relative to the case study. They will be invited orally or introduced by my contacts. If they agree with observing their daily uses of the space, I will show their consent form and get it signed. I will be transparent in the process and will promise not to interrupt their life.

Participant information sheets and consent forms

Please attach (1) the project information sheet to be given to all participants and (2) the informed consent form or a combined project information and informed consent form (n.b. failure to submit these documents may delay the approval process.)

If either the project information or informed consent forms have not been attached, please explain why this is the case.

Are the results to be given as feedback or disseminated to your participants (if yes please specify when, in what form, and by what means)

Anonymity

In most instances, the Committee expects that anonymity will be offered to research subjects. Please set out how you intend to ensure anonymity. If anonymity is not being offered please explain why this is the case.

The research will avoid data that will be traced to a specific person. It will avoid having their identifications (names, genders, ages, locations etc.), jobs and their organisation names. Instead, it will use types of organisation, general types of jobs (such as Intangible Cultural Heritage inheritors, businessman and touristic officers). Unless they especially want me to mention their name or works in future publications.

However, some company or organisation's names in well-known events, which have already been shown in newspapers or online reports, the research will use directly. All information will be double-checked with participants.

Data collection

All personal and sensitive personal data must be collected and stored in accordance with the General Data Protection Regulation (GDPR) 2018 and the University's research data management (RDM) policy, see:

https://www.york.ac.uk/records-management/dp/

https://www.york.ac.uk/library/info-for/researchers/data/storing/

At the moment, the University's <u>Research Data Management</u> (RDM) policy is applied to research undertaken by postgraduate research students and research staff only. This suggests retaining important data for a period of 10 years. We recommend that taught postgraduates retain until their degree is awarded.

Please detail the type(s) of data you will be collecting (e.g. interviews, questionnaires, recordings).

Interviews: qualitative data, descriptions and opinions.

Observations: writing, drawing and photo-taking.

Textual recordings: nomination files of heritage.

How will you collect the data and where will it be stored electronically? Please describe what protection there will be in relation to electronic storage?

Data collection

Video recording ✓

Audio Recording

Notes

Other **√** (Photography)

Data storage

University filestore or Google Drive (recommended) ✓

Password protected laptop

Password protected PC

Other:

Where is the data to be stored in paper form? Please describe how this will be protected.

Locked filing cabinet

Other: the research will promise to store all the data virtually

At what point are you proposing to destroy the data, in relation to the duration of this project? And how?

In the circumstances:

If I decide to quit my PhD and will no longer continue the research.

Permanent deletion.

the participant withdraws from the research and asks me to delete their data.

After a pre-arranged timespan of 10 years after the completion of the project in line with university protocols.

v. If your project involves collecting personal data as defined by the GDPR, please provide a description of the data, and explain why you need to gather personally identifiable data rather than anonymised data.

Under the GDPR, personal data is any information relating to an identified or identifiable natural person ('data subject'); an identifiable natural person is one who can be identified directly or indirectly, in particular by reference to an identifier such as a name, an identification number, location data, an online identifier or to one or more factors specific to the physical, physiological, genetic, mental, economic, cultural or social identity of that natural person.' (https://www.york.ac.uk/records-management/dp/glossary/)

The research will relate to the data of cultural or social identities. Due to my research being about exploring regenerated cultural heritage practices in China, it has to identify their jobs, the status of heritage practices and which cultural types they are in (such as embroidery in Hunan, gers constructors in Inner Mongolia), as well as the ways of representing their creativities. In addition, in the case of gers in Inner Mongolia, it will involve the identification of ethnicities. There are both Mongolian and Han Chinese are making gers, which will have differentiations of tastes and ways of engagements that should have to be compared.

In the case of historical blocks, it will also involve the location data as I need to analyse how the urban space has been used differently.

vi. If your project involves collecting special categories of personal data as defined by the GDPR, please provide a description of the data.

Under the GDPR, special category personal data is 'personal data revealing racial or ethnic origin, political opinions, religious or philosophical beliefs or trade union membership or the processing of genetic data, biometric data for the purposes of uniquely identifying a natural person, data concerning health or data concerning a natural person's sex life or sexual orientation.' (https://www.york.ac.uk/records-management/dp/glossary/)

The research will only involve minor GDPR, as there will be the identification of participants' ethnicity and cultural identities. It will be related to how they link these cultural elements either from their family traditions, or ethnic traditions they inherited, how these inspired their current creativities of heritage, and how they will value and evaluate their current practices.

vii. Please explain the measures in place to ensure that you are capturing the minimum amount of personal data/special category data necessary for your research project.

I will be very careful to design data collection questions to avoid these personal data as much as possible. I will only collect the data that is able to answer my research question and nothing extra in order to minimise risk exposure.

viii. Please explain how you plan to anonymise data or pseudonymous data during the project to minimise data protection risk? If you are not able to do this, please explain why not.

To avoid any participant can be traced from the data. To use a general description of the site rather than a specific naming it. To keep all data anonymously until the research is published.

ix. If you are sharing personal or special category personal data with others outside your department, what steps are you taking to ensure that it is protected? If you are working collaboratively with third parties or sharing data with non-University personnel, please ensure that you have consulted the Information Governance Office and/or IP and Legal to ensure appropriate contracts and/or data sharing arrangements are in place.

I will have to obtain consents from the participants and then from my departments and university.

x. If the data is to be exported outside the European Union, what steps are you taking to ensure that it is protected? (Note: you must identify how you will comply with General Data Protection Regulation requirements.)

I am aware of the measures to comply with GDPR:

"The non-EU country's protections are deemed adequate by the EU.

Your company takes the necessary measures to provide appropriate safeguards, such as including specific clauses in the agreed contract with the non-European importer of the personal data.

Your company relies on specific grounds for the transfer (derogations) such as the consent of the individual."

Available from: https://europa.eu/youreurope/business/dealing-with-customers/data-protection/data-protection-gdpr/index_en.htm [accessed at 29 April 2021]

Perceived risks or ethical problems

Please outline any anticipated risks or ethical problems that may adversely affect any of the participants, the researchers and or the university, and the steps that will be taken to address them. (Note: all research involving human participants can have adverse effects.)

Risks to participants (e.g. emotional distress, financial disclosure, physical harm, transfer of personal data, sensitive organisational information...)

Time disturbance: I may take their working time and daily life.

Judgement distress: some potential judgements might occur in publications. It will evaluate participants' activities and subjectivities and the influence on heritage management. However, the research will ensure collecting data objectively and analysing issues fairly. It will try to use the facts and avoid personal biases.

Risks to researchers (e.g. personal safety, physical harm, emotional distress, risk of accusation of harm/impropriety, conflict of interest...)

Emotional distress: it may occur when the participants are not willing to cooperate with my research and will judge my research questions with negative opinions. I will take care to discuss any issues arising with my academic supervisor.

University/institutional risks (e.g. adverse publicity, financial loss, data protection...)

Reputation risks: if my behaviour during conducting the research is not that professional, it will affect the university/department's reputation. I will conduct my research in line with university protocols and will raise any potential issues with my academic supervisor or the departmental Ethics representative at the earliest opportunity.

Financial conflicts of interest (e.g. perceived or actual with respect to direct payments, research funding, indirect sponsorship, board or organisational memberships, past associations, future potential benefits, other...)

I am with the joint scholarship between the China Scholarship Council and our university. Were my research to fail or does not obtain valid data to affect my graduation, the funding will be returned.

Any strong political critiques about sensitive ethnic issues, harsh criticism of the government especially for the political party, will be prohibited in China. However, my research on this concern is very minor.

v. Please draw the committee's attention to any other specific ethical issues this study raises.

Research Outside of the UK

Will you be conducting research outside of the UK? If so, specify where. Have you checked whether local ethical approval is required? Are there any different civil, legal, financial or cultural conditions that you need to be aware of? See the University's guidance on conducting research outside the UK for further details: https://www.york.ac.uk/staff/research/governance/research-policies/guidanceoutsideuk/

Please also confirm that you will complete the University's travel log at least 48 before the start of your trip and discuss your trip with Health and Safety at least 14 days in advance if it is high risk. For further information, see: https://www.york.ac.uk/admin/hsas/safetynet/Insurance/travel_log.htm

Yes, I will conduct my entire research in China. Since China is my home country, usually the adaptation of the differentiation is not a problem for me. I will be alert to regulations and laws and social manners, ethics during my research, especially paying attention to the guidance of public health during this pandemic period.

I confirm that I will take the 'travel log' one month before my trip.

5. Ethics checklist

Please confirm that all of the steps indicated below have been taken, or will be taken, with regards to the above-named project submitted for ethical approval. If there are any items that you cannot confirm or are not relevant to your project, please use the space provided below to explain.

Please tick if true, otherwise leave blank:

Informed consent will be sought from all research participants where appropriate

All data will be treated anonymously and stored in a secure place

All relevant issues relating to General Data Protection Regulation have been considered (see https://www.york.ac.uk/records-management/generaldataprotectionregulation/) &, if necessary, the Data Protection office contacted (dataprotection@york.ac.uk)

All quotes and other material obtained from participants will be anonymised in all reports/publications arising from the study where appropriate

All reasonable steps have been taken to minimise risk of physical/psychological harm to project participants.

All reasonable steps have been taken to minimise risk of physical/mental harm to researchers

Participants have been made aware of and consent to all potential futures uses of the research and data

Any relevant issues relating to intellectual property have been considered (see https://www.york.ac.uk/staff/research/external-funding/ip/policy/), and, if relevant, the University's Contracts and Sponsorship Manager has been made aware of the research.

There are no known conflicts of interest with respect to finance/funding

The research is approved by the Supervisor, Head of Department or Head of Research

If any of the above items have not yet been confirmed, please explain why in the space below.

6. Other comments

Are there any issues that you wish to draw to the Committee's attention (it is your responsibility to draw any ethical issues to AHEC that may be of perceived or actual interest)?

7. Submission Checklist for Applicants

Finally, please complete the statement section below and ensure that the indicated documents below are sent electronically to hrc-ethics@york.ac.uk by the supervisor, Head of Department or Departmental Research Chair, as appropriate.

AHEC Application form

Information and Informed Consent form for participants

8. Statements

Statement by applicant

In submitting this application I hereby confirm that there are no actual or perceived conflicts of interest with respect to this application (and associated research) other than those already declared.

Furthermore, I hereby undertake to ensure that the above named research project will meet the commitments in the checklist above. In conducting the project, the research team will be guided by the AHRC's ethical guidelines for research.

Xuanlin Liu	
	(Name of applicant)
09/07/2021	(Date)

Statement by supervisor

If applicant is a student:

I have read all component elements of this application in detail and discussed them with the applicant, suggesting revision or improvements where appropriate. I am satisfied that all documents to be shared with external partners or participants are of a suitably high standard to represent the thoughtfulness and professionalism of the applicant, the department and the university community well in their relations with external bodies.

Prof John Schofield Name of Supervisor

14 May 2021 (Date)

If applicant is a member of academic staff:

Statement by Head of Department or Departmental Research Chair:

I have read through the application and the documentation that will be shared with external bodies, where this exists, and am satisfied that documents to be shared with external partners or participants are of a suitably high standard to represent the thoughtfulness and

professionalism of the project, the department and the university community well in their relations with external bodies.
(Name)
(Role)
(Date)
Re-submission of AHEC application form
If the application is a re-submission following comments made by AHEC Committee members, the applicant and Supervisor should sign below to confirm that they have read and understood the AHEC recommendations and consider that the attached response deals appropriately with its recommendations.
(Applicant)
(Supervisor/Head of Department)
(Date)
The supervisor, Head of Department or Departmental Research Chair should send the completed form and accompanying documentation to the AHEC administrator at hrc-ethics@york.ac.uk .
Appendix 5: Research consent form
Information about the project
Title of the study:

Living heritage: vitalisation, uses and continuity of ger in Inner Mongolia, China

Description:

This research aims to re-conceptualise a living heritage approach in post-nomadism in China.

Heritage is not a static object, instead, it is a dynamic thing that is constituted by varied people

and places. In tendency of vitalising ger in Inner Mongolia today, which has been created and

used in many different ways, however, it still lacks interpretations on its changing values,

people and their practices. Therefore, this research will conduct a living heritage approach, in

considerations of people and continuity, but to critically develop them in both field and textual

analysis. It will contribute to increase recognition of personal creativity in heritage value.

The research will conduct in Hulunbuir and Huhot. Participants will be asked personal opinions

on their current practices and opinion, attitudes of transformations and associations to ger.

Researcher:

Xuanlin Liu, an PhD Candidate in Archaeology at University of York, the United Kingdom.

Methods:

25 minutes interview to be recorded in notes and recorder; observation of the object/ practices

to be recorded in photography.

Confidentiality and anonymity:

Participation of the research is optional. They are free to withdraw their participations and data

anytime without providing a reason.

Participants need grant permission to be recorded. The data will be saved safely under the

regulation of General Data Protection Regulation and will be prohibited sharing with any third

party. Participant's identification will be protected, and the data will be used anonymously in

the research.

Nothing will be used in the report without the consent of the participants. The

interview/photography section of the report will never be made public or quoted without

permission of the participants.

Result of the study:

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Xuanlin's PhD thesis and potential publications. Participant will be offered an electronic copy

of the interview/ observation section of the thesis, or the full publication if they wish.

Right to Complan:

If you have any questions, please contact the author, Xuanlin Liu (x12521@york.ac.uk). If you

have any concern or complain to your data protection, please contact the University's Acting

Data Protection Officer at dataprotection@york.ac.uk or report a concern at

www.ico.org.uk/concerns.

Interview/ Observation Consent Form:

I have been provided with information about the study and contact details for the researcher,

should I have any further questions.

I understand that my participation in this study is voluntary and I may leave the study at any

time without penalty and without giving a reason. Should I choose to do so then, where possible,

my individual contributions will be removed from the records and destroyed.

I consent to interview and object/practice that I participate in being recorded.

I understand that all information I give will be stored in the data storage systems of the

University of York, or in line with University data management policies.

I consent to the information I provide being used by the primary researcher for the purposes of

the study described in the information sheet and for publications or presentations where

appropriate.

I understand that, where my data is used, I will not be identifiable.

I have read and understand the above Yes/No (circle)

Name

Signature

Date

Image Release Form:

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The University of York often takes photographs or video film for publicity purposes. These images may appear in our printed publications, on our website, or both. We may also send them to the news media. We require your permission to do this.

I agree to the use of my image(s), in printed publicity or promotional literature produced by The University of York, including leaflets, posters, newsletters and other display material; on The University of York's website and other social media sites, including Facebook, Twitter and YouTube; and in any publicity material about our services sent to the news media.

I understand that websites and other online media can be seen throughout the world, and not just in the United Kingdom, where UK law applies.

I have read and understand the above Yes/No (Circle)

Name

Signature

Date

Reference

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