

Hallstatt Made in China – An Austrian Village cloned



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Preface and acknowledgements

This master thesis is written in fulfillment of the degree of Master of Asian Studies at the faculty of humanities of the University of Leiden. After having taken courses in the field of heritage studies as well as environment and development I became interested in the areas and stumbled across the case of Hallstatt. The topic awakened my interest, the result of which is the master thesis at hand. Any linguistic or factual errors and - unless otherwise indicated - opinions are the sole responsibility of the undersigned author.

This master thesis would not have become reality without the help and encouragement of two people in particular. First of all, I would like to express my thanks and appreciations to my supervisor Adèle Esposito for her guidance, feedback, and careful and constructive comments and suggestions during the research and writing process. Without her supervision I would not have been able to present this master thesis as it is now. Secondly, I would like to thank Anet van Schijndel, my best friend who has continuously shown interest in my thesis, who provided me with valuable comments during my writing process, and who has given me a lot of moral support.

Abstract

The following thesis contains the results of my research on the topic of the Austrian town of *Hallstatt* and its Chinese replica *Hallstatt see*. My research will introduce China's predilection for replicating some of the biggest architectural achievements of the West by examining the case of Hallstatt. The main goal of this research will be to find out to what extent the Chinese copy town has influenced Hallstatt to date, regarding economy, tourism, atmosphere and quality of life. In that regard I especially focus on how the residents of the original Hallstatt have reacted to the fact that their town has been copied in China without consultation or permission. Furthermore, this thesis will discuss the history of copying in China, the emerging 'duplitecture' (copied architecture) trend in China and the Chinese meanings associated with the copy - with the aim of providing a complete overview of the copy phenomenon. Methodically, I will gather information by conducting empirical research in the form of an online questionnaire, which will be submitted to the residents of the Hallstatt area. Apart from that a lot of attention will be devoted to theory and the academic debate concerning the topic.

Keywords: Hallstatt, China, heritage, architecture, replication, copyright, tourism

1. Introduction: Chinese build exact replica of Austrian town

China is widely known for its skills when it comes to copying things. Electronics, handbags, clothes, watches, you name it; they will copy it for you. But in this case they have taken it a step further and copied an entire town. By building an exact replica of the Austrian market town Hallstatt, a Chinese company has taken copycatting to an entirely new level. This research will introduce China's predilection for replicating some of the biggest architectural achievements of the West by examining the case of Hallstatt and the history behind it. Apart from that, this thesis will also discuss the Chinese meanings associated with the copy.

Background

Hallstatt is a small lakeside market town in the Salzkammergut district, a region in Austria. Although this picturesque town has less than 1'000 inhabitants it receives about 800'000 tourists each year.¹ Set against a beautiful alpine landscape, Hallstatt has been designated as a World Heritage Site by UNESCO in 1997. According to the World Heritage Centre the region is an outstanding example of a natural landscape of great beauty and scientific interest, which also contains evidence of fundamental human economic activity.² Humankind has inhabited the valleys between the huge mountains for over three millennia and the mining and processing of salt, a natural resource essential to human and animal life, has given the area its prosperity.³



Figure 1: Map Austria general overview



Figure 2: Map Hallstatt Municipality

By now, almost the same as what has just been described above has been copied in Guangdong province, China. In mid-2011 China Minmetals Land Limited (the real estate

¹ Anon. 2011b. "Österreichischer Politiker wehrt sich gegen Chinesischen Dorf-Klon." *Tagesanzeiger*.

² UNESCO. "Hallstatt-Dachstein/Salzkammergut Cultural Landscape." Ref: 806.

³ *ibid*.

branch of China's largest metals trader) began constructing a 1:1 scale copy of the Austrian Hallstatt. Especially controversial was the fact that the Chinese copy of the small Austrian town was being constructed without notifying or asking permission of anyone in the original Hallstatt in Austria. The 'made-in-China' version of Hallstatt cost an estimated 940\$ million to build and was intended to serve as a tourism destination for the Chinese middle-class and European expatriates living in China.⁴

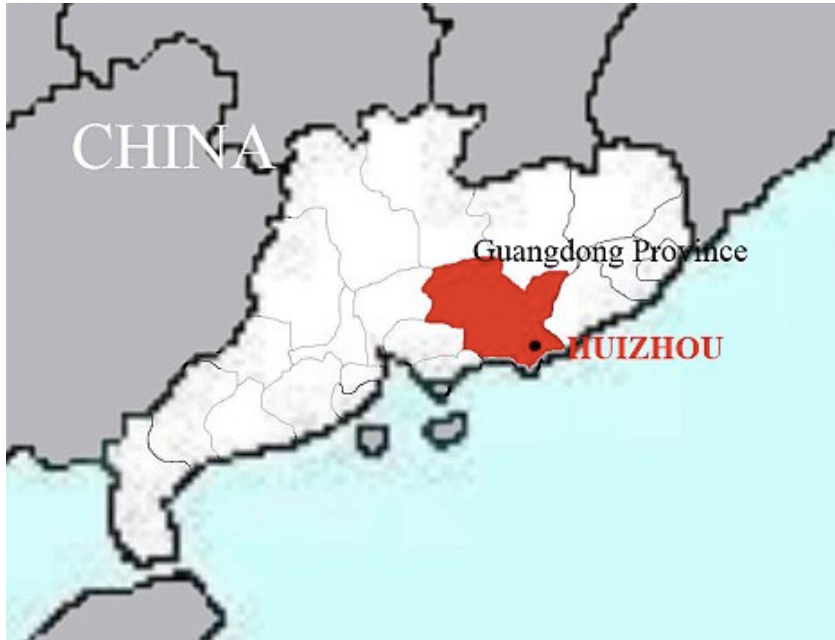


Figure 3: Hallstatt see, China (Source: *Dailymail*)

When one goes to the official website of the Austrian town of Hallstatt the first thing one sees is a friendly greeting and right after that the following slogan: “*Hallstatt: Das Original. Millionenfach fotografiert - einmal kopiert - nie erreicht.*”⁵ Translated this means: “*Hallstatt: The Original. Photographed a million times - copied once- never reached.*” In my eyes, this translated slogan suggests the omnipresence of the Chinese replica of Hallstatt in the original Hallstatt in Austria. It also shows that further research on this topic is vital, especially because more and more Western towns, monuments and important landmarks are being replicated in China. Their copycatting has gone to extremes. Chinese companies have not only copied the town of Hallstatt but also parts of many other European cities such as Paris, Venice, Amsterdam, London and Madrid.⁶ However, it is not only the sheer number of places that have been copied that is startling, but also the underlying, continuous mechanism to empower and appropriate through the imitation of an original that make this research worthwhile.⁷ The copy agenda of the Chinese when it comes to Western themed residential communities seems all encompassing and has a clear message: living in a Western themed home is about claiming personal power and prestige. It is not only about copying the superficial appearance but also the “feeling” or local atmosphere of the place that is being copied by

⁴ Wu, Venus. 2012. “Made in China: an Australian Village.” *Reuters*.

⁵ Hallstatt Official Home Page.

⁶ Bosker, Bianca. 2013. *Original Copies: Architectural Mimicry in China*, p.1.

⁷ Bosker, Bianca. 2013, p.35.

using devices such as foreign signage and lifestyle amenities, which produces cities that seem to have more in common with a theme park than an actual town.⁸ Copy towns like *Hallstatt* see are unique, not only in their scale, but also by the fact that they are residential. Places like Disney World or Las Vegas raise certain illusions, but those illusions are temporary whereas the residents of the Chinese copy town live out their lives in these illusions.⁹

The case of Hallstatt is representative of a broader phenomenon in China. Therefore the copying and replicating of landmarks like this one will be placed in a larger context because the target of the replication goes way beyond architecture and construction techniques. Up to now, a lot of research on the subject of Chinese copycatting with regard to architecture has been conducted. This research has mainly dealt with architectural side of the copying. Apart from that, research has also approached the possible underlying reasons for the copying of architecture.¹⁰ There are many different reasons for the existence of the copy towns and it's the culmination of different circumstances that has led to the current situation. The fact that China has been developing a middle and upper class, by that I mean that a significant portion of the people in China have become very wealthy in very little time and now want to showcase their wealth, can be seen as one of the main reasons.¹¹ Under the Mao regime public declarations of wealth were usually not allowed so China does not have a societal model for prosperity. Therefore, it seems like China is turning to the West for ways in which to display its newfound fortunes.¹² Another possible reason for the copy towns could be China's huge building bubble. China is growing at its slowest pace for more than two years and property prices are shrinking. China's real-estate market has gone into free-fall.¹³ A vast number of buildings is being built, many of which will never be filled and in order to attract residents for their developments construction companies may started to create copy towns so that they would stand out amongst the countless buildings opening every day.¹⁴

Research goals and hypotheses

Existing research on the topic has mostly dealt with the copies themselves and the underlying reasons for the copying. However, this thesis will complement the existing research by approaching the subject in a different manner. Namely, I intend to discuss the perception of the copy from the perspective of those who have been copied. Firstly, the main goal of this research will be to find out to what extent the Chinese copy town has influenced Hallstatt to date, with regard to economy, tourism, atmosphere and quality of life. In that regard I especially focus on how the residents of the original Hallstatt have reacted to the fact that their town has been copied in China without consultation or permission. Secondly, my research deals with the history of copying in China, and the emerging 'duplitecture' (copied architecture) trend in China and the Chinese meanings associated with the copy. These are my goals, because for a complete overview of the

⁸ Bosker, Bianca. 2013. p.2.

⁹ O'Hanlon, Ryan. 2013. "Why is China stealing cities, towns, and buildings?" *Pacific Standard*.

¹⁰ Bosker, Bianca. 2013.

¹¹ O'Hanlon, Ryan. 2013.

¹² *ibid.*

¹³ Parry, Simon. 2012. "The Alpine village of the Far East: Chinese build bizarre replica of Austrian town (only problem is, no-one wants to live there)." *DailymailUK*.

¹⁴ O'Hanlon, Ryan. 2013.

copy phenomenon it is fundamental to look at both sides: implications on the side of the copied party, and on the copying party as well.

My hypothesis regarding my main research goal is that after the initial shock, the residents might have felt flattered and were able to see a possible positive side of the copying. This leads to my second hypothesis that the Chinese replica of Hallstatt is good marketing for the original. I want to use the case of Hallstatt to show to what extent copying can have an effect on a town and its residents. It is my goal to demonstrate that the number of tourists has increased and that the copy therefore functions as an engine for tourism in the original Hallstatt.

Research Method

To attain my goals my method of research is as follows. I have reviewed relevant literature primarily on the topic of copied architecture and analysed data from the department of statistics from the bureau of tourism in Hallstatt. I also conducted empirical research in the form of a self-constructed online questionnaire submitted to residents and visitors of the Hallstatt area using *Survey Monkey*. I have gotten in touch with residents of the Hallstatt area and people who have visited it by using email and social media, Facebook in particular. Apart from that, naturally, I devoted a lot of attention to theory and the academic debate concerning my topic. Moreover, since the influence of the (inter)national media is of high relevance to my topic, I also used multiple secondary sources in the form of newspaper articles, blogs and film footage about the case of Hallstatt and copied architecture in general, conducted by scholars in the field. These include Bianca Bosker, expert in the field of the emerging “duplitecture trend” in China and filmmaker Ella Raidel, who recently released a documentary on the subject. Furthermore I examined work by William Alford, scholar of Chinese law and legal history, who has been doing research about intellectual property law in the Chinese civilization.

The documentary mentioned above, which was released in the autumn of 2014, called *Double Happiness* is a filmic journey from Austria to China to visit the clone of the Upper Austrian town of Hallstatt.¹⁵ The film tells the story of how the fairy-tale-like replica was planned in secret and how the plans for this were discovered in Austria. The movie also describes the background and motivation of the project. In the movie, Raidel takes a precise look at contemporary China and brings the viewer closer to the subject through excellent observations as well as interviews in both, Austria and China, most of them with people working in the field of architecture and urban planning.¹⁶

Academic debate

After exploring the Austrian perception of the copy, in my eyes, it is also important to elaborate on the role of the copy from the Chinese point of view because copying places and objects has a long tradition in China and seems to be deeply embedded into Chinese society. Bianca Bosker argues that: “*in contemporary China there is far less emphasis on originality and far more on skill.*”¹⁷ In addition to that, I will demonstrate that this is not

¹⁵ Raidel, Ella. 2014. *Double Happiness*. <http://doublehappiness.at/> (accessed July 10, 2015)

¹⁶ *ibid.*

¹⁷ Meier, Allison. 2013. “Everything is in China: The Worlds Architecture Replicated in Chinese Copy Towns.” *Atlasobscura*.

only true for contemporary, but also for traditional China.

To Chinese eyes, a skilled reproduction, which Western connoisseurs may call a cheap knock-off, is itself worthy of admiration.¹⁸ Bosker's book *Original copies: Architectural mimicry in Contemporary China* addresses the emerging Chinese 'duplitecture' trend (copying architecture) and explores the ways that these replicated landmarks are shaping China's culture.¹⁹ This raises the question of whether or not China is stealing heritage of the West by copying heritage without asking permission. To answer this question I will include a section on heritage as a commodity as well as a section on the traditions and history of copying in China before I start the academic debate on the emerging duplitecture trend.

Thesis outline

My thesis will start with a general introduction of my research topic, the town of Hallstatt. Both the Austrian Hallstatt and its Chinese copy, Hallstatt see will be introduced. This introduction will include a short section about the history of both towns as well as their geographical location. After this I will introduce some facts and figures with regard to Austria as a travel destination for Asian tourists to point out the important role of the tourism industry and reveal how much has changed in recent years in terms of numbers. Afterwards I will present the results of my empirical research where the collected data will be evaluated and analysed. In the following chapter I will explore the discussion on manufactured heritage and introduce the academic debate on the topic with the aim of discovering what kind of influences copying can have, especially in the field of architecture. I will end this paper with my conclusion where I will tie together and discuss the various issues covered in the body of this thesis. In this part I will also attempt to forecast further trends and debate the need of future research on my topic.

1.1 Hallstatt Austria

Hallstatt is a small town situated on the southwestern shore of the Hallstätter Lake in the geographical region of Salzkammergut in the province of Upper Austria on the national road linking Salzburg and Graz. The town of Hallstatt only counts 782 inhabitants (census of 2015).²⁰ The region is especially famous for its beautiful alpine landscape and long history of salt extraction. Its prosperity since mediaeval times has been based on salt mining, in fact the name of the town of Hallstatt testifies to that, meaning salt (*hal*) settlement (*stat*). Humankind has inhabited the valleys between the huge mountains for over three millennia. Systematic salt production was being carried out in the region as early as the Middle Bronze Age. At that time natural brine was captured in vessels and evaporated. The underground mining for salt began at the end of the late Bronze Age and resumed in the 8th century BC when archaeological evidence shows a flourishing and

¹⁸ HKU (Hong Kong University) Press. 2015. "Original Copies. Architectural Mimicry in Contemporary China." Description and Author.

¹⁹ Meier, Allison. 2013.

²⁰ Land Oberösterreich. (Amt der Oö. Landesregierung). "Bevölkerungsstand. Kennzahlen nach Regionaler Auswahl."

highly organized Iron Age society with wide trade links across Europe that is now known as the Hallstatt Culture.²¹

Today, apart from salt production, tourism plays a major factor in the town's economy. In 1996 Hallstatt and the region of Salzkammergut with the mountain range of Dachstein-Krippenstein became part of the World Heritage List of UNESCO because of its magnificent natural landscape.²²



Figure 4: Hallstatt Austria (Source: *Double Happiness*)



Figure 5: Hallstatt Austria (Source: *Double Happiness*)

²¹ UNESCO. "Hallstatt-Dachstein/Salzkammergut Cultural Landscape." Ref: 806.

²² *ibid.*

1.2 Hallstatt see *China*

In mid-2011 China Minmetals Land Limited (the real estate branch of China's largest metals trader) began constructing a 1:1 scale copy of the Austrian Hallstatt, called *Hallstatt see*. Located in Boluo county of Huizhou, Hallstatt see is a low density, high-end residential project covering 1 million square meters²³, designed to accommodate about 6000 households.²⁴ The project is created as a self-contained community including luxury residential villas and a wide range of amenities such as shops, schools and even a hospital.²⁵ As the name already implies the design of *Hallstatt see* is largely based on the Austrian town Hallstatt, which has been described above. Hallstatt's most noteworthy landmarks were rebuilt, practically stone for stone, including the central marketplace, a four-hundred-year-old hotel and an artificial lake. The original buildings have been reproduced with startling precision and neither expenses nor efforts have been spared.²⁶

Especially controversial was the secrecy surrounding the project. For three years the Chinese company had been photographing every building and preparing detailed plans and blueprints without permission, posing as tourists. They were discovered by Monika Wenger, the owner of the hotel *Grüner Baum*, a hotel in the centre of Hallstatt. Apparently a Chinese guest that was involved in the project inadvertently revealed the secret plan by showing Wenger drawings and plans that she should have kept to herself.²⁷ Even Wenger's own hotel was amongst the images she discovered as you can see below in figures 6 and 7. Wenger herself says that what she found most offensive was that nobody had asked permission. She felt the whole affair felt like an invasion of her privacy.²⁸

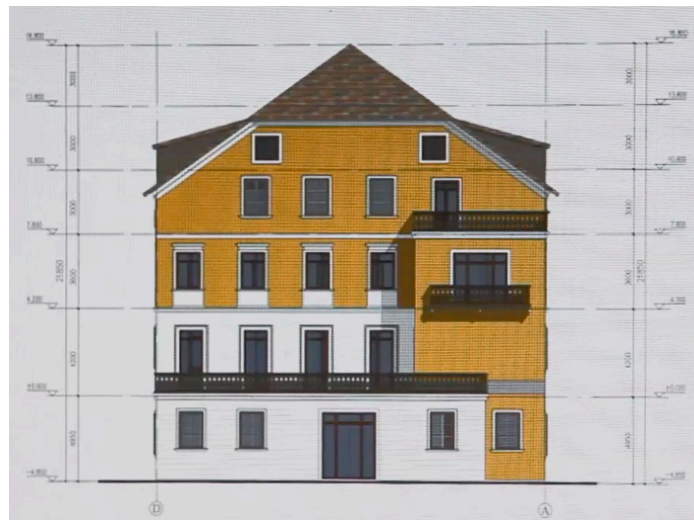


Figure 6: Plan of the hotel *Grüner Baum* made by Chinese architects for the purpose of copying the hotel (Source: *Double Happiness*)

²³ Anon. 2011. "China 'steals' Alpine village from Austria in hope to transform out-dated southern city." *DailymailUK*.

²⁴ Anon. 2015. "Drei Jahre Hallstatt in China." *Österreichischer Rundfunk*.

²⁵ Anon. 2011. "China 'steals' Alpine village from Austria in hope to transform out-dated southern city." *DailymailUK*.

²⁶ Parry, Simon. 2012. "The Alpine village of the Far East: Chinese build bizarre replica of Austrian town (only problem is, no-one wants to live there)." *DailymailUK*.

²⁷ Galileo. 2014. "Hallstatt-Kopie: China klonst österreichisches Alpen-Dorf." *YouTube*.

²⁸ Raidel, Ella. 2014. *Double Happiness*. 4'30"

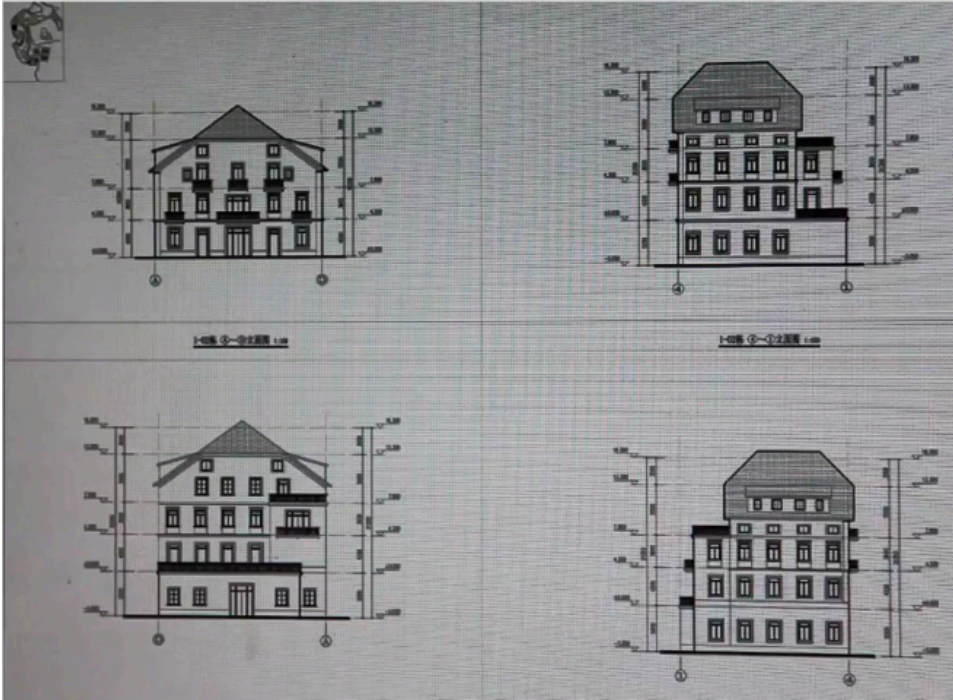


Figure 7: Detailed plan of Hallstatt buildings made by Chinese architects (Source: *Double Happiness*)



Figure 8: Moniker Wenger, owner of the hotel *Grüner Baum* holding the *Hallstatt see* folder (Source: *Double Happiness*)



Figure 9: Photograph of the *Hallstatt see* model (Source: *Double Happiness*)



Figure 10: Photograph of a street in *Hallstatt see* (Source: *Galileo*)

2. “China meets Hallstatt” - Austria as travel destination for Chinese tourists

2.1 Facts and Figures – Tourism Analysis

Austria is one of the most popular European travel destinations for Chinese people with an annual increase in Chinese tourists of 15% or more.²⁹ Why Austria one might ask? The financially extremely strong Chinese customers are mainly inspired to visit the small Alpine republic by the movie *The Sound of Music*, in which a woman leaves an Austrian convent to become a governess to the children of a Naval officer widower. The film has captured moviegoers and musical fans with its catchy tunes and lovable characters set against the stunning Austrian Alps for almost 50 years now.³⁰ According to Herbert Brugger, managing director of Salzburg³¹ tourism, 300'000 visitors come to Salzburg and Hallstatt almost exclusively because of *The Sound of Music*. It's the most successful location placement in film history. There are even organized bus tours that take the tourists around the movie's locations several times a day.³² Apart from that, the town of Hallstatt has also been featured in a South Korean television series called 'Spring Waltz',³³ which was filmed in Hallstatt and Vienna amongst other places and further added to the small towns fame and popularity throughout Asia.



Figure 11: Page from the folder to market *Hallstatt see* discovered by Monica Wenger (Source: *Double Happiness*)

²⁹ Dobrowolski, Piotr. 2014. “Gusto auf Aodili. Die Grosse Chance. Tourismus aus China.” *Aussenwirtschafts Magazin*.

³⁰ Anon. 2014b. “The worldwide craze that’s big business for Salzburg.” *Traveller*.

³¹ The distance from Salzburg to Hallstatt is about 70km.

³² Anon. 2014b. “The worldwide craze that’s big business for Salzburg.” *Traveller*.

³³ Weiermair, Christoph. 2014. “Magischer Ort: Touristen aus Asien lieben Hallstatt.” *Kurier*.



Figure 12: Motives for Austria as a Travel Destination (Source: *See List of Figures. Edited by author*)

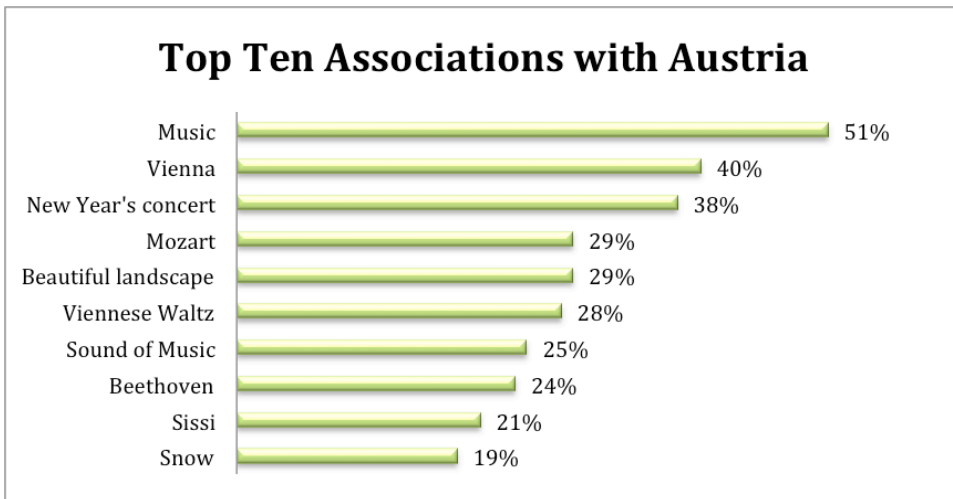


Figure 13: Top Ten Associations with Austria (Source: *See List of Figures. Edited by author*)

As can be seen in figure 12, the most important motives to visit Austria are the wish to experience a foreign culture (45%) and the wish to visit historic places and museums (39%). Apart from that, a lot of tourists show an interest in the local population and traditions (36%). Besides that, they want to see as much as possible in as little time as possible (25%). Figure 13 depicts the top ten associations with Austria where we can see again that the Sound of Music (25%) and classical Austrian music (51%) play a crucial role in bringing tourists from all over the world to Austria.

In recent years, the number of tourists from the Far East visiting Austria has exploded. While in 2009 the number of Chinese tourists spending the night in Hallstatt was 1100, this number has increased to 7800 in 2013, which means that it has been multiplied by seven.³⁴ “*In the beginning people in Hallstatt were sceptical of the Chinese replica of their town, but after a while it turned out to be a good advertising vehicle*”, says Austrian commercial attaché Oskar Andesner.³⁵ In spite of the scepticism, nowadays a lot of Chinese tourists want to see the original Hallstatt since there is a copy of it in their home country. However, there are also many Chinese tourists who don’t know that Hallstatt has been replicated in China. They come to Austria because they want to see Europe. They love the European history and at the same time are longing for the idyllic alpine scenery. Because of its unique location and its rich history the small town of Hallstatt attracts tourists like a magnet. According to Pamela Binder, director of tourism in Hallstatt, for a Chinese tourist, a visit to Hallstatt is a kind of status symbol that he can brag about once he is back in China.³⁶ This also means that the occupancy of the hotels in Hallstatt is correspondingly high and even though there is only limited space available in the small alpine town, the number of hotel beds is supposed to become even higher, according to mayor Alexander Scheutz. This is quite impressive given that the 800-inhabitant town currently already has about 900 beds for their tourists.³⁷

According to business consultancy Walter Junger & Friends a Chinese tourist spends about 200 euro per person per day while staying in Austria, which is considerably more than the average of 110 euro that tourists originating from other countries spend. The shopping sprees of Chinese tourists while traveling through Austria turn out to be above average as well. They spend 590 euro per shopping tour, which is noticeably higher than the amount the Russians (423 euro) and the generally wealthy Swiss (220 euro) will spend during their visit.³⁸ In 2013, the market volume of the Chinese tourists in Austria was 118 Million euros overall and Austria currently occupies the fifth place of all European travel destinations in China.³⁹

By now, it has become clear that the increase of tourists from Asia and especially China is extremely important for Austria’s tourism industry. This is why the ÖHV (Österreichische Hoteliereinigung) already responded to the increase in numbers by publishing a document entitled ‘*China meets Austria – Unsere Gäste aus China kennen und verstehen lernen*.’⁴⁰ The document contains useful information about China’s past and present with regard to the political and economic history of the country as well as chapters on Chinese culture, language and religion. There is also a section containing practical tips on how to ‘deal’ with Chinese customers, which explains some of the most important Do’s and Don’ts.⁴¹

However, the economy in China is not as booming as it was a couple of years ago. Therefore it has become more difficult to do business with the Chinese according to Austrian trade delegate, Raymund Gradt. “*A lot of Chinese immediately think of*

³⁴ Weiermair, Christoph. 2014. “Magischer Ort: Touristen aus Asien lieben Hallstatt.” *Kurier*.

³⁵ Dobrowolski, Piotr. 2014. “Gusto auf Aodili. Die Grosse Chance. Tourismus aus China.”

Aussenwirtschafts Magazin.

³⁶ Weiermair, Christoph. 2014.

³⁷ *ibid.*

³⁸ Dobrowolski, Piotr. 2014.

³⁹ *ibid.*

⁴⁰ ÖHV (Österreichische Hoteliereinigung) 2005. “China meets Austria – Unsere Gäste aus China kennen- und verstehen lernen.” Wien.

⁴¹ *ibid.*

‘Australia’ when they hear ‘Austria’, and if they do know the small alpine republic they think of Mozart and the Sound of Music”, Gradt stated in a local newspaper.⁴² Still, the replication of Hallstatt has put Austria on the Chinese radar and the Austrian tourism industry should make use of that. Native Austrian Gottfried Bogensperger, general manager of the Hyatt on the Bund in Shanghai, believes that Austria should focus even more on the Chinese tourists than they already do. He does not understand why Hallstatt let’s itself be overrun by the Chinese mass tourism when instead they could also focus on the 5-star tourists and for example take an entrance-fee to enter the town. “At this point, Austria stands for Mozart and Museums- this brand could be developed a lot more”, he says.⁴³

Overview of the arrivals and overnight stays in Hallstatt from 2000-2014.

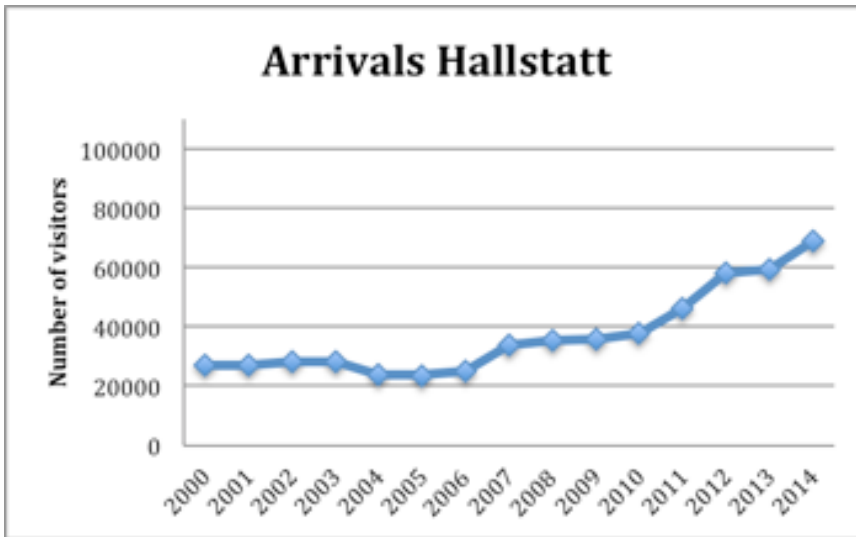


Figure 14: Arrivals Hallstatt 2000-2014 (Source: Statistics dept. office provincial government Upper Austria)



Figure 15: Overnight stays Hallstatt 2000-2014 (Source: Statistics dept. office provincial government Upper Austria)

⁴² Salomon, Martina. 2015. “Schoko und Leiterplatten für China.” *Kurier*.

⁴³ *ibid.*

Figures 14 and 15 show an overview of the arrivals and overnight stays of tourists in Hallstatt between 2000 and 2014 that was created with data provided by the statistics department of the office of the provincial government of Upper Austria (*Amt der Oberösterreichischen Landesregierung*). It is clearly visible that the number of tourists has been rising continuously for the last couple of years with no end in sight. The curve is rising especially steep since 2011, which is likely caused by the fact that 2011 was the year that people in Hallstatt and the press found out about the Chinese company replicating their town. This attracted worldwide media attention for the small alpine town and plausibly led to a vast increase in tourists.

Herkunft der Sommergäste in Hallstatt 2013*

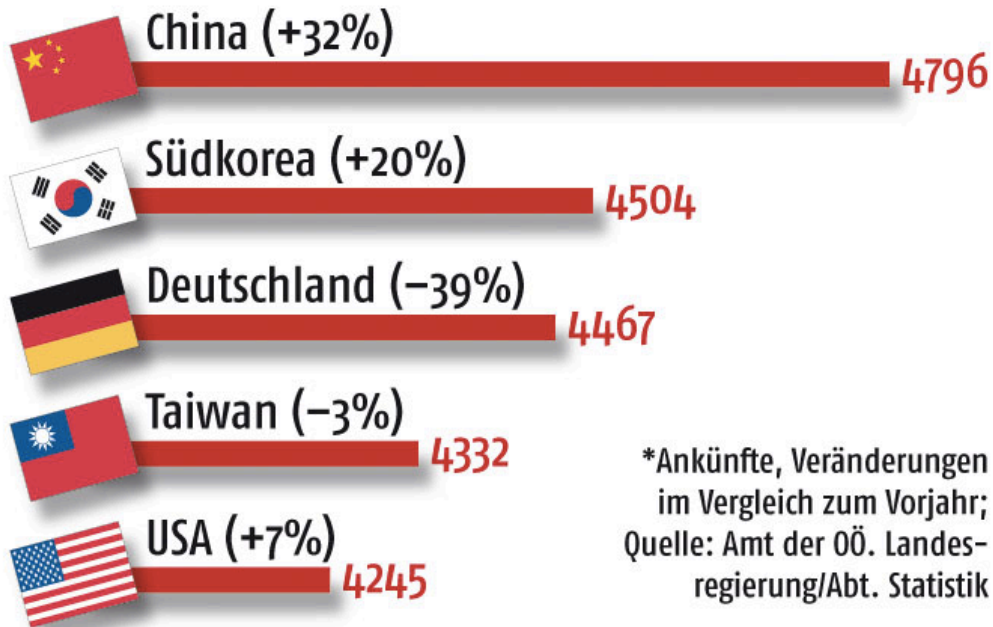


Figure 16: Origin of the summer tourists in Hallstatt 2013*
*Changes in arrivals in 2013 compared to 2012 (Source: Trend.at)

Figure 16 indicates that in the summer of 2013, for the first time there were more tourists from China than from Germany visiting Hallstatt, which is remarkable given the fact that Germany had been leading this list for years. Furthermore, the chart shows that tourists from other Asian countries, namely South Korea and Taiwan, are also represented in high numbers.

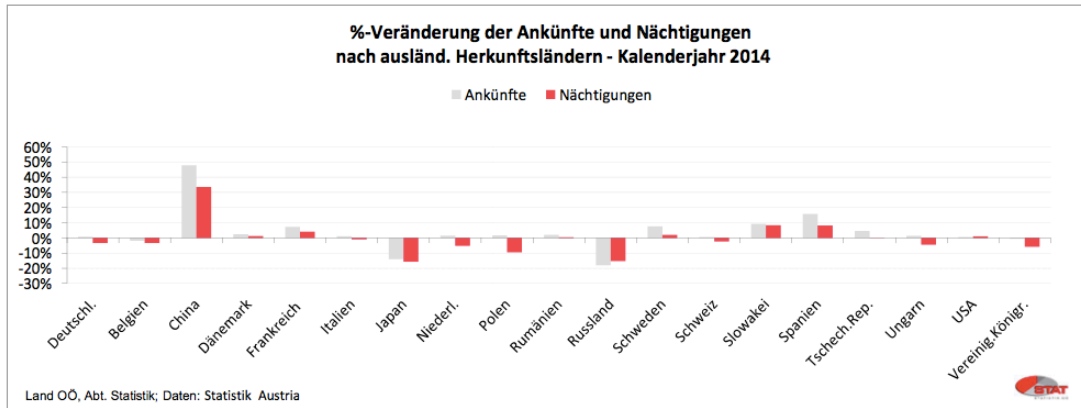


Figure 17: Change of arrivals and overnight stays in Upper Austria on a percentage basis organized by countries of origin (Source: *Statistics dept. office provincial government Upper Austria*)

In figure 16 we saw that in 2013 there were 32% more Chinese tourists visiting Hallstatt than in 2012. Figure 17 shows the continuation of this trend. In 2014 there were 47,9% more arrivals from China in Upper Austria than in 2013 and also 33,6% more Chinese tourists that stayed overnight.

Café-owner Markus-Paul Derbl is also pleased about the rising number of Asian tourists. He owns two cafés and a souvenir shop located on the famous market square. He has been in business since 1990 and knows the numbers: “*The average tourist from Asia spends about 16 euros per visit at Café Derbl, which is almost twice of what German tourists usually spend.*”⁴⁴ Shop owners are busy adapting to the needs of the Asian clientele. Hallstatt local Claudian Höll for example started a clever business called ‘Dirndl to go’. For 22 euros per hour tourists can rent a ‘dirndl’, which is a type of traditional costume worn in Austria and Bavaria (Southern Germany) and get their picture taken in front of the most beautiful hotspots of Hallstatt.⁴⁵



Figure 18: Dirndl to go advertisement (Source: *Dirndl to go Facebookpage*)

All of the above has shown that within a couple of years Hallstatt has become one of the favourite travel destinations for tourists from Asia. The small town of Hallstatt has recognized this as an enormous opportunity for the development of the local tourism industry and is busy adapting to the needs of the new clientele.

⁴⁴ Ecker, Bernhard. 2014. “Asiaten entdecken Hallstatt: Du lieber Schwan.” *Trend.At.*

⁴⁵ *ibid.*

2.2 Questionnaire: “Replicated town – Hallstatt copied in China”

To provide insights on how residents from Hallstatt and surroundings as well as visitors feel about the fact that the town has been copied in China, I sent out a self created questionnaire,⁴⁶ which was consequently filled out by 40 people over a period of two months. I used email and social media, Facebook in particular, to get in touch with the target audience. Apart from that I also got in contact with the mayor of Hallstatt, mr. Alexander Scheutz, and some local associations, hotels and local hotspots.

The main goals of the questionnaire were to find out how Hallstatt area residents and visitors feel and think about the copying of Hallstatt and the consequences for the residents in terms of tourism and quality of life. Regarding the consequences, I asked what kind of possible repercussions the copy could bring, either positive or negative. Next to that, I wanted to gain insights in their ideas of copying architecture in general and the extent to which it is possible to create a complete replica that does justice to the original. Finally, I wanted to know from residents and visitors whether or not they believe that replicating another town should be prohibited by law. I included this question because when the copy project was firstly discovered in Austria, it raised a debate on the legality of copying a whole town. According to Hans-Jörg Kaiser from Icomos Austria, the International Council on Monuments and Sites, a subsidiary organization of UNESCO, *“it is legal to photograph buildings and to replicate them accordingly. Everything that is outside is open to the public, the approval of the owner is only needed for the measuring and surveying of land.”*⁴⁷ With regard to the case of Hallstatt the situation is a bit tricky, given that houses and streets were actually measured without consent so it will be interesting to see how the residents feel about all this.

Evaluation Questionnaire

The online questionnaire consisted of 13 questions. It was a mixture of open and closed questions. The inquiries were conducted amongst residents and visitors of all ages and both sexes. The largest group of respondents was between 18 and 24 years old (44%), followed by the age group of 25-34 (23%) and 45-54 (18%). Most of the respondents were female (66%); the remaining 34% were male. Half of the respondents first heard about the replication from fellow inhabitants of Hallstatt. The remaining respondents either read about it in newspapers or learned about it on television. Finally, a small part found out through the Internet. Almost half of the respondents (43%) live in Hallstatt, the other half (46%) lives in towns nearby, works or attends school in Hallstatt. The remaining respondents (11%) live elsewhere and indicated to have visited the town.

The results show that more than half of all respondents (55%) reacted negative to the Chinese copy project at first. Almost one third (25%) claimed to have had a positive reaction. The remaining respondents either had no reaction or skipped the question. Regarding respondents’ feelings concerning the Chinese replica of Hallstatt, almost 70% felt astonished when they first heard about the copy. Results showed that 12% of the respondents claim to have been angry and only 4% felt flattered, the last few had no opinion. To the question whether or not it is even remotely possible to copy a town like Hallstatt true to scale the majority of the respondents (84%) answered with

⁴⁶ See translated questionnaire in Appendix.

⁴⁷ Anon. 2011a. “Heimlicher Nachbau: Dorf Plagiat in China verblüfft Österreicher.” *Spiegel Online*.

‘no’. A lot of respondents elaborated on their answer to this question. Most of them are of the opinion that the town of Hallstatt is unique and claimed that it is therefore not possible to build an exact replica. One respondent explicitly added that every town is unique, which is why no town can ever exactly be copied. Others stated that the town of Hallstatt is one of a kind because of its rich history, culture and charming surroundings and thus can definitely not be replicated. These results show that a great majority of the respondents is convinced that copying a whole town cannot be done in a way that it does justice to the original. The answers are also in accordance with what the newspapers described about the overall reaction of the residents.⁴⁸

The next question concerned whether the replica could have any positive consequences for the original Hallstatt according to the respondents. The majority (70%) answered this question with ‘yes’; the remaining respondents (30%) said ‘no’. People listed as positive consequences that the Chinese copy could possibly be seen as good marketing for the real Hallstatt (more media exposure) and attract even more tourists than it already does. This supports my earlier hypothesis that the Chinese copy could function as a tourism engine. However, some respondents also indicated that they hope that there will be fewer tourists from Asia now that there is a copy of Hallstatt in China. These answers are especially interesting with regard to the next question where people were asked if they thought that the Chinese copy of Hallstatt could have any negative consequences for the Austrian Hallstatt. This insinuates a contradiction, because more than half of the respondents (65%) gave ‘yes’ as an answer; the rest (35%) chose ‘no’. When asked to elaborate on their answers people interestingly enough stated some of the same reasons than before, more tourists for example, but this time as negative consequences. People stated to be afraid that the arrival of even more tourists could overcrowd the place to uncomfortable extents and thus have a negative impact on the environment of the small town of Hallstatt. Furthermore, respondents also indicated to be afraid to lose the little privacy they have left, if the interest in Hallstatt continues to grow at the current exponential rate. In conclusion, there are consequences on two levels: on an economic level and on a quality of life level. The results on both levels do not necessarily coincide. They namely demonstrate that economically, overall the copy project is perceived in a positive way. But on a quality of life level, in general people are less satisfied. So even though the project has been good for the stimulation of tourism the residents are not equally satisfied with the consequences in regard to their privacy.

Subsequently, people were asked if they thought that the Chinese copy town could possibly keep tourists (especially from Asia) from coming to Austria to see the original Hallstatt. As indicated earlier, some of the respondents claim to already be hoping for fewer tourists from Asia. However, most respondents (78%) don’t think that fewer will come to visit the original town. In fact, they indicated to believe that the tourists that visit the copy of Hallstatt in China would also want to come to see the original to compare the two. Apart from that, some respondents also claimed that for most tourists from Asia, the Hallstatt-visit is part of a round-trip through Austria and Hallstatt will therefore not be excluded just because now there is a copy of it in China. These answers show that the residents believe that the number of tourists will stay high for two main reasons: both planned visits, as well as visits by accident that are part of a round trip.

The next question was about whether or not the respondents believe that copying a town should be prohibited by law. The majority of the respondents (73%)

⁴⁸ Anon. 2011a. “Heimlicher Nachbau: Dorf Plagiat in China verblüfft Österreicher.” *Spiegel Online*.

answered this question with 'no'; the rest (27%) believes that there should be a copyright on towns. Interestingly enough, the people that answered the question with 'no' did not elaborate on their reasons here fore. In my eyes they wanted to make a firm statement and probably thought that it was not necessary to further explain their answers. The 'yes'-group however listed various reasons to underline their answers. Most people that answered yes legitimated their answer by saying that because there are copyrights on a lot of things (like books and music but also intellectual property) they should also exist for towns. One respondent claimed to be afraid that if more will start to copy towns, there could be too many duplicated places in the world at some point. Finally, another respondent stated to believe that although it might seem as if there was no harm in replicating a town, it is still possible that the original loses some of its value in the process. This is a very interesting point, which will be discussed in the next chapter of this thesis during the academic debate when I will be introducing the German philosopher Walter Benjamin and elaborate on heritage as a commodity. I think it's remarkable that the big majority doesn't mind that there is no legal protection for the copying of a town, whereas also more than half of the respondents indicated earlier that copying leads to negative consequences for the town and its inhabitants. So even though they experience negative consequences for the environment and their privacy, they don't see the necessity to introduce a copyright on towns.

The following question inquired the respondents' thoughts about whether or not Austria should also start to import architecture from the Peoples Republic of China. Almost all of the respondents (97%) answered this question with 'no'. When they were asked to elaborate on their answers most of them indicated that Chinese architecture would have no place in Austria because it concerns an entirely different culture. They also stated that creativity has more value than imitation and that there is no reason to import Chinese architecture to a country like Austria. According to the respondents, it would naturally be fine to use Chinese or Asian influences in general when designing new buildings, but there is no point in copying. The respondents further stated to be very proud of their architecture and to mix that with Chinese architecture would destroy the aesthetics of a town like Hallstatt. It is very noteworthy that almost none of the respondents seem to want imported architecture in Austria, whereas in China there must be a demand for this since it has been done repeatedly. I will be further elaborating on this in the section about copied architecture.

In the last question, the respondents were asked if they agree with the three following statements. They were able to choose between 'yes', 'no', or 'no opinion'. Firstly: *"Because of Hallstatt's increased presence in the media, more tourists will come to visit the town"*. The vast majority (81%) of the respondents agreed with this statement. The remaining respondents either stated 'no' (13%) or had no opinion (6%) on the topic. Secondly: *"The original Hallstatt has lost some of its value because it is not completely unique any longer"*. Here the vast majority of the respondents (87,5%) disagreed, the remaining few (12,5%) agreed with the statement. And lastly: *"A copy can retain the essence of the original. It is an expression of appreciation of the model as well as a sign of mastery in technological and cultural terms"*. Almost half of the respondents (44%) agreed with this statement, more than a third (40%) did disagree and the rest (16%) stated to have no opinion. The answers on the first statement demonstrate once again that most residents and visitors agree about the fact that the number of tourists will be increasing which is consistent with their answers to the earlier questions. I chose to inquire on the second statement because I also deal with this subject of 'copied heritage' and 'heritage as a commodity' during my academic debate. I therefore wanted to find out what the

opinion of the average resident on this subject was so I could incorporate it later on in my academic debate next to the opinions of scholars. The last statement was included for the same purpose. The answers to this statement show that the residents do not think about 'copies' in a unified way. In my eyes this could mean that even though in theory it often seems like the West has a more rigid view when it comes to copyright in the practice people might not think that negatively about it after all. In section 3.2 I will introduce the history of copying in China and the meanings associated with it to further elaborate on this.

Conclusion

With regard to my hypotheses, the answers of the respondents are not especially surprising and overall in agreement with my initial expectations. The results show various substantial and diverse answers, which indicate that the whole Hallstatt copy affair is still quite controversial and has led to divided opinions.

Research focus

The aim of this questionnaire was to gain more insights in how residents of the Hallstatt area have reacted to the Chinese copy town and what their opinions and feelings are in this regard. Even though the case has been covered extensively in the media. For instance mayor Alexander Scheutz has been interviewed many times, as well as people working in the tourism industry and hotel owners. This provided interesting insights but the personal opinions of the average resident or visitor were missing so far and it is these opinions that are indispensable for a more complete and comprehensive overview of the subject. Therefore these views and feelings were the focus of my empirical research. By average resident or visitor I mean don't mean influential people in local government or tourism, but people of all backgrounds and ages that live, work or go to school in the Hallstatt area as well as people that have visited Hallstatt.

Limitations and future research

Firstly, the town of Hallstatt is fairly small (782 inhabitants), which made it relatively difficult to reach potential respondents for this questionnaire. Secondly, the ways of reaching out to the potential respondents are limited given the fact that the average age of the residents of Hallstatt is 47. It is plausible that the residents are relatively difficult to reach through social media, which were my targeted contact canals. A final complicating factor is the sensitive and already overly discussed topic in itself: many do not want to talk about it anymore (oversaturation). Much attention has already been given to the topic. As a consequence, invasion of privacy of the residents' lives might have reached its limits, which complicates research. However, in my opinion, further research with regard to the tourism industry of the town (considering that the number of tourists continues to grow) is necessary to find out whether or not the small town of Hallstatt will be able to accommodate the rising number of tourists in the future without having to suffer from too many negative impacts on their environment and society.

3. Academic debate

3.1 Manufactured Heritage - Heritage as a commodity

One of my research goals was to find out how the residents of Austrian Hallstatt have reacted to the fact that a Chinese company secretly copied their town. In my eyes, in order to better understand the reactions of the residents it is fundamental to examine how Hallstatt has been recreated in the context of Chinese society and what meaning and function have been given to the replica. This will ensure that the whole phenomenon and its implications can be fully understood.

In his essay 'The Work of Art in the Age of Mechanical Reproduction' from 1936, the German philosopher and cultural critic Walter Benjamin proposed the term 'aura', which originally referred to the unique value of a work of art. According to Benjamin, "*technical reproduction is not a modern phenomenon, yet modern methods allow for greater accuracy across mass production. Even the most perfect reproduction of a work of art is lacking in one element: its presence in time and space, its unique existence where it happens to be*".⁴⁹ He further argues that the "*sphere of authenticity is outside the technical*".⁵⁰ The original artwork is independent of the copy, yet through the act of reproduction something is taken from the original by changing its context. Benjamin introduces the idea of the 'aura' of a work and its absence in a reproduction. He criticizes that the mechanical reproduction of the work of art destroys its aura and therefore he believes that the aura can't be recreated.⁵¹ So what does this mean in the context of the Chinese copy town of Hallstatt? In the line of Walter Benjamin's thinking, this would implicate that the aura of a UNESCO World Heritage Site such as Hallstatt can't possibly be recreated by Chinese architects. Does this mean that heritage can't be manufactured at all? To answer this question I studied papers on the topic written by scholars of the field to examine the concept of manufactured heritage and its consumption. To connect my academic debate to my empirical research I also incorporated this topic into my questionnaire. My aim was to find out if the residents believe that something has been taken from them now that Hallstatt has been copied in China. As stated earlier during the discussion of my empirical research results, the vast majority of the residents do not feel as if something has been taken from them. According to them Hallstatt is completely unique and can therefore not be copied. They stated that they are part of a community which makes Hallstatt what it is. So even if the Chinese company would have managed to create a fully complete replica on an architectural level - which according to visitors is not the case, given that you usually don't see tropical plants like palm trees and British-style phone booths in an Austrian town⁵² - still, the residents believe that it would not be possible to capture the atmosphere of the original Hallstatt. Linking these results to the academic debate this supports Benjamin's theory in my opinion.

⁴⁹ Benjamin, Walter. 1935. "The Work of Art in the Age of Mechanical Reproduction." In *Illuminations: Essays and Reflections* (1969), p.220.

⁵⁰ *ibid.*

⁵¹ Benjamin, Walter. 1935, p.223.

⁵² Böck, Hanno. 2013. "Hallstatt in China." *Hanno's blog*.



Figure 19: British-style fake phone booth in Hallstatt see (Source: Reuters)

The twentieth history century has been the century of travel and tourism. Travel around the world has risen to unprecedented levels and global travel has encouraged this phenomenal growth of the tourism industry. For many parts of the world tourist development may seem to offer the only hope of surviving in the global era. Cultural heritage attractions offer income-producing opportunities to some of the poorest communities in the world. At the same time, mass tourism often inflames local and international passions that cause people to destroy traditional places and historic sites. In the presence of such trends, at a time when standardized products and services are marketed worldwide, there seems to be an increasing demand for built environments that promise special cultural experiences so many nations invest in the preservation of heritage, the invention of tradition, and the rewriting of history as forms of self-definition.⁵³

It is well known that tourists often buy souvenirs while on holiday so one could say that certain heritage can easily be (re)produced in the form of souvenirs. However, the mass reproduction of heritage in the form of architectural replicas that can be found in increasing amounts throughout China differs significantly from that, and is therefore something very noteworthy. Nevertheless, without the implication of the meaning of heritage⁵⁴ these newly built replicas are mainly real estate investments with the aim of becoming major tourism sites in China often surrounded by big residential areas for the rising middle and upper class in China. And although the Chinese versions of Western towns might look like exact copies of the original at first sight, they still have been transformed on the inside to meet the expectations of Chinese visitors to stimulate their

⁵³ AlSayyad, Nezar. 2001. "Global Norms and Urban Forms in the Age of Tourism: Manufacturing Heritage, Consuming Tradition", p.2.

⁵⁴ According to Oxford dictionary: 1. Property that is or may be inherited; an inheritance. 1.1 Valued objects and qualities such as historic buildings and cultural traditions that have been passed down from previous generations. 1.2 Denoting or relating to things of special architectural, historical or natural value that are preserved for the nation.

desire to live there.⁵⁵ This will be further elaborated in the chapter about the duplitecture trend.

The meaning of heritage is a changing process with various agents involved. The book *Consuming Tradition, Manufacturing Heritage: Global Norms and Urban Forms in the Age of tourism*, edited by Nezar AlSayyad, covers the four major themes that are involved in this process: manufacturing, consumption, heritage and tradition. The word 'heritage' derives from the Old French *eritage*, meaning property, which devolves by right of inheritance in a process involving a series of linked hereditary successions.⁵⁶ Pinning down the meaning of terms like this one however is quite difficult because they are often caught up in large cultural debates. Nezar AlSayyad demonstrates how heritage can be manufactured for consumption. He proposes three types of physical heritage environments that most commonly present 'tradition' in a tourism context. The first type he describes is a dream landscape, where images and structures are manipulated to create a specific experience (Disney is cited as an example in this case).⁵⁷ The second type is the actual location of an historic event that has been marginalized to become a tourism attraction. In this case nostalgia is being used to attract tourists and to reinforce national identity (Colonial Williamsburg is cited as an example in this case).⁵⁸ The third type of landscape that is described includes sites where commercial profit is dominant over history. In this case of constructed heritage, the reality of history is secondary to the potential commercial profit (Las Vegas is cited as an example in this case). In addition, AlSayyad points out that Las Vegas doesn't even pretend to be authentic. It "*presents an outrightly manufactured heritage, based on the concept of copying the traditional forms of everywhere for the consumption of everyone*".⁵⁹ This reflects that in the capitalist era, heritage can be manufactured as a commodity to be reproduced and purchased beyond national boundaries. AlSayyad further argues that "*all heritage is socially manufactured, and that all traditions have the potential to be consumed*".⁶⁰ He furthermore notes that global tourism is growing at a rate of 4% per year, and that the tourism industry might be the only hope for the development of countries marginalized by industrialization and the information age. Therefore it seems that the outright manufacture of heritage coupled with the active consumption of tradition in the built environment will be the new norm as tourism.⁶¹ Linking AlSayyad's research to my case study, the most fitting connection would be a mixture of the first and the third type of landscape. Namely, a specific experience is created where the potential commercial profit predominates. Apart from the replication of the relatively small historical centre of Hallstatt, the copy mainly exists of residential villas aimed at the Chinese middle and upper class. However, unlike Las Vegas, Hallstatt see does try to sell the 'Authentic Austrian Experience' and it seems like visitors and potential buyers are sensitive to this. In the documentary *Double Happiness* most of the Chinese people that were interviewed visiting Hallstatt see indicated that they felt like being in Austria. They also said that everything felt 'real' to them, even though most of them do not have a frame of reference. This is also supported by the commercials designed to sell Hallstatt see that were shown in the documentary.⁶²

⁵⁵ Bliss, Laura. 2015. "Copycat Architecture is still Booming in China." *The Atlantic Citylab*.

⁵⁶ AlSayyad, Nezar. 2001, p.3.

⁵⁷ AlSayyad, Nezar. 2001, p.9-10.

⁵⁸ *ibid.*

⁵⁹ *ibid.*

⁶⁰ AlSayyad, Nezar. 2001, p.14.

⁶¹ AlSayyad, Nezar. 2001, p.1-2.

⁶² Raidel, Ella. 2014. *Double Happiness*. Austria & China, 75min.

3.2 Traditions and History of Copying China

*“China has never viewed intellectual property the way we do it in the West.”*⁶³ What struck me when I read this quote is that it seems as though in China copying is seen differently than in Europe or America. Since copying seems to be rooted deeply in Chinese culture, the goal of this section is to understand its role in China. The question to be asked here is why intellectual property rights, in particular copyright, have never really taken hold in China and to examine today’s situation. With the aim of raising the discourse on the tradition of copying in China I want to provide some valuable insights on the topic. In order to genuinely understand the Chinese viewpoint it is crucial to shed the Western thinking about intellectual property.

While in the West one might quickly call the Chinese copycatting ‘plagiarism’⁶⁴, in China it is more thought of as allusion or ‘acceptable borrowing’.⁶⁵ However, the point where allusion ends and plagiarism begins can be difficult to determine in both East and West, which is why I want to try to shed a more positive light on the subject, which in the West is generally perceived as something quite negative. Both the People’s Republic of China (PRC) and the Republic of China (ROC) have made major efforts in recent years to bring their copyright and other intellectual property laws into closer conformity with the expectations of the U.S. government. The reason for this was the U.S. government’s threat of imposing hundreds of millions of dollars in trade sanctions on each of them, in response to what Washington termed their ‘cavalier attitudes’ toward such American property.⁶⁶ Despite all this the protection of intellectual property is still more rhetoric than reality on the Chinese mainland, and the problem persists across the Taiwan straits.⁶⁷ A few years ago I came across the Chinese proverb *“To steal a book is an elegant offence.”*⁶⁸ The proverb in Chinese reads 窃书不算偷 (qie shu bu suan tou), and is derived from a short story by Lu Xun from 1919. It literally means ‘to steal a book is not considered theft’.⁶⁹ The proverb was originally intended by the great early-modernist writer Lu Xun as a satire on the moribund authority of classical Chinese literary traditions. In his book *To Steal a Book is an Elegant Offense* William P. Alford complements the discussed proverb with a quote by Confucius: *“The Master [Confucius] said: I transmit rather than create; I believe in and love the Ancients.”*⁷⁰

“Only if we have some understanding of why in Chinese civilization it has been an elegant offence to steal a book will China and its foreign friends know how in the future to discern and protect one another’s legitimate interests.”

William Alford⁷¹

⁶³ Stone, Charles .R. 2008. “What plagiarism was not: Some preliminary observations on classical Chinese attitudes toward what the West calls intellectual property”, p.199.

⁶⁴ By plagiarism I mean the misappropriation of another’s work without attribution.

⁶⁵ Stone, Charles R. 2008, p.202-203.

⁶⁶ Alford, William P. 1995. *To Steal a Book Is an Elegant Offense: Intellectual Property Law in Chinese Civilization*, p.1.

⁶⁷ Alford, William P. 1995, p.1.

⁶⁸ Alford, William P. 1995, p.1.

⁶⁹ Lu, Xun. 1919. *Kong Yiji*.

⁷⁰ Alford, William P. 1995, p.9.

⁷¹ Alford, William P. 1995, p.123.

William Alford, scholar of Chinese law and legal history, challenges the received wisdom that copyright emerged with the invention of printing. According to him, the introduction of printing in China did not give rise to something similar to the Western-style concept of copyright. To make his case he advances four broad propositions. The first one is that there is no counterpart to our Western concept of intellectual property in Chinese culture. His second proposition suggests that attempts to introduce European and American intellectual property law in China at the turn of this century failed, because the West failed to consider the relevance of such models for China. Even more so, they presumed that foreign pressure would suffice to prompt ready adoption and adherence of such laws. Thirdly, attempts to reconcile Chinese intellectual property law with the West have been unsuccessful because of the failure to address differences in legal systems. The fourth and final proposition is that American policy regarding intellectual property law has been based on fundamental misconceptions about the nature of legal development. Therefore, despite bilateral agreements reached between China and the U.S., problems are bound to continue.⁷²

Part of the reason why imperial China did not develop a counterpart to intellectual property laws of the West is due to the character of Chinese political culture. Alford states that if we want to understand the view on intellectual property in Chinese culture, we will have to look back over a millennium to the appearance of printing in China during the Tang Dynasty (618-906 A.D.).⁷³ The Chinese governments attitude towards intellectual property during that time is actually strikingly similar in origin to that of the Anglo-American legal system. In the West, state control of printing was used to suppress and regulate dissident thought. This control of what could be printed and what not, eventually turned into our modern concept of copyright. Alford points out that in China there were also various attempts to regulate printing. So this first version of 'copyright law' served governments to further their own goals. The Chinese government was seen as being a fiduciary to the people. In that capacity the ruler, who was seen the parent of the Chinese society, had an obligation to provide spiritual and physical well-being to the populace. This is why the main purpose of copyright law was the entrenchment of the monarchy by reviewing prepublications of printed material to 'protect' the people.⁷⁴ So in China and the West a first version of copyright law was introduced because of the states' control of printing to control thought, we need to ask ourselves why the situation today is so different. Linking state interest to the protection of what we today call 'intellectual property', and limiting the unauthorized copying of books, was thus not at all prompted by the belief that writings were the property of their authors. It was a way of fending off the publishing of heterodox materials.⁷⁵

However, this paradigm witnessed a shift in the West in the 17th and 18th centuries that had no counterpart in Chinese history.⁷⁶ What started out as state control of thought in the West, transformed into property rights for authors of their works. Copyright law became a tool for Western governments to promote research and development by rewarding authors and inventors with monopolies. The British throne for example awarded patents to foreigners who introduced new products to the British Isles, even if those persons did not invent the product or process themselves.⁷⁷ Authors and

⁷² Alford, William P. 1995, p.2-3.

⁷³ Alford, William P. 1995, p.9.

⁷⁴ Alford, William P. 1995, p.20.

⁷⁵ Alford, William P. 1995, p.13-14.

⁷⁶ Alford, William P. 1995, p.18.

⁷⁷ *ibid.*

inventors came to have property interests in their creations that could be defended against the state. This ensured that in the West control over 'creations' became interwoven with private property law, whereas a similar shift in paradigm never occurred in China.⁷⁸ The capitalistic drive that pushed forward intellectual property reforms in the West could not be brought into accordance with Confucian disdain for the profit motive. Confucian thinking also emphasizes that individuals should not claim for themselves what they have discovered. They should not insist on individualistic monopoly, but rather use their creative talents for the benefits of others.⁷⁹

It was not until the 20th century that the Chinese government began to introduce measures that recognized rights to intellectual property. This was partly motivated by the desire to protect their own products and inventions but also because of pressure applied to them by European states, the U.S. and Japan.⁸⁰ So although China is generally considered the biggest international pirate of intellectual property rights and has the biggest market in fake products, it now tops the world in terms of patent applications.⁸¹ A recent report by the research firm *Thomas Reuters*, called 'China's IQ (Innovation Quotient)',⁸² declares that China is supposedly leading the world in terms of innovation. The report highlights the astonishing increase in patents filed in the country.⁸³ According to this report in 2010 Chinese firms filed roughly the same number of applications for 'invention' patents as their counterparts in Japan and the U.S., and by 2013 the Chinese figure had nearly doubled even though the rates of the other two countries remained steady. However, it is important to note that the explosion of patent filings is not the result of researchers suddenly coming up with twice as many ingenious inventions but rather the response to a government order.⁸⁴ The increased attention to intellectual property rights is part of the Chinese government's strategy to shed its image as a stealer of technologies and designs.

All this shows that China has a long history of copying and a certain desire to replicate the West in order to become a first-world country.⁸⁵ With regard to copy towns like Hallstatt see it is quite complicated to say whether this is a positive or a negative thing. Only the future can tell if this replicating will be a lasting trend given the fact that a lot of the replicated residential themed communities are still more or less empty (further information §3.3).⁸⁶ But what about the towns being replicated? As stated earlier in this research, I wanted to find out whether or not the residents and visitors of the Hallstatt area believe that copying a town should be prohibited by law. Their answers showed that the vast majority doesn't see the necessity to introduce a copyright on towns that legally forbids the replicating. This clearly shows that most of the Hallstatt residents don't mind that there is no legal protection that can prevent the copying of a whole town. Apart from the preference, I believe that introducing a copyright on towns and cities would be next to impossible, because towns and cities are ever-growing organic entities for which clear

⁷⁸ Alford, William P. 1995, p.19.

⁷⁹ Alford, William P. 1995, p.29.

⁸⁰ McCormack, Gavan. 1999. "To Steal a Book Is an Elegant Offense: Intellectual Property Law in Chinese Civilization" (Book review), p.109.

⁸¹ Saito, Tokuhiko. 2015. "China shaking pirate image, becoming 'intellectual property powerhouse'." *The Asahi Shimbun*.

⁸² Gaze, Laura. 2014. "China's IQ (Innovation Quotient)." *Thomson Reuters*.

⁸³ Anon. 2014a. "Patent Fiction. Intellectual Property in China." *The Economist*.

⁸⁴ *ibid*.

⁸⁵ O'Hanlon, Ryan. 2013. "Why is China stealing cities, towns, and buildings?" *Pacific Standard*.

⁸⁶ *ibid*.

and delineated definition is difficult. However, this doesn't mean that there are no intellectual property rights at play at all in cases like Hallstatt. Since it concerns exact replication of certain buildings without asking permission, it makes it seem like the Chinese architects are stealing in some way. This is a quite hotly debated topic. The artists Phil Thompson and Sebastian Acker travelled to China to investigate the recent phenomenon of Chinese copy towns. The Chinese copy of Hallstatt sparked their interest on the topic and so they decided to create a project about copied architecture.⁸⁷ They ended up visiting a lot of copy towns and documented their journey on their research blog.⁸⁸ It turned out that all the copy towns that they visited were replicas of buildings of towns that are far too old to still be protected under Western intellectual property law. However, there are some features that the Chinese were not able to copy because they are still protected under IP, such as the lighting system on the Eiffel Tower.⁸⁹ In the end it is difficult to label the copycatting as something good or something bad. While judging the whole phenomenon it is important to think outside of our own cultural views on reproduction and take into account the background and reasons for the copying.

3.3 Architectural Mimicry and the 'Duplitecture' trend in China

When looking at Chinese cities, most people immediately think of tall buildings and skyscrapers are the Western-style suburbs of China's megalopolises that have been rising up all over China for the last two decades. This type of architecture doesn't seem to be innovative or creative but can only be described as imitative and backward looking.⁹⁰ I will further elaborate on this aspect in the course of this chapter.

The 'authentic' and the 'fake' are categories that stand in sharp contrast to one another in philosophically and culturally complex ways.⁹¹ In her book *Original copies: Architectural mimicry in Contemporary China*, the first thorough account of China's copycat culture, Bianca Bosker introduces this emerging Chinese 'duplitecture' trend, the copying of architecture, which includes the construction of monumental themed communities that replicate towns and cities in the West. Bosker explores the ways in which these replicated cities and landmarks are shaping China's culture. This remarkable phenomenon in which entire townships seem to have been airlifted from their historical and geographic foundations in Europe and America and moved on to Chinese ground is extremely interesting and worth researching because these 'theme park'-like residential communities have received little critical attention outside of the documentation and description of their physical appearance and economic implications.⁹² The initial development of life-sized themed enclaves started in the early 1990's emerging as one of China's most popular and perplexing architectural trend. This special breed of architecture started out in China's Southern special economic zones that restored private control over land-use, established housing as a free-market commodity and opened the nation to foreign investment.⁹³ Considering the scope and costs of these projects and the

⁸⁷ Acker, Sebastian and Thompson, Phil. Chinese Copy Towns. Indiegogo Campaign.

⁸⁸ Acker, Sebastian and Thompson, Phil. Project Hallstatt.

⁸⁹ O'Hanlon, Ryan. 2013.

⁹⁰ Bosker, Bianca. 2013, p.1.

⁹¹ Bosker, Bianca. 2013, p.20.

⁹² Bosker, Bianca. 2013, p.13.

⁹³ Bosker, Bianca. 2013, p.4.

impact that they have on the ever-growing number of Chinese it is valuable to deconstruct what is one the most mass-based architectural phenomenon of the present.⁹⁴

The whole copycat subject certainly provokes discussions and raises many questions. Is there possibly a lack of creativity among Chinese architects, which leads them to mimic Western architecture? According to Bosker, questions like these really miss the point. She states that the copycatted buildings offer insights into the rather complicated aspirations of the rising Chinese middle class.⁹⁵ Because ultimately, the copycat constructions are not meant to be some new kind of theme park, even if that's what they look like at first sight. Instead, they are supposed to become thriving communities that are supposed to give wealthy Chinese families the chance to live and experience a 'pseudo-Western' lifestyle.⁹⁶

The Western-style structures that are found in the extensive themed communities in China replicate identifiable Western prototypes. The Chinese agenda of replicating and copycatting behind all this can be described as all encompassing as it goes way beyond architecture and construction techniques. The goal is not just to replicate the superficial appearance but also to copy the 'feel' of the atmosphere in questions. In Shanghai's Thames Towns for instance you will find cobblestone roads, meandering paths and low-density brick buildings, very atypical for China. The security guards wear the red uniforms of Buckingham Palace guards and Western pubs and cafés outnumber the Chinese eateries. The marketers of these special communities advertise a lifestyle associated with 'courtly living' in the 'land of aristocracy'.⁹⁷ This leads to a kind of urban theatre that coaxes the residents into constructing a new Chinese identity, which leads to the following dilemma. China has emerged from several decades of strict communist rule that sought to eliminate socio-economic classes altogether. However, by mimicking a romanticised Western past it appears that now China starts to embrace styles and symbols from periods in European history when class distinctions were institutionalized the most.⁹⁸ Overall, in Western thinking, all this might be perceived as some form of self-colonization or 'worship of the West', but to the Chinese it is actually an assertion of China's supremacy. The themed communities are perceived as monuments to the nation's wealth and technological prowess. They also show China's phenomenal ability to catch up to and surpass the West and to establish itself as a First World Power.⁹⁹ Also, many Chinese 'mimic architects' actually believe that they will develop mastery, and eventually even better ideas through this form of rote learning. Those architects may be replicating now but all the copying could give away to creativity somewhere down the line.¹⁰⁰ As a resident of Shanghai's Thames towns told noted: "*The hardware may be English, but the software is all Chinese.*"¹⁰¹

It is important to be aware of the fact that China is certainly not the only country in the world that recreates foreign environments, but the point Bianca Bosker wants to stress is that when China for example recreates Paris, it is not about paying homage to France but that it's rather a monument to China because it has become so rich and mighty

⁹⁴ Bosker, Bianca. 2013, p.13.

⁹⁵ Bosker, Bianca. 2013, p.17.

⁹⁶ HKU (Hong Kong University) Press. 2015. "Original Copies. Architectural Mimicry in Contemporary China." Description and Author.

⁹⁷ Heller, Steven. 2013. "Duplitectural Marvels: Exploring China's Replica Western Cities." *The Atlantic*.

⁹⁸ *ibid.*

⁹⁹ Bosker, Bianca. 2013, p.16-17.

¹⁰⁰ Bliss, Laura. 2015. "Copycat Architecture is still Booming in China." *The AtlanticCitylab*.

¹⁰¹ *ibid.*

that it can figuratively ‘own’ its own City of Lights.¹⁰²

However, there has not been done a whole lot of research on this phenomenon. The themed suburban communities are often too easily dismissed by architecture critics as being unimaginative, inauthentic and cliché.¹⁰³ But it is certainly not as simple as that because we also must consider the fact that they have a lot of influence on the behaviour of their inhabitants and that they shape their lives in a significant way. While the first of these Western-style communities were initially aimed at foreign expatriates the present target audience has been shifted to the growing middle class of China.¹⁰⁴

The copycat communities in question emulate many of the design principles of theme parks such as being organized around closed spaces with controlled access. They also have important commercial features (fundamentally food and beverage shops, selling Western food in Western-style restaurants).¹⁰⁵ In contemporary China there seems to be a drawing on ‘another’s’ past. This appears to be a particular Chinese approach to housing certain segments of its own population.¹⁰⁶

Furthermore, it is important to note that a Western-duplicate exterior often belies the interior. This means that for example an American-style suburban dream-home in China most likely contains a traditional Chinese tearoom or courtyard on the inside.¹⁰⁷ While some people might find the phenomenon peculiar, the people who build and inhabit these places are actually quite proud of them and many Chinese have put their life savings towards buying a house in copycat Orange county or faux-Sweden. There is even a saying about the subject that goes: “*The way to live best is to eat Chinese food, drive an American car, and live in a British house. That’s the ideal life.*”¹⁰⁸ What we are seeing is the Chinese dream in action. For a very long time the people in China didn’t have a lot of options to choose from. They weren’t able to take control of their lives. Now they can and they do. The role that private enterprise is taking in moulding built environments responds to people’s fantasies.¹⁰⁹

To better understand the cultural background behind the subject Ella Raidel made the documentary *Double Happiness*. In Chinese the term *Double Happiness* stands for marrying. Raidel chose this title to describe the cultural bond between Austria and China, or to be more precise between Hallstatt (ca. 800 inhabitants) and Boluo (ca. 820.000 inhabitants).¹¹⁰ The movie is a sensitive portrait of exchange and identity and attempts to explain how the Chinese appear to be longing for a place to call home. After a big part of their own culture was destroyed by the Cultural Revolution a cultural vacuum was left behind, which seems to have led to an identity crisis. Together with the rapid industrialization many Chinese therefore seem to experience a feeling of not belonging anywhere (*Heimatlosigkeit*¹¹¹). This absence of a sense of home needs to be fulfilled and themed communities like Hallstatt might just be fulfilling this need for a place to call home.

¹⁰² Heller, Steven. 2013.

¹⁰³ *ibid.*

¹⁰⁴ Bosker, Bianca. 2013, p.11.

¹⁰⁵ Bosker, Bianca. 2013, p.15.

¹⁰⁶ Bosker, Bianca. 2013, p.7.

¹⁰⁷ Bliss, Laura. 2015.

¹⁰⁸ Bosker, Bianca. 2014. “Why China’s Homeowners Want to Live in Fake Paris.” *Huffington Post*.

¹⁰⁹ Grabar, Henry. 2013. “Why we shouldn’t mock the idea of an Eiffeltour in Hangzhou.” *The Atlantic Citylab*.

¹¹⁰ Bruckmüller, Nora. 2014. “Ella Raidel vereint das Beste aus zwei Welten.” *Nachrichten.at*.

¹¹¹ The term *Heimatlosigkeit* refers to a complex phenomenon, which revolves around the absence of home and a sense of home .

In June 2012 the mayor of Hallstatt, Alexander Scheutz was invited to Hallstatt see for an official viewing and a friendship ceremony, bringing along an Austrian brass band to provide the music in the background. After his visit mr. Scheutz said: *“It’s not another Hallstatt, to me. Hallstatt grew over hundreds of years, thousands of years. Seven thousand years ago the Celts and the Illyrians lived here. There’s so much history here that you cannot copy it.”*¹¹²

Hallstatt see was advertised as a low-density, high-end residential development ‘surrounded by mountains and a lake, built in a European architectural style with a commercial street with the characteristics of an Austrian town’. However, even though the area is hilly there is no alpine peak in sight and the water of the ‘faux’ lake of Hallstatt is green and murky with dead fish floating on the surface.¹¹³ Three years after being constructed, the occupancy of the Hallstatt replica in Guangdong remains low. Only few people have moved into the villas surrounding the replica of Hallstatt and not many stores have opened in the commercial zone nearby. Official data from the county government showed that 60% of the properties of the project have been sold, although few buyers appear to have moved in. Chen Houqiao, a board director for the real estate services organization *Colliers International* attributes the low occupation rates to the fact that the construction of the nearby commercial zone has not yet caught up with that of the residential villas. If that were the case, buyers would be more likely to move in.¹¹⁴ Also, the prices of the units are relatively high given the fact that life in the complex remains inconvenient (due to the reasons explained above). Next to that, from the perspective of the government the project has not contributed much to the local economy and environmental protection. All in all, until now the project cannot (yet) be considered successful. In order to become a popular tourist attraction not only the imbalance in commercial and residential zone construction, and the lack of contribution to economy and environment needs to be tackled, but there also remains room for improvement in the aspect of transportation: Hallstatt see is still quite difficult to reach and there is a lack of transportation to bring visitors from Hallstatt see to the part of the commercial zone that has been constructed up until now.¹¹⁵

It will be interesting to stay updated on the development of Hallstatt see in the future to see whether or not it will become the thriving community that it intends to become.

¹¹² Tatlow, Didi Kirsten. 2012. “A real copy of Austria in China.” *The New York Times*.

¹¹³ Anon. 2011. “China ‘steals’ Alpine village from Austria in hope to transform out-dated southern city.” *Dailymail UK*.

¹¹⁴ Anon. 2014c. “Low occupancy at Guangdong’s unfinished Hallstatt replica.” *Want China Times*.

¹¹⁵ *ibid.*

4. Conclusion

There is a Chinese proverb that tells the story of a man who hated the way he walked, so he eventually decided to learn how the people from the city of Handan carried themselves - because the cultural cachet of Handan was among the highest in the country. So he went to the city and tried to copy the Handan walk. However, not only did he fail to learn the new style of walking, but he also managed to forget how he had walked originally. Now that he was incapable of walking at all, the only thing he could do was to crawl back to his hometown where he became the laughing stock of the town. The moral of "Learning how the Handan residents walk" (handan xue bu) is that one should use critical thinking rather than blindly follow others'. One should only copy what one needs, and not everything one likes.¹¹⁶¹¹⁷

In the context of Chinese copycatting with regard to architecture one might wonder whether or not the last two decades of replicating Western architecture in China will prove to be a different, much more expensive version of the cautionary tale "Learning how the Handan residents walk". Or will simulacra¹¹⁸ communities like Hallstatt see endure and actually become part of China's residential landscape? The replication of Western ideas in Chinese architecture does not appear to slow down anytime soon. Whether or not this phenomenon should be encouraged will likely continue to be the subject of debate.

The aim of my thesis was to complement the existing research on copy towns in Asia, specifically China, by examining the case of Hallstatt using a different approach. Instead of highlighting the architecture itself, I intended to discuss the perception of the copy from the perspective of those who have been copied. Hereby my main goal was to find out to what extent the Chinese copy town has influenced Hallstatt to date, with regard to economy, tourism, atmosphere and quality of life. In that regard I especially focussed on how the residents of the original Hallstatt have reacted to the fact that their town has been copied in China without consultation or permission. Next to that, my research dealt with the history of copying in China, the emerging 'duplitecture' trend in China and the Chinese meanings associated with the copy. I attempted to explain cultural differences with regard to copying and intellectual property, and to take those into account given that copying does not have the same 'stigma' in Chinese culture as it has elsewhere. In fact, it could even be seen as a way of celebrating achievement.

My empirical research showed that the discovery of the secret plan to copy Hallstatt stirred up a lot of emotions among the residents of the original Hallstatt as I had expected. I found support for my initial hypotheses as well. After the first shock, the residents were able to see a positive side to the copying. In addition to that, I succeeded in demonstrating that the number of tourists from Asia has increased which indicates that the Chinese replica of Hallstatt turned out to be good marketing for the original.

In my academic debate in section 3.1 I discussed 'heritage as a commodity' and whether or not the original would lose some of its value in the process of being replicated. According to Walter Benjamin, through the act of reproduction something is taken from the original. The residents of Hallstatt however did not feel this way. When

¹¹⁶ Yuan, Haiwang. 2006. *The magic lotus lantern and other tales from the Han Chinese*, p.182.

¹¹⁷ Bosker, Bianca. 2013, p.118.

¹¹⁸ A *simulacrum* (Latin; plural simulacra) is a representation or imitation of a person or thing.

they were asked if it was even possible to replicate Hallstatt true to scale the majority of the respondents answered with 'no'. They feel that the town of Hallstatt is unique and that it is therefore not possible to build an exact replica of it. The residents agree on the fact that "*Hallstatt has a centuries-old culture that cannot be copied*". The Chinese architects may have managed to copy the façade of buildings and street configurations in detail, but even though the buildings and streets look the same and have the same names as their models, the architects did not succeed in copying the lived experience of Hallstatt. Benjamin also introduced the idea of the 'aura' of a work of art and its absence in the reproduction. The results of my empirical research support his theory in this aspect. The copy of Hallstatt turned out to be an empty shell instead of the living town that the Chinese intended to replicate. Throughout China, one can find mass reproduction of heritage in the form of architectural replicas. Yet, I came to the conclusion that these newly built replicas are mainly real estate investments with the aim of becoming tourism sites surrounded by residential areas. These towns might look like exact copies on the outside, but they have still been adapted on the inside to meet the expectations of the Chinese middle and upper class.

In the next section of my academic debate (§3.2) I made the proposition that the notion we have of copying and intellectual property in the West is different from the one in China. After introducing some relevant information on the traditions and history of copying in China it became clear that copying is rooted deeply in Chinese culture. China has a long history of copying and a certain desire to replicate the West in order to become a first-world country. When I questioned the lawfulness of the copying of a town like Hallstatt I reasoned that it would be impossible to protect an ever-growing organic entity like a town by copyright. If the Chinese keep on copying Western towns at the current rate, I believe that this topic will continue to be debated in the future. Still, it remains important to not immediately dismiss the copying as something negative and take the historical background into account. We live in times of transition. Therefore it is important to start thinking outside the box. We live in a globally connected world where it becomes more and more difficult to keep old laws in place, so developing alternative models is important. In science for example it is common practice to build on the achievements of others (while carefully quoting the work of one's predecessor of course).¹¹⁹ Hence, there is no reason why this shouldn't be possible in other areas as well. Copyright and intellectual property laws are intended to protect the original, which to me still seems valid. But what if copying was not meant to steal something from somebody but more as an appreciation of somebody else's work and used to reproduce it in a different way, maybe even with some improvements? It is possible that some re-thinking about the seemingly rigid system of copyright that seems to be stuck in our minds could lead to more open-mindedness, and possibly improve the status quo.

The next section (§3.3) of my thesis addressed the emerging Chinese 'duplitecture' trend and explored the ways in which these replicated landmarks are shaping China's culture. Bianca Bosker argues that the Chinese put far less emphasis on originality and far more on skill. A skilled reproduction, which Western connoisseurs may call a cheap knock-off, is itself worthy of admiration in Chinese eyes.¹²⁰ When I first heard about the copying of architecture I wondered why Chinese architects would rather mimic Western architecture and whether or not they lacked the creativity to create original work. By

¹¹⁹ Ramakers, Renny. 2012. "Copying is good for Design." *Renny Ramakers Blog*.

¹²⁰ Meier, Allison. 2013. "Everything is in China: The Worlds Architecture Replicated in Chinese Copy Towns." *Atlasobscura*.

examining Bosker's work it became clear that these are the wrong questions to be asked. According to her, the copycatted buildings offer insights into the rather complicated aspirations of the rising Chinese middle class.¹²¹ These communities are not supposed to be theme parks but thriving communities where Chinese families live out their daily life. However, in the case of Hallstatt see the Chinese unfortunately seem to have failed. Instead of housing many native Chinese families that want to experience living abroad without ever leaving their home country, three years after its opening Hallstatt see is still mostly empty and merely serves as a coulisse for wedding pictures.

Future Trends, Challenges and Projects

In section 2.1 we have seen that even though many Chinese people don't even know that Hallstatt has been replicated in China, the number of tourists from Asia, especially China, is still growing continuously. They come to Austria because they want to see Europe. They love the European history and at the same time they are longing for the idyllic scenery of the small Alpine Republic. This is why I believe that due to its unique location and its rich history, Hallstatt will most likely continue to attract tourists like a magnet. The question arising in this context is to what extent tourism from China will influence Hallstatt and consequently force it to change. The small town is already adapting to suit the demands of relatively new markets like China. How much will it have to change if tourism continues to grow at the current rate? In my eyes, adapting to the needs of increasingly culturally diverse guests will continue to be of crucial importance but could at the same time possibly prove to become a major challenge, especially for small-scale enterprises in the Austrian tourism industry. However, if the Austrian tourism industry succeeds in finding the right balance of customization and authenticity, the new promising markets from Asia will continue to enrich the tourism industry of Austria with an enormous number of affluent tourists.¹²²

In my opinion the biggest challenge for Hallstatt in the future will be to decide whether and to what extent the rising number of tourists should be seen as something positive, something negative or a mixture of both. I believe that it will be crucial to carefully adapt to the new circumstances with regard to the lives of the people living and working in the Hallstatt area. People should explore the new possibilities that the copy town brings with it. I would think of possible collaborations between the two towns, which are already starting to arise, for example a project called 'China meets Hallstatt (UNESCO World Heritage Project)'. The aim of this project, which started in 2014, is the promotion of an intercultural dialogue through work and travel and is part of the campaign "World Heritage Volunteers". After the big success of the first edition of the project in 2014,¹²³ the project was renewed for a second edition, which will take place in the summer of 2015. The idea behind this project is for the Austrian and Chinese youth to work and volunteer together in the Austrian Alps to preserve the unique alpine village of Hallstatt and its nature together. When the Chinese copy of Hallstatt was opened in 2012 a lot of discussion arose. This, because the Chinese primarily copied the historical centre of Hallstatt for the purpose of surrounding it by a big residential area consisting of luxury villas for the Chinese upper class. The copy project had aroused an intensive discussion

¹²¹ Bosker, Bianca. 2013, p.17.

¹²² Poringer, Karin. 2007. "Kulturelle Unterschiede im Tourismus: Der Unterschied zwischen Anpassung und Authentizität in der österreichischen Hotellerie am Beispiel des Quellmarktes China." Diplomarbeit.

¹²³ Yipei, Chen and Quan, Wang. 2014. "China meets Hallstatt" (UNESCO World Heritage Project).

in the national as well as the international press about the value and uniqueness of historic buildings and heritage sites in general. Through the international youth exchange Chinese volunteers get the chance to get to know the *real* Hallstatt.¹²⁴ In my eyes projects like this one are a good start for a significant cooperation between the two towns even if this friendship might have started on the wrong foot.

¹²⁴ Alpenverein. 2015. "China meets Hallstatt. A contribution for an intercultural dialogue through work and travel."

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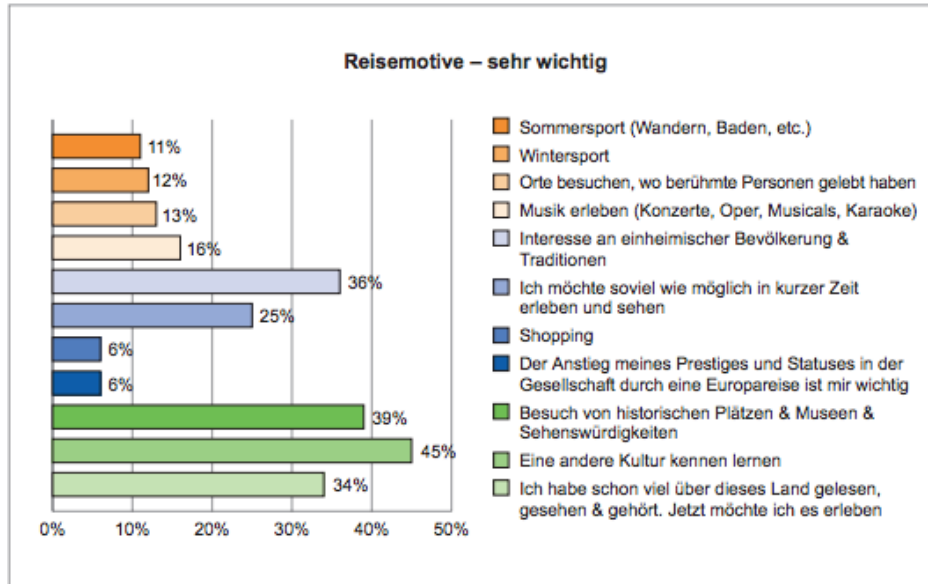


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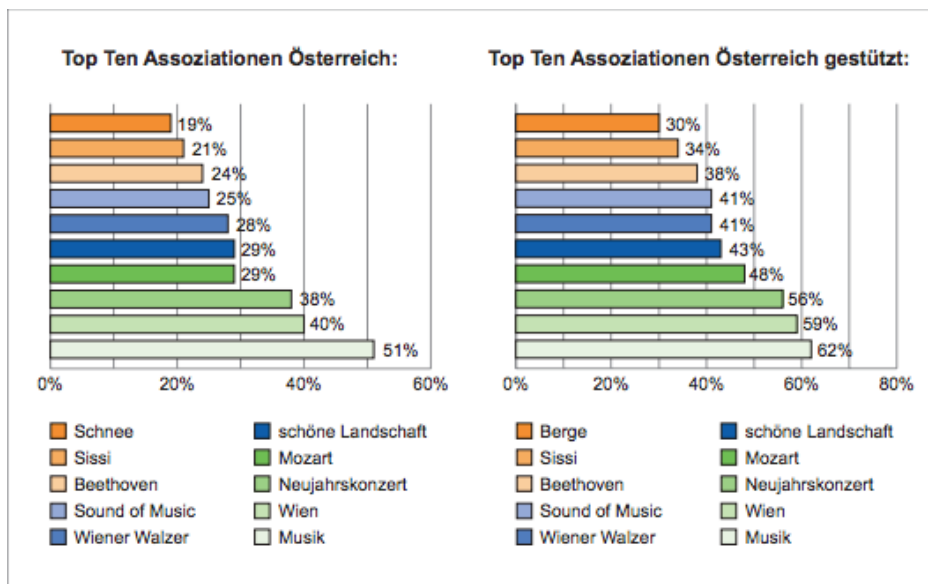


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7. Appendix

Translated Questionnaire (Original language: German)

“Replicated town – Hallstatt copied in China”

1. I'm a

Man
Woman

2. Please select your age group:

Under 17
18-24
25-34
35-44
45-54
55-64
65 and older

3. I live in Hallstatt

Yes
No, I live in:

4. What was your first thought when you heard about the replication of your town in China?

My first thought was:

Positive
Negative
No opinion

5. How did you feel when you first heard about the replication of your town in China?

I was angry
I was happy
I felt flattered
I felt astonished
No feeling

I felt:

6. How did you first learn about the replication of the town?

Newspaper
Television
Radio
Internet
Fellow residents

Other:

7. Do you believe that it is even possible to replicate a town like Hallstatt true to scale?

Yes
No

Reason:

8. Do you believe that the replica could have a positive impact on the original Hallstatt?

Yes
No

Reason:

9. Do you believe that the replica could have negative impact on the original Hallstatt?

Yes
No

Reason:

10. Do you believe that the Chinese replica of Hallstatt could keep potential tourists (especially from Asia) from coming to Austria to visit the original?

Yes
No

Reason:

11. Do you believe that the ‘true to original’ replication of a town should be prohibited by law?

Yes

No

Reason:

12. Do you believe that Austria or Europe respectively should start to import architecture from the People’s Republic of China?

Yes

No

Reason:

13. Not only Hallstatt but also countless other European architectural masterpieces have been replicated in China.

Do you agree with the following statements?

1. Because of Hallstatt’s increased presence in the media more tourists will come to visit the town.

Yes

No

No opinion

2. The original Hallstatt has lost some of its value because it is not completely unique any longer.

Yes

No

No opinion

3. A copy can retain the essence of the original. It is an expression of appreciation of the model as well as a sign of mastery in technological and cultural terms.

Yes

No

No opinion