A RESEARCH OF VILLAGE HOUSING

IN CHANGJIANG RIVER DELTA, CHINA



XUE GUANGJIE
EXPLORELAB



A BABY was born a day before I went to this family. The grandmother was drying these children's wear that were knitted long time ago by herself. While their home was not welcoming the new life. The old house were going to be removed in a new urbanization plan. The family would move to a new apartment offerred by the government as a compensation. When she was talking about this, there was smile on her face, from which I could imagine how much she was looking forward to the new apartment and the new modern life.

The new apartment might offer her family larger space and better infrastructure, however, is it going to bring them a better life in the future?

This is just one of thousands similar stories happening in China at the present. I don't know what she is going to tell her grandson about her home and the land where she had lived in for her entire life. It seems that this is what modern people act, nomadic. However I know home is where a story begins, where a story is happening and where a story ends.



AN OLD COUPLE were podding beans under a easy canopy in their backyard, where a group of neighbors would play Mahjong every afternoon. The whole neighborhood were soon moving to a new high rise apartments, where everything there will be constructed and fixed, while a community is not guaranteed. So many people leave, voluntarily or involuntarily, without noticing that their community generated in generations are left behind.

In the past thousands years, Chinese peasants seem all the time " silent, silent, to burst out in the silence, or to be destroyed in the silence".



By Wu Guanzhong

“TNIY BRIDGE, FLOWING BROOK,HAMLET HOMES“, that become the epitaph, have been carved on the tomb stone of the the villages in less than 30 years. “The ancient Chinese farmers are always turning and turning wordlessly after the plough. The same earth is turned over and what has ever dissolved their ancestors.” While the modernization comes as a hurricane, overwhelmingly, sweep all over this old nation, shacked the social structure, life style, village typology, everything that have been existed thousands years. All the great transformations are being squeezed into few decades. It was as if the haste to force modernity on China is matched by a haste to demolish it. Parting is a sad choice,though for the peasants, it is the only choice to meeting something new.
If the traditional villages and family housing cannot afford the peasants a modernized life they need, why do they have to live there? Instead of being nostagia, we have to be aware that, the traditional villages pattern can never afford the modern life the poetry of ordinary any more, while we also see that the current modernization is a process of excluding the poetry of ordinary out of the village. How does the socio-culture change in the modernization influence on the transformation of the housing and the the village pattern?

“ It was the best of times, it was the worst of times, it was the age of wisdom, it was the age of foolishness, it was the epoch of belief, it was the epoch of incredulity, it was the season of Light, it was the season of Darkness, it was the spring of hope, it was the winter of despair, we had everything before us, we had nothing before us “
In order to research on the change of the village in the modernization, we had better to see the context of our place and our time.” We might do not like our time, our time doesn’t care.

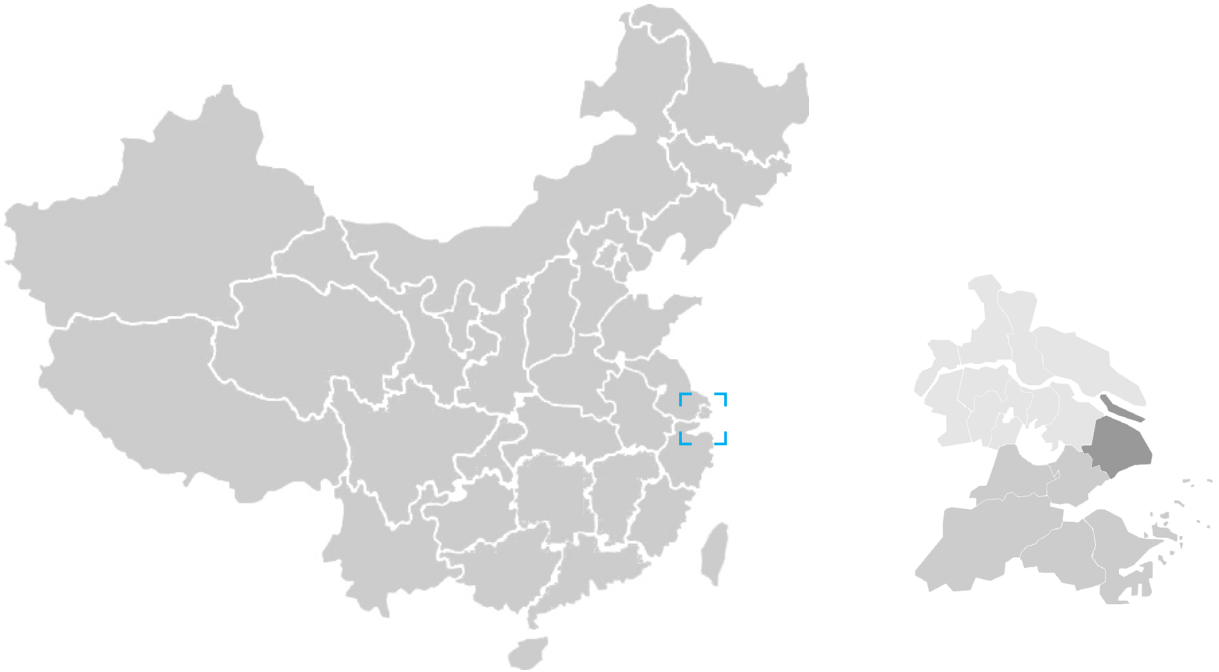
The urbanization

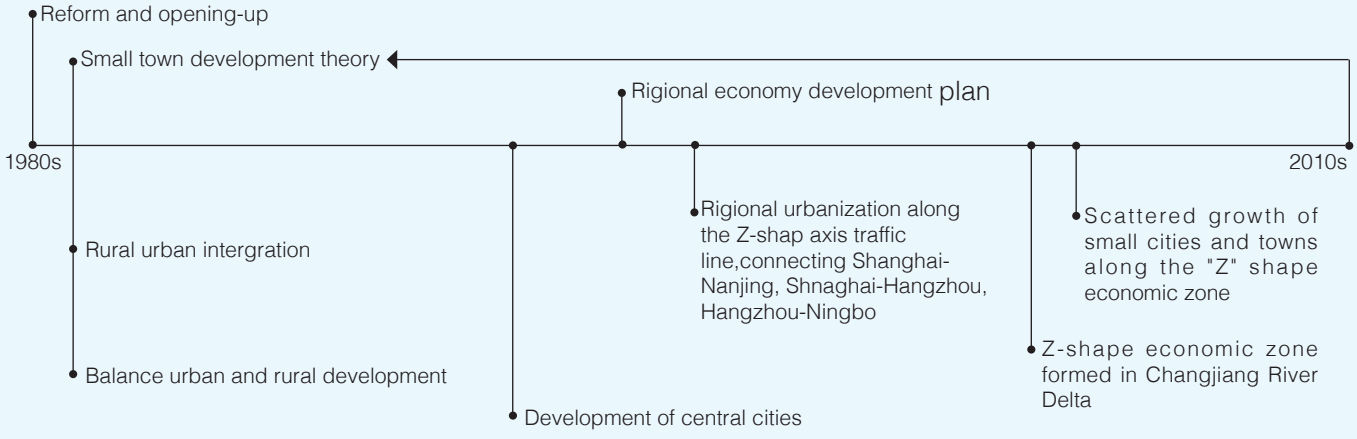
The massive urbanization in the east coast of China started since the implementation of reform and open up policy. In the 80s, Fei Xiaotong issued a theory of developing small towns, as theoretical guide of the urbanization, aiming at balancing the development between rural and urban area and integrating the rural and urban area. However, China didn't develop in this way, in face, the development turned out to a radical expansion of the big cities.

In the first period, there were only the majore cities such as Shanghai, Nanjing, Ningbo and some cities in the south Jiangsu developing, while independently. The cities in the Changjiang River Delta area were progressing separately under their own regional authorities, while competing in the same market economy.

In the middle term, the construction of highways between the developed majore cities, stimulated the development of their periphery area, moreover that of the small cities along the traffic corridor. Along the Z-shaped axes, urban growth has experienced three stages, namely point-axis expansion, adhesions-type growth and spread expansion. In addition, an obvious regional integration was observed. The gathering role of "hot spot" areas has been diminished, and areas along the Shanghai-Nanjing, Shanghai-Hangzhou, Hangzhou-Ningbo highways and the Changjiang River have become core areas that propel regional socio-economic development.

Recently, the theory of developing small town has been addressed again. Because the peasants immigrants from the countryside become the majore population in the city, meanwhile, they don't have the "full membership" to really integrate in to the urban life. The development of small towns, which considered could infill the gap between urban and rural area and capable to dilute the dense population, could eventually solve the issues under the circumstance of "under-urbanization", as some scholars addressed compare with




Reform and opening-up
Small town development theory
Rigional economy development plan
1980s
2010s
Rigional urbanization along the Z-shap axis traffic line,connecting Shanghai-Nanjing, Shnaghai-Hangzhou, Hangzhou-Ningbo
Scattered growth of small cities and towns along the "Z" shape economic zone
Rural urban intergration
Z-shape economic zone formed in Changjiang River Delta
Balance urban and rural development
Development of central cities

the “over-urbanization” in latin America.

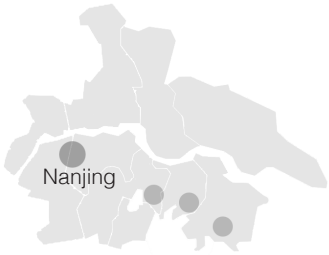
The countrside’s position in the urbanization

Above all, we can see, in fact, the countryside either be neglected or be mentioned as something should be integrated by the urban in every stage of the development. It would seem that the countryside is a appendix of the city. Even in the anthropologist’s view, from which I saw sympathy instead of confidence, consider that urbanization, though in a less radical way of developing small towns, is the only way rural area towards the modernity. As a result, In the past thirty years, although the countryside is taken into account in the slogan like “integrate the countryside and the city” and “balance the development between the city and the countryside”, countryside alway considered to be a weak refugee who need the shelter from the big city. While as Raymond Williams addressed in his book <Country and City in the Modern Novel> , the countryside neither mean undeveloped or ignorance, compare with the cities, nor a place full of pleasure. Neither countryside nor the the city could save each other.

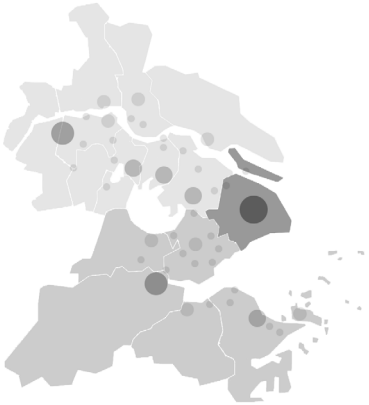
In this report, I will mainly discuss about the current modernization of the rural area and explore the future of the countryside in the urban context.



CHANGJIANG RIVER DELTA



SOUTH JIANGSU



'Z' SHAPE ECONOMIC ZONE IN CHANGJIANG RIVER DELTA



SHANGHAI



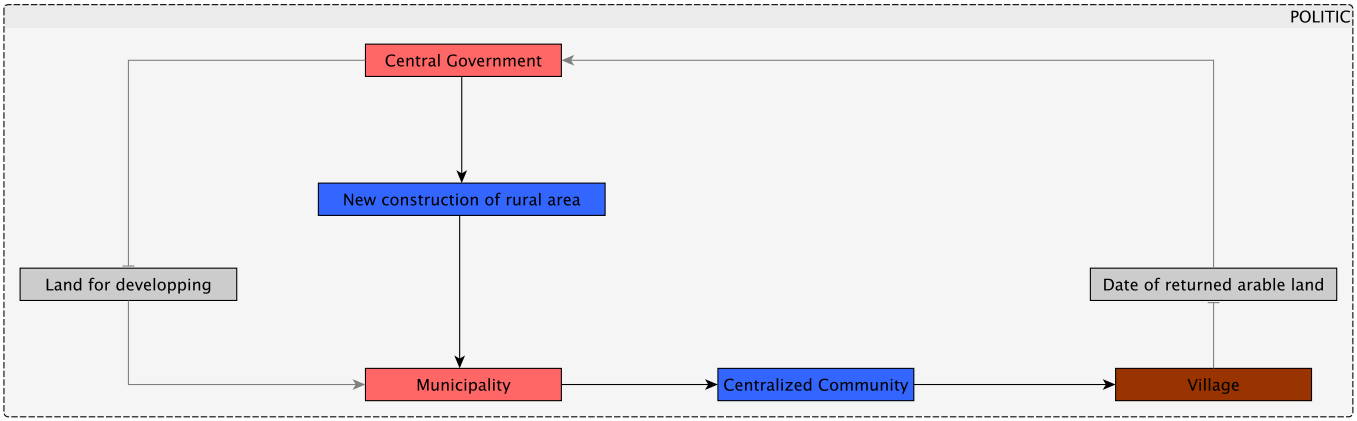
NORTH ZHEJIANG

THE POLICY

The policy that “construction of new socialist countryside” is a means to modernize the countryside and solve the problems during the process of modernization, in order to develop the countryside on different aspects: health care, education, conomiy etc. While in the practice, the top-down policy leads to a movement of rural urbanization. Of which the scale and speed, irrationally, would somehow seem as same as that in the campaigns happend in the recent history. There are two forms, yet with the same entity as rural urbanization, in the current construction. The first situation is happening in the villages that close to the urban area. Villages are fully removed, lands are returned to arable. The new villages are built on the edge of urban area, as part of the urbanization, the peasants become new urban residents as well. The second situation is happening in the villages that away from the urban area. A new centralized residence is built on the side of the motoway connected to the town. Peasants demolish their houses, then move to the new “village”.

In the interview with the municipality of the town and the village committee, I notice that there is a potential cause that lead the top-down policy into a top-down campaign. The policy “construction of the new socialist countryside” is a very general concept from the central government, as the leader addressed that they are “crossing the river by feeling the stones”. As a result, the local government, who carry on the policy, actually, become the decision maker who could re-interprete the policy based on the local situation, as they always say “comprehend the sprit of the central government”. It would be no doubt a good way to carry on the policies in a county govern with a potent centralized authority, while at the same time, so different from one place to another. However, the fact is that the right of decision making is, firmly, held in the hand of the municipality of county and town, where the voice of the village, no to mention that of the individual peasant, could be rarely heard. The policy doesn’t reach the bottom until it effects. As a consequence, the general policy is developed base on weighing the profit of the local government, mainly the income and the promising of the governors, rather than the actual wellness of the village and each peasant family. At the end, the top-town policy lost the chance to carry out in bottom-up way.

Imposing the policy that “construction of new socialist countryside” into a movement of rural urbanization, the local government claim that the irrational occupying and transforming arable land into other use by the peasants cause the lack of arable land in countryside. Moving the peasants into the new villages, the centralized residences, is consequently as they claim that the best way to return land to arable. (In the new villages, the area of each family is 400 m, while the building area is maximum 120m, which compare to the area in the original area, is largely reduced.) The government then without measuring, hand in the data of the area gap between the new and original village, as a data of increased arable land, to the central government. The central government then distribute the index of land for commercial developing, literally land for sale, to the local government. The income from selling the land to the developers, become the direct profit of the local government from the movement of the rural ur-

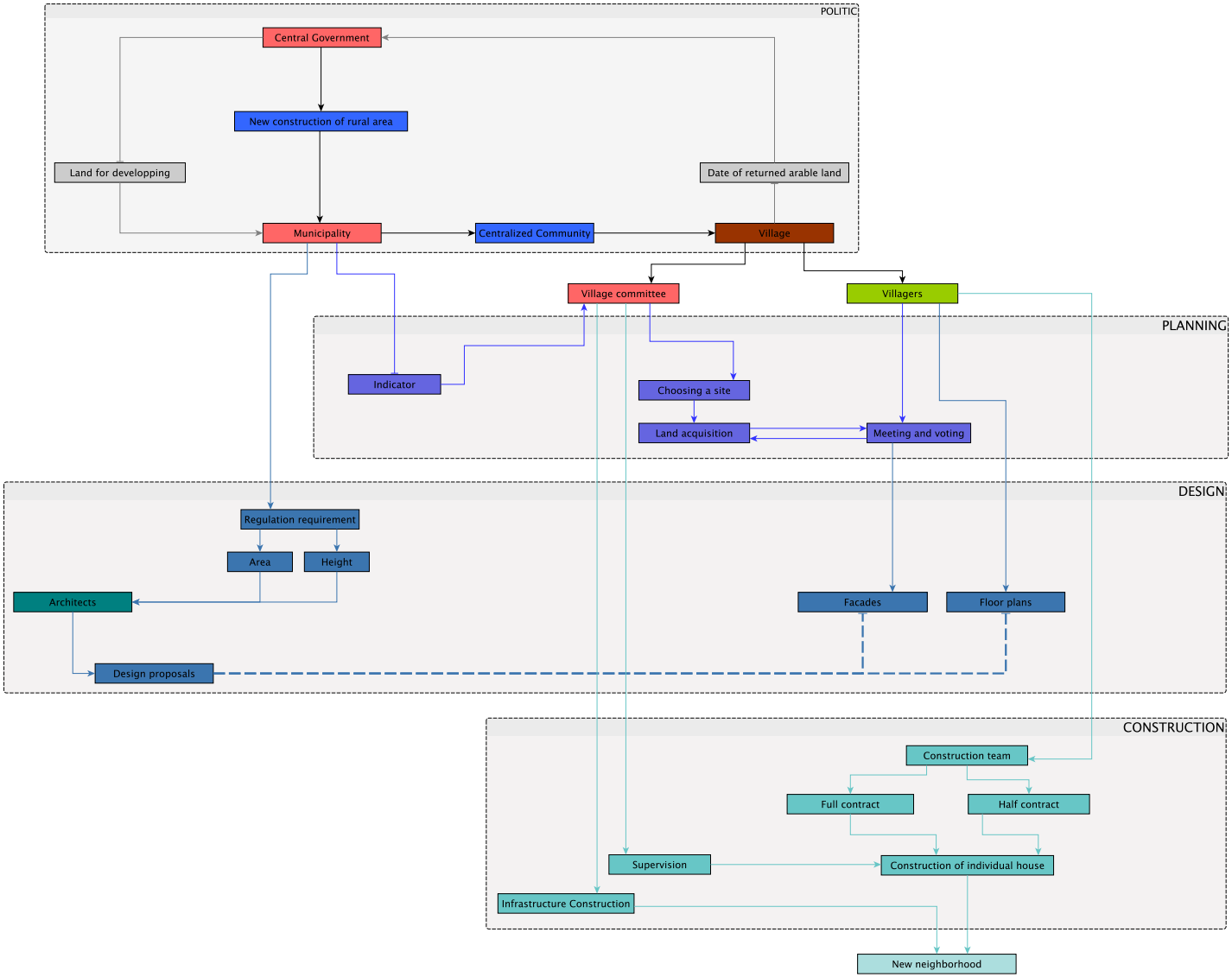


banization.

Yet, the claim is not the fact. First of all, the lack of arable land in this area is a long-standing issue due to the large population. Although building extensions is a common phenomena in the present countryside recently, I will discuss more details in the following chapter. The majore reason of the recent shortage getting radical is that economic development area and township enterprise massively occupy land without racional urban planning. (1) Secondly, As the participation of this rural urbanization movement in the villages away form the urban is not as radical as that in the villages close to the urban area, simply because the building area is reduced, yet the compensation is low. The real situation I saw is that the majority of land left by the family who move are used for more extensions by the neighbors who stay. Eventually there is no increasing of land could be properly used for agriculture.

It is ironically that the way to reduce the land lost become the way to increase land lost.

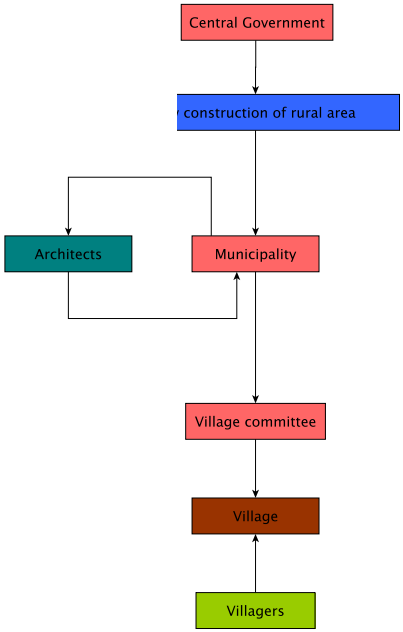
THE POLICY


POLITIC
Central Government
New construction of rural area
Land for developping
Date of returned arable land
Municipality
Centralized Community
Village
Village committee
Villagers
PLANNING
Indicator
Choosing a site
Land acquisition
Meeting and voting
DESIGN
Regulation requirement
Area
Height
Architects
Facades
Floor plans
Design proposals
CONSTRUCTION
Construction team
Full contract
Half contract
Supervision
Construction of individual house
Infrastructure Construction
New neighborhood

ARCHITECT'S POSITION

Before trying to explore a new way to odernize the countryside, I would like, as an architect, take a position first. What role should we play in the modernization, especially in this case, the modernization of countryside.

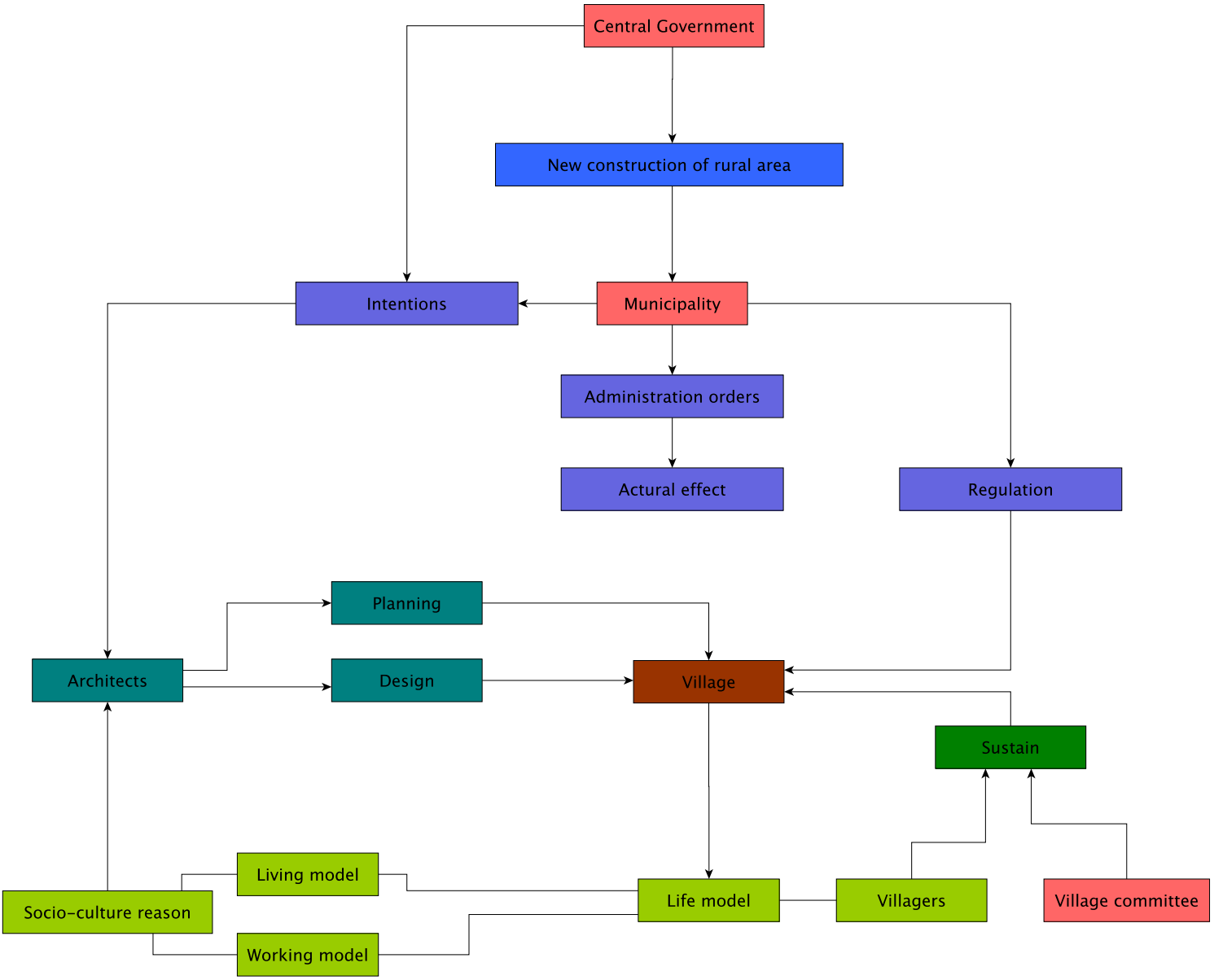
For each of our works, there is a part from the work itself intervene in local culture, religion, even in the political system. We have to aware that architecture is involved in any of the fields that deeply rooted in individuals' daily life. We might not fully control or even presume all the influences of the architecture. While any architecture is influencing, positively or negatively, to the local and even more. Architects then of course need to take the responsibility for all the influences architecture make, therefore there is a serious obligation for architects to put effort and intent in our works to intervene, or non-intervene, in all the fields. Nonetheless, architects don't create anything, basically what architects do is mediating between the project and the local, provide the possibility to generate the harmony in between. However there are always so many contradictions between the project and the local, especially in the developing countries, where all the great transformations are being squeezed into few decades, where the haste to force modernity is matched by a haste to demolish it. Architects might hardly rescue the village from an institutional failure only in an architectural way, while addressing the problems is necessary to ensure the right position to stand on. As the Indian architect Charles Correa said "It is very important to know that the issues are very often bigger than you, but if you face them, you have a chance to grow, in the end you may never solve them, but I think the point to be an architect is to face these issues and address them." It is not suggesting that wo have to propose a solution to take place of another, while we need to step out of the mistake, and move on toward a right direction on the way of the continuing searching for solutions. An architect should at first be an individual responsible to his society



We can see in the current situation that architect is an branch of the municipality in this rural urbanization movement. there is rarely connection with the local, neither communication with the actual users nor investigation on the site. The work of architects then neglect all the endogenous substances of the countryside. As same as Christopher Alexander said “Yet, architects themselves, have lost their intuition too, since they no longer have a widely shared language which roots them in the ordinary feeling people have.” There is serious obligation for architects to communicate in different fields, especially in a top-down policy dominated society.

We have already discussed that the local government carry on the policies as a decision maker who could re-interprete the policy based on the local situation, it is practical in a country govern with a potent centralized authority, while at the same time, so different from one place to another. However the problem, in the case of modernization of countryside, is that the decision making is ceased at the municipality level. What is essential is that exemplifying the voice of the village and each peasant. It might be too radical to say hand in the decision making right to the village, while it is without any doubt that necessary to involve the community into the decision making process. As an architect in this case, could be one of the tools of the communication. We might not able to be the main ducts within a trunk to connect the roots and the leaves, however instead of being a branch, we might be the ants busying between bottom and up. No matter how small we perceive in every return, it is from which how big we could presume.

ARCHITECT'S POSITION



THE METHODOLOGY

Mass housing priduction

The planning and design process that neglect all the endogenous substances of the countryside result in the housing that cannot afford ordinary rural life any more. During the construction, we will see, a peasant family cannot build his own house in the collaboration with other peasants and tradesmen. They have to be taken place by a professional construction team. The “construction of new socialist countryside” is simply interpreted in to superficial uniform. “The only way to ensure uniformity is the rigorous exclusion of the action of individual man,” as a result, individual cannot involve themselves in the housing precess.The new construction of the village turn out to be a “mass housing” production, which “pretends that the involvement of the individual and all the it implies simply ought not to exist”, as Habraken addressed that,“ The provision of housing therefore cannot be called a process of man housing himself. Man no longer houses himself: he is housed.”





However, are these individuals’ activities as undesirable as the municipality and the architects afraid of? In fact, the importance of these interference are on the contrary so natural and self-evident that “so simple and everyday that it seems almost superfluous to mention them. At the same time they are so interwoven with human happiness and human dignity that they are far more than merely an influence in the housing process.”

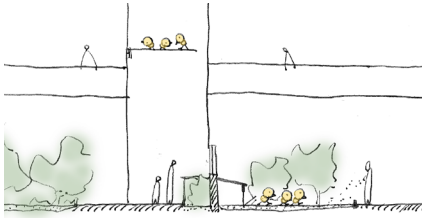
Housing cannot afford the daily life in all its richness

At the end, as we can imagine that the housing could not afford the rural life, no to mention all kinds of dramatical changes in the modernizing life. However, our daily life in all its richness cannot tolerate the restraint from the rigorous uniformity. The result, that a new form start to be constructed in the process of the destruction of the uniformity, is as same as we can see in Chandigarh that gradually changed by the local to adapt their life, as well as the tower of David in Caracas rmited (renovated, modified, intervened and transformed) by the residents to accommodate their families,









or to some extend, as same as the communist ideology regardless of individuality finally abandoned or changed the definition by the majority. Yet, some building are too rigid to be adapted before they are completely demolished. A rigorous uniformity, like that of mass housing, will provide massive restriction for personalization, thus there will be a long process of searching for order in the disorder. For instance, there are already some conflicts between people's daily life and the housing immediately after the construction was completed. 1) Peasants built workshops, which is consider as illegal building by the government, to meet their need of producing. Due to the constraint of building area, the "illegal workshop" has to be built inside the front yard. On one hand, people managed to change the architecture form by intervening a new building, in which they could adapt part of the necessity of their daily life. On the other hand, they have to destroy part of the architecture they might need as well, with the loss of enjoyment of another part of daily life. Sadly, home and family life is still in a contradiction. 2) A family built a chicken coop, as they usually do, in the only small garden in the courtyard, which adjacent to neighbor's courtyard. While every time when they feed the children, there is a group of sparrow waiting on a wire above the neighbor's courtyard. Unfortunately, all the shit goes into the neighbor's courtyard where normally they park their car.

Disappearing of countryside

Even if a family could, eventually through their hard working, transformed their house to afford the richness of daily life, a village could no longer generate conviviality in the collective life within a community. Home might be retrieved, yet hometown is gone. Blunt and Dowling (2006) in criticizing humanistic geography for its ignorance of the relation between social structure and the meaning of place, consider the concept in an even broader context by arguing that home can be conceptualized as "process" of establishing connecting with others and creating a sense of order and belonging as part of society. In the new constructed village, the "relation

between social structure and the meaning of place" is neglected all along the planning and designing process, a human settlement therefore has no connection with where human settle down, where they get a sense of home in a larger geographical perception. The countryside, in this case the geographical perception, disappeared in the construction of new countryside. Moreover, the social mechanism in which people "establish connecting with others and creating a sense of order and belonging as part of society" is not taken into account. The neighborhoods thus could not afford the residents to generate a community, from which they sense home in a social perception. The village, in this case the social perception, disappeared in the construction of new village.

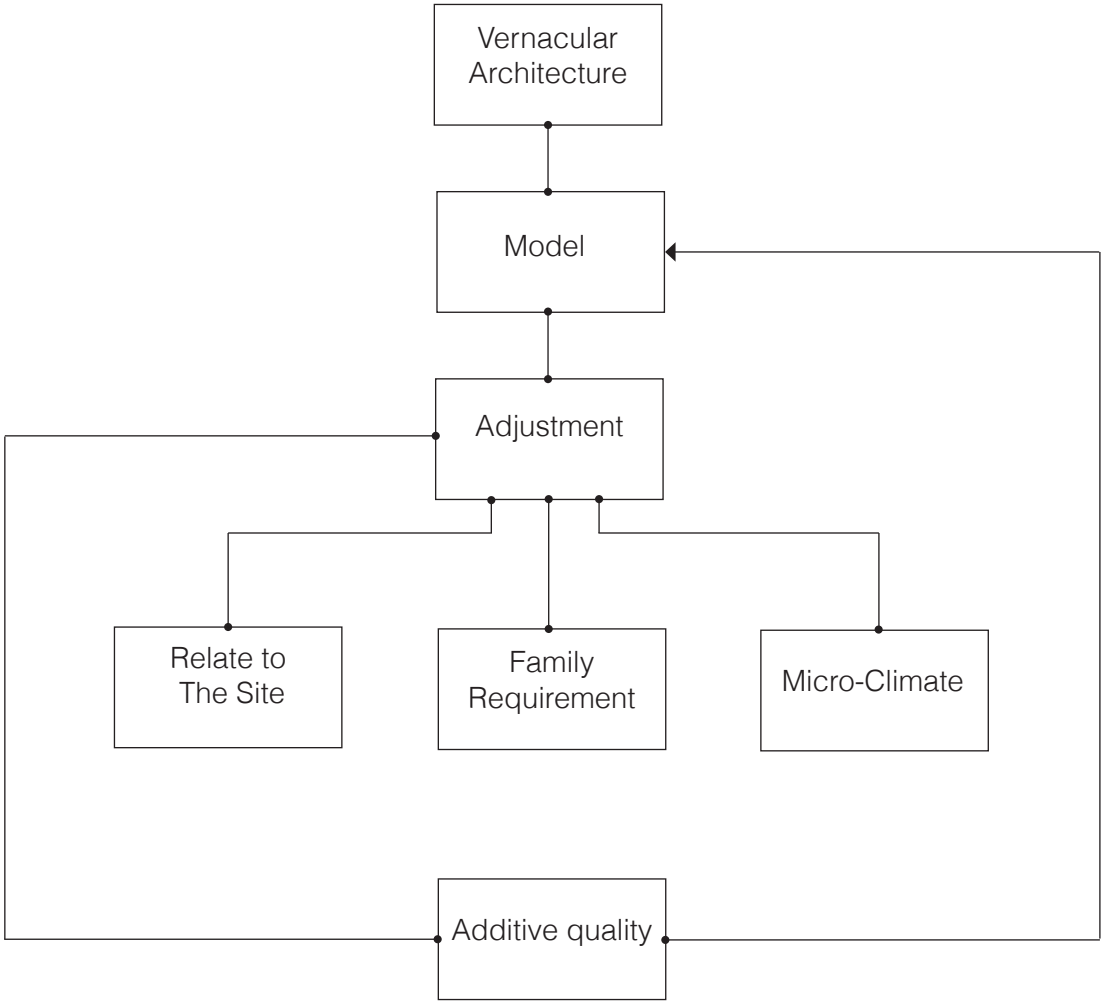
Vernacular housing process

After study the method of the "construction of new socialist countryside", we found the it is a way that skip all the influences from the rural site in oder to impose the modernity in villages as soon as possible. All the issues the villages are facing come from a inconsiderate housing process. It is necessary to study the method of the traditional construction way of vernacular housing, by compare the two construction way, to explore a new methodology of modernize the village.

Based in Rampoport's research, we can conceptualize the housing process in a diagram.

The model

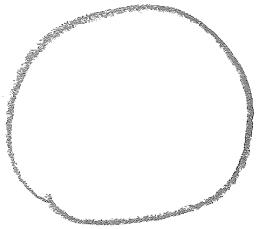
The model a whole village share is, to some extend, a uniformity conceptualized from their common understanding of daily life, nevertheless, it is different from the uniformity that imposed in the construction of the new villages. In which case, the model tried be the final product is the result of the local government's interpretation of the top-down policy in the consideration of its own profit as well as the architects' interpretation of modern life from their experience of urban life. In the vernacular housing process, "the model itself


Vernacular Architecture
Model
Adjustment
Relate to The Site
Family Requirement
Micro-Climate
Additive quality

THE METHODOLOGY

is the result of the collaboration of many people over many generations as well as the collaboration between makers and users of buildings and other artifacts, which is what is meant by the term “traditional””.

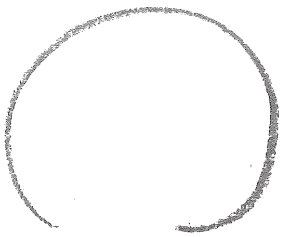
I’m not suggesting that we should reintroduce the vernacular housing process or the traditional model into the modernization. Because “as soon as given culture or way of life has changes, its form would become meaningless.” Nostalgia is as dangerous as the mania of modernity. As I addressed before that the modernization is so haste that have been squeezed into few decades, it is no longer possible for the peasants to develop a new model coherent with their changed and changing life in a long-term collaboration. It therefore urgently asks for a new model to afford the modernity which has already been part of rural life, yet it doesn’t mean that we could conceptualize the model only from a professional interpretation of modernity. As Habraken said “man’s way of living is the most ordinary thing in the world. It is daily life in all its richness, the inexhaustible source from which our intelligence may fabricate artificial little worlds by disregarding variety and emphasizing what is common” Above all, architects need to connect themselves with the ordinary rural life, seek for the model where the cooprating between the stubbornness of the tradition and the arrogance of the modernity could generated, so that the model itselfe will presever the rural quality and modernize in process.



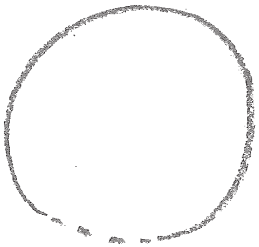
A MODEL

Adjustment

As I discussed at the beginning, the construction of new villages as same as mass housing production, intentionally or unintentionally, exclude the involvement of peasants’ action. It pretends that the uniformity covers all the aspects of a modern life. There is no specifics, neither family requirement nor relation to the site nor micro-climate, that remain to be determined. On one hand, during the construction “the fashionable taste of architects is so persuasive that people will believe, against the evidence of their own inner



ADJUSTMENT



OPENNESS

feelings. They have lost confidence in their own judgement. They have handed over the right to design, and lost their own pattern languages so utterly that they will do anything which architects tell them." On the other hand, immediately after the construction completed, people, like putting on a wrong-size suit, start to struggle within it. All the conflicts between the daily life and the new housing recall myself Habraken's words, "man himself, by his very presence, determines what a dwelling is. A dwelling is only a dwelling, not when it has a certain form, not when it fulfills certain conditions which have been written down after long study, not when certain dimensions and provisions have been made to comply with municipal by-laws, but only and exclusively when people come to live in it. " Yet it doesn't imply that the model with certain uniformity is not necessary. "since few people create their own environments now, or have them created, they possess, define, and modify settings through manipulating semi-fixed element.-"personalization"" It underline that the following personalization of the common model is essential to to make a dwelling home. Which doesn't mean architects should leave a unfinished building to the peasants, but a openness enable the architecture to grow up with the attendence of its occupants. A openness as Amos Rampoport described "underdesign rather than overdesign: loose fit as opposed to tight fit, which is partly and importantly in terms of the ability of users to communicate particular meanings through personalization, by using objects and other environmental elements in order to transform environments so that they might communicate different meanings particular to various individual groups."

"We must remember that a mere poetic statement of an intention regarding housing is not enough. The problem we are wrestling with is what we must achieve this harmony in the most literal sense."

THE METHODOLOGY

Now, it is clear that the methodology of construction of new village should, first of all, develop the model that based on the endogenous substances of the village, in other words, an architectural model root in ordinary rural life. In addition, design the openness for adjustment.

An architectural model that coherent with the living model

The living model, as discussed above, could be conceptualized into two, first the relation between social structure and the meaning of place,second the social connection within the family and the community. In short, we need to find out how is the relation between people and the place and the relation between people and people.

A village is consist of the all the family houses, the architects who designs the rural housing, therefore is the planner of the village as well. One family house is the place where include living and working, private life and collective life, sometimes, even functioning as a public building for social activities of the whole village. “we had better not try directly to seek the form of the town, but rather the relationship between people and matter which is what the consist of the town, as a unity of man and matter, can only be imagined as the result of a process in which the natural relationship take part, for only then do town and population “process” each other to their fullest extent. It is possible then that society via the individual as its smallest unit, via the dwelling as the smallest unit of the town, can project itself directly in to the form of the town.”(support) The design of rural housing, of which the influence to the village cannot be neglected, thus should be progressing alone with the village planning, which influence every individual’s life.

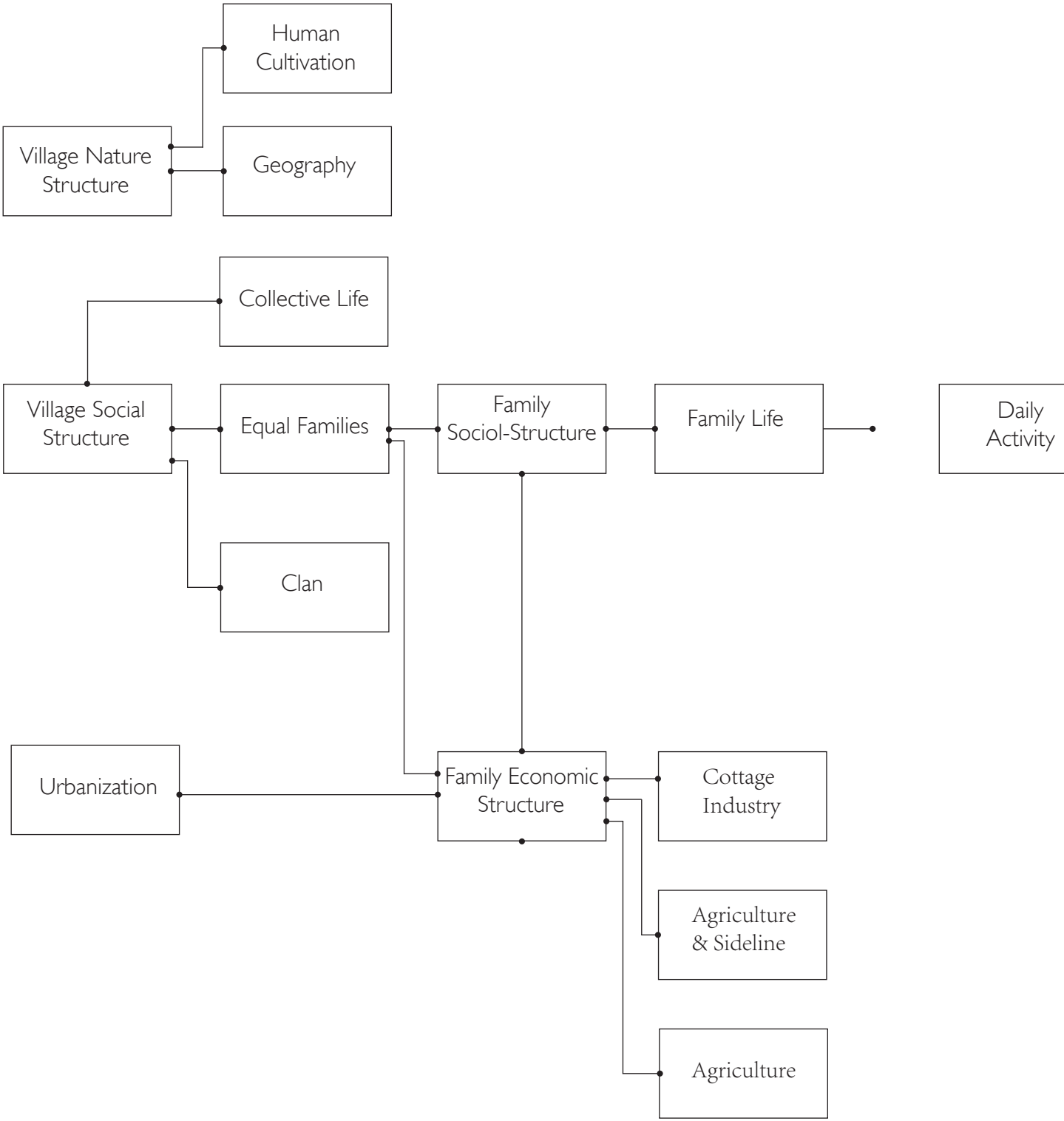
Nevertheless, the relation between people and matter is still abstractive . What we could perceive is the activities between them, while the meaning behind the activity is what we need to presume.

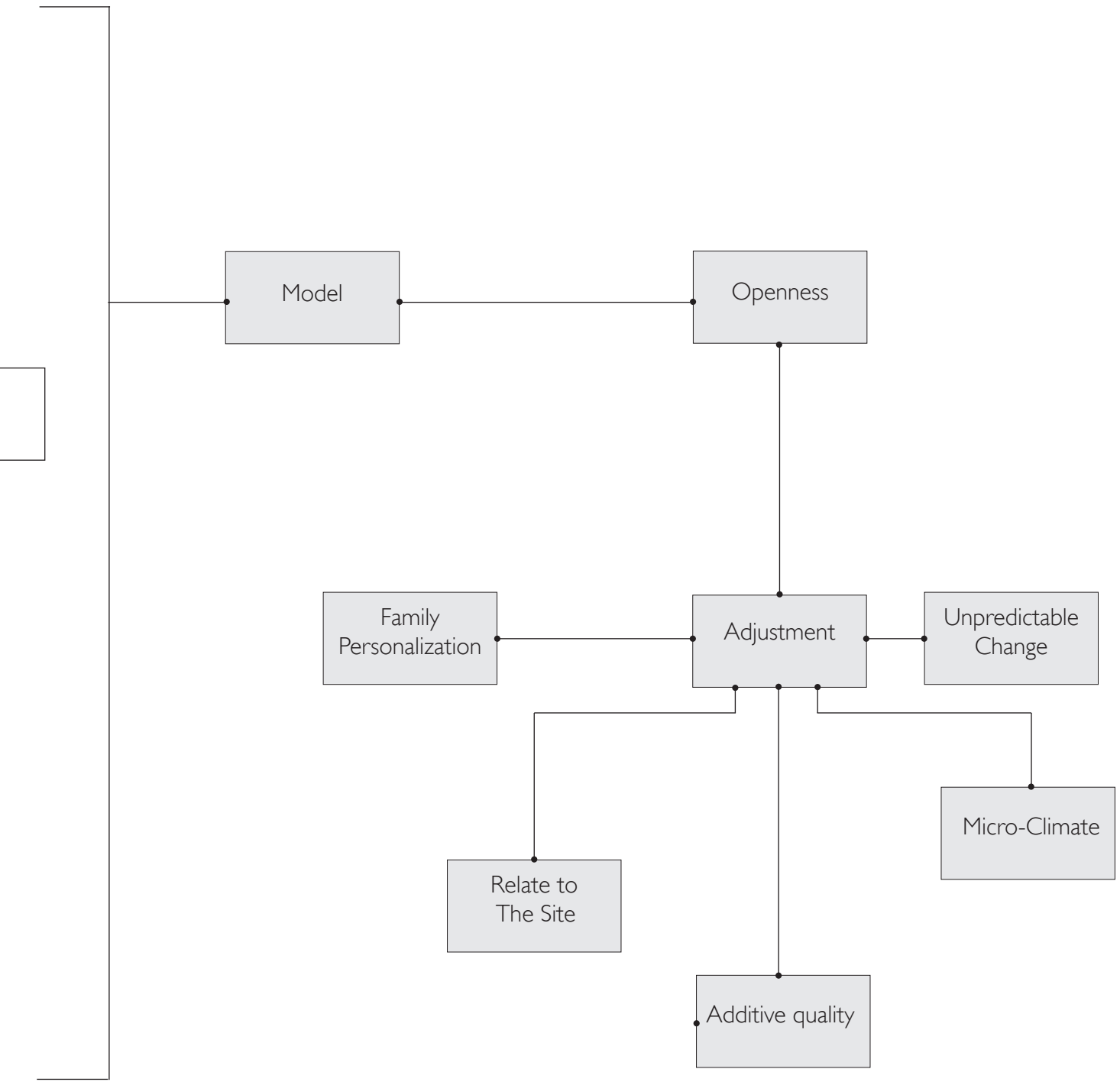
1 The site, presume the Genius Loci, preserve or revive

3 the collective life , the conversation
4 family life, the reunion
5 family working model, industrialization - flexibility

Underdesign the architectural model

In addition to conceptualize the model, as we argued so much that it is human act that determines a dwelling is, it is therefore essential to explore to what extend could the architectural model be underdesigned, so that a proper loose fit could allow the peasants to personalize it. In order to design this kind of openness, I believe that architects need, first of all, discuss how much themselves, instead of the peasants, couldn't intervene into the housing process. In other words, how much they couldn't presume the living model. Because addressing our ignorance and limitation is a way of respecting the nature of our ordinary life. It doesn't mean we don't care or we are unable to do anything about that, on a contrary, it is how we start to care and open more possibilities to solve the unpredictable problems we are going to face. Then we need to explore what objects and other environmental elements could be used, through which, the peasants could transform the environments.


Human Cultivation
Village Nature Structure
Geography
Collective Life
Village Social Structure
Equal Families
Family Sociol-Structure
Family Life
Daily Activity
Clan
Urbanization
Family Economic Structure
Cottage Industry
Agriculture & Sideline
Agriculture


Model
Openness
Family
Personalization
Adjustment
Unpredictable
Change
Micro-Climate
Relate to
The Site
Additive quality



Blue sky and white clouds on the wall

A old woman is sitting under the eave, knitting with grandchildren playing aroud her. Their background is the exterior wall painted blue and white, which turns grey and mottled, like the sky of these years. There is a child's handwriting:

BLUE SKY WHITE CLOUDS
THOUSANDS MOUNTAINS THOUSANDS RIVERS
HANDREDS FLOWERS BLOSOM TOGETHER
HANDREDS BIRDS
HORSE DOES NOT STOP RUNNING





A well preserved courtyard

A short wall piled with bricks separated the garden where a middle age woman is picking up peas from the street next to it. Although she only come back home once a week, as she is babysitting her granddaughter in the city where her son lives, the garden is still well organized and fully cultivated. It is full of peas along the short wall, parallel with which, there are rows of onion, green onion, garlic and different vegetables. Two peach trees next to the exterior wall are full of little green peaches hidden in the green of the early summer. As same as most of the peasants' houses, there are two gardens in her house, the one outside is open to the public while the one inside is completely closed, in between of them is a kitchen and a dinning room.

The courtyard is called 'Tianjin' in the vernacular language, which literally means sky well, the well that infilled with the sky. Unlike the courtyard of a ancient wealthy family's house that closed by their own buildings, the courtyard of an ordinary rural family is usually closed by their own building and their neighbor's. A concrete field in front of the main hall, that used for drying grains in the sun,occupy half of the courtyard; anther half is soil paved with green moss. There is a shallow ditch holding the rain drops from neighbor's eave. Two trees are big enough to block the view from neighbor's window. Chicken coop is arranged in the conner of the courtyard. While some considerate families would put a fence around the soil part so that the chickens would only walking inside. The visitor who intrude into the courtyard, was standing there for the first time cannot but feel the peaceful of the village with the breathing of the air that flowing smoothly and gently, through the moist earth that cover with mosses; through every trees and their leaves; even through the shade on the concrete field,gradually, he immersed himself into the peacefulness of the "well".

NATURE



1. The house itself was a microcosm in primitive and preindustrial culture, as the city was an imago mundi" (house, form and culture p52)

When the gate is closed, the courtyard under a small piece of sky is a microcosm in balance with itself. However the balance is not fragile, a vistor come from far way, a quarreling swallow couple or a group of jumping sparrows, would immediately blend into the existing balance. Because the courtyard is closed, though not isolated. The connection with the outside world ensures the microcosm balance itself within a larger balance of the whole village, which is "an imago mundi".[1] A single family's house is balanced between inside and outside by connecting the private courtyard with the open-to-public garden through the in-between space which is affording the most basic daily activities; one family house and another are separated from each other, it would seem, by the in-between garden, which actually prevent the interference from each other and connect houses into one neighborhood in a sense of sharing the peaceful atmosphere within each courtyard;all the neighborhoods that formed by adjacent families are then weaved, by the paths that go through each family's outside garden, into a whole village; the vast land either cultivated or wild: rice fields, mulberry fields, fish ponds, rivers,cemetery, and all the countless lives and souls within, connect villages together and give it the name of countryside, through which they identify themselves. "The Cosmos may be reflected in a microcosm at a whole range of scales, from an entire land through a city, a village, a house as a whole, the space within a house, and the furniture in it. Each, or all, may reflect the shape in which the world is visualized."

Architects have to acknowledge that the peasants are, empirically and instinctively, better than them at communicating with the nature. what architects could do in the modernization, in the process of which the peasants tend to lost their most elementary intuition, is providing the space that can still afford the conversation between the rural lives and the nature. However before that, they have to find out where and how is the conversation taking place.

A CLOSED COURTYARD is intended to be independent from the community, in order to creat an environment where people could stay alone with their family, and stay alone with the nature. Spatially, people and the nature face each other, in between of which, an atmosphere for talking is generated. Both the people and the nature are the subjects of the conversation while themselves, act as a structure, become part of the place where the conversation take place.



THE OUTSIDE GARDEN that confined by short wall, is still a private space in which the people and the nature are still the subjects of the conversation. However the outside garden, though not accessible, together with the short wall is considered to be part of the public environment by the passers-by with a view contact. It is not a place only for staying alone any more, but a place providing the possibilities for communicating with the outside world. When the people working inside the garden encounter the passers-by on the street, the nature change his role as a subject into a background of the conversation, and part of the place.



THE VAST LAND is divided by the dense population of this area into private pieces, nevertheless,the boundaries are immersed in plants. The land then, through the cultivation of human being, is reconnected into one which is vast compare with the human settlements. It is the vast land in between, the vast goldenness of autumn, the vast greenness of spring, that connect the human settlements into a rural environment, it is also the vast land, at the sight of which, people from the urban area perceive the entering of the countryside.

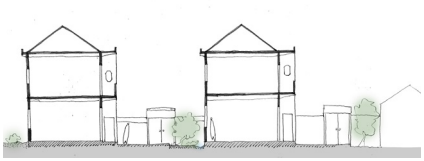


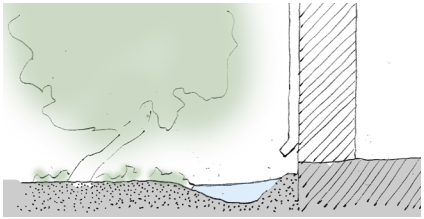
THE FRAGMENTARY PIEVES OF LAND in the open area are cultivated by various families. During the cooking time, the housewives would go there to cut some Chinese chives, pick some beans, and by the way, have a short conversation with the people passing by.



NATURE







There are plenty of free land along the river which was used in this way in the past when the river was still serving daily activities and functioning as a transportation, while they have been gradually abandoned with the abandon of the river. At the present, people would like to used the land along the street where there is more opportunities to meet people. The spontaneity of cultivation in the fragmentary open land is obviously not for the need of food, but for the communication with the villagers. These fragmentary cultivated land, as a part, spatially weave the other parts of the rural landscape in to one; within which the social activities constitute the fragmentary village social network into one community. “The quality of life is just like that: it cannot be made, but only generated.” The whole rural landscape and the whole community within are generated from a most basic need for communication of each individual,and subtly, through a most basic way in each individual’s rural life - cultivation. A poetry of the ordinary life reveals in the structure of ordinary.

As Aldo van Eyck said, ‘whatever space and time mean, place and occasion mean more. For space in the image of man is place, and time in the image of man is occasion.’ The spaces mentioned above, either private or public, afford different activities for the sake of what the spaces are made. By including people and their activities, no matter they are happening or not, a space become a place. As the village life is consist of all these events in each place, the places that would seem to be separated from each other, are actually connected and constituted into the pattern of a village.

COLLECTIVE LIFE

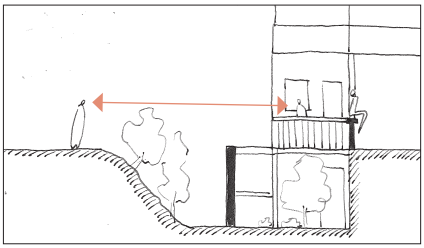
Strangers

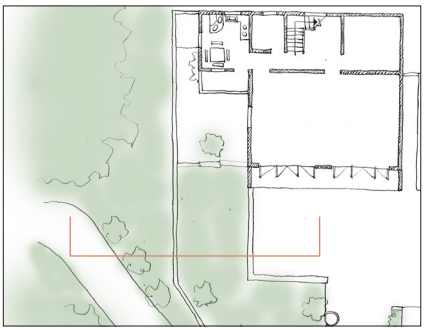
“What are you taking photo for?” A middle age woman came out of the kitchen, stood in the a balcony, shouted to me in a poor mandarin. She looks like a guard, querying a stranger who dare intrude the forbidden zone.

“I’m Minhua’s son.”I reply in dialect.

“You are Guang!” Her stressed face released and moved along with the dialect tongue, “When did you come back?” “how long are you going to stay here?” “Our house is so that broken, why do you want take photos of it?”...

Now, she looks like a housewife meeting a old friend in the open market.





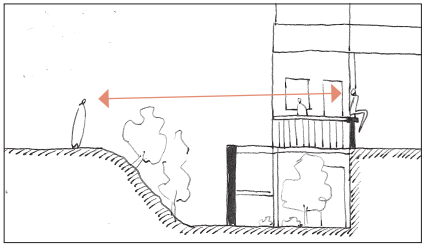


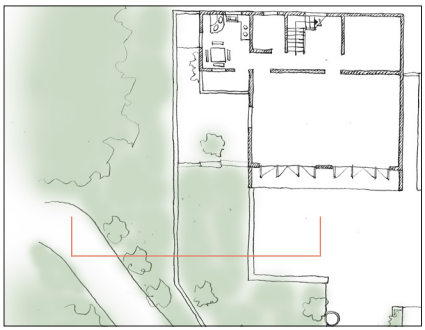
Neighbors

“Come here! come here! Let the young man take a photo of you. You dress very beautiful today!” She shout out again, but with simile this time, to the mulberry trees outside the wall.

“Who is this young man?”Another middle age woman came out the the trees, went close to us. She is the neighbor, who is throwing trash.

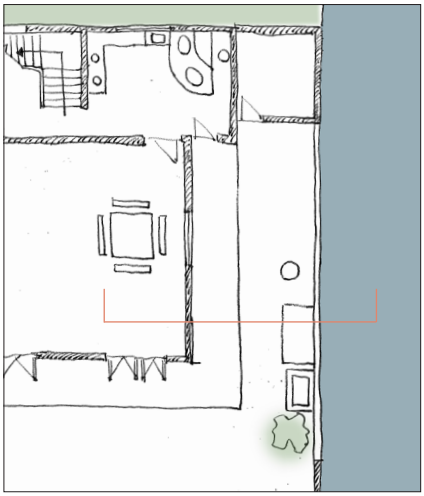
“Oh, long time no see! I haven’t seen you since you were a child. Come, come, come, you drop by so rarely, let me pick up some cherries for you.” She came into the neighbor’s house, directly went to the cherry tree in the garden. It seems that she is the owner of this house, while the real owner took a chair out of the kitchen to help her pick cherries.

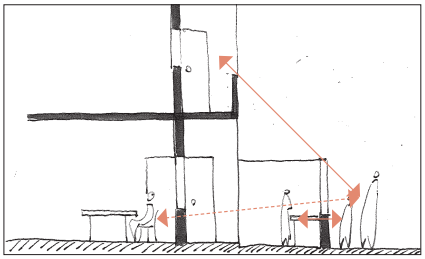






COLLECTIVE LIFE





When I visited this family, a boy is studying in the dinning room with his little brother sitting next to him. The dinning room is next to the street, though there is a space in between, the iron fence instead of a solid wall and the window in the dinning room provide a connection between the interior and the outside street. When I went out, I saw two kids walking along the street quietly, while a few minuts later, the boy who was studying went out with his bicycle join his crew. Another time when I passed by this family, I saw their money was doing laundry in the space between the dinning room and the street. People pass by, some say hello, some stop and start chatting.







Communication in between

The relation between spaces turn out to be very different in the same spatial organization, because of different relations between subjects who are using the spaces. In the first case, at first the people who meet are stranger, so that the wall between them, act as a boundary, separate the spaces on the two side into a public sphere and a private sphere, in which the middle age is defending her privacy. The private sphere, to some extend, even extend outside of the wall. Afterwards, people become familiar, a friendly communication defuse the boundary, the public sphere goes into the private sphere. No matter whether the subjects consider the opposite space as the extension of their own, the boundary once separate the subjects and define the two sphere, in-between the two spaces into a new space. For the users, the new in-between space is generated after the accommodation of their communication, while for architecture, it is exist already at the beginning as part of the architectural potential, “the potential for being lived in”. As Aldo Rossi said, “Similarly, architecture becomes the vehicle for an event we desire, whether or not it actually occurs, and in our desiring it, the event becomes something “progressive” in the Hegelian sense. But it is for this reason that the dimensions of a table or a house are very important - not, as the functionalists thought became they carry out a determined function, but because they permit other functions. Finally, because they permit everything that is unforeseeable in life.”

COLLECTIVE LIFE

The basis of the social network

The relation between people in different generations is a weak connection even in a familiar society like a village, time is something more powerful than space which could resist the human relation. In a village, the social network of the people in different generations are buit by the relation of the people in the same generation. For instance, when the old women talks gossip about younger generations, they could not name them but their grandparents, while the middle age women would name their parents. The social relation of the same generations, that build on everyday studying and working, and the family relation together act as strong connection, bond different social networks into one community. It is the reason why the people who went out since they were young and return when they are old, could still be able to blend in the village community.

The undermine of the social network basis

The social relation among peers is generated and maintained in social activities, such as daily meet among neighbors. However the neighborhood can only generate a relatively small social network within it. School is the obligatory and effective institute that constitute a larger social network that cover the whole village. A firm and complete social relation of one generation is the basis of a “acquaintance society”. If the school is removed, or the school can no longer constitute the network basis for the whole village, the village social network would tend to fall apart. It might be not obviously serious in the first generation, as the social network is still bonded by their parents and grandparents. While the complete social network is going to be dismissed into small neighborhoods, or even sigle families in the following generation, to what extend that the village cannot exist any more. (In the village where I did my research, the school was dismissed several years ago, so were many other villages. All the children go to school of big scale in the cities, in which the social network of the village can no longer be built.)

Although there are public space in village, such as tea house


1. Fishing


2. Hunting frogs in the field

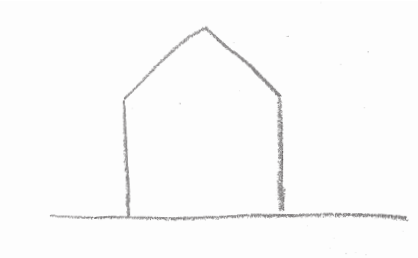

3. Eating fruit from meber

and food market where social activities take place, nevertheless, through which the social relation are maintaining is based on the existing social relation that built in the childhood. In other words, any of these public spaces within which, the social activity is only reinforcing the existing social relation will not solve the problem we are facing. Removing school from the village is basically a political problem which cause potential social problems. Architects might hardly rescue the village from an institutional failure only in an architectural way, while stating the problem is necessary to ensure the right position to stand on. As charles Correa said “It is very important to know that the issues are very often bigger than you, but if you face them, you have a chance to grow, in the end you may never solve them, but I think the point to be an architect is to face these issues and address them.” An architect should at first be an individual responsible to his society.

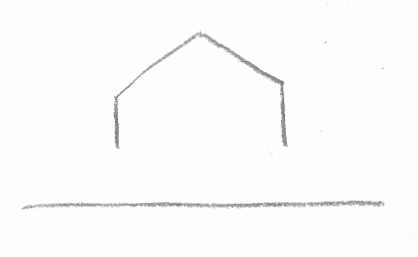
Rebuild the basis

Since the reason, that a school located in a village is essential for a “acquaintance society” to constitute the social network basis, is that the obligatory meeting of the children in school enable and ensure the social network to be completed in each generation. Although there are scarcely any other institutions in rural area function as a school. We might search for other places that could, either obligatory or occasionally , gather children who could possibly from any family in the village. When I walk in the village, I found some places are attractive for children. When I talk to the villagers, I discovered more places in their precious memories. The memories might be weathered, the scene, space and event together, never fall apart. As a village is basically a type of human settlement and manmade landscape. Not until meaningful to the soul of the human settlers, would the soul of a village exist. Not only need we to find out the speciality of the rural environment, but also its coherence with the rural society. Only in this way would the rural speciality be developed into a rural quality. It is this quality that, the coherence of the rural speciality with the village activities and the meaning behind, the “Genius Loci” I have been looking for.

COLLECTIVE LIFE



Private



Open to public

The ceremonial

The most basic daily events and the space where they take place become the basic pattern of a village. However some events, because of its special socio-cultural meaning, force the the basic pattern transform dramatically into another pattern within some time. Amos Rapoport described the importance of these event: “even at the more advanced level of peasant societies, ceremonial is still of prime importance, and all social relations are more than utilitarian and always surrounded by symbolism. The omnipresent ceremonial must be paid for labor, goods, or money, and the ‘ceremonial fund’ is a peasant village may be very large compared to other aspects of economy. The emphasis on ceremonial varies in different cultures. Its importance is related to its function in underlining and exemplifying the solidarity of the community; it also presents an ideal model of the social mechanism.”

There is an example of how important a wedding is to the social relation of the village. A man was married to a woman in a matrilocal way, and had lived in her village for 20 years. While he divorced few years ago and married a woman from another province. They moved back to this village where he grew up also with his parents-in-law. When the villagers discussed about him, none of them was gossipping this unacquainted family, which normally is bad example of the “Li”. While most of them compliment him as a good example of “li”, because he did an ceremonious wedding when he moved back, invited all his relatives and all the villagers. The wedding in a village, as a ceremonial of a acquaintance society accepting a stranger, its meaning to the social relation in the village is far greater than that to the family itself. As a consequence, the ceremonials such as wedding or funeral would transform a family house into a public building: all the doors are open, temporary stoves are made in the open area, music is loud enough to hear from any conner of the village, the ground floor is accessible to anyone. A private house is literally transformed into a culture center

of the village during the ceremonial.

Since a ceremonial is for the sake of underlining and exemplifying the solidarity of the community and presenting an ideal model of the social mechanism, the symbolism meaning exaggerated the collective social activities to a extend where the personal emotion could not be real anymore. For instance, during the funeral family members and relatives have to wail endlessly for several days around the body to show the village how respectful they are. The symbolism make the meaning of the personal emotion so negligible that it is far less significant than that in every trivial of the ordinary life. Tao Qian, a great poet lived in 1600 years ago, has already pointed out it in a poetry that describe his future funeral, “Some of relatives might be still sad, the rest are already singing.” It is the reason why a same space in a family house could afford either weddings with “happiest” emotions or funerals with “saddest” emotions. It is not the subtle personal emotions that a space necessarily afford in the ceremonial, but the shared symbolism.

FAMILY LIFE

Village type

There are three types of village in China, the first, Clan village. Family is a economical unit and a symbiotic group, clan is their complex and a blood unit. The second, Clan-family double structure village, there are two types of land ownership, one is the public ownership of the clan, another is the private ownership of a family. The third, family combination village, family that independent and has equal status with others is the only unit of the village. The third type of the village is the most common village type in the Changjiang River Delta area. There are three main reasons, 1) the increasing population as a pressure to the limited land; 2) the development of market economy; 3) the found of industry and commercial town.

In the villages, the family scale is getting smaller and smaller. “at the end of 1990, the last lineal-joint family in Yanguan is disappeared.” “Lineal families separate into two nuclear family before they become a lineal-joint family; The oldest son and his wife and children own one kitchen, while his parent and his siblings who are not married live together.” However under the one child policy, we can see today, lineal families with relatively less members than before tend to keep complete instead of split.

Family structure

In my field research, I found that there are several family types:
1.The most common type is small scale lineal family, including grandparents, a couple and their child.(As it is allowed to have two children if the parents are both only child in their family. In the research, I found that most of the family would like to have two children under the permission of government.)
2.Small scale lineal family that grandparents live in the village where other family members live in the city. There is a common situation in this type of family, the grandmother would go to the city to take care of her grandchild in the weekday and go back to the village in the wekend.
3.Nuclear-lineal family. The grandparents temporally live with their

children's families. So that the unclear families are periodically transformed into to lineal family.
4.Semi-lineal family, grandparents split and each live with one of the their children's family. While less and less family are doing way.

The trend of the changing family structure

We can see from above that lineal family are not tend to split into unclear families. The reason is that:
1. The pension system of rural area have not been completed yet, children's support is still the main support for elderly people. While I noticed that, in the interview with the village head, the processing of the public health care and pension system is reducing the financial burden of children who need to support the elderly people. The social structure is changing in a way of keeping temporally balance and searching for eventual balance between the inability and progressing of itself. Anyhow, an individual family, as the least unit in the village society, the structure of whom is the basis of all the social changes take place. We can predict that the combination of children's support and a progressing public health care and pension system will be the solution of the aging problem in villages during this period.
2. The change of economical structure of an individual family have resolved the contradictions between the parents and their children. Goode mentioned in his book <The Family> that "Industrialization, as a system that require individual's performance, allow the status to be changed, and people can search for opportunities anywhere they want. Because the ownership of land for agriculture is not important any more, people can easily migrant. A couple can form a family and become a independent economical unit." On the one hand, the economical structure in an industrialized society enable that each couple could be economically independent and possibly form a unclear family. Nevertheless it doesn't become the trend in the village, because on the other hand, it just because of the economical independence, the new couple doesn't necessarily obey all the order's from their parents, in order to success the land

for agriculture. This new relationship between younger generation and the old generation resolve the contradiction between them, especial between the mother and the daughter-in-law. While we cam aslo proof it by Goode himself, “their kinship is not as tight as before...a couple doesn’t necessarily obey anyone out of the family, because the only thing that matter their promotion and income is their own performance...If the father own the land, the children doesn’t necessarily stay at home and do agriculture, as there are more jobs and political opportunities in the cities or factories.”
2. The young could are busy with the working, the grandparents take the responsibility of taking care of their grandchildren.

A old woman cooked two wok of Zongzi in the old brick-made stove, one within meat, another within red bean. She packed the Zongzi into three bags, one for the daughter's family, one for the older son's family and one for the younger son's family. she put more those within red beans in the bag for the younger son's family, because the two granddaughters like red bean. They all live in the city, she waits for them. She eats simple every day. Rather than for saving money, it just because when she eat alone, everything is tasteless, however she is used to the taste of tasteless. Chinese describe feeling as taste, the home feeling is called home taste. The home feeling to the old woman doesn't come from building, or space, but from the every reunion of the whole family in the familiar environment, under the dropping eave of a rainy spring day; in the courtyard of swallows flying and talking, on the terrace of the full moon shining middle autumn.

Home and hometown is where all the daily life of old people taking place: plant vegetables in the garden, feed chickens and ducks, sow beans along the street, everything is as normal as sunrise, while it is also shining the moon with wax and wane. The longing for reunion is simple and real, as simple and real as the waiting for the vegetable growing up, the the beans sprouting, the poultry laying. "Parting is all we need to know about heaven, parting is all we need to know about hell. " While the joy is also simple and real, like the moon eventually wane full and shine the lonely night. "if provision of shelter is the passive function of the house, then its positive purpose is the creation of an environment best suited to the way of life of a people - in the other words, a social unit of space."

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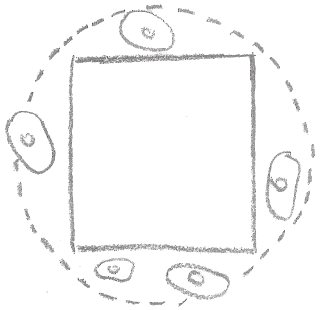
"Deciphering a meal "

Chinese say "Food is the heaven of human". The everyday three meals are essential in daily life not only because of food, but also the procedure itself. "Like sex, the taking of food has social component, as well as a biological one." However, the "social component" is not obvious. In order to interprete the "social component", the socio-culture meaning of this most basic daily activity and its relation between the space where it takes place, we need to "deciphering a meal". "A code affords a general set of possibilities for sending particular message. If food is treated as a code, the message it encodes will be found in the pattern of social relation being expressed....The message is about different degrees of hierarchy, inclusion and exclusion, boundaries and transactions across the boundaries." Mary Douglas offer anthropology way to deciphering a meal, through which the social components might be gradually revealed. Moreover, in order to find out the relation between the social components and the architecture, we also need to look at the procedure as a scene, including the activity and space. As Rampoport said "It is not whether one cooks or eats, but where and how".



The table

At first, the furniture people use for having meal in the village is a square table and four long benches, where maximum 8 people could sit on. During a banquet, a round board is put on the table, so that it could accommodate more people. All the courses are put in the center of the table, so that all the people are equally close to the food. Either square or round is a central symmetry form, the seat around which, not only share an equal distance to the food, but also eliminate the differentiation of status. Although the sitting orientation was used to present the hierarchy of social status in ancient China, while there is scarcely any consideration about that in the village. There is no specialization of sitting orientation for different family roles, who normally choose the seat where they are used to sit on. Therefore, different families present occasional sit-



ting pattern during a meal. The equality among the participants that the form of the furniture afford, thus, present in every meal that each family take.

Eating procedure

Not until all the courses of food are put on the table and all the family members are present, does anyone touch their chopsticks. The hungry kids, as the only exemption, are allowed to eat when their mom is still cooking. Time is then equal to everyone, as well as the space. It is clear that the social component within the taking of food is a family reunion, in which family communicate without hierarchy or excluding any of the family members; through which grandpas share their stories with grandchildren; husbands and wives look to each other for support against the difficulties of every day; through which a most moving and real tenderness is perceived by all.

The meaning of a meal

Above all, it is obvious that the procedure of taking food is not only about eating, but more important about family reunion. Compare with the communication between neighbors which is occasional, that of a family is given a coerciveness by binding the meeting with a biological need. Therefore, the place where a family take a meal, is where the family meet everyday as well. There is no doubt that communication is necessary within a family, through which family bond is reinforced. The corresponding place, thus, is not only physically essential bases on people's biological need, but also spiritually essential because of its social meaning that binded.

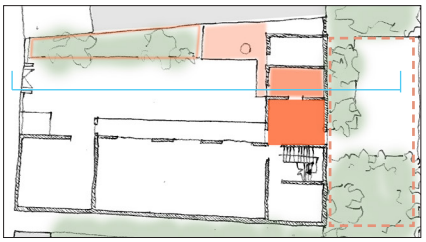
Cooking

Nevertheless, it doesn't necessarily mean a dinner room is therefore the most essential space in a family house. Because in rural China, cooking is something cannot be separated from taking of food. Normally, the traditional brick-made stove that within two woks and the dinning table are in the same room. Although, more and more families tend to separate them into two rooms for the sake

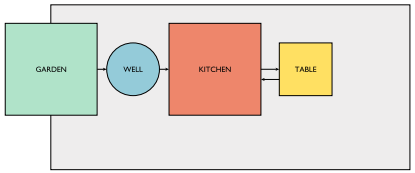
FAMILY LIFE

of hygiene. The two activities are still within one event. Moreover, cooking in the village different from that in urban life, is a series of different activities, rather than a sigle activity happening around the stove.Picking a basket of peas from the street side; cutting a bunch of green onion from the outside garden; taking a bunch of pickles from the tank in the courtyard; picking up two fresh eggs from the chicken coop in the inner garden; getting a bucket of water from the well outside the kitchen and cleaning the fresh vegetables; little kid sitting on the steps of the porch podding beans for fun. These activities, that would seem trivial, as important as all the small spices to a Chinese recipe, compose cooking in rural life. Together with eating become a complete event which is the most basic while essential event of a family.





People's movement in their activities
We can already have a glance on the relations between the preparing processes and spaces. As all the processes are parts of one event, the continuity of all these processes therefore generate a movement goes through all the corresponding spaces. In other words, the spaces are connected by the continuity of the activities within the oneness of the event. By participating any of these processes with in one event, people perceive the existence of all spaces. In short, spaces become one in people's movement.

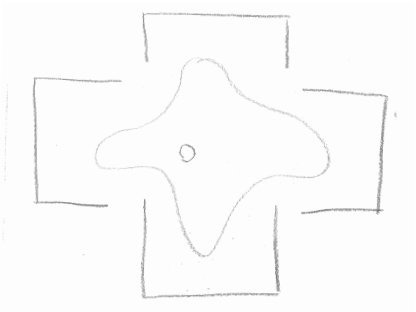












REUNION

Home sphere

Moreover, when we observe the continuity of the activities in a longer time dimension, the complete event is also including sowing,-cultivation, and all the trivial paid before return. It is a movement goes though space, but also goes through time. We might get a hope from it that, the longing of the old people put in their daily life would be perceived by all, at the end, on the table of a renion dinner, if the spaces could afford the continuity of activities. The spaces that coherent with the continuity of activities within a home , in the sense of people, become the sphere of home. People present to each other, perceive each other, in the continuity of activities and the participation of all, the perceive the existence of home though the perceiving of existence of the whole family. At this moment. home is not a dinning room, not a kitchen or a vegetable garden; it is not any of these sigle space; it is a complete sphere that can be perceived anywhere within the home, either in a comfortable sofa, or a cold suffering conner.

The countryside hometown

The home spheres connected with each other, through the continuing activities and spaces of each family that in and out, the private spaces consequently become no longer separate from the village space, they intertwined into each other through people's activities and the activities between people. In the twilight, smoke come out the kitchen chimneys of each family, independent in the sky, and get together in formless.

FAMILY LIFE

Home feeling

I still cannot give a complete definition to name a home, while I believe the endless meaning of home to each family and the countless various meanings to all the families, the meaning that determined by the family themselves and

"Man himself, by his very presence, determines what a dwelling is. A dwelling is only a dwelling, not when it has a certain form, not when it fulfills certain conditions which have been written down after long study, not when certain dimensions and provisions have been made to comply with municipal by-laws, but only and exclusively when people come to live in it. The igloo is as much the dwelling of Eskimo as the bamboo but is that of the Javanese. The notion 'dwelling' is entirely subjective and is certainly not related to any particular form."

I would like to quota the paragraph that Levi Strauss describe the Nambikware's family life in <Tristes tropiques>, to address the most common emotion that human beings dedicate in their family.

"The camp-fires shine out in the darkened savannah. Around the hearth which is their only protection from the cold, behind the flimsy screen of foliage and palm-leaves which has been stuck into the ground where it will best break the force of wind and rain, beside the baskets filled with the pitiable objects which comprise all their earthly belongings, the Nambikware lie on the bare earth. Always they are haunted by the thought of other groups, as fearful and hostile as they are themselves, and when they lie entwined together, couple by couple, each looks to his mate for support and comfort and finds in the other a bulwark, the only one he knows, against the difficulties of every day and the meditative melancholia which from time to time overwhelms the Nambikware. The visitor who camps among the Indians for the first time cannot but feel anguish and pity at the sight of a people so totally dis-provides for; beaten down into the hostile earth, it would seem, by an implacable cataclysm;

naked and shivering beside their guttering fires. He gropes his way among the bushed, avoiding where he can the hand, or the arm, or the torso that lies gleaming in the firelight. Laughing whispers can still make light of the Nambikwara's poverty. Their embraces are those of couples possessed by a longing for a lost oneness; their caresses are in no wise disturbed by the footfall of a stranger. In one and all there may be glimpsed a great sweetness of nature, a profund nonchalance, an animal satisfaction as ingenuous as it is charming, and, beneath all this, something that can be recognized as one of the most moving and authentic manifestations of human tenderness."





WORKING MODEL

The old woman put a pack of silk worms in the middle of a bamboo plate, cover a porous nylon sheet, close the plastic cover, turn on the heater control the temperate at 24 centigrade, which is similar with the outside temperature in this season. In few days, she will be busy feeding them. At the beginning, the silk worms are tiny and tender, she overlap the mulberry leaves, cut off the stalk, cut the leaves into small pieces. She hug the bamboo plate out of the plaster shelter, take the nylon sheet out, carefully, scatter the green pieces on the silk worms, cover a layer of the fresh spring smell. Some leaves scatter on the side, she use a white goose quill sweep them back to the greenness. She cover the sheet again, and hug the bamboo late back in to the shelter. Over and again many times a day, the silk worms grow up quickly, become recognizable in few days, from a group live in a spot as big as palm, til occupy the whole plate, 2 plates, 4 plates, til they cannot live in the shelter any more. She move them to the ground of the main hall. Now, they are tough enough to live in the nature temperature. Feeding is also not as same as before, she puts several baskets of leaves on the ground, suddenly, it sounds raining. After one month working day and night, green turn out be white, several basket of cocoon means a lot to her.



The density

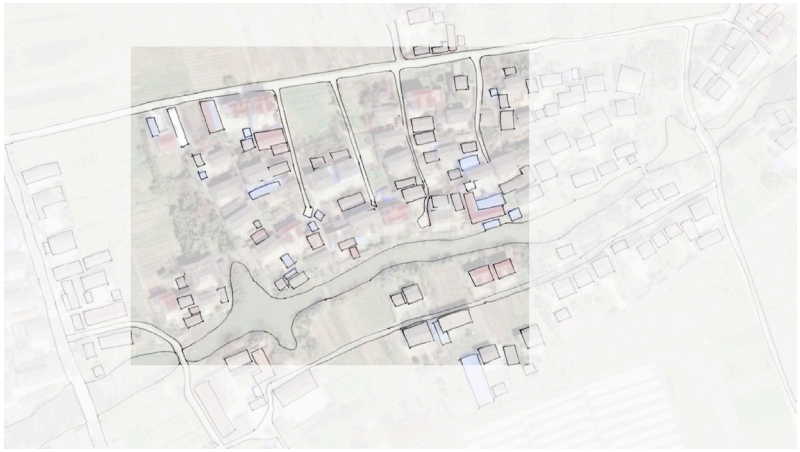
This is a neighborhood with a same family name.(Originally within a same clan) The density of this area is not allowed any new construction any more. However, there are already more than ten families moved out in the past 20 years. More convenient transportation is the main reason they move out. They mentioned in their interview, if they didn't move to a place closed to the motoway, they coundn't even transport the materials to the construction field.



The living space

When we look at the actually living space, the density is not high at all.

The homestead of the family who moved out, were usually sold or given to the their neighbors or siblines.



The non-living space

These non-living spaces are mainly garage, workshop and storage, which actually create the density and the inaccessibility for the vehicles.

The increasing buiding density

With families continuing moving out of the village, the density of the living space is decreasing while the building density on the contrary is increasing. I found that it is the construction related with working, such as workshop, garage and storage that cause the increasing of building density, which also accused by the government as the cause of losing arable land. Although I have argued that the peasants should not bear the principal responsibility of losing of arable land, it is still essential to find out the reason of the disorder of construction and reorganize the village space where the order could generated by bring in the social mechanism, instead of simply move the peasants to a limited area where could only be a staring point of new disordered circulation.

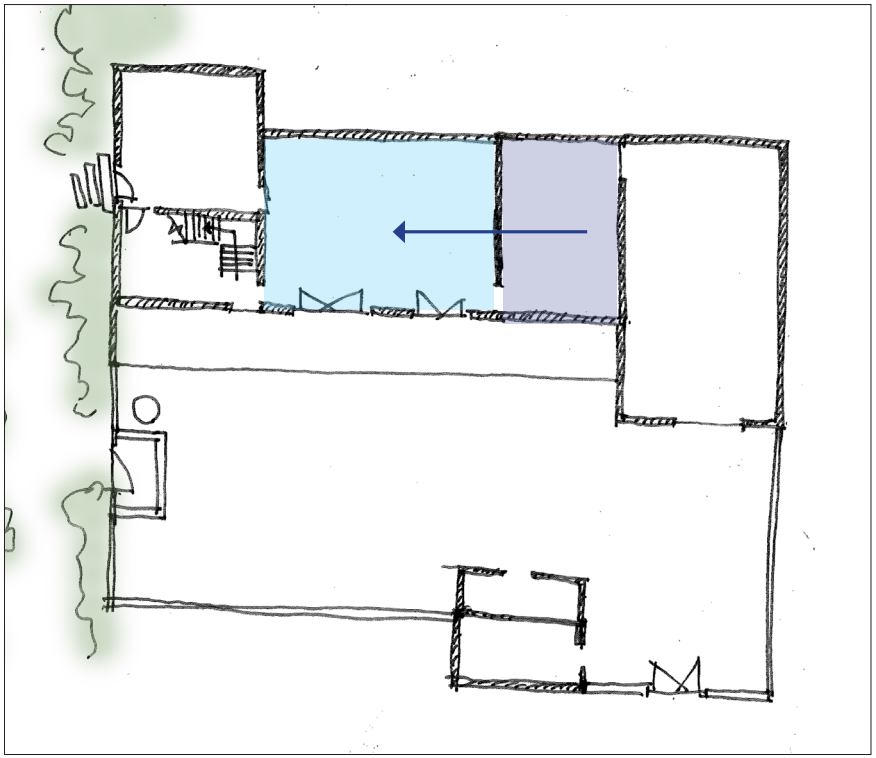
The village economic model

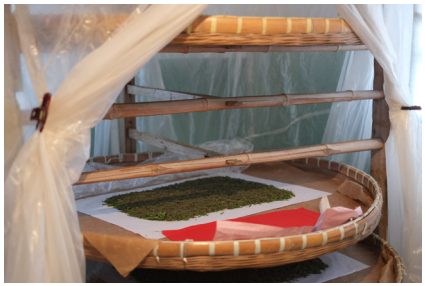
At first, as these non-living space are economically related with peasants‘ life, it is necessary to figure out how is the economic model in the village changing in the modernization and what is the current situation. “Since from Min dynasty, the villages in north Zhejiang are deeply connected with the close markets, villagers’ life don’t only depend on the exchange with nature, moreover depend on the exchange with society.” On one hand, the adjustment of the economic model, either the change from self-feed agriculture to commercial crop or family craft manufactory release the pressure from the increasing population, didn’t undermine, on the contrary consolidate village community within the same clan, because the villagers could, without dispersing to other places, survive in the limited land. On the other hand, The village doesn’t need to fight for living space and resources with other villages, there is, thus, no necessary requirement for a solid clan based on blood relation. Therefore, the families live in a village community where they share a intimate social network, meanwhile each of them is an independent economic unit with a similar economic model.

WORKING MODEL

The family business had been restricted for a period in the communist time. Nevertheless, it has been developing rapidly, especially in the Changjiang River Delta area, after the implementation of the reform and open up policy. Recently, the production efficience in a family is dramatically improved by introducing automatic machines. For which reason, even cultivation of comercial crop and other occupation like sericulture, from which once the majore income came, have gradually been deserted.

Though dramatical is the modernization process, the production unit in a village is still an independent individual family. As a result, when we compare the economic model within a village with that generated in the preindustrial time, that based on commercial crop cultivation and family craft manufactory, it is clear that there is no substantial change in structure of the model, which is still consist of independent economic units, each is one family. In order to figure out how is the village influence by the modernization react on economic model, we therefore need to find out the change within each family in the modernization of production mode.







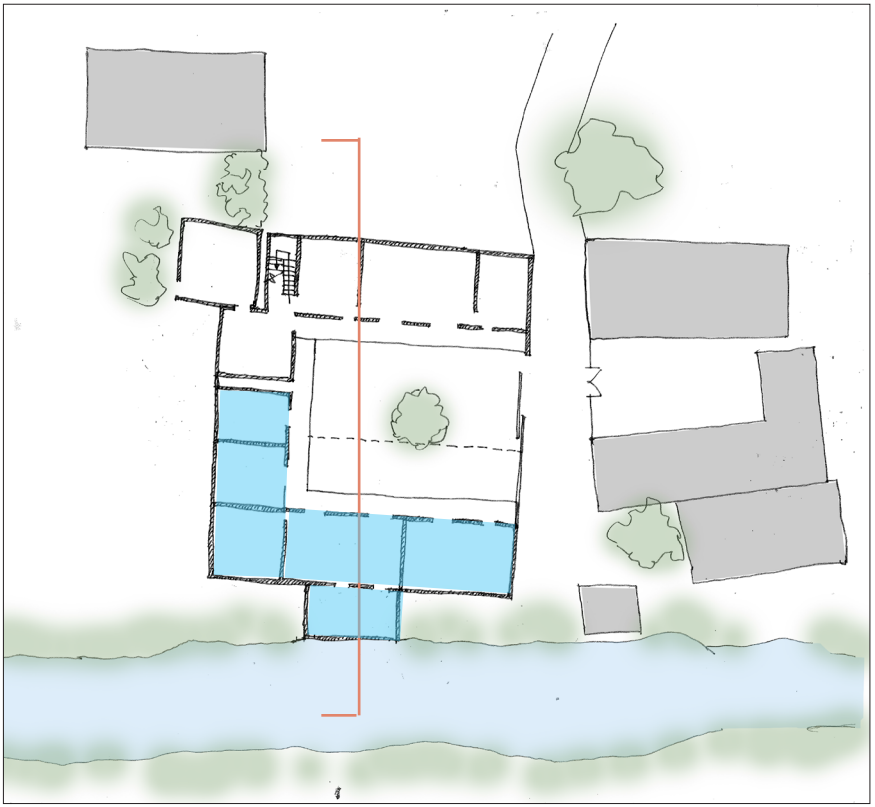


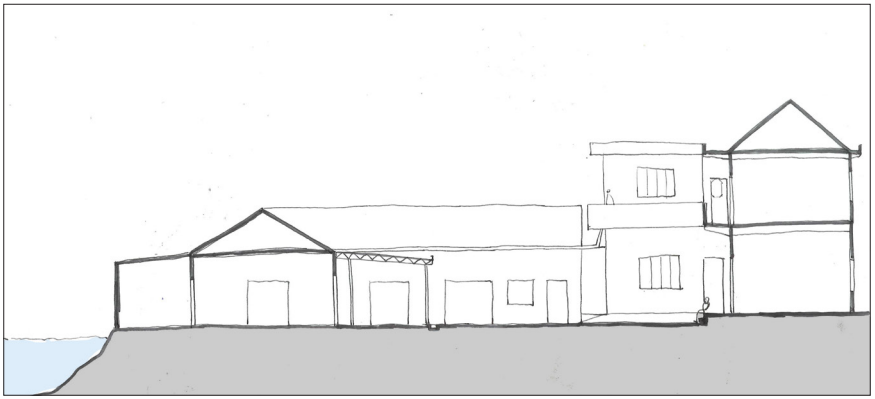


The decreasing of agriculture

Sericulture once is the main income of a peasant family, there is room within a family house specific for the first stage of sericulture, in the following stage, the silk worms are moved to the main hall. The main hall is actually a multifunctional place in the time dimension. However as we already talking about the modernization of production mode, the sericulture become not as important as before. The specific room become vacant and the main hall is defunctioned as well.

WORKING MODEL





The increasing of workshop

We can see from the pictures that the working condition with automatical machine is harsher than that of handicraft. The noise and chaos make people tend to separate the working space from the living space. It is a way how people searching for a better living condition. As a result, peasants built more and more space for workshop, while left many vacant in the old house.

There is a culture lag in the village that when the villagers build a new house, they still expect a big hall and a big concrete ground, although they actually don't use them any more and basically have not idea how they are going to use these spaces. At the end, the spare spaces are turn out be storage.

However, how long will this working model last? Most of the villagers who are doing domestic cloth processing are middle age, while the young people tend to look for a office job in the cities.

“As explained by James W. Woodward, when the material conditions change, changes are occasioned in the adaptive culture, but these changes in the adaptive culture do not synchronize exactly with the change in the material culture, this delay is the culture lag. The term was coined by sociologist William F. Ogburn in his 1922 work Social change with respect to culture and original nature. His theory of cultural lag suggests that a period of maladjustment occurs when the non-material culture is struggling to adapt to new material conditions. This resonates with ideas of technological determinism, in that it presupposes that technology has independent effects on society at large.

According to Ogburn, cultural lag is a common societal phenomenon due to the tendency of material culture to evolve and change rapidly and voluminously while non-material culture tends to resist change and remain fixed for a far longer period of time. Due to the opposing nature of these two aspects of culture, adaptation of new technology becomes rather difficult. “



