

Urban Regeneration: Shifting from Production of Space to Community Empowerment – Case Study of Knowledge and Innovation Community Garden in Shanghai

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Abstract

The Knowledge and Innovation Community Garden in Shanghai is an illustration of how the urban regeneration is shifting from capital driven space production to community empowerment. Large scale production of space has done most serious damage to community interaction in everyday life. The Knowledge and Innovation Community Garden, by offering natural education and natural gardening methods to children, brings urban people back to a walking friendly world, creates a user-centric space, reinstates residents' power to shape and improve the space that they live in, reshapes relationship between human and land, rebuilds the bonding among community members, and injects kindness and trust to relations with one another in the community; so that ultimately it helps to reestablish a community of “we” and a community residents have a strong sense of belonging to.

Key Words: urban regeneration, production of space, community empowerment, community garden

The Knowledge and Innovation Community Garden in Shanghai is a public space transformed from a piece of wasteland sited in the middle of multiple residential compounds which are adjacent but divided by fencing walls. It now becomes an open green area, with footpaths, landscape, a vegetable patch, a bark-chip paved playground, and a sandbox. It works like a magnet, drawing people out of their compounds and getting to know their neighbors in the community garden, drawing children to planting in vegetable patch and playing in sandbox, and in turn drawing the parents as well; it draws the farmers to the crowd, from near or far, gathering at the weekly farmer's market. The indoor space made from container boxes sets the stage for natural education classes, regular free lectures, exhibition of handcrafts; it is often crowded with teachers, students, scholars, craftsmen, and

flocks of event participants. The community garden is so vibrant that it becomes a gravitational space of the neighborhood, moreover it works like a community itself accommodating people's social needs for those living at the neighboring residential compounds. The community garden plays a much bigger role than it was supposed to, and we cannot help but to ask why. Why the communities we live in don't feel like communities? What are missing in these communities? And, how come the community garden grows into a community where we love to go and play? To answer these questions, we have to first revisit the old models for urban regeneration, and to invent new ones.

1. Production of Space: A Capitalized Urban Development Model

On the very first free seminar hosted at the community garden, the speaker opened his lecture with the statement that “we have made gain in space at the expense of community life”. To understand this statement, we have to start with the big picture of how urban development evolved in China since 1990s. In the earlier 30 years of the past six decades, Shanghai had the lowest level of per capita road area, per capita green space area and per capita housing space; even worse, per capita road area declined over the course of those 30 years. In 1980s, the Shanghai municipal government set housing and transport as top priorities; after 30 years of hard work since then, per capita road area in Shanghai has increased by 20 folds, green space area 30 folds, and housing space 3 folds. Finally people in Shanghai have left their narrow and crammed homes to history, and began to enjoy decent living space. However, at the other side of the coin, great number of fenced and guarded modern residential compounds have mushroomed on the sites where traditional neighborhoods featuring lanes and alleys used to stand, millions of residents had to leave their long-time homes at inner city area and try to set their roots in newly constructed urban region; over 80% of people have become owners of their properties, and about same percentage of housing are apartments with every amenity inside. As a result, “it has given rise to issues in social space; as private space centered on family and corresponding psychological models are in full development, public space and communication among neighbors are largely diminished”. (YU Hai & ZOU Huahua, 2009)

The aforementioned urban regeneration model can be said to be “an economic development model driven by authority and capital, aiming at land/space benefit”. (CHEN Yingfang, 2009) In order to better understand the economic model for urban development, allow us to refer to the spatial production theory by Henri Lefebvre, a French Marxist scholar. First, space itself has become a factor of production, supporting capital flow and capital gain. All urban spaces are used as tools or a machine for growth; under such

circumstance, production of space is primarily in the forms of “rapid urban sprawl, extensive urbanization of the society, and problematic spatial organization ... We have completed the change from the production in space to the production of space itself.” (Lefebvre, 2003:47) Capitalization of space is the key setting the two apart, and also the key to the understanding of the spatial policy for China’s urban development in the past 30 years --- Land leasehold became the main way to monetize local resource and provide to the fiscal needs. From the views of spatial sociology and spatial economics, capitalization of space was initially capitalization of urban space (large-scale demolition and re-development in old town), and then capitalization of the historical space (Shanghai Xintiandi Shikumen blocks have been repurposed and become the world class commercial space), capitalization of landscape (riverside areas along Huangpu River have been changed from industrial zone to the experience consumption zone), capitalization of industrial sites (numerous creativity centers/facilities in Shanghai are converted from heritage industrial buildings or warehouses) …… All this is space capitalization in progression in the context of urban development.

Second, production of space doesn’t necessarily mean the production of a physical space, such as Disney Park or Xintiandi; moreover, it is the production of the necessary space to suit a specific production mode. Space capitalization is always founded on the capitalization of production modes. WU Fulong has well summarized the spatial policy in China’s urban development since 1990s as the commoditization of space, and it makes sense (Wu Fulong, 2003); Space is no longer simply a place to accommodate certain production mode, but is a constituent factor of the production mode. In light of this we can get a better understanding of the following words: “Since, ex-hypothesi, each mode of production has its own particular space, the shift from one mode to another must entail the production of a new space.” (Lefebvre, 1991:46) This new mode of production is linked to the overall strategy of city positioning set by the central government; those export-oriented industrial parks, the CBDs full of the world’s top 500 companies, the trunk expressways, the crisscross metro lines, the world-class deep-water ports and airports, the expansive public green space stretching for many kilometers…… They are all spatial representations of the new mode of production; they have defined the skeleton of urban spaces in this city, and also radically changed the cultural and social landscape in Shanghai. In recent 20 years (1995-2014), 80 million square meters of buildings in Shanghai have been demolished. The point is that “the massive demolition is not only happening in the form of bricks and mortar, but also happening in the form of neighborhood relations built over decades; For those residents who moved into the new houses, what they have gained is comfortable living space, a residence with amenities and privacy, but what they have lost is social interaction with the community

in everyday life.” (YU Hai, 2016)

Third, the capitalized production of space has given birth to abstract space. According to Lefebvre’s analysis, abstract space reflects the interests of capital and the “politics” of the state; when capitalists and government think about space they think about some abstract or physical characteristics of space, such as size, width, area, location, financial gain, etc. (Lefebvre, 2003:46) Opposite to abstract space there is social space, where people live and where all richness and diversity of life are retained. Lefebvre envisioned that the development with the interest of all population in mind would “prevent abstract space from taking over the whole planet and papering over all differences”. (Lefebvre, 1991:55) One of the main founders of The Daily life theory, De Certeau, told two stories about spaces in his book. One story is about a panoramic image of the city that is viewed from high above; “it is the analogue of the facsimile produced, through a projection that is a way of keeping aloof, by the space planner, urbanist, city planner or cartographer. The panorama-city is a ‘theoretical’ (that is, visual) simulacrum, in short, a picture, whose condition of possibility is an oblivion and a misunderstanding of practices. The voyeur-god created by this fiction must disentangle himself from the murky intertwining daily behaviors and make himself alien to them.” (De Certeau ,1984:92-93) Isn’t the voyeur-god looking down from high above, ignoring and disentangling himself from the real world, an excellent echo to Lefebvre’s concept of “abstract space”? Urban development has profoundly impacted the fate of mass population, however in the foreground of this movement there are land value, financial balance sheets, the industrial layout, compensation in kind or in money for who have to relocate. What about neighborhood relations, memories from the past, nostalgic sentiments, childhood friends? This kind of spatial experiences and practices in everyday life have had no place in the agenda in making abstract space.

Based on the three points set above, now we come back to discuss why community empowerment, in this case made possible by a community garden, is so important to us.

2. Shifting in Spatial Development Model

The knowledge and Innovation Community Garden was evolved from “Clover Nature School (shanghai)” started by a few young landscape designers. Later on, two additional partners joined the implementation of this space, namely property developer Shui-on Company (brand owner of Knowledge and Innovation Park) and Yangpu District Bureau of Landscaping and City Appearance. Each may have its own motivation, but all share the vision that space should be made in humanistic scale rather than large scale production, and the previous capital and state driven spatial development should yield to experimental spatial

projects governed by residents and professional teams.

First, from government perspective, the large-scale production of space will lead to unsustainable social development and spatial resource depletion. In light of this, Shanghai CPC party secretary has put forward the goal of negative growth in construction land supply.(TAN Yan, 2017) The 2016 compulsory land acquisition data collected from the districts in Shanghai showed that the central districts were running out of land available for demolition.¹⁾ *The implementation measures for urban redevelopment in Shanghai* enacted since 2015 is applauded by scholars as a milestone marking the urban regeneration has entered a new phase of seeking potential in existing urban layout rather than mass development in previous phase. In this document “organic urban regeneration” concept was proposed, the core as “people-centric spatial restructuring and community activation.” (MA Hong & YING Kongjin, 2016) In this context, the Shanghai Municipal Bureau of Landscaping promoted the autonomous community greenery initiatives; to take a step further, Yangpu District authorized a social organization to implement and operate this public Greenland, and to serve public interest. It is indeed an act of innovation, and an act suited the big trend.

Second, from corporate perspective, as a commercial property developer, Shui-on is making buildings and better even making communities. The property developer has successfully built a community of vitality and character at Daxue Road, which is a block for mixed commercial and residential purposes. Shui-on is motivated to make this piece of wasteland into a very attractive public space by supporting professionals; it may well help the property appreciation, and serve as one more activity place for its Daxue Road community.

Third, from Clover Nature School perspective, as a professional organization, it is specialized in landscaping, and its co-founders are mostly experienced municipal landscaping projects. They have noticed some bad practices in such projects, such as large-scale transplanting of mature trees which don't really fit local conditions, extravagant landscape design ended up in financial bleeding in years to come just to keep those exotic trees and plants alive. Urban greenery projects are supposed to benefit the public, but sadly they often are implemented as government vanity projects and follow the pattern of large scale production of space. In order to be more visible, the greenery projects often tend to be larger in scale and more exotic in style. How to implement localized landscape? How to ensure the landscaping is less expensive and more productive? How to ensure it really plays a role in community environment improvement, particularly in closing the gap between consumption and production, mitigating the divide between urban region and rural region, reconciling the conflict between spectating and engagement? How to introduce natural gardening as part of community life? These questions and the attempts to find the answers

are the starting point of this grassroots movement initiated by Clover Nature School in the case of this environmental regeneration project.

The community garden experimental case in this paper is not a lone case; experiments in the name of micro spatial regeneration have turned into a big wave or movement already. The Shanghai Urban Space Art Season 2015 had its focuses on artistic creation in large public space, as well as design and regeneration of micro spaces. A group of pilot projects were designated, while Clover Nature School's mini plaza renovation project in the final list. In 2015 Shanghai Design & Promotion Center for Urban Public Space was established, high on its agenda is micro regeneration; In 2016 and 2017, the center reviewed 22 micro regeneration projects, including regenerating of entrance to residential compounds, of lanes and alleys, of central green land, of plaza in communities, of villa houses, of street vendors' stalls…… every project is about the space where everyday life takes place. "A good city planner is who can get down to community level". (SHI Bozhen, 2016) The slogan is probably the most down-to-the-earth one for spatial designers, signaling the change of wind from mass production of space to people-centric community regeneration.

The message conveyed by the community garden case is actually well indicating the change of wind in the international community. In the last 10 years, urban reports issued by a number of agencies, such as UN-Habitat, the World Bank, the Asian Development Bank, have accounted spatial issues as root cause for urban inequality and social divide. In UN-Habitat's the World Cities Report 2016, under the title of "widening urban divide", a chapter is dedicated to the problem of spatial exclusion, listing multiple dimensions of exclusions such as exclusion from socioeconomic space, exclusion from the collective sociocultural space, exclusion from political space; all these goes back to the spatial production mode dominated by elite and skewed toward exchange value, which resulting in the exclusion of vulnerable social groups and average people. UN-Habitat III decided to replace Athens Charter from 1930 with Quito Declaration; According to American urbanologists Sassen and Sennett, the Athens Charter regards city as a rational machine composed of usable components, always in pursuit of higher efficiency and functional zoning; it exerts complex planning and administrative controls, which stifles the vitality of the city, disrupts the flow of exchange among people, and compromises the social diversity in urban life. (LIU Bo, 2017) The mission of the Quito Declaration, of which these two scholars have participated in drafting, is to create a city of openness, a city of dynamics and social diversity; a series of agendas are set out to achieve the mission, one of which is to support the establishment of "inclusive for all inhabitants, accessible, green, and quality public spaces and streets, not-for-profits community initiatives ,bringing people into the public spaces, promoting walkability

and cycling towards improving health and well-being”. With the headline “from the Athens Charter to the Quito Declaration”, the media in various parts of the World reported the important concepts from UN-Habitat III Congress, which signifying the urban strategy is shifting from forging urban growth machine to thriving community life.

The reset of course mentioned above has triggered a progress going for a decade now, but theoretical reflections have never ceased since Lefebvre’s *The Production of Space* and David Harvey’s *Social Justice and the City* published in 1970s. The work of the Marxist urban scholars does not only criticize the capitalization of space production and unbalanced geographical development, but also put forward the guiding principles and interpretation on spatial schemes, which would be open to everyone and driven by the resident users. The most important are the following two points: first, transformation into a people-centric city must go through the making of new space. “A revolution that does not produce a new space has not realized its full potential; indeed, it has failed in that it has not changed life itself.” (Lefebvre, 1991:54) Second, what is the new space like? The way it is built should be decided from bottom up rather than top down, meaning “universal self-management” is in place; it means that “an individual has access to space and social life, who deserves a urban life centered around so-called cultural activities”; it means “dominant space is overturned, by placing accessibility above the control, placing needs above orders, placing use above exchange”; it means it is a “space of difference” encompassing all the richness and possibility of life. (Lefebvre, 2003:54-55) Although Lefebvre did not exactly use the term “community empowerment”, the above points sure all point to community empowerment.

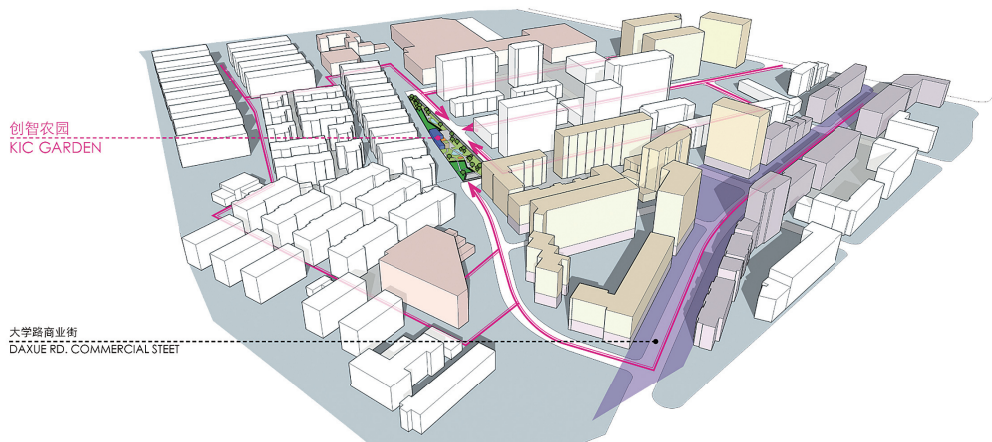
Community life is in situ, within walking distance and usually accessed by foot. It is a point made in De Certeau’s second story about space, and is also the pivot concept in spatial design for the community garden. In De Certeau’s view, walking is the most direct and primitive way one gets in touch with space. “Their story begins on ground level, with footsteps. They are myriad, but do not compose a series. They cannot be vaunted because each unit has a qualitative character: a style of tactile apprehension and kinesthetic appropriation. Their swarming mass is an innumerable collection of singularities. Their intertwined paths give their shape to spaces. They weave places together. In that respect, pedestrian movements form one of these ‘real systems whose existence in fact makes up the city.’ They are not localized; it is rather that they spatialize”. (De Certeau, 1984: 173-174)

What do we learn from de Certeau’s stories about walking in city? Everyday life is made by people walking and moving at street level, meaning that a city could become hostile to people’s everyday life if without sidewalks or if highly unfriendly to walking. During a walk, one’s senses are active and responsive to the surroundings, so the practice of walking is not

defined by quantity but quality. This quality is defined by action as well as quality of the surroundings. What's the relationship between walking and space? A walk takes place in space, and a walker is also perceiving, sensing and inventing space. "Thus the street geometrically defined by urban planning is transformed into a space by walkers".(117) Now this assertion makes good sense, " the pedestrian movements form one of these 'real systems whose existence in fact makes up the city'"; please note what pedestrians have made up is not just a city system, but a real city system; an implied inference would be that if the conditions of walking are lost, a street still seems a street but no longer a real space in people's everyday life. Let's return to a walking-friendly world, to make user-centric spaces, and start "imagining spaces for the human body which might make human bodies aware of one another". (Sennett, 1996:21) The purpose of the community garden is to empower the residents to improve and invent spaces.

3. Knowledge and Innovation Community Garden: A Practical Case Study of Community Empowerment

The Knowledge and Innovation Community Garden is a garden built on a piece of wasteland, which is called construction of space. Now to make a garden into a public space accessible by and available to everyone, this is community empowerment. Capitalized production of space is harming community life no worse than making so many instances of "space of conspicuous consumption, celebrating commodities rather than civic values. It became the site of 'spectacle' in which people are reduced from active participants in the appropriation of space to passive spectators.". (Harvey, 1990) The core philosophy of the community garden is to build a community public space with planting/gardening as the foothold, to restore and reshape the relations among community members and the relationship between individuals and community; it is a practice to enable the transformation from "vanity project" style space production to the user-centered space implementation. Specifically, the building of the Knowledge and Innovation Community Garden involves three dimensions: building the space, delivering the discourse, and empowering the community. The three-dimensional philosophy can be traced back to trialectics in Lefebvre's space theory: the spatial practice, meaning to make a perceptible space; the representations of space, meaning the formation of comprehensible knowledge about the space; and representational spaces , meaning the space users are living within, including how they feel about the space and how they imagine the space they desire.(Lefebvre, 1991:38-39) In other words, it is to restore the capability to be aware of, to make sense of, and to be creative on our lived space.



Sketch Map of Knowledge and Innovation Community Garden in Shanghai

a. Building a Space Accessible by and Available to Everyone

The Community Garden covers an area of about 2000 square meters. The indoor space is made from 4 old containers. The entire community garden is centered on the containers, spreading to two sides. The designers' intention is more than clear, that is an open, friendly and shared space. Where the indoor and outdoor space meets is a rain shed attached to the door, flanked by benches and potted plants. In rainy daily, even when the indoor space is closed neighbors can sit here, quietly enjoying time. At the left side there is a patch of rice paddy and a pocket wetland, at the right side a vegetable garden. A little further away from the containers there are a few ring-shaped wood chairs for people to rest and linger; a thoughtfully planned walking lane connects the components in the garden, directing people to and from those parts. Better even, the back path along the bamboo fence is graveled, which distant itself from the traffic by 2 or 3 meter wide flower beds; so that when the neighbors walk down the gravel path to the vegetable patch, the surrounding is quieter and more relaxing. The route is so designed that it is very easy and comfortable, even encouraging observers to watch garden work done. What to watch? Adults watch the children play, and passers-by watch the garden vegetables…… This kind of engagement is what makes the community park so full of energy and vitality.

It is not accurate to describe the community garden as a people-centric space; to be more exact, it is a child-centric space. Children learn and grow by playing games; at the outdoor area you find a sandbox, and a playground paved in soft bark chips waiting for young children. The sandbox is right next to containers, so the grownups can keep an eye on youngsters. Children can wander in this area with barely any place off limits; they footsteps

take them to get to know the world. To make sure it is a place children can walk and run about safely, the paths in the community garden area is paved in gravel. The “One Meter” vegetable patch is fenced with low wooden fencing, and the gate of child size. All such designs are consistent with the builders’ vision, which is to create an edible landscape in the heart of city by offering natural education and natural gardening to children; it is far more than just a green land for the eye. The sandbox, trampoline, and vegetable garden are baits to attract the children, and their parents and caretakers would follow; that’s why a child-centric space by design can evolve into a public space accessible by and available to everyone.

b. Representation of Spaces and Place Awareness

The purpose of community garden is not only about space awareness, but also about knowledge and concept. American urbanologist Zukin uses the term “conceptual space” to translate Lefebvre’s “representation of spaces”. Taking shopping street as an example, “the conceptual space is the one we visualize when we think of the shopping street.” “Conceptual space” is something “embodying, reproducing, and symbolizing the collective tastes of a social group”. (Zukin, Kasinitz & Chen 2016:6) The translation by Zukin and others has extended Lefebvre’s original concept, because the “conceptual space” contains much more than spatial studies by the knowledgeable, but also place awareness from average people. As the conceptual framework made by professional is social nomenclature for the community garden, the place awareness by the users of the community garden directly relates to their spatial recognition.

The organizers of the community garden project knew from the start that they were making a new space, a new social space transcending a variety of contradictions such as observation vs. participation, consumption vs. production, urban vs. rural, experts vs. average person, and so on. They believe that such a new space is possible, because the society itself owns the power to create, and the land itself has the force of life. As one of the founders said: “Community empowerment is a process that leveraging various social forces and resources, going bottom-up as in self-organization, self-governance and self-development. Natural education program testifies to the power lie within land and the nature itself. The empowerment project has demonstrated power of life, and the power the children have within. It is not necessarily a perfect space or used in a perfect way, but it is powerful enough so that individuals found they don’t have to rely on authority for everything; by observing the land and its natural output, people come to realize they can rely on themselves, on their own hands and minds, so as to eventually get rid of consumerism.” The creativity of the society and life force intrinsic to land is the source of power shown in this space regeneration project; And this also well defines the nature of this project.

The conception of community garden, with the help of a series of academic seminars, has gradually grown into a systematic and profound knowledge framework. The 8th session of free lecture series hosted at community garden in 2016 has gathered speakers from various countries and regions, with different professions including researchers on university community development, leaders of community empowerment from Taiwan and Mainland, pioneers of nostalgic economy, founder of living technology and using technology movement from South Korea, founder of “Peaceful Life” new civilization from Japan, international food policy researchers, founders of local AA groups. From their titles you can tell the topics are highly diversified and forward-looking; the focus has always been how community garden relates to overall community space; many talks are about interpreting and communicating the know-how and normative concepts for community empowerment. Peculiar terms were flying around such as “Urban garden”, “Community Agro Garden”, “Co-managed Landscape”, “Interactive Community”, “Society of Acquaintance” “Sandbox Generation” and so on. What is the message in these terms? These terms point to trends like environmental-friendly and sustainable urban ecology, urban regeneration in organic way, educational environment conducive to child development, and active making of lived world. These concepts which have defined the community garden now are spread beyond the classroom via audience and media, and further influence and shape the awareness and recognition of the general public on community gardens.

In less than a year, the community garden has become an iconic project. What’s special about this project? It is not simply a public space for consumption, rather it is a user-centric public space and in continuous making. From place awareness to place recognition, then to community cohesion, the key is that the users have reclaimed the power to initiate the making of their lived world.

c. Experiencing and Shaping the Lived Space

At the beginning of the paper, an assertion was put forward that the community garden is becoming center of attraction in the surrounding communities. Now here are a few pages from the onsite observation log, just to proof that. The following log was recorded by a researcher on April 15, 2017:

14:00, a five-year-old mixed race little girl, who is a resident in a nearby residential compound, followed about 20 older children (about 7-8 years old) to their gardening class in the vegetable patch organized by school; they planted vegetables, grinded beans, looked for clovers in the lawn. A Shanghai grandma took her two-year-old grandson in baby stroller to the garden, and found a stool to sit near the door of container.

14:40: A dog named “Wonder” and his lady owner came to the garden. The mixed race

girl and a two-year-old boy came to play to the dog, playing catching game. Meanwhile at the right corner of the garden a compost workshop was in progress, with an American teacher and 20 some young students.

15:30: Dog Wonder and his lady owner went to the Farmer's Market nearby. Five kids and their parents from neighborhood came to the vegetable patch, taking watering cans from the shed and starting to water the vegetables. The families did not know each other well, but the kids got along very soon and worked together.

17:00: It is the peak time in a day at the garden. A 12 year old girl just finished her after school class and came with her mother. They got of OFO bicycles and rushed to their "One Meter" vegetable patch. The father of the mixed race little girl went into the container rooms, poured himself a cup of water, and washed and returned the cup to where it was after he finished.

What do we read from the entries in the observation log? First, the garden is a farm for kids, a workshop for kids, and a paradise for kids. The modern people are deprived of opportunities to sense space, is it possible that the kids play and learn in a community garden like this would grow into an adult more sensitive and friendly to the environment and to man? What Sociologists really concerned about is that whether the sandbox, bark chips, plants, playmates are necessary factors for children's social and educational environment? Second, the community garden is the place for field training; Want to learn how to compost? You do it right there next to compost piles. Here the training is practical, there is no separation of the mind and body, you have to use both; third, the community garden is a social place; planting together, playing games together, shopping together, there are endless reasons for people to meet and to exchange; four, community garden is also a miniature society of acquaintance; it makes itself a home for community members, that's why people just walk into the room and find a cup to drink just like what he usually does at his own home.

The reading can go on and on. It is important to revisit the teachings of de Certeau that it is footsteps that have transformed the planned streets into space; similarly, it is these everyday interactions that have transformed the garden into a lived space so dear to hearts of the neighbors. Green space is often made to serve the ornamental purpose to people; but at this community garden, passive consumers are turned into active workers/makers. The French scholar Guy Debord once said that the spectacle enslaves people as they are living in a world of materials now; people's consuming of spectacle seems to be a voluntary doing, but in fact, as Debord puts it, people are subjected to spectacle in every aspect of life. (Debord, 2006:3) The spatial practice at the community, is turning spectators into

participants of life; the key is that the space/“spectacle” here is no longer product of capital but of creativity and working, and the people are no longer spectators but actors, no longer slaves of spectacle but makers of their own community space.

“It comes from a full understanding of the place, an understanding of what they are as a product of human purpose and a meaningful context for human activity, or a profound and unconscious recognition of local identity,” said the phenomenological geographer Edward Relph, when he spoke of “sense of place”. (Peet, 2007:59) As the community garden is still young, even if there is a sense of place the neighbors feel, it would be neither sophisticated nor subconscious. However, it is fair to say that people are having meaningful activities here in the community garden, forming positive feelings or attachment to it, or even see it as part of their own community. The shifting from large-scale space production to community empowerment is pivoted on the fostering of sense of place. In this community garden case, the relationship between man and land is been reconstructed, the bonding among community members is rebuilt, and ultimately, there is the empowerment of community, and the formation of sense of belong to the community.

4. Conclusions

Since the 1990s, the urban regeneration model in Shanghai has been dominated by large-scale and capitalized production of space, which has unleashed the productivity of land at central urban area and has greatly improved the quality of space at the old town; a new framework of urban space has been established, mitigating the bad shortage of living space for average Shanghai citizens. Nevertheless, this kind of large-scale space transformation has interrupted the human scale community structure and richness of the everyday life, which in certain extend has deprived people of the capacity to sense the space and the opportunity to unobstructed exchange in such space. Residents in most cases are just spectators and consumers of a materialized world of spectacles but makers of their own life. People made gain in space, but at expense of community; people made gain in spatial environment, but at expense of social environment; people made gain in accessibility to far-reaching places, but at expense of a walking-friendly and talking-friendly neighborhood; people have more places to shop, but less public space to meet and greet.

Large-scale production of space will not come to a full stop soon, but it is not sustainable for spatial resource is already running low. The shifting from production of space to lived space has already begun; the experimental case of the Knowledge and Innovation Community Garden in Shanghai is especially valuable in this context. The community garden brings back footpaths to pedestrians, the fun of gardening to urban people, playing

to children, exchange to neighbors, productiveness to everyday life. The deed is achieved by integrating of the macro-scale urban advancements with micro-scale everyday life quality improvements, aiming to resolve the conflicts between spectacle and real life, urban and rural, Wall Street and Main Street, production and consumption. In short, by introducing natural education and natural gardening activities, it breaks down the isolation of people resulting from the capitalized production of space in the past decades. The sponsors of the community garden believe that it is possible to change the way we make space. The society itself has the power to create, and the land itself has the power to create; what people have to do is to take the initiatives to improve and make the space; to be more specific, let the children take initiatives, let the parents and families take initiatives, let every community member take initiative. This is exactly what we have learned from the case of the community garden.

Notes

- 1) According to Shanghai Statistic Yearbook of 2016, at the three central urban districts of Xuhui, Changning and Jin'an, government acquired housing area for redevelopment was 0, 6000, and 5000 sqm. respectively; as comparison, in 2005 the government acquired housing area for redevelopment at these three districts was 163700, 65200 and 26000 sqm. respectively.

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