

**Emerging Landscapes of Consumption in China: Independent Retail, Urban Form
and Urban Life in Post-Reform Beijing**

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ABSTRACT

Emerging Landscapes of Consumption in China: Independent Retail, Urban Form and
Urban Life in Post-Reform Beijing

Nadia Sbahi

Through a case-study in the district of Haidian in Beijing, this thesis investigates the effects of the development of independent retail in neighbourhood streets at the periphery of walled housing estates in post-reform China. A theoretical framework that combines retailing geography, the study of the urban form, and the study of everyday practices is proposed. The research posits that the development of a street's retail landscape is an important expression of an emerging culture of mass consumption and leisure; through this research I seek to better understand how such a new reality impacts the daily routine of the residents of Beijing who use the local commercial streets. Drawing on abundant data derived from varied empirical procedures, this study documents and interprets the physical and social manifestations pertaining to seven local commercial streets. The social practices and perceptions of groups of users are investigated through questionnaires, interviews, and observations. I discuss how, through their daily interactions with the built environment, lay urban dwellers create *space*, while collectively conferring meaning to otherwise inert artefacts. The study sheds light on the cultural significance of a new retail environment that reshapes urban China. Situated at the intersection of the privatisation of land use rights, the development of mass consumption, and the disbanding of old communitarian living arrangements, the new landscapes of consumption are in many regards the embodiment of a post-communism Chinese ethos.

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LIST OF ACRONYMS

Acronym	Full expression
BCE	Before Common Era
CE	Common Era
LHE	large housing estate
PRC	People's Republic of China

Case study sites:

Acronym	Full expression
HDNL-1	Haidian nanlu
ZCL-2	Kexueyuan nanlu, Zhichunli
TYYC-3	Dazhongsi lu, Taiyangyuan Compound
XKG-4	Kexueyuan nanlu, Xinke Garden
DCWJC-5	Zhongguancun donglu, Douchengwangjing Compound
SYS-6	Kexueyuan nanlu, Shuangyushu
ZGCNL-7	Zhongguancun nanlu

INTRODUCTION

Setting the scene

In Chinese, Geography is 地理 (*dili*). *Di* 地¹ means earth/ places of the earth, and *li* 理 means the principle of/ the reason for. Translated literally *dili* means: what makes a place what it is (Teather and Chow, 2000, p. 310). The Chinese definition of geography compares quite well with the ‘western’ post-modern definition, but it is interesting to note that the term *dili* existed well before the western interpretation was adopted.

风水 (*fengshui*), as Whitehand and Gu (2006) indicate, “can be regarded as a Chinese conception of the ideal relationship between nature and the built environment” (p. 342). For centuries the practice of *fengshui* was an important shaper of place and space in China. The influence of western thought started to spread after the fall of the empire (1911), and the practice of *dili* (in the western sense) gained more importance. Less than a century ago, *fengshui* and geography were nearly synonymous; geographers and urban planners were *fengshui* practitioners. “Manuals of *fengshui* practitioners were titled as geography books (*di li shu* 地理书 [simplified characters by the author])” (Teather and Chow, 2000, p.311). The principle of everything built and of the relationships of such artefacts to nature is thus deeply ingrained within Chinese philosophy and culture. Such a framework insured an intimate correspondence between the material and immaterial manifestations of culture.

¹ Chinese terms will be explained when they first appear in the text. For clarity and to facilitate the flow of the discussion a list of all terms is provided in Appendix A

Since the commencement of the economic reforms of 1978 in the People's Republic of China (PRC), Chinese cities have witnessed fundamental changes. These changes have "given rise to new social, economic, spatial, cultural, and political orders that are qualitatively different from those in the cities of the socialist, Republican, late Qing, and earlier eras" (Ma, 2006, p. 367). When Deng Xiaoping became the Paramount Leader of the People's Republic of China, dramatic economic reforms were introduced. A key aspect of the economic reforms was the liberalisation of the land use rights. Combined with the decentralisation of power, the changes in the nation's economic system have significantly affected the "pattern and nature of urbanisation, urban functions and urban land uses as well as the way in which cities are planned" (Sit, 1996, p. 458). Ma (2006) points out how much more diverse and complex the urban landscape has become. What has made Chinese cities what they are today is a result of social, economic, and spatial transformations brought about by the decentralisation of the Party's power. In material terms, these transformations are the latest manifestations of exterior (i.e. western) influences on the Chinese built environment. They are at odds with the Chinese traditional material culture, yet they say something about what China is becoming today.

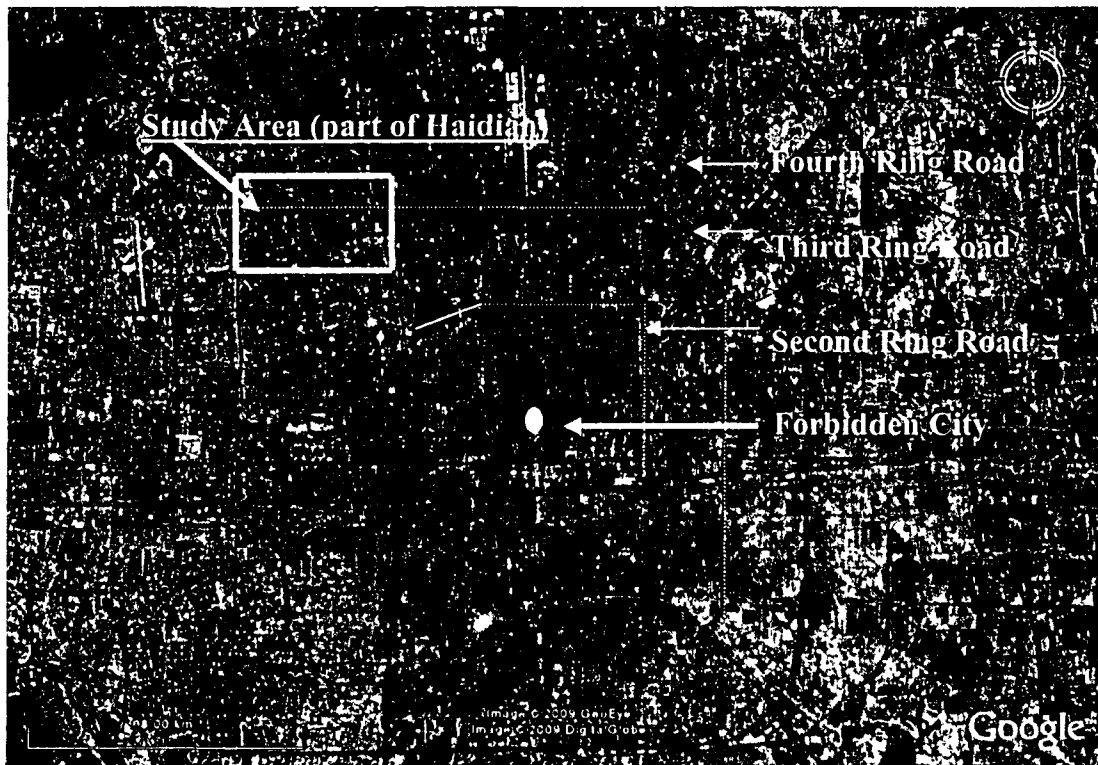
Research purpose & objectives

This research focuses on the development of retail at the periphery of large housing estates in the district of Haidian. The research objectives are twofold: 1. to document the physical manifestations of street retail, and, 2. to investigate the social

practices and perceptions of the patrons of the commercial streets. The research posits that the development of a new street retail's landscape is an important expression of an emerging culture of mass consumption and leisure. I seek to better understand how such a new reality impacts on the daily routine of the users of the local commercial streets in order to answer to such questions as: *how are the traditional consumption practices enacted in this new street retail environment?*, *are new shopping and socializing behaviours taking place?*, and finally, *how do different groups of users perceive this change in their neighbourhood?*

The focus of this thesis is the rapid development of independent retail shops, often built at the immediate periphery of large walled housing estates. A case study of seven commercial streets in the Haidian district of Beijing was conducted. Haidian is a district situated in north western Beijing (see Figure 1). Long known as the university centre of China, in recent years, the Haidian district has also become important for the technology sector. Since the economic reforms, Haidian has undergone significant transformations in both social and material terms. Conducting a case study in such an environment provides the opportunity to put to test and validate a theoretical framework combining retailing geography, the study of urban form (i.e. urban morphology) and the study of everyday practices.

Figure 1. Beijing and study area



Google Earth, retrieved January 21st, 2009

An entry on 'Retailing geography,' first appeared in the 1994 edition of the Dictionary of Human Geography. It suggested the following definition:

The study of interrelations between spatial patterns or retail location and organisation on the one hand, and the geography of retail consumer on the other [...]. Retail geography appears to have largely ignored – and been largely ignored by – the many turbulent theoretical debates of the wider discipline [...]. Spatial changes seem of vital importance as witnessed by the construction of the reconfigured 'consumption spaces' (...), and shifts in both intra-urban and international location of retail capital (Johnston, et al. eds., pp. 533-534).

In the context of rapid urban development in China today, I propose a closer look at the dynamics of retail geography. More specifically, I want to examine the emerging

landscapes of consumption in China to understand: firstly, the spatial logic underlying the development of new independent retail in the wake of land use rights reforms; secondly, some of the contours of the system of retail spaces provision and; thirdly, how retail streets are transforming the urban experience of urban dwellers as well as their cultural representations of the city.

I argue that the emerging landscapes associated with the generalisation of independent retail shops in China are denotative of the profound transformations affecting the country today. I contend that these landscapes mediate how people live, experience, perceive and build their new urban reality. As such, they mark the advent of a new urban.

As is demonstrated in the book edited by Findlay, Paddington, and Dawson (1990), in developing countries, fixed retail shops² are only one aspect of the retail sector's economic structure. It is therefore important to realise how, for developing countries such as China, independent retail is not always found in the developed country's fixed shop format. Makeshift open markets of all types can readily be found in Chinese cities. Such a retail landscape is quite different from the developed countries' typical manifestation of independent retail facilities. For this study I will nonetheless limit my research to the fixed shops in Beijing.

The spatial dimension of retail responds to different shopping behaviours. In urban China, shopping behaviour has undergone significant change in the post-reform era. I argue that the spatial evolution of fixed retail shops in China can reveal a lot about

² Fixed retail shops are shops with stationary physical boundaries. Makeshift shops/markets refer to shops with no fixed material boundaries (i.e. street vendors/peddlers).

how people live, experience, and perceive their new urban reality. These emerging landscapes, I believe, are denotative of the profound transformations affecting the country today. It could be argued that they mark the advent of a new urban culture in sharp contrast with the past built and lived environments.

Research method and Sampling Procedures

The rationale underlining my choice of methodologies is based on the objective to gain a variety of perspectives on a multi-faceted reality. A two-pronged analytical approach is used to study the social production of the landscapes of consumption. First, there is the material production of the commercial streets and shops is studied by analysing the local planning and legal documentation as well as through detailed semi-structured interviews with urban planners, developers, and academics in the field, in order to identify the groups of agents involved in the provision of retail amenities and to trace their respective prerogatives. The contours of the real-estate *field* in which these groups of agents operate are then traced. Secondly, the social construction of space by everyday practices of local dwellers and visitors is surveyed by administering questionnaires to passer-bys. The survey aims at investigating their habits, routines and daily interactions with the built environment and with the other users, on the one hand, as well as the representations that they hold on the other hand. Participants in this research all share their points of view on a common issue from their own personal and/or professional position.

Quantitative methods are used to analyse two close-ended sections of the questionnaire; it is used in particular to collect statistical information on the targeted population. Qualitative methods are used to examine the answers to the open-ended section to the questionnaire. They are used to obtain a glimpse of the target population's perceptions. Semi-structured interviews were conducted and similarly analysed qualitatively to document the views, opinions and perceptions of professional observers or actors of the urban development. Finally, images of the street frontages were used and analysed to have a visual reference for the seven case study streets, to gain an understanding of their distinct material and social environments.

Sets of qualitative and quantitative data were interpreted by triangulating material manifestations of the retail environment, as recorded by the photographic surveys with observations the daily practices of the users, and their mental representations revealed by the questionnaire surveys, in order to verify the postulate according to which, a new cultural model surfaces. This is congruent with the postulate, which stipulates that through their daily interactions with the built environment the users collectively build *space* by conferring meaning to otherwise inert objects.

I was in Beijing from September 2007 to mid-January 2008, and returned in June 2008 for three weeks. Over the course of my stay in Beijing and Peking University's College of Environmental Science, I was exposed to the current state of academic knowledge in my field of study and familiarised myself with the local planning context and literature.

Having lived in China for five years, and considering my ability to speak and read Mandarin, I was fairly able to access local people's opinions. With my training in urban development issues, and my cultural sensitivity to the Chinese context, data collection and analysis proceeded quite efficiently.

Research findings and implications

Based on the main concepts of retail geography I attempt to reveal how the morphing urban landscape in Chinese cities is affecting the urban experience in post-reform China. I focus in particular on the "re-emergence" of the neighbourhood 'retail Street', a form that had largely disappeared during the communist era. Independent retail shops currently build on the periphery of large housing estates (LHE) have visually, functionally and symbolically altered the streetscape of the Chinese city in profound ways.

What I wish to investigate with respect to these emerging retail landscapes, is how "(...) new architectural and urban forms instigate new ways to inhabit and utilise the city", and how, reversely, the everyday practices contribute to the social construction of space and place.

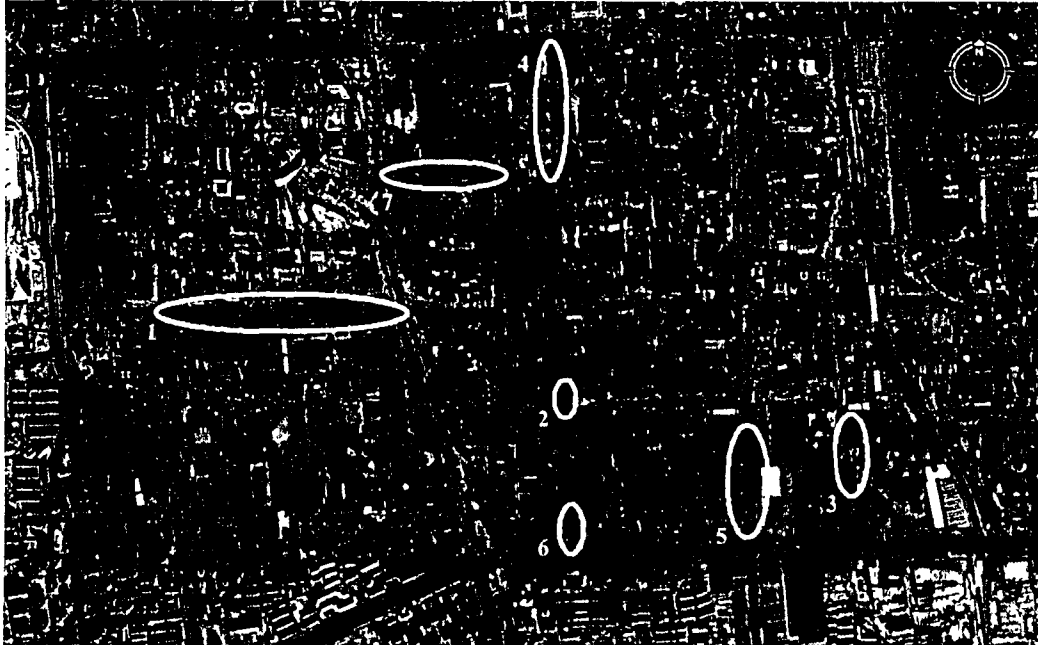
Through this research, I wish to better understand how the material changes in the retail landscape have affected the practical, cognitive and symbolic relationship between the city dwellers and their city. My aim is to do so by examining both the landscape, which is produced by developers and utilised by retail shop owners, *and* the ways in

which the retail places and spaces are consumed, and hence ‘constructed’ by city dwellers in economic, cognitive and symbolic terms. I believe that such a study conducted in a large urban centre of China can help shedding light on how the material landscape of the post-reform era reflects the shifting social, economic, cultural and political orders in China. I am confident that my methodological tools are adapted to the aforementioned research objectives. I also believe my approach to the data’s analysis has produced key findings and, provided some answers to the following three questions: how does the spatial distribution of independent retail transform the city form? How has the ‘everyday’ city experience changed? How has people’s perception of the city changed?

This case study of seven streets in the Haidian district of Beijing focuses on the rapid development of independent retail shops at the periphery of walled housing estates. The commercial strips adjoining these residential compounds are the projection in concrete forms of the social, cultural and economic conditions that have influenced and determined their creation. Figure 2 provides precise geographical referencing of the site locations; the name and the length of each street segment is provided after the figure. Note that the numbering of the study sites does not follow geographical logic, the numbering scheme evolve temporally as I selected study sites.

I anticipate that the results from my research will not only provide scholarly insight on the said issues, but also some useful knowledge for urban planners, developers, and grassroots actors facing environmental challenges.

Figure 2. The seven case-study streets:



Google Earth, retrieved January 10th, 2009

1. 海淀南路 - Haidian nanlu (HDNL-1), segment covered: 0.87 Km
2. 科学院南路, 知春里 - Kexueyuan nanlu, Zhichunli (ZCL-2), segment covered:
0.20 Km
3. 大钟寺东路, 太阳园 - Dazhongsi lu, Taiyangyuan compound (TYYC-3),
segment covered: 0.33 Km
4. 科学院南路, 新科祥园 - Kexueyuan nanlu, Xinke Garden (XKG-4), segment
covered: 0.50 Km
5. 中关村东路, 都市网景 - Zhongguancun donglu, Douchengwangjing compound
(DCWJC-5), segment covered: 0.39 Km
6. 科学院南路, 双榆树 - Kexueyuan nanlu, Shuangyushu (SYS-6), segment
covered: 0.12 Km

7. 中关村南路 - Zhongguancun nanlu (ZGCNL-7), segment covered: 0.47Km

Thesis Structure

The first chapter presents a literature review that informs the theoretical framework developed to tackle the emerging “landscapes of consumption in China”. Chapter two presents my case study area, and discusses the methodological approach; in which quantitative and qualitative methods are applied to the analysis of the three types of data collected: by questionnaire surveys, semi-structured interviews, and photographic surveys. Chapter three presents the results of the empirical analysis. Finally, in chapter four the results are discussed in the context of my theoretical framework, conclusions are drawn about the significance and limits of the results and suggestions for future research are outlined.

CHAPTER ONE: Theoretical Framework

Firstly, I would like to delve into China's past to examine both the presence and cultural significance of commercial streets and of wall systems through urban history. Following this historical discussion, I will discuss emerging landscapes of consumption, as they will be understood through three pairs of concepts "the material and the symbolic", "place and space", and "production and consumption".

The wall and the system of enclosure as time lasting cultural artefacts

The ever-present walls and walled compounds in Chinese history have held strong and specific meanings and it can be inferred that they have represented different regimes of discipline and governance through time (Bray 2005). As early as under the reign of the Zhou dynasty³ (1100 Before Common Era [BCE] to 221 BCE) Chinese cities were divided into wards; creating distinct residential districts, markets and government offices, all of which were enclosed by walls and hence separated from the streets. This ward system, at its peak in the late Sui (581-618 Common Era [CE]) and early Tang dynasties (618-907 CE) had a great impact on city dwellers' daily lives (Lu, 2006). It could be argued that the 'work units' (or *danwei*⁴) of the Maoist era were quite similar in spatial and in social terms perhaps, to the walled cities made up of numerous walled compounds (Bray, 2005).

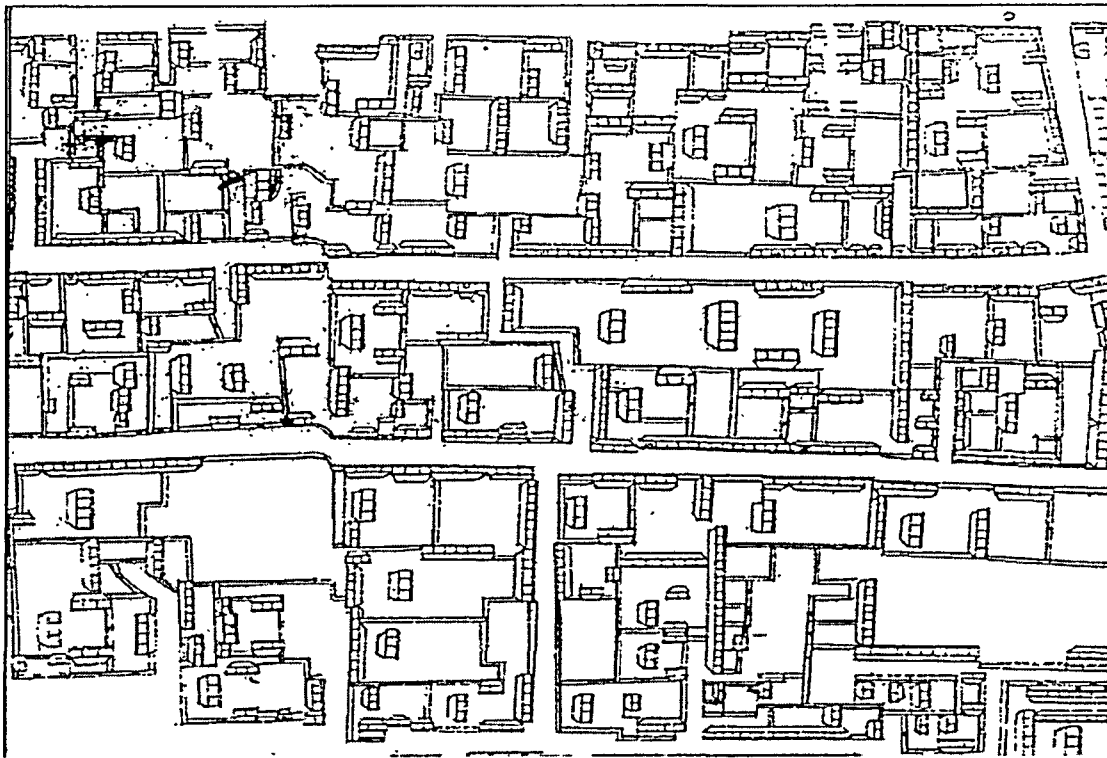
³ A complete list of the Dynasties is provided in Appendix B

⁴ *danwei* (单位), is often translated to 'work unit' in Anglo-Saxon literature. A *danwei* in the Maoist years referred to a 'work unit' as a unit of production as well as an administrative and political unit. See page 13.

Fengshui, one of the oldest Chinese traditions, brought a level of authority to place and space shaping in Chinese cities. *Fengshui* became more important during the reign of the Tang dynasty (Li, 2002; Obringer, 2005). Chinese cities are characterised by walls, which are part of a system of enclosure that acts as a spatial ordering device. A closer look at the enclosure system, as observed above, reveals that to its incarnation in the material order of the city, corresponds manifestations pertaining to broader social and symbolic orders. This ability to order space, social relations and the links between the built and the natural environment confers an archetypical character to the enclosure system. The importance of walls for Chinese cities is denoted by the fact that the traditional words for city and wall are identical (Chang, 1977; Lu, 2006). *A New Century Chinese-English Dictionary* (2002, p. 214) translates the character 城 (*cheng*) to: “1) (city) wall (...) 2) city [within the city wall] (...).” (p. 214). Lu also argues that different types of walls in traditional Chinese landscape symbolise “a manner of classification in an ordered Chinese environment” (2006, p. 128). The author quotes Xu to provide some examples:

high walls around courtyards were called *qiang*, implying something used to shield oneself; house walls and part walls were called, *bi*, connoting something that warded off and resisted the wind and cold; and low walls were called, *yuan*, suggesting something one leaned on and thus took as protection. (Xu, 2000, p. 197, quoted in Lu, 2006, p. 128)

Figure 3. Image of a part Beijing, 1750 (Qing dynasty)



This image depicts a ward in an upper-class district near the eastern wall of the City; illustrating walls streets were a prominent feature. The importance played by the wall in the outlining of the urban landscape. (Skinner, 1977, p. 531)

Walls were built around cities to physically distinguish them from the rural landscape, but they also serve to capture positive *qi* (air, energy). As a device meant to conserve positive energy in the *Fengshui* tradition, the wall became a central feature of China's built environment at different levels of spatial resolution; from the scale of individual housing units, to that of cities, and the Great Wall of China, which marked the boundary of the empire (Li, 2002). Wright conjectures on the reasons behind the long withstanding application of the Chinese *Fengshui* tradition; in his opinion, part of the

persistence results from the “weight of history”, in the Chinese people’s view of the world (Wright 1977, p. 73).

A fascinating example of the importance and resilience of the wall in Chinese cityscape is provided by the Soviet-inspired housing estates (Sit, 1996; Wang and Chai, 2007). As the old city walls of Beijing were being demolished, walls to individual work units were nonetheless being built during the Mao era when, as part of the policy of collectivism, a *danwei* system was introduced. As Zhang (1997) points out *Danwei* (work unit) is not simply a place of work where one earns a living. “It has many other economic, political and social functions and plays a crucial role in organising its employees’ lives” (p. 446). The work unit also provided housing, daycare, medical care, canteens, and other services for daily needs. To this socio-economic arrangement corresponded a spatial layout; this spatial layout was inspired by the Soviet model, in fact the early years of the PRC the Soviet Union sent engineers and urban planners to China in order to help the new communist state emulate their model. In this time period, Soviet Union sponsored the construction of many buildings in the PRC. The housing model for the *danwei* was inspired by the Soviet example. One prerogative of the local *danwei(s)*’ was to build and manage large housing estates (LHEs) and their associated amenities for the benefit of their workers. Under the auspices of the work units, walled LHE became the predominant housing and community development model (Friedmann, 2006; Gaubatz, 1999; Ma and Wu, 2005). As Wang and Chai (2007, p. 9) point out, the *danwei* was “(...) not only the basic spatial unit of urban China, but also the basic life-space of urban residents.” This model of social and spatial organisation saw the emergence of

walled compounds functioning as small cities within cities (Ma and Wu, 2005). Bray (2005) draws a parallel between the walled *danwei* and the traditional Chinese walled family compound. Although the two are corresponding to different social orders, he argues that both architectural formations serve similarly to mark social spaces and spaces of power. It can be argued that the produced social spaces are more defining than the walls that concretise or reify them. In fact, in the 1950s wall construction for the *danwei* was not encouraged, unless the *danwei* was linked to the military or was a school, wall construction was seen as a waste of premium supplies. As a consequence, application to have a wall constructed around a *danwei* was long and complicated, yet many applications were still submitted. Lu (2006) demonstrates through the use of archived applications that the main reason officially stated to request the construction of a peripheral wall was security. Another reason points to the urban property rights system under Mao, *danwei(s)* wanted to define their boundaries (Lu, 2006). Yet, slowly, and due perhaps to the deeper cultural significance of the wall enclosing the *danwei* compounds became the norm. These physical barriers clearly set the *danwei* apart from the rest of the world, as a visible expression of the work unit's identity, and a protective boundary encircling it (Lu, 2006).

Since the 1978 economic reforms, which marked the end of the Maoist era, the role of the *danwei* has changed significantly. One of the implications, with respect to the urban landscape, is that the bare walls encircling LHE that typically lined most streets - while contributing strongly to define the Chinese urban landscape - have been drastically transformed to accommodate retail activity. The dramatic transformations of recent years

have been characterised as bombarding one's senses (Lu, 2006). Post-reform housing estates are still defined spatially by an external wall, but these walls are altered and re-designed to support the establishment of small retail. The shops and market stalls, which used to transact behind the walls of *danwei* communities, are migrating to street locations though they are still often owned and/or operated by the *danwei* (Bray, 2005). They are now located 'within' the wall, quite literally; within a wall made deeper that is, and facing outward. These new independent retail shops cater to both the local residents living within the estate and to the street passer-by. The reintroduction of 'retail streets' in Chinese cities is to a large extent, I argue, a consequence of the change in the social and economic function of the *danwei*. Following the economic reforms and their accompanying changes in land-use rights, many *danwei*(s) have been converted into real-estate developments, in order to supplement declining revenues while capitalising on their estate development and management know-how.

For many societies the street is the "original centre of urban retail life and the retail space most at the heart of our everyday experiences" (Wrigley and Lowe, 2002, p. 189). This seems to be what is re-emerging in China at the moment, and such a change transforms traditional city planning as much as it changes the 'urban experience'. The persistence of the wall and its role as a figure of spatial enclosure, and social ordering and control in urban China seems to have transcended the divide between tradition and modernity in the ever changing society (Bray, 2005, Lu, 2006). Maoist cities were ultimately reshaped around structured and walled work units (*danwei*), that were planned on the assumption that people would not need to travel beyond the *danwei* walls to go to

work or to attend to other daily activities. One of the consequences of such an approach to city planning was the disappearance of cities' traditional commercial landscape (Gaubatz, 1995a). In the present post-Mao era, the dominant large walls surrounding residential compounds seem to be an obstacle to the economic development of the work unit (Bray, 2005). The current trend is a large-scale re-emergence of commercial activity in city streets, albeit in new forms that are not emulating the pre-communist spatial configurations. Wang and Chai (2007, p. 26) stress that "[i]ndividuals' activity space has been enlarged"; as a flurry of independent retail has surfaced to meet emerging needs, while contributing to the development of a new urban lifestyle. A question arises: "to which extent does the emergence of new cultural practices of their associated landscape of consumption translate into new cultural models"?

Bray (2005) points to the deeper cultural truth lying behind the nature of the ubiquitous wall. He argues that walls in Chinese streets have created walls in people's minds. However, the walls, he argues, are not as crucial as the space that they create and the practices that are operated within. Has the breaching of the LHE peripheral walls led to breaching the walls in people's minds? Or will new "mental" walls emerge? Despite dramatic socio-economic changes, most Chinese cities have always reverted to maintain the centuries old traditional spatial pattern focused on a system of spatial enclosure: "walled, intensive and compact in morphology" (Lu, p. 12)

In the Chinese historical context, the notion of the morphing of the wall into a space of consumption is a fascinating one indeed. Both a rampart for the residential

community inward, and a showcase for the society outward on the newly animated street, the shop-laden wall surrounding LHE invites cultural investigation.

Chinese retail streets Histories

“Perhaps more than any other aspect of retail change, the spatial transformation reflects the complex array of contemporary social, economic, technological and policy trends” (Bromley and Thomas, 1993, p. 6). There is relatively little known about the histories of Chinese commercial street, but many authors and artists throughout history have testified on the occurrences of retail activities. These references and more recent accounts by researchers have identified models that varied from one dynasty to the next and which demonstrated variations in different city centres

In the late 1200s, Marco Polo described Hangzhou city’s main streets as lined with shops and artisan houses; markets were bustling with trade activity (Trewartha, 1952). However, this was not always the commercial reality in the large Chinese cities. In the traditional walled city of Beijing, for example, under the Tang Dynasty (618-907 CE), no commercial activity was conducted on the main streets, markets operated at the east and west ends of the walled city, under regulated hours of operation. According to Belsky (2000), late imperial Chinese cities were characterised by “(...) two spatially distinct “nuclei” [which] shaped the social space (...) One nucleus was associated with merchants/tradesmen, others with “gentry” (scholars and officials); each served as the centre of social-economic activity, and of residence of its respective group” (Belsky, p. 59, 2000). The controlled ward system that came into place towards the end of the Tang

era, and continued through to the Song dynasty (966-1279 CE) started to loosen. In this period the Imperial Courts in Beijing remained in the southern part of the city, adjacent to the city core (the northern part) market places appeared. These added to the already existing markets south of the city. What had long been controlled and enclosed market places were replaced with street front shops (Lu, 2006; Yang, 1990).

As the city and its population grew, commercial activity in the 16th century started to develop inside and outside the city's front gate (south) (Lu, 2006, Yang, 1990). A fine example of this is the emergence of *hutong*(s) (胡同) in the *Liulichang* (琉璃厂) district; this area's shops served intellectuals and members of the court. This neighbourhood was not planned within the city, it was originally a furnace site situated outside the south gate, which had produced roof tiles under the rule of the Ming dynasty. This 'gentrification' gave a new character to the cityscape of this neighbourhood (Samuels and Samuels, 1989).

The social space of the capital, Beijing, was greatly altered with the inception of the Qing dynasty (1644-1911 CE), a period during which all ethnic Han Chinese were exiled from the inner city (1648). This political turmoil was accompanied by spontaneous socio-spatial shifts, which blurred the distinction between scholar/official and merchant/tradesmen living quarters within the city (Belsky, 2000).

The only markets allowed were the traditional temple fairs, which were held on rotation, or on specific *hutong*(s) throughout the city at set times. The *hutong*(s) have survived until present time and their names still reflect the type of market they use to hold: flower, fish etc. (see Figure 3 for depiction of a Qing Dynasty neighbourhood). In

1902 *Dongan* became the first official permanent public market in Beijing. By the year 1933 the *Dongan* market hosted 267 shops and 658 stands, most of which were small-scale independent private enterprises (Broudehoux, p. 102, 2004). The *Dongan* market flourished after the fall of the empire (1911 marks the establishment of the Republic of China). After the establishment of the Republic three types of markets developed in Beijing, most of which located outside the city walls. The markets included comprehensive commercial centres, commercial streets and retail in the hutong(s) (Yang, 1990). Chang (1961) describes the ‘*hsien*⁵ capitals’ business districts in very similar terms, with prominent business districts situated near main intersections in the city and around the city gates.

There is an extensive account by Wang (1998) on the street culture in the important commercial city of Chengdu in the Qing dynasty. Though the streets were built to accommodate traffic, they were predominantly lined with commercial activity. A French tourist at the time described the streets of Chengdu as follows: “(...) among the urban landscapes I have seen, that of Chengdu is the best” (Wang 1998, p. 38). The streets were lined with a wide variety of businesses offering all sorts of goods and services. The traditional street life or ‘street culture’ of Chengdu survived the fall of the empire (Wang, 1998), just as it did in large urban centres throughout the Republic. Yet, Chengdu, like all other cities in China, experienced fundamental structural and cultural changes with the birth of the People’s Republic of China.

⁵ “*Hsien* may be roughly translated as ‘county’ or ‘district.’” (<http://www.britannica.com/eb/article-9041289>).

As the nation's social and political goals shifted, so did the urban landscape. In the PRC's early years (1949-78), the efforts of the communist party were invested in developing national wealth based on industrial production. An economy of consumption had no place in that model. The post-reform era of the last thirty years has seen the party's goals shift towards an increasingly capitalist economic platform, creating a new turf on which landscapes of consumption are now deploying.

The emergence of small independent retail, according to Bray (2005), is one of the most significant changes experienced in the *danwei(s)* which have seen the centre of the social life shifting from within the walls onto the surrounding streets. "Compound wall economics" or *yuanqiang jingji* has been documented in the Chinese press. The development of these commercial peripheral walls has financially helped *danwei(s)*, and has helped to some degree to relieve the shortage of commercial space in cities (Bray, 2005). As Bray (2005) argues, the "compound wall economics" is a good example of the complex negotiations taking place between the old socialist (*danwei*) and the new private sector, actors that are the *getihu*, the self-employed individual. Urban dwellers' daily practices have been significantly altered by the advent of the *getihu*. People cannot go without services provided by *getihu*: vegetable stalls, hairdresser, bicycle repair service, or restaurants – all have become common and essential features to the everyday life of the urban resident. Bray (2005) quotes Zhu Wenyi, a theorist, as suggesting that:

the rise of the shopping street could be understood to signal the return of a feature that had been important to Chinese urban formations since at least the tenth century. At the same time, however, he also suggests that it implies a shift toward a monumental streetscape that is more characteristic of western cities. (p. 168)

Shopping can be leisurely or functional, or both (Newby, 1993). As argued by Wu, C-C., (2005) daily consumption shapes daily life, and holds significant socio-cultural meaning; the trading culture in China is based on face-to-face interaction. The *getihu* shops offer these traditional trading interactions, which make consumption more than simply a daily chore. Residential space is no longer the main location for daily socialising: people seek social interaction outside the confines of their LHE (Wu, F., 2005)

Emerging Landscapes of Consumption in China: A Theoretical Framework

Place and Space Making in Post-Reform Era China

Obviously, our environment influences our daily lives. Jayne (2006, p. 7) contends that, “the way in which we interpret, appropriate and (re) appropriate (consume) urban space is [...] bound up with our experience of everyday lives and concepts and value, use and meaning.” Glennie (1998, p. 929) stresses the significance of what he calls “the everyday social embeddedness” of the said activities; as *actions* as well as of the *reflective processes* that shape social life before, during, and after consumption. He posits that these actions and reflexive processes determine how places of consumption and the urban form are modified physically by either minor or major changes. The material or ‘symbolic’ consumption of products, activities or spaces is always linked to some physical structures (retail and wholesāle outlets, places of leisure, places of business, etc.). The new highly visible consumption spaces in China are transforming planned urban environments from predominantly Maoist ‘landscapes of production’ to post-reform era ‘landscapes of consumption’. It could be argued that most of the

consumption that takes place in these new spaces serves everyday and customary needs, but the post-reform urban landscapes are also triggering new behaviours and habits that affect the urban experience at a deeper level. Zukin (1998) suggests that consumption spaces alter the way space is used, which fosters the perception of a “new urban culture based on acquisition and consumption as the means of achieving happiness” (Zukin, 1998, p. 828). If such an interpretation holds true, what is happening in the commercial streets of China can provide valuable insights as to how the urban culture is impacted by broader economic and political shifts witnessed in the country.

To fully appreciate the significance of the new retail geography Lowe and Wrigley (2000) discuss the need for an interdisciplinary approach. They mention how, since the 1990s, the field of retail geography has witnessed a collaboration between geographers, cultural anthropologists, sociologists, economists, and social and cultural historians. Within a Chinese context, where in the last 50 years the political climate has affected the daily lives of Chinese people on several levels. This is why I believe that a collaboration with political scientists is also necessary for a more comprehensive research into the field to fully appreciate the Chinese context. In terms of consumption, the way in which people view and live places and spaces is not strictly economically driven; a multi-disciplinary approach to retail geography is needed.

To ‘*practice* the street’ is to (re) construct mentally the space that one inhabits physically and symbolically (Crouch, 1998). Crouch (1998) teaches us how, when ‘*practicing*’ the street, images of the past are reconstructed and new images are continuously created. This concept is evocative of Michel de Certeau’s (1980) work on

the practice of everyday life, in which the sociologist looks at how people relate to and appropriates the environment in which he or she is walking. De Certeau interprets people's daily routines as being a cultural practice of high significance for one's identity. Another sociologist, Maffesoli (1996, 2005) discusses the importance of time on space, arguing that the latter is continuously refashioned as one's representation of space continually changes with time. As Zukin explains, urban landscapes are also the reflection of the 'struggle' between social and economic forces of society; as these landscapes become a cultural reflection of our time: "Our cognitive maps, aesthetic forms, and ideologies reflect the multiple shifts and contrasting patterns of growth and decline that shape the landscape" (Zukin, 1991, p. 22). In this research I argue accordingly, that the Chinese urban retail landscape is a fertile ground to study the current waves of social, cultural and economic transformations in China. Faced with the dramatic transformations of Chinese streetscape since the 1978 it is important to study the urban representations people currently hold and in particular to examine the representations commercial streets evoke compared to the allegedly fading memories of pre-reform cityscapes.

Everyday practices that allow for the neighbourhood streets to take life can be 'read' (Jayne, 2006) by an attentive observer. How people choose to walk, make use of or relate to their neighbourhood streets reveals significant and meaningful relationships between the physical and the social environment (de Certeau, Girard, and Mayol, 1980). From 'grassroots' up, through their everyday actions, lay persons affect the way in which the street is lived (de Certeau, 1980). Jayne discusses de Certeau's argument that "it is in

the act of walking that a 'myriad' of users write and rewrite the city as 'their' space – creating fragmentary stories that link and intersect with other fragmentary stories; it is through these trajectories and connections that the city is given form" (Jayne, p. 98).

Jackson (1999) presents Mary Douglas's argument to the effect that:

modern identities are constituted through people's culturally mediated relationship with the symbolic world of consumption rather than through any more direct relationship with the material world. For Douglas, consumption offers a choice not just between different *kinds of goods* but between different *kinds of relationship*. (p. 29)

Different theories of everyday life show that identities evolve from everyday practice (de Certeau, 1980; Jayne, 2006). This study also explores whether Chinese new commercial streets contribute to the development of new identities.

Consumption analysed in either modernist or post modernist terms remains a new concept in China where little research has been conducted on the matter. In the 1990s Tang and Parish (2000) carried out a comprehensive research study in urban China. Their work examines the changes in the state's social contract for urban dwellers. Among other aspects, the authors' statistical analyses demonstrate radical changes in incomes and consumption patterns. Between the mid-1980s and the late 1990s income per capita has almost tripled, and retail sales have nearly quadrupled (Tang and Parish, 2000, p.42). This research does not focus on the microeconomics behind such consumption behaviours shifts; it proposes rather to look at the impact of consumerism on emerging urban identities in China. It wishes to do so by focusing on new landscapes of consumption, seen both as a determining component in the construction of these identities and as a concrete manifestation of a new urban culture. These landscapes are

conceptualised as cultural models comprised of material artefacts on the one hand and their associated social habits, practices and representations, on the other hand. Some of these practices touch the material production of the said landscape (i.e. the construction of commercial buildings, or of streets) whereas others pertain to more genuine, everyday activities associated with consumption (in a literal sense or as a symbolic appropriation of the space).

This research posits that the emergence of small retail in neighbourhood streets is not only significantly changing the urban landscape; but that it has also triggered important changes in China's urban public sphere that are material, cognitive and symbolic in nature. As Zukin (1991) explains: "The two cultural products that most directly map landscape are architecture and urban form. Because they shape both the city and our perception of it, they are material as well as symbolic" (p. 42). She sees urban landscapes as the reflection of the 'struggle' between social and economic forces of society; as these landscapes become a cultural reflection of our time: "Our cognitive maps, aesthetic forms, and ideologies reflect the multiple shifts and contrasting patterns of growth and decline that shape the landscape" (Zukin, 1991, p. 22). This research argues accordingly that Chinese urban retail landscape is a fertile ground to study the current waves of social, cultural and economic transformations in China.

I theorise landscapes of consumption through three pairs of interwoven concepts. The *material* and the *symbolic* qualities of the landscape - i.e. the tangible realities vs. the mental representations of the said realities - are first discussed. The significance of the concepts of *place* and *space* is then explored; looking at the distinction between a

physical entity *per se*, in its material incarnation, *and* space as a social construct pertaining to the interaction between the place and the social uses and representations that it supports or elicits. Finally, the concepts of *production* and *consumption* are examined in order to elucidate how agents of morphological change such as developers and urban planners materially produce the landscape, which is then used, consumed and, for that matter, symbolically constructed by local dwellers through their daily practices.

An overarching theoretical framework is provided by the work of the urban morphologist Gauthier (2003; 2005b). Urban morphology focuses on the material culture of the city, i.e. its built environment. It posits that: “(...) the built environment [in cities] can be understood as a system of relations submitted to rules of transformation” (Gauthier and Gilliland, 2006, p. 45). Gauthier conceives the evolution of the city’s built environment as a disputed field in which groups of social agents interact based on their ability to mobilise resources (both tangible and intangible). The urban tissue, for instance, reflects the “dialectical interplay between purposeful planning practices, everyday ‘spontaneous’ practices, and the structural resilience of the inherited built environment itself, as well as of the material culture of which it is the product” (Bliek and Gauthier, 2006, p. 16). The built landscape has its own structure and logic: it is not the product of any one agent, time period, or technology in history, but rather as a partially malleable substance with its own structural properties, dialectically produced. The urban built landscape is hence socially produced while “simultaneously producing society through offering (or withholding) opportunities for various agents to realise themselves

socially, economically and culturally” (Blick and Gauthier, 2006, p. 4). As Gauthier (2005a) points out:

(...) even the most scrupulously planned built environment is granted with a more profound cultural signification that the instrumental function than technocrats want it to assume. For the most part, this signification escapes the conscious attention of its creators (and users) the same way it eludes formal planning discourse. (p. 4)

Bray’s (2005) writings in a Chinese context evoke these very same points. For this study I examine the dynamic between the physical landscape, and the changing social practices (building practices and practices of the everyday life) that shape it.

The Material and the Symbolic

Material places and *symbolic spaces* could be examined side by side in order to better understand how people build, inhabit, and *practice* their streets. The material landscape refers to objects and places (buildings, streets, walls, furniture, etc.). It is mostly static, a tangible reality. Symbolic landscape on the other hand, refers to how people read and interpret, more or less consciously the material places they live in; it pertains in particular to how space is *consumed*. Though each person interprets space differently (as space is fluid, intangible, and subjective), collectively, through their everyday practices people create spaces and site-bounded identities. Symbolic consumption of the city (purchasing, loitering, and gathering for instance) is what shapes *space*. The material landscape affects how people symbolically consume their cities, it impacts the way they experience places through their senses (to see, smell, hear, touch,

and speak). Reciprocally, over time, the landscape records the symbolic value conferred to places, as the said value informs its physical transformations.

The emergence of landscapes of consumption in China marks a physical and symbolic break between the past and present. As previously illustrated, a defining element of the traditional Chinese landscape is the 'wall' as part of a complex system of enclosure, which serves as an ordering device, functioning at spatial, social as well as phenomenological levels. The built environment in the city reflects the socio-political dynamics of the time. This study argues that the current wave of transformations that sees a landscape of consumption replacing the once ubiquitous wall might very well mark the advent of new cultural models that will alter deeply the physiognomy, the functioning and the social representations of the Chinese city.

Place and Space

Where the concept of *material* and *symbolic* refers to mental representations, *place* and *space* refers to the not always conscious construct and representation developed through everyday practices of the environment. The distinction between *place* and *space* is important in order to study the changing nature of 'retail streets'. Living in the city involves interacting with the material landscape (i.e. places). As the social, political, economic and cultural nature of Chinese cities has changed over the centuries, so has the material landscape. To these material places corresponds the more elusive reality of socially and mentally constructed 'spaces'. Space is produced by the everyday 'practice' of places; which results in representations that confer meaning to the inert

objects. The landscapes of consumption are conceptualised here as cultural models comprised of material artefacts on the one hand, and their associated social habits, practices and representations, on the other hand. Some of these practices touch the material production of the said landscape (i.e. the construction of commercial buildings, streets) whereas others pertain to more genuine, everyday activities associated with consumption (in a literal sense or as a symbolic appropriation of the space). In this study I espouse the view that the new landscapes of consumption are the product of both purposeful building and development practices on the one hand and of the everyday practices of the local population on the other hand. In the context of post-reform China, this dialectics between purposeful and everyday practices acquire a critical political overtone.

The Material Production the Urban Landscape in Post-Reform China

The economic reforms entailed the privatisation of land use rights (though the land still belongs to the state, rights can be leased) and the decentralisation and partial privatisation of the building provision. After Deng Xiaoping announced in 1980 that: “building can make money”, changes came quickly and extensively (Lee, 2000; Zhang, 1997). The post-reform era elicited new urban planning practices. Land-use strategies are no longer generalised: spatial and functional specialisation and localised strategies have emerged (Gaubatz, 1999; He et al., 2006). The socialist market economy of post-reform China promotes the establishment of small businesses (Dana, 1999), many of which consist of independent retail shops (run by *getihu*). Several sources discuss

statistics revealing the state of independent retail's spatial distribution (Wang and Jones, 2002; Wang and Zhang, 2005; Yang, 1990). Though urban plans in Beijing, for example, are now quite comprehensive - and make use of internationally recognised practices - the extent to which general land use plans account for the spatial distribution of independent retail is not clearly addressed. Authors such as Gaubatz (1999) argue that that the main models of urban plans are mostly respected, while others like Yeh (2005), believe there is a lack of development control. According to the latter, "the land use zones of the master plans are too broad in controlling site-specific development, leaving too much discretionary decision to the building administration and local district governments" (Yeh, 2005, p. 71). Perhaps, it can be argued that the problems remain in the transition of powers from a government-led planned economy to a competitive market economy – enforcement of urban plans is not easy in rapidly developing cities which also experience fundamental economic shifts (Abramson, 2006; Gaubatz, 1995a; 1999). Johnson (2004) quotes Fang Ke, a doctoral candidate at Tsinghua University in Beijing, to explain how, unlike developers everywhere else in the world, Chinese developers, in the name of the economy and job creation, try to by-pass local government local plans and zoning by-laws; urban planning offices in Beijing often have to compromise their plans to accommodate developers (Johnson, 2004).

City and district government officials are the senior managers of the developers and planning offices. When these governments face the problem of choosing between 'the overall interest of the whole city', represented by the planning offices, and the 'economic interest of the city', represented by the developing companies, they often chose the latter one (Johnson, 2004, p. 119-120).

Reforms combined with the deregulation of the retail industry have brought an end to state monopoly in the retail sector. The new retail economy, which has come into being in the last thirty years, resembles western capitalism on certain levels; yet socialist Chinese characteristics are maintained in the form of intensive government interventionism. The transformations in the urban development framework and in particular in the structure of the building provision constitute an exceptional illustration of the shifting configurations of political and economic powers that marks the advent of a capitalist economy in China. The landscapes of consumption produced in that new context express how these economic and political shifts are played out in material and spatial terms, but I contend that they have an even deeper cultural resonance, as they are instrumental in instating new social habits, which contribute in turn to shape new post-communist cultural representations.

Space Making: The Everyday Occurrence of ‘Living’ and Consuming Cities

“(...) Space is concentrated time. History is abbreviated day-to-day histories”
(Maffesoli, 1996, p. 129).

When one wanders city streets, he or she is not only consuming products from shops; through his or her five senses one also symbolically *consumes* his or her environment. As Jayne (2006, p. 150) suggests:

Consumption can be considered as one of the ways in which *social structure is mediated to and by individuals*. However, while this explains how consumption is central to urban change, its manifestation in specific socio-spatial settings needs more investigation. Thus, studies of consumption play an important role in our understanding of how identity and selfhood are constructed, highlighting how the relationship between power and resistance is played out through consumption.

From a post-modern view, 'living' cities is significantly centred on 'consuming' the city; consumption reaches beyond the production and consumption of goods (Jayne, 2006). In his work on everyday life, de Certeau (1980) argues that 'unremarkable' actions of the everyday dweller fosters the production and consumption of culture, activities, places, spaces, and goods. M. de Certeau draws a clear distinction between *place*, the configuration of a stable position, and mobile and dynamic *space*. A street is a place, but to understand, or to 'read' this place, one must observe how the space is practiced, how it is 'lived'. Maffesoli (1996, 2005, p. 36) argues that groups of people organise space based on their values; he speaks of an "imaginary geography that allows [one] to accommodate [oneself] (in an optical sense) to the physical environment which is given to [them], and that [they] simultaneously symbolically built" (translation by author). Such a perspective echoes de Certeau, Girard and Mayol's (1980) discussion of the cumulative effects of the everyday experience of agents on the definition of neighbourhoods understood as urban spaces where one knows himself or herself to be recognised, where one 'masters' the social environment. Henri Lefebvre argues that the geopolitical concept of space includes micro-spaces of daily life such as neighbourhoods, and the street. Bray summarises his ideas in such terms:

[Lefebvre] theorises that the actual production of space is driven by a dialectical struggle between what he terms "social space" and "abstract space". Social space describes the complex array of spatial practices (...) of "natural" social interaction. With the rise of capitalism, however, social space became subject to all sorts of interventions demanded by capital's pursuit of productive economic relations. Lefebvre considers these interventions to be "abstract", in the sense that they were predicated upon developing a series of technical, theoretical, and intellectual processes that allowed space to be conceive of as an object amenable to manipulation, planning, and reconstitution in ways favourable to the more efficient production operation of capitalism. Abstract

space, then, is the space of the administrator, the technocrat, the urban planner, and the architect (Bray, 2005, p. 11-12)

Henri Lefebvre defines a neighbourhood as “an entrance and exit door between qualified and quantified spaces” (de Certeau, Girard and Mayol 1980, p. 20, translation by author). This metaphor translates quite literally in the context of traditional Chinese cities, in which walls were used (often by administrators) to define and shape both spaces and places at different scalar levels; as the range of places delineated by the walls correspond to a series of spaces of socialisation, which were also the loci of an intricate system of family ties and political-economy allegiances. In her work, Broudehoux (2004) evokes Lefebvre’s concepts of social and abstract space when addressing the gap that exists in Beijing today between the abstract spaces imagined by planners, and the lived space experienced by the city dweller. She argues that modernist planners, who wish to construct an image of the city, are ignoring the ‘real’ world, which is made of places where dwellers live and loiter on a daily basis; places where dwellers “invest meaning, memory and desire” (Broudehoux, p. 34). Lu (2006) argues that “by giving frame and form to the material world, architecture defines the structure of human flow, (...), and provides the physical site where everyday life occurs” (p. 160); Lu echoes Lefebvre, Bray, and Broudehoux in suggesting that, societies produce their own space.

To a certain extent, the *danwei* system reformulated the traditional Chinese socio-spatial system in collectivist terms; as the government attempted to control “human flow”. The current era marks a deeper break: the new *quantified space* currently laid out by the city planners and developers is subjected to more elusive relationships with the

qualified space of the social relations and transactions. Although inevitably framed by the quantified space, the qualified space is now ordered to a large extent according to the shifting dynamics of the everyday *practices* and cultural representations of local inhabitants. I contend that the dialectics between the built landscapes of consumption and the emerging practices that these landscapes foster and support is one important manifestation of the new Chinese post-communist ethos.

The ‘consumption revolution’ in China, as depicted by Davis (2000), entails the development of new relationships between citizens and the Party. Davis explains how urban dwellers are developing social spaces (horizontal relationships), which change the vertical state-citizen relationship. It is interesting to put such a perspective in contrast with de Certeau’s (1980) contention that everyday practices are carried out by the lay person as an assortment of tactics by which people can silently and subtly manipulate a given environment within the organisational context imposed by higher order social forces. Such manipulation is generally more symbolic and cognitive than physical, and seems to echo some arguments by academics who posit that the ‘consumer revolution’ in China has allowed for a new strata of social interactions, which in turn has enabled people to affirm a more “active citizenship” (Davis, 2000, p. 21). Zukin (1998) argues that in the late 1990s, in the North American context, “consumption is understood to be both means and a motor of urban social change” (p. 835). If the notion of consumption can exert such an influence in post-industrial western countries, arguably its impact can only be felt on a much larger scale in the context of transition from a communist economy to capitalism. If the post-reform era gives way to new social dynamics in cities,

arguably people are shaped by and are also shaping the new spaces of 'consumption' that are at once, one of the most tangible incarnations of such dynamics and one of the most compelling symbolic manifestations of a free-market economy. It is my contention, following Wrigley and Lowe (2002, p. 132) that "Retail spaces are not passive surfaces; they are actively produced, represented and contested." It is well understood that the street plays a central role in the everyday urban experience; although there has been research on geographies of consumption, until recently, 'the retail street' as an 'everyday space' has received limited research attention *per se* in geography (Crewe, 2000; Hankins; 2002; Lowe and Wrigley, 2000). I use the neighbourhood retail street to further develop this inquiry in the context of post-reform Beijing.

The literature stresses that a society of consumption has emerged in China, and the structure of the public sphere has been affected by it. This study proposes a theoretical framework, which aims to examine and illustrate the dynamics of Chinese 'retail streets', and more specifically how this new spatial model is central to the production of landscapes of consumption that are the reification of the said society of consumption. Being manifested in concrete, material forms does not confer a passive status to landscapes of consumptions. Rather than a mere by-product of the social, and in particular, political and economic forces that shape it, the production of concrete forms entails a mediation of social relations, as their provision plays out in a disputed field of opportunities and constraints in which various groups of agents collide or cooperate based on the cognitive, material or financial resources that they can mobilize (Bliek and Gauthier, 2007; Gauthier, 2003). Through their building and everyday practices, agents

engage with the landscapes of consumption as well as with each other. In western contexts ‘modern consumption’ has generally been theorised as an activity in itself, whereas ‘postmodern consumption’ has commonly been subsumed within the theorising of identities” (Glennie, 1998, p. 927). By focusing on new landscapes of consumption, seen both as a determining factor in the construction of these identities and as a concrete manifestation of a new urban culture this research proposes a look at the impact of consumerism on emerging urban identities in China. A further focus on how socio-spatial practices will be considered in order to reveal dominant values and to “expose the power struggles that define, transform, and ultimately remake it [the city]” (Broudehoux, 2004, p. 239).

The economic reforms have led to significant social, political and spatial changes in Chinese cities. Due to extent and the pace of the transformations that have taken place, their implications are not fully understood. Among the considerations that call for our attention are the respective prerogatives and actions of the central government and of local economic agents involved in urban development, as well as the everyday practices of the local population. Independent retail seems to sit at the intersection of the multiple and sometimes conflicting forces that shape the rapid urban development witnessed in China today.

On Production and consumption

Developers, builders and urban planners are directly involved in the production of city places. They are the central figures of the commercial building provision system. But, despite the power that they exert over the built landscape, these agents of change

cannot predict or control how urban dwellers will use and consume these places. There will always be some inherent unpredictability in how every person lives in, interprets, and consumes the city. This study wishes to investigate how, in the post-reform era; a new commercial building provision system has affected the production of places and space, and how this same space as been informed by the everyday practices such as consumption practices. It wishes to better understand how Chinese urban dweller interpret the urban changes, and in particular the development of landscapes of consumption. This study espouses the view that the new landscapes of consumption are the product of both purposeful building and development practices on the one hand and of the everyday practices of the local population on the other hand.

Consumption vs. Consumerism

Shopping rituals are inherently part of social relations (Williams et al 2001). The new retail geography has allowed for the examination of shopping as a cultural activity, and it has also permitted the investigation into the meaning of consumption in everyday life. What are the relationships that shape shopping behaviour? According to Maffesoli (1996), people look for spaces where they feel comfortable when they go shopping; they seek a place where one can experience familiarity.

The economic reforms, which began in 1978 and included the privatisation of land use rights, have led to significant spatial, social, and political changes in Chinese cities. Throughout these changes, Beijing maintained its role as the political centre and international financial centre of the country (He et al., 2006). Moreover, it has also been

re-established as the service centre of China (Gu and Shen, 2003). Due to the fast pace at which the changes have taken place, the implications of these changes are not fully understood. Among the considerations that call for our attention are the respective prerogatives and actions of the central government and local economic agents involved in urban development.

Direct foreign investment has held an important role in Beijing's redevelopment (Gaubatz, 1999), and is seen as a factor contributing to the adoption of western spatial models in urban planning (Dwyer, 1986; Gaubatz, 1995b). Urban plans for Beijing make use of internationally recognised practices. Plans include such features as overall land use provisions, measures aimed at controlling the character of districts and requirements pertaining to the infrastructure system.

Among the problems faced is the issue of the 'land black market'. Yeh (2005), is one of the scholars who argues that a consequence of the privatisation of land use rights has been the black market which operates at different levels, and in different forms, one of which involves the sub-leasing of land and/or buildings to other users (i.e.: the leasing of shops, exchanging land for housing...). The black market is but one factor that can be attributed to the dramatic transformation of Chinese cities such as Beijing. There are other academic observers who, unlike Yeh (2005), point "to both internal and external forces such as the changes in the urban function, the open-door policy and the in-flow of international capital and floating population" (Gu and Shen, 2003, p. 109). There are different types of migrant workers, some are non-permanent ('floaters') who come to the city temporarily or seasonally, others are permanent and obtain white collar jobs or set-up

their own businesses, others fall in a grey area between the two (Liang and Chen, 2004). The floating population of Beijing is a subject of discussion all on its own. It is important to note that without the manpower provided by the floating population Beijing's redevelopment could not be taking place at such a rapid pace (Gu and Shen, 2003). The role of the migrant population in the context of independent retail will be addressed and considered in this research. Their presence and participation in the rapidly changing cities, although not always officially recognized, is considerable. Considering multiple factors (internal and external) amidst such rapid urbanisation, it seems that planners in China only manage to control large-scale redevelopment projects and that small-scale building activity is taking place in a much less controlled environment. The reality is that some parts of cities are improving, while other areas, located away from the urban core, are developing in unsustainable ways (Abramson, 2006; Dwyer, 1986).

Independent retail seems to sit at the intersection of these evolving and sometimes conflicting approaches to urban development witnessed in China today. Many such changes have resulted from the privatisation of land-use rights. Under the new legal system, the land still belongs to the state, but rights can be leased. This has played an important role in restructuring spatial patterns in urban centres (Abramson, 2006; Dwyer, 1986; He et al., 2006; Xie et al, 2002). At a glance, the most obvious aspect of the change in urban spatial patterns is the new vertical-ness of large cities such as Beijing (Gaubatz, 1999). The vertical character of cities is a consequence of the construction of tall commercial and administrative buildings in the city centre, in as much as it is due to the development of a new residential landscape composed of concrete-slab buildings in LHE.

For this research, I will be focusing on the spatial patterns of independent retail stores, mostly those established on the periphery of large walled housing estates.

In terms of housing estate development, though its roots are in European models imported by the Soviet planners during the communist era (Sit, 1996), the model has changed greatly in recent years. Residential units are no longer based on a generic model of communist origin, but rather several housing estate types have surfaced: mid- and high-rise developments, villas on the outskirts of town, luxurious condominiums and basic apartments (Dwyer, 1986; Gaubatz, 1999).

I have developed a methodological approach, using different tools, in order to test and validate this theoretical framework.

CHAPTER TWO: Methodology

On Quantitative and Qualitative Data Analysis

Depending on what questions one wishes to answer, qualitative and/or quantitative methodologies are appropriate. Qualitative research can be more than an analysis based on subjective quantification; it can reveal several angles to a problem, whereas quantitative may be objective and precise, but unreliable. With this in mind I develop a diversified methodological framework to meet the specific needs of my research.

On Triangulation

For this thesis I use a constructionist approach. Constructionism is an approach applied to reveal how social phenomena emerge through varied interactions (quantitative and qualitative) (Silverman, 2006). As I use several tools to gather data, and conduct both quantitative and qualitative analysis. The premise of triangulation is well suited for my research; this strategy adds rigor, complexity, richness and depth to my research (Silverman, 2006).

Triangulation is a mixed methods approach; it refers to the comparison of different types of data (either qualitative or quantitative) in an effort to validate whether different methods of data collection analysis can result in similar conclusions (Neuman and Robson, 2009, Silverman, 2006).

Case-Studies

On the use of case studies

For my study I want to reveal what the average situation is on the everyday retail streets of Beijing, so, as Schofield (2002) suggests, I conducted a multisite study of typical streets. As Schofield (2002) argues that:

generally speaking, a finding emerging from the study of several very heterogeneous sites would be more robust and thus more likely to be useful in understanding various other sites than one emerging from the study of several very similar sites. (...) This comparative strategy is potentially quite powerful, especially if there is heterogeneity among cases within each of the categories of interest (p. 184).

Bridge and Dowling (2001) report on their multi-site study in *Microgeographies of Retailing and Gentrification*. The use of a multiple sites helped them identify variations in the types of retailers and in the atmosphere of each case study. They see this type of case-study comparison as a potential tool to revealing different consumption and commodification practices not only within a single city, but also internationally.

Choosing case-studies

The case-study streets chosen are located in the Haidian district of Beijing. In a city where the entire municipality's population is said to have exceeded 17.4 million in 2007⁶, traveling from one area to the next can require much time; this is why for convenience I chose to carry out my fieldwork in the district where I was residing in Beijing. To maximise familiarisation with the case-study streets I selected street

⁶ <http://english.peopledaily.com.cn/90001/90776/90882/6314520.html>

segments that met varied criteria and which were all within reasonable travelling distance (travelling by bicycle). The main criterion for case-study selection was mixed-use street frontage; more specifically, retail facilities on the periphery of LHE forming a wall-like barrier. This is represented by converted residential units to accommodate retail activity on the street level, walls that have been transformed to accommodate retail, or by LHE designed to accommodate retail on the street level space facing the street. Other criteria taken into consideration are: street width, the absence or presence of physical barriers on the street (street median, separate bicycle lanes), width of sidewalk, presence/ absence of public facilities (schools, parks, hospital...), the height of residential compounds (amplifier of the residential compound/estate), and whether the retail activity is conducted on one or both sides of the street.

Background of 海淀 (Haidian) district

Haidian is a district situated northwest of downtown Beijing, considered to be part of the inner-suburb. The name 'Haidian' reflects the fact that the area was long a vast wetland: *hai* 海: ocean, *dian* 淀: shallow lake, it used to be the wastelands of the outer city of Beijing, mostly agricultural land and suburban parks (Dutton, 1998). In the 1950s the few courtyard houses that had been built in the neighbourhood over the centuries were demolished and replaced by *danwei* housing. Soviet sponsored buildings were erected everywhere, all of which reflected the typical style of the time: homogeneous 5-6 storey residential buildings. *Danwei(s)* in this area were typically walled compounds. In today's Beijing there are two main types of *danwei(s)*, those directly linked to the

government (the Beijing government, the army and the central government), and then there are those that are related to education, science and culture (Dutton, 1998, p. 213). In the 1960s Haidian, the main *danwei(s)* were the universities, the science institute, the army, and some large energy *danwei(s)*.

While remaining the “intellectual centre of China”, due to the many universities located there, this district took on a new identity when the economic reforms took place in the early 1980s. The district was also promoted as a place for the development of the technology industry where local middle-size industries could prosper. The district is still economically ‘booming’ today. These economic changes have brought on social changes as well. Until the 1960s, the social make-up of Haidian remained that of mainly academics, residents of the army and large energy *danwei(s)*, as well as farmers. As of the 1980s, the district witnessed a rapid influx of *waidiren* (外地人) - ‘outsiders’ - or ‘non-Beijingers’, seeking competitive job opportunities. The district also saw an influx of displaced Beijingers who had lived in the inner city’s courtyard houses that were expatriated following the demolition of their homes. Today, in mid-2007, it is the long term Haidian residents who are fighting displacement. Soviet sponsored homes, built in the early Mao era, are scheduled for demolition, and residents are being relocated to the Beijing suburbs. The demolition project will accommodate the construction of newer facilities for wealthier residents (long-term Haidian resident, personal communication, June 27th, 2008).

From a social standpoint it can be argued that there are three ‘types’ of people cohabiting in Haidian at the moment: the pre-reform *danwei* residents, the inner-city

residents who have been relocated, and the constantly fluxing 'outsiders' which include university students and the people attracted by job opportunities in the area. A long-term Haidian resident estimates that approximately half of Haidian residents are outsiders and the other residents are rather evenly divided between the relocated inner city residents and the pre- reform residents. As a consequence, it is quite difficult to talk about social cohesion in the neighbourhood (personal communication, June 27th, 2008).

With the economic reforms, a number of Beijing districts located around the 3rd and 4th ring road, including Haidian, were quickly transformed by the addition of major daily consumption spaces for local residents. This development of retail in the inner and outer suburban areas has altered the status of the traditional urban centre commercial space. Due to the emergence of dynamic commercial space in peripheral areas, in 2003, the total consumer goods retail sales of Chaoyang (neighbouring district to the East) and Haidian districts counted for more than one fifth of retail sales of consumer goods among the 8 districts of Beijing (inner city and inner suburb) (Chai, Shen & Long, 2007).

Haidian developed as a district specialised in computer and electronic, both retail and wholesale. Crewe and Lowe (1995) characterise such areas as having a distinct retail identity. Generally speaking, district specialisation is not a result of the free market, but is rather informed by state priorities for certain types of development, as is the case for the development of high-technology companies in Haidian (Davis, 1995).

In the case of Haidian however, it can be argued that the concentration of universities has preceded the policies. This context is at the origin of the high concentration of state run, collective and private scientific and technological ventures, as

it existed well before the district was declared a special high-technology development zone in 1988. (Davis, 1995; Gaubatz, 1995b)

Data Collection and Analysis

The research uses three principal modes of inquiry: 1. photographic surveys taken systematically on the study sites; 2. questionnaire surveys administered to passer-bys on the street, and; 3. semi-structured interviews conducted with professionals in the field. The data collection and the analysis processes are different; the sections that follow present these modes of inquiry.

Photographic Surveys

The photographic surveys that I conducted serve primarily to provide a visual background for the research; they serve to reveal the built landscapes' general conditions. Through these images though, I attempt also to draw links between trends of consumption according to landscape types. As Bray (Seminar 1, November 7th, 2007) argues, visual data is useful in helping to understand the relationship between space, power and society. Since its very beginnings photography has been used to record and to collect evidence about events, people's activities, places, etc. However, visual research has not been vastly used in recent years. Emmison (2004) argues that researchers have been placing much emphasis on cultural product, while often neglecting "the places and settings – the actual environments or locales – in which humans conduct their lives (2004:260)".

I believe image analysis is important, the settings and places where people conduct their daily lives are what I wish to better understand. I systematically took pictures of the street frontages on all seven case study streets on at least three occasions over the course of the research (Autumn and Winter 2007, and Spring 2008). The goal was to document the different types of retail shops on the periphery of housing compounds; to record what types of activities seem to take place in these locations; to record the types of shops operating; and to witness, finally, whether physical changes to the street frontages would occur in this time period.

As Winston (2003) mentions, though pictures can be modified, the camera's image seldom lie. To avoid leaving 'unknowns' outside from the picture frame, I made sure to survey systematically and comprehensively the entire street front. I also returned to each case-study street on three occasions to make sure I would catch not only changes to the physical landscape, but also get a more representative glimpse of the social interactions and activities on the streets. Beyond the strict documentation purposes, the photographic data allowed for a triangulation with data collected in questionnaire surveys and interviews. The photographs allowed for a verification of factual information, for the validation of interpretations or pointed to the limitations of the data collected by other means. This is the method that Rieger proposes for his landscape analysis. Commenting on Rieger's method, Sanders (2007) points out how

social and spatial processes are symbiotically and parasitically embedded in one another. Even sociologists and anthropologists who have worked hard to 'picture' urban change often note how difficult it is to make connections between what we see on the landscape and the social process that triggered the representation (p. 190).

“Photographs get meaning, like all cultural objects, from their context” (Becker, p. 88, 2003). Used appropriately, photographs can greatly contribute to research. “Like our field notes and other forms of empirical data, photographs may not provide [the researchers] with unbiased, objective documentation of the social and material world but they can show characteristics attributes of people, objects and events that often elude even the most skilled wordsmiths” (Prosser and Schwartz, 2003).

Through image analysis, I do not aim at making sense of the built environment in general; but I intend to examine the documented particularities of the built environment of the case study streets. Such a tool allows me to examine the “micro context”, while keeping in mind interpretation of the “macro changes”.

Questionnaire Survey

It remains difficult to isolate physical features from social and economic activities that bring value to our experience: to what extent is it the experiences that we have on a street rather than the physical setting that make it memorable in a positive way? (Jacobs, 1993, p. 270)

Jacobs’ arguments are the main reason, which made me choose surveys as one of my data collection methods. Surveys also allow the researcher to reach a reasonably large population while producing a set of data with comparable information. In this research the survey is constructed in order to collect both quantitative and qualitative data. All surveying was conducted face-to-face on each of my case study sites. In most cases, surveys were carried-out by myself; on some of the weekend dates, though I was accompanied by one or two friends who were properly briefed on the topic at hand and on the procedures for the administration of the surveys. Sampling was done completely

at random, and the target population was anyone over the age of 18 walking or loitering on the case study street location at hand. Given the presence of universities and the prevalence of the technology firms - (an industry that attracts young professionals) - in the district of Haidian, it is of no surprise that a high percentage of participants are quite young, between 18-35 years old. It is also important to remember that China is still a developing nation with a high population growth rate, many youths.

This table (Table 1) presents the days (and periods of the day) when the surveys were administered on each street.

Table 1. Timetable of survey administration

	Weekend morning	Weekend afternoon	Weekday morning	Weekday afternoon
海淀南路 Haidian nanlu	January 13 th	January 5 th	January 11 th	January 15 th
科学院南路, 知春里 Kexueyuan nanlu, Zhichunli	January 13 th	November 24 th	January 16 th	January 14 th
大钟寺路, 太阳园 Dazhongsi lu, Taiyangyuan compound	January 5 th	December 2 nd	January 15 th	January 16 th
科学院南路, 新科园 Kexueyuan nanlu, Xinke Garden	November 24 th	December 2 nd	January 16 th	January 11 th
中关村东路 Zhongguancun donglu, DCWJ compound	December 2 nd	January 5 th	January 15 th	January 14 th
科学院南路, 双榆树 Kexueyuan nanlu, Shuangyushu,	December 2 nd	November 24 th	January 18 th	January 14 th
中关村南路 Zhongguancun nanlu	November 24 th	December 2 nd	January 14 th	January 11 th

The questionnaire distributed consists of three sections, dealing respectively with: 1) demographic information, 2) daily practices on the street, and 3) an inquiry on perceptions, memories and representations associated with the street. My theoretical framework informs all the questions of the second and third sections without excluding the development of some grounded theory. To insure that the translation would reflect appropriate Mandarin, a translation company in the city of Tianjin was hired to translate the survey from English to Chinese⁷. The questionnaire was reviewed and approved by Concordia University's Ethics Department. Please see the Appendixes C and D for the complete questionnaires in English and Chinese.

Although carrying out the distribution of the surveys was very time consuming and required a lot of traveling between the seven case study streets, I was able to collect 21 to 30 responses on each street, for a total of 174 respondents. With the occasional help from my assistants, and the cooperation of those passer-bys who were willing to respond, I was able to collect a good amount of qualitative answers, and was able to discover aspects of the street and their role in the people's lives that I may not have discovered had I not taken the time to engage in conversations. Being a Caucasian woman conducting a survey in Chinese on local non-touristic streets of Beijing had its advantages and disadvantages. With the 2008 Summer Olympics looming, many Beijingers were more courteous than usual towards me; many were also quite curious as to my particular interest with 'their' street – not worthy of any 'foreign' research to their eyes. This resulted in many long exchanges, which made the administration of each survey often longer than strictly necessary. On the other hand, many passer-bys were still quite weary

⁷ Sigma Translation

of a foreigner approaching them on the street. My impression was that many avoided me because they only speak Chinese and assumed they could not interact with me; others on the contrary were quite keen on practicing their English. Overall, once ‘the ice was broken’ most participants were quite friendly and open and the exchanges unfolded in Chinese.

If respondents had not responded to the open-ended questions and/or when respondent seemed genuinely interested in the research, the interviewer (myself or one of my assistants) would sometimes ask a few other open-ended questions. When the respondents answered either, to open-ended question(s) orally rather than in writing, or discussed other questionnaire related issues with the interviewer, the information was documented. After the respondent left, key elements of the dialogue that had taken place were transcribed onto the back page of the questionnaire. Some of the dialogues were transcribed in Chinese or *pinyin* (phonetic Chinese), others in English, this depended on the interviewer, and on the length and/or complexity of the dialogue⁸.

Quantitative Methods

The quantitative analysis of the survey was carried out in several steps. Since the respondents did not always respond to all questions, or mis-answered some of the questions, some results could have been skewed. This is why before beginning the analysis all the answers were entered onto a database; where data was missing, instead of

⁸ Though all interviewers are fluent in spoken Mandarin, the abilities for writing Chinese varied. Also, depending on the complexity of the dialogue, the ideas and concepts could not always be accurately transcribed in Chinese. The process of finding the appropriate Chinese characters can be quite time consuming, risking forgetting some of the concepts freshly discussed. Moreover, wrong characters can be used per error, which would then be unfaithful to the respondents’ words.

leaving the space blank the missing information was coded according to the following codes:

- 96: answered something other than the options given on the survey
- 97: not answered – had the choice to answer or not
- 98: answered more than one choice
- 99: not answered or non-applicable answer inserted into the survey.

A combination of factors such as the length of the survey (three pages), and that the translation from English into Chinese may have failed to communicate some of the questions clearly⁹ may account for some of the missing data. Also, environmental conditions (cold and/or windy weather) or circumstantial conditions (arrival of bus/child/partner...) had some participants return the questionnaire before completion.

The closed-ended questions were analysed in a strictly quantitative manner: using aggregate descriptive statistics, aggregate crossbar statistics, and multiple regression. These tests were then used to analyse the raw data collected using the SPSS® (Statistical Package for the Social Sciences) software.

-Descriptive Statistics

Descriptive statistics allow for summary statements on the entire sample by describing or displaying the data at hand (Kerr, Hall, and Kozub, 2002). Most of my variables are strictly nominal (categorical, as opposed to continuous), therefore only

⁹ The correct translation may not have resulted in colloquial terms. This may have confused some, or led to misinterpretation. If the respondent did not ask for clarifications there was no way to know whether there was a language problem; however, often, reading the answers I can infer whether the essence of the question was understood or not.

frequencies of the data collected is analysed. These statistics reveal the characteristics of my data, and can directly address research questions (Pallant, 2007).

-Aggregate Crossbar Statistics

Cross-tabulations, also known as contingency tables, simultaneously examine the distribution of two variables. For the purpose of this study, I am hypothesising that the distribution of all variables (the answers to all the quantitative questions on the survey) are dependent on the street where the survey was conducted. I use crosstabs to obtain information about the difference within categories per street (Nardi, 2006).

-Standard Multiple-Regression

Multiple regression analysis is a complex method of correlation. That method is used to determine which independent variable(s) can best predict the dependent variable (Pallant, 2007). The use of multiple regression analysis assumes that there is a linear relationship between the dependent and independent variables. Before testing it is assumed that there are insignificant intercorrelations between the independent variables (Kerr, Hall, and Kozub, 2002; Nardi, 2006). In order to assess the strength of and, and confirm or fail to prove that there is a predictive relationship between the control variable(s) (independent) and the dependent variable, I apply backward standard multiple regression analysis.

For the purpose of this research, I assess the variables evaluating daily practices on the street according to the demographic variables. I apply backward multiple

regression analysis, that is, I first apply standard multiple regression analysis where I enter all the independent variables in the model, afterwards I identify the independent variable that seems to have the least significance, and re-run the model without it. I continue to remove variables one at a time respecting the same non-significance principle, and re-run the model until the model only has 2 independent variables.

The sample size for the analysis is sufficiently large to conduct regression analysis: “With either standard or hierarchical regression, they [Tabachnick and Fidell, 1996] suggest a minimum of 50 cases plus 8 cases for each independent variable” (Kerr, Hall, and Kozub, 2002). To limit the possibility of error and to obtain the only most valuable results – useful to answer my research questions - I limit my independent variables to 5, with 174 cases. I have enough cases to conduct this type of statistical analysis: $50 + (5 \times 8) = 90$.

Since the demographic variables are my control variables for the testing, the first thing needed was to ensure that none of the demographic variables are correlated. For effective multiple-regression analysis variables should be continuous (Aiken and West, 1996). As some of the variables are nominal, I proceeded to apply unweighted effects coding (dummy-coding). This 0/1 coding creates coded inter-category comparison and is used to facilitate running multiple regression analysis with nominal variables. The groups coded with 1 represent those that take part in the analysis while, those that are uninvolved are coded with a 0 value (Aiken and West, 1996). The multiple regression results will yield no prediction with regard to the category that is strictly coded with 0. All variables in this research are involved in the contrast, therefore the category that was

least chosen by respondents was coded with 0 only. I then proceeded to inner-compare the other options (see Appendix E for coding scheme)

The questions were dummy-coded where it was needed, and multiple regression analysis was conducted. The results confirmed that the variables are not correlated. Afterwards I limited the number of variables. Nine control variables for out of 174 is too many; no significant results can be obtained, so I chose to keep the five variables that give the most significant results and which can provide the most information. Here is a layout of the variables that I decided to keep and why:

-
- Question 1 gender: it is a basic demographic value.
 - Question 2 age: I eliminated question 9 as it provides similar information with fewer details.
 - Question 4 Size of household: I eliminated question 3 because the responses reflected bivariate information whereas question 4 provides similar information with more details.
 - Question 6 how long have you lived in Beijing: I eliminated question 5 because the information it provides is not as relevant to the study as question 6.
 - Question 7 (where do) You live: I eliminated question 8. Though the responses to the two questions are quite similar, there are missing responses for question 8. Therefore although similar, the results are not as informative.

The results reported on:

- The multiple regression analysis' 'R squared' describes the proportion of variation in the dependent variable, which is explained by the variance in the independent variables (Kerr, Hall, and Kozub, 2002; Nardi, 2006).
- 'p' determines at which level (%) of certainty the control variable's predictability is significant. For this research I consider $p < 0.1$ (90% certainty) to be significant.
- The regression coefficient β and Beta show the rate of change in the dependent variable triggered by each independent variable. The β explains the slope of the regression line. Beta indicates 1). the direction (negative or inverse); and 2). the significance of the independent variable, compared to the other independent variables, to explain the variation of the dependent variable. (Kerr, Hall, and Kozub, 2002; Nardi, 2006)

Qualitative Methods

The open-ended questions were dealt with in a qualitative manner, using *in-vivo* codes. *In vivo* coding is informed by grounded theory where the descriptive code uses the actual phrasing of the respondent, which describes something important to him/her, and identifies themes or trends from the data (Cope, 2005). Coding is done to summarise data, organise it, and to analyse it. As Cope, argues, "coding is analysis. (...) Coding is *reflexive* as well; as new themes emerge, previously coded material will need to be re-

coded to include the new concepts” (2005, p. 226). I believe that the length of the survey, and situational conditions, as previously mentioned, were the primary reasons explaining partial non-response to the questions in the survey, not a result of the participants finding the questions too sensitive.

Interviews

I conducted 9 semi-structured interviews and took part in and/or assisted to 14 informal discussions and presentations (9: interviews, 11: conference presentations, 3: seminars, 1: informal presentation). Since all my interviews were conducted in China, with all but two of the subjects being Chinese, my approach needed to be adapted for cultural reasons. Howitt and Stevens (2005) speak of cultural adaptability in their work. The cultural etiquette in China is quite different from that in Canada. After having gained the trust and friendship of a professor at Peking University in the Geography Department, I asked what would be the best course of action in order to conduct interviews. I explained protocol for interviews for Concordia University, which involves the interviewee signing a consent form, and my recording the interview in order to transcribe and extract as much information as possible from the exchange. I was warned that a digital recorder would be seen as intrusive, and that a consent form would scare away interviewees. Therefore when I contacted possible respondents, either via email or telephone, I clearly stated that the reason for my meeting request was academic research. I clearly indicated that I was a graduate student wishing to meet and discuss questions that are addressed in my study. When the interview was granted, I once again introduced

myself and stated the purpose of my meeting request. The setting for the interview varied; I let the participants suggest the location, usually this was a convenient place (office, home, or restaurant). The interviews were not significantly affected by the setting. Interview participants are all people involved at different levels of the production of the landscape of consumption in China (planners, developers, architects, and academics). Some interview participants were existing relations; the others ensued from the snowball effect. Each interview lasted between 60mins-200mins.

I took careful notes during the exchange and after the meeting I subsequently made note of the entire exchange to the best of my ability. It must be noted that although all but two of the interviews were conducted in Chinese, all my notes were recorded in English in order to facilitate the flow of ideas and concepts¹⁰. The only notes in Chinese were the ones that the interviewee would give me.

As a researcher wants to reveal new information in the field of planning and retail geography, qualitative interviewing presents itself as a very good tool. The interviews allow me to uncover, on a personal level, the experiences and opinions of professionals in the field. Some of these opinions and telling experiences cannot easily find themselves in Chinese academic literature. The interviews were semi-structured, that is, both the interviewer (myself), and the interviewee understood the aim of the meeting, a rapport was developed between the interviewee, and myself, and I did some probing (Silverman, 2006).

¹⁰ Though I am fluent in spoken Mandarin, my writing is not quite fluent enough to accurately transcribe concepts and ideas. The process of finding the appropriate Chinese characters would be quite time consuming. The risks are not only my forgetting of some of the concepts freshly discussed, but I may also use wrong characters in error, which would lead me to be unfaithful to the interviewees' words.

Taking a constructionist approach, the interviews were “treated as *topics* rather than as a research *resource*” (Silverman, p.119); both the interviewee and I built a meaning around this topic. The information revealed during the interviews is not understood as factual data, but rather as an account, a discourse, or a repertoire. For me this represents “a culturally available way of packaging experience” (Silverman, p. 129). From a constructionist viewpoint the interviewee offers responses that add or take away from facts and details, in other words, the response is subjectively constructed. As the interviewer I may see multiple meanings to a response. Given the cultural context and the nature of my research a positivist approach to the interviews would have been futile; interviewees display factual information embedded in subjective cultural and social contexts (Silverman, 2006). Interview answers were categorised qualitatively, integrated and then summarised. The interviews are not used to reveal correlations (Weiss, 1994). My findings from the interviews are supported by quotes and case description and not by statistical tables. Based on Mason’s (2002) approach, I have treated my interviews as sites of knowledge construction, where both the interviewee and I are co-participants in the process.

Grounded theory is used to analyse the data; themes and trends were identified and refined to build a theory based on the first hand data (Cope, 2005); Maykut and Morehouse (1994) describe this as an ‘emerging design’ research method, according to which, an initial focus has been identified that will become more precise and refined as the research develops and data is accumulated and analysed. Firstly, I inductively developed categories, then, I focused my inquiry by combining recurring words, concepts

and themes; thirdly, I reviewed my initial categories, combined ideas that overlapped, and selected one predominant idea. Then, I further refined my categories by identifying the properties or characteristics of the given category and found a general statement of fact grounded in the data, and interpreted its meaning. Finally, I developed a 'rule of inclusion' (Maykut and Morehouse, 1994), which will be stated as a proposition. The information gathered from my data is thus revealed.

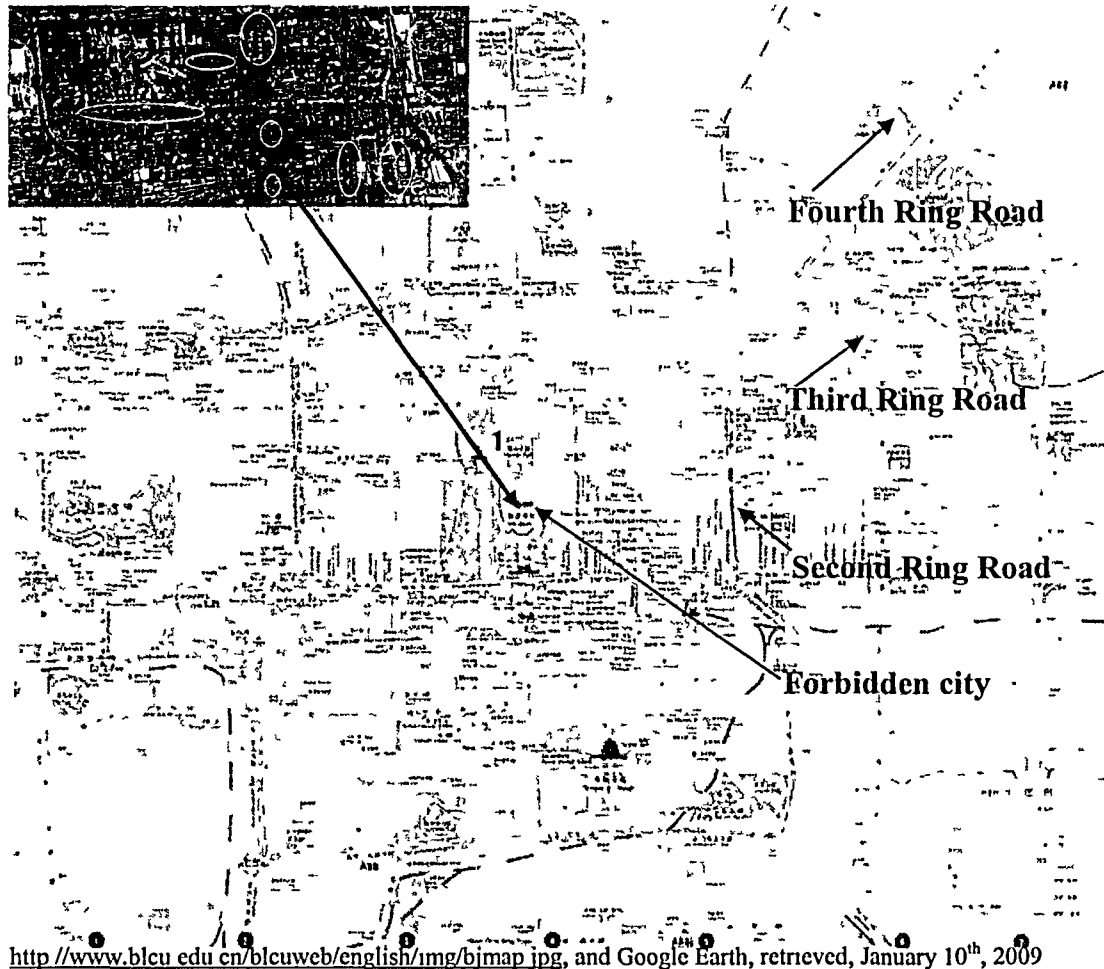
CHAPTER THREE: Results

Photographic survey

Prior to discussing the social production of places and spaces it is crucial to provide a visual account of the material context of the research. As mentioned earlier, I systematically took pictures of the streets on a minimum of three occasions. This was done to catch a glimpse of the street's physical and social reality, and to observe changes that may arise. As a foreigner taking pictures in a non-touristic area of Beijing, I often attracted much attention; usually just mere curiosity, but on two streets I was asked by the local security guard (保安, *baotan*) to leave and/or stop taking pictures (TYYC-3, XKG-4). The multiple layers of the built environment cannot always be captured on 2-dimensional images, but these images reflect the "grain" of the retail street and the local environment.

Each case study street is presented in sequence in the following sections (for a map illustrating the location of the streets see Figure 4). I situate the street in time (old/new) and space (physical features). The type of retail activity that prevails on each street is then examined. A discussion follows that stresses whether or not there have been physical transformations on the street over the course of the empirical research work. Due consideration is then given to the activities witnessed, and captured on the images. Finally, I discuss links between the physical and social aspects of the street.

Figure 4. Map of Beijing illustrating the case study streets



1) Distance between centre of study area to centre of the Forbidden City: 9.5Km

1) Site 1: Haidian nanlu (HDNL-1) (Figures 5, 6, 7, and 8)

Haidian nanlu, the name of the first street surveyed. The latter runs east to west and it is the western most segment of this study. It is a broad street with physical barriers between motorised and bicycle lanes. A median barrier separates the two-way traffic. Most residential housing buildings are more than 5-7 stories tall. Despite being a broad, busy street with wide sidewalks (which also serve as parking in some places), the mature

Figure 5. Observing Haidian nanlu – HDNL-1 (October 2007)

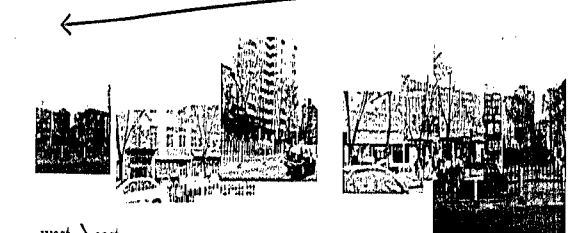


SOUTH SIDE



NORTH SIDE

Figure 6. Observing Haidian nanlu - HDNL-1 (December, 2007)



west → east

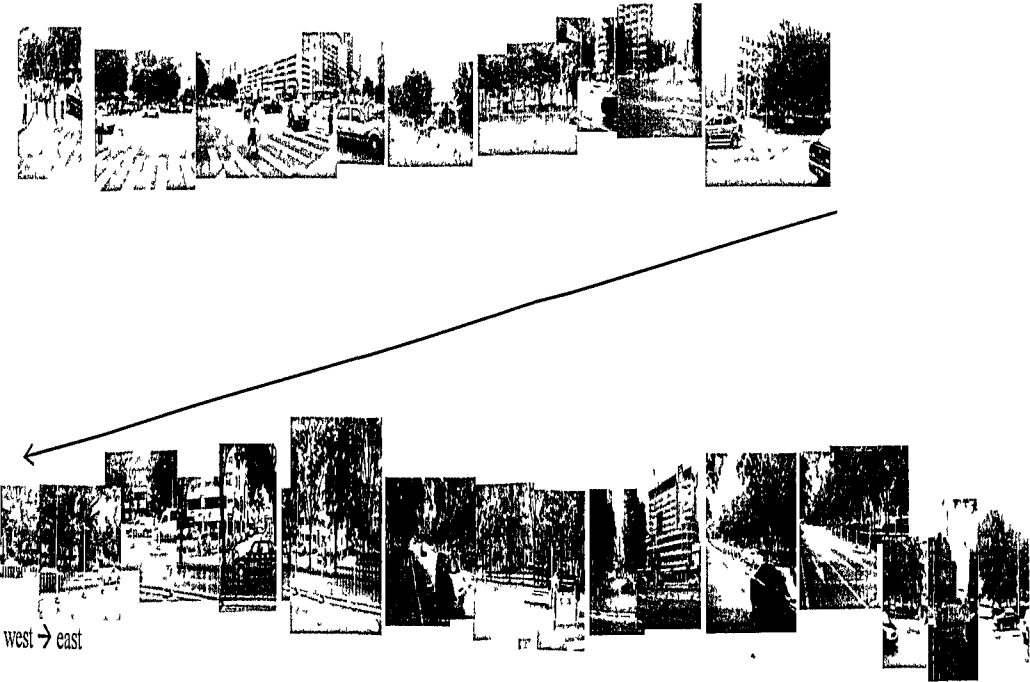
SOUTH SIDE



North side, west → east

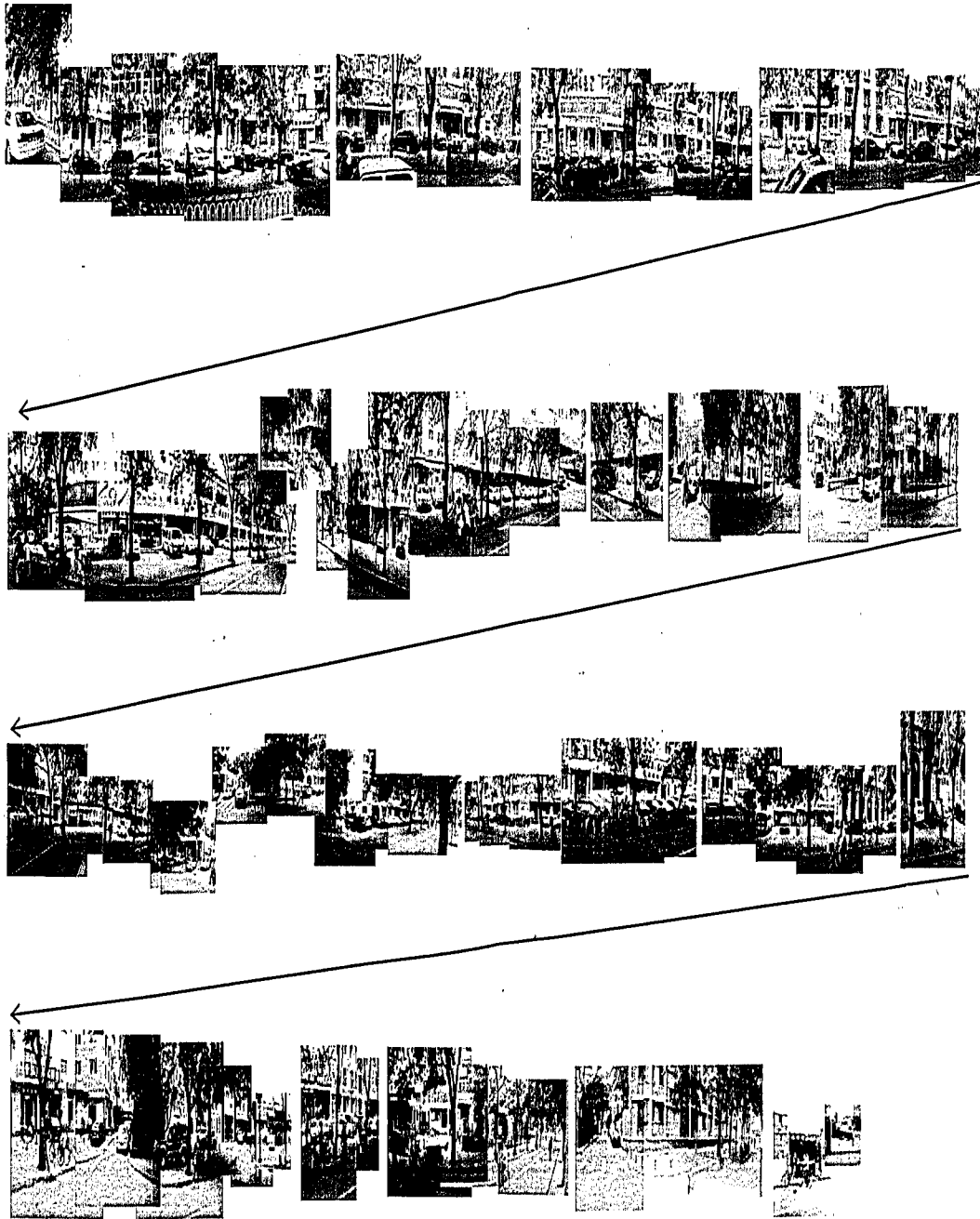
NORTH SIDE

Figure 7. Observing Haidian nanlu HDNL-1, north side (June, 2008)



NORTH SIDE

Figure 8. Observing Haidian nanlu HDNL-1, south side (June, 2008)



east → west

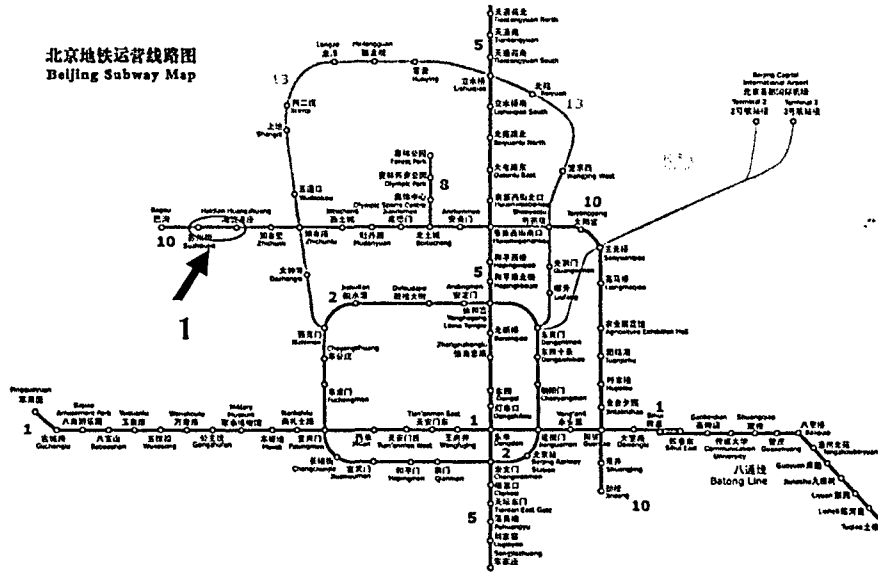
SOUTH SIDE

trees that border both sides, create an intimate and convivial atmosphere. This is not an old traditional *hutong*, but it is not a newly restored street either.

The fieldwork focused on the south side of the street because the north side was boarded up due to construction for the greater duration of the fieldwork period. On the south side two types of 'retail walls' can be observed: the eastern and western extremities of the segment consist mostly of residential units that have been converted to accommodate retail, and the center of the segment consists of a wall around a residential compound that has been transformed as 'wall of retail'. The Haidian hospital is located on the east end of the north side of the road segment; in China it is customary to offer people that one calls on some fruit, tobacco and alcohol when visiting, so it is not surprising to find several independent shops selling such goods in this area of the street segment. Further west, retail shops are selling goods and services for occasional consumption (restaurants, bars, clothing stores, hair salons, and a bookshop); these are mostly independent shops, rather than franchised establishments (except the book shop).

As mentioned previously, the north side of the street was boarded up for several months. Line 10 of the Beijing Subway was being built (see Figure 9). Once the boarding was removed, some retail activity on the north side of the street appeared, though not as prominently as on the opposite side (see Figure 10).


Figure 9. Beijing Metro



<http://www.bjigtgl.gov.cn/Portals/1/images/BeijingSubwayMap.jpg>


1) The east and west limits of HDNL-1 are defined by two new subway stations (details of the stations concerned and their names in Figure 10.)

Figure 10. Changes on Haidian nanlu HDNL-1



HDNL-1, north side, December 31st, 2007
Subway construction.

Sign reads: Zhichun lu station construction site.
Please make detour
(In fact Zhichunlu station is one station east of this segment)

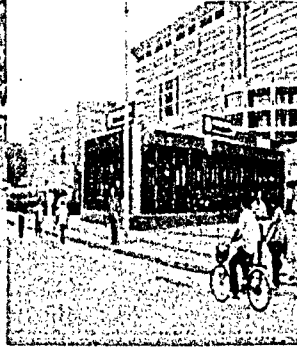


1

HDNL-1, north side,
June 18th, 2008

1) western station:
Suzhoujie

2) eastern station:
Haidian Huangzhuang



2

It is interesting to note that although the shops along the street are local and independently run, at each extremity of the street (east and west), separate from the residential compounds, there are anchor shops, large scale and franchises. Non-regulated retail activity (street peddlers) cannot be seen on the street, but a fair number of people loitering or in transit are constantly present.

2) Site 2: Kexueyuan nanlu, Zhichunli (ZCL-2) (Figures 11 and 12)

ZCL-2 runs north to south, Kexueyuan nanlu is the name of the street, and Zhichunli is the name of the residential compound unit in the area. The study site is a narrow street segment, with narrow sidewalks, and low rise housing units (5-7 stories high). This rather short commercial section of the street is very lively and bustling. Of all the case studies, this one is the most representative of an older neighbourhood street, where the built environment that has been appropriated by local dwellers.

In morphological¹¹ terms, the west side of the street consists of residential units that have been transformed to accommodate retail; the east side is a residential compound wall that has been transformed into retail street frontage. There is a high school and a park on the northern end of the segment. Most of the shops on the eastern side of the street respond to everyday necessities, they are: take-out counters, fruit stands, fast food restaurants, a post office, and a photo processing shop. On the west side, the shops sell occasional goods and services: clothes, accessories, a flower shop, mostly independent non-franchised establishments.

¹¹ The term “morphology” is used here in reference to the discipline that studies the evolution of architectural and urban forms.

Figure 11 Observing Kexueyuan nanlu, Zhichunli - 2 (October and December, 2007)



West side, south → north



East side, north → south

OCTOBER 2007



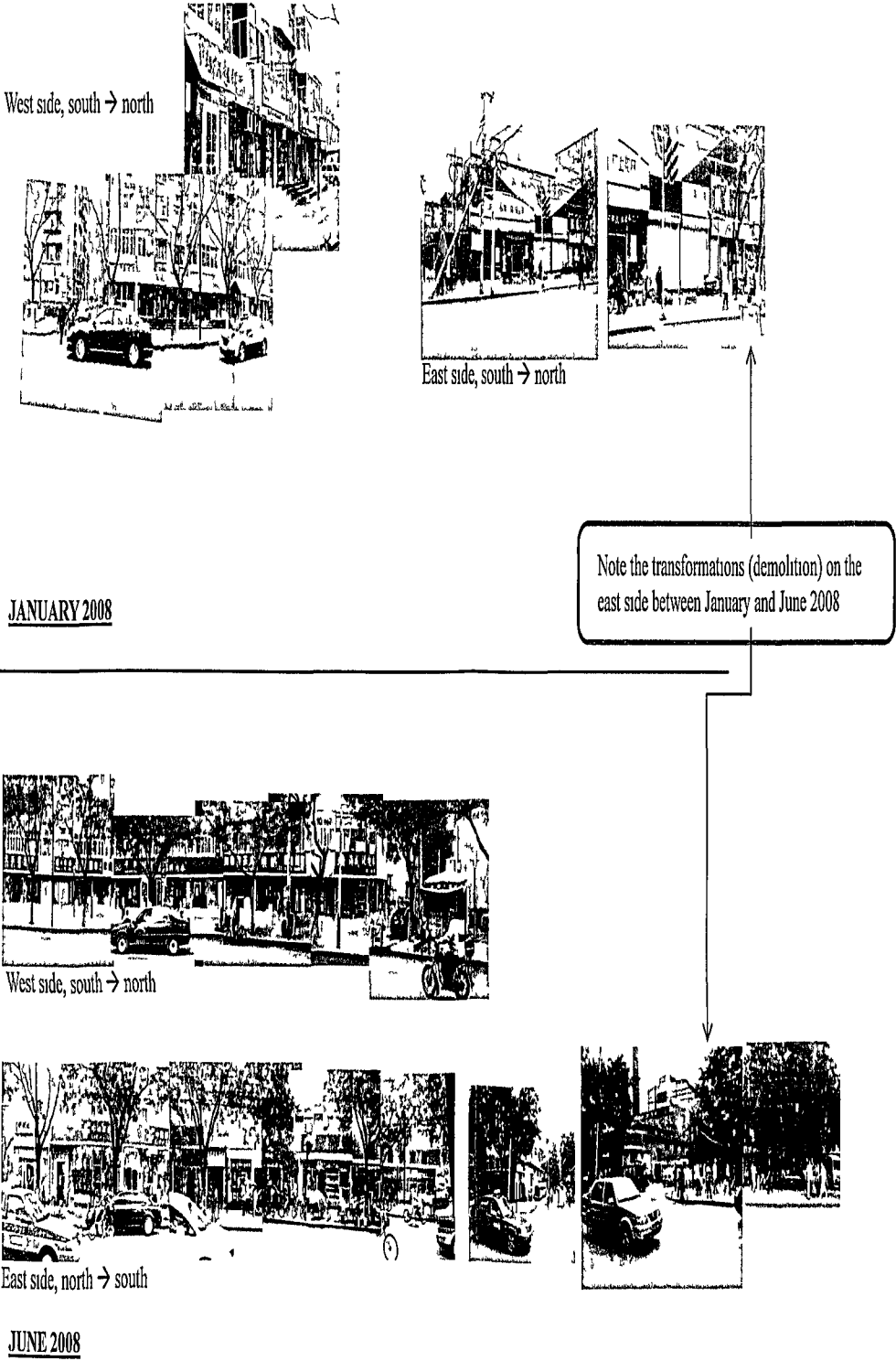
West side, south → north



East side, north → south

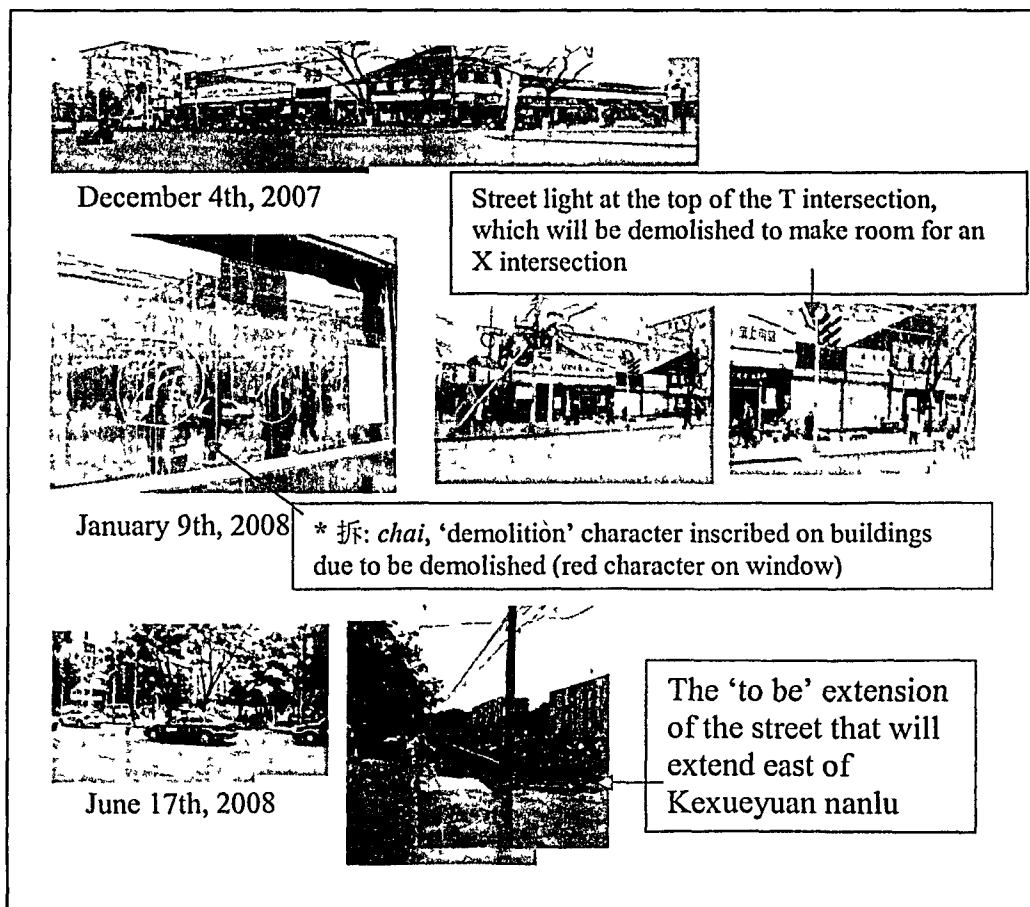
DECEMBER 2007

Figure 12 Observing Kexueyuan nanlu, Zhichunli - 2 (January and June 2008)



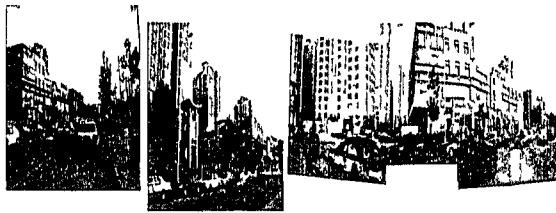
During the course of my fieldwork this street segment underwent significant changes. An entire part of the east side has been demolished. One of the survey respondents, a local resident, explained the reason for the demolition: the T intersection in ZCL-2 is being transformed into an X intersection; eastern expansion of the east-west street (Appendix K, comment 7), see Figure 13.

Figure 13. Changes on Kexueyuan nanlu, Zhichunli (ZCL-2)

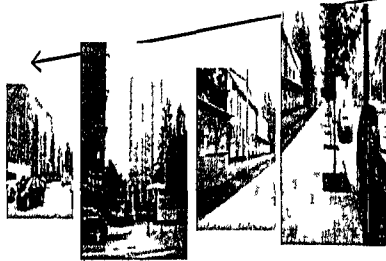
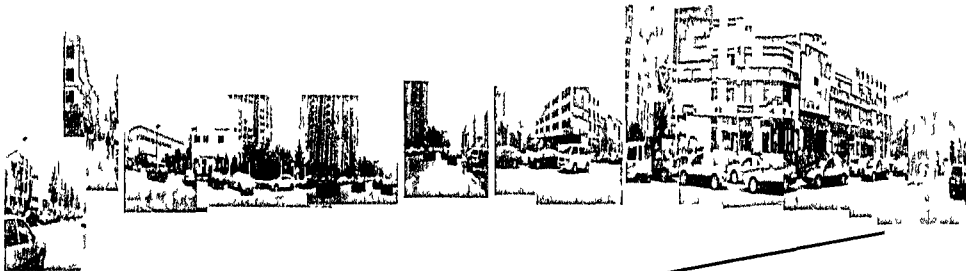


There are no specific anchor shops, yet this street segment is very lively, many people loiter and socialise, and there are usually several street peddlers (many of whom

Figure 15 Observing Dazhongsi Lu, Taiyangyuan Compound - 3 (November 2007 and June 2008)



(1), north → south



(2), north → south

EAST SIDE



(1), south → north

Note the changes on the west side of the street between the top images (November 2007), and the bottom images (June 2008)

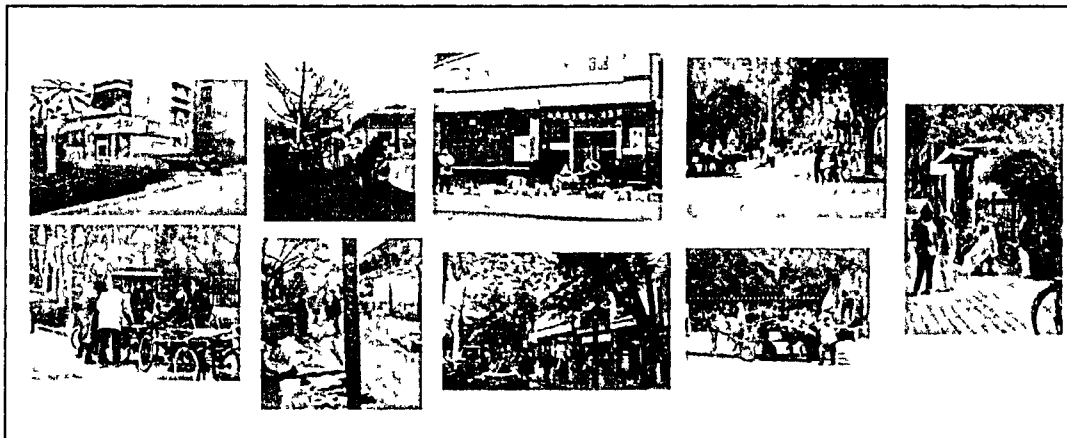


(2), south → north

WEST SIDE

sell daily necessities or offer services: fruit and vegetable, and haircuts (see Figure 15). In June 2008, shortly after I took pictures street peddlers quickly dispersed: some passers-bys were warning them that the police was coming, and peddlers quickly gathered their products and 'vanished'. Unregulated commercial activities are particularly frowned upon when highly publicised or sensitive events are looming, in this case, the 2008 Olympic Games. However, on ZCL-2, there is evident complicity between peddlers and residents.

Figure 15. Non-regulated commercial activities on Kexueyuan nanlu, Zhichunli (ZCL-2)



3) Site 3.: Dazhongsi lu, Taiyangyuan Compound (TYYC-3) (Figure 14)

Dazhongsi lu, is the street name, and Taiyangyuan is the name of the commodified housing compound on this street. TYYC-3 runs north to south. It is the most eastern segment of this study. The study area consists of a narrow street segment, as the new

housing compound buildings that frame it are all quite tall, approximately 20 stories. This street is in the midst of transition: the eastern side of the street is where the commodified housing¹² compound is located. On the western side a historical park is being restored, and there is a 'make-shift' strip informal retail. Though there is a variety and abundance of retail facilities, the street does not attract many patrons¹³.

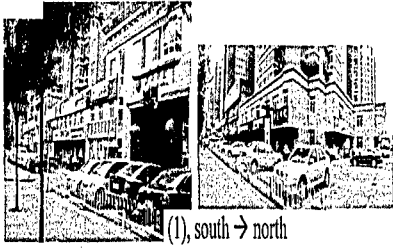
When I began observing this site, I focused primarily on the activities in and around the commodified housing compound, where retail space has been designed within the plans. The entire 'skirt' building of the compound facing onto the street accommodates a variety of retail activity, creating a wall of retail. Across the street are makeshift retail facilities, which are the result of a *danwei* wall converted into a 'wall of retail'. Retail facilities located in the skirt building of the residential compound are not franchise shops: but they are high-end speciality shops offering mostly goods and services of occasional consumption. Across the street one finds mostly fresh food stands, take-away counters, fast-food restaurants, and a newspaper stand, in short: goods of daily consumption.

As mentioned, this street is in the midst of transition. The park restoration was nearly finished in June 2008; an unexpected change was for me the demolition of all the retail facilities on the western side of the street. There was rubble and people were scavenging for reusable materials on June 19th, 2008, so I assume the demolition took place shortly before that date (Figure 17).

¹² I use the term "commodified housing" in reference to privately owned dwellings that can be bought and sold; a relatively new reality in contemporary China, that followed the economic reforms initiated in 1978.

¹³ It is important to note that the park restoration produces a lot of dust, and makes the street seem very dirty; this could have impacted the local resident's daily habits.

Figure 16. Observing Kexueyuan Nanlu, Xinke Garden - 4 (October and December 2007, and June 2008)



(1), south → north



Below are the more detailed images of the retail facilities of this compound



(2), south → north



(3), south → north

WEST SIDE



(1)

(2), north → south

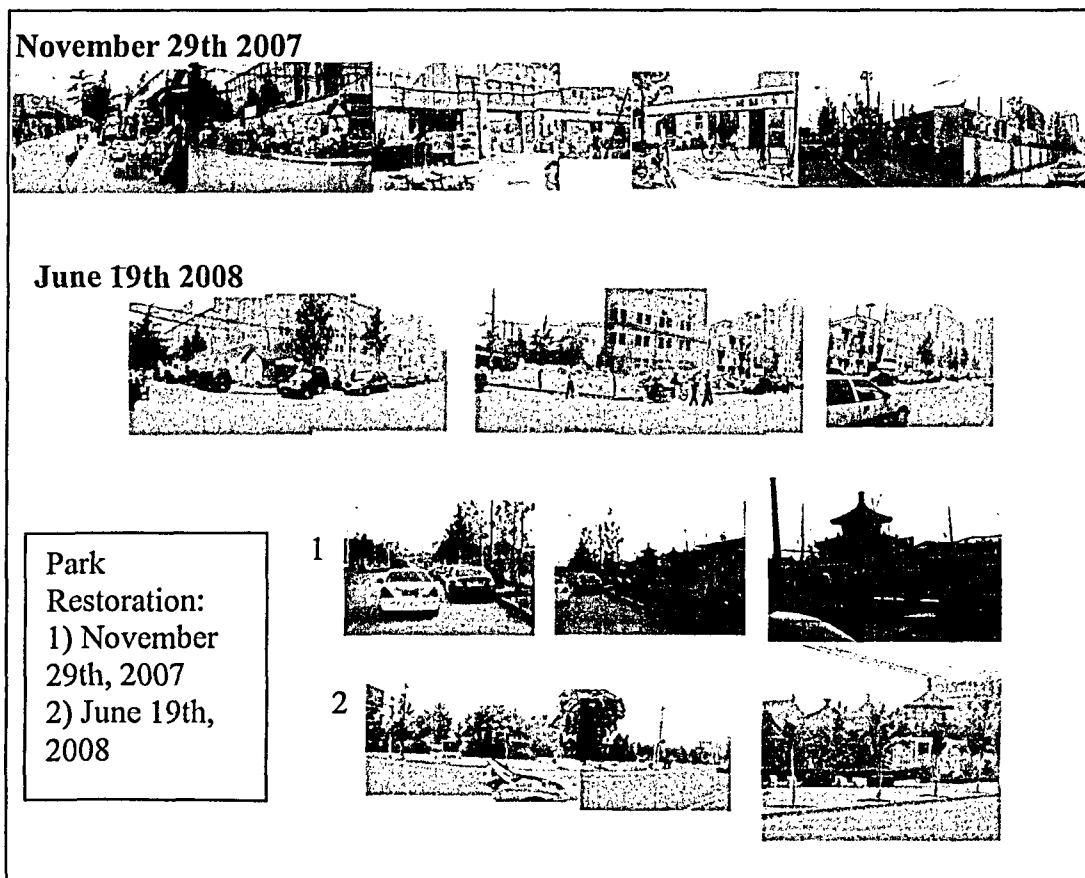


(3), north → south

EAST SIDE

The demolition of the west side of the street has created, for the time being, a void. The social dynamics witnessed on the street in 2007 were mostly associated to the west side. The eastern side was sparingly frequented; the abundance of taxis waiting for customers speaks to the fact that people encountered on the street (likely local residents) will often travel away from their immediate environment to carry out daily activities. Perhaps the completion of the park restoration and the redevelopment of the west side will fill this 'social void'.

Figure 17. Dazhongsi lu, Taiyangyuan Compound (TYYC-3): Physical and their associated behavioural changes



4) Site 4: Kexueyuan nanlu, Xinke Garden (XKG-4) (Figure 16)

Kexueyuan nanlu is the street name, and Xinke Garden is the English name of the residential compound on the street. XKG-4 runs north to south. This segment of the street is the most northern point of Kexueyuan nanlu; the north crossroad of this segment is Beijing's Fourth Ring Road. It is a narrow street, and framed by new housing compound buildings that are all quite tall, approximately 20 stories. This street has recently been restored (see Appendix K, comments: 15, 17, and 20). The western side of the street is where the commodified housing compound is located. The eastern side houses a science complex, and business towers. There is a variety of retail facilities on the western side of the street, but very few on the eastern side. The wide sidewalks on the western side also serve for parking space. The street does not attract many patrons. However, there is a primary school adjacent to the commodified residential compound (on the north end). Right before and at the end of classes many children and parents are crowding the space.

A wall surrounds the commodified residential compound; the façade on Kexueyuan nanlu is designed to form a wall of retail shops. The shops are varied, consisting of franchises (Western and Chinese) and independent high-end specialised shops. Some shops respond to daily necessities such as a 7-eleven convenience store, a Western franchise, and a few restaurants, but most offer goods and services for occasional consumption (a clothing shop, and many venues offering services such as a bank, a travel

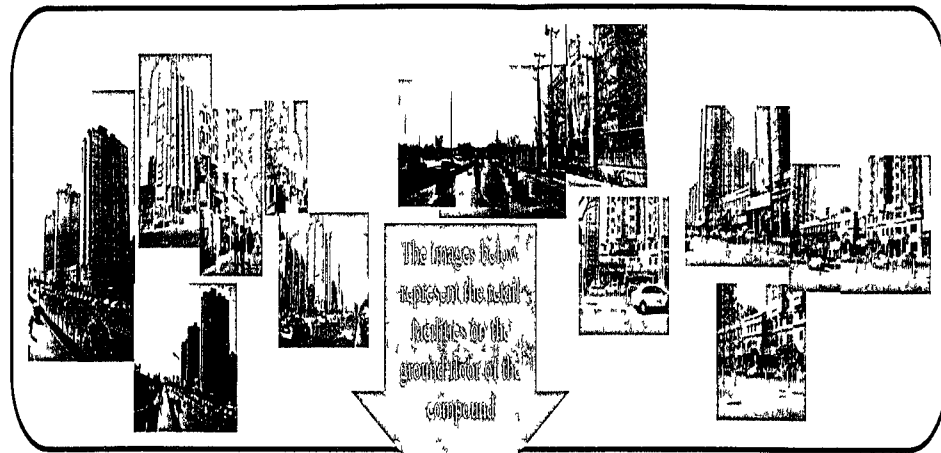
Figure 18. Observing Zhongguancun donglu, Douchengwangjing compound – 5 (November 2007)



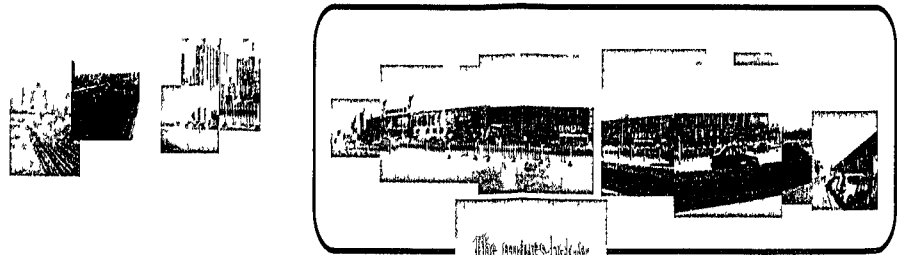
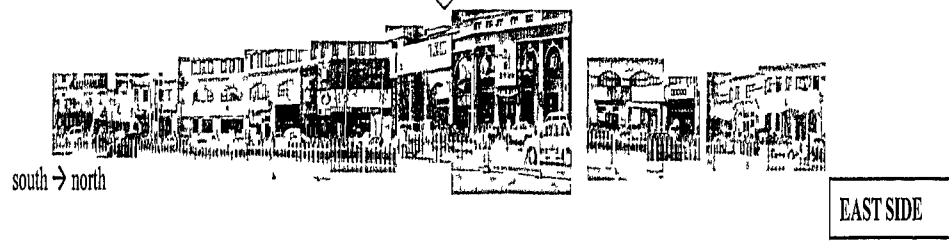
south → north

WEST SIDE

Figure 19 Observing Zhongguancun donglu, Douchengwangjng compound - 5 (January 2008)



The images below represent the details resulting from the ground floor of the compound



The images below show various details of the ground floor

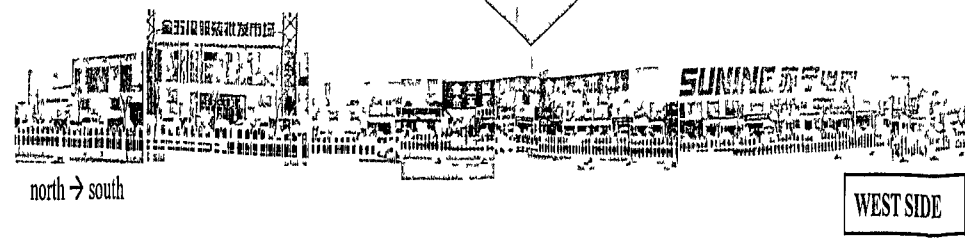
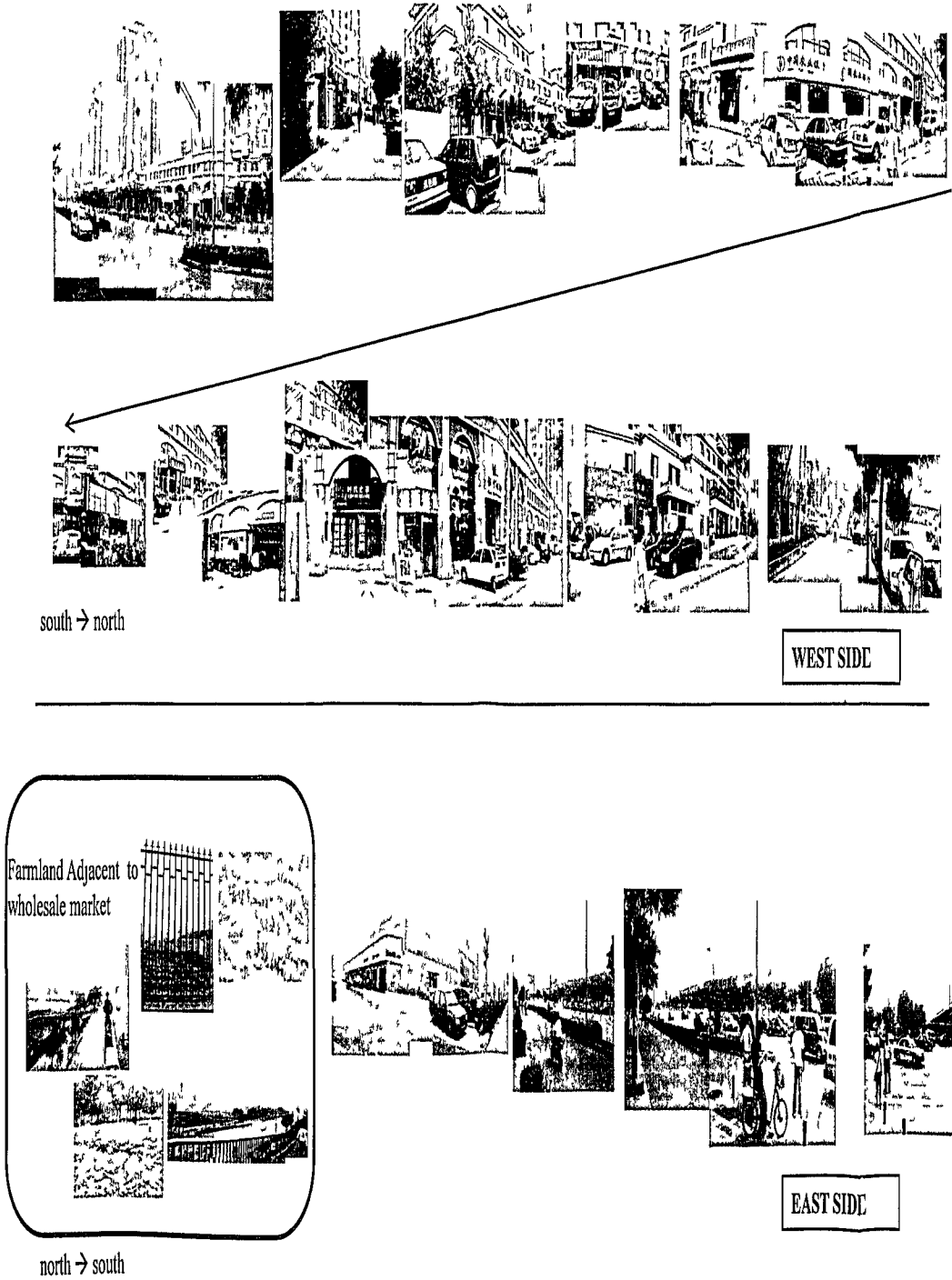
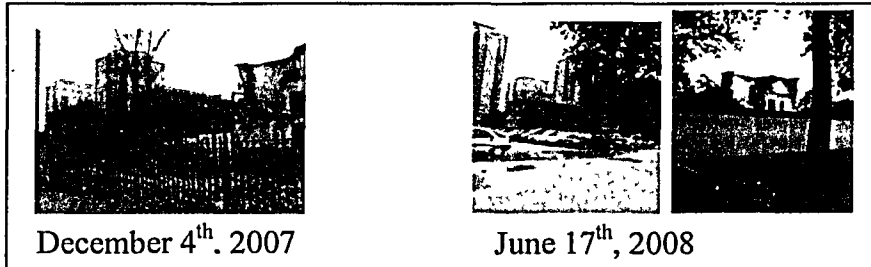


Figure 20 Observing Zhongguancun donglu, Douchengwangying compound - 5 (June 2008)



agency, a real estate agency, etc.). This street segment does not attract street peddlers¹⁴. The housing compound towers are quite tall at approximately 20 stories, but on the opposite side of the street, next to the tall science complex, there are lower residential buildings (5-7 stories). This street's physical appearance hardly' changed during the period of my fieldwork, though I did expect the 'half demolished buildings next to the new residential compound to be completely demolished soon. There never were during that nine month period (see Figure 21).

Figure 21. Kexueyuan nanlu, Xinke Garden –4: Expected changes



The original street was demolished less than 10 years ago and with it part of the associated memories, which I will discuss in a later section. Perhaps as the neighbourhood's physical environment slowly evolves by re-connecting with its surroundings, and as the new residents slowly appropriate it, this street will take on a life of its own again.

- 5) Site 5: Zhongguancun donglu, Douchengwangjing Compound (DCWJ-5) (see Figures: 18 19 20)

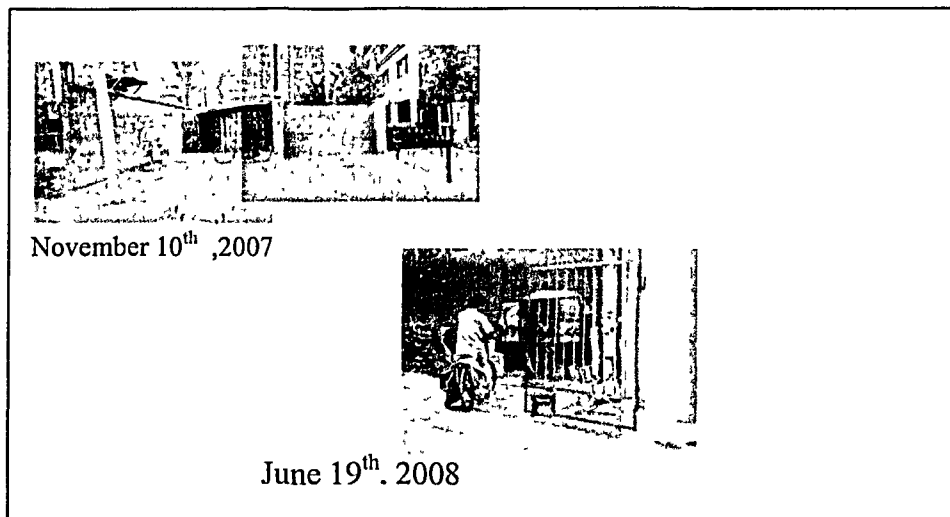
¹⁴ The environment is quite controlled. I always needed to be cautious when either administering surveys or taking pictures, my presence seemed suspicious particularly for the local security guards.

Zhongguancun donglu is the street name, and Douchengwangjing is the name of the residential compound on the street. DCWJ-5 runs north to south. The segment's southern most part ends at the Third Ring Road's junction. Zhongguancun donglu is a broad street with physical barriers separating the direction of traffic and separating the motorised vehicles' lanes from the bicycles'. The western side of the street still hosts an old *danwei* adjoining a new commodified housing compound. The residential towers on the western side are all quite tall at approximately 20 stories. On the eastern side there is a large-scale wholesale market and adjacent to the later is a large cornfield still manually farmed by local farmers. The city-farmland contrast is quite striking. This street has visibly undergone significant physical transformations recently; an observation confirmed by respondents' comments (see Appendix K, comments: 22, 24, and 26). The wide sidewalks on the western side are also used as parking space. The street does not attract many patrons. The broadness of the street and the sheer absence of trees or other natural 'ambient' elements confer quite a sterile "flavour" to the street. I note that there are no public facilities (a school, a park, a hospital etc.) on this street; such features that lead local residents to include the street into their daily routine as observed on some of our case-study streets.

In morphological terms, the façade of the new commodified residential compound on Zhongguancun donglu is designed to form a wall of retail shops. These shops cater to the consumption of occasional goods and services, mostly independent high-end specialised shops: a high-end restaurant, a garage for car repair (a car is a fairly luxurious good in China), and service, facilities such as a bank, and a hairdresser. On the opposite side of

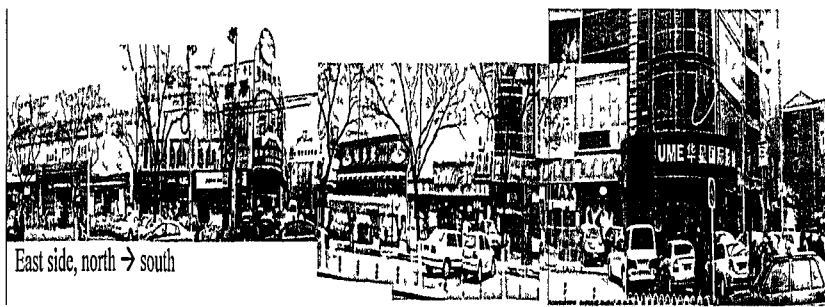
the street there are no residential compounds but there are many electronic and car repair wholesale outlets. The housing compound towers on the western side of the street are quite tall; whereas on the opposite side of the street the wholesale market is one big two-story building. This street's physical appearance hardly changed during the period of my fieldwork, though a few shops on the ground floor of the residential compound did change hands. The only non-regulated commercial activity witnessed on this street is a local bicycle repairman who operates at the edge of the old *danwei* along the wall (Figure 22).

Figure 22. Zhongguancun donglu, Douchengwangjing Compound – 5: Non-regulated commercial activity



This street is an anonymous boulevard; the types of retail shops incorporated to the residential compound cater to consumption of occasional goods and services. Goods and services for daily consumption needs are not addressed. One respondent to the survey on this street told me she did not make a point of patronising these shops because they are

Figure 23. Observing Kexueyuan nanlu, Shuangyushu - 6 (January and June 2008)



JANUARY 2008



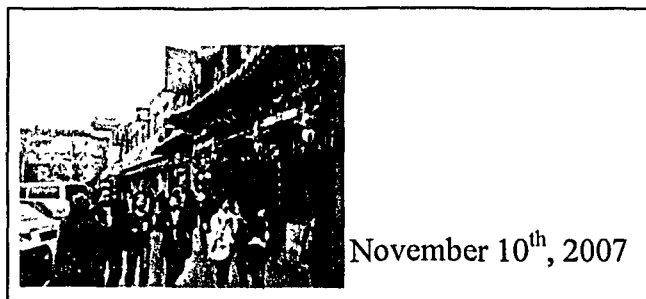
JUNE 2008

constantly changing. Constant changes to the retail shops; those which offer occasional goods in particular, make it difficult for the local population to frequent them as part of their daily lives. The street make-up does not answer the present needs of the passer-bys. Finally, it is interesting to note that on weekdays there is a person in charge of monitoring parking on the west side of the street. The need for such a service points to the fact that many people coming to the street have not come on foot.

6) Site 6: Kexueyuan nanlu, Shuangyushu (SYS-6) (see Figure 23)

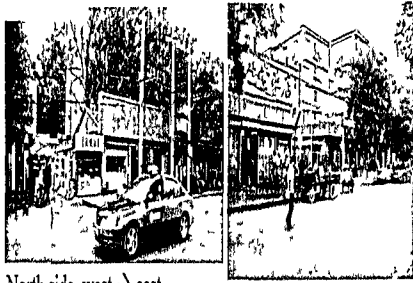
SYS-2 runs north to south, Kexueyuan nanlu is the name of the street, and Shuangyushu is the name of the residential compound in the area. It is a narrow street segment, with wide sidewalks that also serve for parking. The segment is the southern end of Kexueyuan nanlu, which ends at the junction of the Third Ring Road. The housing units are 5-7 stories high. This rather short street segment is quite lively and bustling with activity (see Figure 24).

Figure 24. Kexueyuan nanlu, Shuangyushu – 6: socialisation



Both sides of the street are lined with similar retail shops. On the intersection with the Third Ring Road, there is a large IMAX cinema and a McDonald's restaurant opposite to it. Several other franchise shops (both western and Chinese) line the street.

Figure 25. Observing Zhongguancun nanlu - 7 (October and December 2007)



North side, west → east



South side, east → west

OCTOBER 2007



North side, west → east



South side, east → west

DECEMBER 2007

Figure 26. Observing Zhongguancun nanlu - 7 (June, 2008)



west → east



NORTH SIDE



east → west

SOUTH SIDE

It is also important to note that there is a renowned commercial centre offering high end goods on the south side of the third ring road called 'Shuang An'. The centre is accessible from SYS-6 by way of overpass. The busy third ring road serves as a physical barrier between SYS-6 and the 'Shuang An' commercial centre, however, we can assume that some of the people who frequent SYS-6 are also attracted by the commercial centre on the other side of the ring road.

In morphological terms, there is a mix of two types of retail wall: residential units transformed to accommodate retail, and the conversion of a wall into a 'wall of retail'. Different types of restaurants account for the greater part of the retail activity on the street; they are accompanied by small clothing shops and a post office, in other words, goods and services for both daily and occasional consumption coexist. This street's physical appearance hardly changed during the period of my fieldwork.

This street is always quite busy, particularly on weekends. When conducting surveys on weekends, I noticed that the wide sidewalks filled with various street peddlers. Most sold counterfeit DVDs and books, but other vendors were selling diverse products such as, hats, dolls and pets (cats and dogs).

7) Zhongguancun nanlu, ZGCNL-7 (Figures: 25 and 26)

Zhongguancun nanlu, runs east to west. The segment analysed is bordered to the west with Zhongguancun dajie, one of the major arteries of the district, and the west ends at the junction of a small road, just west of Kexueyuan nanlu. It is a narrow street segment with narrow sidewalks, and mid-rise housing units (5-7 stories high). This lively street

segment is a cross between the everyday consumption street, and the window-shopping street; it provides both daily and occasional consumption goods and services.

The 'retail wall' on either side of the street consists of residential compounds surrounded by a wall that has been transformed into retail facilities. Both the north and south side of the street are lined with small retail facilities. Most are small independent shops, but there are a few Chinese franchises as well. From daily necessities to electronics, entertainments facilities, and a flower shop, a broad range of consumption products can be found on this street.

During the course of my field study two types of changes to this street were witnessed. The first is the standardising of the streets signs. In December 2007 the stores' front signage were being removed. I inquired with shop owners, and they said that the street was standardising the storefront signage, to comply with a new type of city code provision. I was suspicious of the explanation, it seemed somewhat absurd that the municipal government would be trying to 'standardise' something as fluid and ever changing as commercial street signs. However, soon I noticed that in other districts of Beijing the same 'standardisation' was taking place. Shop owners claim that the city is doing this to improve its image for the 2008 Summer Olympic Games. Another change, which I was told was also carried out in preparation for the Olympic Games, is the demolishing and reconstructing of part of a wall. In December 2007, on the northeast end of the street segment workers were demolishing some of the small shops that had been built on part of the *danwei*'s surrounding wall. In January 2008, they were rebuilding that segment of the wall. Nobody seemed to know exactly what was taking

place, or why. When I returned in June 2008 the 'project' was not completed, a wall of metal boards was hiding the wall being build behind. One local resident, who did not seem to understand my interest in this, informed me that they were building a wall on which they would produce an 'Olympic themed' painting. I never found out if this 'project' was completed, and if it has, what is the actual outcome, but was impressed by the fact that the few shops located behind this 'construction' were still operating (see Figure 27 and 28). I noted the presence of many street peddlers in late 2007- early 2008, but fewer in June 2008 (Figure 29). Perhaps the authorities were controlling the street's activities more carefully, as I witnessed on ZCL-2.

Despite the standardisation of the signage this street displays an inviting and textured character.

Figure 27. Zhongguancun nanlu - 7: Changes and transformations. Signage

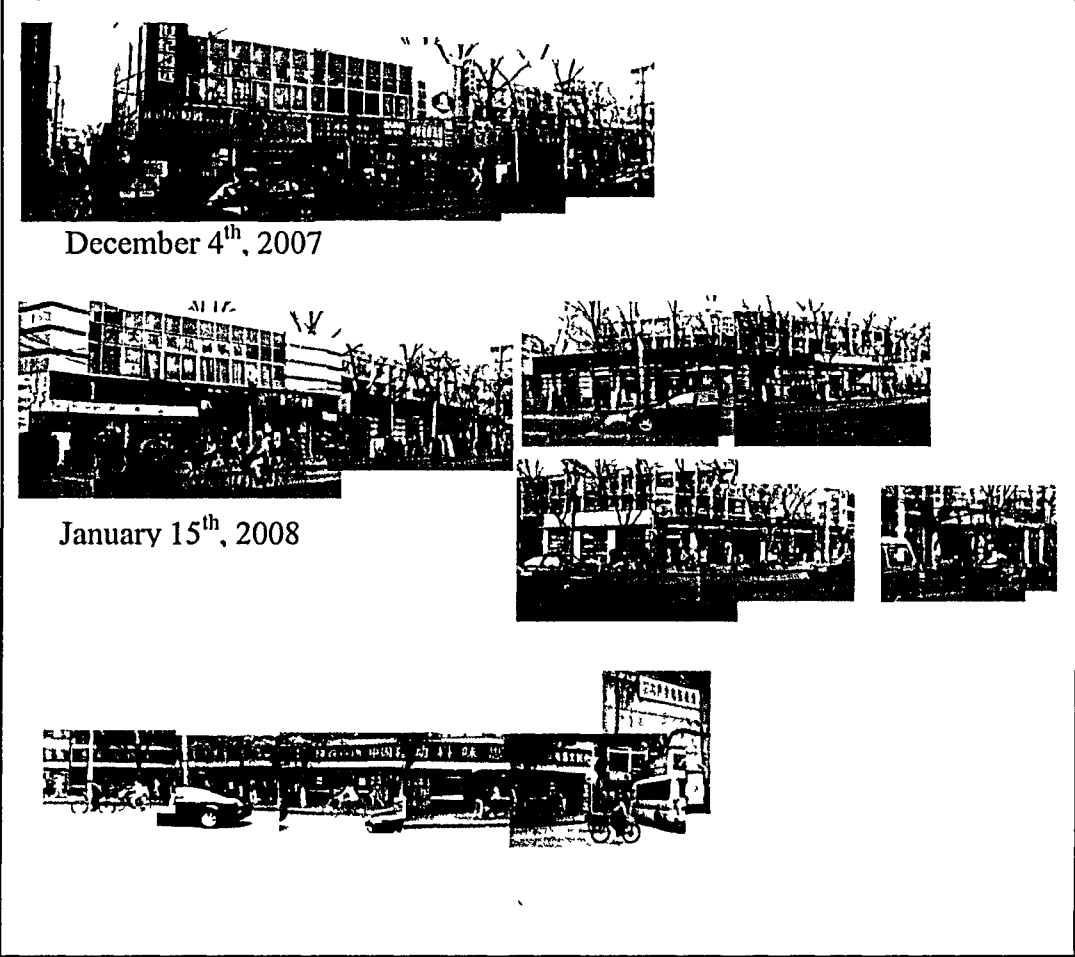


Figure 28. Zhongguancun nanlu - 7: Changes and transformations – Wall demolition and reconstruction

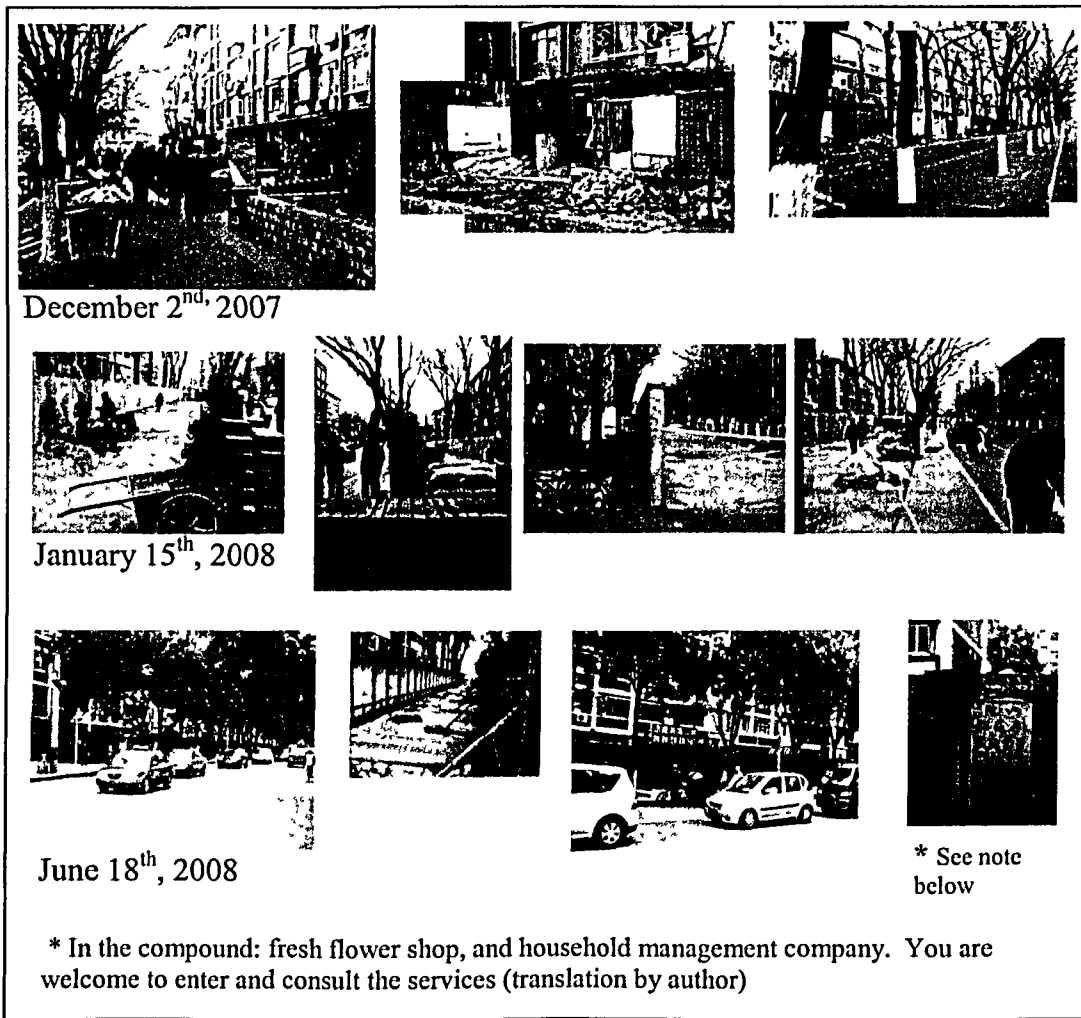


Figure 29. Zhongguancun nanlu - 7: Non-regulated commercial activities



Surveys

Quantitative Survey Analysis

Aggregate and Crosstab Descriptive Statistics

The first sets of statistical analysis presented are the descriptive statistics. The results reveal the distribution of the responses collected. For the aggregate results I report on the valid percentage. This number reflects the distribution of the responses after the missing or mis-answered samples are removed from the calculation. The aggregate valid ratios will also be presented. Since the fieldwork was conducted on seven street segments, chosen for their contrasted physical and retail make-up, I also examine each study area's descriptive statistical distribution. This allows a cross-examination of the individual cases with the aggregate results. I limit the reporting to the cross-examination results to the cases that produce distribution results that differ significantly from the aggregate. All these results are presented on tables, alongside the aggregate results. Specific variations discussed in the narrative are presented in bold character in the table. It is important to note that the sample sizes become significantly smaller when divided into the seven case studies¹⁵ (see Table 2). All frequency and crosstab tests (aggregate descriptive and descriptive for each case-study) were run by SPSS for results.

¹⁵ Particularly when there is missing data; this varies for every question.

Table 2. Sample size of the seven case study sites

Case study street	Sample size (number of respondents)
HDNL-1	21
ZCL-2	29
TYYC-3	23
XKG-4	23
DCWJC-5	21
SYS-6	27
ZGCNL-7	30

In response to questions 1 to 9 on demographics (independent variables):

The sum of the results can be found in Appendix F.

Question 1

You are (gender)

- a) Man b) Woman

The aggregate distribution of the responses to this question is quite evenly divided between the men and women

- The distribution is different from the aggregate results on ZGCNL-7; the category 'women' is twice the size of 'men'.

Question 2

Your age:

- a) 18-24 years old b) 25-30 years old
c) 31-40 years old d) 41-50 years old
e) 51-60 years old f) 61 years old and above

The aggregate distribution of 'age' is a fair representation of the Haidian district, which is known to cater to many university students and young professionals; 62% of respondents are between the ages of 18-30.

Results on DCWJC-5 and ZGCNL-7 differ though.

- On DCWJC-5 there is a distinct spike in the 25-30 age group, but the other four categories have quite evenly distributed results. This would indicate that the area where DCWJC-5 is situated in Haidian caters to a population with a more evenly distributed adult age spectrum.
- On ZGCNL-7 the results indicate that the street caters to a younger population, there is a reasonably good distribution of responses between the younger age groups.

Question3

Marital status:

- a) married b) single
- c) divorced d) widowed e) wish not to say

The aggregate response distribution to this question is quite evenly distributed between married and single status. It is interesting to note that officially the divorce rate in large Chinese cities is similar to western levels. Therefore, one must keep in mind that some of the respondents may actually be divorced, but simply choose to respond 'single'.

Results differ from the aggregate trend on ZCL-2, TYYC-3, and ZGCNL-7.

- On ZCL-2 and TYYC-3 the distributions indicate a larger margin between single and married respondents.

- On ZGCNL-7, the results show a more significant margin between the married and single distribution, moreover, there are more married than single respondents, this may suggest a street whose features cater to a different sector of the population.

Question 4

Number of people in your household:

- a) one
- b) two
- c) three
- d) more than three

In response to this question few respondents indicate living alone, or with one other person, most households hold three or more than three people. When cross analysing the answers to 'marital status' and those for 'Number of people in your household', at first glance there seem to be discrepancies. However, once again it is important to consider the social context in Chinese cities: 1) students often live in dormitories sharing space with up to seven other people, 2) young professionals, particularly the ones who are not originally from Beijing, the waidiren (外地人), will often share living space with *laoxiang(s)* (老乡) (colleague/distant family members often from the same original village or town), 3) it is not uncommon for a married couple to live with in-laws/parents. The nature of a household is lived differently in China and in the western context.

Results that differ from the aggregate distribution are on SYS-6 and ZGCNL-7.

- On SYS-6 results show more than twice as many people who live in a three people household than living in a household with more than three people.

- On ZGCNL-7, proportionally, far more respondents claim to living in a two people household. It is interesting to note that this is the same street where there are significantly more married than single respondent.

Question 5.

Where were you born?:

- a) Beijing
- b) Other city: _____
- c) country side: _____
- d) outside of the PRC: _____

Though a significant number of responses to this question are: 'in Beijing', most respondents were born in other Chinese cities. These results confirm the hypothesis that this district hosts many people from other parts of the country: *waidiren*. Based on the fact that most of the non-Beijingers are from other Chinese cities, we can assume that many are likely to be university students, or young professionals working in the high-tech sector.

Results differ from the aggregate distribution on HDNL-1 and ZCL-2.

- On HDNL-1 results reveal that the highest proportion of respondents consists of Beijingers.
- On ZCL-2, reveal a very high proportion of respondents from the Chinese countryside.

Question 6

For how long have you lived in Beijing? :

- a) just visiting the city
- b) less than 5 years
- c) between 6-15 years
- d) more than 16 years

Though many respondents have been living in Beijing for 16 years or more (a category that includes “all my life” answer), 32.4% have been in Beijing less than 5 years, which is quite significant. It is interesting to note the very low percentage of out-of-town visitors to the street in the sample group. This research targets local consumption streets; these results later confirm that the case study streets chosen are primarily frequented by local residents.

Results on ZGCNL-7 and XKG-4 differ from the aggregate results.

- ZGCNL has a high proportion of respondents having lived in Beijing 16 years and more. Considering that this street recorded the largest proportion of original Beijingers, it is not a surprising result.
- On XKG-4 the three temporal categories (excepting visitors) have near equal proportions.

Question 7

You live:

- a) in this district b) in a neighbouring district c) only visiting the city

As to where the respondents live, the results indicate that most respondents live in the were district as the case study street is located, while a smaller, but significant number of respondents also live in neighbouring districts. These responses further validate that the case-study streets cater mostly to local residents.

Responses differ from the aggregate distribution on ZCL-2 and SYS-6.

- On ZCL-2, the proportion of people who live ‘in this district’ is very high.
- On SYS-6 proportions between the categories ‘in this district’ and ‘in a neighbouring district’ are very similar.

Question 8

You work/study:

a) in this district b) in a neighbouring district c) only visiting the city

Responses to ‘where do you work/study’ reaped similar results to the previous question, but the distribution of respondents who work/study in the district where the case study street is located is higher. Considering that the *danwei* system is still present and that most students reside in dormitories on campus, it is not surprising that a large percentage of respondents live and work in the same district. For the purpose of this research it is interesting to note that locals frequent the case-study streets.

Results differ from the aggregate distribution on the same streets as the previous question: ZCL-2 and SYS-6.

- In both cases the number of respondents who work/study ‘in this district’ is disproportionately high compared to those who work/study ‘in a neighbouring district’, particularly for ZCL-2.

Question 9

What is your current occupation?:

a) work _____ b) student _____ c) other _____

With respect to occupations, most respondents indicate that they work. The percentage of students is lower than anticipated, however this may reflect the fact that, as mentioned above, most students live on the university campus per se. Universities typically host a variety of shops and cafeteria/restaurant facilities of their own, so that students generally do not have to leave the confines of the institution to carry-out activities and satisfy their daily needs. As a note, many respondents who answered 'other' took the time to specify that they were retired.

Results differ from the aggregate distribution on TYYC-3 and XKG-4.

- On TYYC-3 and XKG-4 no respondents reported doing something 'other' than a worker or a student. Moreover, TYYC-3 presents the lowest proportion of students.

In response to questions 10 to 19 on daily practices on the street (dependent variables):

The complete results are displayed in Appendix G.

Question 10

How often do you come to this street:

- a) everyday b) 3-5x a week c) 1-2x a week
d) a couple x a month e) few times a year f) this is my first time

Nearly half of the respondents claim to frequent the street everyday, the second most significant distribution of responses to this question is once to twice a week.

Results differ from the aggregate on HDNL-1, TYYC-2, and SYS-6.

- On HDNL-1, are no respondents answered that they visit the street 1-2 times a week.
- Respondents on TYYC-3 generally frequent the street less often.
- On SYS-6 there is a relatively even distribution over the first four options and only a few respondents occasionally frequent the street, displaying a variety of habits.

Question 11

When you come to this street your main purpose is:

- a) purchasing items/spending money
- b) socialising/meeting with friends or family/transiting
- c) socialising which involves spending money

Most responses to this question indicate ‘socialising/meeting with friends or family/transiting’¹⁶ as the main purpose on this street. Although respondents often spend money on the street, socialising and transiting seem to be more significant types of ‘consumption’.

Results differ from the aggregate distribution on ZGCNL-7.

- On ZGCNL-7 there are more respondents who claim to frequent the street to ‘purchase items/spending money’. On all other streets the distribution of respondents whose purpose on the street is to ‘socialise/meet with friends or family/ transiting’ is larger.

¹⁶ Some respondents commented on the available options. Specifically, many respondents who live on the street, and hence must frequent the street everyday did not find the option (b) including ‘transiting’ (路过) suitable, this inaccuracy may be linked to inaccurate translation and/or cultural gap. Therefore, many people who live of the street where they were surveyed did not respond to this question, and rightfully so, should I add in retrospect.

Question 12

What GENERALLY brings you to this street?:

- a) shopping
- b) restaurant & entertainment
- c) window shopping
- d) socialising
- e) on my way to somewhere else

As far as ‘what GENERALLY brings you to this street’¹⁷, though 24.8% frequent the street as a means to transit from one place to the next, most respondents frequent the street in order to shop or for socialising, including going to the restaurant and other types of leisure and entertainment venues.

Results differ from the aggregate distribution on TYYC-3, DCWJC-5, and ZGCNL-7 (Consult Appendix G to observe and compare results).

Question 13

If and when consuming on the street, it is GENERALLY for:

- a) purchase of everyday necessities (e.g. food, medication, post office)
- b) occasional purchases of goods or services (e.g. clothing, gifts, hair styling, foot massage)
- c) major purchases of goods or services (e.g. furniture, appliances, medical doctor)
- d) restaurant & entertainment

To the question inquiring on ‘if/when consuming on the street it is GENERALLY for what’, daily necessities, restaurant and entertainment are the predominant responses.

Results slightly differ from the aggregate distribution on ZGCNL-7 where a slightly higher proportion of respondents consume ‘occasional goods and services’, and a lower proportion responds ‘restaurant and entertainment’.

¹⁷ Many people who live of the street where they were surveyed did not respond to this question.

Question 14

If you were to rank the activities and only the activities that bring you to this street, how would you rank them starting by the most important:

Shopping: _____
Eating: _____
Socialising: _____
window shopping: _____
traveling: _____
other: _____ (please specify: _____)

This question's format is different, hence calling for a different approach to the aggregate frequency analysis. The question asks the respondent to rank from 1-6, in order of importance, the activities that bring them to the street¹⁸. The rank "1" (most important activity) was most frequent for *shopping*, followed by *eating* and *socialising*; frequency distribution for rank "2" (second most important activity) are *eating* followed by *window shopping*, and then *shopping*. The highest distribution for rank "3" (third most important activity) are *window shopping*, then *shopping*, *eating* and *socialising* closely following (see Appendix I for complete frequency tables and bar graphs). The distribution of the results shows that shopping is the most important activity (35 respondents). No crossbar analysis was conducted for this question.

Question 15

If and when coming to this street to socialise/meet with friends or family, does it generally entail spending money?:

a) yes b) no

¹⁸ When only one option is selected, it is considered as the 'only important'

The results to the question 'when on the street does it entail spending money' are quite remarkable; the visit to local mix-use commercial streets generally entails an economic transaction for 89.4% of respondents.

The results of SYS-6 differ from the aggregate in that all respondents answer that money is involved.

The next two questions are similar:

Question 16

What percentage of your weekly consumption budget is spent on this street?:

- a) 0-10%
- b) 11-25%
- c) 26-50%
- d) more than 51%

Question 17

What percentage of your weekly consumption budget is spent on streets like this one?:

- a) 0-10%
- b) 11-25%
- c) 26-50%
- d) more than 51%

In response to question 16, most respondents indicate spending 0-10% of their weekly budgets of the street where they were surveyed, not a significant amount. As the percentage increment (on the survey) of weekly budget spent increases, the number of responses declines.

In response to question 17, though the trend is similar to that of the previous question, the distribution between the first three percentage increments (offered on the survey) is more evenly spread.

The percentage of the weekly budget spent on streets similar to the one where respondents were surveyed is generally more significant than what is spent by respondents on the street where they are surveyed. However, few respondents in response to both questions spend 51% or more of their weekly budget on such streets.

For question 16, results differ from the aggregate distribution on HDNL-1 and ZGCNL-7

- On HDNL-1 and ZGCNL-7 there are fewer respondents who claim to spend less than 10% than those who spend 11-25%.
- HDNL-1 also shows the highest proportion of respondents who spend 51% and more.

In response to question 17, the distribution of responses differs from the aggregate distribution on ZCL-2 and ZGCNL-7.

- On ZCL-2 the proportions of respondents spending 11-25% and 26-50% are inversed from the cumulative results.
- On ZGCNL-7 the proportion of respondents spending 0-10% is the highest of all streets.

Question 18

Do you GENERALLY come to this street?:

- a) alone b) with other people

With respect to this question, which has a more social angle, slightly more respondents claim to frequent the street with others than alone. The results indicate a social element to frequenting these streets.

Results differ from the aggregate distribution on HDNL-1, DCWJC-5, and ZGCNL-7.

- On both HDNL-1 and DCWJC-5, the proportions between the two choices are equal.
- On ZGCNL-7 the proportion of respondents who frequent the street alone is higher than that of those frequenting the street with others; this is the only street where this occurs.

Question 19

If coming with other people, is it usually:

- a) with a friend
- b) with a group of friends
- c) with one or more family members

This next question follows up with respondents who claim to ‘generally’ frequent the street with others: ‘if coming with other people it is usually (with whom)’. Nearly two thirds frequent the street with one or many friends. These results can indicate that for those respondents the visit entails a strong leisure or entertainment component, although it is not excluded that some young people, such as students for example, might run some household errands with their friends.

Results differ from the aggregate distribution on DCWJC-5, SYS-6, and ZGCNL-7, but the sample sizes are small, making it difficult to determine whether the differences in distribution are significant or not.

In response to questions 20 to 24 on perceptions, memories and representations of the street:

The complete results are displayed in Appendix H.

Question 20(a)

Were you coming to this street 10 years ago?:
a) yes b) no

The majority responded no to this question. The low percentage of people visiting the street 10 years ago can reflect either the fact that many of the respondents have lived in Beijing less than 15 years, and/or the fact that some of these case study streets may have existed for less than 10years (see Appendix K, comments 15 and 17).

Results differ from the aggregate distribution on TYYC-3 and ZGCNL-7.

- On TYYC-3, all respondents indicated that they did not frequent the street 10 years.
- ZGCNL-7 is the only street where more respondents frequented the street 10 years ago than not.

Question 20 (b)

If yes 10 years ago what generally brought you to this street?:

- a) buy daily products b) shop occasionally
- c) window shopd) socialise e) transit from one place to another
- f) other _____

Though only 50 respondents answered this question, the percentage of 'other' responses is quite high (options in this question closely resemble those offered in questions 12-14); this speaks to the recent changes in daily practices. Clearly the choices of answers fail to address daily practices of the time.

It is difficult to assess the crosstab results because the sample size is too small. However, it is interesting to note that a third of the responses to this question were from respondents on ZGCNL-7.

Question 21

How do you perceive this street?:
a) positively b) negatively

A significant percentage of respondents indicated that they see the street in a positive light.

Results on TYYC-3, XKG-4, SYS-6, and ZGCNL-7 differ from the aggregate results.

- On TYYC-3, responses show the highest proportion of respondents who perceive the street negatively. It is important to note that there was much construction was taking place during the surveying period, which could have influenced the responses.
- On XKG-4 and SYS-6 all respondents have a positive perception of the street.
- On ZGCNL-7 there is a fair proportion of the respondents who perceive the street negatively.

Question 22

If applicable, has your perception of this street changed in the last 10 years?:

- a) yes b) no

The last quantitatively interpretable question of the survey is: 'has your perception of the street changed in the last 10 years'. Only 56 respondents said they had visited the street ten years ago (question 20), yet 117 respondents answered this question. It is difficult to determine where the error lies. However, we can deduct that the respondents responded to the question by comparing their view of the street today with that of when they first came to know it, or remember it from an earlier period.

Results differ from the aggregate distribution on HDNL-1, TYYC-3, and ZGCNL-7.

- On HDNL-1, and ZGCNL-7 the proportion of respondents for whom the perception has not changed is rather low.
- TYYC-3 is the only street where the proportion of people whose perception of the street has not changed exceeds that for whom it has.

Multiple-Regression Analysis

The multiple regression analysis was used to produce significance prediction models of the dependent variables. The control variables (independent variables) used are the following: gender, age, size of household, time residing in Beijing, location-1- (this district), location-2- (neighbouring district). Of the 14 dependent variables eight have a significant prediction model (90% significance). Six of these models are presented below separately, the other two present anomalous results; they are presented separately in

Appendix J. In each case, I conducted backwards multiple regression analysis, therefore it is important to note that there are different performance results of the variables depending on the mix of control variables tested.

1) When you come to this street your main purpose is-2- (socialising/meeting with friends or family/transiting)

Table 3: Summary of Regression relationship, question 11-2-

When you come to this street your main purpose is-2- (Socialising/meeting with friends or family/transiting	
Control variables: Age, Time residing in Beijing	
Significance	0.069
R Square	0.034
Significant variable	<i>Age</i>
	p 0.027
	Beta 0.194
	β 0.064

The results of the multiple-regression model with all six control variables indicate an insignificant model (Sig= 0.225). When I re-run the model, having removed the ‘location of residence’ 1 and 2 control variables, and then the ‘gender’ variable, the model remains insignificant. When I then remove the ‘household size’ variable, the model shows significance (see Table 3).

The most predictive relationship for this model is the positive relationship between ‘when you come to this street your main purpose is-2- (socialising/meeting with friends or

family/transiting)', and age. This relationship indicates that the older the respondents are the more likely they are to go to the street to socialise, meet with friends/family or transit.

This is an interesting finding, which might point to the fact that younger people favour other spaces for socialisation.

2) What generally brings you to the street-1- (shopping)

Table 4. Summary of Regression relationship, question 12-1-

What generally brings you to the street-1- (shopping)					
Control variables: Gender, Age, Size of household, Time residing in Beijing, Residence location -1-, Residence location -2-		Control variables: Gender, Age, Size of household, Time residing in Beijing		Control variables: Age, Size of household, Time residing in Beijing	
Significance	0.128	Significance	0.08	Significance	0.041
R Square	0.076	R Square	0.064	R Square	0.063
Significant variable	<i>Age</i>	Significant variable	<i>Age</i>	Significant variable	<i>Age</i>
	p 0.01		P 0.013		P 0.014
	Beta -0.268		Beta -0.253		Beta -0.244
	β -0.071		B -0.067		B -0.065

The results of the first multiple-regression model with all six variables indicate near significance, and the 'age' variable is significant. As I re-run the model with fewer variables, 'age' remains significant, and the model becomes significant with 95% certainty (see Table 4).

The most predictive relationship, with 95% certainty for this model is the negative relationship between 'what generally brings you to the street-1- (shopping)' and age,

indicating that the older the respondents are the less likely they are to go to the street to do some shopping.

3) What generally brings you to the street-2- (restaurant and entertainment)

Table 5. Summary of Regression relationship, question 12-2-

What generally brings you to the street-2- (restaurant & entertainment)		
Control variables: Age, Time residing in Beijing		
Significance	0.95	
R Square	0.036	
Significant variable	<i>Age</i>	
	P	0.031
	Beta	0.208
	B	0.123

The results of the multiple-regression model with all six variables indicate non-significance (Sig= 0.38). It is only once I have removed all control variables except ‘age’ and ‘time residing in Beijing’ that the model becomes significant with 90% certainty (see Table 5).

The most predictive relationship, with 95% certainty for this model is the positive relationship between ‘what generally brings you to the street-2- (restaurant and entertainment)’ and age, which indicates that as respondents’ age increases they are more likely to go to the street to go to the restaurant and for entertainment

4) If and when consuming on the street, it is generally for-2- (occasional purchases of goods or services, e.g. clothing, gifts, hair styling, foot massage)

Table 6. Summary of Regression relationship, question 13-2-

If and when consuming on the street, it is generally for-2- (occasional purchases of goods or services)											
Control variables: Gender, Age, Size of household, Time residing in Beijing, Residence location -1-, Residence location -2-			Control variables: Gender, Age, Size of household, Time residing in Beijing			Control variables: Age, Size of household, Time residing in Beijing			Control variables: Age, Time residing in Beijing		
Significance		0.044	Significance		0.06	Significance		0.047	Significance		0.23
R Square		0.104	R Square		0.073	R Square		0.065	R Square		0.061
Significant variable		Age	Significant variable		Age	Significant variable		Age	Significant variable		Age
	P	0.03		P	0.017		p	0.027		P	0.013
	Beta	0.227		Beta	0.25		Beta	0.225		Beta	0.244
	B	0.078		β	0.086		β	0.078		B	0.084
Significant variable		<i>Time residing in Beijing</i>	Significant variable		<i>Time residing in Beijing</i>	Significant variable		<i>Time residing in Beijing</i>	Significant variable		<i>Time residing in Beijing</i>
	P	0.035		P	0.031		p	0.045		P	0.037
	Beta	-0.211		Beta	-0.217		Beta	-0.198		Beta	-0.204
	B	-0.116		B	-0.12		β	-0.109		B	-0.113

The results of the multiple-regression model with all six variables indicate a significant model. Both 'age' and 'time residing in Beijing' are significant variables. As I re-ran the model with fewer control variables the results for 'age' and 'time residing in Beijing' remain constant, as does the significance of the model (see Table 6).

Therefore, with regards to 'if and when consuming on the street, it is generally for-2- (occasional purchases of goods or services, e.g. clothing, gifts, hair styling, foot massage)' both 'age' and 'time residing in Beijing' have predictive relationships, with 95% certainty; age is the strongest variable with a positive slope, meaning that as the respondents' age increases, the likelihood of them generally consuming 'occasional purchases of goods or services (e.g. clothing, gifts, hair styling, foot massage)' increases. The 'time residing in Beijing' variable indicates a negative slope, meaning that the longer the respondents have resided in Beijing, the less likely they are to consume 'occasional purchases of goods or services (e.g. clothing, gifts, hair styling, foot massage)' on these streets.

This is an interesting result that may speak to the fact that old-time residents have maintained old shopping habits that predate the development of these fairly recent retail environments under scrutiny in this study.

5) If and when consuming on the street, it is generally for-3- (major purchases of goods or services, e.g. furniture, appliances, medical doctor)

Table 7. Summary of Regression relationship, question 13-3-

If and when consuming on the street, it is generally for-3- (major purchases of goods and services)						
Control variables: Gender, Age, Size of household, Time residing in Beijing, Residence location -1-, Residence location -2-		Control variables: Gender, Age, Size of household, Time residing in Beijing		Control variables: Age, Time residing in Beijing		
Significance	0.074	Significance	0.031	Significance	0.008	
R Square	0.093	R Square	0.085	R Square	0.078	
Significant variable	<i>Age</i>	Significant variable	<i>Age</i>	Significant variable	<i>Age</i>	
	P 0.011		P 0.012		P	0.008
	Beta -0.267		Beta -0.261		Beta	-0.261
	B -0.084		B -0.082		B	-0.082
Significant variable	<i>Time residing in Beijing</i>	Significant variable	<i>Time residing in Beijing</i>	Significant variable	<i>Time residing in Beijing</i>	
	P 0.008		P 0.01		P	0.01
	Beta 0.268		Beta 0.26		Beta	0.252
	B 0.135		B 0.13		B	0.126

The results of the multiple-regression model with all six variables indicate significance with 90% certainty. In this model two control variables show significance: ‘time residing in Beijing’, and ‘age’. As I re-run the model with fewer control variables the model’s significance is further confirmed, and the significance of ‘in Beijing how long’ and ‘age’ remain constant (see Table 7).

Therefore with regards to: ‘if and when consuming on the street, it is generally for-3- (major purchases of goods or services, e.g. furniture, appliances, medical doctor)’, both ‘time residing in Beijing’ and ‘age’ have predictive relationships, ‘time residing in

Beijing' is the strongest variable, indicating a positive slope, meaning that the longer the respondents have resided in Beijing, the more likely they are to consume 'major purchases of goods or services (e.g. furniture, appliances, medical doctor)' on the street. The 'age' variable relationship indicates a negative slope, meaning that as the respondents' age increases, the likelihood of them generally consuming 'major purchases of goods or services (e.g. furniture, appliances, and medical doctor)' decreases.

These results deserve comment, it can be inferred that older people are more likely to buy major goods than students. But an interesting question arises in relation to one of my previous comments: older people seem proportionally more willing to patronise local street stores to buy their daily necessities. The mass consumption of major goods is fairly recent in China and corresponds roughly with the period of construction and growth of most of the street studied here: for the older generations "new types of consumption" seems to be associated with these new spaces of consumption, while the long-lasting type of consumption of daily necessities might have remained associated with old retail spaces. The younger generations that did not develop similar long-lasting habits seem more inclined to consume on the new retail streets to buy their day-to-day products and services.

6) Do you generally come to the street: alone or with others

Table 8. Summary of Regression relationship, question 19

Do you generally come to the street: alone or with others					
Control variables: Gender, Age, Size of household, Time residing in Beijing, Residence location -1-, Residence location -2-		Control variables: Gender, Age, Size of household, Time residing in Beijing		Control variables: Age, Size of household, Time residing in Beijing	
Significance	0.047	Significance	0.013	Significance	0.007
R Square	0.078	R Square	0.076	R Square	0.074
Significant variable	<i>Age</i>	Significant variable	<i>Age</i>	Significant variable	<i>Age</i>
	p 0.039		P 0.04		P 0.049
	Beta -0.189		Beta -0.185		Beta -0.172
	β -0.065		B -0.063		B -0.059
Significant variable	<i>Size of household</i>	Significant variable	<i>Size of household</i>	Significant variable	<i>Size of household</i>
	p 0.029		P 0.028		P 0.023
	Beta 0.177		Beta 0.177		Beta 0.182
	β 0.104		B 0.104		B 0.107

The results of the multiple-regression model with all six variables indicate a model with high significance. In this model two control variables show significance: ‘age’, the strongest variable, and ‘household size’. As I re-run the model with fewer control variables the results for ‘age’ and ‘household size’ remain constant and the significance of the model remains high at 95% certainty (see Table 8).

Therefore, for ‘do you generally come to the street: alone or with others’ both ‘age’ and ‘household size’ have predictive relationships. ‘Age’ indicates a negative slope, meaning that, as the respondents’ age increases, they are less likely to ‘generally come to the street with others’ (alone coded: 1, with others coded: 2), the results for ‘household size’

indicate a positive slope, meaning that as there are more 'people per household' the respondents are more likely to 'generally come to the street with others'.

These results are interesting when compared and contrasted with the results previously presented, that point to the fact that older people were more likely to visit the street for "leisure and entertainment", a category that includes patronising restaurants. To use an image: do old people eat alone in restaurants? Or more seriously, are the results pointing to the fact that older people congregate and loiter in local commercial street spaces that favour social contacts, this in order to socialise with other neighbourhood residents with whom they are not necessarily intimate? This interesting question remains open at this point.

Qualitative Survey Analysis

How has your perception of this street changed (in the last 10 years)?

Though only 56 respondents claim to have visited the street 10 years ago, 71 people responded to this question. Some gave simple non-descript responses: no big changes, clearly/big changes. However, most respondents gave more qualitative descriptions of their perceptions; some also described more than one feature. I analysed the information and five main categories emerged: the street's environment, the street's physical/built features, the economic aspect, and transport/traffic on the street and culture/consumption habits (for the complete results see Table 9).

Table 9. Categorical Aggregation answers to question 22

(if applicable) How has your perception of this street changed?		
Categorical aggregation	Frequency of comments	Site(s) (frequency)
Changes		
No big changes	3	5, 4, 6
Clear/very large changes	2	1, 3
Environment (28)		
The environment is good/has improved	6	1, 5(3), 6, 7
(Road) tidy	5	2, 4, 5(3)
(Road) clean	10	1, 2(2), 4(2), 5(3), 7(2)
Wide(r)/broaden	7	1, 2, 5(3), 6, 7
Physical/Built (21)		
New facilities so change in appearance/new construction	4	2, 4(3)
More offices/companies (built)	4	1, 4(2), 5
More housing facilities built/more investment in housing	3	4, 6, 7
More shops	7	1, 5, 7(5)
More 'community living areas'	1	4
Residential compound changes led to street changes	1	6
1-storey houses are now multi-storey, and vegetable gardens are now shopping centres	1	3
Economy (16)		
Bustling/busy/prosperous/flourishing/booming	13	1, 2(2), 4(3), 6(5), 7(2)
Purchasing power has increased	1	7
Economy has improved	1	3
Transport/traffic (12)		
Metro line 4 is being built/will open soon	2	1(2)
Traffic (road system) is more convenient/has (gradually) improved	6	2, 5(3), 7(2)
More cars	2	1, 7
More (public) buses, better/more convenient transport	2	1, 7
Culture/Consumption habits (6)		
There is more consumption	1	1
Eating culture has developed very quickly	1	7
Shopping: convenient, more with time, is good	3	1(2), 5
Quality of cultural activities has improved as has culture and 'cultural consciousness'	1	3

Although the ‘street environment’ comments seem quite simple, it is interesting to note that meaning can be lost, or overly analysed in translation. A case in point is the term *ganjing* (干净), which in Chinese primarily means ‘clean’, but, as Johnson (2004) discusses there could be a “fascist connotation to it as well, this sense of sweeping away the old into an antiseptic sameness that is the hallmark of modern Chinese cities and architecture” (p. 144). I certainly cannot infer this secondary meaning based on the data collected; however, when reading the results it is important to be aware of these types of linguistic and cultural nuances.

The physical changes to the built environment have not left the dweller indifferent. The combination of comments with regards to change in both the commercial and residential landscape demonstrate how the streets are perceived as serving both residential and commercial functions, a reality that planners refer to as mix-use.

In my mind, the number of comments pertaining the rapid development of the automobile presence in the city and the expansion of the public transport system attest to the growing importance of motorised transportation in the population’s mind. This is quite significant in indicating that the ‘living space’ of residents no longer consists exclusively of the area immediately adjacent to the *danwei*.

Finally, other respondents discussed more abstract perceptions such as the economic and cultural and consumption habits. These testify to the fact that broader social and economic changes that affect Chinese society as a whole are seen and lived on these streets, and perceived as such by a number of residents.

Do you see links between the transformations visible on this street and the transformations that have affected China in recent years?

Once again, although only 56 respondents claim to have visited the street 10 years ago, 104 people responded to this question. Some gave simple non-descript responses: “no/none”, “not (very) clear”/“I do not understand”, “there is a relation” (in total 28 responses). I did find it interesting that ten respondents saw the street as an example of the entire country’s development. Though not specifically descriptive, such statements indicate that these respondents believe that ‘this street’ is a ‘typical everyday Chinese environment (street)’, a reflection of China, (for complete results see Table 10). Based on the rest of the responses, the main transformations identified refer to: the economy, city infrastructure/construction, society, and the 2008 Beijing Olympics.

Table 10. Categorical Aggregation answers to question 23

Do you see links between the transformations visible on the street and the transformations that have affected China in recent years?		
Categorical aggregation	Frequency of comments	Site(s) (frequency)
No/none	3	1, 4, 5
Not (very) clear/ I do not understand	5	4(2), 5, 6, 7
There is a relation	20	1(3), 2, 3(3), 4(5), 5(3), 6(2), 7(3)
A small reflection of the whole country's development	10	1, 2, 3(2), 4, 5, 6(3), 7
Economy (34)		
(Rapid) economic development (climb)	23	1(4), 2(5), 3(4), 4, 5, 6(3), 7(5)
Open door policy	4	2, 5(2), 6
Joining the World Trade Organisation	1	1
Change on the production force	1	4
Electronics sector	6	1(2), 4, 5, 7(2)

City Infrastructure/construction (15)		
(Development of) traffic/public transport – positive	4	2, 3, 5(2)
(Development of) traffic – negative	2	6, 7
(Refurbish/construct/give attention to) Residential facilities/ real estate is hot	4	2(2), 4(2)
Office construction	1	3
New middle school campus built/more universities	2	2, 6
There is more importance given to the environment	2	5, 6
Society (11)		
Society's development/development of people's spirit	5	1, 2, 3, 5, 6, 7
People's quality has improved	3	2, 6, 7
There are more people	3	6(2), 7
Government (2)		
More government involvement, restrictions (illegal retailers or peddlers)	1	2
The government is guiding the market too much	1	7
Events (7)		
Olympics ('perhaps' it has a relation with the Olympics)	7	1(2), 2(3), 3, 7

The frequency of responses stating that the transformation of the economy is quite important (in total 34). Many responses speak to the transformations in terms of city infrastructure/ construction, focusing on the physical aspect of transformations. It is interesting to note that, more people mention society and “the everyday person”, as agents of change than they do of the government. Also very reflective of Beijingers’ concerns in late 2007 and early 2008, is the Beijing Olympics; these comments indicate the significance of hosting the Olympic Games, and how this event is associated to the physical transformation of places.

This open question relates to the postulate that a new political-economic order impacts the broader Chinese culture, in particular through the development of a culture of mass-consumption and leisure. This study posits that these new social realities are reified

in new spaces of consumption such as the local retail streets and their associated social practices. The fact that ten respondents saw the local street as a direct expression of broader socio-economic changes and that many more suggested explicitly that the local commercial streets' transformations were congruent with the broader economic and infrastructure transformations, is quite compelling, since I was not expecting lay-people to make such a connection explicitly and spontaneously. Rather I was expecting respondents to use words and expressions that denote a more elusive and implicit understanding of such a relationship

Does this street evoke any special memories for you?

Once again, though only 56 respondents claim to have visited the street 10 years ago, 106 people responded to this question. Some did answer the question, and others gave simple non-descript responses: "I cannot", "there are", "very good", "very bland", "very quick changes", "I do not know", and "there are none" (in total 47 responses). However, more than half of the respondents gave more qualitative descriptions of their memories. I analysed the information, and five main categories emerged: 1. personal memories/associations to the street; 2. memories linked to the features of the neighbourhood and changes; 3. memories and associations to available services and types of entertainment; 4. associations and memories linked to specific events; and 5. memories and associations linked to behaviour (for complete summary of results, see Table 11).

Table 11. Categorical Aggregation answers to question 24

Does the street evoke any special memories for you?		
Categorical aggregation	Frequency of comments	Site(s) (frequency)
I cannot	2	1, 3
There is	1	1
Very good	2	1, 7
Very bland	1	5
Very quick changes	1	3
I do not know	3	4, 5, 7
There are none	37	1, 2(7), 3(3), 4(7), 5(7), 6(8), 7(7)
Personal memories (24)		
Friends/lovers (meet on this street)/co-workers	5	1(2), 2(2), 6
Student life: study, exams, attended classes, shopping for classmates	8	2, 3(3), 4, 6, 7(2)
Work/job (1st job)	2	2, 3
Family/ home, miss home, daughter born here, when I was little/childhood memories, arrival to Beijing (1st home in BJ), 2 nd time I moved	8	3, 4, 5(2), 7(4)
Pre-marital medical exam	1	1
Neighbourhood features, and changes (11)		
Use to be so calm, no trace of this now...bitter sweet memories/ contrast of old and new/ people use to loiter and chat - now everyone is too busy	3	1, 4, 7
Typical residential area, calm life	1	2
Construction, many new homes	1	4
Where people of quality live	1	4
Traffic: accidents/slow lights	2	5(2)
Clock tower	1	3
Many trees	1	2
Old farmer market building torn down, occupants have moved	1	6
Services and Entertainment (10)		
Electronics/	4	1(2), 7(2)
Train ticket vendor	1	6
Shopping centres/department stores	2	5, 6
Entertainment/ amusement (bars, playing ping pong)	3	2, 3, 5
Events (5)		
Student demonstrations	2	1, 7

Marathon	1	1
2008 Beijing Olympics	2	2, 6
Behaviour (3)		
Save money	1	2
Spend money/increased consumption	2	4, 7

A little less than half of the more descriptive responses mentioned personal memories. These responses focusing on personal memories might be interpreted as responses from people who do not merely see the street as a *place*, but rather as a “lived” *space*. While some responses referring to the neighbourhood as a whole and while, remembering changes, refer to a specific place, many speak to the street’s space and atmosphere. Responses stating services and types of entertainment available speak of the street as a ‘function’. Finally, the street is also associated to the memory of certain events: there is a recurring event, the yearly marathon, an upcoming event, the 2008 Beijing Olympics, and, quite strikingly a historical event, the student demonstrations of 1989.

Though some respondents were happy to share their memories, some respondents told me, or wrote that they ‘cannot’ respond to the question. I understood this recurring comment better after discussing further with a respondent. The respondent would not write an answer for me, but relayed to me orally the memories that this street evokes for him: the student demonstrations of 1989, 20 years ago. The Tiananmen events are still very controversial in the PRC and the communist system is still committed to controlling “social stability”. Discussing a controversial issue publicly is not a common occurrence. I cannot infer that all respondents who told me or wrote that they ‘cannot’ answer to the question were thinking of such controversial issues, but it may explain some. In any

event, such comments point to the complexities of the urban living experience, and show how space and places are not mere static and neutral backdrops to social events and dramas: places and spaces support and trigger the collective memory associated with the joyful or painful past experiences.

Extra notes

As mentioned earlier, with some respondents I was able to engage in a brief discussion after the administration of the survey. Below are some of the more noteworthy comments (for full list consult Appendix K). Some of these added comments are answers to questions 22-24 of the survey; others address specificities of the particular study street at hand (discussed notes are shown on Table 12).

Table 12. Extra Survey Notes about the Street

Comment number	Extra Notes	Site
5	Shops are always changing, 10 years ago there were no shops here	ZCL-2
9	This street is not like <i>wangfujing</i> or <i>sanlitun</i> (popular landmark streets) for attracting shoppers. This should get better with development, the nice new sidewalks have helped	ZCL-2
17	There have been many changes to this street in the last 5 years. Five years ago the area consisted of all single stories housing, the <i>Kexueyuan</i> building and the housing compound did not exist. This part of the street is good now; the rest hasn't been renewed yet.	XKG-4
18	This area use to belong to <i>Kexueyuan</i> (danwei), but now the businesses associated to this have all moved to 'near the Olympic district'. The changes here have occurred in preparation to the Olympics. My company use to be here too, it was moved to <i>Wudaokou</i> .	XKG-4
20	It is not very lively on this road. This road connects the 2nd & 3rd and the 3rd& 4th ring road. If it were not for the outlet centre ' <i>suning</i> ' this street would be even less lively. Other shops never succeed here, they are always changing - so I never really shop in these shops. Near <i>Renmin</i> University there are many popular shops. Near <i>Zhongguancun</i> there many popular shops...this is too close to that - so it never really developed. This street was built around 2001.	DCWJC-5

21	Before it was desolate here, now it is livelier. Before this was the country side, we were farmers...now we are city people	DCWJC-5
22	They moved the street to make two intersections, it use to be much more narrow, there were no shops. The street after this intersection was a food street with lots of small restaurants, but after the reconstruction 4 years ago, they widened both streets to make them connected, so a lot of buildings were destroyed. Now this part of the street also looks very different. I use to walk on this street because the hotel down the road has a great continental breakfast buffet. Inside the <i>Suning</i> there use to be a great bookstore 'western style' coffee shop inside the shop - but it didn't succeed. (Respondent is Canadian Chinese teacher in a nearby university)	DCWJC-5
26	20 years ago this was all farmland, the fields across the street still belong to a university (not sure which one). The changes here have been quite big.	DCWJC-5
30	Refers to Tiananmen activities.... we would wait here for students to come back and report on the downtown activities. They would arrive, and we would pull them up top 'vehicles' on the street and they would tell us what is happening. 'We' (intellectuals), who are from Beijing we know what happened then, we 'appreciate' this, but this area has changed so much, so many things have changed so many new people - 'outsiders' (<i>waidiren</i>) don't understand what happened then; they don't know.	ZGCNL-7
35	The changes occurring are for the 2008 Olympics, us outsiders (<i>waidiren</i>) we do not really pay attention to these things	ZGCNL-7

Comment #9 points to the fact that one only frequents SYS-6 (and other similar streets) if they have a relation to the street, it is not a travel destination for shopping; in other words, it is a familiar site of daily practice. This comment is congruent with some of the quantitative data from the questionnaire.

Many commentators speak of the changes associated with the emersion of shops (comment #5), and the transformation of the neighbourhood (comments 17, 18 20, 21, 22, 26). These help to understand the physical environment's evolution. From the disappearance of farmland, to changes to the roads, or the levelling of old buildings to make room for new developments, these comments help to understand respondents' quantitative and qualitative responses. It is interesting to note that amongst the seven

case studies, XKG-4 and DCWJC-5 were the streets where I witnessed the least liveliness, fewer people loitering or shopping; and that these are clearly new streets (comments#: 17, 18, 20, 21, 22, 26), perhaps the ‘newly arrived’ residents have not had the time to appropriate their local environment, these new environments do not seem to be part of their daily lives yet.

I find it interesting that both comments 30 and 35 make reference to *waidiren*. These two comments speak to the implications of a population in transition, in a changing societal and economic context. The person who has lived in Beijing for more than 16 years clearly stigmatises the newcomers; according to him, *waidiren* may have a daily life involving the street, but ‘they’ do not understand the space as an entity (comment 30). Interestingly, the respondent to comment 35 identifies to the *waidiren* group, and one can say, that this confirms what comment 30 implies, as she (respondent to comment 35) claims that *waidiren* as a group do not pay attention to the occurrences in their surrounding environment in Beijing.

Finally, I find that comment 30 and its compelling recounting of the 1989 student demonstrations in Tiananmen Square quite powerful. The fact that the respondent did not feel at ease to provide his comment in writing, when in fact the students’ movement is his most vivid memory associated to ZGCNL-7 speaks volumes. This comment describes a space appropriated in 1989 by the masses, an experience that still colours today’s daily experience of a local dweller visiting the street.

Semi-Structured Interviews

Between autumn 2007 and the end of spring 2008 I conducted 9 semi-structured interviews and took part in and/or assisted with 14 informal discussions and presentations (9: interviews, 11: conference presentations, 3: seminars, 1: informal presentation). As I analysed the data collected, at these occasions themes emerged. A table of all the themes and their sources is presented in Appendix L. From their position of authority, academics add to or confirm arguments discussed in the literature review and in the preliminary results generated by the surveys and on site observations. The main topics that have emerged, and that I discuss below are: 1. social and physical changes in urban China; 2. present urban planning requirements; 3. commodification of residential estates; 4. traditional and post-reform shopping streets; 5. consumption, and finally; 6. neoliberalism and urban development.

Some urban dwellers have stopped 'living' in their neighbourhoods as intensely as before. Many Beijingers live in walled compounds, and emerge by car or take public transport, which takes them to where they need to go. Chinese intellectuals talk about how things are changing too quickly, creating a cultural void. The societal impact of landscape transformation can be more interesting to investigate than the landscape itself (University Professor, Personal communication, April 7th, 2008). A comment along the same lines suggests that until Chinese society discovers what it 'likes' it will continue to copy western trends. (University student, private communication, January 16th, 2008).

The most significant transformations to the cityscape appeared in the 1990s. In the 1980s government authorities preserved historical features of Beijing, after this ten

year period, the practice of preservation ceded the way to demolition. Some argue in support of the demolition and reconstruction that places are always changing; a person or an authority figure can hardly choose a point of reference for deciding what spatial model should prevail next. Moreover, Chinese people have no sentimental attachment to buildings; instead, they want new things (University Professor, Private communication, January 16th, 2008).

The Beijing master plan, which is established by the central government, applies to all city districts. The government releases the land for development, and the planners evaluate the area's needs. Each district's plan must be approved by the central government. Once this is achieved, the planners allot land areas to developers. Finally, the architects are given development requirements and proceed to design the facilities requested (Planner, private communication, June 24th 2008). Having said this, some argue that the present planning requirements are established to legitimise the government's role because in fact, the planning bureaus have limited authority (Academic, conference, December 13th, 2007).

The economic reforms (of late 1970s) also triggered the gradual commodification of residential estates. The *danwei(s)*' first step towards capitalism was the setting-up of small retail shops along the exterior of peripheral walls, and, as there was no effective planning system in the late 1970s the practice was tolerated (Professor, Private Communication June 13th 2008). Originally, the main purpose of these shops was to employ *danwei* workers and their laid-off family members. Soon however, *waidiren* came to run many of these shops. As of 1998 *danwei(s)* could sell land rights to larger

companies, as small shops did not provide enough revenue (Professor, Private communication, June 13th, 2008). The initial post-reform residential construction primarily consisted of large walled commodified estates where retail facilities are built on the ground floor and the first level. However, in recent years, experts have been arguing that these peripheral retail facilities are lowering real estate value of the adjacent housing units (Professor, Private communication, June 13th, 2008). This may explain the emergence of newer residential compounds, which are mostly devoid of retail facilities, but are built simultaneously with large retail centres across the road (Professor, Private communication, June 13th, 2008). An architect contends that developers seldom request the inclusion of retail facilities when requesting residential projects; however, developers do simultaneously request the design of a residential compound and a shopping centre in the same area (Architect, June 13th, 2008).

There seems to be a gap between planning and architectural design. In this transitional period towards a market economy, Beijing is rapidly growing; monitoring and/or predicting retail, housing and commercial needs is difficult. Planners expect that the government will be able to make plans in advance for the long term development of the city (Beijing) once development stabilises. At present, the planning department allocates for a certain amount of retail space (square metre surface) per person in a given neighbourhood. When a developer is allocated a piece of land for development, the planning department establishes the minimum requirements for features such as retail space, and parking (Planner, Private Communication, June 24th, 2008). The type of retail facility is not strictly controlled.

There are two main types of commodified residential estates in Chinese cities at the moment: privatised *danwei*(s), and new private residential estates which are usually administered by management companies who work to respond to residents' needs and requests (Academic, private communication, June 23rd, 2008). Although many of the residents living in commodified estates may appreciate having retail shops within the boundaries of their compound, shops at the periphery suffer from a high level of turnover and have a hard time establishing a stable clientele base. The concept of *suzhi* (素质) true disposition (of a person)/quality (of a person) may be linked to these trends. In the western context *suzhi* can be compared to social class. It is becoming common in Chinese society to refer to people's *suzhi*. People who deem that they are of a certain *suzhi* wish to live and interact amongst people of similar *suzhi* (who can afford the same living standard, and who frequent the same types of establishments). Independent retail facilities at the periphery of residential estates, which cater to any passer-by, may have people of perceived lower "*suzhi*" patronising the same institutions. The physical and administrative borders of commodified estates are strongly respected by the residents, which minimises social intermingling. Such social "distance" seems to be positively perceived, and might even be a factor that explains the popularity of boundaries.

Another element that does not encourage the survival of independent retail at the periphery of commodified estates is the price of rent. Estates' management companies charges high rent to small retailers, many of them seldom have enough money to survive the early stages of establishing an independent business (Academic, Private

communication, June 24th, 2008). Similar scenarios also exist in the western retail context.

As reported earlier in this research, there have been many changes to the Chinese retail street over the centuries. The first archaeological evidences of markets in China are dated between 770-475 BCE (Academic, Conference, December 13th, 2008). A university professor carefully explained the importance of commercial streets in eastern culture (Professor, Private communication, June, 13th, 2008). The same family would often run retail shops over the course of several generations. Shops along the street all had three floors: on the ground floor the retailer would sell his merchandise, on the first level the product was made and stored, and on the second level the retailer and his family would sleep. The consumer knew the retailer and his merchandise well. People loved loitering on these streets, and interacting with familiar people and environment. Today, things are different because street-side independent retail is often run by *waidiren*. The sales people work, and have no particular interest in the merchandise and its quality or in the client's loyalty. Consumers have changed as well. Beijingers are increasingly mobile now; they are not interested in knowing their neighbours or shopping around to find the products that they are looking for; people are far too busy for such menial activities. As a neighbourhoods' economic profiles changes, so too must the types of retail facilities change to meet new needs and demands (Planner, Private exchange, June 24th, 2008).

On a broader level, as the control of the state remains mostly uncontested, the market economy is getting stronger and determines more policies in terms of urban planning and development. Though the term is not quite accurate, or actually used in

China, neoliberalism¹⁹ is taking place (Academic, December 13th, 2008). Consumption patterns are forging ahead at full speed in Chinese cities. It has been argued by some western scholars that the development of a consumption field will not only grow with the accumulated wealth of both the government and its citizens, that will eventually lead to a stronger civil society with a certain level of democracy (Academic, Conference, December 13th, 2008, see also Read, 2007). This idea is certainly an appealing one, but at the micro-level at which this study has been conducted, the evidences already present a far more complex reality. While the development of retail streets is certainly a manifestation as well as a contributing factor to the development of an economy of mass-consumption, in these places at least it does not translate yet into spaces of socialisation that foster social exchanges between groups and, from there new social solidarities. On the contrary, some evidence collected here points in the other direction: towards the re-emergence of more socio-economically homogeneous residential enclaves that start to find their commercial equivalent. The extent and the diversity of the retail offer, which might have favoured social “cohabitation” at first, is now apparently giving way to a more segregated spatial distribution which corresponds to a segmentation of the market as different cultures of taste appear.

¹⁹ Brenner and Theodore (2005) define Neoliberalism in such terms: “The concept of neoliberalism has been widely used to characterize the resurgence of market-based institutional shifts and policy realignments across the world economy during the post-1980s period” (p. 101)

Discussion

In this thesis both qualitative and quantitative approaches were used to explore how the material changes in the retail landscape have affected the practical, cognitive and symbolic relationship between the city dwellers and their habitat. The multiple regression analyses show six conclusive cases of predictability, the most predictive control variable being age. Why do respondents frequent these streets? As respondents get older, they frequent the case study sites less frequently, also as the age of respondents increases, they are less likely to shop on these streets for daily goods and occasional goods and services; on the other hand, they tend to shop for major purchases of goods and services. The data also points to the fact that with age respondents are more likely to frequent these streets to consume entertainment, go to the restaurant or socialise, meet people, or that they are simply transiting through the street or loitering. Conversely, younger adults developed the habit of patronising local commercial street venues for their daily and occasional purchases (a category which includes such items as clothing, books or small electronic devices, or services such as hair styling).

The market culture is changing. Birkin, Clarke and Clarke (2002), argue that the age of consumers is an important variable in determining what is bought and sold, as well as how it is sold. In this research, a large proportion of the respondents to the survey are young adults. The predictive results from the multiple regression analysis indicate that this group plays an important role in predicting the street consumption trends.

When examining the aggregate results one sees that the predictive relationships revealed in the multiple regression analysis do not influence significant trends. The fact

that age is the most significant predictive variable supports only loosely my postulate that a new cultural model is forming, especially if we are to believe Birkin, Clake and Clake's (2002) argument that young people are leading the way in street consumption trends. Fortunately, in the course of this study, other types of evidences pertaining in particular to the built environment's transformation validate the postulate of the existence of a new cultural model. This question will be discussed at length later on.

This research documents in particular the variety in response distribution from one case study street to the next. This is part of the reason why few control variables have predictive relationships with the dependable variables. The street segments were chosen based on the variety of their morphological characteristics, so I will first discuss the striking results pertaining to the retail along commodified estates and then discuss the other street segments that offer a mix of retail strips and residential units transformed into retail facilities.

Three street segments in this study involve commodified residential estates: TYYC-3, XKG-4, and DCWJC-5.

XKG-4 is quite nice, situated on a narrow street with relatively low traffic flow all the survey respondents perceive this street in a positive way. Few people linger on the street, perhaps this is a result of the constant *baoran* surveillance, or a response to the fact that there are few facilities that cater to daily consumption, leaving little reason for people to make this street a destination place (except for school children). Despite this, most responses to the survey resemble the aggregate distribution. This very new development has yet to grow into a space; the buildings that were demolished took with

them many of the memories, and the residents who carry them. There is presumably more demolition to come; perhaps new features will be added to the space.

With the wide road and physical barriers for traffic, DCWJC-5, also gives a rather cold and impersonal impression. Here as well, most of the retail facilities provide goods and services for occasional consumption. There are few patrons, and no street peddlers to be found, but there are people in charge of managing car parking; this indicates that people travel to this street; they do not walk there, or wander. In support of these impressions gathered through experience and iconographic analysis, the survey responses also demonstrate that this street serves less of a social role for the respondents. The age distribution on this street segment also differs from the aggregate results; although this specificity could be due to the 'newness' of the street, it cannot be determined whether the age distribution is a result of the new residents arrived in the area or a result of the type of clientele the local facilities attracts. Another distinctive element to this street is the proximity to farmland; will this patch of 'old Haidian' remain or will it also succumb to development?

TYYC-3 is on a narrow street, the retail facilities offer goods and services for occasional consumption, there are constantly taxis waiting for customers, which indicate travelling to and from as opposed to wandering on the street, and there is a strong *baoran* control presence. The restoration of the historical park promises to bring a new appeal to the street. However, I believe that the demolition of the western side of the street, in June 2008, is what will in the immediate future, bring the most change in how dwellers use and experience this street. The most striking aspect of the survey responses is that none

of the respondents on TYYC-3 visited this street 10 years ago. Did this road even exist²⁰? If it did, the memories and the residents who carry them have gone. It is also important to note that this street is generally frequented less often than the other sites studied; moreover, when on the street the respondents pursue activities other than what the overall trend shows. The recent demolitions only indicate to more changes to come for this area.

The remaining four street segments examined in this research are seemingly older, and for the most part evoke a stronger sense of place and a richer social space. However, the consumption habits revealed from the surveys and the physical transformations observed may be indicating a shift in social and spatial retail and consumption patterns.

HDNL-1 is a surprising case, despite being wide and having physical barriers dividing traffic, this street is almost 'personable'. The retail facilities offer a mix of goods and services (daily and occasional) moreover, there are large scale anchor shops at either extremity of the segment; this combined with the recent opening of the new subway line 10 (a subway station at each extremity of the segment – opposite from the anchor shops) assure that people frequent this street in good numbers and often. In demographic terms, the survey results for this street show the highest distribution of original Beijingers. With respect to consumption, on HDNL-1 people are most likely to frequent the street daily, and spend a higher part of their weekly budget on this street than respondents do on the other case study sites. In terms of perceptions, few respondents'

²⁰ I did not have the opportunity to refer to detailed maps from the 1990s and early 2000s, however impressions gathered from questionnaire survey responses, discussions with respondents after administering the survey, as well as from the build environment, lead me to believe some of the study site streets may not have been opened until the late 1990s.

perception of the street have changed, this indicates that this street is somewhat of a constant for the respondents. In light of the opening of the subway line 10, it would be interesting to see in a few years if and how the street's character changes, and how people's perceptions change.

Though SYS-6 is the shortest of the case study segments it is the one where all respondents claim that money is involved when frequenting the street. One extremity hosts important anchor shops and on evenings and weekends there are always many street peddlers offering goods. This lively street segment offers a good mix of daily and occasional goods and services of consumption. Despite the street peddlers, often criticised by dwellers and authorities, all respondents to the survey perceive this street in a positive light.

ZCL-2 feels like a neighbourhood street, it feels like it is a space that the local residents have incorporated to their daily lives. The street is always lively; there are usually street peddlers, regulars themselves who have developed a relationship with the neighbourhood and its dwellers. The retail shops also offer a good mix of daily and occasional goods and services of consumption. On this street the survey gathered the highest distribution of respondents from the Chinese countryside, and also a very high proportion of respondents who both live and work in the same district as ZCL-2; the local community has appropriated its street. The transformation from a T intersection into an X intersection will significantly affect on this space; increased car traffic might lead to a decrease in the numbers of peddlers and loiterers. Seeing that the residents are quite present in their neighbourhood, perhaps the unregulated activities will shift to somewhere

else nearby. Then again, this recent demolition might represent the first step to further transformations.

Finally, there is the distinct ZGCNL-7, a lively street, which offers mostly goods and services for occasional consumption. The street is changing, but the transformations are mostly minor and cosmetic. The street does not appear particularly older than the other six, but in response to the survey results I gather that it is. This street, which is not visually striking, reveals arresting results for 15 of the survey questions. With respect to respondents' occupation and their district of residence, the responses' distribution resemble the aggregate, but the other demographics, features of consumption habits and memories and perceptions of the street all stand out in contrast to the responses collected on the other six case study streets. It would be interesting to conduct further studies involving ZGCNL-7 to better understand what it is that makes this seemingly average street so distinct from the other residential-commercial mix-use streets.

The quantitative results vary in many of the case study sites; based on these varied results we can speculate on how the diverse environments elicit a different 'everyday' city experience. The new commodified compounds, thus far, do not seem to fully inhabit their environment. Interestingly enough as of October 2007 residential and commercial property zoning laws became more strictly enforced. An article in TBJHome, a local Beijing magazine targeted to foreigners, informs on how article 77 of the Beijing zoning by-law stipulates that owners can only rezone property from residential to commercial after the agreement of other interested parties. The article goes on to say: the enforcement of this property zoning law will give a voice to neighbours who often are not

pleased with the makeshift businesses that appear in their neighbourhoods (Yuan, 2007, p.88). Perhaps this is true in some areas of Beijing; yet in this study one finds such 'makeshift businesses' on HDNL-1, SYS-6, ZCL-2, and ZGCNL-7. There are many local residents who frequent the street and who perceive it in a positive light. Is the article written for a foreign audience who may not appreciate local street culture? Perhaps the street segments in this study do not represent the overall feeling of Beijing residents? Or, perhaps the magazine article has specific areas, and/or types of retail in mind? Either way, I am confident that my results provide an accurate depiction of the local street culture and local dwellers' perception of the spaces in the surveyed area of Haidian. With new cultural models emerging, will the newer street segments from this study (TYYC-3, XKG-4, DCWJC-5) be able to develop 'atmospheres' like the ones found on the other older case study street segments? The future will tell.

The qualitative responses to the survey indicate that many respondents associate economic advancement and by extension city infrastructure revitalisation to the recent changes on the streets. It is not surprising that consequently, in response to changes of perception of the street, many respondents refer to the physical improvements to the street. The third and last qualitative question inquires on the memories associated to the street; though many respondents offered non-descript responses the descriptive responses reveal how dwellers interpret the street: as a place or a space. Many responses interpret the street as a space, mostly associated to personal memories, or memories associated to the atmosphere of the street. Local dwellers are perhaps "consuming" on these streets in

symbolic rather than economic terms as the streets are spaces associated to memories, akin to emotive consumption.

Finally triangulating the results from the iconographic analysis and the surveys with the responses to the semi-structured interviews some of the results confirm what is witnessed and expressed, other statements or comments explain why certain trends of local consumption are changing.

Two separate participants stated the 1990s as the time when significant changes to the Beijing cityscape took place. This period corresponds to the time when the “rule” changed from preservation to demolition. This is in part related to the fact that as of 1998 *danwei(s)* could sell land rights to other entities (companies). This trend started approximately 10 years ago; only 10 years ago local dwellers’ daily consumption habits started to dramatically change in relation to this wave of cityscape transformations – which is still on going. One participant in a semi-structured interview defended the demolitions, arguing that Chinese people have no sentimental attachment to buildings. Responses to the survey indicate that Chinese people are perhaps not attached to buildings, but they attach significance to the space that encompasses these buildings.

Some Urban dwellers in Beijing have stopped experiencing and ‘living’ their city as they use to, they now only emerge from their walled housing compound by car or to use public transport to go to work, shop, or get entertainment. According to the survey responses, this is clearly not the sole reality or even the reality for a majority of people, but the newer commodified residential compounds do favour this style of living. This is perhaps why the most recent wave of residential developments is nearly devoid of

commercial facilities on their periphery. On two separate occasions, I met key informants (an architect and an academic) who confirmed each others' claims. The academic shared the view that the new trend for residential development lies in residential compounds devoid of commercial space but built in tandem with an off-site shopping centre in close proximity. The architect echoed this comment by claiming that his firm seldom receive contacts asking to include commercial space in the design of a residential development, however the firm is often commissioned by the same developers to design both a residential compound and a commercial centre in the same area. A planner I interviewed argues that the increasingly mobile consumer does not want to shop around and haggle over prices, as the consumers' need change so does the neighbourhood's economic retail profile, as retail facilities need to adapt to the new expectations of their consumers. At present, most neighbourhood commercial streets studied do not seem to answer the needs of the monied local residents many of them new to this neighbourhood, but some very recent trends observed on the streets themselves might already be pointing to the fact that the retail geography currently shifting, as towards a greater socio-spatial segmentation. The conclusion of the thesis will develop this idea a bit further.

CHAPTER FOUR: Discussion and Conclusion

Based on the concepts of retail geography, urban morphology and the study of practices this study interprets how the morphing commercial landscape of Chinese cities affects the urban experience and culture in post-reform China. The (re) emergence of the local 'retail street,' on the periphery of Large Housing Estates is altering the streetscape of Beijing visually and functionally, but this study wishes to draw attention to, and investigate how "(such) new architectural and urban forms instigate new ways to inhabit and utilise the city" (Gauthier, 2005a: 4), and how, reversely, the everyday practices contribute to the social construction of space and place. This research helps to better understand how the material changes in the retail landscape affect the practical, cognitive and symbolic relationship between the city dwellers and their city. Furthermore, how the landscape, materially produced by developers and to a lesser extent by retail shop owners, while it is consumed, used, and hence 'constructed' by city dwellers (cognitively and symbolically). I believe that such a study conducted in a large Chinese urban centre can help shed light on how the material landscape of the post-reform era reflects the shifting social, economic, cultural and political orders in China. While instilling new behaviours and being informed by changing habits at the same time, the fact that few of the choices offered in question 20b of the survey are associated with activities carried out 10 years ago on these very same streets attest to the rapid changes in the daily practices of the local dwellers. If so, for the younger segment of the population in particular, the old practice of buying a commodity, such as rice, is being enacted in a new and

completely different setting - the local commercial street - which also accommodates the new practices pertaining to the mass-consumption of differentiated goods, then it does not seem unreasonable to assimilate this unique combination of place, activities and then space to a new cultural model. It is difficult to underestimate the importance of the shift in the built landscape and the urban living experience that has occurred in Beijing and other large urban centres in China in the past few decades. Beijing is a city that counted only a handful of restaurants and a limited number of state operated department stores in the early 1980s. The streetscape of the city's main arteries was dominated by hundreds of meters of long walls punctuated by the occasional gates giving access to a *danwei* or a *hutong*. Fast forward 20 years later, the same streetscape today is bustling with activity, as major arteries are lined with restaurants and shops offering all kinds of goods and services. The fact that so few respondents even while taking into consideration that a significant number of the respondents were young, did not emphasise the importance and magnitude of the transformation or the landscape suggests that the new cultural models associated with the commercial streets are totally internalised. For the younger generations, if not for a majority of the population, these commercial streets, which are the storefront of capitalism of mass-consumption, have already become a banal reality.

Through the photographic survey and the on site observations, this research has collected plenty of empirical evidences on the material transformations of the street in recent years, and in particular on the later transformations of recent residential compounds' peripheral walls to accommodate the construction of venues for street retailing. The interpretation on the nature of such transformations was triangulated by

interviews and other exchanges with local people and experts. As discussed before, old and new social practices, in relation to consumption in particular, are associated with these new *places*. It seems reasonable to infer from such evidences that a specific *space* has emerged from such practices and that a new cultural model exists, *concretised in architectural forms, manifested in social practices and habits and, necessarily, internalised in mental representations pertaining to both the place and the customary behaviour associated with it* (to paraphrase Gauthier, 2003). Broudehoux (2004) argues that “places play a central role in the formation of collective consciousness and self-perception and are intimately related to the social construction of meaning and thus identity” (pp. 26-27). Following the economic reforms of the late 1970s, and since the opening of the walls, the city dwellers’ relationships to their city and its spaces has no doubt drastically changed. That being said, even if the existence of a cultural model is identified, two considerations should be pointed out here: firstly there could be more than one iteration of the emerging cultural models associated with the landscapes of consumption in Beijing and other Chinese large urban centres; secondly, as suggested at the end of the previous chapter, the situation might already be shifting towards new modes of spatial distribution of the commercial offer.

The respondents regularly frequent the local commercial streets located in residential areas, yet the main part of their budget is not spent on these streets. Where do these local dwellers consume and spend? From an economic perspective Coe and Hess (2005) argue that the expansion of international retail in East Asia has had an impact on retail competitiveness and consumption practices. Bray (2005) offers more

sociologically based arguments to explain the growing distance between local dwellers and their local retail shops; they discuss the concept of self and space making in China as the focal issue. Bray (2005) emphasises how *danwei* living is what people identified themselves to in the Maoist years, but now a sense of self and mobility is emerging. This new mobility arises in parallel with the development of transnational large-scale store chains whose presence in China is growing significantly (example: Carrefour, Wal Mart) (Coe and Hess, 2005). These new hypermarkets offer products that answer needs for daily and occasional consumption as well as major items for purchase. The retail facilities that were demolished on the street segments in this study, for the most part, were makeshift establishments offering goods of daily consumption, on quite a few occasions they were replaced by higher end corporate retail facilities. Increased retail competitiveness encouraged by the rapid development of corporate or franchised venues by transnational corporations in China are apparently already affecting the spatial distribution of retail within a city such as Beijing. We might be witnessing the rise of a Chinese version of models of mass-consumption retail that flourish on the global scale.

These global trends and other widely shared cultural representations pertaining to mass consumption permeate in the Chinese context where they undoubtedly inform current transformations. For its part, this research, this is an examination at the local level of Beijing neighbourhoods, points to the variety of the local iteration of these cultural representations and models and the fine fold of their articulations with the local architectural and social fabrics. In the commercial streets of the first generation, a certain local residential street culture seems to have taken root. On the restored street segments

where new commodified housing units have been built though, the environment seems mostly devoid of a significant social life. These case-study sites have not much of a specific identity per se; in these cases, “restorations” has clearly affected the practical, cognitive and symbolic relationship between the city dweller and their neighbourhood. I suspect much of this is a result of the displacement of long time residents, but also due to the new socio-spatial characteristics of the living arrangements of these Beijing residents. These residents are no longer necessarily associated with a specific *danwei* and a culture where most daily activities including work and shopping were carried out in and around people’s residences. Today, people who can afford housing in commodified compounds often also own a motorised vehicle, which allows for new spatial practices and daily or weekly routines. Dwelling, work as well as consumption and leisure activities could now be spatially disconnected.

The results from this research do not allow me to define comprehensively the cultural model pertaining to the local commercial streets concrete places and lived spaces, but it does seem to confirm that these new architectural and urban forms have instigate new ways to build, inhabit and utilise the city.

I am quite confident that the results presented are pertinent to understand the reality in urban areas of China beyond Haidian and Beijing. Though the Haidian district is an atypical urban area in that it caters to many universities and young professionals in the electronic sector, I am confident that the demographics shown in the sample could be representative of neighbourhoods in transition.

With respect to the surveys collected, the sample of 174 is not large considering the population of the city of Beijing, but I believe the sample size is large enough to provide reliable and significant results. Having carried out the surveys on different days of the week and at different times of the day I believe I was able to reach a diversity of dwellers. As for the iconographic surveying, having taken the time to return to the sights on several occasions allowed to not only witness transformations, but also to grasp the atmosphere on these segments at different times, and in different seasons. This allows the reader and me to gain a sense of the space as well as the place on the case study street segment. Finally, the semi-structured interviews conducted with people involved with place making, and urban development, bring a different perspective to the research as they discuss more specifically how and why they transform the city. Survey results and iconographic analysis show that the city forms can be understood not as an inert material backdrop, but as a concretisation on the ground of broader social and political-economy dynamics that are constantly reconfigured by the dwellers' everyday practices.

The complementarities of qualitative and quantitative methods of research

The use of both qualitative and quantitative data allows for a more holistic view of the issue at hand. A strictly qualitative inquiry could not have determined the important, and in some cases significant, demographic and consumption habits. On the other hand, a strictly quantitative approach may have placed too much importance on demographics and consumption habits, not understanding the character of the built urban form, and the memories and perceptions of the space.

Limitations of the research

There are two types of limitations to this research, one type is within the data collected, and the other is from the data that is not addressed.

With respect to the iconographic analysis, not knowing that physical changes were going to take place on the case study street segments before the fact make for some analytical limitations; the areas that did undergo significant transformation were not necessarily scrutinised before the change event took place. On the other hand, the fact that these changes occurred without my prior knowledge serve to show to the degree to which the urban landscape is in a state of flux. As for the surveys, the first limitation is that I am not Chinese, and Chinese is not my mother tongue; tough precautions were taken to avoid cultural gaps and misunderstandings in the translation of the survey, and later the interpretation of the responses, some meaning may have been lost in translation²¹. On a less technical note, though the 174 surveys collected give a fair representation of the Haidian area, when these are divided between the seven case study sites, the sample sizes shrink considerably. For most questions the cross tabulation analysis gives a fair indication of the various site's trends, but that is not always the case, especially when there is missing data. In terms of the semi-structured interviews, the same linguistic limitations apply as for the surveys, though since the exchange was done orally, when I was not clear on a response I could ask the participant to repeat or rephrase the answer. Conducting interviews in Chinese and taking notes in English may have

²¹ After the administration of the surveys I question my use and ensuing interpretation of the word district 区 (*qu*). I also question the colloquial use and my interpretation of 平房 (*pingfang*), which according to the dictionary's definition means 'single storey building/housing'.

resulted in minor mis-quoting, however, the most important limitation from administering the semi-structured interviews was not being able to record the exchange. I needed to be fully alert, take careful notes during the interview, and immediately after, in order not to forget any statements or arguments. Finally, some data simply could not be obtained. Data is often difficult to come by in the PRC, even if you are associated with a *danwei* and require the information for work purposes. To assess the transformations in the last 10 years in Haidian I tried to obtain late 1990s maps of the Haidian. As a foreign student, my requests and efforts were done in vain. Also, I would have liked to learn more about the types of *danwei*(s) that are associated to my case study sites, but once again as a foreigner, and not wanting to raise any unnecessary suspicions some lines of questioning were not pursued.

Future research

As mentioned in Chapter 3, I believe further research into the everyday practices associated with ZGCNL-7 and HDNL-1 would be interesting to pursue. On a broader scale it would be interesting to pursue more in-depth research into the broader economic and political shifts occurring in China at large and how these affect the average urban dweller. Where is the increased disposable income of the average Chinese urban dweller being spent, and why?

Moving away from the specificity of this research and the case studies observed and analysed, I believe a study on retail spaces of gentrifying urban neighbourhoods would be an important and revealing study to conduct in a large Chinese city such as

Beijing. For future research I would like to examine the types of consumption practices in retail spaces of gentrified neighbourhoods and try to understand relationships between types of retail spaces and gentrified spaces. Does new mobility, the increase of disposable income and the emergence of more segmented cultures of taste play a role, for instance, in the social-spatial dynamics of retail and housing?

As a final note I share this passage from Gao Xingjian's short story: *Buying a Fishing Rod for my Grandfather*, which I believe expresses the feeling of some Chinese urban dwellers. Though people's lifestyles have changed rapidly in recent years, memories and attachments to certain spaces remain.

I suspect that my old home is hidden deep in the little forest of [television] aerials in that stretch of old buildings, new buildings and cheap buildings that are neither old nor new, right in front of me. But no matter how much you keep going around them you can't see it. So you can only imagine it from your memories. It might be beyond that wall (...). Just tell yourself that people couldn't be so cruel as to demolish the gate screen with the carvings. (...) People just wouldn't be so mean as to deliberately trample the memories of your childhood, because they too have a childhood worth remembering (...) to abolish such thoughts you must get away from these new buildings and old buildings, this block upon block of half-new, half-old cheap apartment blocks under their forest of television aerials, bare branches devoid of leaves, as far as the eye can see. (Gao, Xingjian (1986/2004), pp. 97-98)

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APPENDIX A

CHINESE TERMS

Chinese Words ²² Pinyin (phonetic Chinese)	Character	Translation
bao an	保安	ensure public security (guard)
bi	壁	wall, cliff, rampart
chai	拆	pull down; dismantle; demolish
cheng	成	wall, city
dan wei	单位	unit [a group of people as a whole]
di	地	earth, location on earth, space
di li	地理	geography
di li shu	地理书	geography book
dong an	东安	name of a Beijing market
gan jin	干净	neat and tidy
ge ti hu	个体户	self-employed individual
feng shui	风水	geomancy
hai dian	海淀	name of north western district of Beijing (<i>hai</i> : ocean, <i>dian</i> : shallow lake)
hsien ²³ (xian)	县	county

²² All translations and dates from: Hui, Y. (chief ed.). (2002). *A New Century Chinese-English Dictionary*. Beijing, China: Foreign Language Teaching and research Press.

Chinese Words (cont.)

<i>Pinyin</i> (phonetic Chinese)	Character	Translation
hu tong	胡同	lane, alley
lao xiang	老乡	fellow townsman, fellow villager
li	理	reason, logic, truth
lu guo	路过	pass by/ through
liu li chang	琉璃厂	famous Beijing market area
pin yin	拼音	phonetic system for transcribing Chinese characters
ping fang	平房	single storey house
qi	气	air, vital energy
qiang	墙	wall, anything shaped or functioning like a wall
qu	区	area, district, region, zone
su zhi	素质	nature; true disposition, quality (often used to describe a person's character)
wai di ren	外地人	person from another part of the country (colloquial ²⁴)
yuan	垣	low wall

²³ Spelling given in Taiwanese phonetic alphabet, *xian* reflects the pinyin of Mainland China

²⁴ <http://www.nciku.com/search/zh/detail/%E5%A4%96%E5%9C%B0%E4%BA%BA/1315602>

yuan qiang jing ji

院墙经济

compound wall economics

APPENDIX B

CHINESE DYNASTIES²⁵

Chinese Dynasties:

<i>Pinyin</i> (phonetic Chinese)	Character	Translation
Xia chao	夏朝	Xia dynasty 2100–1600 BCE
Shang chao	商朝	Shang dynasty 1600–1100 BCE
Zhou chao	周朝	Zhou dynasty 1100-221 BCE
Qin chao	秦朝	Qin dynasty 221-206 BCE
Han chao	汉朝	Han dynasty 206 BCE – 220 CE
San Guo	三国	Three Kingdoms 220-280 CE
Jin chao	晋朝	Jin dynasty 265-420CE
Nan bei chao	南北朝	Southern and Northern Dynasties 420-589CE
Sui chao	隋朝	Sui dynasty 581-618 CE
Tang chao	唐朝	Tang dynasty 618-907 CE
Wu dai shi guo	五代十国	Five dynasties and ten states 902-979 CE
Song chao	宋朝	Song dynasty 960-1279 CE
Liao dai	辽代	Liao Era 907-1125 CE
Jin chao	金朝	Jin dynasty 1115-1234 CE

²⁵All translations and dates from: Hui, Y. (chief ed.). (2002). *A New Century Chinese-English Dictionary*. Beijing, China: Foreign Language Teaching and research Press.

<i>Pinyin</i> (phonetic Chinese)	Character	Translation
Yuan chao	元朝	Yuan dynasty 1206-1368 CE
Ming chao	明朝	Ming dynasty 1368-1644 CE
Qing chao	清朝	Qing dynasty 1644-1911 CE
Zhong hua min guo	中华民国	Republic of China 1912-1949 CE
Zhong hua ren min gong he guo	中华人民共和国	People's Republic of China 1949- CE

APPENDIX C

SURVEY, ENGLISH VERSION

Survey

Dear Madam/sir,

I am a graduate student from Concordia University in Canada, presently a visiting student at Peking University. The topic of my research is the commercial streets of Peking.

I am randomly selecting participants to survey people's everyday habits on their neighbourhood streets. My fieldwork here in Beijing is made possible through the Chinese Scholarship Council. The data collected through this survey will be strictly used for academic research. The information collected will be kept confidential. Thank you very much for your support and cooperation!

If you have questions about the study itself, please contact Nadia Sbaihi at 136 8111 8877 (Beijing), or (514) 481-6893 (Montreal) or by e-mail at nsbaihi@hotmail.com

Location: _____ street in _____ district

Weekday: _____ Time _____

Section 1

1. You are: a) man b) woman

2. Your age: a) 18-24 years old b) 25-30 years old c) 31-40 years old
d) 41-50 years old e) 51-60 years old f) 61 years old and above

3. Marital status: a) married b) single c) divorced d) widowed e) wish not to say

4. Number of people in your household: a) one b) two c) three d) more than three

5. Where were you born: a) Beijing b) Other city: _____
c) country side: _____ d) outside of the PRC: _____

6. For how long have you lived in Beijing? : a) just visiting the city
b) less than 5 years c) between 6-15 years d) more than 16 years

7. You live: a) in this district b) in a neighbouring district c) only visiting the city

8. You work/study*: a) in this district b) in a neighbouring district
c) only visiting the city

*work/study: this is the district, in the city of Beijing, where most universities are located

9. What is your current occupation: a) work _____
b) student _____ c) other _____

Section 2

10. How often do you come to this street: a) everyday b) 3-5x a week
c) 1-2x a week d) a couple x a month e) few times a year f) this is my first time

11. When you come to this street your main purpose is:
a) purchasing items/spending money
b) socialising/meeting with friends or family/transiting
c) socialising which involves spending money

12. What GENERALLY brings you to this street: a) shopping
b) restaurant & entertainment c) window shopping
d) socialising e) on my way to somewhere else

13. If and when consuming on the street, it is GENERALLY for:
a) purchase of everyday necessities (e.g. food, medication, post office)
b) occasional purchases of goods or services (e.g. clothing, gifts, hair styling, foot massage)
c) major purchases of goods or services (e.g. furniture, appliances, medical doctor)
d) restaurant & entertainment

14. If you were to rank the activities and only the activities that bring you to this street, how would you rank them starting by the most important:

shopping : _____
eating : _____
socialising : _____
window shopping : _____
travelling : _____
other : _____ (please specify: _____)

15. If and when coming to this street to socialise/meet with friends or family, does it generally entail spending money?
a) yes b) no

16. What percentage of your weekly consumption budget is spent on this street:
a) 0-10% b) 11-25% c) 26-50% d) more than 51%

17. What percentage of your weekly consumption budget is spent on streets like this one:
a) 0-10% b) 11-25% c) 26-50% d) more than 51%

18. Do you GENERALLY come to this street: a) alone b) with other people

c) with one or more family members

Section 3

20. Were you coming to this street 10 years ago?

- a) yes b) no

If yes 10 years ago what generally brought you to this street?

- a) buy daily products b) shop occasionally c) window shopd)
socialise d) transit from one place to another e) other _____

21. How do you perceive this street: a) positively b) negatively

22. If applicable, has your perception of this street changed in the last 10 years:

- a) yes b) no

If yes, how has your perception of this street changed:

23. Do you see links between the transformations visible on this street and the transformations that have affected China in recent years?

24. Does this street evoke any special memories for you?

APPENDIX D

SURVEY, CHINESE VERSION

调查

各位女士、先生：

我是一位加拿大康戈迪亚大学的研究生，现在是北京大学的访问学生。我的研究题目是北京的商业街。

我随机的选取参与者调查他们在他们附近街道的日常习惯。中国留学基金委员会的支持使我在北京的实地调查成为可能。这次调查所收集的资料只用于学术研究。对收集到的信息严格保密。非常感谢您的支持与合作！

如果你对该项研究有什么问题，请与 *Nadia Sbaihi* 联系电话：13681118877（北京）
或（514）481-6893（加拿大蒙特利尔）e-mail: nsbaihi@hotmail.com

位置：_____ 街_____ 区_____

周日：_____ 时间_____

第一部分

1. 您是： a) 男 b) 女
2. 年龄： a) 18-24 岁 b) 25-30 岁
c) 31-40 岁 d) 41-50 岁 e) 51-60 岁 f) 61 岁以上（包括 61 岁）
3. 婚姻状况： a) 已婚 b) 未婚
c) 离婚 d) 丧偶 e) 不愿说
4. 家庭人口数量： a) 1 人 b) 2 人 c) 3 人 d) 3 人以上
5. 您的出生地： a) 北京 b) 其它城市_____ c) 农村_____
d) 国外_____
6. 您在北京居住了多少年？： a) 只是来参观北京 b) 5 年以下 c) 6-15 年
d) 16 年 以上
7. 您居住在： a) 这个区 b) 附近区 c) 只是来参观北京
8. 您从事工作或学习*： a) 这个区 b) 附近区 c) 只是来参观北京
*工作或学习：是因为在北京海淀区是最有大学的一个区
9. 您现在的职业是： a) 工作_____ b) 学生_____

c) 其它_____

第二部分

10. 您多长时间来这条街一次: a) 每天 b) 每周 3-5 次
c) 每周 1-2 次 d) 每月一两次 e) 一年几次 f) 这是我的第一次

11. 您来这条街的主要目的是:
a) 买东西/消费
b) 参加社交活动, 或与朋友或家庭成员聚会, 或路过
c) 参加有消费的社交活动

12. 通常情况下什么原因使您来这条街: a) 购物 b) 餐馆与娱乐
c) 逛商店 d) 社交活动 e) 去别处路过这里

13. 如果在这条街消费, 通常是为了:
a) 购买日常必需品 (例如: 食品、药物、邮寄)
b) 偶然购买物品或服务 (例如: 衣服、礼品、发型设计、足部按摩)
c) 主要是来购买物品和服务 (例如: 家具、器具、看病)
d) 餐饮与娱乐

14. 把吸引您到这条街来的活动排队 (最重要“1”到“6”)

购物 : _____

吃饭 : _____

社交活动 : _____

逛商店 : _____

旅游 : _____

其它 : _____ 说明 : _____

15. 如果您到这条街来参加社交活动或与朋友或家庭成员聚会, 通常花钱吗?
a) 会 b) 不会

16. 您每周在这条街的消费额占您总消费额的百分比是:
a) 0-10% b) 11-25% c) 26-50%
d) 51%以上

17. 您每周在类似这条街各条街道上的消费额占您总消费额的百分比是:
a) 0-10% b) 11-25% c) 26-50%
d) 51%以上

18. 您通常来这条街时是: a) 单独 b) 和其他人一起

第三部分

20. 您 10 年前就来过这条街吗? a) 是 b) 否

如果回答是, 那么 10 年前什么原因使您来这条街呢?

- a) 购买日用品 b) 偶然购物 c) 逛商店 d) 社交活动
e) 路过这里 f) 其它

21. 您对这条街的印象是: a) 肯定 b) 否定

22. 10 年以来您对这条街的印象有改变吗:

- a) 有 b) 无

如果有, 那么您的印象是如何改变的呢:

23. 您是否认为近年来在这条街上发生的变化与对中国产生影响的变化之间有什么联系吗?

24. 这条街能让您想起什么特殊事情吗?

APPENDIX E

DUMMY CODING SCHEME

Ques. 5: Where born	1: BJ 0/0/1	2: other city 1/0/0	3: country side 0/1/0	4: outside PRC 0/0/0	
Ques. 7: Where live	1: this district 0/1	2:neighbour.dist. 1/0	3: visiting 0/0		
Ques. 8: Where work/study	1: this district 0/1	2: neighbourhood district 1/0	3: visiting 0/0		
Ques. 9: occupation	1: work 0/1	2: student 1/0	3: other 0/0		
Ques. 11: purpose on street	1: purchasing 0/1	2: social. with family 1/0	3: social with spending\$ 0/0		
Ques. 12: what generally bring to street	1: shopping 0/1/0/0	2: restaurant & entertainment1/0/0/0	3: window shop. 0/0/0/0	4: Social 0/0/1/0	5: transiting 0/0/0/1
Ques. 13: if/when consuming generally for	1: everyday items 0/1/0	2: occasional goods and services 1/0/0	3: major goods and services 0/0/0	4: restaurant. & entertainment 0/0/1	

APPENDIX F

DESCRIPTIVE DATA (AGGREGATE AND SIGNIFICANT CROSSBAR) OF DEMOGRAPHIC INFORMATION

	Aggregate %	Aggregate ratio	Significant Crosstab ratio	Significant Crosstab ratio	Significant crosstab ratio
1) GENDER					
			<i>ZGCNL-7</i>		
Men	45.70%	79/173	10/30		
Women	54.30%	94/173	20/30		
2) AGE					
			<i>DCWJC-5</i>	<i>ZGCNL-7</i>	
18-24yrs	31.00%	53/171	4/21	6/28	
25-30yrs	31.00%	53/171	7/21	6/28	
31-40yrs	15.20%	26/171	2/21	7/28	
41-50yrs	11.70%	20/171	4/21	2/28	
51-60yrs	5.80%	10/171	3/21	4/28	
61yrs and above	5.30%	9/171	1/21	3/28	
3) MARITAL STATUS					
			<i>ZCL-2</i>	<i>TYYC-3</i>	<i>ZGCNL-7</i>
Married	48.60%	84/173	11/28	9/23	19/30
Single	51.40%	89/173	17/28	14/23	11/30
4) NUMBER OF PEOPLE IN YOUR HOUSEHOLD					
			<i>SYS-6</i>	<i>ZGCNL-7</i>	
One	6.30%	11/174	2/27	1/30	
Two	11.50%	20/174	1/27	6/30	
Three	47.70%	83/174	17/27	14/30	
More than three	34.50%	60/174	7/27	9/30	
5) WHERE WERE YOU BORN					
			<i>HDNL-1</i>	<i>ZCL-2</i>	
Beijing	36.40%	63/173	10/21	7/29	
Other city	48.00%	83/173	7/21	14/29	
Country side	14.50%	25/173	4/21	8/29	
Outside of the PRC	1.20%	2/173	0/21	0/29	
6) HOW LONG HAVE YOU LIVED IN BEIJING					
			<i>XKG-4</i>	<i>ZCCNL-7</i>	
Just visiting the city	1.70%	3/173	0/23	0/30	
Less than 5yrs	32.40%	56/173	8/23	7/30	
Between 6-15yrs	23.70%	41/173	8/23	8/30	

16yrs and more	42.20%	73/173	7/23	15/30	
7) YOU LIVE					
			<i>ZCL-2</i>	<i>SYS-6</i>	
In this district	62.60%	109/174	22/29	14/27	
In a neighbouring district	36.20%	63/174	7/29	13/27	
Only visiting the city	1.10%	2/174	0/29	0/27	
8) YOU WORK/STUDY					
			<i>ZCL-2</i>	<i>SYS-6</i>	
In this district	72.00%	121/168	27/29	20/27	
In a neighbouring district	27.40%	46/168	2/29	7/27	
Only visiting the city	0.60%	1/168	0/29	0/27	
9) WHAT IS YOUR CURRENT OCCUPATION					
			<i>TYC-3</i>	<i>XKG-4</i>	
Work	75.60%	130/172	21/23	20/23	
Student	16.30%	28/172	2/23	3/23	
Other	8.10%	14/172	0/23	0/23	

APPENDIX G

DESCRIPTIVE DATA (AGGREGATE AND SIGNIFICANT CROSSBAR) OF DAILY PRACTICES ON THE STREET

	Aggregate %	Aggregate ratio	Crosstab ratio	Crosstab ratio	Crosstab ratio
10) HOW OFTEN DO YOU COME TO THIS STREET					
			<i>HDNL-1</i>	<i>TYYC-3</i>	<i>SYS-6</i>
Everyday	45.90%	79/172	15/21	7/23	5/26
3-5X a week	12.80%	22/172	1/21	1/23	6/26
1-2X a week	22.10%	38/172	0/21	6/23	8/26
A couple X a month	9.90%	17/172	1/21	2/23	5/26
Few times a year	6.40%	11/172	3/21	4/23	1/26
This is my first time	2.90%	5/172	1/21	3/23	1/26
11) WHEN YOU COME TO THIS STREET YOUR MAIN PURPOSE IS					
			<i>ZGCNL-7</i>		
Purchasing items/ spending money	35.80%	57/159	14/26		
Socialising/ meeting with friends or family/ transiting	56.60%	90/159	10/26		
Socialising which involves spending money	7.50%	12/159	2/26		
12) WHAT GENERALLY BRINGS YOU TO THIS STREET					
			<i>TYYC-3</i>	<i>DCWJC-5</i>	<i>ZGCNL-7</i>
Shopping	20.30%	27/133	3/19	1/14	6/22
Restaurant & entertainment	18.00%	24/133	5/19	2/14	3/22
Window shopping	9.00%	12/133	0/19	2/14	5/22
Socialising	27.80%	37/133	5/19	4/14	2/22
On my way to somewhere else	24.80%	33/133	6/19	5/14	6/22
13) IF AND WHEN CONSUMING ON THE STREET, IT IS GENERALLY FOR					
			<i>ZGCNL-7</i>		
Purchase of everyday necessities	44.40%	56/126	10/20		
Occasional purchases of goods or services	18.30%	23/126	6/20		
Major purchases of goods or services	8.70%	11/126	2/20		
Restaurant & entertainment	28.60%	36/133	2/20		
15) IF AND WHEN COMING TO THIS STREET TO SOCIALISE/ MEET WITH FRIENDS OR FAMILY, DOES IT GENERALLY ENTAIL SPENDING MONEY?					
			<i>SYS-6</i>		

Yes	89.40%	152/170	26/26		
No	10.60%	18/170	0/26		
16) WHAT PERCENTAGE OF YOUR WEEKLY CONSUMPTION BUDGET IS SPENT ON THIS STREET					
			<i>HDNL-1</i>	<i>ZGCNL-7</i>	
0-10%	53.30%	89/167	6/20	10/27	
11-25%	29.90%	50/167	8/20	13/27	
26-50%	12.60%	21/167	2/20	3/27	
51% and above	4.20%	7/167	4/20	1/27	
17) WHAT PERCENTAGE OF YOUR WEEKLY CONSUMPTION BUDGET IS SPENT ON STREETS LIKE THIS ONE					
			<i>ZCL-2</i>	<i>ZGCNL-7</i>	
0-10%	43.80%	74/169	11/29	16/28	
11-25%	32.00%	54/169	5/29	7/28	
26-50%	20.10%	34/169	10/29	5/28	
51% and above	4.10%	7/169	3/29	0/28	
18) DO YOU GENERALLY COME TO THIS STREET					
			<i>HDNL-1</i>	<i>DCWJC-5</i>	<i>ZGCNL-7</i>
Alone	43.40%	72/166	10/20	10/20	17/29
With other people	56.60%	94/166	10/20	10/20	12/29
19) IF COMING WITH OTHER PEOPLE. IT IS USUALLY					
			<i>DCWJC-5</i>	<i>SYS-6</i>	<i>ZGCNL-7</i>
With a friend	32.30%	50/155	8/18	10/26	8/25
With a group of friends	41.30%	64/155	6/18	7/26	8/25
With a one or more family members	26.50%	41/155	4/18	9/26	9/25

APPENDIX H

DESCRIPTIVE DATA (AGGREGATE AND SIGNIFICANT CROSSBAR) OF IMPRESIONS, MEMORIES AND REPRESENTATIONS

	Aggregate %	Aggregate ratio	Crosstab ratio	Crosstab ratio	Crosstab ratio	Crosstab ratio
20) WERE YOU COMING TO THE STREET 10 YEARS AGO						
			<i>TYYC-3</i>	<i>ZGCNL-7</i>		
Yes	32.70%	56/171	0/23	17/30		
No	67.30%	115/171	23/23	13/30		
21) HOW DO YOU PERCEIVE THIS STREET						
			<i>TYYC-3</i>	<i>XKG-4</i>	<i>SYS-6</i>	<i>ZGCNL-7</i>
Positively	90.20%	147/163	15/21	23/23	26/26	24/29
Negatively	9.80%	16/163	6/21	0/23	0/26	5/29
22) IF APPLICABLE, HAS YOUR PERCEPTION OF THIS STREET CHANGED						
			<i>HDNL-1</i>	<i>TYYC-3</i>	<i>ZGCNL-7</i>	
Yes	64.10%	75/117	13/15	3/15	20/25	
No	35.90%	42/117	2/15	12/15	5/25	

APPENDIX I

FREQUENCY TABLES & BAR GRAPHS OF SURVEY QUESTION 14

(Note: frequency tables include the missing data (98 and 99) but these were removed on the graph bars)

Frequency Tables

Table I1. Shopping

		Frequency	Percent	Valid Percent	Cumulative Percent
Valid	Most important	35	20.1	20.1	20.1
	2nd most important	25	14.4	14.4	34.5
	3rd most important	22	12.6	12.6	47.1
	4th most important	17	9.8	9.8	56.9
	6th most important	2	1.1	1.1	58.0
	The only one of importance	7	4.0	4.0	62.1
	98	14	8.0	8.0	70.1
	99	52	29.9	29.9	100.0
	Total	174	100.0	100.0	

Table I2. Eating

		Frequency	Percent	Valid Percent	Cumulative Percent
Valid	Most important	30	17.2	17.2	17.2
	2nd most important	36	20.7	20.7	37.9
	3rd most important	18	10.3	10.3	48.3
	4th most important	11	6.3	6.3	54.6
	5th most important	3	1.7	1.7	56.3
	6th most important	1	.6	.6	56.9
	The only one of importance	5	2.9	2.9	59.8
	98	14	8.0	8.0	67.8
	99	56	32.2	32.2	100.0
	Total	174	100.0	100.0	

Table I3. Socialising

		Frequency	Percent	Valid Percent	Cumulative Percent
Valid	most important	24	13.8	13.8	13.8
	2nd most important	11	6.3	6.3	20.1
	3rd most important	17	9.8	9.8	29.9
	4th most important	25	14.4	14.4	44.3
	5th most important	6	3.4	3.4	47.7
	6th most important	2	1.1	1.1	48.9
	The only one of importance	9	5.2	5.2	54.0
	98	14	8.0	8.0	62.1
	99	66	37.9	37.9	100.0
	Total	174	100.0	100.0	

Table I4. Window Shopping

		Frequency	Percent	Valid Percent	Cumulative Percent
Valid	Most important	6	3.4	3.4	3.4
	2nd most important	28	16.1	16.1	19.5
	3rd most important	25	14.4	14.4	33.9
	4th most important	26	14.9	14.9	48.9
	5th most important	7	4.0	4.0	52.9
	6th most important	1	.6	.6	53.4
	The only one of importance	4	2.3	2.3	55.7
	98	14	8.0	8.0	63.8
	99	63	36.2	36.2	100.0
	Total	174	100.0	100.0	

Table I5. Traveling

		Frequency	Percent	Valid Percent	Cumulative Percent
Valid	2nd most important	3	1.7	1.7	1.7
	3rd most important	3	1.7	1.7	3.4
	4th most important	2	1.1	1.1	4.6
	5th most important	53	30.5	30.5	35.1
	6th most important	14	8.0	8.0	43.1
	98	14	8.0	8.0	51.1
	99	85	48.9	48.9	100.0
	Total	174	100.0	100.0	

Table I6. Other

	Frequency	Percent	Valid Percent	Cumulative Percent
Valid				
Most important	11	6.3	6.3	6.3
3rd most important	6	3.4	3.4	9.8
4th most important	3	1.7	1.7	11.5
5th most important	8	4.6	4.6	16.1
6th most important	26	14.9	14.9	31.0
The only one of importance	19	10.9	10.9	42.0
98	14	8.0	8.0	50.0
99	87	50.0	50.0	100.0
Total	174	100.0	100.0	

Bar Charts

Figure I1. Window Shopping

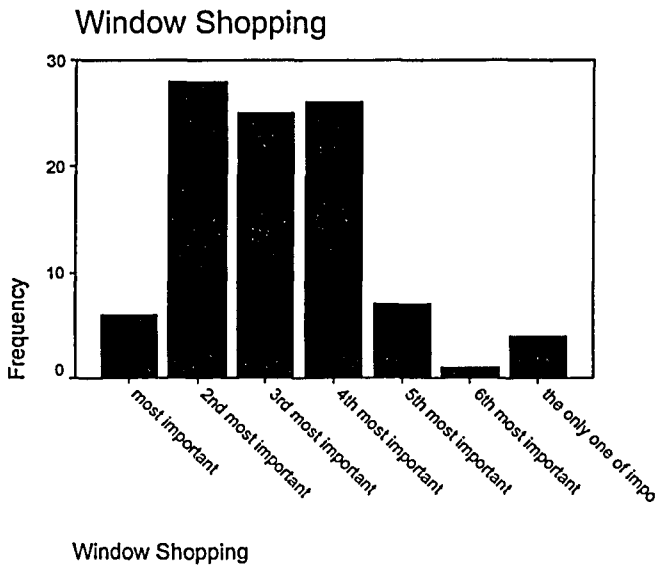


Figure I2. Shopping

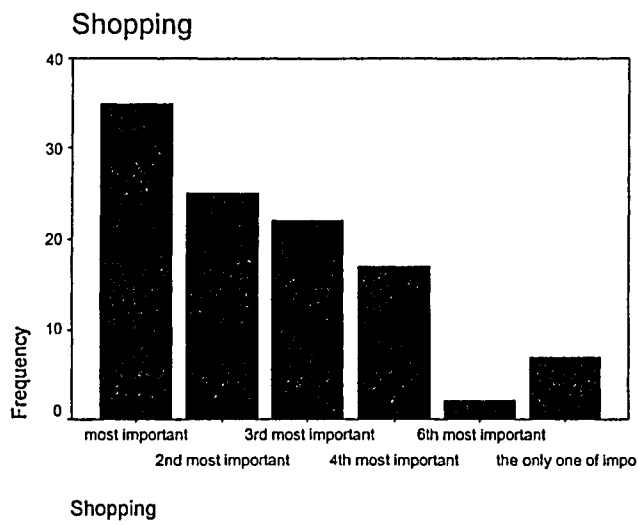


Figure I3. Eating

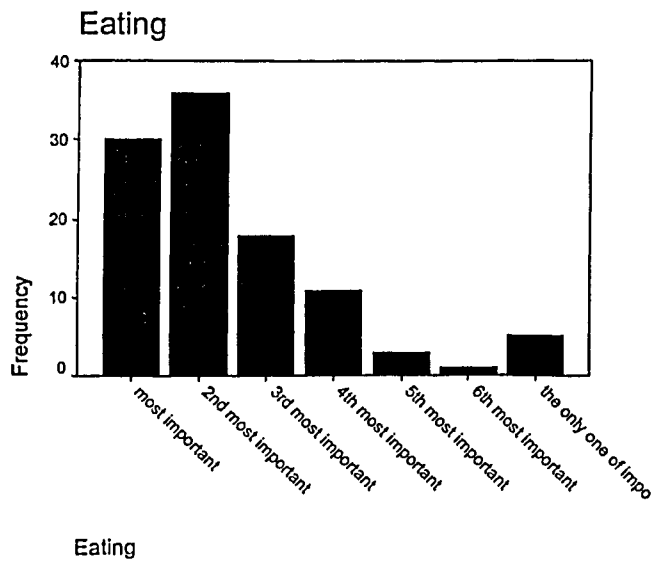
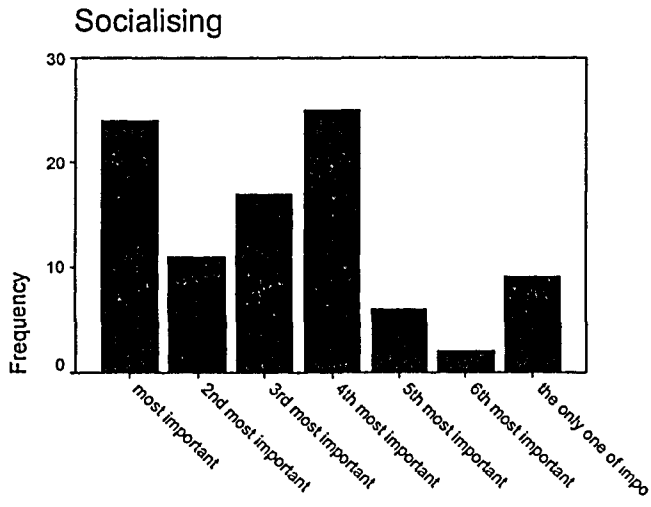
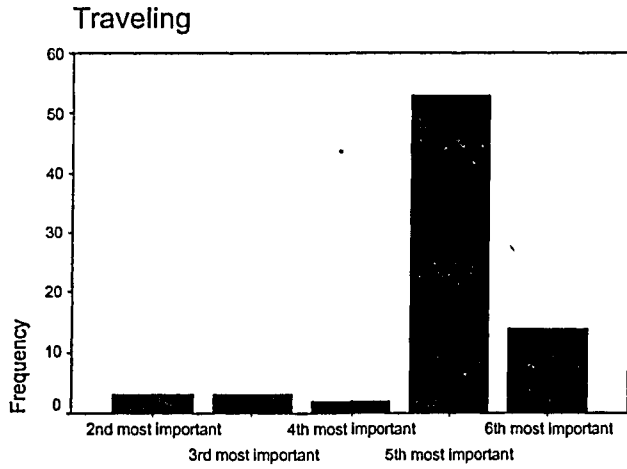


Figure I4. Socialising



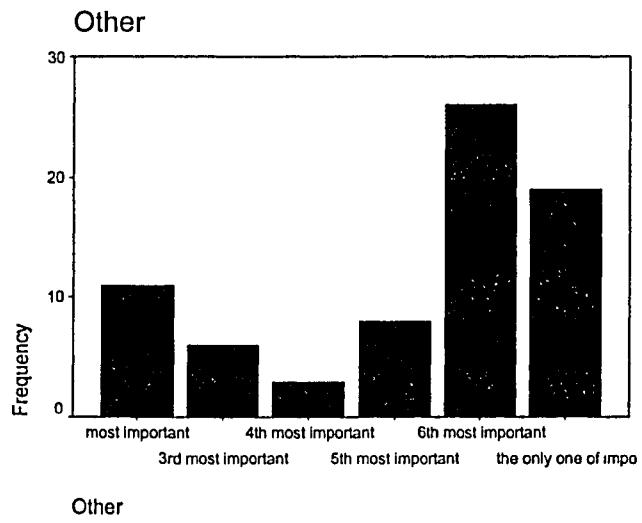
Socialising

Figure I5. Traveling



Traveling

Figure I6. Other



APPENDIX J

ANNOMALOUS MULTIPLE REGRESSION RESULTS

7) How often do you come to this street:

Table J1.: How often do you come to this street

Control variables: Gender, Age, Size of household, Time residing in Beijing, Residence location -1-, Residence location -2-			Control variables: Age, Size of household, Time residing in Beijing			Control variables: Age, Size of household, Time residing in Beijing		
Significance	0.001		Significance	0.107		Significance	0.062	
R Square	0.135		R Square	0.036		R Square	0.033	
Significant variable	<i>Residence location -1-</i>		Significant variable	<i>Age</i>		Significant variable	<i>Residence location -1-</i>	
	p	0.09		p	0.041		P	0.02
	Beta	-0.574		Beta	-0.179		Beta	-0.196
	B	-1.696		β	-0.177		B	-0.196

I first ran the test with all six variables. The model shows high significance (Sig= 0.001), hence rejection the null hypothesis. The only significant control variable at a 90% certainty is 'live in a neighbouring district', a strong relationship indicating a negative relationship, that is, respondents who live further from the case study street frequent the street more often. This relationship is suspicious.

'Residence location' 1 and 2 are in fact one variable (nominal variable dummy-coded 'creates' two variables). Because 'Residence location -1-' shows significance and 'residence location-2-' does not, I choose to run the model again without them both. This model shows no significance.

In the third model, the ‘gender’ variable is removed; the model improves, and shows near significance. Age is strongest variable indicating a negative relationship.

Finally, in the last model I removed the ‘people per household’ variable, the model is significant, and ‘age’ remains the strongest variable.

8) If and when coming to this street to socialise/meet with friends of family, does it generally entail spending money

Table J2: Do you generally come to the street: alone or with others

Control variables: Gender, Age, Size of household, Time residing in Beijing, Residence location -1-, Residence location -2-		Control variables: Gender, Age, Size of household, Time residing in Beijing		Control variables: Age, Size of household, Time residing in Beijing		Control variables: Age, Time residing in Beijing	
Significance	0.017	Significance	0.043	Significance	0.209	Significance	0.104
R Square	0.091	R Square	0.059	R Square	0.027	R Square	0.027
Significant variable	Gender	Significant variable	Gender	Significant variable	n/a	Significant variable	n/a
p	0.009	p	0.021	P	n/a	P	n/a
Beta	0.209	Beta	0.183	Beta	n/a	Beta	n/a
β	0.129	β	0.113	B	n/a	B	n/a
Significant variable	Age	Significant variable	Age	Significant variable	n/a	Significant variable	n/a
p	0.03	p	0.063	P	n/a	P	n/a
Beta	0.194	Beta	0.166	Beta	n/a	Beta	n/a
β	0.041	β	0.035	B	n/a	B	n/a

The results of the multiple-regression model with all 6 variables indicate significance with 95% certainty, in this model 2 control variables show significance. The ‘gender’ variable is significant with a 95% certainty, it is the strongest variable, and indicates a positive slope, meaning that women (coded: 2) are more likely to spend money than men (coded: 1) ‘If and when coming to this street to socialise/meet with friends or family’.

The 'age' variable is also significant with a 95% certainty; it also indicates a positive slope, meaning that as the respondents' age increases they are more likely to spend money 'If and when coming to this street to socialise/meet with friends or family'.

As I re-run the model with fewer control variables, the significance of the model is no longer significant, and moreover, the significance of the variables change. When I removed the variables: 'Residence location' 1 and 2, the 'age' variable became significant at 90% certainty, but 'gender's' significance remains at 95% certainty. Finally, when I re-run the model, removing the variable 'in Beijing how long', and/or 'people per household', neither 'gender' nor 'age' remain significant variables.

APPENDIX K

ADDED NOTES

Comment number	Extra Comments	Site
1	Street is wider than before, cleaner, but also noisier because there are more cars and more people. Before there were no public buses that passed on this street, you had to take the bus on <i>Zhongguancun dajie</i> and walk a 'long way' to get to the hospital for a check-up (referring to 20years ago)	HDNL-1
2	Before all streets on <i>Zhongguancun</i> were narrow. Then came the construction of new housing, the area became more beautiful.	HDNL-1
3	<i>Zhongguancun</i> is closely linked to the culture and sciences in China - the developments on this street are linked to the country's development	HDNL-1
4	Every year in September the marathon passes on this street.	HDNL-1
5	Shops are always changing, 10 years ago there were no shops.	ZCL-2
6	It is lively, and there are many people on this street	ZCL-2
7	When asked " why are they demolishing these buildings?" respondent explained that 'they' are going to fix the street, change the T intersection to an X intersection this	ZCL-2
8	This part of the street is not so interesting, over there (pointing the <i>Shuangyushu</i>) it's a fun area	ZCL-2
9	This street is not like <i>wangfujing</i> or <i>sanlitun</i> (popular landmark streets) for attracting shoppers. This should get better with development, the nice new sidewalks have helped	ZCL-2
10	There are more apartments on the street now, and the street is wider and cleaner. Also they are making a nice park. It use to be all single-storey housing, but now they have been replaced with new housing compounds	TYYC-3
11	Renovating now, but in 2008 it will be finished and the street will be very nice	TYYC-3
12	The environment use to be sub-part, but changes now are good,	TYYC-3
13	I come here every week to visit a friend, but I do not shop here	XKG-4
14	We have only been here one of twice to meet friends to go to the restaurant	XKG-4
15	This street has changed a lot. This housing compound has existed 3-4 years, across the street is even newer. Before this were all 3-4 stories high buildings. The street is much nicer, and wider.	XKG-4
16	I accompany my grandson to school	XKG-4

17	There have been many changes to this street in the last 5 years. Five years ago the area was all single stories housing, the <i>Kexueyuan</i> building and the housing compound did not exist. This part of the street is good now; the rest hasn't been renewed yet.	XKG-4
18	This area use to belong to <i>Kexueyuan</i> (danwei), but now the businesses associated to this have all moved to 'near the Olympic district'. The changes here have occurred in preparation to the Olympics. My company use to be here too, it was moved to <i>Wudaokou</i> .	XKG-4
19	There haven't been any changes within the last year. The environment here is good, it is not very lively, it is not a shopping area	XKG-4
20	It is not very lively on this road. This road connects the 2nd & 3rd and the 3rd& 4th ring road. If it weren't for the outlet centre ' <i>suning</i> ' this street would be even less lively. Other shops never succeed here, they are always changing - so I never really shop in these shops. Near <i>Renmin</i> University there are many popular shops. Near <i>Zhongguancun</i> there many popular shops...this is too close to that - so it never really developed. This street was built around 2001.	XKG-4
21	Before it was desolate here, now it is livelier. Before this was the country side, we were farmers...now we are city people	XKG-4
22	They moved the street to make two intersections, it use to be much more narrow, there were no shops. The street after this intersection was a food street with lots of small restaurants, but after the reconstruction 4.years ago, they widened both streets to make them connected, so a lot of buildings were destroyed. Now this part of the street also looks very different. I use to walk on this street because the hotel down the road has a great continental breakfast buffet (respondent is Canadian Chinese teacher in a nearby university). Inside the <i>Suning</i> there use to be a great bookstore 'western style' coffee shop inside the shop - but it didn't succeed.	DCWJC-5
23	The changes have occurred very quickly, but there are no particular changes to speak of	DCWJC-5
24	Changes have been very big, this use to be a dirt road. The changes are in preparation for the 2008 Olympics	DCWJC-5
25	Changes came to eliminate the housing shortage	DCWJC-5
26	20 years ago this was all farmland, the fields across the street still belong to a university (not sure which one). The changes here have been quite big.	DCWJC-5
27	Everybody who works around here comes here to eat after work, it is cheap. There are no other 'useful' activities to take part in on this street	SYS-6
28	Biggest change is how much cleaner the street is	SYS-6

29	There is more traffic, it is very lively, and there are many new office buildings	SYS-6
30	Refers to Tiananmen activities.... we would wait here for students to come back here and report on the downtown activities. They'd arrive, and we'd pull them up top 'vehicles' on the street and they would tell us what's happening. 'We' (intellectuals) , who are from Beijing we know what happened then, we 'appreciate' this, but this area has changed so much, so many things have changed some many new people - 'outsiders' don't understand what happened then; they don't know.	ZGCNL-7
31	More shops than 10 years ago, messier, but getting better	ZGCNL-7
32	I run a men's clothes shop, I do not consume here	ZGCNL-7
33	Girl-friend (G-F) was writing and boyfriend (B-F) was talking to me: B-F: I think 10 years ago this street didn't exist...not sure if it's only after <i>Zhongguancun dajie</i> (street name) was built that there 'came' shops here...in any case it wasn't so lively. G-F: not a 'deep impression' of this street, just come here to 'window shop' or passing through	ZGCNL-7
34	The questions you ask are too 'big'	ZGCNL-7
35	The changes occurring are for the 2008 Olympics, us outsiders we don't really pay attention to these things	ZGCNL-7

APPENDIX L

TABLE OF INCLUSIVE EMERGING DESIGN

Table L1.: Result of all semi-structured interview themes

Social and physical changes	
	Source
Make-up' of Haidian pre-1950, 1950s01970s, and now - physical and social 'make-up'	7
Social changes, societal changes, cultural changes	9
<i>Hutong</i> 'life' vs. modern needs - generational gap, relocation	8
Commodification of Estates	
The 'mechanics' behind commodified estates' management and functioning	5
Commodifications of space and mobilisation of community	Seminar1
Devolution of <i>danwei</i> living and 'community living'	2
Appreciation, or not, of shops in commodified estates: the contradictions (they appreciate them but in fact the shops do not survive/fair very well; they are not patronised very much	5
Consumption of power	
Change of social status equals change of consumption habits	4
Consumption is a tool leading to a type of democracy - in due time	Conference5 (II)
Social change leads to physical change of place	
Who moves where (inner city and suburb) in cities and why: Beijing and Guangzhou as examples	Conference3 (I)
Place and space: how are people satisfied (or not) in the cities - considering social changes in cites and spatial changes	Conference2
Attachment (or non-attachment) to physical places, to urban typology in China	8
Community qualities	
<i>Xiaoqu</i> and <i>danwei</i> : space and community, space and governance	Seminar1
Concepts of: community, character/quality, accountability and self-governance	5
Fear	5
History of shopping streets	

The traditional Chinese shopping street	2
Historical emergence of commercial streets	Presentation1
Emergence of independent commercial activity, which has led to commercial urbanism	Conference1
Post-reform emergence of shopping streets	
The evolution of street shopping since late 1970s	1
The evolution of street shopping since the late 1970s	2
Types/elements of commercial streets	Presentation1
The emergence of 'bar-streets'	Conference4 (I)
Thoughts on the 'future of small retail'	4
Planned and/or organic emergence of mix-use streets (residential and retail)	
How is retail planned/or not in architectural designs for residential compounds	3
How retail space in residential compounds/neighbourhoods is determined	4
Mixed-use needs (big and small shops)	8
The devolution of street shops in recent years; people instead migrating to shopping malls	1
History of planning policy	
The sources of Chinese planning	Conference5 (I)
How pre-1979 housing policy responded to social and political issues/problems (housing funded by public revenue, no money to maintain buildings)	SKII
The three main stages of housing policy (1979-1993, 1994-1997, 1998-2007)	SKII
Present planning requirements	
The role of the state in terms of planning	Conference5 (I)
Beijing planning requirements, procedures	8
What the planning institute is responsible for, and how it proceeds	8
Process of development from government land allocation to architecture	4
Public/Private and Local/International funding	
Compare and contrast private and public funded projects	6
Locally funded vs. foreign funded development projects	8
The emergence of 'market planning'/ marketing planning	8
Influence of the public sector, example: Wuhan station	6
Looking towards to future (Beijing planning and urban development)	

Beijing context for development	SKI2
Post 2010 development	8
Wall's history, borders and development	
History of Chinese urbanism	Conference1
Emergence of the wall system	Conference1
Walled compounds and 'frontier America'	5
The role of physical and administrative borders with regards to different types of residential estates	5
Which walls are developed	6
North vs. South differences, and the regularity of <i>xiaoqu</i> space	
Development differences between northern and southern China (environmental)	6
The difference between north and south China (walls, compounds)	5
The regularity of <i>xiaoqu</i> space	Seminar1
Case studies and examples	
Example of private/public residential project in Shenzhen	6
MOMA (their company's) approach to recent development in the city	SKI2
Example of <i>Wudaokuo</i>	4
SOHO example, other north-west Beijing compound example	5
Eastern vs. western styles of projects	8
Neoliberalism, market economy, and urban development	
Chinese neoliberalisation - the roll-out state not the development of the state	Conference5 (II)
Present: Chinese neo-liberalism	Conference1
Market is a tool, but it will not lead to the waning of the state	Conference5 (II)
Others: Transport, Haidian's <i>siheyuan</i>	
Transportations concerns	8
History of the <i>siheyuan</i> in Haidian	7