Building Biographies through Heritage Repurposing

Socio-spatial Research in Shipai Village under Rapid Urbanization

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Abstract

Chinese urban village has attracted much discussion as an urban phenomenon by sociologists and architects. It was transformed from a traditional village gathered by clans with blood ties to an urban enclave focusing on a land-profit economy. At the same time, with the migration of locals and outsiders, the collective memory has changed from a mono-cultural memory to a multicultural memory. And problems such as poor infrastructure, unspoken rules of space usage and social segregation in the urban village have become increasingly severe during urbanization. However, there is not enough research on the urban village to explore the causes of such social conflicts based on the spatial conflicts.

This article focuses on the Shipai village in Guangzhou and examed Lefebvre's theory of spatial production to explore the relationships between the changes in collective memory and spatial conflicts in Shipaii village. Based on the perspective of urban ethnography, the repurposing of heritage, such as the transformation of ancestral halls and streets, will be used as spatial outcomes to observe how people fix into the urbanization through morphological dynamics and the impact of collective memory on this transformation.

The critical questions are: What is the conflict in SV? What is the relationship between collective memory and spatial contradictions in Shipai Village? What are the processes and outcomes of spatial contradictions? I argued that the contradiction in SV is a group clash, where cultural diversity has resulted in an unshared collective memory.

Key words: urban village; collective memory; heritage repurpose; social space; abstract space; ancestral halls; street; China; urban ethnography

Content

"Space was produced before being read; nor was it produced in order to be read and grasped, but rather in order to be lived by people with bodies and lives in their own particular urban context(Lefebvre, 1991, p143)[1]. "

INTRODUCTION

In his book, The Production of Space, Lefebvre(1991)[1] defines space into two forms: social space and abstract space; Social space is a space dominated by collective memory that survives through cumulative change; Abstract space is a place developed based on capitalism or neo-capitalism that is used for exchange more than use. For abstract space, It is the expression of politics. The term "space production" is widely used to explain the mechanism of urban development(Zhou, Wu, & Zhang, 2015)[2]. It also provides an architectural and sociological perspective on China's urban problems—Urban Village(UV). According to Guo&Li (2020)[3], UV result from the dramatic conflicts between capitalism and social relations behind urbanization; They perceive these UVs as the Meta City in the Mega-City and are the invention of various social groups.

UVs refer to villages surrounded by urban architectures(metropolitans). They cater to the specific needs of each expansion stage through spatial reproduction; They also serve as alternative living communities—also known as Slums—and accommodate a quarter or a third of the population of megacities with poor infrastructure and living environment(Huang, 2015, p. 29)[4]. Research in UV has become a critical topic in megacities and is closely related to the development of the human environment.

Shipai Village(SV) is the main subject of this article. It is located in Guangzhou, one of China's big cities, and is the most significant and most historic UV It covers over 1 km2 in 18th and houses 51,181 people(Zhong, 2003, P.15,31)[5]. Rapid urbanization and neo-capitalism change the SV spatially, but its DNA(social structure, function organization, spatial usage) are inherited in another way: social

1 Lefebvre, H. (1991). *The production of space* (1st ed.). Blackwell. The discussion about the readability is a critique of the modern architectural manifesto(abstract space).Because acts explains the production of space(meaning) rather than the design(e. g.transparancy,monumentality)

2 Wu, L., Zhou, S., & Zhang, R. (2015). An analysis of the relation between festivals and production of space. *Geographical Research*, 34(10), 1994–2002. https://doi.org/10.11821/dlyj201510016

3 Guo, A., & Li, B. (2020). Urban Villages as the Seeds of the Urban Future—A Study of Urban Space from the Perspective of the Spatial Production Theory of Lefebvre. *Urban Architecture*, 17(01), 83–86.

4 Huang, Q. (2015). *Metropolis of Rurality: A Spatial History of Shipai in Guangzhou from the Perspectives of Typo-morphology(1978-2008)* (1st ed.). China Construction Industry Press.

5 Zhong, Y. (Ed.). (2003). *The Urban Village in Guangzhou* (1st ed.). Guangdong People's Publishing House Press.The data was conducted in 2000

space and abstract space. The reproduction of these spaces also demonstrates the influences of collective memory when using the space. This exploration provides a more intuitive understanding of the socio-spatial needs of the vulnerable area in the city.

LITERATURE REVIEW

The discussion of UV is over 30 years and has gradually enhanced the interestes from multidisciplinary topics. For example, beginning in 2022, the urban imaging project takes the UV as one of the most critical urban identities and delivers several documentaries about lives and activities. The international Biennale 2021 in Shenzhen also took them as the starting point to explore urbanization in China. Apart from that, the government also encouraged fieldwork on the UV A few autobiographies were published officially to remember these shifting villages, such as the Shipai Village Journal(2003) and Liede Village Journal(2005).

However, many discussions are focused on the macro influences rather than the inner morphological dynamics. Huang(2015)[6] explored the typo morphology in SV, but it doesn't dive into the specific public spaces and connect the collective memory with the spatial shift.

METHODOLOGY

-Urban Ethnography
Urban ethnography is the study of how urban residents and other inhabitants make sense of their daily social worlds, navigate surrounding communities, and manage the broader forces that structure the urban experience(Stuart, 2021)[7]. The political and economic changes in the SV will be examined to analyze the changes in lifestyle and public spaces and investigate the role of collective memory in this transformation.

-Socio-Spatial Analysis
King(2019)[8] notes the Socio-Spatial perspective will be used to get a clear and coherent perspective of the relationship between the activities, the space involved, and the dynamics of their links. It is a framework for studying urban social life that integrates the morphological dynamics in SV. It examines how cultural, political, economic, and social activities affect daily space throughout metropolitan regions.

-Fieldwork based on the Biographies
Ford(2001)[9] mentioned doing the fieldwork to build biographies by researching individual architecture:

"The story of the city seems richer when it includes the struggles of actual people to create, occupy, and maintain a specific building in the face of changing neighbourhood contexts or municipal priorities."

6 Huang, Q. (2015). *Metropolis of Rurality: A Spatial History of Shipai in Guangzhou from the Perspectives of Typo-morphology(1978-2008)* (1st ed.). China Construction Industry Press.

7 Stuart, F. (2021). *Urban Ethnography*. In Oxford Bibliographies. https://www.oxfordbibliographies.com/view/document/obo-9780199756384/obo-9780199756384-0256.xml

8 King, C. (2019). Where People Live: The Socio Spatial Perspective. *Everyday Sociology*. https://www.everydaysociologyblog.com/2019/09/where-people-live-the-socio-spatial-perspective.html

9 Ford, L. R. (2001). Building Biographies: To Know Cities From the Inside Out. *The Geographical Review, 91*(2), 9.

Exploring the specif architectures(the Ancetral hall) and the surroundings(old street) in SV could help understand the abstract city structure(politics, class, etc.)

-Term explanation: collective memory and collective uncounscious
The collective memory is based on Habwach's idea (1992)[10] that collective memory, on the one hand, points to the past and, on the other, adapts to the current situation; It is continuous and selective. Moreover, Coser(1992)[11] also mentioned that groups with different backgrounds might have different memories of the same things. In this article, the old streets and ancestral halls bear the cultural memory of the locals, which is quite different from outsiders. This unshared memory will link to the different behaviours when using and recreation these places. It illustrates how the collective memory attached to the space continues or disappears and how people respond to the rapid transformation through the heritage repurposing.

Simultaneously, collective memory will be introduced to explain the unspoken rules after the heritage regeneration. Jung (2014)[12] explains the collective unconscious as a genetic trait. It relates to the spiritual life of our ancestors, and it compromises the freedom of thinking. And "continually striving to lead all conscious processes back into the old paths. " It implies the group sociality in a turbulent social environment and the exclusionary to outsiders. It also influences their behaviours in space usage.

STRUCTURE

This dissertation first examines the history of SV and its spatial changes. Then proposes the emergence of two contradictory collective groups during the urban transformation: "locals" and "outsiders". Finally investigates the reuse of the ancestral hall(social space) and the old street(abstract space) as the different spatialization results of the above two groups.

The main question is: What is the conflict in SV? What is the relationship between collective memory and spatial contradictions in Shipai Village? What are the processes and outcomes of spatial contradictions?

I argued that the contradiction in SV is a group clash, where cultural diversity has resulted in an unshared collective memory. It has resulted in the different perceptions of the public spaces that embodied the cultural memories of SV. and also the different spatial reuse in different functions and forms to fix into the urbanization. Locals constantly repurpose family spaces--ancestral halls--and abandon the restoration of the street; outsiders take the street as a productive space and maximize its benefits. Finally, They reach a balance under a delicate hierarchy and many unspoken rules. These aspects are the reasons for the community segregation in SV.

10 Halbwachs, M. (1992). *On Collective Memory* (L. A. Coser, Ed.). University of Chicago Press. https://doi.org/10.7208/chicago/9780226774497.001.0001

11 Coser, L. A. (1992). Introduction: Maurice Halbwachs 1877-1945. In *On Collective Memory*. University of Chicago Press.

12 Jung, C. G. H. (2014). *Archetypes and the Collective Unconscious* (R. F. C. Hull, Ed.; 2nd ed., Vol. 9). Princeton University Press. https://doi.org/10.1515/9781400850969

Figure 1. The Shi Pai Villages in Guangzhou(2021)
Shipai Village is the largest and most lively urban village. Its external boundaries are the modern city, but inside it is the primitive mini-housing.

From "*Twitter*" by cathyzzz, access: https://mobile.twitter.com/cathyzzz5/status/1414595074692849666/photo/2).

01
Historical Context

Introduction

It is essential to understand the historical context of SV to analyze the reuse of heritage. History reflection examines SV's DNA to consider the reasons and strategies that have kept heritage alive without architects' intervention, leading to a review of urban studies. So this chapter will follow a timeline and describe the traditional cluster before the 19th century, the initial urban development in the 19th century, and the rapid expansion in the 20th century. Simultaneously, an overall diagram of spatial change will be presented separately connected with the living pattern. It will serve as the base for the union of opposing groups in the second chapter.

1.1 Establishment of Shipai Village

SV was founded in 1273(Zhong, 2003)[13]. It is developed by the gathering of several families to live together. Historically, Small families with blood ties would migrate and settle in the same locations, forming a small village; And several neighbouring villages would unite to form a larger one(Huang, 2015, p.42-43)[14]. One such example is SV, Dong(1273), Pan(1290), and Chi(1370) settled there consecutively and developed into a community. The three families manage life in SV together (Zhong, 2003)[13].

1.2 Initial Development of Urbanization

As Huang(p.62)[14] mentioned, the land reform in 1958 changed how SV operated; It ended the dominance of family authority by altering the living space from family-owned to production management. However, the bond between blood and place cannot be stopped in a political sense. Because the production management was formed based on geographical proximity, family units next to each other were grouped into one production union, similar to the initial settlement with family members living next to one another in the bloodline; That is to say, the production

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13 Zhong, Y. (Ed.). (2003). *The Journal of Shipai Village* (1st ed.). Guangdong People's Publishing House Press.
14 Huang, Q. (2015). *Metropolis of Rurality: A Spatial History of Shipai in Guangzhou from the Perspectives of Typomorphology(1978-2008)* (1st ed.). China Construction Industry Press.
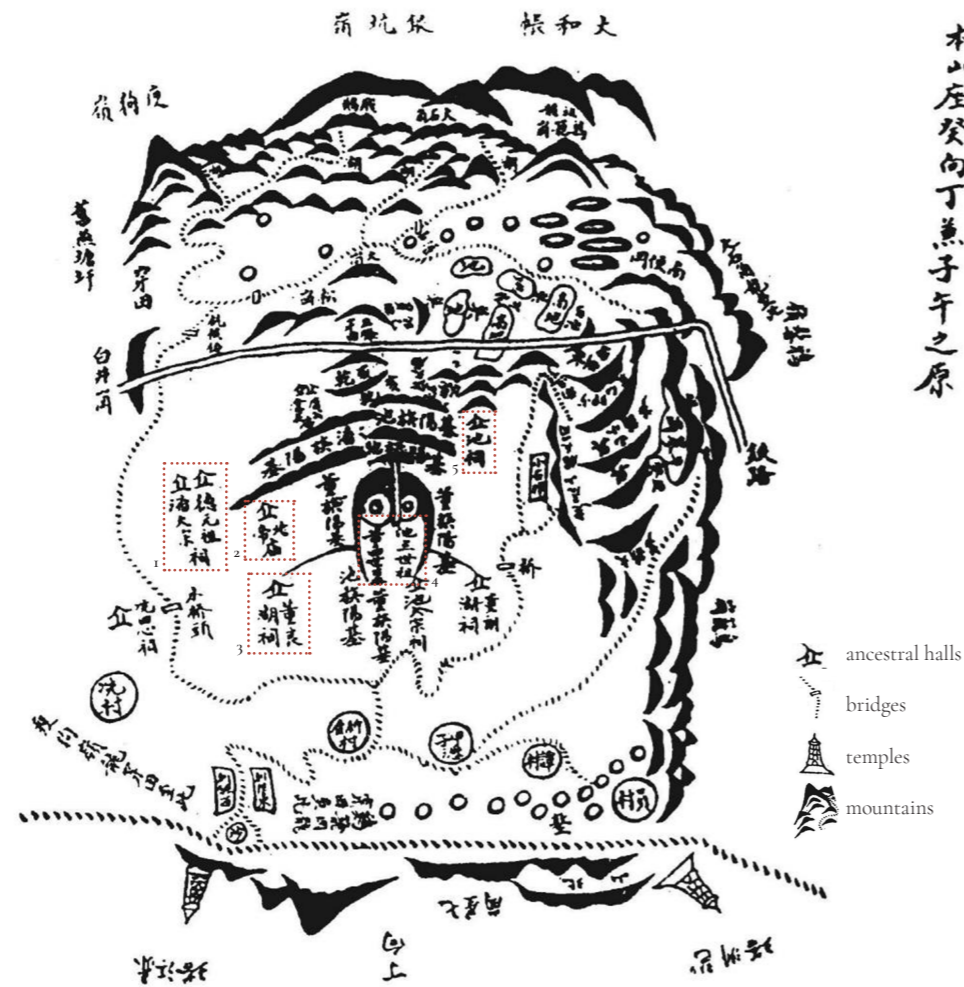
Figure 2. Feng-Shui Map of the 4th Ancestral Cemetery in Shipai Village(1949).
1. Pan ancestral hall; 2. Beidi temple; 3. Dong ancestral hall; 4. Cemetery of Dong, next to Chi's cemetery. 5. Chi ancestral hall. This map shows the location of the AH of the three clans in Shibai village: Dong, Chi and Pan, and the relationship of Dong and Chi.

It's the map in the Genealogy of Shipai Dong Clan. Taken from *The Journal of Shipai Village* (1st ed., p. 20-21) , by Shipai Village Commitee, 2003, Guangdong People's Publishing House Press. Copyright 2003 by Shipai Village Commitee.

division merged with the original family-based living units. The first intervention of urbanization was a failure(Huang, 2015, p.62)[15].

However, it is the start of the land occupation with the Unit system applied to the farmland.

1.3 The Urban Village

The rapid expansion of Guangzhou is reflected in the dramatic construction of urban projects and the continuous influx of outside people. Both of these have had a significant impact on the life of SV.

The farming land in SV was promptly confiscated for all urban construction projects after 1978 (Zhong, 2003, p.15)[16]. Although the government returned part of the arable land to villagers, what was eventually retained was only the living area.

The loss of the land meant that villagers needed to abandon agriculture and turn a new economic method. And the migration wave, along with urbanization, asks for demand for housing. Due to the lack of social housing, these villages close to the city began to enter the real estate market(Huang, 2015, p. 132)[17]. Villagers seized this geographical opportunity and began to convert their residences into rental houses and rent them out to migrants at relatively low prices. The single-storey buildings were constructed quickly into eight-storey buildings (Huang, 2015, p. 139)[17]. It made SV a dense, decayed community in the original fabric but modern construction(Chung, 2010)[18]. It has even been described as a slum in some reports. At the same time, the rental-based economy has been used to redevelop family spaces and infrastructure.

The original villagers gradually moved into residential towers built by the village collective(Huang, 2015, p.166)[17]. And the vacant became rental houses or the grocery(p177)[17]. Since then, the land has become only property to villagers, the geopolitical boundaries have been broken, and urban life has officially begun (p168)[17].
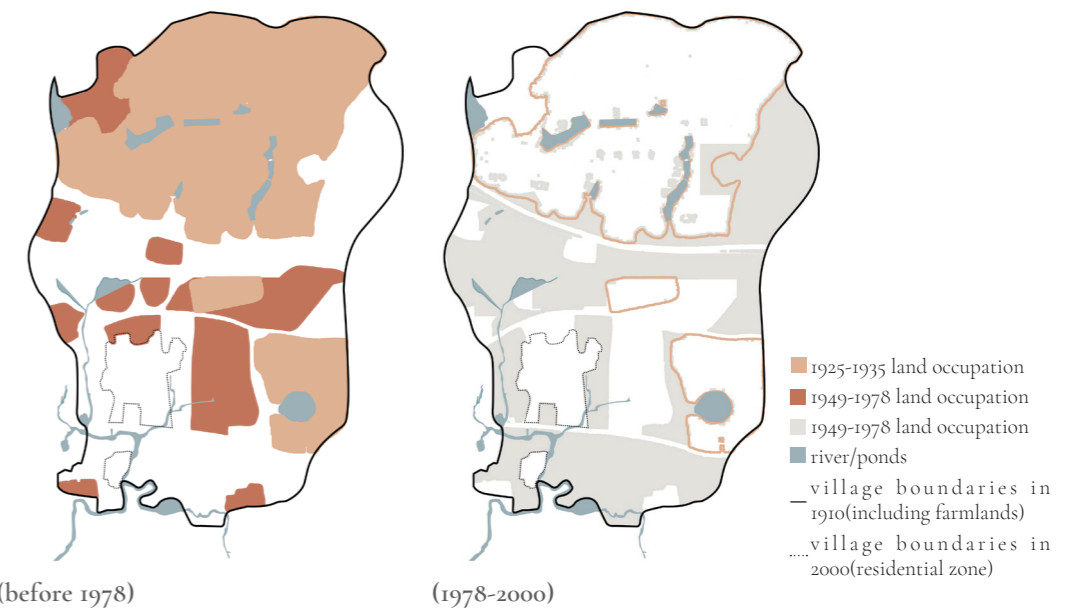

■ 1925-1935 land occupation
■ 1949-1978 land occupation
■ 1949-1978 land occupation
■ river/ponds
— village boundaries in 1910(including farmlands)
···· village boundaries in 2000(residential zone)

(before 1978)   (1978-2000)

Figure 3. Maps of SV's Land Transformation(including farmlands) Before and After 1945(Shanshan Xie, 2022).
Data from *The Journal of Shipai Village* (1st ed., p. 20-21) , by Shipai Village Commitee, 2003, Guangdong People's Publishing House Press.

Conclusion

The shift of SV from the traditional gathering to urban life could be reflected in two aspects. On the one hand, the disappearance of farming land forced the change from agriculture to the real state market. On the other hand, the disintegration of clans and the outsiders' influx breaks the traditional social structure and introduces the urban rules. But as we trace the history, the DNA of SV is still rooted in blood and place, collective and space. In other words, it is how to use the land to develop a life. The locals need to think about how to fit into urban life. And the outsiders - those living in SV - will be exploring how to arrive in the city. They unite into two groups, asking for different spatial demands and repurposing public space differently.

15 Huang, Q. (2015). *Metropolis of Rurality: A Spatial History of Shipai in Guangzhou from the Perspectives of Typo-morphology(1978-2008)* (1st ed.). China Construction Industry Press.

16 Zhong, Y. (Ed.). (2003). *The Journal of Shipai Village* (1st ed.). Guangdong People's Publishing House Press.

17 Huang, Q. (2015). *Metropolis of Rurality: A Spatial History of Shipai in Guangzhou from the Perspectives of Typo-morphology(1978-2008)* (1st ed.). China Construction Industry Press.

18 Chung, H. (2010). Building an image of Villages-in-the-City: A Clarification of China's Distinct Urban Spaces: Debates and Developments. *International Journal of Urban and Regional Research*, 34(2), 421–437. https://doi.org/10.1111/j.1468-2427.2010.00979.x

Figure 4. The "Kiss Building".(2020)
The additions constructed by the villagers have blocked out the light and made the street dark and unsafe. People made these additions for rent to get more income.

From *"Reddit"* by NewChinaHand, access: https://www.reddit.com/r/UrbanHell/comments/jlowxl/shipai_urban_village_guangzhou_china_/?utm_source=share&utm_medium=web2x&context=3).

Chapter 2
Clashes between Two Groups

Introduction

The rapid urban sprawl in SV has created two communities, the 'locals' and the 'outsiders'. This chapter discusses the process of their gathering and spatial needs. Through the real "urban stories", we can look into the influences of the "rapid" issue on the traditional village and its people. This effect is reflected in the invention of the traditional space to meet their daily needs living in the megacity.

Two questions will discuss: how do the two groups co-exist in SV? What and why are their spatial demands?

2.1 Locals

Fei(1947)[19] proposes the "locality" and "hierarchy "to demonstrate that the traditional life in China is isolated and "Gemeinschaft". Attachment to a community is an unconscious choice. Historically, such a collective was the clan. Each clan used the money earned from the land (agriculture) to develop the infrastructures, such as ancestral halls(AH) and primary schools, and provided them for members to unite and develop the family. Meanwhile, different clans would manage the organization altogether(Zhong, 2003, p.113)[20].

In the mid-19th century, the clan were transformed into production associations. In other words, the family space was adapted into a productive or educational space. For instinct, the Chi AH was used as a place to repair and process agricultural tools (Zhong, 2003, p.9)[20]; the Pan AH became a site for primary Education (p.5)[20].

In the early 21st century, the villagers officially set up the shareholding company. All locals living in the village could become a shareholder. It profits in rental economy and properties and strengthens infrastructures such as restoring ancestral halls, expanding schools and building activity centres. For now, For now, the

19 Fei, X. (2012). *Rural China* (X. Chen, Ed.; 1st ed.). Beijing University Press.
20 Zhong, Y. (Ed.). (2003). *The Journal of Shipai Village* (1st ed.). Guangdong People's Publishing House Press.
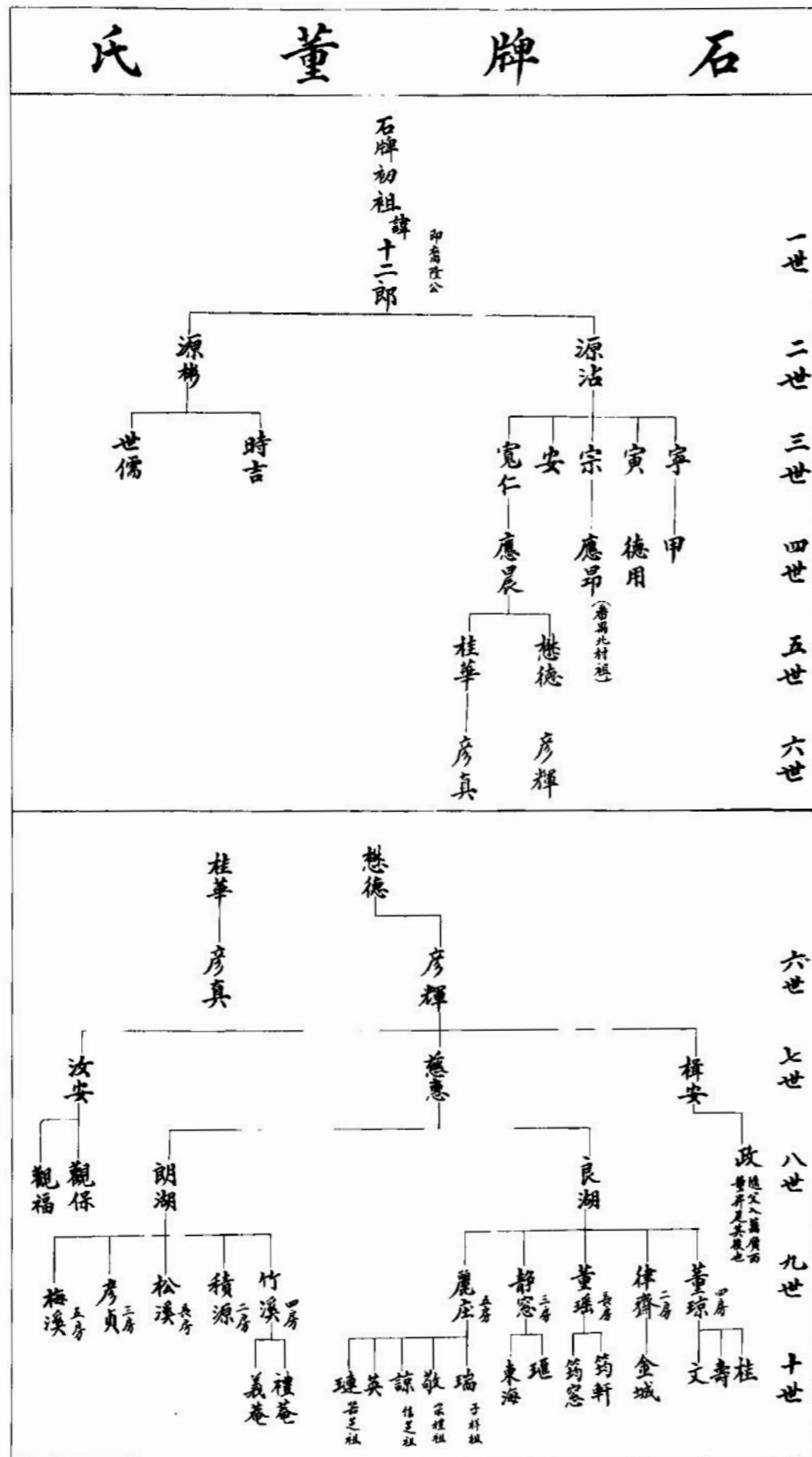
石牌董氏

石牌初祖諱十二郎

一世 二世 三世 四世 五世 六世

Figure 5. Genealogy of the Dong Clan of Shipai(1949).
It's the diagram in the Genealogy of Shipai Dong Clan. Taken from *The Journal of Shipai Village* (1st ed., p. 57) , by Shipai Village Commitee, 2003, Guangdong People's Publishing House Press. Copyright 2003 by Shipai Village Commitee.

largest shareholder in the company is the one from the Chi clan[21].

The Villagers in SV have unconsciously gathered during urbanization, and the attachment to the specific community has grown stronger(Huang, 2015, p. 160)[22]. They have adapted important spatial nodes continuously (AH) according to the daily needs at different urban stages. Nonetheless, this community can also pose an "exclusivity" problem. For example, the reuse of public facilities is under the control of the locals, which means that outsiders don't have access to infrastructures. Meanwhile, locals do not trust outsiders enough as they are afraid the strangers would damage or steal public property (Song, Pan, & Chen, 2016)[23].

Figure 6. LOGO of Shipai Sanjun Enterprise Group Co.
From *Corporate Information Search Website*: https://www.qixin.com/company/9ce1711c-974b-4b26-b530-f528ded37d1c

Figure 7. Hotel Tower Built by Shipai Shareholding Company (Shanshan Xie, 2022)

2.2 Multi-culture Community

The rapid city expansion has provided more job opportunities and attracted many migrators. SV, located near the city, has become their arriving community . By 2000, the population of outsiders had risen to 42,000 compared to 1000 in 1980(Zhong, 2003, p.31)[24]. Most are between 20 and 35 years old and mainly engaged in the service industry(Yin, 2019, p. 51)[25].

There are two groups of outsiders. One is those who work and live in the village. They rent the space on the ground floor(which has often been pre-constructed to 4m in height) and use the mezzanine for residential or storage purposes(Huang, 2015, p. 169)[22]. Along with it is the privatized and commercial use of the street. Another is the group that lives in the village but works in the city. It is an affordable and convenient choice to live in SV Most outsiders would prefer corners in the street for their leisure activities. Together, these two collectives form a multicultural community and make the most of the remaining space - the street - to meet their economic or daily needs.

2.3 Spatial Segragation

These two groups have different spatial perceptions of the traditional space in SV.

21 It be examined on the Corporate Information Search Website: https://www.qixin.com/company/9ce1711c-974b-4b26-b530-f528ded37d1c

22 Huang, Q. (2015). *Metropolis of Rurality: A Spatial History of Shipai in Guangzhou from the Perspectives of Typo-morphology(1978-2008)* (1st ed.). China Construction Industry Press.

23 Song, H., Pan, M., & Chen, Y. (2016). Nightlife and public spaces in urban villages: A case study of the Pearl River Delta in China. *Habitat International*, 57, 187–204. https://doi.org/10.1016/j.habitatint.2016.07.009

24 Zhong, Y. (Ed.). (2003). *The Journal of Shipai Village* (1st ed.). Guangdong People's Publishing House Press.

25 Yin, J. (2019). *Research on Residential Area Density and Related Indicators Based on Satisfaction* [Master thesis]. South China University of Technology.

Figure 8. Advertisements for Rent(Shanshan Xie, 2022).
With the influx of outsiders, the rental economy has become one of the primary economic sources in SV.


Figure 9. The landlord is talking with the tenant(Tristin Zhang, 2017).
The advertisements sign in front of the staircase says the different housing types their facilities (furniture, light, balcony, etc.)

From Exploring Guangzhou's Urban Villages: Shipai, Xiancun, *that's,* access:https://www.thatsmags.com/china/post/19143/exploring-guangzhou-s-urban-villages-shipai-xiancun

According to Xie(2018)[26](Figure 10), urban citizens (tourists&students) and people living in SV (locals& foreigners) perceive the AH as the most cultural space. Because AH is cultural memory in Guangzhou and SV, this cultural memory has become part of the collective memory and shown its continuity. Whereas when asked about spaces related to life, the results showed a difference. The different life experiences have adjusted the collective memory, which explains the selectivity of memory. Activity centres and AH are the more alive spaces for locals, while outsiders prefer to stay in the streets and open spaces. And for those who do not live in SV, the AH and streets are remembered as cultural places and living areas, so most people perceive them as spaces connected to life. At the same time, the perception of outsiders' living space in the streets complements that of locals' activity centres, suggesting the segregation of spatial usage between locals and outsiders.

At the same time, the perception of outsiders' living space in the streets complements that of locals' activity centres, suggesting the segregation of spatial usage between locals and outsiders. As AHs and the activity centres are of good quality and refurbished, locals prefer to chat and stay there. And on the street, there are numerous restaurants, groceries, etc., bearing different customs and cultures, making the street a unique living environment(see chapter 4).
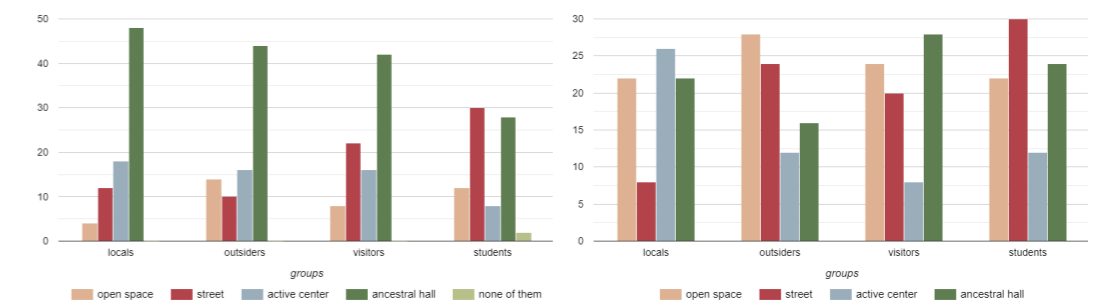
The Most Cultural Public Space considered by groups

The Most lively Public Space considered by groups

Figure 10. Spatial Perception of Different Groups(Shanshan Xie, 2022)
Data from *Research on the Renewal and Reform of the Public Space in the Urban Villages Based on the Characteristics of the Residents' Psychology and Behavior* [Master thesis]. South China Agricultural University,.

Conclusion

Urban expansion and the development of real estate are the reasons for the conflict between the two groups. Ultimately, they create a monocultural community with locals and a multicultural community with outsiders. They recreate different spaces: the alteration of social space - AH and the generation on the abstract space - the new liberty street. One is a cultural adaptation, and the other is a productive one. These two spatial outcomes demonstrate the conflict between tradition and capitalism, the disagreement on the space right .

Coser(2002)[27] Suggests that collective memories that are not fully shared result in mild alienation and various usage of space. It is clear from a questionnaire that villagers and tenants have distinct spatial feelings. AHs become the accepted cultural space for all people, while perceptions of the street vary significantly. It

26 Xie, H. (2018). Research on the Renewal and Reform of the Public Space in the Urban Villages Based on the Characteristics of the Residents' Psychology and Behavior [Master thesis]. South China Agricultural University,.
27 Coser, L. A. (1992). Introduction: Maurice Halbwachs 1877-1945. In *On Collective Memory*. University of Chicago Press.

Figure 11. Entrance to the Elderly Activity Centre (Shanshan Xie, 2022)
At the entrance are several chairs placed upside down, and in front of the chairs are signs advertising rental information. On weekdays, locals gather at the elderly activity centre to chat and solicit business simultaneously.

illustrates that collective memory in groups could influence the feeling.

The adaptation of their prefered domains reinforces this bias. In the following two chapters, the repurposing of AHs and the street will be analyzed, examining how the collective memory influences spatialization and how the collective unconscious affects space usage. Thus, this article can visualize the social-spatial relationship and space identity more intuitively.

Figure 12 Beidi Temple(Qing Dynasty) (Shanshan Xie, 2022)
Villagers worship water gods who control the weather to prevent flooding before RPC's foundation. It had been reconstructed six times during the Qing dynasty.

Chapter 3
Repurposing of Ancestral Halls

Introduction

Collective memory, when Coser(2002, P.26)[28] sums up Schwartz and Lincoln's work, is "cumulative" and "presentist". Space would gain a social dimension when used and altered by people, often being seen as the social space(Lefebvre, 1991)[29]. This change is selective, and continuity is gained through the selection(Halbwachs, 1992, P.47)[30].

On the one hand, heritage conservation is essential for locals to defend their identity(Sowińska-Heim, 2020)[31]. On the other hand, "What makes a bond does not prevent what divides," Fijalkow&Lévy-Vroelant(2020)[32] point out, "What puts at stake togetherness and weakens individuals." These two opinions will be discussed in this chapter to imply the reuse of heritage in SV The main subject will be the reproduction of the clan house, the most crucial family space. It is created by villagers and is based on cultural preservation with the educational tendency in the face of urbanization. Yet, the unshared collective memory, which undermines social cohesion, leads to different spatial behaviours.

The key topic will be: How were clan houses used in different urban phases? How did locals and outsiders use these spaces? These questions are attempted to be answered by exploring the history of the clan house, the reconstruction and the case study of the Shipai Primary School.

3.1 The Family Space and Culture Memory

The Ancestral Halls(AH) is a temple dedicated to worshipping ancestors, scholars,

28 Coser, L. A. (1992). Introduction: Maurice Halbwachs 1877-1945. In On Collective Memory. University of Chicago Press.
29 Lefebvre, H. (1991). The production of space (1st ed.). Blackwell.
30 Halbwachs, M. (1992). On Collective Memory (L. A. Coser, Ed.). University of Chicago Press. https://doi.org/10.7208/chicago/9780226774497.001.0001
31 Sowińska-Heim, J. (2020). Adaptive Reuse of Architectural Heritage and Its Role in the Post-Disaster Reconstruction of Urban Identity: Post-Communist Łódź. Sustainability, 12(19), 8054. https://doi.org/10.3390/su12198054
32 Fijalkow, Y., & Lévy-Vroelant, C. (2020). Narratives as Daily Heritage in Neighbourhoods Undergoing Gentrification: A Study of Four European Neighbourhoods. Urbanities, 10(1), 53–70.

or gods(Zhang, 2016, p.10)[33]. Worship is the primary function and with cultural meaning. It also served to record clan history, deal with political affairs, and educate family members. Education is vital for AH, demonstrated later in the function change chapter. Historically, the elders would talk about the laws and courtesy during the opening of the rituals at AH; it was also used as a schoolroom or a temporary residence for family members(p27)[32]. Thus, it was not just the clan's heart but also the village's most remarkable, most significant, and most ornately decorated public facilities(P.17)[32].

According to the journal of Shipai Village(2003)[34], besides specialized schools like the Lushan Academy(1781), parts of CH began to be used as private schools after 1644. Such as the Dong AH(the five-room hall, now demolished and used as a kindergarten playground) and the Chi AH(the Ruizhao Family School, now used as an activity centre for the elderly).

Figure 13. Pan AH (Shanshan Xie, 2022)   Figure 14. Chi AH (Shanshan Xie, 2022)

3.2 The Function Alteration

When we look through the archives of SV, we can find a detailed record of function alteration of AH. Most evidence comes from clan biography, reflecting that this change may have a profound value. When comparing these shifts with historical events, we can discover the political factors and the social strategies facing rapid urbanization.

According to the table, education needs have made a crucial impact on the functional change of the AH as the clan's development would have been impossible without education both in the ancient and modern periods. Historically, people could finance the development of their families by obtaining official positions through examinations(Zhang, 2016, p. 27)[35]; nowadays, people could gain the skills and abilities through modern education to fulfil self-development and fit into urban life. However, with the rental economic development of SV and the government's emphasis on local culture after the 20th century, some ancestral halls formerly used as educational institutions are being refurbished and restored to their original function as gatherings. We still cannot ignore education's trace on heritages

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33 Zhang, H. (2016). The Study of the Conservation and Utilization of Ancestral halls in Guangzhou urban villages [Master thesis]. South China University of Technology.

34 Zhong, Y. (Ed.). (2003). The Journal of Shipai Village (1st ed.). Guangdong People's Publishing House Press.

35 Zhang, H. (2016). The Study of the Conservation and Utilization of Ancestral halls in Guangzhou urban villages [Master thesis]. South China University of Technology.

Name	Before 1949	1949-1978	Current situation
Pan Ancestral Hall	Zhicheng Primary School	1. Police office 2. Residences for soldiers 3. Teachers' dormitories and classrooms	1999: Reconstructed
Pan Taifu Ancestral Hall		Shipai Village Nursery	Reconstructed as residences
Pan Yingcang Ancestral Hall	Relaxing for agriculture	Alter to nursery	Rormitary for cleaners
Chi Ancestral Hall		1. Repair agricultural tools 2.Classrooms for Shipai Primary School 3. Laundry detergent plants	2002: Reconstructed and relocated south
Chi Third Ancestral Hall		Police office	Teachers' dormitary for Shipai Primary School and nursery
Chi Liangma Ancestral Hall	Private school	1. Classroom for Shipai Primary School 2.Police office	1999: Reconstructed as elder activity center
Dong Ancestral Hall	New locations for Zhicheng Primary School in 1930	Goverment office	Partly reconstructed as the Shipai Primary School
Dong Lizhuang Ancestral Hall	Corps Headquarters	Goverment office	Used as nursery, elderly activity center..... 2002 reconstructed as the playground for nursery.
Dong Shanping Ancestral Hall		Dong nursery	Elderly activity center

Table 1. Family Ancestral Halls and the Functions Alteration over Time in Shipai Village (pre-1949 - 2008)

Table from *Metropolis of Rurality: A Spatial History of Shipai in Guangzhou from the Perspectives of Typo-morphology(1978-2008)* (1st ed.). China Construction Industry Press.

3.3 The Transformation of Shipai Primary School and Dong Ancestral Hall

- 3.3.1 General introduction

The Shipai Primary School(SPS)in Tianhe District is an excellent example of function alteration. It covers an area of 121,677 m2(Lai, 2018, p. 32)[36]. and is adjacent to the south entrance of SV In 1994, with the construction of a 2,793m2 academic building, AH as a classroom was officially ended(Zhong, 2003, P.150)[33]. As the village collective enhanced the investment in education and the city's rapid expansion, it gradually developed into modern education, awarded the Guangzhou First-Class School and Guangzhou Green School in 2002 (Lai, 2018, p. 32)[34].

- 3.3.2 Alteration

When tracing the history of SPS, The story of SV, the socio-spatial result during the urbanization and the strategies people take to cope with the rapid problems, could be read directly.

SSP was founded in 1928 and named Zhicheng Republican Primary School. One prominent member of the Dong clan initiated it and chose the Pan AH as the original site. There were around 100 students, and the syllabus was primary education focusing on literature, mathematics, etiquette, etc(Zhong, 2003, P.148)[33]. The school's name changed several times, reflecting the transformation of SV as shown in Figure 16.

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36 Lai, J. (2018). The design of primary school landscape in Guangzhou [Master thesis]. South China Agricultural University.

天河区石牌小学

Zhicheng Primary School — Pan AH
Shipai Central Primary School, District 4, Panyu County — Dong AH — Scattered in different AH
Guangzhou Thirty-third Primary School (altered to state-owned) — Dong AH
Baiyun District No.1 School for Children of Workers and Farmers
Guangzhou Suburban Shipai Primary School
Shipai Primary School (9 years) — expansion
Shipai Primary School (6 years)
The ancestral hall is no longer used as a classroom — expansion

1928 1934 1949 1950 1952 1956 1986 1988 1994 1999
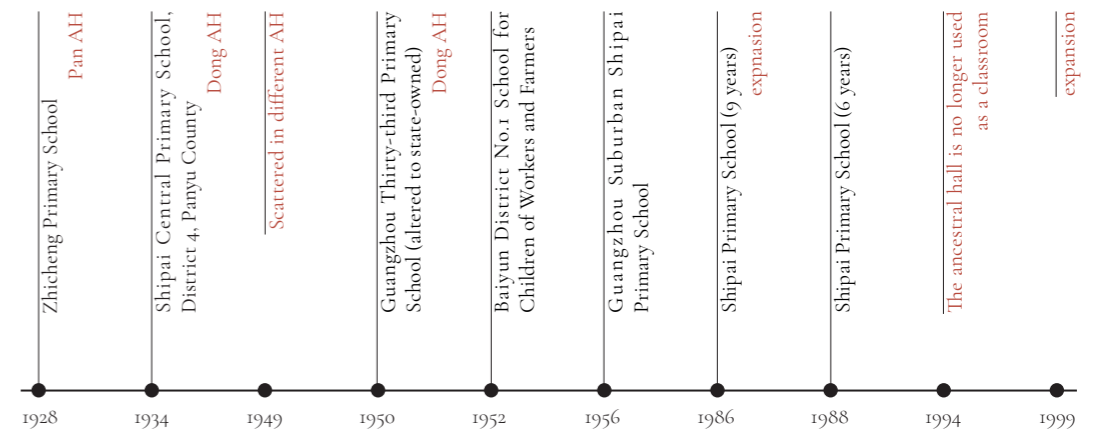
Figure 16. The History of SPS's Name(Shanshan Xie, 2022)
Data from *The Journal of Shipai Village* (1st ed.). Guangdong People's Publishing House Press.

Before 1949, SPS relocated from Pan AH to Dong in 1928 (speculates that it was because of the enlarged amount of students). Then it was dispersed to other AHs as the government office was at the Dong AH. There were no traits of urbanization, and the school's name followed the hierarchy rules of a feudal town.

The period from 1949 to 1978 was the initial stage of urban sprawl, the first change being the transfer of the school property from village to state. The second was SPS back to the Dong AH with the building expansion. It shows villagers' enthusiasm for education. Meanwhile, Its name showed the new rule of regional divisions, and the SV was still on the outskirts of Guangzhou.

The school continued to expand to meet the increasing educational demands after 1978. The investment in education went from 200,000 to 5.83 million yuan, most funds coming from the shareholding company. It demonstrates the villagers' desire to improve their self-development by education to cope with the new urban identity that emerged quickly in a few decades. Fei (1947)[37] mentioned in Rural China that, in the process of transformation from the traditional society to the modern one, the conventional lifestyles hit a wall everywhere as they could not solve the "modern affairs" rituals or local customs. Thus, It is a preferred option for the locals and children to attend school, which could be seen spatially in the expansion of the school.

Meanwhile, the morphological dynamics of the school environment can also illustrate the new socio-spatial results under the quick urbanization: the shift from geography-centred the interest-centre. Usually, Clans would site AHs according to the Feng-shui. It is a kind of geographical spirit as "the unity of nature and man"(Guo, 317 CE)[38]. In Guangzhou, where are many canals, the element of 'water' played a significant role in site selection for AH (Zhang, 2016, P.35)[39]. AH, such as Pan, Dong, Chi, Sin and Chan, can all be found near a pond or river. For now, the canals or ponds are shrinking or disappearing and changed into new towers(primarily residential properties for rent). The pond in front of the SPS has been repurposed into a swimming pool, proposed for school advertisements. The land profit in the fast real estate overwrites the spiritual geography norms. More modern amenities and skyscrapers became the new pattern of urban life.

37 Fei, X. (2012). Rural China (X. Chen, Ed.; 1st ed.). Beijing University Press.
38 Guo, P. (317 C.E.). Riuals of burial.
39 Zhang, H. (2016). The Study of the Conservation and Utilization of Ancestral halls in Guangzhou urban villages [Master thesis]. South China University of Technology.

SPS has not always taken the AH as a classroom. After 1994, the Dong AH was re-established as the place for clan activities. Now it is the activity centre for leisure like chess and singing(Zhong, 2003)[40](Zhang, 2016)[37]. During traditional festivals such as the Lantern Festival, the Dong AH would also become a venue preferred by locals for lion dances (Zhong, 2003, p. 156)[38].

Figure 17. Lion Dance in front of Tung's Ancestral Hall(2021)
Images from *Demologo*, access:https://www.szyuedutang.com/hc/43277.html

Figure 18. Shipai Lion Dance Group in 2022 Beijing Winter Olympics(2022)
Images from *Sohu*, access:https://www.sohu.com/a/524382801_120091004

3.4 Space use and contradictions

The satellite map illustrates that the most flexible areas in SV are public spaces for Ahs. The dense residential area and open clan spaces demonstrate the resistance-also the compromise-of capitalism. However, when we check the actual use of these public spaces: Dong AH –SPS(5); Pan AH-Family Gathering(4); Dong AH2 - SV Kindergarten(3); Dong AH-Elderly Activity Centre(2), we could find that these places show exclusion in the actual use. According to Zhang (2016)[37], the restrictive use of AH for outsiders is an unspoken rule. And the restriction still applies to the access to education opportunities for outsiders and their children. Locals are always the priority for infrastructures like activity centres and sports facilities.

Figure 19. Satellite Map of SV(Shanshan Xie, 2022)
1. Pan Dehua AH; 2. Elderly activity center; 3. Shipai Kindergarden; 4. Pan AH; 5. Dong AH&SPS 6. Lvhe community;

40 Zhong, Y. (Ed.). (2003). The Journal of Shipai Village (1st ed.). Guangdong People's Publishing House Press.

Zhang (2016)[37] mapped the locals' and outsiders' spatial usage in different spaces of AH, which demonstrates their spatial contradiction. Outsiders remain on the streets and entrances, while locals prefer to enter the interior spaces to stay and chat.
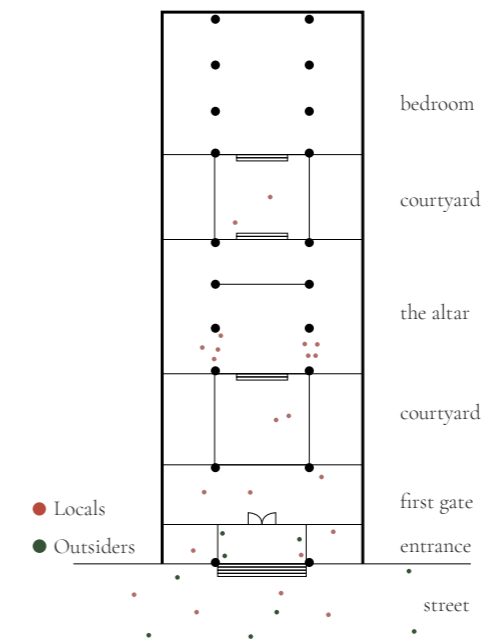

● Locals
● Outsiders

bedroom
courtyard
the altar
courtyard
first gate
entrance
street

Figure 20. Map of the Different Groups' Activities in the AH(Xie, 2018)
Diagrams from *Research on the Renewal and Reform of the Public Space in the Urban Villages Based on the Characteristics of the Residents' Psychology and Behavior* [Master thesis]. South China Agricultural University,.

The unshared collective memory causes estrangement(Coser, 1992, P21)[41], and different spatial usages demonstrate the alienation physically. As the cultural heritage, AH is the spiritual symbol of the clan and the cultural memory of the locals (Lai, 2010, p. 132)[42]. For the property, It is a collective possession. All function alterations in each phase of urbanization, whether as an educational institution or an activity centre, were to improve the locals living conditions.

However, It is difficult for outsiders to understand the local culture, and they do not care about the use of AH (Zhang, 2016, p. 46)[43]. Their memory to AH is only the "culture", and the usage restriction is also the norm under the local tradition. So they stay more in the area outside AH.

Conclusion

The AH was used to consolidate the clan's power through activities such as family rituals, public festivals and cultural education until the 19th century. Villages repurposed the AH continuously during political changes and city sprawl. The alteration focused on education is the trend for recreation; the SPS is a representative example. The influences of urbanization are reflected in the change of its name and surroundings. After 1994, the AH, once used as classrooms, returned to gathering places with the improvement of the village economy(Huang, 2015, p. 188)[44] and the encouragement of heritage preservation (Zhang, 2016, p. 31)[44].

41 Coser, L. A. (1992). Introduction: Maurice Halbwachs 1877-1945. In On Collective Memory. University of Chicago Press.

42 Lai, Y. (2010). Research on Ancestral Halls of Guangfu Clan in Pearl River Delta [Doctor thesis]. South China University of Technology.

43 Zhang, H. (2016). The Study of the Conservation and Utilization of Ancestral halls in Guangzhou urban villages [Master thesis]. South China University of Technology.

44 Huang, Q. (2015). Metropolis of Rurality: A Spatial History of Shipai in Guangzhou from the Perspectives of Typo-morphology(1978-2008) (1st ed.). China Construction Industry Press.

Figure 21. Leisure Pavilion in Shipai Kindergarten.
(Shanshan Xie, 2022);
This place is closed on weekdays.

Education could be an essential aspect of activating the AH and keeping the collective memory continuous. Under different phases, they were private schools, kindergartens, primary schools and junior high schools. The repurposing choices demonstrate the villagers and their children's desire to acquire skills to respond to quick city shifting.

However, we cannot ignore that the function alterations are negative and exclusive. Such "negative spatial assets "(Cailly, 2007)[45] are an important cultural heritage for SV and locals. This spatial exclusion has accustomed outsiders to engage in public activities primarily on the streets.

45 Cailly, L. (2007). Capital spatial, stratégies résidentielles et processus d'individualisation. Annales de géographie, 654(2), 169. https://doi.org/10.3917/ag.654.0169

Figure 22. Night View of the Street(2019);
Image from *Pengpai*, access:https://m.thepaper.cn/newsDetail_
forward_3781851

Chapter 4
Streets

Introduction

Huang (2015)[46] describes the street of SV as the 'residual spaces' in which outsiders participate in public activities. Jand Jacobs (1961)[47] notes the street to be a contradictory space. For postmodernists, it is the place used to improve urban life(Fyfe, 2006, p. 1)[48]. Jackson (2006)[49] explains the commercialization of the street as domestication, a process of privatization. It " varies according to ethnicity and class, gender and generation differences."

The commercial repurposing of the street by outsiders shows the multifacet of the street. It becomes the abstract space (Lefebvre, 1991)[50] with the exchange value rather than the use-value. It could be understood in two ways: first, the streets are widened to build the commercial pedestrian streets, which are mainly close to the main entrances. Second is the occupation of commercial activities, such as the delivery industry and rental solicitations.

This chapter focuses on the use and adaptation of streets by outsiders. The morphological history, transformation and current usage will be researched. The delivery industry is the case study for the socio-spatial repurposes under urbanization. The research questions will be: How are the streets adapted and domesticated by outsiders to quickly enter urban life? What is the difference compared to the adaptation by locals?

4.1 The Traditional Streets

The form of streets in SV results from the architectural layout and the geographical topography. Long before the 19th century, the houses were located near each other to gain more space for cultivation. At the same time, most of them were

46 Huang, Q. (2015). Metropolis of Rurality: A Spatial History of Shipai in Guangzhou from the Perspectives of Typo-morphology(1978-2008) (1st ed.). China Construction Industry Press.

47 Jacobs, J. (1961). The Death and Life of Great American Cities. Random House, New York.

48 Fyfe, N. R. (n.d.). Images of the Street: Planning, Identity and control in public space. 303.

49 Jackson, P. (1998). Domestication the Street: The Contested Spaces of the High Street and the Mall. In Images of the Street: Planning, Identity and control in public space (1st ed.). Routledge.

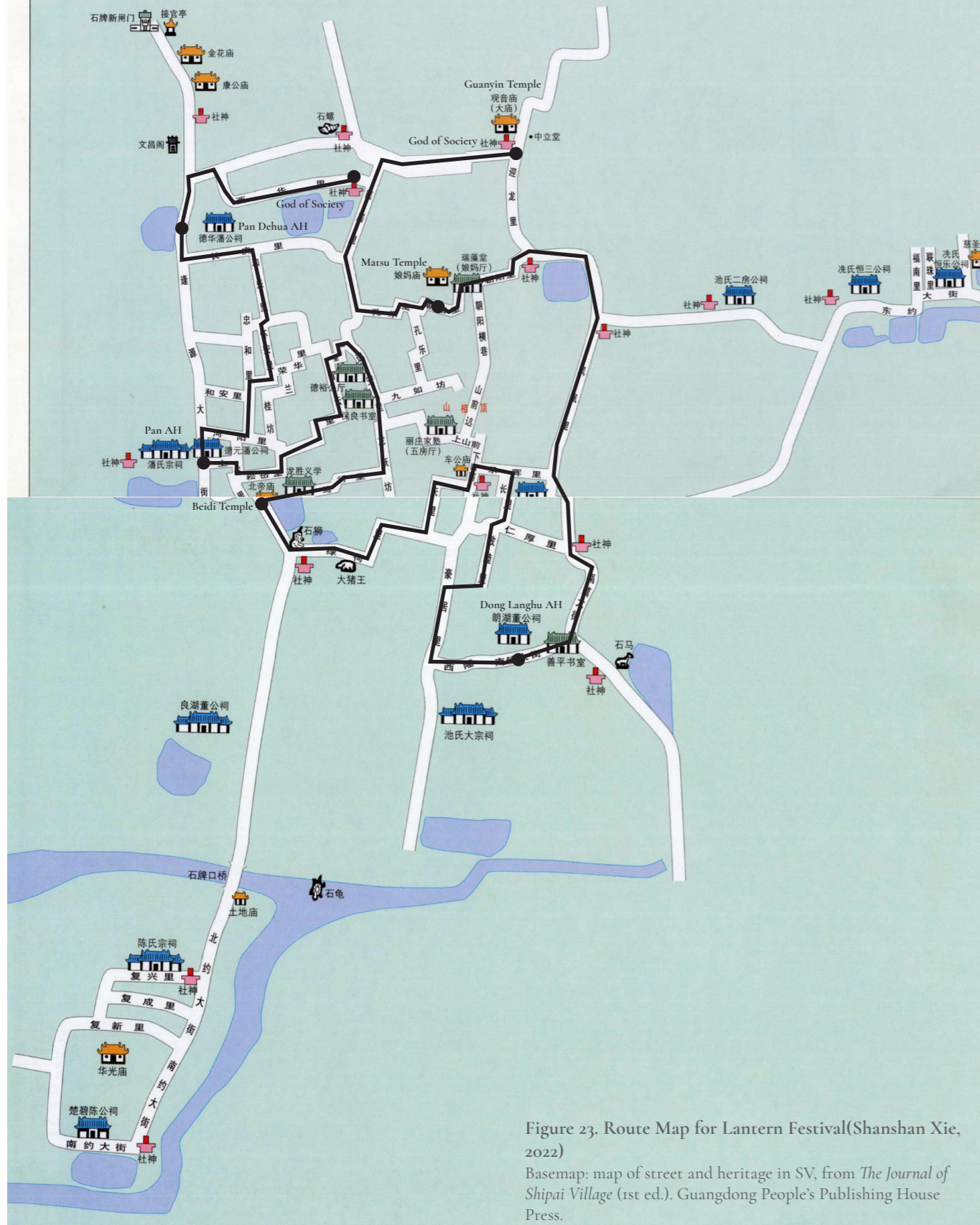50 Lefebvre, H. (1991). The production of space (1st ed.). Blackwell.

Figure 23. Route Map for Lantern Festival(Shanshan Xie, 2022)
Basemap: map of street and heritage in SV, from *The Journal of Shipai Village* (1st ed.). Guangdong People's Publishing House Press.

oriented north-south to gain more sunlight and staggered to each other for natural ventilation. Consequently, the streets are irregular and narrow. In addition, Strangers easily get lost through the complex street fabric, which serves as a means of defence against intrusion(Huang, 2015, P.123-124)[51].

By the early 19th century, more than 20 main streets had been built and paved with stone; around 170 secondary lanes connected with the private houses. By 2000, the number of streets had risen to 302(Zhong, 2003, P.69)[52]. These streets vary in width and shape, with little open space scattered along the lanes. Although these streets appear to be the result of geography, they spread outwards in a radial pattern from the open market at the highest terrain of the village shared by the Dong, Pan and Chi families(Huang, 2015, p. 123)[53].

Street in SV   village center   inner street

Figure 24. Noli Map of SV(Huang, 2016)
From *Metropolis of Rurality: A Spatial History of Shipai in Guangzhou from the Perspectives of Typo-morphology(1978-2008)* (1st ed.). China Construction Industry Press.

Traditionally, The streets were an essential part of the cultural activities before the urban transformation. A ballad about the ritual route of the Lantern Festival, written in the early 18th century, is recorded in the Shipai Village Journal(2003)[54], which documents the names of the streets through which the tour took place. The journey begins at the Guanyin Temple in the north and generally heads east, following a predetermined course through the principal stone streets and lanes, connecting the public space and AH. During others, such as the Chinese New Year and Mid-Autumn Festival, villagers would sing or set off firecrackers along the street to celebrate the feast.

4.2 The Transformation

Streets in SV have developed in two poles in the development of urbanization, with the commercial function gradually replacing the cultural one. On the one hand, villagers have encroached on the street with additions to their residences to gain maximum economic benefit. Most of these streets are 1.5m wide, with residential entrances and small groceries. Other streets are around 2.5 to 4.5m with better sunlight through ground floor setbacks. On the other hand, there are also commercial pedestrian streets of about 15m in width at both the north and south entrances of SV. These are used for commercial activities, leisure and

51 Huang, Q. (2015). Metropolis of Rurality: A Spatial History of Shipai in Guangzhou from the Perspectives of Typo-morphology(1978-2008) (1st ed.). China Construction Industry Press.

52 Zhong, Y. (Ed.). (2003). The Journal of Shipai Village (1st ed.). Guangdong People's Publishing House Press.

53 Huang, Q. (2015). Metropolis of Rurality: A Spatial History of Shipai in Guangzhou from the Perspectives of Typo-morphology(1978-2008) (1st ed.). China Construction Industry Press.

54 Zhong, Y. (Ed.). (2003). The Journal of Shipai Village (1st ed.). Guangdong People's Publishing House Press.

Figure 25. Shared Electric Vehicle Charging Station in SV(Shanshan Xie, 2022)

entertainment (Xie, 2018, pp. 54-55)[55].
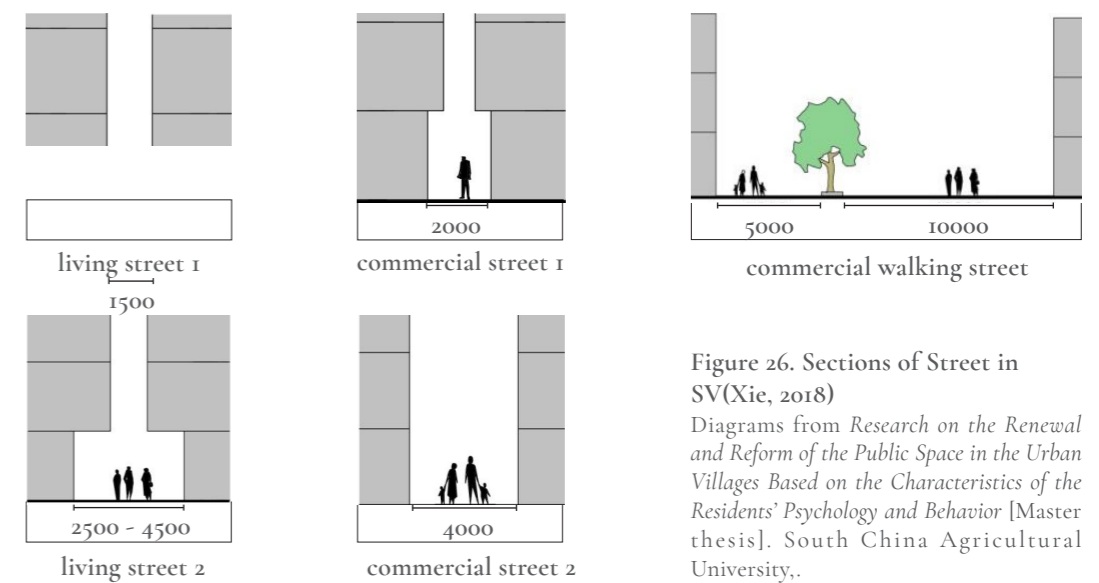

Figure 26. Sections of Street in SV(Xie, 2018)
Diagrams from Research on the Renewal and Reform of the Public Space in the Urban Villages Based on the Characteristics of the Residents' Psychology and Behavior [Master thesis]. South China Agricultural University,.

The commercial adaptation of the streets has gone hand in hand with the economic shifts in the village and migration waves. For locals, the profit for renting a shop of the same size as the apartment is approximately three times. For outsiders, owning small businesses in SV is a practical strategy to settle down in the city quickly. According to data, there were 1284 outsider-owned businesses in SV in 2000, compared with 28 groceries owned by locals (Huang, 2015)[56]. These shops are given names based on the hometown or names of the shopkeepers, reflecting the unique cultural memory, which is quite different from the locals(Liu, 2020)[57].

4.3 Privatization of Streets: Takeaway Industry and Rental Economy

After fieldwork on SV's streets, we found that the takeaway industry has become inseparable from street usage. As Yin(2009)[58] mentioned, a few shops concentrate on the takeaway shops as they are not required to be in good condition. The three universities and higher learning schools near SV guaranteed the takeaway demand.

The images below illustrate the productive life of the streets. Riders can be seen at the entrance to the village (Fig. 1), in the inner streets (Fig. 2) and in front of the groceries. The blue "Hungry" and yellow "Meituan" bring bright colours to these narrow, gloomy streets and serve as the dots connecting the urban village with the city in an invisible way. In a world of big data and Covid-19, the takeaway industry has become an essential source of income for outsiders.

At the same time, the occupation of electric vehicles and the takeaway drivers has damaged the daily use of some streets that are only 2m wide. Motorbikes can be seen parked haphazardly outside the groceries (Fig. 4), in front of the advertisements boards (Fig. 5) and at the boundary wall of Ishpeming Village (Fig. 6). And the main commercial walking streets are used both by pedestrians and

55 Xie, H. (2018). Research on the Renewal and Reform of the Public Space in the Urban Villages Based on the Characteristics of the Residents' Psychology and Behavior [Master thesis]. South China Agricultural University,.

56 Huang, Q. (2015). Metropolis of Rurality: A Spatial History of Shipai in Guangzhou from the Perspectives of Typo-morphology(1978-2008) (1st ed.). China Construction Industry Press.

57 Liu, H. (2020). Linguistic Landscape of an Urban Village and the Identity of Migrant Workers: An Empirical Study of Shipai Village in Guangzhou. Language Strategy Study, 4.

58 Yin, J. (2019). Research on Residential Area Density and Related Indicators Based on Satisfaction [Master thesis]. South China University of Technology.

Figure 27. Motorbikes for Locals.
Local people hang advertisements for rent on the front of their motorbikes.

vehicles, bringing insecurity. These vehicles park randomly, crowd the streets, and further diminish their amenities. It makes these streets entirely function for the surrounding shops. Compared with the unspoken restrictions on AH usage, the freedom for street space is maximum, even resulting in private occupation
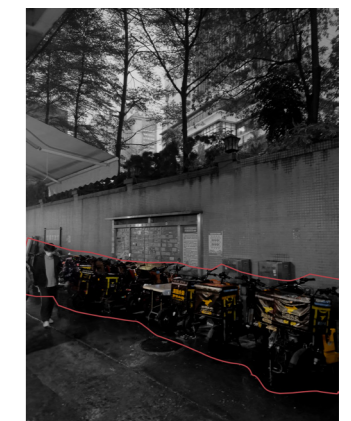

a. entrance   b. living street   c. commercial street

d. grocery   e. advertisment board   f. enclosures

Figure 29. Takeaway Industry in SV(Shanshan Xie, 2022)

The locals also domesticate the streets with soliciting activities. Numerous landlords would go to the street and find potential customers seeking temporary housing. Advertisements are often offered initially on commercial pedestrian streets near the main village entrances.

The occupation of electric vehicles and the takeaway drivers has damaged the daily use of some streets that are only 2m wide. And the main commercial walking streets are used both by pedestrians and vehicles, bringing insecurity. Compared with the unspoken restrictions on AH usage, the freedom for street space is maximum, even resulting in private occupation.

Conclusion

SV's streets were historically spaces for cultural interaction and were used by villagers during traditional festivals. With rapid urbanization and the flow of the migrators, the street was repurposed by outsiders into an abstract space-a commercialized and privatized one. It became part of the commercial shops on the ground floor and given the productive characters through the Uber industry. In addition, the commercialization usage is also made by locals to attract tenants.

Figure 30. Takeaway Industry in Living Street
The takeaway riders are familiar with the lanes in SV. He is crossing one of the remained heritage gates.

Despite being a multicultural street, they are still perceived as a potential threat to safety. Such feeling stems from outsiders' private occupation of the streets and the takeaway industry, increasing the security risks. On the other hand, the rental solicitation activities that take place on the streets can also put pressure on people psychologically. Outsiders who live and work in SV adapted the streets to fulfil their economic development for urban living. The streets were privatized.

Conclusion

This paper begins with the history of SV, examining the reasons for clustering and the morphological changes during each stage of urbanization. For SV, the clan-centred bloodline and the land-centred geopolitics are the reasons for the village's development and transformation. Firstly, the blood relationship is the leading force for managing the production and everyday stuff through all phases. Secondly, the disappearance of farming land caused by urban expansion disrupted traditional geopolitical ties and facilitated the land-based economy transformation.

The continuum of descent and the shifting economy related to geography have led to the emergence of two groups - locals and outsiders. Chapter 2 focuses on how these two groups formed and their spatial needs. The locals gathered as first the clans, then production teams and finally collective stock shared companies, all of which are based on the bloodlines and strongly exclusive, as reflected in their unlimited access to cultural heritage and infrastructure. Another group is the outsiders attracted by the job opportunities in the megacity. They have different cultural memory, which eventually combines to form a multicultural group, which shows in the street usage for their daily activities.

Chapters 3 and 4 examine the spatial adaptations of locals and outsiders. Chapter 3 focuses on the reuse of ancestral halls, with education being the primary trend in recreation. Through the change of name and its surroundings of the Shipai Primary School, it is visualized that the locals have made educational adaptations to family space to fulfil self-development and thus fix into urban life. Although the ancestral hall eventually becomes a gathering space for clans, the influences of education repurposing in the socio-spatial organization cannot be ignored. Chapter 4 focuses on the commercialization of the street made by outsiders. The takeaway industry and street occupation are the primary aspects to illustrate outsiders' privatized adaption.

It can be seen that the public space in SV has been distributed by two groups: locals and outsiders, and a delicate balance has been formed. The spatial contradiction in the village is the human clash. The mild alienation caused by the unshared collective memory leads to the segregated public division and the different space usage patterns, demonstrating the influence of collective memory on social spatiality. As Halbwachs(1992)[59] notes, "collective memory is essentially a

59 Halbwachs, M. (1992). On Collective Memory (L. A. Coser, Ed.). University of Chicago Press. https://doi.org/10.7208/chicago/9780226774497.001.0001

reconstruction of the past in the light of the present. "the present situation affects the selective perception of past history." It explains the continuous functional alteration of AH by the locals during urbanization. It could be described as the preservation mechanism for the collective memory. At the same time, the streets were abandoned, and the commercial adaptation is compromises based on reality. In addition, outsiders' collective memories of the local culture are different from the locals. So they take the streets as their public spaces and domesticate them into the commercial space to the maximum extent.

When we look again at Lefebvre's theory of urban space, we find that the space recreations by the people living in SV are examples of social spaces and abstract spaces. It illustrates the complexity of the urban village. It is because it is not only the rural-urban contradiction presented during China's urbanization but also the clash in the world's cities, a problem involving politics and class. This spatial usage in different groups demonstrates a civic-led, unspecialized architectural approach in the face of the changing urban environment.

Rather than criticizing the urban village's urban problem, this article proposes a perspective on the rural-urban conflict through the heritage repurpose in urban villages. Without the intervention of architects and planners, the architectural adaptation made by individuals has ideally declared the actual living demands, although it does create spatial segregation. In the renovation of urban villages, we cannot ignore these needs for education and exchange, solving the urban problem through demolition or the expulsion of migrators, as this will only lead to more and even worse 'SLUM'.

At the same time, when discussing the transformation of public space in urban villages, we should be clear about "whose public space is it under renovation?" We should ensure the alteration is beneficial for all people, rather than just redesigning streets or creating cultural spaces. We should also think about a suitable way of breaking the segregation between different cultural groups, avoiding emphasizing local culture because they may have different feelings about the same space because of the unshared collective memory.

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List of Figures

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