

BOTTOM-UP URBAN REGENERATION: THE FORMING AND MECHANISM OF SONGZHUANG ART VILLAGE, BEIJING

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Abstract

This research discusses about the bottom-up regeneration process of Songzhuang Art Village in Beijing, China. As a typical but unusual development process in urban regeneration, Songzhuang case shows the vitality of the local actors. The research includes three major issues. First is the study of the regeneration process of Songzhuang, in which the government-led top-down planning process and the local bottom-up development process are both discusses and compared. The second issue discuss is about the mechanism of such process. The last issue to discuss is the role of planning in the bottom-up regeneration process.

According to the research, Songzhuang's success relies on bottom-up regeneration rather than the top-down process. It is been discusses that such spontaneous growth path could have more actors involved, with dynamic local economy and opportunities for spatial restructuring.

Most importantly, the mechanism of Songzhuang's bottom-up regeneration process is composed by four key items: core actors (artists, villagers, and village government), extended actors (investment groups, marketing groups, and public services groups, etc.), conditions and catalysts (flow of people, capital, spaces, information, and policies), and reactions. All of these items contribute to the growth and prosperity of the art industry.

Finally, we look into the role of planning, in order to find out better approaches for planners when dealing with the cases like Songzhuang. To rethink planning strategies. To be aware of the emerging new economy, and to cooperate with local self-management principles.

This research could be helpful for gaining deeper understanding of Songzhuang Art Village, but also understand the general mechanism of similar cases. In a context of the rapid growing creative economy around the globe, such research seems crucial and necessary.

1 Introduction

1.1 Songzhuang Art Village and Art Villages in China

Songzhuang Village locates in Tongzhou District, the east periphery area of Beijing. The distance between Songzhuang and east 5th ring road is 10 km of the city, with 26.4 km to the east 2nd ring road. Figure 1. Songzhuang Art Village. (a), Location of Songzhuang Village in Beijing shows the connection between Songzhuang Village and downtown Beijing.

Songzhuang Village covers a total area of 116 km², with 24.86 km² area been constructed, and more than 3.37 km² area, 13.6% in proportion, is considered to be the core zone of art village. Figure 1. Songzhuang Art Village. (b), Circumference of Songzhuang and Songzhuang Art Village shows the Area of Songzhuang Village, with the dark black parts representing the constructed area and the red part representing the Songzhuang Art Village.

The circumference of Songzhuang Art Village is blur. Though Songzhuang Village has much longer history, the art industry composes almost the whole part of Songzhuang's daily life. People usually use both Songzhuang and Songzhuang Art Village to represent such a specialized area by art industry, so it is with the following context.

Since the year 2005, Songzhuang became more popular in China for its artists' community and art industry. Over 7,500 artists working in Songzhuang (Songzhuang Cultural and Creative Industry Cluster Management Committee, 2013), with the annual 3.10 billion dollars of contribution in GDP (FAN Lingzi, 2008). As the largest original art community in Asia, Songzhuang created a miracle not only for the prosperous art industry, but also for the bottom-up regeneration process in perspective of urban planning.

Many studies divide the development process of Songzhuang into three parts: the agricultural development phase, the industrialization phase and the creative economy phase (JIANG Yifan, 2007). In our research, we studied such dual-approach, the top-down and bottom-up processes that assigned or applied in Songzhuang.

In recent years, art villages are commonly seen in several metropolitan cities in China. The common characteristics they share are the periphery location, the agglomeration of artists and the related art industries they bred. In 2009, Oriental Painters Village in Shanghai became the famous and largest painters' community in Yangtze Delta Region (QIN Yuanyuan, 2011). Another famous one is the Da Fen Village, known as the oil painting village in Shenzhen (ZHANG Kun, 2014). Besides Songzhuang, 798 is another crucial place for art industry in Beijing, many years ago (FAN Linzi, 2008). Considering the rise of the creative industry in China, places like Songzhuang are getting more popular (Michael Keane, 2006).

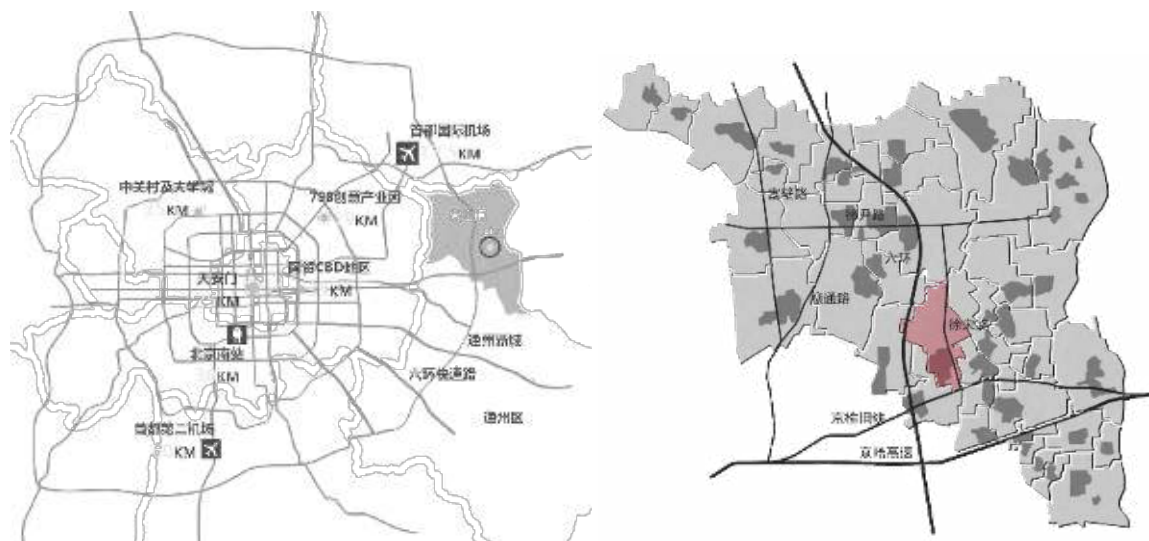


Figure 1. Songzhuang Art Village. (a), Location of Songzhuang Village in Beijing. (b), Circumference of Songzhuang and Songzhuang Art Village

1.2 Literature Review: Creative Class and Informal Urban Regeneration

The term of 'creative class' was studied due to the trigger transformation is caused by a group of artist, typical in creative class. Though some scholars call them 'new-industrial class' (Michael Indergaard, 2009), the term of 'creative class' is widely accepted. Richard Florida shall be mentioned in this field, for his research on creative class around 2002. In his research, besides the normal groups of workers, creative class is a group of 'bring economic growth to countries that can attract its members' (Richard Florida, 2002). This could well describe the process of artists' group that gathered

and settled down in Songzhuang. However, the artists group in Songzhuang shows some extra characteristics, not only the specialized technics they have (Richard Florida, 2002).

We also concern about the process of places chosen. The special attractions that drive the creative class to agglomerate. Most of the scholars think such factors include the tolerant local policies and culture that allow the creative activities and economy to grow (KONG Jianhua, 2008). Florida raised the theory of 3T, Technology, Talents, Tolerance, and this Tolerance shows that that required. Moreover, some scholars believes the process of agglomeration is due to other characteristics, such as the native environment, and the stable rent value are the main factors (KONG Jianhua, 2007). Policies are playing a relatively important role in the whole process. Place-making strategies are very crucial (John Paul Catungal, etc., 2009). Florida pointed out that the competitiveness of a country relies on the ability of motivate, attract and keep the creative class (Richard Florida, 2002), in other words, the public policies towards creative class will decide the fate of the country.

On the other hand, as the main focus of this research is on the process of bottom-up regeneration. How is the mechanism for such process? Songzhuang's bottom-up regeneration process could be described as a kind of informal development by local actors, since the actors are not the conventional ones from the top institute that we've commonly seen in many urban development cases.

Fran Tonkiss studied the informality in her book about the connection between the physical space and the unphysical society. She describes the informal development around the globe due to many reasons, though some of them are described as slums or jerry-built. However, there is still some good sides of informality (Fran Tonkiss, 2013). One of the positive side that been mentioned is a more effective way of dealing with the fragmentation of the land in periphery areas (ZHU Jieming, 2008). Moreover, the informal development usually implies such kind of social relationship that each members would receive the self-help from the community (Fran Tonkiss, 2013). Especially, she pointed out that the informal development in creative class shall be regarded as informality (Fran Tonkiss, 2013). And such kind of informal space they created could even emerge new economy, as the term of system of production is used to describe such phenomenon (Scott, 2006).

In a word, combining with the literatures we had reviewed, not limited in the materials we listed above, and knowing the differences between creative communities, we think Songzhuang should be studied carefully and systematically. Therefore, we designed a structure for the research.

1.3 Research Structure

The research studies both the development process of Songzhuang and then the mechanism of the process. In total, five major parts are related.

In the first part, the research discusses the failure of the government-led planning on Songzhuang, in which different roles were assigned, but never been realized or adopted by Songzhuang.

The second part discusses Songzhuang in reality: with the bottom-up regeneration process that make Songzhuang a special art village.

Thirdly, we compare such assigned Top-down approach and the spontaneous bottom-up process from the perspective of social transform, economic transform and special transform.

In the fourth part, we discuss the mechanism of bottom-up regeneration, considering the case of Songzhuang. A structure consists of core actors, extended actors, conditions and catalysts, and the reactions is raised. And such abstract model for bottom-up regeneration process could be seen as the mechanism model for similar cases.

Finally, we pay attention to the role of planning in such process. The research discusses several principles that could make planning more effective in dealing with cases like Songzhuang.

2 Government-led Planning: Assigned Roles through Top-down Planning Process

2.1 Assigned Roles by Municipal Government

Beijing is the capital city and the second largest city of China, acting as the political and cultural center through ages. Along with several eastern coastal cities like Shanghai, Guangzhou and Shenzhen, Beijing has long been the pioneer city benefiting the rapid urbanization process in last 37 years. However, the municipal government had made nearly mandatory decisions of previous planning programs and policies towards Songzhuang's role.

Our study reviews the planning programs and policies that interfered Songzhuang since 1957, summarizing their differences in the assigned role, authorized level, attitude to art village, etc. Tracing the planned development orientation for Songzhuang, the dominant idea is always the centre periphery principle. Table 1. The Assigned Role of Songzhuang from Official Planning and Policies Files displays such three kinds of functions assigned for Songzhuang during the years: manufactory zone, eco-protection zone or residential zone.

Table 1. The Assigned Role of Songzhuang from Official Planning and Policies Files

<i>Assigned Role for Songzhuang</i>	<i>Planning or Policy Name</i>	<i>Effective Time</i>	<i>Authorities Level</i>	<i>Attitude to Art Village</i>
<i>Farmland & Green Space</i>	Beijing City Master Plan	1991-2010	Municipal	-
<i>Countryside Manufactory Yard Region</i>	Economic Plan of Beijing	1998-2004	Municipal	-
<i>Farmland & Green Space</i>	Beijing City Master Plan	2005-2020	Municipal	Ignore
<i>Residential & Creative Industry Cluster</i>	Tongzhou New City Master Plan	2006-2020	District	Creative Zone
<i>Residential & Creative Industry Cluster</i>	Tongzhou Land Use Plan	2006-2020	District	Creative Zone
<i>Residential & Creative Industry Cluster</i>	Songzhuang Town Plan	2006-2020	Town	Creative Zone
<i>Original Art Industry Cluster</i>	Strategic Plan for Songzhuang Creative Industrial Area	-	Town	<i>Art Industry</i>
<i>Original Art Industry Cluster</i>	Concept Plan for Songzhuang Creative Industrial Park	-	Town	<i>Art Industry</i>

(Source: Urban planning files and Policies of Beijing (1991-2013))

2.2 Periphery Eco-Protection Zone: Restriction in Urban Development

In 1957 edition of master plan of Beijing, the downtown city was the only part that been urbanized, while Datong County (Tongzhou District) was assigned as the assistant city (ZHAO Yanjing, 2004). Together, they formed a structure of the mother-satellite cities (Beijing City Construction Master Plan Proposal, 1957). In 1982, the number of satellite cities increased to 4. Those cities functioned as residential zones, including Tongzhou (Beijing City Construction Master Plan Drafts, 1982).

In 1993, in order to avoid such single-centred structure, the focus of urban development shifted to suburbs. 14 satellite cities were planned in the urban periphery. Till now, 11 out of the 14 satellite cities had developed into more integrated new towns, forming a belt around Beijing (ZHAO Yanjing, 2004). In the previous master plans, Songzhuang haven't been absorbed into the urbanizing area, therefore, it was assigned as a space for primitive agriculture region or eco-protection zone.

However, as the national political centre, downtown Beijing has always maintained a strong attraction (ZHAO Yanjing, 2004). Such strong central structure integrate with a top-down

development tradition, Beijing's structure is similar to the prototype of the land-value Alonso's theory. In other words, places like Songzhuang had no resource or opportunity for development before 1998.

2.3 Manufactory Dream: Attempts for Industrialization

During 1998 to 2004, the de-industrialization policy of downtown Beijing advocated manufactory enterprises displace outward. Villages in periphery started to foster their own "industrial compound", not an exception for Songzhuang. In the next seven years, 122 industrial enterprises occupying 120 hectares of land which attracted migrant labors of more than 4,700 people (JIN Shiming, 2008).

However, in 2004, the restructuring of Beijing's industries required the periphery areas to adopt the de-industrialization policy either, for the excessive productivity would be expelled outside of Beijing, with low efficiency enterprises to close down. Soon as such proposal became a compulsory movement, "Industrial Compound Clean-up Movement", which put an end to Songzhuang's industrializing process.

However, by 2004, there were 173.33 hectares of industrial land in Songzhuang. Such abandoned industrial land became one of the priority problems confronting Songzhuang, as many villagers transformed their own homesteads into family workshops. During the industrial period, the untreated pollutants made rivers seriously polluted, while families turned farmlands into small production sites, which is now abandoned. As ecological spatial coverage gradually declined, large numbers of farmland been eroded.

However, the primitive accumulation providing premise for development in Songzhuang is also due to this period, though the environment was damaged.

2.4 Residential Zone: Affiliated Area of Tongzhou New City

In 2004, according to the Beijing City Master Plan (2004-2020), the city structure shifted to two axis- two belts- multi centres. Songzhuang was involved in one of the hot spot in development, the Tongzhou New City. Enacted in the same year, "Tongzhou New City Plan (2005-2020)" determined its comprehensive concern on service functions as well as cultural industry base. However, according to the plan, Songzhuang was assigned to be the residential area, with the main body of the villages were cleared up for the new city.

2.5 Start to Realize the Fact: Take Art Community into Account

In 2005, Tongzhou New City regulatory detailed planning (district level) clarifies the development density and spatial of Tongzhou. Though it had taken Songzhuang Art Village into consideration, the land use function for Songzhuang still remained as eco-protection zone and residential area.

It is from the year of 2005, that the municipal government started to realize the existing and potential of Songzhuang Art Village. Beijing confirmed the creative and cultural industries as its pillar industries, batching the creative industrial park (Desmond Hui, 2006). In 2006, Songzhuang was confirmed as the first batch of 10 cultural and creative industry communities.

3 Songzhuang in Reality: The Process of Bottom-Up Regeneration

The urban regeneration of Songzhuang is a typical process of bottom-up regeneration by social, economic and spatial transformation. This process was triggered by the artists groups. Comparing to the process of top-down planning, the bottom-up approaches are coincidental, flexible but practical.

3.1 Beginning: Emergence of Artists Community

In the year of 1993, the first artist from the downtown settled down in Songzhuang. In the following 2 years, a total number of more than 400 artists quickly gathered and started their careers.

In 1995, Yuanmingyuan Painters Village had been banned in the name of remaining the social order, most of 1114 freelance and artists of Yuanmingyuan Painters fled to Songzhuang. Among them were famous artist like FANG Lijun, YUE Minjun, Xianting, HUANG Yongyu. Prestigious figures attracted more artists to agglomerate in this village. In 1997, artists accomodated in every natural village in this region.

3.2 Blooming: Rapid Development of Art Industry

Due to the fact that the art industry in Songzhuang not only benefits the villagers and artists, but also enlighten other villages in Beijing to find proper ways for development. For this, Songzhuang was awarded one of the first pilot villages of Beijing new countryside planning in 2005 (Jin Shiming etc., 2008). Art industry gradually drew the official attention and turned into one of the leading development industries of Tongzhou.

The spontaneous growth of the artists community promoted the process of social, economic and spatial transformation. Art industrial park, art institutions grew rapidly. Only from 2005 to 2010, in Songzhuang, art galleries increased from 1 to 113, while art museum grew from 0 to 14. The total art production grew from 3,000 to 100,000 with the artist's studio increased from 300 to 4,500(Songzhuang Cultural and Creative Industry Cluster Management Committee, 2013).

4 Transformation: Spontaneous Bottom-Up Process VS. Assigned Top-Down Approach

As been put forehead, the regeneration of Songzhuang took place due to the spontaneous process that attracted actors and resources to gather, instead of the assigned Top-down approach. We started to compare the different process, in order to gain better understanding of how the local actors achieved the bottom-up regeneration in Songzhuang.

We compared such approaches, the top-down one and the bottom-up one from three aspects: social, economic and spatial transform.

4.1 Social Transform: Involving More Actors

4.1.1 The Increase of Actors in Urban Regeneration Process

To distinguish from the actors like municipal government of Beijing or the district government of Tongzhou District. This research uses the term local actors to refer those actors who are as the vital entities of the bottom-up process of urban regeneration. For instance, artists, villagers, village government, organizations, investment groups, etc. In the mechanism part, we would define the characteristics and resources of the actors.

In the top-down process, the development remained stuck and homogeneity, manifesting the lack of basic public services, no lift in inhabitants living conditions and less social or cultural activities. This could be ascribed to the less actors involvement in the local agenda of development. As the city center occupied all the development resources, it seems difficult for Songzhuang to adopt a normal way to get resources from a top-down process.

However, from the bottom-up point of view, the art industry involved actors like the village government, villagers, etc., which also attracted actors like groups from the third sector, the investment companies, and other art related actors to join the process of regeneration in Songzhuang. In a word, it is the increasing in number and density of local actors, as well as the activities that resulted in the transform of economy and space consequently.

4.1.2 Organization as an Actor to Support the Art Society

In 2005, Songzhuang Art Promotion Association (SAPA) was founded. As the first NGO in Songzhuang servicing local artists and art institutions, SAPA set up the network for local artists, gaining the knowledge of the art community in general, as well as making plans for aiding artists in needs. Along with other associations, organizations and different level of government, SAPA have played a crucial role in art information sharing and cultural promotion.

Songzhuang Youth Entrepreneurship and Employment Service Centre (SYEESC) and Songzhuang Agglomeration Public Service Platform were established in 2010, with a clear goal of promoting employment locally and providing temporary housing, funds, supports and services. The target groups include not only the artist, but also local villagers.

4.1.3 Actors Influence on the Process

Local actors in Songzhuang showed a great influence on the process of regeneration. Figure 2. The Events Classified by Actors, 1992-2014 shows a significant attitude change of municipal government and town government, for the decisions are made more adopted for art industry development later on. However, the activities led by local actors became more impressive, as more local development affairs are managed by local actors. This figure also implies how the influence transfer from actors from the top to local actors, and how such cooperation emerged since 2005.

Another way to prove the increase of the local actors influence, is by looking into the social and cultural activities happening in Songzhuang. The creative events had led to consumptions and tourism. The nationwide largest and most influential art festival, Songzhuang Art Festival, generated. Such kind of art convention increased from 50 sessions in 2005 to 3,500 sessions in 2010, including 1,000 sessions of local exhibition, 2,000 of domestic ones, and 500 of international ones. The number of visitors also increased from 30,000 to 500,000 in 5 years as showed in Table 2. The Comparison of Art Convention between the Year 2005 and 2010.



Figure 2. The Events Classified by Actors, 1992-2014

(Source: Multiple Source from Internet, Organized by YE Qiming, 2014)

Table 2. The Comparison of Art Convention between the Year 2005 and 2010

<i>Comparison Index</i>	<i>Year of 2005</i>	<i>Year of 2010</i>
<i>Number of Participants</i>	50	3500
<i>Session of Local Art Convention</i>	8	1000
<i>Session of Domestic Art Convention</i>	10	2000
<i>Session of International Art Convention</i>	10	500
<i>Number of Related Domestic Provinces</i>	8	35
<i>Number of Related Countries or Regions</i>	5	30

(Source: Songzhuang Cultural and Creative Industry Cluster Management Committee, 2013)

4.2 Economic Transform: From Periphery Manufactory to Art Industry Headquarter

4.2.1 Manufactory as Failed Attempts but Primitive Accumulation

Though the manufactory existed for a long period of time in Songzhuang, but in small scale and economic insignificant. Technically, the restriction of development in periphery areas had not changed until 1998. In 1998, the policy of promoting the industrial compound in periphery area like Songzhuang was published. During that time, industrialization is regarded as a radical development. As respond to industrial compound, the top-down policy, the number of manufactory enterprises in Songzhuang grew to 122 in 2004, Songzhuang's main income were from those enterprises during that time.

Due to the low efficiency, low productivity, high cost of environment, serious industrial homogenization, intense competition, inconspicuous jobs increase and the policy changing from the top-down, Songzhuang's industrialization put to an end. This left polluted rivers and poisoned land with only 70% (YANG Jiaqi, 2008) of land been eroded by construction activities (including the existing farm houses).

However, Songzhuang village government got the primitive accumulation for development. The capital form those manufactory enterprises provides premise for the attract art activities. It is also in this period of time, the infrastructures of the village had been improved a lot, both of the accessibility and individual mobility improved at the same time. Moreover, the connection between Songzhuang and downtown Beijing had been enhanced.

4.2.2 Art Industry from Spontaneous to Municipal Strategy

It witnessed a rapid development of Songzhuang Art industry since the year 2005, not only attracting artists to settled down, but also created more than 1.5 million art related job opportunities. Artists' need for residence, creation, social interaction and marketing had been realized in those deserted sites or villagers' houses. The industry compounds were turned into art workshops or small bars. Related investment summed up to 3.23 million dollars from local villagers and private investment groups (Songzhuang Cultural and Creative Industry Cluster Management Committee, 2013).

From a small artist agglomeration to a large art community, more art industry projects located in Songzhuang. Such market driven investment proved that the bottom-up regeneration process helped Songzhuang to earn more resources from outside, rather than from the municipality. The municipal government started to adjust its policies. In 2005, Tongzhou District set developing goal of "Central Art District" for Songzhuang for the first time (Tongzhou New City Master Plan, 2006-2020).

By defining the community a success, the municipal government decided to remain the 55.7 hectares original art creation zone, with three state-invested projects for art exchange, convention and exhibition. The National Art Trade and Exhibition Complex, 29 hectare of construction area, 0.8

billion dollars of investment, the National Fashion and Creation Centre, 60.9 hectares, 4.85 billion dollars, and Beijing World Trade Art Centre, 23.8 hectares, 0.29 billion dollars (Songzhuang Cultural and Creative Industry Cluster Management Committee, 2013).

Although it is still under debating the impact of giant development on the protected original art creating zone, such attitude change from the municipal government and district government implied the potential of Songzhuang's art industry.

4.2.3 Spill-over Effect of Art Industry

The spill-over effect on increasing local villagers' income is another benefit brought by the art industry. It was possible for both local villagers and immigrant workers to open up their business in Songzhuang. Villagers established galleries, restaurants and cafes, providing public services, and even running art schools. In that way, villagers are involved in this art industry.

In 2013, the average income of villagers in Songzhuang had risen to 6,462 dollars per year (Yang LIU, 2013), which matched the overall Beijing urban annual per capital income. Comparing to other periphery areas, of which people could only earn 2,908 dollars per year (Beijing Statistical Year Book, 2014), Songzhuang's bottom-up regeneration is quite a success from the point view of economy.

4.3 Spatial Transform: From Function Implant to Restructuring

Before the year of 1998, to develop the rural land to other uses is restricted. The land use function for Songzhuang was implanted with either eco-protection zone, agriculture, industrial compound, or residential area. Eco-protection zone and agriculture zones belong to non-constructive land, which suppressed the possibility of economic activities in Songzhuang (Urban Land Use Classification and Standard of Planning and Construction GB50137-2011).

However, through the process of bottom-up transformation, artists could find and make use of a proper space. By trading with villagers privately, they could gain rights to use the land or houses for a relatively long time. This could be seen as the catalysts and premise for further spontaneous gathering of art related actors.

Meanwhile, it is the artists and art related actors, who brought about new functions and meanings at the beginning, along with the resources that could reform the space. The restructuring process of the land reactivated the power of spaces. New types of function, like the creation spaces, marketing spaces, exhibition spaces, art investment spaces, etc., are emerging in a short time.

Not only the type of functions that increased, but also the shared actors and their lease relations. In total, the type of spatial transformation could be concluded into five categories, according to the records of the survey in Songzhuang (Songzhuang Cultural and Creative Industry Cluster Management Committee, 2013). As Figure 3. Five Types of Land Transfer in Songzhuang shows such five types of land that been transferred into art industry use. The solid arrows imply the direction of rent activities, while the hollow arrow describes the reclamation of land. The term of Art related actors is used to describe actors like artists, art investment groups, etc. relationship with the industry.

Type 1, the land is owned by different villagers, which could be rent entirely or partially by art related actors. Type 2, the land is owned by villagers collectively but abandoned, which authorized the village government to handle daily affairs, could be rent directly or be built into art district and then rent to art related actors. Type 3, the land is owned by villagers collectively for industrial use, which is out of use now, could be rent by art related actors. Type 4, the land is owned by villagers collectively but already rent to manufactory enterprises. In the case of the manufactory enterprises would like to keep the land, they could rent the land to the art related actors in second hand. Type 5, the land is owned by villagers collectively. Given the fact that the current right of use belongs to the manufactory enterprises, in the case of the contracts between the villagers collective and enterprises are over, the land would be reclaimed and rent to the art related actors.

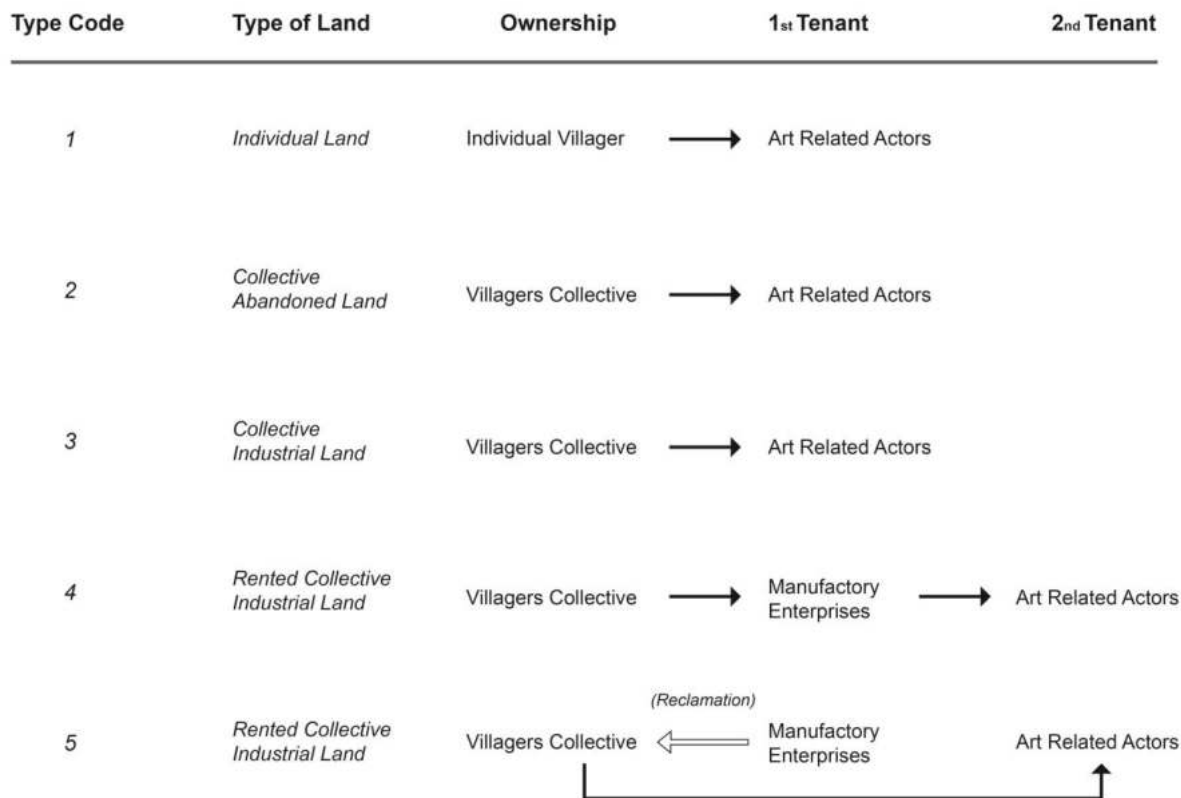


Figure 3. Five Types of Land Transfer in Songzhuang

(Source: Information Based on Field Survey, Organized by YE Qiming, 2014)

5 Mechanism of Bottom-up Urban Regeneration

5.1 Overall Structure

Songzhuang Art Village is formed based on the resources exchange between villagers and artists. For the artists, through the exchange, they could get the space for art creation. For villagers, they could gain rents from the artists. Later on, as the village government joined the arena, they began to support more artists to settle down in Songzhuang. And they take the responsibility for mediation between villagers and artists. They regenerated the infrastructure for artists. Such three actors forms the basic relationship in the structure.

As the art industry grew bigger and more complex, diverted actors joined the arena. The art related actors in second phase and supporting actors in the third phase together complement the groups of actors in Songzhuang.

Besides the actors, the conditions and catalysts for the regeneration process is also crucial, along with the regulations derived from the self-managed local wisdom. Figure 4. Structure of Bottom-up Urban Regeneration Mechanism shows the whole structure of the mechanism.

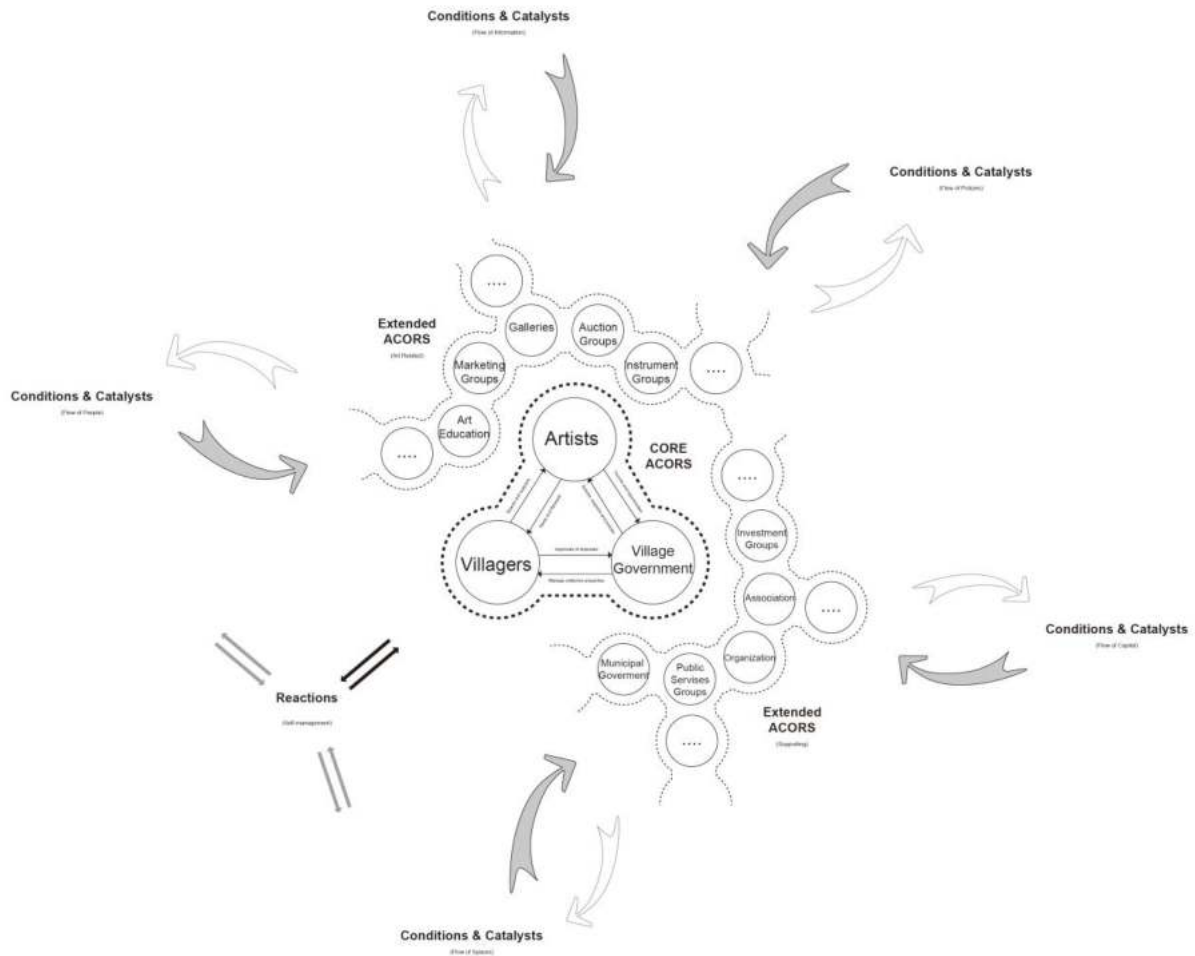


Figure 4. Structure of Bottom-up Urban Regeneration Mechanism
(Source: Information Based on Field Survey, Organized by YE Qiming, 2015)

5.2 Core Actors

Three main actors from the bottom sector compose the core of such regeneration structure: artists, villagers and village government. They exchange the resources of what they have, for the goal of better art industry and better livelihood.

5.2.1 Artists

For artists, they played the role of art creators, who attracted other art related actors to come. In that way, the prosperous art industry help the village government to gain more resources for lifting the living conditions for local groups. On the other hand, the artists will directly contribute to the rise in income of local villagers, by renting the land or houses. Artists also benefit to their own groups by establishing a professional network (J.ScottA.J., 2006), providing social networks for individual artist in or out of Songzhuang.

5.2.2 Villagers

For villagers, who have the resources of individual land and also could collectively influence the results of dealing with collective land, play the role of supporting artists and the art industry. Villagers offer spaces, life necessities, opening up restaurants and bars, delivering materials for art creation. Later on, most of the functions are replaced by professional services groups. Anyhow, the spaces that provided by villagers are crucial.

5.2.3 Village Government

For village government, the most local level authority who keeps the resources of the collective land and primitive accumulations from the manufactory era. In Songzhuang's case, its village government plays an active role in providing fundamental services, collective spaces and supporting policies for artists. On the other hand, village government done well in managing the land and sharing the profits to villagers, which earns the approval of further actions.

5.2.4 Summary of Core Actors

Over all, artists, villagers and village government in Songzhuang established a very efficient resource exchange rules and negotiating network form the very beginning of the transforming process. Such close interests links went tighter since the industry rapidly grew since 2005. Hence, the extended actors would invited into this system to seek opportunities in Songzhuang art industry.

5.3 Extended Actors

In many studies, Songzhuang's developing process had been divided into sections according to the contribution of each economic sectors. However, from the point view of the mechanism, it is important to rethink the division according to the development path of art industry. In this research, we would like to regard this process as the growth of an organic entity, which consist of three major parts: the core actors primitive phase, the extension of art industry phase, and the supporting services phase. Therefore, besides the core actors, such art related actors and supporting actors are crucial in promoting the art industry to more comprehensive level.

5.3.1 Art Related Actors

Art related actors include marketing groups, galleries, auction groups, art education groups and art instrument manufactory enterprises, etc. Art related actors find their market, in Songzhuang, by the meantime contribute to the growth of art industry here.

Galleries groups are the first groups that followed by education and instrument manufactory. It is natural to know that since the industry chain extending, art industry is never only about art creation, but marketing, education and also the material supporting system for art creation.

5.3.2 Supporting Actors

If the roles of art related actors are crucial, then the roles that supporting actors play are necessary for art industry to survive. This large group with the aim of supporting the life system in Songzhuang includes the investment groups, organizations, associations, public services sectors, etc., as well as the municipal government later on. They provide capital, social help, food, leisure of life, exterior policy, etc.

Songzhuang's experience shows the hardware of the supporting system always come road, the public spaces, the internet, etc. Then, the software for supporting system, the supporting actors, would emerge naturally, as the art industry grows.

5.3.3 Summary of Extended Actors

Moreover, the art related actors and supporting actors work together to promote the industry more comprehensive and influenced. On the other hand, they helped reshape the core actors, as they could interfere the market and livelihood of Songzhuang. In that way, the core actors and the extended actors are interactive somehow.

5.4 Conditions and Catalysts: Five Mutative Flows

As the trigger action of the process, it is easy to think that what kind of condition or what is the special characteristics that Songzhuang had to have attracted the artists while breeding the art industry. As Richard Florida stated, the most important factors that influence the creative class is Technology, Talent and Tolerance, which is widely known as 3T theory. He stresses elements are crucial to the creative class in the perspective of environment, mechanism and policies

(Richard Florida, 2002). Other scholars think that the knowledge, economy and spaces are highly relevant when referring to creative industry (Graeme Evans, 2009).

However, Based on the very fact that Songzhuang locates in the periphery area of Beijing, and the art industry is still growing. Unlike those creative places that are gentrified, Songzhuang is even complicated. Given the fact of that, it is necessary to think completely the factors, not only constrained in the dimensions of 3T .

This conclusion is made also by comparing Songzhuang Art Village with SOHO Creative Cluster, New York, and 798 Art Districts, Beijing. As shows in Table 3. Comparison between Creative Communities: SOHO, 798, and Songzhuang, Songzhuang manifests more primitive characteristics with the still growing number of art related population, and the less relatively expensive rent cost, etc. Most importantly, Songzhuang remains the large ratio of art creation group. While in the other two cases, the major function of the space is marketing or exhibition in both of their last period of time. In other words, Songzhuang still keeps the primitive motivation.

In general, we think there are five flows that could influence the actors as well as the process of urban regeneration. Such five flows include: people, spaces, capital, information and policies. All the five flows formed not only the conditions that could explain the reason of attraction, but also in the state of mutative. Hence, each flow could be sensitive to another and comprehensively acting on the art industry and the process.

5.4.1 Flow of People

People is always the main factor in any regeneration process. And Beijing as the capital city of China, has many art schools and companies, with a long tradition of cultural and creative industry development in China. Young artists are attracted by such a network (J.ScottA.J., 2006) to come to the city to find a fortune. This provides premise for the gathering of artists in Songzhuang. On the other hand, it is the Artists nature to cluster and escape from the main stream that contribute to the formation of Songzhuang Art Village. In the point view of people as flow, Songzhuang s prosperous could largely credited to the constantly input of artists and the art related population.

Nevertheless, it is not the talents, as Florida put, that only matters, but the overall group with both good and bad ones. As Songzhuang s artists formed a structure of pyramid. The more you reached the top of art, the little number of masters there are. While, the bottom artists group is in a state of flux. Though cruel, such flux is essential to keep the artists group in good quality and fresh.

5.4.2 Flow of Spaces

Rent cost is the first characteristics of space. As the rent rose in centre Beijing 19 times in 1994 to 2012, while Songzhuang s rent just rose 6 times. Such rent is acceptable to most forms a positive conditions for artists and art related actors to agglomerate.

Convenience of transport comes secondly. Songzhuang is not far from the downtown Beijing, but not inside of the downtown city, not quite as usual as many other creative clusters around the globe (Thomas A Hutton, 2009). However, it is quite convenient to reach through public transportation and it is important to keep such convenience for both artists and people who would know about Songzhuang.

Native environment is the third characteristics of spaces. It is important for artists to be satisfied with such kind of situations (Trevor Barnes, 2009). Unlike urban environment, Songzhuang serves as a sanctuary, or paradise for artists. The rural life style inspire them to create more freely (KONG Jianhua, 2007). Once such condition gone, the attraction for artists would fade away.

However, as the spaces could be changed from time to time, artists and art related actors would react to such changes. And this always depends on how much degree it changes and how does that feel individually. It is some cases in Songzhuang that due to some contract conflict between villagers and artists (YANG Liu, 2009), some had chosen to leave. Also, this could happen when the environment turned more commercial, as showed in Table 3, the SOHO and 798 s case.

In a word, the flow of spaces describes a mutative Garden City for artists. Still on the distances between reality and their dreams.

Table 3. Comparison between Creative Communities: SOHO, 798, and Songzhuang

<i>Factors</i>	<i>Parameters</i>	<i>SOHO</i>	<i>798</i>	<i>Songzhuang Art Village</i>
	Located City	New York	Beijing	Beijing
<i>Spatial Information</i>	Area(ha)	44	40	130
	Distance to Downtown (km)	-	6.7	10
<i>Development Period</i>	Agglomerate Time	1950	2001	1994
	Boom Time	1960	2005	2006
	Decline Time	2000	2010	-
<i>Demographic Information</i>	Local Residents	6,541	0	1,500
	Artists Number (Peak)	5,000	2,000	7,000
	Population Number (Peak)	8,000	100	8,500
	Employees Number (Peak)	14,000	230	15,000
	Artists Ratio of City (Peak)	30%	0.20%	5%
<i>Gallery Information</i>	Galleries Number (Original)	0	0	0
	Galleries Number (Peak)	300	207	113
	Galleries Number (Now)	0	173	113
<i>Commercial Services</i>	Restaurant Number (Peak)	200	237	77
<i>Rent Values</i>	Original Rent (Dollars/m ² /a)	0.78	0.6	0.2
	Current Rent (Dollars/m ² /a)	55.8	5.8	0.9
	Growth Multiples	71.5	9.7	4.5

(Source: Multiple Source form Internet, Organized by YE Qiming, 2014)

5.4.3 Flow of Capital

In the process of urban regeneration of Songzhuang, one of the most important factor that drives the transformation is the capital flow. In the very beginning, Songzhuang got the first real capital flow through the manufactory period. This primitive accumulation was crucial for village government to upgrade the infrastructures. For that reason, the accessibility, mobility and the living conditions could reached the criteria of the first arriving artist group.

The second capital flow is the money artists brought to Songzhuang for space regeneration. They rent the land or houses for a relatively long time, and renewal the space according to the agreement with the villagers or manufactory enterprises. Some of them even build their own houses with yards. Capitals make all the renewals possible, as Andy put: from art to culture economy (Andy C Pratt, 2009). And this also give opportunities for new business to start and new talents been found.

Thirdly, the capital flow was attracted by the value of art productions, as many investment enterprises and projects emerged in Songzhuang, the capital largely reshaped the structure of Songzhuang and also helped to form the market rule of art industry. Nevertheless, including the artists, the whole art industry never create capital flows, they manipulate the flow through the value of art productions and the rule of market. As Florida puts, the base for creative class is economy, as the creative class could transfer this into capital value (Richard Florida, 2002). Once the value faded, the flow would respond quickly.

5.4.4 Flow of Information

Florida believes that through the events planning and marketing, the information flow could broadcast the creativity through the network (Richard Florida, 2002). The power of information at the first stage spread from artist to artist, which delivered the message of Songzhuang would become a new paradise for art creation, a symbol and cultural highland (HU Xiaowu, 2012).

Therefore, the function of information is quite important. Not only as an information receiver, but also the generator, through the massive festivals, exhibitions and exchange activities, Songzhuang generated more information than the era of manufactory or agriculture, and soon became headquarter of art. And the products of art also communicate with the world by sharing the spirits and value of Songzhuang.

From the point view of the market, the information exchange could largely help the market find the right artists to support. For artists, it is easy to have more tunnels and choices to make themselves been found. Moreover, not only the actors would be influenced by that, but also other flows.

5.4.5 Flow of Policies

For the flow of policies, two dimensions should be mentioned, the first is the supervision and constrains from the government, and the second is the support policies from the government.

Comparing to the events that happens in downtown city in 2005, which the artists had to flee from Yuanmingyuan Painters Village, the governance environment is quite loose in Songzhuang. This is crucial, for the nature of artists is chasing freedom (YAN Changyuan, 2005), that they could express their disagreement even in some sensitive matters. Besides that, though the trading and rebuilding the rural land or houses is forbidden according to the law, somehow, as not the only case in Songzhuang, people could complete such exchange privately. As a blind region in supervision, the regeneration in Songzhuang could be that prosperous.

Secondly, as the top-down plans fail, the village government plays a very important role. It should be stressed that the village government's attitude towards the artists decided the emerging of the new economy. If the attitude were negative, the art industry would never appear. By supporting the art industry, village government are active in attracting investment in civic projects, negotiating among stakeholders, and appealing for privileges from top actors. The way they dealt with such affairs were quite smart, that most of the stakeholders were involved in the process rather than standing outside.

As many key urban policy actors continue to focus on developing strategic programmes and policies to boost creativity and economic growth (Rowland Atkinson, etc., 2009), it is important to know the influence of policies that could have on the art industry. Hence, if the policies were to change, the art industry would suffer. Till now, no signs show the change in policies. But some policies that would accelerate the commercialization of Songzhuang to a gentrified art marketing place like 798 and SOHO, dramatically changing the characteristics of the spaces flow for art creation, would certainly strike the industry.

5.5 Reactions: Principles of Self-management

As the outcome of the reaction, the self-management are generated spontaneously. Confronting the crisis of the rising population in Songzhuang and the limited spatial, natural resources, along with the occasional conflicts for rents, several prestigious artists and the village government formed a group in charging of setting principles for Songzhuang, along with artists and villagers.

Such principles mainly constrains the construction activities that could do harm to the public spaces and environment of Songzhuang, on the other hand, it sets the limit for rent, in order to prevent the land owners driving up the rents. Other regulations like the projects with public concern should have a public hearing. Such kind of democratic action is the addition to democratic village collective institute combining with the art groups inside. In a word, the main idea of the principles is to involve more actors to get benefits from the industry. Such reaction is spontaneously generated from the bottom, which functions well so far.

By self-management, in 2005, Songzhuang Art Museum became the first projects that involves the local actors of Songzhuang, with the designers, the sponsors, art groups and village government mostly come from the local community. It is believed that Songzhuang Art Museum is not only the real start of the art industry, but also a symbol of successful self-management.

6 The Role of Planning

Considering the bottom-up regeneration, Songzhuang s case shows how the actors exchange resources, establishing the industry step by step, and managing themselves in a smart way. On the other hand, the failure of the hypothesis from the top-down process proves that the any strategies ignore the local initiative would lose effectiveness. Hence, the question is for cases like Songzhuang, how planning could respond?

Though the top-down process fails in Songzhuang, however, in our point of view, the role of planning is still needed and even crucial in the future. The only matter is how we revise the attitude and be more inclusive in interfering the process in cases like that. It is important to switch the traditional planning models to the one that are more insightful, practical and flexible.

6.1 Rethink Planning Strategies

First of all, to rethink planning strategies. Songzhuang s case witness how such the municipal point of view lost effect on the local level especially in such periphery area. The reason of this is the ideology that planners usually adopted: centric-periphery structure, of which, it is usually natural to regard the downtown city as the most important part that takes the leading role in every aspect. It is not wrong, however, it would be easy for us to ignore the possibilities for development in areas like Songzhuang.

To rethink the strategies, it does not mean that the previous thoughts would be totally turned over. However, a more flexible strategies are needed in those less important areas . It is not for the sake of the development in those individual regions, but also to seek economic development opportunities for the entire city. The more flexible and diverted functions a city adopted, the more sustainable it would be (Jane Jacobs, 1970). Such adjustment in strategies could be quite crucial but also tough in technical, for the balance between constrain and flexibility.

6.2 Understand Better of Local Actors and Resources

In the process of bottom-up regeneration of Songzhuang, the initiatives are created by local actors. The artists, villagers, and the village government act as the primitive core actors, which attracted more extended actors to agglomerate in Songzhuang. Such actors could be gathered and such process been managed only through the market-driven way, rather than the process from top-down.

On the other hand, the resources such as the flow of capital from the investment groups, the land resources of the individual or enterprises, the flexible and supporting policies from the village government, and the network of local community are something hard to define and been taken advantage of without a better understanding of the local situation. All of these resources are brought by local actors promoting the transform in a spontaneous way according to the mechanism we analysed before.

Hence, it is crucial for planners to define these local actors, including the core actors and the potential extended actors. Through the process of understanding the resources, planners could pay more attention to how to conduct those resources and integrate them in the process of planning. The cooperative way to take advantage of those resources could contribute to a better integration of planning and the local participation. On one hand, this could amend the strategies and orientations from the top, on the other hand, to have common goals with the local actors, gaining better the trust and cooperation.

6.3 Cooperate with Local Self-management Regulations

To make planning more effective and practical in local context, it is better to understand the local regulations, for the local policies are the important knowledge to get (Lachlan Barber, 2014). First, in those areas with the bottom-up regeneration, the self-management should be learnt. Secondly, find the common interests shared by both self-management and the planning process to seek cooperation. For example, in Songzhuang's case, the self-management regulated the jerry-built (Fran Tonkiss, 2013), which is also banned in the point view of planning institute. Then the cooperation could be bridged between local actors and planners. Besides that, planners could provide more effective solution to these matters.

Sometimes, it is needed to conduct in a cooperative way with the local actors. In case of there is some occasion that could not be dealt with through a self-management way, or there is some exterior projects needed to be implanted, then, the participatory process with local actors is necessary. Try to conduct and intervene the process by put the planners themselves as the stakeholders in the management process.

6.4 Summary: Smart Planning in Local Context

In a word, it is required to have a better senses and insights for real local place, as well as for local development. Make flexible strategies to allow new economy and lifestyle to emerge, know better of the local actors, take better advantage of the resources, cooperate with local wisdoms, and participate in the process of self-management. Only in that way, planning could be accepted and practical in local context.

These should be regarded as the quality and responsibility for planners, in order to avoid ineffective top-down process, and to confront a more mutative planning environment.

7 Conclusion

As a typical example of bottom-up regeneration, Songzhuang's development implies the ineffective conventional top-down approach of planning, and also shows the energy of the bottom-up process by local actors.

The research studies both processes individually, and make a comparison eventually. By comparing of the assigned role of Songzhuang, the research discovers that through the spontaneous growth path,

more actors are involved, more powerful the local economy could be, and more chances to get restructured, from social, economic and spatial perspectives.

Most importantly, the research discovers the mechanism of bottom-up regeneration, considering Songzhuang as the case. The crucial part of the mechanism is the core actors, which consist of artists, villagers and village government. It is believed through the resources exchange among core actors that attracted more extended actors, such as investment groups, marketing groups, public services groups, organizations and associations, etc., to join the community. Besides the core actors and extended actors, five flows as the conditions and catalysts are important in the mechanism. The flows of people, spaces, capital, policies, and information are quite mutative, and influential in the process of regeneration. And it is such five flows that contribute to the growth of the art industry. Moreover, during the process of regeneration, local actors have developed a self-management principles, that promote the art industry and local community to develop sustainably.

Finally, we look into the role of planning, to find out better approaches for planners when dealing with the cases like Songzhuang. To rethink planning strategies and be aware of the emerging new economy in those areas, flexibility are called. To understand better of local actors and resources, in order to make plan more practical. To cooperate with local self-management principles that made by local actors, participating in the process and combing the planning wills with the appeals from local actors, could make the plan more acceptable.

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