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**Subject Politics and Spatial for the Spatial Evolution of a
Maritime Settlement on the Edge of a City**

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ABSTRACT

Maritime settlement is a special social form formed by coastal residents using Marine resources, which reflects the characteristics of fishery life, social structure, unique culture and settlement space. Shapowei is located in the southeast coast of China. Since the Ming dynasty, it has accumulated strong Marine culture, spatial texture and social characteristics of maritime settlements. As the representative of maritime settlements in China, Shapowei also carries the historical culture of the marginal ethnic group Tanka, an ethnic group of fishermen who lives on a boat all his life in China and the reality of its struggle in the post-modern context. In the long history of the maritime settlement, the traditional spatial boundary formed by the geographical and local historical network has been changing with the influence of social change and maritime trade, and with the continuous change of production relations. The city, as the other, squeezes the boundary of the remaining maritime settlements, which is embodied in the social space and settlement form, together with the ethnic identity dilemma of the piscator. The essence behind these appearances is the change of dominant capital, class and social relations caused by political changes. It's a game of multiple groups. This article attempts in the perspective of anthropology to explore the evolution of the maritime settlements, through field research, literature, space schema, for the objective description, makes every effort to reproduce the history of Shapowei settlements, to explore the projection of subject construction on spatial form under political relations in different periods. By sorting out the evolution of the daily living space and ritual space of the Tanka, this article highlights the spatial representation of the conflict between the self and the other in the boundary. At the same time, this article also explores an approach of exploring formal-political relationships.

Keywords: maritime settlements, ethnic identity, beliefs and rituals, spatial form

Urban Maritime Settlements - Shapowei

Xiamen is an important port city on the southeast coast of China, emitting a strong smell of the sea. The reason why this paper chooses Shapowei as the object of study is that the Marine settlements in Shapowei area were not formed for a long time, only from the end of Ming Dynasty when Zheng Group was dominant in Xiamen. During this period, its structure and shape changed constantly in different periods. The Marine settlements in Shapowei contain rich historical information. Through the study of this area, we can find the factors related to the change of urban Marine settlements.

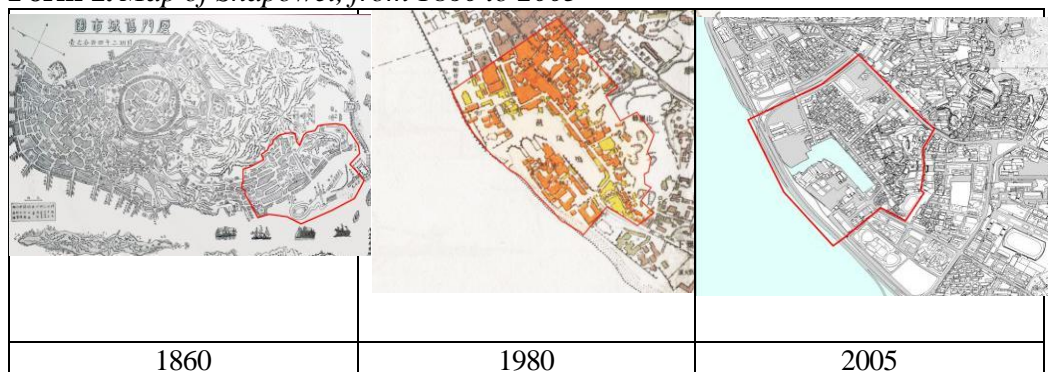
Shapowei, surrounded by mountains on three sides and facing the sea on one side, is the birthplace of Xiamen. In this study, the Marine settlement boundary formed at Shapowei in modern times was taken as the scope, and the total research scope was about 44.7 hectares (Form 1).

Before the formation of modern cities, the Tanka is the main inhabitant of Shapowei. Tanka is a boat people living in the coastal and riverside areas of Zhejiang, Fujian, Guangdong and Hainan provinces. It is the earliest inhabitant and pioneer of Shapowei.

A large number of people come here to fish or build boats from the Jiulong River at the beginning of the Ming Dynasty. They lived on boats and made a living from fishing, and when they had the surplus, they came ashore and traded. After the initial accumulation of capital, the Yongzheng Period of the Qing Dynasty began to gradually go ashore and settle down, and build houses, resulting in the initial Shapowei of the building.

In the 600 years of history, Shapowei settlement has been stamped with the deep imprint of Marine culture, and also witnessed the germination, heyday, decline and transformation of fishery development. Combined with the changes of social and material space, the development of Shapowei settlement can be divided into five stages.

Form 1. Map of Shapowei, from 1860 to 2005



Source: Author.

First, Fishermen Moved in and Opened Ports for Trade (Late Ming and Early Qing - Late Qing and Early Republic of China)

During the Tang and Song dynasties, a fishing port was formed in southern Fujian due to abundant Marine resources. Shapowei is a good shelter from the wind with natural sediment sand layer. In the late Ming and early Qing Dynasties, Zheng Cheng-gong used Xiamen Island as his stronghold to train troops and vigorously develop foreign trade, which promoted the development of maritime shipping and commerce in Xiamen Port. Therefore, the Tanka who make a living by building boats gradually migrate to this area and become an important waterway of trade with Taiwan. With the influx of people and the prosperity of foreign trade, this coastal area had the characteristics of a fishing port, a commercial port and a military port.

After Xiamen opened its port to trade in 1843, the former mixed use ports of fishermen began to function in different ways. Shapowei area became a concentrated anchorage place for fishing boats of different sizes, and entered the prosperous era of nearly one hundred years in which the market port area was integrated with fishing production, fish trading and life service. At this time, fishery becomes an important form of business in Shapowei, which is usually operated solely or jointly by wealthy merchants and combined with local forces to control the production and sales of the fishery and to control Tanka.

Second, Development of Fishing Area and Construction of Harbor (Early Republic of China - Before 1949)

At the beginning of 1930, the transformation of docks and ports became an important part of Xiamen municipal construction. Shapowei laid the modern prototype by expand the land area.

There are a large number of shipbuilding factories, shipyards and some Tanka buildings on Shapowei beach. On the side of the backer are mainly fish markets, commercial markets and residential areas. In 1937, there were 597 fishing boats in Shapowei fishing Port, with a total fishing population of 5,189 people, including 2,490 fishermen¹. At that time, the area developed handicraft industry, formed a service for the fishery production network, once the most prosperous in the whole Xiamen region.

Third, System Reform and Development of Fishing Port (from 1949 to 1990s)

After the Anti-Japanese War, a thousand things to do of the fishing industry in Shapowei. Multistage institutional and technological reforms not only freed fishermen from feudal exploitation, but also facilitated the rapid expansion of state-run fishing institutions. This area has also developed from a traditional fishing village into industrial zones, with a large number of modern shipyards, aquatic products processing plants, power plants and so on.

At this time, the annual output of Shapowei fishing port reached 35,000 tons, and a complete industrial chain was spread out. The fishing population accounts

for 80% of the total population of Shapowei, forming the golden age of Marine fishery². During this period, the government successively improved the material conditions of Shapowei by means of dredging and repairing, levitating the boundary, building roads and lighthouses, etc. The material space of the Shapowei basically developed and formed.

Fourth, Decline of Fisheries and Fishing ports (1990s-2014)

Since the mid-1990s, Xiamen old city the material structure presents the aging trend. In terms of production, although Shapowei has gone through dredging and repairing, the fishery production environment is still not good. In addition, the depletion of offshore fishery resources leads to a sharp decline of fishery. The related fishery industry began to move out.

In 2003, Xiamen built an offshore viaduct around the southwest coastal coastline, blocking the entrance of the Shapowei, leading to the failure of large fishing boats to enter and the transfer of fishing port functions, which directly pushed Shapowei community to face the situation of industrial transformation and renovation.

Fifth, Fishing Port Withdrawal and Overall Reconstruction (2015 till Now)

In 2015, the government and Xiamen Municipal Bureau of Ocean and Fisheries issued an announcement on The Closed Management of Shapowei in Xiamen Port, announcing that Shapowei Area would be renovated and updated as a whole, and local fishing boats and fishermen would be guided to quit fishing and turn to land for production by giving appropriate subsidies.

The function of the traditional productive fishing port in Shapowei has completely disappeared; the material space and production relations have changed greatly. The social relations established on the basis of the industry relationship have changed, and the new social space has gradually taken shape.

During the evolution of the Shapowei, the special group of Tanka occupies an important position. Their special culture provides the special architectural landscape of Shapowei.

Tanka's History and its Architectural Landscape

Living on Boats - Barbarians

Tanka is an ancient ethnic group in southern China. The Tanka live on rivers or seas and take boats as their home. With great differences in lifestyle, customs, values, interests and demands of residents on land, they have been called "barbarian" by other ethnic groups for a long time, which is subject to discrimination. The Tanka is represented as a "marginal group" in historical writing, and is even excluded from "our" history.

Historically, the local indigenous people on the one hand "stigma" it, and by constructing a land and water boundary, strictly limit the activities and scope of rights of the Tanka. The Tanka is forbidden to go on shore, which not only extends the Tanka's inferior position in the cultural situation, but also ensures that the previously scarce land resources are not shared by the Tanka.

At this time, boats are the main tool of the Tanka's economic activities and the place of daily life. The Tanka show different cultural forms through adaptation and transformation of the environment, which forms the spatial cultural landscape.

Traditional Tanka boats are built entirely of wood, the board of which is painted with tung oil paint. The functional division of the boat is relatively simple. Generally, the front cabin is a place for work and rest, the middle cabin is a place for bedroom and dining, and the rear cabin is a kitchen and toilet³ (Figure 1). The boat in the process of travel need to rely on the wind, so the boat is often built in the middle of the mast, under the mast is generally a god, such as "Mazu" and other gods.

Figure 1. *Living Space of Tanka*



Source: by Min Deng. "The Selves and the Others: A Research on the ethnic identity of the Boat People of Yongjiang River." South-Central University for Nationalities, 2013: 25.

Going Ashore - Changes in Livelihood and Identity

During the Period of the Republic of China, the identity of the Han nationality of Tanka is identified, the status of the Tanka was improved, with the emergence of a residential boat with cement pouring were emergence, which is similar to a dock. The deck building is made of wood, brick and other materials with 2~3 rooms. The doors and windows are made of wood. The roof is usually made of traditional bamboo awnings or planks (Figure 2). Cement ship is berthed in relatively fixed reach commonly, some still have the furniture such as bed, ark, use stove of liquefied natural gas.

Figure 2. *Cement Boat*



Source: <http://blog.sina.com.cn>.

At this time, the rule prohibiting Tanka from disembarking is broken. Some Tanka drags the old boats to the seashore, piles the sand on the shore, and holds up the sheds as a fixed residence. Shacks are the transitional form of residence before Tanka disembarked.

After 1949, with the help of the government, The Tanka settles on the land step by step. In the name of the cooperative, stone, red brick, cement mortar and other building materials are used to build the cement building on the shore, which is usually two-story high, with a unified architectural style and independent village (Figure 3). The government encourages establish the Fisheries Cooperation Section, and provides boats and various fishing gear.

Figure 3. *Settlement of Tanka in Shapowei*



Source: <http://www.lvmama.com>.

In its heyday, the Shapowei area was used to accommodate 4,000 fishing boats and a population of nearly 20,000 people. The government also set up a number of collective factories to assist the fishery production.

The Tanka's living situation is greatly improved with the success of fishery production. Economic achievements have actually improved the living conditions and material level of the Tanka, which enabled them to go ashore and settle down there, and get rid of the stigma.

Offshore - The Bloodline Fades Away

After the reform and opening up, Xiamen was established as a special economic zone in 1980. In May 2015, the government takes money to purchase fishing boats and forces the Tanka to go ashore. Like the peasants who have lost their land in the suburb, there is no means of production such as fishing boats, nor the "individual existence" of collective attribution.

Upon disembarkations, Tanka chooses other industries to maintain their livelihoods and integrates into the society comprehensively. The relationship between the isolated and independent ethnic groups has lasted for thousands of years, and the boundaries of ethnic groups are increasingly diluted, especially the new generation's awareness and identity of the Tanka. The traditional living space of Marine settlements has been increasingly squeezed and invaded by tourism development. Since then, there have been no ships in this maritime settlement.

Like many Marine settlements, Shapowei is faced with the transformation and challenge of traditional fishery extinction, material space renewal and social relationship reconstruction in urban development. The spatial reproduction process of settlement is the game and negotiation process of multiple groups.

Transformation of Maritime Settlements

The Displacement of the Space Builder

The space builder is an important part of the social space and its change can reflect the change of the society. According to street statistics, in 2000, 18 percent of Shapowei's residents were fishermen, with other occupations mainly being shipbuilders, boatmen and merchants. In the following ten years, with the aging of physical space, the registered population and fishery workers have decreased, but fishery operators are still important subjects of space use.

Since 2010, a large number of migrants have poured into Shapowei, and the population of Shapowei shows a trend of immigrant population gathering and local population aging. In 2011, there were 2,070 households in the community, with 4,998 permanent residents and 2,150 floating residents⁴. With the development of space reproduction, the rent of Shapowei has been rising rapidly. The non-indigenous people who work and study in Shapowei and tourists have gradually replaced the original residents with higher rent-paying ability. The space builders have shown a trend of "gentrification".

Changes in relations of Production

Shapowei traditional business forms occupy a certain proportion, the area still has a certain traditional life atmosphere. But fisheries and related businesses have completely disappeared, and the number of shops that can embody the traditional local characteristics of Shapowei is decreasing. After the withdrawal of fishing in 2015, the trend of replacing traditional fisheries and convenience stores with new

formats dominated by snack shops has become increasingly obvious, and the industrial characteristics have changed from traditional to modern.

The Evolution of Social Relations

Shapowei has changed from a traditional fishing port to a cultural and creative port, and the social and spatial relations of residents have also changed. The separation of residents from the original means of production and way of life has changed the traditional fishery production relations, and the fishermen as a professional group gradually came to an end. Housing has become a new means of production in Shapowei area. Under the role of market economy, residents have put their personal means of production, housing, into the process of creating value in space, and rented out houses for commercial use to create economic value. The identity of Tanka has been transformed into a landlord to realize the realization of their interests.

The Birth of a New Social Space

The transformation and renewal of Shapowei is the process of commercial replacing fishing port and alien population replacing indigenous people, which is essentially the reproduction of social space. The emergence of these new social places indicates the establishment of new production relations, which produce and shape not only space, but also a social structure and boundaries. The disappearance of traditional space, which is composed of geographical and local historical networks, is essentially the difference of dominant capital, stratum and social relations behind the appearance of different types of spatial formats.

The Tanka's Belief is maintained in the Contraction of Traditional Settlements

The fishery is characterized by high risks and uncertainties, and the Tanka rely on faith. Before going ashore, every family had a short ceremony of praying and praying in their fishing boats (Figure 4). During the gradual disembarkation process, the ritual space is also changing. Along with the commercialization of various surname land-based residents, have established their own clan organizations, and through the management of temples and rituals formed a strong regional identity and resource control nature of the "field" system; the coexistence of more than 30 temples in the old high-density state of Shapowei.

Figure 4. *Religious Worship Before a Voyage on the Boat*



Source: by Yu-kun Feng, Nanhu Evening News, April 19, 2017.

Different from the situation where the ritual space is independent and built on a large scale in other places, the traditional settlement of Shapowei is under the oppression of the city, and its ritual space presents a unique pattern.

In Shapowei, overlapping with dwelling is the most numerous and characteristic way of ceremony space. Longzhu Palace, Anwu Temple, Qiuwang Palace and Huifu Palace all belong to this kind of situation. Important and honorable places such as the doorway or the top floor are contributed to the ceremony space.

Form 2. *Longzhu Palace, an Overlapping Temple*

			
Location	Appearance	Indoor	Ritual space

Source: Author Draw & Shot.

Another form is the larger ceremony space replacement the residence as a temple; such as the Dragon Palace, Huayan Temple and Qingfu Temple. These spaces become the common people daily chat entertainment, as well as the function of community activity center.

Tian Tou Ma palace is the unique fishing belief of Shapowei, the ship saw the bones of the fishermen lost to retrieve here. The temple uses the narrow space between laneways and adjacent houses, compact construction.

Form 3. Tian Tou Ma Palace, a Temple in the Gap



Source: Author Draw & Shot.

It can be seen that the relationship between the Tanka residence and ritual space in Shapowei is complementary. On the one hand, high-density and aging communities need interaction space and activation points. On the other hand, the decline of ritual space requires small scale and low consumption. In addition, religious ceremony is also the embodiment of the paradigm of dwelling and temple needs complementation. The ceremony “Send King Boat” held regularly at Longzhu Palace was successfully applied for the status of national intangible cultural heritage (Figures 5-6).

Figure 5. The Cruise of “Send King Boat”



Source: <http://xmqwzx.com.cn/xmqw/ggdt/xm/201611>.

Figure 6. The Ceremony of Burning the “King Boat” was held by the Sea



Source: <http://xmqwzx.com.cn/xmqw/ggdt/xm/201611>.

The overlapping and even interdependence of Shapowei public ceremonial space and private residential space is the product of specific social period, a social network based on acquaintances, and a compound of the essence of traditional communities. With the change of production mode, the ceremony space presents

more and more cultural significance. The house and temple depend on each other, and the sacred space of life can enhance the sense of community identity. This is the only way the Shapowei aborigines can declare fields.

Conclusion

In Lefebvre's opinion, urban space is the result of various power games, in which different powers, interests and groups compete and fight with each other. Driven by their own space interests, different groups form cooperative or competitive relations.

The Marine culture of Shapowei originates from the long history of fishery production, the special live way and the rich spiritual world of the Tanka. But its cultural characteristics are easily neglected because of the profit-driven capital of space reproduction.

At present, the protection and regeneration of settlements is dominated by economic interests, with a large number of shops replacing houses, and the influx of tourists affecting the lives of local people. Excessive commercialization makes the most important Marine cultural connotation of Shapowei gradually disappear.

As the creator of this culture, Tanka has been in a situation of losing the right to speak to their own "property" with the image of "the others". Government departments and property companies have taken the lead.

The space development history of Shapowei is always accompanied by space politics. In the rapid development of China today, not only is Shapowei, a Marine settlement, but also hundreds of traditional settlements on the edge of cities have been eroded by urban expansion, and the indigenous culture has also disappeared.

In the protection of Shapowei culture, many scholars have also made active exploration and appeal. But so far little has been achieved. The absence of speech and absence of aborigines doomed the failure of the space game.

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