

## 5 Shanghai Tianzifang 上海田子坊

田子坊是在一片真实的弄堂空间里生长出来的，无论空气里弥漫着多少和怎样的异域的气息，氛围的感性是地道上海风味的，那既狭窄又富有变化的弄堂之道，给予人的亲切真是绝大多数商业之都难以寻觅的，...<sup>1</sup>

“Tianzifang grew out of an authentic *longtang* area. Despite the presence of various different foreign styles, the atmosphere remains distinctively Shanghaiese. The sense of intimacy these both narrow and greatly varying *longtang* alleyways render really is something most businesses can hardly find, ...”

- Yu Hai 于海

Tianzifang, originally a common mixed-use urban block with residential and industrial buildings in the center of Shanghai is a third case where cultural heritage has been recognized for its economic function as a “driver of development”. Another important aspect about this case is that Tianzifang emerged through a **bottom-up approach** (*zifa xingcheng* 自发形成) and not as a planned top-down development project. Development started at a time when Shanghai was investigating different conservation models for *shikumen lilong* buildings and established itself as one approach among other simultaneous projects such as Xintiandi<sup>2</sup> 新天地. In the course of further expansion and differentiation of heritage categories in Shanghai, it was only recently integrated into the local conservation system.

The area which is commonly referred to as “Tianzifang” today (for an explanation of the name, see chapter 5.1.1) is located in the former Luwan district 卢湾区, more precisely the Dapujiao subdistrict 打浦桥街道 of Shanghai and

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- 1 Yu, Hai 于海 (2009): “Tianzifang shiyan: Chaoyue quanqiu — difang er yuan duili de chengshi gengxin moshi” 田子坊实验：超越全球——地方二元对立的城市更新模式 [The Tianzifang experiment — A city renewal model going beyond the global-local duality], p. 29.
  - 2 Xintiandi 新天地 is the name of a preservation based redevelopment project in Shanghai. The project comprised the transformation of two *shikumen* housing blocks into an entertainment quarter in a cooperation between the local government and international developers and architects. Former residents of the area were relocated by the development company. See: Ren, Xuefei (2008): “Forward to the Past: Historical Preservation in Globalizing Shanghai”, pp. 23–43.

belonged to the French Concession from 1914 to 1946 (marked in blue, see fig. 5-1).<sup>3</sup> As a result of the Opium Wars, China was forced to sign so-called “unequal treaties” with Western powers and Japan, in which it was obliged to pay reparations, open ports for trade, and cede territory to them where they would set up foreign concessions. The French Concession was established in between the Shanghai International Settlement (British and U.S.-American settlements, marked in green) and the Chinese zone in 1849 and was expanded upon several times.

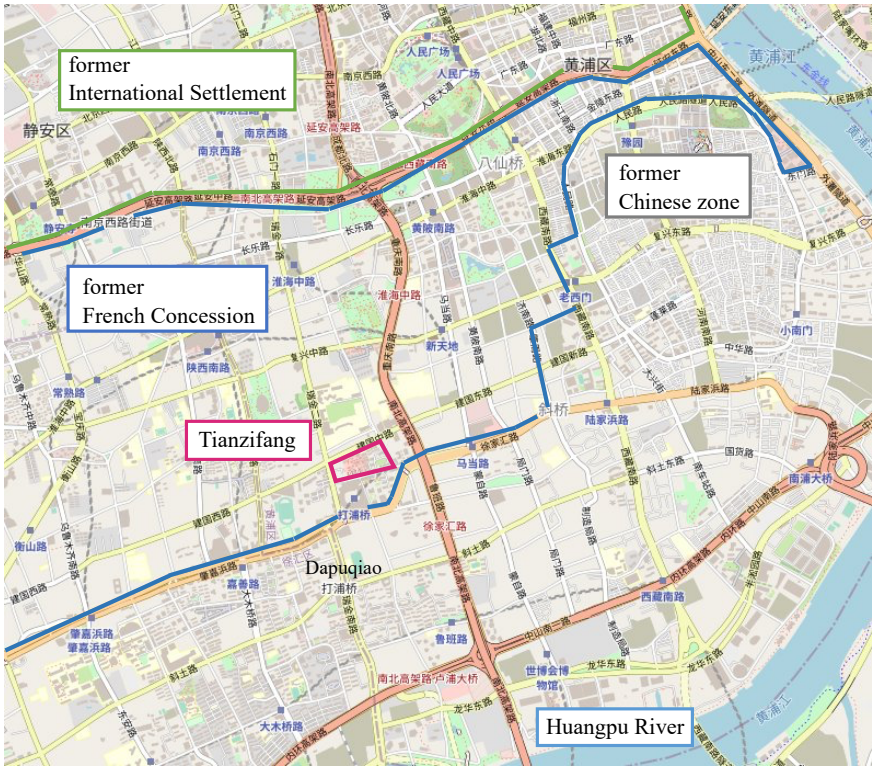


Figure 5-1. Location of Present-day Tianzifang.

Source: map adapted from © OpenStreetMap contributors, 2020, available from <https://www.openstreetmap.org/>, licensed under CC BY-SA 2.0. Lettering and marking supplemented by this author.

3 Shi, Ding 石鼎 (2015): “Tianzifang de lishi yange” 田子坊的历史沿革 [Historical Development of Tianzifang], in: “Wenhua yichan jiazhi de panduan yu bianxi — yi Shanghai Tianzifang wei li” 文化遗产价值的判断与辨析——以上海田子坊为例 [Evaluating the Significance of Cultural Heritage — Shanghai’s Tianzifang as Case Study], p. 21.

Tianzifang is part of the Taikang Road Block (Taikang Lu jiequ 泰康路街区) or “Block 56” as designated in the master plan of Luwan District.<sup>4</sup> The overall block has a size of 7.2 ha and is delimited by Middle Jianguo Road 建国中路 in the north, Sinan Road 思南路 in the east, Taikang Road in the south and Second Ruijin Road 瑞金二路 in the west.<sup>5</sup> The core area of Tianzifang has been defined in the *TZF Comprehensive Planning* as “three alleyways and one road” (*san xiang yi jie* 三巷一街) which cover about 2 ha of the block.<sup>6</sup>

While this “one road” refers to Taikang Road, the three original alleyways inside the block comprise Taikang Road Alleyway 210 泰康路 210 弄, Taikang Road Alleyway 248 泰康路 248 弄 and Taikang Road Alleyway 274 泰康路 274 弄. Following the gradual expansion of Tianzifang, further alleyways were integrated into this core area. The tourist map issued by its management committee in 2008 further includes Taikang Road Alleyway 200 泰康路 200 弄 and Central Jianguo Road Alleyway 155 建国中路 155 弄 (see appendix A.7).

At the beginning of the 20<sup>th</sup> century, the neighborhood was still surrounded by a dense network of waterways and had maintained the structural characteristics of a Jiangnan water town.<sup>7</sup> The former district name “Luwan” which was carried over until it was incorporated into the Huangpu district 黄浦区 in 2011 still reflected this close relationship to water. The designation originated from the name of a waterway called “Lujia River [bend]” (Lujia wan 卢家湾) which connected “Donglou Stream” (Donglou pu 东淞浦) in the west to “Zhaojia Creek” (Zhaojia bang 肇嘉浜) in the east, bending in the shape of an “s” south of Taikang Road.<sup>8</sup> Because Donglou Stream still carried the name “Donglu Stream” during the Qing dynasty (*lu* 芦 instead of *lou* 淞) and Zhaojia Creek could also be written with an alternative second character (*jia* 家 instead of *jia* 嘉), the connecting waterway was named *Lujia wan* (芦家湾).<sup>9</sup> This designation was used as the district name

4 “Luwan Qu zhi (1994–2003)” bianzuan weiyuanhui 《卢湾区志 (1994–2003)》编纂委员会 (ed. and comp., 2008): *Luwan Qu zhi* (1994–2003) 卢湾区志 (1994–2003) [Luwan District Gazetteer (1994–2003)], p. 204.

5 Yao, Zigang 姚子刚; Pang, Yan 庞艳; Wang, Jieqiong 汪洁琼 (2012): “‘Haipai wenhua’ de fuxing yu lishi jiequ de zaisheng — yi Shanghai Tianzifang wei li” “海派文化”的复兴与历史街区的再生——以上海田子坊为例 [The Revival of “Haipai culture” and regeneration of historic blocks — by example of Shanghai Tianzifang], p. 140.

6 TZF Comprehensive Planning (2008), p. 5.

7 Shi, Ding 石鼎 (2015): “Tianzifang de lishi yange” 田子坊的历史沿革, in: “Wenhua yichan jiazhi de panduan yu bianxi — yi Shanghai Tianzifang wei li” 文化遗产价值的判断与辨析——以上海田子坊为例, p. 21.

8 Shanghai Luwan District Gazetteer Compilation Committee 上海市卢湾区志编纂委员会 (ed., 1998): *Luwan Qu zhi* 卢湾区志 [Luwan District Gazetteer], p. 76.

9 An annotation in the *Luwan District Gazetteer* points out that there is another theory according to which the name of “Lujia wan” goes back to a settlement with a shared

when it was established in 1945 before the Municipal People's Government altered it to Luwan district, written with the first character again substituted by *lu* 卢 in 1950; following habitual use.<sup>10</sup>

The origin of this area in a traditional water town landscape is reflected in another name: Dapuqiao. The subdistrict carries the name of Dapu Bridge 打浦桥 which was built during the Tongzhi era (1861–1874) of the Qing dynasty and stood at the intersection of Xujiahui Road 徐家汇路 and the Second Ruijin Road. It became a market by the end of the Qing dynasty and its favorable geographic location attracted manufacturing businesses which depended on waterways for the transport of goods.<sup>11</sup> In the following years, small-scale factory buildings were increasingly set up in the area.<sup>12</sup> Together with residential and a small number of commercial buildings, these so-called *lilong* factories constitute the characteristic structures of the block.

Starting with the development of manufacturing businesses, the area's environment underwent great changes. Waterways were increasingly filled for road construction. As recorded in the *Luwan District Gazetteer*, many of these road construction projects were undertaken at the time of the area's incorporation into the French Concession in the course of its third expansion in 1914.<sup>13</sup> Taikang Road was constructed in 1926 and had originally been named Jiaxiyi Road 贾西义路, after the French cruiser "Cassini".<sup>14</sup> The road got its present name after Vichy France gave up its concessions in 1943.<sup>15</sup> Three years later, Dapu Bridge was likewise demolished for road construction.<sup>16</sup>

According to Zhu, the area of present-day Tianzifang featured 36 small workshops and factories in the 1930s and by the 1970s they had been integrated and

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clan name such as *luo* 罗 or *lu* 卢. The annotation informs that place names in relevant chronicles from the Ming and Qing periods have been checked. However, as no respective settlements were found, the theory has been discarded. See: Shanghai Luwan District Gazetteer Compilation Committee 上海市卢湾区志编纂委员会 (ed., 1998): *Luwan Qu zhi* 卢湾区志, p. 76.

10 Ibid.

11 Ibid., p. 77.

12 Shi, Ding 石鼎 (2015): "Tianzifang de lishi yange" 田子坊的历史沿革, in: "Wenhua yichan jiazhi de panduan yu bianxi — yi Shanghai Tianzifang wei li" 文化遗产价值的判断与辨析——以上海田子坊为例, p. 21.

13 Shanghai Luwan District Gazetteer Compilation Committee 上海市卢湾区志编纂委员会 (ed., 1998): *Luwan Qu zhi* 卢湾区志, pp. 75–76.

14 Shanghai Local Gazetteers Bureau 上海市地方志办公室 (ed., 2004): "Taikang Lu yishu jie" 泰康路艺术街 [Taikang Art Street], Online.

15 Ibid.

16 Shanghai Luwan District Gazetteer Compilation Committee 上海市卢湾区志编纂委员会 (ed., 1998): *Luwan Qu zhi* 卢湾区志, pp. 76, 262.



transformed into six factories.<sup>17</sup> These six factories which still remained by the end of the 1980s were the Shanghai Huamei Radio Factory 上海华美无线电厂, Shanghai Plastic Component Factory for Clocks and Watches 上海钟表塑料配件厂, Shanghai People's Needle Factory 上海人民针厂, Shanghai Xinxing Belt Factory 上海新兴制带厂, Shanghai Food Industry Machinery Factory 上海食品工业机械厂 and Shanghai Electrolytic Manganese Factory 上海电解锰厂. Furthermore, Taikang Road provided the setting for a decades-old street market.<sup>18</sup>

As part of an attempt at economic restructuring in Shanghai by the 1980s, manufacturing industries were relocated to peripheral positions while establishing industries from the tertiary sector in the city center,<sup>19</sup> leaving the former industrial sites of state-owned enterprises unused. Simultaneously, the existing building stock of *lilong* housing dating from the 1920s and 1930s had been neglected for a long time, resulting in strongly crowded living conditions for many dwellers without basic sanitation facilities. Following Ren, *shikumen* houses were originally inhabited by tenants from the lower middle class.<sup>20</sup>

As mentioned in the introduction, urban renewal in the 1990s was mainly carried out through large-scale demolition and reconstruction by real estate developers under designations such as “old city renewal” (*jiucheng gaizao* 旧城改造). In contrast, Tianzifang is one of the earliest projects developed through “soft transformation” (*ruan gaizao* 软改造).<sup>21</sup> This alternative approach was facilitated by global developments, precisely the Asian financial crisis (1997–1998) which halted large-scale real estate projects in central Shanghai and led Luwan District Government to grant greater autonomy concerning the reuse of vacant factories to subdistrict governments.<sup>22</sup>

This chance was seized by the head of the local subdistrict government who envisioned the transformation of Taikang Road into an arts and crafts street.<sup>23</sup> In 1999, the first artist, Chen Yifei 陈逸飞, moved his workshop to one of the empty factory buildings in Taikang Road Alleyway 210 which attracted further artists to

17 Zhu Ronglin 朱荣林 (2008): *Jiedu Tianzifang* 解读田子坊 [A Reading of Tianzifang], p. 12.

18 Shanghai Local Gazetteers Bureau 上海市地方志办公室 (ed., 2004): “Taikang Lu yishu jie” 泰康路艺术街, Online.

19 Zheng, Jane (2011): “‘Creative Industry Clusters’ and the ‘Entrepreneurial City’ of Shanghai”, p. 3566.

20 Ren, Xuefei (2008): “Forward to the Past: Historical Preservation in Globalizing Shanghai”, p. 23.

21 Xu, Yibo 徐逸波 (2008): “Xu” 序 [Preface], in: Zhu Ronglin 朱荣林: *Jiedu Tianzifang* 解读田子坊, p. [3].

22 Yu, Hai; Chen, Xiangming; Zhong, Xiaohua (2016): “Commercial Development from Below: The Resilience of Local Shops in Shanghai”, p. 67.

23 Interview with former Head of Dapujiao Subdistrict Office, Tianzifang, June 8, 2016.

follow his example.<sup>24</sup> The claim of this area as an artistic space was reinforced when another renowned painter, Huang Yongyu 黄永玉, named the alleyway “Tianzifang” in 2001.

However, the initial success of the project was threatened one year later when real-estate investment regained pace and the district government signed an agreement for redevelopment with a Taiwan real estate company.<sup>25</sup> In the end, demolition of the block was prevented by a group of “Tianzifang advocates” (mainly the head of the subdistrict government, the later chairman of the Tianzifang Merchant Association (Tianzifang shanghui 田子坊商会) and a mediator between the government and local residents) who, among other initiatives, invited architectural and conservation experts into the block to evaluate its significance. The preservation of Tianzifang was ensured with its official recognition as a creative industry park, supported by economist and vice-chairman of the Standing Committee of Shanghai Municipal People’s Congress 上海市人大常委会副主任, Li Wuwei 厉无畏 in 2006.<sup>26</sup>

## 5.1 Cultural Significance

As one of the traditional housing neighborhoods prevalent in Shanghai at the beginning of the 20<sup>th</sup> century, the urban fabric of Taikang Road Block was mainly comprised of *lilong* buildings which were constructed between 1912 and 1936.<sup>27</sup>

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24 Yu, Hai; Chen, Xiangming; Zhong, Xiaohua (2016): “Commercial Development from Below: The Resilience of Local Shops in Shanghai”, p. 68.

25 Yu, Hai 于海; Zhong, Xiaohua 钟晓华; Chen, Xiangming 陈向明 (2013): “Jiucheng gengxin zhong jiyu shequ mailuo de jiti chuangye — yi Shanghai Tianzifang shangjie wei li” 旧城更新中基于社区脉络的集体创业——以上海田子坊商街为例 [Communal Entrepreneurship in Old Neighborhood Renewal — Case Study of Shanghai Tianzifang Shopping District], p. 60.

26 Yu, Hai 于海; Zou, Huahua 邹华华 (2015): “San zhong shehui mingming yiyi xia de chengshi neicheng fuxing — yi Shanghai Tianzifang de chanye kongjian pinpai dan-sheng wei li” 三重社会命名意义下的城市内城复兴——以上海田子坊的产业空间品牌诞生为例 [Inner City Revival under the triple social significance of naming — by example of Shanghai Tianzifang’s emergence as brand for industrial space], p. 64.

27 Huang, Ye 黄晔; Qi, Guangping 戚广平 (2015): “Tianzifang lishi jiequ bao hu yu zai liyong shijian zhong shang ju hunhe maodun de caichanquan wenti” 田子坊历史街区保护与再利用实践中商居混合矛盾的财产权问题 [The Problem of Property Rights in the Conflict of Commercial and Residential Mixture in the Conservation and Re-using Practice of Tianzifang Historical District], p. 67.

Since then, according to Huang and Qi,<sup>28</sup> major changes to its built environment took place twice. With the establishment of the PRC, *lilong* factory buildings (*li-long gongchang* 里弄工厂) and storehouses in the east of the block were demolished and replaced with new multi-story factories up to five stories high. Later, in the 1980s, some *lilong* houses in different positions were demolished as well and nine multi-story buildings and apartments built in their places. Taken as a whole, with two-thirds of the original *lilong* housing having been preserved,<sup>29</sup> the integrity of the block is comparatively high.

### 5.1.1 Protected Scenic Block

Located in central Shanghai where space is scarce and densely populated, Taikang Road Block is the case study which underwent the greatest changes from its original Jiangnan water town landscape. As has been mentioned above, waterways were filled and bridges demolished for road construction at the beginning of the 20<sup>th</sup> century. In contrast to the other two case studies, where a great number of preserved built heritage sites are mansions and dwelling houses from the late imperial period, Taikang Road Block has been transformed into densely populated *lilong* neighborhoods.

#### *Urban Structure and Environmental Elements*

The term *lilong* (里弄 “alleyway house compound”<sup>30</sup>) refers to a neighborhood of characteristic Shanghai row houses connected by a network of smaller and wider lanes. *Lilong* usually cover a block delimited by streets on all four sides and are built in an enclosed form. While residential wards of ancient capital cities were enclosed by walls, the streets surrounding alleyway house compounds in present-day Shanghai carry on this enclosing function and simultaneously integrate the

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28 Huang, Ye 黄晔; Qi, Guangping 戚广平 (2015): “Tianzifang lishi jiequ baohu yu zai liyong shijian zhong shang ju hunhe maodun de caichanquan wenti” 田子坊历史街区保护与再利用实践中商居混合矛盾的财产权问题, p. 67.

29 Ibid.

30 Translation after: Bracken, Gregory (2013): *The Shanghai Alleyway House: A vanishing urban vernacular*, p. 11.

compound into its greater city context.<sup>31</sup> Following Lu, these alleyway house compounds functioned as microcosms which provided for daily necessities of their residents, all within the boundaries of the compounds.<sup>32</sup>

They are entered through the main gate and onto the main lane (*zonglong* 总弄) from which smaller branch lanes (*zhilong* 支弄) extend deeper into the block.<sup>33</sup> So as not to break the line of enclosing buildings, there usually is a “street-across building” (*guojielou* 过街楼) constructed on top of the entrance gates. This structure is attached to the upper story-buildings on both sides of the gate and can be traversed underneath. In terms of appearance and function, main gates closely resemble city gates and used to be closed at night.<sup>34</sup>

The structure of these neighborhoods follows a clear spatial and functional pattern whereby streets and alleyways are arranged in a hierarchical system. This system follows “graduated privacy” from outer to inner space,<sup>35</sup> similar to traditional housing analyzed in the preceding case studies. The streets surrounding the *lilong* are public spaces which is why the encircling row of buildings facing the street is usually not used for residential purposes but accommodates all kinds of shops. The lanes within the block are semi-public and semi-private spaces with the main lane, for example, functioning as a public thoroughfare while the smaller branch lanes are used by residents for activities of daily life, such as cooking, drying clothes or doing reparations.<sup>36</sup> Housing is situated at the branch lanes and is the most private space in the neighborhood.<sup>37</sup>

As a result of the high building density in and around the Taikang Road Block, the number of environmental elements is much lower than in the other two case studies. Nevertheless, the block features a number of **historic wells and trees**. Zhicheng Well 志成井 which belongs to Alleyway 210 was sunk in 1930 (see fig. 5-2).<sup>38</sup> It is named after Zhicheng Lane 志成坊 which was built in the

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31 Bracken, Gregory (2013): *The Shanghai Alleyway House: A vanishing urban vernacular*, p. 85.

32 Lu, Hanchao (1995): “Away from Nanking Road: Small Stores and Neighborhood Life in Modern Shanghai”, p. 96; cited in: Bracken, Gregory (2013): *The Shanghai Alleyway House: A vanishing urban vernacular*, p. 94.

33 Ruan, Yisan 阮仪三; Zhang, Jie 张杰; Zhang, Chenjie 张晨杰 (2014): *Shanghai Shikumen* 上海石库门, p. 70.

34 Ibid., p. 88.

35 Bracken, Gregory (2013): *The Shanghai Alleyway House: A vanishing urban vernacular*, p. 2.

36 Ibid., p. 6.

37 Ruan, Yisan 阮仪三; Zhang, Jie 张杰; Zhang, Chenjie 张晨杰 (2014): *Shanghai Shikumen* 上海石库门, p. 72.

38 Information plaque on the building.

same year.<sup>39</sup> As the well had been used by local residents for domestic purposes, it is mainly significant for its historical value and does not show engravings or artistic characteristics.



Figure 5-2. Zhicheng Well.

Source: author's photo, 2018.

Moreover, there is a lane which has been named “Lane of the Two Wells” (Erjing xiang 二井巷). In this example, the lane's two wells were regarded as significant characteristic of the lane and have therefore been included in its name. Both wells have been preserved, differing in size as well as form. Similar to Zhicheng Lane, they are probably both common wells for domestic use which may be suggested due to the lack of information on them. The two examples of Zhicheng Well and Erjing Lane show the interrelatedness of characteristic structural and environmental elements which refer to each other in their names. The names thereby reveal the relations between built heritage and its environment as underlying the concept of the Historic Urban Landscape.

There are two characteristic **historic trees** in the five core alleyways of Tianzifang. One occupies a traditional Chinese quadrangle-shaped courtyard adjacent to Alleyway 210 which is a rare architectural element found in alleyway house compounds. This tree has now been integrated into the outdoor area of “Kom-mune Bar” (see fig. 5-3).

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39 Information plaque on the building.





Figure 5-3. Historic Tree in a Traditional Chinese Courtyard.

Source: author's photo, 2016.

The second tree is standing in a courtyard in front of a preserved traditional Qing-period house which has equally been converted into an enclosed beer garden of another bar (see fig. 5-4).



Figure 5-4. Historic Tree in the Courtyard of a Qing-Period Dwelling.

Source: author's photo, 2018.

It is interesting that both trees are standing in preserved traditional housing structures where they still greatly enrich the urban landscape of the densely built row house block. This becomes apparent with their successful present-day usage as recreational spaces where visitors not only enjoy their relaxing effect but also their provision of shade in hot weather.

Another characteristic element of traditional *lilong* housing is the **archway**. As an architectural element, it appears as a gateway to alleyway house compounds. Main compound gateways were traditionally stone-framed which provided Shanghai's local housing type with its characteristic designation as *shikumen* housing. While the term "shikumen" 石库门 can also mean the entrance door of an individual row house, as will be explained below, Lu considers it more likely that *shikumen* originally denoted the compound entrance.<sup>40</sup> Thereby, he refers to Luo Suwen's deduction of the term from the names of palace entrances in ancient China, according to which palaces of emperors and kings as well as princes and dukes had sequential layers of gates and the outermost gate was designated as *kumen* 库门.<sup>41</sup> Accordingly, the stone-framed gateways and, more figuratively, the Shanghai alleyway houses were named "stone *kumen*".

The archway has cultural significance as the carrier of the **compound name**. The most common way to name Shanghai alleyway house compounds was by use of terms with auspicious meanings or positive connotations. According to Liang, this measure may be related to an attempt to improve the *fengshui* of "inauspicious land".<sup>42</sup> Such terms included *fu* 富 ("good fortune"), *he* 和 ("peace"), *qing* 庆 ("occasion for celebration") or *xing* 兴 ("prosperity") and were often combined with adjectives expressing permanence or eternity, such as *chang* 长 ("long") or *yong* 永 ("eternal").<sup>43</sup> However, the selection of compound names reflects the same variety as employed in traditional hall names or archway inscriptions in the preceding two case studies.

Consequently, compound names were further chosen after local characteristics such as a well in the above-mentioned example, the owner and significant aspects related to him or her, or moral principles. Frequently used expressions from Confucian classics found by Lu comprise *hengde* 恒德 ("lasting virtue"), *ai ren* 爱仁

40 Lu, Hanchao (1999): *Beyond the Neon Lights: Everyday Shanghai in the Early Twentieth Century*, pp. 143–144.

41 Luo, Suwen (1991): *Shikumen: xunchang renjia* 石库门：寻常人家 [Shikumen: Ordinary homes], p. 18; cited in: Lu, Hanchao (1999): *Beyond the Neon Lights: Everyday Shanghai in the Early Twentieth Century*, p. 143.

42 Liang, Samuel Y. (2008): "Where the Courtyard Meets the Street: Spatial Culture of the Li Neighborhoods, Shanghai, 1870–1900", pp. 490–491.

43 Lu, Hanchao (1999): *Beyond the Neon Lights: Everyday Shanghai in the Early Twentieth Century*, p. 145.

(“love and benevolence”) or *ren de* 仁德 (“benevolence and virtue”).<sup>44</sup> They usually follow the pattern of two characters + *li* 里 or *fang* 坊.

Among the preserved compound names in Tianzifang, there are two installed above main gates and one on an archway at the intersection of Alleyway 210 to Erjing Lane. The compound name inscribed on the first main gate leading to Alleyway 248 reads “Pingyuan Fang” (平原坊, “Pingyuan Alleyway”). As mentioned above, compound names could be chosen after local features. Situated on the alluvial plain of Yangzi River Delta, Shanghai’s cityscape is shaped by flat land as well as rivers and its proximity to the sea.<sup>45</sup> Accordingly, the term *pingyuan* (平原, “plain”) refers to Shanghai’s characteristic environment.

Another neighborhood in the block has been named “Tiancheng Li” (天成里, “Alleyway of Natural Endowment”). The term *tiancheng* originates from the Miscellaneous Chapters 杂篇 of the *Zhuangzi* where a Taoist disciple describes his experience of attaining the “Great Mystery” 大妙 in nine years: “the seventh year, (my nature as designed by) Heaven was perfected” (*qi nian er tian cheng* 七年而天成).<sup>46</sup> *Tiancheng* has further been used as the era name by several emperors in the Tang dynasty and the Five Dynasties period, the most well-known being Tang Mingzong 唐明宗 (867–933, reigned 926–933).<sup>47</sup> In Tianzifang, it designates the neighborhood around Alleyway 274.

The third example is the archway carrying the name Zhicheng Lane 志成坊 (“Alleyway of Fulfilled Ambitions”), shown in fig. 5-5.

As has been explained above, this lane was built in 1930 and diverts from Alleyway 210. The name of this neighborhood appears in the idiomatic phrase *you zhi jing cheng* 有志竟成 (“where there is a will there is a way”) and derives from a passage in the *History of Eastern Han* 后汉书.<sup>48</sup> It can further be related to Li Dazhao<sup>49</sup>

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44 Lu, Hanchao (1999): *Beyond the Neon Lights: Everyday Shanghai in the Early Twentieth Century*, p. 145.

45 Tang, Zhiping 汤志平 (1991): “Shanghai lishi wenhua mingcheng baohu guihua gaiyao” 上海历史文化名城保护规划概要 [Conservation Planning Outline of Shanghai Historically and Culturally Famous City], p. 4.

46 Translated after James Legge. The transcription of names has been changed into Pinyin. See: Zhuang, Zhou 庄周 (1962): *The Writings of Chuang Tzū (Books XVIII-XXXIII). The T'ai Shang Tractate of Actions and Their Retributions. Appendices I – VIII*. In: Legge, James (transl.): *The Texts of Taoism*, p. 146.

47 Davis, Richard L. (2014): *From Warhorses to Ploughshares: The Later Tang Reign of Emperor Mingzong*, p. 61.

48 Huang, Yen-Kai (compiled, 1964): *A Dictionary of Chinese Idiomatic Phrases*, p. 1221.

49 Li Dazhao 李大钊 (1888/89–1927) was a founding member of the Chinese Communist Party and educator. As one of China’s early lecturers on Marxism, he had great influence on students and the formation of the New Culture Movement. See: Yang, Hua 杨华 (2009): “Li Dazhao qingnian jiaoyu sixiang yu shijian shulüe” 李大钊青年教育

李大钊 who used the idiomatic phrase as school motto when he was a board member of former Zhicheng Middle School 志成中学; nowadays Beijing No. 35 Middle School 北京三十五中学 in 1923.<sup>50</sup> The motto expresses his idea on education that China's backwardness at the beginning of the 20<sup>th</sup> century originated from a lack of young people with courage and a new, progressive thinking.<sup>51</sup> Beijing No. 35 Middle School continues to promote this spirit under the designation of *zhicheng jingshen* 志成精神.<sup>52</sup>



Figure 5-5. Archway to Zhicheng Lane.

Source: author's photo, 2018.

Although no concrete evidence could be found to prove this hypothesis, a connection to Li Dazhao seems plausible due to his role as cofounder of the CCP and the arrival of secret CCP supporter Yang Du 杨度 from Beijing in 1929. Yang had attempted to prevent Li Dazhao's execution in 1927 but his appeal to the warlords

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思想与实践述略 [Brief account on Li Dazhao's thinking and practice of youth education], p. 70.

50 "Beijing sanshi wu zhongxue" 北京三十五中学 [Beijing No. 35 Middle School], 2008, in: *People's Education*, n. pag.

51 Yang, Hua 杨华 (2009): "Li Dazhao qingnian jiaoyu sixiang yu shijian shulüe" 李大钊青年教育思想与实践述略, pp. 70–71.

52 "Beijing sanshi wu zhongxue" 北京三十五中学 [Beijing No. 35 Middle School], 2008, in: *People's Education*, n. pag.

was turned down.<sup>53</sup> He then became a party member in 1930, the same year when the lane was built. The commemorative function of archways and the fact that Yang lived in a nearby residence where he worked as writer and calligrapher (see chapter 5.1.2) suggest a connection of the lane name to this legacy of Li Dazhao.

As compound names are written in calligraphy, they not only carry cultural but also artistic value. Following Lu, the practice of naming the alleyway house compounds was “a matter of adding a touch of elegance, bestowing a blessing on a new home, and, practically, establishing an everlasting advertisement”.<sup>54</sup> Thereby, these calligraphic names were inscribed on horizontal stones and installed above the compound gateway.<sup>55</sup> The names, in some cases painted in red, further needed to be identified from a greater distance because they were an important part of a postal address.<sup>56</sup> In terms of cultural significance, the compound names therefore resemble the hall names of traditional houses in the Jiangnan region which carry connotations to aspirations, local characteristics or moral principles as well as artistic value due to their calligraphic form.

Moreover, archways played an important role as symbolic structures in the developmental process of Tianzifang which shall be illustrated by two examples. The first **symbolic archway** in the block is related to the period when Tianzifang was an art street. At the end of January 2002, a street landmark in the shape of an archway was set up at the intersection of Taikang Road and Xujiahui Road 徐家汇路. This “Gate of Art” (*yishu zhi men* 艺术之门) is a stainless steel sculpture designed by artist Chen Yifei (see fig. 5-6). According to the artist’s official website, the upper part of the sculpture in the shape of a ribbon symbolizes a connection between artists from all over the world.<sup>57</sup>

Following the naming of Taikang Road Alleyway 210 by artist Huang Yongyu, the establishment of the archway can be seen as another step of claiming the alleyway as an artistic space. Being an artwork itself, the archway symbolizes the entrance to a place of artists which is further emphasized by its name: “Gate of Art”. Simultaneously, the meaning of the artwork reflects the social setting of Tianzifang at the time when it was characterized by studios of foreign artists and designers from 26 countries.<sup>58</sup>

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53 Chan, Henry Y. S. (1998): “Yang Du (1875–1931)”, p. 400.

54 Lu, Hanchao (1999): *Beyond the Neon Lights: Everyday Shanghai in the Early Twentieth Century*, pp. 145–146.

55 Ibid.

56 Ibid.

57 “Shanghai Taikang Lu ‘Shanghai yishu zhi men’” 上海泰康路 《上海艺术之门》 [Shanghai Taikang Road “Shanghai Gate of Art”], CHEN YIFEI Art Studio, Online.

58 Zhu, Ronglin 朱荣林 (2008): *Jiedu Tianzifang* 解读田子坊, p. 20.





Figure 5-6. Shanghai Gate of Art.

Source: author's photo, 2018.



Figure 5-7. Shikumen Archway at Entrance No. 7.

Source: author's photo, 2018.

The recent functional shift of the block into a cultural and creative tourism destination can also be related to an archway which was set up at entrance no. 7 in the southeast of Tianzifang. In contrast to the artwork by Chen Yifei, this archway is an imitation of traditional *shikumen* entrance gates (hereafter *shikumen* archway, see fig. 5-7). It clearly alludes to the architectural characteristics of traditional Shanghai *lilong* housing, well known by visitors. It is further set up in a strategic position, welcoming tourists arriving by subway as well as “embellishing” the entrance to the former factory area.

The name “Tianzifang” is written in calligraphic script in the center of the archway as well as inscribed in a commemorative stone and signed “Juexing” 觉醒 in the lower corner on the left. The name Juexing refers to Master Juexing, the abbot of Shanghai Jade Buddha Temple and vice president of the Buddhist Association of China<sup>59</sup>. The abbot has a close relation to the arts, himself being a famous calligrapher. The Jade Buddha Temple further hosts calligraphy exhibitions of works based on Buddhist sutras such as in June 2017 when the abbot was on the expert panel to select the most outstanding pieces.<sup>60</sup>

The practice of having Tianzifang’s name inscribed on an archway brings to mind the memorial archways in the former two case studies which have also been inscribed by famous calligraphers. On the one hand, this form of the name’s manifestation reinforces it as the legitimate name of the block. As has been explained earlier, compound names in alleyway house compounds have an identity-building function. On the other hand, Master Juexing’s inscription shows support for the project and recognition in the artistic world which is central to the establishment of Tianzifang as a brand.

### *Naming*

The selection of “Tianzifang” as compound name (later standing for the entire block) was a strategic move related to the objective of expanding the block’s functions. Therefore, it is helpful to understand the origin of the name and its underlying naming process. While alleyway house compounds were traditionally provided with compound names, the part of the block which was designated as “Tianzifang” in the very beginning and later core area of the creative industry park was not a

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59 “Fangzhang jianjie” 方丈简介 [Introduction of the abbot], Shanghai Jade Buddha Temple, Online.

60 Yang, Jian (June 26, 2017): “Calligraphy exhibition starts in Jade Buddha Temple”, *Shanghai Daily*, Online.

housing compound but an alleyway with factory buildings and originally belonged to Zhicheng Lane.<sup>61</sup>

In 1999, famous artist Huang Yongyu 黄永玉 named Alleyway 210 of Taikang Road “Tianzifang” 田子坊 which marked the beginning of Taikang Road as an art street. The name was not randomly chosen but carries a cultural connotation and is related to historical records and the Chinese classics. According to an information sign put up at entrance no. 1 by former Taikang Road Art Association (Taikang Lu yishu hangye lianyihui 泰康路艺术行业联谊会), the alleyway has been named after the “oldest” Chinese painter who appears in an account of the “Records of the Grand Historian” (*Shiji* 史记) and was called Tian Zifang 田子方. The respective sign stated the following (see fig. 5-8):



1999年，画家黄永玉为泰康路210弄题名“田子坊”。“田子方”据史记记载是中国古时最老的画家，取其谐意，喻意艺术人士集聚地。

“In 1999, painter Huang Yongyu entitled Taikang Road Alleyway 210 “Tianzifang” 田子坊. According to the “Records of the Grand Historian”, “Tian Zifang” 田子方 [written with another character for *fang*] was the oldest painter of China’s ancient times. Through the adoption of [characters with] a corresponding meaning [as name for the alleyway, it] connotes a gathering place for artists.”<sup>62</sup>

Figure 5-8. Introduction to Tianzifang.

Source: author’s photo, 2015.

61 Shi, Ding 石鼎 (2015): “Tianzifang de lishi yange” 田子坊的历史沿革, in: Du, Xiaofan 杜晓帆 (ed.): “Wenhua yichan jiazhi de panduan yu bianxi — yi Shanghai Tianzifang wei li” 文化遗产价值的判断与辨析——以上海田子坊为例, p. 20.

62 In the name for Taikang Road Alleyway 210, the last character *fang* 坊 has been altered from the name of the figure Tian Zifang 田子方 which served as its model. By adding the component *tu* 土 which can mean “soil” or “local”, the character indicates a place

From the explanation on the information sign, the reader would expect that there is an entry on a painter named “Tian Zifang” in the “Records of the Grand Historian”. While there indeed is an account on a figure named “Tian Zifang” in the 44th chapter on the “Hereditary House of Wei” (*Wei shijia* 魏世家), the 14th of the 30 genealogies of feudal houses from the Zhou dynasty (1045–256 BC) to the beginning of the Han dynasty (206 BC–220 AD), this figure appears in the position of a teacher. Together with the well-known Confucian disciple Bu Zixia 卜子夏 and another one of his students, Duangan Mu 段干木, Tian Zifang is named as a teacher of the Marquis Wen of Wei (魏文侯, reigned 424–387 BC).<sup>63</sup>

The above-mentioned chapter records an encounter of Tian Zifang with Wei Ji 魏击, the eldest son of Marquis Wen and later Marquis Wu of Wei (Wei Wu Hou 魏武侯, reigned 387–371 BC):

十七年，伐中山，使子击守之，赵仓唐傅之。子击逢文侯之师田子方于朝歌，引车避，下谒。田子方不为礼。子击因问曰：“富贵者骄人乎？且贫贱者骄人乎？”子方曰：“亦贫贱者骄人耳。夫诸侯而骄人则失其国，大夫而骄人则失其家。贫贱者，行不合，言不用，则去之楚、越，若脱屣然，柰何其同之哉！”子击不怩而去。西攻秦，至郑而还，筑雒阴、合阳。<sup>64</sup>

“In the 17th year [of Marquis Wen, 409 B.C.], [he] led a [successful] campaign against Zhongshan and sent [his] son [Prince] Ji to defend it. Zhao Cangtang assisted him. The son [Prince] Ji came across the teacher of Marquis Wen, Tian Zifang, at Zhaoge. He moved his chariot to give way and dismounted to pay his respects. Tian Zifang did not return a salute. Thus, [his] son [Prince] Ji asked him: “Do the rich or the poor treat others arrogantly?” Zifang replied: “Of course, it is the poor who treat others arrogantly. If a feudal prince treats others arrogantly, he will lose his country. If a senior official treats others arrogantly, he will lose his manor. But a poor man, if his actions do not conform [to a ruler’s request] and his words are not heard, will leave and go to [the states of] Chu or Yue, just as striving off his straw sandals. How could these [conditions] be considered equivalent?” The son [Prince] Ji left discontentedly. [Marquis Wen] attacked Qin in the west and returned after he had reached Zheng. He built [the cities of] Luoyin and Heyang.”<sup>65</sup>

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name. This character is particularly suitable as *fang* 坊 can mean “lane” as well as “workshop” and is frequently used as the final character in lane names.

63 Sima, Qian (2016): *The Grand Scribe’s Records, Volume X: The Memoirs of Han China*, Part III. Nienhauser, Jr.; William H. (ed.). Chan, Chiu Ming; van Ess, Hans; Nienhauser, Jr., William H.; Noel, Thomas D.; Nürnberger, Marc; Pöllath, Jakob; Siegl, Andreas; Wu, Lianlian (transl.), p. 273.

64 Wang, Liqi 王利器 (ed., 1997): *Shu shijia* 书世家 [Genealogies]. *Shiji zhuyi* 史记注译 [Annotations on the Records of the Grand Historian], p. 1353.

65 Translated by this author, based on: Wang, Liqi 王利器 (ed., 1997): *Shu shijia* 书世家. *Shiji zhuyi* 史记注译, p. 1353.

In this passage, Tian Zifang is introduced as the teacher of Marquis Wen (“Wen Hou zhi shi” 文侯之师). Accordingly, his son, Wei Ji, shows his respect when they meet. Tian Zifang is depicted as a wise man who cleverly reacts to the provocation of his opponent and teaches him a lesson. Following the “Biographies of Scholars” (*Rulin liezhuan* 儒林列传) in the “Records of the Grand Historian”, Tian Zifang was a Confucian follower instructed by Bu Zixia to teach sovereigns after Confucius’ death.<sup>66</sup> The annotations further state that he came from the state of Wei and that Marquis Wen treated him with great courtesy.<sup>67</sup>

In this role of a teacher, Tian Zifang further appears in other classical Chinese texts. Another well-known passage is from the “Strategies of the Warring States” (*Zhanguo ce* 战国策). In chapter 22 on the strategies of Wei, section five is entitled: “Marquis Wen of Wei was drinking with Tian Zifang and praised the music” (Wei Wen Hou yu Tian Zifang yinjiu er cheng yue 魏文侯与田子方饮酒而称乐). Therein, Tian Zifang advises the marquis to focus on politics instead of investing great effort in thinking about music.<sup>68</sup> Again, Tian Zifang is portrayed as teacher and political advisor, but not as a painter.

The relation of the name “Tian Zifang” with an artist, as established on the information sign, becomes clearer from the paintings of Huang Yongyu. One famous motive of his paintings is a bare-chested painter holding a brush and focusing on his work. Huang Yongyu painted this motive several times in ink and color on paper with an early version dating from 1981.<sup>69</sup> In addition, he titled the paintings “Tian Zifang” and added to them a paragraph in calligraphy. This paragraph itself is an extract from a classical text, namely the *Zhuangzi*<sup>70</sup>. Therein, chapter 21 from which the paragraph originates, is named “Tian Zifang” 田子方.

However, although its name has been chosen as the title, the figure Tian Zifang is not the central theme of chapter 21. Rather, Tian Zifang only appears in the first of eleven sections in this chapter whereby the sections are not related to one another.

66 Wang, Liqi 王利器 (ed., 1997): *Liezhuan* 列传 [Biographies]. *Shiji zhuyi* 史记注释 [Annotations on the Records of the Grand Historian], p. 2549.

67 *Ibid.*, p. 2550.

68 Liu, Xiang 刘向 (compiled in Han dynasty, 1978): *Zhan guo ce* 战国策 [Strategies of the Warring States], pp. 780–781. For a translation see: Crump, J.I. (1970): *Chan-Kuo Ts’u’e*, p. 373.

69 “Tian Zifang”, Poly International Auction Co., Ltd, Online.

70 *Zhuangzi* 庄子 (369–286 BC), original name Zhuang Zhou 庄周, was a Chinese Daoist philosopher. His teachings had a great influence on Chinese poetry and landscape painting. The book of the same name consists of 33 chapters of which the first seven are ascribed to Zhuangzi himself and are called “inner chapters” (*nei pian* 内篇). Chapters 8–22 are the “outer chapters” (*wai pian* 外篇) and together with the “miscellaneous chapters” (*za pian* 杂篇) are believed to originate from his followers. See: Liu, Xiaogan (2003): “Zhuangzi (Chuang Tzu): Schools”, pp. 919–923.



“Tian Zifang” 田子方 are the first three characters at the very beginning of this chapter, hence its name.<sup>71</sup> The section records another encounter of Tian Zifang with Marquis Wen:

田子方侍坐于魏文侯，数称谿工。文侯曰：“谿工，子之师邪？”子方曰：“非也。无择之里人也，称道数当，故无择称之。”文侯曰：“然则子无师邪？”子方曰：“有。”曰：“子之师谁邪？”子方曰：“东郭顺子。”文侯曰：“然则夫子何故未尝称之？”子方曰：“其为人也真，人貌而天虚，缘而葆真，清而容物。物无道，正容以悟之，使人之意也消。无择何足以称之？”...<sup>72</sup>

“Tian Zifang, sitting in attendance on the marquis Wen of Wei, often quoted (with approbation) the words of Qi Gong. The marquis said, ‘Is Qi Gong your preceptor?’ Zifang replied, ‘No. He only belongs to the same neighborhood. In speaking about the Dao, his views are often correct, and therefore I quote them as I do.’ The marquis went on, ‘Then have you no preceptor?’ ‘I have.’ ‘And who is he?’ He is Dongguo Shunzi.’ ‘And why, my Master, have I never heard you quote his words?’ Zifang replied, ‘He is a man who satisfies the true (ideal of humanity); a man in appearance, but (having the mind of) Heaven. Void of any thought of himself, he accommodates himself to others, and nourishes the true ideal that belongs to him. With all his purity, he is forbearing to others. Where they are without the Dao, he rectifies his demeanor, so that they understand it, and in consequence their own ideas melt away and disappear. How should one like me be fit to quote his words?’”<sup>73</sup>

Although the different sections of chapter 21 are unconnected, the conversation between Tian Zifang and Marquis Wen touches on topics which are addressed again in the following sections. Chen identified “truth” as one of these topics covered in the chapter, proceeding from Dongguo Shunzi’s conduct of life in the example above.<sup>74</sup> Again, the passage does neither mention a painter nor refer to Tian Zifang as such. However, the later chapter includes the passage quoted on Huang Yongyu’s painting which is the seventh section and reads as follows:

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71 Chen, Guying (2016): *The Philosophy of Life — A New Reading of the Zhuangzi*, p. 166.

72 Yang, Bojun 杨伯峻 (introduction); Zhang, Zhen 张震 (collation, punctuation, 1989): *Laozi • Zhuangzi • Liezi 老子 • 庄子 • 列子*, p. 85.

73 Translated after James Legge. The transcription of names has been changed into Pinyin. See: Zhuang, Zhou 庄周 (1962): *The Writings of Chuang Tzū (Books XVIII-XXXIII). The T'ai Shang Tractate of Actions and Their Retributions. Appendices I – VIII*. In: Legge, James (transl.): *The Texts of Taoism*, pp. 42–43.

74 Chen, Guying (2016): *The Philosophy of Life — A New Reading of the Zhuangzi*, p. 166.

宋元君将画图。众史皆至，受揖而立；舐笔和墨，在外者半。有一史后至者，儻儻然不趋，受揖不立，因之舍。公使人视之，则解衣般礴，裸。君曰：“可矣，是真画者也。”<sup>75</sup>

“The ruler Yuan of Song wishing to have a map drawn, the masters of the pencil all came (to undertake the task). Having received his instructions and made their bows, they stood, licking their pencils and preparing their ink. Half their number, however, remained outside. There was one who came late, with an air of indifference, and did not hurry forward. When he had received his instructions and made his bow, he did not keep standing, but proceeded to his shed. The duke sent a man to see him, and there he was, with his upper garment off, sitting cross-legged, and nearly naked. The ruler said, ‘He is the man; he is a true draughtsman.’”<sup>76</sup>

While the passage provides an account of what is perceived to be a “true draughtsman”, the name of this person is not given. The fact that Huang Yongyu added a quotation of this section from the *Zhuangzi* on his paintings and that the figure is depicted bare-chested, suggests that the paintings refer to a scene from this later section, rather than to the Confucian teacher from the beginning sections.

Following his earlier preoccupation with the topic in the context of his paintings, Huang Yongyu’s choice to name the street “Tianzifang” can be assumed to have a close relation to section seven of chapter 21 from the *Zhuangzi*. He suggested the name in the course of a visit to the block because the artists’ workshops were not located on Taikang Road but on one of its smaller alleyways (Alleyway 210).<sup>77</sup> By choosing a name related to the respective passage from the *Zhuangzi*, this alleyway is bestowed with “authenticity” as the working place of “true draughtsmen” or, in a broader sense, “true artists”.

By replacing the third character of the name “Tian Zifang” 田子方 with the character *fang* 坊, the new name is further provided with an additional meaning. Besides being a common part of street or alley names, *fāng* 坊 (pronounced in the first tone) can mean “street block” or “neighborhood”, as in *jiefang* 街坊.<sup>78</sup> This meaning of “neighborhood” gained importance during Tianzifang’s later development when the designation was extended to cover not only Alleyway 210 but the

75 Yang, Bojun 杨伯峻 (introduction); Zhang, Zhen 张震 (collation, punctuation, 1989): *Laozi • Zhuangzi • Liezi* 老子 • 庄子 • 列子, p. 87.

76 Translated after James Legge. The transcription of names has been changed into Pinyin. See: Zhuang, Zhou 庄周 (1962): *The Writings of Chuang Tzū (Books XVIII-XXXIII). The T'ai Shang Tractate of Actions and Their Retributions. Appendices I – VIII*. In: Legge, James (transl.): *The Texts of Taoism*, pp. 50–51.

77 Zhang, Jianjun 张建君 (April 15, 2009): “Lao Zheng he ta de Tianzifang” 老郑和他的田子坊 [Lao Zheng and his Tianzifang], Weblog entry.

78 Hanyu da zidian bianji weiyuanhui 汉语大字典编辑委员会 (1995): *Hanyu da zidian* 汉语大字典 [Comprehensive Chinese Character Dictionary], p. 427.

whole block. Thereby, the name not only contributed to the protection of the art-related, and previously industrial, buildings but the entire mixed-use block, including its residential architecture.

After Huang Yongyu had made his suggestion, the Tianzifang advocates constructed a cross beam and put up the new name in calligraphic script at the entrance to Alleyway 210 (see fig. 5-9).<sup>79</sup>



Figure 5-9. Tianzifang Entrance No. 1.

Source: author's photo, 2018.

Zhang, another Tianzifang advocate and close confidant of the head of the subdistrict government, describes the installation of the name board in 2002 as the starting point of Tianzifang's popularity, but emphasizes the initial rejection of the name by many. Because Alleyway 210 had originally not been named "Tianzifang", it was perceived as "fake" (*jia* 假).<sup>80</sup> That it became recognized as the "authentic" name of the block is owed to Huang Yongyu. According to Zhang, the fact that the name had been given by the renowned artist was a decisive factor.<sup>81</sup>

79 Zeng, Fanrong 曾凡荣 (written and directed, May 9, 2018): "Chuangyi Tianzifang (xia)" 创意田子坊 (下) [Creative Tianzifang (Part two)], episode 366, min. 1–3, Online.

80 Zhang, Jianjun 张建君 (April 15, 2009): "Lao Zheng he ta de Tianzifang" 老郑和他的田子坊, Weblog entry.

81 Ibid.

By choosing a name for the lane he set a clear statement which can be regarded as the approval of the place's significance. Moreover, in their attempt to establish the name, the Tianzifang advocates presented it in the traditional form already known from the former case studies: as calligraphic inscription at the "entrance gate".

In the naming process of Tianzifang, both its associated meaning as a gathering place of artists and the relation to classical works played an important role. Following Xu, the naming of an artifact in ancient China needed to be justified logically and historically and its significance lay more in its spiritual meaning, or historical events associated with it, than in physical characteristics.<sup>82</sup> Facing the difficulty to justify the preservation of vernacular buildings and industrial heritage, the Tianzifang advocates employed a strategy to enrich it with associated meaning. This became particularly important for the block's development as a creative industry park and was later taken up by the district government. In 2009, the deputy secretary of Luwan District Party Committee wrote on his blog that the choice of "Tianzifang" as the name implies the attempt of "opening up a world of boundless creativity".<sup>83</sup>

### 5.1.2 Historical Buildings

In contrast to the two preceding case studies where conservation management is based on inventories of buildings protected on different administrative levels, there are no officially listed buildings in Taikang Road Block. The built heritage consists of local *shikumen lilong* housing as well as *lilong* and multi-story factory buildings. *Shikumen lilong* is the designation for characteristic Shanghai housing structures. The term *shikumen*, as has been mentioned above, thereby can refer to the stone-framed door at the entrance of a building as well as figuratively to the entire building as a housing unit. In the case of *shikumen lilong*, the neighborhoods are composed of housing which features the characteristic stone-framed doors.

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82 Xu, Yinong (2000): *The Chinese city in space and time: the development of urban form in Suzhou*, p. 50.

83 Ding, Haijiao 丁海椒 (August 13, 2009): "Tianzifang yu Tian Zifang" 田子坊与田子方 [Tianzifang and Tian Zifang], Weblog entry.

### Historical Value

As a specific building type, *shikumen* alleyway houses originate from the middle of the 19<sup>th</sup> century when great numbers of refugees flocked to Shanghai from the countryside. The great influx of refugees resulted from an uprising of the “Small-sword Society” (Xiaodaohui 小刀会), an anti-Qing and anti-foreign secret society at the time of the Taiping Rebellion.<sup>84</sup> In search for safety and shelter, Chinese from the vicinity of Shanghai fled to the foreign concessions with their number having reached more than 110,000 by the end of the rebellion.<sup>85</sup> Moreover, the increasing scarcity of accommodations triggered the development of a real estate market, initiated by Western merchants who built housing and rented it out to refugees. While this real estate market was initially dominated by Western tycoons such as the Sassoon family and Silas Aaron Hardoon (1847–1931); Chinese merchants as well as wealthy landlords and officials who had come to the city as refugees soon joined in real estate speculation.<sup>86</sup>

The alleyway houses built for wealthy families were u-shaped, following the model of multi-generational traditional courtyard houses and featured wing rooms to accommodate the families of sons as well as rear rooms for domestic servants.<sup>87</sup> By the beginning of the 20<sup>th</sup> century, the overwhelming population increase required a downsizing of housing units at lower costs, resulting in a gradual substitution of u-shaped with single-bay alleyway houses accompanied by increasing scales of housing compounds.<sup>88</sup> Soon developed in large-scale production, the densely-built row houses spread across the city and became the prominent form of housing in Shanghai. As a form of built heritage, Shanghai alleyway houses therefore reflect the material production, lifestyle, traditions and social practices of the city in the transition from the 19<sup>th</sup> to the 20<sup>th</sup> century and have historical value (Comm CP, 2.3.1 iii).

Until recently, the buildings of the Taikang Road Block have not been considered significant enough to be included into Shanghai’s conservation system of “historic and cultural scenic areas”. This may be related to their location in the periphery of the former French Concession where blocks were built for mixed usage (in this case, factories and residential buildings) and building quality was

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84 Bracken, Gregory (2013): *The Shanghai Alleyway House: A vanishing urban vernacular*, p.76.

85 Lu, Hanchao (1999): *Beyond the Neon Lights: Everyday Shanghai in the Early Twentieth Century*, p. 139.

86 *Ibid.*, p. 141.

87 *Ibid.*, p. 151.

88 *Ibid.*, p. 152.



comparatively poor.<sup>89</sup> Following the *TZF Concept Plan*, there is a further social gradation of the traditional built environment from north to south.<sup>90</sup> The central residential area between Huaihai Road Commercial Street and Taikang Road Block was characterized by garden-style townhouses (*huayuan yangfang* 花园洋房) and condominium houses (*gongyushi zhuzhai* 公寓式住宅). The areas further south including present-day Tianzifang partly comprised small-scale *lilong* housing as well as townhouses. Finally, the block south of Taikang Road consisted of lower grade *lilong* housing for “ordinary” residents.<sup>91</sup>

With traditional *lilong* housing blocks becoming more and more rare in Shanghai’s built environment, the significance of this formerly common residential area strongly increased. Austrian art historian and conservation theorist Alois Riegl illustrates this phenomenon by referring to a ripped paper fragment. Rather a trivial written document if compared to other pieces which can provide more elaborate and much more detailed information, it may become an indispensable testimony from the moment it remains as the only preserved piece of its time.<sup>92</sup>

In contrast to the Pingjiang Historic Block which is also a residential area but gains historical value from the great number of historically famous figures who lived there, only a few of Tianzifang’s houses are related to historical figures. One of these buildings is the former residence of Yang Du 杨度 (1874–1931), located in Middle Jianguo Road Alleyway 155 No. 13. He was a politician who took many twists and turns in the course of his life, starting his career as an official in the Qing government, later joining the Guomindang and finally turning to the Communist Party as a secret member in his last years.<sup>93</sup>

After he had moved back to Shanghai from Beijing in 1929, the Shanghai Green Gang leader Du Yuesheng 杜月笙 invited him to become his advisor and therefore offered him to live in the above-mentioned residence which was owned by Du.<sup>94</sup>

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89 Huang, Ye 黄晔; Qi, Guangping 戚广平 (2015): “Tianzifang lishi jiequ baohu yu zai liyong shijian zhong shang ju hunhe maodun de caichanquan wenti” 田子坊历史街区保护与再利用实践中商居混合矛盾的财产权问题 [The Problem of Property Rights in the Conflict of Commercial and Residential Mixture in the Conservation and Re-using Practice of Tianzifang Historical District], p. 67.

90 TZF Concept Plan (2007), p. 2.

91 Ibid.

92 Riegl, Alois (1903): *Der moderne Denkmalkultus: Sein Wesen und seine Entstehung*, p. 3.

93 Hou, Yijie 侯宜杰 (1988): “Qingmo yubei lixian shiqi de Yang Du” 清末预备立宪时期的杨度 [Yang Du in the period of constitutionalization at the end of Qing dynasty], p. 88.

94 Zhou, Jun 周军 (2003): “Yang Du — Cong baohuang pai dao Zhonggong dangyuan de chuanqi rensheng” 杨度 — 从保皇派到中共党员的传奇人生 [Yang Du — His legendary life from royalist to member of the Communist Party], p. 8.

During this time, Yang who lived from his writing, composed poems and did calligraphy for Du while simultaneously taking advantage of his patronage to work secretly for the Communist Party.<sup>95</sup> The residence in present-day Tianzifang can only be identified by a small sign hung up at the back door by the Tourism Management Bureau of Luwan District which states that Yang had once lived there (see fig. 5-10).



Figure 5-10. Information Plaque on Yang Du’s Former Residence.  
Source: author’s photo, 2016.

Another building of historical significance is Yinyun Building (Yinyun lou 隐云楼), one of the few buildings which has its own name. In the 1930s, it was home to painter Wang Yayun 汪亚云 who established Shanghai Xinhua Art School 上海新华艺术专科学校 and an artist association named “Strength Society” 力社.<sup>96</sup> The house became a gathering place and venue for artistic exchange of students from this art school.<sup>97</sup> Unfortunately, there is hardly any information on the building or its owner.

In the critical period of Tianzifang’s development when the area had been promised to the Taiwan real estate developer, well-known Chinese architectural scholars Zheng Shiling 郑时龄 and Ruan Yisan from Tongji University were invited to investigate the block as part of the strategy to obtain public consent on the necessity to retain its material built heritage. Following their judgment, Tianzifang has become historically significant as a “Chinese-Western juncture” (*huayang*

95 Zhou, Jun 周军 (2003): “Yang Du — Cong baohuang pai dao Zhonggong dangyuan de chuanqi rensheng” 杨度 — 从保皇派到中共党员的传奇人生, pp. 8–9.

96 Zhu Ronglin 朱荣林 (2008): *Jiedu Tianzifang* 解读田子坊, p. 8.

97 He, Jinliao (2013): *Creative Industry Districts in Shanghai: An analysis of dynamics, networks and implications*, p. 68.

*jiaojie* 华洋交界) in the formation process of Shanghai city.<sup>98</sup> This encounter of Chinese and “Western” culture is most aptly manifested in its diverse forms of housing architecture.

Following criterion 2.3.1 vi from the commentary on the China Principles, a site has historical value if different stages of its transformation over time are revealed. The different architectural housing forms in Tianzifang well illustrate the block’s developmental stages from the end of the imperial period to the People’s Republic. The earliest housing type preserved in Tianzifang is a traditional Qing period dwelling encircled by a wooden fence and with a traditional wooden entrance gate (see fig. 5-11). Located in Middle Jianguo Road Alleyway 155 No. 25; it is the only house of its kind preserved in the Tianzifang core area.



Figure 5-11. Traditional Qing-Period Dwelling.

Source: author’s photo, 2016.

During the most recent field research visit in May 2018, this author further found another single-story traditional house in Taikang Road Alleyway 274 No. 28 which was formerly not accessible but has now been renovated and opened as a small shop (see fig. 5-12).

98 Zhang, Jianjun 张建君 (April 15, 2009): “Lao Zheng he ta de Tianzifang” 老郑和他的田子坊, Weblog entry.



Figure 5-12. Traditional Local-style Dwelling.

Source: author's photo, 2018.

### *Artistic and Scientific Value*

The majority of Tianzifang's built environment consists of *shikumen lilong* houses. In line with their time of construction, *lilong* houses vary in terms of layout and building style and are categorized as “old-style” *lilong* (*jiushi lilong* 旧式里弄) or traditional *shikumen* houses, “new-style” *lilong* (*xinshi lilong* 新式里弄), “Cantonese-style” *lilong* (*guangshi lilong* 广式里弄) mainly inhabited by Cantonese immigrants,<sup>99</sup> “garden-style” *lilong* (*huayuan lilong* 花园里弄) with open space surrounding the house or “*lilong* condominiums” (*gongyushi lilong* 公寓式里弄).<sup>100</sup>

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99 Wang, Shaozhou 王绍周; Chen, Zhimin 陈志敏 (1987): *Lilong jianzhu* 里弄建筑 [Lilong architecture], pp. 59-60; cited in: Lu, Hanchao (1999): *Beyond the Neon Lights: Everyday Shanghai in the Early Twentieth Century*, p. 150.

100 Ruan, Yisan 阮仪三; Zhang, Jie 张杰; Zhang, Chenjie 张晨杰 (2014): *Shanghai Shikumen* 上海石库门, p. 53.

The *lilong* houses in Tianzifang include traditional *shikumen lilong* as well as new-style *lilong* houses.<sup>101</sup> While traditional *shikumen* houses are in plain style with their characteristic stone-framed doors (see fig. 5-13), new-style *lilong* houses are usually of a higher quality as they were built in reinforced concrete structure and have three stories (see fig. 5-14). Moreover, they had waxed wooden floors, iron gates, as well as small front gardens and were equipped with sanitation fixtures.<sup>102</sup>

Moreover, the block does not solely feature “common” *shikumen* houses, as they could be found in other parts of Shanghai as well but comprises a particular kind of alleyway house. These “face-to-face” *shikumen* (“*mian dui mian*” *shikumen* “面对面”石库门) are set up as two opposing rows of *shikumen* houses which are oriented in opposite directions but both have their entries facing the central lane which separates them. In Tianzifang, one row of such “face-to-face” *shikumen* can be found in Alleyway 248 of Taikang Road (see fig. 5-15). According to Gu, this is a rare type of *shikumen* housing in Shanghai which makes them historically and architecturally significant (Comm CP, 2.3.1 v; Comm CP, 2.3.2 i).<sup>103</sup>

*Lilong* housing further gains artistic value from different architectural elements (Comm CP, 2.3.2 i). One of these elements is the “skywell” (*tianjing* 天井), usually located in-between the entrance gate and main room. Corresponding to skywells in Chinese courtyard houses, it facilitates ventilation and lighting. While in early period *shikumen* there further were skywells in-between the front and rear buildings and their positions still closely resembled traditional courtyard houses; they were partly left out in the later period due to an increasing scarcity of space.<sup>104</sup>

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101 Xu, Yibo 徐逸波; Chen, Haiwen 陈海汶 (ed., 2011): *Xianhuo de Shanghai longtang: Tianzifang* 鲜活的上海弄堂: 田子坊 [Vibrant Lanes in Shanghai: Tianzifang], p. 19.

102 Ibid., p. 150.

103 Gu, Li 顾力 (2012): “‘Shanghai de Suhe’ — Tianzifang chuanyi wenhua chanye yuanqu de wenhua yishu tese tanxi” “上海的苏荷”——田子坊创意文化产业园区的文化艺术特色探析 [“Shanghai’s SoHo” — Analysis of the cultural and artistic characteristics of Tianzifang creative and cultural industry park], p. 6.

104 Lu, Hanchao (1999): *Beyond the Neon Lights: Everyday Shanghai in the Early Twentieth Century*, p. 149.





Figure 5-13. Traditional Shikumen Houses.



Figure 5-14. New-style Shikumen Houses.

Source: author's photos, 2018.



Figure 5-15. "Face-to-face" Shikumen.

Source: author's photo, 2016.



Other traditional characteristic elements identified by Ruan et al. comprise high enclosing walls, stone door frames as well as black-painted wooden doors.<sup>105</sup> And yet another element originating from the Jiangnan region and reappearing in *shikumen* lanes are fire-retarding partition walls.<sup>106</sup> A particular architectural phenomenon arising from the later period when more stories were added to accommodate more people is the *laohu chuang* (老虎窗, “tiger window”). This designation refers to the dormers which were constructed to light newly added rooms under the rooftops which had no side windows. The name relates to their appearance resembling tiger heads stuck out from the roof (see fig. 5-16).<sup>107</sup>



Figure 5-16. Laohu Chuang, “Tiger Windows”, Taikang Road.

Source: author’s photo, 2018.

Moreover, roof space is a substantial part of this type of housing. This is well-illustrated by the example of the flat roof (*shaitai* 晒台) which is used for different purposes such as to drying laundry.<sup>108</sup> Traditionally set up above the kitchen, an upper story or “garret” (*tingzijian* 亭子间) was constructed in-between when more space was needed. Because of the low rent, it was affordable to social groups with lower income such as writers. Having its name come from the similarities to a

105 Ruan, Yisan 阮仪三; Zhang, Jie 张杰; Zhang, Chenjie 张晨杰 (2014): *Shanghai Shikumen* 上海石库门, p. 91.

106 Ibid., p. 93.

107 Ibid., p. 81.

108 Lu, Hanchao (1999): *Beyond the Neon Lights: Everyday Shanghai in the Early Twentieth Century*, pp. 146–149.

pavilion, this place often became the birthplace of *tingzijian* literature (*tingzijian wenxue* 亭子间文学) during the 1920s and 1930s.<sup>109</sup> The *tingzijian* therefore is not only an architectural element but gains significance as an eponym for a literary genre.

It is due to this artistic influence that the block features individual buildings with elements of a great variety of characteristic Western architectural styles including baroque, Spanish, eclectic, modern and classical style.<sup>110</sup> Figure 5-17 shows a u-shaped building in the northwestern part of the block with a characteristic *lilong* housing façade and “Western”-style balconies. The above-mentioned Yinyun Building which was home to painter Wang Yayun in the 1930s has been built in classical architectural style while the former residence of Yang Du shows modern-style architectural elements (see fig. 5-14).



Figure 5-17. Building in the Eclectic Style.

Source: author's photo, 2016.

Shanghai alleyway houses have scientific value due to their layout, architectural form and structural design (Comm CP, 2.3.3 i) as well as construction techniques and materials (Comm CP, 2.3.3 ii). In contrast to local-style dwelling houses, alleyway houses not only show traditional architectural characteristics but also new

109 Ruan, Yisan 阮仪三; Zhang, Jie 张杰; Zhang, Chenjie 张晨杰 (2014): *Shanghai Shikumen* 上海石库门, p. 77.

110 Xu, Yibo 徐逸波; Chen, Haiwen 陈海汶 (ed., 2011): *Xianhuo de Shanghai longtang: Tianzifang* 鲜活的上海弄堂: 田子坊, p. 19.

influences. Lu regards alleyway houses as row houses which combine European and Chinese features.<sup>111</sup> He argues that their general layout with housing units being arranged in rows shows “Western” influences while the interior structure of such early *shikumen* houses follows the traditional Chinese courtyard house.<sup>112</sup>

Wai agrees that *shikumen* architecture is grounded in Chinese culture and he suggests a process of “selective adaptation” where Western architectural styles were selectively appropriated.<sup>113</sup> Moreover, Liang stresses the subversion of traditional spatial order and hierarchy in alleyway housing compounds as reflected in the weakening of the walls’ enclosing function, the transformation of alleyways into “courtyard-like spaces” and the connection of residential and commercial spaces.<sup>114</sup> He sees the compounds as hybrid forms which have been jointly developed by foreign landowners and Chinese builders as efficient built form in a dense urban area and which are distinct rather than transitional spaces, “embodying a Shanghai or Chinese modernity”.<sup>115</sup>

The earliest row houses built by foreign landowners at the time of the 1850s and 1860s refugee tide were built of wood with uniform architectural features.<sup>116</sup> With the 1870s, alleyway houses were constructed as more durable timber structures with brick walls due to the wooden houses’ dilapidation and vulnerability to fire.<sup>117</sup> Successive new-style *lilong* houses as has already been mentioned above were equipped with sanitation as well as kitchen amenities and built in reinforced concrete structure.

The layout of basic *lilong* units comprises a *shikumen* and skywell in the front, a living room, side rooms which could be used as study or bedroom, an upper-story room on top of the living room either used for social gatherings or as a bedroom and a kitchen at the rear, the so-called *zaopijian* 灶披间.<sup>118</sup> Moreover, the houses were built as south-oriented structures whenever allowed by spatial conditions which Bracken ascribes to perceptions of *fengshui*.<sup>119</sup>

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111 Lu, Hanchao (1999): *Beyond the Neon Lights: Everyday Shanghai in the Early Twentieth Century*, p. 112.

112 *Ibid.*, p. 146.

113 Wai, Albert Wing Tai (2006): “Place promotion and iconography in Shanghai’s Xintiandi”, pp. 254–255.

114 Liang, Samuel Y. (2008): “Where the Courtyard Meets the Street: Spatial Culture of the Li Neighborhoods, Shanghai, 1870–1900”, p. 491.

115 *Ibid.*, p. 501.

116 *Ibid.*, p. 484.

117 Lu, Hanchao (1999): *Beyond the Neon Lights: Everyday Shanghai in the Early Twentieth Century*, p. 143.

118 Bracken, Gregory (2013): *The Shanghai Alleyway House: A vanishing urban vernacular*, pp. 97–98.

119 *Ibid.*, p. 96.

Corresponding to the neighborhood names written on main compound gates, alleyway houses usually gain artistic value through decorations on the *mentou* (门头, ornamented surface above the door lintel, similar to a tympanum, see fig. 5-18). According to Ruan et al., the *mentou* is the most characteristic part of a *shikumen* house and shows the artistic skills of its architect and craftsmen. Originating from the local-style dwelling house of the Jiangnan region, they were primarily made of stone and decorated with ornamental brick carvings. Later, cheaper materials which were easier to work such as clay or lime were used, and motives were enriched by “Western” decorative elements.<sup>120</sup>

The *mentou* has twofold significance. Firstly, it manifests a gradual fusion of traditional Chinese and “Western” culture and art in Shanghai at the time. Secondly, it is an important distinctive feature of *lilong* houses as their basic structure, layout and appearance is comparatively similar.<sup>121</sup> The entrances of *shikumen* houses in Tianzifang are comparatively plain without ornamental carvings (see fig. 5-19).



Figure 5-18. Restored Decorated Mentou, Xintiandi, Shanghai.

Source: author's photo, 2018.

120 Ruan, Yisan 阮仪三; Zhang, Jie 张杰; Zhang, Chenjie 张晨杰 (2014): *Shanghai Shikumen* 上海石库门, p. 82.

121 Ibid.



Figure 5-19. Shikumen Archway.

Source: author's photo, 2016.

### *Cultural and Social Value*

Tianzifang's built heritage has high cultural value deriving from its alleyway houses which are a form of housing unique to Shanghai and were still its main housing type as of and in the 1990s.<sup>122</sup> The construction technique of *shikumen lilong* buildings (*shikumen lilong jianzhu yingzao jiyi* 石库门里弄建筑营造技艺) has been listed in the course of the third designation round of national immaterial cultural heritage in 2009.<sup>123</sup> In addition to their above-analyzed historical, artistic and scientific values, the inscription justification names Xintiandi and Tianzifang as renowned Shanghai landscapes where traditional *shikumen* have been developed into modern spaces for cultural businesses and recreation.<sup>124</sup>

The *lilong* alleyways further have cultural value as transitional areas between private and public spaces where most of the residents' everyday social life took

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122 Liang, Samuel Y. (2008): "Amnesiac Monument, Nostalgic Fashion", p. 48.

123 "Shikumen lilong jianzhu yingzao jiyi" 石库门里弄建筑营造技艺 [The construction technique of shikumen lilong buildings], National Immaterial Cultural Heritage, Online.

124 Ibid.



place. Usual activities transferred from the houses' interior to alleyways were washing, cooking, drying clothes, doing repairs, or chatting with neighbors and playing games. Although invisible, the spatial boundaries for these different activities were clearly set, which Bracken relates to Jane Jacobs' concept of "organized complexity"<sup>125</sup>, an essential premise for safe and lively streets. He gives the example of commercial stalls which would always be set up on the main lane at the intersection of main and side lanes.<sup>126</sup>

Due to the fact that a part of its residents are still living in the block, an important characteristic which distinguishes the regeneration project from other cases in Shanghai, Tianzifang has cultural value for continuation of its residential function. As will be further discussed below, the maintenance of the block as a residential area and the preserved lifestyle of local inhabitants contributed to the perception of Tianzifang as an "authentic" place. However, the number of original residents in the block has strongly decreased and solely amounts to about 60 of formerly 671 households.<sup>127</sup>

Finally, the alleyway houses of Tianzifang have social value which, for the major part, does not derive from the commemoration of historical figures or events but the feeling of local people who grew up in this type of housing and have memories related to it. These feelings and memories are captured in one of the two different types of Shanghai nostalgia identified by Liang. The first type is collective nostalgia for the city's colonial and socialist past which aims at celebrating the city's "colonial glory and heroic revolution" by publication of old photographs, the establishment of museums and the restoration of former colonial mansions. It is further used as basis to justify the city's transformation towards consumerism and a cosmopolitan lifestyle.<sup>128</sup> The second type is a personal nostalgia which is directed towards everyday spaces of alleyway compounds where a traditional lifestyle has been preserved throughout the colonial and socialist periods but which is now disappearing as a result of urban renewal.<sup>129</sup>

Yu has found that this personal Shanghai nostalgia is an important selling point of both regeneration projects, Tianzifang and Xintiandi, which he regards as the influence of globalization whereby in contrast to warding off mainstream culture,

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125 Jacobs, Jane (1993): *The Death and Life of Great American Cities*, p. 20; cited in: Bracken, Gregory (2013): *The Shanghai Alleyway House: A vanishing urban vernacular*, p. 6.

126 Bracken, Gregory (2013): *The Shanghai Alleyway House: A vanishing urban vernacular*, pp. 5–6.

127 Interview with the resident mediator, Tianzifang, June 14, 2016.

128 Liang, Samuel Y. (2008): "Amnesiac Monument, Nostalgic Fashion", p. 47.

129 Ibid., pp. 47–48.



he sees this nostalgia as dynamic and embracing.<sup>130</sup> But while the impression of the Shanghai alleyways provided by Xintiandi relates to architectural aesthetics and creates a feeling of familiarity, Tianzifang emerged from a genuine alleyway neighborhood and evokes feelings of intimacy as well as perceptions of an “authentic” local atmosphere which cannot be merely created.<sup>131</sup>

## 5.2 Conservation and Management

The conservation of Tianzifang is based on the reuse of existing built heritage and a diversification of its functions. Development started in 1997 with plans of the subdistrict office to set up a “characteristic crafts street” (*gongyipin tese jie* 工艺品特色街) or, as it was later named, the “culture and arts street” (*wenhua yishu jie* 文化艺术街).<sup>132</sup> Thereby, the focus was set on Taikang Road, a typical road of early 20<sup>th</sup> century Shanghai, flanked with two to three-story *lilong* architecture which was also the setting of a traditional street market. Equipped with very little resources, the subdistrict office decided to move the street market indoors and transform Taikang Road into a “clean” and orderly environment, taking advantage of its characteristic atmosphere to attract cultural businesses.

But the busy traffic on Taikang Road diminished its attractiveness as a cultural and artistic center. The office therefore shifted its focus to the smaller lanes and alleyways inside the block adjacent to Taikang Road and local *shikumen lilong* culture.<sup>133</sup> With the functional change of former industrial buildings into **workshops**, **art galleries** and **design studios**, Taikang Road Alleyway 210 came closer to becoming the envisioned culture and arts street. In this early stage of development, Alleyway 210 oriented itself on the American case of urban regeneration in New York’s SoHo (see chapter 5.2.4). Following this successful example of artists

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130 Yu, Hai 于海 (2009): “Tianzifang shiyan: Chaoyue quanqiu — difang er yuan duili de chengshi gengxin moshi” 田子坊实验：超越全球——地方二元对立的城市更新模式 [The Tianzifang experiment — A city renewal model going beyond the global-local duality], p. 29.

131 Ibid., pp. 29–30.

132 Zeng, Fanrong 曾凡荣 (written and directed, May 9, 2018): “Chuangyi Tianzifang (xia)” 创意田子坊 (下), episode 366, min. 1–2, Online.

133 Yu, Hai; Chen, Xiangming; Zhong, Xiaohua (2016): “Commercial Development from Below: The Resilience of Local Shops in Shanghai”, in: Zukin, Sharon; Kasinitz, Philip; Chen, Xiangming (ed.): *Global Cities, Local Streets*, p. 67.

promoting industrial built heritage, Alleyway 210 likewise attracted artists to set up their studios and workshops in its idle-lying factory buildings.

When the formerly industrial buildings were fully occupied and in response to demolition plans, the Tianzifang advocates initiated the spread of cultural businesses to adjacent residential buildings. Thereby, local residents who rented out their apartments were able to improve their living conditions and the formerly residential area was provided with an additional **commercial function**. Simultaneously, renowned conservation experts evaluated the block and provided support for its preservation. In preparation of the World Expo 2010, Tianzifang was then selected as an urban practice demonstration site.<sup>134</sup> As mentioned earlier, Shanghai started experimenting with creative industries at the time and officially designated the core area of the block as one of the first **creative industry parks**.

However, as most of the housing in Tianzifang is publicly owned and only required very low rents, usage was limited to residential purposes which made the opening of businesses in these apartments technically illegal. After it had been decided to preserve the built heritage of the block, the sublease of the residents' apartments to shop owners was legalized with the adoption of a policy named *ju gai fei* (居改非 “transformation from residential to non-residential [use]”, see chapter 5.2.3).<sup>135</sup>

A management committee for Tianzifang was established in 2008 and development plans were drafted in cooperation with conservation experts. Following these plans, a number of conservation and improvement measures were taken to improve the living conditions of remaining residents and to open the block for tourism. Officially listed as **3A national tourist destination**, Tianzifang therewith experienced another functional expansion in 2010. In the following section, the conservation and reuse of the block shall be analyzed according to its different functions.

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134 Luwan District People's Government Bureau (September 24, 2008): *Guanyu yinfa "Luwan Qu ying Shibo keji chuangxin xingdong jihua" de tongzhi* 关于印发《卢湾区迎世博科技创新行动计划》的通知 [Circular on the publication of “Luwan District Science and Technology Innovation Action Plan to Receive the World Expo”], Shanghai Municipal People's Government, Online.

135 The abbreviated name of the policy is composed of the three characters *ju* (居 “to reside”) which stands for residential use of a building, *gai* (改 “transform to”) and *fei* (非 “non”), indicating the opposite of residential use, or non-residential use. More concretely, non-residential use refers to commercial use whereby income is generated in the form of rent. Because the property rights of public rental housing are held by the state and residents only hold the right of use (*shiyong quan* 使用权), they are usually not allowed to sublease this property for commercial purposes and to gain profits from said leasing. A key reason for this regulation is that residents likewise merely pay very low rents for their dwellings.

### 5.2.1 Local Conservation System

As in the case of Suzhou, Shanghai is one of the earliest Chinese cities which developed its own conservation system. On the one hand, the formation of this system reflects the evolution of conservation categories on a national level and on the other hand, how it has been shaped by Shanghai's local stock of built heritage. The heritage conservation system in Shanghai differentiates between the protection level (*baohu jibie* 保护级别) and the conservation category (*baohu xingzhi* 保护性质).

In accordance with the national conservation system, heritage sites are protected on a national level (*quanguo zhongdian wenwu baohu danwei* 全国重点文物保护单位), municipal level (*shiji wenwu baohu danwei* 市级文物保护单位) and district level (*quji wenwu baohu danwei* 区级文物保护单位). Conservation categories can either be comprised of single built structures, *ensembles* or wider areas with a considerable amount of built heritage. The basic categories are “revolutionary heritage sites” (*geming yizhi* 革命遗址), “historical and commemorative sites” (*lishi jinian di* 历史纪念地), “outstanding historical buildings” (*youxiu lishi jianzhu* 优秀历史建筑 which were in the beginning designated as “outstanding modern buildings” 优秀近代建筑) and “historic and cultural scenic areas” (*lishi wenhua fengmaoqu* 历史文化风貌区).

Following national heritage categories, *revolutionary heritage sites* and *historical and commemorative sites* were the earliest defined categories on a municipal level. Shanghai Municipal People's Government promulgated its first batch of officially protected entities in 1959 and a second and third batch in 1960 and 1962 respectively, all in all 105 units.<sup>136</sup> The sites listed in 1959 and 1960 were considered by the State Council for its first promulgation of national key protected sites in 1961.<sup>137</sup> In the following period of further designation rounds and adjustments, Shanghai established a conservation system with municipal-level officially protected entities (*shiji wenwu baohu danwei* 市级文物保护单位), municipal-level commemorative sites (*shiji jinian didian* 市级纪念地点), municipal-level protected spots (*shiji baohu didian* 市级保护地点) as well as an identical structure for the district level.<sup>138</sup>

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136 “Shanghai chengshi guihua zhi” bianzuan weiyuanhui 《上海城市规划志》编纂委员会 (ed., 1999): “Wenwu baohu danwei yu youxiu jindai jianzhu” 文物保护单位与优秀近代建筑 [Officially protected entities and outstanding modern buildings], in: *Shanghai chengshi guihua zhi* 上海城市规划志 [Shanghai Gazetteer on Urban Planning], Online.

137 Ibid.

138 Ibid.

The first batch of national key protected sites comprised of four sites located in Shanghai. These were the Site of the First National Congress of the Chinese Communist Party (CCP), the Former Site of the Chinese Socialist Youth League Central Committee, the Former Residence of Sun Yat-sen<sup>139</sup> and Lu Xun's<sup>140</sup> tomb.<sup>141</sup> The fact that these sites were all listed under the same category of "revolutionary sites and revolutionary commemorative architecture" (*geming yizhi ji geming jinian jianzhuwu* 革命遗址及革命纪念建筑物) shows that the city was primarily acknowledged for its revolutionary heritage.

Conservation was genuinely addressed after Shanghai has been promulgated as a HCF City by the State Council in the second round of designations in December 1986. In their nomination, the Shanghai Commission of Capital Construction and the Cultural Affairs Bureau argued for the listing of Shanghai due to two main characteristics. Firstly, as the "birthplace" of the CCP and with a considerable number of sites related to revolutionary events and activities, Shanghai would have great revolutionary significance. Secondly, with the city assembling Eastern and Western architectural culture and as an "architectural exposition of all nations"

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139 Sun Yat-sen (Sun Zhongshan 孙中山, 1866–1925) was a revolutionary leader and founder of the Chinese Republic. He is respected as the founding father of modern China by politicians of the Chinese Communist Party as well as the Guomindang. The name Sun Yat-sen derives from his given name in Cantonese, Sun Yixian 孙逸仙. Born into a farming family in Guangdong, he first followed his brother to Hawaii and then went to Hong Kong to study medicine. In 1893, he moved to Guangzhou where he became a radical politician and had to flee after a failed insurrection one year later. During his exile in Japan, he developed the Three Peoples Principles (nationalism 民族主义, democracy 民权主义, livelihood 民生主义) and founded the Revolutionary Alliance (Tongmeng hui 同盟会) in 1905. After the Revolution of 1911, Sun was elected as president of the new republic but resigned in April 1912 in favor of army leader and government official Yuan Shikai 袁世凯. Source: Dillon, Michael (ed., 2013): *China: A Historical and Cultural Dictionary*, pp. 302–303.

140 Lu Xun 鲁迅 (Zhou Shuren 周树人, 1881–1936) was a writer, translator, scholar and cultural critic. As pioneer of modern literary forms including the short story, the prose-poem, and the polemical essay, he is often regarded as the "father of modern Chinese literature". His portrayals of China aim at inducing social change by exposure of societal problems. A well-known example is his work *Diary of a Madman* (*Kuangren riji* 狂人日记) from 1918, in which he strongly criticizes Chinese culture and which is seen as the first modern vernacular Chinese short story. Source: Cheng, Eileen J. (2016): "Lu Xun 鲁迅", p. 1320.

141 State Council 国务院 (March 4, 1961): *Guowuyuan guanyu gongbu di yi pi quanguo zhongdian wenwu baohu danwei mingdan de tongzhi* 国务院关于公布第一批全国重点文物保护单位名单的通知 [Circular of the State Council on the promulgation of the first batch of national key protected cultural relic entities], State Administration of Cultural Heritage, Online.

(*wanguo jianzhu bolanhui* 万国建筑博览会); it would occupy an important place in Chinese modern history.<sup>142</sup>

In 1988, the Ministry of Construction and the Ministry of Culture required all regions to nominate units for a new category: outstanding modern buildings.<sup>143</sup> Previously, the Shanghai Planning Bureau had reported to the State Council in the course of a comprehensive urban plan for Shanghai that 155 historical buildings needed protection of which 46 were perceived as “modern” architecture (*jindai jianzhu* 近代建筑).<sup>144</sup> The report was based on investigations of local built heritage sites such as *ensembles* at the Bund.<sup>145</sup> Consequently, Shanghai was the first Chinese city to establish “modern” architecture as a conservation category.<sup>146</sup> While the most characteristic and representative *outstanding modern buildings* were listed as national key protected cultural relic entities, the remaining together with newly nominated units were listed on the municipal level, including public buildings, residential buildings, religious buildings, manufacturing buildings and warehouses as well as administrative buildings.<sup>147</sup>

Following the inclusion of Shanghai into the national system of HCF Cities, the Municipal Planning Bureau and the Administration Committee for Cultural Relics drafted a first conservation outline and a conservation plan under the guidance of Tongji University College of Architecture and Urban Planning in 1991.<sup>148</sup> Simultaneously, conservation and management regulations were drafted and protection as well as construction control areas defined for the different sites. By 1995, the fundamental framework of Shanghai’s conservation system was set and the

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142 “Shanghai chengshi guihua zhi” bianzuan weiyuanhui 《上海城市规划志》编纂委员会 (ed., 1999): “Lishi wenhua mingcheng baohu guihua” 历史文化名城保护规划, in: *Shanghai chengshi guihua zhi* 上海城市规划志, Online.

143 “Shanghai chengshi guihua zhi” bianzuan weiyuanhui 《上海城市规划志》编纂委员会 (ed., 1999): “Wenwu baohu danwei yu youxiu jindai jianzhu” 文物保护单位与优秀近代建筑 [Officially protected entities and outstanding modern buildings], in: *Shanghai chengshi guihua zhi* 上海城市规划志 [Shanghai Gazetteer on Urban Planning], Online.

144 Ibid.

145 Ibid.

146 Hu, Minjue 胡旻珏 (June 14, 2015): “Shanghai youxiu lishi jianzhu jiang dadao shang qian chu, fugai quan shi 17 ge quxian” 上海优秀历史建筑将达到上千处, 覆盖全市 17 个区县 [Shanghai’s outstanding historical buildings will reach more than 1,000 sites, covering 17 districts and counties in the overall city], Online.

147 “Shanghai chengshi guihua zhi” bianzuan weiyuanhui 《上海城市规划志》编纂委员会 (ed., 1999): “Wenwu baohu danwei yu youxiu jindai jianzhu” 文物保护单位与优秀近代建筑, in: *Shanghai chengshi guihua zhi* 上海城市规划志, Online.

148 “Shanghai chengshi guihua zhi” bianzuan weiyuanhui 《上海城市规划志》编纂委员会 (ed., 1999): “Lishi wenhua mingcheng baohu guihua” 历史文化名城保护规划, in: *Shanghai chengshi guihua zhi* 上海城市规划志, Online.

city had listed 9 national key protected sites, 67 officially protected entities, 28 commemorative sites, 15 protected spots, 235 outstanding modern buildings and sites listed on a district level as well.<sup>149</sup>

The preservation of greater areas of built heritage in Shanghai first became an issue in 1979, when the Municipal Planning Bureau proposed the establishment of two touristic areas, located at Sinan Road which showed a high concentration of *revolutionary heritage sites*, and Yu Garden 豫园.<sup>150</sup> In the following way, the bureau further began to plan the protection of revolutionary heritage and representative buildings in the city center as wider areas. These *historic and cultural scenic areas* were first defined in the conservation planning of 1991.<sup>151</sup> The scenic areas were divided into six types: protected areas of revolutionary heritage, protected areas of outstanding modern buildings, the protected area of 1930 Jiangwan city plan, the Shanghai ancient city proper protected area and contemporary commercial and cultural protected areas as well as residential protected areas.<sup>152</sup>

With the “Conservation Regulations for Historic and Cultural Scenic Areas and Outstanding Historical Buildings” from 2002, a legal basis for conservation has been established. While, in the context of Chinese history, the time period *jindai* 近代 begins with the Opium Wars in 1840 and lasts until the May Fourth Movement in 1919, the category of *outstanding modern buildings* was defined for a longer period, from 1840 to the establishment of the PRC in 1949.<sup>153</sup> In addition, the regulations determine that buildings older than 30 years can be categorized as *outstanding historical buildings*.<sup>154</sup> Following the definition, such buildings further have to fulfill one of five requirements: (1) building style and construction techniques must carry architectural and artistic characteristics as well as scientific and research value, (2) reflect the historical and cultural characteristics of Shanghai architecture, (3) be a representative work of a famous architect,

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149 “Shanghai chengshi guihua zhi” bianzuan weiyuanhui 《上海城市规划志》编纂委员会 (ed., 1999): “Wenwu baohu danwei yu youxiu jindai jianzhu” 文物保护单位与优秀近代建筑, in: *Shanghai chengshi guihua zhi* 上海城市规划志, Online.

150 “Shanghai chengshi guihua zhi” bianzuan weiyuanhui 《上海城市规划志》编纂委员会 (ed., 1999): “Zhongxin cheng lishi wenhua fengmao baohu qu” 中心城历史文化风貌保护区 [Historic and cultural scenic areas in the city center], in: *Shanghai chengshi guihua zhi* 上海城市规划志 [Shanghai Gazetteer on Urban Planning], Online.

151 Ibid.

152 Ibid.

153 Xia, Liqing 夏丽卿 (January 30, 2002): “Guanyu ‘Shanghai Shi lishi wenhua fengmao-qu he youxiu lishi jianzhu baohu tiaoli (cao’an)’ de shuoming” 关于《上海市历史文化风貌区和优秀历史建筑保护条例（草案）》的说明 [Commentary on “Shanghai Conservation Regulations for Historic and Cultural Scenic Areas and Outstanding Historical Buildings (Draft)”], Shanghai Municipal People’s Congress, Online.

154 Ibid.



(4) be a representative workshop, business, manufacturing building or warehouse from Chinese industrial development history or (5) be of other historical and cultural significance.<sup>155</sup>

The category of *outstanding historical buildings* therefore includes built structures which are not directly linked to important historical events or figures but acknowledges a wider range of values such as cultural, architectural, artistic and scientific values. Simultaneously, the category pertaining to *historic and cultural scenic areas* refers to an accumulation of historical buildings. The building style, spatial structure and “landscape” of the block (*jiequ jingguan* 街区景观) need to show a comparatively high integrity and reveal local cultural characteristics of a certain historical period.<sup>156</sup>

While the regulations from 2002 clearly define conservation categories and formally guarantee the protection of listed sites, much of the not yet listed traditional built heritage in central Shanghai did not fit into the single building categories and was too small to be protected as a scenic area. As a result, remaining traditional built heritage sites became especially vulnerable to large-scale development projects. In October 2004 at the Shanghai International Forum on the Protection of Historic and Cultural Areas and Outstanding Historical Buildings, Ruan Yisan therein called for an expansion of its scenic areas and an inclusion of smaller historically and culturally significant areas; among them Taikang Road.<sup>157</sup>

Since then, Shanghai has greatly put forward its conservation system, increased the number of listed sites and realized an expansion of the category of *historic and cultural scenic areas* in terms of both concept and scope. The expanded category includes two smaller units, “protected scenic blocks” (*fengmao baohu jiequ* 风貌保护街区) and “protected scenic streets” (*fengmao baohu daolu (jixiang)* 风貌保护道路(街巷)). The first 118 scenic blocks together with 23 scenic streets were

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155 Standing Committee of the Eleventh Shanghai Municipal People’s Congress 上海市第十一届人民代表大会常务委员会 (July 25, 2002): Shanghai Shi lishi wenhua fengmao qu he youxiu lishi jianzhu baohu tiaoli 上海市历史文化风貌区和优秀历史建筑保护条例 [Regulations of Shanghai Municipality on the Protection of Historically and Culturally Scenic Areas and Outstanding Historical Buildings], para. 9.

156 *Ibid.*, para. 8.

157 “Ben shi zhaokai lishi wenhua fengmao qu yu youxiu lishi jianzhu baohu guoji yantaohui” 本市召开历史文化风貌区与优秀历史建筑保护国际研讨会 [Shanghai convenes International Forum on the Protection of Historic and Cultural Areas and Outstanding Historical Buildings], (October 28, 2004), Shanghai Municipal People’s Government, Online.

officially listed in 2016 and another 131 blocks one year later.<sup>158</sup> With the further differentiation of scenic areas, especially *lilong* housing and industrial heritage are included in Shanghai's conservation system, as well as universities and colleges, new workers housing estates (*gongren xincun* 工人新村), historical parks, mixed blocks and traditional villages mostly located at the city periphery.<sup>159</sup>

Most recently Shanghai's conservation system has begun to cover single spots, streets and wider areas. In a fifth designation round in 2017, the city promulgated another 426 units of *outstanding historical buildings*, amounting to a total of 1058 sites.<sup>160</sup> The 12 central historic and cultural scenic areas promulgated in 2004 have also been expanded by 32 scenic areas in the surrounding districts and conservation plans drafted for all 44 areas.<sup>161</sup> Although a historic residential block, Tianzifang has only recently been officially listed as a protected area. As it neither features "traditional" heritage units such as revolutionary heritage nor outstanding historical or "modern" architecture, Tianzifang did not fit into already established categories. Furthermore, Shanghai's aspirations to become a global city were directed towards the construction of new world-class architecture rather than the protection of decaying old factories and overcrowded dwellings.

This changed with a revaluation of local culture and the global trend to regard the same as distinguishing characteristic of urban centers. Similar to many long unnoticed streets with remaining built heritage in Shanghai, Tianzifang profited from the introduction of the smaller unit of *protected scenic blocks*. In the course of the first designation round for sites of this category in January 2016, the block was listed by Huangpu District under the serial number HP-028.<sup>162</sup>

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158 "Shanghai lishi wenhua fengmao qu zai kuoda 118 chu jiefang 23 tiao daolu gongshi" 上海历史文化风貌区再扩大 118 处街坊 23 条道路公示 [Announcement of Shanghai's further expansion of 118 blocks and 23 streets of historic and cultural scenic areas], (March 18, 2015), Shanghai Municipal People's Government, Online.

159 Ibid.

160 Qi, Yingpu 戚颖璞 (June 11, 2017): "Shi di wu pi 426 chu youxiu lishi jianzhu jiepai" 市第五批 426 处优秀历史建筑揭牌 [The city's fifth batch of 426 outstanding historical buildings set up], Online.

161 Xu, Yun 徐运; Zhang, Song 张松; Liang, Jie 梁洁; Wu, Feiqiong 吴斐琼; Fu, Chao-wei 付朝伟 (July 29, 2014): "Shanghai ruhe jinxing lishi wenhua mingcheng baohu?" 上海如何进行历史文化名城保护? [How is Shanghai carrying out Historically and Culturally Famous City Conservation?], Online.

162 Shanghai Municipal People's Government 上海市人民政府 (January 23, 2016): *Shanghai Shi renmin zhengfu guanyu tongyi Shanghai Shi lishi wenhua fengmao qu fanwei kuoda mingdan de pifu* 上海市人民政府关于同意上海市历史文化风貌区范围扩大名单的批复 [Approval of list for expansion of Shanghai historic and cultural scenic areas by Shanghai Municipal People's Government], Online.

### 5.2.2 Conservation Plan

Originally designated as the old city renewal project and construction area for commercial housing units,<sup>163</sup> it was finally decided to try and preserve Tianzifang's built heritage. After its cultural significance had been recognized, the protection of the block's historic and cultural features was integrated into development plans. Tongji University National Famous Historical and Cultural Cities Research Center 同济大学国家历史文化名城研究中心 which had also drafted the conservation plan for Suzhou Pingjiang Historic Block developed a general concept plan on the functional expansion of Tianzifang (*Luwan Qu Tianzifang gongneng tuozhan gainian zong cehua* 卢湾区田子坊功能拓展概念总策划) in 2007 and a comprehensive planning (*Shanghai Shi Luwan Qu Tianzifang zonghe guihua* 上海市卢湾区田子坊综合规划) in 2008. Before Tianzifang's official listing, these plans were the decisive documents which not only regulated development measures but also guaranteed the conservation of its built heritage.

A formal reference to preserve Block 56 at Taikang Road as an entity appears in the "General Concept Plan on the functional expansion of Tianzifang in Luwan District" from 2007 (hereafter *TZF Concept Plan*). The plan intended an expansion of Tianzifang to the four roads delimiting the block under the concept of a "special cultural community or block" (*teshu wenhua shequ (jiejū)* 特殊文化社区(街区)).<sup>164</sup> Thereby, "culture" is referred to as connecting elements which justify the preservation of Block 56 as an entity.

According to the plan, the expansion should be carried out in three stages, starting with the housing area adjacent to Taikang Road Alleyway 210 from 2008–2009.<sup>165</sup> This area corresponds to the five lanes listed in the introduction of this chapter and are marked as the Tianzifang core area in the tourist map (see appendix A.7). In the following two years (2010–2011), a second expansion was planned to be carried out including the entire western part of the block up to the Second Ruijin Road. Thirdly, the historical buildings in the northeastern corner of the block were to be integrated, extending Tianzifang to Middle Jianguo Road in the north and Sinan Road in the west.<sup>166</sup>

Similar to the conservation plans in the previous two case studies, the *TZF Concept Plan* defines a protection area with a historic townscape (*lishi fengmao qu* 历史风貌区) and a construction control zone (*jianzhu kongzhi didai* 建筑控制地带). The historic townscape covers the entire Taikang Road Block except

163 Zhang, Jianjun 张建君 (April 15, 2009): "Lao Zheng he ta de Tianzifang" 老郑和他的田子坊, Weblog entry.

164 *TZF Concept Plan* (2007), p. [1].

165 *Ibid.*, p. 48.

166 *Ibid.*

for the southeastern corner where a newly built residential compound is located. This compound, together with the four roads surrounding Taikang Road Block as well as adjacent building rows across these roads, are part of the construction control zone.<sup>167</sup>

Conservation in terms of material built heritage preservation is defined for *shikumen lilong* buildings in the “Comprehensive Planning for Tianzifang in Luwan District, Shanghai” (*TZF Comprehensive Planning*) from 2008. This conservation system requests the preservation of two main tiers. The first tier covers the environment surrounding Tianzifang and the second tier refers to the area of Tianzifang itself, including the existing spatial *lilong* pattern, new and old-style *lilong* buildings as well as the spatial surrounding of these buildings. The two levels are further specified into three protection categories: the appearance (*fengmao* 风貌) of *shikumen lilong* buildings, wider and smaller lanes (*jiexiang* 街巷), and individual buildings (*jianzhu* 建筑).<sup>168</sup>

Every category comprises significant elements which are protected by the plan. The protection of the appearance is directed towards elements characterizing the environment in the block such as rooftops or the structure of lanes.<sup>169</sup> The second category regulates the protection and transformation of main and branch lanes. Finally, the protection of buildings refers to the preservation and repairation of architectural elements, such as street-across buildings, skywells, flat roofs, gables, windows and doors, dormers, balconies, etc.<sup>170</sup> The significant elements included in the conservation plans are consistent with environmental elements found in chapter 5.1.1 of this case study.

Although not separately listed, the significance of trees becomes clear by looking at the newly defined scenic spots in the development plans. The tree in the courtyard of the traditional Qing-period house is indicated in the *TZF Concept Plan* as an “ancient tree” (*gushu* 古树) which shall be preserved.<sup>171</sup> The courtyard with the tree adjacent to Alleyway 210 is also part of a scenic spot from the *TZF Comprehensive Planning* defined as Eastern Square.<sup>172</sup> Hence, conservationists and planners regard them as important elements and part of the existing urban landscape. While trees and plants of historical value were considered as important environmental elements and officially listed in the other two case studies, in Tianzifang, they are solely protected by the development plans.

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167 TZF Concept Plan (2007), p. 9.

168 TZF Comprehensive Planning (2008), p. 16.

169 Ibid.

170 Ibid.

171 TZF Concept Plan (2007), p. 37.

172 TZF Comprehensive Planning (2008), p. 13.

In addition to preservation measures, conservation in *TZF Comprehensive Planning* includes spatial improvement and the integral reuse of *shikumen lilong* buildings. Spaces such as main and branch lanes, street-across buildings and skywells are seen as characteristic for *lilong* residential areas and should accordingly be preserved.<sup>173</sup> In order to better showcase their dimensions, exterior and related activities, the plan foresees a number of improvement measures for factors such as scattered public pipes and power cables, temporary constructions, piled-up personal items, laundry drying poles or bicycles blocking public space.<sup>174</sup>

The reuse of *shikumen lilong* buildings is accepted under the premise of maintaining their building characteristics. Moreover, the reuse of building space has to be realized in a rational way (*heli liyong* 合理利用) which prohibits a damage of the buildings' outward appearance. In order to meet the requirements for a functional transformation, it is permitted to renew the building interior and reuse of traditional buildings is explicitly recommended as a means of revitalization.<sup>175</sup>

Conservation as formulated in one of the planning principles in *TZF Comprehensive Planning* pursues the following objectives:

凸现和强化田子坊的历史价值。保留可以保留的里弄空间格局和建筑形态与风貌。对其内部空间可是适当利用。坚持保护和发展相互协调的原则。<sup>176</sup>

“Emphasize and intensify the historical value of Tianzifang. Maintain the spatial *lilong* structure as well as the architectural form and appearance which can be maintained. Its interior spaces can be appropriately used. Adhere to the principle of well balancing conservation and development.”

This relatively short passage offers important insights on how conservation is approached. Primarily, the focus is set on historical value. The spatial structure and appearance should also be preserved while the interior space of buildings can be reused. Moreover, conservation and development are not considered as contradicting concepts but two approaches which can be combined. Furthermore, it is stated that the protection of *shikumen lilong* housing and their functional transformation into cultural businesses is seen as contributing to the transmission of history and culture in general as well as enhancing Shanghai Culture (*haipai wenhua* 海派文化).<sup>177</sup>

*TZF Comprehensive Planning* defines **basic principles** for restoration (*xiufu* 修复) and protection which conform to international conservation standards.

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173 *TZF Comprehensive Planning* (2008), p. 16.

174 *Ibid.*

175 *Ibid.*

176 *Ibid.*, p. 9.

177 *Ibid.*, p. 10.

These principles are authenticity (*yuanzhenxing* 原真性), integrity (*zhengtixing* 整体性), recognizability (*keshibiexing* 可识别性) and reversibility (*kenixing* 可逆性). Hereby, recognizability is practically identical to the principle of readability from the former case studies. Authenticity is defined as “repairing the old and preserving its inherent quality” (*zheng gu cun zhen* 整故存真) with the objective of displaying its original historical appearance as generated by factors such as design, materials, technology and the environment.<sup>178</sup>

The principle of integrity requires that restored and mended parts must form an entity with original parts and maintain the consistence of the landscape, thereby enhancing restoration without reducing its artistic and informational value.<sup>179</sup> In addition, added parts must be visibly distinguishable from original parts in order to guarantee readability. Therefore, people must be enabled to recognize which parts are restored. By reducing consolidation and protection measures to a minimum, conservation further must ensure reversibility. Thereby, future conservation measures which might be more effective shall not be obstructed.<sup>180</sup>

Similarly, basic principles are defined for new construction. The principle of “adjustment” (*xietiao* 协调) emphasizes the continuity of historical context by strictly controlling the number, measures, colors and other factors of all kinds of installations and their accordance with the overall appearance.<sup>181</sup> “Locality” (*diyuxing* 地域性) implies natural, as well as cultural, diversity and means a recreation of local building culture based on local building traditions. Another two principles are modernization and sustainability which are said to enable a modern lifestyle by rational use of modern facilities and technologies to improve residents’ quality of life and to promote the use of ecological and energy conserving methods as well as widespread greening for sustainable development.<sup>182</sup>

Different architectural **conservation measures** are suggested in the design scheme for the “three alleyways and one road”. The conservation measures recommended for the appearance of Taikang Road depending on the building type are “improvement” (*gaishan* 改善), “transformation” (*gaizao* 改造) and “removal” (*chaichu* 拆除).<sup>183</sup> Traditional *shikumen lilong* buildings are to be improved in order to restore their characteristic architectural style. Such improvement includes the use of traditional building materials for doors, windows and building façades

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178 TZF Comprehensive Planning (2008), p. 45.

179 Ibid.

180 Ibid.

181 Ibid.

182 Ibid.

183 Ibid., pp. 59, 64.



as well as stylistic adjustments in terms of color, placement of characteristic elements such as balconies or removal of components, e.g. utility installations, which interfere with the appearance of building façades.<sup>184</sup>

There are some further office buildings on Taikang Road which are to be transformed so as not to affect the overall historic appearance of the road. This transformation comprises the adjustment of measurements and building elevation so that the continuity of the road is not interrupted. Similarly, uniformity with the rest of the road is intended to be achieved by use of construction techniques or materials.<sup>185</sup> Moreover, the plan marks one single-story built structure in the southwestern corner of the block to be removed.<sup>186</sup> This structure which was built in front of a row of *shikumen lilong* buildings greatly deviates from the rest of the road in terms of size, orientation and building style. It is not part of the original residential area but is rather commercially used. Taken as a whole, removal as a conservation measure for Taikang Road is only suggested in this one single case.

Similar architectural conservation measures are also suggested for the three alleyways by example of Alleyway 248. The traditional appearance of Shanghai *lilong* houses has to be maintained which prohibits the transformation of building façades and gables as well as to add various further components. In cases where the traditional appearance has already been damaged, such components are supposed to be cleared from the buildings.<sup>187</sup> For the improvement and consolidation of historical buildings, traditional materials and colors have to be used or new materials which are distinguishable and are conform with the surrounding historical environment. New built structures shall be constructed with traditional materials and techniques as well and have to be in accordance with *lilong* style.<sup>188</sup>

Removal is chosen as a measure to solve sanitation problems of traditional *lilong* housing. Public toilets and garbage collection points at the lane entrances should be demolished and replaced by public indoor toilets set up in former residential spaces from which residents have been relocated. Moreover, additional garbage cans and closed garbage collection points should be installed along the lanes.<sup>189</sup>

The analysis above shows that conservation is approached as a “protection of appearance” (*fengmao baohu* 风貌保护) in the plans. This can be related to the HCF City concept, according to which historical buildings gain significance as major elements which constitute the characteristic appearance of an urban area.

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184 TZF Comprehensive Planning (2008), pp. 59, 64.

185 Ibid., p. 64.

186 Ibid., p. 59.

187 Ibid., p. 70.

188 Ibid., p. 49.

189 Ibid., p. 68.

The development aspect of this focus becomes clear from another passage in the *TZF Comprehensive Planning* on business formats. In this passage, the cultural appearance of Shanghai *shikumen lilong* buildings is seen as a basis on which important scenic spots and exhibition spaces should be highlighted to form Shanghai's most characteristic touristic route upon local conditions and customs (*fengqing* 风情) as well as to establish a creative industry.<sup>190</sup>

Another key aspect in the plans is to create a landscape of Tianzifang which gives prominence to its characteristics. The plan offers three examples where such characteristic spaces could be realized. Primarily, the appearance of rooftops shall be improved to form a characteristic "landscape in the sky" (*kongzhong jingguan* 空中景观).<sup>191</sup> By putting in order and clearing up lanes and alleyways, the particular spatial structure of winding paths leading from public to private space shall be highlighted. The third and final example is the creation of scenic squares.<sup>192</sup>

The **notion of landscape** has further been integrated in the definition and naming of "scenic spots" (*jingdian* 景点). As shown in chapter 5.1.2, Tianzifang's significance does not derive from landmark buildings or a great number of historical figures who lived there, but its diversity of architectural styles which makes it a manifestation of developmental processes in Shanghai neighborhoods. Both plans therefore concentrate on significant built heritage representative for these developmental stages, including traditional wooden structure housing and neighborhood patterns, *lilong* housing and *lilong* factory buildings as well as later multi-story factories.

The scenic spots defined in Tianzifang's development plans follow the traditional naming practice for landscape scenes (see chapter 3.1.2) in terms of the number of sight names in a set (8–10) and the four-character structure of sight names. The *TZF Concept Plan* mentions 18 "beautiful sceneries" (*shiba shengjing* 十八胜景)<sup>193</sup> which are to be highlighted, corresponding to a "*shiba jing*" 十八景 (8+10) set of landscape scenes. *TZF Comprehensive Planning* additionally names ten scenic spots (*jingdian* 景点)<sup>194</sup> and eight cultural landscapes (Taikang ba jing 泰康八景),<sup>195</sup> both maintaining the "eight views" and "ten views" sets.

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190 TZF Comprehensive Planning (2008), p. 11.

191 Ibid., p. 16.

192 Ibid.

193 TZF Concept Plan (2007), p. 49.

194 TZF Comprehensive Planning (2008), p. 13.

195 Ibid., p. 18.

Zhao<sup>196</sup>, Zhang and Wang<sup>197</sup> have identified aesthetic, cultural and functional characteristics of landscape scene sets which have equally been considered for the definition of Tianzifang's sight names. Primarily, they feature **aesthetic characteristics** with regard to inner meaning. The four-character sight names are meant to gain poetic quality by selection and combination of certain images (*yixiang* 意象) which then create a certain artistic mood (*yijing* 意境).<sup>198</sup> Common images which appear in both plans are mainly cultural elements related to the "urban" landscape. Such cultural elements comprise multi-story buildings (*lou* 楼), wells (*jing* 井), stores (*dian* 店), factories (*chang* 厂), markets (*shi* 市), lanes and alleyways (*nong* 弄, *xiang* 巷, *fang* 坊), walls (*qiang* 墙), doors (*men* 门), curtains (*mu* 幕), and others. There are also some cultural elements which would, in actuality, rather occur in traditional landscape settings than a modern city, e.g. the multi-story pavilion (*ge* 阁), the cottage (*lu* 庐) or the bamboo fence (*zhuli* 竹篱).

Sight names in the Tianzifang development plans clearly further show **cultural characteristics**. Elements used in the names reflect general characteristics of *lilong* housing areas such as small lanes or "street-across buildings" as well as cultural elements related to the Taikang Road Block and its development (red building 红楼, wooden gate 柴门, creativity 创意, factories 工厂). All in all, the elements used in Tianzifang's sight names can be divided into three groups representing traditional architecture, *lilong* architecture and industrial architecture.

While many sight names contain literary quotations, some can be directly ascribed to a particular poem. One example, "Dwellings in a Small Lane" (Xiao xiang ren-jia 小巷人家), is the sight name for Erjing Lane 二井巷 which has been named after its two wells. The phrasing of this sight name has strong similarity to a verse from the well-known classical Chinese poem *Autumn Thoughts* 秋思 by Ma Zhiyuan 马致远 (ca. 1250–1323), one of the Four Great Yuan Dramatists<sup>199</sup>. *Autumn Thoughts* belongs to the poetry form of *sanqu* 散曲 ("nondramatic songs") and has been written to a fixed metric pattern based on the tune "Sky-clear Sand" (*Tianjingsha* 天净沙). While Ma Zhiyuan was not only a great dramatist but also one of the most outstanding writers of *sanqu* works, *Autumn Thoughts* exemplifies his mastery. In his description of the quiet life of seclusion, he uses clusters of images to establish its characteristic mood and to enable the reader a personal

196 Zhao, Xia 赵夏 (2006): "Wo guo de 'ba jing' chuantong ji qi wenhua yiyi" 我国的“八景”传统及其文化意义, pp. 89–91.

197 Zhang, Xianliang 张先亮; Wang, Min 王敏 (2014): "Shilun 'Xihu shi jing' de ming-ming yishu" 试论“西湖十景”的命名艺术, pp. 190–196.

198 Ibid., p. 193.

199 The other three dramatists are Guan Hanqing 关汉卿 (ca. 1241–1320), Zheng Guangzu 郑光祖 (1260–1320) and Bai Pu 白朴 (1226–1306).

experience of homesickness.<sup>200</sup> The second verse of the poem reads: “A small bridge, flowing water, people’s homes”<sup>201</sup> (xiao qiao liushui renjia 小桥流水人家). Compared to the above-mentioned sight name which has a fixed form of four characters, the “flowing water” has been taken out and the “small bridge” has been converted into “a small lane” (*xiaoxiang* 小巷). By creating a relation of Erjing Lane to the famous poem through the sight name, it evokes a greater appreciation of this formerly common lane.

Another example is a verse from the poem “A Buddhist Retreat Behind Broken-Mountain Temple” (*Ti Poshansi hou chanyuan* 题破山寺后禅院) by Tang poet Chang Jian 常建 (ca. 708–?). “My path has wound, through a sheltered hollow”<sup>202</sup> (*qu jing tong you chu* 曲径通幽处) is the third verse of this poem describing the author’s impression and feelings on his way to the Buddhist retreat. The first four characters of this verse are used as sight name in both development plans. As indicated in the plans, the name *qu jing tong you* 曲径通幽 stands for the lanes and alleyways of Tianzifang which share similar characteristics with the path leading to the retreat.<sup>203</sup> The “winding path” can be compared to the smaller branch lanes which extend deep into the block and which are more quiet, private spaces compared to the public main lane.

There is only one sight name featuring a historical figure, which is the painter Chen Yifei in the designation “Charm Left Behind by Yifei” (*Yifei yi yun* 逸飞遗韵). As he was the first artist to move his workshop to Tianzifang, he thereby substantially contributed to shape its landscape as an art street. In addition to material heritage such as his workshop and the “Shanghai Gate of Art”, the name commemorates this early period of Tianzifang’s development. The above-mentioned three groups of naming elements representing traditional architecture, *lilong* architecture and industrial architecture equally reflect different developmental stages of local history.

The second part of another sight name, “falling from heaven” (*tian jiang* 天降) derives from a folk song (*geyao* 歌谣) transmitted around Hangzhou. The song tells a legend about the origin of the West Lake according to which it emerged from a bright pearl which fell from the heavens.<sup>204</sup> Two verses which sum up this tale have

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200 Cai, Zong-qi (ed., 2008): *How to Read Chinese Poetry: A Guided Anthology*, pp. 333–335.

201 Ibid., p. 395.

202 Translated by Witter Bynner. See: Minford, John; Lau, Joseph S.M. (ed., 2000): *Classical Chinese Literature: An Anthology of Translations*. Vol. 1, p. 841.

203 TZF Concept Plan (2007), p. 49. TZF Comprehensive Planning (2008), p. 13.

204 According to the legend, a white dragon simply named Jade Dragon and a colored phoenix named Golden Phoenix living in the heavens come to a magical island where they find a stone. They decide to chisel the stone into a bright pearl. One day, the Queen

been passed down until today: “The bright pearl West Lake fell from the heavens, lively and elegant [it reaches] up to Qiantang [River]” (Xihu mingzhu cong tian jiang, longfei-fengwu dao Qiantang 西湖明珠从天降, 龙飞凤舞到钱塘).<sup>205</sup>

In the last of the eight cultural landscapes defined for Tianzifang in *TZF Comprehensive Planning*, this part reappears in the sight name “Great Curtain Falling from Heaven” (Da mu tian jiang 大幕天降). The plan indicates that this name stands for the landscape element of “walls” (*qiang* 墙) but does not give further indications concerning a closer relation to the folk tale. However, a closer look at the illustrations in the planning shows that originally it was planned to set up curtain walls around the multi-story factory buildings.<sup>206</sup> Covering the outside of the buildings, the illustrations show curtain walls which would surmount the building tops and thereby could evoke an impression of being attached to the sky. However, until the completion of this research, such curtain walls still have not been realized.

Corresponding to long acknowledged historical and cultural scenic spots as well as newly opened up places, sight naming in Tianzifang shows important **functional characteristics**. The sight names clearly display idealized sceneries of scenic spots with some being related to temporal or spatial characteristics and others picturing Tianzifang in a desired future state. Examples for such idealized sceneries are “Dawn on Taikang Road in Spring” or “Sunset Glow on the Red Building”. These sight names refer to historical sight names as they have been defined for the “Ten Views of the West Lake”. For example, instead of “Dawn on Su Causeway in Spring” (Su di chunxiao 苏堤春晓), they include a scenic spot named “Dawn on Taikang Road in Spring”. And the name “Sunset Glow on the Red Building” has been chosen after the famous “Sunset Glow on Leifeng [Pagoda]” (Leifeng xizhao 雷峰夕照). By defining this sight name, a formerly residential building is transformed into a scenic spot and related to one of the most

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Mother of the Western Heavens (Wangmu niangniang 王母娘娘) sees the glow of the pearl and orders her soldier to steal it. Usually locked up in the palace, the Queen Mother finally presents the pearl to her guests during her birthday celebration. When Golden Phoenix sees the glow of the pearl, Jade Dragon and Golden Phoenix hasten to the palace to claim it back. When the Queen Mother is not willing to return the pearl, Jade Dragon and Golden Phoenix start wrangling with her. Suddenly, the pearl drops and falls from the heavens down to earth. At the moment the pearl reaches earth, it turns into West Lake. Because Jade Dragon and Golden Phoenix were unwilling to part with their pearl, they turned into Yulong and Fenghuang Mountains (Yulong shan 玉龙山, Fenghuang shan 凤凰山) in the surrounding of the lake to guard it. See: Walls, Jan; Walls, Yvonne (1980): *West Lake: A Collection of Folktales*, pp. 10–14.

205 Zheng, Chenggang 郑成刚 (ed., 2005): *Minjian gushi (shang)* 民间故事 (上) [Folktales (Part one)]. *Yingxiang Zhongguo xuesheng de jingdian gushi* 影响中国学生的经典故事 [Classical stories which exert influence on Chinese students], p. 201.

206 TZF Comprehensive Planning (2008), pp. 80–82.

well-known sceneries in China, due to its popularity in literature and art. This example of naming shows how essential the relation to traditional elements of landscape naming is, although the real sight may be completely urban.

Another example for the relation of traditional elements of landscape naming to an urban sight is the name “Contemplating the Moon from the High Pavilion”. The *TZF Concept Plan* defines this sight name for “sky gardens on creative factories” (chuangyi gongchang kongzhong huayuan 创意工厂空中花园). The choice of the name becomes clear with depictions in the *TZF Concept Plan* as well as *TZF Comprehensive Planning* which show green open-air spaces on top of the factories, enabling an unblocked sight over Tianzifang.<sup>207</sup> As mentioned above, the two-storied pavilion (*ge* 阁) is a common type of architecture in classical Chinese gardens. Here, the multi-story factories which have been transformed into artist studios and workshops are designated as *ge* and thereby directly related to the image of a traditional garden pavilion.

On one hand, the choice of a traditional garden scenery as sight name reveals that the creation of an ideal landscape with its underlying aesthetic and cultural characteristics is regarded as more important than an accurate description of material built heritage. Although the multi-story factory is not a real garden pavilion, it shares some physical (multi-story) and functional characteristics (viewing platform). The comparison to a garden pavilion additionally provides it with poetic charm (*shiqing huayi* 诗情画意). On the other hand, this naming practice can contribute to bestow a formerly unknown and unappreciated building with significance and make it become representative for an urban landscape. According to Zhao, locally defined “eight views” sets of landscape scenes which originated from the aesthetics of elites played an important role as “vehicles” for the approval of, and emotional ties to, a place as well as its promotion.<sup>208</sup> Zhao has further pointed out how sight names can become collective knowledge and contribute to create a shared memory, and a “sense of place” as defined by Tuan.<sup>209</sup> While landscape naming originally intended to “reveal the natural landscape”<sup>210</sup> and make its value known to the public, sight naming in the development plans pursues the same objective. This becomes even more important in the case of industrial buildings which have, for a long time, not been recognized as “heritage”.

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207 TZF Concept Plan (2007), n. pag. TZF Comprehensive Planning (2008), p. 81.

208 Zhao, Xia 赵夏 (2006): “Wo guo de ‘ba jing’ chuantong ji qi wenhua yiyi” 我国的“八景”传统及其文化意义, p. 90.

209 Tuan, Yifu (1976): “Humanistic Geography”, in: *Annals of the Association of American Geographers*, p. 269.

210 Zhang, Xianliang 张先亮; Wang, Min 王敏 (2014): “Shilun ‘Xihu shi jing’ de mingming yishu” 试论“西湖十景”的命名艺术, p. 190.



### 5.2.3 Conservation and Improvement Measures

The designation of Tianzifang as a protected block in the conservation plans and its development into a tourist destination required a number of changes compared to its original function as a residential area. Some conditions which arose from daily life circumstances of local residents were not tolerable from the perspective of conservationists and the government. The *TZF Comprehensive Planning* evaluated this situation as found at the beginning of development. Following the plan, factors which negatively affected the “*lilong* landscape” are scattered aerial power cables, randomly installed public pipes and air-conditioning. Another aspect which was identified as greatly influencing its landscape are individual shop signs for which there was no comprehensive and consistent system.<sup>211</sup>

A great problem affecting the entire block was that *lilong* houses were in a state of obsolescence and decline.<sup>212</sup> To cope with this problem, residents renovated parts of their homes and made alterations to the buildings. In many cases, such additional constructions and renovations violated regulations and did not meet security standards.<sup>213</sup> Moreover, there was no comprehensive management of public facilities, but every department individually arranged for the provision of facilities and services.<sup>214</sup>

Because conservation in Tianzifang did not follow the typical government-led approach, it initially lacked funding and a comprehensive management system. When local development was initiated by the end of the 1990s, Dapuqiao Subdistrict Office did not have many financial resources. Following a reorganization by Luwan District upon which formerly eight subdistricts were merged into four, Dapuqiao became one of the subdistricts with the weakest economy.<sup>215</sup> As previously mentioned, real estate development decreased significantly as a result of the Asian financial crisis in 1997/98 which led to land originally designated for redevelopment being left unused.<sup>216</sup> And Luwan was one of the city districts affected by such repercussions.

The transfer of land use rights to real estate developers is a common practice of development and simultaneously an important source of revenue for Chinese municipal governments. According to Zhang, Luwan was not only the setting of

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211 TZF Comprehensive Planning (2008), p. 7.

212 Ibid.

213 Zhu Ronglin 朱荣林 (2008): *Jiedu Tianzifang* 解读田子坊, p. 29.

214 TZF Comprehensive Planning (2008), p. 8.

215 Zhu, Ronglin 朱荣林 (2008): *Jiedu Tianzifang* 解读田子坊, p. 16.

216 Huang, Ye 黄晔; Qi, Guangping 戚广平 (2015): “Tianzifang lishi jiequ baohu yu zai liyong shijian zhong shang ju hunhe maodun de caichanquan wenti” 田子坊历史街区保护与再利用实践中商居混合矛盾的财产权问题, p. 67.

the first land-leasing case in Shanghai shortly after the land-leasing regulation was approved by the municipal government in 1992, but early on adopted developer-friendly policies and initiated urban renewal by means of foreign investment from Hong Kong and Taiwan. In the process, 340,000 m<sup>2</sup> of land were transformed into residential and commercial compounds of high quality.<sup>217</sup> These new compounds attracted white collar employees and residents with middle to high income brackets and brought with them great changes in the social structure of the Dapujiao subdistrict.<sup>218</sup>

In respect to this situation, the head of the subdistrict office envisioned the development of the district by promoting the cultural sector.<sup>219</sup> A strategy was adopted whereby the subdistrict government provided rental spaces on favorable conditions for a limited period of time in order to facilitate cultural businesses to become established. In the case of Taikang Art Street, Shanghai Yilufa Cultural Development Co., Ltd. which set up a pottery and porcelain craft market in December 1999 was therefore exempted from rent payment for ten years.<sup>220</sup> This strategy of attracting cultural businesses by reuse of the unused factories to build a characteristic art and crafts street rendered the project independent from investment by the Shanghai District Government.<sup>221</sup>

The introduction of artist workshops, galleries and craft businesses was so successful that by 2004, all factory spaces had been leased out.<sup>222</sup> As the demand for commercial space further rose, additional businesses were set up in adjacent residential buildings, including other types of cultural industries such as boutiques and sophisticated restaurants. On the one hand, this can be regarded as a strategic move by the Tianzifang advocates, facing the threat of demolition and redevelopment of the block by the Taiwan real estate developer. The underlying assumption was that, following the SoHo model, an expansion in terms of surface area could save residential buildings as well.

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217 Zhang, Tingwei (2005): “Uneven development among Shanghai’s three urban districts”, in: Ma, Laurence J.C.; Wu, Fulong (ed.): *Restructuring the Chinese City — Changing society, economy and space*, p. 148.

218 Shanghai Local Gazetteers Bureau 上海市地方志办公室 (ed., 2004): “Taikang Lu yishu jie” 泰康路艺术街, Online.

219 Zhang, Jianjun 张建君 (April 15, 2009): “Lao Zheng he ta de Tianzifang” 老郑和他的田子坊, Online.

220 Shanghai Local Gazetteers Bureau 上海市地方志办公室 (ed., 2004): “Taikang Lu yishu jie” 泰康路艺术街, Online.

221 Ibid.

222 Yu, Hai; Chen, Xiangming; Zhong, Xiaohua (2016): “Commercial Development from Below: The Resilience of Local Shops in Shanghai”, in: Zukin, Sharon; Kasinitz, Philip; Chen, Xiangming (ed.): *Global Cities, Local Streets*, p. 68.

On the other hand, this favorable situation with increasing prominence of the area enabled inhabitants to rent out their apartments, such as the later resident mediator who let his ground-floor apartment in the same alleyway as the former factories to a fashion designer.<sup>223</sup> In an interview, the mediator spoke of his motives implying that he had been laid off and needed to borrow money from his children every month to make a living.<sup>224</sup> This first renting out of a residential housing unit marks the beginning of the functional transformation of the block.

In principle, following the “Management Regulations for Publicly Owned Housing in Cities and Towns under the Jurisdiction of Shanghai” (*Shanghai Shi chengzhen gongyou fangwu guanli tiaoli* 上海市城镇公有房屋管理条例) changes of use concerning residential buildings had to be permitted by local real estate management departments.<sup>225</sup> Most old-style *lilong* housing in Shanghai’s central districts is state-owned housing and therefore directly managed by such departments (*zhiguan gongfang* 直管公房). This was also the case in the aforementioned example of the mediator.

A study by Yu et al. shows that by renting out his apartment, he significantly improved his financial situation. After he had renovated the room and modified it according to the needs of the shop owner for 30,000 Yuan, he received a monthly rent of 3,500 Yuan. Therefrom he himself rented an empty room from a neighbor on the upper story and still had a monthly income which equaled the seven to eight-fold amount of his monthly pension.<sup>226</sup>

After his apartment had successfully been transformed into a shop, other residents strived to follow his example and approached him for advice. In contrast to the first steps of transformation where the factory buildings were managed unitarily by the chairman of the Merchant Association,<sup>227</sup> shop owners seeking to rent apartment spaces negotiated directly with residents. The mediator volunteered to support other residents to find suitable tenants, well-aware that the future improvement of his economic situation depended on the preservation of the block.<sup>228</sup>

The example of the mediator illustrates the high grade of self-organization by the local community. Before the establishment of the Merchant Association

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223 Interview with the resident mediator, Tianzifang, June 14, 2016.

224 Ibid.

225 Yu, Hai 于海; Zhong, Xiaohua 钟晓华; Chen, Xiangming 陈向明 (2013): “Jiucheng gengxin zhong jiyu shequ mailuo de jiti chuangye — yi Shanghai Tianzifang shangjie wei li” 旧城更新中基于社区脉络的集体创业——以上海田子坊商街为例, p. 63.

226 Ibid.

227 Zhang, Jing 张靖 (March 18, 2010): “Wu Meisen: Yi ren, yi fang, yi meng” 吴梅森: 一人、一坊、一梦 [Wu Meisen: A man, a lane, a dream], Online.

228 Yu, Hai 于海; Zhong, Xiaohua 钟晓华; Chen, Xiangming 陈向明 (2013): “Jiucheng gengxin zhong jiyu shequ mailuo de jiti chuangye — yi Shanghai Tianzifang shangjie wei li” 旧城更新中基于社区脉络的集体创业——以上海田子坊商街为例, p. 63.

through the management committee, Tianzifang's different groups of stakeholders had organized themselves in a self-regulating organization named "Association for the Promotion of Tianzifang" (Tianzifang cujinhui 田子坊促进会). The District Government would entrust this committee with responsibility to carry out the management and coordination of particular projects.<sup>229</sup> Moreover, 28 households living in ground floor housing units on Alleyway 210 contributed money for the renovation of the street, street lamps and public facilities in 2006.<sup>230</sup>

In order to transform Tianzifang into a multifunctional area as laid out in the development plans, it was necessary to improve the basic infrastructure (water, gas, electricity) of the block. At the time of the 1920s and 1930s when the majority of residential buildings was constructed, technological progress and local lifestyle differed significantly from present-day Shanghai which resulted in an urgent need to set up and supplement public utility installations. For example, residents originally satisfied their water requirements with groundwater from nearby wells and, accordingly, many houses did not have running water. Moreover, space for the installation of pipes and powerlines as well as other contemporary kitchen or bathroom installations had not been considered during construction, neither for the inner spatial layout of houses nor for the mostly narrow lanes and alleyways which further complicated the functional transformation of the block.<sup>231</sup>

The evaluation of the public utility installations situation in Tianzifang in the *TZF Comprehensive Planning* therefore shows great scarcities. While the public network of water supply pipes surrounding the block included a number of pipes built in the 1990s, the water supply pipes inside the block dated back to 1974.<sup>232</sup> Due to the small diameter of the pipes and severe corrosion, water supply was considered insufficient. Moreover, most houses were not equipped with bathrooms and lavatories. The condition of drainpipes was similar to water supply pipes with pipe diameters and materials not meeting the current standards.<sup>233</sup>

In terms of the gas supply, most people used gas bottles as the pipe coverage for coal gas only amounted to about 20 percent. Where gas pipes had been installed, they were exposed on the outer walls of the buildings which had a great impact on the visual appearance of the block.<sup>234</sup> The plan therefore suggests laying gas pipes

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229 Zhu, Ronglin 朱荣林 (2008): *Jiedu Tianzifang* 解读田子坊, p. 24.

230 Yung, Esther H.K.; Chan, Edwin H.W.; Xu, Ying (2014): "Sustainable Development and the Rehabilitation of a Historic Urban District — Social Sustainability in the Case of Tianzifang in Shanghai", p. 105.

231 *TZF Comprehensive Planning* (2008), p. 29.

232 *Ibid.*, p. 30.

233 *Ibid.*

234 *Ibid.*

in Taikang Road Alleyways 210, 248 and 274 in consideration of a future conversion from coal gas to natural gas and a respective choice of pipe diameter. The multifunctional role of Tianzifang is considered as well, which can be seen from the instruction to avoid the installation of gas pipes on outside walls, if at all possible, in order to ensure the conservation of its historic townscape. Gas pipes which are already installed in important conservation spots are to be moved indoors on future occasions if they affect the block's "visual appearance".<sup>235</sup>

At the time of the planning, electricity was only provided by transformers set up on the public roads surrounding the block. With the emergence of businesses and restaurants, the capacity of these power sources was severely lacking which led to problems such as tripped fuses and power outages. Due to the narrow lanes and the space between power, telecommunication and television cables not meeting the average safety standards, there were further fire hazards.<sup>236</sup> To solve these problems, three strategies of power supply to satisfy lighting, electricity, lightning conduction, grounding, fire alarm and security alert were proposed in the planning. Accordingly, the power capacity of the surrounding public roads would be increased and led to consumers via aerial cables. While Alleyway 210 was considered wide enough to lay the cables underground; aerial cables were to be maintained and transformed in the other lanes.<sup>237</sup>

The transformation into a tourist destination further required a comprehensive lighting system, especially main entrances and touristic routes which lacked lights to guide visitors. Moreover, lighting should be used to highlight iconic spots of the landscape for example by illuminating the outline of buildings. Except for its practical purposes such as attracting visitors, lighting is also seen as integrating elements of public space into the block.<sup>238</sup>

The plan for the telecommunications system resembles the solution of power cables. In the short term, telecommunication cables in Alleyway 210 should be laid underground or redirected, while the cables on the other main and branch lanes were to be put in order but also maintained. In the long term, existing lines were to be removed, and new telecommunication installations constructed.<sup>239</sup> On-site investigations revealed that all cables in Alleyway 210 were laid underground whereas, in actuality, they have been kept in the remaining alleyways as foreseen in the plan.

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235 TZF Comprehensive Planning (2008), p. 31.

236 Ibid.

237 Ibid., p. 32.

238 Ibid.

239 Ibid., p. 33.

Main problems further included a partial overcrowding of houses and a high concentration of low to moderate-income households. In addition, the increasing number of businesses and restaurants further raised water and electricity consumption while requirements for sanitation and environmental protection could not be met.<sup>240</sup> The spatial layout of row houses and narrow lanes obstructed disaster prevention and maintenance of public utility installations. Besides existing installations often no longer conforming to technical specifications, they were exposed and disarranged which negatively affected the appearance of the block, or “visual landscape” (*shijue jingguan* 视觉景观) as designated in the plan.<sup>241</sup>

The plan concluded that existing public utility installations “cannot satisfy the demands of residents’ daily life and are disproportionate to the general city standard of public facilities and services”.<sup>242</sup> Furthermore, it is stated as one of the basic planning principles for the improvement of public utility installations that the historic townscape and the characteristic *lilong* structures of the block must not be destroyed.<sup>243</sup>

After Tianzifang had been officially recognized and designated as a creative industry park, its environment and living conditions were improved. Under the project “Model Site for a Harmonious Living of Inhabitants” (*jumin hexie gongchu shifan dian* 居民和谐共处示范点) the government implemented a number of measures to improve the living conditions of residents. This project included the reparation of houses in accordance with conservation regulations. Further improvements were the installation of sanitation facilities and the renovation of public kitchens.<sup>244</sup> In July 2007, a fire prevention water supply system was laid in Taikang Road Alleyway 200, 210 and 220, including fire hydrants and water sprinklers.<sup>245</sup> In order to enhance the overall impression of the block, uniform air-conditioning frames and drainpipes were installed.<sup>246</sup> According to Zhu, the number of households which benefitted from this project amounts to 35.<sup>247</sup>

A decisive step in the developmental process of Tianzifang which enabled local residents to actively take part in the transformation of Taikang Road Block was the adoption of the *ju gai fei* policy. An increasing number of residents rented out their apartments to shop owners in response to the subdistrict office’s great efforts to attract artistic and cultural businesses, a lack of free space for rent as

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240 TZF Comprehensive Planning (2008), p. 29.

241 Ibid.

242 Ibid.

243 Ibid.

244 Zhu Ronglin 朱荣林 (2008): *Jiedu Tianzifang* 解读田子坊, p. 29.

245 TZF Comprehensive Planning (2008), p. 30.

246 Zhu Ronglin 朱荣林 (2008): *Jiedu Tianzifang* 解读田子坊, p. 29.

247 Ibid.



well as the already successful transformations of dwellings to non-residential use. This practice initially violated existing regulations (see chapter 5.2). Only after the decision to preserve the material built heritage of Taikang Road Block had been made, measures were taken to legalize the functional transformation of Tianzifang.

In the beginning of 2008, the District Real Estate Management Bureau requested instructions from Shanghai Municipal Housing, Land and Resources Administration Bureau 上海市房屋土地资源管理局 concerning the implementation of an examination and approval system for sublease in the Tianzifang area (关于卢湾区田子坊地区转租实行审批制的请示, 沪卢房地 [2008] 20 号). The responding document (沪房地资 [2008] 148 号) states in section one that before the subleasing of public housing in the Tianzifang area, *ju gai fei* formalities must be completed. Consequently, after the completion of these formalities, sublease of public housing is permitted. However, section two determines that a change in use of public housing is only temporary (*linshi* 临时) and that the time period needs to be fixed by contract. With the termination of the sublease contract or expiration of the fixed time period, usage is again limited to residential use.<sup>248</sup>

In accordance with requirements of the Municipal Bureau for the Management of Housing, Land and Resources, the functional transformation of housing in Tianzifang follows a fixed scheme for approval and proceedings. Furthermore, housing which is to be subleased has to meet certain criteria. For example, the structure and facilities of a house must be stable and secure. In terms of renovation, existing regulations of related departments such as construction, planning, fire prevention, environmental protection, etc. must also be met.<sup>249</sup> Following Zhu, the Real Estate Management Bureau notified more than 80 residents who had not accomplished formalities yet at the time when the policy was implemented.<sup>250</sup>

While Zhu considers Tianzifang an experimental area (*shidian qu* 试点区) for the *ju gai fei* policy,<sup>251</sup> Yu et al. explain that changes of building use from residential to commercial are not unique to Tianzifang. With the Reform and Opening-up policy in 1978, households were allowed to open a private business in order to improve their economic situation. A prevalent example for the functional transformation of housing is the opening up of “shop windows” in walls facing the street.

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248 Shanghai Municipal Housing, Land and Resources Administration Bureau 上海市房屋土地资源管理局 (2008): *Guanyu Luwan qu Tianzifang diqu zhuanzu shixing shenpizhi de pifu* 关于卢湾区田子坊地区转租实行审批制的批复 [Response concerning the implementation of an examination and approval system for sublease in Tianzifang Area, Luwan District].

249 Ibid.

250 Zhu, Ronglin 朱荣林 (2008): *Jiedu Tianzifang* 解读田子坊, p. 27.

251 Ibid., p. 26.

However, Tianzifang is a unique example in Shanghai, because *ju gai fei* was jointly practiced as a form of local development.<sup>252</sup>

With the establishment of the Tianzifang Management Committee in 2008, the block became directly administered by the district government which carries out comprehensive management.<sup>253</sup> According to Zhu, Tianzifang's organization and **management mechanism** is based on four pillars:<sup>254</sup>

- the joint conference (*lianxi huiyi* 联席会议)
- the management committee (*guanli weiyuanhui* 管理委员会)
- the Merchant Association (*shangjia xiehui* 商家协会)
- the property management institutions (*wuye guanli jigou* 物业管理机构)

The joint conference represents the district government and consists of its relevant departments. It assumes responsibility for planning, coordination, development progress as well as supervision and can be convened by the head of the district government or a deputy. The management committee is responsible for implementation and is composed of the director of the subdistrict office as well as members of related district government departments.<sup>255</sup> While these two are mere top-down mechanisms, the Merchant Association developed from a grassroots initiative, the “Association for the Promotion of Tianzifang” (Tianzifang cujinhui 田子坊促进会), and is entrusted with project implementation, service-related tasks and mediation between different stakeholders. Property management is carried out by related departments of the district government as well and has primary functions such as to strengthen the management of building reparations, exploring management reforms for public rental housing and supplementing public facilities.<sup>256</sup>

Conservation has further been included into official regulations for housing renovation. In 2008, the Tianzifang Management Committee issued safety guidelines based on the “Regulations for the Temporary Alteration of Residential Occupancy to Mixed Building Use in Tianzifang Creative Industry Park” (Tianzifang chuangyi chanye yuanqu juzhu yongfang linshi gaibian wei zonghe yongfang de guiding 田子坊创意产业园区居住用房临时改变为综合用房的

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252 Yu, Hai 于海; Zhong, Xiaohua 钟晓华; Chen, Xiangming 陈向明 (2013): “Jiucheng gengxin zhong jiyu shequ mailuo de jiti chuanye — yi Shanghai Tianzifang shangjie wei li” 旧城更新中基于社区脉络的集体创业——以上海田子坊商街为例, p. 63.

253 Ibid., p. 66.

254 Zhu, Ronglin 朱荣林 (2008): *Jiedu Tianzifang* 解读田子坊, p. 24.

255 Ibid.

256 Ibid.

规定).<sup>257</sup> According to these guidelines, housing renovation has to be carried out by a qualified work unit; including design as well as construction work.

Apart from general requirements for renovation, such as the safety of the housing structure as well as fireproof, water-resistant and eco-friendly renovation material which must be guaranteed, there are some specific regulations concerning the protection of built heritage sites. During housing renovation neither the supporting structure nor the appearance of the houses must be damaged. It is further prohibited to construct terraces or flat roofs without authorization and to add stories, insert stories or dig into the ground.<sup>258</sup> In addition, related departments have to supervise construction work and conformity with laws and regulations. After renovation is terminated, the operator and the work unit need to inform the management committee which then has to check and accept the construction work. Only if the required standards are met can the business be opened.<sup>259</sup>

While the greater autonomy of the subdistrict office in terms of development soon led to Tianzifang's economic success, relatively uncontrolled market forces were not sufficient to solve problems such as a lack of infrastructure and regulations.<sup>260</sup> When the district government established institutional structures such as the management committee to increase control, it further took on a guiding role with regard to business formats. For example, a number of regulations have been set in order to foster cultural and creative industries. Moreover, the government established an industry entering system which regulates the types of businesses allowed to operate in the block and provides guidance for business behavior.<sup>261</sup> Thereby, businesses which intend to open in Tianzifang are selected and must be approved before they can enter. Shop owners further must register at the District Bureau of Industry and Commerce in a detailed registration process.<sup>262</sup>

Despite these regulations, there are persistent fundamental problems such as the increases in land value and related continuously rising rents which cause funding difficulties for art studios and workshops since Tianzifang has become a prominent tourist destination. The case of Er Dongqiang Art Center is standing exemplarily for this conflict between artists' and homeowners' interests. In 2010, when the growing popularity of Tianzifang led to soaring rent prices, the government sought to solve the situation by subsidizing affected businesses. At that time,

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257 Zhu, Ronglin 朱荣林 (2008): *Jiedu Tianzifang* 解读田子坊, p. 33.

258 Ibid.

259 Ibid.

260 Yu, Hai; Chen, Xiangming; Zhong, Xiaohua (2016): "Commercial Development from Below: The Resilience of Local Shops in Shanghai", in: Zukin, Sharon; Kasinitz, Philip; Chen, Xiangming (ed.): *Global Cities, Local Streets*, pp. 72–73.

261 Zhu Ronglin 朱荣林 (2018): *Jiedu Tianzifang* 解读田子坊, p. 27.

262 Ibid., p. 31.

Er Dongqiang paid about 40 percent of the rent and the remaining amount was assumed by the management committee.<sup>263</sup>

However, when his rent increased again two years later by more than 25 percent, the government resigned from further subsidies. By that time, his initial yearly rent of 120,000 Yuan had surpassed 1 million Yuan and his art center had been reduced to less than half of the original size with the other part being occupied by a scarf company.<sup>264</sup> The increasing division of spatial units is a clearly recognizable trend in Tianzifang. There are many more examples of art studios and stores which have been divided into smaller and smaller units in order to accommodate more businesses which becomes visible by several businesses sharing the same house number (see appendix A.17).

Furthermore, the most vulnerable group of stakeholders in the block are residents which are still living in Tianzifang because development directly influences their daily lives. In *TZF Comprehensive Planning*, this problem is addressed and the “participation of residents” (*jumin canyu* 居民参与) is named as one of the main aspects of management. According to the plan, participation includes an improvement of the residents’ quality of life. In turn, residents are expected to ensure an “orderly and harmonious development” of Tianzifang.<sup>265</sup>

While residents living on the ground floor and in some cases also the first floor who were able to sublease their apartments profited from the renewal project, other residents were excluded from such profits. An interviewee who lived on the upper stories of a privately-owned housing unit and opened a clothing store on the ground-floor said that she is quite satisfied with Tianzifang’s development. She said in an interview that she felt affected by the high number of people strolling in the lanes but has already adapted her lifestyle to the new circumstances.<sup>266</sup> The owner has already retired and appreciates the chance to earn some money with her business.

Another couple living on the upper story of a *shikumen* building was not so fortunate. The building which was formerly owned by the father of the husband was confiscated and housing units redistributed with now seven households living in the house.<sup>267</sup> They told this author that no businesses wanted to rent their unit because it was located on the upper story. They wanted to move to a new house because they were affected by other inhabitants on lower stories, for example their cooking vapors. They equally felt affected by the great number of people in the

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263 Zhu, Geyi 诸葛漪 (2012): “Sheyingjia Er Dongqiang: Tianzifang yishu qu yi biancheng shangye qu” 摄影家尔冬强: 田子坊艺术区已变成商业区 [Photographer Er Dongqiang: Tianzifang Art District has already become a commercial district], Online.

264 Ibid.

265 TZF Comprehensive Planning (2008), p. 26.

266 Interview with resident A, Shanghai, July 1, 2016.

267 Interview with residents B and C, Shanghai, July 1, 2016.

block, especially on the weekends. While the couple has inherited the house from their parents' generation, their son has bought a new house outside of the block and was not willing to live in this "old house" (*lao fangzi* 老房子).<sup>268</sup> The outward migration of younger generations resulting in an overtly aging local community is a common problem in historic urban centers which occurs across the globe.

According to Zhang, the majority of the residents supported the preservation and development project. However, some residents expressed that the increasing commercialization of Tianzifang negatively affected their daily lives and tranquility as in the examples above. A third group opposed the project and resolutely demanded demolition and relocation.<sup>269</sup> As the analysis has shown, the residents' opportunity to actively participate and profit from Tianzifang's conservation greatly depended on the location of their housing units. In the following, the transformation of housing into studios, shops and restaurants will be illustrated.

#### 5.2.4 Function and Usage

In general, Tianzifang's development is characterized by a diversification of functions and forms of usage. When Tianzifang's *lilong* houses were built at the beginning of the 20<sup>th</sup> century, they followed a pattern of one household per building: "one door – one building – one household" (*yi men yi zhuang yi hu* 一门一幢一户).<sup>270</sup> However, this form of distribution could not be retained due to different factors such as housing reform, population growth and urbanization, resulting in a situation where many households had to share a building. Since the 1950s, the basic pattern of usage has shifted to one or several rooms per household for private use (*duyong* 独用); the share of public spaces with other households in the same building (*gongyong* 公用).<sup>271</sup> While such public spaces include staircases, flat roofs or a kitchen, the equipment with sanitation facilities was still rare at the time. In Tianzifang, solely the buildings of West Jianguo Road Alleyway 155 had been constructed with such facilities.<sup>272</sup>

268 Interview with residents B and C, Shanghai, July 1, 2016.

269 Zhang, Jianjun 张建君 (April 15, 2009): "Lao Zheng he ta de Tianzifang" 老郑和他的田子坊, Weblog entry.

270 Huang, Ye 黄晔; Qi, Guangping 戚广平 (2015): "Tianzifang lishi jiequ baohu yu zai liyong shijian zhong shang ju hunhe maodun de caichanquan wenti" 田子坊历史街区保护与再利用实践中商居混合矛盾的财产权问题, p. 67.

271 Ibid.

272 Ibid.

In order to revitalize the block and reuse the unused factory buildings, a strategy was adapted to integrate additional and diverse functions as laid out in the *TZF Concept Plan*. Following this strategy, the future block is meant to be envisaged to fulfill five functions in its entirety: residential, creative, commercial, cultural and recreational/touristic. The **residential function** of Tianzifang shall be upheld to maintain Shanghai-style residential compounds in the community. Thereby, the continuation of local conditions and customs shall be promoted, and a characteristic Shanghai quality of life (*shenghuo pinzhi* 生活品质) passed on.<sup>273</sup> The **creative function** refers to the development of a creative industry park. In particular, cultural factors such as art and creativity are considered important to foster local economic growth. With regard to this focus, Tianzifang shall supposedly provide a favorable environment for the establishment of creative workshops and businesses.<sup>274</sup>

Another aim is to develop the core area of Tianzifang into a characteristic **commercial space** with traditional shops (*lao zi hao* 老字号) and creative businesses. The **cultural function** refers to Tianzifang as a historic and cultural block (*lishi wenhua jiequ* 历史文化街区). With the protection of its *shikumen lilong* appearance, the block shall function as an “exhibition site for Shanghai culture” (*haipai wenhua zhanshi di* 海派文化展示地).<sup>275</sup> This is emphasized by a comparison of Tianzifang as a “museum of *shikumen* buildings” (*shikumen bowuguan* 石库门博物馆).<sup>276</sup> The characteristic appearance of *shikumen lilong* buildings in the block further shall enable visitors an “experience of shikumen culture” (*shikumen wenhua tiyan* 石库门文化体验).<sup>277</sup>

The final function envisaged in the development plans is that of Tianzifang as a **recreational space** and urban tourist destination. Similar to its commercial center, the focus is set on the core area. In addition to its creative industries, Tianzifang’s distinctive lanes shall be supplemented with entertaining and recreational businesses as well as restaurants and bars.<sup>278</sup> The emphasis on these different functions and their implementation as envisaged in the development plans is analyzed in the following. Thereby, the developmental process of Tianzifang is considered as well as its present situation.

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273 TZF Concept Plan (2007), p. 25.

274 Ibid., p. 21.

275 Ibid.

276 Ibid.

277 TZF Comprehensive Planning (2008), p. 17.

278 Ibid.



*Characteristic Craft Street - Art Street*

The primary development measure initiated by Dapujiao Subdistrict Office was not directed towards the entire Block 56 but focused on its southern delimiting thoroughfare: Taikang Road. With the objective to improve the local economy, the subdistrict office decided to transform Taikang Road into a “characteristic crafts street”. In order to provide a better environment for cultural businesses, the established Taikang Road Street Market was moved indoors where it did not affect the traffic and the appearance of the road. For this purpose, the first of the empty industrial buildings, Shanghai People’s Needle Factory, underwent functional change. After a successful transformation, the new Taikang Road Food Market was opened in this former factory building.<sup>279</sup>

The first company to settle on the street was the Shanghai Yilufa Cultural Development Co., Ltd. 上海一路发文化发展有限公司. In December 1999, they opened a pottery and porcelain craft market with a size of 700 m<sup>2</sup>.<sup>280</sup> As mentioned above, the attractiveness of Taikang Road was hampered by busy traffic. Therefore, the Tianzifang advocates shifted their focus from the block boundary to development of the inner lanes and alleyways. In the following, the later chairman of the Merchant Association leased the empty factory buildings long-term and rented them out to cultural businesses willing to move there under favorable conditions.<sup>281</sup>

The main target group for the empty factory buildings were artists who needed spacious localities for their workshops. Concentration on this target group derived from another world-famous case dealing with the reuse of abandoned industrial areas and which was later highly praised as an “urban development model”, New York’s SoHo. The name “SoHo” is the abbreviation for an industrial area in Lower Manhattan, precisely “so”-uth of “Ho”-uston Street. Here, artists invented the new residential form of “loft housing” in the 1960s in search of suitable and affordable space.<sup>282</sup>

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279 “Luwan Qu zhi (1994–2003)” bianzuan weiyuanhui 《卢湾区志（1994–2003）》编纂委员会 (ed. and comp., 2008): “Taikang Lu yishu jie” 泰康路艺术街 [Taikang Art Street], in: *Luwan Qu zhi (1994–2003)* 卢湾区志 (1994–2003) [Luwan District Gazetteer (1994–2003)], p. 304.

280 Shanghai Local Gazetteers Bureau 上海市地方志办公室 (ed., 2004): “Taikang Lu yishu jie” 泰康路艺术街, Online.

281 Ibid.

282 For the emergence of lofts as alternative form of housing and the related changes of social and cultural values, especially concerning the status of art and artists as well as the appreciation of industrial heritage and its preservation in New York during the 1960s, see: Zukin, Sharon (1982): *Loft Living: Culture and Capital in Urban Change*, chap. 3.

Living in a constant state of illegality and threatened with possible eviction due to the inconformity of loft living with New York zoning and building codes, artists organized politically and, rather in public, declarations which pointed to their contributions to the cultural economy of the city. Resulting from following processes of promotion and “creative placemaking”, SoHo turned into a thriving neighborhood for middle- and upper-class residents, and since has been recognized as an “arts-driven model of urban growth”.<sup>283</sup> Moreover, the acceptance of lofts as residential space fostered the emergence of an industrial aesthetic in the domestic realm and the appreciation of industrial buildings’ historical value.<sup>284</sup> Along with a changing attitude towards preservation of historic structures triggered by the ideas of William Morris (1834–1896) and against restoration in the sense of “stylistic correction”, American preservationists started to advocate the reuse of industrial heritage.<sup>285</sup>

Convinced by this model and the capacities of art as “catalyst” for urban regeneration, the Tianzifang advocates decided to transform Taikang Road Alleyway 210 into an art street and lease the former industrial buildings to artists for reuse as workshops, galleries and design studios.<sup>286</sup> The first artist who agreed to enter and set up his workshop in one of the former *lilong* factory buildings was Chen Yifei<sup>287</sup> 陈逸飞 in 1999. His workshop was located in Taikang Road Alleyway 210

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283 Shkuda, Aaron (2015): “The Artist as Developer and Advocate: Real Estate and Public Policy in SoHo, New York”, p. 1013.

284 Zukin, Sharon (1982): *Loft Living: Culture and Capital in Urban Change*, pp. 71, 75.

285 *Ibid.*, p. 76.

286 Interview with former Head of Dapujiao Subdistrict Office, Tianzifang, June 8, 2016.

287 Chen Yifei 陈逸飞 (1946–2005) was one of the most well-known Chinese contemporary painters and visual artists. Born as the son of a chemical engineer and a formerly Catholic nun in Ningbo, he moved to Shanghai with his family soon after his birth. Chen studied at the Shanghai College of Art and profited from his friendship to established draughtsmen while simultaneously working as an illustrator. His technical mastery enabled him to start a career in oil-painting after his graduation in 1965 and he became well-known for his portraits of Mao Zedong as well as depictions of major revolutionary events. This made him a leading painter of the Cultural Revolution despite his intellectual background and a constant threat of being criticized. By the end of the 1970s he had become a leading Chinese artist whose work was included in national exhibitions and he decided to visit the U.S. and Europe to study Western art. As one of the first Chinese artists permitted to study art in the USA, he was accepted by Hunter College where he attained a master’s degree in 1984. His solo exhibitions, among others at the Hammer Galleries, led to his international renown. In reviews of the second exhibition, his work was primarily described as “romantic realism”. It was especially his paintings of traditionally dressed beautiful women and landscapes which became well-known for being strongly nostalgic and blending romanticism with realism. When the gallery owner and industrialist Armand Hammer visited China in 1985, he presented one of Chen’s paintings (*Memory of Homeland – Two*

No. 2-3 and comprised space for sculpture, pottery, oil painting as well as fashion photography.<sup>288</sup> Although originally most famed for his oil-paintings which are drawn in the style of “romantic realism”, Chen Yifei built up his own brand after returning from the USA at the beginning of the 1990s.

The brand which carries his name covers a broad range of art-related businesses and includes: YIFEI Studio (art), YIFEI Environment & Art (sculpture, installation art, art ornaments), YIFEI Media (film), YIFEI Models, Layefe (fashion), Layefe Home (homeware) and YIFEI Vision (magazines).<sup>289</sup> One of his artworks which he created in this workshop at Tianzifang is *Shanghai shaonü* (上海少女, “Young Girl of Shanghai”). The sculpture displays a young graceful Shanghai girl, twisting her body and glancing over her shoulder as depicted in oil paintings of Shanghai in the 1930s and 1940s. *Shanghai shaonü* shows some characteristic features of Shanghai women at the time, such as the sleeveless *qipao*<sup>290</sup> 旗袍 and sandals she wears or the birdcage she is holding in one hand as well as the fragrant fan in her other hand.<sup>291</sup> After its completion in 2000, the sculpture was invited to Paris and as the only sculpture from an Asian country, it was exhibited at a retrospective exhibition on modern sculpture by the French Ministry of Culture in Paris. Following the exhibition, it was further exhibited in the Louvre Museum for 60 days.<sup>292</sup>

Two other pioneering artists with their own relatedness to a location such as Tianzifang are photographer Er Dongqiang 尔冬强 and painter, as well as paper-cutting master, Li Shoubai 李守白. Er Dongqiang (1959–) originally worked on

*Bridges* 家乡的回忆—双桥) as a gift to Chinese leader Deng Xiaoping. Chen finally returned to Shanghai and founded a number of art-related businesses in 1990. In addition to fashion, homeware design and modeling, he started to produce films three years later. While he was still working on his movie “Barber” 理发师, Chen suddenly died from an illness in 2005. See: Shanghai Museum, Shanghai; China National Museum of Fine Arts, Beijing (1996): *Chen Yifei* 陈逸飞, pp. 158–176. “Chen Yifei” 陈逸飞, CHEN YIFEI Art Studio, Online.

288 Shanghai Local Gazetteers Bureau 上海市地方志办公室 (ed., 2004): “Taikang Lu yishu jie” 泰康路艺术街, Online.

289 “YiFei Brands” 逸飞品牌, CHEN YIFEI Art Studio, Online.

290 The *qipao* 旗袍, or *cheongsam*, is a tight-fitting women’s dress which originated from traditional Manchu clothing and underwent several alterations in design and style. Originally promoted by urban-dwelling women and film stars in Shanghai, it had become standard clothing for Chinese women by the 1930s. Fully showing a woman’s figure, the *qipao* symbolized an increasing level of freedom and was popular among female students and workers as well as the wives of high-ranking officials. Source: Yang, Shaorong (2004): *Traditional Chinese Clothing: Costumes, Adornments, Culture*, pp. 8, 24.

291 “Shanghai zhongxin ‘Shanghai shaonü’” 上海中心《上海少女》 [Centre in Shanghai “Young Girl of Shanghai”], CHEN YIFEI Art Studio, Online.

292 Ibid.

folk customs and culture but later turned to architectural photography. He documents modern Shanghai architecture and roads which are threatened to disappear due to urban development.<sup>293</sup> In 2001, he set up the Er Dongqiang Art Center 尔冬强艺术中心 in Taikang Road Alleyway 210 No. 2-4. Therefore, two factory buildings, including the earlier Shanghai Food Industry Machinery Factory, were transformed which covered an area of 800 m<sup>2</sup>.<sup>294</sup> His art center comprised of an art studio, an exhibition hall and a café.

The art center regularly staged exhibitions including “Expansion and Extension” 扩展与延伸, the European Graphic Art Exhibition or a photographic exhibition on Er Dongqiang’s investigations in the west. The studio not only provided space for artistic but also musical events such as the “Gershwin Night” Jazz Concert.<sup>295</sup> In 2002, Er Dongqiang further founded an opera salon at Tianzifang where well-known Shanghai opera artists were invited to perform on the last Saturday of every month.<sup>296</sup>

Li Shoubai (1962–) was born into a well-established art family in Shanghai and received his education at the Shanghai Arts and Craft College 上海市工艺美术学校. He primarily studied under renowned folk-artist and professor Lin Ximing 林曦明 (1926–) as well as paper cutting master Wang Zigan 王子淦 (1920–2000) and later developed a unique personal style.<sup>297</sup> He set up his workshop in Taikang Road Alleyway 210 No. 4-2.

His company, Shoubai Art, follows the philosophy to preserve local Shanghai or “Haipai” culture which he sees as combining local with foreign culture and an important premise for the emergence of Shanghai as a cosmopolitan metropolis. The company therefore offers “Haipai” seminars and workshops to promote local urban culture.<sup>298</sup> At Tianzifang, Li Shoubai pursues his work as an artist as well as engages in the transmission of immaterial cultural heritage, namely the art of Chinese paper cutting. As a famous Shanghai-style paper cutter, he was awarded “Representative Transmitter of Shanghai Intangible Cultural Heritage”.<sup>299</sup>

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293 Kanagaratnam, Tina (June 25, 2014): “Tess Johnston & Deke Erh: Shanghai’s Art Deco Pioneers”, Shanghai Art Deco, Online.

294 Shanghai Local Gazetteers Bureau 上海市地方志办公室 (ed., 2004): “Taikang Lu yishu jie” 泰康路艺术街, Online.

295 Xu, Yibo 徐逸波; Chen, Haiwen 陈海汶 (ed., 2011): *Xianhuo de Shanghai longtang: Tianzifang* 鲜活的上海弄堂: 田子坊 [Vibrant Lanes in Shanghai: Tianzifang], p. 21.

296 Shanghai Local Gazetteers Bureau 上海市地方志办公室 (ed., 2004): “Taikang Lu yishu jie” 泰康路艺术街, Online.

297 Xu, Yibo 徐逸波; Chen, Haiwen 陈海汶 (ed., 2011): *Xianhuo de Shanghai longtang: Tianzifang* 鲜活的上海弄堂: 田子坊, p. 27.

298 “About Shoubai Art”, Shanghai Shoubai Cultural Art and Co., Ltd., Online.

299 Ibid.

Besides working as an artist and sharing great interest in local culture, Er Dongqiang and Li Shoubai personally engage in and support the preservation and transmission of this culture. While Er Dongqiang contributes to the preservation of traditional built heritage in Shanghai by photographic documentation, Li Shoubai passes on Shanghai-style paper cutting and local culture in general through his works as well as initiatives and workshops by his company. Their choice to move their art studios to Tianzifang provided further support for the block and contributed to its final preservation.

In 2001, the development of Taikang Road Art Street began to assume permanent and visible form through the establishment of important institutions as well as symbolic structures. One of the milestones of this development was the establishment of the above-mentioned Er Dongqiang Art Center. Therein, he held exhibitions and events which, according to the artist, were open to the public and free of charge.<sup>300</sup> The center has been transformed into Tianzifang Art Center 田子坊艺术中心 in 2013 and regularly holds cultural and art exhibitions until today.

Chen Yifei's stainless steel sculpture "Shanghai Gate of Art" was officially completed at the end of January 2002. This street landmark in the shape of an archway crossing Taikang Road set a strong example in support of the idea of a Taikang Road Art Street, claiming the alleyway as an artistic space (see chapter 5.1.1). The artist further assumed the post of president for the Taikang Road Art Street Association 泰康路艺术街行业联谊会 which was established on the same day.<sup>301</sup> By the middle of 2002, there had already moved a total of 83 art stores, creative workshops and exhibition rooms into Tianzifang.<sup>302</sup> These stores offered artworks such as paintings, calligraphies or professional photographs but also craftworks, antiquarian books and antiques.

The different fates of artist workshops originating from Taikang Road Art Street can be illustrated by example of Er Dongqiang and Li Shoubai. While Li Shoubai founded his Shoubai Art company in 2004 which is still located in the original building at Taikang Road Alleyway 210, Er Dongqiang had to move his art center in 2012. The continually rising rent forced him to leave Tianzifang after 12 years. According to the owner, the building needed to be renovated and the artist's contract would not be prolonged afterwards.<sup>303</sup> The reason for this was

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300 Zhu, Geyi 诸葛漪 (2012): "Sheyingjia Er Dongqiang: Tianzifang yishu qu yi biancheng shangye qu" 摄影家尔冬强: 田子坊艺术区已变成商业区, Online.

301 Shanghai Local Gazetteers Bureau 上海市地方志办公室 (ed., 2004): "Taikang Lu yishu jie" 泰康路艺术街, Online.

302 Ibid.

303 Zhu, Geyi 诸葛漪 (2012): "Sheyingjia Er Dongqiang: Tianzifang yishu qu yi biancheng shangye qu" 摄影家尔冬强: 田子坊艺术区已变成商业区, Online.

another rent increase (see chapter 5.2.3). The building is now occupied by the scarf company “Woo” which has opened several shops in Tianzifang.

While museums were a common form of reuse in the preceding two case studies there has only been one museum established in Tianzifang so far: the Colored Glaze Art Museum 琉璃艺术博物馆. Former film actor and performing artist Yang Huishan 杨惠姗 (1952–) together with former director Zhang Yi 张毅 (1951–) from Taiwan founded and designed the museum located on Taikang Road No. 25. They established their renowned Colored Glaze Workshop 琉璃工房 in 1987 and have been honored as the “founders and pioneers of modern colored glaze art in China”.<sup>304</sup> By setting up the museum, the founders aim to provide a space where visitors can directly experience and learn about colored glaze art and foster discussions and exchange between artists as well as spectators. They strive to pass on the long history of Chinese *liuli* (琉璃 “colored glaze”) which dates back to the Han dynasty.<sup>305</sup>

In the 1960s, the original site of the museum still accommodated the Shanghai Plastic Component Factory for Clocks and Watches. The design of the new museum retained parts of this factory’s building structure and merely added new elements.<sup>306</sup> The inner and outer museum walls are built from 12,000 handmade *liuli* bricks which resemble an inscription tablet, referring to the workshop’s twenty-year long history and are illuminated in radiant colors at night.<sup>307</sup> The building reflects a “Chinese style” characterized by a fusion of tradition and modernity. For example, the “Western” building structure stands in contrast to a one-ton heavy peony sculpture hung up on the outer wall (see fig. 5-20).<sup>308</sup> In Chinese tradition, the peony is regarded as the “King of Flowers” or “Flower of Riches and Honor” due to its large, variegated blossoms and is associated with brightness.<sup>309</sup> In terms of exhibits, the museum presents ancient Chinese colored glaze artworks as well as modern pieces by Yang Huishan and international artists.

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304 Xu, Yibo 徐逸波; Chen, Haiwen 陈海汶 (ed., 2011): *Xianhuo de Shanghai longtang: Tianzifang* 鲜活的上海弄堂: 田子坊, p. 35.

305 Tang, Si-fu: “Welcome”, Liuli China Museum, Online.

306 “Shanghai liuli yishu bowuguan” 上海琉璃艺术博物馆 [Shanghai Liuli Art Museum], Liuli China Museum, Online.

307 Tang, Si-fu: “Welcome”, Liuli China Museum, Online.

308 “Liuli — yi zhong zui jiejin ai de caizhi” 琉璃 —— 一种最接近爱的材质 [Colored Glaze — a material coming closest to love], Liuli China Museum, Online.

309 Williams, C.A.S. (1974): *Chinese Symbolism and Art Motifs*, pp. 320–321.





Figure 5-20. Liuli China Museum.

Source: author's photo, 2018.

Another location where exhibitions are regularly staged is the above-introduced Tianzifang Art Center on the second floor of the Taikang Road Alleyway 210 No. 2-2. According to the chairman of the Merchant Association, the establishment of an art center had already been considered for a long time.<sup>310</sup> As a public platform for artists, Tianzifang Art Center stages exhibitions on photography, calligraphy, painting, etc. Artists primarily need to apply to exhibit their works but are not charged. Simultaneously, visitors can contemplate the exhibitions free of charge.<sup>311</sup>

Former exhibitions held in the art center so far comprise of the “Joint Autumn Exhibition of Eight Artists in September” (Jiuyue qiu shi ba ren lianzhan 九月秋时八人联展 and *Xunwei Shanghai - kun yue Tianzifang* 寻味上海 - 昆悦田子坊 (“Searching for the taste of Shanghai - *Kunqu* opera delights Tianzifang”). The

310 Zhou, Sili 周思立 (March 28, 2013): “Tianzifang ni wei yishujia tigong mianfei wutai” 田子坊拟为艺术家提供免费舞台 [Tianzifang plans to provide a free platform for artists], Online.

311 “Tianzifang yishu zhongxin kaifang” 田子坊艺术中心开放 [Tianzifang Art Center opens to the public], (July 15, 2013), Shanghai Municipal Tourist Administration, Online.

joint exhibition by Nancy's Gallery 南希艺术画廊 was held in September 2015 and staged representative works of eight contemporary artists.<sup>312</sup> *Xunwei Shanghai* was an exhibition in commemoration of the Shanghai *Kunqu* Opera Troupe's 40<sup>th</sup> anniversary. It was held from the end of May to the beginning of June in 2018.

Figure 5-21 shows the display of *kunqu* opera developmental history as well as traditional clothing and musical instruments in the art center. Besides *kunqu* opera exhibits, there were activities organized for the promotion of “*kunqu* opera culture”. In an event for children, they were offered the application of traditional opera facial make-up to their faces and were taught several postures on stage. Another educational event provided an introduction to this kind of opera and an insight into opera learning for visitors of all age groups.<sup>313</sup> Thereby, visitors could gain a first-hand experience of traditional Shanghai *kunqu* opera.

Moreover, “Haipai” culture is displayed by innovative and unconventional use of space. For example, in June 2018 an “aerial gallery” 空中长廊 of common characters in Wu Chinese was hung up all over the Tianzifang core area. The red banners which displayed a respective character, its pronunciation, meaning and the context when it is used, were installed along the alleyways at the level of *shikumen* door lintels (see fig. 5-22).

The gallery enables visitors to learn about common characters and expressions in Shanghainese while strolling along the characteristic *lilong* alleyways.<sup>314</sup> In addition to the material built heritage of *shikumen lilong* buildings, local culture has thereby been considered as an important aspect of Tianzifang's cultural heritage. As the number of “original inhabitants” (*yuanzhumin* 原住民) and the chance to listen to their Shanghai dialect declines, such initiatives may be seen as an attempt to retain and pass on the cultural aspect of the multifunctional area.

Some art companies and businesses in Tianzifang further launch initiatives to promote Chinese culture. In addition to selling culture-related products, they organize educational activities to transmit cultural knowledge. One example are the above-mentioned seminars and workshops of the Shoubai Culture & Art Company. These regularly held workshops are not limited to paper cutting, but further

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312 “Jiuyue qiu shi ba ren lianzhan” 九月秋时八人联展 [Joint Autumn Exhibition of Eight Artists in September], ARTX.cn, Online.

313 Sun, Jiaqin 孙霞琴 (May 28, 2018): “Xunwei Shanghai – kun yue Tianzifang, haipai wenhua huose shengxiang!” 寻味上海 – 昆悦田子坊, 海派文化活色生香 [Searching for the taste of Shanghai – *Kunqu* opera delights Tianzifang, vivid *Haipai* culture!], Shanghai Huangpu District People's Government Information Office, Weblog entry.

314 Wang, Zitao 王子涛 (June 25, 2018): “Shanghai Tianzifang xian ‘changyong Wu yu zi’ kongzhong changlang” 上海田子坊现“常用吴语字”空中长廊 [Present aerial gallery on “common Wu Chinese characters” in Tianzifang, Shanghai], Online.



Figure 5-21. Xunwei Shanghai Exhibition.

Source: author's photo, 2018.



Figure 5-22. Aerial Gallery.

Source: author's photo, 2018.

include a variety of culture-related topics. Their fifth “Haipai Arts and Crafts” workshop in September 2014 taught participants to craft leatherware by hand.<sup>315</sup> In August 2016, a Shanghai-style button-making workshop was held with the support of further sponsors and accompanied by a professional lecture. As a platform for international cultural exchange, the workshop was attended by Chinese and non-Chinese participants alike.<sup>316</sup>

### *Creative Industry Park*

The concept of “creative industries” was introduced in 1998 by the newly elected British government which attempted to measure the value of these areas of activity and evaluate their impact on the overall economy. Following the study *Creative Nation* by the Australian government in 1994,<sup>317</sup> the British Department for Culture, Media and Sport (DCMS) primarily set the boundaries of such activities, including 13 areas: advertising, architecture, the art and antiques market, crafts, design, designer fashion, film and video, interactive leisure software, music, the performing arts, publishing, software and computer services, and television and radio.

In its *Creative Industries Mapping Document* which later became influential in many other countries, the DCMS defined creative industries as:

“those industries which have their origin in individual creativity, skill and talent and which have a potential for wealth and job creation through the generation and exploitation of intellectual property”.<sup>318</sup>

Furthermore, the close relationships of these industries with other sectors were recognized, including tourism, museums and galleries as well as heritage.<sup>319</sup> Roodhouse notes that the engagement of the government with creative activities and

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315 “Leather Handcraft Workshop”, (June 1, 2016), Shanghai Shoubai Cultural Art and Co., Ltd., Online.

316 “Knottedded [sic] World and Shanghai Culture”, (August 12, 2016), Shanghai Shoubai Cultural Art and Co., Online.

317 Newbigin, John: “What is the creative economy?”, British Council, Online.

318 Department of Culture, Media and Sports (2001): *Creative Industries Mapping Documents 2001*, Foreword, p. 5.

319 Ibid.

their construction as part of the knowledge economy primarily aimed at the generation of economic revenue.<sup>320</sup> However, this strategy of combining arts and creativity with economics subsequently became a popular cultural management practice around the globe, including China.<sup>321</sup>

On an international level, creative industries have been defined by UNESCO as:

“sectors of organized activity whose principal purpose is the production or reproduction, promotion, distribution and/or commercialization of goods, services and activities of a cultural, artistic or heritage-related nature.”<sup>322</sup>

In addition to their close relationship with heritage as recognized by both definitions presented above, creative industries were further closely linked to urban economic development and city planning.<sup>323</sup> The consideration of creativity as an important premise for urban development was fostered by works such as *The Rise of the Creative Class* by American urbanist and thinker Richard Florida in 2002. He coined the term of the “creative class”, referring to the workforce “employed in the creative sector of the economy” and being “compensated monetarily for their creative output”.<sup>324</sup> A wide range of professions are considered part of this creative sector, including science and engineering, research and development, technology-based industries, arts, music, culture, aesthetic and design work but also knowledge-based professions such as health care, finance and law.<sup>325</sup>

Florida argued that cities relied on creativity and diversity for successful development and that those cities which attracted and facilitated the activities of this creative class are more likely to achieve high levels of innovation and growth. While city mayors were often enthusiastic about his theory, scholars pointed to insufficient empirical evidence among other points of critique.<sup>326</sup> The creative industry concept has further been criticized for applying the term “creativity” too broadly which reveals the fundamental problem of classifying these industries. According to the *Creative Economy Report* by the United Nations Development

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320 Roodhouse, Simon (2008): “Creative Industries: The Business of Definition and Cultural Management Practice”, p. 20.

321 Ibid., p. 16.

322 “Creative Industries”, UNESCO, Regional Bureau for Education in Latin America and the Caribbean, Online.

323 United Nations Development Programme; UNESCO (ed., 2013): “Creative Economy Report 2013 Special Edition — Widening Local Development Pathways”, p. 20.

324 Florida, Richard (2005): *Cities and the creative class*, p. 4.

325 Ibid., p. 3.

326 United Nations Development Programme; UNESCO (ed., 2013): “Creative Economy Report 2013 Special Edition — Widening Local Development Pathways”, p. 20.



Programme and UNESCO from 2013, the use of the term can therefore vary significantly depending on its context, and classifications are often remodeled by communities so as to “suit the reality of their local context, culture and markets”.<sup>327</sup>

In mainland China, the city of Shanghai is at the forefront of creative industry development. In addition to basic conditions such as its advanced level of infrastructure and cultural diversity, Keane<sup>328</sup> argues that close ties with Hong Kong and its progress in promoting creative industries encouraged Shanghai to adopt a formal policy, respectively. While creative industry clusters only became part of the national policy discourse in 2009,<sup>329</sup> Shanghai founded its Creative Industry Center (Shanghai chuangyi chanye zhongxin 上海创意产业中心) responsible for the promotion of creative industry development as early as November 2004.<sup>330</sup>

Shanghai Creative Industry Center is affiliated with the Municipal Economic Committee and originally carried out the official designation of creative industry clusters (*chuangyi chanye jijuqu* 创意产业集聚区) in evaluation rounds.<sup>331</sup> By the end of 2009, Shanghai had already held five evaluation rounds and designated 81 projects as creative industry clusters.<sup>332</sup> In 2016, under the new categorization of “cultural and creative industry parks” (*wenhua chuangyi chanye yuanqu* 文化创意产业园区), 128 sites were identified with the majority concentrated in the city center as shown in the UNESCO Creative Cities Network (UCCN) Membership Monitoring Report of Shanghai.<sup>333</sup>

An important reason for the reservation of the national government vis-à-vis creative industries found by O'Connor and Gu is related to cultural policy and among other factors, the term “creative”. Associated with “bohemian” values, the “Western” notion of creativity did not comply with Chinese cultural policy objectives. The concept therefore gave rise to an ideological question of the state’s interests in fostering cultural production.<sup>334</sup> While Chinese cultural policy started

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327 United Nations Development Programme; UNESCO (ed., 2013): “Creative Economy Report 2013 Special Edition — Widening Local Development Pathways”, p. 21.

328 Keane, Michael (2007): *Created in China: The Great New Leap Forward*, pp. 106–107.

329 White, Andrew; Xu, Sujing (2012): “A critique of China’s cultural policy and the development of its cultural and creative industries; the case of Shanghai”, p. 252.

330 Zheng, Jane (2011): “‘Creative Industry Clusters’ and the ‘Entrepreneurial City’ of Shanghai”, p. 3565.

331 *Ibid.*, p. 3566.

332 Sun, Fuliang 孙福良; Zhang, Naiying 张迺英 (ed., 2010): *Chuangyi Shanghai* 创意上海 [Creative Shanghai], p. 21.

333 UNESCO Creative City (Shanghai) Promotion Office (November 30, 2017): *Report 2013–2016 Shanghai Unesco City of Design*, UNESCO Creative Cities Network Membership Monitoring Report, appendice 2.

334 Tong, Q. S.; Hung, Ruth Y. Y. (2012): “Cultural Policy between the state and the market: regulation, creativity and contradiction”, p. 270.



to acknowledge culture as a resource and driver of economic development in the 1980s, it continues to focus on the promotion of national and socialist values.<sup>335</sup>

In the “Western” context, the term “cultural industries” came up in the 1930s and 1940s and carried a negative connotation of undermining the integrity of culture which changed by the 1980s when it became used positively as “forms of cultural production and consumption” by academics and policy-makers.<sup>336</sup> In the subsequent transition from “cultural” to “creative industries”, definition and classification debates arose about where to draw the boundaries.

Similar confusion in terms of definition and terminology came up in China as creative industries also cover cultural activities such as music, writing, film or cultural heritage.<sup>337</sup> While the national government formally adopted the term “culture industry” (*wenhua chanye* 文化产业) in its Tenth Five Year Plan from 2001,<sup>338</sup> Shanghai primarily continued the experimentation and promotion of creative industry clusters. The Municipal Economic and Informatization Committee identified its first batch of 18 creative industry clusters in April 2005.<sup>339</sup> Simultaneously, the Municipal Propaganda Department accredited 15 cultural industry parks (*wenhua chanye yuanqu* 文化产业园区) in a first designation round in April 2009.<sup>340</sup> By the end of 2011, Shanghai had selected a total of 89 creative industry clusters and two batches of cultural industries, amounting to a total of 52 parks.<sup>341</sup>

An important figure for the promotion of creative industries on a local, as well as national, level is the former head of the Shanghai Academy of Social Sciences (SASS) Economics Research Institute and Vice-Chairman of the Standing Committee of the Shanghai Municipal People’s Congress 上海市人大常委会副主任, Li Wuwei 厉无畏. He fostered the inclusion of creative industries into national

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335 Gu, Xin; O’Connor, Justin (2014): “Creative industry clusters in Shanghai: a success story?”, p. 3.

336 United Nations Development Programme; UNESCO (ed., 2013): “Creative Economy Report 2013 Special Edition — Widening Local Development Pathways”, p. 20.

337 Gu, Xin; O’Connor, Justin (2014): “Creative industry clusters in Shanghai: a success story?”, p. 3.

338 Ibid.

339 Shanghai Cultural and Creative Industry Promotion Leading Group Office 上海市文化创意产业推进领导小组办公室 (May 4, 2016): “Shanghai wenhua chuanyi chanye” 上海文化创意产业 [Shanghai cultural and creative industries], Shanghai Municipal People’s Government, Online.

340 Zhang, Jingxin 张靖欣 (October 31, 2014): “Shanghai 18 jia yuanqu huo cheng wenhua chuanyi chanye yuan” 上海 18 家园区获称文化创意产业园 [18 parks in Shanghai are named cultural and creative industry parks], Online.

341 Yuan, Songlu 袁松禄 (May 2, 2012): “Shanghai Shi wenhua chanye yuanqu yi da 52 ge — yuanqu huhuan geng duo chuanyi jiqun” 上海市文化产业园区已达 52 个 — 园区呼唤更多创意集群 [Shanghai cultural industry parks amount to 52 — the parks are calling for more creative clusters], Online.

policy discourse in 2009 by highlighting the need for a national policy in his position as member of the Chinese People's Political Consultative Conference (Quanguo zhengxie 全国政协).<sup>342</sup> As head of the SASS Economics Research Institute, he promoted research on the "creative economy" by introducing the field of cultural and creative industries (wenhua chuangyi chanye yanjiu 文化创意产业研究).<sup>343</sup> Furthermore, he established the Shanghai Creative Industries Association in 2005, a platform for creative industry development in Shanghai.<sup>344</sup> The development of Tianzifang from an art street to one of Shanghai's first creative industry parks was also strongly encouraged by him.<sup>345</sup>

The Chinese discourse resulted in the adaptation of the hybrid term "cultural and creative industries" on a national and local level.<sup>346</sup> Consequently, the two formerly separated designations of "creative industry clusters" and "cultural industry parks" used in Shanghai needed to be merged. Among others, this task was carried out by the Shanghai Cultural and Creative Industry Promotion Leadership Group 上海市文化创意产业推进领导小组, established in 2010. Over a period of four years, this group unified both industry types in terms of policy, statistics and data, finance and development.<sup>347</sup>

Due to Shanghai's early adoption of creative industries, a number of locations had been selected as both, creative industry clusters and cultural industry parks. These sites now had to be renamed as such. In November 2014, the Cultural and Creative Industries Promotion Office standardized the first batch of 18 parks which had carried both designations so far in a process named *fanpai*<sup>348</sup> (翻牌, "turning

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342 White, Andrew; Xu, Sujing (2012): "A critique of China's cultural policy and the development of its cultural and creative industries; the case of Shanghai", p. 252.

343 "Wenhua chuangyi chanye yanjiushi jianjie" 文化创意产业研究室简介 [Introduction to Cultural and Creative Industries Research Department], Shanghai Academy of Social Sciences, Institute of Applied Economics, Online.

344 "Xiehui jieshao" 协会介绍 [Introduction to the association], Shanghai Creative Industries Association, Online.

345 Zhang, Jianjun 张建君 (April 15, 2009): "Lao Zheng he ta de Tianzifang" 老郑和他的田地坊, Weblog entry.

346 Gu, Xin; O'Connor, Justin (2014): "Creative industry clusters in Shanghai: a success story?", p. 4.

347 Zhang, Jingxin 张靖欣 (October 31, 2014): "Shanghai 18 jia yuanqu huo cheng wenhua chuangyi chanye yuan" 上海 18 家园区获称文化创意产业园, Online.

348 The term refers to the official tablets hung up in parks which successfully passed the evaluation procedures and were accredited the designation of "creative industry cluster" or "cultural industry park", respectively. Such tablets usually show the official name of a site, the awarded title and the government agency responsible for its selection as well as the proclamation date.

over the tablet”).<sup>349</sup> A second batch of cultural and creative industry parks was determined in December 2014 and newly selected parks from a third designation round were proclaimed in January 2016.<sup>350</sup>

Furthermore, the Shanghai Cultural and Creative Industry Promotion Leadership Group and the Municipal Statistics Bureau formulated a categorization standard for cultural and creative industries in 2011. The revised version of the “List of Shanghai Cultural and Creative Industries Categories” (*Shanghai Shi wenhua chuangyi chanye fenlei mulu* 上海市文化创意产业分类目录) of 2013 comprises 11 categories further divided in 30 subcategories and 185 industry branches as well as activities. The 11 main categories are: media, arts, industrial design, architectural design, fashion design, internet and information, software and computing services, consultancy, advertisement and exposition, leisure and entertainment services and industries related to culture and creativity. As found by scholars, this standard is very much related to Hong Kong’s *Baseline Study*<sup>351</sup> from 2003.<sup>352</sup>

By now, creative industry parks constitute an **established part of Shanghai’s economy**. From 2012 to 2016, the added value of creative design, which indicates the value generated through investment in design-related activities, was growing steadily and by the end of 2016 accounted for 7.31 percent of the total GDP.<sup>353</sup> While its 9.31 percent-increase was lower than in 2013 (11.8 percent lower, in fact, from the previous year),<sup>354</sup> the added value of creative design still shows a positive

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349 Zhang, Jingxin 张靖欣 (October 31, 2014): “Shanghai 18 jia yuanqu huo cheng wenhua chuangyi chanye yuan” 上海 18 家园区获称文化创意产业园, Online.

350 Shanghai Cultural and Creative Industry Promotion Leading Group Office 上海市文化创意产业推进领导小组办公室, CPC Shanghai Municipal Committee Publicity Department 中共上海市委宣传部, Shanghai Municipal Commission of Economy and Informatization 上海市经济和信息化委员会 (December 7, 2014): *Guanyu rending di er pi Shanghai Shi wenhua chuangyi chanye yuanqu de tongzhi* 关于认定第二批上海市文化创意产业园区的通知, document no. 34, Online. Shanghai Cultural and Creative Industry Promotion Leading Group Office 上海市文化创意产业推进领导小组办公室 (January 11, 2016): *Di san pi Shanghai Shi wenhua chuangyi chanye yuanqu mingdan gongshi* 第三批上海市文化创意产业园区名单公示 [Promulgation of the list with the third batch of Shanghai’s cultural and creative industry parks], Online.

351 The full reference to this study in which Hong Kong defined its creative industries is: Centre for Cultural Policy Research (2003): *Baseline Study of Hong Kong’s Creative Industries*, University of Hong Kong, Hong Kong: SAR.

352 White, Andrew; Xu, Sujing (2012): “A critique of China’s cultural policy and the development of its cultural and creative industries; the case of Shanghai”, p. 252. Keane, Michael (2009): “Creative industries in China: Four perspectives on social transformation”, p. 431.

353 UNESCO Creative City (Shanghai) Promotion Office (November 30, 2017): *Report 2013–2016 Shanghai Unesco City of Design*, UNESCO Creative Cities Network Membership Monitoring Report, appendice 1.

354 “Shanghai”, UNESCO Creative Cities Network, Online.

development. The main segments of the creative design industry are industrial design, architectural design, fashion design, software and computing services as well as internet services with software and computing services constituting the greatest segment of about 30 percent, followed by industrial and architectural design, each amounting to about 20 percent.<sup>355</sup>

Apart from economic benefits, **place promotion and global branding** played an important role for Shanghai's decision to foster creative industries. According to Wu, Shanghai was lagging behind other Chinese cities in its role as an artistic and innovation center, especially in comparison to Beijing, by the middle of the 1990s due to insufficient government funding and strong supervision.<sup>356</sup> Striving to become a global hub, the promotion of creative and cultural industries is one of several strategies to gain greater prominence, just as the establishment of a modern cultural infrastructure by means such as the expansion and opening of cultural venues or to host high profile events.<sup>357</sup>

The city's efforts were recognized internationally as Shanghai was included as city of design in UNESCO's "Creative Cities Network" (UCCN) in 2010. Founded in 2004, the UCCN by now is composed of 180 members from 72 countries. As creative cities rely on creativity as the key factor for sustainable urban development, creativity and cultural industries play a central role in their development plans. The UCCN's definition of creativity thereby covers the fields of crafts and folk art, design, film, gastronomy, literature, music and media arts.<sup>358</sup>

The third aspect in which cultural and creative industry development proves to be favorable for Shanghai is its **urban regeneration effect**. As a pioneering city in the development of creative industries in China, Shanghai reflects the shift towards a more economic-centered cultural policy which draws on culture as a resource and "driver" of economic development.<sup>359</sup> Concretely, the municipal government shifted its focus to the integration of creative design into urban renewal and industry transformation. While the first batch of creative industry parks such as Tianzifang emerged from the reuse of former industrial buildings

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355 "Shanghai", UNESCO Creative Cities Network, Online.

356 Wu, Weiping (2004): "Cultural strategies in Shanghai: regenerating cosmopolitanism in an era of globalization", pp. 174–176.

357 Gu, Xin (2014): "Creative Industries, Creative Clusters and Cultural Policy in Shanghai", p. 175. Wu, Weiping (2004): "Cultural strategies in Shanghai: regenerating cosmopolitanism in an era of globalization", p. 177.

358 "Home", UNESCO Creative Cities Network, Online.

359 White, Andrew; Xu, Sujing (2012): "A critique of China's cultural policy and the development of its cultural and creative industries; the case of Shanghai", p. 249. Keane, Michael (2007): *Created in China: The Great New Leap Forward*, p. 106. Zhang, Xiaoming (2006): "From institution to industry: Reforms in cultural institutions in China", pp. 297–306.

due to their cheap rents, wide space and historical environment by artists and art-related professionals, their establishment later became an urban regeneration practice carried out by private developers as well as public/private corporations.<sup>360</sup>

The bank of Suzhou Creek features one of the earliest projects later integrated into urban renewal and protection. Located at Moganshan Road 50 in one of Shanghai's former industrial districts, **M50 Cultural and Creative Industry Park** is characterized by industrial buildings and warehouses of different historical periods from the 1930s to the 1990s.<sup>361</sup> Attracted by its location next to Suzhou Creek, artist Xue Song 薛松 was the first to move his studio to one of the factory halls in 2000.<sup>362</sup> Two years later, ShanghART (Xianggena 香格纳) which was founded in 1996 as one of the first Chinese contemporary art galleries opened a first gallery in M50.<sup>363</sup> Afterwards, artistic talents from over 20 countries and regions engaged in visual arts and creative design moved to the area, turning it into a vibrant arts space which became originally recognized as one of the first creative industry parks in 2005.<sup>364</sup>

Similar to Block 56 (present-day Tianzifang), real estate developers had targeted this area to build a residential compound facing the waterfront.<sup>365</sup> Finally, due to its new function as a creative hub, its traditional appearance was preserved, and the area transformed into M50 Cultural and Creative Industry Park. Other early examples oriented on urban renewal are Bridge No. 8 (Ba hao qiao 八号桥) and 1933 Old Millfun (1933 lao changfang 老场坊). In contrast to Tianzifang and M50 which primarily served as a suitable and affordable workspace for artists and only later acquired the additional function of a creative industry cluster, these clusters have been planned as comprehensive transformation projects aiming at the attraction of cultural and creative industries.

**Bridge No. 8** is the designation for a complex of former factory buildings of the Shanghai Automotive Brake Company 上海汽车制动器公司 not very far from Tianzifang and first creative industry cluster realized by a real estate developer. The name is related to the overhead walkways (*tianqiao* 天桥) connecting the seven buildings on their second stories.<sup>366</sup> In 2003, Luwan District Government

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360 Zheng, Jane (2011): "'Creative Industry Clusters' and the 'Entrepreneurial City' of Shanghai", p. 3568.

361 Sun, Fuliang 孙福良; Zhang, Naiying 张迺英 (ed., 2010): *Chuangyi Shanghai* 创意上海, p. 79.

362 Ibid., p. 80.

363 "Space", ShanghART Gallery, Online.

364 Sun, Fuliang 孙福良; Zhang, Naiying 张迺英 (ed., 2010): *Chuangyi Shanghai* 创意上海, p. 81.

365 Ibid., p. 80.

366 Ibid., p. 23.

entrusted a real estate company with the redevelopment of the former factory site and the state-owned enterprise provided a twenty-year lease of the property.<sup>367</sup>

The Japanese architect Kenji Mantani with his company HMA guided the transformation and was the first to move into the new complex.<sup>368</sup> In the transformation process, the building structure of the former factory buildings was maintained as well as other characteristic elements such as the original grey bricks, steel staircases or pipes.<sup>369</sup> After its completion, the site further attracted advertising and media businesses<sup>370</sup> and hosted a great number of events, including commercial activities of renowned national and non-Chinese brands as well as cultural and charity events.<sup>371</sup>

**1933 Old Millfun**, originally Shanghai's largest abattoir dating from the Republican period, is located in Hongkou district. It was designed by a British architect, with a squared outer appearance and a round inner form, resembling a maze. The complex with a size of 32,500 m<sup>2</sup> features characteristic architectural elements such as the former cattle path, air bridges and spiral ladders.<sup>372</sup> The building's historical and artistic values were primarily acknowledged by Hongkou District Government which listed the site as an *outstanding historical building* and later confirmed by the municipal government when it was upgraded to municipal level in 2005.<sup>373</sup>

Its transformation into a creative industry park was carried out by Shanghai Creative Industry Investment Company which was found by Zheng to be highly competitive due to support from Hongkou District Government.<sup>374</sup> In cooperation with scholars and experts, the site was restored to its original appearance and style by means of original materials and building techniques. The interior was adapted to modern needs and new functions where appropriate.<sup>375</sup> Following its self-description, 1933 Old Millfun now provides space for a variety of functions,

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367 Greenspan, Anna (2014): *Shanghai Future: Modernity Remade*, pp. 97–98.

368 *Ibid.*, p. 98.

369 *Ibid.*

370 Gu, Xin; O'Connor, Justin (2014): "Creative industry clusters in Shanghai: a success story?", p. 9.

371 Sun, Fuliang 孙福良; Zhang, Naiying 张迺英 (ed., 2010): *Chuangyi Shanghai 创意上海*, pp. 28–29.

372 "1933 Shanghai", Shanghai zhongheng qiye guanli zixun youxian gongsi, Online.

373 "Shanghai chuangyi chanye jijuqu you yao xin liangdian" 上海创意产业集聚区又耀新亮点 [Shanghai's creative industry cluster gains new merit], (August 9, 2006), Shanghai Municipal People's Government, Online.

374 Zheng, Jane (2010): "The 'Entrepreneurial State' in 'Creative Industry Cluster' Development in Shanghai", p. 160.

375 Sun, Fuliang 孙福良; Zhang, Naiying 张迺英 (ed., 2010): *Chuangyi Shanghai 创意上海*, p. 160.



including high-profile events, restaurants, art performances, high-end fashion stores and office spaces.<sup>376</sup> However, Greenspan sees it as a failed cluster because much of the building remains empty and mostly hosts high-end businesses.<sup>377</sup>

Tianzifang and M50 are clusters which developed gradually and “organically”<sup>378</sup> in contrast to the above-mentioned examples of planned clusters. Especially in the case of Tianzifang, the creative function is only one of several functions. A shared phenomenon with M50 and Bridge No. 8 is that their value was first recognized by professionals from the arts and architecture. Moreover, these professionals mostly came from non-Chinese countries or had overseas experience. As mentioned above, in its early period of creative industry development, Tianzifang covered more than 160 investors in creative and design organizations as well as cultural and art businesses from 26 countries and regions, including the USA, Australia, Canada, France, Britain, Denmark, Ireland, Japan, Singapore, Malaysia, Hong Kong and Taiwan.<sup>379</sup>

In the case of Tianzifang, the entering of businesses in this initial stage was regulated and priority given to entrepreneurs of foreign descent, from Greater China; while returning overseas Chinese. Thereby it was planned that Tianzifang become a gathering place for people from different countries, with different cultural backgrounds, bringing a diversity of styles to the area and an increase in the publicity of the brand.<sup>380</sup> The most recent survey by this author in May 2018 has shown that while established non-Chinese businesses still exist, by now, the majority of creative, as well as touristic, businesses is operated by Chinese owners (see appendix A.17).

The pioneering role of Tianzifang as a creative cluster is further illustrated by its efforts to improve the environment for creative industries. In April 2006 Tianzifang set up the “Union for the Protection of Intellectual Property Rights” (Tianzifang zhishi chanquan baohu lianmeng 田子坊知识产权保护联盟).<sup>381</sup> At the time, this was the first autonomous organization for the **protection of intellectual property rights** put forward by creative industries in Shanghai. With the establishment of the union, 22 members mutually agreed on a number of restrictions

376 “1933 Shanghai”, Shanghai zhongheng qiye guanli zixun youxian gongsi, Online.

377 Greenspan, Anna (2014): *Shanghai Future: Modernity Remade*, p. 100.

378 See also: Gu, Xin; O’Connor, Justin (2014): “Creative industry clusters in Shanghai: a success story?”, p. 7.

379 Zhu, Ronglin 朱荣林 (2008): *Jiedu Tianzifang* 解读田子坊, p. 20.

380 Wen, Qing 文卿 (ed., 2007): “Tianzifang: yi jia yi fengge” 田子坊：一家一风格 [Tianzifang: One house, one style], p. 30.

381 “Shanghai shou ge you guan zhishi chanquan baohu hangye zilü zuzhi guapai” 上海首个有关知识产权保护行业自律组织挂牌 [First autonomous organization for the protection of intellectual property rights established in Shanghai], (April 25, 2006), Shanghai Municipal People’s Government, Online.

and obligations to foster and protect their creative work.<sup>382</sup> The union further aimed to offer assistance and guidance for the establishment of a management system to investigate violations of intellectual property rights and to offer related professional services.<sup>383</sup>

The protection of intellectual property rights became a key issue for Shanghai in the course of the World Expo 2010. According to Luwan district's science and technology innovation action plan to host the World Expo, innovation, entrepreneurship and creativity are seen as important development drivers and the protection of intellectual property rights as one of the major tasks. The plan also foresees the establishment of practice areas related to the exposition motto of which Tianzifang became one.<sup>384</sup>

This position, as the first park to set up an organization for the protection of intellectual property rights, together with its unique appearance, are named as important factors qualifying Tianzifang as a World Expo demonstration site.<sup>385</sup> Such favorable conditions further contributed to the progress of **creative businesses** and in some cases, their expansion to the greater city, or, in fact, all over China. One example for such a creative business originating from Tianzifang is “Woo” 妩, a high-end Chinese accessory brand for scarves and shawls.

Inspired by a remark of Chen Yifei whereby he explained that he felt ashamed whenever he went to Paris because he never saw any luxury brands from where he came from, designer Sun Qingfeng 孙青锋 decided to establish his own brand and set up his first store in 2002.<sup>386</sup> His accessories are made from high-quality cashmere and silk from areas such as Tibet, Inner Mongolia and Hangzhou. In addition to processing such traditional materials, the accessories combine Chinese cultural elements with international fashion trends. Traditional handicraft techniques such as Suzhou embroidery are used to enrich these luxury scarves and shawls with cultural content.<sup>387</sup>

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382 “Shanghai shou ge you guan zhishi chanquan baohu hangye zilü zuzhi guapai” 上海首个有关知识产权保护行业自律组织挂牌, (April 25, 2006), Shanghai Municipal People's Government, Online.

383 Ibid.

384 Luwan District People's Government Bureau 卢湾区人民政府办公室 (September 24, 2008): *Guanyu yinfa “Luwan Qu ying Shibo keji chuangxin xingdong jihua” de tongzhi* 关于印发《卢湾区迎世博科技创新行动计划》的通知 [Circular on the publication of “Luwan District Science and Technology Innovation Action Plan to Receive the World Expo”], Shanghai Municipal People's Government, Online.

385 Ibid.

386 Ap, Tiffany (April 6, 2014): “A brand of their own”, Online.

387 Han, Qing 韩庆 (September 5, 2013): ““Woo 妩” li Zhongguo de Aimashi you duo yuan?” “Woo 妩”离中国的爱马仕有多远? [How far is “Woo 妩” from becoming the Chinese Hermès?], Online.

Since he opened the first store, the designer has expanded his business in Tianzifang to three stores in Alleyways 210 and 248, whereby the shop in Alleyway 248 covers two housing units (see appendix A.17). Furthermore, there are 50 Woo stores in 90 percent of the luxury department stores in mainland China overall.<sup>388</sup> The brand also expanded to e-commerce and has opened an official online store on the influential platform Tmall.<sup>389</sup> Although stores such as Woo are not the majority, the example illustrates how Tianzifang became an authentic creative industry park as the “birthplace” of successful cultural and creative businesses.

According to O’Connor and Gu, Chinese cultural and creative industry clusters combine art and production spaces with leisure elements such as restaurants, cafes and bars as well as retail elements including bookstores, design shops, etc.<sup>390</sup> Yu et al. have found that of the “first generation” businesses which were set up in the area of the former factory buildings, 52 percent were engaged in art and design, 25 percent restaurants and cafes, 7 percent retail stores and 16 percent “others”.<sup>391</sup> This proportion changed dramatically with the increasing commercialization of Tianzifang and the conversion of formerly residential units into retail stores.

### *Tourist and Recreation Venue*

While initially only visited by a small number of “insiders” interested in art and traditional *shikumen lilong* architecture, Tianzifang has already become one of Shanghai’s best-known tourist destinations and shopping areas.<sup>392</sup> In 2010, it was officially listed as a 3A National Tourist Attraction (国家 AAA 级旅游景区).<sup>393</sup> Since then, individual travelers and touristic groups float into the small lanes of Taikang Road block on working days as well as the weekend.

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388 “妩 Woo”, Shanghai International Fashion Centre, Online.

389 Ibid.

390 Gu, Xin; O’Connor, Justin (2014): “Creative industry clusters in Shanghai: a success story?”, p. 5.

391 Yu, Hai; Chen, Xiangming; Zhong, Xiaohua (2016): “Commercial Development from Below: The Resilience of Local Shops in Shanghai”, in: Zukin, Sharon; Kasinitz, Philip; Chen, Xiangming (ed.): *Global Cities, Local Streets*, p. 70.

392 Ibid., p. 62.

393 3A is the lowest level of National Tourist Attractions in Shanghai and comprised a total of 46 attractions in 2018. In the same year, 4A was the largest category with 52 entries while the highest level had only been awarded three times. The Oriental Pearl Tower and Shanghai Wild Animal Park were selected as 5A National Tourist Attractions in 2007 and Shanghai Science and Technology Museum in 2010. See: “3A ji jingqu minglu” 3A 级景区名录 [List of 3A National Scenic Areas], Shanghai Municipal Tourism Administration, Online.

Tianzifang's success is particularly remarkable as the former mixed-use block with industrial and residential buildings does not feature common "attractions" such as landmark buildings. As has been analyzed in chapter 5.2.2, Tianzifang's conservation plans have defined different sets of sight names to advertise the block's urban landscape. While the sight names themselves have not been used for designation (yet), some of the places they describe are advertised as "sites" on an information board in the block.

In the first period of on-site investigations by this author in 2015/2016, there had only been three information boards installed throughout the block describing the origin of Tianzifang's name and its development. By 2018, a passageway connecting the traditional Chinese courtyard with Alleyway 248 which was formerly occupied by retailers had been transformed into a touristic space offering information on the block and major "sites". There is now a model of Tianzifang installed in the center of the passageway and on the walls to its left and right are information boards (see fig. 5-23).

The boards display the development of Tianzifang, starting from the time of the former French Concession and painter Wang Yayun's establishment of Shanghai Xinhua Art School as well as the artist association which is depicted as the origin of Tianzifang being an artistic space through formulations such as having "planted the seeds for Tianzifang's artistic orientation" (wei Tianzifang zhong xia le yishu zhongzi 为田子坊种下了艺术种子) and being the "cultural gene for Shanghai's present cultural and creative industry parks" (dangjin Shanghai wenhua chuangyi chanye yuanqu de wenhua jiyin 当今上海文化创意产业园区的文化基因). Thereby, Tianzifang claims to be Shanghai's "original" creative industry park as legitimated by its historic relation to the arts.

The period between 2002 and 2006 when the block was threatened with demolition is marked as a "predicament" (*kunjing* 困境) and as a "favorable turn" (*zhuanji* 转机) but without further information on what these events actually were. On a second information board there are ten major "sites" of the block displayed, designated as Tianzifang's Ten Characteristic Landscapes (Tianzifang shi da tese jingguan 田子坊十大特色景观). These include individual buildings related to art, such as Chen Yifei's former workshop (the artist died in 2005), Tianzifang Arts Center or Shoubai Art. The former workshop of Chen Yifei which was the "birthplace" of artistic work in Tianzifang has been opened as an exhibition hall free of charge (see fig. 5-24).



Figure 5-23. Tianzifang Model and Information Boards.

Source: author's photo, 2018.



Figure 5-24. Former Workshop of Chen Yifei.

Source: author's photo, 2018.

The other “landscapes” refer to architectural and environmental characteristic places of the block including Erjing Lane, the traditional Qing dynasty dwelling or so-called “face-to-face” *shikumen* buildings. This description of Tianzifang as a scenic area by means of the term “landscape” shows how an urban block without officially protected entities is advertised as a scenic site within the city. It further shows how the concept of the landscape fosters a new understanding of vernacular architecture as cultural heritage.

As a touristic and recreational space, Tianzifang draws on its built heritage as a cultural resource. Since about two decades, Shanghai fosters the expansion of its cultural infrastructure as part of the strategy to promote its image as a global city. On the one hand, striving to become the leading metropolis in Asia, modern cultural venues, such as museums, galleries or concert halls are constructed.<sup>394</sup> On the other hand, the city promotes its, mainly modern, cultural heritage. As observed by scholars and mentioned above,<sup>395</sup> this development further involves a popular nostalgia for Shanghai’s “golden era” as a “cosmopolitan” and global city in the 1920s and 1930s.

While tourists come to the block in search for an “authentic” experience of local culture, this “Haipai” culture is further enjoying a revival among the local middle-income classes. On the side of this group of white-collar workers, intellectuals, artists, creative professionals, among others, there is a great demand for inspiration provided by the block’s characteristic environment.<sup>396</sup> Similar to the case of Tongli, the physical landscape of Tianzifang is “enriched” with intangible heritage. One example is the above-mentioned “aerial gallery” of common characters in Wu Chinese which was installed in the block’s alleyways in 2018.

Another example is an installation on Alleyway 210 entitled “image of local *shikumen* customs in line drawing” which displays local customs and former “ways of life” in Shanghai alleyway house compounds (see fig. 5-25). Therein are shown characteristic features of *shikumen* houses such as archways and “tiger windows” as well as scenes of daily life. The line drawings address topics such as the close relationship between neighbors living in alleyway compounds (*linli guanxi*

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394 Gu, Xin (2014): “Creative Industries, Creative Clusters and Cultural Policy in Shanghai”, p. 175.

395 Liang, Samuel Y. (2008): “Amnesiac Monument, Nostalgic Fashion”, pp. 47–78. Gu, Xin (2014): “Creative Industries, Creative Clusters and Cultural Policy in Shanghai”, p. 175.

396 Yao, Zigang 姚子刚; Pang, Yan 庞艳; Wang, Jieqiong 汪洁琼 (2012): “‘Haipai wenhua’ de fuxing yu lishi jiejū de zaisheng — yi Shanghai Tianzifang wei li” “海派文化”的复兴与历史街区的再生——以上海田子坊为例 [The Revival of “Haipai culture” and regeneration of historic blocks — by example of Shanghai Tianzifang], p. 142.



邻里关系), folk literature (*minjian wenxue* 民间文学), street vendors who sell local specialties or children playing in the lanes under the eyes of their parents and neighbors.

Ren has criticized the staging of *shikumen lilong* houses in the case of Xintiandi as part of a Shanghai nostalgia and a kind of amnesia of related history, as they were originally occupied by low and middle-income households and were thus turned into shopping and entertainment quarters.<sup>397</sup> Tianzifang, where the building's residential function was partially maintained, emphasizes this different approach. Although the majority of its residents have already rented out their apartments to shop owners, the block draws on this romanticized depiction of local customs to raise its attractiveness.



Figure 5-25. Line Drawings of *Shikumen* Customs.

Source: author's photo, 2018.

The demand for characteristic and culture-related places, as part of a global trend, becomes clear from Tianzifang's entry in the travel guide *Lonely Planet*:

397 Ren, Xuefei (2008): "Forward to the Past: Historical Preservation in Globalizing Shanghai", p. 23.

“Tianzifang and Xintiandi are based on a similar idea – an entertainment complex housed within a warren of traditional *longtang* (弄堂; alleyways) – but when it comes to genuine charm and vibrancy, Tianzifang is the one that delivers. You do need to wade through the souvenir stalls to get to the good stuff, but this network of design studios, cafes, bars and boutiques is the perfect antidote to Shanghai’s oversized malls and intimidating skyscrapers. With some families still residing in neighbouring buildings, a community mood survives.”<sup>398</sup>

The entry regards Tianzifang as more “genuine” than Xintiandi and explicitly refers to a “community mood” generated by its residential function. Moreover, the block is contrasted with multi-story malls and skyscrapers which make up the usual cityscape of Shanghai and global cities in general. Coming back to the introductory remark by architect Wang Shu, Tianzifang is described as a project which contributes in maintaining the city’s memory.

Equally, shop owners make use of both images, Tianzifang as traditional *lilong* compounds as well as the image of Shanghai’s “golden era”. Firstly, these images are taken up in the design of **shopfronts**. Again, the archway as characteristic element of *shikumen* houses appears on a shopfront in Alleyway 210, installed at the entrance to a former factory building. The entrance to scarf company “Woo” is built in the style of a traditional Shanghai *shikumen* archway (see fig. 5-26).

However, it features rich ornamentation and golden letters symbolizing and representing a high status. While the above analysis has shown that Tianzifang’s *shikumen* were in plain style and such richly ornamented archways have never existed in the block, the choice of this style relates to Woo’s status as a luxury brand. On the one hand, the example shows how the archway’s traditional function to display the status is still employed. On the other hand, the construction of the archway reveals a higher estimation of *shikumen* heritage than industrial heritage which is “embellished” with traditional elements.

In contrast, the entrance to the shop and studio of artist Li Shoubai, Shoubai Art, is decorated in the style of paper-cutting (see fig. 5-27). Simultaneously, it takes up the theme of Shanghai’s colonial architecture. The part above the door lintel resembles a balcony rail in the classical style. Here, a creative approach has been chosen which relates to the profession of the artist.

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398 “Tianzifang”, Lonely Planet, Online.



Figure 5-26. Entrance to Woo.



Figure 5-27. Entrance to Shoubai Art.

Source: author's photos, 2018.

Secondly, cultural heritage and Shanghai nostalgia play a role concerning the **products** offered in Tianzifang's shops. A survey by this author in May 2018 investigated which shops in Tianzifang's core area, as designated in the tourist map from 2008, are related to Chinese cultural heritage in general (indicated as "national", see appendix A.17) and which sell products related to Shanghai (indicated as "local"). The data received from this investigation shows that there are certain product groups in both categories. Products related to Chinese cultural heritage in general comprise of silk products, porcelain, tea, pottery, traditional clothing, fans, traditional make-up, jewelry and handicraft products. Product groups related to Shanghai include traditional watches, traditional make-up and fragrance, Chinese dresses (*qipao* 旗袍), silk scarves, glasses and photography.

While such products related to Chinese cultural heritage in general can be found at many tourist destinations all over China, a majority of products related to Shanghai and their presentation are reminiscent of the 1920s and 30s. For example, a shop with the name "Modern Lady" 摩登红人 which sells traditional make-up depicts young women in Chinese dresses fashionable in this period at its shop entry as well as on product packaging (see fig. 5-28). An old photograph showing Shanghai's harbor is equally indicated as dating back to the 1930's.



Figure 5-28. Modern Lady Shop Entry.

Source: author's photo, 2018.

Moreover, some relaunched **local legacy brands** such as the shoe brand Feiyue or Shanghai VIVE maintain shops in Tianzifang, drawing on its historic environment of alleyway houses. Feiyue is a canvas shoe brand which emerged in Shanghai in the 1920s and moved to France in 2006.<sup>399</sup> It targets a great range of social groups and by 2018 had two stores in Tianzifang. Shanghai VIVE was established as “Shuangmei” 双妹 in 1898 offering perfume and beauty products for the local upper class.<sup>400</sup> It was relaunched by the state-owned Shanghai Jahwa Group in 2010 and was one of the early businesses which settled in Alleyway 210.<sup>401</sup> While the name “Vive” derives from expanded stores opened in Paris in the 1930s, the brand logo, packaging and scents are equally reminiscent of this period.<sup>402</sup>

The survey supports the observation by O'Connor and Gu that Chinese cultural and creative industry clusters combine art and production spaces with leisure elements such as restaurants, cafés and bars as well as retail stores. Following the definition of cultural and creative industries from the 2013 Shanghai Classification

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399 “Heritage”, Feiyue, Online.

400 Som, Ashok; Blanckert, Christian (2015): *The Road to Luxury: The Evolution, Markets and Strategies of Luxury Brand Management*, p. 402.

401 Ibid.

402 Ibid.

Standard for Cultural and Creative Industries 上海市文化创意产业分类目录, the number of building units in Tianzifang which are occupied by such industries amount to about 78 percent. It has further been found that businesses related to art and design are still most concentrated in Alleyway 210 and the transformed factory buildings (see appendix A.17).

In contrast, former housing units of Alleyways 247, 248 and 155 are mostly occupied by retailers. However, the number of entirely touristic businesses such as souvenir shops and fast food stands, as found in this survey, remained comparatively reasonable with about 11 percent. Touristic businesses mostly occupy units directly located at the main alleyways where most tourists are passing by. Moreover, it has been found that about 17 percent of businesses have already been established by 2008 and retained. These “original” businesses cover all alleyways of Tianzifang’s core area. While the data gathered in the survey reflects Tianzifang’s touristic and creative functions as foreseen in the conservation plans, they are much more pronounced than its residential function and presentation of cultural heritage.

Finally, the conversion of apartments into **guesthouses** (*minsu* 民宿) is a common form of reuse in Chinese (and global) urban renewal projects as the former two case studies illustrate. The opening of guesthouses has been considered for Tianzifang as well in order to enable residents living on the upper stories to rent out their apartments and participate in development.<sup>403</sup> However, not only residents would benefit from this line of business, but also other stakeholders.

Tianzifang Merchant Association aims for visitors to stay longer in the block and prolong the opening hours of businesses respectively.<sup>404</sup> The possibility of an overnight stay complements a cultural tourism scheme where visitors not only spend time in the historical buildings for shopping and recreational purposes, but also experience a stay in a traditional alleyway house and thereby what is advertised as “*shikumen* lifestyle” (*shikumen shenghuo* 石库门生活).<sup>405</sup>

Furthermore, a part of the generated revenue from the guesthouses could be used for the overall management of Tianzifang. According to an article in *Dongfang Online*, the management committee and the Merchant Association examined a model according to which a joint guesthouse management company of the Merchant Association and the management committee would be established. Apartments could thereby be leased from residents and comprehensively repaired.

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403 Interview with the resident mediator, Tianzifang, June 14, 2016.

404 Zhu, Yue 祝越 (August 8, 2015): “Tianzifang: shangzhu maodun reng wei jiejie, bu zai kaolü minsu jingying” 田子坊: 商住矛盾仍未解决 不再考虑民宿经营 [Tianzifang: The conflict between commercial and residential [use] has not been solved yet, establishment of guesthouses no longer considered], Online.

405 Ibid.

Reservations, registration and other administrative procedures would be accomplished through a general service desk.<sup>406</sup>

So far, such plans have been refused by the local management committee due to spatial reasons. While the great majority of ground-floor apartments are occupied by shops and many of those second-story places with a favorable position have been opened as cafés; apartments in the upper stories are often inaccessible or too small to be transformed into a guesthouse.<sup>407</sup> If, in the end, the transformation into guesthouses is approved by the management committee, an unavoidable consequence will certainly be a further decrease of original inhabitants and residential use of buildings in the block and consequently a decrease of local culture and community life.

### 5.3 Case Study Results

In contrast to the earlier two case studies which featured a great amount of preserved Ming and Qing period architecture, Tianzifang is a mixed-use block with traditional Shanghai *lilong* housing as well as former factory buildings. The block has a comparatively high integrity with built structures from different historical periods and in different architectural styles. Primarily, Tianzifang gains cultural significance from its enclosed spatial structure, delimited by outer streets and with an inner network of smaller and wider lanes. The notion of “graduated privacy” as termed by Wu equally exists for *lilong* housing with main lanes being the most public space in the block and smaller branch lanes becoming increasingly private up to the single houses which are comparatively the most private.

Moreover, the block features similar environmental elements such as historic wells and trees. While their number is much more limited than in the other two case studies due to the higher grade of urbanization in Tianzifang; they equally show relations to their environment through names. One example is the “Lane of the Two Wells” which has been named after its wells and derives significance from them. Furthermore, the trees in the traditional courtyards function as characteristic elements which is shown by the way they are integrated into the transformed recreational spaces. Other significant elements of the block are archways. In addition to the characteristic stone-framed doors of their gates, they can function as material

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406 Zhu, Yue 祝越 (August 8, 2015): “Tianzifang: shangzhu maodun reng wei jiejie, bu zai kaolü minsu jingying” 田子坊: 商住矛盾仍未解决 不再考虑民宿经营, Online.

407 Interview with the resident mediator, Tianzifang, June 14, 2016.



carriers of a neighborhood's compound name. These names have a high level of cultural value as they carry a variety of implications such as auspicious meanings, moral principles, references to their environment or Chinese classics.

The genesis of the name “Tianzifang” illustrates the importance of names for places being recognized as “authentic”. In the case of Tianzifang, the name was invented and therefore primarily had to gain recognition from the public as well as the district government. In order to achieve this acceptance, the name was presented in traditional form and installed as calligraphic writing above its entrance gate. The importance of this format further becomes apparent with the establishment of the *shikumen* archway which was also written by a well-known calligrapher.

Another difference to the former two case studies is that Tianzifang does not have officially protected entities. The block is significant for its *shikumen* houses which have only recently been recognized as objects of cultural heritage. The official inscription of *shikumen lilong* construction techniques as national immaterial cultural heritage has been initiated by projects such as the creating of Tianzifang which contribute to raise an awareness for the cultural significance of vernacular architecture. The “first generation” of u-shaped alleyway houses for well-off families had a similar structure to traditional Jiangnan houses with skywells and side rooms to accommodate a multi-generational household. As a result of population increases, housing units were downsized and open spaces omitted in order to accommodate more people.

As a former mixed-use block in the periphery of the French Concession, only a few of Tianzifang's houses are related to historical figures, those being Yang Du and the painter Wang Yayun. The historical value of the block derives from its diverse architecture from different historical periods. In addition to a few Qing-period local-style houses, there are traditional *shikumen lilong* as well as new-style *lilong* houses, *lilong* factories and multi-story factory buildings. These buildings appear in different forms and architectural styles such as “face-to-face” *shikumen* or buildings which combine Western and Chinese features. *Shikumen* houses further gain artistic value from characteristics such as the “tiger windows” or *tingzijian*. Furthermore, most of the houses are south facing. As intangible heritage, the construction technique of *shikumen* provide the houses with cultural value as well as the continuation of their residential function. Finally, *shikumen* houses have social value which is related to a personal nostalgia towards “quodidian spaces”.<sup>408</sup>

Conservation of Tianzifang's built heritage is primarily carried out through continuous use. In contrast to other projects in Shanghai, conservation integrates the maintenance of the block's residential function. Due to a lack of financial

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408 Liang, Samuel Y. (2008): “Amnesiac Monument, Nostalgic Fashion”, p. 47.

resources, the subdistrict office focused on culture to trigger development. Tianzifang has then been preserved through a bottom-up approach. Hereby, it is important to note that conservation has been initiated by the subdistrict office which is on the lowest level of government (bottom-up) but still a governmental body and local residents have only subsequently been mobilized. The initial intention was to set up a characteristic crafts street and artistic space. When the block was threatened with demolition, residential units were included into this strategy of expanding functions which contributed to the ultimate preservation of the block.

The Tongji University National Historically and Culturally Famous Cities Research Centre has drafted Tianzifang's general concept plan on its functional expansion and a comprehensive planning. Therein, not only the Tianzifang core area is to be protected but the entire block and its surroundings. While adaptive reuse of historical buildings and the transformation of their interior are permitted, the outward appearance of the buildings has to be preserved. *TZF Comprehensive Planning* defines basic principles such as authenticity and integrity whereby they focus on, but are not limited to, material aspects. Similar to the other case studies, conservation measures are defined for different building types which include improvement, transformation and removal. Moreover, the plans define sets of landscape scenes with sight names to promote different buildings and landscape elements as scenic spots and to enrich their cultural content with connotations.

Conservation in practice mainly comprised improvement measures such as laying cables for power, telecommunication and television in Alleyway 210 underground. Moreover, the living conditions of a number of local residents were improved by installing sanitation facilities, fire sprinklers and renovating public kitchens. Since adoption of the *ju gai fei* policy, sublease of public housing has (temporarily) been permitted and paved the way for adaptive reuse and the opening of private businesses in former *lilong* houses. With the establishment of a management committee, regulations for housing renovation were issued and an entering system for businesses established.

Following the *TZF Concept Plan*, Tianzifang shall supposedly fulfill five functions in its entirety: residential, creative, commercial, cultural and recreational/touristic. In a first step Taikang Road was transformed from a street market to a crafts street whereby the focus of Tianzifang advocates soon shifted to formerly industrial buildings inside the block. Inspired by New York's SoHo, formerly industrial spaces were rented out to artists and designers which greatly enhanced the image of the block. After Tianzifang had been officially recognized, it was declared as a cultural and creative industry park and its scope legally expanded to residential buildings which attracted private businesses and fostered its development into a tourist destination.

Although Shanghai has already been promulgated as HCF City in the second round from 1986, Tianzifang was too small and not considered significant enough to be integrated into existing heritage categories such as *historic and cultural scenic areas*. Only when smaller units were introduced in 2016 was Tianzifang officially listed as a *protected scenic block*. Its final preservation was achieved through the engagement of the Tianzifang advocates and the former head of the subdistrict office who remained persistent in his attempt to convince the district government of the block's value.<sup>409</sup> The accomplishment of this plan was facilitated by a number of factors, such as the preparation of the World Expo, the introduction of cultural and creative industry parks to Shanghai and a growing awareness for the value of vernacular heritage leading to the government's change of mind in reaction to global trends.

While Tianzifang's built heritage could be preserved, the increasing commercialization of the block has led to conflicts between different stakeholders. Although the involvement of the district government brought some regulation, economic development is still largely determined by market forces. As a result, artists and creative businesses are threatened by exploding rents and violation of intellectual property rights. While some residents improved their economic status by renting out their apartment, others have been excluded from this benefit and disturbed by factors such as noise and overcrowding.

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409 Interview with former Head of Dapujiao Subdistrict Office, Tianzifang, June 8, 2016.

