

The Impact of Cultural Creative Industries and Tourism Development on the Authenticity of Historic District from the Perspective of Spatial Production: A Case Study of Tianzifang, Shanghai

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Abstract: In the transition period of urban renewal in China, micro-renewal by means of function replacement has gradually become a popular mode of historic district renovation. However, the impact of industry injection and tourism development on the authenticity of district has become increasingly prominent. Based on the theory of spatial production, the (re-)production process mechanism of authenticity under the influence of creative industries and tourism activities in Tianzifang is analyzed. It shows that: Tianzifang has experienced the (re-)production process from the place of residence to the place of cultural creative industries, and then to the place of modern tourism consumption culture; The main body of Spatial Practice has gradually changed from original inhabitants to artists, businessmen and tourists, with its social network reshaped in varying degrees; For *Representations Of Space*, the physical transformation of buildings carriers is relatively light, but their functions have undergone a change from residential living space to cultural (re-)production space and then to cultural consumption space; For the *Spaces Of Representation*, the cultural authenticity has gradually evolved into the staged authenticity, with the symbolization and commercialization. In addition, the effects of space production is summarized from the reconstruction of material space, spiritual space and social space.

Keywords: Urban historic district; Authenticity; Creative Industry and Tourism Impact; Spatial Production

1. Introduction

Historic districts are rich in historical relics within a certain range, which can truly reflect the traditional features or local characteristics of ethnic groups in a certain historical period, including not only tangible structures, but also values, lifestyles, organizational structures, customs and habits (Zhao, J., 2017). Nowadays, with the rapid spread of urbanization, coordinating the protection, renovation and commercial development of historic district is one of the difficult problems for many China's cities in transition period. The core value of historic district reconstruction lies in the protection and presentation of its real cultural scenes. However, with the development of tourism, the authenticity of more and more historic districts has gradually been transformed into the stage authenticity (MacCannell, 1973, 1989), which becomes a pseudo-event (Boorstin, 1962) and leads to the convergence of historic districts in transition period.

Space has three attributes: material, spiritual and social (Lefebvre H, 1991). The renewal process of historic district is the (re-)production process of material space, spiritual space and social space. Through the reproduction and redistribution of its resources and interests, its spatial pattern, cultural atmosphere and social relationship structure are reconstructed. At the same time, the inevitable conflicts of value, power and interests among different subjects are also facing the predicament of unjust space production (Zhu Z, Wang Q, 2018). According to Lefebvre's theory of space production, *space practice* refers to the daily activities in physical space and the production and reproduction of society; *representations of space* is a conceptual space dominated by the knowledge and ideology of planners and scholars; *spaces of representation* is a symbolic system composed of images, which realizes the overlapping of space experienced by the subject and material space of space practice (Lefebvre H, 1991).

2. Research object and method

Tianzifang, a renovated historical district of Shanghai's unique Shikumen complex, is selected as the research object. It is located at 210 Lane Taikang Road, Dapujiao Street, Luwan District, Shanghai. Originally as a popular mixed-function old district in the center of Shanghai, its northern and Western adjacent areas of the district were originally high-grade residential areas of French Concession, medical and educational institutions, and there were many common old-style lanes scattered in the south. Later, with the upgrading and transfer of industry in Shanghai, factories gradually idle, facing the pressure of demolition and transformation. With the active participation of artists, original inhabitants and the community, it has gradually been renewed into a characteristic cultural and creative district. At present, it has become one of the famous representative districts of tourism and leisure in Shanghai.

The main research methods include literature analysis, field survey and in-depth interviews.

3. The Process of Spatial Production in Historic District

3.1 The *Spatial Practice* of Tianzifang

3.1.1 *Specific Process*

In the early 1990s, with the upgrading of the industrial structure in the center of Shanghai, the old industrial buildings in the neighborhood were gradually idle. Depending on the Art College, the government plans to turn Kangtai Road into a cultural and artistic neighborhood and start renting idle factories to artists.

Around 2003, government-led renovation projects in old districts were launched, and real estate developers obtained the right to renovate through bidding. At this time, residents began to participate in the game of space production because of dissatisfaction with demolition compensation, and began to rent out their own houses. Galleries, studios, etc. gradually spread from the old factory site to the surrounding old-style residential neighborhoods. In addition, some scholars and artists began to publicly oppose the mode of demolition and reconstruction, and the voice began to attract the attention of the mainstream media. Finally, the reform and development plan was put on hold gradually. The government began to relocate Tianzifang as a historic district of cultural and creative industries, adopted a protective development model, and invested in the construction and improvement of the infrastructure in the district.

Since then, commercial capital in the neighborhood has continued to infiltrate. Besides the original inhabitants, the second landlord and the third landlord began to emerge, which doubled the rent. Many artists have to move away, which indicates that the literary industry is in a difficult position to survive. At present, Tianzifang has developed into a famous tourist attraction in Shanghai, attracting a large number of domestic and foreign tourists.

3.1.2 Change of Space Subject and Its Role

Renewal has changed the spatial subject of Tianzifang historical district from a single government/resident subject to the government, artists, residents, and then to the government, residents, business operators, artists, tourists and other multiple subjects. The government formulates protection management rules, artists become the direct producers of Tianzifang district space according to professional aesthetics, and merchants become the direct producers of Tianzifang district space according to market demand. Most of the local residents move out of the neighborhood to start a new life by rent, and become the biggest beneficiaries of the renewal of the neighborhood. A small number of residents are still living in the neighborhood, continuing the production rules of traditional cultural space. Tourists indirectly influence the production and practice activities of tourism stakeholders through the imagination of traditional street space in Shanghai, thus indirectly realizing the production of district space.

3.1.3 The Change of Social Relations of Space Subjects

The revitalization of Tianzifang historical district not only deconstructs the spatial subject of the district, but also reproduces the social relationship between the new spatial subjects. With the breaking of the boundary between the original industrial space and living space and the emergence of new land-use mixtures, such as commercial-residential mixing, the neighborhood ties in the original social relations are also destroyed. The commercial interest relationship between residents and operators, the management relationship between government and space users, and the consumption relationship between tourists and service providers quickly evolved into a capital interest link to maintain the community social structure. The main body of district space has changed from a single neighborhood relationship to multiple social relationships such as business cooperation and competition, tourism services and consumption. At the same time, each of them seeks superior resources in the development of historical districts and maximizes its own interests.

3.2 Reproduction of Representations of Space

3.2.1 Reproduction of Buildings: Protection and Development of Carriers

Architecture is an important carrier of the style and features of historic districts. The original building types of Tianzifang historic district mainly include: factory building, Shikumen building, traditional residential landing building and Western-style house. Most of the factory buildings were small-scale buildings built in the 1970s and were replaced by artist studios in the 1990s. Shikumen Architecture is a unique integration of Chinese and Western architecture in Shanghai, which can attract both Chinese and foreign tourists. Traditional residential buildings carry the daily life culture of the old Shanghai residents' alleys. At present, they have been transformed into low-level shops, two or three-floor coffee shops or theme shops. The high-rise and back streets are difficult to rent because of their low commercial value. Western-style houses are mainly distributed in the northeast of Tianzifang, with a special exotic flavor. In the transformation, elements with visual impact are designed, which are reflected in the facade decoration, accessories, window display and other aspects, paying attention to visitors' experience.

3.2.2 Reproduction of District Function: From Space of Cultural Production to Space of Cultural Consumption

From the perspective of spatial morphology, the original spatial texture of Tianzifang has basically been well preserved, but the function of the district has undergone great evolution, as shown in Figure 1. The residential space originally carrying the residents' life memory is gradually eroded by commerce and transformed into the production space carrying tourists' consumption activities. The area of creative workshops originally relying on artists' studios is gradually shrinking and replaced by retail business functions.

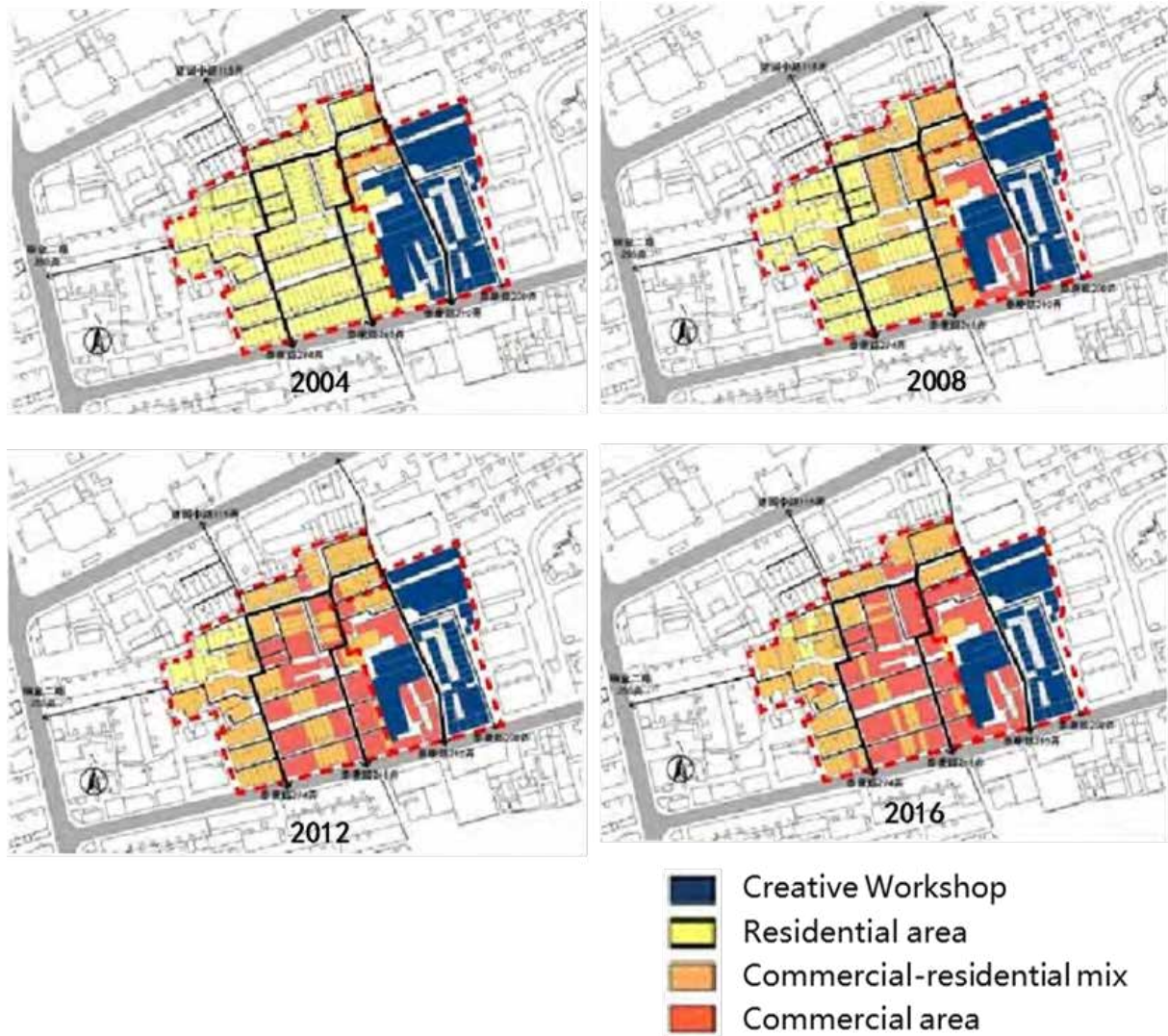


Fig. 1 Analysis of Functional Evolution of Tianzifang District

(Source: Zhu Xiaoyu, 2017)

3.3 Reproduction of Spaces of representation

In the process of reproduction, the objective and authentic culture of the historical district itself gradually recedes into the background or even declines. What presents to tourists in the front is the staged authenticity packaged by commodification and symbolization, and the two cooperate with each other to reshape the space.

3.3.1 The decline of Authentic Culture behind

Before the renewal, the original culture of Tianzifang district includes: the material space culture represented by Shikumen Architecture reflects the trace of integration of Chinese and Western architectural styles in history, the original creative and artistic cultural foundation of the plot, such as the footprints left by artists here, and the city life culture represented by the daily living environment of the original inhabitants' neighborhoods.

In the process of transformation, although the decision-makers have little interference in the original material carrier building itself, the outmigration of a large number of original inhabitants has directly led to the

fundamental disconnection between the original life subject and the district cultural carrier, and the traces of the original cultural celebrities have gradually been forgotten.

3.3.2 Reproduction of Symbol Culture ahead

Cultural symbols are highly concentrated in cultural representation. The excavation and reconstruction of cultural symbols is the key to pushing historical districts to mass tourism consumption. In the early stage of the transformation, the government and planners positioned Tianzifang as a cultural and creative industrial district, so the function of Tianzifang was mainly based on cultural and creative shops, with a small amount of catering and other ancillary services. To a certain extent, the injection of literary creativity activates the lost street space. However, with the impact of commercial development in the neighborhood, a large number of cultural and creative stores have been relocated. New cultural symbols such as souvenir stores, catering stores, clothing stores, bars, coffee shops and beverage stores of foreign chain brands have become the main land use trend.

New commercial functions have injected new cultural symbols, reflecting the projection of heterogeneous leisure cultural symbols in the district space. The symbol culture in the front has gradually infiltrated and merged with the traditional culture of the district and occupied the main space. At this time, life, art and culture rooted in the historical districts themselves are gradually given the current leisure significance. Some traditional life memory cultures in the neighborhood can also be displayed to tourists in new forms (such as the construction of retro decoration in theme bar). Therefore, it can be said that the construction of new cultural symbols has enriched the connotation of traditional culture in the neighborhood and regenerated the culture conforming to the trend of the new era.

4. The Effect of Spatial Production in Historic Districts

4.1 Material Space Turning: From Bearing Collective Memory to Meeting Consumer Demand

With the extension of capital profit-seeking antenna from traditional manufacturing industry to urban material environment transformation and the second and third capital cycle represented by culture and service consumption (Zhou Yu, 2013), Tianzifang's material space experienced the reproduction of preserving the shape skeleton and repackaging content. The memory of its original daily life scenes has almost disappeared, and a small number of indigenous people living in the corner of no commercial value are deeply affected by tourism activities. In addition, with the increasing number of visitors, the demand for consumption is increasing. The rapid spread of various modern commercial activities and the constant creation of characteristic consumption themes have promoted the reproduction of infrastructure, architecture and landscape in the neighborhood towards the consumption demand of the tourism market.

4.2 Reshaping Spiritual Space: Demonstration Effect and Cultural Acculturation

In the process of space reproduction in Tianzifang district, besides the active implantation of new cultural symbols, the new space service objects (tourists) also influence the ideological changes of the direct space producers (tenants) and the original residents (landlords) behind them by their own tourism activities (such as promoting the double growth of rent through the effect of tourism scale). Thus tourists have the demonstration effect on space producers (Fan, Q.B., 2013). In this process, some old cultural forms have further alienated in order to meet the needs of tourists' tastes or media propaganda. For example, the daily production process behind the scenes of the original craftsmen has gradually turned into a special "performance" activity for tourists to visit and display. Furthermore, the cultural demand represented by tourists' consumption and the cultural supply represented by the symbolization of tenants constantly collide with each other. With the passage of time, this kind of communication brings about a certain degree of integration between the two, and eventually realizes

the dynamic balance of demand and supply culture step by step. This is cultural acculturation (Salusa et al., 2017).

4.3 Reconstruction of Social Space: Gentrification and Space Justice

Gentrification refers to the fact that poor tenants who originally rented here were forced to move away because they could not afford the rising rents in the central urban areas, and were replaced by the middle class who could afford the rents, which made the original social relationship structure of the settlements constantly change (Richard Schaffer, 1986). In the process of space production and reproduction of Tianzifang district, there are mainly two gentrification processes.

The first is that before the transformation, because of the poor living environment, in Tianzifang neighborhood, besides the local original residents, there are a large number of workers and poor tenants in the original factory. After the factory of industrial replacement and upgrading in Shanghai was idle, with the support of the government, many artists began to settle in. The rising cultural atmosphere in the neighborhood led to the rise of land prices. Workers and poor people were forced to move to other low-cost areas. Most of the artists are non-local people. The differences between their cultural needs and living background and the aborigines complicate the original social relations.

The second is due to the 2010 World Expo held in Shanghai, Tianzifang's tourism reputation has improved significantly. The failure of the artist group to compete for rent with commercial capital has led to the replacement of most of the artists in the neighborhood by commercial operators. At this time, a large number of local aborigines moved out, and the social relations among the residents who were forced to stay and the business operators, tourists and other groups became more complicated.

In the process of gentrification, the replacement of the neighborhood tenants makes the social network of the neighborhood continue to undergo irreversible restructuring. The authentic neighborhood relationship has been reproduced many times, greatly weakening the personality of the district and gradually becoming homogeneous with other historical districts. After such repeated reconstruction of social space, the original different classes gradually formed social segregation, which had an irreparable negative impact on spatial justice.

5. Summary and Discussion

From the perspective of space production, Tianzifang historic district has experienced the process of reproduction from the place of residence representing the culture and life of Shanghai School to the place of cultural and creative industries, and then to the place of modern tourism consumption and culture dressed in historical and cultural clothes. The main body of its space practice has gradually changed from the original inhabitants to artists, businessmen and tourists, and reshaped its social relations in varying degrees. Although the physical transformation of district building as a carrier of spatial representation is relatively light, its function has undergone a change from residential living space to cultural production space and then to cultural consumption space. At the same time, the reproduction of representational space is accompanied by the reconstruction of symbolic culture, which makes the authentic culture gradually decline. Generally speaking, under the production and reproduction mechanism of Tianzifang historical district, its material space, spiritual space and social space have been reconstructed to varying degrees, accompanied by a series of spatial effects such as symbolization, commercialization and gentrification, which make its authenticity gradually reconstructed and alienated.

In addition, how to retain the collective memory of the authenticity of historic districts, coordinate the production relations among power, capital and residents in the overall transformation, reflect on the role of cultural reproduction in the renewal of historic districts, and ensure the realization of spatial justice are related to

the process of urbanization in the future and the value orientation of protection and development of historic districts in China, which requires further in-depth exploration.

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