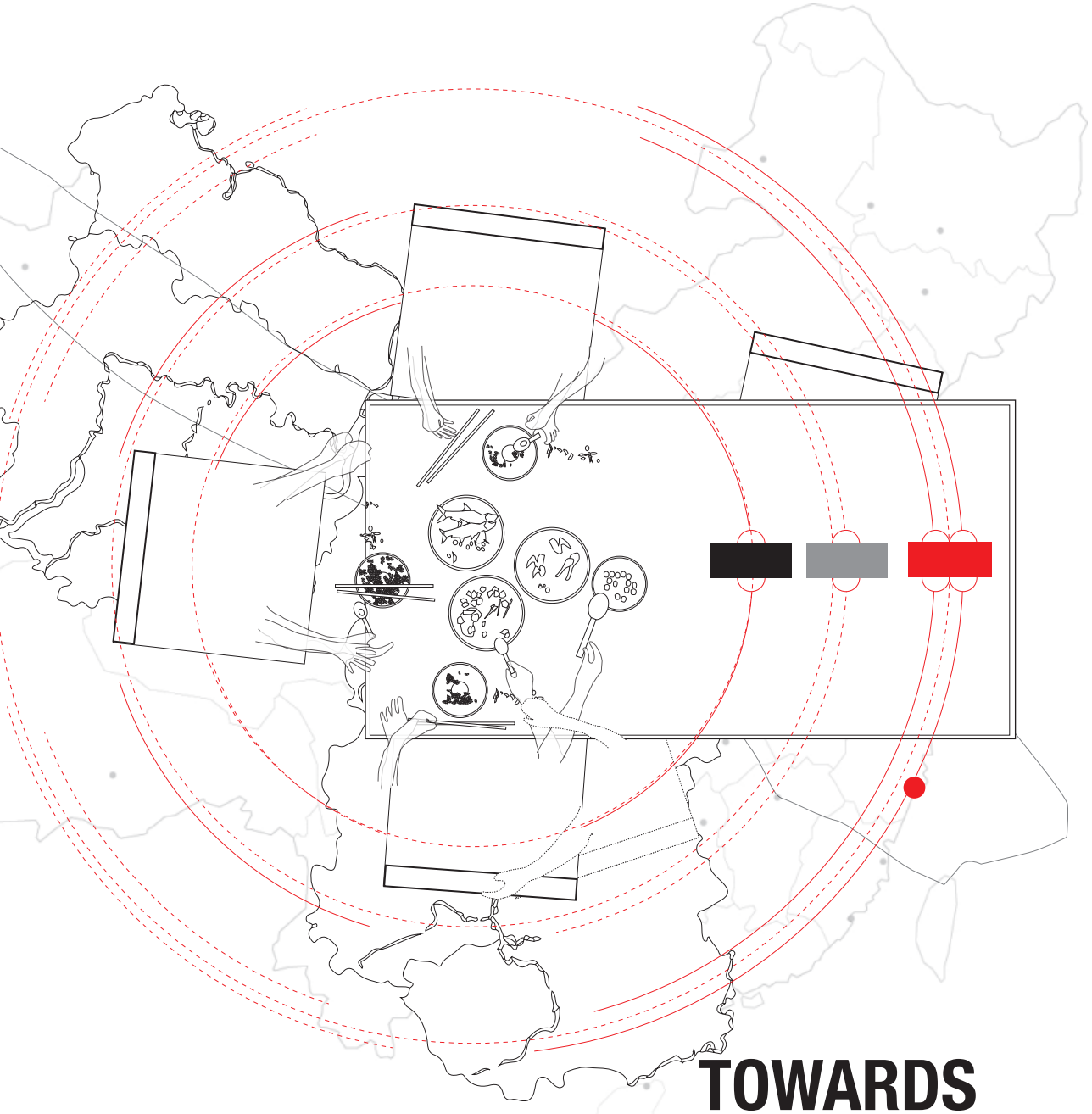


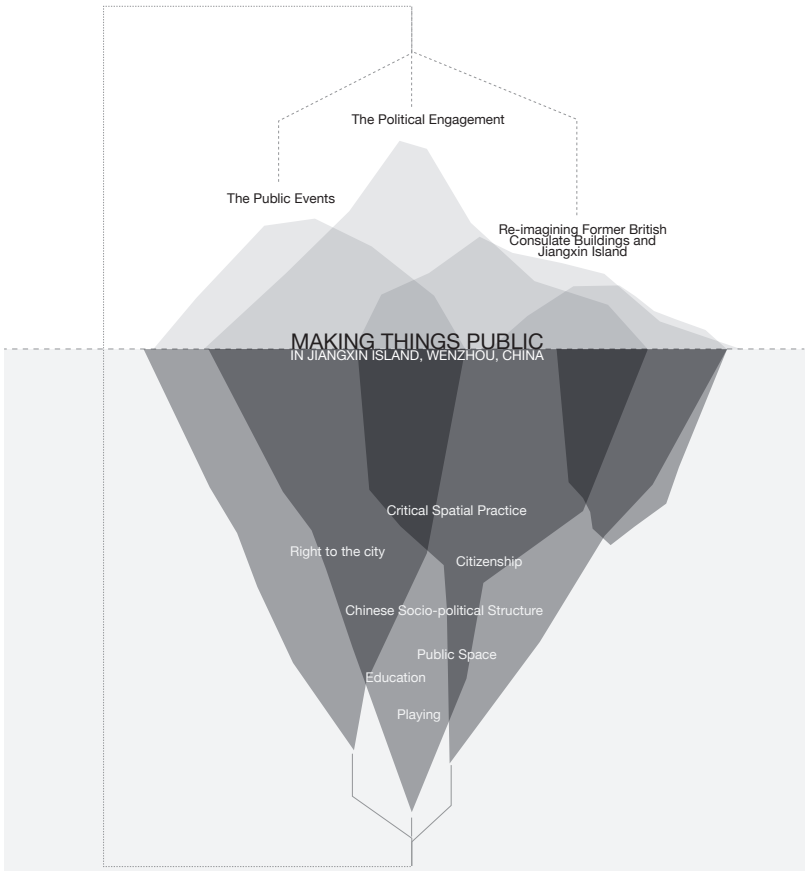
TOWARDS MORE OPEN CITIZENSHIP

Exorcising the Colonial Ghost, Re-Imagining Urban Space, and Critical Spatial Practice in Wenzhou, China

Xi Chen

A thesis submitted for the degree of Doctor of Philosophy
Architecture (Research by Creative Practice), January 2019
Newcastle University

To my Beloved Parents
To Dear Zhen Lu



This research reads/presents like an iceberg. The visible part shows my story of making. What supports the making is the foundational and contextual research hidden below.

But, I am the flowing water.

Fig. 0.1

ABSTRACT

This practice-based research focuses on Jiangxin island, which is a place of nostalgia, religion, colonial history, and modern entertainment in Wenzhou, China. It starts with an investigation of the socio-cultural significance of this place. It then searches for a more open citizenship through rethinking the colonial heritage while revealing the socio-political mysteries within Chinese society. In the end, it questions what alternative future the island could have and how that could contribute to a more open citizenship in Wenzhou.

“More Open Citizenship” is a polysemic phrase. It can refer to people’s spatial rights to the city, or to identity construction, as well as agency within the production of space in China. The term *critical spatial practice* is used to address the difficulties in developing public spaces for public events on the island with regards to the complexities of the socio-political structure in China.

Drawing on the researcher’s roles as an architect, a political participant and a son in a Chinese family, this research is facilitated by different agencies. It applies feminist theory, auto-ethnography, mapping, political engagement, two public participatory events, two design workshops, and spatial design. All these factors aim to re-imagine an open future for Jiangxin Island and the British Consulate buildings. This is tested through the intervention of food as a daily cultural practice.

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ACRONYMS

CCP	Chinese Communist Party
CPPCC	Chinese People's Political Consultative Conference
FTU	Federation of Trade Unions
NCCPC	National Congress of the Communist Party of China
OU Custom	Wenzhou Custom
Shan-Shui	Literally means Mountain and Water, or Chinese Landscape
SMO	Scenic Management Office
STABLD	Scenery and Tourism Administrative Bureau of Lucheng District

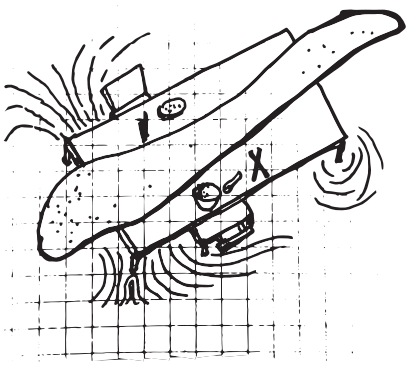


Fig. 0.2 The dining table at home in Wenzhou.

PROLOGUE

CHANGING IDENTITIES AND MOVING PLACE

I have been conducting my research and workshops while travelling between the UK and China between 2014 and 2018. The changing places and time have always constantly reminded me of the changing positions and faces that have made me wonder where I am supposed to be and what the concept of home is to me.

The research process always brings me back to the dining table at my home in Wenzhou. The conversations I have had with my parents have seemed to reflect, like a mirror, the reality of how the Chinese city is formed, like a home, with a family-based social-spatial structure.

This research is not simply about academic practice. It attempts to illustrate a period of change and discovery as well. Firstly, I am re-discovering myself and my identity by moving nomadically. Secondly, the research attempts to unmask the hidden political programme beyond the production of space in Wenzhou, which is unusual for ordinary people. In this sense, the research projects several faces of China to those who are outsiders, and also to those from outside of China.

STORYBOARD

Fig. 0.3 Research Developed along with Practice

Theory of Hybridizsation
Homi Bhabha

Orientalism
Edward Said

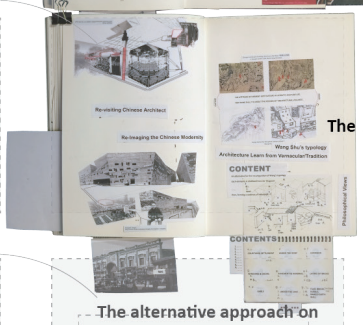
Colonial Architecture



The Colonial architecture and
the hybridized elements



Architecture learn from local



The alternative approach on
the regeneration of
the hybrid buildings

The regeneration of
the former British Consulate Buildings

Jiangxin Island to be a public space?



Public Game Event

Participatory Design

On Spatial Agency
Jeremy Till

Coming Home
Yifu Tuan

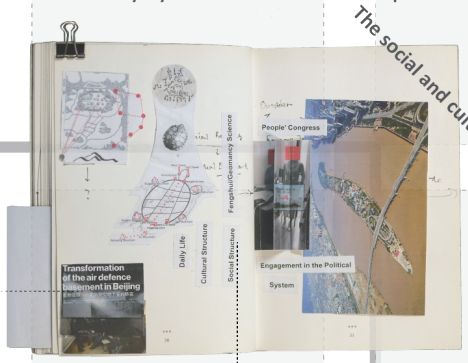
The Practice of Everyday
De Certeau

Habitus and Cultural Strucutre
Bourdieu

Things behind architecture:
the politcal and social hands

Everyday Practice and Production of Space

The social and cultural space in Wenzhou?



The Modern Chinese architecture
since around 1900s

Alternative Practice in China

Wangshu and Aldo Rossi?
Rossi's criticism on functionalism,
ideas on analogue architecture and
architectural autonomy, forms and type,
Rethinking of the social background,

Political Intervention



the island of Spectacle?
Guy Debord

ower of Me/Agency

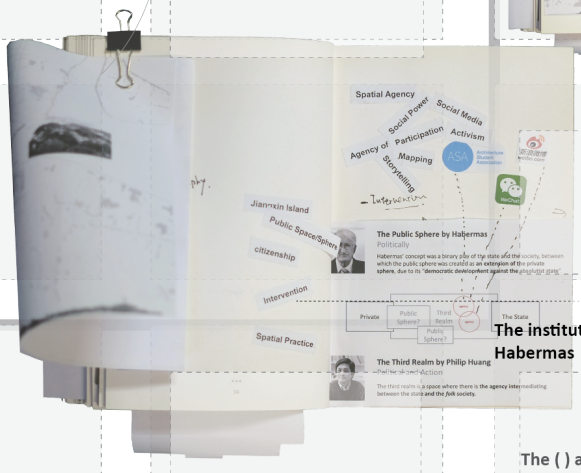
f Reflection

Reserching the programme of Jiangxin Island
baed on ethnographical approaches

iangxin Island as the testbed

ion between
e and the small society

ology and the capitalised society
itutionalised by the governning



The institutionalised public sphere and the third-realm in China
Habermas Philip Huang

ings Pubilc

The ( ) aspects of citizenship in China

The power of social agency and network?

The right to the city
The capilitalised society versus the state control system
David Harvey

The participatory art and design
Claire Bishop

INTRODUCTION

RESEARCH QUESTION AND INTENTION

Ever since my parents took me to Jiangxin Island, when I was a child, the Island has always been, to me, a memory with an ambiguous image. This has not only affected me. Most Wenzhonese have a similar opinion of the island. Since the Island has been considered the cultural symbol of Wenzhou, it has been in the back of my mind, like a ghost. Things feel true but I can never tell. I have asked myself, what the island was exactly? What was its past and what will its future be like? These questions have haunted and have been with me before I could get closer to the island.

This research inquires what the future of Jiangxin Island holds for Wenzhou? It is an irreplaceable island in a unique position. Undoubtedly, Jiangxin Island's rich cultural and architectural legacy resonates. It has witnessed hundreds of years of social, cultural, and political changes and conflict, and has been pushed to the edge by developers, in an orderly fashion, to accommodate the city's growth. For countless reasons, the island has proven to be irreplaceable for the people. It provides the best space for rethinking China's humiliated history, the present lives, and the future of Wenzhou.

However, many gaps still need to be bridged. Although adequate historical archives have uncovered the history of the British Consulate buildings and the 'value' of its cultural heritage on the island, little sophisticated research or work has been found to have an educational or enlightened impact on the public. Although defined as a public space, the history of Jiangxin Island remains unfamiliar to the public. Rarely do people know how the island has developed in the post-colonial era, or indeed what the future of the island will be given the pressures of urbanisation today. Neither does the government exactly know how to regenerate or find a valid purpose for the colonial buildings that can be beneficial to the future of Wenzhou.

In this research, the statements above will be addressed by both theoretical and practical considerations. The underlying reasons and facts behind the production of space in contemporary China are examined. These will determine the foundation of this thesis. This research will attempt to draw the people's right to the city and to illustrate an 'open future' for the island. Re-thinking, with practice and activism, has become a key tool within which the research questions will be explored socially and politically in the local context.



Fig. 0.4 An impression of Jiangxin Island, from 1900s to 2010s

METHODOLOGY AND APPROACHES

RESEARCH BY DESIGNING AND MAKING, AND AUTO-ETHNOGRAPHY

Generally, architecture is not a discipline of absolute autonomy. It depends strongly on other cultural concepts that contribute to the design process. To borrow Till's rethinking of architecture through the lens of social science, he argues that "the notion of the autonomy of architecture should come to a juddering halt".[1] In this sense, architecture benefits by always implicating interdisciplinary research. Broadly speaking, philosophy, art, literature and even politics are all among the pertinent domains of knowledge that can be engaged in the discourse of architecture. All the mutual communications encourage a means of reading architecture outside of a theoretically formed doctrine, or even the exploration of the potential of architectural alternatives.

[1] J. Till, *Architecture Depends, Cambridge*, MIT Press, 2013, p. 25.

However, unlike art or philosophy, architecture seems insensitive to research which is based on theoretical criticism. "Traditional research tends to emphasize the meaning of the first syllable - the re - as if the aim of research just mainly relates to old territories".[2] For architecture, pure theory or historical archival review is plausible, but it always leaves a gap between research and design. The reason for these untenable relations is that theoretical research often neglects the core contents of architecture: design and practice.

[2] C. Frayling, 'Research in Art and Design', *Royal College of Art Research Papers*, vol. 1, no. 1, 1993/4, pp.1-5.

Indeed, architecture has its specificity. It combines the embodiment of concept or experience, and materialization, and focuses more on the production of thoughts rather than the debates or discourses. Therefore, a knowledge of other areas is not only the reference, but also initiation of the rethinking process in terms of design. In order to connect critical research and creative production, one could argue that architecture ought to be concerned with some new innovations in terms of design.

This research, by design, follows this innovative spirit by learning from social science methods, ethnographic practice, artistic making, and architectural drawings. Rather than simply resolving any theoretically based problem. It tries to expose questions critically, and to test them creatively. It is concerned with establishing a methodology by which design can be guided through a "calculated process and performance".[3] This is also an exploration of interpreting design by design, where the ideas of architecture are analyzed through drawings and designs rather than words.

[3] Hughes, R. "The Poetics of Practice-Based Research Writing." *The Journal of Architecture*, vol. 11, no. 3, 2006, pp.283-301.

It is necessary to emphasize the term 'research by design', "[which can] be used only for the kind of research where design activities (including activities undertaken in 'real world'

practice) are the central means to develop understanding and knowledge".[4] Design and practice play an essential role in visualizing the research narrative and the accompanying interviews, which is a kind of ethnography on an island-based scale. Homi Bhabha has argued that, "humanity focuses on creating knowledge from information through the process of interpretation, just like science focuses on laboratory or the social science on model making".[5] To expand his words a bit, further in this research by design, the agency of making and rethinking, here, contributes to the production of knowledge.

In this practice-based research, it is also necessary to highlight the researcher's self-reflection which is embedded in the autobiography. This is because it leads to further creative and critical development. Such creative practice goes beyond simply the production of abstract knowledge. Practice is rethought and represented to illustrate the interaction among different subjects and self-consciousnesses. To borrow from the anthropological approach, "the anthropologists should include personal experiences as data in their analysis. … the voice of the anthropologist, drawing on remembered experience, is one among others, and by this means we demonstrate a self-conscious methodology, which moves between the two poles of conservative self-reflexivity and poetic auto-ethnography".[6]

The researcher, myself, has traditionally been absent to academic literature. Traditional research tends to shift our world into a deduced mode because knowledge is normally regarded as purely abstract. Few have touched the foundation or detail of everyday life. However, in this thesis, the researcher's subjectivity and motivations are key forces that drive the practice-based research forward to more possibilities. Hence, it is often productive to re-examine the researcher. This is often the case in "critical theory, such as post-structuralists, post-colonialists, feminists and others, whose thinking is also self critical".[7] Another form of evidence can be found in architecture such as Tom Holbrook's, where he makes himself present when representing the development of a series of projects in the 5th Studio. From architecture to urban planning, he does not just show how design strategy has succeeded in bridging the concept and reality; his monologue leads you to the fact that, "the process of design is also a process of the designer's self-reflection".[8]

In the light of ethnographic traditions, this thesis brings *myself (self)* as the researcher back to the production of knowledge. By this I mean my stories and voice will be one of the main storylines that connects the initial theoretical arguments and the practical projects in the later part. For

[4] J. Verbeke, 'This is research by design'. In M. Fraser, (ed.), *Design research in architecture: an overview, Design research in architecture*, Farnham, Ashgate, 2013, P.157

[5] *Humanities a culture of knowledge: Homi Bhabha*, [online video], 2011, https://www.youtube.com/watch?v=tFXaaFUYxLA, (accessed 1 December 2018).

[6] P. Collin, and A. Gallinat, The Ethnographic Self as Resource: An Introduction. In: P. Collin, and A. Gallinat,(eds)., *The Ethnographic Self as Resource: Writing Memory and Experience into Ethnography*, Oxford, Berghahn Books, 2010, p.17.

[7] J. Rendell, *Critical Spatial Practice*, 2008, http://www.janerendell.co.uk/wp-content/uploads/2009/06/critical-spatial-practice.pdf, (accessed 1 January 2018).

[8] T. Holbrook, *Expanding Disciplinarity in Architectural Practice: designing for the Room to the City (Design Research in Architecture)*, New York, Routledge, 2016.

example, the 'self-conscious' offers a vision for 'mapping', that is based on personal experience. Through my experience and my processes, it is a testimony to unmasking the hidden reasons behind the spatial issues. It reveals how social and political structures affect the production of space in Wenzhou, and reflects the struggles between the family-based society and an open future for citizenship in the city.

CRITICAL SPATIAL PRACTICE AS RE-THINKING AND RE-MAKING

This research is conducted with, but not limited to an architectural approach. It also engages with *critical spatial practice*. Spatial practice refers to projects located in social and political contexts where urban issues should be explored, beyond pure architectural or artistic approaches.

While architects are often expected to solve problems within given criteria, contexts and positions, *critical spatial practice* provides an alternative methodological perspective which is more open and creative. As defined by Markus Miessen: "Spatial practice does not necessarily set itself apart from architecture or urbanism in an antagonistic posture, but simply offers and projects a more complex alternative in terms of its own approaches to a given situation".[9] It follows the trajectory of a wider context, aiming to decode the network of connections and effects within the spatial issues. In this sense, "spatial does not so much replace architectural as a term, but radically expands it".[10] Markus Miessens's *critical spatial practice* includes public events, art installations, and exhibition architecture, which is concerned with strategic and artistic approaches. His works are creative and radical, yet they are potentially overly political, "by breaking down consensus based participation and democracy".[11] Markus's writing and practice substantiate the fact that conflict plays a key role in making meaningful and innovative changes in architectural and other spatial and cultural practices.

In contrast, Jane Rendell offers a more inclusive point for the spatial practitioners by re-visiting critical theory. Firstly, Jane Rendell argues that, "critical spatial practice is located in-between art practice and architectural practice".[12] It refers to Lefebvre's everyday activities (spatial practice) and de Certeau's creative practice (tactic). "It shows the resistance to the overarching social order enhanced by global corporate capitalism".[13] It is interesting to notice how this innovative thinking corresponds to contemporary architectural explorations of creative methodology, which have been articulated in two directions. One is of American origin, based on the modernist and elitist outlook, defined by K. Michael Hays and Peter Eisenman. They are mainly concerned with the construction form and visual

[9] M. Miessen, *Crossbenching: Toward Participation as Critical Spatial Practice*, Berlin, Sternberg Press, 2016, p.48.

[10] N. Awan, T. Schneider and J. Till, *Spatial Agency: Other Ways of Doing Architecture*, Abingdon, Routledge, 2011, p.29.

[11] Markus Miessen and Nikolaus edited a series of books named 'critical spatial practice' to explore the boundaries of the critical spatial practice. It mainly focuses on the political debates and philosophical discourse.

[12] J. Rendell, *Art and Architecture: a Place Between*, London, I.B.Tauris. 2006.

[13] J. Rendell, *Critical Spatial Practice*, 2008, http://www.janerendell.co.uk/wp-content/uploads/2009/06/critical-spatial-practice.pdf, (accessed 1 December 2018).

representation regardless of any socio-political factors in the architectural practice. Whereas another one is arguably of more 'European' origin and socially motivated. "It is closer to an avant-garde ideal of overthrowing the separation between art and the everyday".[14] While studying in the UK, I have been inevitably influenced by the latter. Therefore, in this research, critical projects are carried out in terms of creating social events, making artistic games, and conducting political engagement, "allow(ing) us to describe work that transgresses the limits of art and architecture and engages with both the social and the aesthetic, as well as the interstitial space between public and private".[15]

Furthermore, Rendell argues that critical theory is based on exposing questions and self-reflection. Critical theorists attempt to understand changes in the world, critically, through their self-reflection, instead of providing any singular, defensive hypothesis or conclusion. Rendell extends the nature of critical theory and turns it into practice. Critical spatial practice is thus an embodied critical theory framed by "social critique, self-reflection and social changes".[16] Drawing on this notion, this thesis unfolds around a Lefebvrian trialectical model. It also benefits from Lefebvre's spatial trinity: "spatial practice, representations of space, and representational spaces".[17] The structure combines theoretical discussion, self-reflection and the representation of practice. It is neither to test theory through practice nor to explain practice with theory. Rather, it is to expose more space for re-imagining Jiangxin Island in Wenzhou.

[14] H. Heynen, 2007. 'A critical position for architecture', in J. Rendell, J. et al. (eds.), *Critical Architecture*, London and New York, Routledge, 48-57, p.51.

[15] M. Miessen, *Crossbenching: Toward Participation as Critical Spatial Practice*. Berlin, Sternberg Press, 2016, p. 44

[16] J. Rendell, *Critical Spatial Practice*, 2008, http://www.janerendell.co.uk/wp-content/uploads/2009/06/critical-spatial-practice.pdf, (accessed 1 December 2018).

[17] H. Lefebvre, *the Production of Space*, Oxford, Blackwell, 1991, p.33.

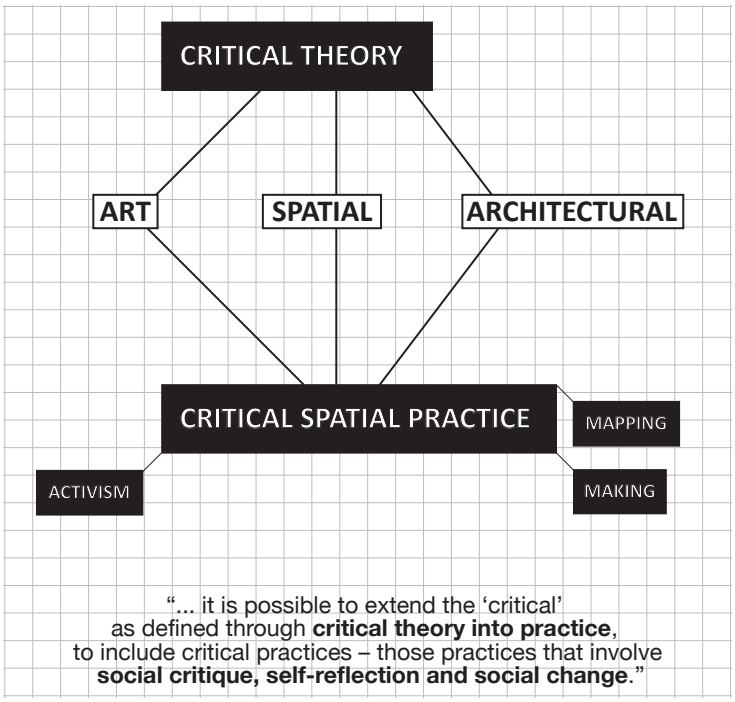


Fig. 0.5 From Critical theory to Critical Spatial Practice

EXPLORING RESEARCH THROUGH VISUALISATION

In this thesis, visual material can be divided into five categories according to their nature of function: ethnographic, narrative, analytical, diagrammatic, and propositional. Not only produced as part of research content, the visual material and its drawing process have formulated the research structure, therefore becoming a part of the creative practice. On the one hand, the visual material works along with the text to study the history, social investigation, power relationships, self-reflection, and public events as seen on Jiangxin island. They tell stories, expose networks, and draw the research context for re-thinking the concept of 'citizenship' from the architecture to social practice, from the dining table to society, and from Wenzhou to the Nation. On the other hand, visualisation is a creative process for exploring the possibilities of Jiangxin island's future. Many types of mapping are used to examine the physical and non-physical factors of the island based on the in-depth fieldwork. By integrating all the evidence from the mapping and the designing practice, the propositional drawings are used to test the potential projects. This envisions the city and Jiangxin island as a place where more open citizenship will be questioned accordingly. "Drawing itself is a form of critical visual practice, a way of encountering the field through seeing and marking out possible relationships and connections across histories and geographies".[18]

Every chapter uses the ethnographic images that are extracted from the documentaries or my field records. The ethnographic material mainly represents the stories of my family members, the officials involved in my research and two workshops held on the island. These images, of stories, lead the research body because they have revealed hidden facts behind the scenes. In the second chapter, the author's mother is represented to tell the unspoken conventions in a small family. This reflects the rules of the game in the bigger society. Beyond the family scene, the ethnographic images also expose the hidden political power behind many social events. In the first chapter, Yanbo Geng, the previous mayor of Datong city, confesses in a private table discussion that it is the political system that has pushed him to be the key player in the unstoppable urban renewal process of Datong. Likewise, in the third chapter, the photos of secret discussions among the officials from the Wenzhou Federation of Trade Unions tell how political decisions have determined the future of the British Consulate buildings.

The narrative images are also concerned with, yet not limited to, telling stories. Compared with the ethnographic images, they interpret the phenomenon for more ideas to draw and practice on. At the beginning of the third chapter, 'the

[18] S. Hall, J. King, and R. Finlay, 'Envisioning Migration: Drawing the infrasture of Stapleton Road, Bristol', *New Diversities*, vol. 17, no. 2, 2015, p.70

mapping and practice,' five sets of photos are composed, in groups, according to their different narratives. They show diverse ways of appropriating the city spaces as centres of people's spatial rights and how they respond to the imposed regulations in Wenzhou. It is the food-related spatial practice in these photos that inspired the idea of the food island in the following participatory design workshop.

The analytical and diagrammatic drawings are based on an in-depth investigation. This is meant to build a systematic knowledge of architecture, society and space. In the first chapter, the analytical photomontage is the critical tool for the historical study of contemporary Chinese architecture. The architects of different generations and their masterpieces are collaged respectively, ranging from the 20th century to the 21st century. Each case draws the pioneers' architectural response to their unique socio-political condition, spatially, materially, and formally. All the drawings have displayed one argument, that the architectural representations play an essential role in the identity construction against the colonial ghost in modern China. In contrast, the diagrammatic drawing intends to examine the abstract data of the practice and to articulate, "the socio-spatial relationship in temporal and scalar dimensions".[19] This supports further potential proposals for the city and the island. In the third part, lines and dots are used for mapping the social and political network within the two workshops. The diagram uncovers the vital power relations for the successes of the workshop on the island. Likewise, the mappings of Jiangxin Island have illustrated the Island's built environment and its programme, which supports the proposal of the food island.

[19] Ibid., p.59.

Last but not least, the propositional and scenario drawings refine the main body of this research practice. Along with practices, the propositional drawing tests the idea and theory by imagining the food practices as the spatial intervention. In the final chapter, three plot scenarios portray an alternative future of a food island. The visual material evokes many open-ended questions for further discussions such as how to translate traditional crafting into modern life.

In summary, the fivefold classification of visualisation shows different functions according to the nature of the different representational forms. The ethnographic and narrative images draw the context and setting. The analytical and diagrammatic drawings visualise the analysis process of the data to support further research arguments. The propositional images are explorative and constructive, aiming to connect the imagined to the reality. For this research, visualisation is not only used to make cross-cultural and interdisciplinary research more readable. It has also attempted, as an exploratory methodology, to be a creative practice.

THESIS STRUCTURE

The trinity of critical spatial practice is unpacked in the thesis in three sections: **The Colonial Ghost in Wenzhou, Between There and Here,** and **Re-Making as Re-thinking**. The three sections can be read independently or simultaneously. They are intertwined formally and in their content.

China was semi-colonised by the British one and a half centuries ago. As one of the treaty ports, Wenzhou was forced to accept the British and their administration. Therefore, Wenzhou witnessed many social and cultural shocks locally and from foreign influences, reflected not just architecturally, but also socially. In the **Colonial Ghost in Wenzhou**, the movement of Chinese architectural practices should be read along with the colonial stories of the past century in China. The ideas of the social production of social space are specifically explored in a local context, exposing the colonial impacts in terms of architectural and social productions in Wenzhou. Since today's urban China is facing the spectre of globalisation and capitalism, it has created gaps between urban conditions and people's everyday lives. By sketching out the structure of Chinese society, more re-thinking should be based on the contextual differences between China and the outside world. The void that created the ghost is where it sits. This is expanded in the self-reflection section.

Between There and Here concerns auto-ethnography. It represents my self-reflection on the bases of identity and the subject of moving between the UK and China, and between the city and the rural home. This approach aims to give me insights about rediscovering the social-political structure which supports Chinese society. It is the key for the further practice to be focused on in this research.

Re-Making as Re-thinking represents the process of event-making as a critical spatial practice. The colonial ghost is re-examined through making things public through the agency of mapping, participatory design and play, all of which attempt to draw an open future for Jiangxin Island.

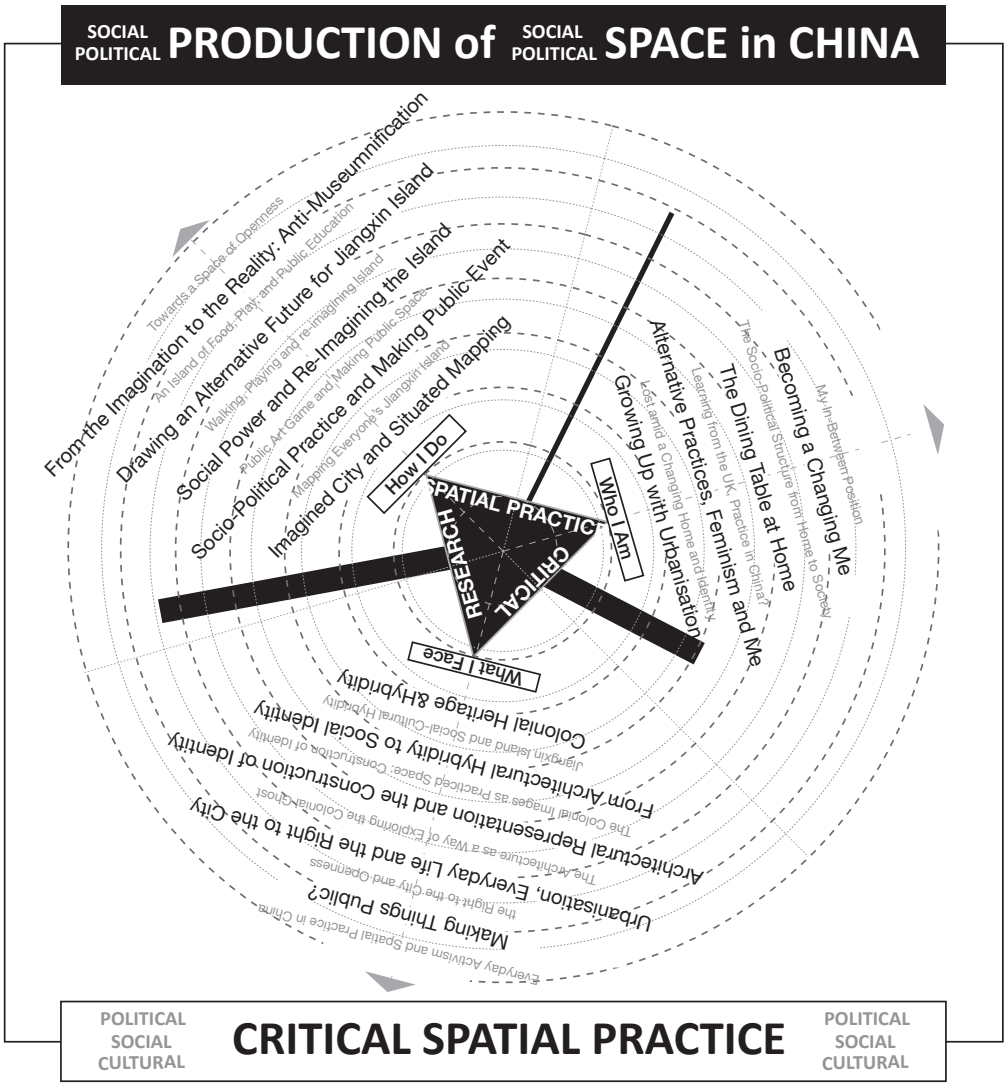
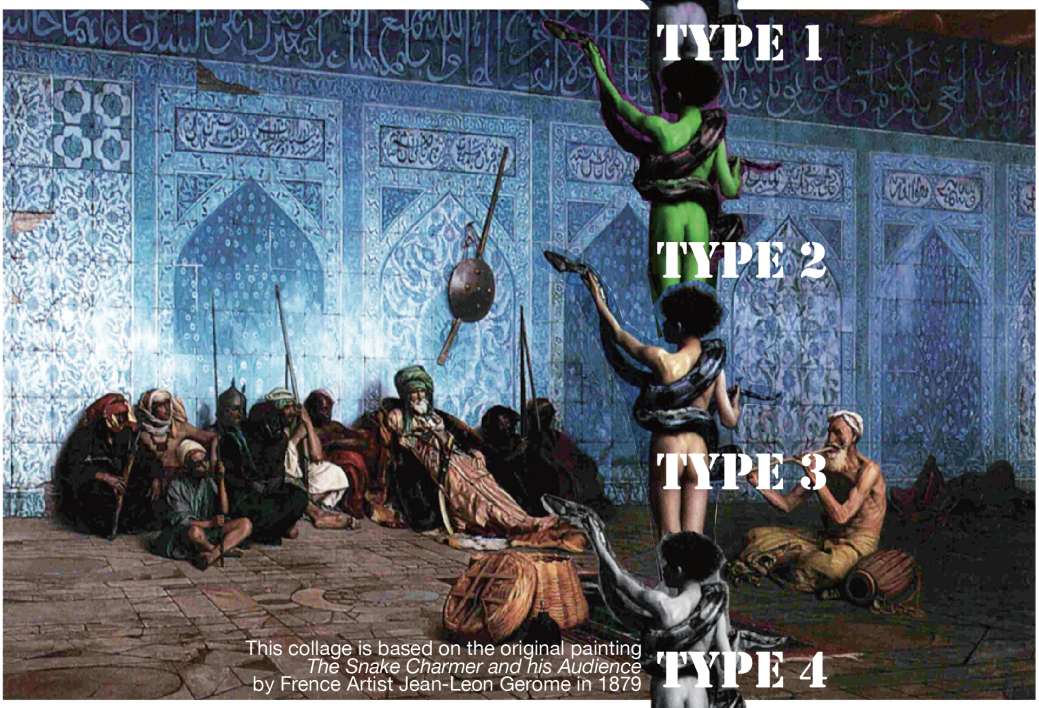


Fig. 0.6 The structure of this research is based on the trialectical model of *critical spatial. practice*

THE COLONIAL GHOST IN WENZHOU



This collage is based on the original painting *The Snake Charmer and his Audience* by Frence Artist Jean-Leon Gerome in 1879

The artistic representation implied that the nude performance was a common occurrence in the "East". Everything looked real in this highly refined scene as if the artist was present.

The Occident created the others' images out of their imagination. The East thus become a series of types of objects to the West.

Derrida's *hauntology*[20] illustrates a relational network within the realm of Marxism. According to some triumphalists' narratives such as Francis Fukuyama, Marxism is over and capitalism will end human history. However, such a statement proves the spectre of Marxism, since we are always haunted by the ghost of something when we argue for its absence or non-existence. The position is always dependent on an 'other'. In the light of Derrida's hauntology concept, "heritage is therefore not a given, but is the product of a long series of relations and relationships that enable it to exist".[21] So it is in the case of the colonial heritage.

Colonialism has had a long-lasting impact on China for almost a century and a half since the British invaded. This generated a dualistic ideology based on the *local* and *otherness*, that left gaps between the colonial ghost and the absence of self-awareness. From the colonial to the post-colonial context, such a ghost has been embodied in architectural representation, social identity, cultural awareness, and spatial practice that still haunts Chinese society today.

Following this insight, this chapter explores the colonial ghost behind architectural heritage in Wenzhou, social-cultural identity, the development of a Chinese architectural approach, capitalising society under urbanisation, and Chinese socio-political structure, as well as the spatial practices regarding the right to the city. It aims to draw the colonial ghost that is haunting everyday Chinese life from the physical to the invisible.

Furthermore, the re-examination of the colonial ghost is the starting point for re-imagining an alternative future for Jiangxin Island and its colonial heritage in Wenzhou. These issues will be elaborated in the third chapter.

[20] J. Derrida, *Specters of Marx*, London, Routledge, 2006 p.45-46.

[21] A. Law and X. Chen, 'Absent-present' heritage: the cultural water heritage of dwelling and entanglements of humans and non-humans on the Changjiang (Yangtze) River, in C. Hein, (ed.), *Adaptive Strategies for Water Heritage*, New York, Springer International Publishing, 2019.

COLONIAL HERITAGE & HYBRIDITY

THE CITY OF WENZHOU, THE INTRUDER AND JIANGXIN ISLAND

Wenzhou is a coastal city located in Zhejiang Province in South-Eastern China. The original plan of the ancient city town took advantage of the hilly terrain. By orienting the location of the town, within the areas of natural topography, the urban form aimed to symbolize the pattern of the stars and tried to replicate the implications of astronomy with the aid of the existing geography.

Fig. 1.1

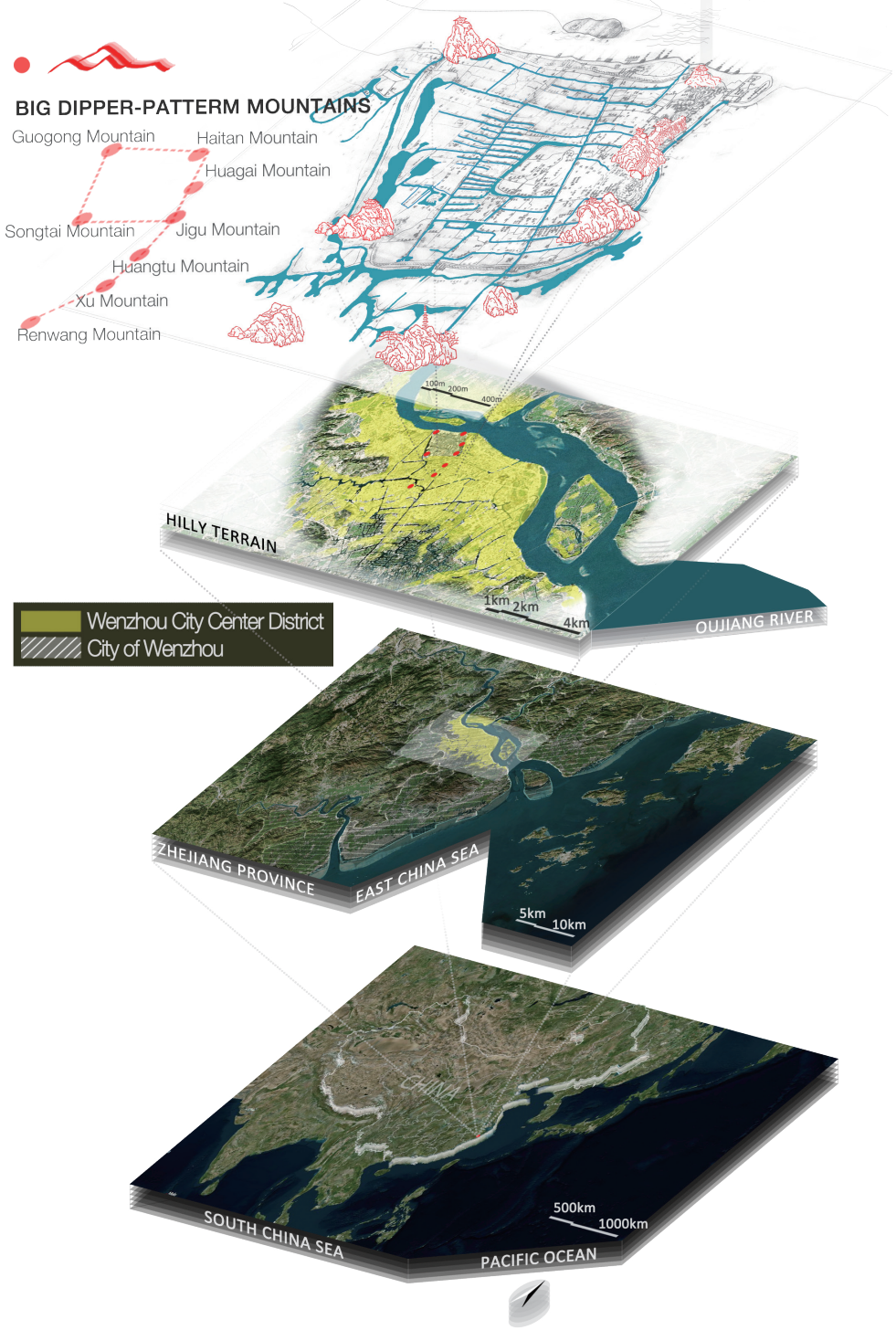
This mapping shows the location, geography and urban design principle of Wenzhou from the past to the present.

In the East Jin Dynasty (317-420), the urban morphology was framed according to the locations of mountains and water. The mountains were connected by walls and shaped as the Big Dipper. There were 36 lanes for residential.

Today, Wenzhou consists of several county-level cities. They are all located within the hilly terrain. The yellow areas are the present central district of Wenzhou.



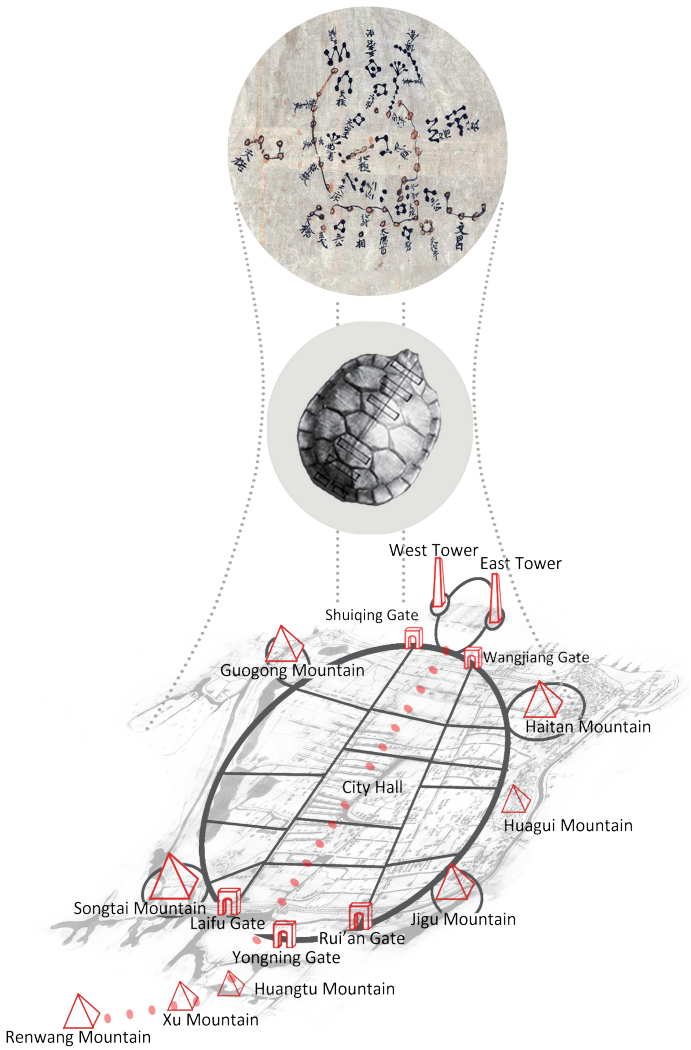
MAP OF CITY TOWN IN YONGJIA COUNTY (WENZHOU USED TO BE CALLED YONGJIA) IN 1933



The earliest ancient town was shaped in the form of a turtle, and Jiangxin island formed the head. “The principle of ancient town planning is strongly rooted in a traditional Chinese philosophy that underlines the meaning of the symbolization behind the form”.[22] According to traditional Chinese culture, the metaphor of a turtle expresses *longevity*[23] for the city. In this sense, the island as the head represents the essential direction of life.

[22] H. Zhang, *The Interpretation of Planning Culture of Wenzhou Town(Chinese version 温州郡城规划文化解读*), Beijing: China Nationality Art Photography Publishing House, 2014, p.16-17.

[23] S. Allan, *The Shape of the Turtle: Myth, Art, and Cosmos in Early China,* New York Press, SUNY Press, 1991.



This oldest extant star chart (around the years 649-684) is found in Dunhuang Cave (Gansu, China). It is the earliest representation of the classical Chinese understanding about the constellations.

Fig. 1.2

The town was oriented to accommodate the eight mountains that were shaped like the Big Dipper. The roads, waterways and gates were planned within the pattern of the tortoiseshell.

The pictogram approach attempts to embody spiritual meaning in the urban morphology, that wishes for a better life.

In the later 19th century, China was semi-colonialised by the invading British after its defeat in the Second-Opium War. Wenzhou became one of the treaty ports in 1876 according to the Unequal Chefoo Convention, in which the Chinese government had no right to negotiate with their Coloniser.

On the 10th of April 1877, Wenzhou welcomed the first foreign merchant ship after its port opened. The passenger-cargo of 318 tons belonged to Jardine Matheson & Co and carried foreign goods such as cotton cloth and etc. “The vessel was named Conquest, after which Jiangxin Island was renamed as Conquest Island”.[24] The island used to be sacred due to

[24] J. Shen, *Under the Sun: William Edwards Soothill and his time*(*日光之下：蘇慧廉和他的時代*), Taipel, Xinrul Publisher, 2012, p. 39.



Fig. 1.3

This map is held by the National Archive, UK.

It was done in 1877. Wenzhou remained in an intact morphology with a walled city. In the middle of the river is the Conquest Island (Jiangxin Island).

its religious architecture characterised by the pagodas and temples, which had stood there for a millennium. Not only did the monks live on the island, but the fishermen also visited and then stayed there. “In order to meet the basic need for food, a well was dug and a paddy field was opened”.[25]

[25] K. Shen and Z. Tang, *Lucheng Human Landscape*(*鹿城人文景观*). Beijing, China Nationality Photographic Art Publishing House, 2014, p. 53.

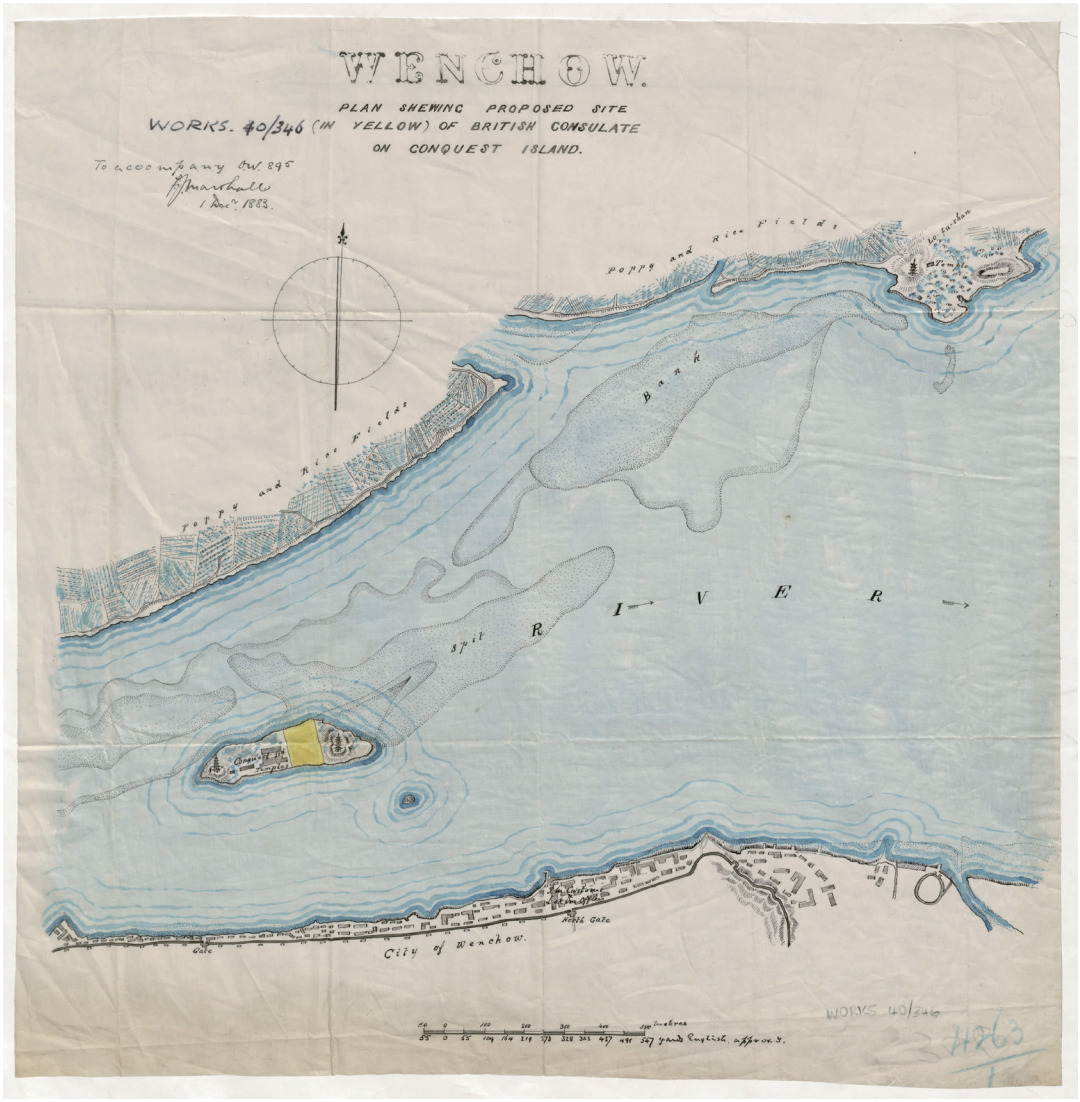


Fig. 1.4

Drawn in 1883, the map shows the brief environs of the island and the surroundings. The yellow part was proposed for the British Consulate Buildings. On the northern bank of the river, there was cultivated land for both poppy and rice, just outside but opposite the city town. To the east of the farmland stood the Lo-Fu-Shan temple and pagoda. All showed that Wenzhou was a deeply religious society based on an agricultural system.

The invasions by the British entirely changed the life of the island. Designs for a British Consulate building were proposed to the East of the island, to serve as a new consular residence. Started in 1894 and finished in the next year, the impressive three-storey and grey brick building was in the veranda style and covered 1309 square meters. In 1896, a smaller building was completed, which was about 30 meters to the west, for the constable and his gaol. “The two buildings were designed by the British architectural agent in Shanghai but were constructed with local labour”.[26]

[26] R. Nield, *China’s Foreign Places: The Foreign Presence in China in the Treaty Port Era*, 1840–1943, Hong Kong, Hong Kong University Press,2015, p.275.

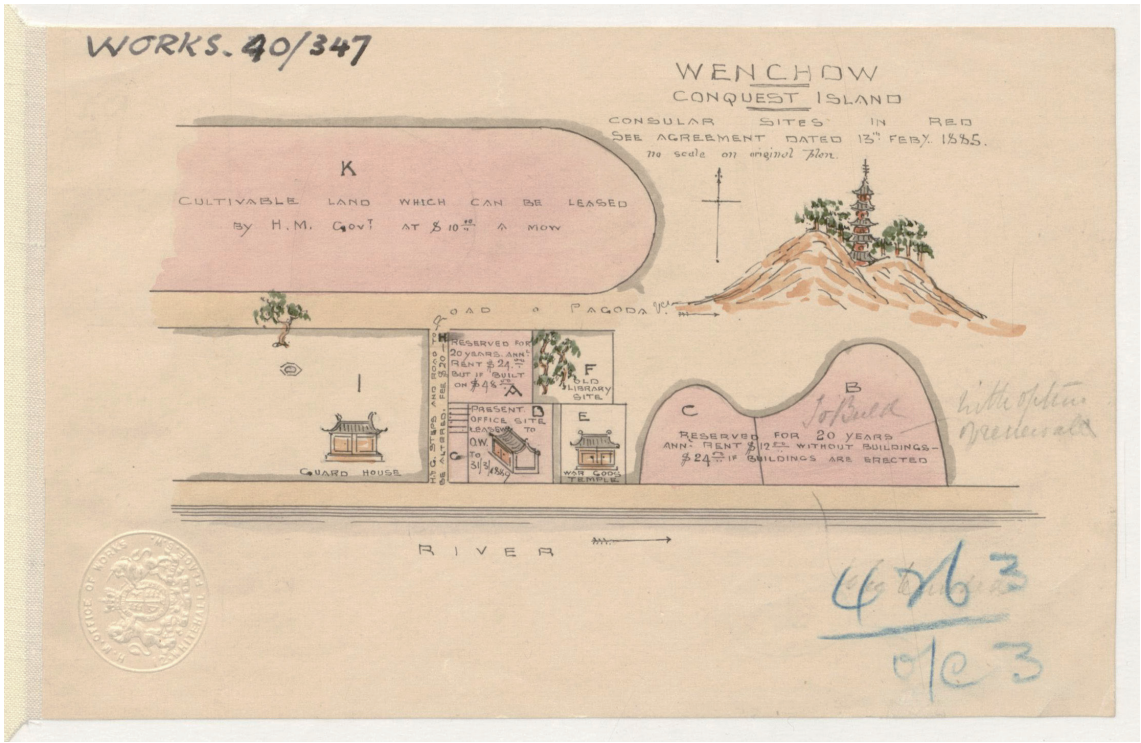


Fig. 1.5

This is the original building plan of Conquest Island on the 13th of February 1885. The red part represents the consular sites. There were diverse fabrics such as the surrounding roads, the riverside, and the temple dedicated to the war gods, and a guard house.

The geographic position of the consulate signalled social segregation: the British invaders stayed in the secured island while supervising their colonized city. This implied an order and pattern of power. It was a space from which the British could watch whilst being watched. The walled British territory made the island a different place, not just for people on the island, but also for the local people. Indeed, "Wenzhou's population never forgave the British occupation, nor their erection of a consulate that could be seen from every part of the ancient city's walls across the river".[27] However, seen from another perspective, Jiangxin Island opened up a space that connected the society of a closed old empire to the unpredictable outside word. People started to re-think themselves as a people that had been "broken-in" by westernisation and colonialization. Jiangxin island was then rendered a space for the colonial ghost that haunted in people's everyday life.

[27] R. Nield, *China's Foreign Places: The Foreign Presence in China in the Treaty Port Era, 1840–1943*, Hong Kong, Hong Kong University Press, 2015, pp. 275-6.



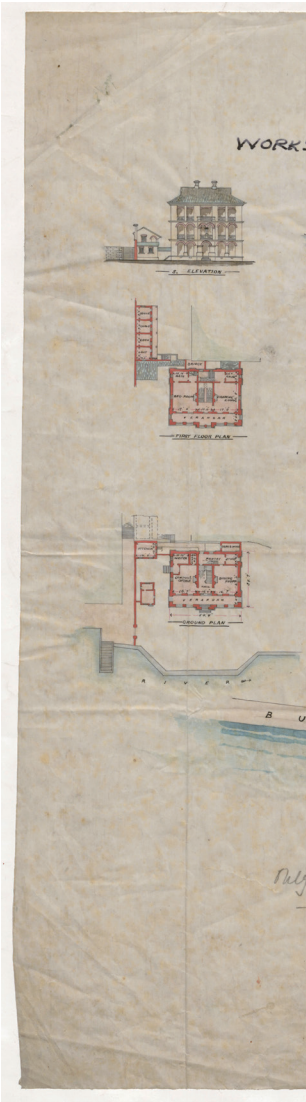


Fig. 1.6
The Consulate building was used as the residence and the office.



Fig. 1.7

Done in June 1894, this plan shows the Consulate Buildings (including all floor plans), the constable's quarters and the gaol gardens. The British territory was well protected with the help of a hill. The paddy fields were just behind the hill. The local people could still visit and plant on the island while being watched by the British.

RE-IMAGINING JIANGXIN ISLAND?

2017

1997 Hongkong's sovereignty back to China

1984 Margaret Thatcher visited China

1980

1976

1966

PEOPLE'S REPUBLIC OF CHINA

1949

REPUBLIC OF CHINA

1911

UNITED KINGDOM

VICTORIAN BRITAIN

1901

1837

1825

GEORGIAN BRITAIN

QING

1707

STUART BRITAIN

1644

1603

TUDOR BRITAIN

明 MING

1485

1368

元 YUAN

MEDIEVAL BRITAIN

1276

宋 SONG

1066

960

907

VIKING BRITAIN

ANGLO SAXON BRITAIN

793

唐 TANG

618

581

隋 SUI

魏晋南北朝 WEI, JIN, NORTHERN AND SOUTHERN DYNASTIES

410

ROMAN BRITAIN

220

William Edward Soothill was the professor of Chinese at Oxford University and a leading British sinologist

He was a Methodist missionary to Wenzhou from 1882 to 1911

Chefoo Convention signed, 1876

Second Opium War, 1856-1860

First Opium War, 1839-1842

WENZHOU OPENED AS A TREATY PORT

THE ISLAND WAS CHOSEN BY THE BRITISH AS THE SITE OF CONSULATE BUILDINGS

Matteo Ricci's political life in China 1581-1610

Zheng He's Treasure Voyages 1405-1433

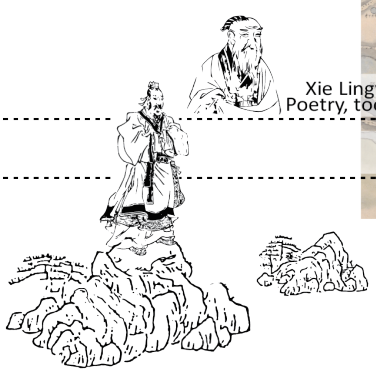
Marco Polo Arrived at Beijing 1266

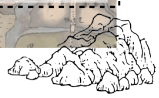
Mongol invasion and conquests 1206-1337

Xie Lingyun, the father of Shanshui Poetry, took charge of Wenzhou, 422

Wenzhou town was designed by Guo Pu, 323







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HISTORY OF THE BRITISH ISLES

DYNASTY & STATE OF CHINA

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ISLAND OF IMAGES

ISLAND OF AMUSEMENT

ISLAND OF COLONIAL GHOST

ISLAND OF RELIGION

ISLAND OF PEOTRY

COLONIAL HERITAGE & HYBRIDITY

sm and entertainment
XIN WEST PARK, 1990s

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Wenzhou resulted in
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NATORIUM HOUSE, 1956
OU MEMORIAL HALL OF
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e living in the island.

CONSTABLE QUARTER, 1896
CONSULATE BUILDING, 1894

land was named as
t Isd after the British
cargo.

HAORAN BLDG, 1580

ANG MEMORIAL HALL, 1482

GXIAN PAVILION, 1102

WEST PAGODA, 969

EAST PAGODA, 869
JIANGXIN TEMPLE, 866

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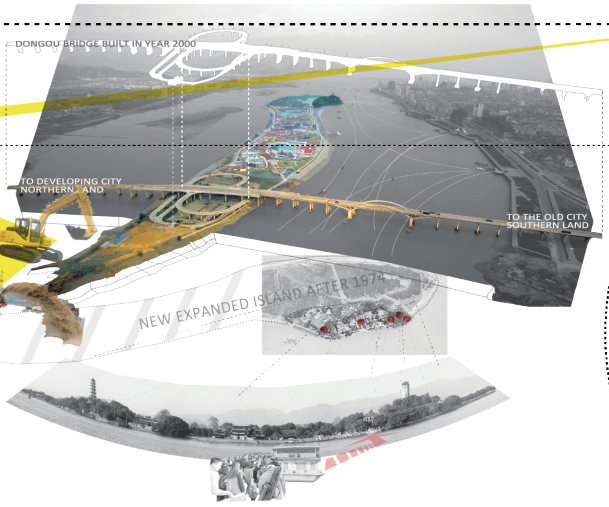
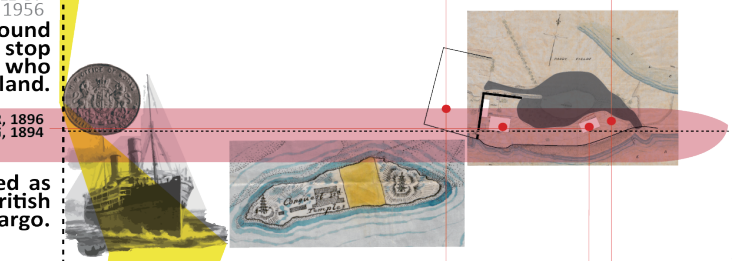








ORY OF JIANGXIN ISLAND WENZHOU

Fig. 1.8

JIANGXIN ISLAND AND SOCIO-CULTURAL HYBRIDITY

Thanks to its unique geographical, cultural and social positions, Jiangxin Island had embodied many remarkable changes in Wenzhou during the twentieth century. It is a tourist space, a public space, a commercialised theme park, a place of cultural heritage, a home island for the urban migrants and an attractive place because of its colonial architecture. In a sense it is recognized, for its various images, by different groups. From another perspective, it is also a miniaturist model of the greater city's historical development. Tracing the history of the site from the hybrid historical buildings to the utopianized Jiangxin Island, the development of the island has symbolized wider notions of the (social and political) production of space in Wenzhou.

During previous times, the identity of the island was altered several times. Diverse forms of architecture were designed to meet either the social or the political needs. Buddhist temples and pagoda were constructed for religious purposes. In addition, the unique landscape of Jiangxin Island inspired the composition of hundreds of ancient poems. This made the Island to be known as the "*islet of poetry*",[28] and led to the construction of pavilions for visiting literatis.

Wenzhou town used to be the central area of the Yongjia prefecture for a long period until the RPC in 1949. Jiangxin Island used to consist of two separate small parts. Its singular scene had contributed to many widespread stories, including one with Lingyun Xie, who was one of the greatest poets. In 422 A.C., Xie was exiled from the capital for political reasons, and demoted to the position of Chief of Yongjia prefecture. "Prefecture Xie wrote some of his finest poems drawn from his experience of the unique landscape of hills and water in Wenzhou".[29] His famous piece, *Deng Jiang Zhong Gu Yu* (*Trip to the islet in the Middle of the River*), celebrates the Island for its geographical uniqueness. Xie expressed his depression due to his political failure by contrasting it with the portrayal of wonderful scenery. His creative practice thus gave a birth to Shanshui poetry, an important genre within the history of Chinese classical literature. Shanshui poetry is a kind of lyric poetry based on *Shan-Shui* (山 - 水), two Chinese words literally meaning the mountain and water, or landscape.

[28] L. Liyang (ed.), *Wenzhou Shanshuishi Xuan (Collection of Wenzhou Landscape Poem)*, Shanghai, Shanghai Paintings And Calligraphy Publishing House, 2006.

[29] H. C. Chang, *Chinese Literature 2: Nature Poetry*, New York, Columbia University Press, 1997, p. 42- 43.

After Lingyun Xie's writing, and for the ensuing 1600 years, Jiangxin island gained a reputation with the literati and scholars. It thus became a site for pilgrimage that attracted knowledgeable visitors and left behind more than 500 prestigious masterworks. "More than 270 poets",[30] including some significant historic figures such as Bai Li, Fu Du, Haoran Meng and Moruo Guo. This range from the ancient to the modern era, all contributed to the building of a poetic and literary image, or an imaginary conception, of the Island.

"Today, Jiangxin Island is officially known as the Island of Poetry".[31] Poetry is engraved on the stone handrails or the pavement on the island to remind the people of these associations. Tourism also takes advantage of these imaginary associations. For instance, a thematic poetry recitation event was held there in October 2016. It was organised by the Tourism Bureau and supported by the government to respond to the national call for a rejuvenation of the traditional culture. This national call attempted to re-picture the people's cultural identity based on a nostalgic approach through using the traditional images.

[30] S. Chen, *Guyu Zhi (Annals of the Islet)*, 1808, https://books.google.co.uk/books?id=DkErAAAAYAAJ&dq=%E5%AD%A4%E5%B6%BC%E5%BF%97&source=gbs_navlinks_s, (accessed 1 December 2018).

[31] *Wenzhou Jiyi (The Memory of Wenzhou)*, BaiXiaoJiangXinWen (百晓讲新闻), Wenzhou, WZTV, 2016, [Documentary, episode. 26].

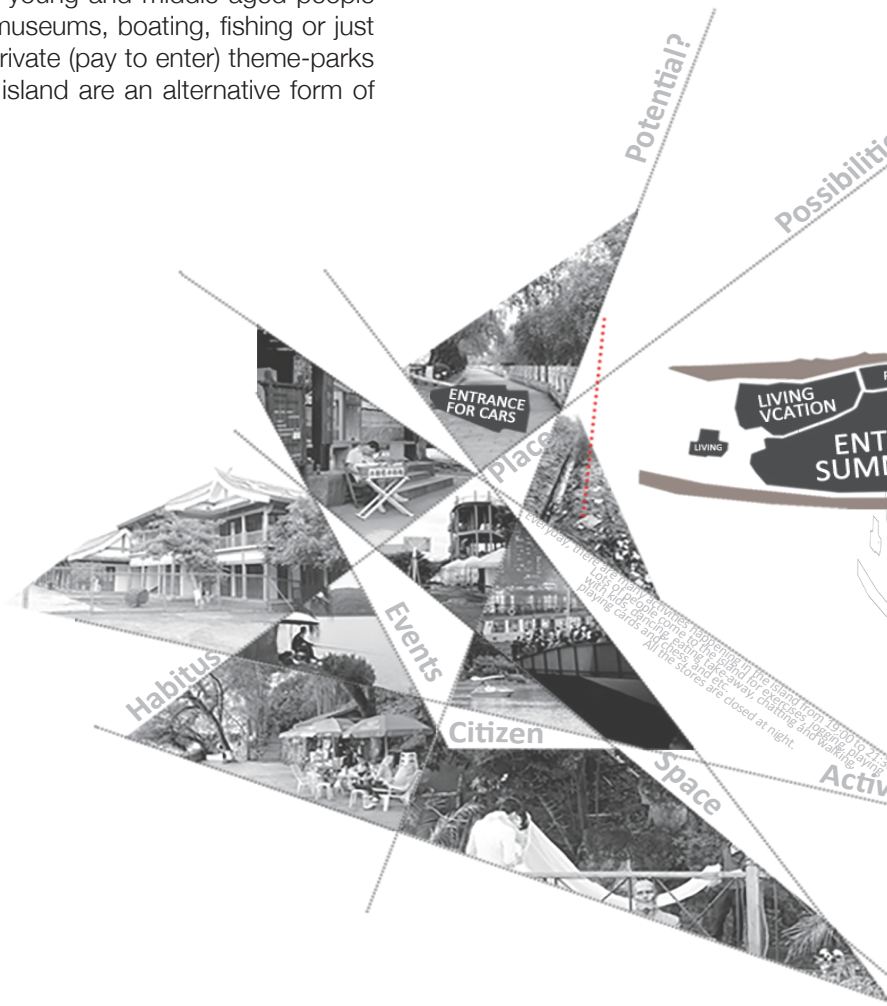


Fig. 1.9

A poetry recitation competition was held on Jiangxin Island during the National Day in 2016. It was a public holiday to celebrate the establishment of the Republic of People's China. This venue was at the entrance of the east part, just in front of the former British Consulate Building. The performance was to represent the literary communication of their ancestors. Performers were standing on a simple stage wearing quasi-traditional intellectual costumes. This plastic setting made the scenario neither authentically classic nor close to modern everyday life.

Today, Jiangxin Island covers an area of about 700,000 square meters. It consists of two parts: the expanded artificial part in the west and the original ancient part in the east. The current expanded island is filled with a diverse range of entertainment functions including a water park, a theme park and a hotel. People can either pay for the ferry to the eastern part, or drive to the western part through the Dongou Bridge which was completed in 2000.

Although expanded, the eastern part of Jiangxin island remains in its original ‘style’ with historic buildings and delicate landscape and gardens. In the daytime, most visitors comprise groups of young and middle-aged people having fun visiting the folk museums, boating, fishing or just strolling. Furthermore, the private (pay to enter) theme-parks on the western part of the island are an alternative form of entertainment.



At weekends, there are religious events and rituals, held in the Jiangxin temple. They attract some older residents. Groups of people also meet in the small open pavilions in the gardens and play instruments and hold gatherings.

The former British consulate buildings have become one of the popular places for the visitors. Jiangxin Island has thus witnessed the broader changes faced by society, and has accommodated diverse cultures and social values, becoming a place beyond just a simple leisure space.

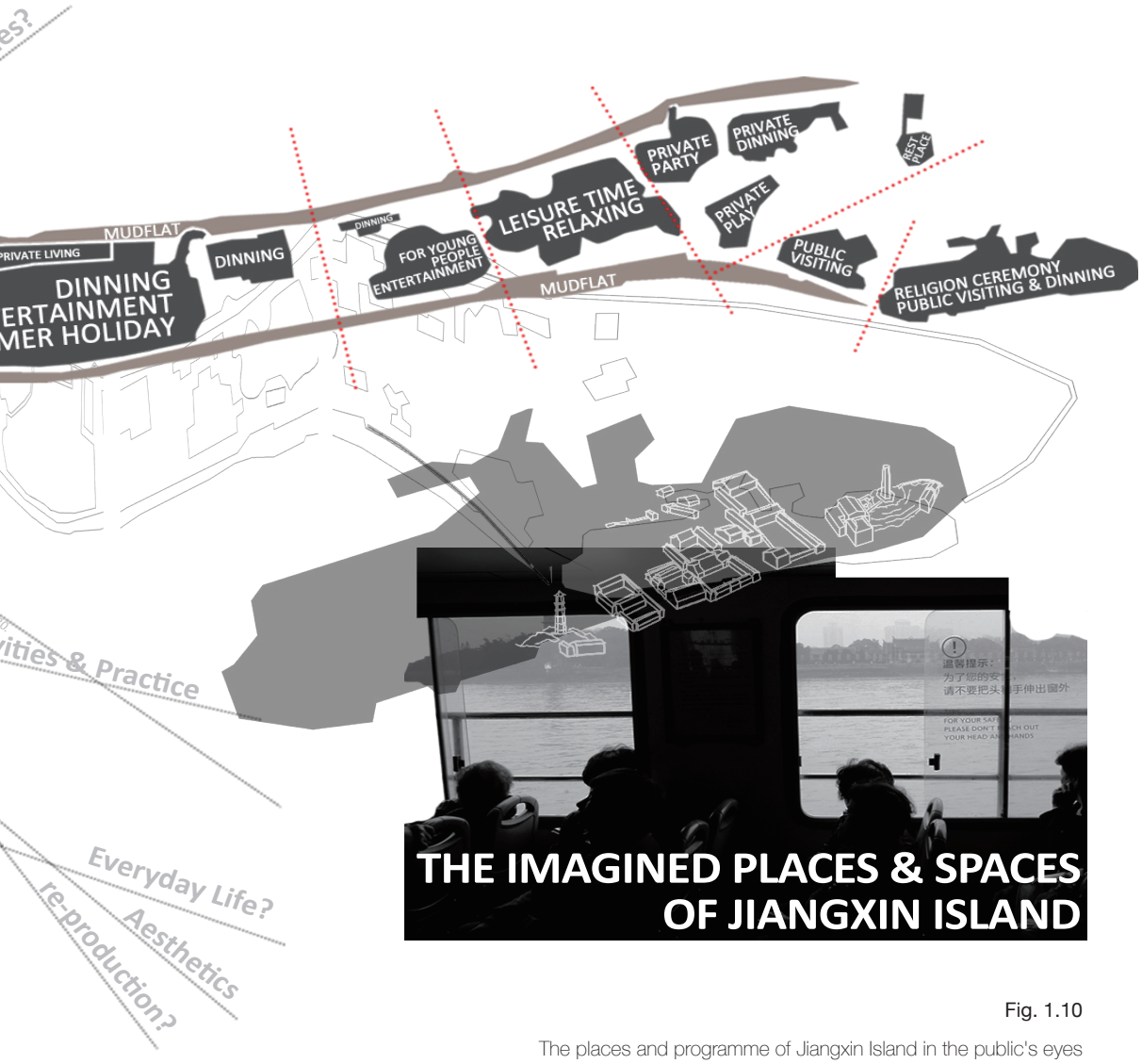
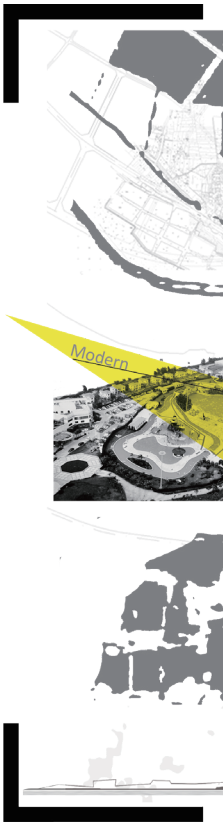


Fig. 1.10

The places and programme of Jiangxin Island in the public's eyes

People in Wenzhou, wherever they come from, hold hugely diverse views about the island. Some regard it just as a tourist site while some say it is an entertainment place for kids. Some believe the island is more like their private backyard rather than a public park for them, because they do exercise on the island every night. Some have never been there before and regard the island as an icon of Wenzhou culture. By naming it Lover Island, for some, the island is a place for lovers and it is the most popular place in the city for wedding photography. Nevertheless, it is commonly observed that the island qualifies as a utopian public space, where people can escape from their busy lives. In some cases, the Consulate buildings also contribute to the consolidation of such a utopia, a space of the same expectation. Because many admire the western-style architecture, they come to the island and appreciate the beauty of the Consulate buildings. It is through their love for the same images that they establish common identities.

With respect to the experience of the island, the identities that people have cultivated are not based on geographic identification but on their sharing of an imaginary common place, and the floating and continual re-definition of this imaginary space. Rather than an imagined cultural symbol, a deeper look is needed through the view of everyday cultural practice.



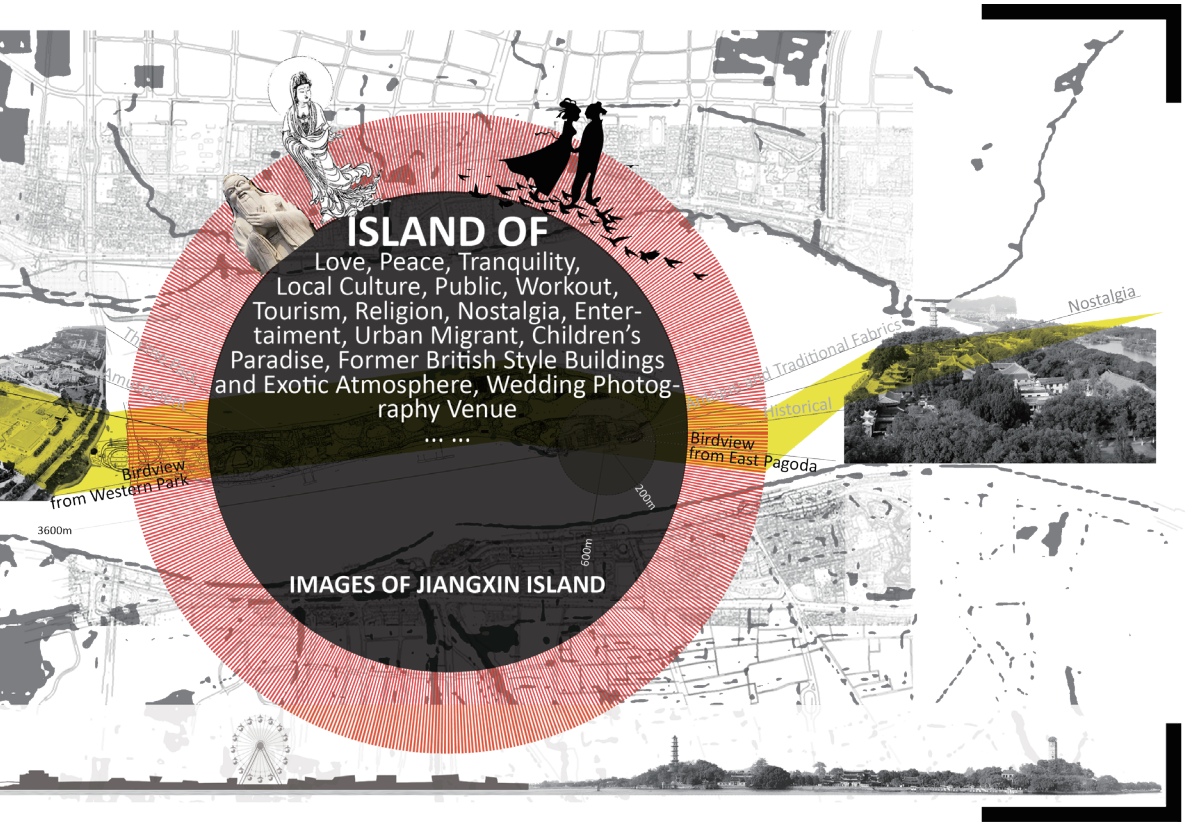


Fig. 1.11

Jiangxin Island with diverse images according to the groups with different identities.

THE LIFE OF HYBRID ARCHITECTURE IN WENZHOU

Wenzhou has undergone dramatic change during the last one and a half centuries. The history of its cultural changes is embodied in its architecture. “From 1840 to the 1940s, a succession of armed forms of aggression had taken place in China by the British, the Japanese imperialists and other foreigners. That changed this fragmented empire into a colonial, semi-colonial and semi-feudal society”.[32] China officially seemed to be an independent and sovereign nation whereas many of its political and geographical aspects were dominated by other countries including the territory, and to a degree, political, economic, cultural and military thinking. Because Wenzhou was politically controlled by the British Colonisers, it absorbed western culture at a very early stage. Architecture was one of the battlefields where different cultural values and conflicts were represented.

During that period, building style was a direct product of the social and aesthetic changes. A “hybrid sense of a mixture of the colonial and Chinese element”[33] was reflected architecturally responding to the ‘semi-colony’ nature of the space. Many new local building designers were concerned with the *hybrid* notions by mixing traditional tectonics with Western architectural elements.

[32] Z. Mao, *The Chinese Revolution and the Chinese Communist Party*, December 1939, [website], 2004, https://www.marxists.org/reference/archive/mao/selected-works/volume-2/mswv2_23.htm, (accessed 1 December 2018).

[33] L.O. Lee, *Shanghai Modern: The Flowering of a New Urban Culture in China, 1930-1945*, Cambridge, Harvard University Press, 1999, p. 309.

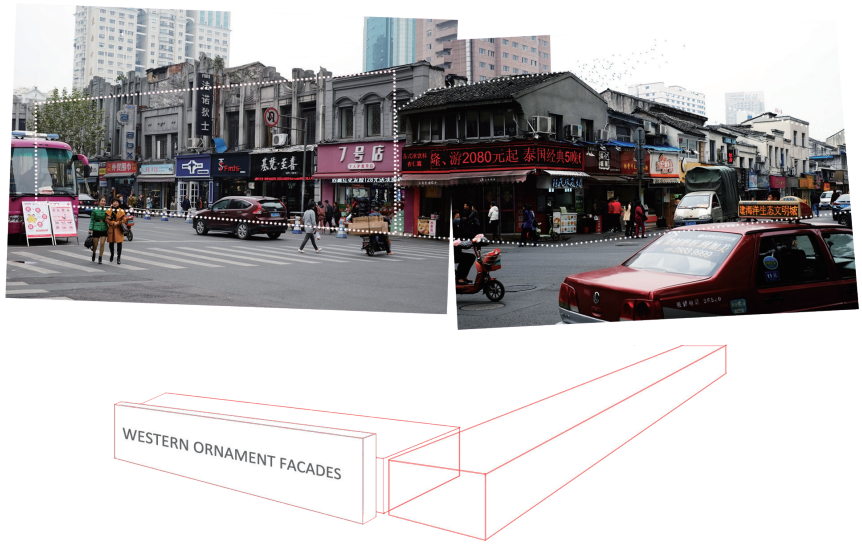


Fig. 1.12

This used to be a famous commercial street in Wenzhou. The buildings (left) were mostly constructed during the semi-colonial period. Their façades mimicked the Victorian Style and Art Deco buildings from Shanghai as to attract more attention.

The Western elements were mainly stylistic – applied in the architectural decoration, on façades and as part of the structure, on both the exterior and the interior of the buildings. One important reason for Westernising the buildings was to exploit their commercial potential. Taking Wenzhou as an example, through learning from Shanghai, "Wenzhou businessmen wanted to gentrify their buildings with an international image in order to attract more business opportunities".[34]

Importantly, the acceptance of foreign architectural elements saw some cultural exchanges, which reflected the people's changing attitudes toward colonial impacts throughout the architectural *hybridisation*. The term "*hybridisation*"[35] as used here, was founded on Homi Bhabha's theories on the postcolonial context. Hybrid artefacts reflect not just local architectural transformation and the adaption of western culture, but also the changing identities embedded in people's everyday lives.

Interestingly, the architectural approach of using hybrid elements is mostly considered as colonial in style by Chinese scholars. This is labelled 'early modern' (*jindai* in Chinese) in the research field of "modern Chinese architecture, a term coined as part of a textbook on Chinese architectural history by Liang Sicheng in the 1940s".[36] Today there is more comprehensive and diverse research, part of the Biennial Conference of Chinese Modern Architecture History. There are some typical 'early modern' cases in Wenzhou. Their construction seeks to represent the cultural exchanges between the local society and the British.

[34] G. Zhao and A. Wu, 'Study of Modern Architecture that Rooted in Native Culture in Wenzhou (根植于地域文化的温州近代建筑)', in F. Zhang and Y. Liu (eds.), *Study and Preservation of Chinese Modern Architectures（IX）*, Beijing, Tsinghua University Press, 2014, p. 339.

[35] J. Noble, 'Architecture, Hybridities, and Post-Apartheid Design', *South African Journal of Art History*, vol.23, issue.2, 2008, pp.71-88.

[36] Y, Liu, 'A chronology of the field of modern Chinese architectural history, 1986–2012', *Frontiers of Architectural Research*, vol. 2, no. 2, 2013, p. 206.



Fig. 1.13

This is the front page of the Research and Preservation of Chinese Modern Architecture (Vol. 8). The picture on the cover shows the buildings of the colonial period. This book includes a 'early modern' case from Wenzhou.

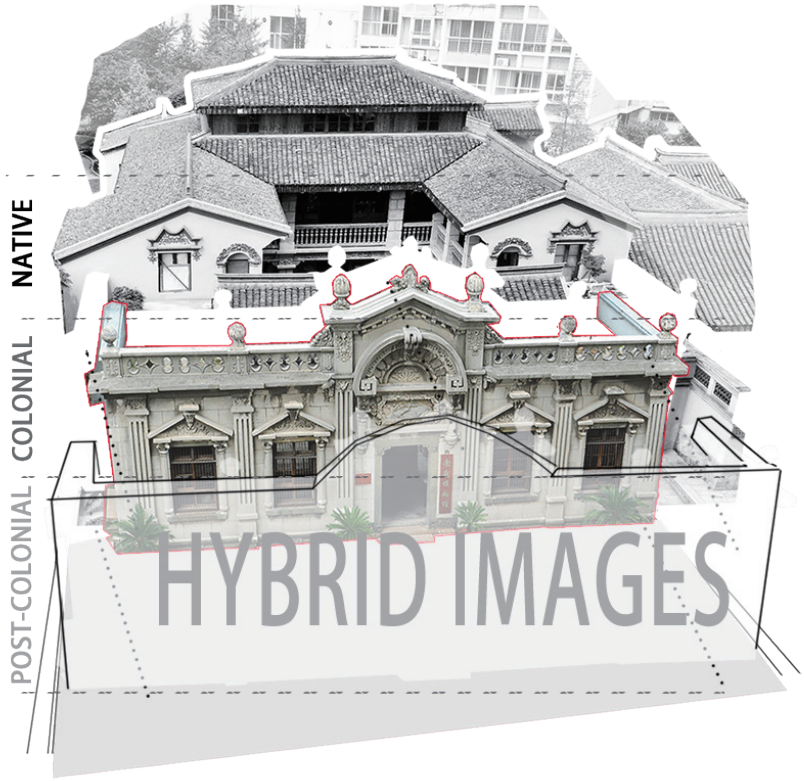


Fig. 1.14

This hybrid architecture was previously the Yikang Private Bank (益康钱庄) opened by Mingzhai Ge (葛明斋) and Shuxiang Huang(黄淑香) during the 1920s. This colonial heritage consists of a traditional courtyard-oriented layout with baroque decorated façade at the front gate.

On 9 June 2012, the building was regenerated as a museum and theatre for Nanxi (南 戏), a kind of local classical opera in South China.

After years of change, the hybrid buildings are now also facing various challenges in terms of their regeneration. Some buildings have been occupied and privatised. However, their condition is in a poor state of repair while some have been transformed into public museums funded by the government. But neither being occupied by individuals nor museum-ified, the regeneration of this architectural heritage has left little space for public discussion and debate about its future. They are limited, becoming empty vessels for visiting, that merely provide a cultural impression. According to the Institution of Conservation and Archaeology in Wenzhou, the idea of museum-ification attempts “to popularise traditional art and enhance people’s national pride”.[37] In other words, hybrid buildings appear to be maintaining a static image. They are thought to retain their *colonial faces* and play the educational role of reminding people of the humiliating history of foreign occupation.

[37] Wenzhou Cultural Heritage, *Nanxi Museum (南戏博物馆)*, [website], 2017, http://www.wzch.net.cn/index/article_0/300_1.html, (accessed 1 December 2018).

Fig.1.15

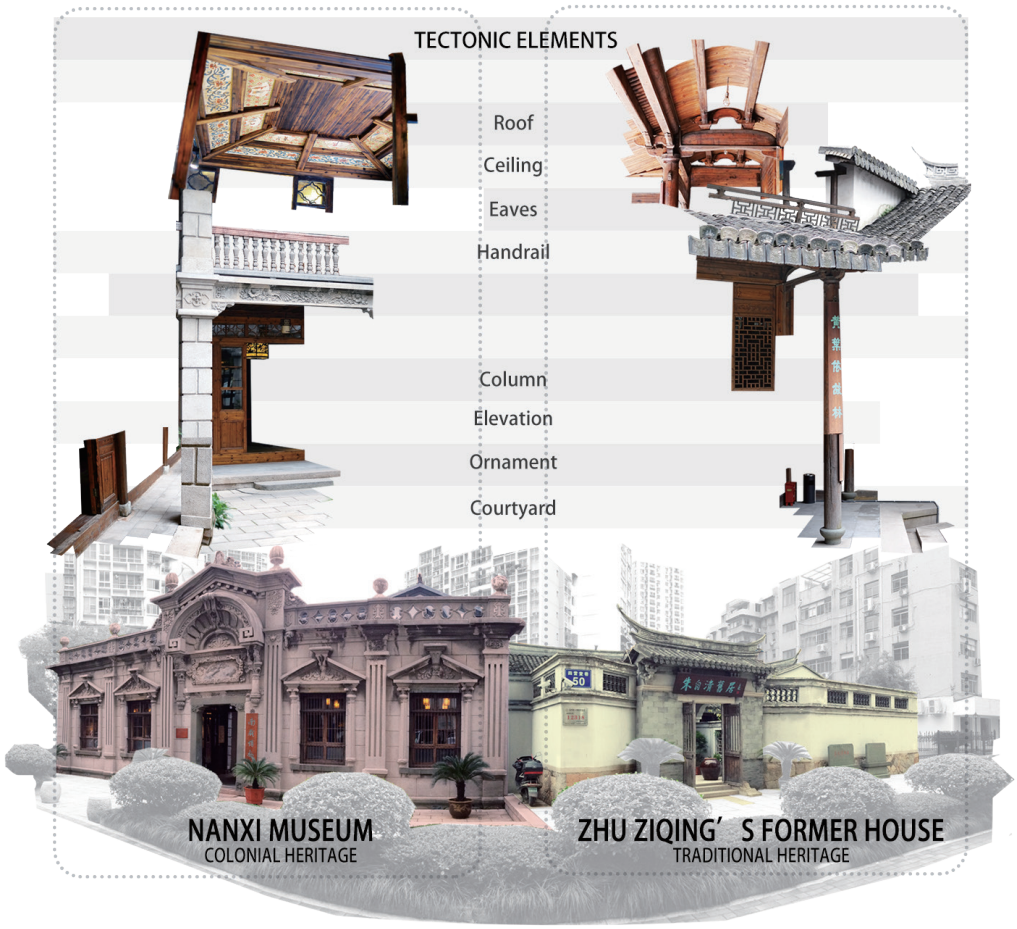
The building on the left is Nanxi Museum built in 1920s. The one on the right below, built in late Qing Dynasty, is the former house of Zhu Ziqing, who was a famous poet and essayist (1898-1948). Zhu's house was relocated and opened by the government in 2004. The juxtaposition of the two museum-ified buildings provides a great opportunity for people to scrutinize different cultural manifestations through the architectural lens.

In Nanxi museum, the main structure has utilised stone, which is rare in traditional dwellings like Zhu's house that is a timber-frame structure. Although the architectural skins varied in terms of ornaments and materiality, they share some common ground since their layouts were all centre courtyard orientated.

In a sense, there is similarity between the spatial and the layout which implied that the social-spatial order and the "ritual"[38] aspects remained unchanged in the house.

[38] In *Architecture and Ritual: How Buildings Shape Society*, Peter Blundell Jones illustrates how the different rituals of everyday life are framed and practised in our living space, especially in a highly civilised context. Additionally, the layout of the architectural space not just mirrors the socio-spatial orders, but also guides and enhances our identities.

P.B. Jones, *Architecture and Ritual: How Buildings Shape Society*, London, Bloomsbury Academic, 2016.



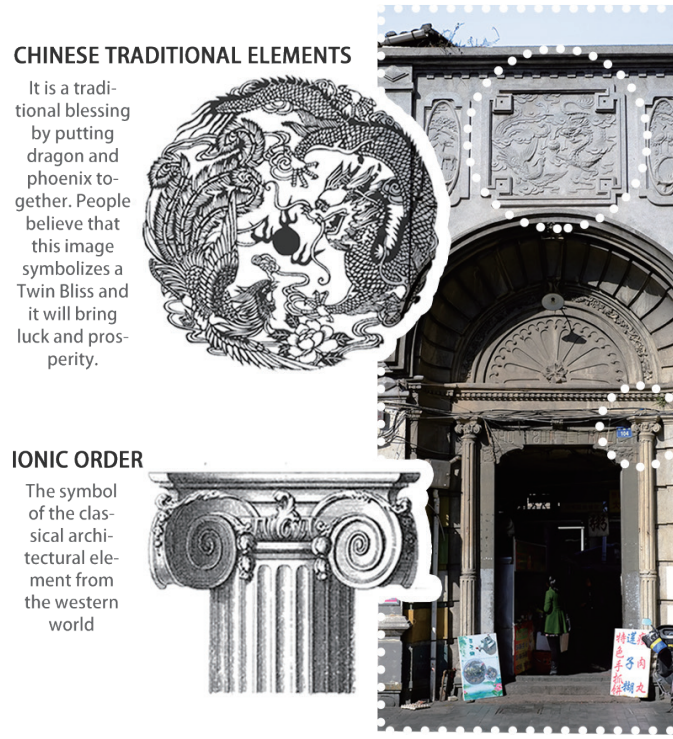
Technically speaking, the poor condition of the building, the excessive compensation demanded by the to-be-relocated residents, unclear ownerships, and a lack of professional guidance, have become entangled as an inextricable issue and a problem for the regeneration of the hybrid buildings. A further step beyond the architecture itself, towards an appreciation of the social perspective, has been ignored. Those buildings should have some alternative futures, it is assumed, not just as cultural heritage but also as living buildings themselves. Rather than simply maintaining their integrity, their image, space and colonial legacy, they should be rethought critically, based on the people's everyday lives.

Fig. 1.16

This building was Zhu's House located on Number 104 Maoshahe Road, Wenzhou. Built in the late Qing Dynasty, it was originally constructed as a quadrangle/courtyard while the front façade and gateway has both traditional and western ornamental elements.

Due to the changing society and ownership, this building is now occupied chaotically and informally, in some cases even illegally, due to the problematic lease for both local residents and urban migrants. Both housing conditions and the state of repair demand urgent improvement. The regeneration work has been approved by the government, however, work now, has been on hold due to too many complex problems. It is not only about the unacceptable compensation expected by the to-be relocated residents, but also the expensive work needed to be done on the building itself. Little room has been left for any further negotiation with the residents.

See the appendix: the interview made with Qixin Gao, who was a representative from the Department of Cultural Legacy Management.



FROM ARCHITECTURAL HYBRIDITY TO SOCIAL IDENTITY

THE LIFE OF THE FORMER BRITISH CONSULATE BUILDINGS

Becoming understood as one of the typical colonial products, the former British Consulate Building and its accompanying Constable's Quarters have struggled during the last century due to their colonial facades and specific positions. Standing on Jiangxin Island for more than a century, they have witnessed social turbulence and regime changes in Wenzhou. Their function and ownership have also changed dramatically.

In May 1924 when the British owners withdrew from Wenzhou, the two colonial buildings on the island were owned by Ou Custom (瓯海关 in Chinese, abbreviation for Wenzhou Custom), and transferred to the FTU (abbreviation for Federation of Trade Unions in Wenzhou) later in 1956. Today, the FTU owns three buildings including the Sanatorium built beside the former Constable's Quarters. The FTU was a substantially strong society with nine affiliated institutions, one of which has managed buildings such as the Sanatorium for the retired CCP workers and officials as a federation welfare centre. The sanatorium was fully funded by the government.

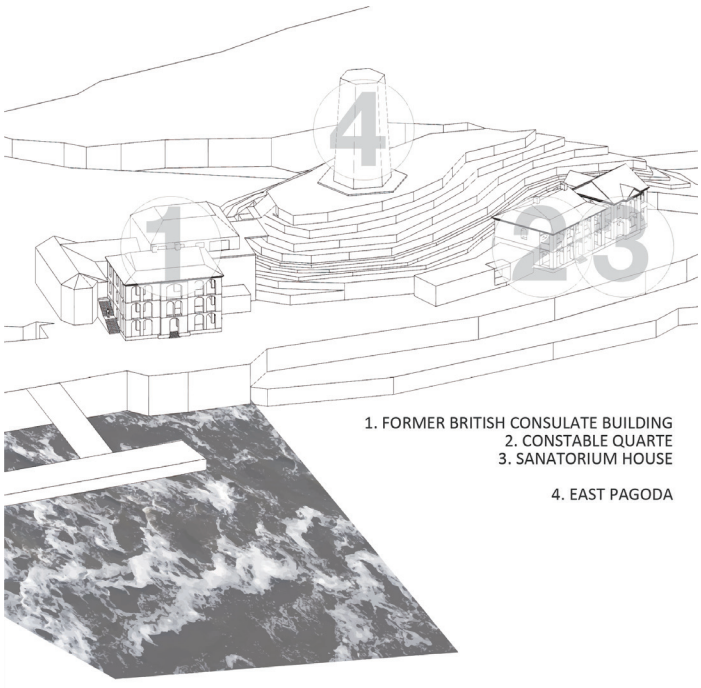


Fig. 1.17

The colonial heritage when approach from the eastern part of Jiangxin Island.

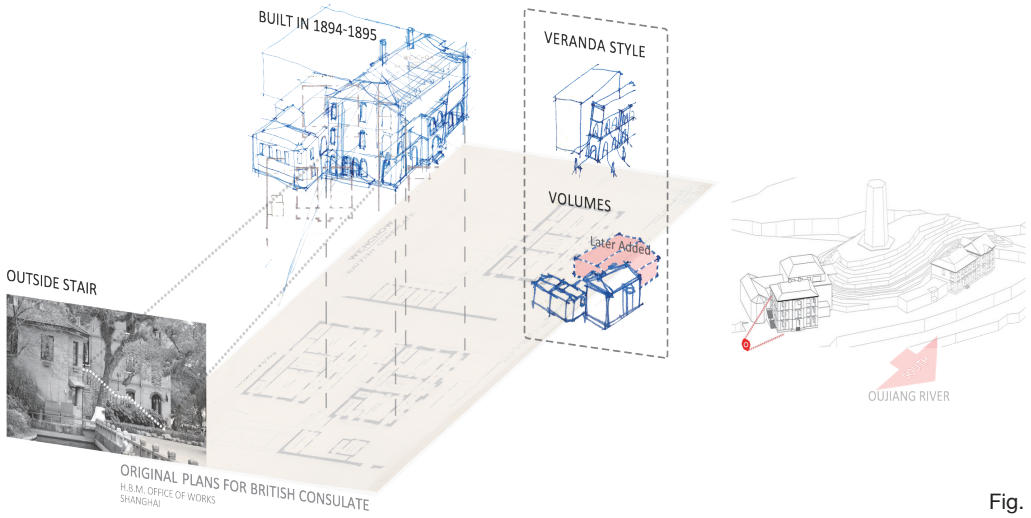


Fig. 1.18

Sketches of the Former British Consulate Building and its architectural style.



Fig. 1.19

The Constable's Quarters was built to the east of the British Consulate Building just one year after.



Fig. 1.20

Interestingly, the later built building by the CCP seemed to duplicate the two colonial buildings, but with a star at the top of the façade, which symbolizes its political standpoint.

With the impact of the economic reforms in the later 1970s, the planned economic system was replaced by a free market economy in China. During the economic transition period from the early 1990s, the FTU gradually found it more and more difficult to run the sanatorium because of a lack of financial support. The sanatorium was shut down and abandoned. However, the buildings were re-used before long. A new start came in 2006, with the STABLD (abbreviation for Scenery and Tourism Administrative Bureau of Lucheng District) who had a plan to re-integrate the cultural and historical resources, including these three buildings. It was trying to transform the eastern part of the island into a place of tourism, partially based on patriotic educational priorities. As a result of negotiations, a rental contract was signed by the Subsidiary of the FTU, and the three buildings were lent to the SMO (an abbreviation for Scenic Management Office, the subsidiary of STABLD) in the eastern end part of Jiangxin island. It was a 10-year tenancy from 2006 to 2016. However, things did not go as smoothly as expected. The buildings were used as a museum for less than two years before their closure due to its unsuccessful financial performance.

Being short of creative ideas, the FTU decided to invite public investment. In 2008, the head of the SMO made a deal with the company "No. 9 Residence". The Office became the principal tenant and would be paid by the No. 9 Residence who would run the three buildings until 2016. These colonial buildings were well researched and then re-designed by the Zhejiang Historical Architecture Design & Research institute. From 2009, the buildings were privatized and used as entertainment clubs as *Huisuo* (会 所 in Chinese, which means the Place for Meeting). It was named *The Jiangxin Island International Mansion*. Business went well until 2014.



Photo of the Renewed Colonial Building in the **Brochure of Jiangxin Island International Mansion**, 2009



Interior Decorated in Western Style



Moscow Kremlin (Room Name in Chinese)

Fig. 1.21 &
Fig. 1.22 (a) & (b)

In December 2013, the Central Commission for Discipline Inspection had called upon the communist party members to follow a rectification movement. They criticized the widespread phenomenon of privatizing a public resource into a *Huisuo*. It emphasized that "the Party's spirits should be renovated by keeping away from this extravagant privatised lifestyle. Any party member should be supervised by the people and must keep away from any private club".[39] These words, from the centre, suddenly changed everything. Along with pressure from the public and social consensus, the local government launched an inspection of the *Huisuo*, which mostly benefitted the wealthy, and even officials in Wenzhou, and subsequently, on 22 January 2014, the International Mansion was closed down "on orders from above".[40] The buildings were out of use until October 2016.

[39] Renminribao, 'Yansu Zhengzhi "Huisuo Zhong De Waifeng" (严肃整治 "会所中的歪风)', *People*. Cn, 24 December 2013, http://politics.people.com.cn/n/2013/1224/c1001-23925473.html, (accessed 1 December 2018).

[40] J. Lv, and Z. Zheng, 'Jiangxinyu "Guoji Gongguan" Tuichu Yingguo Zhu Wen Lingshiguan Jiuzhi Zen Yong(江心屿 "国际公馆" 退出 英国驻温领事馆旧址怎用)', *66WZ Wenzhou Net*, 17 July 2015, http://news.66wz.com/system/2015/07/17/104513599.shtml, (accessed 1 December 2018).



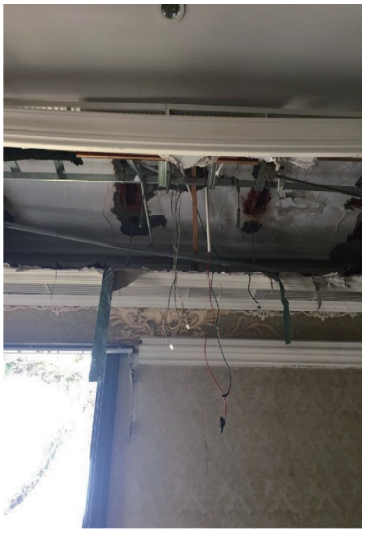


Fig. 1.23 (a) & (b)

Photos of the Poor interior of the Former Consulate buildings after two years of neglects

By the end of 2016, the FTU reclaimed the buildings and started to propose another future propose for them. As part of the cultural heritage of the city, it was determined that the buildings should be open to the public. Again, like what has happened to many historical buildings on the island, they were intended to be renewed as museums. They would mainly exhibit contemporary history of the past one century since the opium wars. Essential to this would be the history of the rise of the CCP and the glorious stories of the FTU in Wenzhou, particularly their contribution to the reconstruction of society in the era of the *New China* in Wenzhou. All appeared to respond to the CCP's ideological education: to construct a strong national identity through learning from the history of humiliation. However, the FTU claimed that, "they lacked professional knowledge and advice on architectural regeneration and marketing strategy, especially about how to run the buildings economically".[41]

[41] See the Appendix: records of the meeting with representatives from the Federation of Trade Unions, 19th June, 2015

Indeed, further to the financial aspects, the regeneration is now in a challenging predicament. The FTU have limited funding for renewing the buildings. Furthermore, the closure of the International Mansion had caused huge debts. “No. 9 Residence” failed to pay rentals to the SMO. As a result, the SMO didn’t pay the Subsidiary of the FTU. No one dared to take responsibility for the payments.

After all this, questions have now turned back to what alternative future the buildings might have. Besides the architectural aspects, the hybridity of the buildings needs to be re-thought from a social perspective.



Fig. 1.24 (a) & (b)

Committee established by the Federation of Trade Unions, Wenzhou, to regenerate the building into some other functions, and to fabricate the premises for public usage.

Besides, the staff from the Trade Union, mostly members of the CPPCC (Chinese People’s Political Consultative Conference) members and the representatives of People’s Congress in Wenzhou. The background professions include accountants, university professors, social-cultural organisers, and etcetera, but there are no architects or historians.

COLONIAL IMAGES AS PRACTICED SPACE: THE CONSTRUCTION OF IDENTITY

At the entrance of the Eastern part of Jiangxin Island, pagodas, temples, the revolutionary Martyrs and Consulate Buildings are juxtaposed. This has led to a continuous space. The contrast between the local traditional buildings and the foreign architectural fabric has resulted in a space of hybrid cultural production. The exterior of the colonial architecture has created popular public spaces. The image of the colonial architecture is considered to be the best background setting for western-style wedding photography. Many local photography studios have established successful businesses by using the colonial architecture as their setting.

Wearing white wedding dresses and suits, the couples pose to achieve an exotic aura. This bodes well with what people describe as *Westernised* (*in Mandarin: Yangqi, 洋气*), whilst belittling local taste (*in Mandarin: Tuqi, 土气*). Generally speaking, when people or things are described as Westernised, they are considered to be more gentrified aesthetically and socially. Evidence is found in the consumer field that "Chinese consumers are psychologically or sociologically orientated or predisposed toward foreign (Western) goods"[42] since the start of the 21st century. Such an attitude, termed as *xenocentrism*, is prevalent in people's everyday imaginations. Ideas, styles, or products from foreign cultures are often seen as the first choice. This implies a cultural preference for Westernised products as superior. Hence, with the help of commercial branding and linguistic practices, the buildings got used to decorate the couples' life events. The couples appreciate the buildings not just because they seem beautiful, but because they apparently represent a westernised authenticity.

The architectural images associated with them have become a cultural sign of Westernisation, allowing the couples to re-define their own identities. In a sense, the colonial heritage and its exteriors produce the space for the intensive process of identity construction. From everyday communication to daily practice, a process of change and self-identity is built out of co-operation between linguistic practices and spatial practices. As de Certeau puts it: "Speaking … effects an appropriation, or re-appropriation, of language by its speakers' it establishes a present relative to a time and place; and it posits a contract with the other (the interlocutor) in a network of places and relations".[43] It is also useful to draw upon feminist understandings regarding space: "… space occurs as the effect produced by the operations that orient it, situated it, temporalize it, and make it function in a polyvalent unity of conflictual programs or contractual proximities. On this view, in relation to place,

[42] R. Mueller, et al., 'Consumer xenocentrism in China: an exploratory study', *Asia Pacific Journal of Marketing and Logistic*, vol. 28, no. 1, 2016, p.73.

[43] M.De. Certeau, *The Practice of Everyday Life, 3rd edn.* California, University of California Press, 2011, p. xiii.



Fig. 1.25

People taking wedding photography in front of the former British Consulate Buildings.

space is like the word when it is spoken, that it, when it is caught in the ambiguity of an actualization, transformed into a term dependent upon many different conventions, situated as the act of a present (or of a time), and modified by the transformations caused by successive contexts".[44]

From another point of view, such xenocentrism implies that the colonial impact still exists. The space for identity construction is a cultural hybridisation that haunts people's everyday lives. But the colonial ghost is not overwhelming. "Homi Bhabha refuses, in his term '*hybridity*', to accept the well-known narrative of colonialist authority silencing and repressing native tradition. Bhabha insists that the oppressed culture is not simply rendered mute, but rather participates in the formation of an identity that is neither purely that of the colonists nor that of the colonized; it is a third space that is mutually forged".[45] The *Third Space* is a liminal site between contending and contradictory positions. "[It is] not a space of resolution, but one of continuous negotiation".[46] It witnesses the mutual interaction of the colonial and the colonised that results in an endless construction of self-identity. Here, it is necessary to consider the social activities around the Consulate buildings' architecture through the lens of the *third space*, as it escapes from the binary play of cultures between the coloniser and the colonised. As such they are tightly connected to the architectural images. This also reminds us that although the issue of self-identity seems to be far beyond architectural design, such social-spatial issues remain tightly relevant to architectural regeneration.

The former Consulate buildings are now waiting for their new lives. Changes are needed in terms of the architecture, the function and the business programme. We can often talk about architectural conservation or regeneration based on techniques, materiality or spatial formalisation and neglect the wider social-political context. This has to change, because colonial images represent the history of humiliation, and it is more important to provide a *third space* for people to rethink colonial impacts by re-examining themselves critically. Furthermore, the people's voices need to be included in the buildings' future.

How do we deal with the social-spatial issue in an architectural way? How do we construct a new Identity? In order to respond to these questions, it is necessary to re-investigate the development of architectural practice in China over the past century. This reflects a history of constructing cultural identity through architectural representation after the semi-colonised period in China.

[44] M.De. Certeau, *The Practice of Everyday Life, 3rd edn.* California, University of California Press, 2011, p. 117.

[45] M. Adamek and K. Lorenz, 'Be a Crossroads', in C. Cartiere and S. Wills (ed.), *The Practice of Public Art*, New York, Routledge, 2008, p. 58.

[46] F. Hernandez, *Bhabha for Architects*, London, Routledge, 2010, P.95.

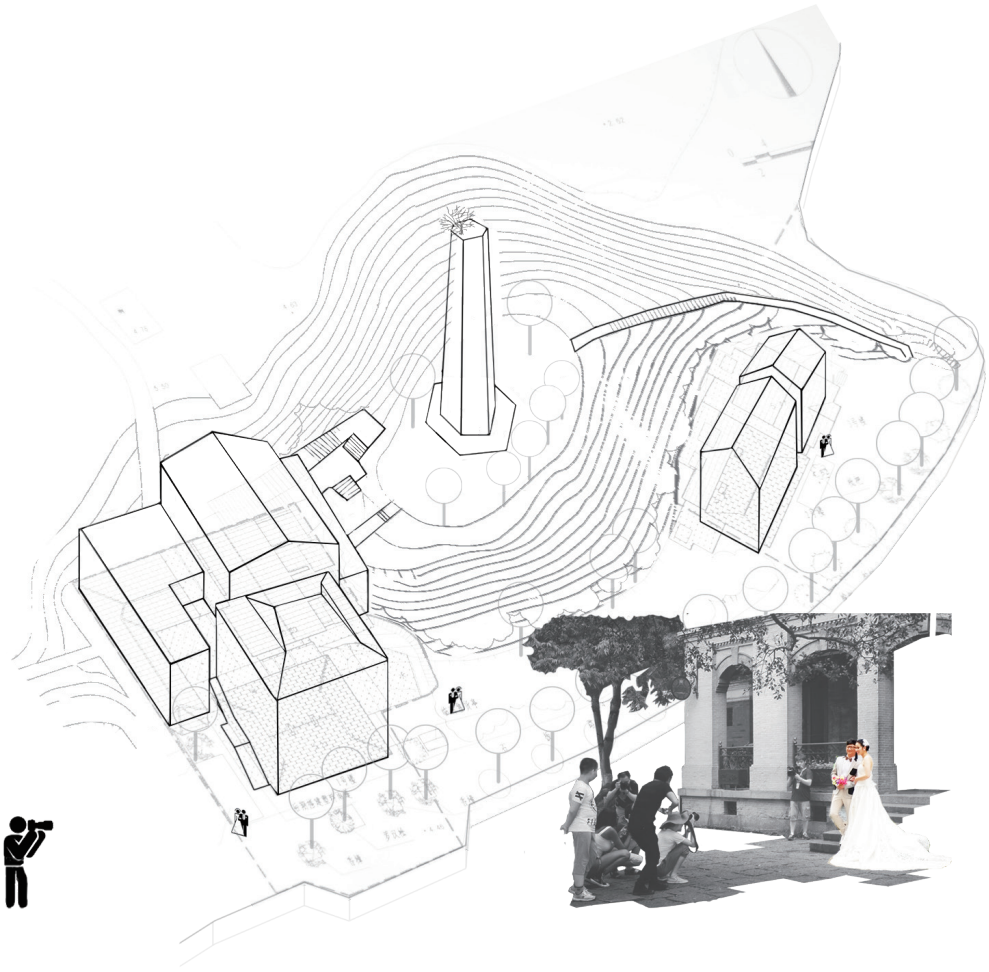


Fig. 1.26

In 2015, the city tourism bureau officially designated the former British Consulate Buildings as a wedding photography base, further contributing to the booming development of this industry.

Furthermore, on sunny days, there are dozens of couples that go to this specific location for their wedding photography. And interestingly, most of the couples are the young migrant workers, who come to Wenzhou in search of a better life. During some informal talks, many couples admit they love this building because it looks *Westernised* (*洋气*) .

ARCHITECTURAL REPRESENTATION AND THE IDENTITY CONSTRUCTION

> Cultures and Nations, for Bhabha, do not construct themselves out of their own essence; they do so through interactions with other cultures. Thus, cultural identity is always and already a conglomeration of differences; traces and traits of the Other make up the identity of the self; and no cultural meaning is separable from its original multi-cultural production.[47]

[47] M. Adamek and K. Lorenz, 'Be a Crossroads', in C. Cartiere and S. Wills (ed.), *The Practice of Public Art*, New York, Routledge, 2008, p. 57.

ARCHITECTURE AS THE WEAPON AGAINST THE COLONIAL GHOST

The past century witnessed foreign aggression and dramatic transitions among territories in mainland China. A large empire with a long tradition collapsed, followed by social and regime turbulence. Against all the repercussions and radical changes, a new nation-state of China was called for and emerged gradually in the beginning of the 20th century. For the Chinese people and State, the first challenge was to come together through building-up a common identity, to bond the communities and society together, and to fight against invaders. Architecture thus became one of the most powerful weapons in the construction of Chinese culture. Studies have shown architectural imaging to have a strong power in constructing people's cultural identity whether in a colonial or post-colonial context.[48] This has been the case in modern China. Interestingly until relatively recently, "China's twentieth-century architectural history has been approached and portrayed as two largely separate experiences: foreign and Chinese".[49] A colonial ghost, founded on the dualism of cultural identification, has clearly penetrated everyday Chinese life.

[48] P. Herrle and S. Schmitz, Constructing identity in contemporary architecture: case studies from the South, Berlin, LIT Verlag Münster, 2009.

[49] E. Denison, *Architecture and the landscape of modernity in China before 1949*, New York, Routledge, 2017, p. 100.

The development of architectural practice and education have inevitably been affected by such social and political upheavals. We can observe a clear storyline of anti-colonialism, which has been the ideological ghost that haunts Chinese architecture, from the semi-colonial till the post-colonial period. It is argued that the initiation of modern architecture and its criticality has been significantly accelerated by the colonial impact. Because of the colonial past, a nationalist criticality in design emerged from "the 1920s to the 1950s, with a progressive agenda not defined as that of an autonomous position against authority and tradition but constructed in a joint effort of the architect and

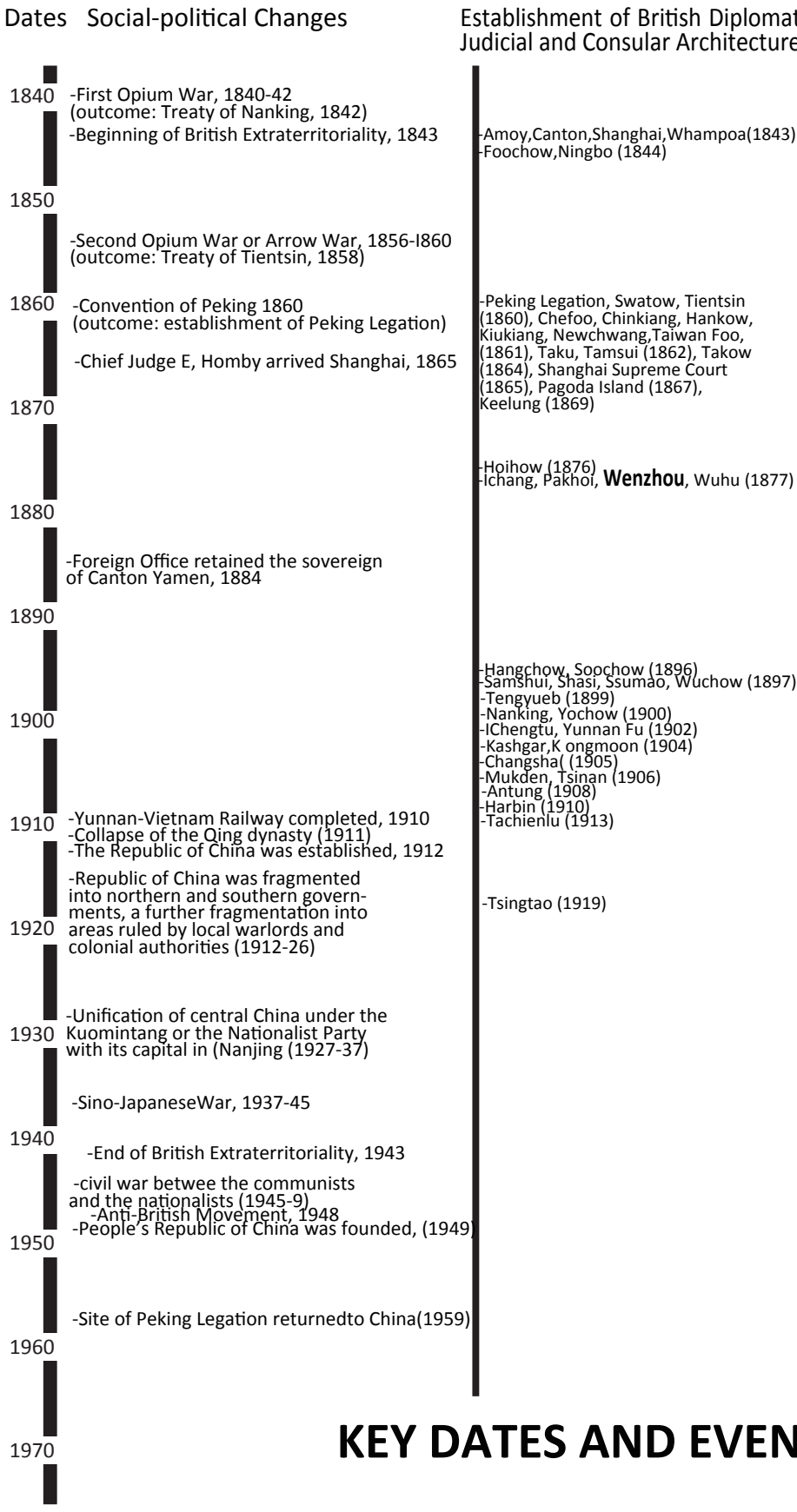
state authority against external colonial domination".[50] Such an anti-colonialist battle is unfolded in the following, "five major steps, as drawn by Zhu, including the Beaux-Arts based Chinese Neo-Classicism, Expressive Regionalism, Socialist/Collectivist Modernism, Hyper-modernism of the State and Modernism (Market-Based & Experimental)".[51] This is not a linear development. Sometimes they interweave or even circulate. The colonial ghost has portrayed a brief history of the modern and contemporary architectural development in China: from "nationalism",[52] through architectural symbolization to regionalism, through learning from local pragmatism.

In order to deal with the ghost, an architectural evolution of nationalist-orientated styles has occurred formally and ideologically. This has been represented by some characteristic figures chronologically, including Yanzhi Lv, Tingbao Yang, Sicheng Liang, Huiyin Lin, Jizhong Feng, Kang Qi, Yungho Chang, Qingyun Ma, Shu Wang, Yansong Ma and so on, who have been the most influential in mainstream architectural practice as well as pedagogy in this one-party led nation. Their works have articulated the stories of love and hatred between the Chinese culture and the colonial impacts.

[50] J. Zhu, *Architecture of modern China : a historical critique*, London, Routledge, 2009, p. 10.

[51] Ibid., pp. 234-235.

[52] T. Zhu, *Liang Sicheng and his Time*, Guilin, Guangxi Normal University, 2014, p. 113.



KEY DATES AND EVEN

H. Huang, '*Going Native: British diplomatic, judicial and consular architecture in China*

-Canton carpenters and masons were forbidden to build for foreigners (1847)

-Chineses carpenter hired by E. Ashworth to build an English house (1851)

-Verandah of Ningpo Consulate fell (1850s)

-D.B. Robertson moved in Canton Yamen (1858)

-Contract of Ningpo Consulate was drawn (1864)

-W. Crossmanw sent to China to inspect British consulare stablishments(1866)
-W. Crossman and R. H. Boyce were in charge of British consulates (1867)
-Shanghai Carpenters were allowed to build for foreigners (1868)
-New Shanghai Supreme Court was completed (1868)
-Alteration of Legation Chapel (1870-75)
-Office of Works officially set up its Far Eastern Branch (1872)
-Shanghai Supreme Court rebuilt as it was (1873)

-New Shanghai Customs House was built by Yang, Sisheng (1893)

-TengyuehC onsul reckoned Chinese builders unethical (1905)
-Bay windows began to appear in consulate design (1908)
-Completion of Legation Students' Quarters (1909)

-The New Way of Building (Zhang, Yingxu, 张锳绪《建筑新法》, 1910)

-First school of architecture in China established (1923)

-Chinese began to take over inspecting the problem of consular buildings (1927)

-Liang, Ssucheng (梁思成) returned China and taught architecture (1928)

-Henry Wong established modernist architectural programme(1942)

ITS IN CHINA Fig. 1.27

(1867-1949)', PhD Thesis, Sheffield University. 2010, pp. 340-341

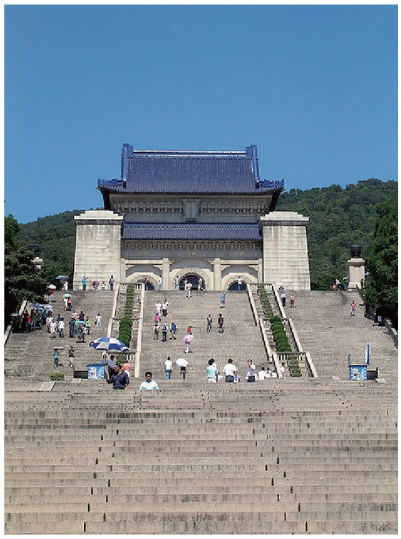
ARCHITECTURE OF CHINESE FACES AND BODIES: FROM NATIONALISM TO GLOCALISM

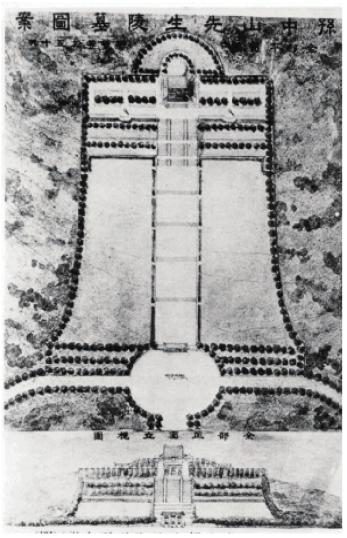
It was mainly those architects who studied in America, at the University of Pennsylvania and Cornell, for example, that contributed to the earliest establishment of modern architectural education and research in China, "although those trained in Japan also played an important role as the 'first generation'".[53] A majority of Chinese students returning to China from the 1920s onwards, especially those from the United States, were educated according to a Beaux-Arts programme. "The importation of eclecticism from nineteenth-century France and Europe into China via America and other routes, for the design of the Chinese national forms, in the 1930s and 1950s, seems obvious".[54] "One of its primary features is the use of historical images and styles upon modern structures, and that of symmetrical compositions in some cases".[55] Such design philosophy was directly reflected through some earlier modern projects, which had constructed strong images of national identity using cultural symbols.

[53] E. Denison, *Architecture and the landscape of modernity in China before 1949*, New York, Routledge, 2017, p. 139.

[54] J. Zhu, 'A space of the state: Beijing 1949-59', in M. Swenarton, I. Troiani and H. Webster (eds.), *The Politics of Making*, New York, Routledge, 2008, p.53.

[55] J. Zhu, *Architecture of modern China: a historical critique*, London, Routledge, 2009, p. 171.





Yanzhi Lv
1894-1929

Bachelor Degree in
Cornell University
(1913-18)

Henry Murphy
Architect
(1918-21)



From left to right: (a) the Main Hall of the Sun Yat-sen Mausoleum, (b) Original plan of Sun Yat-sen Mausoleum, (c) Portrait of Lu Yanzhi

Fig. 1.28 (a), (b) & (c)

Sun Yat-sen Mausoleum was built in Nanjing during 1926-1931 by Yanzhi Lv. In searching for a modern monument, architects hardly avoided the ideology of nationalism in terms of icon and symbols. National and Political legitimacy is the key to the architectural approaches,[56] which was realised by re-composing the wall, the pagodas, the temple and other construction elements that were extracted from the traditional official buildings for the old emperors.

[56] D. Lai, 'Searching for a Modern Chinese Monument: The Design of the Sun Yat-sen Mausoleum in Nanjing', *Journal of the Society of Architectural Historians*, vol. 64, no. 1, 2005, pp. 22-25.





Tingbao Yang
1901-1982

Master Degree in
University of Pennsylvania
(1921-24)



From Left to Right:(a) University of Nanking library in 1936 i (b) University of Nanking library in 1936 ii (c) Portrait of Tingbao Yang

Fig. 1.29 (a), (b) & (c)

Similar architectural language appeared in the library of the University of Nanking, 1936 by Tingbao Yang.

"Chinese architects were mainly exploring architectural formal language in terms of column styles, proportion, scale and decoration. That, somehow, could be regarded as the 'beaux-art' architectural mode in China".[57] Another crucial follower of the mode of exploring was Sicheng Liang, regarded as the father of modern Chinese architecture. "Liang was most representative in crossing various divisions – ideological ('West' and 'East'), historical (old and new society) and disciplinary (history and design). His trajectory provides the best thread for an investigation to answer these questions".[58] They helped to build up the Society for Research in Chinese Architecture (1930s-40s) after returning from Pennsylvania. Research in Chinese architecture had significant influence on Liang's architectural philosophy.

Drawing on their fieldwork, Liang and Lin conducted deep research into ancient architectural structures, their composition and representation. By tracing history and case study analysis, they attempted to find the inherent discipline within the Chinese architectural form. By using the Western discipline of architectural composition, they tried to represent the image of Chinese style.[59] Liang and architects from that age tried to extract compositional elements from historical cases such as the silhouettes of roofed buildings, types of roof and 'stele', selected colours and literal motifs, abstract outlines and proportions, with a hidden sense of scale and horizontality. All those were modified eclectically and recomposed as the new but hybrid buildings founded on a modern concrete structure.

[57] T. Zhu, *Liang Sicheng and his Time (梁思成与他的时代)*, Guilin, Guangxi Normal University, 2014, p.103.

[58] J. Zhu, 'A space of the state: Beijing 1949-59', in M. Swenarton, I. Troiani and H. Webster (eds.), *The Politics of Making*, New York, Routledge, 2008, p.50.

[59] D. Lai, *Studies in Modern Chinese Architectural History(中国近代建筑史研究)*, Beijing, Tsinghua, 2007.



Fig. 1.30

Huiyin Lin (Left, 1904-1955) and Sicheng Liang (Right, 1901-1972).Liang was encouraged by Lin to study architecture. They both studied in Pennsylvania (1924-1927). The couple married in Canada in 1928 before returning to China.



Fig. 1.31

There is a clear use of elemental composition in the buildings of the Harbin Engineering University (top) constructed in 1953. The new buildings have borrowed the typical elements from the traditional architecture, such as the typical large roof in Tiananmen (bottom left) built in the Ming dynasty, 1420.

Rapid changes in society required architecture and architectural education to keep pace with the social requirements in terms of building techniques and material applications. The conservative attitudes of the 'beaux-arts' made architectural education seemed unable to address these issues. The Western modern movement in architecture attempted to construct a whole new world, a utopia with new orders. Their actions comprised a revolutionary attitude largely disregarding history, but holding an open view towards the world. To modernists, architecture was not merely a question of style; it was about creating new models of production that adapted to new ideas of society, even to new social order. Jencks defined modern architecture as a "universal international style stemming from the facts of the new constructional means, adequate to a new industrial society, and having as its goal the transformation of society, both in its taste, or perception, and social make-up".[60] Modernism eliminated 'unnecessary' ornamentation,

[60] C. Jencks, *Modern Movements in Architecture*, London, Penguin Books, 1985, p. 373.

and abstracted geometry in architecture. In this sense, modernism not only simplified craftwork, but changed ways of thinking about architecture. Architecture was not just about images in terms of a separate facade or plan, but a spatial integration of the exterior and interior.

However, those movements and thought had little influence on Chinese architects when China was suffering the pain of a political and social earthquake from the 1930s to the 1950s. On the contrary, whether architects or intellectuals were still searching for the historical, reproducing traditional elements and applying traditional styles into the new techniques, this was understandable. “Chinese architects may create new architecture for China” Liang put it, “… [and for that purpose] they should study the structure, organization, parts, proportion and balance of ancient Chinese architecture”.[61] On the one hand, it was pushed by

[61] S. Liang, “Jianzhu sheji cankao tuji xu’ (preface to the Visual Dictionary for Architectural Design’, citied in S. Liang, *Liang Sicheng Qquanji di liu juan (The complete works of Liang Sicheng, volume 6)*, Beijing, Zhongguo Jianzhu Gongye Chubanshe, 2001, pp. 233-236.



Fig. 1.32

In 1946, Liang Sicheng went to Princeton University as a visiting fellow. In the same period, he served as the Chinese representative in the design of the United Nations Headquarters Building.

the intellectual consciousness, but under the circumstance of war and a 'ramshackle' society. Chinese intellectuals tended to consider the future of the country in terms of preserving qualities of traditions and cultural heritage, applying them to future uses. It was also urgent to banish the colonial ghost.

It was proposed, for society, to distinguish people supposed to belong to the nation from others; the colonisers, the invaders, and later the dissidents after 1949. Such antagonisms were materialised in terms of local and traditional elements extracted from historical and official masterpieces. Nationalist projects were therefore constructed to emphasize the cultural and the political stance, being Chinese and being socialist and communist before and after 1949.

"After the founding of the new nation-state by the CCP in 1949, design was even more 'collective' as both the client and the profession working in the design institutes belonged to the collective public and individual authorship in design was abolished".[62] Under the authoritarian leadership, the exploration of architectural approaches somehow stagnated.

[62] J. Zhu, *Architecture of modern China : a historical critique*, London, Routledge, 2009, p.171.



Fig. 1.33
The Cultural Revolution (1966-1976) encouraged the people to criticize and attack the traditional culture.

Stylistic historicism and economic modernism were the only choice during the Maoist period (1949-76). "Such cynicism, eclecticism and mannerism, based on nationalism, cleverly enabled the architects and intellectuals to eschew the ideological critique of the class struggle and the Chinese Communist Party, especially during the Cultural Revolution (1966-1976)".[63] Ideas from the capitalist world were imagined as the biggest enemy. They were to be avoided in many creative works, including architecture.

[63] T. Zhu, *Liang Sicheng and his Time (梁思成与他的时代)*, Guilin, Guangxi Normal University, 2014, p. 228.

It was not until the 1980s that the modern movement and criticism were introduced into China. Due to the relatively open society and stable political environment, architects began to accept western architectural methods in practice and research. They started to consider the 'Chinese issue' in more open ways: not only relying on form and appearance, but also on more abstract elements like cultural symbolism, time, space and so on.

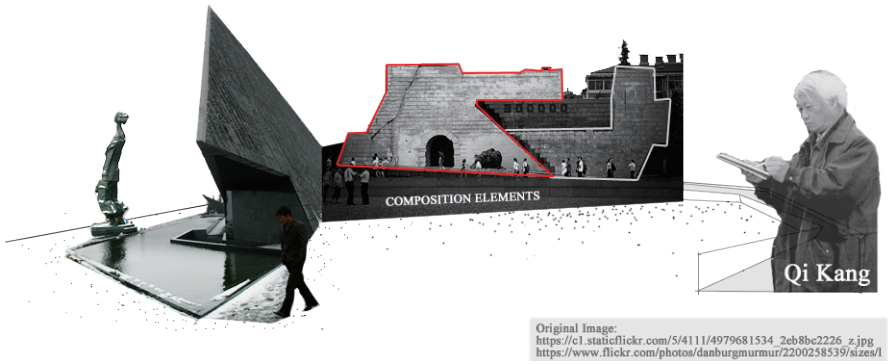


Fig. 1.34

Nanjing Massacre Memorial Hall, 1985, expressed a new architectural language by composing deconstructed geometry formally and spatially, whereby it symbolises broken hearts and fragmented memories shared among Chinese people, leading them to remember the humiliating past.

Kang Qi (齐康)
1931-
Nanking University

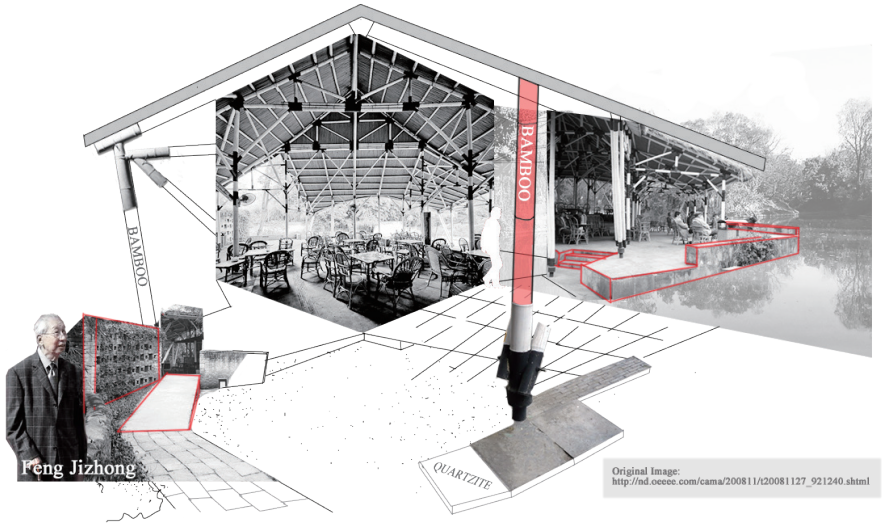


Fig. 1.35

Another case of Chinese Modernism is the Helou Pavilion in Square Pagoda Park, built in 1978-1981 by Jizhong Feng. Feng designed the traditional building with the innovative bamboo structure as well as an irregular layout that differed from its ancient counterparts.

Jizhong Feng (冯纪忠)
1915-2009.
Saint John's University, Shanghai (1934-1936)
Vienna, Austria (1936-1946)



Fig. 1.36

The teaching building & Huang Yongyu Museum in Jishou University, 2006 was designed by Yungho Chang. His Atelier Feichang Jianzhu based on the Capital Beijing, is located in the North of China. An innovation of the traditional structure and materials could be seen in the windows, the roofing, as well as the façade.

Yungho Chang (张永和)
1956-
University of California, Berkley

Atelier Feichang Jianzhu

More recently, rapid economic development as well as a new open political environment have certainly contributed to the evolution of architecture. The ideas of Modernism, Post-modernism and Critical Regionalism all directly acted on the architectural field, in both education and praxis (especially the market aspects). Compared with previous decades, architectural representation has shifted from the grand narrative of nationalism, the large roof of official architecture, to a more diverse expression of regionalism. Constructing identity is articulated in terms of materials, structure, spatiality, morphology, and so on.

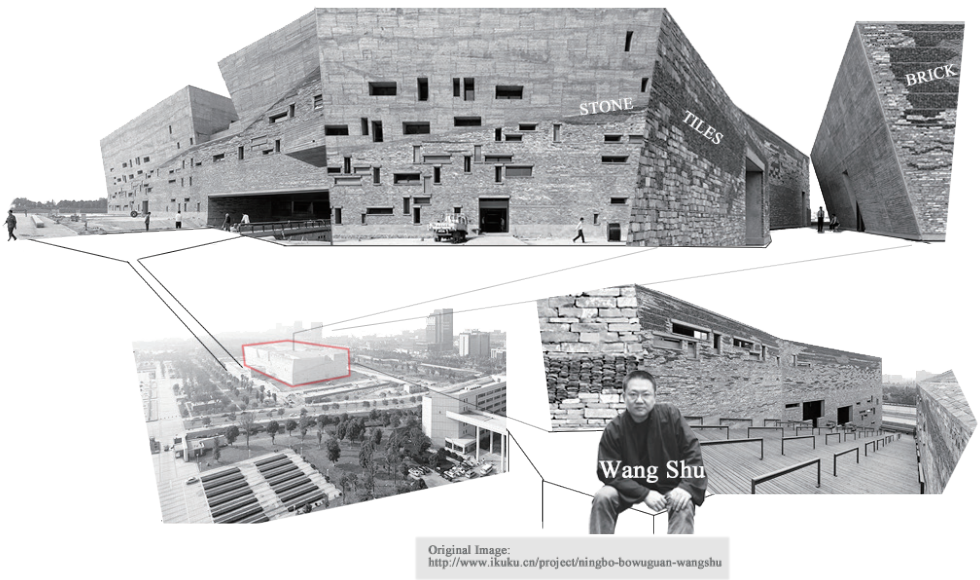


Fig. 1.37

Shu Wang and his Amateur Architecture studio are based in Hangzhou, the south-eastern coastal area of China. Ningbo Historic Museum built 2003-2008 is a typical modern Chinese architecture, consisting of learning from the local craftsmanship such as the overlay of recycled ties being the façade.

Shu Wang (王澍)
1963-
Southeast University, Nanjing, China.

Amateur Architecture.

New generations have benefitted from studying abroad and from the opening up of a global market. Chinese cities today, are the new frontier for the international architect. This has been made possible with the help of growing capital and more sophisticated market operations in China.



Fig. 1.38

Qingyun Ma, based in Ningbo, designed the Zhujiajiao Administration Centre in Shanghai, built in 2006. Bamboo, bricks, and timber are creatively transformed into modern form without losing their traditional features. It is a project that combines the traditional materiality with a modern architectural structure and spatiality.

Qingyun Ma (马清运)
1965-
Tsinghua University, Beijing, China
University of Pennsylvania

MADA s.p.a.m.

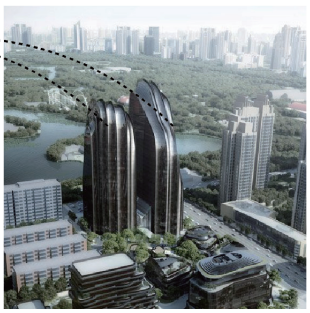
However, today, the new generation appears to realise that the battlefield is not just an architectural design field but more importantly the control of the public discourse. Chinese practitioners are rejecting the cultural hegemony by using local symbols and cultural elements, re-constructing the social-cultural context and de-constructing post-colonialism in terms of linguistics, architecture and patriotic pedagogy. "China is not a playground for international architectural practice: it has its own active architectural scene. 26 projects have showed as to present the setting and context of unique culture where architectural approaches could be local and tradition based".[64] Such a declaration pictures the position of Chinese architects aiming to fight against architectural post-colonialism in terms of globalisation. Amongst them is Yansong Ma. Born in 1976, Ma is among the new generation of Chinese architects who are seeking global impacts. He finished his Masters degree at Yale University before founding MAD architects and winning the international competition for the Absolute Tower in Ontario, Canada.

[64] Interior Designer, *Chinese Architecture Today.* Birkhauser, Back Cover, 2016.

Nevertheless, the colonial ghost has haunted his recent trajectory. By looking back into the traditional culture, nostalgia has driven Ma methodologically. From 2010, his work has looked back to the Chinese traditional philosophy of living and thinking named Shan-Shui City. Shan-Shui, literally means Mountain and Water. It is inspired by one of the fundamental Daoist ideas that have been guiding people's daily lives throughout the past one thousand years in China. It implies that a harmonious life should be based on a people's modest attitude towards the natural: being able to calm your desires and staying humble with nature. Designing a Shan-Shui city creates the urban environment and atmosphere that responds to the spirit of Shan-Shui: to bring nature back to the high density city and skyscrapers. People should live the peacefully integrated environment of the artefacts and nature within a healthy cultural-eco system.

To some extent, Ma's game of image creation failed to touch the core relationship between the city and architecture. The problem is not how architecture looks or is presented, but how people behave, spatially and socially, in their daily lives inside and outside the architectural structures. More concern, it has been argued, should be put on the understanding of the social-cultural structures in terms of spatial representation and everyday practice. However, this seems to be absent in many architectural projects, including those of Shu Wang.





Yansong Ma (马岩松)
1976-
Beijing University of Civil Engineering and Architecture , China
Yale University
MAD Architect



Shan-Shui Painting

MAD's Chaoyang Park Plaza development

Fig. 1.39

Ma claims that "the concept of a Shan-Shui city is inspired by the Shan-Shui culture that is embedded in the Shan-Shui Painting (Chinese Traditional Landscape Painting)".[65] However, such a project looks no more than a formal representation of the landscape morphology in Painting. The shape of the mountains in the painting becomes the prototype of the building forms which are cladded with the shining metal and glass.

[65] *MAD wants to "invent a new typology for high-rise architecture, says Ma Yansong"*, [online video], 2014, https://www.dezeen.com/2014/08/06/movie-interview-ma-yansong-mad-shan-shui-city-invent-new-typology-high-rise-architecture/, (accessed 1 January 2018).

SHU WANG AND WENYU LU: BEING THE AMATEUR AND LEARNING FROM THE LOCAL

From architectural nationalism to global style wrapped in Chinese facades, breaks were found between the mainstream architects of the different ages. Their works have shifted from an iconic symbols-based approach to the plural methodology seeking the architectural regeneration of tradition. Evidence can be found in the work of Shu Wang who insists on learning from the local.

Wang is the only native Chinese who has won the Pritzker Prize, and who has not studied abroad. His education and background have been entirely based on the Chinese system, from undergraduate studies to Masters level with the Southeast University to a PhD at Tongji University. Since 1997, Wang and his partner Wenyu Lu ran the Amateur Architecture Studio based in Hangzhou. Today, their studio still remains relatively modest in size with a few projects every year. Wang has repeated that “the Pritzker Prize should include his wife Wenyu Lu, without whom all his achievements would not have been possible”.[66]

[66] R. Hu, 'Wang Shu: Bu Zuo Jianzhu, Zhi Zao Fangzi (Wang Shu: Make House, not Building)', *People.China.*, 30 May 2013, http://people.china.com.cn/2013-05/30/content_5991119_2.htm, (accessed 1 December 2018).



Fig. 1.40

This photo was taken in Xiangshan Campus, China Academy of Art. Wang (left) stands in the light while Lu (right) is sitting in the shadow. This is a perfect metaphor of how they live and work together.

Indeed, the beginning of their architectural journey was tough, their life was entirely supported by Lu economically. As an architect too, Lu took care of most the chores and administrative roles, including the schedule arrangement, business contacts, driving and so on. It also was from Lu that Wang learned to be sensitive and appreciative of every little detail that contributes to their architectural philosophy in some way.

Amateur Architecture is the key representative of the architectural avant-garde in China. Their projects are, so far, mostly built in China. Their amateur practices have scrutinised the country's rich history, left behind by rapid urbanisation. A crucial role was played in exploring the boundary between tradition and modernism materially, formally and spatially. There are three key factors that have framed Wang's design philosophy: "a unique synthesis of resistance towards the status quo, inspiration from nature, and interests in the everyday, common house".[67]

Wang and Lu considered those professional architects working in the mainstream as complicit with brash commercial urbanization. In contrast, their intention is to practice in more alternative ways and to distance themselves from the contemporary architectural system in China. "Their 'amateur' approaches are more about handicraft than technology, nature rather than the man-made, vernacular rather than monumental, and surprisingly, humanity rather than architecture".[68] The past tradition of Chinese culture is what Wang and Lu honour, and place into their architectural practice, being an uncompromising gesture against the strong tide of urbanisation.

[67] G.O. Yan, 'The Infinite Spontaneity of Tradition', *The Hyatt Foundation/ The Pritzker Architecture Prize*, [website], 2012, p. 6, http://www.pritzkerprize.com/sites/default/files/file_fields/field_files_inline/2012_essay.pdf, (accessed 1 December 2018).

[68] Ibid., p. 2.



Fig. 1.41

This photo (in the summer of 2014) illustrates one of the Wang's usual approaches. The facades of buildings are made of the recycled materials such as tiles, black bricks, bamboo, sticks and planks that are collected from nearby demolished towns and villages. The ideology of building with recycled materials is learnt from the vernacular craftsmen. During the construction, according to Wang, what he did was just " to give some brief guide, and he allowed the local builder and craftsmen to compose and construct freely just like what they used to do for their own village houses".[69]

Interestingly, a similar practice can be found in the Chinese Garden where tiles are often used as pavements. Such a common ground indicates the idea of eco-use in Chinese traditional construction.

[69] S. Wang, One Day(那一天), *Time + Architecture*, no. 4, 2005, p.101.

Another essential idea is the depiction and representation of nature in architecture, which comes from the traditional Chinese landscape painting, and often pictures a spiritual world of a perfect balance between dwelling and nature. What has been illustrated in the drawings is a strong relationship between man and nature in a typical agriculture-based society. Indeed, “his buildings have the unique ability to evoke the past, without making direct reference to history”.[70] Wang concludes that nature should dominate the man-made structures and the experience of nature should not be erased from architecture. In such a way, it is essential to unify the city and architecture, and nature with architecture.

[70] CityWalk Editorial Board, *Wang Shu Architecture, Shanghai*, Tongji University Press, 2012, p.1.

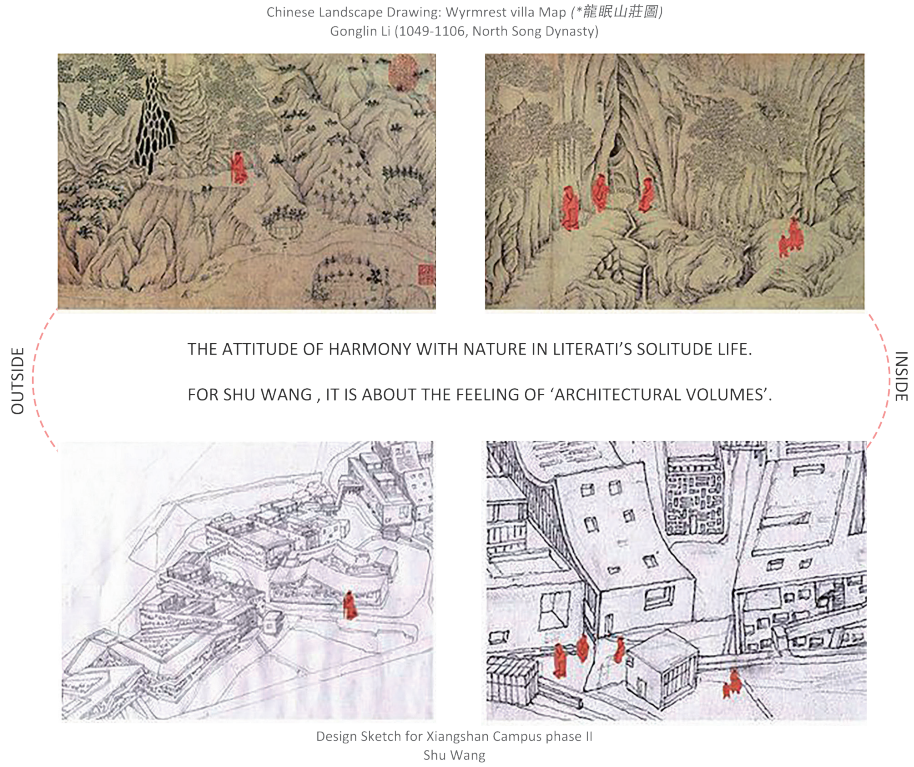


Fig. 1.42

Wang’s sketches show that he learns from the spatial language of the traditional Chinese Landscape Painting. According to Wang, “to build the campus is about to build a world that is responding to the existing nature, where huge architectural volumes will disappear”.[71]

The scattered volumes with corridors created a sense of successive spatial experience that connects the inside and outside. Wang imagines a poetic world where people enjoy meandering in-between the buildings and mediating in such a labyrinth.

[71] M. Tong, *Composing and Depicting (III): An Analysis on the Text and Architecture of Wangshu (理型与理景 三), the Architect*, vol. 164, no. 04, 2013, pp. 46-47.

Lastly, Wang emphasizes the concept of houses, from the architecture of everyone to the space of everyday life. He is interested in humble houses, which convey the importance of the 'vernacular' and everyday life. During the early stages of his study and practice, Wang had spent a number of years working with craftsmen on site where he learned traditional craft and construction methods. Those experiences encouraged him to abandon his previous "formal" role of architect, and to start to revisit nondescript houses as well as their techniques. In this sense, Wang's architecture creates a down-to-earth and authentic space not meant to control people's behaviour but to respond to people's everyday lives. Such a spirit has been sorely absent in much of the spectacular architecture in modern China.



Fig. 1.43

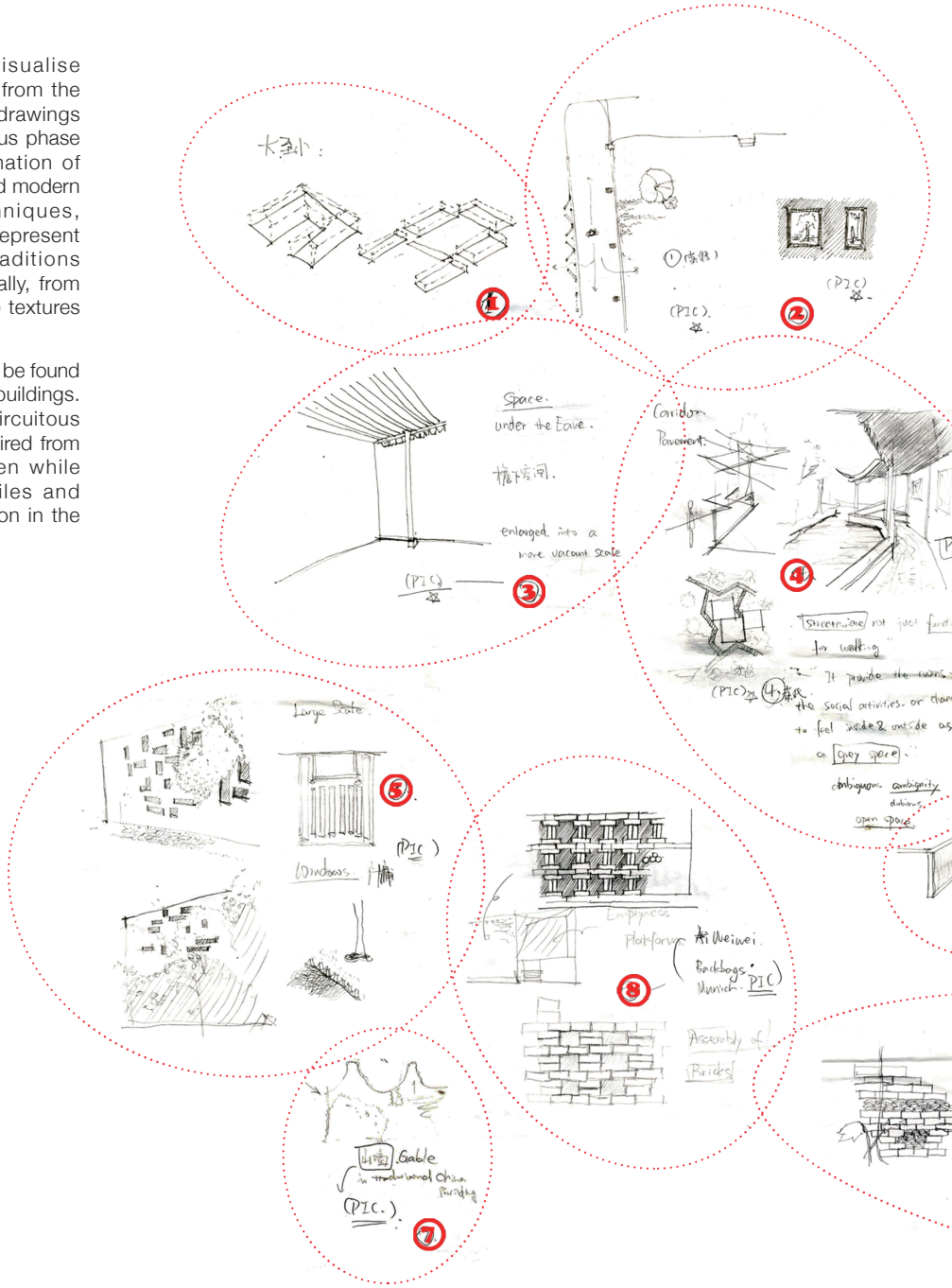
This photo was taken in the Xiangshan Campus, China Academy of Art, Phase II. (by Prue Chiles in the summer of 2014) This courtyard sits in-between the teaching buildings under the large eaves, which draws features from mountains. It arouses a typical atmosphere of "the courtyard architectures in the south of the Yangtze River".[72]

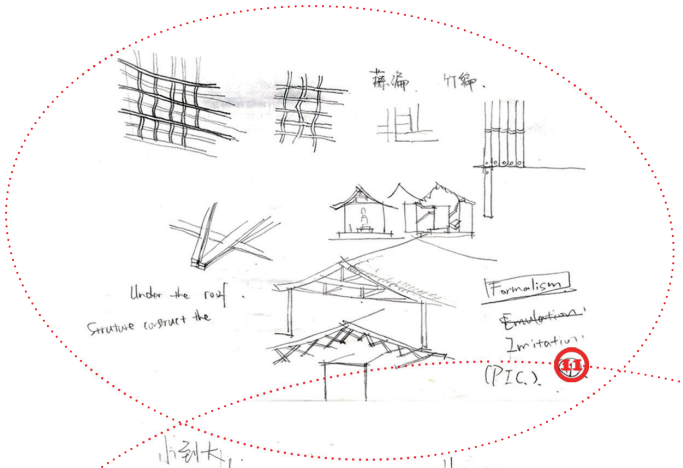
[72] Wang Shu Amateur Architecture, *Wang Shu Imagining the House*, Zürich, Lars Müller Publisher, 2012, Figure. 2.7

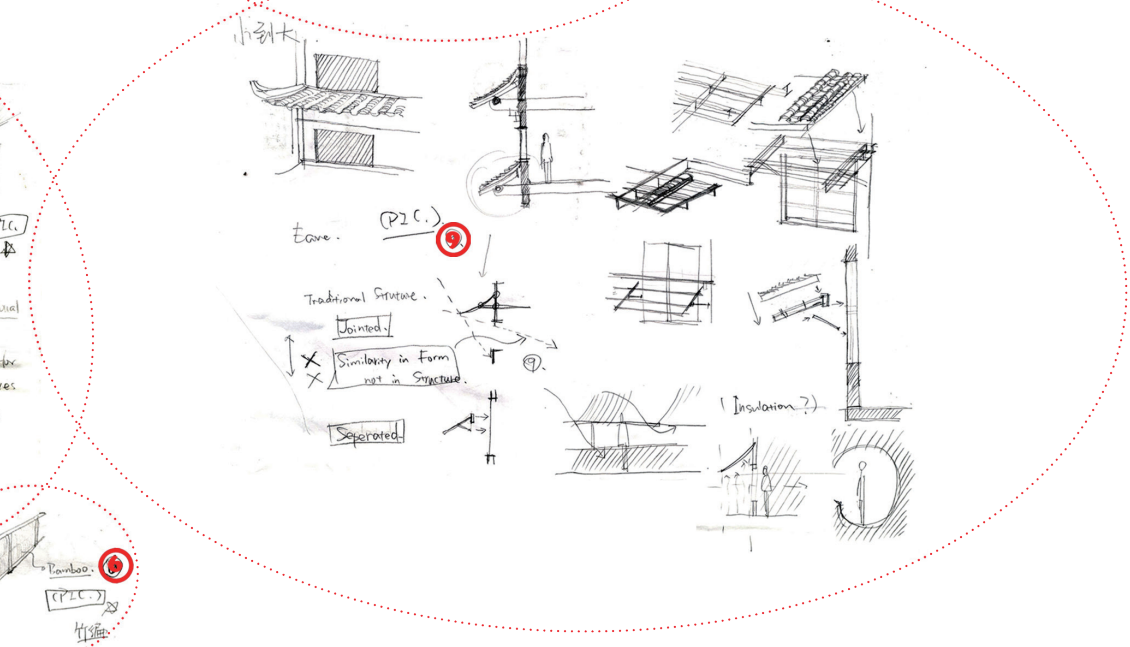
Fig. 1.44

These sketches visualise traditional elements from the project/case study drawings for Xiangshan Campus phase II. With the combination of traditional crafting and modern construction techniques, Wang attempts to represent the typology of traditions physically and spatially, from the materiality to the textures on the entire layout.

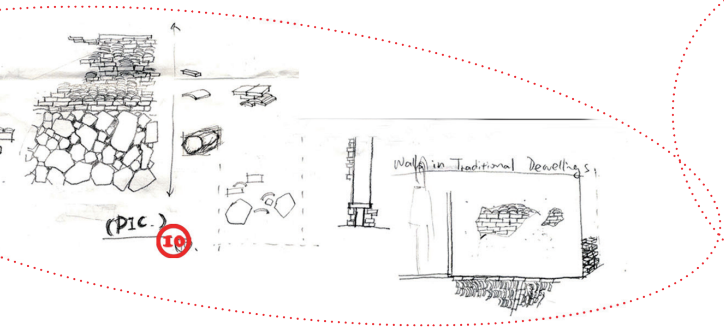
All the references can be found in these ubiquitous buildings. For example, the circuitous corridors (4) are inspired from the Chinese Garden while the bricolage of tiles and bricks (10) is common in the vernacular house.

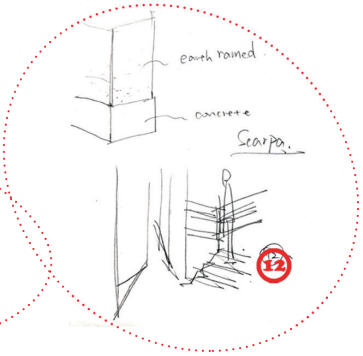



Under the roof.
Structure construct the
Formalism
Emulation
Imitation
(PIC.)
11


Eave.
(PIC.)
9
Traditional Structure.
Jointed.
Similarity in Form
not in Structure.
Seperated.
(Insulation?)

Bamboo.
6
(PIC.)


(PIC.)
10
Walls in Traditional Dwellings


earth rained
concrete
Scarpa.
12

It is necessary to mention Aldo Rossi who is a major academic inspiration for Wang Shu's earlier thoughts. Typological thinking from *The Architecture of the City* played a key role in Wang's doctoral thesis. "In his writing, Wang pointed out the 'linguistic turn' in Rossi's research and realized the structuralism behind such a methodology".[73] He therefore interpreted and applied Rossi's 'typology' in the Chinese context playing the fundamental roles in the Amateur's practice such as the Xiangshan Campus of the China Academy of Art in Hangzhou.

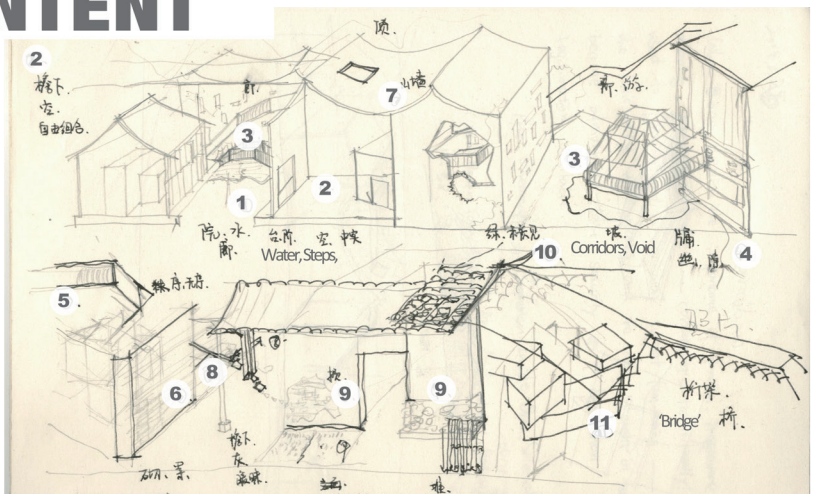
[73] ChenshiBijiren, 'Notes on City: (no. 13) Fatti Urbanii: a difference in both architectural text and texture between Aldo Rossi and Wang Shu', *the Architect*, no. 1, 2013, p26.

By comparing Rossi and Wang, it is important to notice the common ground shared between the social backgrounds of their philosophy. Both of them are criticising the conception of functionalism which dominates the urbanisation in Italy's 1960s and in China's 2000s respectively. The idea of functionalism is "dictated by an ingenuous empiricism which holds that functions bring form together and in themselves constitute urban artefacts and architecture".[74] From another perspective, capitalism is a universal power that writes the history of urbanisation repeatedly and analogically regardless of different places and social-cultural contexts. Today in China, countless new buildings are being conceived in the new planned cities throughout the land, all with the same look and body as seen with the high-rise residential buildings, commercial areas with shiny construction facades and large volumes, and grand governmental buildings. They all seem to be fixed into grids.

[74] A. Rossi, the Architecture of the City, New York, MIT Press, 1984, p.46.

Indeed, similarities between Rossi and Wang have outlined how Chinese architecture is currently undergoing and digesting movements which had been experienced previously in the West. Cities and architecture seem to be Westernised with the help of globalisation and capitalism in a post-colonial sense. In response, thanks to Shu Wang and Wenyu Lu, architecture has become a dilemma of balancing the local and the global with the social, cultural and spatial perspectives. Architectural identity construction remains a ghost haunting China. Many architects and spatial practitioners still use cultural symbols as representational elements. In the Xiangshan Campus for instance, however, Wang's 'typology' has succeeded in fusing tradition and modernism so as to keep a distance from homogenous images created by unstoppable urbanisation. Hence, a close look is needed at Wang's *Amateur* Studios.

CONTENT



RE-composing Wang's typology as a CONTENTS

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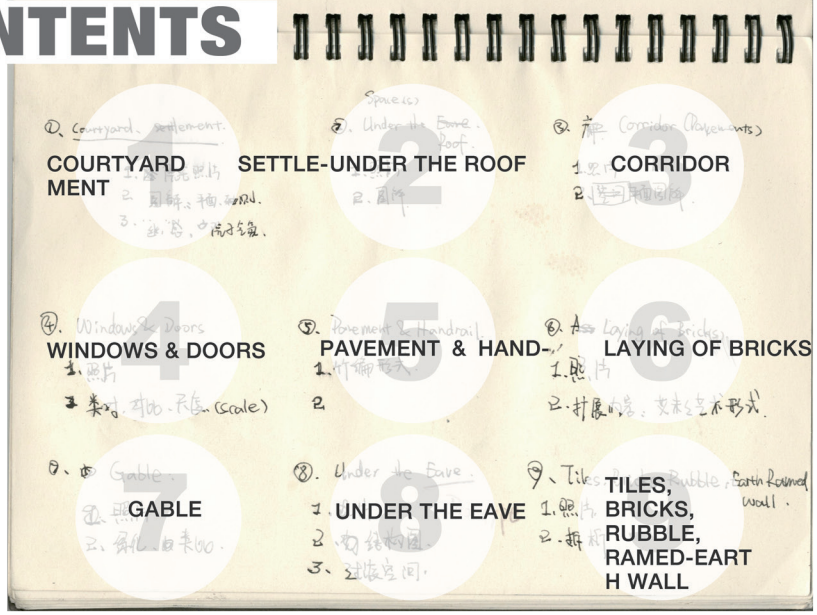


Fig. 1.45

A construction menu made of architectural typologies from Wang and Amateur Architecture. A new architecture is recomposed by referring to the menu.

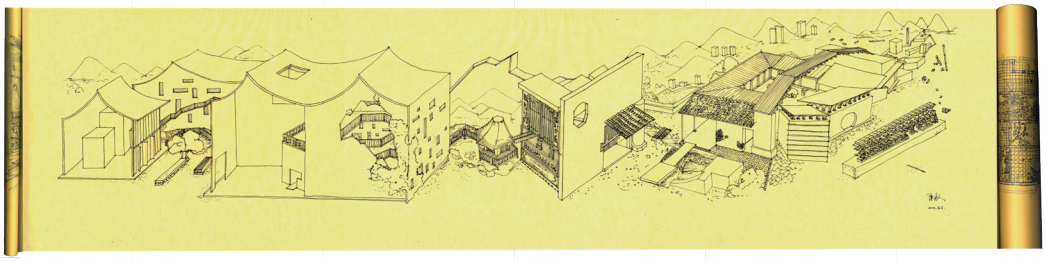
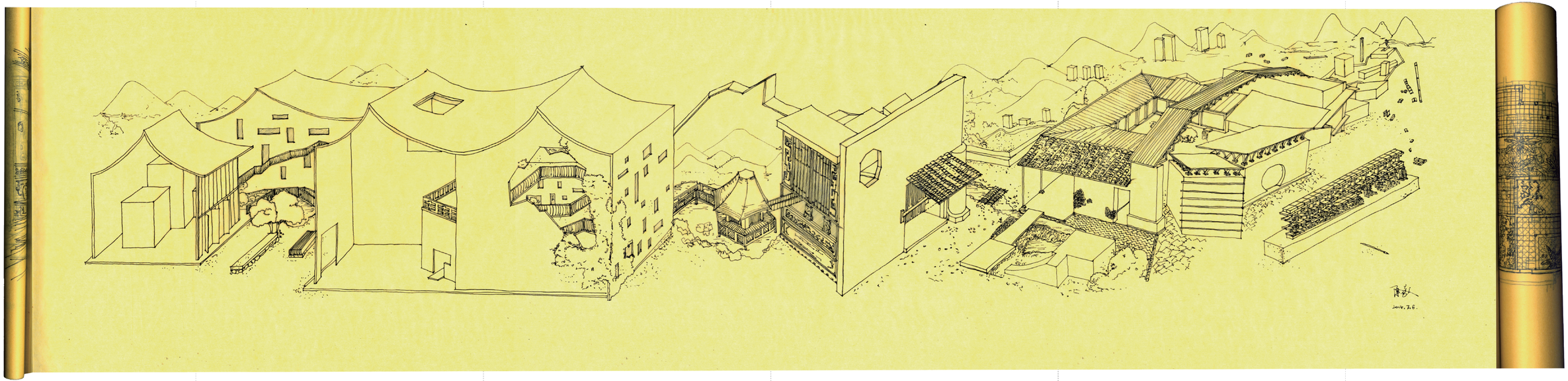


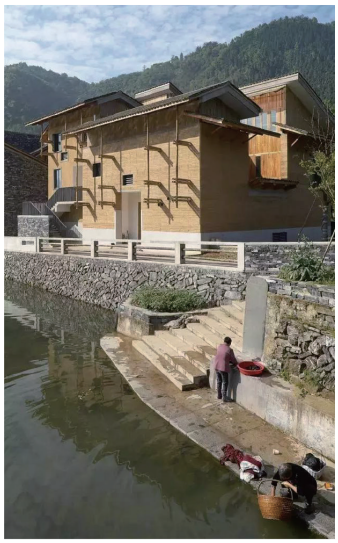
Fig. 1. 46

An alternative representation of Wang's typology, (drawing not to scale.) This gives another interpretation to Wang's architectural atmosphere inspired from the construction and details, and defining architectural space and the space in-between.



A CRITIQUE FROM A SOCIO-SPATIAL PERSPECTIVE: WHAT LIMITS WANG AND LU?

The regeneration of Wencun Village in Hangzhou is a recent project, finished by Amateur Studio in 2016. It proposed an innovative architectural approach to renewing a village. 14 new buildings are constructed out of eight prototypes under their aesthetic and design control. They also aim to serve as prototypes to be followed by other nearby villages. Indeed, it seeks to create a picturesque village with a renewed architectural language which aims to serve future construction and improve the quality of life in rural areas.





Wencun Village after Regeneration
From left to right
the River bank and the Inside Road

Fig. 1.47

It was hoped that the Wencun project would stem the exodus to the city and perhaps even attract inhabitants back. However, local people rejected the new houses, preferring the traditional layout of their homes as seen in this nearby village. Although Wang and Lu encouraged "the local people to continue their daily lives in the new building",[75] residents are now transforming their properties into B&Bs, to benefit from increasing tourism. As Dong observed: "… the inevitable tourism may drive the local population out. Will this village become nothing but an imagined form of rural life for urbanites?"[76]

In terms of spatial regeneration, it is always easy to criticize architects for their style or design approaches by saying they fail to solve social problems. In Wencun, Wang's intervention seemed to bring no more than gentrification and a tourist-based economy, failing to support the original village lives. However, regarding the wanton urbanisation in China, it seems somewhat unfair to blame the architects as "mere

[75] *Cities should learn from villages | Shu Wang 王澍 | TEDxShanghai*, [online video], 2016, https://www.youtube.com/watch?v=LcS1ZhJrXoE, accessed (accessed 1 December 2018).

[76] Y. Dong, 'Will Wang Shu"s village be nothing but an imagined form of rural life for urbanites', *The Architectural Review*, 15 November 2015, https://www.architectural-review.com/today/will-wang-shus-village-be-nothing-but-an-imagined-form-of-rural-life-for-urbanites/8691086.article, (accessed 1 December 2018).

pawns in an overwhelming regime of power and control, or else … active agents in the execution of this power and control".[77] Rather, we need to look at the big picture, where architects find it difficult to escape from the influence of capitalism.

In recent years, in China, increasing focus has been put on rural or village construction. Villages have been gentrified and rural lives have been branded as a utopia for the middle classes who escape from the city for holidays. As a result, the heated topic of Building the Village (*Xiang Jian, 乡建 in Chinese*) has meant that rural areas are in another battle for urbanisation. According to Zhang and Jiang, the current rural construction boom is an initiative, building a "consumptive built environment in the process of capital circulation".[78] "Spatial fix",[79] a capitalist production and its reconstruction of space identified by David Harvey, has become the main tool for facilitating this gentrification. Tourism-based regeneration has often been conducted by architects from the city. New hotels and infrastructure are constructed for the outsiders rather than traditional residents, like the Wencun Village case and many other counterparts. They are re-constructed thematically to benefit the tourism industry. In the whole process, the culture and the local people of the village appear to be easily ignored and possibly get threatened with irrelevance.

In this case, it is essential to ask whose village it is before homogenizing the village as a backyard of the city. A deeper understanding of village culture is needed for spatial practitioners. Interestingly, both architects and intellectuals have benefited a lot from studying the Village. This has been a movement initiated by many sociologists and thinkers, like Yangchu Yan, or Shuming Liang, who established schools dedicated to the village education during the beginning of the 20th century. It was in the times of turbulence that many Chinese intellectuals hoped to save the nation from decline by restoring the village culture. "They considered the village as the matrix of Chinese culture that bred the law, rituals, commerce and industry".[80] Besides, learning from the village was also meant to maintain the safe distance away from the foreign impact brought about by the invading imperialists. In contrast, today's Chinese society is more complex than when observed from outside. Building villages has produced a battle where we are fighting against the colonial ghost of capitalisation. While questioning the architectural approaches, we should shift our focus from the objects to the subjects, from the architectural images to the spatial problems we are facing, bearing in mind what Chinese urbanisation has produced and how individuals can rethink it.

[77] J. Till, *Architecture Depends*, Cambridge, MIT Press, 2013, p. 34.

[78] J. Zhang and K. Jiang, 'Analyzing Capital Logic Behind Rural Construction Boom in Contemporary China (解析中国当前乡建热潮背后的资本逻辑)', *Modern Urban Research*, no.10, 2016, p. 2.

[79] D. Harvey, 'Globalization and the "Spatial Fix"', *Geographical Review*, no. 2, 2001, p.24. Available from https://publishup.uni-potsdam.de/opus4-ubp/frontdoor/deliver/index/docId/2251/file/gr2_01_Ess02.pdf, (accessed 1 December 2018).

[80] S. Liang, *Xiangcun Jianshe Lilun* (乡村建设理论), Shanghai, Shanghai People's Publishing House, 2011. p.11.

URBANISATION, EVERYDAY LIFE AND THE RIGHT TO THE CITY

THE POLITICAL PRODUCTION OF THE POLITICAL SPACE: CHINESE URBANISATION



Fig. 1. 48

On 23 July 2011, two high-speed trains travelling on the Yongtaiwen railway line collided on a viaduct in the suburbs of Wenzhou, Zhejiang province, China. Stephanie Yin said: “As a Chinese person, I feel now is the right time to adjust the speed of China's development. It used to be too fast and everyone seemed satisfied with the ‘economic boost’.”[81]

[81] BBC, ‘Chinese questions remain over Wenzhou rail crash’, *BBC NEWS*, 11 August 2011, http://www.bbc.co.uk/news/world-asia-pacific-14494534, (accessed 1 December 2018).

As an emerging fantasy, Chinese urbanization and its outcomes have been attracting western attention recently. Buildings are rising to the sky and trains are running as fast as bullets. Chinese people seem left with no time to slow down and rethink who they are and what they have. What is worse, things in China tend to be easily misunderstood by outsiders. The conflicts within the urbanisation also result in many phenomena beyond the outsiders' understanding, especially the westerners. "The demands of conceptualising the urban, are out of geographical phase with the historical concentration of English language global urban studies in the wealthier Northern context".[82]

"It is the dialectical 'urbanisation of the local' – more so than the linear concept of 'state-led urbanisation' – that characterizes the relationship between the local state and the urban process in China today".[83] Specifically, Chinese urbanisation has been greatly facilitated by the ingenious cooperation between the capital market and the government. On the one hand, capital and power accumulation largely depend on land sales, development and the urban sprawl, contributing to the growth of the local state apparatus. On the other hand, the centrality of the state, especially in the local context, has become the key to urban expansion where construction is the main mechanism for growth. "As a result, politics revolve around the politics of urban development projects, which define the dynamics of the local state and its relations with the market and society".[84] To conclude, it is both capital and political factors that have transformed many Chinese cities in a top-down way.

Within such an interplay, however, the political side often appears to be dominant. The city, and ordinary lives, could be dramatically changed by words from the centre of the government. Many cases show that the political leaders' wills are most decisive in defining which old parts of cities should be demolished, which areas should be relocated or where new districts in the city should be.

[82] J.Robinson,'Cities Methodologies Matter: comparative urbanisam and global urban theory', in B. Campkin and G. Duijzings (eds.), *Engaged urbanism: cities and methodologies*, London, New York, IB Tauris 2016, p. 24.

[83] Y. Hsing, *The Great Urban Transformation: Politics of Land and Property in China*, Oxford, Oxford University Press, 2012, p. 7.

[84] Ibid., p. 7.

One typical example could be Yanbo Geng, who was in charge of the urbanisation of the city of Datong from 2008-2013. Being a competent CCP member and the city mayor, Geng was the most powerful figure to decide the future image of the city through urban expansion. Regarding the rich history and culture of Datong, he wanted to improve the city and represent its glorious past through re-making its ancient fabric as well as renewing older, more decayed residential areas. The 5-year urban rejuvenation project has received both positive and negative comments. It caused the relocation of around 500,000 citizens (almost 30% of the population of Datong), although many lives have improved.

Nevertheless, the dilemma Geng faced was not only based on social issues, but also compensation decisions and measures to ease the problems of relocated residents. He was trapped in political games which eventually led to his downfall. “Geng’s project came to a halt and left debts totalling 3 billion dollars”.[85] Ironically, “his successor was imprisoned due to corruption in 2014”.[86]

With regard to the closed Chinese political system, it seems that the production of space relies greatly on political co-operation. “(social) space is a (social) product. […] the space thus produced also serves as a tool of thought and of action: that in addition to being a means of production it is also a means of control, and hence of domination, of power”.[87] Most of the current modern Chinese cities, including Wenzhou, are centrally planned in a top-down pattern that leaves little space for people to participate in terms of decision making.

[85] *The Chinese Major*, dir. Zhou, Hao., China, Zhaoqi Films, 2015, [online documentary], https://www.youtube.com/watch?v=dHJlVDTl6IQ, (accessed 1 December 2018)

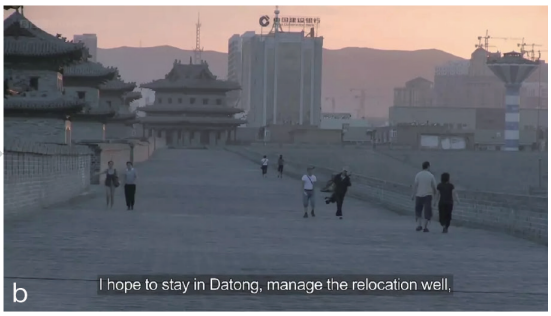
[86] Renmingwang, ‘Shanxi Sheng Datong Shiwei Yuanshuji Feng Lixiang Deng 5 Ren Bei “Shuangkai”’(‘山西省大同市委原书記丰立祥等5人被“双开”)’, *People.Cn*, 7 August 2015, http://politics.people.com.cn/n/2015/0807/c1001-27428907.html, (accessed 1 December 2018).

[87] H. Lefebvre, *The Production of Space*, Oxford, Blackwell Publishers, 1991, p.26.



Taken on 12 September 2010 in Datong, this photo shows the remanent to-be demolished residential areas, the newly built ancient wall and the high-rise residential buildings under construction.

The newly built ancient wall becomes a public park in the city.





A relocated senior was begging Geng to complete her compensation in front of the Municipal Government Building

A formal chat between Geng and the director Hao Zhou after a meeting about the urban project. Geng claimed the project is too difficult since it was disrupting many people's benefits.



Fig. 1.49 (a), (b), (c) & (d)

Documentary of "The Chinese Mayor"

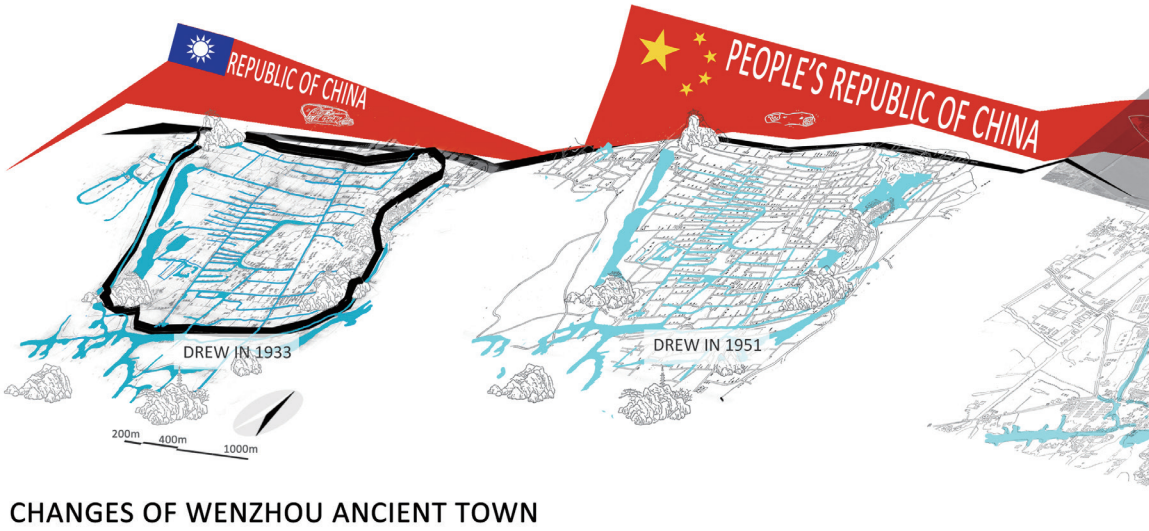


Fig. 1.50

In the past century, the town of Wenzhou has seen changes to its water-based urban morphology. Historically, water has been the fundamental construction element that has formalised the townscape in terms of infrastructure. Some named Wenzhou *the Venice of the East*, however, this was criticised by Chinese intellectuals. "Since Wenzhou town was built hundreds of years before Venice, it is completely unnecessary to render Wenzhou as classical by relating itself to another great Western city".[88] The colonial ghost is behind such a metaphor.

In 1978, Chinese Economic Reforms were initiated by the former paramount leader Xiaoping Deng. Since then, Wenzhou has become one of the fastest developing cities due to "*privatization*" (*siyouhua*, *私有化 in Chinese*). The past three decades have seen the transformation from a planned economy to a market economy. "Wenzhou was at an advantage as its private economy grew rapidly during a time of 'control vacuum' when the national government had not yet made the necessary adjustments to a market economy".[89] A typical economic model was created, and later popularized as the *Wenzhou Model* (*Wenzhou Moshi, 温州模式 in Chinese*). Such a model was founded on household industries, and developed into a joint-stock company and enterprise. What they produced were "the goods for the 'excluded middle', whose demands were neglected by large scale modern industry (especially like Soviet-style modern industry)".[90] These goods (shoes, medical needles, pipes and valves, porcelain tiles, paper goods, etc.) "are shipped not only to all areas of China, but also exported to countries around the world".[91]

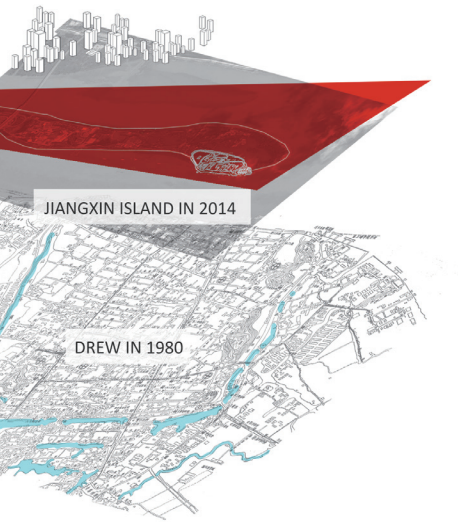
This wealthy city and its abundant economic opportunities had appealed to many urban migrants from neighbouring provinces, such as Jiangxi and Anhui which have not

[88] L. Lu, (ed.), *Wenzhou Shanshuishi Xuan (Collection of Wenzhou Landscape Poem)*, Shanghai, Shanghai Paintings And Calligraphy Publishing House, 2006, p.8.

[89] A.P.L. Liu, 'The "Wenzhou Model" of Development and China's Modernization', *Asian Survey*, vol. 32. no. 8, 1992, p.703.

[90] Ibid., p.701.

[91] M.M.H. Yang, 'Ritual Economy and Rural Capitalism with Chinese Characteristics', in D. Held and H. Moore (ed.), *Cultural Politics in a Global Age: Uncertainty, Solidarity and Innovation*, Oxford, Oneworld, 2007, p.229.



benefitted so much from economic reform. Thousands of people came to Wenzhou for more jobs, opportunities and better lives. They lived as labourers, construction workers, street vendors, taxi drivers, and so on. Consequently, the diverse cultural immigrants not only benefited from the booming economy and urbanisation, but also contributed to the socio-cultural hybridization in Wenzhou. For example, local people are proud of being Wenzhounese and regard urban migrants as outsiders. Such discrimination is commonly practiced in terms of the everyday language in the local dialect. Names such as *Jiangxi* or *Anhui*[92] were stigmatized as inferior due to the impression of the marginal groups.

Nevertheless, thanks to economic development and the growth of work opportunities, Wenzhou has been undergoing wide spread urbanisation. New areas are planned in a grid-layout, with ancient fabrics re-dressed by concrete forests and shopping malls. The normative urban plan has thus created a modern layout in Wenzhou in terms of building arrangement, street design, public space and function, just like other Chinese cities. The streets need to be clear as they are just for walking. The roads have to be wide for the increasing numbers of vehicles. The buildings stand clean and orderly as a standard image of a modern city. In sum, the city is expected to function in an orderly fashion without messy areas or contingent spaces, since this implies civilization and modernization. Till puts it thus, "if the will to order is an identifying feature of the modern project, then the means to that end lies in the elimination of the other of order; it lies in the ridding of contingency".[93]

[92] In the local dialect, Jiangxi Ren (江西人 ,means the people from Jiangxin Ren) or Anhui Ren (安徽人 , means the people from Anhui Ren) usually signifies those who are working and living in the lower class in Wenzhou. Too often, they are looked down upon by the locals. Such a social phenomenon has been observed by the author from childhood till today in Wenzhou.

[93] J. Till, *Architecture Depends*, Cambridge, MIT Press, 2013, p. 37.

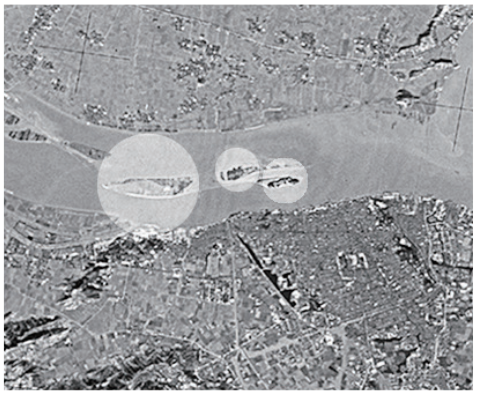
CULTURAL REVOLUTION

ECONOMIC REFORM A

The Original Islet in **the Middle of Oujiang River**

Some Small Islets of the **Flowing Sand Accumulation**





1960s

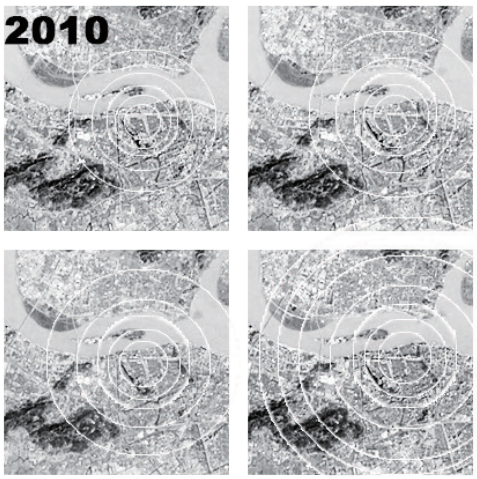
1970s

57 YEARS

2017

2010





Jiangxin Island, in **the Middle of Somewhere**

Urbanisation of the North and the South Wenzhou

REJUVENATION OF THE NATION

'CHINESE DREAM'
BY CHAIRMAN XI JINPING

JIANGXIN ISLAND'S E
THE URBANISATION OF WENZHOU CITY & THE

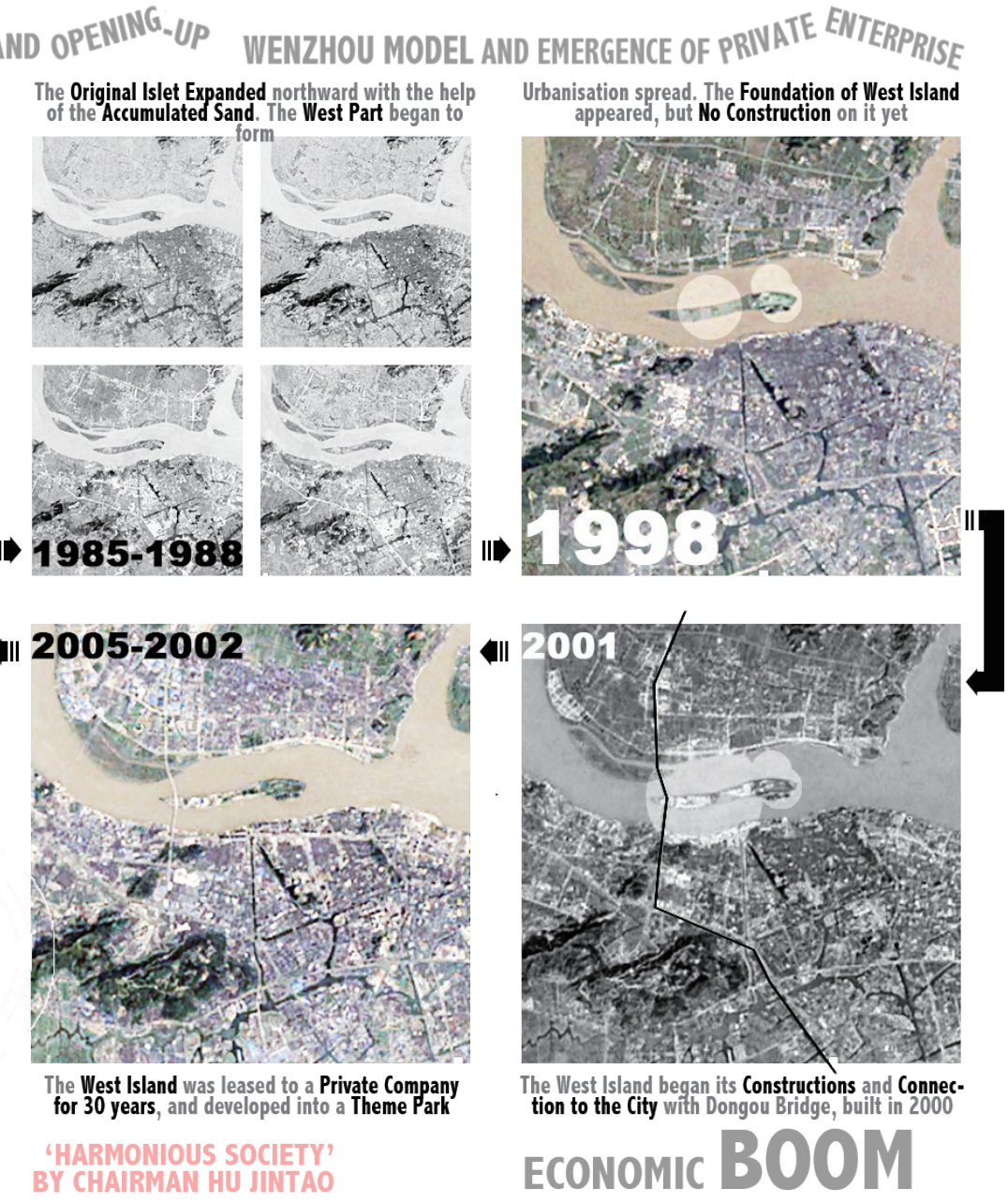


Fig. 1.51

The dialogue between the social movement and the developments of Wenzhou and Jiangxin Island. The central city and the island expanded together with the growth of economy in Wenzhou.

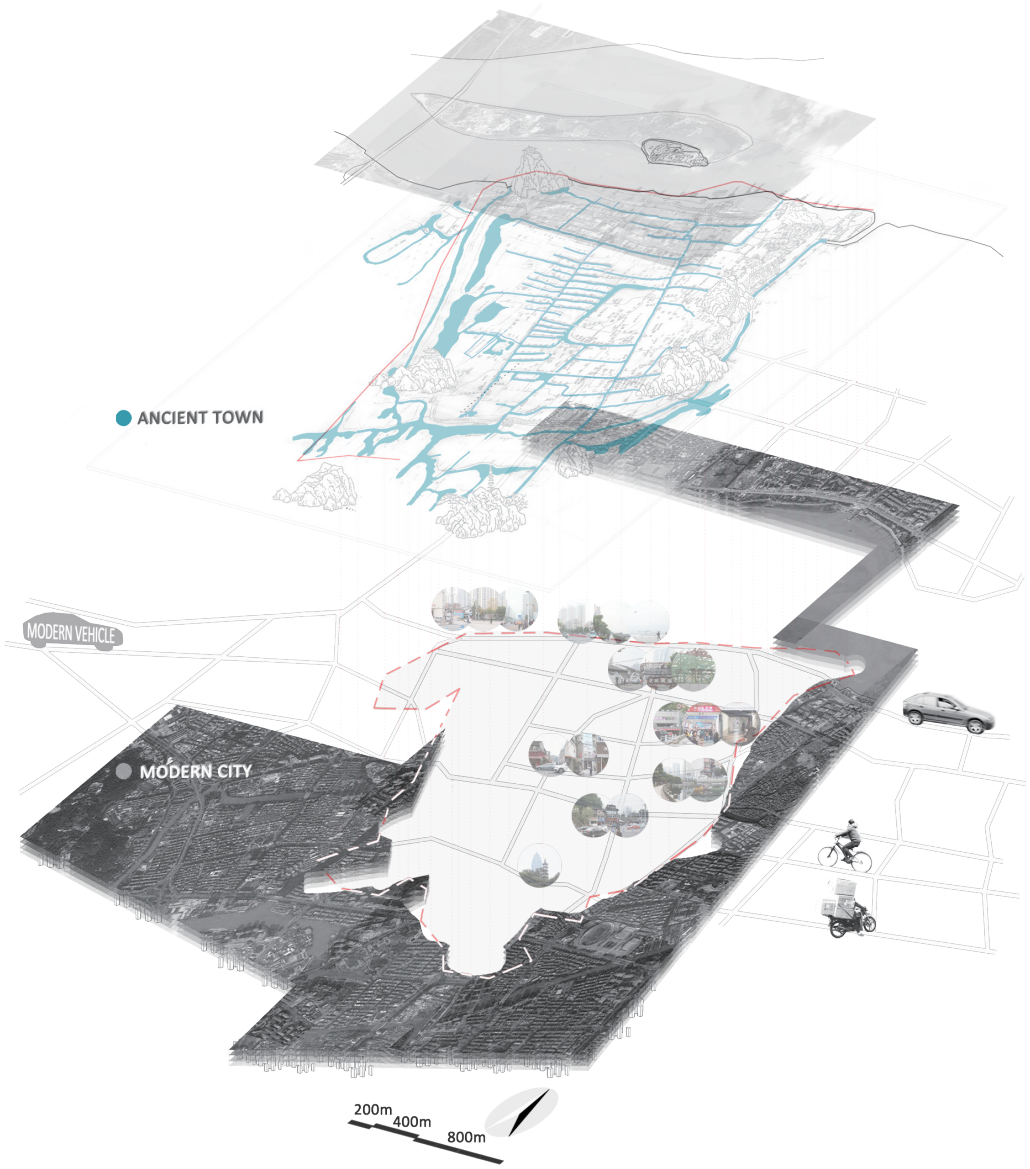


Fig. 1.52

Although most of the ancient fabric has been wiped out, the original urban morphology still reminds underneath of the city. The initial waterways have been buried and transformed into roads for vehicles, and the natural landscape has been exploited in order to develop more real estate developments. The obscure boundaries are left between the remnant of the ancient town and the new modern constructions. Rather than the visible constructions, the legacy of tradition tends to be embedded in the citizens' daily lives.

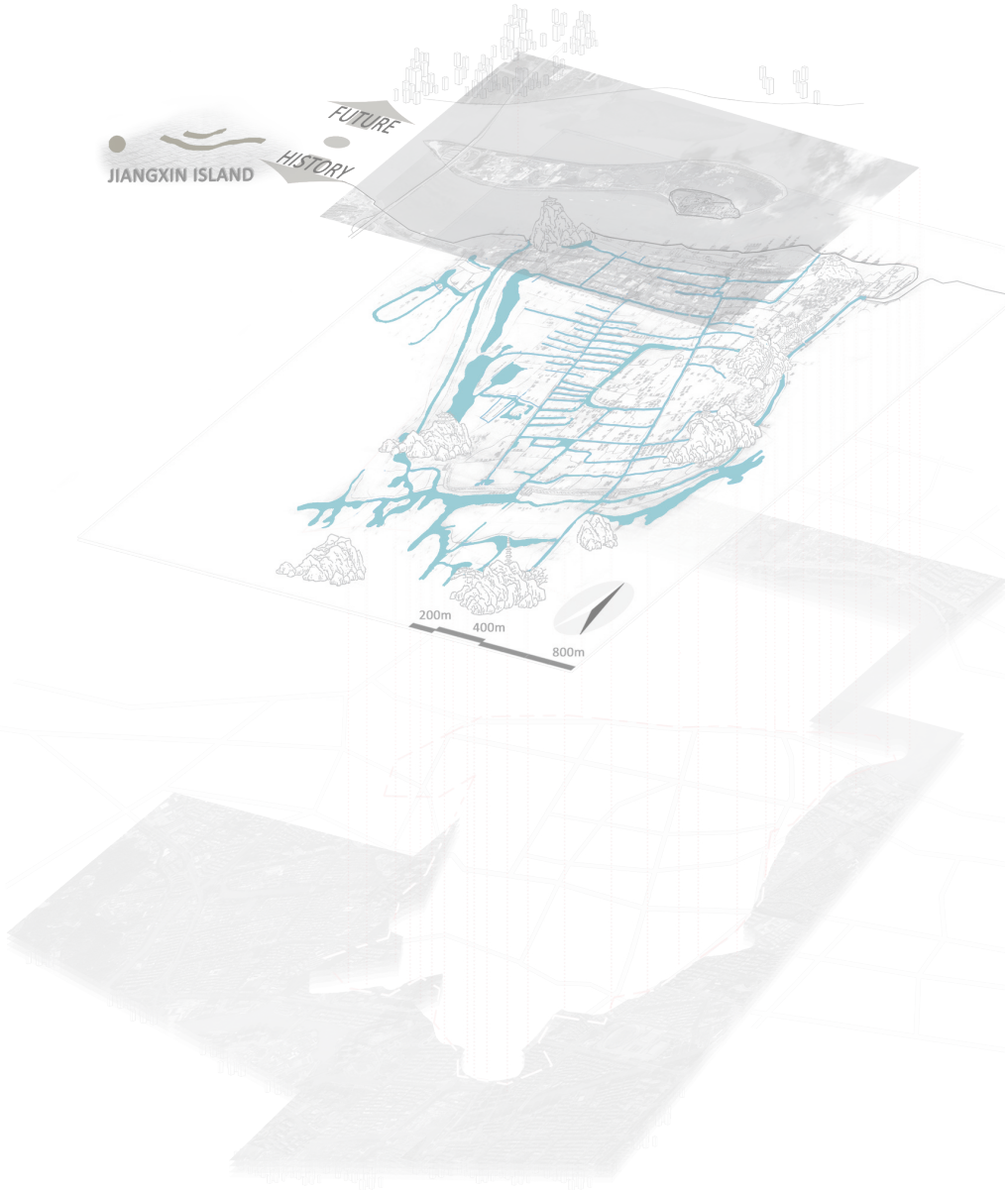


Fig. 1.53

The privatization of economic factors and the urban sprawl are also reflected in the expansion of Jiangxin island. The island size was enlarged about two times and developers have established a theme park in the western part. Located in the middle of Oujiang River, the island is also witnessing urban development, currently, in the northern area.

Such order is further consolidated by the authorities in China. Evidence can be found in the habitual square dance and the use of public spaces. It is reported that "people who gather to dance will have to keep time with government regulations in future".[94] In Chinese cities, including Wenzhou, the public space is expected to have a certain function, and public activities need to be defined through formal orders by the officials. "Any potential space beyond such expectation may be controlled or even forbidden by the official forces".[95]

Nonetheless, the people's spatial practice does not respond well to the planners' orders. Dynamic spatial practices by individuals have resulted in many informal spaces that are not subject to formal urbanisation. These informal spaces can be found everywhere in Wenzhou. They are growing within the planned order of the normative urban pattern. This can be termed as *loose space,*[96] which refers to more specific features and qualities of spatiality that accommodate than unexpected activity, especially those margined in the city. Such a loose space shows how people cope with the fast growing urbanisation of Wenzhou. For example, it is

[94] BBC, 'China: 'Square dancers' face official choreography', *BBC NEWS*, 24 March 2015, http://www.bbc.co.uk/news/blogs-news-from-elsewhere-32031986, (accessed 1 December 2018).

[95] Q. Wang, 'Why the square is labeled by stigma(广场舞为何被污名化)', *The PAPER*, 17 April 2015, http://www.thepaper.cn/newsDetail_forward_1317639, (accessed 1 December 2018).

[96] K. Franck and Q. Stevens, *Loose Space*, 1st edn., London, Routledge, 2007, p.5.



Fig. 1. 54
A rather new development block was built beside an old residential area in the ancient part of the city. This illustration shows an elderly man that lives in the old building (left), while opposite his dwelling is a new concrete block unpainted (right).

common that people tend to appropriate potential open spaces for food-related activities in Wenzhou, such as processing and making food and dining on the streets. Tuan states that "… eating ... is a cultural activity in its own right with a long history"[97] and "Li Chi , *(礼记),* a Confucian classical scholar dating back to the fifth century B.C. treats the evolution of culture as though it were a matter of the evolution of cooking skills".[98] Indeed, both cases show that food-based practices have produced a specific kind of public space, which exhibits strong traditions in opposition to modernist aesthetics, showing an unpredictable contingency which is lively nonetheless.

[97] Y. Tuan, *Passing Strange and Wonderful: Aesthetics, Nature, and Culture*, New York, Island Press, 1993, p.47.

[98] Ibid., p.51.

Interestingly, food practice strongly embodies a collective awareness in this region. This implies the people's spontaneity of producing space through their habitus. It is "the way society becomes deposited in persons in the form of last *dispositions*, or trained capacities and structured propensities to think, feel, and act in determinant ways, which then guide them in their creative responses to the constrains and solicitations of their extant milieu".[99]

[99] J. Beckert and M. Zafirovski (eds), *International Encyclopedia of Economic Sociology*, Abingdon, Routledge, 2006. p.318.



Fig. 1. 55.

During the winter months in Wenzhou, people tend to use public space and greenery for food processing. This picture illustrates a traditional fish-drying process, which takes place outside a residential area, although these residents were waiting to be relocated.

Practically, the space of the habitus does produce a sort of public space, which has the potential of making a city a "place of desire, permanent disequilibrium, a seat of the dissolution of normality and constraints, the moment of play and of the unpredictable".[100] The 'habitus' works as a spatial catalyst. De Certeau writes about it as a situated experience by individuals who talk, walk, eat, cook and carry out their everyday lives in the city. "Such tactics show the power that is resistant to the strategic framework, an overarching space that is imposed by the ruling institution and their objectives, politically, economically, and scientifically".[101] The habitus-based spatial practices, especially of eating, have found their own ways to deal with the formally urbanized space today.

[100] H. Lefebvre, *The Production of Space*, Oxford, Blackwell Publishers, 1991, p. 129.

[101] M D. Certeau, *The Practice of Everyday Life*, 3rd edn.,California, University of California Press, p. XIX.



Fig. 1. 56

This photo was taken on one of the streets near the city centre of Wenzhou. The buildings around this area are largely for commercial and residential use, but often the ground floor is used as an open style breakfast café.

During the Dragon festival every year, the local community and café owners would display and sell their foods on the public street, while their preparation of rice dumplings would be made in an open-air kitchen. So, this is a common scene that takes place throughout Wenzhou.

The city cannot be simply restricted to pre-ordained planning or administrative boundaries between the formal and informal strategy. It is always difficult to define spatialities within the process of urbanisation, since "there are distinctive cultural, political or even bio-physical dimensions to urban space that are not interchangeable or reducible to a generalised theory of the urban".[102] However, it can be observed that urbanisation has rapidly re-made the Chinese city with an image of surplus capital. Shopping malls, commercial districts, and many other zones of economic excess have emerged, and gradually spread throughout the cities. The space is "fragmented and homogenized until big cities function merely as extended shopping malls".[103]

Nevertheless, if we consider the space of the city as a flowing process of relations and capital, then the *loose space* is where everything seems to pause. Indeed, food-related scenarios in Wenzhou have exemplified the loose space of habitus, where people carry out spontaneous spatial practices based on their own needs. On the other hand, the space of habitus has provided a perfect perspective for re-examining the urbanisation of Wenzhou. Through re-thinking and re-appreciating their daily habitus, people may find their right to the city, creating public spaces that cope with the post-colonial urban ghost within globalisation.

[102] M. Gandy, 'Methods, metaphors and the interdisciplinary terrain of urban research', in B. Campkin and G. Duijzings (eds.), *Engaged urbanism: cities and methodologies*, London; New York, IB Tauris, 2016, p. 31-32.

[103] L. R. Lippard, *The Lure of the Local: Senses of Place in a Multicentered Society*, New York, The New Press, 1997, p.247.

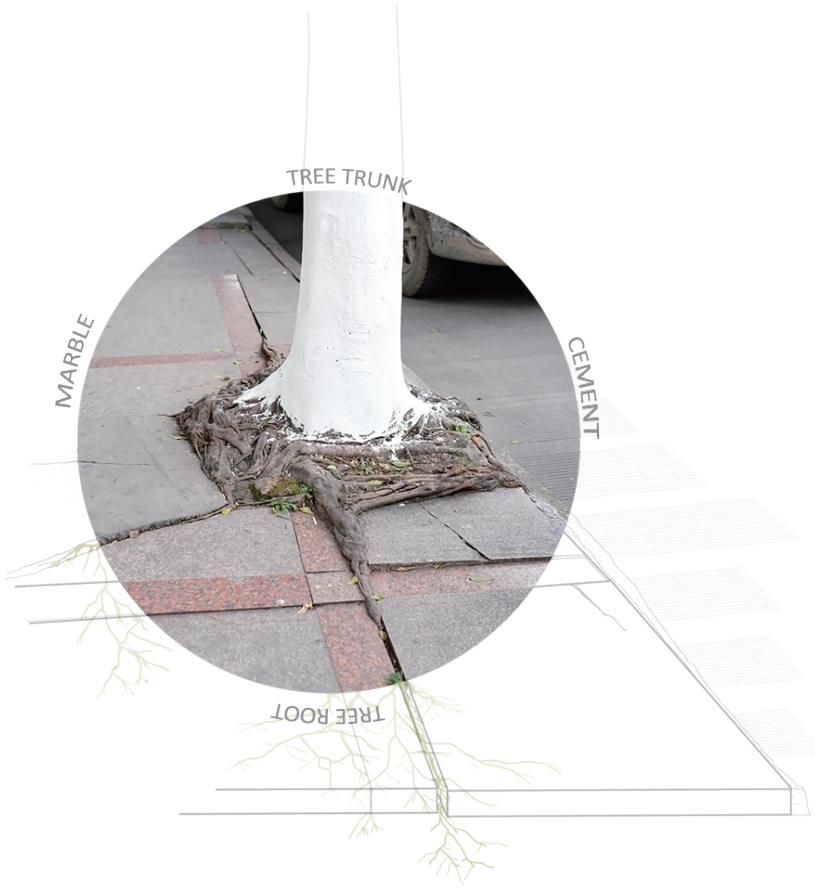


Fig. 1. 57

A Metaphor of growth and street greenery. Urbanisation is too fast to spare consideration for contingency and nature's order.

The space of habitus illustrate the power of making alternative spaces in the city. Indeed, it is right of the grass roots populace in China to express the way they want to use their city. It is necessary therefore to expand the concept of the 'right to the city' by looking at precedents.

Lefebvre argued that "the right to the city manifests itself as a superior form of rights: right to freedom, to individualization in socialization, to habitat and to inhabit. The right to the *oeuvre*, to participation and appropriation (clearly distinct from the right to property), are implied in the right to the city".[104] Lefebvre's 'right' referred to the capacity of autogestion, which is a kind of grassroots based self-management. Spatially speaking, it also proposes that every citizen should have reasonable access to whatever exists in the city. People will reconsider the city and their lives through their spatial practices. They can feel a sense of belonging regardless of their culture, religion, race, sex and any category. Moreover, Harvey has argued that "the right to the city is far more than the individual liberty to access urban resources: it is a right to change ourselves by changing the city".[105] The *right to the city* demands more radical changes such as the democratisation of control over the means of spatial production. It has called for the strategically constructed city to be more inclusive: "a realm in which the institutional capacity to produce and transfer space has itself been radically democratised, such that it becomes equally available to all who inhabit urban space".[106] In other words, it suggests a city of more openness.

[104] H. Lefebvre, *Writings on cities*, Oxford, Blackwell, 1996, p. 173-174.

[105] D. Harvey, 'The right to the city', *New Left Review*, no 53, 2008, pp. 23.

[106] N. Brenner, 'Open City or the Right to the City?', in Verso Book (ed.), *The Right to the City A Verso Report*, London, Verso, 2017, p.43.

Although most of the theory about the right to the city is drawn from a western context, China does share much common ground with it. Chinese cities are undergoing a process of capitalization in both social and spatial aspects. Everyday life is significantly affected by the production and appropriation of the urban space, whose order is constantly reinforced by the tight control of the ruling class. The right to the city envisions an alternative future for the city with openness. But one essential question is: How can we be able to make such openness, especially in China? It can be argued that "it requires us to find ways of transforming the rules of urban governance so as to open up urban space to democratic redesign, through an ongoing process of grassroots appropriation and re-appropriation. By integrating questions of institutional form, regulatory process, democratic empowerment, collective use and socio-spatial transformation into their vision of the site and the intervention and the programme. The designer can play a strategically and politically essential role in the ongoing struggle for the right to the city".[107]

Making space for openness also means creating a sense of public space for people. In this sense, a spatial approach can be learnt from people's daily lives and considered in the local social-cultural context. The space of habitus in Wenzhou, for example, has clearly shown the Chinese people's right to the city through re-defining space, claiming space, appropriating space and making space. Furthermore, it should be acknowledged that "space becomes a discourse, in which we should recognize its public being: the street defined geographically by urban planning representations is transformed by those who walk along it. This is a fundamental presupposition in the consideration of public space as a space of relationships".[108]

[107] Ibid., p.44.

[108] B. Pietromarchi, 'The (un) common Place: Art, Public Space and Urban Aesthetics in Europe', in D.F. Faustino, *Trans(ient) City*, Barcelona, Bom Publishers, 2008 p.13.

Fig. 1. 58

21st century urbanisation has created diverse and fragile spatial experiences in Wenzhou. Everything is in the process of construction and re-construction whilst the loose space is emerging in-between the concrete forest.







OPEN WIDE ROADS
OLD DWELLINGS
BLOCKS OF MANSIONS

urbanization has formed a city where people's street life disappear

people live and entertain themselves in the concrete forest

SQUARE
FERRY
WORK SHIP
SOCIAL ACITIVITY







ALLEY AND CARS
TRADITIONAL RESIDENCE
CONSTRUCTION







some of important old buildings are still regenerated with traditional tectonics

In Huagai Mountain, bomb shelter are transformed into tunnels for traffic and market

MOUNTAIN
TUNNEL
BOMB SHELTER
TRAFFIC
MARKET











BOUNDARIES
ANCIENT TOWN
TALL BUILDINGS





the road used to be the boundary where the city wall stood that limiting the ancient town

contrasts represented by skins of diverse constructions are showing a process of assimilation during modernization





RIVER
FOOTHILL
ARTIFICIAL PARK
WIDE ROAD

WHAT
IS
TRADITION
?

WHAT
IS
MODERN
?



WHERE
IS
TRADITION
?

WHERE
IS
MODERNITY
?

FROM PUBLIC SPACE/SPHERE TO SOCIO-SPATIAL STRUCTURE IN CHINA

Public space has been accepted as a concrete spatial creation due to the impact of modern architectural and planning languages. Architects and Urban Designers are usually regarded as the makers of public space; often drawn in terms of formal orthogonal shapes, wide open vistas and lots of formal signage. In the huge city expansion which has taken place in China over the past three decades, most historic buildings have been demolished and imagined public spaces created in-between new buildings in terms of the squares or wide roads. Public life is thus expected to unfold in those spaces under certain regulations and restrictions.

Currently, we are beginning to seize the opportunity left by the turn in re-thinking the consequences of rapid urbanisation since WW2 in the West. As a result, many architects have advocated improving livability by bringing the human dimension back to city design, and are fighting against the alienation caused by rapid urbanisation. Amongst others, for example, Jan Gehl's *Cities for People* has outlined the basic elements necessary for better public space design of a human scale. In the light of Gehl's practical guides, humanistic designers have produced good public spaces with better sitting and walking spaces. "A series of pilot projects was carried by Kristian Villadsen and his team (Gehl Architects) in Chongqing, China, since 2008".[109] Many open spaces have been transformed into more human-centred spaces, bringing community culture and public life back to the street.

[109] Gehlpeople, *Making Cities for People*, [website], http://gehlpeople.com/cases/chongqing-china/, (accessed 1 December 2018).

Meanwhile, architectural research on public space, today, is shifting the focus from the object of physical forms to the subject of the user. People's social lives are thus analysed to create more inclusive public spaces. For the designer, however, spatial remediation is often limited within the formal lenses of practicality, economics and expediency. The reasons behind the collective behaviour of communities are often overlooked. One should not forget the political role of public life, just as Gehl reminds us: "public interests determine the playing rules in the common space of the city and thus help to ensure people's opportunities to exchange personal, cultural and political messages".[110] Indeed, public space has assumed a social and political role in people's lives. In a modern sense, public space also points to sites where people have the right to enter and discuss freely.

[110] J. Gehl, *Cities for People*, Washington, DC, Island Press, 2013, p. 29.

Here, we step outside mainstream architectural discourse, and ask who is making the public space, and what is the role of public space beyond the physical form? Contemporary architectural practitioners tend to refer to Henri Lefebvre's interpretation of "the social production of social space".[111] In addition, Habermas' insights have revealed the political dimension within social complex production, which is heuristic, for the Chinese city.

Habermas proposed an idea of public space that exists between states (countries, governments, etc.) on the one hand, and individual private life (family, workplace, etc.) on the other. It is a space for rational and critical discussion to form public opinion. He defines a bourgeois public space, which is produced socially due to the rise of commodity exchange and the bourgeois family. This is an idea that Habermas develops by tracing all the way back to the days of enlightenment when people talked, discussed and debated in literary clubs, salons and coffee houses. It was during these conversations that people informed themselves about social affairs. People made their public opinions known to those who were involved in government, and "… engage[d] them in a debate over the general rules governing relations in the basically privatized but publicly relevant sphere of commodity exchange and social labor".[112] Therefore, bourgeois public space was formed with a strong political purpose based on the individual values that sought literal expression.

[111] H. Lefebvre, *The Production of Space*, Oxford, Blackwell Publishers, 1991, p. 26.

[112] J. Habermas, *The Structural Transformation of the Public Sphere: an Inquiry into a Category of Bourgeois Society*, Cambridge, MA: MIT Press, 1989, 1991 edn, p. 27.

Before the end of the 20th century, there was little evidence of Habermasian public space in traditional Chinese society, which was under the ideological control of Confucian-based state power and reinforced by the family. The concept of *Minjian* (*in Chinese: 民间*) needs to be introduced here to help us understand the traditional social environment. *Minjian* literally means folk society, which is often thought to be the opposite of state power. It mainly refers to the societies in the country side and villages which were autonomous and self-governed. "In other words, *Minjian* is free of direct influence from state power".[113] It is a popular village-based social sphere which still has a significant impact on people's everyday lives. "Such a society is composed not of discrete organization but of overlapping networks of people linked together through differentially categorized social relationships".[114] It strongly relies on the moral and ethical character, reinforced by the Confucian principle of loyalty and filial piety. In other words, lives and power structures in *Minjian* are regulated by the traditional social principles such as 'Sangang' (three cardinal guides), which state that the "ruler guides the minister, the father guides son, the husband guides wife".[115] For example, in the traditional *Minjian* culture, women remained silent, whereas family and royalty should always be the priority, and the individual had to submit to his superior. "The top-down social structure was so tight, leaving no space for any private, not even to mention bourgeois, public space".[116]

In this closed power structure, Philip Huang identified a quasi-public space and defined it as the 'third realm', to "free us of the value-laden teleology of Habermas' bourgeois public sphere".[117] In the Qing Dynasty, the formal administration of the state could only reach county level. Below that level, government power was too limited to complete many public actions like tax collection and disaster relief. The county government (*named Yamen/ 衙门 in Chinese*) would usually turn to the local community to complete the public activities. The local gentries and quasi-officials would thus extend the governmental hand, and create a third realm for the deliberation and execution of public issues. Unlike the bourgeois public sphere, the third realm has little political function as it is nominated by the community and confirmed by the state. Especially for large scale public events, deliberation always involved the agencies of power from both the state and *Minjian*, but excluded any other dissidence.

[113] Z. Liang, 'Folk, Folk Society and Civil Society: Re-examining the Concept of Civil Society', *Modern China Study*, vol. 1, 2001. Available from http://www.modernchinastudies.org/us/issues/past-issues/72-mcs-2001-issue-1/563-civil-society-civil-society.html, (accessed 1 December 2018).

[114] X. Fei, *From the Soil: The Foundations of Chinese Society*, Berkeley, University of California Press, 1992, p. 20.

[115] J. Zhang, *The Tradition and Modern Transition of Chinese Law*, Berlin, Springer Berlin Heidelberg, 2014, p. 28.

[116] G. Jin and Q. Liu, 'Public Space of Gentry in China (绅士公共空间在中国)', *Twenty-First Century*, no. 75, pp. 33-34.

[117] P. Huang, '"Public Sphere"/"Civil Society" in China? - The Third Realm between State and Society', *Modern China*, vol. 19. No. 2. 1993, p. 225.

Interestingly, the first two decades of the 20th century witnessed social revolutions which were pushed by a new third realm. "Unlike the traditional third realm, the new one was advocated and developed by the gentry and intellectuals, most of whom were educated in the western world".[118] The third realm started to include wider social issues that went beyond the Confucian 'guide'. This encouraged people to go outside of the family and engage in political debate and decision making, such as publishing public opinion and criticizing the government. This later led to the subversion of the Qing Dynasty.

[118] G. Jin and Q. Liu, 'Public Space of Gentry in China (绅士公共空间在中国)', *Twenty-First Century*, no. 75, p. 38.

The new elites desired a new world with a democratic system adopted from the West. The new public space was where they disseminated and encouraged social movements. However, the reality turned out be completely the opposite, since Chinese society, especially below county level, was still framed within the social-spatial structure guided by old traditions. When the old social Confucian principle was suspended, the new 'public space' failed to convince the people to create a new social order. The development of a political role of the third realm thus ceased.

Spatially speaking, the social structure of later imperial China looks like a stack of three blocks of different sizes: the formal apparatus of the state at the top and the *Minjian* at the bottom. "The in-between part is the third realm, where public activities were undertaken".[119] Today, this traditional legacy has been inherited and practiced in everyday life. The power structures of Chinese society remain within a closed system, leaving little space for public discussion, not just about re-thinking the people's right to the city, but also the future of culture and the city through everyday life. In a way, they are all part of the impact of the colonial ghost.

[119] P. Huang, '"Public Sphere"/"Civil Society" in China? - The Third Realm between State and Society', *Modern China*, vol. 19. No. 2. 1993, p. 228.

MAKING THINGS PUBLIC?

PUBLIC SPACE AND POLITICAL DELIBERATION

Jürgen Habermas outlined a bourgeois public sphere in the western world, where citizens gathered together to propose political idea, and make them heard by governmental powers. However, his Public Sphere seems to exclude the marginalised. This is criticised by Nancy Fraser who holds a moral standpoint on the public sphere by asking "who participates and on what term[s]".[120] What she calls "the 'multiple publics' and 'insurgent citizenship' within the public sphere that comprises "actual existing democracy – rather than Habermas's more restricted ideal of the modern European bourgeois liberal public".[121] The question is, how can this be actualised?

[120] N. Fraser, 'Rethinking the Public Sphere: A Contribution to the Critique of Actually Existing Democracy', *Social Text*, 1990, pp.56–80.

[121] B. McGrath, 'War, Trade and Desire: Urban Design and the Counter Public Spheres of Bangkok', *Footprint*, vol. 7, no. 1, 2013, p.75.



The Public Sphere (Space) by Habermas

Political and deliberation

Habermas' concept was a binary play of the state and the society, between which the public sphere was created as **an extension of the private sphere**, due to its "**democratic development against the absolutist state**".



Fig. 1.59

"For Habermas, the public sphere is a unified, common space where people come together to discuss and debate issues within the framework of liberalism, where consensus is reached among them through rational deliberations".[122] Deliberation is a key part of the political process in public life. In the public sphere, deliberation helps us form reasoned arguments and weigh the arguments on both sides before we come to a decision, and this forms the basis for discursive judgment. We can make the best kinds of decisions that form our public opinion and then transmit public opinions to those who are leading us in government. It is worth noting that deliberation often emphasizes citizen power and citizen agency. Here, agency refers to the capacity of decision making and acting efficaciously to accomplish something. Independent social agency will participate in that deliberation. More importantly, the Habermasian public sphere has the potential to make things public and challenge the state and the status quo.

[122] D. Desai and D. Darts, 'Interrupting Everyday Life: Public Interventionist Art as Critical Public Pedagogy', *International Journal of Art & Design Education*, vol. 35, no. 2, 2016, p. 191.

As a political device, it is not surprising that this form of deliberation also exists in Chinese society, as will be discussed in the last chapter. By re-examining notions of the public sphere, Philip Huang has illustrated the concept of the *third realm* which functions as the public sphere in traditional Chinese society. Historically, deliberative decision-making and problem-solving often take place in the third realm. Both the governmental powers and representatives of the people participate in order to resolve a public issue, such as building infrastructure for the community. In contrast to the Habermasian *public realm*, Huang's *third realm* merely helps to deliberate public issues with the help of governmental agency that barely threatens the top leadership. Moreover, the public actions are often carried out by the agency who represent the leadership.



The Third Realm by Philip Huang

Political and Action

The third realm is a space for political deliberation. It facilitates the public event in China. There are always **the power agencies who represent the both sides of the governmental authority and the local society, and intermediate between them.**

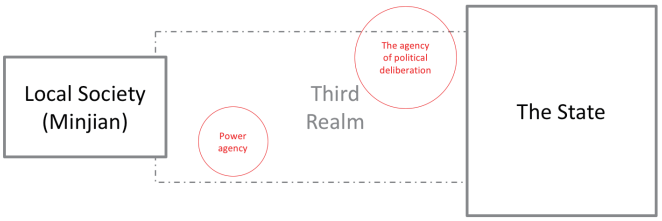


Fig. 1.60

Today, under one-party leadership, the political practice of authoritarian deliberation has reflected the legacy of the *third realm*. Public events are often facilitated by the power of the *third realm* that integrates both the agencies of government and the people. Public space is often produced out of the power play between state and citizen. To make things public, it will be inevitable to face political intervention and deliberation by the authorities. He and Warren state that, "… there are powers of obstruction and de facto petition: Chinese citizens are often insistently ingenious in organizing protests or engaging in public discussion in ways that work around official controls, whilst leveraging official rules and promises".[123]

[123] K.J. O'Brien and L. Li, *Rightful Resistance in Rural China, Cambridge*, Cambridge University Press, 2006, citied in B. He and M.E. Warren, 'Authoritarian Deliberation: The Deliberative Turn in Chinese Political Development', *Perspectives on Politics*, vol. 9, Issue. 2, 2011, p. 274.

Indeed, “the Chinese public sphere’s independent and semi-private status was ambiguous and partial, because in order to function at all, they had to be registered with the government”.[124] It thus appears that the production of public space does have a social dimension decided through political deliberation in China. So, in order to have a deep understanding of public space and the right to space, more focus should be placed on the agencies that operate within the socio-political system.

[124] F. Wakeman, ‘The Civil Society and Public Sphere Debate: Western Reflections on Chinese Political Culture’, *Modern China*, vol. 19, no.2, p. 111.

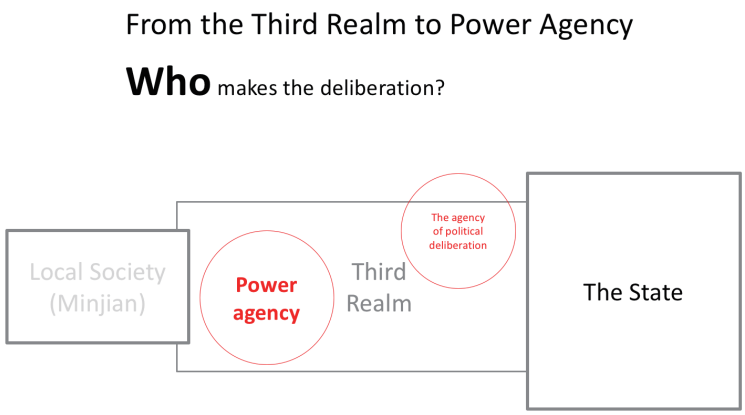


Fig. 1.61

DELIBERATION AND PARTICIPATION?

In China today, the structure of society is often tagged as '*big government, small society*'. It implies that the government takes care of almost everything in China, leaving little space for society to self-manage. It pictures a power structure like a seesaw, with the government sitting on one side and society on the other. In other words, society tends to be in opposition to central government. Any public issue may be considered a potential threat to the central authority. Therefore, discussions about the *public* turn out to be sensitive for both society and the government.

Guochuan Feng is a professional Chinese architect working in the mainstream. After carrying out some public architectural education for children, he feels that "there is a lack of 'public awareness' in Chinese society, the majority of Chinese people are apathetic about public issues … most of the people have already become used to the statues of being deprived of rights to space".[125]

[125] An informal online chat with Guochuan Feng (冯果川) (Chatting in Chinese): "…中国民间尤其是城市里缺乏自组织，没有组织很难做有一定规模的事情，所以会是大政府小社会，人们依赖政府。另一方面，缺少公民意识。许多人已经习惯被剥夺了空间权益的状态，我认为这种无意识和观念上的惰性也是很大的障碍。" 4 April 2015. in Weibo.



Fig. 1. 62
Weibo becomes a platform for public sphere

Nevertheless, the emergence of social agency in China today, within public institutions, has given birth to the possibilities of a public space where people are encouraged to discuss and negotiate public issues regardless of their class, age, beliefs and cultural backgrounds. In the last decade, cyberspace seems to create more space for comment on social and political issues anonymously. People use social media, for example *Weibo*, to criticize the government, engage in public events, and make their voice heard. The wide use of social media has articulated how eager different voices are to get out. In this early stage of using social media, everyone has been able to say something about social or political issues. This has been solving as well as exposing social problems. “One of the outcomes was a public debate on China's air quality, which eventually prompted the Ministry of Environmental Protection to require the country's major cities to publish daily reports on PM2.5”.[126] This has also exemplifieds a democratic atmosphere on a micro scale and how modern ‘public space’ is being produced through continual and political negotiation. Indeed, Weibo as “an alternative source of information and a new platform for civic association, indeed, functions as an online school of political participation and can be used as an effective tool for political mobilization”.[127]

An independent online space has been formed that works politically, but which the governmental authority holds a negative attitude towards. On the one hand, the government wants to create enough space for cultural and social diversity while on the other hand however, most officials regard the public sphere as a threat because online rumours could ruin their careers. Moreover, the authorities consider that such public spaces need to be regulated and supervised.

[126] H. WU, ‘Weibo transforming public affairs participation’, *CCTV English*, 6 December 2012, http://english.cntv.cn/program/newshour/20121106/104923.shtml, (accessed 1 December 2018).

[127] H. Wang and F. Shi, ‘Weibo use and political participation: the mechanism explaining the positive effect of Weibo use on online political participation among college students in contemporary China’, *Information, Communication & Society*, iol. 21, issue. 4, p.528.

As a result, the CAC (Cyberspace Administration of China) was established and Cybersecurity Laws were introduced. Any sensitive comment on governmental issues in the social media would be filtered, blocked and erased promptly. More interestingly, many governmental departments have started to have social media accounts. Through entertainment, they are branding their patriotism, nationalism and traditional culture such as Confucian principles to guide public opinion and create a positive social atmosphere. Although modern techniques have seen the embryonic beginnings of a bourgeois public sphere, Chinese society seems to be different from autonomous civil society in Western terms. In China, the majority tend not to be that involved in the public realm – both ordinary people and also those who play within the governmental systems. Brown argues "The public sphere in China is unified only in its disunity. The state's response to this has been to define a limited area it seeks to operate in and control, while jettisoning large parts of the Chinese world where it used to be heavily involved. The result is to leave these two zones – the official and the civic (both public and personal) – to inhabit a parallel universe".[128]

While the Confucian legacy still functions in the family, the CCP's political advocacy on the legitimacy of a one-party regime has been embedded into the people's daily lives with the help of institutional education and the centrally controlled media.

The big socio-political picture of the three-block-stack seems to be still valid today. The social structure has remained top-down: the power of the CCP is at the top, the society is at the bottom, and the middle accommodate public opinion which will always be censored by governmental power.

[128] K. Brown, 'China and Habermas's public sphere', *OpenDemocracy*, 4 July 2015, http://www.opendemocracy.net/kerry-brown/china-and-habermass-public-sphere, (accessed 1 December 2018).

EVERYDAY ACTIVISM AND SPATIAL PRACTICE IN CHINA

The western architectural field has responded to the 'right to the city' as a product of feminism, as well as other wider political movements. One practical approach to addressing this turns out to be the participatory design field that has also been widely discussed. Many related arguments have emerged concerning spatial issues beyond pure architectural or urban design. Unorthodox architects, like *MUF*, *aaa*, *Anne Thorne Architects*, *Markus Miessen* and so on, have also negotiated spatial rights by engaging themselves in the city's issues be they political and social. One of the notions of such spatial practice is political motivation through participatory means. They are not just solving urban issues in terms of urban design or form making. Additionally, they attempt to re-examine the power relationship, to represent invisible space and show alternative spatial possibilities. Interestingly, they also emphasize the importance of making things public, just like *MUF* coined it as "a collective practice of art and architecture committed to public realm projects".[129] In a public lecture, Amy Linford, an architect in *MUF*,[130] described their approach to an urban design project in South London as a delicate exercise in understanding people's desires in the public realm and responding by designing urban public space as the rooms of a home or a much loved public building, but without the walls, where different people use space differently but all are welcome, and where there may be something for everyone.

Cases of feminist, participatory approaches and alternative practice are found in China as well. They attempt to explore the right to the city in a local context. However, their process and position could be easily misunderstood with regard to the socio-political environment of Chinese society. Since social agency is considered to be an opposite stance to the government, any activism or social agenda is often discouraged within such a power structure.

[129] See the introduction on the official website on http://www.muf.co.uk

[130] A. Linford, *lecture on her work and the work of MUF at the Newbridge Collective Studios*, Gateshead, December, 2017.

Everyone's East Lake Project in Wuhan

Evidence could be found in the "Everyone's East Lake Project"[131] in Wuhan. Starting from 25 June till 25 August, it is an on-going and open socially engaged project concerning the future of East Lake, where a development proposal was launched by the local government and a private real estate company. Part of the lake was planned to be filled-in. Some high-end residential buildings, commercial buildings and two entertainment theme parks, have now been partially realised.

[131] *The details of the projects on: Everyone's Donghu Lake*, [website],2014, http://donghu2010.org/, (accessed 1 December 2018).

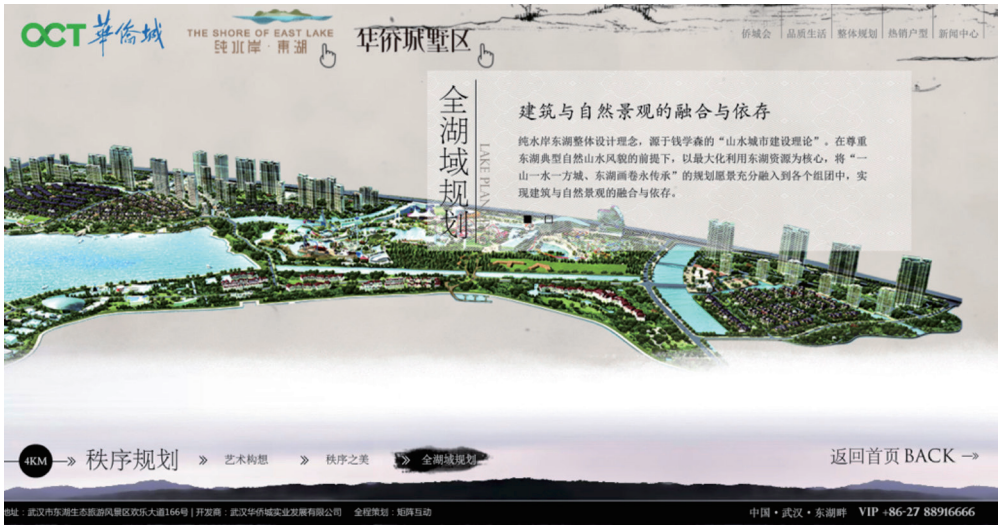


Fig. 1.63

An advertisement from a real estate developer. It is called the Shore of East Lake, which has all been sold.

This project was initiated by artist-architect Juchuan Li and photographer Yu Li, both of whom we should call 'citizens'. The Donghu Lake plan encourages people to do anything that relates to the East Lake, which constructs stories about the place. Li called on the public to express their own opinions on the future of East Lake and to enjoy their right to the East Lake as a public space in the city. The project appealed to many participants (citizens), both local and national, including artists, designers, architects, musicians, poets, scholars, free-lancers, teachers, the unemployed, students, and so on, ranging from 20 to 60 years of age. "59 pieces of work were created and accessible free around East Lake".[132] The works include both the physical and the unphysical, such as a 30-Metre Memorial Wall, and public games.

[132] J. Li, '"Everyone's East Lake Project " 每个人的东湖" 艺术计划 ', *World Architecture Review*, vol. 27, no. 143, 2012, p.21, http://www.xueshu.com/sjjzdb/201201/7601787.html, (accessed 1 December 2018).

Juchuan Li emphasises that the main driving force of this project is inspired from an architectural perspective. It was simply that through public activities and approaches people could re-discover and re-define the relationship between their bodies and Donghu Lake spatially, individually, and specifically. There was no profit or commercial operation involved. “The artists argued that interactions and connections between man and landform, is the real experiential architecture before any physical construction happens”.[133] In a sense, every participant shows a kind of right to the city against the overwhelming power of the developer and the government. The project is resilient, through activism, in terms of everyday life, and responds to the project’s theme of the lake belonging to everyone. (Everyone’s East Lake)

This reminds us of the slogan from the Situationists that, “everyone will be a situationist so to speak, with the multi-dimensional tendencies, experiences, or from radically different ‘Schools of thought’”.[134]

[133] Y. He, *The Power of Organizing Without Organizations（没有组织的组织力）*, [website], 2012, http://donghu2010.org/?p=136, (accessed 1 December 2018).

[134] Situationist International online, *Situationist Manifesto, 17 May 1960 reprinted in Internationale Situationniste #4 (June 1960)*, [website], no date, http://www.cddc.vt.edu/sionline/si/manifesto.html, (accessed 1 December 2018).



Fig. 1.64

“According to the ‘Implementation Rules of Lake Protection Regulations’ issued by Wuhan government, no commercial development is allowed within 30 metres of the lakeshore. Three activists, Wuyun, Zijie, Maidian, found a ruined wall of 30 metres on the demolition site of former East Lake Fishery”.[135] The walls were erected as an installation, a metaphor of the legal regulations, but also an ironic response to the reality of East Lake legally. The whole area is now over exploited.

[135] SEACHINA, *Socially engaged art in contemporary China*, [website], 2017, http://cn.seachina.net/album/all/301 (accessed 1 December 2018).

However, the project has had little impact on the planned development. The buildings and the theme park rose up and life goes on. All the activities and projects appear to be just a discursive thematic justification for the activists. They protested, showed their right to the city, and tried to create their public space around the lake. They have illustrated social agency, and dissidence by opposing the governing power. Therefore, they needed to design the games smartly and sneak under the cover of the name of art to eschew inspection. They appear not have any position or power in the political game. Little space was offered for social power to be engaged in or exposed in connection with public issues, especially when the issues were related to land and space in the city.



Fig. 1.65

"On 18 July 2010, Liu Zhenyu and a group of Freestyle Bicycle Motocross enthusiasts organized a lake jumping game in East Lake".[136] A wooden platform was built on a pier, where people would ride off and land in the water.

[136] SEACHINA, *Socially engaged art in contemporary China*, [website], 2017, http://cn.seachina.net/album/all/314 (accessed 1 December 2018)

Basement Regeneration Project in Beijing

Another project, "Growing the Underground Digua Community",[137] attempted to rejuvenate large amounts of underutilised basements, and at the same time foster community in Beijing.

Zishu Zhou, the initiator and director of the project, made a series of regeneration projects in an air defence basement in Beijing. This began with his graduate project for a Masters degree at Central Saint Martins. Zhou saw "a report about the discovery of the basements from the Victorian era, … living quarters for the migrant workers who flowed into the city during the industrial revolution".[138] This reminded him of a similar situation in Beijing, where thousands of migrant workers and graduates from outside the metropolis live in basements because they could only afford low rents.

Beginning with a community, Zhou and his team transformed the 'slum like' basement into a better space for living. It was well thought out, well-decorated and contemporary. The project had indeed improved their living environment from better ventilation, to clean simply designed interiors. Meanwhile, new functions were introduced such as a gym, a reading room, a tea bar, classrooms and so on, to serve the community. Zhou's two-year UK postgraduate course had influenced his methodology. The basement project included a participatory approach, collecting opinions and suggestions from the residents, including the potential user's voice in the process and the outcome. The participant's ideas and suggestions were valued, further conceptualised, and materialised in the project.

After the 'successful' intervention, the community and the environment improved. However, the users changed as well. The original users were mainly marginalised groups who came to the metropolis to seek a better life. The basement used to be a transitional space for them since they preferred to squeeze into the narrow rooms in order to save their expenses. The gentrification of the basement, unfortunately, forced them to move out. "Neither the new function, decoration, life style nor the increasing rental was what they wanted or could afford".[139] The transitional space for marginalised groups had now become an optional leisure place for local residents and the community. As a result, the migrant workers needed to find another place to live. The right to the city for them seemed more about finding the right place to hide.

[137] Xinhua Published, *Creative makeover of basement by Chinese artist in Beijing*, [website], 2017, http://www.globaltimes.cn/content/1033676.shtml, (accessed 1 January 2018)

[138] *Zhou Zishu: Creating the Shared Space under the City (周子书：创造城市地下共享空间)*, [online video], 2015, https://v.qq.com/x/cover/us8l1lbnpi1y4ms/s1406qsn5g6.html, (accessed 1 January 2018).

[139] Z. Zhou, 'Beijing Dixiashi Yinwei Gaozao Chengle Tanzi, Ke Yuanlai Juzhuzaici De Beipiaomen Que Banzoule (北京这个地下室因为改造成了谈资，可原来居住在此的北漂们却搬走了)', *Jiemian*, 20 February 2017, http://www.jiemian.com/article/1122672.html, (accessed 1 December 2018).



The original condition
of a room in the basement.



The original residents are sharing their stories and telling each other where they are from, what they do in Beijing, and so on.



Making a new interior for the function room.



An underground studio was built for multiple functions, like lecturing and discussion events. However, there were only a few people from the basement that participated in the event.

Fig. 1.66

Zhou's Digua Community project is now supported by officials and has had investment and is growing quickly. The gentrification is praised by the mainstream media as "it exemplifies an appropriate model of spatial practice to regenerate the informal corners into decent spaces for 'positive community' use".[140] However, that is contrary to the initial intention. Coincidently, such an advertisement spread in the same year when the 'clean out' movement happened in Beijing. By the end of 2017, "tens of thousands of migrant workers were evicted from their transitional places in Beijing, and went back to their hometown".[141] Regarding the basement space as a production of social-capital, this project shows, sadly, the inevitable trend of spatial practice in China, which implies that residents should choose their position and cooperate with the market, and moreover, conform to the political environment.

[140] J. Liu, and Z. Wang, 'Culture lights up the Underground Space (文化点亮地下空间)', *People.CN*, 27 November 2017, http://paper.people.com.cn/rmrbhwb/html/2017-11/27/content_1819595.htm, (accessed 1 December 2018).

[141] B. Haas, 'China: 'ruthless' campaign to evict Beijing's migrant workers condemned', *The Guardian*, 27th November 2017, https://www.theguardian.com/world/2017/nov/27/china-ruthless-campaign-evict-beijings-migrant-workers-condemned, (accessed 1 December 2018).

Critique

Both of these projects in China outlined a socio-political structure where power tends to easily influence spatial projects. According to Habermas, it is not an accident that the public realm is institutionalized due to the ubiquity of capitalism. In China, the institutionalisation of the public realm is a familiar story. The socio-political structure was penetrated with a mixture of capitalised society, "paternalist leadership"[142] and accepted family-based ethics and morality in Chinese society.

Regarding such environments, there is further research about the spatial right to the city. Thorough investigations of struggles between the government and households to-be relocated in Guanghzou concluded that, "China's rights awareness currently rests largely on the right to subsistence or economic security, without going further to claim rights to challenge the state".[143]

For the practitioner today, in order to sustain their spatial practice, it is crucial to ensure a position within the power structures. Otherwise, spatial practice will end with nothing. This is what architects and urban designers need to work towards changing.

[142] C.C. Chen and J.L. Farh, 'Developments in understanding Chinese leadership: paternalism and its elaborations, moderations, and alternatives', in M.H. Bond, *The Oxford Handbook of Chinese Psychology*, Oxford, Oxford University Press, 2010, pp. 599-622.

[143] H.B. Shin, 'The Right to the City and Critical Reflections on China's Property Rights Activism', *Antipode*, vol. 45, no. 5, 2013, p.1168.

PARTICIPATORY MOVEMENTS IN CHINA

Participatory design represents an alternative way of practicing the right to the city. “The notion of participation has shifted from a participation in the production of objects to a spatial participation”.[144] One argues that participation, “will humanises the society rendered numb and fragmented by the repressive instrumentality of capitalist production”.[145] In the Western context participation can empower people to challenge potential authority, both socially and politically. Today in China such grass-roots based concepts are not only practiced in terms of political deliberation, but are embedded in modern Chinese society.

The last century witnessed a sophisticated blend of participatory practices that have applied art for political purposes in China. During the Second Sino-Japanese war (1937-1945), when the CCP was out of power, they used art as a powerful propaganda tool that targeted peasants and the working class who were the majority of the population at that time. By reflecting their lives through posters, songs, literature and so on, the CCP’s art work successfully aroused a common awareness, convincing people to join a revolutionary force. A policy was even formulated about “mass culture” which emphasised “how art serves the people (为人民做艺术)”. This slogan was latter reinforced by Chairman Mao in the Yan’an Forum on Literature and Art in 1942: “With us, literature and art are for the people, not for any of the [landlord class, ruling class or bourgeoisie] … to ensure that literature and art fit well into the whole revolutionary machine as a component part, that they operate as powerful weapons for uniting and educating the people and for attacking and destroying the enemy, and that they help the people fight the enemy with one heart and one mind”.[146] Since the founding of the Chinese Communist Party, art was labelled as political tool rather than a creative process. It became a catalyst for the majority’s participatory movement serving class struggle. In other words, it was a mass participatory practice initiated by the CCP against intruders as well as governing powers before 1949.

[144] T. Hoskyns, 'Taking place and altering it citied',in D. Petrescu (ed.), *Altering Practices: Feminist Politics and Poetics of Space*. London, Routledge, 2007, p.23.

[145] C. Bishop, *Artificial hells : participatory art and the politics of spectatorship*, London, Verson Books, 2012, p.11.

[146] Z. Mao, *Talks at the Yan’an Forum on Literature and Art, May 1942*, [website], 2004, https://www.marxists.org/reference/archive/mao/selected-works/volume-3/mswv3_08.htm#bm2, (accessed 1 December 2018).

The Cultural Revolution (1966-1976), initiated by Chairman Mao, may be seen as a climax of such a participatory-movements. After the founding of the People's Republic of China (PRC), and the CCP coming to power, art was assumed to continue its political stance and service to the people. During the Revolution, the proletariat was encouraged to break the chain of traditional culture, and to participate in public criticism against the capitalists, and to reinvigorate civic life. However, it turned out to be a disaster. Since everyone needed to listen to Chairman Mao, the revolution became no more than worshipping the Maoist cause, purging the dissent and the bourgeois classes, and dragging the economy and development to a significantly lower level than had been witnessed.

Fig. 1.67

In May 1966, Mao launched the revolution. His initial idea "is now widely interpreted as an attempt to destroy his enemies by unleashing the people on the party and urging them to purify its ranks".[149]

The 10 years Revolution threw China into a chaos of social-political turbulence. The economy stagnated, and millions of lives suffered hunger and bloodshed. The Red Guards, mostly students, answered Mao's and attacked the special groups who dressed like the bourgeoisie and showed any sign of being in alignment with capitalism. Moreover, the intellectuals and party officials were tortured or were even led to suicide.



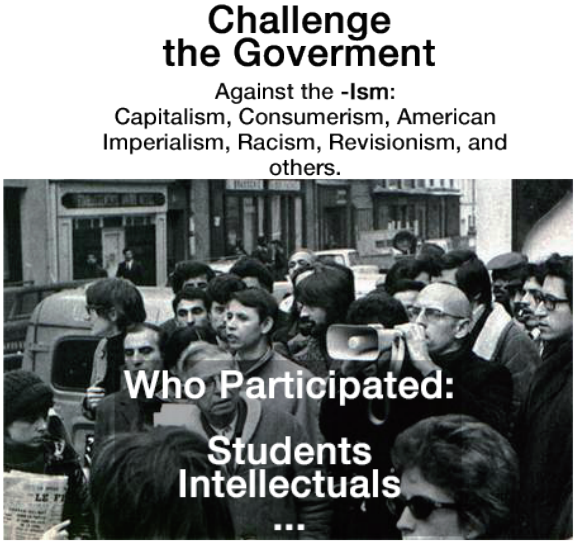
[149] T. Phillips, 'The Cultural Revolution: all you need to know about China's political convulsion', *The Guardian*, 11 May 2016, https://www.theguardian.com/world/2016/may/11/the-cultural-revolution-50-years-on-all-you-need-to-know-about-chinas-political-convulsion, (accessed 1 December 2018).

At the same period, interestingly, the French activists embraced the fresh air of revolution from the East. Maoism began to attract prominent intellectuals like Michel Foucault as well as 'Tel Quel' luminaries Philippe Sollers and Julia Kristeva. They perceived Maosim as a creative solution to the French's "excruciating political immobilism".[147] It was interpreted and practiced in the western context leading to the évènements of 1968s, and continues to have an impact on the western world.

Today, we have participatory art or activism advocated by groups who inherited the legacy of 1968. Western-born Feminism, the Situationists and others of 1968 led to the so-called "'neo'-avant-garde art that was calling for a social turn in artistic form".[148] Western culture was keen on the social turn in art creation, focusing on citizenship and political rights, projecting that participation empowered people to realize their own 'spatial' rights, to criticise capitalism and create new forms of public life. It could be argued that this looked quite similar to what was the propaganda of the Cultural Revolution. However, they had quite different contexts and consequences.

[147] R. Wolin, T*he Wind from the East: French Intellectuals, the Cultural Revolution, and the Legacy of the 1960s*, Princeton, Princeton University Press, 2010, p.4.

[148] C. Bishop, *Artificial hells: participatory art and the politics of spectatorship*, London, Verson Books, 2012, p.3.



Jean-Paul Sartre and Michel Foucault
May 1968, Paris

Since the founding of the PRC in 1949, stability and national security have always been the priority of the state. In comparison with the Western democratic tradition "that emphasizes sovereignty, participation in politics, and civil rights, citizenship in China is seen as a benefit granted by the State to persons born in the People's Republic. And, rather than empowering the individual, citizenship rights are programmatic. That is, the citizens are obliged to participate in a social programme linked to nation building. In this sense rights are a function of cultural development, in particular the guided process of raising the cultural level (*wenhua shuiping*) or 'quality' (*suzhi*) of the national population".[150] This is superficially true. It has been widely observed that the independence of social power gets suspended in public issues. Practically, there is always a branch representative of the Party Committee' Secretary in formal social organizations. In a sense, once any social agency grows strong or large, it inevitably gets institutionalised by the leading power and gradually gets incorporated into the governmental system.

[150] M. Keane, 'Redefining Chinese citizenship', *Economy and Society*, vol. 30, 2001, p.2.

Simultaneously for individuals, social participation is quite sensitive for Chinese people. The older generation, who suffered the Cultural Revolution, prefer to keep their distance from any political or social discussion. In contrast is the new generation born after the 1970s, who grew up in an open environment with a booming economy and rapid urbanisation who seem to have a different mind-set. They have no idea regarding the pain of previous participatory movements. As a result, they are assertive in public debate issues and willing to express themselves. On the other hand, greatly influenced by western culture and capitalism, they understand the ideas of individualism, consumerism and commercialised art works. In many ways, they are attempting to test foreign ideas in China to serve their own ends.

To conclude, "political life in post-Maoist China was governed by a new 'paradigm' in which 'traditional and modern elements, the old and the new, foreign examples and Chinese reality, Western knowledge and Chinese mentality are sometimes merely juxtaposed, sometimes combined in unstable mixtures, and sometimes fully integrated".[151] In other words, the people's understanding of their rights has become obscure when faced with a mixed socio-political environment: "the individualism caused by liberalism from western culture, the collectivism and elitism founded on the traditional social-political system, and the people's rejection of political and social engagement due to the painful history and potential risks".[152]

[151] T. Tang, *The Cultural Revolution and Post-Mao Reforms: A Historical Perspective, The University of Chicago Press, Chicago, 1986*, cited in M. Keane, 'Redefining Chinese citizenship', Economy And Society, vol. 30, 2001, p.12.

[152] B. Zheng, *Roar, Donghu! The History and the Reality of Participatory Art in China (怒吼吧，东湖！参与性艺术在中国的历史与现实)*, [website], no date, http://donghu2010.org/?p=1233 (accessed 1 December 2018).

Indeed, today's urbanisation has witnessed the conflicts between the capitalizing society of the individually focused and the CCP's grand narrative ideology of nation building. More specifically, they are reflected in the identity of construction, making public spaces, and the right to the city. All of them have become the ghost that haunts everyone's life.

For the author - in order to deal with such a ghost, it is not enough to rethink borrowed theory, but to try and create an appropriate new approach for China, through self-exposure, self-reflection and self-positioning.

BETWEEN THERE AND HERE

Fig. 2.1

This section talks of a more embedded and personalised research

Throughout this thesis self-reflection and my personal development has been a huge journey - In this diagram I use the analogy of a boat to describe this journey.



This section illustrates the foundation of my research context and methods through an auto-ethnographic approach to my research. It records a changing self during this research journey. Here, the exposition of the *self* aims to illustrate the enormous cultural settings behind this research process. "Auto/ethnography and auto/biography are genres that blend ethnographic interests with life writing and speak about a culture at the same time it tells about a life".[153] Furthermore, this self-reflection bridges theoretical arguments and the following practical projects. The colonial spectre is further explored through three major themes: changing self-identity during urbanisation, rethinking feminist approaches in Chinese society, and the absent self at home.

[153] W. Roth (ed.), *Auto/biography and Auto/ethnography: Praxis of Research Method*, Amsterdam, Sense Publishers, 2005, p. 4

The ghost of a dualism is found through this self-portrayal. It is a colonial ghost which often whispers to me to deny my original culture. Taking my educational experience as an example, Chinese contemporary architectural education has significantly been influenced by the Western system, such as the "legacy of the Beaux-Arts"[54] mixed with that of the Bauhaus. This is common in many Chinese universities today. My five-year undergraduate education is proof of this. Before I came to the UK, I tended to regard the knowledge and methodologies learnt from the Western context as advanced. Therefore, when beginning my PhD, I was initially shaken by the idea of translating alternative ideas and literatures into architectural practice, but I gradually understood this as a background, setting and catalyst for urban change. I have learned from the UK but have used China as my practice base. Is it possibly a spontaneous colonialization, ironically? Now, I am in the UK, and part of that history. Having received education for another five years, doing research based on feminist approaches, I have taken quite a different position when re-appraising China now. I feel that I am neither an outsider nor an insider, but moving in-between. What can I do in my position and what should I do? How should I navigate my cultural and social identities?

[154] D. Gu, ' Zhongguo de "Baozha" Jianzhu Jiaoyu Zhi Lishi Gaige – Yizhi, Bentuhua, he Dikang (中国的 "鲍扎" 建筑教育之历史沿革——移植、本土化和抵抗)', *the architect*, vol. 126, no. 2, 2007, p.99.

This research was greatly extended by my critical investigation of the colonial ghost and my in-between positions. Here, my intention is to bring the self, the changing me, into the issues at the centre of my thesis, because self-reflection draws the background in significant detail. Such a critical standpoint leads me to further practice in order to rethink the colonial ghost in Wenzhou. My in-between position facilitates the spatial practice I want to encourage. By making things public through political negotiation, specifically, I have to engage with the socio-political structures and the power networks in China, exploring how to operate within the structure of the political system, and how family relationships play a crucial role throughout the process.

GROWING UP WITH URBANISATION

LOST AMID A CHANGING HOME AND IDENTITY

Being a Chinese?

China is often considered a homogeneous state which shares the same culture and history. However, in such a large country, interestingly, people in different regions regard others heterogeneously in terms of cultures and habitus. It is argued in the book, *Said China: A Changing Complex Community*, that, during the last century, the Chinese state followed modern European nations by asserting itself as a sovereign state and a multinational state. 56 distinct ethnic nationalities are officially recognized and included in the nation with the majority being the *Han* people. Broadly speaking, diverse cultures and ethnicities have contributed to the heterogeneous society as a complex community. Zhuoyun Xu defines China as, "a changing community with the common-wealth".[155]

Since the foundation of the People's Republic of China, it has been widely propagandized that Socialism with Chinese characteristics, as enacted by the CPC (Communist Party of China), is the only force that can drive China forward. Yet, it seems that the state's grand narrative has fallen apart in recent years. The state is held together by the apparatus of the Party's ideology, and clearly there is a structured system within this apparatus. People outside the system may believe the government's decisions to be right. "I love my country, I don't love the government… I trust the government",[156] as a photographer declared to Ted Keppel in the documentary The People's Republic of Capitalism. While working hard, inside the governmental system, insiders seem to lose their confidence in the system. There have been growing numbers of party members who have sent their children abroad to study, and to even settle in other capitalist countries.

While the Party stresses the ideology of scientific socialism and tries to convince the people to believe that all their social problems will be solved under the society of stability and continuity, Chinese society is now seemingly entering into capitalism, unwittingly. Nearly four decades have passed since the Chinese economic reforms, and now Chinese people are enjoying the achievements of a free-market economy which has brought numerous shopping centres, intoxicating entertainment, urbanization, and so on. Money is now considered to be everything. More questions have subsequently emerged. What kind of society is developing

[155] Z. Xu, *Said China: a changing. complex community (说中国：一个不断变化的复杂共同体* , Guilin, Guangxi Normal University Press, 2015. p. 4.

[156] *The People's Republic of Capitalism Part 2: From Mao-ism to Me-ism*. dir. Ted Koppel, USA, ACORN MEDIA, 2009, [DVD].

in China? Socialism? Capitalism? Or the People's Republic of Capitalism?

Under such circumstances, the changing city and context appear as a ghost haunting my identity construction. This is becoming an ideology of self-doubt, that I have inherited from the changing living places, self-identity, as well as the cultural position. They are all mirrors of how China has been driven by the hybridization of the social, cultural and political alterations during the last two decades.

Being Me?

I was born in 1989, just after the Tiananmen Square Affair. It was a political movement never discussed during my education, until I travelled abroad. I am of the new generation which has not suffered the pain of extreme social movements in China. A generation that has bridged old times and new into a more 'open' regime. I grew up parallel with rapid urbanisation and changing homes. Like this energetically developing country, we were often criticised by others. Many times, I was judged by my parent for being too selfish, while my motherland was also censured for its human rights problems, particularly by Westerners. As a result, self-justification becomes an instinct. I rejected rethinking myself for a long time. So did the nation. Just as the top leader of CCP in China, Xi Jinping, once said: "There are some bored foreigners, with full stomachs, who have nothing better to do than point fingers at us. First, China doesn't export revolution; second, China doesn't export hunger, and poverty; third, China doesn't come and cause you headaches. What more is there to be said".[157] Yes, all of these seem true to outsiders. However, this doesn't relate to all individuals, particularly those that live well in the country. Various elites are desperate to get abroad since their property could be easily controlled, or vanish, in such a collectivist world, under the 'superpower' leadership.

Chinese culture, to a large extent, remains dominated by the collectivism I experienced since the 1980s. Specifically, it leaves little space for the individual faced with a collective decision within such a tight social network. People are often educated to prioritise the collective by compromising the self. Besides, the family-based society of China also enhances subjugation to an (imagined) collective and suppresses any self-expression. It feels like there is no resistance. These issues are reflected from the family dining table at home to the public debates in society. I did not begin to realise that until after I left my hometown, my country and my family.

[157] BBC News, *the Thoughts of Chairman Xi*, [website], 2017, http://www.bbc.co.uk/news/resources/idt-sh/Thoughts_Chairman_Xi, (accessed 1 December 2018).

For more than ten years, I have been moving around in China and from China to the UK. Since I started my school life from 1990s, Chinese cities also began large-scale urbanisation. Everything is being renewed physically and abstractly during the on-going urbanisation. Wenzhou, my home city is no exception. The first 20 years of life witnessed the rise of concrete monsters and rapid changes to my life-style and the cost of inflation, from the countryside to the city centre. This remains a puzzle to me still, regarding why this is happening and what it is bringing to me and my life.



Fig. 2.2

This real estate advertisement (2015) pictures a fancy future with the residential area and the commercial district on the riverside in the city centre of Wenzhou. On the right of the poster is Jiangxin Island with its pagoda and sky wheel. The Island always appears as the symbol of Wenzhou in both cultural or commercial dissemination.

As the city is changing, my identity is also changing. I was brought up in a small undeveloped village named Dingtian in Rui'an. It was one of the county-level cities in Wenzhou. For most of my childhood, I played with mud and insects in the countryside. The place was later filled with concrete buildings and roads. Later, I moved to towns and further to the city of Rui'an because my parents got better jobs and wanted to provide for me, their only son, with a better education. Just like the middle classes the world over! For the following years, I was away from my home for a long time. School life was simple. I was always at the boarding schools, from the middle school in Rui'an to the High School in Shanghai. During this period in Shanghai, winter and summer holidays were the only chance I had to go back to my hometown. The night coach always took eight hours to drive me from the metropolis, across the mountains, back to the small but restless city. Every year I went back to Rui'an and I observed that there were always areas that had been demolished and replaced with something new. "Was this still my hometown?' I was always asking myself. Everything seemed to be changing except the name of the city.

Being a Wenzhounese?

Language significantly enhances one's identity of being a Wenzhounese, due to its uniqueness. "Wenzhounese dialect was named as 'Devil-Language', the top of 10 most difficult to understand in China".[158] Interestingly, I am often asked by my friends, from the other cities, to show-off my dialect, since Wenzhounese sounds alien to them. In fact, there are various Wenzhounese dialects, based on diverse language systems due to the scale of the huge county of Wenzhou. Some are slightly different in terms of accent and tone, while some are characterised by totally disparate language systems. The dialect of my birthplace, Rui'an, differs even from the one in the city centre. For many local Wenzhounese, however, it is very easy to tell which area a Wenzhounese comes from, by their behaviour along with their voice. For example, the Rui'an dialect belongs to the *Ouyue* (*瓯 越*) culture, which can be traced "back to the Dong'ou Kingdom from 473BC-138BC".[159] While the dialect in *Cangnan* (*苍 南*) is based on the *Min* (*闽*) culture. It relates to today's Fujian Province located in the south, next to Zhejiang Province.

[158] I. Stegar, 'Do You Dare Try the Devil-Language? China's 10 Hardest Dialects', *The Wall Street Journal*, 21 May 2014, https://blogs.wsj.com/chinarealtime/2014/05/21/do-you-dare-try-the-devil-language-chinas-10-hardest-dialects/, (accessed 1 December 2018).

[159] W. Ge (ed.), *Ouyue Culture Collection: Ouyue Cultural History* (瓯越文化史), Beijing, Writers Publishing House, 1998, pp. 11-12.

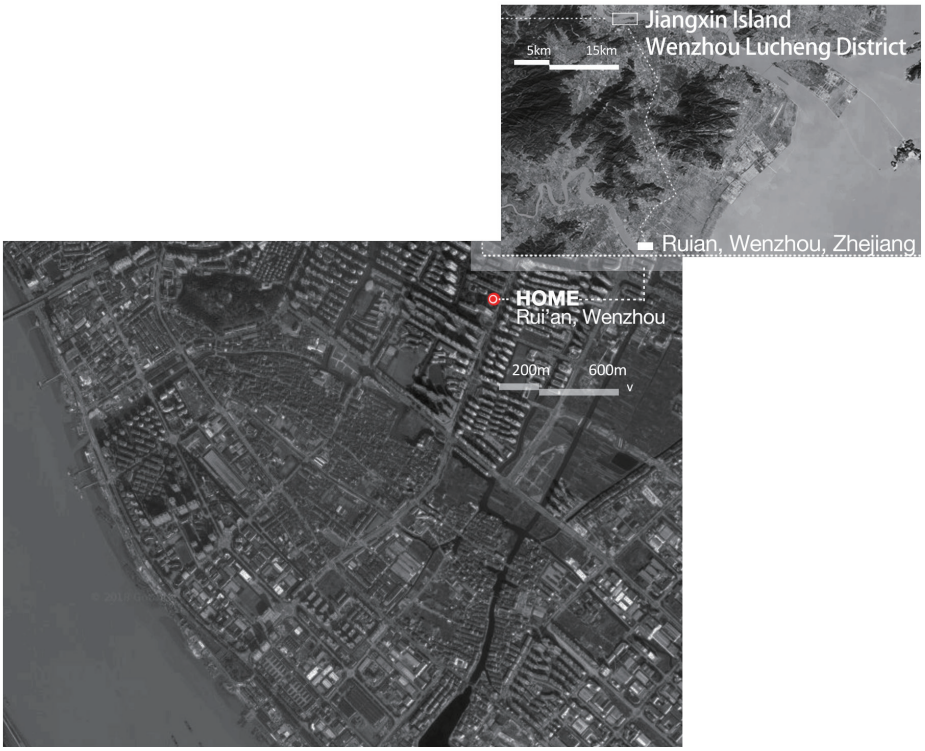


Fig. 2.3

My hometown Rui'an is located in the south of the prefectural city of Wenzhou. It takes an hour of driving from my home to the city centre of Wenzhou.

However, we are all recognized as Wenzhounese by others. Diversity is often ignored, and identities easily homogenized. This is becoming more apparent since the younger generations speak more Mandarin than the local languages, which also appeals to me.

Wenzhou was an unfamiliar word to me before I went to Shanghai. My parents, friends and I prefer to say that we are Rui'an-nese rather than Wenzhounese. Because when the Rui'an-nese mentions Wenzhou, it always refers to places and people in the city centre, two hours drive from Rui'an. Hence, the name 'Wenzhou' always signified another place to me until I travelled.

I was regarded as Wenzhounese when I was in Shanghai. But I found it difficult to tell what kind of attitude I should have towards the word Wenzhou, namely my hometown. I often feel like I am another person when I am called Wenzhounese by others.

Since the millennium, when the Chinese real estate market was inflated by Wenzhounese investors, Wenzhou has become a symbol of fortune and wealth. When meeting any Wenzhounese, most people will just say: "oh, you must be very rich!" Indeed, the economic achievement made by the Wenzhouense is well known. Since it exports a unique development approach named as the 'Wenzhou Model': "Wenzhou, [is] a Chinese city that served as a national model for the introduction of small-scale private enterprise in the 1990s".[160] Moreover, the driving force behind the Wenzhou Model of urbanisation includes, according to a

[160] S. Lin and P. Gaubatz, 'Socio-spatial segregation in China and migrants' everyday life experiences: the case of Wenzhou', *Urban Geography*, vol. 38, no. 7, 2016, pp.1019.



Fig. 2.4

Book titles: Learning to Make Money from the Wenzhounese.

Those books have been one of the bestsellers at the airport bookstore in the recent decade. The brand the Wenzhou as a symbol of fortune.

recent analysis, "the role of family enterprise, specialised markets, overpopulation, the extreme shortage of farm land that encourages the floating of rural surplus labour, and the enthusiasm of the affluent farmer in constructing towns".[161]

Nevertheless, being named as Wenzhounese strengthens my connection with my family, relatives and friends. We together construct an identity by defining who the others are. To borrow the term, "imagined community" from Benedict Anderson, "the creation of these [cultural] artefacts … was the spontaneous distillation of a complex 'crossing' of discrete historical forces; but that, once created, they became 'modular', capable of being transplanted, with varying degrees of self-consciousness, to a great variety of social terrains, to merge and be merged with a correspondingly wide variety of political and ideological constellations".[162] Wenzhou is an imagined identity for me in some ways, combining physical appearance, cultural awareness and self-consciousness. But, what does it means to me? Indeed, beyond my family I do not miss my hometown at all.

[161] C. Gu, L. Wu and I. Cook, 'Progress in research on Chinese urbanization', *Frontiers of Architectural Research*, vol. 1, no. 2, 2012, p.106.

[162] B. Anderson, *Imagined Communities: Reflections on the Origin and Spread of Nationalism*, London, Verso. 1991, p.4

ALTERNATIVE PRACTICES, FEMINISM AND ME

LEARNING FROM THE UK, AND PRACTICE IN CHINA?

After 8 years staying in Shanghai as a student, my British journey started in 2012. The one-year masters (MAAD) course at the University of Sheffield was the starting point for me to re-think my ideas both architecturally and about myself as an individual. My initial idea was whether there was any advanced methodology that could be applied in China. That was one of the main motives for my studying abroad in order to bring something good back to my country, to benefit the collective, and of course, myself. However, I consciously realised that it was the colonial ghost directing my mind to have expectations of something superior in the UK.

I still remember the module that was based on focusing on Critical Theory, and Feminism, and how this had influenced architecture. The course started with a discussion of social movements in Western culture and moved towards the power networks behind the production of space. This completely confused me to start with but it provoked my interest more, that Feminism was the key?

Those interdisciplinary discussions struck me like a bolt of lightning, challenging my dogmatic thinking. From that time on, I realized that context needs to be understood fully. What does that knowledge mean in a Chinese context? Thus, my adventure started with my review of the relationship between architecture and critical theory. It was not until a year later, after completing the Masters degree in architecture, that I realized the invisible relationship as well as the social context that lay behind the development of architecture. “While earlier, feminism formulated alternative histories and ways of knowing, it developed critiques of social conditions and new subjective constructions, and a variety of practices that are now emerging which take a critical position in relation to mainstream disciplines, and develop new ways of working which offer potential for feminine practice even if they are not defined as ‘feminist’”.[163]

The journey, perhaps more than any other, of study in the UK was of feminist thought. When Western academia regards feminism as a common topic and it is widely discussed, I wanted to listen and learn. However, almost five years of UK life has passed, I have started to feel the same way as I was in Shanghai. I am an outsider, who does not belong to any group, who shows up with a Chinese face but hesitates to say: “what is Chinese and what is British”, who speaks

[163] K. L. Thomas, ‘Building while being in it: notes on drawings ‘otherhow”, in D. Petrescu (ed.), *Altering Practices: Feminist Politics and Poetics of Space*, London, Routledge, 2007, p.93.

to the non-Chinese with one face and to the Chinese with another logic. I was in a transitional process in terms of, not only language but also with my identity and position, emotionally and rationally. Fortunately, such a changing status offered me an immersive understanding of feminism. The study of feminism made me notice that it is not that bad to be in the process, because feminist practices are always based on the process of change, based on "a movement of struggles to change values".[164]

Furthermore, feminism has shown an alternative way of rethinking the colonial ghost. It has led me towards ideas of alterity, a well-known term in anthropology and post-colonial studies. Expanded methodologically, not only in architecture, that concept also results in diverse models of praxis. Doina Petrescu, professor at Sheffield, and her peers had re-framed the concept of 'altering practices', "most of which are embedded within spatial elements such as, "other spatial practices' or practising 'otherwise'. They express alternatives and alternative positions formulated according to the current re-compositions of individual and collective subjectivities within the new technological and geopolitical contexts. … Such practices cover a wide range of topics including architecture, art, media, psychoanalysis, literature, sociology, politics and beyond".[165] This became one of my guide lines for the subsequent years. Besides, critical theory pushed me further, beyond the discourses of building and tectonics. I started to understand architecture through the dimension of space, and the invisible networks of power. Just as what feminist texts argue, "[feminism] is a term in a process … a chain reaction encompassing a web of power relations".[166]

I considered myself a coloniser - one who is trying to translate the British 'good stuff' to China and to popularize that. But rather, now I am the agent trying re-construct myself and to experiment on my inherited ideology and my reflection on the world. It is important to expose myself and let my suppressed voice out. Moreover, feminism reminds me of the essential power structures in my family, and my lovely mother, who exemplifies the vivid feminist movement in China.

[164] R. Braidotti, *Nomadic Subjects*, New York, Columbia University Press, 1994, p. 142.

[165] D. Petrescu (ed.), *Altering Practices: Feminist Politics and Poetics of Space*, London, Routledge, 2007, p. XVII.

[166] Ibid., p.10

THE DINING TABLE AT HOME

THE SOCIO-POLITICAL STRUCTURE FROM HOME TO SOCIETY

Every time I go back home from the UK, a family feast will always be the first event. Our dining table seems to be the only occasion for us to communicate and share our personal feelings. However, the dining atmosphere often turns out to be somewhat embarrassing, sometimes even antagonistic due to our different individual-positions and social awareness.

My father is a lawyer. His professional habitus is frequently practiced on the table. Rarely does he ask about my personal life, he cares much more about my academic work and professional life. My mother, on the other hand, is more human and talks a lot about daily lives. She is an accountant but also the chairperson in a limited liability company. Unlike my father, she has a stronger personal relationship with me. Interestingly, family debates occasionally emerge due to our disparate political positions. My mother cares about my personal life and hopes that I will stay away from the (Chinese) political environment. She praises the UK as a good environment and an attractive place, but hopes that I will return to China once I graduate. This is quite contrary to my father's ideas.

My mother is a Communist Party member. She is also the deputy in the People's Congress, which is at the *county level*[167] and is in charge of overseeing the local government. In other words, she has real power to participate in political issues and issues that have a social impact in Wenzhou. In contrast, my father belongs to the China Democratic League. It is one of the eight legal parties recognised by the governmental body. He is also the local member of the CPPCC (Chinese People's Political Consultative Conference), which assists the local People's Congress. The League officially claims that, "it is allied with Communist Party of China. It accepts the CPC's guide and is expected to assist the governing party".[168] However, the CPPCC has little power to change things officially or politically.

Interestingly, my father often criticises the government's irresponsibility on social issues such as public services, elections or infrastructure in the city. I mainly stay silent when such comments are aired. Sometimes I show my agreement with him not because of his opinions but out of respect. While, my mother always remains passive on the discussion of social issues, occasionally she defends the government

[167] The local Congress is also responsible for electing the candidate of deputy to the Provisional level one, which in turn does so to the National People's Congress, which is the ultimate legislature in People's Republic of China.

The National People's Congress of the People's Republic of China, *Constitution of the People's Republic of China*, [website] 2014, http://www.npc.gov.cn/englishnpc/Constitution/2007-11/15/content_1372989.htm, (accessed 1 December 2018).

[168] China Democratic League mainly consists of the intellectuals from the fields of humanity, education, science, technology, and so on. Xiaotong Fei used to be the chairman of the League from 1987-1996. He is one of the foremost sociologist and anthropologists in China.

Zhongguo Minzhu Tongmeng, *Brief Introduction of China Democratic League*, [website] 2012, http://www.dem-league.org.cn/, (accessed 1 December 2018).

from her Party membership stance. She will speak out that the governing party is operating righteously and driving society in a positive way. However, she has no answer to why so much corruption and degeneration happens in the Party, why there is so much pollution visible in the city, why there are food safety issues and why there is social inequality. She alternates between the roles of a mother and party member. It is not fair for her to have to be the Party representative at the family dining table. The woman, who has real power in society, appears to be helpless at home.

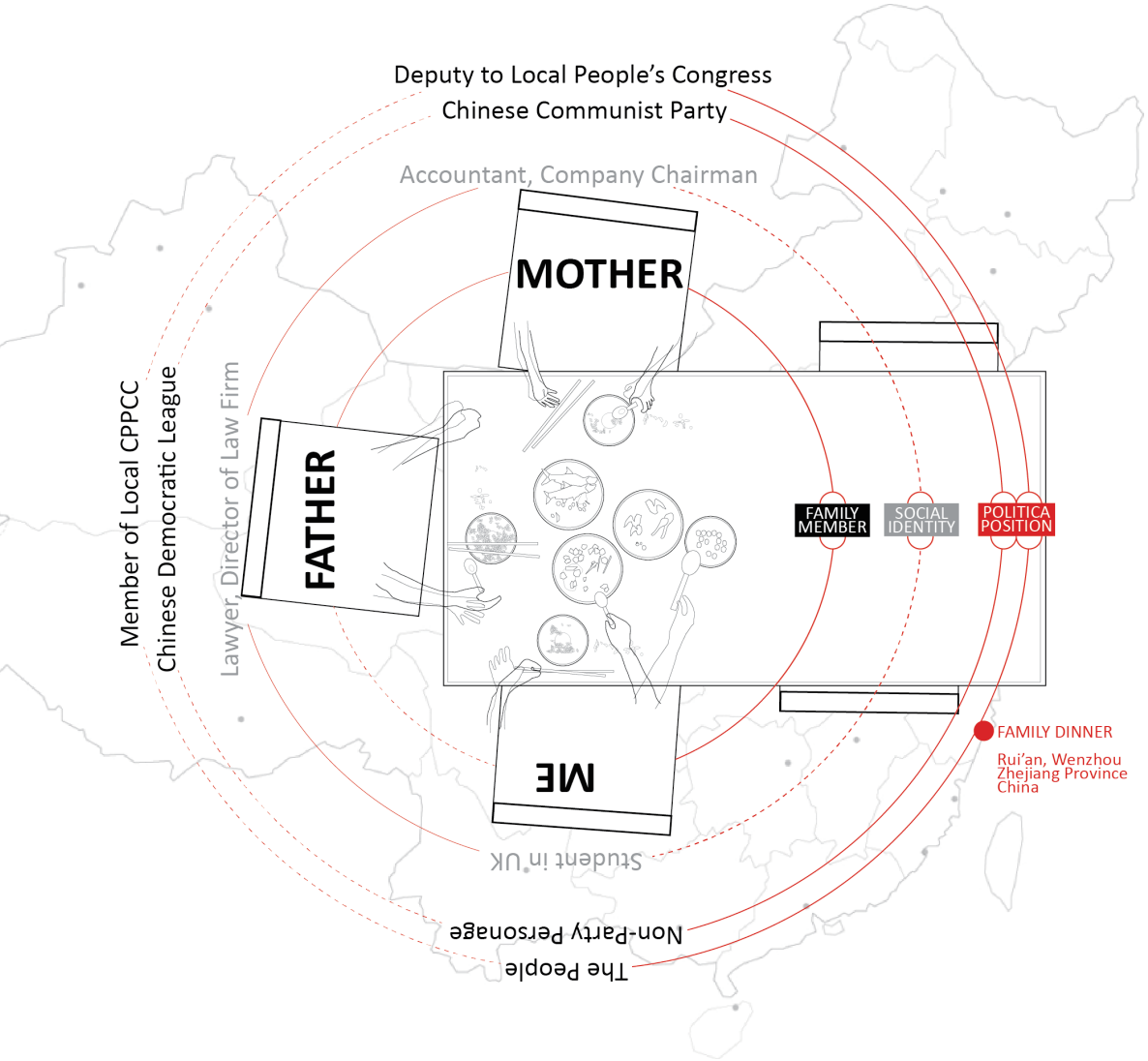


Fig. 2.5

A space at home, where the power structure is founded on a patriarchal structure, where the positions are fixed. The space of the dining table mirrors one aspect of social-political structure in China: the logic of an independent home unit penetrates into the acquaintance net of political systems.

The power structure: from Home to City

In some ways, our family dining table reflects the perfect Chinese society. It is a miniature representation of the broader Chinese social-political structure. Both show the political system with a top-down frame founded on paternalism. Indeed, Chinese people tend to consider the family as the elementary unit of the nation. Evidence can be found in the daily discourse. In modern Chinese, nation refers to the word *Guo-Jia* (国 家), which combines two letters of separated meaning: Guo (Nation) with Jia (Family). It indicates that China is an expanded version of the family, which results in the common spatial structures shared by the family and society.

Furthermore, the power structure of paternalism has penetrated into different layers, from the ruling system, and the social organisation, to each family. Each system is closed and remains in its own consistent self. The Confucian legacy also plays an important role in reconciling people to the power. The ruling power, whether at home or in society, has benefited a lot from Mencious's advice. It was more than 2000 years ago that he lectured about maintaining the legitimacy of the emperor's power: "If each man would love his parents and show due respect to his elders, the whole land would enjoy tranquillity".[169] This proverb has been planted into every individual's mind by parents and the society. Most people are educated to avoid conflict or to challenge the ruling class. To a large extent, this proves the legitimacy of the CCP's authoritarian apparatus in China today. It operates in a closed system and is unchallengeable.

[169] J. Legge, *the Works of Mencious*, Massachusetts, Courier Corporation, 2011, p. 302.

Indeed, although being familiar with the country's law and democracy, my father has unconsciously practiced his power at home, because that is another space.

BECOMING A CHANGING ME

MY IN-BETWEEN POSITION

During dining time, I am often positioned between my parents. Sometimes they share no word but use me as the connection by either talking about the political or my personal life. Very often, I get annoyed by my father's requests, saying I should spend more time studying and that I have to publish something and that I need to contact more prestigious researchers etcetera.

It is during such moments that the ghost appears and partners me at the table. Sometimes it encourages me to speak out and challenge my father. Most of the time, it becomes a mask to cover me. Because I am being educated in a Western country, strongly supported by my father, who thinks it is fair when I say something he does not accept, or even when I am sometimes transgressive. That, ironically, is showing democracy, from the West!

Consciously, I have felt that I have been becoming a changing person. I need to talk and behave with regards to the situation since my role is always changing, flowing in the spatial structures all the time, with no regard to how to position myself inside or outside my family. Rather, it is this in-between position that has empowered me to re-act alternatively within this fixed power structure. As Grosz states, "Instead of conceiving of relations between fixed identities, between entities or things that are only externally bound, the in-between is the only space of movement, of development or becoming: the in-between defines the space of a certain virtuality, a potential that always threatens to disrupt the operation of the identities that constitute it".[170]

By acknowledging such closed power networks in China, this research was made accessible through my family connections, which gave me privileged access to the political game in Wenzhou. My further intervention within Colonial heritage and Jiangxin Island would have been impossible without my mother, and her political power. It was at the dining table that she showed me the only road into the political system. Furthermore, the information provided by an insider was my opening for me to discover the potential of this power system.

[170] E. Grosz, *Architecture from the Outside: Essays on Virtual and Real Space (Writing Architecture)*, Georgia, MIT Press, 2001, pp. 91-92.



Fig. 2.6

My mother talked about filial piety after dinner. The tradition of filial piety functions as the fundamental principle that guides family relationships in China. She mentioned that conflicts always happen when new generations want to pursue their own happiness and go against the parents. She felt it difficult to tell whether it was right or wrong. But she insisted that “a man always has to hold his own position”.[171]

[171] *An Interview with my Mother* 采访母亲 , [online video], 2015, https://www.youtube.com/watch?v=iNxEV9E8Xm8, (accessed 1 December 2018)

Although China follows the ruling mechanisms that differ from the democratic openness of Western politics today, they often share similar issues on the connections between the inside and the outside. When power structures become inflexible and closed, misunderstanding thus increases. Lippman used to criticise democracy for failing to educate the people as a public whole or to transform public affairs in an intelligible way. He argued that power is still in the hands of the masterful few, while little was offered for the 'ignorant' many. "The fundamental difference which matters is that between insiders and outsiders. Their relations to a problem are radically different. Only the insider can make decisions, not because he is inherently a better man but because he is so placed that he can understand and can act. The outsider is necessarily ignorant, usually irrelevant and often meddlesome, because he is trying to navigate the ship from dry land. … In short, like the democratic theorists, they miss the essence of the matter, which is, that competence exists only in relation to function; that men are not good, but good for something; that men cannot be educated, but only educated for something".[172] Therefore, an arbitrator is needed.

My voice in this research echoes the changing me sitting at the dining table. Hopefully, my position of arbitrator also shows that by standers see more than the game players. Along with practical projects in the following section, this research is not meant to criticise Chinese society or the political system, but rather it attempts to uncover knowledge about the closed system, which is unusual to outsiders.

[172] W. Lippmann, *The Phantom Public*, New Brunswick, Transaction Publishers, 2011, p.140.

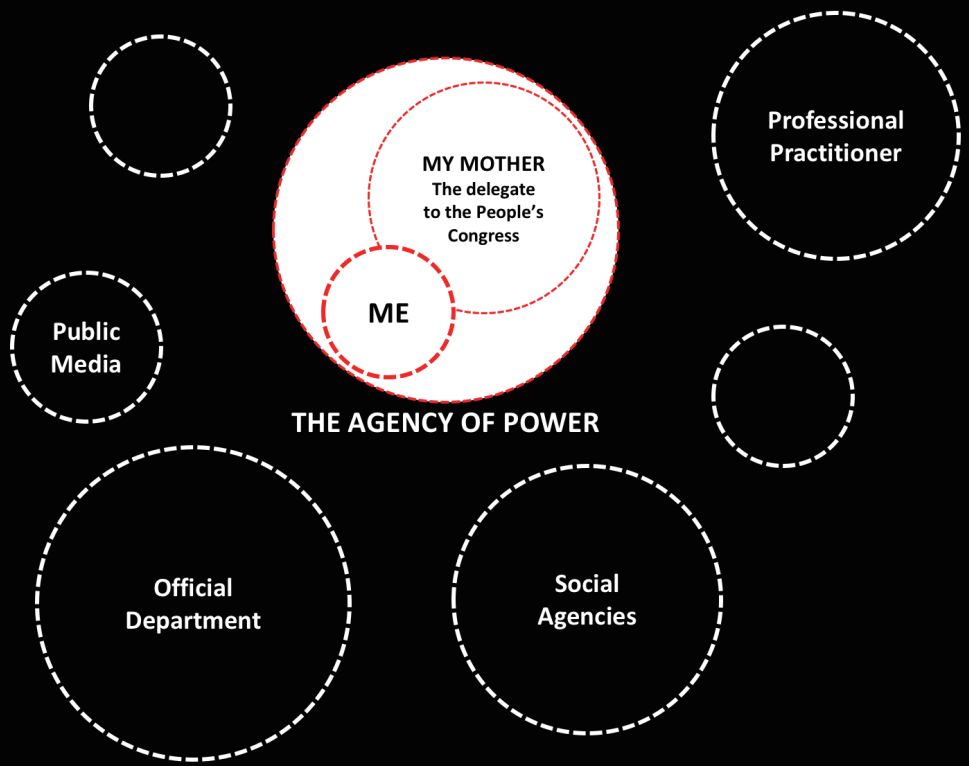


Fig. 2.7

With my mother, the delegate to the People's Congress, we formed an agency of power. It allowed me to get in touch with more institutions and organization which are related to the colonial heritage and Jiangxin Island. (This will be explained in the third chapter)

My mother says: "Because you are my only son, I will definitely help you. But you need to remember, you cannot say whatever you want. You have to emphasize that we are doing something good for the people. And I, as the CCP member, is here to perform my duty!

RE-MAKING AS RE-THINKING



> 'Theory' only makes sense as an attitude; otherwise the generalization of the very concept of 'theory' is pointless. Part of that attitude is endorsement of interdisciplinarity, of the need to think through the relation between areas where a specific theory can be productive, and of the need to think philosophically about even the most practical theoretical concepts, so-called 'tools'.[173]

[173] M. Bal and I. E. Boer (eds.), *The Point of Theory: Practice of Cultural Analysis*, New York, Continuum, 1994, pp.8-9.

This last section of the thesis consists of an analysis of the participatory events I organised on the island, that is, the political engagement with the city, and the propositional design strategies meant to offer future scenarios for the sustainable re-making of a vibrant island in a confident city in China.

In the opening chapter, the theoretical and visual exploration of the city and everyday life introduce a clear context. Research-based design methods are explained, such as mapping, situated observation and communication, and visual analysis. These lead to the design interventions that follow. Jiangxin Island and the Consulate buildings become the best place for practical intervention. This explicitly allows for the re-thinking of the colonial ghost, the construction of new identities, capitalism, gentrification, and museum-ification, are all described in the first section. This envisions an open future for Jiangxin Island as an instructive and playful space with food-related practices, rather than a nostalgic or capitalised image of the island. It proposes that the former British Consulate buildings could be the starting point for inspiring programmes based on making and crafting food as well as encouraging convivial social occasions. This process attempts to de-construct the colonial ghost architecturally and spatially through making it public and allowing people to participate.

Here, two completed public events, on the Island, and one on-going design intervention are presented to emphasize re-making as re-thinking. The issues and arguments are connected through self-reflection and narrative analysis. This is not just limited to the utilisation of design approaches, such as mapping, architectural workshops, artistic and planning ideas. It also refers to political engagement as a form of spatial practice, which is an essential part of responding to the argument I have made, that space is a social-political production in China. A number of different approaches are applied interactively throughout the whole process.

IMAGINED CITY AND SITUATED MAPPING

THE IMAGINED CITY

The practical part of the following stories begins with mapping an imagined city of Wenzhou by drawing scenarios and connecting places, and spaces with stories. This serves to revisit urbanisation in Wenzhou through the representation of stories and scenarios that juxtapose past and the present. Although the historical heritage and the ancient town have been significantly ruined, many historical traces are still embedded in the living details, physically and non-physically. For example, the road network of the city, the natural environment, and the habitus of using space are discussed. Imagination helps to re-connect different lives within the scattered city, and to open up more spatial possibilities for future intervention. The following quote best serves to explain the above: “All perceiving is also thinking, all reasoning is also intuition, all observation is also invention”.[174]

In the imagined city, space and time are discordant, while different episodes are connected by personal living experiences, memories and knowledges. These imagined mappings are not just for the understanding of the changes in urban morphology, but also to represent the fragmented spatial experience in Wenzhou today. This aims to reveal the post-colonial specter of urbanisation in Wenzhou.

[174] R. Arnheim, *Art and Visual Perception: A Psychology of the Creative Eye*, California, University of California Press, 2004, p.5.

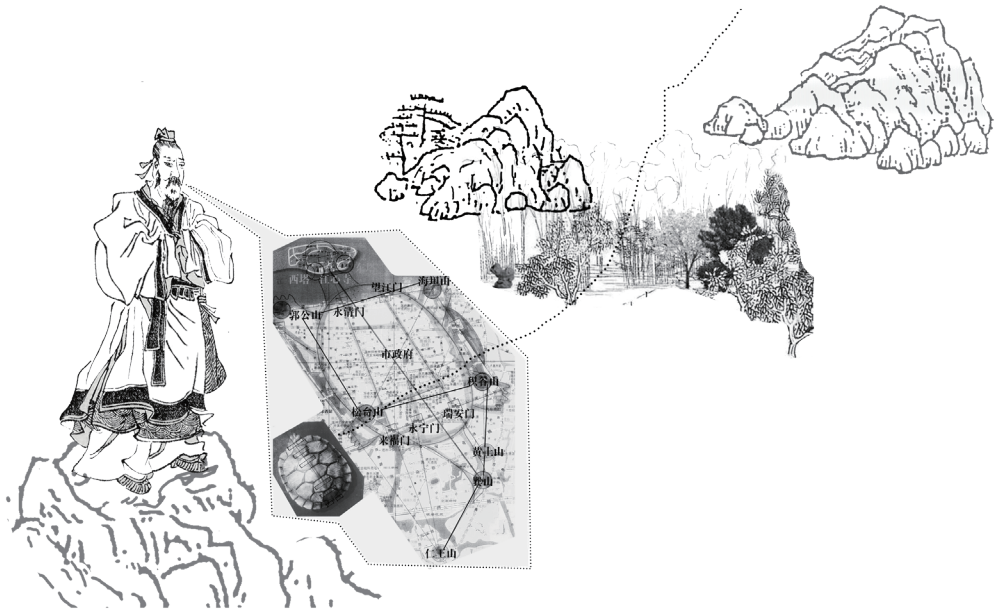


Fig. 3.1. The Origins of the City

In 323 A.C, Wenzhou town was design by Guo Pu, who was regarded as the first master in geomancy science in the period of Eastern Jin Dynasty. He used the surrounding mountains and rivers as the principle design element applied in the layout and planning of Wenzhou town.

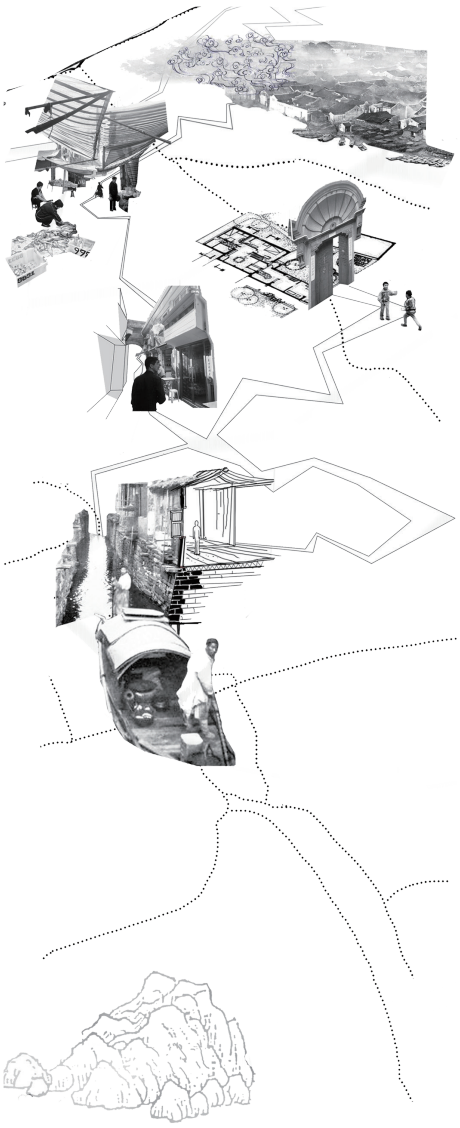


Fig. 3.2. Past to Present Days

The waterways formed one of the fundamental traffic systems in Wenzhou town. “However, during the 1950s to the end of the 1970s, the majority of the rivers were transformed into roads, measuring 18.5 kilometers”.[175] For those from 1950s or 1960s, the waterway was their main mode of travel between different towns in Wenzhou, and to Shanghai.

The old life style could still be found in many areas throughout the ancient town. During the daytime, many open-air stores would be set up just along alleys and streets.

[175] M. Zhao, ‘Analysis on the Features of Wenzhou City’s Urban Morphology Evolution (温州城市建设与城市形态发展)’, M.A. thesis, Zhejiang University, 2009, p. 26.

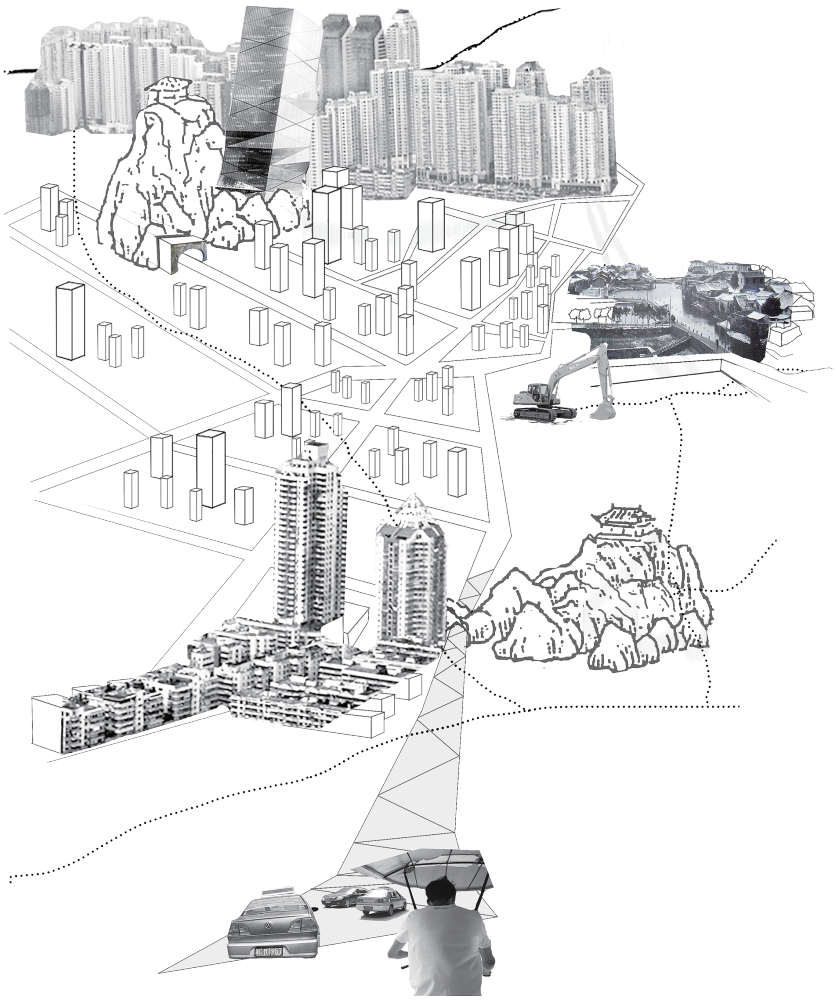


Fig. 3.3. Driving through the city

In order to accommodate the growing new buildings, parts of the natural landscape were occupied or demolished. In suburban areas, the infrastructure is incomplete resulting in pedicabs and the automotive vehicles sharing the same roads.



Fig. 3.4. Walk into the city

As China experiences cultural revaluation, settlements have begun to urbanize into cities, resulting in countless high-rise buildings around the ancient parts of the city to meet commercial and housing needs. Meanwhile, the remnants of the old buildings in the ancient town have been regenerated and repurposed since the 80s and 90s. However, these forms of construction are in a poor state of repair.



Fig. 3.5. A visit to Jiangxin Island

The main mode of transportation to the island is via ferry. It mainly refers to the eastern part while people talk about Jiangxin Island with fragmented memories, such as the consulate buildings, the temple, the landscape, and so on.

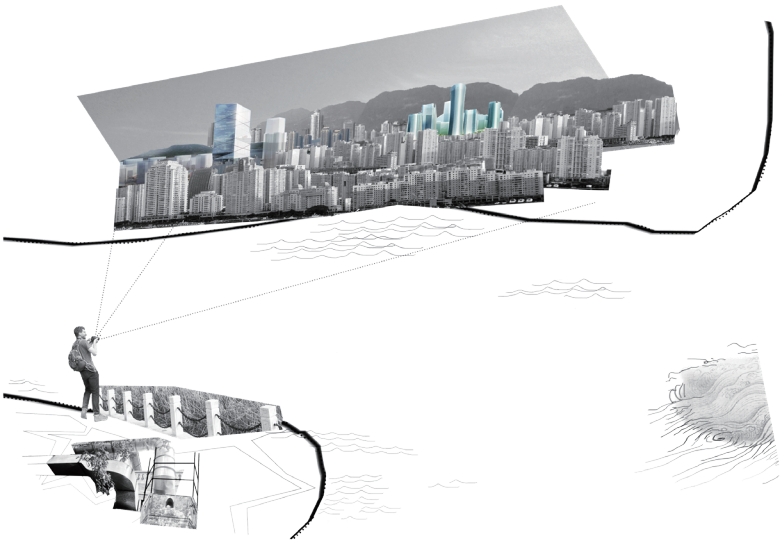


Fig. 3.6. New Developments

To the north of Jiangxin Island, a new urban expansion has been launched in Yongjia (永嘉) country.

SITUATED OBSERVATION AND SPATIAL RESISTANCE

As urbanisation seems to be homogenizing every corner of the city, people seem to be responding to it by making it their own world. It is always hard to envision how everyone appropriates every tiny corner with their own understanding and creation of their own spaces in the city. From a micro-perspective, Chinese urbanisation has been expanded through many different bottom-up forms of interaction, and spatial concepts have thus emerged. For instance, there was a recent study on urbanisation in the north banks of Suzhou Creek in Shanghai. It was an area of mixed gentrification where demolition, relocation and new construction all co-existed. Lossifova illustrates "the inequalities of Chinese urbanisation at both macro and micro scales, which was highlighted by the interaction between the social identity and socio-spatial practice.[176] Based on her narrative interpretation, it has been observed that the space in the small-scale space had been formed with the help of the people's daily practices as a resistance against state-led macro urbanisation.

[176] D. Lossifova, Borderland urbanism: seeing between enclaves. *Urban Geography*, vol 36, no. 1, 2015, p. 94.

Many forms of spatial resistance are also articulated by different groups. The flâneur would stroll through the city supposedly without purpose, but discover many unexpected uses of the space. For example, Chinese people tend to use their body to re-claim their spatial rights. Jayne and Leung describe an embodying Chinese urbanism. They show how "embodiment, emotions and affects offer fruitful avenues for understanding political, economic, social, cultural and spatial practice and processes which constitute Chinese urbanism".[177] They illustrate how a series of public spaces are enhanced through the people's collective spatial practice, such as public dances, or their relaxing of the body through massage services in the Chinese city. This is a public space defined by the body and the emotions, again as the *space of habitus*.

[177] DM. Jayne and H. H. Leung, 'Embodying Chinese urbanism: towards a research agenda', *Area*, vol. 43, no. 3, 2014, pp. 257-258.

After all, what we see is that space is founded on a kind of 'looseness', away from the tight control of top-down urbanisation. More interestingly, such looseness is often defined by marginal groups, such as the senior citizens, children, and migrant workers, whose spatial needs are often ignored in the process of urbanization. They have re-defined many particular types of places in the city. Their spatial practices have been based on their everyday habitus, reflecting an interplay between identity construction and place-making. "A sense of place identity of a person can inform their experiences, behaviors, and attitudes about other places, and … people connect to various places, and the effects of such bonds in identity development, place-making, perception, and practice".[178]

[178] J. Gieseking, et al. (ed.), *the People, Place, and Space Reader*, New York, Routedge, 2014, p.73.

Such urban phenomena appear to be ubiquitous in Wenzhou too. The motivation behind their spatial practice deserves deep appreciation. Thus, a situated observation is undertaken here to examine the habitation of the city, observing the people's daily practices, interacting with people, recording and documenting their lives.









Fig. 3.7

Loose spaces throughout the city are created either by individuals or collectively, based on their everyday habitus, including communication, self-exploration, gatherings and so on. These photos display how streets and public streets are used by marginal groups, migrant workers who have settled in the city to earn a better living, and the elderly people who express themselves in the public through daily interaction with one another.



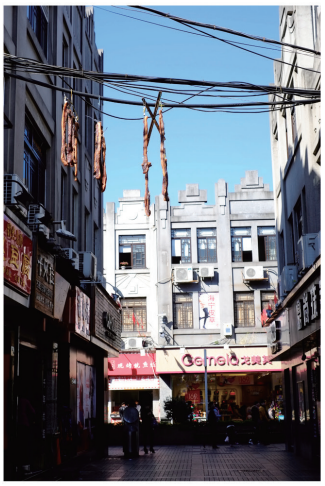
Fig. 3.8

In Wenzhou, it is common for people to dine in open spaces on the street. Often, street food vendors and small cafés make use of the street as an extension of their business space. Street dining culture also creates a welcoming atmosphere for nearby people. Furthermore, the atmosphere of the night time enhances the concept of the store as open. Spatiality and practicality interact cleverly and this results in a vital and flexible urban space, where it is hard to distinguish what is public or what is private.



Fig. 3.9

In the central area of Wenzhou where buildings date back to the 1970s, each space is unique and well suited for the residents' daily needs, such as the food drying process, plants, and hanging clothes to dry by using the messy electric cables above the street.



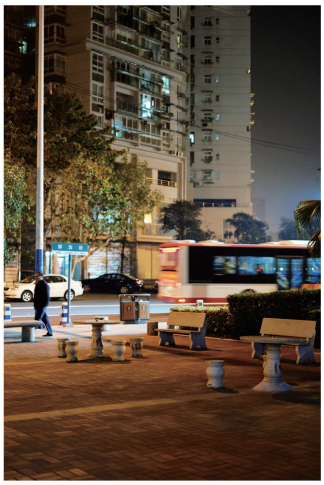






Fig. 3.10

Sometimes, designed urban spaces get interpreted differently and therefore used differently despite their original functions. These photos are examples showing the alterations that people have made. In the top picture are hanging baskets for preserved meat, a common practice during the winter months as it is the best season for air-drying different types of meat.

Furthermore, on the bottom right there is a telephone booth but people have interfered with the original design of this small space by placing a chair, hence claiming their spatial right and taking advantage of this shelter.









Fig. 3.11

From day to night, street vendors and their activities play a vital role in the informal spatial economy, providing people with everyday basics including food. Some mobile vendors travel to different spaces, in the city, depending on time, mainly to sell fruit, vegetables and other groceries. In a way, they re-shape the urban environment by embodying the spatial flow and the changes.

MAPPING EVERYONE'S JIANGXIN ISLAND

After exploring and visualising the setting and context, my practice-based research began to narrow down. Further to the everyday life and social production of space in the city, detailed research was taken on Jiangxin island, not just to investigate it but also to re-imagine its future through design. According to the discussion in the first section, most people related their impression of the island simply to the symbolic or iconic representation of the city, or the history of Wenzhou. Few would relate their own lives to the island. Therefore, a further understanding of the place is needed to uncover the reasons behind the idea of *representational space*, Lefebvre's passively experienced space.

It is necessary to highlight mapping as the beginning of design because it bridges theoretical arguments with my proposed interventions, concepts and realities in order to push the design from what we can do to how we can do. James Corner puts thus: "Mapping is a cultural project … creating and building the world as much as measuring and describing it".[179] Further to the previous theoretical framework of analysis, from the city to the island, what mapping does here is to provide, "the conceptual glue linking the tangible world, cities and landscape with the intangible world of social networks and electronic communications".[180] Grounded in ethnographic approaches, it offers far more than an omniscient-eye view of the landscape, construction, topography, or any other physical aspects.

Acknowledging that the island is more than just a public space or place for tourism, this part attempts to advance the debate by shifting the focus to the interaction between the people and spaces on Jiangxin island. Here, mapping is based on situated interactions and experiences. It visually investigates the programme and people's everyday practices, revealing gaps between imagination and reality. "It unfolds potential and allows creative thinking. As a creative activity, its agency lies in neither reproduction nor imposition, but rather in uncovering realities previously unseen or unimagined".[181] It has undoubtedly provided an alternative lens through which one can tell stories, investigate the spatial complexities, and to re-think what is on the island, who is using the island, who is living on the island. This has composed a programme based on the richness of the social structure on Jiangxin island.

[179] J. Corner, 'The Agency of Mapping: Speculation, Critique and Invention', in D. Cosgrove et al. (eds.), Mappings (Critical views), London, Reaktion, 1999, pp. 213.

[180] J. Abrams and P. Hall (eds.), *Else/where: Mapping new cartographies of networks and territories*, Minneapolis, University of Minnesota Design Institute, 2006, p.12.

[181] J. Corner, 'The Agency of Mapping: Speculation, Critique and Invention', in D. Cosgrove et al. (eds.), Mappings (Critical views), London, Reaktion, 1999, pp. 213.



Fig. 3.12

The island can be accessed via car transportation on the western end or by ferry on the eastern port. Once on the island, people can either walk by themselves or join a sightseeing tour bus.

Meanwhile, the island has a diverse range of trees, some, for example, date back to approximately 500 years and can be located in front of the Jiangxin Temple.

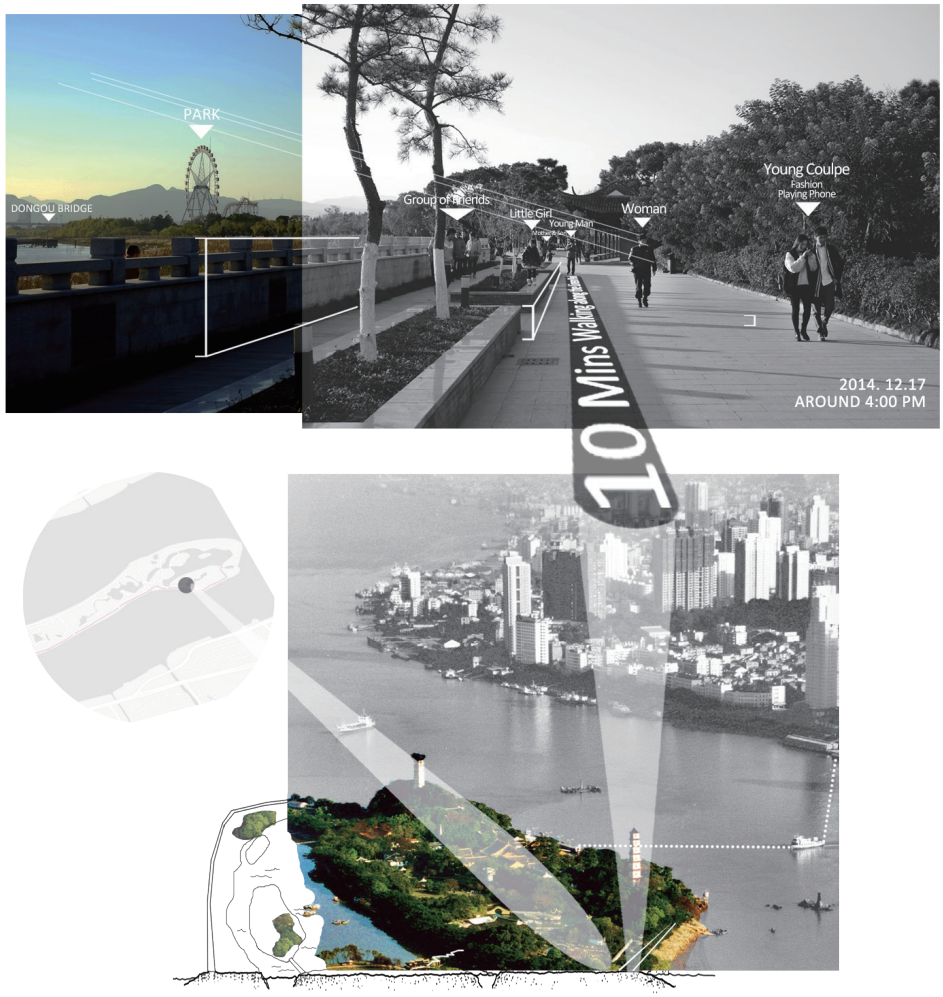


Fig. 3.13

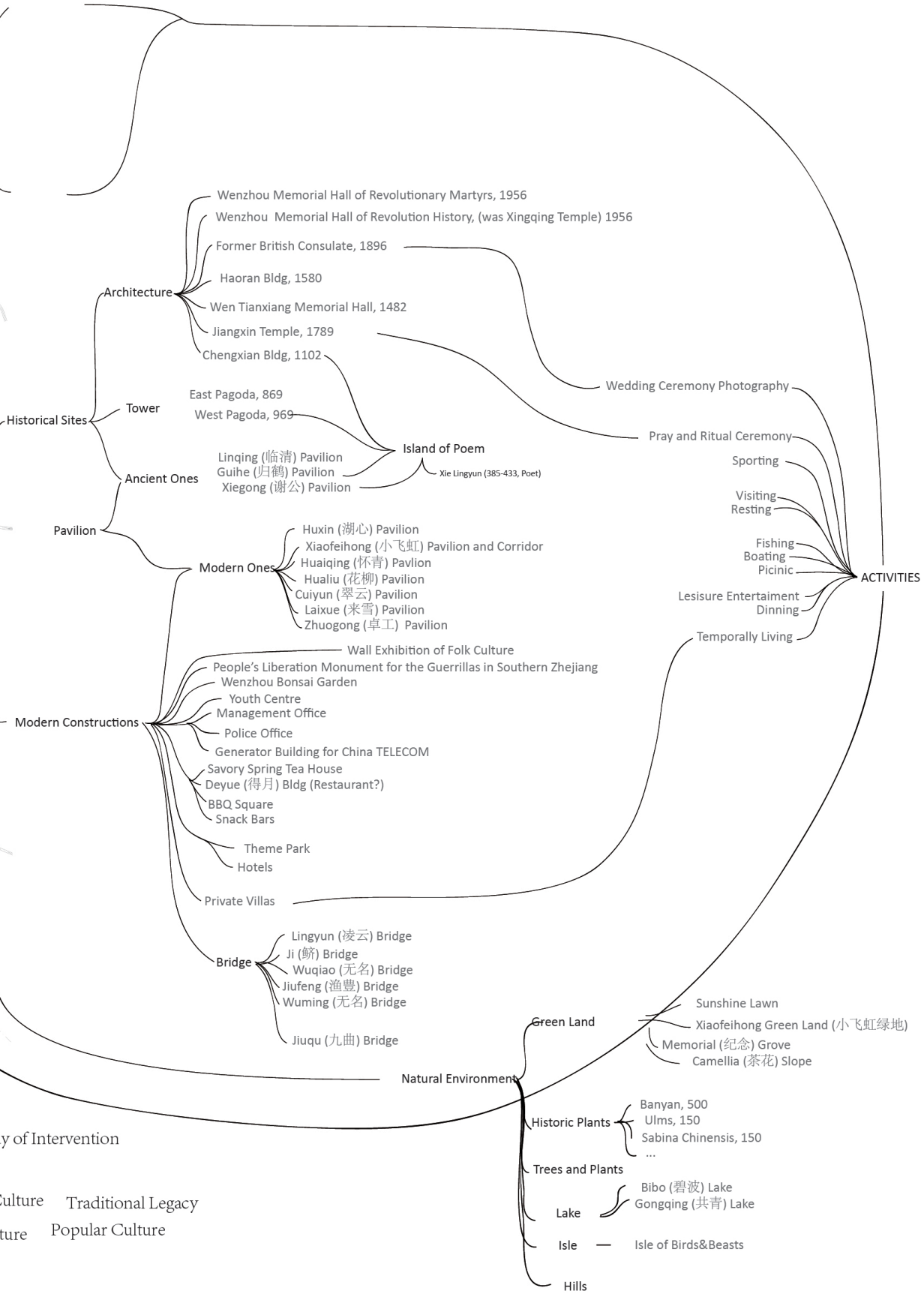
The Mapping of visitors and their leisure practices in the newly designed area located in the eastern part of Jiangxin Island.

Along the south embankment, the type of visitors ranges from children to the elderly. At the time of my visit, I witnessed a little girl running and playing on the leisure seat, and few people taking short breaks on those designated seats. Also, the raised planters act as seating, as well as acting as a demarcation between walkway and viewing-point. Given that the park is designed in a linear fashion, it presents a clear overview of the river, however, the visibility is obstructed by guardrails for those that would be sitting down.



Fig. 3.14

This drawing illustrates the interplay between the existing built elements, landscape, artefact, and human activities on the island of Jiangxin. Numerous buildings can be found with the appropriate places for people to gather. While most people's activities are mostly limited to visiting and leisure activities.



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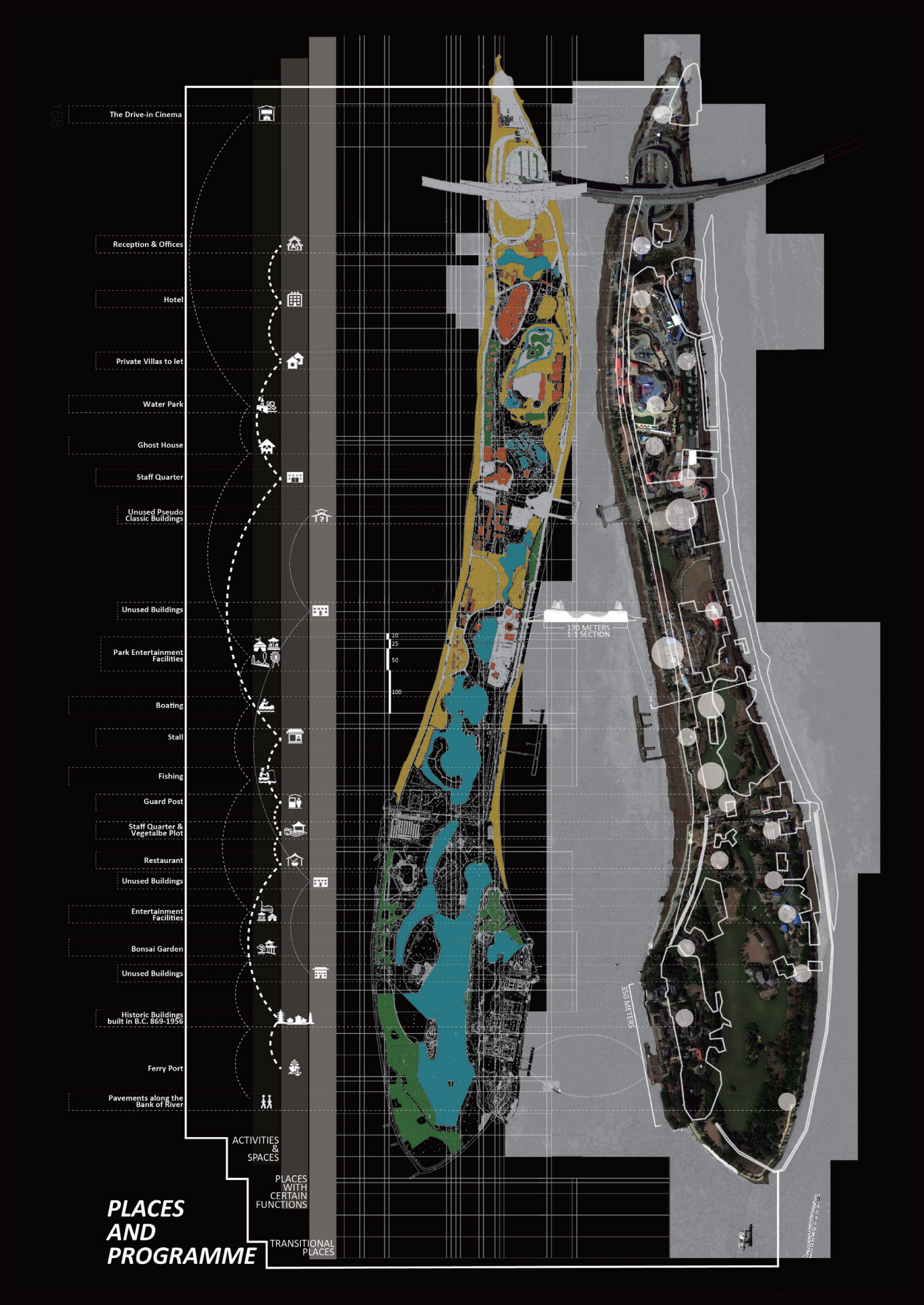


PLACES AND PROGRAMME

Fig. 3.15

This mapping illustrates the landscape, the fabric, and the interaction between them in Jiangxin island. Besides being a tourist site, the island is also a residential area to a number of people.

Places on the island are defined by certain buildings or functions. For instance, the eastern part is framed as a popular tourist hotspot due to its historical and ancient buildings, while the staff quarters are defined as living areas for security guards and park operators, the majority of whom are migrant workers from other cities. Another distinctive place is the theme park located on the western side, which is full of entertainment facilities. In-between there are open spaces for the people's amusement such as fishing, boating, walking, or simply relaxing.

Several abandoned buildings and places are found on the island. The west-end of the island had an open space functioning as a drive-in cinema in the summer time. It is now disused. In addition, there was a group of unused pseudo classical buildings in the western part of the island. They were designed for commercial purposes, such as '*City of leather shoes*'. Unfortunately, it had operated for a short space of time before shutting down.

There are possibilities of re-making the programme by re-connecting the informal spaces and the fixed buildings.

THE CUT ISLAND AS PRACTICED SPACE

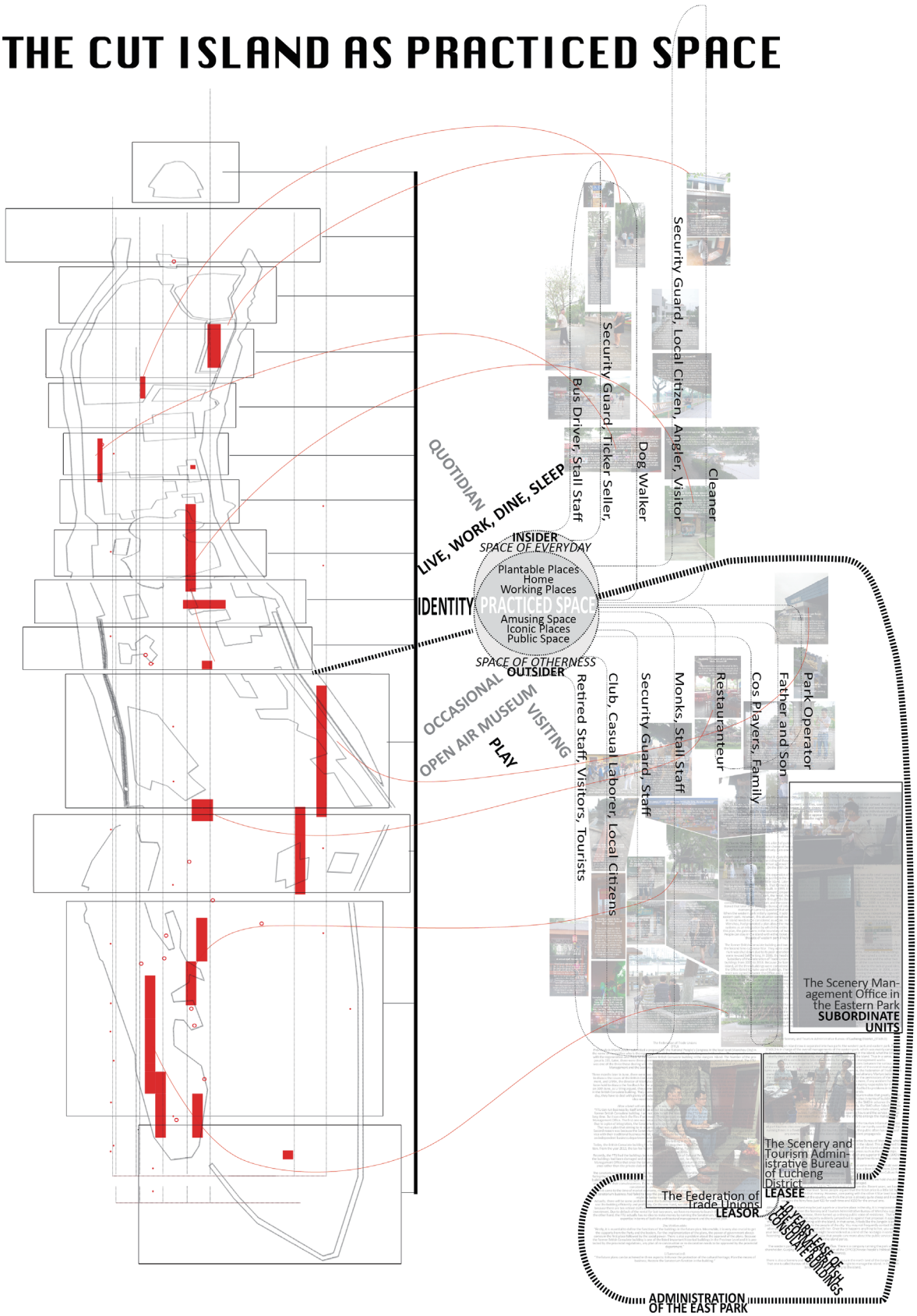


Fig. 3.16

This mapping is based on formal interviews, casual conversations and observations of different people either visiting, working or living on the island (red area). It shows that different ways of using the island are strongly related to people's identities. The cut island implies that Jiangxin island is spatially shared but socially segregated between different groups. It reveals the interplay between subjectivity and space, to show "a space of 'subjects and not of calculation'".[182]

Generally, visitors consider the island a utopias space for them to escape from busy city life during weekends. More evidence has been found to show how the island becomes an essential part of their city lives. Many locals tend to prioritise the island as the first visiting site for their nonlocal friends because they say they have no other better choice. The east part was considered to be best for gathering, singing, and dancing among many retired people. A fishing club has been established by a senior association on the island. Religious events often occur in the daytime, while the nighttime changes the east part into an open-air gym. Many locals, especially who live on the opposite bank, come and work out. Groups of women dance in front of the temple, some prefer to jog around the green area, and many other leisure activities go on. People enjoy the island as their back garden until the last ferry around 21:30 in weekday and 22:30 on weekends. In short, the island has witnessed countless social activities and stories. Jiangxin Island is fully utilised as a cultural symbol by officials, as a leisure paradise by the public, as a romantic dating venue, and so on.

However, there are overlooked corners on the island. Some spaces are only used by workers who live on the island and who regard it as their home. Most of the workers are from rural areas outside of Zhejiang Province, such as the villages of Anhui or Hunan. They are park operators, hotel staff in the western part, security guards, constructors, cleaners, and so on. They are usually introduced to their jobs by friends or relatives from their hometowns. They spend the majority of their time on the island, and lack the opportunities to visit other countries. Therefore, they have limited knowledge about the outside world.

It is essential to observe that most of them are the, "urban migrant workers, a term referring to those who work and live in cities, but remain as rural migrants due to the intransigence of the household registration system".[183] Migrant workers are largely employed in industries, in developing cities, as cheap labour. But they do not enjoy the same rights as the local residents, such as labour protection rights or public education. Thus, "they are often the 'marginalised group' in urban China".[184]

The island is a transitional space for some of them, who may seek a better life in the city. Some have already spent more than three years on the island. Besides their work, they self-organise to plant vegetation on the island. Jiangxin Island has turned out to be an inclusive world for these marginalised groups.

[182] D. Petrescu, 'Relationscapes: Mapping agencies of relational practice in architecture', *City, Culture and Society*, vol. 3, no. 2, 2012, p.137

[183] *National Bureau of Statistics of the People's Republic of China, Annual Survey of Migrant Workers in 2014 (2014 年全国农民工监测调查报告)*, [website], 2015, http://www.stats.gov.cn/tjsj/zxfb/201504/t20150429_797821.html, (accessed 1 December 2018).

[184] D.F.K. Wong, C.Y. Li and H.X. Song, 'Rural migrant workers in urban China: living a marginalised life', *International Journal of Social* Welfare, Vol. 16, no.1, 2006, pp. 32-40, http://onlinelibrary.wiley.com/doi/10.1111/j.1468-2397.2007.00475.x/full, (accessed 1 December 2018).

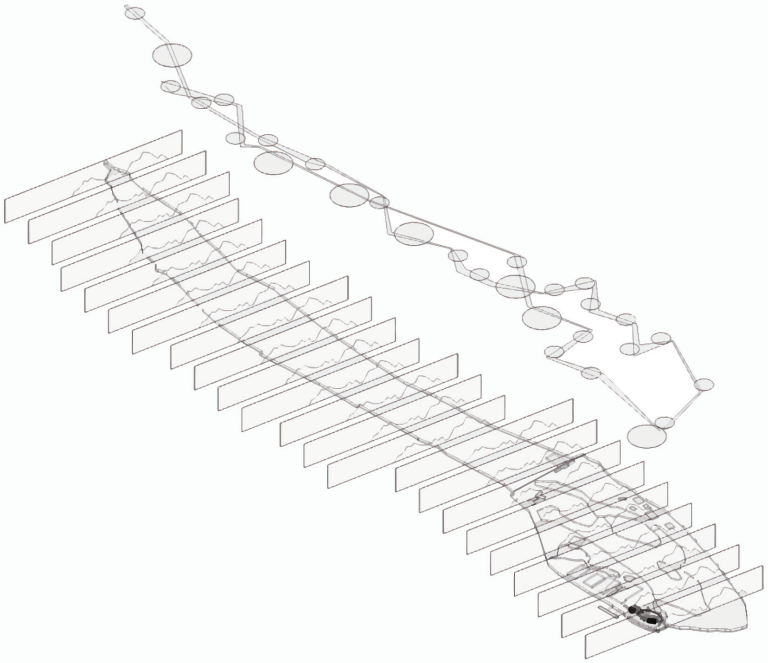


Fig. 3.17

The existing programme is built upon physical and non-physical factors: patriotism, nationalism, the CCP's development, religion, modern amusements, capitalist consumption, everyday life needs, and so on. Jiangxin island comprises diverse spaces yet every group practices in its closed circle. Hence, the space feels like a set of parallel worlds, divided by invisible walls due to the individuals' different living experiences and social identities.

This mapping influences a potential design programme when re-connecting the construction, buildings and landscapes through the possibility of social activities, such as festivals or daily practices. More importantly, they offer the potential to include previously ignored groups and make their voices heard. The open space is thus needed, not just physically, but cognitively. Walls need to be broken through and inclusive continuities have to be made through practical connections.

Thanks to its physical location, the cultural values, and social impact, Jiangxin island has turned out to be an ideal place for rethinking the colonial ghost, where a tension resonates between spatial rights, as reflected in the people's understanding towards colonial heritage. In order to imagine a more open and inclusive future for the island, people's voices should be included and they should be empowered to participate in the decision-making process. The Consulate buildings offer the best starting point for such interventions.

SOCIO-POLITICAL PRACTICE AND MAKING PUBLIC EVENTS

AN ADVENTURE IN THE POLITICAL BLACK BOX

As discussed in the first section, the Consulate Buildings are now facing an unpredictable future. They need to be regenerated both architecturally and strategically. In terms of regeneration, questions are not limited to architectural factors, but they are also connected to the related social-political background. However, I have found it impossible to undertake a serious research on the Consulate buildings because of the lack of archival information. There are some basic discussions on, their architectural style and stories as part of the British colonial heritage.[185] Interestingly, most of the archives are in English, including the original architectural design files collected by the National Archive, UK. In contrast, very little detailed information can be found in Chinese except, the same general history repeated in a number of sources.[186]

Research on the buildings needs to be traced back through the buildings' owner, the Wenzhou Federation of Trade Unions (FTU). However, the FTU is neither a social nor commercial organisation. It is a mass organisation embedded within a strong political position and ideology. It plays the game within the closed system. In other words, an outsider would never be able to access such a closed system without a reference. They may not even be able to share their information. In this sense, in order to get more information about the buildings, one has to get inside the *black box*[187] of the political process. This is not to criticize the ideology of the system or the political standpoint, rather it is about exposing the voice from the inside.

Besides, there is another power structure represented within the political actions. My mother, Rong Lin, is a Deputy leader in the people's Congress in Wenzhou. She has had rich experience in dealing with the political games of the Party's system, and she knows how the people within the system operate and make things run. It was my family connection that opened up greater access to information and places. This somehow echoes and illustrates my argument in section two that the Chinese social-political structure is akin to a tightly constructed family relationships. Power structures always remain un-challenged, while what matters is the strategy of positioning and tactics for action.

[185] R. Nield, *China's Foreign Places: The Foreign Presence in China in the Treaty Port Era, 1840–1943*, Hong Kong University Press, 2015 pp.272-277.

[186] K. Shen and Z. Tang, *Lucheng Human Landscape (鹿城人文景观),* Beijing, China Nationality Photographic Art Publishing House, 2014.

[187] J. Bradley, *Black Box Theory of Politics,* [website], no date, http://classroom.synonym.com/black-box-theory-politics-6095.html (accessed 1 December 2018).

It is necessary to explain the long political process before I got in touch with the Wenzhou FTU. On the one hand, this shows that political engagement is inevitable within such spatial practices due to the socio-political structure of Chinese society. On the other hand, this also shows the position that I hold as a researcher, in relation to the power-structures. The multi-political subjectivity produced in this process has enabled me to see gaps for possible interventions and for an open future.

What the Wenzhou Federation of Trade Unions (FTU) is

The FTU is supposed to be a public institution that functions neutrally between the state and society. However, in China, its political position is not independent due to the impact of the Communist Party. "The All-China FTU has not been a member of the World Federation of Trade Unions since 1966 due to the government's ideological differences with the Soviet Union".[188] Today, the All-China FTU comprises of the voluntary working class, emphasizing that, "the union should follow the Communist Party's guide".[189] Hence, it is not a surprise to see that the majority of the leaders in the FTU are Communist Party Members. Social organization will always face the fate of institutionalization as long as it grows formally. This responds to the concept of the *third realm*, where the agency of social power always represents the government as well.

As a result, although the FTU has not been part of the governmental hierarchies, it is within the political game. It would basically behave like any governmental bureau in terms of its services. Inside, the staff would try to avoid taking any responsibility that may bring any risk to themselves. Placing the Wenzhou FTU in such a context of Chinese political systems, a game guide is needed here, not only regarding how to contact and gain the trust of Wenzhou FTU, but also how to be further engaged in the regeneration issues of buildings.

[188] Wikipedia, *World Federation of Trade Unions*, [website], no date, https://en.wikipedia.org/wiki/World_Federation_of_Trade_Unions, (accessed 1 December 2018).

[189] *All-China Federation of Trade Union, Key Responsibilities of All-China Federation of Trade Union*, 24 August 2006, http://www.acftu.net/template/10041/file.jsp?cid=804&aid=42616, (1 December 2018).

The only solution for access, as Rong Lin insisted, was to use the political power of the People's Congress accordingly. In Wenzhou, the Local Level People's Congress is held annually during the months of February and March, just after the National one. One of its essential tasks is to discuss public issues based on the bills raised by the Deputy to the People's Congress. Once the bill has gone through the standing Committees, further detailed consideration will be assigned to the potential government departments and organisations, who must respond to the bill with either appropriate solutions or to meet with the Deputy. Specifically, their reactions and performances will be assessed. This will directly influence the support and benefits produced by the government. In this sense, they will feel pressure from the inside of the system.

To conclude, in order to undertake 'business', the basic principle is to acknowledge the hierarchical power structures, to use the rules and the orders, and then apply pressure from the top to exert the power on the system to work.



Fig. 3.18

The power relationship in the ruling system. The Party-based "standing committee of the politburo is the most decisive decision-making-body, heading a pyramid of power which tops every village and workplace".[190] It exerts influence over the National People's Congress layer by layer down to the local level.

[190] BBC, 'How China is Ruled', [website], *BBC NEWS*, no date, http://news.bbc.co.uk/1/shared/spl/hi/in_depth/china_politics/government/html/1.stm, (accessed 1 December 2018)

Fig. 3.19 (next page)

The relationship between the three main departments and institutions, and the Consulate buildings on Jiangxin Island. The author accessed these institutions by acting as Rong Lin's professional assistant.

Views From Outside and Inside

the management work,
the politcal problems of the tenancy,
the organization of events in the island,
Issues about the wnerships of the buildings,
the development of the island as a tourism site and public park,
etc.
... ...

Oubei District (North Wenzhou)



The Owner of the British Consulate

Maintainance

Administration?

Lucheng District (South Wenzhou)

Administration

Jianmin Xie (Woman in the Middle) Around 30

Director of the Office in the STABLD

The Federation of Trade Unions (FTU)

In March 2015, I submitted a proposal for the National People's Congress in the local level (Wenzhou City) in the name of my mother who is the
ntative of the National People's Congress in Wenzhou. The proposal concerns with the regeneration and reuse of the former British Consulate
the Jiangxin Island. The Number of the proposal is 195. Later, there were three governmental departments who were asked to respond to the
the FTU was one of the three those dealing with the issues about the island. The other two were Department of Cultural Legacy Management
and the Scenery and Tourism Administrative Bureau of Lucheng District (STABLD).

ths later in June, there were two representatives of Federation of Trade Unions (FTU) came to visit my mother to discuss the issues of the British
e Building. The two people are Zhu Weifen, the head of organization department, and Li Min, the director of Workplace Department. Zhu is the
They stressed that several meetings had been held to discuss the feedback for the proposal of the former British Consulate building. In the most
ting on 10th June, as Li Ming argued, they came out with significant analysis about the how to deal with the current problem in the British Con-
lding. They claimed that the FTU is not a governmental department with any authority. Everyday, they have to deal with plenty of social issues
which are very complex and sometimes trivial. Every comment and idea need to been responded no matter it is important or not.

After a brief self-introduction, it was Li Ming mainly made the following statements.

s business by Bao' and is now about to abandon us. One of them is the Sanatorium who is in charge of the former British Consulate building, I am not able
istory of the FTU to study. I have not been working for this long time, but I can depict the files if you need. There also two reasons for the Sanatorium to let
g to the Scenic Management Office. The first one was because the expectation between the plans of the building and that of the island. Due to a plan of
, the Sanatorium was agreed to give the right of management of the building to the Office. That was a plan that aiming to re-organize all the functions of
as to make advertise values for tourism. Second reason was because the Sanatorium ran a very poor business before. It failed to maintain the business
with their tradition and business model, which were quite behind the needs of the market. Because the Sanatorium is an independent business department
and all the letting should not been basically done by them, the FTU didn't know any details of the letting in the first time.

British Consulate building has been called to stop their business. We have paid lots of attention to this situation. From the year 2013, the tax fee hadn't
been paid for building. Furthermore, the FTU hasn't received any rental for the 2014 and 2015.

ne FTU had the buildings been transferred from official Cultural Relics and Archaeology. It's confirmed that the buildings had been damaged and encoc-
some extent. So the FTU has made a very clear claim to the Scenic Management Office that once the tenancy ends and the buildings return in 2016, they
to be tie in to several discussions rather than the previous one-man-show. Therefore, assumption and furniture have to been removed and cleared.

um gave up on running the buildings because their traditional business model was greatly challenged while facing the market transition at that time. Pre-
ing the period of planned economy, the former British Consulate building was known as the Jiangxin Sanatorium being ran as a state-owned enterprise. It
open to those who ran cadres for their convalescence. If they were allowed to stay and recuperate in the Jiangxin Sanatorium, he would be considered as
an honored person with a respectful social position.

me to the time of market economy, many significant problems emerged inside the old management system. The sanatorium business had failed to keep
the pace of the market needs. So in order to make money more efficiently, it might be better to rent the property to someone else.
ere will be some problems once the buildings had been returned after 2016. The biggest one is the how to use the building efficiently and profitably. On
nd, we still want to make maintain the sanatorium function because there are interest stuffs who need to be well settled. But this is quite hard to real-
we haven no investment. Due to default of the rental for last two years, we have no money to launch the plan of the Sanatorium. On the other hand, the
s has no idea to make money by running the Sanatorium. The problem of good idea and expertise in terms of both the architectural management and the
market plan."

Zhu Weifan adds:

U summarized:
plans can be achieved in three aspects: Enhance the protection of the cultural heritage; Plan the means of business; Restore the Sanatorium function in
the building."

A proposal about the re-use of the British Consulate Building for the National People's Congress in the local level (Wenzhou City)

10-Year tenancy of the British Consulate Building

Some problems with the rental

LEASEHOLD RELATIONSHIP

INTRODUCE

The Scenery Management Office in the Eastern Park (SMO)

Female, who is the Vice head of Scenery Management Office in the Eastern Park, 38 years old, local Wenzhounese

Ro So had shown me the internal working document and files, saying they cannot be copied or out spread. According to her description, it is conceived that working system is quite sloppy inside the office. Many political and economical issues have not been clearly documented. In a contrast, the facts were always orally spread among the individuals or small groups. The realities were thus veiled. The staff of the Office appear to be negative when dealing with the problems in the island. They always prefer nothing than anything.

"The eastern park should be a scenic spot rather than a park because many criteria of management are following the instructions by Tourism Administrative Bureau in stead of the Bureau of Landscaping in the city. For me, the island is just a work place. Sometimes I will take my daughter here. For her, this is more like a city park. It is really interesting that most of the primary schools choose Jiangxin Island for their spring outing.

The Scenic Management Office is a kind of public institution. I've been working here for 15 years. The head leader here is named Zhuren in Chinese. The head is in charge of two offices, the employee office and the management office. Both offices are managed by two vice heads respectively. I am one of the vice heads. I am one of the vice heads. I am responsible for the landscape office. I used to learn landscape design.

It was in mid-to-late year 1989 that it started to formally build at the location of the Office. In the year 1992, the initial management group is formed that consisting of three persons who were among them, making many photographs, and staffs of the ferry. In 1995, the government had approval for the establishment of the "Jiangxin Island Office of the Scenery Bureau in Wenzhou". On the 29th December of 1995, police station was settled in the island.

There are some stories about the expansion of the island. In the very beginning, the original island was quite small compared to the current one: the width was just from the west hill to the east hill, where the ferry pass by is approximately. There was a small river in the middle across the hills island. Later in the 1990s, in order to satisfy the interests of tourists, a new part of green lands has been extended in the north. That formed a lake inside the island. With the help of some private investment, many entertainment facilities and areas were built. In 1999, the Bureau of Urban Utilities and Landscaping has signed a contract that letting the island to a Western Park Development Company for 20 years. It was after the year 2000 that the program of western park expansion began. The amusement park, the hotel, the water park and some infrastructure were constructed successively. Today, people can drive to the eastern park through the Dongxia Bridge. In fact, the Dongxia Bridge was constructed in 2000 earlier than the completion of new western park and the conversion of the bridge and the island was late after the year 2000. It has to be mentioned that later after 2000, the Bureau of Urban Utilities and Landscaping was separated into two independent Bureaus. At that moment, it came to question that whether control of the Western Park Development Company is still valid.

When the western park initially opened, it still is of non-tickets. It had its own management system that was independent from the eastern park. However, this situation somehow changed later. In order to apply for a 5 Star level Tourism Place, the entire systems in island needs to be considered as whole. In that case, from the year 2013, the Scenery and Tourism Administrative Bureau of Wenzhou, had promoted a plan about the management work in the island. This plan aimed to re-organize all the management systems as an integration by which the entire eastern park of the island would be managed by just one large department. After this plan, the gate-opens in the boundary of two parks. Although each park has its own ticket office, their prices become the same. People can stay in the island with either ticket of the western or the eastern park. However, one is not allowed to access through the gate of western park if he/she only holds the other one's ticket. Vice versa in the eastern park.

The former British Consulate building and two other similar buildings belong to the Federation of Trade Unions in Wenzhou after the Second Sino-Japanese War. They were used as sanatoriums after 1950s. During economic transition in the 1990s, the sanatorium was shut down due to its poor operation. Thus, the buildings had been abandoned for a while. Fortunately, the buildings were re-used before long. In 2000, the head of the Scenic Management Office in the eastern park had signed a contract with a Subsidiary of the Federation of Trade Unions (FTU). It was about a 10 year tenancy of the British Consulate and the other two buildings from 2006 to 2016. Because the Scenic Management Office was planning for re-organize all the tourism resource in the island. all the three buildings were considered as a part of the tourism sites in the island. However, due to the lack of good ideas, the Office failed to make use of buildings. Therefore the Office decided to invite the investment from the public. In 2008, a contract was signed between the Office and a company, named "No. 9 Residence", who would be running the three buildings until 2016. After that, the buildings were well-researched and re-designed by a professional institution of ancient architecture design. From then on, the buildings were transformed into a club and used for private entertainment. The business had been run well until the year 2013 because of two much pressure from the public and social consensus arguing that the historic building should be open to the public rather than private use. Since 2013, the buildings have been out of service. What is awkward is the problem of rental. The "No. 9 Residence" company has no income since the close of business. As no rental had been paid to the Office, the Office neither has no money to give to the Subsidiary of the FTU. Now they are all staying in the same boat. By the way, the No. 9 Residence Company had also invested into a Youth Palace in the island. It seems to be also shut down at the moment.

The Office is not in charge of everything that happening in the building. If one wants to hold some event in the building, it is necessary to enquire the owner of the building first rather than us. The Office can make suggestion but not decision. According to our principle, any small event is not encouraged in the eastern park unless it is very formal and well-invested. In the other word, we prefer some well-organized events by some formal and reliable institutions. Actually, it is quite important that every park can benefit from each other while doing the events.

To be honest, any event, in terms of its scales and forms, can be accepted once you get the permission from any of the higher governmental department. Well, a call from the lead can solve anything."

The Scenery and Tourism Administrative Bureau of Lucheng District (STABLD)

"The Jiangxin Island now is separated into two parts: the western park and eastern park. The STABLD is in charge of the overall managements of the eastern park, which was mainly carried out by its subordination, the Scenic Management Office (SMO). Stationing in the island, what the SMO basically deals with are the security, maintenance and cleaning in the island. This is a sense, the SMO is considered to take responsibility for all the basic management work.

However during the management, there often emerge some collisions between the two parts of the eastern park. It is because of the multi ownerships that the work of the overall management turns out to be fairly complicated and time-consuming. For example, the Federation of Trade Union owns the British Consulate building while the Museums of the Revolutionary Martyrs belongs to the civil affair Bureau. The Scenic Management Office has to ask for the permission of the building's owners if any event wants to be held in the buildings, what's more, if any accident had happened in those buildings, it is really difficult to figure who would be liable for the incidents. In a sense, the issues of communication and responsibility had led to a struggle in between the management and the ambiguities.

Firstly, it was the inefficient communications between the two parks that greatly complicate the management. The eastern park includes various business sites in terms of buildings, like Garden and Scenery, the Western Hill Pavilion, the Bamboo Valley Tourist Resort. In advance that there would be the events to be held in their own buildings. Consequently, the SMO often failed to make enough preparation in terms of the security and tourism management before and, what's more, even come across various troubles. Furthermore, because the opening hours and the service is different in each section of the eastern park, so it is difficult for the SMO to utilize the management work time-efficiently.

The second problem is based on the "Two-route" propaganda of the tourism information. Some of port tourism sites consume their business independently, the SMO can hardly coordinate all the opening timetable, holidays or notify the tourists. In this sense, the public often has no idea of any events or schedule of the island due to the inefficient propaganda.

Therefore, from the year 2013, the Scenery and Tourism Administrative Bureau of Wenzhou, which supervises us, had promoted a plan about the management work in the island. This plan aimed to organize a system of re-organization by which the entire eastern park of the island would be managed by just one department. However, there were some resistances such as the ownerships. Some of the buildings belong to some Municipal Departments which are superior than the SMO in terms of administrative level. The cooperation between different departments were not so easy.

During the past several years, there was no problem happened. But some events were held every year in the fixed periods. Taking the last year as an example, there was a Beer Festival from 22nd to 27th in April in the western park, a Water Bird Festival on 1st October, and an Autumn Culture Festival from August to October which last for around 100 days.

We have the budget for the events. Our management done well the activity we host should be worth the expenditure, what is strictly managed.

The Jiangxin Island is a 4 Star (named 4A in Chinese version) tourism site. Recent years, we have been trying to apply for the 5 star level. Some people argued that the ticket price is a little bit high, and no wonder, it is not worth that price. However, comparing with the other 4 Star level tourism-oriented areas, throughout the country, we think the price is already quite cheap and it even contains the ferry fee: just ¥25 for each time and ¥150 for the annual one.

Although the Jiangxin Island has not just a park or a tourism place in the city, it is irreplaceable to the public. Previously, when the Scenery and Tourism Administrative Bureau of Wenzhou suggested that the place should improve, there turned up a strong public wave of resistance. That was quite interesting that the silent majority suddenly jumped out to against that proposal. It appeared that every citizen was concerning with the island. In that sense, it feels like the Jiangxin Island is just like one of common elements to the people of the city. This may not frequently contact that relative services still have an attachment with her. Once there happens anything to her, you will try your best to care about her. Well, this might be considered as a kind of the nostalgia in some way. According to the public voice, I would argue that people concern more about the public service rather than the island per se.

The western park has its own management office. There is a company running the park whose shareholder, Guojing Dong (音译, who is a member of the CPPCC(Chinese People's Political Consultative Conference).

There is also a Scenery and Tourism Administrative Bureau in the north land of the Jiangxin River. That one is called Bureau of Yongjia District and it has no right to manage the island. In the north land, there is no direct ferry to the island.

"The work system within the government is so closed where the leader's wills always dominate everything, a strong sense of bureaucracy inside."

Just as what Gao Qixin said, it was really a long way to the visit him. His work place, the department of Cultural Legacy Management, locates in the government building. There are securities guarding the gate of the government building. Named 'Municipia people's Government', the building is not open to any public unless one has a permission from the inside. One can only access to the building by the following ways: a valid confirmation from someone inside, be guided by someone who is working inside, or holding a valid document as such the People's Congress Identification Card.

The Department of Cultural Legacy Management (DCLM)





"The Wenzhou is applying for the National Famous Historical and Cultural City. There will be some official staffs doing the examination in the next week. They are from the Ministry of Housing and Urban-Rural Development of the People's Republic of China. The criteria of evaluation mainly cover three aspects: the preservation of the historical legacy, the townscape of historical street and the current the residential situation. In this case, some refurbish and rebuilding are really necessary in some certain historical areas because they were poorly looking and awfully used today.

There are lots of complains during the process of negotiation and reviewing. On the one hand, the government needs to fund the preservation of the historical legacies. On the other hand, more money are asked to be spent on the people as to improve their lives. This directly relates to the relocation of the residents or the refurbishment of architecture.

However, limited fund has been proposed in the regeneration of historical areas. What is worse is the significant imbalance between the expenditure and income. During the preservation of the buildings, the profit we make often failed to make the investment. Taking the Xia Nai's Formal Residence for example. Long time ago in the earlier 20th century, that house only belonged to the famous archaeologist Xia Nai's family. However, during the social unrest in the last century, the house had been gradually occupied by various families and eventually turned out to be 34 units. So for the current preservation, it needs to consider the relocations and resettlement of 34 families, which finally cost the government around 960 million Yuan. It has been through lots of troubles during the preservation of that famous house because each individual family has different requirements for their relocation. Some asked for the house in a good school district and some requested for special house types. It really cost a lot if the government was required to satisfy every requirement.

Another case is the regeneration of a famous building in the No. 104 Shanmao Road. The work now has been on hold due to too much unsolvable problems. It was only about the money but also the building itself. At the moment, little room is left for any further negotiation with the residents there.

In preservation and regeneration of the Jiangxin Island, there will be more departments engaged in dealing with the complex issues in terms of the management, funding and equity. Taking the Former British Consulate as an example. The land of that building belongs to the Scenery and Tourism Administrative Bureau of Wenzhou, the owner of the building is Wenzhou Federation of Trade Union; the Bureau of Landscaping is responsible for the landscape around the buildings; all the issues in the eastern park counts on the Scenic Management Office which stations in the island. So in this case, if we want to do something with the island, considerable, lots of departments have to be involved.

While talk about the cultural innovation, there were some trials supported by the government and some in-vestment groups. Some old factory areas were transformed into some kinds of cultural industry districts. It aimed to promote the some cultural businesses but actually it fails. Now they are almost the places for dining. Interestingly, the restaurant owners are quite of characteristics and qualities. Well, I think we may also call that phenomenon as a kind of culture, the food and dining culture. The dining culture is also a reflection of the local culture.

The Management Works of the Historical Areas and Buildings are really complex

Governmental System is closed

The issue of multi-ownerships of the buildings in the island has troubled the mangement a lot

Some events and activities hold in the island annually

INTRODUCE

Process

Following the game guide, I assisted Rong Lin and submitted a first bill to the 11th Local People's Congress in February 2015. The bill focused on re-using the former British Consulate buildings in a public way. "I was doing what should be done as a deputy and as the representative of the people. It was just my commitment to this sacred duty," Rong Lin put it. The first bill was responded to by three departments, formally, in June 2015. The three responsible parties are the DCLM (Department of Cultural Legacy Management), the STABLD (Scenery and Tourism Administrative Bureau of Lucheng District) and the Wenzhou FTU (Federation of Trade Union), successively.

Firstly, the DCLM was engaged because the Consulate buildings are considered as an important cultural and historical heritage. More importantly, the bill was submitted at a specific time when Wenzhou was applying for the title of 'Nationally Famous Historical and Cultural City,' "which was later "approved in 2016".[191] The DCLM was the governmental department in charge of this political initiative. The East of Jiangxin Island, where the colonial buildings are located, was one of the crucial spots to be assessed by the authorities and experts from the State Council of Beijing. Interestingly, however, the Consulate Buildings were not in the detailed list included in the introduction booklet.

[191] The State Council, 'Guowuyuan Guanyu Tongyi Jiang Zhejiangsheng Wenzhoushi Liewei Guojia Lishi Wenhua Mingcheng De Pifu (国务院关于同意将浙江省温州市列为国家历史文化名城的批复)', *the State Council The People's Republic of China*, 22 April 2016, http://www.gov.cn/zhengce/content/2016-05/04/content_5070199.htm, (accessed 1 December 2018).



Fig. 3.20

The booklet with four sections was edited by the Wenzhou City Committee of the CCP and the Wenzhou government. It introduced the historical heritage in Wenzhou. In book A, it listed Jiangxin Island and its traditional architecture such Temples and Pagodas, but ignored the Former British Consulate buildings. Was this because colonial heritage could not be counted as 'traditional' cultural heritage?

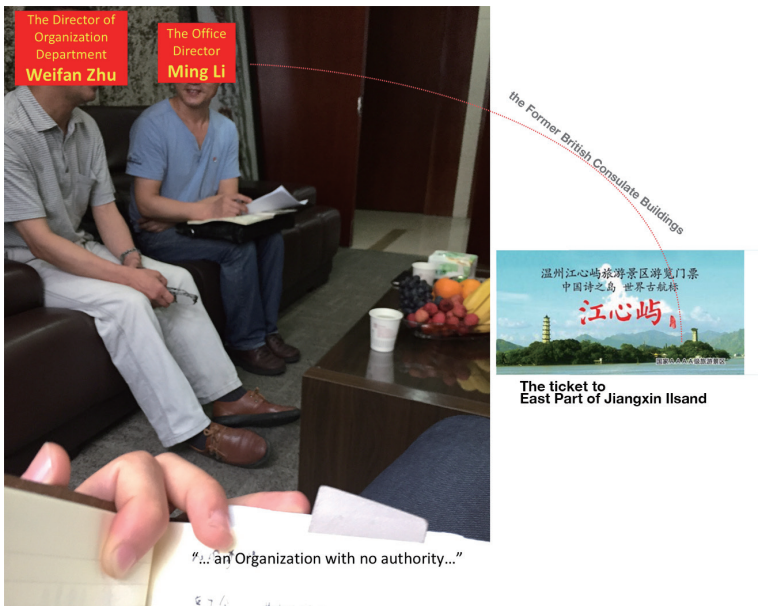
Another accountable institution was the STABLD, which was in charge of the management work on the eastern part of Jiangxin Island. They owned the usage rights to the consulate buildings at that time (2006-2016),[192] so they had to respond to the bill. However, the tourism bureau tended to be more cooperative and knew how to do business rather than play political games.

[192] See the Appendix: Records of the meeting with Ru Su, the Vice head of Scenery Management Office in the Eastern Part, 17 June, 2015.

The Wenzhou FTU, a mirror of the political system

The Wenzhou FTU was the last respondent to the bill. The official representative claimed that the FTU took the bill very seriously. They held a 'serious' meeting before their formal reply. However, what the FTU came up with was basically a re-editing of the bill, explaining many difficulties they were facing, including the financial problems involved in running the properties and the lack of professional guidance regarding reusing the buildings. Nevertheless, they did try their best to suggest better ideas for the buildings. After that meeting, they spent almost half a year (from the middle of 2015 to the beginning of 2016), and carried out another plan. It was to transform the buildings into a museum of contemporary history, including an exhibition based on the development of the FTU in Wenzhou. They reported this news to Rong Lin, who had the power to assess their work. Indeed, "empowered by the Constitution, the People's Congress has the right to supervise the work of any governmental organization".[193] The deputy is the

[193] China.Org.Cn, *China Internet Information Center, II. The System of People's Congress*, [website], no date, http://www.china.ofrg.cn/english/Political/26144.htm, (accessed 1 December 2018).



[194] See the Appendix: Records of the meeting with representatives from the Federation of Trade Unions, 19th June, 2015

Fig. 3.21

The first meeting with the representative from the FTU, June 2015. I was sitting beside Rong Lin as an architectural professional consultant. Rather than the architectural issues, they mostly focussed on the political difficulties of re-using the buildings and managing them sustainably. They explained that "they let the building to the STABLD during 2006-2016 because that was the only appropriate and economic choice they had".[194]

executor. Such a conservative strategy somehow indicated the dilemma that the FTU was facing: not just a lack of professional guidance to make a more sustainable and open plan, but also the political standpoint it needed to adhere to.

Indeed, it was difficult to find alternative uses for the buildings. The reason could be due to the political ideology of being *inactive* inside the closed and powerful political system. As explained by Rong Lin, it was commonly observed that risk assessments would always be the priority for any institution, since any problem or issue would have a direct impact on the responsible officials or leaders. As a result, any alternative proposal would be the last thing to be considered. For the game players inside, such as the FTU, they preferred to remain in that present predicament. Thus, the staff are paid stable salaries within the system, avoiding troubles or burdens, preferring to work accordingly to avoid risks.

For the insider, from the leaders to the general staff, everything is based on just obeying the rules of the game. Inaction thus becomes the main working principle within the official system. To some extent, this was a microcosm of the central government's commitment throughout the recent decades. Seen from outside, the priority of any government's work is to stabilize the seeming harmony of society, formally named Stability Maintenance. Evidence can be found, during the period "around 2014, when the government spent enormously on easing the increasing popular protest movement"[195]: solving the problem by avoiding the problem.

[195] J. Yu, Shifting from "Rigid Stability" to "Resilient Stability." Contemporary Chinese Thought, Vol. 46, no.1, 2014, pp. 85–91.

The FTU seemed to be in such a conservative state that it could not possibly to do any alternative action to the buildings. A second bill was submitted to the 12th People's Congress by Rong Lin and I in February 2016. It proposed an idea to make public events through a participatory design in and around the consulate building. The idea included the mapping, and exhibition events, to encourage people to participate in, and speak up about the future of the buildings. The bill was passed to the STABL and the FTU. However the idea was rejected by them in relation to the complex legal issues regarding the ownership of the buildings. Nothing would be possibly to happen inside the buildings until the FTU reclaimed them by the end of 2016.

Fortunately, Jianmin Xie, director of the office, showed great interest in helping me to make some positive impact on Jiangxin island, specifically the eastern part. It was with her help that the first public event, I will discuss below, was facilitated smoothly in 2016.

1ST WORKSHOP MAPPING & URBAN ART GAME: STARTING A POLITICAL NEGOTIATION

In order to re-imagine the Consulate buildings through a participatory approach, a Public Game Event was scheduled to be held around the beginning of March 2016. It drew from the ideas of *Making Things Public*, based on which Bruno Latour argues for rethinking the programmed democracy in the western world by shifting from *matters of fact* to *matters of concern*. "It's clear that each object - each issues - generates a different pattern of emotions and disruption, of disagreements and agreements. There might be no continuity, no coherence in our opinions, but there is a hidden continuity and a hidden coherence in what we are attached to".[196] However, the approach of the representation of the facts had been well devised through politics. A Phantom of identity was generated because people were discouraged from thinking politically.[197] It resulted in a *Phantom Public*[198], termed by Walter Lippmann, as that which kept the majority from the true networks behind the public issues. Thus, Latour advocated that it was necessary to develop an emancipatory practice through altering the means of representation and making things public.

Following this argument, the event was initially designed as a collective mapping game, where people were supposed to give their ideas about the future of the buildings as well as the island. However, the plan largely changed in terms of its meaning and purpose. It turned out to be an urban art game after negotiations with the Tourism Bureau. A compromise was made since the powerful Bureau was the only one that could give permission and authorise the venue for the event project in the eastern part of Jiangxin Island. Therefore, it is helpful to dissect the process which is a spatial practice in the political black box.

Who is able to make a public event on the Island?

Since the land of the island belongs to the state, some governmental departments were responsible for managing the land. For example, the eastern part of Jiangxin Island is managed by the STABLD, which is "an official department in the city".[199] The bureau was responsible for the overall management of the eastern park. Any large-scale event would be impossible without the bureau's intervention. The management's work was mainly carried out by its subsidiary division, the SMO (Scenic Management Office). Stationed on the island, the SMO basically deals with security, maintenance and cleaning. Any potential event on the island would be censored or guided by the office directly.

[196] B. Latour, 'From Realpolitik to Dingpolitik or How to Make Things Public', in B. Latour, and P. Weibel, *Making Things Public: Atmospheres of Democracy*, Cambridge, MIT Press, 2005. p.5.

[197] Ibid., p.28.

[198] W. Lippmann, *the Phantom Public*, New Brunswick, Transaction Publishers, 2011.

[199] Lucheng Government Information Catalogue, *Luchengqu Fengjing Lvyou Guanli Ju*, [website], 2017, http://xxgk.lucheng.gov.cn/lcqfjlyglj/, (access 1 January 2018).

Although it was observed that many seniors loved to gather and sing in the pavilion, they were limited to quite a small scale and clear purpose. In contrast, the office did not welcome any large-scale public events organised spontaneously by the people. From the manager's perspective, any open public event usually meant 'uncertainty', which was the last thing they wanted in the area they were responsible for. According to Su Ru, the vice head of the SMO, any relatively large public event was required to be organized formally, to obey their management regulations. When asked how to define scale and what the difference is between the big and the small public events, Ru Su smiled, "a call from the leader can solve anything".[200]

Hence, the negotiation with the STABLD was crucial for making a public event on the island. For an ordinary citizen, however, it was not easy to start any collaboration with the STABLD. Although it has been defined as a public institution and supposed to run commercially and independently, the STABLD is within the large political system and closed to any outsider. This reflected the widespread control of the governing power throughout the city because, "urban land belongs to the state in China".[201] Moreover, most of the social institutions and formal organizations are involved in the political agency of the party branch and secretary. Therefore, collaboration with the official department would be a political game. Since the STABLD was one of the responsible departments to consider Rong Lin's Bill, a meeting was called in July 2015. The director of the Office in STABLD, Jianmin Xie, received Rong Lin in her office. Lin introduced me as her professional consultant. The black-box of the political system had then opened up.

[200] See the Appendix: Records of the meeting with Ru Su, the Vice head of Scenery Management Office in the Eastern Part, 17 June, 2015

[201] GUO WU YUAN FA ZHI BAN GONG SHI, PRC Land Administration Law, (中华人民共和国土地管理法实施条例), Beijing, China Legal Publishing House, 1991, p. 30.



Fig. 3.22

In an office of the STABLD, a formal meeting was organised by Jianmin Xie to respond to Rong Lin's bill.

The power agencies and deliberations within the political System

Xie was convinced that a successful public game event would benefit both the STABLD and the people. But she believed that it would be better to focus on the eastern part of Jiangxin Island rather than the consulate buildings. That would bring more attention to the eastern part, and enhance the Bureau's reputation. After that, we went through the official service process, submitted a project plan letter to the leader of the STABLD, and got official permission to use the venue.

Since then, however, the initial public event project was greatly affected by deliberations between the official powers and the author. Many original ideas had to be changed, such as the event venue, forms, timetable, and scale. When the official process came to the final step, the author met Zhong Chen, who was the chief of staff in the SMO on the island. Although introduced by Xie, I seemed not to be so welcomed by him. Chen's attitude was negative because the public event seemed to mean trouble for him. He stressed that the event venue, timetable and the scale needed to be fixed based the management regulations. It had to be easy for them to set safeguards and ensure effective security, otherwise the plan would be impossible. In the end, the event was agreed to be held on one day in a square near the SMO office buildings. As Chen puts, the site would conveniently be under their management.

The plan for the public event was eventually made, but largely compromised by STABLD. Thanks to the Deputy's strong political help, I became the in-between agent and made the deliberation within the system. Throughout this political journey, my subjectivity and standpoint changed. Sometimes, it was with a governmental position while sometimes I returned back to the role of a citizen without any power. I thus moved around between the inside and the outside.

Re-visiting such a journey illustrates that it is just the tip of the iceberg of the power structures within the Chinese political system. This proves that any attempt to use a public space in China will unquestionably be challenged by the powers of the political system. It will be impossible without an insider's guidance. In the light of the third realm, Chinese public space is neither the extension of the private field nor an independent realm. It is rather an in-between space with changing positions empowered by the governing party.

WORKSHOP, TEACHING, MAPPING AND MAKING: THE PROJECT PROCESS

The public event project was facilitated through a workshop which consisted of a research group and participants from the architectural department of Wenzhou university. Prior to the cooperation with Wenzhou University, two experienced artists and a professional architect were invited to join as tutors. These were the painter Haishan Shi, the sculptor Kangjun Zhong, and Yuanyuan Huang. They would primarily conduct the teaching and the creation of the mapping.

On the 29th of February 2016, in the architecture department of Wenzhou University, I gave a presentation about the mapping and drawing techniques. After that, an introduction was made about the public event's project plans and aims. Fortunately, 19 volunteer students were recruited with the help of Kejun Shao, who was a tutor in the architecture department. A graduate of Liverpool University with an MA degree in Urban Studies, Kejun Shao said that mapping was seldom applied in their architectural design teaching in Wenzhou. Shao saw the mapping workshop as a chance to introduce new methods. The cooperation between the school and the workshop would benefit the students and their future teaching and learning experiences.

The participating students were separated into two groups. Guided by two artists respectively, each group had its own theme and plan for the next few days. The students were guided and expected to create some thematic mappings related to Jiangxin island and based on either physical or social factors. Furthermore, some of the products would be used as toolkits to create a public games event to last for a whole day on the Island. Importantly, the event aimed to encourage people to share stories about the island and to discuss the island's future, as a result of negotiations with the STABLD.

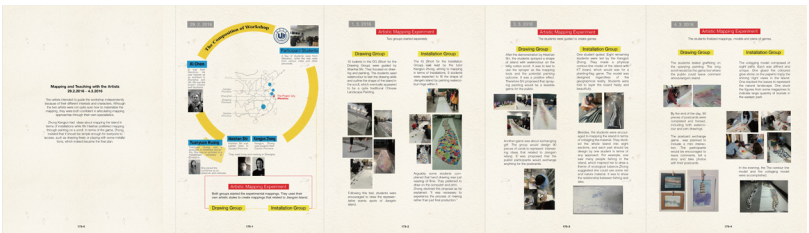


Fig. 3.23

The Artistic Mapping Workshop

Mapping and Teaching with the Artists
29/2/2016 - 4/3/2016

Two artists intended to guide the workshop independently because of their different interests and characters. Although the two artists were not quite sure how to materialize the mapping, they were both confident in articulating mapping approaches through their own specialistics.

Zhong Kangjun had ideas about mapping the island in terms of installations while Shi Haishan preferred mapping through painting on a scroll. In terms of the game, Zhong insisted that it should be simple enough for everyone to access, such as drawing freely or playing with some installations, which indeed became the final plan.

29. 2. 2016

The Composition of Workshop



Participant Students

A few of the students were from Wenzhou, while the rest were from various cities and other provinces.



Xi Chen

Xi was from Wenzhou. He was trained as an architect in Shanghai and UK. He was the project initiator and facilitator.



Yuanyuan Huang

Yuanyuan Huang was a graduate of Sheffield University. She was an architect in a mainstream company in Shanghai.



She joined the workshop as an observer and criticizer.

Haishan Shi

Haishan Shi was painter born in Jiangsu Province.

Kangjun Zhong

Kangjun Zhong was sculptor from Canton Province.

They were living and working in Shanghai.





Artistic Mapping Experiment

Both groups started the experimental mappings. They used their artistic styles to create mappings that related to Jiangxin Island.

Drawing Group

Installation Group

1. 3. 2016

Artistic Mapping Experiment

Two groups started seperately

Drawing Group

Ten students in the DG (Short for the Drawing Group) were guided by Haishan Shi. They focused on drawing and painting. The students used watercolour to test the drawing skills and outline the shape of the island in the scroll, which eventually appeared to be a quite traditional Chinese Landscape Painting.







Following this test, students were encouraged to draw the representative scenic spots of Jiangxin island.

Installation Group

The IG (Short for the Installation Group) was led by the tutor Kangjun Zhong, aiming to mapping through making installations. Nine students were expected to fill the shape of Jiangxin island by painting watercolour rings within it.





Arguably, some students complained that hand drawing was wasting of time. They preferred to draw on the computer and print. Zhong declined this proposal as he explained: "it was necessary to experience the process of making rather than just final production."

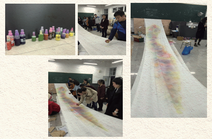
3. 3. 2016

Artistic Mapping Experiment

The students were guided to create games

Drawing Group

After the demonstration by Haishan Shi, the students sprayed a shape of island with watercolour on the long cotton scroll. It was to test to use the sprayer as the mapping tools and the potential painting outcome. It was a positive effect. Therefore Shi proposed that spraying painting would be a possible game for the public.



Another game was about exchanging gift. The group would design 90 pieces of cards to represent interesting ideas that related to Jiangxin island. It was proposed that the public participants would exchange anything for the postcards.

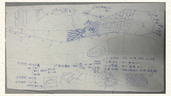


Installation Group

One student quit. Kangjun Zhong led eight remaining students. They made a physical contour-line model of the island with KT board, which would be for a planting-flag game. The model was designed regardless of the geographical reality. Students were told to layer the board freely and beautifully.



Besides, the students were encouraged to mapping the island in terms of collaging the material. They divided the whole island into eight sections, and each part should be designed by one student in terms of any approach. For example, one saw many people fishing on the island, which inspired her to draw a theme of ecological balance. Zhong suggested she could use some net and natural material. It was to show the relationship between fishing and lake.



4. 3. 2016

Artistic Mapping Experiment

The students finalised mappings, models and plans of games.

Drawing Group

The students tested graffitiing on the spraying paint. The long scroll would be the game tool where the public could leave comment about Jiangxin island.



By the end of the day, 90 pieces of postcards were completed and framed, including both watercolour and pen drawings.

The postcard exchange game was planned to include a mini interaction. The participants would be encouraged to leave comments, tell a story and take photos with their postcards.

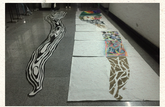


Installation Group

The collaging model composed of eight parts. Each was different and unique. One glued the coloured glow sticks on the paper to imply the shining night views in the island. One stacked the leaves to represent the natural landscape. One stuck the figures from some magazines to indicate a large quantity of tourists in the eastern park.



In the evening, the contour line model and the collaging model were accomplished.



PUBLIC ART GAME AND MAKING PUBLIC SPACE

On Saturday the 5th of March 2016, the day-long event was successfully held on the eastern part of the Island.[202] The event was named “My” Jiangxin Island, and the word “My” implied that anyone could say anything about the island. The project was located in a small leisure square, officially named the “Revolutionary Martyrs Square”[203] due to a monument standing there.

As negotiated with the SMO, the square was considered to be the most convenient choice for both the working staff and visitors, since almost every visitor would pass through. Surrounded by the administrative office buildings and the Revolutionary Martyrs Museum, it was just a two-minute walk from the landing port and the British Consulate buildings. Interestingly, this square was one of the essential spots for the patriotic education tour route on the eastern part.

During the event, both exhibitions and a series of games appealed to more than 200 people ranging from the young to the old, who participated in five games, graffiti and spraying forming the drawing session, the cupping with watercolours and planting flags being the installation part, and the postcard exchange being the interactive game.

[202] More detail in:
Revisiting the making of public event: "my" jiangxin island “我”的江心屿公共活动回顾 , [online video], 2016, https://www.youtube.com/watch?v=lB0yHxj0rPc&t=18s, (accessed 1 December 2018).

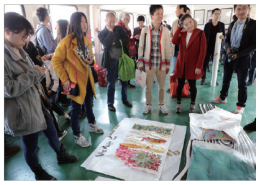
[203] Built in 1994, the monument is in commemoration of the 45 anniversary of liberation of Wenzhou. The figures of monument were the guerrillas of the People’s liberation army in South Zhejiang Province, mainly in Wenzhou. Leaded by the Communist Party, the guerrillas were fighting against Nationalist Party during the period of Chinese civil war.

See:
Chinamartyrs.gov, *Wenzhoushi Geming Lieshi Jinianguan*, [website], no date. http://www.chinamartyrs.gov.cn/LingYuanZhanShi/C058/gqzs.html#1d25cb15-1231-434c-b0b9-e6713e05d53b, (accessed 1 December 2018).



5th March 2016

Waiting to Board



On the ferry





Landing, and lifting the models to the Venue



A senior participant knew the event through social media



Setting up the game materials and facilities



The art games started in the morning beside the white monument

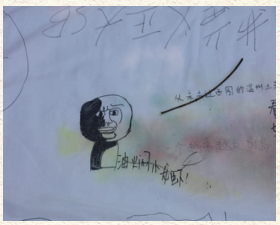
Fig. 3.24

FIVE GAMES

Amongst all the games, the drawing session is the most popular. The participants of the graffiti, the cupping, and the spraying sessions were beyond our expectation. The painting and installation were mostly completed by youngsters and children along with their parents.

On the graffiti scroll, both the children and adults left diverse drawings and comments such as “I love my parents”, “I have a good day in Wenzhou”, and so on.



The cupping game was an installation project. Lots of cups were organized in the shape of Jiangxin island on the scroll. The participants were guided to pour whatever watercolour into the cups. The children were keen on playing with water and colour. Some were even arguing for the same colour.






In the spray painting, it was initially intended to paint a shape of the island. However, things got out of control due to too many participants. People started to play freely regardless of any guide. Some kids started to utilize the branches, leaves and even their hands as to create more interesting patterns.








The planting flags had drawn both young and senior people where they shared their instinctive feelings and gave brief ideas about the future of Jiangxin island. For instance, many said there could be more nostalgia-based activities.



In contrast to the drawing sections, adults were more interested in the exchange game, which was more interactive. Each card-exchanger was requested to leave some comments and take a photo with his/her trophy.



Fig. 3.25

All Photos are Used with the Permission from the Photographer and Participants







Final Products

From left to Right: Cupping Game, Spraying,







s of the Games

Graffiti, Postcard Exchange, Planting Flags.

Fig. 3.26

According to some participants, the notion of participation in the games caught the people's attention. First was the participatory atmosphere where people felt free to play and share. During an interview by the local TV programme, a mother told the journalist that she visited the island, occasionally, with her son. She had lots of memories about this island. Playing the game provided an opportunity for her to start her story to share with her son. A young woman even recognised a schoolfellow during the card exchange. Haishan Shi, the game initiator, said that this game would help people make friends in an amusing way. Indeed, it "created moments of encounter through art that brings to mind the work of Nicolas Bourriaud and the art moment he characterizes as 'relational aesthetics,' in which artists see their work as having precisely the goal of developing relationship, exchanges, moments, of sharing".[204] One senior man heard about the event through social media and came to the island very early in the morning. Although he did not actually participate in any game, he spoke highly of the meaning of the event. As a Wenzhounese, he was proud of Jiangxin island as it was a part of his life story. He said that he was eager to share knowledge about Jiangxin island if there was any chance. Moreover, what attracted people was the unique 'artistic' atmosphere, an atmoshpere of making. Just as two foreign participants pointed out: "This is a really western style art such as the installation, the card-exchange and the planting flags game. We had seen things like this before in the media, but never experienced them for real in such a touristic place in China."

Social media also helped to publicize the event. For example, the We-Media of the Lucheng Tourism Bureau released an official news help-desk to introduce the event and to encourage people to come and play on Saturday. Moreover, a visit by a prestigious local TV program presenter was well organised by me with the help of a friend. She interviewed some participants, and praised "the vitality brought by the art event".[205]

[204] M. Radice and A. Boudreault-Fournier (eds.), *Urban Encounters: Art and the Public*, Chicago, McGill-Queen's University Press, 2017, p. 215.

[205] *BaiXiaoJiangXinWen*, [online video], 2016. http://tv.dhtv.cn/financial/bxjxw/000020686.html, (accessed 1 December 2018).

The game event engendered a truly temporarily public space, from the island to the media. The people felt free to appropriate the space, enjoyed sharing their stories through playing and making, resulting in further discussions about the island. Some argued that there should be more public events while some said the island was a perfect place for children's education about local traditions. Here, the artistic formed games had played an important role. It was true that "an artwork can be understood as physically public because it aesthetically enhances its site or represents some phenomenological sense of place or unpacks the implicit social relations that produce that site".[206] It was through playing with art that many issues were suspended such as political ideology and social identity. The atmosphere and feedback showed the possibilities of re-producing an inspiring public space through the art and game approach.

[206] M. Radice and A. Boudreault-Fournier (eds.), *Urban Encounters: Art and the Public*, Chicago, McGill-Queen's University Press, 2017, p. 5-6.



A famous local TV Program interviewed a mother and her son. They played the card exchange and shared the childhood stories with her son.



Xi Chen

"there are many stories to be shared about the island"

Kangjun Zhong

"[everyone] should pay attention to their own feel [about the city] "

Fig. 3.27

Spaces were opened-up for critical and open discussion, such as making the island an educational place through playing. It was observed that play could be one important element of re-imagining the island's future. Indeed, play "is an activity connected with no material interest, and no profit can be gained by it …. It promotes the formation of social groupings which tend to surround themselves with secrecy and to stress their difference from the common world by disguise or other means".[207]

[207] J. Huizinga, *Homo Ludens*, London, Routledge, 1949, p. 13.

It should be acknowledged that the event participants were mainly visitors, while few on-site workers who joined in. Although many passed by, most of them stood by and watched. It was not only because they were supposed to work during the daytime. More importantly, presumably, the public event did not mean anything to those marginalised groups on the island.

Looking at the whole process, a public space was produced. It tested how the power of making enabled the people to be engaged and express their views freely. Meanwhile, this shows how making and creating together can be understood as a form of re-imagining, drawing on "a more materially situated, sensory and embodied form of co-design as a mode of thinking".[208]

[208] P. Carter, *Material Thinking: the theory and practice of creative research*, Melbourne, Melbourne University Publishing, 2005.



Fig. 3.28

The security guards and office workers on the island did not participate in the event.

However, the project was totally funded by myself and its purpose was inevitably limited to the event. The island belongs to the state, and is managed by the Tourism Bureau. The production of public spaces on the island could hardly eschew that political power. Indeed, it was through political and social agency that the public event was made possible and had some resonance. In Chinese society. you need to choose a position within the system, to play the game. Any critical or creative event has to start from such a position

To be economically sustainable and avoid the impact of the 'system', we devised another project carried out with the help of 'social power'. We tested a participatory mapping game as an approach for collecting people's voices, but more importantly the strategy was meant to include the marginal groups as part of the island's future.

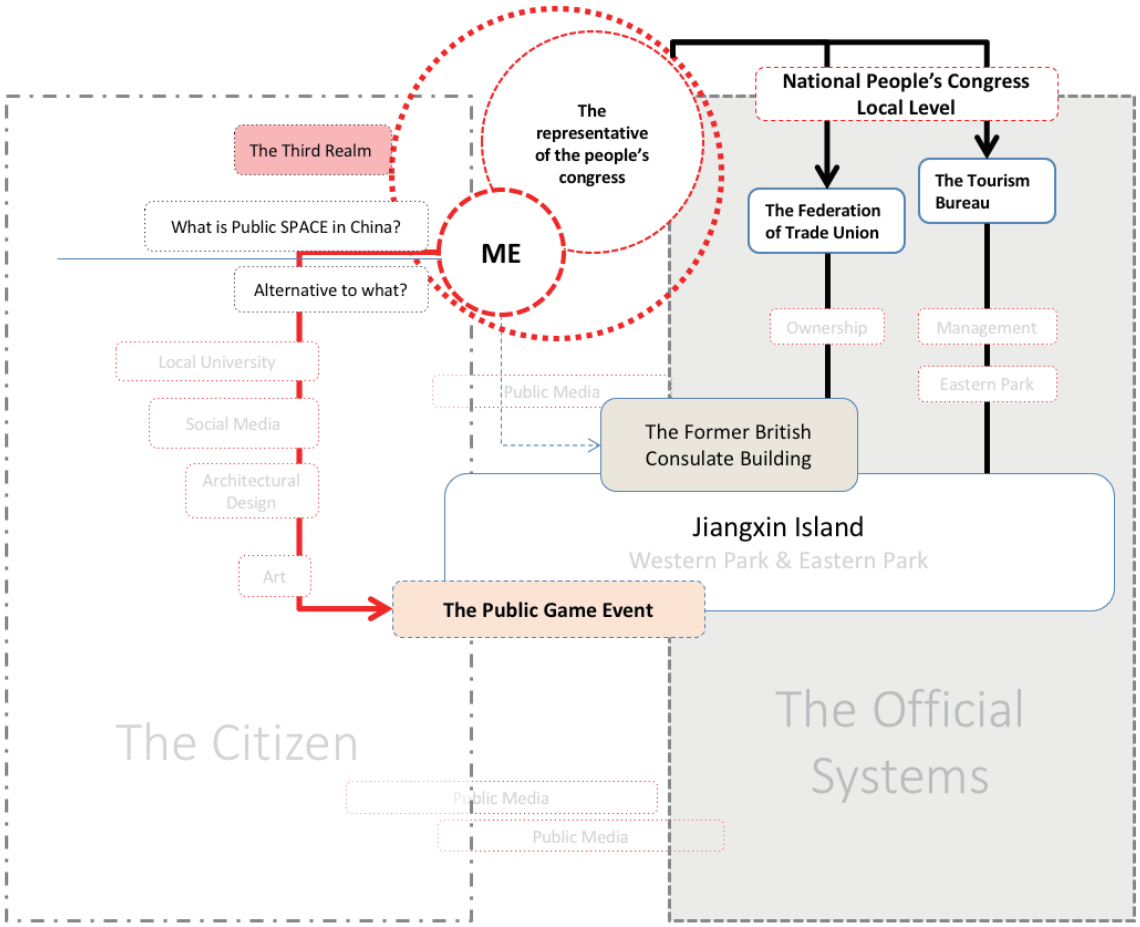


Fig. 3.29

Rong Lin and Me, the Deputy to the People's Congress (Wenzhou) and a Citizen, the mother and the son, formed a power group meant to reach the official department through an official process. The public event would have been impossible without this empowerment.

SOCIAL POWER AND RE-IMAGINING THE ISLAND

2nd WORKSHOP MAPPING & PARTICIPATORY GAMES: THE POWER OF SOCIAL NETWORK

A second project was carried out in October 2016. It integrated the practices of mapping and urban game design. This led to another participatory design event on Jiangxin Island. On the event day, organisers pushed mobile carts around the island with maps as a tool. The organisers planned to invite visitors and workers to play a mapping game, through which they were guided to envision a future for the island. Several potential proposals for the island were created, combining strategy plans and scenarios. This was an attempt to test the participatory approach, and to discover the possibilities of including the groups which were often ignored. Their ideas and voices would reveal the value of the important role of participation in the decision-making process. This shows the power of participatory making and play as a way of proposing and re-imagining.

The participatory event would not have been launched without the workshop, named as Mapping, Situation and Participatory Design. The workshop consisted of two main elements: mapping as a means of a representation and the participatory game as a design test. It took seven days, including an on-site event which lasted a whole day on the Island.

Instead of cooperating with any formal institution, the workshop was initiated by the researcher and supported by ASA (a well-known self-organised media platform among the architectural students and professionals in China.) Yuanyuan Huang, on behalf of ASA, and I, from Newcastle University, were the main working members. In order to recruit students and raise funding, the workshop was planned as an educational and skill training session. We advertised the workshop and spread it on Wechat, which is a popular messaging tool with a powerful networking function in China. It got a strong response in less than a week. Nine students with diverse professional backgrounds were recruited from different universities all over the country. They paid for the workshop including the materials, the venue, transportation and tutorials.



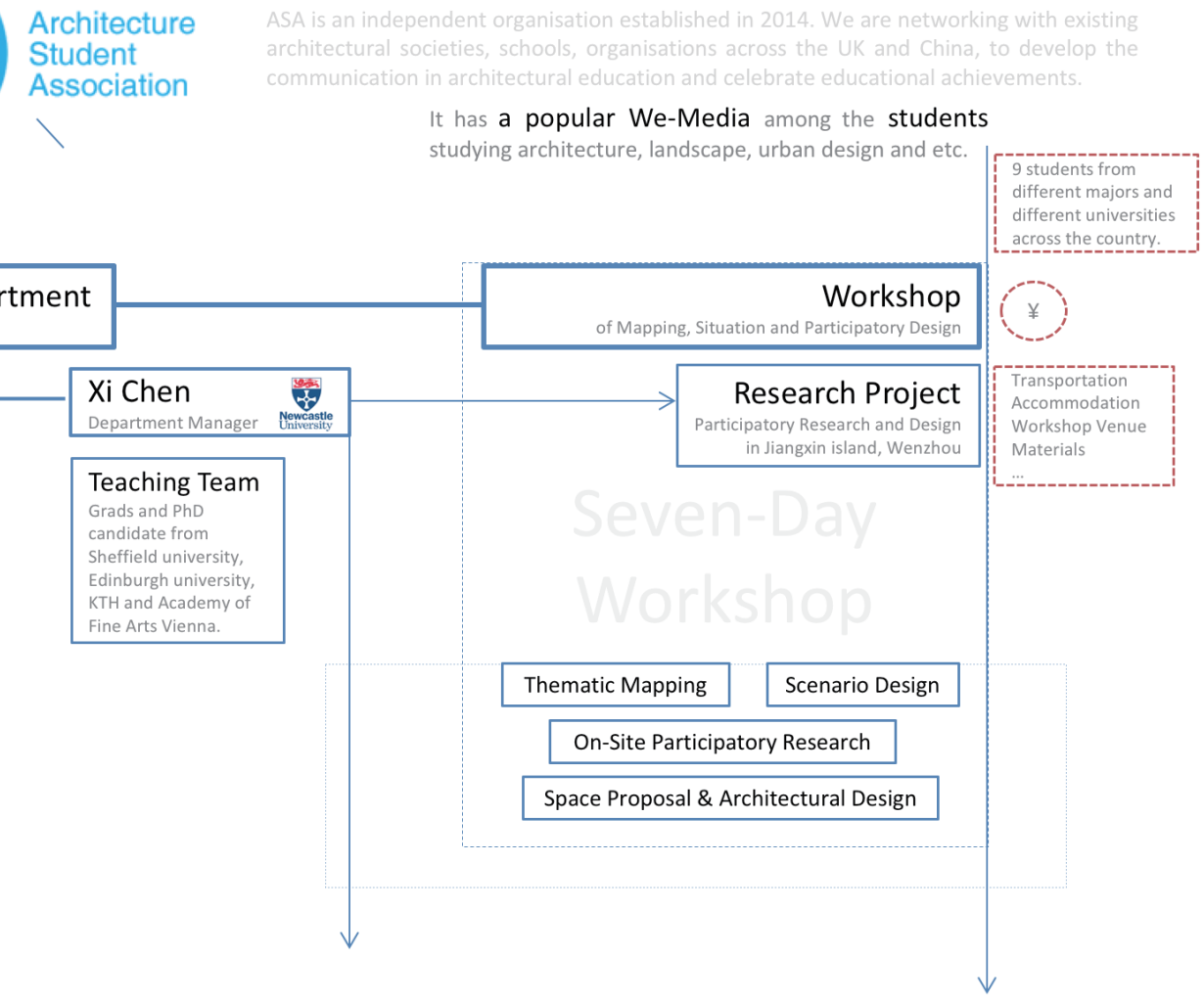


Fig. 3.30

The ASA (Architecture Student Association) was run by my friend and I. I was the department manager in ASA. I successfully combined my research with the workshop, and enabled it to run critically and economically. Since 2016, I have facilitated four workshops including mapping one in this research.

ASA is a platform that focusing on the architectural communication between the UK and China. The workshops were established to introduce the alternative architectural theory and methodology to Chinese students through teaching and practice. It was not just simply to apply methodology mechanically, but to re-contextualise ideas in the Chinese context.

The use of social networks played a fundamental role in the success of the workshop. Social networks, as a new media with relatively loose censorship by the officials, had become a new public space for Chinese people.[209] It facilitated the realisation of the workshop in terms of recruiting participants, raising funds as well as the organisation of the tools and factors for the event. The workshop became a social practice through the grass-root power, that integrates the research, education and fun.

[209] Y. Sun, 'Weibo, WeChat, and the Transformative Events of Environmental Activism on China's Wild Public Screens', *International Journal of Communication*, vol. 10, 2016, pp. 321-339.

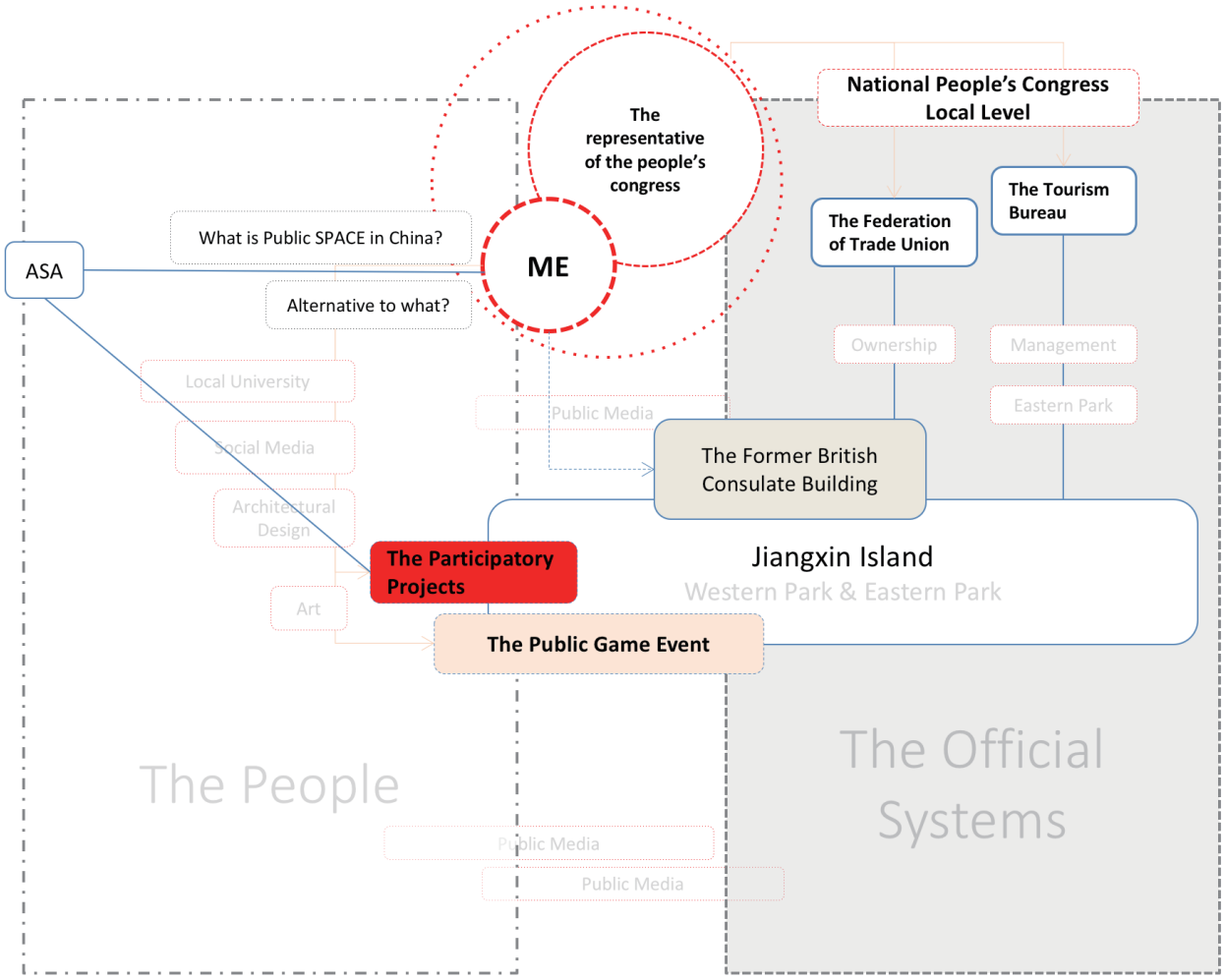


Fig. 3.31

Unlike the previous art game, the Participatory Game project was finalized without any help from the political system, but it relied greatly on social networks, which was an emerging power that contributed largely to the public issues in China.

TEACHING, MAPPING AND MODELLING: THE PROJECT PROCESS

The Thematic Mapping

The workshop started from 27 September, with the first two days in Shanghai and the remaining five days in Wenzhou.[210] In Shanghai, the students were separated into three groups. Each group was assigned the task of producing two mappings to respond to their own topic: poetry, entertainment, and food respectively. The three themes were the key elements that constructed images of the island, symbolising the past, the present and the future. Each group was expected to have one mapping showing the thematic stories, while another was to be used as a game tool for the participatory design event. Guided by their tutors, the students made the mappings, based on the social events, the cultural elements, the geographical facts and the history. This materialised in terms of drawings, collages and modelling.

This process has illustrated the power of making, through which the research could be explored through modelling. “It has suggested a mode of production where the model was used to generate design ideas through the materiality of making”.[211]

[210] More detail in: Mapping, Situation and Participatory Design (图绘、情境和参与式设计调研), [online video], 2016, http://v.qq.com/x/page/i0337lq3yy2.html, (accessed 1 December 2018).

[211] B. Starkey, ‘Post-secular architecture: material, intellectual, spiritual models’, in M. Frascari, *From Models to Drawings: imagination and representation in architecture*, Abingdon, Routledge, 2007, P.239.

For example, the food group defined the island as a place of food. They imagined different types of food-related activities and infrastructure happening on the island spatiotemporally. To further strengthen the scenario-time mapping, another was used for people to define areas and activities that related to food.

The mapping had also represented geographical factors through a scenario-based game. Further to the collaged model, the poetry group proposed many poetry-related activities. Some were traditional, such as dragon boat races, poetry recitation, and the showcasing of the Han Chinese clothing. Some appeared to be contemporary like the tea art appreciation and the physical exercise routines. In addition, narratives were made for the scenarios, not just to enhance spatial feeling, but also to ease the participatory game. To borrow from Jeremy Till, "of all the modes of communication that could be used in architectural production, that of story-telling is probably the least but potentially the most productive".[212]

[212] J. Till, *Architecture Depends*, Cambridge, MIT Press, 2013, p.114.

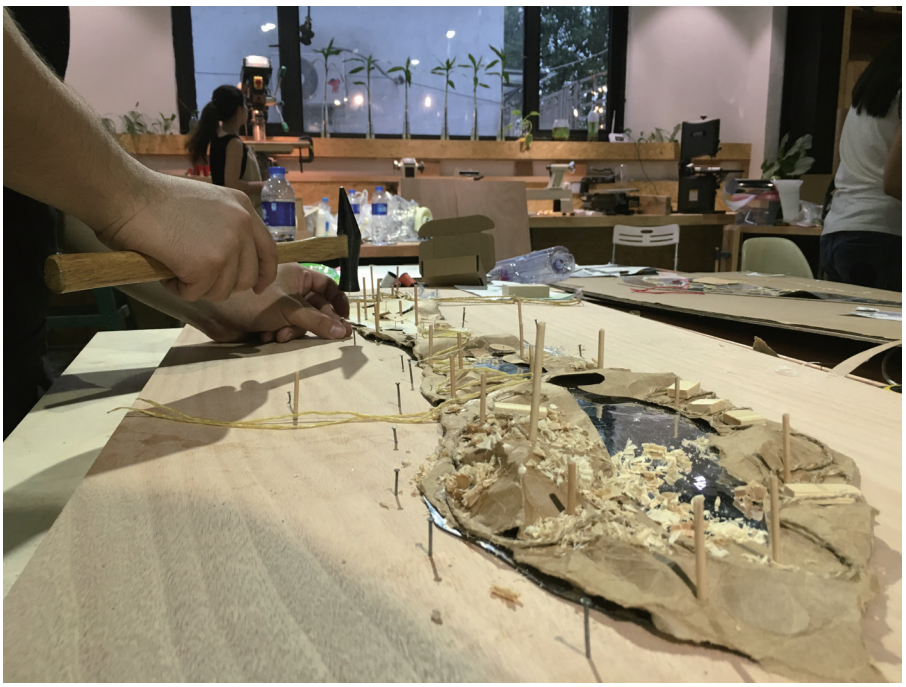


Fig. 3.32

Poetry group was modelling with brown paper, silver paper and wood chips to represent the topography of Jiangxin Island.

Fig. 3.33

The mapping by the food group. Planting, processing and dinning were all taken into account for the future development of the island. It was imagined to divide Jiangxin into various hexagonal areas based on the diverse functions of the plants in different seasons.



Fig. 3.34

The mapping by the food group. There were scenarios that were collaged according to food type as well as the related celebration activities. In this collage, a planting garden was proposed to be located near the lake in the middle of the island.



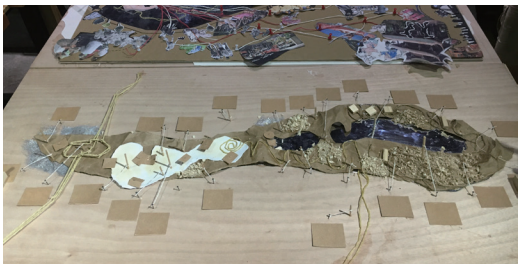
Fig. 3.35

The associated game by the food group. The boxes were made in the shape of the island. They represented in different areas for activities such as planting, dining or entertaining. The plasticine materials with twelve colours were used to signify the food-related events in 12 months respectively. In this game, the participants had to toss the plasticine into the boxes and indicate where they wanted to plant, making food, celebration, and etc.



Fig. 3.36

The mapping by the poetry group. The potential activities were visualised on the cards. In this game, the participants were asked to link the scenario cards to the locations on the model, and to show what and where they preferred to have the specific events.



Preparing the Game Tool

Three detachable carts were also designed and fabricated. They were supposed to be moved around on the island. They functioned as the showcase and game boards with one mapping on each side.

After a half day journey on 29 September, the workshop moved to Wenzhou. The following two days were spent on the development of the mapping and the game strategy before the designed on-site participatory event had taken place on the 1st of October. In addition to the mapping practice, the students had a short fieldtrip to Jiangxin Island on the 30th, to give them a prior experience of the place and its atmosphere.

Since the 1st of October was the National holiday in China, it was certain there would be many visitors to the Island on that day. One challenge was the transportation of the cart to the island as large objects are not welcome on the ferry Although the carts could be dis-assembled into pieces of battens, they were still too large and conspicuous.

I tried to get permission to carry the cart on the ferry but got firmly declined. After speaking to the management office, director Zhong Chen, who I had dealings with in the previous public game project, I was not allowed to bring the cart and the materials. Hence, rather than using the required governmental system, I chose an alternative approach.

One of my friends, Mr Cheng, who is a local business man, offered me a hand and carried out the alternative strategy. We transported the timber component in the evening before the day of the event. Cheng emphasized that it was not necessary to inform any one. It would just be fine if we carried the materials and passed the ticket check point without saying anything. Indeed, it worked, we took all the battens on board, and concealed them in the abandoned rooms below the British Consulate buildings.



Fig. 3.37

One group ran one cart and exhibited their two mapping on it.





Fig. 3.38 & Fig. 3.39

Sneaking the ‘dismantled carts to the island and hiding them in the abandoned building.

WALKING, PLAYING AND RE-IMAGINING ISLAND

On-Site Game

On the 1st of October, the first day of the National holiday, Wenzhou was lucky to be quite peaceful after Typhoon Meranti. Around 9 o'clock in the morning, Jiangxin Island started to welcome a large number of visitors.

Along with the flood of people, three groups had arrived on the island and picked up the components. After the carts were assembled, each group departed on different routes separately, and began their interactive games with the visitors.



Fig. 3.40

There was a tourist surge on the official holiday. The ferry was fully loaded each time.



Fig. 3.41

The students completed the assembly in half an hour.

There were two findings that emerged through participatory games. Firstly, the mapping game enabled people to respond to our proposal and to envision the future of the island in a happy and collective way. The final design outcome pictured several potential futures through the public's imagination. Secondly, information was collected not only through the game, but also from the participants' behaviour and interactions as it was observed. Both the objective and subjective opinions contributed to our deep understanding of Jiangxin Island. It was playing through making that made this participatory imagination possible.



Fig. 3.42

The food group preparing the game board.



Fig. 3.43

The poetry group moving around to find the appropriate place to start the game.

Taking the poetry group as an example, their game had aroused many discussions about the traditions extracted from poetry. In the game, participants were encouraged to choose their favorite activity, whether it was modern or traditional, just as we drew on the cards. They then linked the scenario pictures to designated spots on the island model. The game explored potential scenarios including either the traditional or the modern elements.



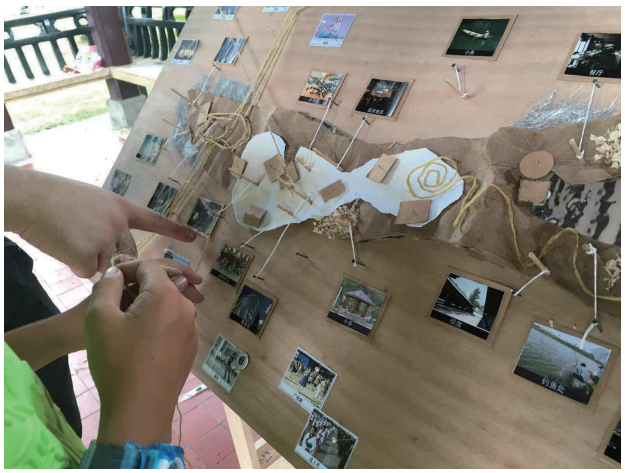
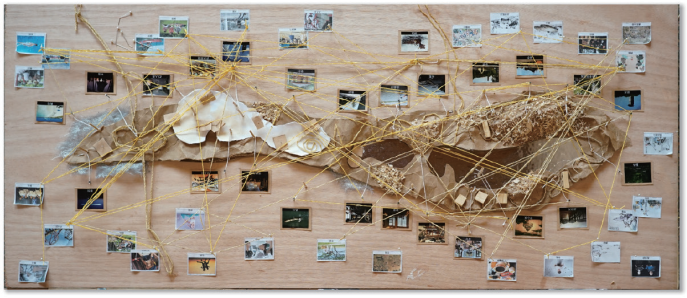


Fig. 3.44 - 3.45

Photos of the poetry group. The cart and the beautiful mapping attracted a lot of attention from both the adults and children.

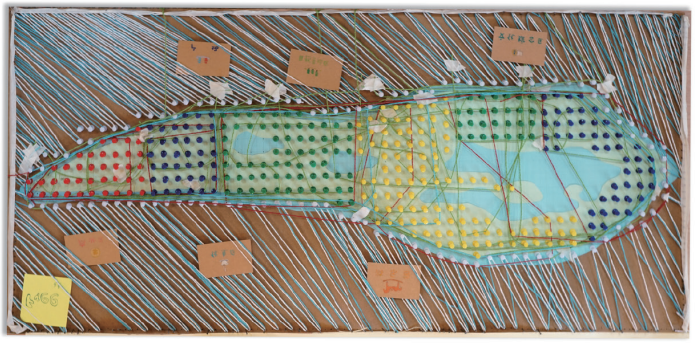
MAPPING GAME RESUIT



Poetry Group



Food Group



Entertainment Group

Fig. 3.46

The game results showed a strong connection between the people's ages and their activity preferences. Older people tended to choose more traditionally related activities such as fishing, or picnics, while the children were keen on modern forms of entertainment like going on the rollercoaster or carousel. Instead, the youngsters were quite open to anything and were interested in exercising. Nevertheless, all groups shared some common preferences, e.g., dragon boating and Cuju (an ancient Chinese football game).

During their interactions, many participants laughed at and dismissed the proposals and the designs as just a game. They stressed that the Island was owned by the government, and the public's voice would never work or be heard by any authority. Thus, the future of Jiangxin island was none of their business, and they had no right to expect anything. Most of these voices were from the older generation. In a way, this reflected the political awareness the older generations hold, as discussed in the first section. They intended to avoid or express very little in the public realm. They became negative about any public issue, even though it potentially related to them.

In contrast, younger generation, from their 20s-40s, were very keen to participate in the public event. Some expressed a lot of strongly held thoughts and ambitions to contribute plans for the island. It was important to notice that many consider the Island as a public space, and argued that all people should have a right to spatial access. They liked the participatory way of re-looking at the city since they had never experienced it before. They expressed a keenness to engage more in such events in the future.



Fig. 3.47

The parents with kids were particularly curious about what we exhibited. However, some refused to participate because they felt the game rule was too complicated to follow. However, it was gradually noticed that people were willing to share their opinions and stories when we began with some chitchatting and storytelling.





Fig. 3.48 & Fig. 3.49

An enthusiastic university student showed a great interest in designing the future *island of food*.

Further Development

The project also benefited from having students from different cities throughout China. They comprised the younger generations born after the 90s. Although their nationality was Chinese, many held quite different cultural and political agendas. One girl from the north was surprised by the positive public atmosphere in Wenzhou, because she initially thought people in the south would be unlikely to express their true feelings, as in the north. More importantly, their student identity made the project move smoothly. They did not threaten the local authorities or people. They were outside the local political system. Nonetheless, they had discovered many useful points. In my role as workshop leader, I orientated, briefed and worked with the students to enable them to work with the participants in an open way.

One new reflection was that people loved the traditional and natural elements of the island, which they thought were greatly missing in modern life of Wenzhou. Most people came to the island because of the historic fabric, as well as the tranquil environment created by the watery landscape.



Fig. 3.50
On the following two days after the event, all the groups started to re-imagine the island based on the information gained in the game. The creation of scenarios and the planning of strategic and tactical designs were the main representational outcomes.

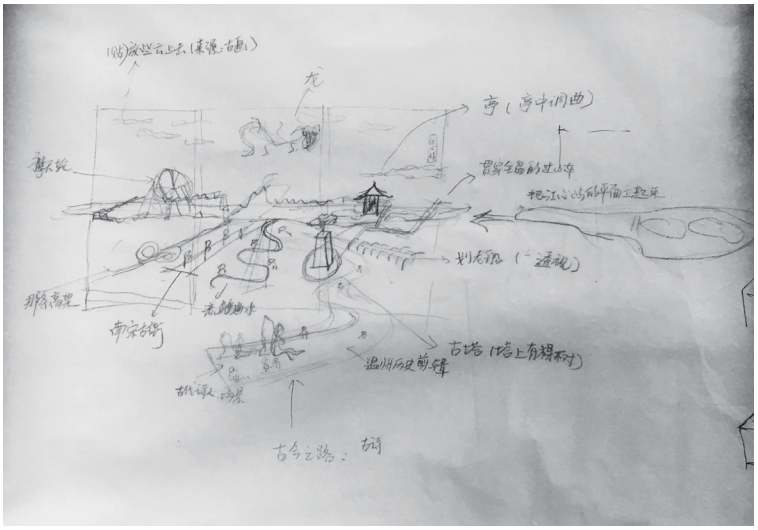


Fig. 3.51

One of the ideas was to dress Jiangxin island as a Disney Land of Chinese Tradition. There would be a hybrid landscape of the ancient and the modern.

Furthermore, many wished to have some enlightened cultural experience, such as nostalgia-related activities or classic Chinese constructions for their amusement. Paradoxically, there is the traditional Garden of Bonsai in the eastern part. However, very little attention was paid to this traditional element. One of the reasons might be its singular function since it was a series of antique display for visiting. One student suggested making Jiangxin Island into a Disneyland of traditions. People would wear Han clothing and experience a series of nostalgic lives. However, simply using the cultural symbols would have made the island no different from a larger theme park or open-air museum, a place for amusing or being amused.

Again, people preferred to see the Island as a nostalgic concept, and tie it to the construction of identity. Within such a programme, the island became a cultural vessel for sightseeing which, in turn, "helps people in modern societies to define who they are",[213] and distinguish them from others. Many potential participants, such as the workers, were always invisible or excluded.

It can be argued here that the island needs alternative thinking and this can be reached by including overlooked groups. A combination of everyday life and play could be one of the starting points. For instance, food-related activities and space would have the potential to remake the island more open, creative and accessible for everyone.

[213] D. Horne, *The Great Museum*. The Re-Presentation of History, London and Sydney, Pluto Press, 1984, p.2

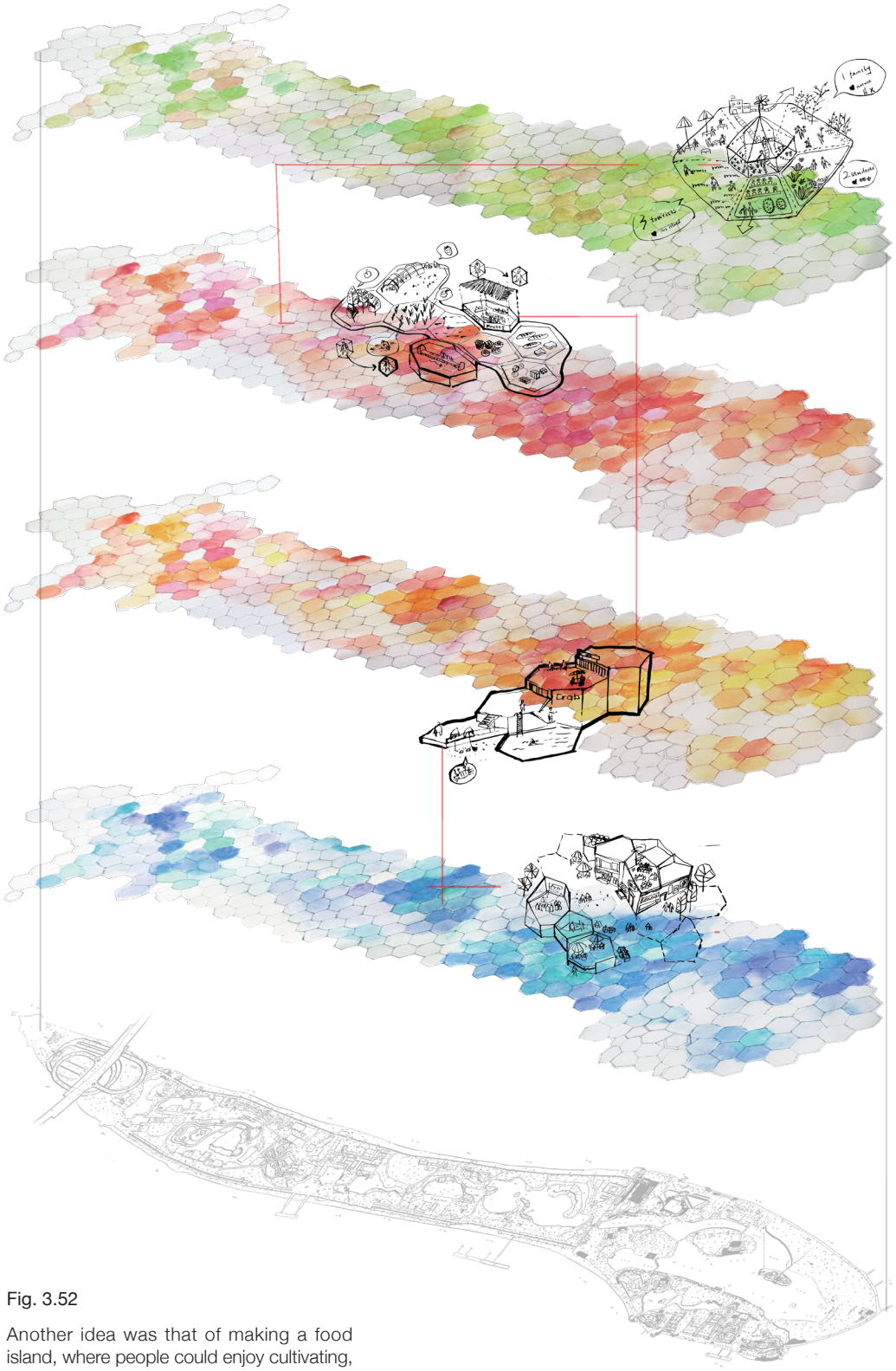


Fig. 3.52

Another idea was that of making a food island, where people could enjoy cultivating, processing, making, dining and social activities based on the different seasons.

DRAWING AN ALTERNATIVE FUTURE FOR JIANGXIN ISLAND

AN ISLAND OF FOOD, PLAY, AND PUBLIC EDUCATION

Drawing from the preceding arguments and projects, this chapter pictures the the future of Jiangxin island as a space for “food-making-education.” This is because food is one of the powerful catalysts for producing inclusive spaces (*of habitus*) and programmes. This scenario would enable people to practise the rites of daily communication in playful and instructive ways, such as dining or celebrating festivals.

Firstly, it is hoped that people will be afforded more convenient access to the island by a modernised ferry. Some of the open lands could be transformed for cultivating the vegetables, and fruit as well as raising animals. These activities would either be small or large scale. The existing buildings would adjust their functions according to time and activities. For example, the British Consulate buildings’ doors could be opened and welcome people. Rather than commercial work or consumption, the buildings could instead become a pop-up school, a venue for creative studios, a place functioning as an interactive kitchen and an open space for food practice. It could become a catalyst for further possible events on the island, just like following the three proposals in this part.

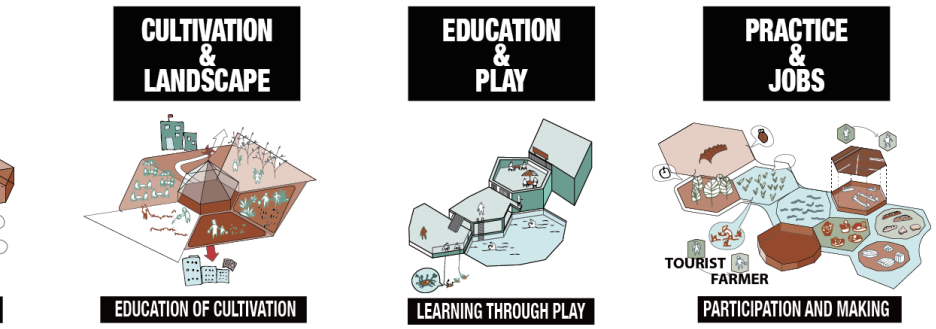
This is a proposition for creating a sustainable and inclusive programme which could occur by re-constructing the existing infrastructure, making a shared space and bringing culture back into everyday practice. More importantly, it considers overlooked groups and their voices, especially those working and living on the island, not only by creating jobs but also re-connecting them to the city, to claim their right to the city. This is emphatically not to make another top-down plan or design, but rather it is to create several pilots meant to illustrate alternative approaches with more inclusive choices.



Fig. 3.53

Jiangxin island is imagined to have a whole new food-related programme connecting everyone. The programme could start with the small pilots. Jobs could be created including cultivation, creating, dining, amusement, and so on. Importantly, this plan would include all the working staff, migrant workers and the monks, living on and taking care of the island. They would be trained as instructors, guides, farmers and so on. The visitors, coming from the city using the modernised ferries, can also be the producers. They would join the programme and enjoy practising tradition through crafting, cooperation and celebrating in various festivals.





TING, MAKING, DINING, PLAYING, ...

The programme is supposed to be encouraged by the city governors and partially self-organised by the participants. The land managers would cooperate with the social organisation such food companies and so on. Hopefully, more public institutions could join. Clubs, conferences and other social networks would, ideally, be established. Jiangxin Island could become a public education centre for both adults and children based on food practice.

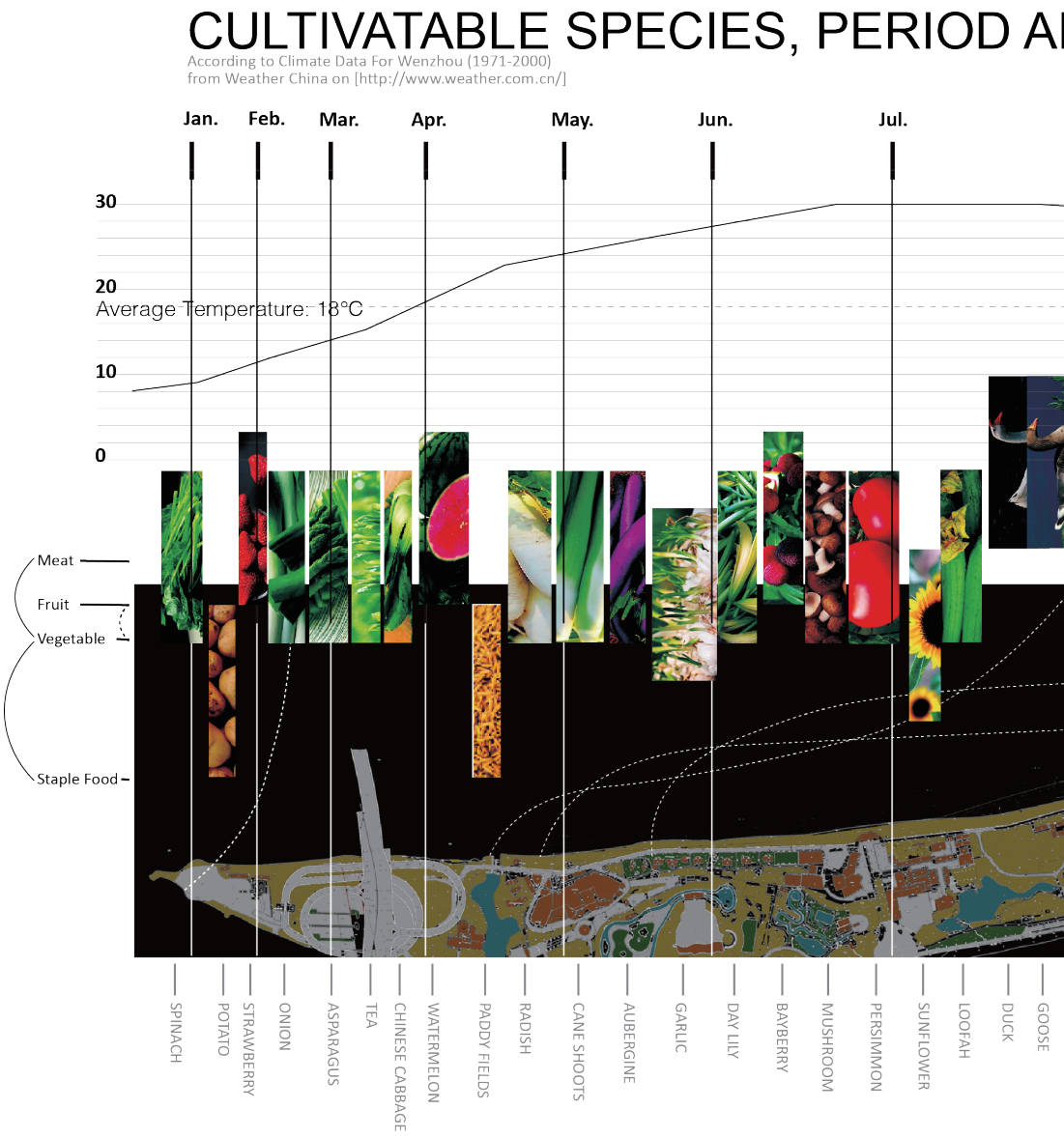


Fig. 3.54

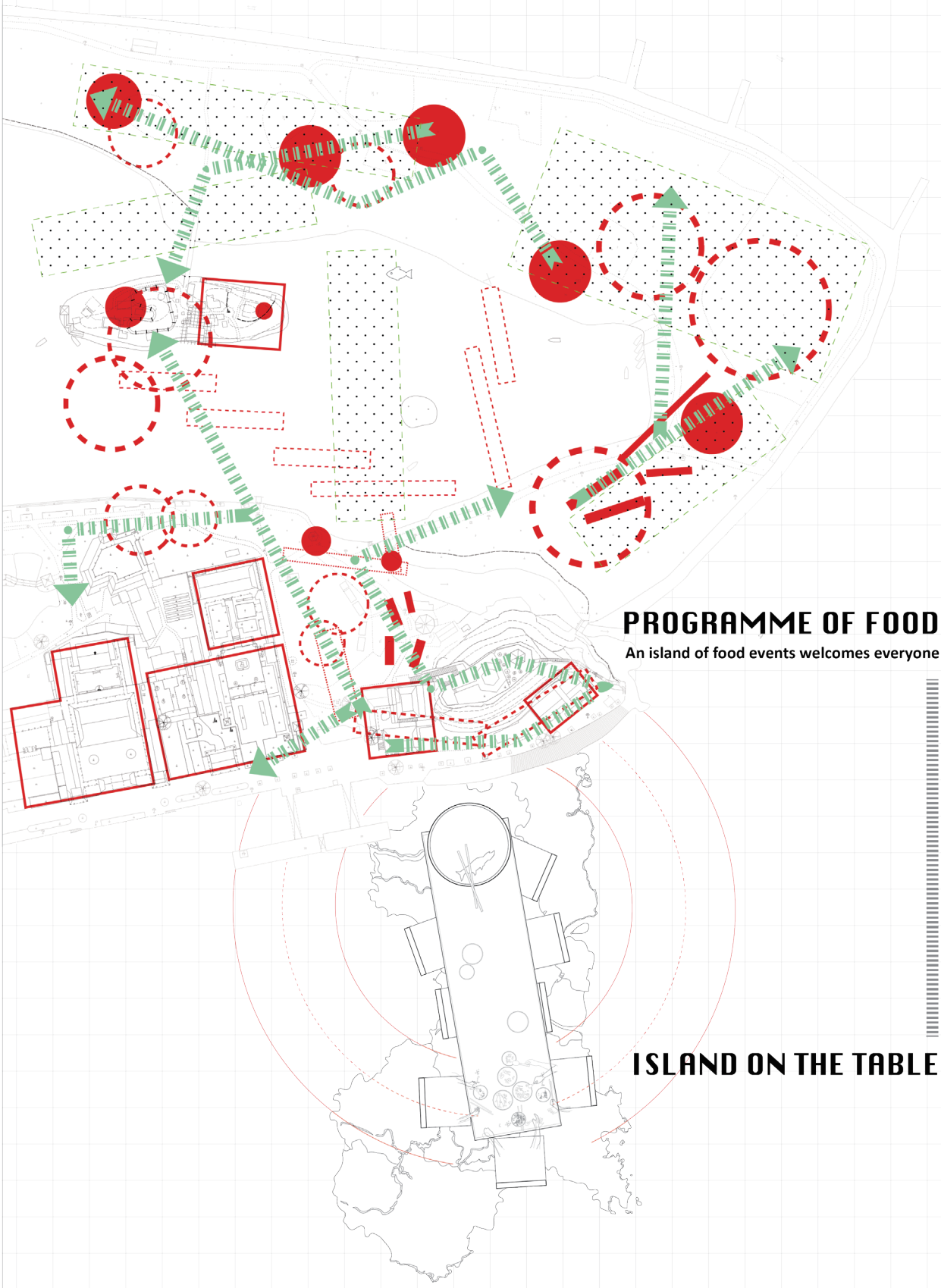
The potential plants and animals to be re-introduced or introduced to the island. Most of the food could be found and produced in Wenzhou based on the seasons, such as tea in spring, bayberry in summer and sugarcane in the winter.

ND DAILY MEAN MONTHLY, WENZHOU

Fig. 3.55

This mapping proposes a programme of using the open areas as cultivated lands (red dotted circles) in the eastern park, for producing basic ingredients and materials.

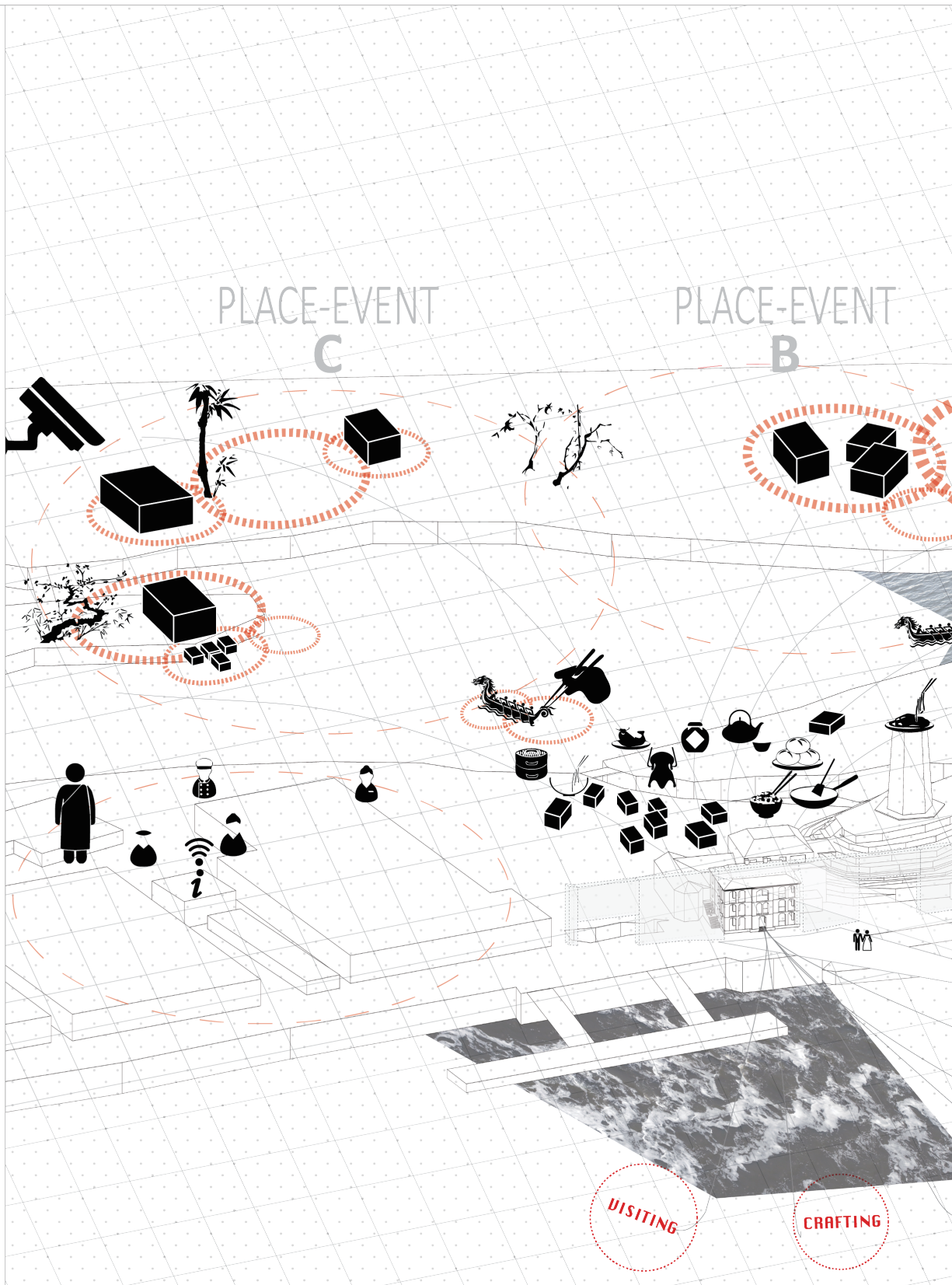
Future activities, such as making, processing and dining, could take place around the open areas and in the buildings. Parts of the existing buildings, including the Consulate Buildings and Temples (red square), can be transformed into workshops, and schools during night time. For example, there is an abandoned building (red square in the middle) by the Lake island. It could be re-used as a centre for fishing and boating. More forms of construction (red dot) could be built as functional places to accommodate the people and to provide essential facilities.



PROGRAMME OF FOOD

An island of food events welcomes everyone

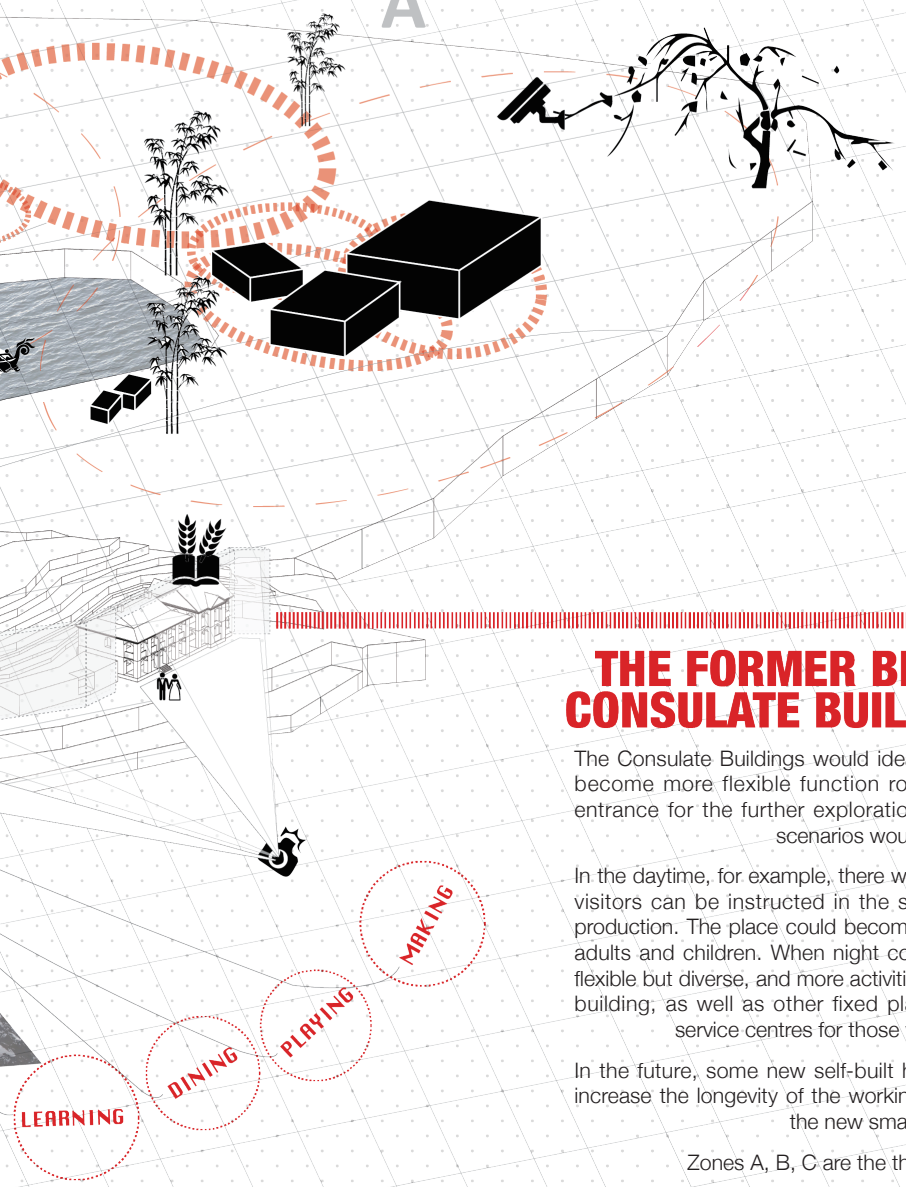
ISLAND ON THE TABLE


PLACE-EVENT
C
PLACE-EVENT
B
VISITING
CRAFTING

THREE PILOTS OF FOOD-RELATED PLACE

PLACE-EVENT

A



THE FORMER BRITISH CONSULATE BUILDINGS

Fig. 3.56

The Consulate Buildings would ideally retain their exterior look but become more flexible function rooms. They could become the entrance for the further exploration of the island. Functions and scenarios would change according to the time.

In the daytime, for example, there would be open workshops, where visitors can be instructed in the skills of temporary farming and production. The place could become an agricultural school for both adults and children. When night comes, everything could become flexible but diverse, and more activities would emerge. The consulate building, as well as other fixed places, would become help and service centres for those who choose to live on the island.

In the future, some new self-built housing could be introduced to increase the longevity of the working enterprises on the Island and the new small businesses that could develop.

Zones A, B, C are the three thematic places respectively.

SCENARIO A

CHINESE RED SUGAR

A case of Manufacturing in Mayu, Rui'an, Wenzhou

THE ARCHITECTURE

Processing takes place in the straw huts. The buildings are made of bamboo frame using the local materials. The structure has made the most of the bamboo's flexibility. It constructs a sophisticated ventilation by opening up the hollow in the top of building.





Volume



Inteior and
Cooking Range



Bamboo Truss and
Ventilation Opening





Bamboo and Straw Joint



CRAFT

Making Chinese red sugar with the sugar-cane through a traditional crafting process.

Fig. 3.57 & Fig. 3.58

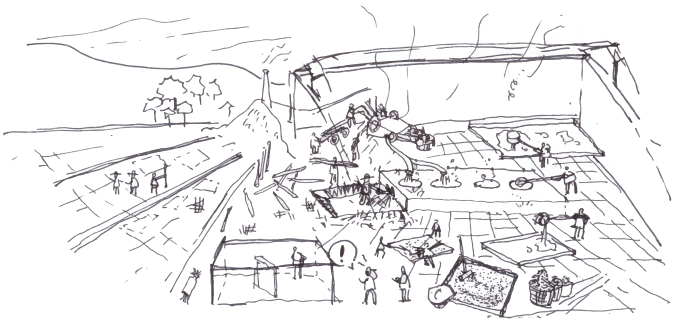
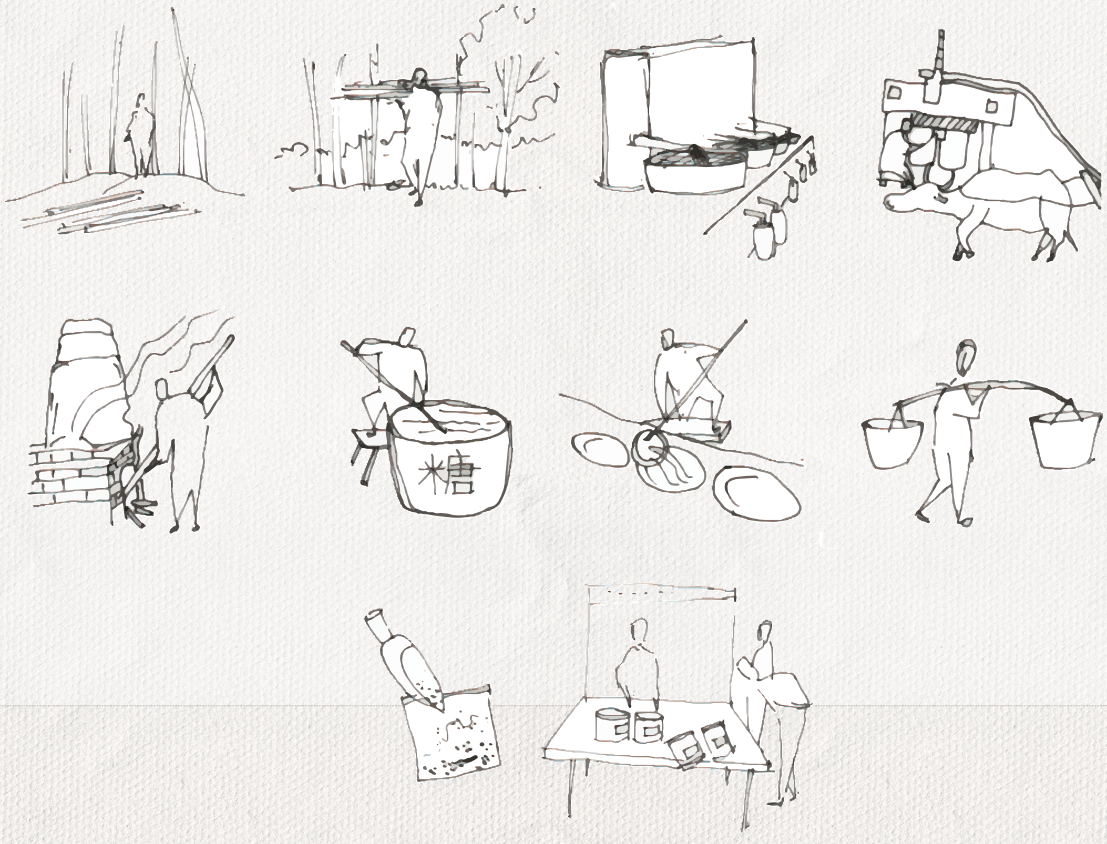


Fig. 3.59 & Fig. 3.60

The first pilot project is based on the making and application of Chinese Red Sugar. There are two reasons for choosing this food.

Firstly, it is easy to plant and process the raw material. Chinese sugar is made of sugarcane, which can be grown on the island. Once produced, the sugar has wide usage. It could be transformed into many different products. It is used to nourish and re-energise people as traditional Chinese medicine. This sugar also acts as an essential flavour for many conventional foods such as red bean porridge.

Secondly, the production of Chinese red sugar consists of a traditional process. It is an excellent cultural activity that is appreciated by the local people. According to a case study found in Wenzhou, many traditional tools and crafting approaches are still used within the playful nature of the process. People can participate in some stages of the production procedure such as drying the sugary liquid. The re-creation of making Chinese red sugar potentially offers a good chance for traditional education for people regardless of their ages. This traditional crafting activity is worth inheriting and innovating through daily practice.



Collecting Sugarcane and Squeeze Juice - Purify in the traditional Cooking Range - Rolling and Filtering
Packaging - Selling

Fig. 3.61

This scenario illustrates the farmhouse, workshop and the planting fields for the Chinese red sugar programme. Located at the corner of Jiangxin Island, this project would be initiated by the local tourism bureau and island managers. For the long-term plan, the experienced sugar workers and cultural organisations will be invited to sustain the programme. The migrant workers could be guided to learn the planting and crafting skills, later becoming part of the staff running the site as well. The project would be open to all the people. Particularly, it will liaise with different educational institutions and invite young people to take part in the process and appreciation of making sugar.

In this drawing, the atmosphere is enhanced by the icons of texture and the plants. This drawing style aims to portray a lively farming environment on the Island. All the ingredients can be planted and produced for sugar production. The sugarcane, bamboo, and straw are all the traditional materials that are needed for the sophisticated process.

It has been found, in the previous cases, that people in Wenzhou do enjoy the fun experience of practising tradition through using their own hands. For many Wenzhounese, food-related activities are appealing and worth paying to try. The visitor is encouraged to join in some of the production sessions. With proper guidance, the participants learn to collect the material, roll it and filter the squeezed sugarcane juice. Finally, the sugar could be made into candy and given out as a form of reward.




糖

SCENARIO B

Zongzi (Sticky Rice Dumpling) and Dragon Boat Festival

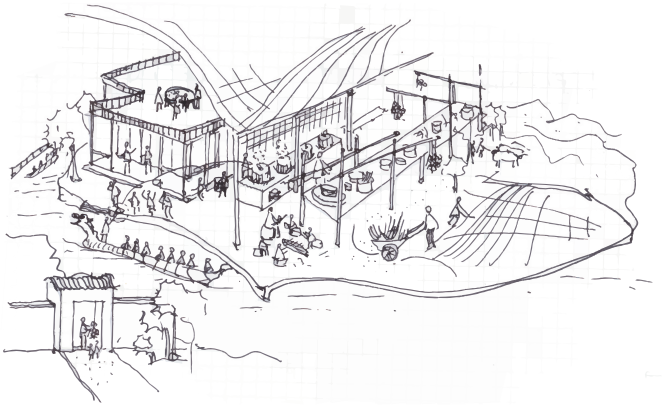


Fig. 3.62 & Fig. 3.63

Zongzi inspires the second pilot. This food has a traditional history and involves an interesting process that is worth sharing today. Zongzi is easy to make and serves as a staple which can benefit many people's daily lives on the food island.

Stories of the Zongzi could be traced back to more than a millennium. Zongzi used to commemorate Yuan Qu who was a poet and was sacrificed as a patriot. Eating various kinds of Zongzi, making sachets of fragrant herbs and rowing boats with a dragon head design in front have been part of the Chinese custom for celebrating the Dragon Boat Festival over 1,500 years. Originating from festivals and rituals, Zongzi has witnessed a cultural transformation from a specific purpose to a daily life cuisine. In today's China, Zongzi has lost its enchantment. It has become an everyday food, like the hamburger or sandwich in the UK. The spirit of traditional making and eating can be practised by the people in their everyday lives to try and regain this magic.

The materials for making Zongzi are simple. All the ingredients can be planted and raised on the island. Different meat cuts and sticky rice are wrapped up in bamboo leaves and grass strands before cooking. It is worth saying that the long process needs a sophisticated process of crafting and cooking. It is often a collective and playful activity that involves good cooperation.



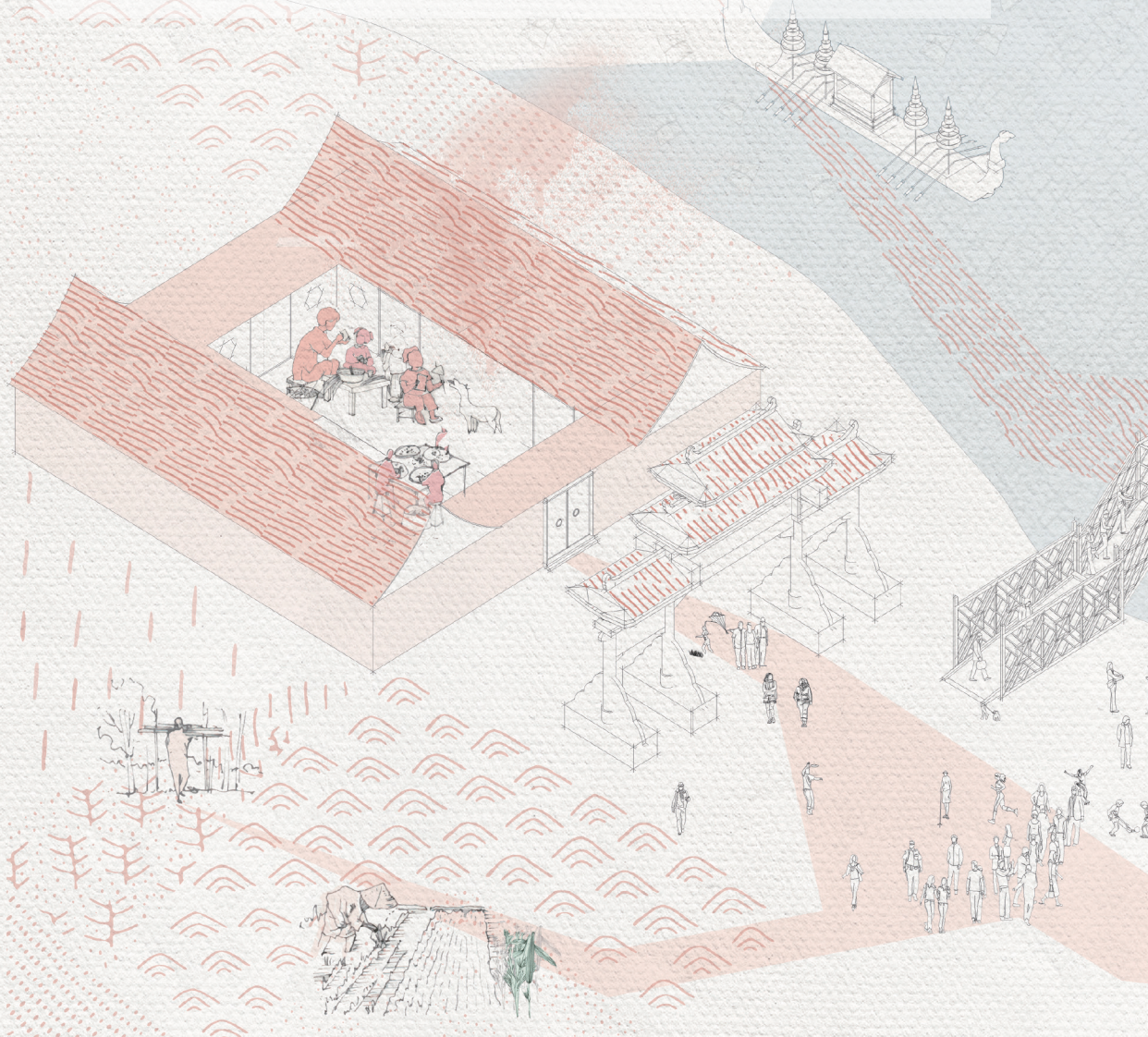
Chinese Sticky Rice Dumplings
Boil, Wash, Soak Bamboo Leaves and Grass Strands - Prepare the Meat and Sticky Rice -
Put the Ingredient in the Folded Leave - Wrap into a Cone - Boil in the Salted Water

Fig. 3.64

This drawing juxtaposes the daily routines and a special day within the Zongzi programme, backgrounded by the agricultural landscape on the corner of Jiangxin Island. The local tourism bureau is the chief organiser which would recruit the migrant workers and run the daily activities including collecting the raw materials, processing them as well as making and selling Zongzi. Every day, they produce Zongzi as the main dish and sell it to the visitors as well as other workers. This service would contribute to the economic development of the food island. Besides, the organiser will also facilitate collaboration between the different cultural organisations and companies. In some certain periods, they could hold festivals for the public and promote this food culture programme.

The drawing also describes the cultural events during the Dragon Boat Festivals, around 5th May, of the lunar calendar. Wenzhounese people are keen on this traditional festival and its related food practices. Around the festival day, it is common to see people occupying the street or park corner and making Zongzi throughout the city.

In this context, Jiangxin Island provides an excellent space for the celebration and holding of various activities. During the festival, the dragon boat race could ignite the whole atmosphere. Everyone would have a chance to participate in making Zongzi in the programmed venues. People would get together, share stories, make food, and watch the boat race.





SCENARIO C

Tea Culture and Social Activity

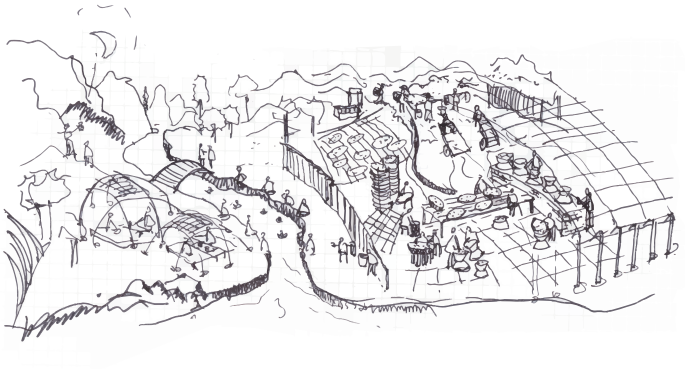


Fig. 3.65 & Fig. 3.66

This pilot project attempts to unfold different cultural activities based on making and tasting the tea. It would also create a variety of jobs including retails and educational services. Jiangxin island has a large area with a good soil environment. It is possible to develop a tea plantation and carry out the whole tea making process on the island.

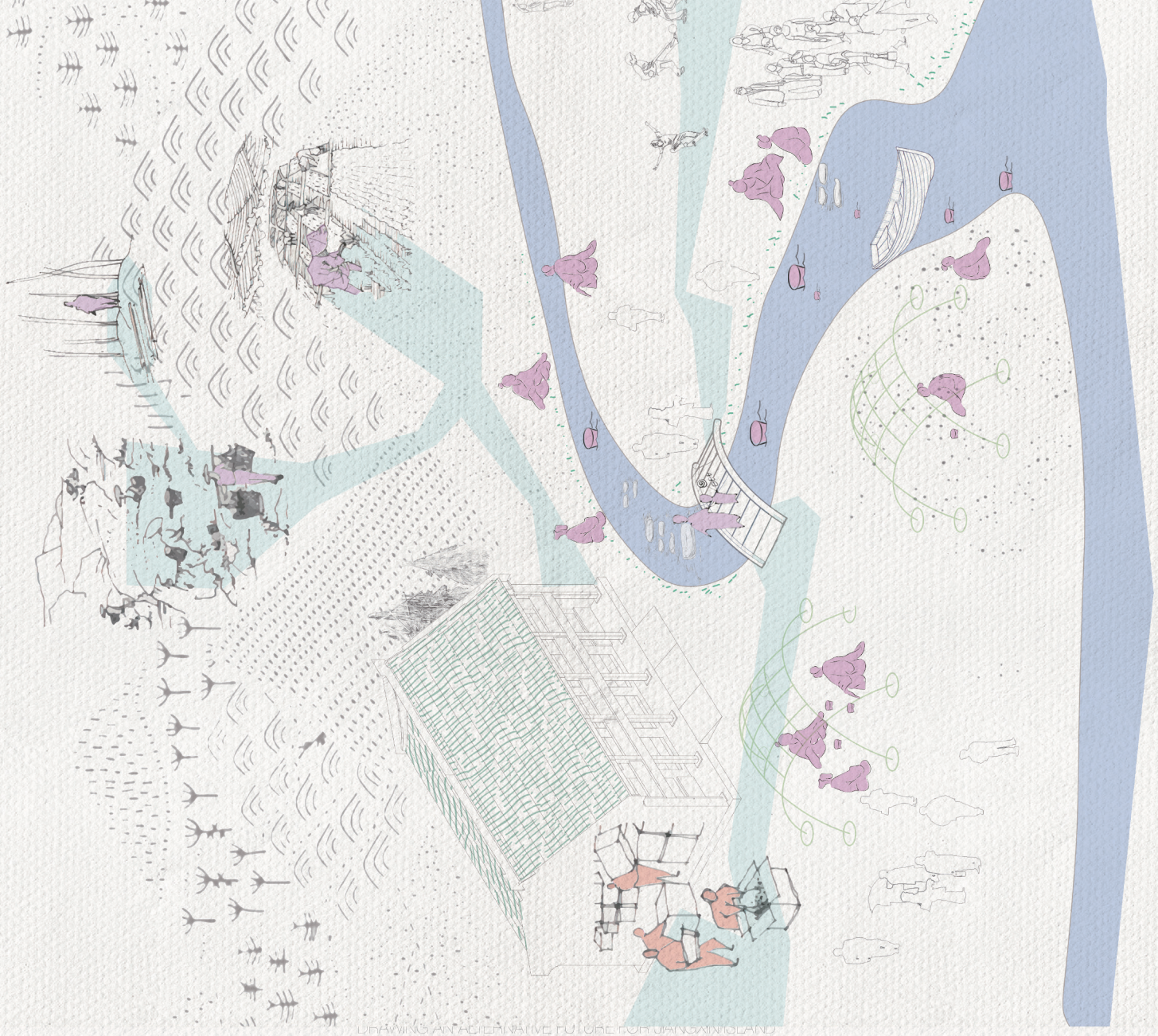
Making tea requires a series of sophisticated crafting. The making process can be designed as a traditional form of education for the public. Besides, tea is not merely a drink for Chinese people. Tasting tea is also a social activity that can be enhanced by its drinking rituals and the uses of tea-ware. This project has envisioned a more entertaining way for this social activity to attract more people.



Oolong Tea (Black Tea)

Collecting - Sunned Wilting -

Tossing in Basket - Partial Oxidation - Baking/Panning -
Rolling - Drying - Firing - Storing



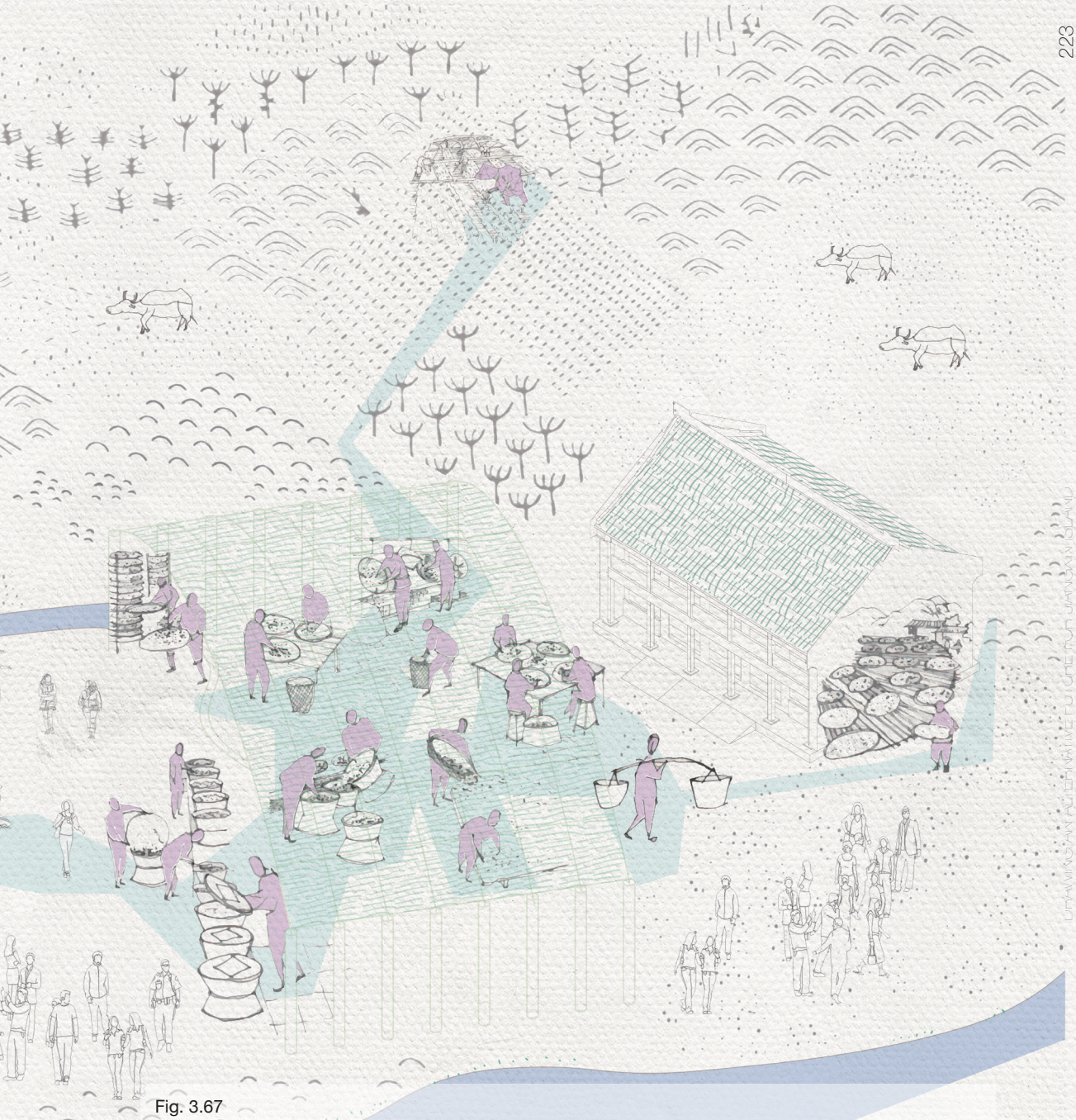


Fig. 3.67

This drawing illustrates the stories of different groups in the production of tea. Such a sophisticated programme could be supported by the island manager while being run by a commercial company. The workers (purple and orange) are recruited to make the tea from the planting to the crafting stages; moving from the agricultural land to the farmhouses. This could change the landscape of Jiangxin island, physically, culturally, and economically.

This programme will need a large number of workers who can be the original migrant workers on the island. In addition to the professional workers, visitors could also be the producers. They are perceived as participants in the making of the tea leaves. With guidance, people have to learn the long process of crafting. It is envisioned that a tea school will be established on the island in the future.

Concerning leisure, visitors could meet friends over tea sitting by the water. This is meant to create a game of “floating teacups along winding water” as an interesting social game, which has been inspired by an ancient traditional social game called “floating wine along winding water”. However, Wenzhounese people prefer tea because they value a healthy lifestyle.

Story One: the Monk, the Girl, and Zongzi

A monk walks into the Consulate Buildings, which is now an open agriculture school consisting of food workshops, the function room, and a restaurant. He comes here to pick up the lunch set for his peers and visitors at the Jiangxin Temple, just five minute-walk away. “You will have the vegetarian Zongzi today!” says the worker behind the counter, “They were just made this morning here.” The monk smiles: “Oh that is great! But, I still miss the fried tofu I had yesterday. That was so good! How did you make it?” “That is a secret recipe.” The worker replies proudly, “but, the ingredients for the Tofu are soybeans from the North basement.” The monk is surprised: “Oh, I should go and see. I hear that many visitors come here to buy that soyabean.”

The monk collects the basket of Zongzi. As he gets near to the door, a little girl just runs out of the adjacent room and bumps into him. “I am sorry for this,” says a lady following the girl. That must be the little girl’s mother. Suddenly, the girl shouts: “Look! Look! Mum, that is the Zongzi I made!” She points to the basket in the Monk’s hand and becomes excited, “They are shaped like stars, with the yellow strand. I can tell!”

The monk looks at the basket and smiles at the girl: “Thanks for your ingenuity! I am going to take them to the temple to share with the visitors this morning.” The mother laughs and rubs the girl’s ear and says, “Then, your grandma must recognize it. She came with us this morning and said she would have lunch in the temple. She will take the ones made by you. How lucky she will be!” The girl raises her hands: “Yeah! I want to learn more, make grandma happy!”

Story Two: the Father, the Worker, and a cup of Tea

"My son and I spent last night here. It was quite a nice day for camping yesterday, wasn't it? The smells wafting through the air on the Island indicated something very special and we watched the sunrise this morning", the man says as he shivers with a cup of tea in his hands, "But it has just suddenly began to rain. Damn! We had planned to stay one more night. Now it looks impossible!" The little boy sitting beside him remains silent. The worker, in a uniform, pulls on his cigarette and smiles saying, "It just happens. You can wait here now. It looks like the rain will not stop soon." He stands up and walks toward the courtyard. "Luckily, we stored our tea-leaves back in the warehouse before it rained."

The father stares at the cup: "Indeed, your tea is really tasty. I know there are some open courses in the basement that we can join, and learn how to make the tea. My son is really interested in this kind of activity. Aren't you?" The boy looks up. The worker turns around and shrugs, "Well, yes. We do have courses, but they are all fully booked this month unfortunately, I think. Quite busy these days." He continues: "Well, it is not an accident that you chose to camp out just near our base. It is a really lovely environment around here, isn't it? Actually, I can show you around, kid." The worker smiles at the boy: "I came to Wenzhou almost ten years ago. You look as big as my second son." The father is still worrying about whether they can still go back to the city that evening. The worker sees him and says: "Don't worry about the rain. We have the cruiser and can take you to the ferry place. I will call my colleague now. He is working in the school buildings. Oh, you can also store your luggage in the building as well in case you will come back tomorrow. You just have to pay a little fee."

"Is it the beautiful building besides the ferry? That will be perfect. Thank you so much for your help," Says the father with his hand on his son's back.

FROM IMAGINATION TO REALITY

TOWARDS A SPACE OF OPENNESS

> "The answer to 'liberating architectural practice' must remain forever in play. … Of all the professions, architects bring a unique understanding of the latent potency and realisable potentials between people and space, a binary relationship at the heart of most conflicts. … we need to evoke processes that lead to the creation of shared civil spaces. Such space allows people to meet, know each other and co-produce new futures and new societal constellations. 'A shared future depends on more than making deals between old enemies. It requires us to make a new relationship where old enemies become partners and friends'."[214]

[214] R. Morrow, C. Mackel and J.D. FitzGerald, 'Beyond the shadow space: architecture as a professional and creative process; during and post-conflict', *The Journal of Architecture*, vol. 16, no. 1, 2011, p.67.

The colonial ghost still haunts Jiangxin Island. The ghost of identity construction is now becoming a new one in this era of globalisation. The landscape and building have been repurposed as museums and fun parks for patriotism and capitalism. This seems to perpetuate the colonial ghost that has been reflected in the identity of the built environment, nostalgic thinking, utopianism and the marginal groups' right to the city in Wenzhou. The will to construct a new society could easily drive the island into an endless circular model: the experience of tradition –> amusement –> consumption. Visitors are walking through this open-air museum, and managers are playing political games by underutilizing the cultural images, whereas some true users, such as the migrant workers, are excluded from any of the potential futures. In the end, the island of the ghost has drawn a microcosm of the urbanisation in Wenzhou. A new story is thus needed for Jiangxin island as well as the city.

To envision the alternative future of Jiangxin Island, we start to propose a more inclusive space based on everyday practice and play. All the design proposals of the third chapter picture a more inclusive island with less polarisation. The story begins with the former Consulate Buildings. Outside the building, there may still be the wedding celebration. Whereas in and behind the buildings, a series of spaces and events are held in relation to food and everyday needs. The colonial heritage is used for everyday life needs for more people. This is hoped to reduce the sense of colonial identity. Instead of keeping a cultural distance from the building and regarding it as a symbol, people will have more chances to explore its inside and outside features and usefulness. Besides, the consulate buildings are the starting points of the food island. The scenarios of the food island have pictured a diverse programme of the daily routines ranging from planting materials, processing ingredients, crafting goods, and celebrating with food. The activities include and connect all the people, from the workers, the monks, to the visitors. The new story and the programmes do not only accommodate every potential user. It is through producing, growing, and sharing that the creation of the common space, for people to re-think the colonial heritage and other ghosts, becomes prevalent in everyday life.

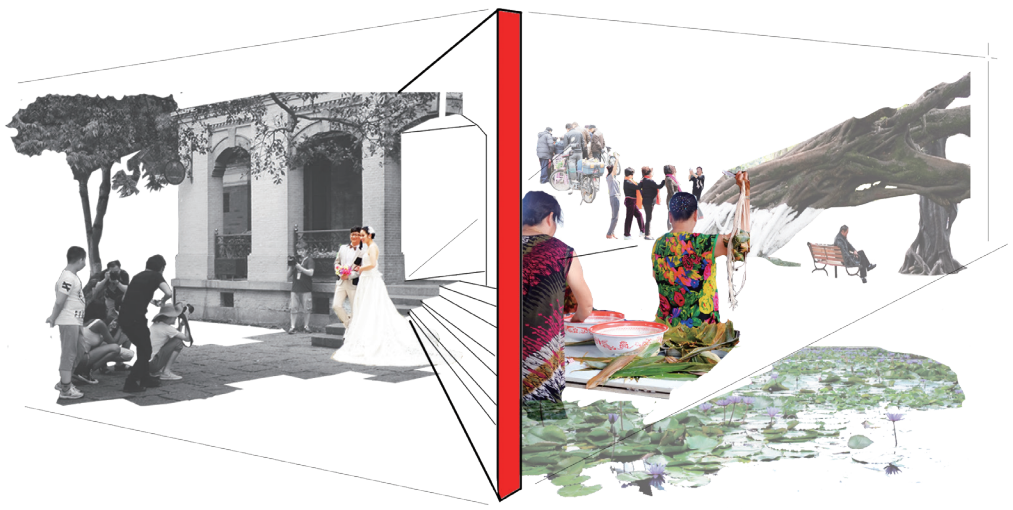


Fig. 3.68

Behind the Consulate Buildings

Ultimately, it is necessary to place these proposals and the imagination in their real socio-political context. The process of the public art event and the participatory design activities have reminded us that more attention should be paid to the hidden scenes, and the operations of the different levels and institutions in society. In China, it is argued that political power and systems are always the keys to realising the many visions for the society. Many social enterprises only work effectively and sustainably once the power system opens up its space and gives them permission to function. In this research, my political engagement has illustrated the importance of the go-between who bridges the inside and outside, negotiating for more resilient spaces for the public's affairs.

By acknowledging the real environment in Wenzhou, one possible future development could be that the system should empower people to re-organise their social and business affairs by themselves on the island with minimum bureaucratic control. The management of the island may loosen its grip on control, establish a more flexible framework, and co-operate with more socially beneficial professions. More space on the island could be freed up for spatial self-organisation that could be run by the people who work and live on the island. In this way, marginalised groups would be re-energised recognised. They should not be perceived as just labourers, but also a source of innovation. The island could be transformed into a realistic and productive public space through their hands, from agricultural production and creation to landscape creation, through every day making to creative crafting. They will become part of the future of the productive city. The city would thus have more productive space for openness, grounded on community priorities, largely based on migrant telling, making and learning.

FURTHER STEPS

Exorcising the Colonial Ghost and Rethinking Citizenship

This thesis has identified a new understanding of Chinese citizenship in relation to colonial legacies, which are described here metaphorically in terms of a colonial ghost. To scrutinise this ghost, this research has applied different forms of practice architecturally, socially, and politically. The participatory design activities, the workshops, the social studies, as well as political engagement within the system have all been practices used to test the different ideas of citizenship. Furthermore, these participatory design approaches have been utilised to explore more inclusive everyday life. In the end, this research has gone back to the question of identity construction and has asked: who are we and what culture should we have? It can be argued that more space should be created for alternative public lives to generate a more open culture and embrace new plural social values.

Re-examining citizenship is necessary in China today. The colonial ghost has brought many challenges in this post-colonial era, which influences the education and culture of Chinese people and will continue doing so for generations to come. Chinese people are yearning for wealth and power, while their public lives are largely ruled by an educational ideology that emphasises patriotism, capitalism, and socio-cultural exclusiveness. The booming economy combined with urbanisation have been pushing Chinese citizens to the limit, leaving little space to re-think about their city and society. So far, architectural practice has become complicit with this urbanisation.

Taking the regeneration of colonial buildings as an example, whilst the city is being reconstructed on the basis of capitalist values, architectural regeneration is facilitated to satisfy the ideological patriotic education and to foster trust and reliance on the governors of China. The colonial heritage, from the textural to the physical, is utilised as a political tool. The British Consulate buildings on Jiangxin Island, for instance, have been utilised as museums to exhibit the Party's history. This musealised approach favours the ideological patriotic education. It appears that the colonial ghost has imprisoned the decision makers in a dualistic way: colonial history and anti-colonial education. Public lives and values have not been able to avoid the impacts of this dualistic ideology. In many cases, the voice of ordinary citizens is often less well considered in today's urban culture. Then, the question we must ask is: how can the public be involved in the production of urban space and how will this foster a more open urban culture?

In this research, the colonial heritage in Wenzhou has provided a perfect platform for these debates. The re-imagination of the colonial legacies and the public space of Jiangxin Island could be the first move towards exorcising the colonial ghosts that surround the island. The success of a public event shows the potential for constructing the island as "a space for play" and for creative learning under the guidance of artists. The participatory games have illustrated the possibilities for engaging citizens to re-imagine Jiangxin Island through everyday practices.

Case Rationale: Jiangxin Island, Wenzhou and China

As we have seen, there were two main reasons for choosing Jiangxin Island in Wenzhou for the critical examination. First, Wenzhou is a typical city that mirrors the post-colonial conditions of China, in that the site faces many challenges including those of architectural design and social practices. This coastal city has benefited from its geographical location and the national marketing policy. Wenzhou and Jiangxin Island, which have experienced crucial marketing transformation and urbanisation, are now expected to deal with the legacies of colonialism in both its architectural and socio-cultural aspects. All this needs in-depth investigation, beyond architectural issues, to focus on the socio-spatial environment. My second reason for choosing the site rests in my family relations and social connections in Wenzhou; these relationships have played a crucial role in contributing to the development of this practice-based research. As Wenzhou is my hometown, my deep knowledge of social relationships and my cultural awareness of the social and physical space of the area has enabled me to facilitate public events and has allowed me to access the socio-political systems. My relationships and prior knowledge of the space has also given me insights into the many invisible facts that might not be available to the culture and/or ethnic outsiders, including Chinese researchers from other cities and provinces. For instance, it is my own political engagements and interventions that led to the first art-based event on Jiangxin Island. All these social and political activities make up the main body of my creative practice.

As is the case with many places in China, I realise that any public project will not be actualised without the help of political power in Wenzhou. In other words, it is well acknowledged that organising public activities, especially in alternative terms, will not be possible without the blessings of the local governing powers, including the local government and the CCP. The structures of power in China are too stable to be challenged within this authoritarian society, as is the patriarchal family in this one-party nation. However, it is still possible to hold "moderate" public events.

First, one has to compromise with the political system. Thus, he/she can utilise the power from the "inside" and mediate between the official departments and the people (i.e., the outside). This seems to be one of the most productive ways to re-envision an open future for the island. Second, to formulate public projects and re-think citizenship in China, one can be critical without challenging the power relations that exist between the state and society.

However, there still remains the question of how to be critical once the practice has involved the political element in China. In many cases, the socio-spatial practices appear to abandon their criticality and become purely a set of tools. In the symposium of "*Spatialised Governmentality: China and the Global Context*", Fulong Wu claimed that "in China, public participation is more like a tool, rather than challenging the foundation of the political decision or policy-making".[215] Indeed, there is growing research and diverse practices testing different ways of participatory designs. The form of public participation is utilised as a design tool to produce more supporting evidence. It has been widely applied in many community regeneration projects, aiming to enhance neighbourhood stability, legitimise process, and facilitate gentrification. As shown in the first chapter of this thesis, the basement regeneration project of *Digua Community* used a participatory design approach to gather information and legitimised social justice, aiming to improve the built environment on a community and neighbourhood level. More evidence has been shown in the participatory designs in other Chinese cities, including Shanghai and Guangzhou. However, few of these socio-spatial projects speak about the socio-political meanings of the participatory process, which is, in turn, crucial to improving the method and fit into the current context. Indeed, participatory design process "cannot be understood exclusively as projects on micro-level as they are dependent on and informed by meso- and macro-level institutions and their policy frames, institutional action frames, and metacultural frames".[216] In this research, two workshops were held to exemplify a pattern of democratic participation through a bottom-up process. Furthermore, they revealed the production of space in a socio-political dimension in the Chinese society.

[215] F. Wu, *Round table discussion about Chinese governance and the public participation*, Royal College of Art, 6 December, 2018.

[216] L. Huybrechts, h. Benesch and J. Geib, 'Institutioning: Participatory Design, Co-Design and the public realm', *CoDesign*, vol. 13, no. 3, 2017, P.155.

Workshop as Creative Methodology

The workshop has been the methodology as well as the main body of this practice-based research. Two workshops were conducted based on the ideas of public art and participatory design, respectively. They were both made to test the possibilities of holding public events in Jiangxin Island. Meanwhile, their outcomes have shown us the potential of an imaginary "food" Island and a "place for

play". However, conducting workshops was not just for data collection. By re-visiting their processes, the operations of these two workshops and their differences proved to have a significant meaning regarding the socio-political context in China.

The first difference was my changing role and position throughout the two processes. Moving from a fully state-sanctioned project to a more covert one, I applied two different tactics in the two workshops. In the first workshop, I acted as a political negotiator. To get permission for the event venue and time, I compromised with the tourism bureau and altered the event theme and scale. To some extent, the first workshop benefited the official department overtly. In contrast, the second workshop operated in a grassroots way, and it was entirely self-organised with the help of social media. I acted as an educator and designer who taught students to map and design the participatory game. The design idea and approach are consistent throughout the process, as the workshop was financially and politically independent of the official department in the city. In conclusion, the cooperation with the political systems will easily result in the changes to the original plan and theme. As things need to be censored, it leads to more effort spent on dealing with political issues. In contrast, using social power can avoid political influence to a certain extent. Yet, it will sometimes be commercially oriented, lowering the research quality and outcomes. More effort could be put on the sundries including recruiting students, organising accommodation, and running promotions.

Two different themes have emerged from the two workshops. The first workshop has revealed the invisible power relationship within the system in Wenzhou. Its analysis indicated that the political game is the key to the public event project. The second workshop shows the potential of utilising social media and design education to create an alternative spatial practice in Wenzhou.

Last but not the least, the outcomes are distinct. In the first workshop, the project themes and methods were conducted by two artists. The use of artistic gaming was meant to be a trigger for creating public space for the people. In comparison, the second design-based workshop was mainly led by the architects, including myself. It tested the possibilities of using mapping and gaming to develop a participatory-based form of design in Wenzhou.

The Success and Limits of Creative Integration

To define and review architectural research, Jeremy Till recommended a model of three interconnected stages. Knowledge develops along with the interactions

of "architectural processes (design and construction), architectural products (completed buildings), and architectural performance (social occupation, environmental performance, cultural assimilation etc,)".[217] rReferring to this trialectical model, this thesis has stretched the form of architectural research beyond its own core discipline. The *Architectural* is extended by the *Spatial*. This practice-based research is conducted through socio-spatial practices, design proposals, and visualisation. Here, architectural research is not limited to theoretical or historical debating. It covers various subjects including history and cultural studies, anthropology, architectural drawings, and participatory design. These are articulated through social analysis, architectural case study, auto-ethnography, spatial practices, the creative workshop, and the application of design proposals. This integration of textural, graphic, and practice-based approaches has benefited from the interdisciplinary methodologies. It is the creative core of this research. "An interdisciplinary model … explores the boundaries of disciplinary knowledge to allow for the production of complex forms of research that are at once self-reflective and propositional".[218]

As a practice-based research, this architectural thesis is not merely for exploring or solving problems. Instead, it aims to expose many unspoken problems and to fill the gaps between the theory and reality by learning from different disciplines. The role of practice is, therefore, to test the solutions with respect to the issues through socio-spatial and design approach. It shows "a move from the idea of architect as expert problem-solver to that of architect as citizen sense-maker; a move from a reliance on the impulsive imagination of the lone genius to that of the collaborative ethical imagination; from clinging to notions of total control to a relaxed acceptance of letting go".[219] Such a motivation, as the foundation of the theoretical framework, self-reflection and social practice, originates from the feminist idea of thinking and acting alternatively.

Referring to the study of colonial legacies, the politics of feminist approaches have created a socio-political angle to the review of colonial architecture in Wenzhou and Jiangxin Island. Re-thinking the colonial heritage is, thus, placed in the bigger picture – in the socio-political context of China. Therefore, my view goes beyond architectural design and drawing. My socio-political practice, thus, is not improvised. It tries to test an alternative approach by exorcising the colonial ghost. Along with my practice, the theoretical approaches have also developed throughout the whole process. For example, it was only after I engaged in the political agenda that I really understood the concept of the public realm in China. Theory, for me, is neither a toolkit

[217] J. Till, *Architectural Research: Three Myths and One Model*, 2007, p.4, https://jeremytill.s3.amazonaws.com/uploads/post/attachment/34/2007_Three_Myths_and_One_Model.pdf, (accessed 1 December 2018)

[218] J. Rendell, 'Architectural Research and Disciplinarity', *Architectural Research Quarterly*, vol. 8, no2, 2004, p. 146.

[219] J. Till, *Architecture Depends*, Cambridge, MIT Press, 2013, p.151.

nor an experimental object. It progresses together with the practice. Due to the nature of this practice-based research, the theoretical content may seem incoherent, which may blur the relationship between theory and practice.

Essentially, for practice-based research, the researcher's voice should not be ignored. It was with the aid of auto-ethnography that different methodologies, theoretical and practical, coalesced together. My voices have created a space where the theory and the practice complement each other. Initially, the voices have seemed to be fragile and temporary, yet resonating throughout the whole research process. By representing them analytically, I realise now how those voices have transformed my reading into my actions and judgement, and how this has bridged the link between the theory and practice.

Self-analysis, for me, has become an important creative practice, as I have been working on researching my own hometown. It is the most familiar city for me, yet it is the most distant place that I will ever be able to see through objectively. Self-criticism has opened up other spaces where I have often felt like an outsider. This is similar to what Edward Said defined as the exiles of the intellectual, which are characterised by, "restlessness, movement, constantly being unsettled and unsettling others".[220] My self-reflection has created the internal construct in me of an outsider condition that enables me to re-read the ghost within Wenzhou, the Chinese society, my family, and even myself.

[220] E. Said, *Representations of the Intellectuals: The 1993 Reith Lectures*, New York, Pantheon Books, 1994, p.53

In many cases, self-analysis is the first big step for fighting back the colonial ghost. People tend to judge others by stereotypes, yet the devil is always hidden inside ourselves. It is through looking at the mirror that one understands who they are before asking what they should do. However, what remains to be explored is the ethical issue when dissecting the "self". As subjectivity is involved in the research, how could the knowledge be produced without bias? To what extent should the researchers go to expose themselves in the academic work? If the practice alters the researcher's original objectives, how should one balance his research objectives with the real outcomes? These issues are ambiguous in this thesis, and they need further exploration.

Original Contribution

First, this research exemplifies how the various threads of my investigation, the methodological, the theoretical, the participatory, and the graphic, can all tell an exciting story that reflects the Chinese socio-political problematics. This research includes self-reflection and visualisation as parts of the primary methods of study. This helped to open the "black box of the political system" so that I could explore

and examine the production of the urban space in China – a mechanism of production that often seems invisible to outsiders.

Second, the research has shown how workshops, as part of the methodology, form a model of practice-based research. The management skills and the teaching experience that were gleaned from these two workshops have had a multiplying effect. Indeed, they have contributed to the development of four other workshops that have been held in different Chinese cities. Now that I have established my team, attracted funding, and built a research agenda, I am planning to hold more workshops in the future based on the socio-spatial practices in urban China.

All in all, this research is just the first step towards my further participatory architectural practice in Wenzhou and China.

Fig. 4.1



1 Bamboo Construction Workshop, Hangzhou, China
22/03/2017-26/03/2017
Photos by Participant Students&Tutors



2 Walking Practice Workshop, Yuncheng, China
10/07/2017-20/07/2017
Photos by Participant Students&Tutors



3 1:1 Timber Construction Workshop, Shenzhen, China
22/07/2017-30/07/2017
Photos by Xiao Ma Ge



4 Walking Practice Workshop, Shanghai, China
18/07/2018-28/07/2018
Photos byXi Chen

5

The previous workshops that initiated, facilitated and organised by Our Team

School of Architecture, Planning and Landscape
Newcastle University

THE UNIVERSITY of EDINBURGH

ASA Architecture Student Association

Walking Practice Workshop

APPENDICES

Meeting Records and Interview transcripts

Records of the meeting with representatives from the Federation of Trade Unions, 19 June, 2015

In March 2015, I submitted a proposal for the National People's Congress in the local level (Wenzhou City) in the name of my mother who is the representative of the National People's Congress in Wenzhou. The proposal concerns the regeneration and reuse of the Former British Consulate building in the Jiangxin Island. The Number of the proposal is 195. Later, three governmental departments were asked to respond to the proposal. The FTU was one of the three those dealing with the issues about the island. The other two were Department of Cultural Legacy Management and the Scenery and Tourism Administrative Bureau of Lucheng District (STABLD).

Three months later in June, there were two representatives of the Federation of Trade Unions (FTU) came to visit my mother to discuss the issues of the British Consulate Building. The two people are Zhu Weifan, the head of the organisation department, and Li Min, the director of the Workplace Department. Zhu is the lead of Li. They stressed that several meetings had been held to discuss the feedback for the proposal of the former British Consulate building. In the most recent meeting on 10th June, as Li Ming argued, they came out with important analysis about the how to deal with the current problem in the British Consulate building. They claimed that the FTU is not a governmental department with any authority. Every day, they have to deal with plenty of social issues which are very complex and sometimes trivial. Every comment and idea need to been responded no matter it is important or not.

After a brief self-introduction, it was Li Ming mainly made the following statements.

"FTU can run the business by itself, and it has about ten subsidiaries. One of them is the Sanatorium who is in charge of the former British Consulate building. I am not able to tell the history of the FTU because I have not been working for that long time. But I can check the files if you need. There are two reasons for the Sanatorium to let the building to the Scenic Management Office. The first one was because of the negotiation between the plans of the building and that of the island. Due to a plan of integration, the Sanatorium was agreed to give the right of management of the building to the Office. That was a plan that was aiming to re-organise all the functions of the places as to make an entire system for tourism. The second reason was that the Sanatorium ran a very poor business before. It failed to maintain the business and service with their traditional business model, which was quite behind the needs of the market. Because the Sanatorium is an independent business department and all the letting procedures were done by itself, the FTU didn't know any details of the letting in the first time.

Today, the British Consulate building has been called to stop their business. We have paid lots of attention to this situation. From the year 2013, the tax fee hadn't been paid for the building. Furthermore, the FTU haven't received any rental for the 2014 and 2015.

Recently, the FTU had the buildings been examined by the office of Cultural Relics and Archaeology. It is confirmed that the buildings had been damaged and reconstructed to some extent. So the FTU has made a very clear claim to the Scenic Management Office that once the tenancy ends and the buildings return in 2016, they have to be in its original appearance rather than the private club one. All the interior decoration and furniture have to been removed and cleared.

The sanatorium gave up on running the buildings because their traditional business model was greatly challenged while facing the market transition at

that time. Previously during the period of the planned economy, the former British Consulate building was known as the Jiangxin Sanatorium being run as a state-owned enterprise. It was mainly open to those veteran cadres for their convalescences. If one were allowed to stay and recuperate in the Jiangxin Sanatorium, he would be considered as an honoured person with a respectful social position.

When it came to the time of the market economy, many significant problems emerged inside the old management system. The sanatorium business had failed to keep the pace of the market needs. So in order to make money more efficiently, it might be better to just let the property to someone else.

There will be some problems once the buildings had been returned after 2016. The biggest one is the how to use the building efficiently and profitably. On the one hand, we still want to make maintain the sanatorium function because ten retired staffs need to be well settled. But this is quite hard to realise because we have no investment. Due to the default of the rental for last two years, we have no money to launch the plan of the Sanatorium. On the other hand, the FTU has no idea to make money by running the Sanatorium. We are short of good idea and expertise regarding both the architectural management and the market plan."

Zhu Weifan adds:

"Firstly, it is essential to define the functions of the buildings in the plan. Meanwhile, it is very also crucial to get the support from the Party and the leaders. For the implementation of the plans, the power of government always comes in the first place followed by the social power. There is also a problem about the approval of the plans. Because the former British Consulate building is one of the listed important historical buildings in the Province Level and it is protected by the provincial regulations, any plan of re-construction or re-decoration needs to be approved by the provincial department."

Li Summarized:

"The plan can be achieved in three aspects: Enhance the protection of the cultural heritage; Plan the means of business; Restore the Sanatorium function in the building."

Records of the meeting with Ru Su, 17 June, 2015

Female, who is the Vice head of Scenery Management Office in the Eastern Part, 38 years old, local Wenzhounese

Ru Su had shown me the internal working document and files, saying they cannot be copied or outspread. According to her description, it is conceived that the working system is quite sloppy inside the office. Many political and economic issues have not been clearly documented. In contrast, the facts were always orally spread among the individuals or small groups. The realities were thus veiled. The staff of the Office appear to be negative when dealing with the problems on the island. They always prefer nothing than anything.

"The eastern part should be a scenic spot rather than a park because many criteria of management are following the instructions by Tourism Administrative Bureau instead of the Bureau of Landscaping in the city. For me, the island is just a workplace. Sometime I will take my daughter here. For her, this is more like a city park. It is really interesting that most of the primary schools choose Jiangxin Island for their spring outing.

The Scenic Management Office is a kind of public institution. I've been working here for 15 years. The head leader here is named Zhuren in Chinese. The head is in charge of two offices: the landscape office and the management office. Both offices are managed by two vice heads respectively. I am one of the vice heads. I am responsible for the landscape office. I used to learn landscape design.

It was not until the year 1989 that it started to record all the issues of the Office formally. In the earlier 80s, the initial management group is informal that consisting of those people who were serving food, making money by

photography, and staffs of the ferry. In 1989, the government had approved for the establishment of the "Jiangxin Island Office of the Lucheng district in Wenzhou". On the 29th December of 1990, the police station was settled in the island.

There are some stories about the expansion of the island. In the very beginning, the original island was quite small compared to the current one: the width was just from the west hill to the east hill where the two pagodas sit respectively. There was a small river in the middle across the little island. Later in the 1980s, in order to satisfy the increase of tourists, a new part of green lands has been extended to the north. That formed a lake inside the island. With the help of some private investment, many entertainment facilities and areas were built. In 1999, the Bureau of Urban Utilities and Landscaping signed a contract that letting the island to a Western Park Development Company for 30 years. It was after the year 2000 that the program of western park expansion began. The amusement park, the hotel, the water park and some infrastructure were constructed successively. Today, people can drive to the eastern part through the Dongou Bridge. In fact, the Dongou Bridge was constructed in 2000 earlier than the completion of the new western park and the connection of the bridge and the island was later after the year 2000. It has to be mentioned that later after 2000, the Bureau of Urban Utilities and Landscaping was separated into two independent Bureaus. At that moment, it came to question that whether the contract of the Western Park Development Company is still valid.

When the western park initially opened, it sold its own tickets. It had its own management system that was independent differing from the eastern park. However, this situation somehow changed later. In order to apply for a 5 Star level Tourism Place, the entire systems on the island needs to be considered as a whole. In that case, from the year 2013, the Scenery and Tourism Administrative Bureau of Wenzhou, had promoted a plan about the management work in the island. This plan aimed to re-organize all the management systems as an integration by which the entire eastern part of the island would be managed by just one large department. After this plan, the gate opens in the boundary of two parks. Although each park has its own ticket office, their prices become the same. People can stay on the island with either ticket of the western or the eastern part. However, one is not allowed to access through the gate of the western park if he/she only holds the other one's ticket. Vice versa in the eastern part.

The former British Consulate building and two other similar buildings belong to the Federation of Trade Union in Wenzhou after the Second Sino-Japanese War. They were used as sanatoriums after the 1950s. During the economic transition in the 1990s, the sanatorium was shut down due to its poor operation. Thus, the buildings had been abandoned for a while. Fortunately, the buildings were re-used before long. In 2006, the head of the Scenic Management Office in the eastern part had signed a contract with a Subsidiary of the Federation of Trade Union (FTU). It was about a 10-year tenancy of the British Consulate and the other two buildings from 2006 to 2016. Because the Scenic Management Office was planning to re-organize all the tourism resource in the island, all the three buildings were considered as a part of the tourist sites in the island. However, due to the lack of a good idea, the Office failed to make use of buildings. Therefore the Office decided to invite the investment from the public. In 2008, a contract was signed between the Office and a company, named "No. 9 Residence", who would be running the three buildings until 2016. After that, the buildings were well researched and re-designed by a professional institution of ancient architecture design. From then on, the buildings were transformed into a club and used for private entertainment. The business had been running well until the year 2013 because of too much pressure from the public and social consensus arguing that the historic building should be open to the public rather than private use. Since 2013, the buildings have been out of service. What is awkward is the problem of rental. The "No. 9 Residence" company has no income since the close of business. As no rental had been paid to the Office, the Office neither has no money to give

to the Subsidiary of the FTU. Now they are all staying in the same boat. By the way, the No. 9 Residence Company had also invested into a Youth Palace in the island. It seems to be also shut down at the moment.

The Office is not in charge of everything that is happening in the building. If one wants to hold some event in the building, it is necessary to inquire the owner of the building first rather than us. The Office can make a suggestion but no decision. According to our principle, any small event is not encouraged in the eastern part unless it is very formal and well invested. In the other word, we prefer some well-organised events by some formal and reliable institutions. Actually, it is quite important that every party can benefit from each other while doing the events.

To be honest, any event, in terms of its scales and forms, can be accepted once you get the permission from any of the higher governmental department. Well, a call from the lead can solve anything."

Records of the meeting with Jianmin Xie, June, 2015

Female, Director of the Office in the Scenery and Tourism Administrative Bureau of Lucheng District (STABLD), 38 years old, local Wenzhounese

"The Jiangxin Island now is separated into two parts: the western park and eastern part. The STABLD is in charge of the overall management of the eastern part, which was mainly carried out by its subdivision, the Scenic Management Office (SMO). Stationing in the island, what the SMO deals mostly with are the security, maintenance and cleaning of the isle. Thus in a sense, the SMO is considered to take responsibility for all the essential management works.

However, during the management, there often emerge some collisions between the various parts of the eastern part. It is because of the multi ownerships that the work of the overall management turns out to be relatively complicated and time-consuming. For example, the Federation of Trade Union owns the British Consulate building, while the Museums of the Revolutionary Martyrs belongs to the civil affair bureau. The Scenic Management Office has to ask for the permissions of the building's owners if any event wants to be held in the buildings. What's more, if any accident had happened in those buildings, it is challenging to claim who would be mainly responsible for the incidents. In a sense, the issues of communication and responsibility had led to problems in two aspects: the management and the propaganda.

Firstly, it was the inefficient communications between the diverse tourism sites that significantly complicates the management. The eastern part includes various tourism sites in terms of buildings and specific areas. Sometimes, the owners of the buildings didn't notify the SMO in advance that there would be the events to be held in their buildings. Consequently, the SMO often failed to make enough preparation concerning the security and tourism management beforehand, which may engender some hidden troubles. Furthermore, because the opening hours and the service is scheduled by each tourism site respectively, so it is difficult for the SMO to arrange the management work timely.

The second problem is reflected in the fragmented propaganda of the tourism information. Since all part tourism sites consider their business independently, the SMO can hardly flexibly coordinate all the running times or notify the tourists. In this sense, the public often has no idea of any events or schedule of the island due to the inefficient propaganda.

Therefore, from the year 2013, the Scenery and Tourism Administrative Bureau of Wenzhou, which supervises us, had promoted a plan about the management work in the island. This plan aimed to organise a system of an integration by which the entire eastern part of the island would be managed by just one department. However, there were some resistances such as the ownership. Some of the buildings belong to some Municipal Departments which are superior to the SMO concerning administrative level. The cooperation between different departments was not so easy.

During the past several years, there was no accident happened. But some events held every year in the fixed periods. Taking the last year as an example, there was a Beer Festival from 22nd to 27th in April in the western park, another Beer Festival on 1st October, and an Autumn Culture Festival from August to October which lasts for around 100 days.

We have the budget for the events. Our management stresses that the activity we hold should be worth the expenditure, which is strictly managed.

The Jiangxin Island is a 4 Star (named 4A in Chinese version) tourism site. Recent years, we have been trying to apply for the 5 Star level. Some people argued that the ticket price is a little bit high, and the visiting is not worth that money. However, comparing with the other 4 Star level tourism-oriented areas throughout the country, we think the price is already quite, and it even contains the ferry fees: just ¥25 for each time and ¥150 for the annual one.

Although the Jiangxin Island may be just a park or a tourist place in the city, it is irreplaceable to the public. Previously, when the Scenery and Tourism Administrative Bureau of Wenzhou suggested that the price should increase, there turned up a loud public voice of resistance. That was quite interesting that the silent majority suddenly jumped out to against that proposal. It appeared that every citizen concerned with the island. In that sense, it feels like the Jiangxin Island is just like one of the common relatives to the people of the city. You may not frequently contact that relative yet you still have an attachment with her. Once there happens anything to her, you will try your best to care about her. Well, this might be considered as a kind of the nostalgia in some way. According to the above case, I would argue that people care more about the public service rather than the island per se.

The western park has its management office. There is a company running the park whose shareholder, Guojing Dong (孙 国 敬), who is a member of the CPPCC(Chinese People's Political Consultative Conference).

There is also a Scenery and Tourism Administrative Bureau in the northern land of the Jiangxin River. That one is called Bureau of Yongjia District, and it has no right to manage the island. In the northern area, there is no direct ferry to the island.

Records of the meeting with Qixin Gao, June, 2015

Male, staff from the Department of Cultural Legacy Management, around 40, local Wenzhounese

His workplace, the Department of Cultural Legacy Management, locates in the government building. Securities are guarding the gate of the government building. Named 'Municipal people's Government', the building is not open to any public unless one has permission from the inside. One can only access to the building by the following ways: a valid confirmation from someone inside, be guided by someone who is working inside or holding a valid document as such the People's Congress Identification Card.

"Wenzhou is applying for the National Famous Historical and Cultural City. There will be some official staffs examining in the next week. They are from the Ministry of Housing and Urban-Rural Development of the People's Republic of China. The criteria of evaluation mainly cover three aspects: the preservation of the historical legacy, the townscape of a historic street and the current the residential situation. In this case, some refurbish and rebuilding are necessary for some certain historical areas because they were poorly looking and chaotically used today.

There are lots of complaints during the process of regeneration and renewing. On the one hand, the government needs to fund the preservation of the historical legacies. On the other hand, more money is asked to be spent on the people to improve their lives. This directly relates to the relocation of the resident or the refurbishment of architecture.

However, the limited fund has been proposed in the regeneration of historical areas. What is worse is the significant imbalance between the expenditure and income. During the preservation of the buildings, the profit we made often failed to match the investment. Taking the Xia Nai's Formal Residence for example. A long time ago in the earlier 20th century, that house only belonged to the famous archaeologist Xia Nai's family. However, during the social unrest in the last century, the house had been gradually occupied by various families and eventually turned out to be 34 units. So for the current preservation, it needs to consider the relocation and resettlement of 34 families, which finally cost the government around 860 million Yuan. It has been through lots of troubles during the preservation of that famous house because each individual family has different requirements for their relocation. Some asked for the house in a good school district, and some requested for particular house types. It cost a lot if the government was required to satisfy every requirement.

Another case is the regeneration of a famous building in the No. 104 Shamao Road. The work now has been on hold due to too many unsolvable problems. It was not only about the money but also the building itself. At this moment, little room is left for any further negotiation with the residents there.

In preservation and regeneration of the Jiangxin Island, there will be more departments engaged in dealing with the complex issues regarding the management, funding and equity. Taking the Former British Consulate as an example. The land of that building belongs to the Scenery and Tourism Administrative Bureau of Wenzhou; the owner of the building is Wenzhou Federation of Trade Union; the Bureau of Landscaping is responsible for the landscape around the buildings; all the issues in the eastern part counts on the Scenic Management Office which stations in the island. So in this case, if we want to do something with the British Consulate building, lots of departments have to be involved.

While talking about the cultural innovation, there were some trials supported by the government and some investment groups. Some old factory areas were transformed into some kinds of cultural industry districts. It aimed to promote some cultural businesses, but actually, it fails. Now they are almost the places for dining. Interestingly, the restaurants there are quite of characteristics and qualities. Well, I think we may also call that phenomenon as a kind of culture, the food and dining culture. The dining culture is also a reflection of the local culture.

The Letter On No. 656 Bill to the Deputy to the 13th People's Congress by People's Government of Lucheng District, Wenzhou, 20 July 2017

温州市鹿城区人民政府文件

温鹿政函〔2017〕30号

温州市鹿城区人民政府
关于对市十三届人大一次会议第656号
代表建议会办意见的函

市总工会:

林蓉代表在市十三届人大一次会议期间所提的第656号建议《关于合理改造前英国领事馆建筑创造公共文化教育价值的建议》收悉，现将会办意见函告如下:

江心屿景区一直以来是极具影响力的景区，是温州城市历史文化积淀的体现，也是温州城市形象的标志和一张金名片。江心屿有着深厚的文化积淀，丰富的人文景观。因此，在景区可持续发展的过程中，我区一直努力将江心屿打造成为一个名闻遐迩的

“文化之岛”。特别是已连续12年举办的江心屿金秋文化节，注重瓯越历史文化和现代文化相结合的宣传，既能不断满足广大居民群众的精神文化生活需求，又营造了优厚的人文环境，为游客的旅游休闲活动提供了高雅的精神文化享受。

英国领事馆作为省级文物保护单位，是温州不可多得的历史财富。就代表提出的合理改造前英国领事馆建筑，创造公共文化教育价值的建议，我区认为可行，建议贵单位予以牵头落实，并建议充分考虑将英国领事馆建筑改造融入全岛布局规划之中，集中展示瓯越文化，保证与江心屿周边景观的协调性、美观性。我区也将积极配合，全力提供公共文化服务方面的指导与协助，如协助组织专家学者对江心屿和英国领事馆的历史进行进一步挖掘、协助组织各类文化活动展示温州本土特色文化等。

特此函告

温州市鹿城区人民政府

2017年7月20日

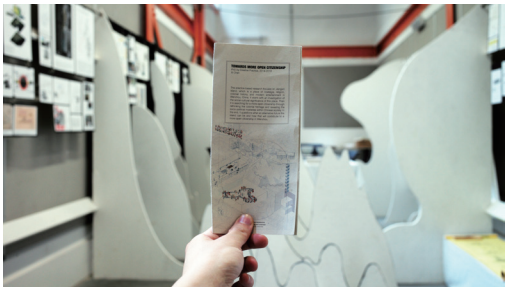
（联系人：杨淑和，联系电话：13868607477）

温州市鹿城区人民政府办公室　　2017年7月20日印发

The poster and photos of the Viva Exhibition
15-27 June, 2018



All by Xi Chen
16 June, 2018









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3.8 Xi Chen, 2017, *Street food amplifies their businesses.*

3.9 Xi Chen, 2017, *Residents daily practice with given space.*

3.10 Xi Chen, 2017, *Modifications to designed features.*

3.11 Xi Chen, 2017, *Day to night street vendors.*

3.12 Xi Chen, 2017, *Basic specification of Jiangxin Island.*

3.13 Xi Chen, 2017, *Jiangxin Island south embankment.*

3.14 Xi Chen, 2017, *Mapping of the interplays between exiting activities.*

3.15 Xi Chen, 2017, *Places and Programs.*

3.16 Xi Chen, 2017, *The Cut Island as Practiced Space.*

3.17 Xi Chen, 2017, *Mapping the potential programs through reconnections of existing congregation.*

3.18 BBC, 2013, *Power relations in the ruling system.*

3.19 Xi Chen, 2015, *Illustration between the management workflow.*

3.20 Xi Chen, 2016, *Magazine covers from Wenzhou City Committee and Wenzhou government.*

3.21 Xi Chen, 2015, *Meeting with representatives from the FTU.*

3.22 Xi Chen, 2015, *Meeting response to Rong Lin's bill.*

3.23 Xi Chen, 2016, *The Artistic Mapping Workshop.*

3.24 Xi Chen, 2016, *Public art games and making public space.*

3.25 Xi Chen, 2016, *The five public games.*

3.26 Xi Chen, 2016, *Final productions of the games.*

3.27 Xi Chen, 2016, *Interviews from local television channel.*

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3.29 Xi Chen, 2016, *Power diagram of Rong Lin and Xi Chen part I.*

3.30 Xi Chen, 2016, *Mapping of networks and connectivity.*

3.31 Xi Chen, 2016, *Power diagram of Rong Lin and Xi Chen part II.*

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3.40 Xi Chen, 2016, *Fully loaded ferry to Jiangxin Island.*

3.41 Xi Chen, 2016, *Fully loaded ferry to Jiangxin Island.*

3.42 Xi Chen, 2016, *Preparing the exhibits and strategy discussion.*

3.43 Xi Chen, 2016, *Mobile cart in movement.*

3.44 Xi Chen, 2016, *Photo of poetry group and interaction with participants part I.*

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3.47 Xi Chen, 2016, *Game interaction.*

3.48 Xi Chen, 2016, *An enthusiastic participant design part I.*

3.49 Xi Chen, 2016, *An enthusiastic participant design part II.*

3.50 Xi Chen, 2016, *Group review of the events.*

3.51 Xin Qian, 2016, *Sketch of a hybridization of the ancient and the modern, called as Land of Tradition.*

3.52 Sihan Li, 2016, *Transformation of the island into a food related place.*

3.53 Xi Chen, 2017, *Cultivating, Making, Dining, and Playing.*

3.54 Xi Chen, 2017, *Potential reintroduction of plants and animals' species.*

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3.57 Yunbin Zhang, 2017, *Chinese red sugar architecture.*

3.58 Yunbin Zhang, 2017, *Making of Chinese red sugar.*

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3.68 Xi Chen, 2017, *A future scenario.*

Further Steps

4.1 Xi Chen, 2018, *Workshops.*

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