

An Investigation on China's NGOs in Urban Heritage Preservation: Taking the Grassroots NGO of *Tianjin Memory* as a Case

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As for China's urban heritage preservation, besides the top-down actors, some non-governmental organizations have emerged and started to play increasingly noticeable parts. The paper accordingly explores China's increasingly pluralistic situation in urban heritage preservation, and reveals the roles of these non-governmental players. The paper selects *Tianjin Memory* as a specific case, and elucidates its developments and transformations from 2006 to the present via documental research, in-depth interviews and internet big data analyses. Informed by internal ecological relationship analyses, the paper divides its development process into four main stages: start, rapid development, differentiation and reorganization. Each stage is examined from six factors, i.e. human resources, structure and management, finance, social resources, products and achievements, based on NGOs' influence evaluation in sociology. The research further identifies the main limitations and challenges for *Tianjin Memory*. As a part of the discussions about China's current pluralistic urbanism, this paper brings forwards some suggestions for a healthy and sustainable future of *Tianjin Memory* and other similar NGOs in China.

Keywords: NGOs in China's urban heritage preservation, *Tianjin Memory*, Multiple Stakeholders, Pluralistic Urbanism

Introduction

In the field of urban heritage preservation in China, the government and related management departments had an overwhelming advantage in the decision-making of heritage protection due to the public ownership of land¹. At the same time, with the introduction of public participation policy and the growing public awareness of heritage preservation, many NGOs² that gathered civil power emerged and have made a lot of effort³. Actually, their participation makes the actors in China's urban heritage preservation more diversified. However, the development of China's NGOs in urban heritage preservation is not mature at present. Lacking administration experience, policy guarantee and supervision mechanisms, these NGOs have encountered many difficulties in their development. How indeed do these NGOs work? Facing China's increasingly pluralistic situation in urban heritage preservation, what kinds of roles do they play? How do the multiple stakeholders interact?

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Tianjin Memory is taken as a case in this paper to discuss the above issues. This NGO is one of the most representative and influential organizations

Figure 1: logo of Tianjin Memory

¹ Haichao She, "近十年我国城市遗产保护中公众参与研究综述 Jin Shi Nian Wo Guo Chneg Shi Yi Chan Bao Hu Zhong Gong Zhong Can Yu Yan Jiu Zong Shu (A Review of Rublic Rarticipation in Rrban Heritage Conservation in China in the Last Decade," *Chongqing Architecture*, no.8 (2014): 12.

² Non-Governmental Organizations. The United Nations defines NGOs as non-profit voluntary civic organizations organized at the local, national or international level. In China, the definition of NGO is relatively more general. Professor Wang Ming of Tsinghua University defines NGO in China as a social organization that is not for profit, has a formal organizational form, and belongs to a non-governmental organization system. They have certain autonomy, voluntariness, commonweal or reciprocity. But this is not comprehensive and need objective and dynamic observation and understanding.

³ Yaxi Gong, Yingyu Gao, "苏州城市遗产保护中的公众参与机制研究 Su Shou Cheng Shi Yi Chan Bao Hu Zhong de Gong Zhong Can Yu Ji Zhi Yan jiu (Study on Public Participation Mechanism in Suzhou's Heritage Preservation), "Chinese & Overseas Architecture, no.10 (2016): 46-48.



in Tianjin⁴. It has protected many valuable historical buildings by recording, supervising and textual researching, and won many national heritage protection awards. Since its inception in 2006, it has undergone three changes of name and differentiation, and the backbone has developed into today's *Tianjin Memory*. It has not yet registered as a formal NGO and belongs to the grassroots organization category. Investigation on this NGO can provide rich experience on the operation of similar NGOs and their own limitations in multi subject participation.

1.A brief review of existed stuies on NGOs

Researches on China's NGOs in urban heritage preservation is in the ascendant. Many NGOs in developed countries, such as Society for the Protection of Ancient Building in the UK⁵, and *Historic Savannah Foundation* in the USA⁶, play their roles in different ways to protect urban heritage. Their institutes pattern, sources of found, operation of projects and relationship with the government can be used for reference⁷. It is also concluded that the NGOs in China are facing problems such as the low level of social charity, the imperfect law, the restriction of taxation policies, the blankness of supervision system and poor management⁸. Related studies mainly focus on introducing the experience in developed countries, analysing the plight of China's NGOs in urban heritage preservation and giving some macroscopic suggestions, which provide the basis for the follow-up study of specific case in China.

Compared with the studies in the field of architecture, more in-depth analyses of the internal factors of NGOs have been made in the field of sociological. Moral self-discipline ⁹, value

Table 1: Evaluation system of the development of Tia	njin
Memory	

Factors	Connotation		
Human resources	Main members		
	Volunteers		
Management and	Organization rules and regulations		
decision-making	Decision-making system		
Finance	Financial status		
	Financial system		
Social resources	Relationship with government		
	Relationship with experts		
Products	Online activities		
	Offline activities		
	Publications		
Achievements	Protection of historical buildings		
	Honours		
	Media coverage		

orientation¹⁰ and so on provide us new perspectives and basis to study the emergence of internal problems in China's NGOs in urban heritage preservation. An evaluation system, including products, structure and management, governance, human resources, finance and marketing, has been set up to map the level of development of grassroots NPOs in China¹¹. Considering the short history of Chinese grassroots NPOs and the

⁴ Min Liu, "Study on Public Participation Mechanism and Practice during Architectural Heritage Conservationin Tianjin", Tianjin University, 2012.

⁵ Yixue Jiao, "英国历史文化遗产保护中的民间团体 Ying Guo Li Shi Wen Hua Yi Chan Bao Hu Zhong De Ming Jian Tuan Ti (Non-governmental Organizations in British Historical and Cultural Heritage Preservation)," Planners, no,05(2002): 79-83.

⁶ Yixue Jiao, "美国历史环境保护中的非政府组织 Mei Guo Li Shi Huan Jing Bao Hu Zhong De Fei Zhneg Fu Zu Zhi (Non-governmental Organizations in Historical Environmental Protection in the United States)," *Foreign Urban Planning*, no.01(2003): 59-63.

⁷ Ye Yang, Shijun Wang, "美、英建筑遗产保护非营利组织研究及对中国的启示 Mei\Ying Jian Zhu Yi Chan Bao Hu Fei Ying Li Zu Zhi Yan Jiu Ji Dui Zhong Guo De Qi Shi (Research on Non-profit Organizations of Architectural Heritage Preservation in the United States and Britain and Their Enlightenment to China)," China Ancient City, no.05(2011): 53-57.

⁸ Yisan Ruan, Feng Ding, "我国城市遗产保护民间力量的成长 Wo Guo Cheng Shi Yi Chan Bao Hu Ming Jian Li Liang De Cheng Zhang (Growth of Private Forces in China's Urban Heritage Preservation)," Urbanism and Architecture, no.12 (2006):7.

⁹ Chuanlin Shi, "NGO 的伦理困境与改善策略 NGO De Lun Li Kun Jing Yu Gai Shan Ce Lue (Ethical Dilemma and Improvement Strategy of NGO)," Academic Exchange, no.08(2009): 24-27.

¹⁰ Xiaoping Zhao, Leshi Wang, "NGO 的生态关系研究——以自我提升型价值观为视角 NGO De Sheng Tai Guan Xi Yan Jiu—Yi Zi Wo Ti Sheng Xing Jia Zhi Guan Wei Shi Jiao (Research on the Ecological Relationship of NGOs—from the Perspective of Self-improvement of Line Values)," Sociological Study, no.01 (2013): 7.

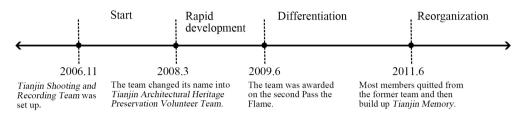
Xiaoping Zhao, "NGO 的生态关系研究——两种价值观下的不同结果比较 NGO De Sheng Tai Guan Xi Yan Jiu –Liang Zhong Jia Zhi Guan Xia De Bu Tong Jie Guo Bi Jiao (Research on the Ecological Relationship of NGOs—Comparison of Different Results Under Two Values)," Beijing Normal University,2012.

¹¹ Huiquan Zhou, "Mapping the Level of Development of Grassroots NPOs in China," Voluntas International Journal of Voluntary & Nonprofit Organizations, 2015:1-30.

hazardous environment, this evaluation system is relatively suitable. Based on the characteristics of the NGOs in China's urban heritage preservation, this paper proposes an evaluation system based on six factors (table 1).

2. The development of *Tianjin Memory*

Tianjin Memory is a grassroots NGO growing up from network BBS. Since its establishment in 2006, it has undergone three renaming and reorganization, and the backbone has developed into today's *Tianjin Memory*.



Finger 2: the development of Tianjin Memory

2.1. the Stage of Start: from Individuals to an Organization (2006.8-2008.3)

Table 2: Memorabilia of *Tianjin Memory* (2006.8-2008.3)

Time	Main events
2006.6.9	China Memory Network and China Memory Forum were created.
2006.8.23	Tianjin section of China Memory Forum opened.
2006.11.11	Tianjin Shooting and Recording Team was set up.
2007.6.9	The organization held a collective shot event and a forum to commemorate.
2007.8 2008.4.	The organization conducted a carpet survey of the former Italian Concession and Austrian concession and reconfirmed the identity of more than 30 historic buildings.
2007.911	The organization conducted four thorough investigations of the Xigu area of Tianjin and found a number of important historical buildings.
2007	The organization protected the old residence of Zheng Shiqi.
2008.2.22	The organization held the annual meeting and exchange meeting for Tianjin residents.

Individuals were brought together by the establishment of *Tianjin Shooting and Recording Team*, and bagan carrying out larger and more systematic protection. The members of the organization were the core members of the Tianjin section of China Memory Forum. They are non-governmental individuals ¹² and their division of work is basically clear. It can be seen that all the major members have a relatively high educational background and belong to the intellectuals. Of the core members, Qiang Zhang has retired, Zhenliang Wang and Chunjing Han have stable jobs and incomes, Sen Mu and Qipeng Zhu are still young and at the start of their careers.



Finger 3: photo of the members of Tianjin section of China Memory Forum (December 9, 2006)

The organization was relatively loose in management. At the beginning of its establishment, meetings were hoped to hold

regularly, but actually they were not. Members need to spend their own money to hold activities. Much communication have been done with the experts in Beijing and other places. Organization activities are mainly based on filming and meetings. In terms of heritage preservation, the organization has also made some achievements.

¹² Zhenliang Wang, Chunjing Han, Lei Fu, "The situation of Tianjin Memory," interview by Tianjie Zhang, Yuwei Zhang, Jiaqi Wu, Qiuyin Xu, Haoran Zhang, May 23,2017.



Name	Gender	Age	Profession	Education	Division	
Qiang Zhang	Male	About 70	Retired, used to be a senior researcher of coating institute	unknown	Related work on cultural relics and law	
Zhengliang Wang	Male	About 35	Editor of the Newspaper	Master of Chinese Department	Text composition and oral group leader	
Sen Mu	Male	About 25	Drama film creation and research	Drama Major	Organization convener, daily management of the organization	
Chunjin Han	Female	About 35	Accountant	Department of Finance	Accounts, outdoor photography, and outreach work	
Qipeng Zhu	Male	About 25	Student	Postgraduate student in Architecture	Professional writing	

Table 3: Situation of the Core Members

2.2 the Stage of Rapid Development: Cooperation and Reciprocity (2008.3.-2009.6.)

Table 4: Memorabilia of Tianjin Memory (2008.3-2009.6)

Time	Main events		
2008.3.19	The organization changed its name to <i>Tianjin Architectural Heritage Preservation Volunteer Team</i> in preparation for the first Pass the Flame ¹³ .		
2008.4	The organization conducted five surveys about the excellent historical building in Tianjin Financial City area and proposed a list of over 40 buildings that need presrevation.		
2008.5.27	The City Express newspaper in Tianjin published a newsletter about the organization.		
2008.6.12	The organization was awarded in Pass the Flame. They also initiatived and signed Beijing Proposal ¹⁴ with Ms. Zeng Yizhi.		
2008.6.18	Beijing Proposal was published on China Cultural Relics Nwes.		
2008.8.3	Internal communication material Tianjin Memory came out.		
2008.8.5	The director of the State Administration of Cultural Heritage, Jixiang Shan, gave an instruction on the appeal proposed by the organization and affirmed the organization.		
2008.8.25	Tianjin TV broadcasted a film about the organization.		
2008.10.19- 23	An exhibition about the achievents made by the tianjin residents in heritage preservation was held.		
2008.11.1	The first China Cultural Heritage Protection Tianjin Forum was initiated and hosted.		
2008.12.9	The weekly edited Tianjin Memory column was published in the Jinwan Economic Weekly.		

At this stage, the organization formed 'five-person core' composed of Sen Mu, Qiang Zhang, Zhenliang Wang, Chunjing Han and Qipeng Zhu, and they were responsible for different works. Members recalled that the

¹³ A selection activity initiated and hosted by the China Heritage Conservation Foundation. The whole mane is Pass the Flame — Outstanding Person of the Year for the Protection of Chinese Cultural Heritage (薪火相传——寻找文化遗产守护者年度杰出人物).

¹⁴ The Proposal to Strengthen the Preservation of Cultural Heritage.



organizational structure of this preiod was the clearest during the development¹⁵. The organization renamed for the award under the guidance of the new moderator Sen Mu, and it can be seen that the organization members have a tendency to change from the initial "self-transcendence" to "self-improvement". In one event, Mu refused to let un-core members pick the experts and called the experts' addresses 'resources', raising questions from members. The distrust among the organization's backbone accumulated slowly, and the ecological relationship of mutual cooperation began to break gradually. However, under the atmosphere of the organization's spurt, these were difficult to notice. And because of 'unregistered, informal'status, members thought it seems inappropriate for strict formal management. In a word, the formal management framework was not established at that time, foreshadowing the later contradictions.

The first written statement¹⁶ was issued, which stipulates the organization's purpose, qualifications, restrictions and duties. According to it, all members were not required to pay any fees, and the organization didn't accept any gifts, funding, and sponsorship. It can be speculated that the organization does not have a stable source of collective funds. Actually, organization members still have to spend their own money and the organization's funding situation was not transparent. Due to firm intransigence, their relationship with the relevant government departments once entered a rigid phase. In terms of products, the internal publication, Tianjin Memory, came out and the organization brand 'Tianjin Memory' was initially established. The location of filming was more diversified, and the organization try to hold the exchange conference about Tianjin heritage preservation, which promoted the communcation between scholars in the historical and cultural heritage preservation of Tianjin.



This stage is the ascending period of the organization, which coincides with the rapid urban construction of Tianjin. It is likely for government to overlook the value of urban heritages at that time and the glory of Tianjin's memory organization is also created by the times.

Finger 4: cover of the internal publication Tianjin Memory

2.3. the Stage of Differentiation: Parasitic and broken (2009.6.-2011.6.)

Time	Main events
2009.6.14	Sen Mu was awarded on the second Pass the Flam,.
2009.11.7	The organization held the second Tianjin Forum.
2011.1.22	Together with Tianjin Old City Website and Tianjin Old City Museum, the organization organzied Association between Neighbors in Tianjin Old City successfully.
2011.612.	Three issues of Tianjin Warm Neighborhood Association were organized by the organization, Tianjin Radio Traffic Channel and Hummingbird Tianjin Station successfully.
2011.6.11	Sen Mu, Qipeng Zhu and Qiang Zhang recorded program at Tianjin Traffic Station without permission from 'five-person core'. Most of the members could not stand it and quitted from the volunteer organization.

 Table 5: Memorabilia of Tianjin Memory (2009.6-2011.6)

When Sen Mu was promoted as the nominee, the conflicts within the organization began to be exposed. Text infringement and decision-making dictatorship further intensificated the problem, and most of the members chose to withdraw from the organization. Sen Mu and Qipeng Zhu, two younger people of the 'five-person core', belong to the self-elevating type, while the other older cores belong to the self-transcendence type. Different values will inevitably lead to differences in the development concept. Sen Mu, who called himself the liaison , and Qipeng Zhu, who has architectural background, could hardly convince others with the professional knoeledge. Instead, they used the resources accumulated by the organization as a self-developing capital and made profits for themselves, leading to the breakdown of the organization.

In the early stage, regular meeting, financial disclosure and prohibition of single line contact was concluded. However, these were not kept during this period, and many members thought that their trust was consumed and

¹⁵ Wang, interview.

¹⁶ Tianjin Architectural Heritage Preservation Volunteer Team Statement



had been feuding for a long time. Although there was no clear system, it is a psychological contract to support the operation of the NGO between intellectuals. This kind of psychological contract is subtle and implicit, which may not be recorded in words, and may not even be expressed verbally. Once a member or an outsider breaks the psychological contract intentionally or unintentionally, the consequences can be devastating.

With the expansion of influence, its activities were also richer. Cooperation with other organizatons, more times of filming, conference and heritage protection incidents were organized. The organization got national award and was reported by powerful media.



Finger 5: organization photo in 2010



Finger 6: photo of the second China Cultural Heritage Protection Tianjin Forum

3. Current situation of *Tianjin Memory:* Reorganization (2011.6 to the present)

In recent years, there is a decline in organization activities, and its combination with the market has also been frustrated. For various reasons, the organization has not yet registered as an official NGO.

Time	Main events
2011.6	The members who left the volunteer organization sum up their previous experiences and announced the formation of the <i>Tianjin Memory Cultural Heritage Preservation Team</i> (<i>Tianjin Memory</i> for short).
2014.3.23	The first filming event in 2014, followed by once a month.
2014.12.20	<i>Tianjin Memory</i> organized a lecture about the buildings in Japanese concession with other organizations.
2015.1.17	On the 7th Pass the Flame, Tianjin Memory won the title of Distinguished Team.
2015.6.15	Photo Exhibition of Huang Garden was held.
2016.3.16	Archives Culture Lecture Hall in Tianjin archives began in March.
2016.9.1	Crowdfunding plan of Gleaning Study lunched.
2016.10.16	The first hiking event: Tianjin memory, historical traversing
2016.11.4	Communication Between Cyborg and Tianjin Memory.
2016.11.5	Tianjin Memory attend the first Social Power Participation in Heritage Conservation Forum.
2017.4.29	Sharon about the protection of buildings in Japanese concession was held in Gleaning Study.

 Table 6: Memorabilia of Tianjin Memory (2011.6-present)

The re-established organization has made obvious changes in two aspects¹⁷. First, the attitude toward heritage preservation tended to be more moderate, and more attention will be paid to the intangible cultural heritage. They found that confronting with government was not effective. Therefore, *Tianjin Memory* wanted uncover the value of the distinctive culture in Tianjin, improve the general cultural awareness and stimulate civil concept of urban

¹⁷ Wang, interview.



heritage preservation. The second is that as a volunteer organization, they were often considered as cheap labor in the past. So the organization did not use the word 'volunteer' this time.

After the reorganization, Chunjing Han and Zhenliang Wang are still important organization members. Other members are also more diversified. However, it has to say that the management system has not been improved significantly.

The organization has realized the importance of stable funds and adopted a more open-minded attitude. Crowdfunding plans and business cooperation with enterprises were measures taken by the organization. In Gleaning Study project, through donations, salon activities, book transfers, and the customization and sale of handicrafts, profit is earned as finance. And the name of donators and the use of funds was publicized.

Tianjin Archives proposed cooperation with *Tianjin Memory* about Archives Culture Lecture Hall. A total of nine Tianjin cultural history scholars gave the lecture and more than 1,000 audience attended. It is the first time that audio and video broadcast software was used, nearly 4,000 people watched the live broadcast. From then on, *Tianjin Memory* had a larger platform to introduce their research.



Finger 7: photo of Hike in the City

Finger 8: photo of Archives Culture Lecture Hall

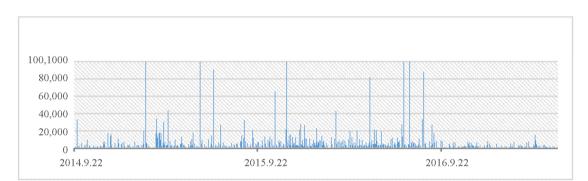


Figure 9: pageview of Tianjin Memory WeChat platform

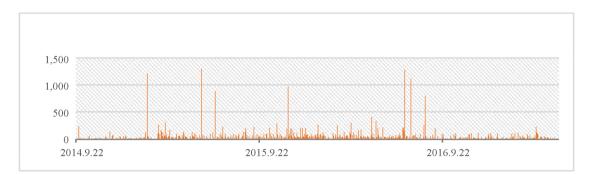


Figure 10: thumb up quantity of Tianjin Memory WeChat platform



With the popularity of Weibo¹⁸ and WeChat¹⁹, the organization's platforms have also been established in 2011 and 2014. Its network power has transferred from the forum to the two platforms. By data statistics about its WeChat platform, it is found that there has been a trend of declining in the platform profile recently, which may be related to the decline of the platform's topicality and the solidification of the model. As the off line activities, the organization intended to establish a neighbhood group, a book and an exhibition for every historical block. However, only neighbhood group for Huang Garden was set up successfully. With different backgrounds of other historical blocks, *Tianjin Memory* encountered different problems in actual promotion.



Finger 11, 12: photo of Huang Garden exhibition and the message left by visitor(The message says:The Huang garden in memory.My wonderful childhood.)

Tianjin Memory strives to find a link unit and hopes to become an officially registered organization, but it has not yet registered as a formal organization. Its combination with the market is facing many problems, such as blindly giving and a serious violation of intellectual property rights.

4. Evaluation of Organization Capability

Table 7:Summary of the six factors in four stages

Stage Domain	Start	Rapid development	Differentiation	Rreorganization
Human resources	$\uparrow\uparrow$	1	$\downarrow\downarrow$	↑
Structure and management	1	1	$\downarrow\downarrow$	↑
Finance		1	\downarrow	$\uparrow \uparrow$
Social resources	$\uparrow\uparrow$	1	\downarrow	↑
Products	1	$\uparrow \uparrow$	\downarrow	↑
Achievements	1	↑↑	↑	\downarrow
$\uparrow\uparrow$ rapidly rise \uparrow rise essentially unchange \downarrow fall $\downarrow\downarrow$ rapidly fall				

It can be seen that in the different stages of development, different factors are more prominent. In the start stage, great importance was attached to the acquisition of resources(both in huaman resources and social resources) and the construction of the organization. It gathers the volunteers quickly and preliminarily determines the leadership core and organizational framework of the organization. At the same time, the organization strengthened the communication with the social experts to improve professional communication. In the stage of rapid development, the gains in products and achievements are enormous. The organization held many activities and established its own cultural brand. At the same time, the protection results are obvious and the influence is much higher. In the differentiation phase, the most obvious is the disintegration of the management and supervision system. Due to the lack of an effective management oversight mechanism, the spiritual contract between the members was broken, and the distrust between them slowly accumulated. At the same time, the opacity of funds has also led to further intensification of conflicts.In the reorganization period, the organization improved its management system and

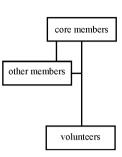
¹⁸ Official Weibo of *Tianjin Memory*: https://weibo.com/tianjinjiyi?refer_flag=1005055014_&is_hot=1

¹⁹ WeChat Official Account: tianjinjiyi



human resources allocation. However, the organization's achievements plummeted, indicating that the organization's brand was scattered and its influence was not as great as before. Without timely transformation or adjustment, there would be a crisis of extinction.

Some particular deficiencies affect the capacity of *Tianjin Memory*. In terms of human resources, the leader shifted to the young Sen Mu in the fast growing period. But, his qualifications and experience were not rich enough to convince others, which led to the intensification of organization conflicts. Then, it is regrettable to say that a mature organization will focus on improving stability, control and efficiency at rapid developmen. Competent organizations tend to have effective management systems and regular development plans. Although the organization has begun to formulate some management systems, it basically remained in writing. This may be an important reason for its subsequent development to decline. At the same time, the lack of money management has increased the tension among the members. Meagre funds have also limited their operations. In terms of products, because of the lack of new ideas, the product's appeal has declined somewhat. Due to infringement and other issues, volunteers have been paying and it seems that there is no return. The cultural brand of Tianjin Memory was also damaged.



Finger 13: management system of Tianjin *Memory*

5.Conclusion

In view of the operation of *Tianjin Memory*, the author proposes the following strategies. Firstly, members should strengthen the knowledge about heritage preservation. Secondly, pay attention to the signing of regulations in the early stage of the establishment to protect the intellectual property rights and guarantee the brand identity. Advanced concepts of modern management should be used to restrain members. Thirdly, NGOs need to strive for a multi-channel source of funding and strengthen the management of funds. Fourthly, it is still necessary to strengthen exchanges with other urban heritage preservation. Sixthly, try to cooperate with other organizations to carry out the research results and heritage protection ideas into the design and construction work.

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Interview

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Figure 1: http://blog.sina.com.cn/s/blog_791656d30102veg4.html (Accessed May, 2017).

- Figure 2: Drawn by the author.
- Figure 3: Du Li Han Qiu. Pay tribute to the new and old friends who took part in today's filming (2006.12.9), http://www.memory of china.org (Accessed October, 2017).

Figure 4: Filmed by the author. The publication was edited and gifted by Mr. Zhenliang Wang.

Figure 5: http://blog.cntv.cn/9180147-404507.html(Accessed May, 2017).

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Figure 7: http://mp.weixin.qq.com/s/dibZX_hqY6rRVbIVOOK4Dw(Accessed May, 2017).

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Figure 9: Drawn by the author and the data is collected from WeChat public account of *Tianjin Memory*.

Figure 10: Drawn by the author and the data is collected from WeChat public account of *Tianjin Memory*.



Figure 11: WeChat public account of *Tianjin Memory*, http://mp.weixin.qq.com/s/_VvBBC82VyNWA0071faG-Cg (Accessed October, 2017).

Figure 12: WeChat public account of Tianjin Memory, http://weibo.com/67819712 (Accessed October, 2017).

Figure 13: Drawn by the author.