

Lund University
Center for East and South-East Asian Studies
Master Programme in Asian Studies
East and South-East Asian Track
Autumn Semester, 2007

ADAPTIVE REUSE AS SUSTAINABLE ARCHITECTURE IN
CONTEMPORARY SHANGHAI

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ABSTRACT

This thesis attempts to explore and interpret the contradictory forces and the direction of development of contemporary China as exemplified by Shanghai by investigating the emerging phenomenon of architectural adaptive reuse. The purpose of exploring Shanghai's architecture is to determine how adaptive reuse is contributing to a more historically and culturally sustainable architecture/society. It is grounded in the questions of: what can be learned from a study of architectural adaptive reuse, and, how has adaptive reuse, as implemented in Shanghai, contributed to a more sustainable architecture? Here architecture provides a 'text' that can be analyzed and it draws on a theoretical framework of postmodern analysis and sustainable architecture.

These investigations of Shanghai as a city and a text were conducted during a fieldwork research period in Shanghai where a comparative multiple case study approach was utilized. The case studies comprised three areas of adaptive reuse in Shanghai – Xintiandi, Moganshan Rd and TianziFang. Grounded in the field research, literature, observations and interviews – the main result of the study is that from around the turn of the 21st century, there is a small, but alternative development of adaptive reuse emerging in Shanghai that is a spatial restructuring contributing to a more cultural and historical sustainable architecture.

Keywords: adaptive reuse, sustainable architecture, industrial heritage, creative industries
Shikumen, Xintiandi, M50, TianziFang



Picture 1. Vestiges from the Past – Previous Fou Fong Flour Mill complex at Moganshan Rd. Gray clinker brick building by the renowned Atkinson and Dallas architectural firm. Due to adaptive reuse and grass-root activism it has now been preserved as an art studio (photo by author).

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ACKNOWLEDGEMENTS

There are many people to thank, during the preparations of the thesis in Sweden and the field research in Shanghai. In Sweden, I would like to thank my mentor, Anne Jerneck for the advice and suggestions she provided. A special thank you goes out to the then Director of Studies Marina Svensson for her literature recommendations, expertise and guidance in the area of cultural heritage preservation in China.

In China, I owe thanks to Tone Aarvik at the Nordic Centre that on several occasions provided me with translators at a short notice and took care of other practicalities. My deepest gratitude to all those that took of their personal time and granted me interviews in Shanghai, among them Tess Johnston, Ben Wood, Deke Erh and Han Yuqi. My gratitude is extended to Henry Zheng for introducing interviewees, sharing his knowledge on preservation issues in Shanghai, as well as, being a professional and personal interpreter. Especially, I am indebted to Ann Warr who granted me interviews, as well as, included me in activities relating to the thesis topic like meetings and/or lectures at the Save Shanghai Heritage (SSH) group or the Asiatic Royal Society. I am also grateful to my Chinese speaking classmates and roommates Caroline Frünt and Hyun Kim for their on the spur of the moment translations when ambushing locals for conversations and their generally upbeat personalities contributing to make the research period memorable and full of discoveries about Shanghai in particular and Chinese customs and habits in general.

Finally, I cannot thank my mother Maria Ekström enough for accommodating me between trips, shuttling back and forth between continents. Most of all I am indebted to my husband Bill Rutcosky for him being willing to uproot his life to support my further academic studies and his continuous moral and intellectual support.

1. INTRODUCTION

This thesis explores forces at work in the development of the modern city. It will document these forces as seen reflected in the changing face of architecture. The practical demands and benefits of modernity are transforming the urban landscape of Shanghai and the lives of the people living there. Yet, these changes are often hard pressed to accommodate historical architecture. At the same time, much of what we define as culture, tradition, and community, are attached inexorably to the lanes and buildings of the neighborhoods that compose a city. These forces, apparently at odds, can with effort be brought together in a type of structure that both preserves and adapts. This ‘adaptive reuse’, where traditional and modern elements co-exist, is emerging in Shanghai. This thesis will recognize adaptive reuse as an alternative to the eradication of traditional architecture, especially, in the instances where traditional preservation techniques are no longer a viable option. Further, it posits that adaptive reuse is a sustainable form of architecture that is a reprieve to the eradication of traditional architecture and culture.

1.1 Concepts, Implementation and Current State of Adaptive Reuse

Adaptive reuse is commonly used as a “general development concept” to regenerate urban areas. It is not a new concept. Historically, it has been a device to change the utilization of structures. In this thesis, however, “modern adaptive reuse” is deliberately used and on a broad scale “...from the reinvention of a hole-in-the-wall as a stylish coffee shop to the multimillion-dollar redevelopment of entire districts of underused areas and structures” (Stribling 2006: 1).

The classical example of adaptive reuse is the 1964 San Francisco Bay Ghirardelli chocolate factory. To save the historical architectural heritage and the incorporated culture the factory was restored into the Ghirardelli Square, where a “new marketing method” was implemented – where architectural features as the original brick was retained and interspersed with retail and restaurant venues (Historic Sites n.d.: 1). In the new marketing method there was an emphasis on the retail or the economic revenue, the prime location and the vibrant local history. A plentiful local history is an “a sine qua non of successful adaptive reuse” (Stribling 2006: 1). Since, adaptive reuse is in a sense – saving the old, by adding new utilization. Or as in the generally accepted definition: “adapting a building for a new use while retaining its historic features” and by doing so “save it from abandon or demolition” (Casal n.d.: 1; Stanley 2006). This thesis retains and acknowledges this classical definition of adaptive reuse, while noting that it’s implementation in Shanghai

extends it into adaptive preservation in the face of whole scale destruction of traditional architecture and its inbuilt cultural traits.

In China, the rejuvenation project of Xintiandi in Shanghai has been said to have been introduced with the concept of adaptive reuse (one of the case studies within this thesis). With Xintiandi, adaptive reuse has been extended to the traditional Lilong Shikumen housing structures. In Shanghai, adaptive reuse has mainly been recognized as a viable option in relation to the industrial structures and the creative industries in accordance with the “new marketing method”. Thus, in the context of Shanghai adaptive reuse has been acknowledged as a viable option in relation to the industrial heritage and the “twin goals of cultural innovations and economic development” (Zhang 2007: 290) However, a more cross sectional study incorporating other architectural historical structures like Shikumen have not been included. In this thesis, the phenomenon of adaptive reuse in Shanghai is being traced and hopefully adds to the conceptualization of adaptive reuse by bringing in additional architectural typologies like Shikumen. Also, adaptive reuse is used in such a way as to trace Shanghai’s tendencies towards a postmodern typology.

1.2 Modern “Cityscapes” vs. Postmodern “Townscapes” & Sustainable Architecture Typologies

How place is viewed is not by necessity defined by old versus new, but in the case of Shanghai, with its wholesale destruction, it will often seem to be so. A better description of how we view cities and place is defined by Relph (1987). He has outlined the difference between modernist versus post-modern urban formations. ‘Modernist cityscapes’ are recognizable by 5 prime characteristics: their megastructural mania, straight/prairie space, rational order, hardness and opacity and fragmented vision. Conversely, cities with postmodern tendencies are represented by the 5 characteristics of; “quaintspace”, antiqued or ornamental surfaces, stylishness (connotes being for the rich, hip strata), localization (revival of geographical or historical features) and pedestriation (Dear & Flusty 1998: 54; Relph 1987: 238-67). Relph’s theory of postmodern urban formations is chosen as an analytical tool to ‘read’, interpret and analyze adaptive reuse and the transformations that Shanghai is going through as exemplified by the three case studies.

Sustainable architecture has certain affinities with adaptive reuse, and it is from that field that certain definitions with ecological implications help define the phenomena of adaptive reuse. This thesis will not focus on the ecological impact of adaptive reuse, but it certainly recognizes that the interests of ecologists in understanding and forming the modern city have common ground with

architecture as integrated environment. Simon Guy (Guy & Farmer 2001; Guy & Moore 2007) has categorized sustainable architecture in six typologies to clarify it. They are: *the eco-technic, -centric, -aesthetic, -medical, -social, and the eco-cultural*¹. The last approach – the eco-cultural aspect – will be the focus of the thesis. It underscores “...the preservation and conservation of a variety of built cultural archetypes that already exist, combined with a concern for cultural continuity expressed through the transformation and *reuse* of traditional construction techniques, building typologies, and settlement patterns, each with a history of local evolution and use” (Guy & Farmer 2001: 144. italics added). Maintaining preexistent vernacular architecture that manifests the local historical and cultural is pivotal. Sustainable architecture is architecture that upholds the local culture. Cultural permanence is critical, but it is not exclusive of change. It is change anchored in continuity of local cultural contexts and knowledge base (ibid: 144). Adaptive reuse is not preservation of the monument or museum type as it does not resist change or adaptation, as it requires a perspective in which traditional and modern elements co-exist. It is worth noting that the eco-cultural is derived from phenomenology and Heideggerian ideas of “dwelling” and “reinhabiting or relearning a sense of place” (ibid: 144). Relearning seems an apt expression of how adaptive reuses provides an opportunity to re-member and re-create cultural and historic architecture.

Concretely, this thesis will investigate three case studies that initiate and reflect an alternative approach to modern city development. They are expressions of adaptive reuse at work. Their similarities help define adaptive reuse, and their differences help to expand that definition into the diversity that is necessary for adaptive reuse. The three case studies are expressions of adaptive reuse in economically viable and commercial form. That may, however, be more a reflection of modern Shanghai than the underlying premises that constitute adaptive reuse.

1.3 Research Problem, Research Question and Purpose of the Thesis

This thesis attempts to explore and interpret the forces and the direction of development of contemporary China. Shanghai, as a cutting-edge city at the forefront of development, serves as an example. Within architecture the focus is on architectural adaptive reuse. The purpose to explore Shanghai’s architecture is to determine if adaptive reuse is contributing to a more historically and culturally sustainable architecture/society. It is grounded in the research question of: what can be learned from a study of architectural adaptive reuse? And, how has adaptive reuse as implemented in Shanghai contributed to a more sustainable architecture? The assumption is

¹ See appendix no. 1 for an elaboration of the various categories.

that the adaptive reuse phenomenon takes on a greater relevance as sustainable architecture as it is born out of the historical and cultural heritage destruction and one-sided modern development. Subsequently, based on findings based on the field research, literature and interviews I argue that, from around the turn of the 21st century, there is a small, but alternative development of adaptive reuse emerging in Shanghai that is a spatial restructuring contributing to a more cultural and historical sustainable architecture.

1.4 The City as a Text

Architecture is chosen because it can be seen as emblematic of societal transformations. It can be viewed as past and present projections of the human psyche – its dreams, aspirations or identity formation. The assumption is that architecture can be read as a ‘text’. The idea of ‘reading’ the city or its architecture has been brought forth by linguistic theory paradigms and has influenced structuralism, poststructuralism and deconstruction. It has been utilized to a varying degree by thinkers like Gandelonas, Derrida, Barthes, Eisenman, among others (Agrest & Gandelonas 1996: 110-21; Derrida 1996:17-24; Eisenman 1996: 176-81; Nesbitt 1996:32-6). In this thesis, ‘reading’ architecture or the linguistic architectural analogy follows Tschumi’s evocation that architecture is an “open-ended text” where “intertextuality” of human activities and events go beyond a reductivist interpretation of architecture (Nesbitt 1996: 162-63; Tschumi 1996a: 150-55; Tschumi 1996b: 158-61; Tschumi 1996c: 164-67). Concepts like sustainable architecture is therefore epistemologically viewed as culturally constructed, but that does not have to lead to relativism. Rather, open-ended readings and ‘intertextuality’ facilitate alternative readings (Guy & Moore 2007: 22). In this context, adaptive reuse reflects a trend in which a selective reflection on cultural heritage is striving to manifest itself.

1.5 Research Design

The field research was conducted in Shanghai, the People’s Republic of China, during a two month period between August 25th and October 20th 2007. The research design is exploratory and a comparative format for the multiple case studies was selected since it is “suited for the goals of exploring diversity, interpreting cultural or historical significance, and advancing theory” (Ragin 1994: 108). Moreover, since it allows for comparison of both similarities and differences of the causes that produced the outcomes (ibid: 108-14). The “frame of the case” of historical architectural preservation is classified by adaptive reuse (ibid: 63-65). The concept of adaptive reuse is characterized or framed by the aspects of: a trend towards postmodernity and adaptive reuse.

Shanghai was chosen because of its prominent stature as a city in China, its abundant architectural legacy, and due to that it has been relatively proactive in preservation and regulation issues². The reason for comparing Shanghai sui generis is that it exhibits such distinctive geographical and historical features as to justifiably be compared within its own setting (Wasserstrom 1997: 208). That adaptable reuse manifests itself in a variety of forms within a single city means that study and comparison can be made without referral to foreign examples or a single paradigm. It is adaptive reuse in its similarities and differences that help us to read, through architectural adaptive reuse, not only the changes in the city's landscape, but the forces and personalities that bring these changes about. In the multiple case studies design, the case studies are three geographical areas in Shanghai, namely:

- 1) Xintiandi (新天地)
- 2) Moganshan Rd. 50/M50 (莫干山路50号) aka Chunming Industrial Park
- 3) Taikang Rd. 210 (泰康路210) aka TianziFang (田子坊)

The unit of analysis is therefore 'geographical areas' comprised of adaptively reused historically significant architectural structures.

1.6 Data Collection Methods: Observation Methods and Interview(ee) Selection Principles

The observational *modus operandi* is based on tactics utilized by Violich (2000) in studying and analyzing cities. It is a qualitative methodology based on direct-observational experience where one imbues oneself in the sites. Since the research period spanned two months it was possible to visit the sites on multiple occasions – up to ten times. They were deliberately visited at different hours of the day as to get insight to the various activities of the areas as they would reveal different facets. Sometimes the field visit constituted a briefer 'walk through' while at other times a whole day might be spent in more participatory activities. The more engaging activities would range from visiting galleries or museums, going to movie showings, lectures and meetings. The intention was to 'read' these places as "comprehensive wholes", and to conjure up "mental maps". This aggregate approach is an intuitive comparative approach where intangible qualities are let forth. Not just to absorb the architecture, but to understand them as places that people imbue with "human meaning" (ibid: 113 & 130-31). These observations were complemented with

² The earliest architectural heritage conservation regulations in China have been stipulated by the Shanghai government, with, for example, the 2003, "Regulations on the Conservation of Historic Areas and Excellent Heritage Buildings" (Zhang 2007: 4).

hundreds of photographs. This qualitative methodology of direct-observations was complemented by interviews.

The interviews conducted were in the vein of the qualitative focused unstructured/open-ended interview, because the aim was to “...obtain descriptions of the lived world of the interviewees with respect to interpretations of the meaning of the described phenomenon” (Kvale 1996: 30). Before departing for Shanghai some instrumental persons were contacted. They were possible to locate due to their prominence in their respective fields. It was deemed crucial to hear them out on their own involvement in the case study areas. Of this original selection contacted, no one declined an interview, neither did anyone drop out. The subjective views of these activists and adaptive reuse area creators needed to be complemented with persons more generally knowledgeable about conservation or adaptive reuse in Shanghai. Therefore, several external preservationists were contacted. From the outset, it was never the intention to limit the interviews to people only in the architectural field, preservation, or adaptive reuse, but to get the views of local individuals, visitors to the areas and tourists. For the majority of these respondents an unbound randomized selection process was used and only in a few instances did an intermediary informant facilitate interviews. A non-randomized selection/snowball effect was avoided, since this method seemed to yield similar respondents. To make up for the deficiencies of each approach an array of styles were used – longer prepared interviews interspersed with less formal and shorter conversations. Hence, to interview as varied a group as possible some 30 interviews/conversations were carried out.

With the exception of three shorter conversations all the interviews were recorded. Most of the interviews were in English. It eliminated a large group of potential respondents and may be biased in representing a more educated or internationalized clique. Over all, communicating directly in the common language of English was preferred to the loss in the translation with an interpreter. Though occasionally, Chinese interpreters (4 different ones) facilitated the interviews. The recordings were transcribed verbatim and complemented with added notes of explanations and impressions for the analysis.

The case studies are compared by creating a chronological history to follow the events that have formed them over time (Shanghai’s general history, industrial heritage delineation, and Shikumen historical formation). These chronological historicizes are not utilized as only “descriptive devices”, but for analytical purposes (Yin 2003: 125). Moreover, a multi-perspective analysis, in which the interaction of different actors is noted, revealed a top-down (growth-coalitions), grass-

root (activists) perspective. This was important in the development of the thesis as the study and interviews revealed how actors appropriated adaptive reuse to local conditions.

In addition to the first hand source information from the field work observations and data, secondary sources such as books, journals, newspapers, pamphlets, brochures and maps were perused and analyzed. The combination of these secondary sources, with first hand sources provided opportunity for cross-checking and verifying accounts.

1.7 Disposition

The following section starts with a literature review and current research pertaining to Shanghai. Then to set a backdrop a history of Shanghai is presented. A brief section on the government influence in adaptive reuse is then presented, as an introduction to the case study of Xintiandi. Within the Xintiandi case study, there is a subsection on the historic relevance of Shanghai Shikumen. Following are the two other case studies of M50 and TianziFang, with a subsection of industrial heritage under M50. The case studies are followed by indicators that change has occurred within adaptive reuse and an explanation of the forces contributing to adaptive reuse.

2.0 SHANGHAI SETTING

2.1 Literature Review

The English literature on China's urban transformation in terms of urban planning and renewal is voluminous (Chung 1999; du Cros & Lee 2007; Li 1999; Marton 2000; Ma & Wu 2005; Wu 2002, 2004a, 2006; Wu et al 2007), especially in the aspect in the framing of economics or globalization (Chen 2007; Ma 2002; Ren forthcoming; Tran forthcoming; Yusuf & Wu 2002; Wu 2000). Likewise, the literature on Shanghai as a city is extensive (Diglio n.d.; Jos 2003; Novelli 1999; Wasserstrom 2001; Yusuf & Wu 2002; Wu 1999, 2000, 2002, 2004b). Within Shanghai, there has been much published in relation to Xintiandi and scholars have used it as a case study (Chen 2007; He & Wu 2005; Lu 1995; Tran forthcoming; Wu et al. 2007). Fulong Wu is probably the most prominent urban specialist writing on China. He has spanned the gamut: from China, to Shanghai, down to the local level, like a Xintiandi case study (He & Wu 2005). However, on the other case study areas – M50 and TaikangLu/TianziFang – there are few scholarly treatises (mainly, CBRE 2007; Chen 2007; Zhang 2007). Instead, newspaper articles and accounts from the internet have been used, but not relied on. Departing from major subjects, like China or globalization (Abbas 2002; Tran forthcoming; Wu 2006) and narrowing down to niche subjects, as adaptive reuse and industrial heritage's in Shanghai, the literature becomes

scant. Especially when trying to combine minor subjects like adaptive reuse and industrial heritage – most notably see Zhang (2007) also see (CBRE 2007; Chen 2007; SPACE 2007). Presumably, this is due to the novelty of the phenomenon and there have been calls for further research. As Abbas, has pointed out; “The relationship between development and preservation deserves further comment, as it may turn out to be one of the most revealing characteristics of the new Shanghai” (Abbas 2002: 45). This study attempts to remedy this paucity.

2.2 Story of Shanghai

The history of Shanghai can be traced back to 1292 when it was a fishing village. It was however after it became a treaty port in 1842, that it gained prominence as an internationally and commercially prominent city. For the next decennium, the architectural styles ran the gamut and made it into an “architectural bazaar” with Western and Chinese neo-classicisms, neo-Gothic, or modern architecture – as seen in Moorish mansions, Russian Orthodox onion-domed churches or Shanghainese Lilongs (Abbas 2002: 47; Novelli 1999: 14-5).

From the end of the 19th century Shanghai was also the cauldron of modern industry, born out of its prominence as a port and hub of transportation along the Huangpu River and its auxiliary Suzhou Creek (CBRE 2007: 2). Under Communism, Shanghai lost its role as an economic centre while its industrial importance was maintained. There was however a lack of residential building funding and it led to high-densities. During the Cultural Revolution urban development was abandoned and was in dire need of regeneration by the late 1980s (He & Wu 2005: 3). To some degree urban infrastructural and residential housing was regenerated with the liberalization (Sha 2007: 25). Though it was not until after Deng Xiaoping’s 1992 Southern Tour that the building boom took off (Abbas 2002: 45; CBRE 2007: 2). The 1990s slogan: “a new look for the city in one year and the astonishing changes in three years” dictated the decade (Sha 2007: 27). It was emblematic of the opening up of the Pudong area to major development and international investment (Ning 1998: 237).

Observing Pudong from the waterfront of downtown Shanghai, where the Huangpu River intersects the city, one can overview the contradictory forces at work in Shanghai as a city. On the Pudong side, the skyline is dominated by Shanghai’s penchant for megastructures like the Oriental Pearl TV Tower. Here the vista is a uniform landscape of rational order and straight lines dominate with the hardness of concrete and the opacity of office buildings clad in glass. Three thousand of these high-rises have been built just in the 1990s. (Diglio n.d.: 108). This building boom has been fueled by one of the world’s fastest growing economy and the goal to raise living

standards (Aakervik 2006; Gaubatz 1999: 1516). To the west of the river are the vestiges of the old walled Chinese city and the stately Western Colonial buildings on the Bund (Waitan/外滩). Traditional historic buildings like these are being demolished at an amazing rate. In the last few years some 30 million m² of structures have been torn down (Chen n.d.: 1). A majority of Shanghai (64% or some $\frac{3}{4}$) used to be comprised of the traditional Shikumen housing style (Ren forthcoming; Lu 1995: 96). In other words, the two sides of the river represent the paradox of the aspiration of renewal. Shanghai is confronted with if the historical character of buildings/neighborhoods should be maintained or if higher living standards and profit should prevail (Gaubatz 1999: 1516; Wu 1999: 216). However, Shanghai is a living, metamorphosing city. The monolith structures are interspersed by distinctly on post-modern features and there are also indicators that there are city enclaves that are indicating more sustainable architecture – that new urban places are created.



Picture 2 & 3. Demolition of downtown Shikumen neighborhood. To the left, ‘Chai’, the Chinese character for ‘destruction’ or in this case ‘demolition’ is painted in red – a ubiquitous sighting easily recognizable by all (photo by author).

Entering the 21st Century, Shanghai is said to have gone through a developmental paradigm shift – from “quantity” to “quality”. According to Sha (2007: 27) the reason for this alteration is the historic redevelopment project – Xintiandi. This is an easy reference to talk about the changes that have occurred in Shanghai, but as Derrida has elucidated there are no “epistemological breaks”, rather there are constant readjustments where parts or events morph into others – “...into new concepts of the city, of architecture” (Tsuchimi 1996: 70). This view is adhered to throughout the thesis. Adaptive reuse started with single stately Concession buildings, but soon mutated and included other forms of architectural legacies like the industrial heritage (CEBRE 2007: 3) or vernacular residential Shikumen and some were orchestrated by the government, while others were spontaneous bottom-up movements.

3. CASE STUDY NO. 1 – The North Block of Xintiandi (XTD)

Xintiandi (新天地) is located in the Taipingqiao redevelopment area in the Luwan District in Shanghai – a former part of the former French Concession. It is nestled in the northwest upper corner of Taipingqiao. It is surrounded by Taicang Rd to the north, Madang Rd to the west, Zizong Rd to the south and Huangpinan Rd to the East. It consists of a North and a South block.



Picture 4. Aerial view of XTD. In the forefront, is the North Block with the adaptively reused Shikumen. To the left is the Taipingqiao Lake Park, also a part of the redevelopment project. The taller modern buildings at the upper right corner are the South Block complex (not included in the case study) (photo: courtesy of Been Wood, Studio Shanghai).

In 1996, the Luwan District decided to regenerate 365 hectares and the “365 Scheme” was born. The Hong Kong based Shui-On Group was contracted to redevelop 52 hectares thereof and to be finished by 2015 (He & Wu 2005). The North Block of XTD was completed in 2000. The thesis concerns the North Block as it is comprised of adaptively reused buildings, while the South Block consists mainly of modern ones.



Picture 5. Street level of the Xintiandi North Block. A wide walkway has been created as an artery through the middle of Xintiandi to facilitate pedestrianism and to create new public places as alfresco dining areas (photo by author).

3.1 Top-down Induced Adaptive Reuse

Xintiandi is an example of a ‘top-down’ urban rejuvenation development project. He & Wu (2005) have described the emergence of the Xintiandi in terms of “property-led” redevelopment. The forces behind this urban redevelopment are decentralization, land/housing reforms and increased property market demand. Emphasis on economic growth and decentralization has made cash deficient local governments rely on private developers for urban renewal. The land/housing privatization together with governmental transfer of land user rights have made it possible to transform decrepit inner city residential areas to upscale profitable projects like Xintiandi (ibid: 1-6). These top-down dictates have also been expressed in terms of ‘urban regimes theory’ (Ren forthcoming). The Shanghai government together with private developers/investors fills the two prominent urban regimes roles in a “growth coalition” of different actors. They control how the urban landscape will be shaped according to their visions and advantages (ibid.). As Wai (2006: 257) has pointed out, Xintiandi’s urban planning process, “...again is a situation where power relations are skewed towards local planning authorities and property developers”. Also, the way that the Shanghai government has used Xintaindi as a “place promotional” device is top-down and it is a veritable state project (ibid: 260).

3.2 Shanghai Shikumen



Picture 7. Prime typology of Shikumen. The wooden door's stone frame (Shikumen) is elaborately decorated with decidedly Western columns (photo by author).

The adaptively reused buildings in Xintiandi are traditional Shanghainese Lilong (里弄) Shikumen (石库门). Lilong originate from the middle of the 19th century. Uprisings and upheavals, like the Taping Rebellion, created a flood of refugees seeking shelter in Shanghai. Over a century, various formations of Lilong³ evolved under varying housing demands. However, they retained their 'serial' spatial formation. As the name Lilong indicates (long meaning lane) the housing was laid out in a north-south lane pattern (Novelli 1999: 68). The architecture is often influenced by Western elements while the dwellings are made from local materials and techniques (Yager & Kilbourn 2004: 2). Lilongs' value lies in the expression of Shanghainese history: its prevalence, its lane culture and of harboring famous people and revolutionary events. A Lilong Shikumen was the abode of the Communist Party's First National Congress (Hammond 2006: 8). Lilong has become a symbol of Shanghai.



³ Shikumen (wood front door with stone frame) is one type of Lilong /Longtang housing (with 5 sub-types: early, late, new, garden and apartment Lilong (Guan 1996: 18-32; Hammond 2006: 11-13; Novelli 1999: 71).

Picture 6. Chinese Communist Party’s First National Congress Memorial Hall. It is one of the reasons for the creation of Xintiandi. It is now a National Historic Cultural Preservation Site and museum (photo by author).

There was intense negotiation between the government and the developer, the Shui-On Group, about how to preserve the Shikumen. The developer wanted to start from scratch since restoration is less cost effective, but the local government wanted to keep the historical architecture due to the location of the First National Congress Hall (Tran: forthcoming; Goldberger 2007: 2). In the end, three levels of preservation were utilized⁴. Some of the harshest criticism of Xintiandi has been in terms of its conservation methods. In conservation terms, the practices applied in Xintiandi are disputable. However, it was never intended as a conservation/preservation project. The concept was from the start, adaptive reuse. As Ben Wood the Xintiandi chief architect expressed in an interview:

I do not subscribe to the strict dogma of preservation. Everything changes. Life changes, Building changes. The biggest problem with preservation is that they want to set some magic date that it was meant, that day or that year. Culture is a living thing. They try to make artifacts of cultural things. Buildings do not live they are kind of inanimate and they need people to animate them. /../ But Xintiandi is not fake. These buildings were all here. Didn’t move anything, took some out. (Ben Wood)

As adaptive reuse of Shikumen, Xintiandi does contribute towards a more sustainable architecture. It both transforms and reuses Shikumen as a Shanghainese ‘building typology’ and ‘cultural *archetype*’ that otherwise is being eradicated. The settlement patterns have been altered, since the original residents were relocated and the central esplanade has been broadened, but large parts still retain the original lane patterns and indicate the peculiarities of Lilong as places. There was also quite extensive reuse of the original materials, though not enough to satisfy conservationists (Tran forthcoming: 5-7). As for the eco aspect of eco-cultural sustainable architecture, the Shui-On group claims that by creating the Taipingqiao Lake and Park they have provided an “eco-friendly, aesthetically pleasing public environment”⁵ to Xintiandi. It is an attempt to add some ecological aspects, but these features were inserted by demolishing four residential neighborhoods – by uprooting part of the existing urban fabric and present culture. This exemplifies how actors from varied disciplines find common and controversial ground on the subject of adaptive reuse.

3.3 Xintiandi as Historical Preservation Generator?

⁴ The first level is ‘total preservation’ with reinforcement of the building (only one building). The exterior was restored in the second category of ‘partial preservation’ and only the façade were kept in the third category of ‘total reconstruction’ (Shanghai Xintiandi’s Shikumen Wulixiang museum).

⁵ See www.xintiandi.com

Xintiandi is one of the hippest areas in Shanghai and teeming with upscale restaurants, outdoor cafes and trendy boutiques. As Tianshu Pan (2004) has explicated, the French Concession which Xintiandi is a part of, is explicitly “upper quarters” (shangshi jiao). It is a fancy place for expatriates or local elites as it is priced out of the range of most Shanghainese. It is an uptown place where the leisure activities and the conspicuous consumption of the elite and middle-class are perpetuated (Simon 2002: 124). This catering to the rich and in vogue segments is one of the postmodern features of “stylishness”. The ‘stylishness’ and aesthetification of the built environment are typical spatial characteristics of post-industrial cities and Xintiandi fits right into this categorization. XTD is what is called a “festival marketplace” (Goldberg 2005: 1). In Xintiandi, a place that has a quirky charm or a ‘quaintspace’ is created by keeping the antiqued and ‘textured’ facades of the Shikumen. All within a ‘pedestrified’ setting where visitors can stroll in leisure. It provides ‘localization’ or geographical and historical revival in “decontextualized time-space representations” of various places with its play on old and new Shanghai and the East meets the West (Simon 2001: 124). Hence, Xintiandi’s movement towards postmodernity can be said to be an urban spectacle in the festival marketplace that provides leisure for the elite and middle class.

Xintiandi embodies more than a local entertainment zone. It combines too many different appeals and aspects. That is the reason for both the fascination and reversion it elicits. The fascination is exemplified by the magnitude of daily visitors that can range up to 30,000 visitors a day (Ren forthcoming: 24). It has also become the most popular tourist site, the majority being Chinese (70%) (The Economist 2005: 1; Ren forthcoming: 24).



Picture 8. Shikumen Mania. Even the waste cans in Xintiandi are clad in the typical brick façade of the Shikumen. This adds to the slightly surrealistic and sanitized look that has mounted criticism of Xintiandi being ‘themized’, a ‘Disneyfication’ or plainly unauthentic (photo by author).

Xintiandi has been criticized for its negative social impacts as, for example, gentrification (Wai 2006), exclusion of local residents from the decision process (He & Wu 2005), or social and geographical segregation (Tran forthcoming). These issues are not to be taken lightly. However, during the fieldwork none of the locals interviewed verified or expressed concern about any of this data, though the sample is too small to make any generalizations. For example, one Shanghainese man living by the Xintiandi Lake faced with eviction expressed the opposite – that he had benefited from the reforms and was looking forward to a new modern apartment and he was quite realistic about the changes:

To be frankly speaking those people like me those benefits from the reform. Those original very poor, I never think such kind of money, but since they develop this area and the apartment became very expensive, so the people that live nearby in older house have to move then they improve the use – this is the reality. (Shanghainese Taipingqiao evictee)

However, he did divulge that he felt socially segregated from the Xintiandi visitors: “We seldom met, connect. I am a very common man. They just keep distance” (Shanghainese Taipingqiao evictee).

On a more positive note, Xintiandi has been credited for opening up the debate on cultural historical architecture and created a new appreciation and conceptualization for historical structures (Iovine 2006; Gluckman 2003). It “...shows that Chinese architecture can be fashionable. It shows old buildings can have both economic and social value” (The Economist 2005). Regardless of the personal like or dislike for XTD, since its unfolding, the interest and the caring for historical architecture has been undertaken on an unprecedented scale (Goldberger 2006). It has had a residual effect. Xintiandi has been a model for projects around China (The Economist 2005; Goldberger 2005: 2; Iovine 2006; Warr 2006). As Ben Wood expounds on the impact of Xintiandi:

...there is a relationship between the general way a country is lead and the way they restore buildings. And right now China is a very entrepreneurial country. That translates to entrepreneurial adaptive reuse. /---/ Why is Xintiandi so famous? *Because for China it represented a whole new way of doing things.* That is why it is so famous. It is not because it preserves buildings, or because the architecture was particularly brilliant, *because it changed their way of thinking about the urban fabric of their cities.*

The wrecking ball mentality that had led Shanghai’s urban development policies since the late 1990s was met by the economically solid structure of Xintiandi’s success and has led to new policies. It is “the result of multiple structural forces at global, national and urban levels working

through the preexisting local built environment” (Ren forthcoming: 30). Xintiandi is a property-led, place promotion, internationally influenced, top-down directed project. However, there are “multiple structural forces” at play and it has given birth to local interpretations where local actors have a mediating and transformative influence. Despite flaws, depending on the viewpoint, the value lays in that it is a groundbreaker in fusing urban regeneration and historic promulgation on such a scale (Wai 2006: 257). The foremost contribution of Xintiandi is that it has generated a heated debate about the Shanghainese architectural legacy. It has challenged ways to conceptualize urban regeneration, prompted new consciousness of the architectural historical legacy and its boarder social implications (Chen 2007:3).

4. CASE STUDY NO. 2 – 50 Moganshan Rd/Chunming Industrial Park (CIP)



Picture 9. M50 birds-eye view. M50 encompassed with ‘straight-space’ or sans fin suburban landscapes of rational ordered monolith structures (photo: provided by DAtrans, Shanghai, China).

The Chunming Industrial Park (CIP) is at 50 Moganshan Rd on the Suzhou Creek south bank in the Shanghai Putou District. The CIP also goes under the name M50, Moganshan or Rd/MoganshanLu.

4.1 Shanghai's Industrial Heritage

Shanghai is China's modern industrial base. It has an advantageous location by the Huangpu River and soon after the 'opening' of Shanghai in 1943, Suzhou Creek a tributary of Huangpu River became the locus of activity. The British Concession to the south and the American Concession to the north side of the Creek that was melded into the International Settlement brought Western flavor and influence to the area. Soon warehouses and industrial buildings like textile and flour mills dotted the river banks (Han & Song 2004: 4-6). By 1949, there were more than 10, 000 industries producing 40% of manufactured goods making it 'the' industrial city (Ma 2006: 6; Sun et al 1998: 284). Post-49, Shanghai retained its prominence as China's industrial city. However by the 1980-90s, as infrastructure expanded and replaced the waterways as transportation modes, the Suzhou Creek industrial complexes/warehouses lost their significance as industrial nodes (Li 2007: 34). Simultaneously, Shanghai underwent 'industrial restructuring'⁶ and heavy industry was relocated out of the city. Between 1995-2005, industries were curtailed with 67% (CEBRE 2007: 3), and many historically and culturally relevant structures stood vacant awaiting their destiny at the riverside

4.2 Creation of M50

M50, in contrast to XTD, was initiated by artists renting industry/warehouse space for their studios and by their subsequent topophilia based activist efforts to save the area and its industrial heritage. With the 1990s de-industrialization they were vacated for new venues. Xu Song was the first artist that moved into M50 in early 2000 as the Shanghai Chunming Wool Spinning Factory started to lease out dormant factory spaces (Han & Song 2002: 26; *World Expo Magazine* 2007: 1). Especially, as the warehouses No. 1131 and 1133 were demolished in 2002 and the artists that had been established there moved across the road to M50 (Han & Song 2004: 34; Zhang 2002). M50 might have met the same fate as the No. 1131 and 1133 warehouses, had it not been for the salvaging efforts of activists like artists, experts and scholars. In 2003, three structures that had been the Shanghai Flour Mill (see cover page for one of the buildings), were scheduled to be torn down. A project group spearheaded by Han, a professor and artist with a studio at M50, compiled

⁶ Part of the "Accelerating Transformation from Secondary to Tertiary Industry Campaign" (CEBRE 2007: 3).

a feasibility report⁷ and lobbied the local government (Chen 2007: 9-10; Han & Song 2004: 4). Subsequently, these buildings have been rescued and one is now an art centre. Han and Song (2004) have also conducted research on the area and a book stemming from the research has generated interest and raised awareness of a more recent type of heritage that has not received much attention. This new won recognition has led M50 and its some 50 structures to become a designated Creative Industries Park in 2005 (M50 plaque). Due to the activists and artists efforts M50 can in contrast to Xintiandi's top-down induced regeneration, be said to be a grass-roots movement. Alternatively, it can be called what Wu et al. has termed a "spontaneous urban redevelopment". In the narrative of adaptive reuse this is the contrast that creates the unity. Just as the old and the new are seemingly at odds, so too are government official top-down directives and artist grass-root movements. Adaptive reuse here creates common ground. Adaptive reuse accommodates. It forms and is formed. It has protean qualities because of its utilitarian functions.



Picture 10. M50 main entrance plaza. There are coffee shops around the square where people relax between gallery visits (photo by author).

Presently, around 80 galleries (painters, sculptures, jewelry designers, etc.) and creative industries companies (architecture/design studios, television/movie production firms, etc.), have found a working haven at M50. It is an international agglomeration with over 130 artists from all over

⁷ The full name of the report is "On the Feasibility of a Conservation and Utilization Plan for the Modern Industrial Buildings in the Moganshan Road Area on the South bank of Suzhou Creek". Available at www.ilib.cn. Chinese language only.

China and from at least 16 foreign nations (Creative Shanghai 2007: 1). M50 has an equally eclectic clientele. It ranges from international tourists to local art students arriving by the bus load to casual shoppers or individuals partaking of the cultural events like movie showings or jazz jams. M50 is a place that embraces polyculturalism.

M50 breaks with the surrounding totally rational ‘modernist cityscape’ of sky-scarpers that are hard concrete mono-functional megastructures without architectural elaborations. It is off-limits to traffic and visitors saunter through the main entrance to a square for gathering, relaxing, or cultural happenings. The oldest buildings towards the entrance have been restored, but most are more or less in their original state and keep their ‘aged’ appearances. There is not any of the deliberate ‘quaintness’ or cuteness that Xintiandi exhibits and it does not draw on “ornamentalism”⁸ to the same degree, partially due to the more sinister industrial buildings’ architecture and the avant-garde contemporary arts studios. Though, there is a deliberate ‘stylishness’ to the place as it is catering to a contemporary arts connoisseur clique.

M50 is the case study that underscores the eco part in eco-cultural sustainable architecture. The river has been instrumental in establishing the industrial areas around the Creek. At one point the river was so polluted and foul smelling that inhabitation in close proximity was unattainable. However, Shanghai city has undertaken several stages of comprehensive river clean up⁹, including environmental protection and greening and have spent some 10 billion RMB doing so from 1998-2007¹⁰ (Shanghai Urban Planning Exhibition Center). The M50 bioregion is therefore one that has been and continues to be intrinsically linked with the built architecture on its banks and the culture surrounding it. Here sustainable architecture means that vernacular structures are seen as “indicative of the way in which rooted culture have naturally evolved appropriate lifestyles adapted to the particular physical environment” (Guy & Farmer 2001: 144). At M50 this interactive process that has been in action since people settled along the waterway is now being perpetuated in an integrated process by topophilic artists and activists.

The positive outcomes of M50 are that the Shanghai government together with other groups, as professionals and the wider public, has gained a new appreciation for the historical and cultural architectural value through these veritable outdoor living museums. Simultaneously, the saving

⁸ The term ornamentalism is borrowed from Stern (1977: 102).

⁹ Referring to the State Councils Scientific Development Scheme where one part is the Complete Suzhou Creek Comprehensive Rehabilitation (Shanghai Urban Planning Exhibition Center).

¹⁰ For the full statement and precise numbers see appendix no. 2.

grace might be that the structures are being adaptively reused for the increasingly popular and profitable creative industries. The Shanghai municipal government could not miss the success of areas like M50 and TianziFang. They saw an opportunity to maintain old industrial properties and at the same time promote tertiary and creative industries. As one artist interviewed at M50 expressed it:

So, in fact in the original stage they have a seminar with the local government of Shanghai and they agreed that this area should be preserved. Originally these buildings are not up to the standard of the preservation, because they are not architecturally significant, but it is later agreed that the cultural scenery can prosper here and be a highlight of the city. (Chen Qiang).

The result is that to facilitate the revamping of warehouses and/or factories the municipal government devised new policies¹¹. It is of note that even buildings deemed of marginal architectural value can still remain viable when viewed within an adaptive reuse framework, sustainable architecture being the result.

5. CASE STUDY NO. 3 – Shanghai Taikang Road Art Street: TaikangLu/TianziFang (Lane 210)



¹¹ Among them; The 3 Changing Principles (CEBRE 2007: 5).

Picture 11. 210 TaikangLu/TianziFang. The south entrance to TianziFang from Taikang Rd. (photo by author).

Taikang Rd is a minor road (only 420 m) connecting RuijinErLu in the west and SiNanLu in the east in the Luwan District in central Shanghai. At 210 TaikangLu, a narrow lane serpentine into a neighborhood of industrial buildings, warehouses and Shikumen Lilong , its official address is Lane 210, but it has lovingly been renamed by the renowned local painter Huang Yongyu to – TianziFang¹² (Chen 2007: 112).



Picture 12. South side of Taikang Road: has been redeveloped into high-rises and a new subway station is planned. TianziFang was originally slated for demolition, but the decision has been revised (interview DW_A0025.Wav, Shelly) (photo by author).

5.1 Nascence of 210 TaikangLu/TianziFang

TianziFang incorporates aspects of both Xintiandi and M50. It has Shikumen and government influence (like XTD), plus industrial structures and artist inspiration (like M50). The Luwan District government's impetus was that it renovated a large (15,000 m²) outdated candy factory on lane 210 and turned it into the International Artists Factory in 1989. This is what an interviewed artist at M50 had to add on the different formations of M50 and TianziFang.

He thinks that Moganshan Rd had less involvement than TaikangLu, because he thinks that Luwan District want to maintain Taikang Rd as a cultural highlight, but this is not

¹² The diverse names can be confusing, but the locals refer to the general area as Taikang Rd, TaikangLu, 210 Taikang Rd or TianziFang (Lane 210). The two former usually denote the main road and the two latter the lane. On occasion all terms encompass the whole area. One of the latest additions is Lane 248 or Two Well Lane; however since it is a newer addition it is incorporated in "Taikang Rd" or 'TianziFang'.

the case with Moganshan Rd. As far as he knows the Putuo Government did not support the preservation of this area in the original stage (Chen Qiang).

While others contend that it is more of a grassroots movement, especially when compared to Xintiandi:

TianziFang is totally different from Xintiandi, because Xintaindi was a commercial project and has governmental background and TianziFang there is no commercial investment it is a project that started by several artist by themselves (Deke Erh).

Not long after the International Artists Factory was established, world famous artists, such as, the photographer Deke Erh and painter Chen Yifei settled their studios in TianziFang. They brought prestige and people started to pilgrimage to TianziFang. It brought additional creative industries studios, and more recently stores, restaurants and coffee shops (*Contract 2007: 1; Smartshanghai 2006: 1*). A longtime Shanghai resident explained this grass-roots movement in this way: "...it was totally spontaneous. And it was a case of urban planning without the urban planning" (Tess Johnston). Currently, some 137 enterprises with 87 foreign owners from over 21 different nations have set up shop. They are spilling over from the original factories and warehouses on TianziFang into the surrounding neighborhood and presently 78 residences have been converted into businesses (*Contract 2007: 1*). The number is expounding daily. During the field research period, 3 Shikumen and two infill structures were under construction, of which one had their grand opening. There have been accounts of as many as a dozen boutiques being inaugurated on a weekend (*Rising Taikanglu 2006: 1*).

5.2 Drying Clothes in the Sun is Fun – Residents of TianziFang

TianziFang inhibits one aspect that neither Xintiandi nor M50 has – local residents. This addition is one of the major allures for both visitors and businesses. One of the Chinese store owners portrayed it in this manner:

There is also another reason why people come here to travel, love to come here, *it is real life*. The people here also dry clothes there, but it is fun. So, now you can really relax, chat with people and friends and see and feel this kind of place (Stephen Sun).

As divergent groups of people have a vested interest in the formation of the area it brings additional problems/aspects to the adaptive reuse discourse. During the field work four broad categories could be discerned:

- 1) Visitors (tourists or customers)

- 2) Local residents
- 3) Shop owners (coffee shops, restaurant, trinket, souvenir stores)
- 4) Larger studios (creative industries, internationally renowned businesses)

Interviews revealed that the main reason visitors found TianziFang delightful was the presence of local residents. It was seen as more genuine compared to areas like Xintiandi. The second reason, they listed TianziFang as their favorite area, was that it catered a little bit to everybody – shopping could be combined with a coffee-break, or browsing for art could be rounded off with an exotic meal in an environment with locals, international visitors and expatriates. The third and the fourth category: shop and major studio owners were aware that the presence of local residents was a major attraction and it was one of the reasons they had chosen to start business ventures in TianziFang in the first place. However, the major studio keepers did not like that the area was expanding with what they considered trivial businesses, such as, trinket or souvenir stores. They also considered the latest spontaneous expansion the reason for increasing rents and land prices. One longtime studio owner called it a “savage development”:

This building for example the landlord directly is the office of the Luwan District, so it is not a private company. That is why the rent is pretty much affordable, whereas downstairs those lanes the prices are very high. There are so many cafés, bistros and bars opening up and some place you cannot even walk by, because all the chairs are outdoor, al fresco, and everybody are sitting – it is too much. *This is savage development – totally unplanned.* (Jean Loh)

Alternatively, as another respondent expressed it: “Commercialism is eroding the original atmosphere belonging to the artists. It is a result of the inaction of the government” (Deke Erh). Of the 4 different interest groups (except the visitor one), all wanted government backing and had at various stages petitioned the government.

None of the interviewed Chinese artists/businessmen would confess to any draw-backs for the local residents due to their presence (though a foreign one did give ample evidence of confrontations). Rather, they portrayed it in terms that residents now could improve their lives by renting out their residences for decent money and make a good living. In stark opposition, the residents interviewed were unanimous in their dissatisfaction with the present conditions. They preferred the government to redevelop. So they could receive compensation (monetary or relocation), and move to improved modern housing, as their present living quarters lacked sanitary facilities, indoor plumbing and consisted of cramped living quarters. Here is one excerpt from an interview that high-lights the residents’ perspective:

He would like the government to come and demolish all the houses. Tear down all the houses. They do not understand. So many houses have already been demolished and they are just preserving this place. (TianziFang resident)

Though the sample of the interviews is too small to make any generalizations about the attitudes expressed they are supported by other research. Where 80% of apartment residents thought their neighborhood was “a good place to live”, while only 24% Shikumen dwellers thought so (Hammond 2006: 48-9; also see Balderstone et al 2002: 29-30). Also, most residents did not have the opportunity to improve their living conditions by renting out their houses. Further, the encroachment of the smaller boutiques made daily living more cumbersome. They expressed a general concern that the neighborhood was not ‘their’ place anymore. The preservation of cultural and historical adaptive reuse is not an unproblematic issue. It raises important questions like: who decides what culture is? What is worth preserving? The interests of some groups might be satisfied while others might be overlooked.



Picture 15. Close Proximity. To the right is the entrance to one of the households at TianziFang. To the left is one that has been converted into a small art store.



Picture 16. The inner newer lanes of TianziFang are chockablock with cafes, restaurants and trinket stores and increasingly hard to navigate for the local residents.

TianziFang, in common with Xintiandi and M50, exhibits the features of ‘townscapes’. Being composed of intricate narrow lanes, it is off-limits for traffic and a pedestrian area. The Shikumen have rich ornamentation and have not been restored and retain their old aura. The ‘quaintspace’ characteristics are derived from the small scale of the traditional buildings and the intimacy of the lanes. As such it is not an affected cuteness as it is inherent in the architecture (though it does not mean that it is less wittingly drawn upon as one of the charms as a design strategy by those who are adaptively reusing buildings). The localization aspects in terms of ‘reconnecting the local’ might not be as recreated in TianziFang as in Xintiandi, as the architecture in TianziFang is more culturally sustainable as it derives from genius loci, authenticity of place and inherent architecture. In TianziFang, as with M50, outlived warehouses and industrial buildings have been reclaimed and they have undergone local cultural evolution by the creative, contemporary artists and store owners. It is not a directly historical reconstruction, but TianziFang portrays itself as ‘real’ local Shanghai, because of the local residents in the area. It provides visitors an opportunity to experience something of everyday life in Shanghai. This is a somewhat sanitized version in its more appealing forms: to do so while shopping, strolling or dining. Even so, it is to be noted that TianziFang gives the clearest indication that adaptive reuse has the ability to step outside the tourist and commercial paradigm and exist as a local and cultural phenomenon.

6. INDICATORS OF CHANGE

The Shanghai government has caught on to the success of adaptively reused architectural historical areas as Xintaindi, M50, and TianziFang. It represented an opportunity to adapt crumbling vacant industry complexes and/or Shikumen into creative industries centers or entertainment/leisure areas. To facilitate the growth of adaptive reuse the city instigated supportive policies, for example, to keep low rent levels or provide tax incentives (CBRE 2007: 5). Further, in 2004 the semi-governmental agency Shanghai Creative Industry Centre (SCIC) was initiated and in the following year the first round of Creative Industry Parks was announced (ibid; Zhang 2007: 489). Of the 18 licensed parks, two were unsurprisingly the M50 and TianziFang prototypes. By 2006, the SCIC was on the third round of designated creative industries bringing the total up to 75 parks. Creative industries are now part of the new 5 Year Plan starting in 2006 (CBRE 2007: 5). In 2002, the GDP of the culture industry was 600 billion RMB (Wang & Tong 2005: 6), and by 2007 it counts for 6% of Shanghai's GDP (Zhang 2007: 52). That accounts for some 20,000 positions at some 2,500 companies. The Shanghai Mayor Han Zheng has expressed this attitude reversal in the motto: "Building new is development, preserving old is also development" (Ren forthcoming: 15). This does not mean that the State dictates city planning. Rather, planning "justify" outcomes that has gained impetus elsewhere (Gaubatz 1999: 1514; Wu 2003: 1336). Since Xintiandi, the government has also changed its tactics. The success of Xintiandi has made at least the Luwan district government reluctant to lease to property developers (personal communications; professor working with the Luwan government). This presumably explains the more 'spontaneous' adaptive reuse buildup like M50 and TianziFang. As one gallery owner in TianziFang expressed it:

It is totally beyond the imagination of the government that such dilapidated area can prosper, just because of the work of a handful of artists. For the government sponsored institutions, maybe they would launch a party to celebrate the national congress, but it is not, such events are short-lived not from the bottom of heart, but independent artists can do the latter. (Deke Erh)

This is not to trivialize the importance of government support. Wu (2004: 162) has emphasized that, local official's backing, a 'regulatory structure', as well as, adequate project funding, are three basic criteria for successful implementation of cultural policy. Also, Xintiandi has been such a hit that it has been copied all over China. It has been so popular that it has become a catchphrase "to Xintiandi a project" (Goldberg 2005: 1). It is not only Xintiandi that is a

prototype. In an interview with a government official visiting TianziFang it was revealed that his purpose was to do an investigation to “cultivate better phenomenon” back in his hometown in Zhejiang province (Chinese government official). The importance of knowing the intricate details of different formations of adaptive reuse, as top-down or bottom-up formations, are relevant for the implementation as circumstances vary. As this Zhejiang official further explained:

The point is that many cities in China are exploring to do the same thing, but the point is that you have to consider case by case and you have to combine the resources to the area or the cultural features there to the realities to the city there. You cannot simply copy the model of Shanghai. So they are on the way. (Chinese government official)

The different formations of adaptive reuse as top-down or bottom-up formations are also relevant for a more alternative and hence sustainable architectural development. As the government official above expressed – in order to maintain the urban fabric, and local cultural/historical continuum – there has to be considerations of the local microclimates. There is not one perfect model or any panacea for a sustainable cultural and historical architecture, as the local circumstances has to be taken into consideration.

6.1 Shanghai Synergies: Globalization, Glocalization and Hybridization

The transformation of adaptive reuse is fueled by concurrent developments – a synergism of multiple impetuses. It spans the international, national and local (Ren forthcoming: 30).

Internationalization/globalization has widely been attributed as one of the major reasons for “new architectural strategies” (Tran forthcoming; Abbas 2002). Internationally, globalization and its monetary liquidity have provided FDI for the housing market and introduced foreign influences in terms of overseas architects¹³ (Balderstone et al. 2002: 30; Ren forthcoming: 30). Xintiandi is the prime example of globalization and the globalization rhetoric. The fear is that places like Starbucks in Xintiandi are threatening the local culture. In Xintiandi, foreigners were invited in the redevelopment process to create an international icon that fits a global city. The following commodification and “re(presentation) of history” is part of the iconic place promotion that have been criticized as being unauthentic (Wai 2006: 249). Further, as an aspiring world city Shanghai is looking to develop its cultural activities as one of the main functions (Wu 2007: 1219). The strategies can be people, production or place-oriented strategies (Wu 2004). The themes that these strategies are carried out under are according to Bassett (cited in Wu 2004):

¹³ Balderstone et al. (2002: 28) does point out that even though globalization introduced FDI and architects the ultimate decision was in the hands of the Shanghai government.

...opening cultural institutions to wider public involvement, expanding support for community arts, building infrastructure for cultural production, supporting new technology sectors central to popular culture, promoting flagship projects, organizing high-profile events, and investing in public art and reviving public spaces.

With places as Xintiandi, M50 and TianziFang, the government is trying to initiate flagship projects that will draw and satisfy different clientele. M50 is such a flotilla leader for contemporary Chinese art, and Xintiandi is one for the wider general public, with its franchise stores and restaurants. M50 and TianziFang are locales where artists can exhibit their art and is thus a way to support the art community that has received less State support with marketization. M50 and TianziFang are also clusters for the graphic design community and thus the technology sectors are supported. Xintiandi has also held major league events and promotions. The completion of Xintiandi was just such an occasion for a high-level event as it was a 'present' to the Communist Party's at its 80th inauguration commemoration (He & Wu 2005: 8).

However, adaptive reuse and its historical and cultural aspects have been "glocalized" with local traditions and values. This type of "glocalization"¹⁴ is apparent in M50 and TianziFang. They harbor many store owners, artists and creative industry personnel that have international experiences or backgrounds that they have incorporated into the areas. As one male Chinese store owner in TianziFang explained: "Xintiandi is one kind of and TaikangLu is another kind of, it is more original because it is lane culture. First, the original is still, is keep the original houses the lane the feeling here, but *this is a new creation, but this cannot be a designed creation*" (Stephen Sun). Naturally, this is a mutual exchange and foreign elements draw on Chinese history. As an Australian music store owner in TianziFang formulated it:

It does not really take the Chinese to go somewhere, because there is already so much foreign influence here already. So they have a strong tea culture which they have their tea houses and that and then they go to Starbucks. They may see how that is set up and that is where you get your hybrid. /---/ So they are trying to get a hybrid of all cultures from foreign clientele that come through the door, but actually I think they are building on what they got a lot of all the time too. /.../ Where did it start before China? It has been here from day one. So, they are just building on that with influence from other cultures. (Scott)

The hybridization process here expressed connotes formulations like Ricour's "hybrid world culture" which is based on "the capacity of regional culture to recreate a rooted tradition while appropriating foreign influences at the level of both culture and civilization" (Frampton 1996: 471). The emphasis is on the process of recreation or relearning. Architecturally adaptive reuse

¹⁴ The term glocalization is borrowed from Robertson (1995) "Glocalisation as Hybridisation". In M. Featherstone, S. Lash and R. Robertson (eds.), *Global Modernities*. London: Sage (Tran forthcoming: 1).

can provide just such a relearning process. It is embedded in the past while it is expanded or appropriated to perpetuate culture that is anchored in praxis and heritage.

Nationally, economic forces that have played in the hands of adaptive reuse are institutional changes due to marketization, decentralization, land and housing reforms (ibid; Ren forthcoming: 30). Locally, there has been a change from industrial manufacturing into postmodern tertiary industry. A driving force for the industrial heritage transformation and to creative industries promotions featured in the case studies of mainly M50, but also in TianziFang (Ren forthcoming: 30; Zhang 2007: 52-3). The maintenance of historic structures is here seen as “cultural capital” or to have economic value (Balderstone et al. 2002: 30; Ren forthcoming: 30).

Additional causes of change are peoples’ changing attitudes, and identifications. As a young Chinese couple interviewed in TianziFang explained:

Yes, of course it is a romantic area and it is old Shanghai style. Nowadays young Shanghai people feel so many modern in any other outside here so we feel we need some older culture to balance our mind. When I was young I thought it was out of fashion, when I was young, but nowadays Shanghai young people feel it is in fashion. /---/
Yesterday is more beautiful than the future. (Chinese couple)

The Chinese populace is also becoming more heterogeneous in their interests, aspirations, dreams and desires. As one young Chinese student interviewed in TianziFang expressed it:

The citizens of Shanghai are also becoming more heterogeneous in their habits and lifestyles. I don’t think there is, as a city dweller, that there is a typical Chinese. /.../People are growing more and more different from everybody else. They tend to have their own values. Still from 20 years ago maybe you can find typical Chinese with typical habits – they are playing cards or Mahjong or they are drinking tea outside their houses or put the television outside their houses, but now I think the change in the process is the feature. You have a stable changing status that is going on. It is very hard for it to find a unified characteristic of the nation. Rather you find a changing process. /---/ *I think diversity is the point here. That is why the government is preserving old houses.* (Chinese student, interview: DW_C0034.wav)

This dispersion of interests, activities, diversions of people in Shanghai is manifesting itself in the urban landscape. New urban places are being created as both the local populace and the local government is realizing the importance of the cultural historical architectural heritage and what it can bring to Shanghai in terms of new urban public places – where tourism, shopping, leisure, or the creation or appreciation of art can be played out.

A final national factor worth mentioning is that adaptive reuse also plays well into the discourse on environmental sustainability, with the preservation and reuse of aged buildings and the prevention of wasting further resources or virgin land, (Zhang 2007: 482-83). Sustainable development is an issue that the Chinese government is taking increasingly seriously. It fits into the call for a ‘scientific development’ where part of the agenda is to promote an eco-friendly society – “in harmonious development of man and nature” (State Council Information 2006: 12). Though China’s sustainable development has been criticized for emphasizing economic development and thus a “sustainable *economic* development” (Chan & Ma 2003: 28).

7. CONCLUSION

The traditional conditions that exist in the urban landscape that makes preservation a viable option are problematized in Shanghai. The rapid rate of building destruction and years of neglect marginalizes more mundane structures. However, there are meaningful processes underway. “Shanghai is a new space for experimentation of contemporary urban civilization” (Kim 2007: 127) and new phenomena as more sustainable architecture can emerge. This thesis has endeavored to interpret development in Shanghai’s architecture to explore if adaptive reuse avails results towards a more sustainable architecture/society. Through the three case studies it is discerned that Shanghai does exhibit explicit tendencies towards a more postmodern typology with its speculative ventures, into multicultural townscapes that favor diversity and eclectic places. These new trends indicates that there is a an alteration of places in Shanghai and that more eclectic places are created due to a synchronicity of forces on the international, national and the local level. It is these factors that make adaptive reuse a viable option of retaining a historical, cultural, and traditional ‘rootedness’ with its past

Adaptive reuse as implemented in Shanghai has contributed to a more sustainable architecture. The three case studies point towards an adaptability in its formations (top-down, bottom-up, spontaneity) and its ability to re-create itself in neighborhoods as diverse as TianziFang. Further, it is when one recognizes how these enclaves are preserving some remnant of historical heritage in the face of overwhelming destruction that adaptive reuse steps beyond the boundaries of ‘urban renewal project’ and into the field of sustainable architecture. If recognized as such, this thesis maintains its basic premise that adaptive reuse, viewed through postmodern typologies, is taking on traditional traits of revival of the local, and as such, perpetuates the historical and cultural features incorporated in the architecture. Therefore, adaptive reuse as seen in the case

studies of Xintaindi, M50 and TianziFang are cases of the 'eco-cultural logic' of sustainable architecture. Since their adaptive reuse maintains and transforms existent architectural typologies and cultural perpetuation derived from local history. Therefore, based on the field research, literature, and interviews it has been found that from around the turn of the 21st century, there is a small, but alternative development of adaptive reuse emerging in Shanghai that is a spatial restructuring contributing to a more cultural and historical sustainable architecture and that it is a viable option in the face of overwhelming destruction of traditional architecture due to modernization. These formations are especially important since other urban developments in China that take their cue from Shanghai.

Hopefully, this exploration has looked at adaptive reuse in such a way that it will lead to further investigation of the emerging phenomenon of adaptive reuse and new frameworks must be sought to contribute to an overall more alternative and sustainable architecture.

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LIST OF TABLES:

Table 1.

Architectural Places	Adaptive Reuse & Architectural Typology	Formation	Postmodern Features	Sustainable Architecture
<u>XTD</u>	Yes, adaptive reuse of Shanghai Shikumen/Lilong.	<p>Top-down or government induced.</p> <p>“A product of large-scale economics and intense design efforts” (Relph 1987: 259).</p> <p>Commercial.</p> <p>Premixed, designed and Ready-made.</p>	<p>‘Quaintspace’: Yes, this is a designed and deliberately arranged cuteness with recycled ‘heritage bricks’. Usage of winding lanes or passageways. Indoor/outdoor space connected.</p> <p>Stylishness: Definitively catering to the elite and middle classes.</p> <p>Localization: Plays on the local sentiment of one of the most common architectural features in Shanghai, but have relocated the original inhabitants while doing so.</p> <p>‘Ornamentation’: Yes, the area retains and plays on the intricate surfacing of the traditional Shikumen. The stone facade around the doors are especially played up and sometimes just retained in themselves like free-standing sculptures.</p> <p>Pedestrication: Have provided widening and facilitation of walkways.</p>	<p>Ecological Aspects: Addition of Artificial lake and park. Has utilized recycling of original materials like flagstones and bricks.</p> <p>Cultural Aspects: Yes and no. Yes, in the aspect that it has provided an appreciation of Shikumen as a cultural legacy. It also has two museums within the premises. Though most cultural events are larger commercial promotions.</p>
<u>M50</u>	Yes, adaptive reuse of industrial structures and warehouses.	<p>Bottom-up/grass-root or Spontaneous activist induced formation.</p> <p>Commercial.</p>	<p>‘Quaintspace’: Not an affected cuteness, but quaint in comparison to the surrounding monolithic structures. The industrial structures and the avant-garde contemporary arts studios contribute to a more ‘edgy’ quaintspace.</p> <p>Stylishness: Yes, it caters to a select group of art lovers and the hipper tertiary industries/creative industries.</p> <p>Localization: As many postmodern towns M50 has reconnected with the surrounding waterway.</p>	<p>Ecological Aspects; Strong relation and integration with Suzhou Creek.</p> <p>Cultural Aspects: Conserves the diversity of the industrial heritage legacy and culture. Preserves the idea of place and locality or genius loci.</p>

			<p>The industrial heritage is also reclaimed.</p> <p>‘Ornamentation’: To some degree. The industrial facades are austere and mostly in concrete, though they keep their aged appearances.</p> <p>Pedestrianism: Yes, the area is off-limits for traffic and conducive for walking between the different galleries.</p>	
<u>TianziFang</u>	Yes, adaptive reuse of Shanghai Shikumen/Lilong/ and industrial structures and warehouses.	<p>Bottom-up/grass-root or Spontaneous formation with some governmental features.</p> <p>Residential & commercial.</p>	<p>‘Quaintness’: Yes, draws heavily on the intricate lanes and small cozy courtyards.</p> <p>Stylishness: Yes, leans on the international visitors and local elites like expatriates. Or the general hip and young strata. Especially with some model agencies in the area.</p> <p>Localization: Yes, reconnects to the local on many levels: architecturally both on the Shikumen/Lilong and the industrial historical backgrounds, as well as, the local residents.</p> <p>‘Ornamentation’: Yes, the legacy of the Shikumen intricate detailing in conjunction with the industrial Lilongs together creates its own ornamentation of mixed textures and flavors.</p> <p>Pedestrianism: Yes, the area is off-limits for cars. The winding lanes encourage rambling through the neighborhood.</p>	<p>Ecological Aspects: No.</p> <p>Cultural Aspects: Yes. Reuse of the original settlement patterns and building typology, while perpetuating it through local transformation. The Shikumen and the industrial structures are in TianziFang “...indicative of the way in which rooted cultures have evolved appropriate lifestyles in their physical environment” (Guy & Farmer 2001: 144)</p>

INTERVIEWEE GUIDE:

1. Beisher, Brent & Wang, David (Developers and owners of The Foundry Gallery. Shanghai, PRC). Recorded interview DW_A0027.wav, October 12 2007.
2. Charveriat, Thomas (Artist Island6 at M50. Shanghai, PRC). Recorded interview DW_B0010.wav, September 19th 2007.
3. Chen, Qiang (Artist and Studio owner at M50. Shanghai, PRC). Recorded interview DW_B0029.wav, 14th October 2007.
4. Di, Lifeng (Manager at M50. Shanghai, PRC). Notes taken during the interview, September 10th, 2007.
5. Egginton, Everett (Dean Office of International and Border Programs New Mexico State University. Shanghai, PRC). Recorded interview DW_B0024.wav, September/October, 2007.
6. Erh, Deke (Author, photographer, originator of TianziFang & studio owner. Shanghai, PRC). Recorded interview DW_A0028.wav, 14th October 2007.
7. Han, Yuqi (Author, professor, artist & gallery owner & preservation activist at M50. Shanghai, PRC). Recorded interview DW_A0009.wav September 19th 2007.
8. Johnston, Tess (Author & preservationist advocate. Shanghai, PRC). Recorded interview DW_A0005.wav, August 28th, 2007.
9. Loh, Jean (Studio owner at TianziFang & representative VU' China c/o bueageste. Shanghai, PRC). Recorded interview DW_A0036.wav, 18th October, 2007.
10. Mandi & Shelly (Gallery/Store owners at TianziFang. Shanghai, PRC). Recorded interview DW_A0025.wav, 11th October, 2007.
11. Scott (Store owner of Double Bass Inc. Shanghai, PRC). Recorded interview DW_A0023.wav, October 11th 2007.
12. Sun, Stephen (Store Owner Shanghai Sunlight Garment Co., Ltd, TianziFang, Shanghai, PRC). Recorded interview DW_A0020.wav, October 5th 2007.
13. Teng, Kun-yen (Architect & conservationist. Shanghai, PRC). Notes taken during the interview, September 21st 2007.
14. Tran, Hoai Anh (Professor Lund University Architectural Department. Lund, Sweden). Recorded interview DW-A003.wav and DW-A004wav, July 30th 2007.
15. Warr, Ann (Conservationist Consultant, Director of Save Shanghai Heritage. Shanghai, PRC). Recorded interview DW_A0013.wav & DW_C0014.wav, September 20th 2007.
16. Wood, Ben (Chief architect for Xintiandi. Shanghai, PRC). Recorded interview DW_A0016.wav, September 26th 2007.

17. Zhen, Guo Yang (Architect, Interior Designer and artist at Island6, Shanghai, PRC).
Recorded interview DW_B0011.wav, September 19th 2007.

Recorded Interviewees that preferred to stay anonymous (all conducted in Shanghai, PRC)

18. DW_B0008.wav Vice Design Director/ Architect, interview September 2nd 2007.
19. DW_A0030.wav Hong Kong Lady Xintiandi, interview 16th October, 2007.
20. DW_A0021.wav English Ladies, interview October 6th 2007.
21. DW_A0032.wav Locals TaikangLu, interview 18th October, 2007.
22. DW_A0017.wav Shanghai University Student, interview October 3rd 2007.
23. DW_A0018.wav Xintiandi Lake Chinese Man, Shanghainese evictee, interview
September/October 2007.
24. DW_B0033.wav Female Chinese TaikangLu, interview 18th October, 2007.
25. DW_C0035.wav Government Officer, interview 18th October, 2007.
26. DW_C0026.wav Young Couple TaikangLu, interview 11th October, 2007.
27. DW_C0031.wav Dubai guy, interview 16th October, 2007.
28. DW_B0022.wav Young Chinese couple M50, interview October 6th 2007.
29. DW_C0034.wav Chinese University student (desires part to be anonymous), interview 18th
October, 2007.

Interviews with notes only, that wished to remain anonymous (conducted in Shanghai, PRC)

30. French man Prof. at Fudan University, interview at M50, October 6th 2007.
31. American Lady, interview at M50, October 6th 2007.

APPENDIX:

1. The *eco-centric* aspect is concerned with humanity exceeding the earth's natural resource limit. Low-tech, reusable and renewable natural materials are preferred. The *eco-medical* aspect deals with the impact of the built environment on peoples' health. The *eco-social* logic emphasizes community and the democratic processes. The *eco-aesthetic* adherents opposes modernity and views individual's connectedness with nature as bringing about new spiritual communities through information age innovations. The *eco-technic* adherents' perceive global environmental issues as a threat, but trust that modernization and technology will mitigate them. This is a top-down view common in environmental policy and is geared towards efficiency of buildings and cutting edge innovations. The eco-technic policies have been increasingly espoused and adopted in China. (Guy & Farmer 2001: 140-145).

2. "...strategy measures guided by scientific development and sustainable development establishing a multilevel landscape belt and rich flora along both sides of Suzhou Creek *preserving historical buildings*, as to cultivate a vigorous waterfront as well as a environment that is open, elegant, comfortable, safe and human oriented". Phase 1, that was between 1998-2002, allocated 6.998 billion RMB for short and long term goals. Phase II (2005-2007), 3.77 billion RMB were used to rehabilitate water and education (Shanghai Urban Planning Exhibition Center pamphlet and 4th floor exhibition).

