

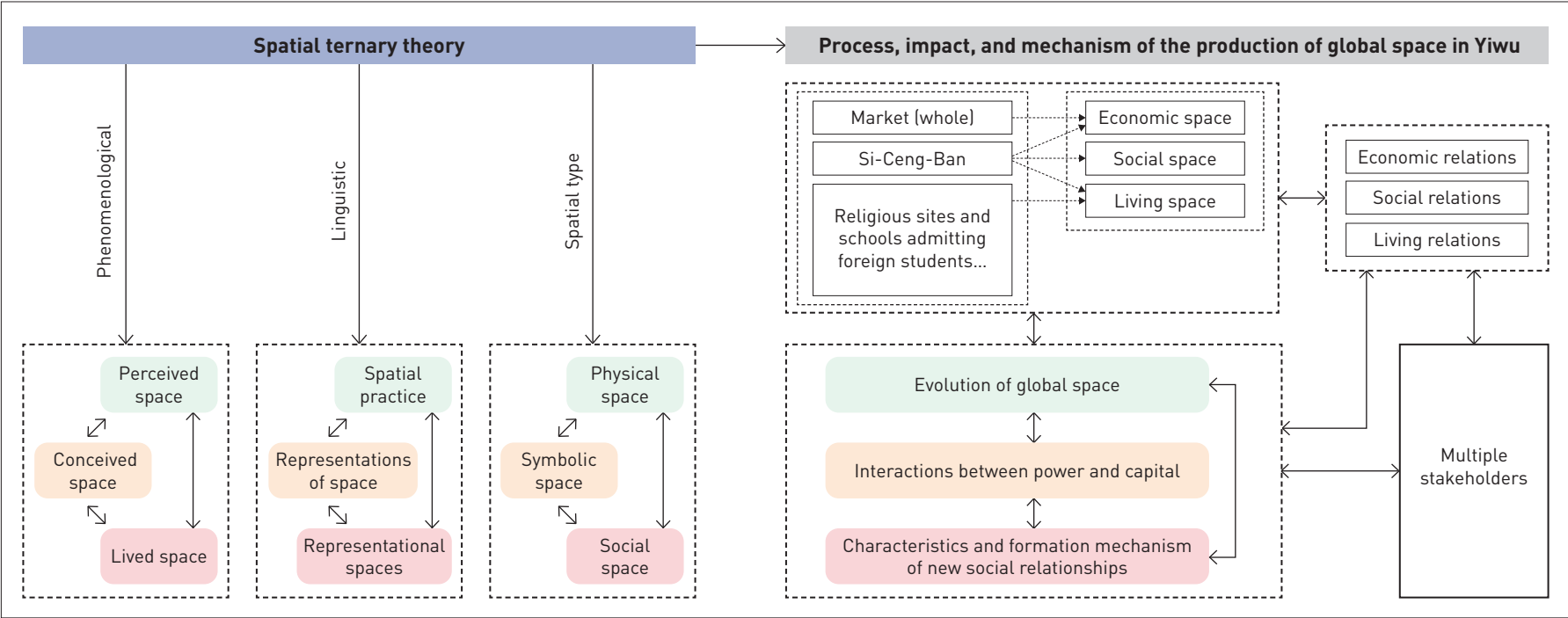
The Production of Global Space Under the Transnational Entrepreneurship: Empirical Study on Yiwu, Zhejiang Province, China

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GRAPHICAL ABSTRACT



HIGHLIGHTS

- Introducing “spatial ternary theory” in the case of Yiwu and filling the gap of global space study of small- and medium-sized cities
- Global space in Yiwu is the interaction result of top-down government power and bottom-up social strength
- Production of global space in Yiwu goes through a process from delocalization, globalization to relocalization
- Trade and service chains in Yiwu allow interactions among different societal groups and generate globalized economic, social, and living spaces
- Generating a new social relationship featuring in transnational traders’ apparent integration and invisible isolation with local residents and domestic migrants in Yiwu

KEYWORDS

Production of Global Space;
Spatial Ternary Theory;
Transnational Entrepreneurship;
Governmental
Entrepreneurialism;
Social Relationships;
Landscape;
Yiwu

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This research probes into the process, impact, and mechanism of the production of global space in Yiwu under the transnational entrepreneurship, utilizing the “spatial ternary theory” and methods of field investigation and in-depth interview. It focuses on analyzing how the local government, state-owned enterprises, transnational traders, local residents, and domestic migrants act and interact in the production of global space since the 1980s. Results showed that the production of global space in Yiwu goes through a process from delocalization, globalization to relocalization, indicating the local construction and reconstruction of economic, social, and living relationships in small- and medium-sized cities influenced by transnational entrepreneurship. The production of global space in Yiwu is jointly promoted by top-down government power and bottom-up social strength, and local governmental entrepreneurialism

that has been directly influenced by globalization is a key engine. Field investigation also discovered that there is a phenomenon of transnational traders’ apparent integration and invisible isolation with local residents and domestic migrants in the new social relationships in Yiwu. These findings will enrich the empirical research on the global space in small- and medium-sized cities in the context of China, and on the dialectical and interchangeable relationship of the trinity of ternary elements in the spatial ternary theory; and help deepen the understanding on urbanization and globalization of small- and medium-sized Chinese cities, and optimize the governance of transnational migrants and the ethnic enclaves they live.

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1 Introduction

Inevitably, intensifying globalization will make profound impact on urban spaces^[1]. Some scholars coined the term of “glocalization”^[2] by combining “globalization” with “localization” to describe “the negotiating interaction between global networks and local social forces, i.e. the mutual adaptive and interconnecting process between globality and locality”^[3]. Meanwhile, transnational entrepreneurship is restructuring the physical, economic, and social spatial structures of many cities in China^{[4][5]}. As there have not been a widely-accepted definition of “transnational entrepreneurship” in academia, referring to arguments by some scholars^{[4][6]}, this research understands it as the process where transnational traders initiate and sustain trade and commercial activities across national boundaries, which then facilitates the production of global space and the reconstruction of local space. The “global space”^① here refers not only to the physical environment accommodating transnational economy, society, and life, but also to the vinculum that connects “locality” and “globe”.^{[7]~[9]}

In the theory of “The Production of Space,” Henri Lefebvre argued that space is a social product that reflects and reacts on the

society; the production of space embodies the interactions between power, capital, class, and landscapes^[10]. The production of global space means that exogenous transnational factors play a part in the development, design, and transformation of space^{[10][11]}. Lefebvre’s theory enables to integrate the associated research on cities and spaces into a concise and comprehensive framework, so as to deepen the understanding and analysis of the production process of space from different dimensions, especially relating to social realities fundamentally.^[12]

Although many researchers have focused on global space, their findings are limited and mainly concentrate on world cities, such as Beijing^{[13][14]}, Shanghai^{[15][16]}, Guangzhou^{[4][6][8][17]~[19]}, Nanjing^{[20]~[22]}, London^[23], Berlin^{[9][24][25]}, and San Francisco^{[26][27]}, especially their ethnic enclaves^{[14][19][21]~[27]}. Wang Li et al. held that national globalism, governmental entrepreneurialism, and neoliberalism are three main models forming global space worldwide, and they essentially correspond to three key actors that form global space, i.e. nations, enterprises, and the society, respectively^[7]. The production of global space in Beijing, Shanghai, and Guangzhou mostly represents the first model, where the nation (China) and transnational enterprises act as the leading role in top-down globalization^[9]. Governmental entrepreneurialism means that local governments invest administrative resources and vast amounts of capital accumulated previously to advance urban economic, social, and living spaces; while the market plays the full role in the

① Some scholars termed such space as the “transnational space.” As it is the same in essence with the “global space,” this paper uses the latter.

production of space under neoliberalism normally seen in Western countries^[7]. However, Lefebvre's theory has rarely been employed to interpret the production of global space, or the production and reproduction of space under the impact of globalized elements, and only two Chinese cities (Guangzhou^[8] and Nanjing^[20]) were studied. Moreover, much research has explored territorialization of ethnic groups in certain spaces, but little attention was paid to the trans-regional and transnational forces and their impact on spatial and local reconstruction^[28].

Yiwu City in Zhejiang Province of China owns the world's largest wholesale market for small goods^[29]. It is also one of the small- and medium-sized cities that witness the most far-reaching impact of globalization and transnational entrepreneurship in China. Guided by Lefebvre's theory, this research analyzes the process, impact, and mechanism of the production of global space in Yiwu, focusing on questions including how the global space develops and evolves; how it has changed the local economic, social, and living relations; and how the local government, state-owned enterprises, transnational traders, local residents, and domestic migrants act and interact. These findings will enrich the empirical research on the global space in small- and medium-sized cities in the context of China, and on the dialectical and interchangeable relationship of the trinity of ternary elements in the spatial ternary theory; help deepen the understanding on urbanization and globalization of such Chinese cities, and optimize the governance of transnational migrants and the ethnic enclaves they live.

2 Research Design

2.1 Theoretical Perspective and Analytical Framework

Lefebvre proposed a conceptual triad^[10] and its dialectics in his theory of the production of space, which then were summarized by many scholars as the "spatial ternary theory"^{[8][30][31]}. Integrating with other arguments^[32], this research summarizes the classification of the ternary elements in the theory—perceived space, conceived space, and lived space from the phenomenological dimension; spatial practice, representations of space, and representational spaces from the linguistic dimension; and physical space, symbolic space, and social space by the spatial type. Ternary spatial elements usually exist simultaneously and uniformly as argued that the production process of space exists in daily life and can be conceived and perceived at the same time^[30], and they are correlated dynamically. In this sense, the spatial ternary theory enables to connect all sectors related to the production of space, and help explore a given space through a dialectical and dynamic lenses^{[30][33]}.

2.2 Study Area

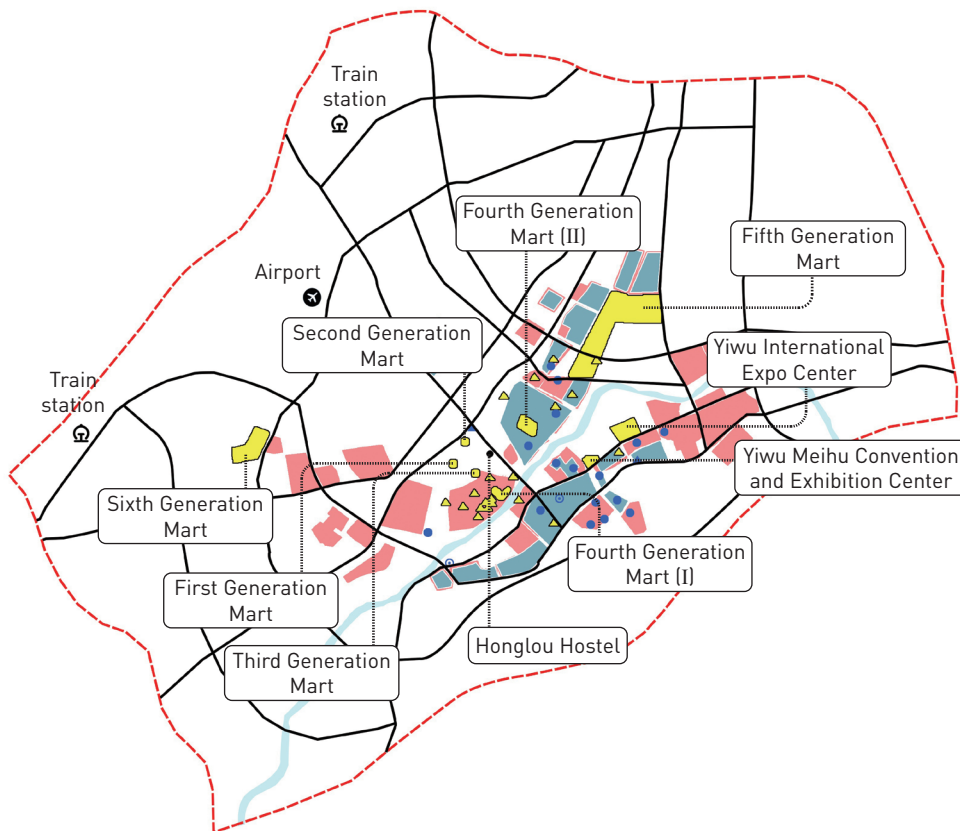
As a globally well-known trading hub, Yiwu attracts many foreign businessmen. They mainly work on trade and commerce, as well as the service industry (e.g. catering, hairdressing, and language and skill training), over 80% of whom are engaged in the import and export business^[34]. Based on the functions of global space discussed above, this research classifies the global space in Yiwu into three types, i.e. the economic space, social space, and living space (Fig. 1), which respectively accommodates the production of physical space, symbolic space, and social space. Combining with the spatial ternary theory, the framework of this research is shown in Figure 2.

Yiwu's economic space is represented by the market^②. The main part of the market includes all kind of wholesale Marts (i.e. the First to Sixth Generation Marts) and exhibition spaces (including Yiwu Meihu Convention and Exhibition Center and Yiwu International Expo Center). The wholesale Marts have been relocated five times and continuously expanded in size. The supplementary part of the market refers to wholesale streets.

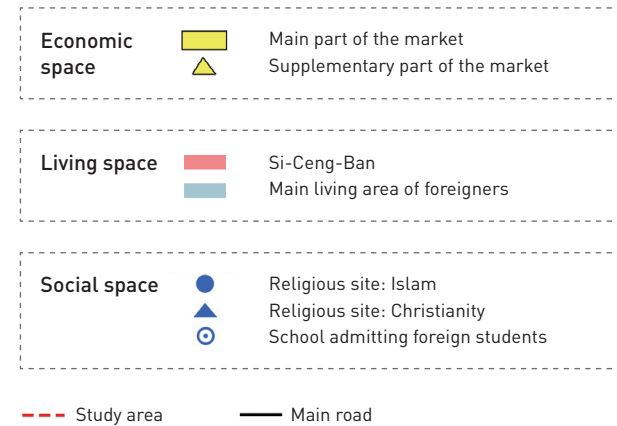
The social space refers to other space that serve foreigners and accommodate transnational social communications, in addition to economic and living spaces. Examples include religious sites and schools admitting foreign students. This research selected religious sites in Yiwu which serve foreigners, local residents, and domestic migrants as the representative of the social space, because transnational social communications frequently happen there. In addition to the Yiwu Mosque and New Grace Christian Church, there are about 14 temporary Islamic praying venues and 12 branches of Christian churches in Yiwu (Fig. 1).

The living space features the Si-Ceng-Ban (四层半), a type of four-and-a-half-story buildings commonly built in the city. Rooted in Yiwu's advanced market-oriented economy, these buildings provide the spaces for production, wholesale, and warehousing uses by self-running or leasing, and demonstrate distinctive local characteristics^[35]. Most of these buildings are owned by local villagers who settled in-place during the reconstruction of villages. The first, second, and third floors are often rented to Chinese and transnational traders—usually the first for production, wholesale, and warehousing, and the second and third are used as living and office places—and the topper floors are kept by owners' themselves for living uses.

② The lowercased "market" refers to the whole trade and commerce space in Yiwu, covering all types of space related to trade and commerce activities; while the capitalized "Market" refers to the main part only.



First Generation Mart: Hu Qing Men Mart
 Second Generation Mart: New Road Mart
 Third Generation Mart: Chengzhong Road Mart
 Fourth Generation Mart (I): Huangyuan Mart
 Fourth Generation Mart (II): Binwang Mart
 Fifth Generation Mart: Yiwu International Trade Mart
 Sixth Generation Mart: Yiwu International Production Materials Market

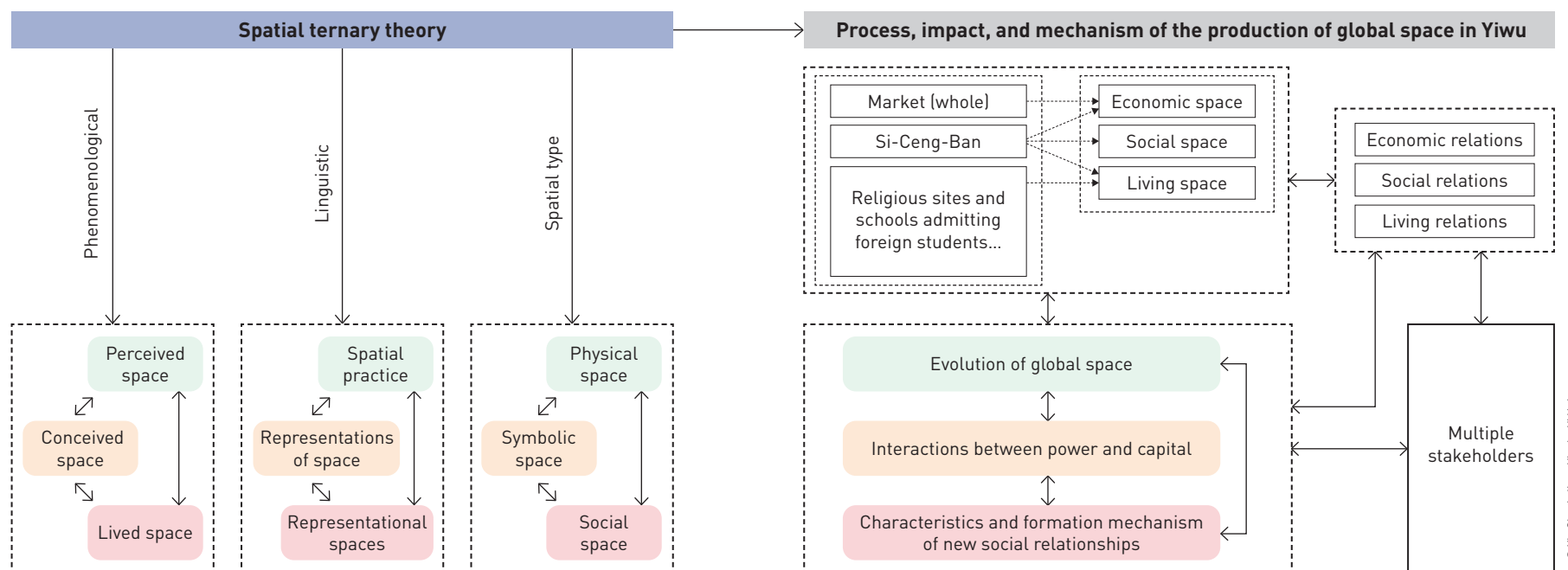


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1. Distribution of the global space distribution in Yiwu
2. Research framework

Serving functions of living, trading, and social communication, Si-Ceng-Ban is a unique global space which integrates the economic, social, and living spaces. On the one hand, as the main venues of wholesale streets that are the supplementary part of the market, Si-

Ceng-Ban is mostly located around the Market and logistics centers (Fig. 1). Wholesale streets were formed through the aggregation of shops that sell the same sorts of commodities (for example, scarf or stationery). Wholesale streets, Marts, and exhibition space



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together make up the globalized economic space in Yiwu and the relationship among them is complementary, symbiotic, and cooperative. Compared with Marts, Si-Ceng-Ban has advantages of more comprehensive functions, lower rent, and closer distance to the Market, thus it is usually the ideal places for accommodating micro-, small-, and medium-sized wholesale enterprises and shops. On the other hand, many transnational traders voluntarily choose to live in Si-Ceng-Ban temporarily or permanently. By now, Jimingshan Community, Binwang Community, and Dongzhou Community have become typical multi-ethnic international communities in Yiwu. Mono-ethnic enclaves are located in smaller international communities, i.e. Jiangnan Community, Houzhai Street, and North Yiwu Area, where traders from South Korea, Iraq, and India live, respectively. In these international communities, the dominant building form is Si-Ceng-Ban, and there are also temporary Islamic praying venues and branches of Christian churches, which accommodate transnational traders' religious activities and facilitate daily communication.

2.3 Research Methods and Data Sources

This research adopted methods of field investigation and in-depth interview. After collecting planning documents, statistical yearbooks, statistical communiques, etc. of Yiwu, the field investigation and in-depth interview were conducted twice on February 10 ~ 12 and February 17 ~ 20, 2022, respectively. There were altogether 22 interviewees chosen by accidental sampling from China Yiwu International Trade Mart, wholesale streets, Exotic Street in Binwang Business Zone ("Exotic Street" hereafter), Korean Style Street, subdistrict offices, and neighborhood committees, for qualitative and informal semi-structural interviews. They are transnational traders, government officials, local residents, and domestic migrants (4 from Pakistan, 1 from Yemen, 1 from South Korea, 1 from Sri Lanka, and the rest from China). The interviews lasted 20 to 90 minutes, focusing on how the participants perceive and experience the global space in Yiwu, and their opinions on the relationships among different groups. In this way, the research aims at probing into the process, impact, and mechanism of the production of global space in Yiwu.

3 The Production of Physical Space and Spatial Practice by Multiple Stakeholders: Evolution of the Global Space in Yiwu

The global space in Yiwu is produced via a series of varied forms of spatial practice and under the accumulation and impact of the

economic, social, and living factors. Spatial practice, which implies social members' perception and action on space, depends mainly on the external and perceivable physical environment^{[33][36]}. In the case of Yiwu, the local government dominates the spatial practice and collaborates with multiple stakeholders, e.g. state-owned enterprises, transnational traders, and local residents, to promote the development of the global space. According to the historical background, policy evolution, and results of field interviews, the production process of global space in Yiwu can be divided into three stages, from the embryonic stage and booming stage to the transformation stage.

3.1 Embryonic Stage: From the 1980s to 2000

Since 1984, Yiwu's urban development had been guided by the local policy of "prioritizing business industry." Under the support of the local government, the First, Second, and Third Generation Marts were constructed successively, which witnessed the temporary roadside Mart replaced with the permanent Mart and then 24-hour wholesale Mart. Till the Third Generation Mart, numerous traders from Zhejiang and other provinces of China had been attracted to Yiwu, even causing stalls in short supply. As many traders had run their business near the Mart, wholesale streets were then formed.

In 1988, the former Yiwu County was administratively upgraded to a county-level city. In 1993, the state-owned Zhejiang China Commodities City Group Co., Ltd. ("CCC Group" hereafter) was founded. Since then, enterprise-oriented operation has become the key mode for the local government to promote the market development in Yiwu. Later, milestones such as the completion of the Fourth Generation Mart, organization of the First China Yiwu International Commodities Fair, and foundation of Yiwu China Commodities City Exhibition Co., Ltd. as one of the holding subsidiaries of CCC Group ("CCC Exhibition" hereafter) all contributed to a better trading environment and a higher international reputation of Yiwu. Gradually, the Honglou Hostel adjacent to the Huangyuan Mart (part of the Fourth Generation Mart) became a common choice for more and more transnational traders' short-term stay. As the customs and logistics procedures could be handled in the Hostel, many transnational traders set up offices or companies there. By opening temporary Islamic praying venues and Central-Asian-flavor restaurants, the Hostel became an example of Yiwu's global space mixed with multiple functions (e.g. economic, social, and living functions) at this stage. Moreover, the Interim Procedures on Old Village Reconstruction in Yiwu released in 1999 consented and encouraged the reconstruction of villages that were incorporated into the planned urban areas, and village

collectives were permitted to determine the detailed reconstruction regulations. This legalized the construction of Si-Ceng-Ban, and even generated profound impact on the development of the global space in Yiwu.

3.2 Booming Stage: From 2001 to 2012

After China's accession to WTO in 2001, Yiwu has been witnessing a booming international trade growth by its cost advantage, propelling its global space to become full-fledged. Initiated by the local government and the CCC Group, the Market was gradually shaped up with the construction of Yiwu Meihu Convention and Exhibition Center, China Yiwu International Trade Mart, Yiwu International Expo Center, and Yiwu International Production Materials Market. There are several starred hotels around Yiwu International Expo Center and Yiwu Meihu Convention and Exhibition Center, fostering an exhibition cluster centered by Yiwu International Expo Center. As a wholesale center and the first AAAA tourist destination for shopping in China, China Yiwu International Trade Mart promoted the functional changes of surrounding areas into business, office, and hotel uses, gradually forming a trading cluster.

Also at this stage, Honglou Hostel declined after a short heyday and was finally demolished in 2017, because of the development and relocation of wholesale Marts. Meanwhile, many Si-Ceng-Ban communities were constructed in an orderly matrix pattern^③[37]. They replaced the Honglou Hostel to become the optimal choice for transnational traders' short-term stay due to its favorable locations, flexible spatial usage, and low rents. Many exotic-style streets then emerged in the Si-Ceng-Ban communities, e.g. the Exotic Street and the Korean Style Street. The Exotic Street was formed spontaneously in the embryonic phase and then planned by the government after 2010. The Korean Style Street originated from the aggregation of South Korean traders and Korean Chinese and offers daily necessities and services for these groups. It can be seen that apart from the wholesale streets and exotic-style streets, most Si-Ceng-Ban communities showing highly homogenous appearance lack in harmony with surrounding architectural styles and the urban fabrics of downtown Yiwu (particularly the modern buildings and squares). Few public service facilities or green space are

located in these communities either. Many interviewees held that the Si-Ceng-Ban communities negatively impact the overall urban landscape, living quality, and city image of Yiwu.

3.3 Transformation Stage: Post-2013

After the Sixth Generation Mart was completed in 2013, the spatial layout of Yiwu's wholesale Marts was basically formed. In the same year, after being designated as one of the strategic stronghold cities of the Belt and Road Initiative, Yiwu further developed its supporting infrastructure conducive to foreign trading activities, such as the rapid transit network and logistics network (represented by three modern logistics parks and a bonded logistics hub). Meanwhile, The Master Plan of Yiwu (2013–2030) proposed strategies of integrating trade and logistics with the Internet to propel its transformation of urban development.

Later in 2020, many transnational traders left Yiwu due to the outbreak of the COVID-19 pandemic. The local government, state-owned enterprises, local residents, and domestic migrants have played a greater role in the production of global space, which intensifies to the localization of the global space. Meanwhile, Yiwu government took various measures to promote the transformation of transnational trade. For example, livestreaming platforms were launched in 2020 on Yiwugo, an online B2B website established in 2013. Relevant data have shown that the e-commerce transaction value of Yiwu exceeded 310 billion yuan in 2020, registering a year-on-year increase of nearly 13%^[38]. Among the total size, the cross-border e-commerce transaction value was above 87 billion yuan, increasing over 15% year on year^[38].

Field investigation found that many shops in China Yiwu International Trade Mart were vacant, and traditional offline and export business had increasingly combined with online mode. Moreover, the catering, coffee, and hairdressing businesses mainly serving transnational traders, as well as the relevant urban landscapes, are attracting more and more local residents and domestic tourists. The distinctive commercial patterns and landscapes (such as storefront style) that were dominated by foreign culture have gradually integrated with local cultural styles. Thus, the localization of transnational landscapes in Yiwu is intensified.

4 The Production of Symbolic Space and Delocalized Representations of Space

The representations of space refers to the space conceived by governments, scientists, planners, architects, etc., where power,

③ Building density of Si-Ceng-Ban is about 23% ~ 27%, and the cornice is no higher than 13 m. Usually there are 10 rooms in such a building, where most rooms are 10 m in length and 3.6 m in width. Distance between buildings is about 14 ~ 16 m and the floor area ratio is no larger than 1.3 [Source: Ref. [37]].

institution, and capital interact and negotiate^[36]. In the production of global space in Yiwu, the representations of space facilitates the production of space with policies (e.g. to identify the position and image of a city), institutions, and plans formulated by the local government. This is particularly true with the production of symbolic space, which aims to create “political spectacle”^④^[39]^[40] of the “Small Commodity Capital of the World” (“Small Commodity Capital” hereafter). China Yiwu International Trade Mart, Yiwu Meihu Convention and Exhibition Center, Yiwu International Expo Center, as well as wholesale streets and exotic-style streets, are all typical representatives of such a political spectacle. Governmental entrepreneurialism^[41] was often obviously seen in the creation of such a spectacle, where the local government integrates administrative wills and political ambitions into the evolution of urban space^[7]. This fosters to cluster associated functional spaces and produce the symbolic space, making the space embody the “state entrepreneurialism”^[42].

4.1 The Production of Symbolic Space

Since the late 20th century, Yiwu has promoted the production of symbolic space by strengthening guidance from associated plans, announcing favorable policies, and organizing large exhibitions and festival events, hoping to build the Small Commodity Capital. Such symbolic space concentrates on the market and Si-Ceng-Ban.

The key engine to build the Small Commodity Capital was the decisions made by the Yiwu government. Since the late 1980s, the government has made a series of master plans to clarify the development orientation of the city. Specific actions included the construction of the Marts, exhibition centers, exotic-style streets, etc. These places as symbolic space to publicize Yiwu’s cultures not only provide venues for transnational exhibitions and events, but also become destinations for millions of visitors. For instance, wholesale streets set in Si-Ceng-Ban provide mixed space for production, sale, and living. They demonstrate unique landscape formed by numerous signboards of the same-sort, and export-oriented small commodities that are densely arranged with similar appearance. Moreover, building facades, business forms, street furniture, shop windows, and signs in the exotic-style streets, together with the transnational traders, also create a unique landscape associated with the Small Commodity Capital.

④ “Political spectacle” was derived from *Society of the Spectacle* by Guy Debord, referring to the thing or object represented by symbols, signs, or visions and used to demonstrate the image and substance of political powers [Source: Ref. [39]].

Debord stated that the appearances and symbolic packaging of commodities is more decisive than their actual use value^[39]. Shop windows and signs play an essential role in the creation of the political spectacle of Yiwu as the Small Commodity Capital.

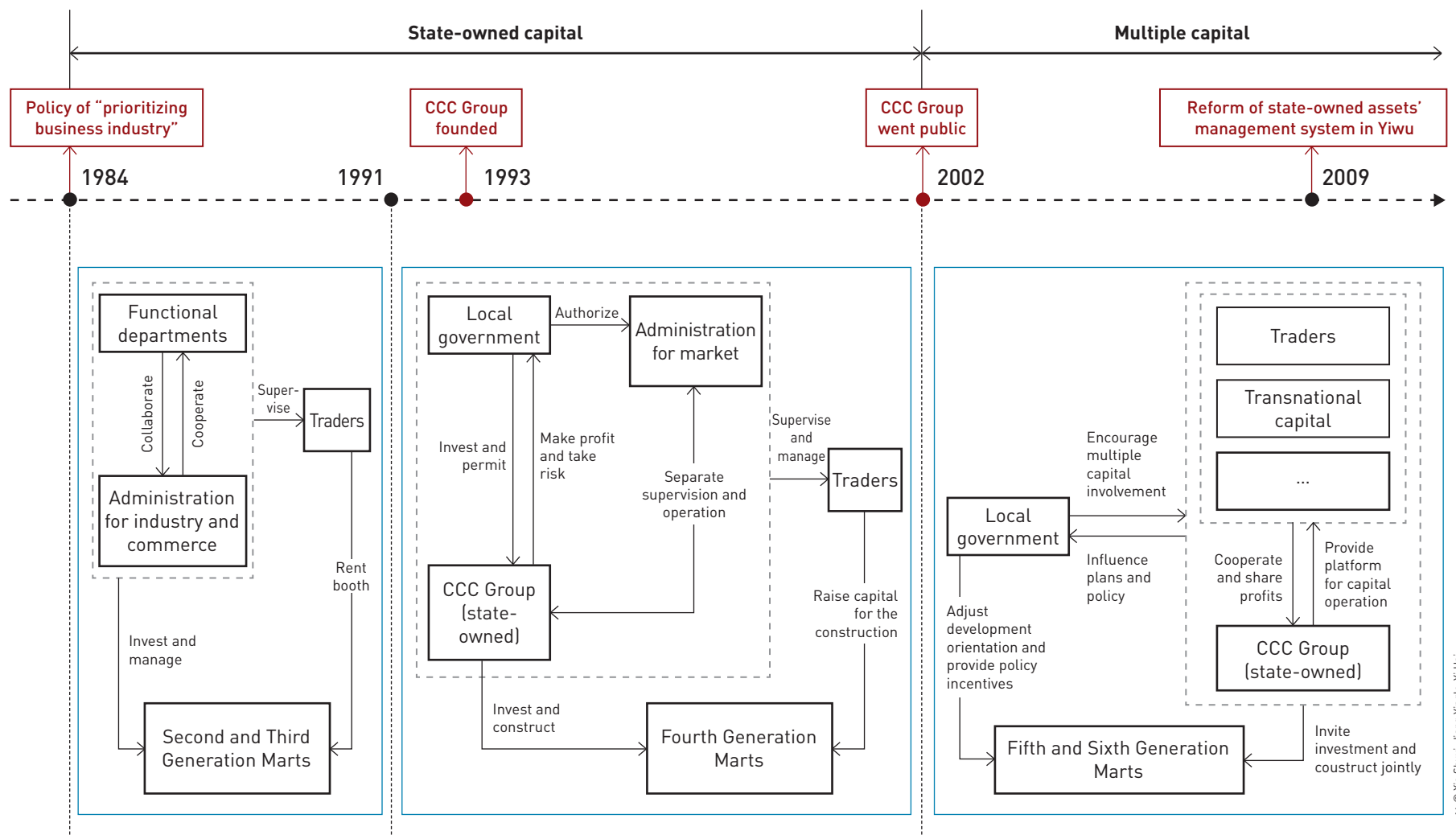
Many large international exhibitions and festival events also propel the evolution of global space in Yiwu and the creation of the political spectacle as the Small Commodity Capital. National exhibitions like China Yiwu International Commodities (Standards) Fairs have accelerated the upgrade and restructuring of the industrial, consumption, and social spaces. For instance, many starred hotels and shopping malls have been introduced around these spaces, helping transform event spaces under the impact of mega-projects into experience spaces for transnational consumption^[7]. Moreover, events like International Esports Tournament and Yiwu International Food Drink Culture Festival have attracted worldwide attention, further promoting the production of symbolic space.

4.2 Interactions Between Power and Capital in the Production of Global Space in Yiwu

The production of global space in Yiwu reflects the delocalized representations of space, which takes place in the form of the interactions between multiple power and capital. The interactions are particularly demonstrated as that the structural forces including that power and capital lead the development of the Marts and the bottom-up social force leads the development of Si-Ceng-Ban. Focusing on the Marts and Si-Ceng-Ban, the following sections examine the logic and mechanism of the production of global space in Yiwu by reviewing the interactions between multiple power and capital.

4.2.1 Development of the Marts: From State-Owned Capital to Multiple Capital Involvement

According to the intervention timing of multiple capital, the development of the Marts can be divided into the two phases driven by state-owned capital and multiple capital, respectively (Fig. 3). The First Generation Mart was formed spontaneously. Since 1990 when the master plan of Yiwu was released, the government started to intervene the planning of the Marts with a goal of building Yiwu into a trading and industrial city that features small-commodity marts. Under the unified planning and construction by the government, the size of the Marts was gradually expanded. Before the founding of CCC Group, the Second Generation Mart, Third Generation Mart, and Fourth Generation Mart (I) were all funded by the government that then permitted



3. Development of Marts and the multiple capital involved

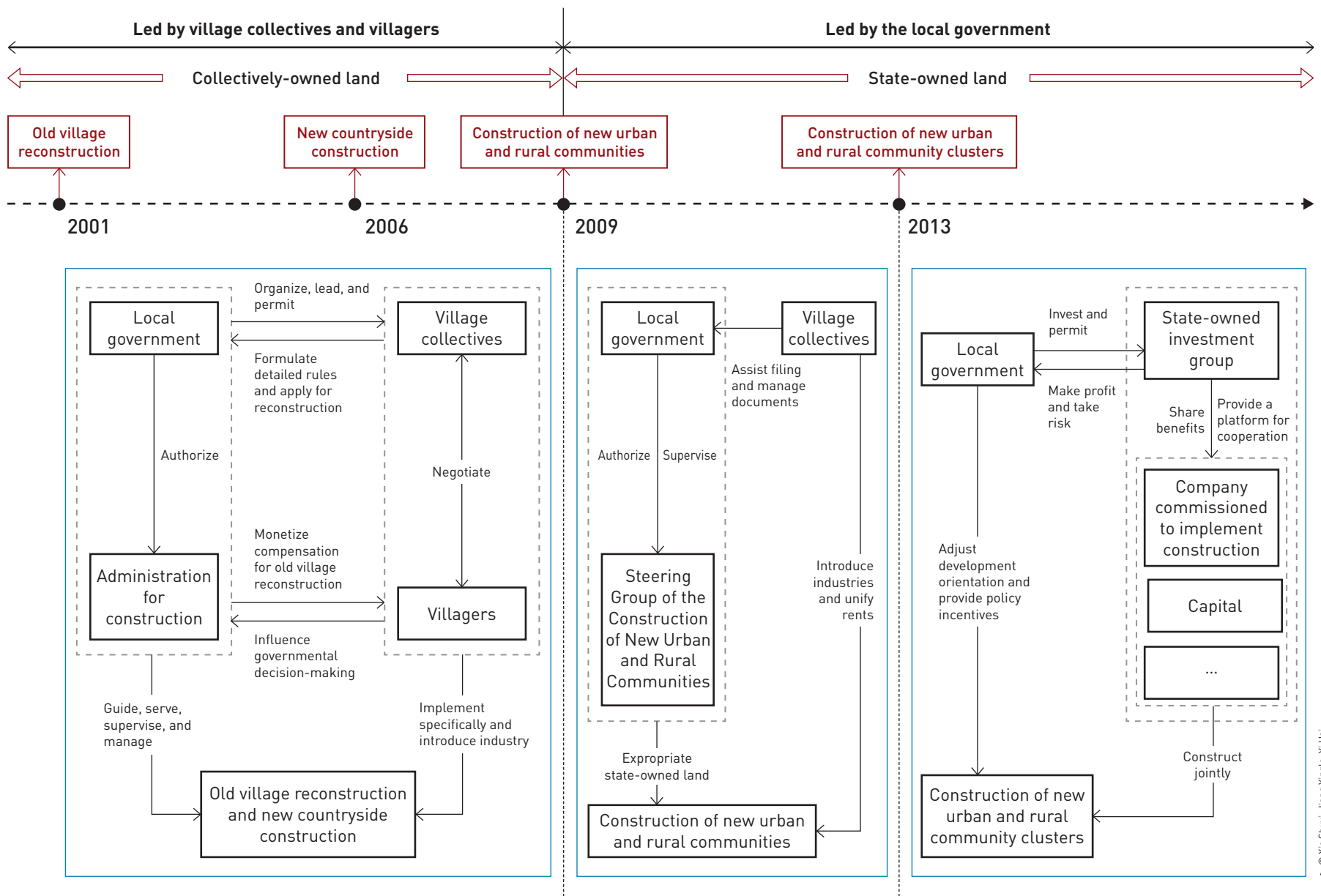
CCC Group (as the agent) to run the Marts. Under the support of governmental financial investment via holding shares, CCC Group became the economic entity that enabled to effectively integrate the market resources and to be responsible to governmental investment and financing.

After went public since 2002, CCC Group has been run by multiple capital, e.g. transnational capital (including investment from Hong Kong), private capital, and state-owned capital. Such multiple capital jointly promotes the development of the Marts, especially the construction of Yiwu International Trade Mart and Yiwu International Production Materials Market. This further promoted the development of small commodity trade of Yiwu. The rapid development of Internet has given rise to the transformation of trading modes, resulting in that cross-border e-commerce and associated parks spring up. By 2022, CCC Group had collaborated

with over 10 financial institutions to launch credit products, in order to support local business entities and establish the a mode (combining online platforms and offline parks) of cross-border e-commerce.

4.2.2 Development of Si-Ceng-Ban: Public-Private Negotiation and Multiple-Interest Coordination

Si-Ceng-Ban has undergone stages of old village reconstruction, new countryside construction, and construction of new urban and rural communities. Such stages have witnessed village collectives and villagers' negotiation with the local government for self-interest. The watershed of the development history of Si-Ceng-Ban occurred in 2009 when the Measures on the Development of New Urban and Rural Communities in Yiwu was released (Fig. 4). The following sections discuss how



4. Development history of Si-Ceng-Ban: public-private negotiation and multiple-interest coordination

the negotiation among different stakeholders facilitated the construction and transformation of Si-Ceng-Ban.

Si-Ceng-Ban was mostly constructed from 2001 to 2009, led by village collectives or villagers. Following the Interim Procedures on Old Village Reconstruction in Yiwu, the village collectives negotiated with villagers about the compensation standards, and conducted statistics about population and land area. The construction of Si-Ceng-Ban took the village as a unit and was planned uniformly; the villagers were resettled at their house sites, where multi-story housing was reconstructed to replace their old houses completely^[43]. In the construction process,

villagers took advantage of ill-defined policies to occupy larger area of house sites^[37], and even influenced governmental decision-making^{[35][37]}. It is noteworthy that at this stage the land was still a collective property. In order to marketize and capitalize the house sites, village collectives began to foster industrial clusters by introducing industrial associations and leading enterprises, so as to attract more small- and micro-sized enterprises specialized in commodity production, warehousing, and wholesale. To maintain a friendly partnership between local residents and traders living in Si-Ceng-Ban, village collectives also unified the rent and attempted to create a favorable business environment and social networks.

The construction of Si-Ceng-Ban brought out rapid expansion of urban space^[37]. Urban development of Yiwu was partly impeded by Si-Ceng-Ban, due to shortage of land caused by unplanned construction and sprawl, as well as the over-concentration of wholesale, warehousing, and production space in the downtown. To get out of this dilemma, the government proposed to replace Si-Ceng-Ban with high-rise apartments by promulgating the Measures on the Construction of New Urban and Rural Communities in Yiwu in 2009. However, this proposal was not well received as it changed the land use and villagers needed to pay certain reconstruction fees. In response, the government organized and set up a Steering Group of the Construction of New Urban and Rural Communities, hoping to transform Si-Ceng-Ban communities into market-oriented communities with intensive land-use and multi-story and high-rise housing. Later, Measures on the Construction of New Urban and Rural Community Clusters in Yiwu (Trial) announced in 2013 stipulated the government's leading role in village reconstruction and the implementation of leasing state-owned land-use right. The government then founded a state-owned enterprise (Yiwu City & Country New Community Investment & Construction Co.) to act as a financing platform and run the construction projects, where village collectives no longer played a leading role. However, such transformation projects proved to be a failure because of the limited land quota and funding channels and the little engagement of villagers.

Overall, the construction of Si-Ceng-Ban at the earlier stages was acquiesced by the local government as it indeed had facilitated the local small commodity trades, while village collectives and villagers earned profits from Si-Ceng-Ban as well. This, however, then became an obstacle in coordinating multiple interests in the transformation of Si-Ceng-Ban. As a result, many of these buildings remain in downtown Yiwu, as a salient part of the political spectacle of the Small Commodity Capital.

5 The Production of Social Space and the Representational Spaces of Multiple Stakeholders

The production of social space emphasizes social norm, values, and experience^{[10][36]}. Representational spaces refer to the places directly used in people's everyday life, which emphasizes life experience and the social relationships generated in the interaction between users and environment^[33], and focuses on users' experience and feedback of representations of space and spatial practice. In the production of global space in Yiwu, the usage, experience, and feedback of global space by transnational

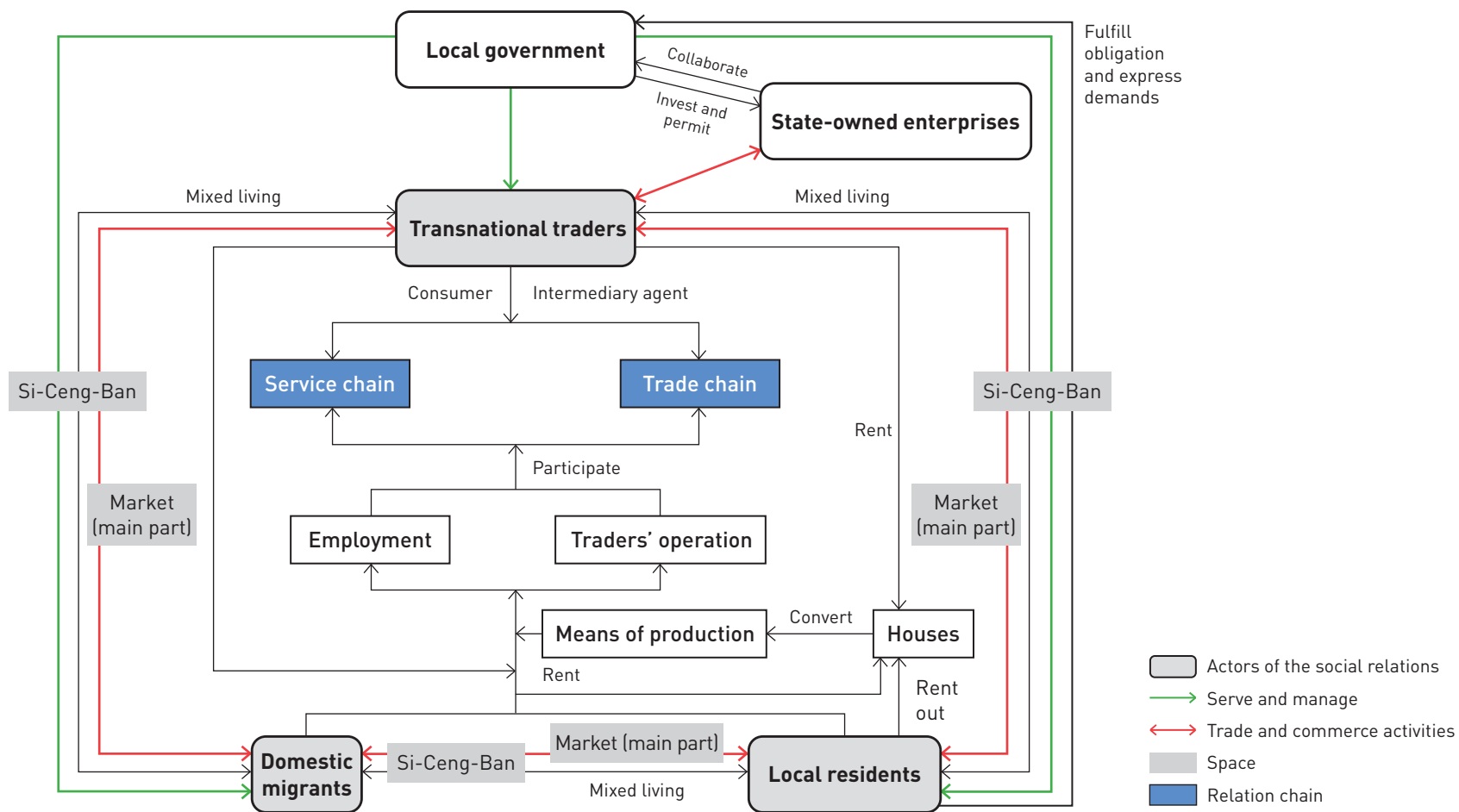
traders, local residents, and domestic migrants in turn urge the structural forces dominating the representations of space (i.e. government and capital) to actively respond, thus further propelling the development of global space.

5.1 Characteristics of New Social Relationships: Integration and Isolation

Space not only is supported by social relationships but also produces social relationships; the production of space is a process of reorganizing social relationships and constructing social orders^[9]. In the era of traditional agriculture, local social relationships in Yiwu were maintained depending on the consanguinity of acquaintance society. In the process of the production of global space, new social relationships have been gradually formed based on transnational trades. New social relationships mainly involve not only the chains of trade and service, but also stakeholders such as transnational traders, local residents, and domestic migrants (Fig. 5). Due to the similarity in language, custom, and cultural background, a pan-ethnic friendship pattern^[44] has been formed among Korean, Hui, and Uyghur Chinese migrants and transnational traders as a salient tie in constructing new local social relationships.

Most foreigners living in Yiwu intermingle with local residents and domestic migrants, which set the stage for frequent communications and interactions with each other. This is somehow different from other cases in China, such as the communities of Korean people in Wangjing of Beijing^[14], Japanese people in Gubei of Shanghai^[15], and black people in Xiaobei Road of Guangzhou^[19]. Besides, foreigners in Yiwu are almost work on transnational trade. Most foreigners are well educated with high professional capacity (especially business knowledge), as well as good manpower and financial resources. They are good at developing strong social relationships and networks within and outside their ethnic groups, which corroborates the finding by some scholars that immigrants with higher social economic status can better develop intergroup communications^[45]. Furthermore, Yiwu has a younger age structure of permanent residents—the population of people aged from 15 to 59 accounts for 75.88% of the total population according to the seventh National Census. Field investigation found that this group (population aged from 15 to 59) mainly work on commerce and trade service industry and get acquainted with many foreign traders home and abroad. This causes a higher openness and inclusiveness of local society. Relatively, other foreign communities mentioned above are mainly formed by mono-ethnic networks, which have a lower level of social inclusiveness^{[14][15][19]}.

Nevertheless, field investigation has discovered a phenomenon



5. Paradigm of the new social relationships in Yiwu

of transnational traders' apparent integration and invisible isolation with local residents and domestic migrants in the new social relationship in Yiwu. This has a similarity with the Korean community in Wangjing of Beijing^[14]. Yet, transnational traders in Yiwu show a lower initiative of integration with local communities. Many locals rent their Si-Ceng-Ban to transnational traders, but they have seldom daily communication with each other (Table 1). Most of transnational traders, except the ones married with Chinese, are still relatively socially isolated, whose social networks are often built upon their own ethnic groups with business, geographical^⑤, and consanguinity ties. There thus is an invisible isolation between Chinese and foreign residents, forming the neighborhood relationship featuring a lack of close connections and deep communication. In other words, there is rarely a true daily neighborhood life in such communities.

Generally, although the government has taken a series of measures to integrate foreigners into local society (such as establishing a foreign service center that is authorized for visa

and residence permit, introducing a foreigners' ID card system, and holding religious and celebration events), field investigation disclosed that foreigners' educational and medical problems have not been sufficiently addressed, which largely impact their social fusion with local society.

5.2 Representational Spaces: Social Interactions of Multiple Stakeholders

This paper, endorsing views of some scholars^[18], holds that there are two types of production of space. One is "strong production of space," i.e. policy intervention by the government and capital

⑤ Geographic circles of transnational traders in Yiwu are mainly created upon ethnic groups from same countries, in form of chambers of commerce, such as African, Arabic, and Korean Chambers of Commerce. With obvious geographic characteristics, these chambers of commerce have acted as bridges between transnational traders and the local government and society, as well as transnational traders themselves.

Table 1: Excerpt of the interview with transnational traders

No.	Nationality	Age	Occupation/social identity	Raw interview materials
1	China	45	Community administrative staff	To facilitate foreigners to better adapt to the life in Yiwu and participate in community construction, we have made many efforts to improve community management services, such as the establishment of the Chinese and foreign mediation room and the “United Nations Conference,” which has gained sound achievements. However, most communications between foreigners and other community members is still occasional...
2	Pakistan	19	Child of transnational trader	I was born and grew up in Yiwu. I occasionally play with my Chinese classmates. We live in the community opposite the mosque, where we often go for worship...
3	China	40	Domestic migrant	Most owners of food shops on the street opposite the mosque are from Xinjiang, including me. We usually only do business on Friday morning at the worship. These shopkeepers are almost acquainted with each other, and contact each other for business opportunities...
4	China	35	Owner of Si-Ceng-Ban	We rent the second and third floors of our Si-Ceng-Ban to foreigners for business or living use, and we ourselves live in the fourth floor. Yet, we seldom talk with each other in daily life because they have their own social circles and business channels...
5	Republic of Korea	50	Transnational trader	We Koreans have our own social networks, through which we introduce jobs to each other, and get accompanied to climb mountains. We seldom meet and chat with our Chinese neighbors, except simple talks in occasional community activities...

play a leading role in the production of space; the other is “weak production of space,” i.e. social forces dominate the production of space. Combining with the analyses above, we believe that the production of global space in Yiwu demonstrates the both two types. Space of strong production is represented by communities of Si-Ceng-Ban (such as Jimingshan International Community and the Exotic Street) and the Market. Space of weak production is represented by the wholesale streets and Korean Style Street, and in all these streets Si-Ceng-Ban is dominant.

In the strong production of space, under the background of continuously deep-going globalization process, the transnational trade in Yiwu is increasingly accepted and recognized. More and more domestic migrants and transnational traders come to Yiwu, and the number of local residents who work on transnational business and associated services also increase, according to the field investigation. The positive response of the local government and capital forces is manifested as continuing to rapidly develop transnational trade and supporting services, meanwhile creating related “political spectacle” such as China Yiwu International Trade Mart, and the Exotic Street that satisfy the spatial imagination and

identity about Yiwu as the Small Commodity Capital. On the one hand, with the goal of building the Small Commodity Capital, the government takes actions to continuously adjust urban development orientation, and associated plans and policies supporting transnational trade. On the other hand, the government regulates the development priorities, scale, and image of the production of global space through capital control. In the weak production of space, the growing demands of transnational traders and domestic migrants in real estate renting for living, working, and production uses are met through the spatial practice by local residents. All these reflect the dialectical relationship of the transformation between representational spaces, representations of space, and spatial practice in the production of global space in Yiwu.

6 Conclusions

Due to the disparity in urban development history and development orientation, and the differences of globalization levels in policy, economy, and society, there exist variances in the development process, evolution mechanism, and driving force

of global space among cities of China and the world. This paper attempts to analyze the process of the production of global space in Yiwu and the interactions among multiple stakeholders by introducing spatial ternary theory as a theoretical framework. This research enriches the empirical studies on the dialectical relationship of the trinity transformation among spatial practice, representations of space, and representational spaces.

This research also responds to the query of some scholars that whether global space only exists in world cities^[8] by filling the research gap of the global space in small- and medium-sized cities. The development of global space in Yiwu, one of such small- and medium-sized cities in China that have been most profoundly influenced by the globalization process, has gone through a process from delocalization, globalization and to relocalization. During this process, Yiwu has been transformed from an agricultural county towards a well-known global hub of small commodity trade. This also reflects a process of how globalized economic, social, and living spaces are locally constructed and reconstructed in Yiwu—this is a result of combined effects of marketization, urbanization, and globalization as well. This process is tightly related with policy and institution transition at national and local scales. The actions of central and local governments include providing policy guarantee; adjusting and orienting urban spatial functions and development directions by urban planning means; and attracting multiple capital (e.g. state-owned capital, private capital, and transnational capital) and encouraging diverse stakeholders (e.g. transnational traders, local residents, and domestic migrants) to actively participate in the production of global space.

Overall, the production of global space in Yiwu is jointly promoted by internal and external driving factors. Internal driving factors include urban transition and upgrading strategies; governmental entrepreneurialism of the local government at the meso scale; and actions of state-owned enterprises, transnational traders, local residents, and domestic migrants. External driving factors include economic globalization, macro policies by the central government, and regional economic development plans. In this process, governmental entrepreneurialism of the local government that has been directly influenced by globalization is a key engine to propel the development of global space. State-owned enterprises are entrusted by the government to develop, construct, and manage global space. Both the transnational trade chain and local life service chain not only provide opportunities for transnational traders, local residents, and domestic migrants to exchange with each other, but also promote the gradual formation of globalized economic, social, and living spaces with obvious local

characteristics in Yiwu. Wherein, transnational traders participate in the production of global space as intermediaries in the transnational trade chain and as consumers in the local life service chain. Meanwhile, local residents and domestic migrants participate in the production process mainly by real estate renting and working on transnational trade and commerce, as well as service industry.

This study reveals that the production of global space combines with both strong and weak production of space. Particularly, the strong production of space demonstrates obvious features of the spatial production mode of local governmental entrepreneurialism. Agreeing with the argument by scholars including Li Zhigang et al.^[4], the authors hold that under the background of transnational entrepreneurship, the global space in Yiwu shows the characteristics of consumer space, informal space, and differentiated space. The informal space, represented by the wholesale streets and Korean Style Street, is manifested as Yiwu’s weak production of space. It demonstrates a low-end globalization^[46] created by bottom-up means and features poor stability, strong randomness, and low economic efficiency^[4]. In the future, how to develop the global space in Yiwu in the context of globalization transition remains to be further discussed. In addition, some comparative studies on global space of cities involving varied types and scales at home and abroad also need more efforts in terms of the production modes, interactions with urban development and cultural policies of local governments, and social integration of different ethnic groups. Local governments should further consider how to go beyond localized management to actively manage, guide, and contrive the development of global space.

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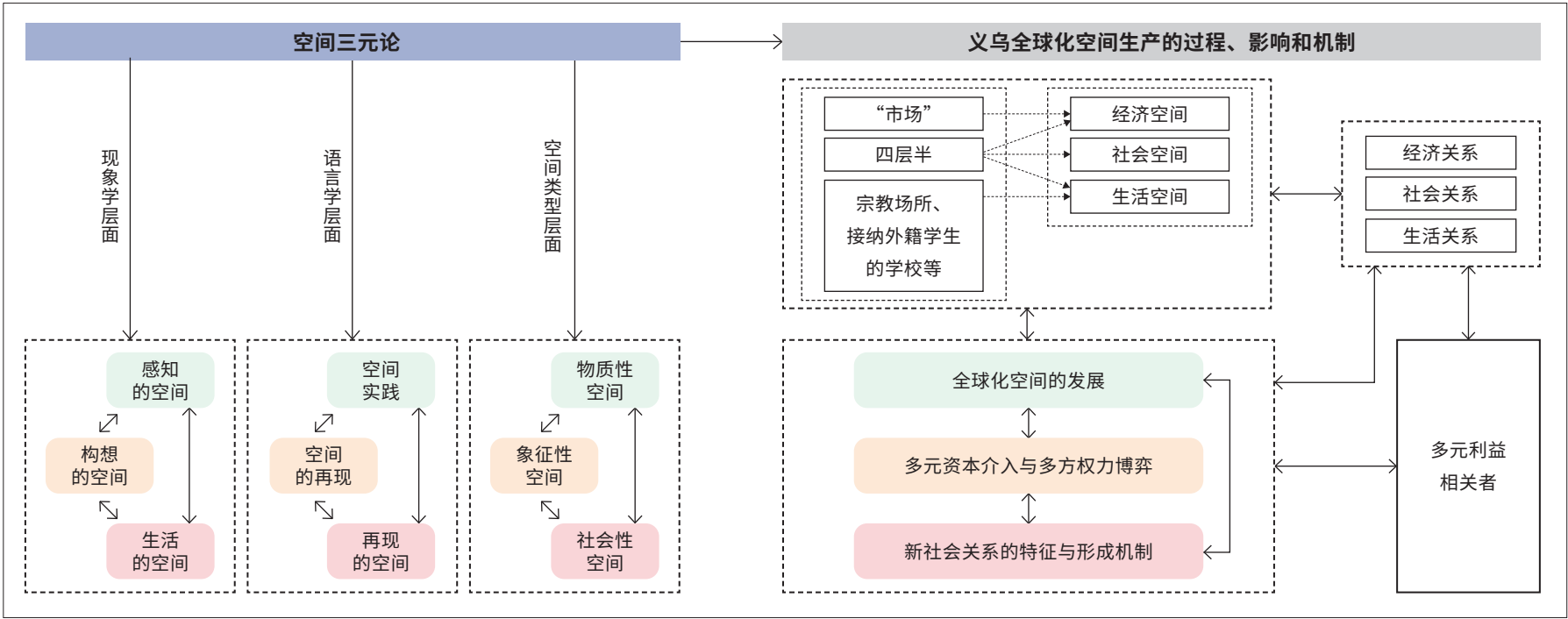
跨国商贸主义背景下全球化空间的生产： 基于浙江省义乌市的实证研究

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图文摘要



文章亮点

- 将空间三元论引入义乌的研究中，填补了对中小型城市全球化空间的研究空白
- 义乌全球化空间是自上而下的政府权力与自下而上的社会力量共同作用的结果
- 义乌全球化空间的发展经历了去地方化－全球化－再地方化的过程
- 义务的贸易链和服务链促进了不同群体的互动，形成全球化经济、社会和生活空间
- 义乌跨国商贸者与本地居民、外来人口之间形成表面融入、隐形隔离的社会关系

关键词

全球化空间生产；空间三元论；
跨国商贸主义；政府企业主义；
社会关系；景观；义乌

本文基于跨国商贸主义视角，以“空间三元论”为理论分析框架，采用实地考察、深度访谈等方法，深入阐释义乌全球化空间生产的过程、影响和机制，重点剖析自20世纪80年代以来地方政府、国有企业、跨国商贸者、当地居民、外来人口等多元利益相关者在其中扮演的角色及其互动过程。研究发现，1）义乌全球化空间的发展经历了去地方化－全球化－再地方化的过程，体现了跨国商贸主义影响下中国中小型城市经济、社会、生活关系的地方建构、重构过程；2）义乌全球化空间的发展是自上而下的政府权力与自下而上的社会力量共同作用的结果，其中地方政府企业主义行为是推动义乌全球化空间发展的关键引擎，而全球化是影响地方政府企业主义行为的直接动力；3）义乌跨国商贸者与本地居民、外来人口之间形成表面融入、隐形隔离的社会关系。研究丰富了对中国语境下中小型城市全球化空间的研究，以及对空间三元论中三元要素三位一体相互转化、辩证关系的实证研究，同时对理解中国中小型城市的城镇化与全球化进程及优化跨国移民、族裔聚居区的管理等有所裨益。

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1 引言

全球化的不断推进必将对城市的内部空间产生深远影响^[1]。一些学者将“全球化”与“本土化”两个概念相结合，提出“全球本土化”（glocalization）概念^[2]，认为它“体现了全球网络与本土社会力量此消彼长的互动过程，亦即全球性和本土性相互适应与联结的过程”^[3]。与此同时，“跨国商贸主义”（transnational entrepreneurship）正在重塑中国许多城市的物质、经济和社会空间结构^{[4][5]}。当前，跨国商贸主义的准确定义在国内外学界尚未达成共识，本文参考部分学者的观点^{[4][6]}，认为跨国商贸主义即跨国商贸者跨越国界创造和维持商贸活动，从而推动全球化空间生产和地方重构的进程。这里的“全球化空间”（global space）^①既是承载跨国经济、社会、生活的主要载体，也是在城市环境中产生的一类连接“地方”与“全球”的枢纽区域。^{[7]-[9]}

亨利·列斐伏尔的“空间生产”（The Production of Space）理论提出，空间是社会的产物，但也反映和反作用于社会；空间的生产是权力、资本、阶级与空间景观相互作用、相互影响的过程^[10]。全球化空间的生产预示着空间在开发、设计、改造的过程中融入外生的跨国要素^{[10][11]}。列斐伏尔的这一理论能够将城市和相关研究系统地整合到一个简洁且全面的研究框架中，便于从不同层面理解和分析空间生产过程，特别是从根本上联系社会现实去理解空间。^[12]

① 部分学者将这一类空间定义为“跨国空间”，考虑到全球化空间与跨国空间的本质内涵无异，本文将该类空间统一表述为“全球化空间”。

全球化空间研究近年来吸引了许多学者的关注，但成果有限且主要聚焦于北京^{[13][14]}、上海^{[15][16]}、广州^{[4][6][8][17]-[19]}、南京^{[20]-[22]}、伦敦^[23]、柏林^{[9][24][25]}、旧金山^{[26][27]}等中外世界城市，特别是其中的族裔聚居区^{[14][19][21]-[27]}。王立等学者认为，国家全球主义、政府企业主义与新自由主义是构成世界范围内全球化空间形成的三大模式，实质上这三种主义正好对应国家、企业与社会三种形塑全球化空间的重要行为体^[7]。北京、上海、广州等中国世界城市的全球化空间生产大多具有明显的国家全球主义空间生产模式的特征，表现为国家和跨国公司所主导的自上而下的全球化力量^[9]。政府企业主义即地方政府从自身利益出发，将行政资源和前期发展积累的大量资本直接注入到城市经济、社会、生活空间的发展中，而在常见于西方国家的新自由主义空间生产模式中，市场作用得到充分发挥^[7]。值得注意的是，从全球范围来看，使用列斐伏尔的空间生产理论来诠释全球化空间生产或全球化要素影响下的空间生产与再生产的研究较少，且极少聚焦于中国城市（仅涉及广州^[8]、南京^[20]）。此外，学界已有较多研究探究了族裔群体于特定空间的领域化实践，但却鲜少关注跨地方和跨国尺度的力量及其对空间和地方的重塑^[28]。

浙江省义乌市拥有全球最大的小商品批发市场^[29]，是中国受全球化和跨国商贸主义影响最深远的中小型城市之一。本研究以义乌为例，基于列斐伏尔的空间生产理论视角，探讨义乌全球化空间生产的过程、影响和机制，具体包括义乌全球化空间如何发展与演变，如何改变了义乌的经济、社会和生活关系；以及在义乌全球化空间的生产过程中，地方政府、国有企业、跨国商贸者、当地居民、外来人口等多元利益相关者分别扮演了怎样的角色、产生了怎样的互动。研究成果将有助于丰富对中国语境下中小型城市全球化空间的研究，以及对空间三元论中三元要素三位

一体相互转化、辩证关系的实证研究，也对理解中国中小型城市的城镇化与全球化进程及优化跨国移民、族裔聚居区的管理等有所裨益。

2 研究设计

2.1 理论视角与分析框架

列斐伏尔的空间生产理论提出了空间的三元统一（triad）^[10]及其辩证过程，许多学者将其归纳为“空间三元论”^{[8][30][31]}。本研究结合部分学者的观点^[32]，将空间三元论中三元要素出现的三个层面归纳如下：现象学层面表达为感知的空间（perceived space）、构想的空间（conceived space）、生活的空间（lived space）；语言学层面对应空间实践（spatial practice）、空间的再现（representations of space）、再现的空间（representational spaces）；空间类型上对应物质性空间、象征性空间、社会性空间。空间三元要素具有同时性和统一性，“即空间生产的过程是同时被构想、被感知，并存在于生活中”^[30]，三要素之间的联系是动态而非静止的。可以说，空间三元论将空间生产涉及的各领域相互贯通起来，从不同角度对同一空间进行辩证、动态发展的思考^{[30][33]}。

2.2 研究区概况

义乌作为全球闻名的国际性商贸城市，吸引了大量外籍人员。他们主要从事商贸和相关服务业（包括餐饮、理发，以及以语言和技能为主的培训等），且外商中80%以上主要从事进出口贸易^[34]。基于上文所述全球化空间的主要功能，本文将义乌全球化空间分为经济空间、社会空间和生活空间三类（图1），它们分别是物质性空间生产、象征性空间生产和社会性空间生产的主要载体。结合空间三元论分析框架，本文的研究框架如图2所示。

义乌的经济空间以“市场”^②为代表，“市场”由主体部分和补充部分构成。主体部分包括专业市场和以义乌梅湖会展中心、国际博览中心为代表的展会空间。专业市场即第一代至第六代市场，其发展经历了五次搬迁、八次扩建，最终形成现有的布局 and 规模。补充部分指的是各类批发专业街。

社会空间是经济空间和生活空间之外，服务于外籍人员且产生跨国社会交流的其他空间，其载体包括宗教场所、接纳外籍学生的学校等。本研究选取同时服务于外籍人员及本地居民、外来人口的宗教场所作为义乌全球化社会空间的代表，因为它们是产生跨国社会交流最频繁的場所之一。这些宗教场所以义乌清真寺和基督教新恩堂为核心，城区内还

分布有约14个伊斯兰教临时礼拜点和约12个基督教分堂（图1）。

生活空间以“四层半”为代表。四层半是在义乌发达的市场经济背景下，“通过自营或招租方式引入生产、批发或仓储等混合功能，形成的一种地域特色鲜明的产居混合空间”^[35]。由于此类空间多为四层半的多层建筑，当地人称之为“四层半”。四层半的业主大多是旧村改造时就地安置的村民，底层和二、三层一般出租给中国和跨国商贸者，底层以生产、批发、仓储等功能为主，二、三层主要用于居住或办公，四层及以上为当地村民自住空间。

四层半兼具居住、商贸、社会交流等功能，是义乌全球化空间中融合了经济、社会、生活三类空间的一大载体。一方面，作为批发专业街的主要空间载体，四层半是“市场”的补充部分，多分布于市场、物流中心附近（图1）。批发街由许多主营类别相同的门店聚集而成，如围巾批发专业街、文化用品批发专业街等，它们与专业市场、展会空间形成了共生、互补和协作的关系，共同构成了义乌全球化经济空间。与专业市场相比，四层半具有功能综合、租金低廉、邻近市场等优势，因此常常成为以批发为主的中小微企业和商家的落脚点。另一方面，四层半吸引了许多跨国商贸者暂住或定居。目前，义乌已形成了以鸡鸣山、宾王、东洲等为代表的多族群大杂居国际社区，以及以江南社区的韩商聚居区、后宅街道的伊拉克外商聚居区、市北地区的印度外商聚居区等单一族群为代表的小聚居国际社区。这些国际社区多以四层半为主要建筑形式，社区内还分布有多个伊斯兰教临时礼拜点和基督教分堂，为跨国商贸者提供宗教活动和日常交流的场所。

2.3 研究方法与数据来源

本文采用实地考察与深度访谈相结合的方法。在搜集了义乌的规划文件、统计年鉴、统计公报等相关资料后，于2022年2月中下旬（2月10~12日、17~20日）前往当地的全球化空间展开实地考察和深度访谈。在国际商贸城、批发专业街、宾王商贸区异域风情街（以下简称“异域风情街”）、韩国风情街、街道办、居委会等地以偶遇抽样的形式进行访谈，共对跨国商贸者、政府人员、本地居民、外来人口22人（巴基斯坦4人、也门1人、韩国1人、马达加斯加1人、斯里兰卡1人，其余为中国人）开展了定性、非正式的半结构式深入访谈，访谈时间为20~90分钟，聚焦访谈对象对义乌全球化空间的感知与体验及对各群体之间关系的看法，力求解读义乌全球化空间生产的过程、影响和机制。

3 物质性空间生产与多元利益相关者的空间实践：义乌全球化空间的发展

义乌的全球化空间是由一系列不同形式的空间实践及经济、社会、生活等要素不断累积、作用而成。空间实践是社会成员对空间的感知与

② 文中加引号的“市场”指广义的市场，涵盖了义乌的整个商贸活动空间，包含所有与贸易活动相关的场所；无引号的“市场”指狭义的市场，即广义市场中的主体部分。

行动，依赖于外部的、物质的、能够感知的物理环境^{[33][36]}。在义乌，政府作为空间实践的行为主体，协同引导国有企业、跨国商贸者、当地居民等多元利益相关者共同推动全球化空间的发展。下文以时代背景、政策演进、实地访谈结果等为基础，将义乌全球化空间的生产过程归纳为萌芽探索期、发展成熟期和转型发展期三个阶段。

3.1 第一阶段（20世纪80年代~2000年）：萌芽探索期

1984年，义乌提出“兴商建县”战略。在当地政府的支持下，第一代至第三代市场先后建成，市场从临时性马路集市发展为固定集贸市场，以及随后的全天候批发市场。其中，第三代市场的发展吸引了大批浙江省内外商家的到来，场内摊位供不应求，许多商家选择在市场周边坐店经营，由此产生了批发专业街。

1988年，义乌撤县设市。1993年国有企业浙江中国小商品城集团股份有限公司（以下简称“商城集团”）成立，隶属于义乌市国有资产监督管理办公室，此后企业化运营成为政府推动市场发展的主要模式。此后，受第四代市场建成使用、首届中国小商品城名优新小商品博览会举行、商城集团控股企业义乌中国小商品城展览股份有限公司（以下简称“商城展览公司”）成立等大事件推动，义乌的贸易环境不断优化，国际知名度不断提升。越来越多的跨国商贸者来到义乌，大多暂住于紧邻第四代市场篁园市场的红楼宾馆。由于政府允许在红楼宾馆内办理贸易相关的海关、物流手续等，因而许多跨国商贸者在宾馆内设立办事处或外贸公司。后期宾馆内还出现了伊斯兰教临时礼拜点、中亚风味餐厅等。红楼宾馆由此成为了义乌早期全球化经济、社会、生活等多种功能互相融合的空间载体的典型代表。值得注意的是，1999年，《义乌市旧村改造暂行办法》颁布，该办法允许并鼓励被纳入城市规划区范围的村庄对建成环境进行改造，具体改造细则交由村集体自行决定。这是义乌另一类全球化空间四层半建设的法理依据，对后续全球化空间的发展产生了深远的影响。

3.2 第二阶段（2001~2012年）：发展成熟期

自2001年中国加入世界贸易组织后，义乌外贸依靠成本优势蓬勃发展，推动其全球化空间走向成熟。在政府和商城集团的主导下，义乌梅湖会展中心、国际商贸城、国际博览中心、国际生产资料市场等先后建成。国际博览中心、梅湖会展中心周边星级酒店林立，形成以国际博览中心为核心的展会组团；国际商贸城既是专业市场，也是中国首个AAAA级购物旅游区，它推动了周边区域向商务办公、酒店等功能转变，逐渐形成以国际商贸城为核心的商贸组团。

此外，专业市场的发展，特别是其地理位置的变迁，使红楼宾馆在经历了短暂的鼎盛期后逐渐衰落，于2017年拆除。与此同时，四层半大量建设完成，整体呈现“横平竖直的兵营式”布局^{③[37]}。由于其绝佳的地

理位置、空间使用的灵活性、租金低廉等原因，四层半逐渐取代红楼宾馆成为跨国商贸者暂住的最佳选择。四层半社区内随之开始出现异域风情街、韩国风情街等特色商业街。异域风情街早期为自发形成，2010年后由政府制定规划建设。韩国风情街的形成源于韩国商贸者和中国朝鲜族同胞的集聚，属自发形成，主要是为这些群体提供日常生活所需的商品和服务。除批发专业街、异域风情街、韩国风情街之外，大多数四层半建筑形式千篇一律，城市肌理高度均质化，与中心城区及其周边建筑的形式、城市肌理（特别是那些具有现代城市风貌的大楼、广场等）互不协调，且严重缺乏公共服务设施、公共绿地等。实地访谈中许多受访者表示，四层半对义乌整体城市景观风貌、生活品质、城市形象等均产生了负面影响。

3.3 第三阶段（2013年至今）：转型发展期

2013年第六代市场建成使用后，义乌专业市场的空间布局基本确定。同年，中央政府提出“一带一路”倡议。义乌作为“一带一路”战略支点城市，进一步发展、建设与外贸相关的配套设施，包括规划建设“两环一横一纵”“高快一体”的城市快速交通路网，以及以公路港、青口和福田三大现代物流园与保税物流中心为代表的物流网络体系等。与此同时，《义乌市域总体规划（2013—2030年）》提出推进“贸易+互联网”“物流+互联网”的转型发展策略。

2020年，疫情爆发后，跨国商贸者大量离开，政府、国有企业、当地居民、外来人口等在义乌全球化空间生产中扮演起愈加重要的角色，加剧了全球化空间发展的本土化趋势。此间，义乌政府积极推进国际贸易形式转型。例如，2020年，义乌政府在线上于2013年的“义乌购”网站上推出直播平台，供商户直接面向采购商客户群。数据显示，2020年义乌全年电子商务交易额超3 100亿元，同比增长近13%，其中跨境电子商务交易额超870亿元，同比增长超15%。^[38]

实地调研期间，国际商贸城内商铺空置率高，甚至部分沦为店家孩子们的游乐场所；传统以线下、外销为主的对外贸易开始转向线上或线上线下结合的国际贸易模式。此外，原有依赖外来族裔经济发展起来的餐饮、咖啡、理发等业态及相应构成的城市景观吸引了不少当地居民及外地游客，原有的以外来文化为主导的业态、景观（包括店面风格形式等）逐渐融入了本土文化，义乌跨国景观的本土化趋势加强。

③ 四层半的建筑密度一般为 23%~27%，建筑檐口高度控制在 13m 以内，一般以 10m 进深、3.6m 开间为一间，平均 10 间左右为一栋住宅楼，前后间距为 14~16m，容积率不超过 1.3（来源：参考文献 [37]）。

4 象征性空间生产与去地方化的空间的再现

空间的再现是政府、科学家、规划师、建筑师等构想的空间，其建构过程充斥着权力、制度、资本等要素的互动博弈^[36]。在义乌全球化空间的生产中，空间的再现主要通过政府制定政策（包括确立城市定位和城市形象）、制度和规划等推动空间生产，特别是象征性空间的生产，以打造“世界小商品之都”的“政治景观”^{④[39][40]}。义乌国际商贸城、梅湖会展中心、国际博览中心、批发专业街、异域风情街、韩国风情街等都是这一政治景观的代表。在打造这一独特政治景观的过程中，地方政府表现出明显的企业主义行为^[41]，将“行政意愿与政治抱负嵌入城市空间演化过程中”^[7]，推动相关功能性空间的集聚和象征性空间的产生，使空间成为政府企业化的载体^[42]。

4.1 象征性空间生产

20世纪末以来，义乌通过强化相关规划引导、出台利好政策、开展大型展会与节事活动等举措，推动了一系列以打造世界小商品之都这一政治景观为目标的象征性空间的生产，这些象征性空间多以“市场”和四层半为载体。

地方政府的决策是义乌打造世界小商品之都的关键引擎。20世纪80年代末以来，义乌政府多次通过城市总体规划明确义乌的发展定位。具体行动包括推进专业市场、展会中心和特色异域景观街区的建设等，这些场所成为了义乌开展众多跨国展会与节事活动及外来游客等争相到访之处，是义乌文化营销的“符号空间”。以四层半为空间载体的批发专业街内，生产、销售、居住功能融合一体，沿街同主题的招牌背景及外形相似、摆放密集的以出口为主的小商品，共同构成了富有特色的小商品贸易景观。韩国风情街、异域风情街内形成了具有族裔特点的沿街立面、商铺业态、街头小品、商品展示橱窗、标识、文字招牌等，与往来、停留的跨国商贸者共同构成了世界小商品之都特有的景观风貌。德波认为，比商品实际使用价值更重要的是其外观和展示性的景观^[39]。橱窗、标识、招牌等在打造世界小商品之都的政治景观中起到了重要作用。

大量颇具规模的国际展会与节事活动的举办也是义乌全球化空间演进和世界小商品之都政治景观塑造的重要推手。其中，义乌国际小商品博览会等众多国家级展会项目引发了当地产业空间、消费空间、社会空间的更新与重组，如引导星级宾馆、大型购物中心等邻近布局，“将大

事件影响下的‘事件空间’升级为‘跨国消费体验空间’”^[7]。与此同时，义乌国际电子竞技大赛、国际美食文化节等品牌赛事和文艺活动也吸引了全球的目光，进一步推动了象征性空间的生产。

4.2 义乌全球化空间生产中权力与资本的互动过程

义乌全球化空间的生产过程是通过多方权力、资本互动的形式进行去地方化的空间的再现，特别表现为权力和资本等结构性力量主导专业市场的发展，以及自下而上的社会力量主导四层半的发展。下文聚焦专业市场和四层半这两大载体，以多方权力、多元资本互动的过程为切入点，剖析义乌全球化空间的生产逻辑和机制。

4.2.1 专业市场的发展：由国有资本主导转向多元资本介入

以多元资本介入的时序为依据，专业市场的发展历程可划分为两个时期，即国有资本主导时期和多元资本介入时期（图3）。早期第一代市场为自发形成。从1990年版城市总体规划颁布实施起，政府为了打造“以小商品市场为特色的综合贸工型城市”，对市场的规划干预不断加强，如对市场进行统一规划、建设，市场规模也逐步扩大。商城集团成立前，第二代至第四代市场篁园市场均由政府筹资建设。商城集团成立后，政府允许商城集团对市场进行开发建设和管理，与之形成“委托—代理”关系。政府通过注入国企股权对商城集团进行资产性支持，商城集团成为有效整合市场资源并承担政府投融资功能的经济实体。

多元资本介入时期以2002年商城集团挂牌上市为划分点。此后，商城集团由国有独资转为多元资本运作的平台。除国有资本外，跨国资本（含港资等）、民营资本也以多种形式注入商城集团，共同推动义乌市场的发展壮大，特别是国际商贸城和国际生产资料市场的建设。义乌小商品贸易得到进一步拓展。互联网的迅速发展带动了贸易方式转型，跨境电商和电子商务园区在义乌相继兴起。截至2022年，商城集团已与十余家金融机构合作推出信贷产品，反哺市场经营户，同时搭建起“线上平台+线下园区”的跨境电商新运营模式。

4.2.2 四层半的发展：自下而上博弈和多方利益协调

四层半历经旧村改造、新农村建设、城乡新社区建设等多个发展阶段，见证了村集体和村民为争取自身利益与政府博弈的过程。下文以2009年颁布的《义乌市城乡新社区建设实施办法》为界，将四层半的发展历程（图4）划分为两个时期，探讨多方权力的博弈如何推动四层半的建设与转型发展。

第一阶段（2001～2009年）是四层半建设的主要时期。该阶段四层半的建设由村集体、村民主导。其中，村集体在《义乌市旧村改造暂行办法》的指导下负责和村民协商确定货币补偿标准，对本村进行详细调查摸底，确认人口、土地面积等情况。整体上，其建设主要采取

④ “政治景观”的概念引申自居伊·德波的著作《景观社会》，指由符号、象征物及视觉感观等系列要素为载体构建的物或事件，用于展现政权的形象、实力（来源：参考文献[39]）。

“以村为单位、统一规划、全拆全建、宅基地安置、多层垂直房”的改造模式^[43]。在建设过程中，村民利用现行政策制度不完善之处，以占据更大面积的宅基地来谋求自身利益^[37]，甚至影响了政府的部分决策^{[35][37]}。值得注意的是，在本阶段四层半建设完成后，土地集体所有性质未发生改变。面对宅基地的市场化和资本化仍难以实现的困境，村集体通过引入行业协会和龙头企业形成产业集群，吸引小微型生产、仓储、批发企业入驻，同时还致力于统一租金，以维持当地居民和中外商贸者间的良好合作关系，维护四层半中良好的商业环境和社会关系。

四层半的建设致使义乌城市空间迅速扩张^[37]，而无序的建设和粗放式扩张加剧了土地资源紧张，加之大量批发、仓储和生产功能空间集中于城市中心，对义乌的城市发展造成了一定阻碍。在此背景下，义乌政府于2009年颁布了《义乌市城乡新社区建设实施办法》，提出对四层半实行以高层公寓为主的改造模式。然而，由于用地性质转变且需缴纳相应改造费用，村民和村集体的接受度普遍较低。市政府随后组织成立了城乡新社区建设领导小组，希望借新社区建设推进四层半向市场化、集约用地和多高层建设方向转型，并于2013年颁布《义乌市城乡新社区集聚建设实施办法（试行）》，规定未来的旧村改造模式彻底转变为政府主导、国有出让。政府同时成立国有企业义乌市城乡新社区投资建设集团有限公司（简称“社投集团”）负责开发建设工作，允许其发挥融资平台作用，实行市场化运作。在此过程中，村集体组织逐渐退出主导角色。然而，用地指标限制、资金筹措困难、村民积极性不高甚至反对等原因导致这一转型未能成功。

总的来看，早期义乌政府为推动小商品贸易发展和旧村改造，特别是在收获四层半模式对小商品商贸发展的利好后，对四层半的建设采取默许态度，村民和村集体也从四层半建设中获利。这些都导致后期政府在推进四层半转型时难以协调多方利益，四层半仍大量存在于中心城区，成为义乌世界小商品之都政治景观的一大重要组成部分。

5 社会性空间生产与多元群体的再现的空间

社会性空间生产强调社会准则、价值观和经验^{[10][36]}。再现的空间是使用者直接经历的日常生活空间，“强调空间的生活经验层面，指使用者与环境之间互动生活出来的社会关系”^[33]，是使用者对空间的再现与空间实践的体验与反馈。在义乌全球化空间生产中，跨国商贸者、本地居民和外来人口对全球化空间的使用、体验与反馈，反过来也促使主导空间的再现的结构性力量（即政府和资本）进行积极回应，进一步推动了全球化空间的发展。

5.1 新社会关系的特征：表面融入、隐形隔离

空间不仅被社会关系支持，也生产社会关系；空间的生产是一种社

会关系的重组与社会秩序的建构过程^[9]。在传统农业时期，义乌当地的社会关系依靠熟人社会的血缘、亲缘维系。在义乌全球化空间的生产过程中，基于跨国商贸的业缘关系，新的社会关系逐渐形成，主要涉及贸易链、服务链两大链条，以及跨国商贸者、本地居民和外来人口三大主体（图5）。外来人口中的朝鲜族、回族、维吾尔族人口在语言、风俗习惯、文化背景上与不少跨国商贸者相近，他们与跨国商贸者之间形成了一种“泛族裔友谊模式”^[44]，是构建当地新社会关系的关键桥梁。

与北京望京韩国人聚居区^[14]、上海古北地区日本人聚居区^[15]、广州小北路黑人聚居区^[19]等外国人聚居区不同，义乌的外籍人员与当地居民、外来人口大量混居，创造了便捷交流、互动的条件。此外，义乌的外籍人口多为跨国商贸者，普遍受过高等教育，具有较强的专业素质（特别是商务知识）和较好的人力、经济资源。他们不仅在族裔内部发展着强关系网络，还将社会网络延伸至族裔外部。这也验证了部分学者的观点，即拥有更高社会经济条件的移民可以更好地开展跨群体交流^[45]。再者，根据第七次全国人口普查结果，义乌常住人口中15~59岁人口占比为75.88%，年龄结构相对年轻化。实地考察和访谈发现，这一年龄段的人口大量从事商贸服务业，他们在海内外结识了较多外商伙伴，对外籍人员接纳度较高，使得当地社会的开放性和包容性更强——上文提及的其他外国人聚居区大多是基于血缘和地缘形成的族裔网络，具有同质性、排外性，是高度封闭的^{[14][15][19]}。

尽管如此，实地调研发现跨国商贸者在义乌的新社会关系中呈现出表面融入、隐形隔离的特征，与望京韩国人聚居区“主动融入、隐形隔离”^[14]的特征具有一定的相似性，但在义乌这种主动性表现较弱。实地调研发现，不少本地居民将自家四层半租给跨国商贸者，但彼此间的日常交流非常有限（表1）。除少部分在义乌生活多年的（特别是那些与中国人结婚生子的）跨国商贸者以外，大多数跨国商贸者仍属于相对独立的外来群体，其社会关系更多的是基于业缘、地缘^⑤、亲缘形成的族裔社交圈，与当地居民、外来人口之间存在隐形隔离。可以说，跨国商贸者与当地居民、外来人口之间形成的邻里关系处于非深度接触和交流的状态，并非真正意义上的日常邻里生活。

总的来看，虽然义乌政府采取了一系列举措来吸引外籍人员、促进外籍人员融入当地社会，如成立涉外服务中心并授予其签证和居留许可证的办理权、引入外籍人员身份证制度、举办各类节庆活动等，但实地

⑤ 义乌的地缘圈主要是以相同来源国的族群为集结对象，以商贸往来为集结目的，依托不少族群、国家在义乌当地成立的商会组织（如非洲商会、阿拉伯商会、韩国商会等）形成。这些商会组织具有明显的地缘性，为跨国商贸者之间以及跨国商贸者与地方政府、当地社会之间构建起联系的桥梁。

表 1：部分受访者访谈结果

序号	国籍	年龄	职业／社会身份	原始访谈资料
1	中国	45	社区工作人员	为了让外国人更好适应义乌的生活，参与社区建设，我们在社区管理服务提升上做了许多努力，如开设“国际老娘舅”中外调解室、创建“联合国议事会”等，已取得了一定效果。但外国人与社区之间的交流多数还是停留在活动期间，平时外国人来社区走动还是偏少。
2	巴基斯坦	19	跨国商贸者子女	我在义乌出生，也在这儿上学，偶尔和我的中国同学们一起玩。平时的主要活动是去清真寺做礼拜，我们就住在清真寺对面的小区。
3	中国	40	外来人口	清真寺对面这条街卖食品的店家大多数都是从新疆来的，包括我在内。我们一般周五早上大礼拜时才营业，平时还有其他生意所以很少营业。我们这些新疆来的店家基本都认识，有生意会互相联系。
4	中国	35	四层半业主	这边的房子二、三楼都租给老外开外贸公司或居住，四楼自住。但我们平常很少交流，他们有自己的圈子和做生意的渠道。
5	韩国	50	跨国商贸者	我们韩国人有专门的群，大家会互相帮助介绍工作、一起聚会爬山等。我们很少和中国邻居见面、交谈，但在社区偶尔组织的活动上会简单交流。

访谈发现外籍人员的就学、就医等问题仍未得到充分解决，影响了他们的社会融入。

5.2 再现的空间：多元利益相关者的社会互动

本文认同部分学者观点^[18]，认为空间生产有两种类型，一种是“强空间生产”，即政府权力中的政策干预和资本在空间生产中扮演主导角色；一种是“弱空间生产”，即社会力量在空间生产中占主导。结合上文分析可得，义乌全球化空间的生产包含上述两种类型。强空间生产以鸡鸣山国际社区、异域风情街等四层半社区和市场为主要代表。弱空间生产以批发专业街、韩国风情街为代表，其主要载体也为四层半。

在强空间生产中，随着全球化进程的不断深入，义乌跨国商贸的发展得到了愈加广泛的接受与认可，越来越多外来人口和跨国商贸者来到义乌从事跨国商贸及相关服务工作。实地访谈发现，本地居民从事这些工作的人口比例也在攀升。政府和资本就此作出了积极回应，表现为继续大力发展跨国商贸及配套服务，同时为满足本地居民、外来人口、跨国商贸者对世界小商品之都的空间想象和身份认同，打造相应的政治景观，如国际商贸城和异域风情街等。政府的行动包括：1）不断围绕世界小商品之都的目标调整城市发展定位与城市规划、颁布跨国商贸支持政策等；2）通过资本控制等方式调控全球化空间的生产时序、规模、形象。在弱空间生产中，跨国商贸者、外来人口向本地居民承租物业用于

居住、办公、生产的需求不断增长，本地居民通过空间实践来满足这些需求。这些都反映了在义乌全球化空间生产中再现的空间、空间的再现与空间实践之间相互转化的辩证关系。

6 结语

由于城市发展历史、发展定位，以及政策、经济、社会全球化发展水平等方面的差异性，不同城市的全球化空间发展过程、演化机制与驱动力存在差异。本研究尝试将空间三元论引入义乌全球化空间生产的研究中，对其空间生产过程及多元利益相关者的相互作用关系进行分析，丰富了对空间实践、空间的再现、再现的空间三位一体相互转化的辩证关系的实证研究。

研究还回应了“是否全球化空间仅仅存在于世界城市”^[8]的疑问，填补了对中小型城市全球化空间的研究空白。义乌作为中国受全球化进程影响最明显的中小型城市之一，其全球化空间的发展经历了去地方化—全球化—再地方化的过程。义乌由一个以农业为主的县城发展为全球知名的小商品贸易中心，体现了跨国商贸主义影响下一种全球化经济空间、社会空间、生活空间的地方重构过程——这也是市场化、城镇化、全球化共同作用的结果——这一过程与国家、地方的政策和经济体制转型紧密相关，中央与地方政府提供了政策保障，并利用城市规划

调节、定位城市空间职能和发展方向，引导多元资本（包括国有资本、民营资本、跨国资本等）和多方利益相关者（包括跨国商贸者、本地居民、外来人口等）积极参与到全球化空间的生产中。

总体来看，义乌全球化空间生产主要受到内部动力和外部动力的共同推动。内部动力包括城市转型升级战略、地方政府中观尺度的企业主义行为，以及国有企业、跨国商贸者、当地居民、外来人口的行动等；外部动力包括经济全球化、中央政府的宏观政策、区域经济发展计划等。在这个过程中，地方政府企业主义行为是推动义乌全球化空间发展的关键引擎，而全球化是影响地方政府企业主义行为的直接动力。国有企业受政府委托进行全球化空间的开发、建设与管理。跨国贸易链和本地生活服务链促进跨国商贸者、本地居民、外来人口产生互动，也使义乌逐渐形成了一种极具地方特色的全球化经济空间、社会空间、生活空间。其中，跨国商贸者作为跨国贸易链的中介与本地生活服务链的消费者参与义乌全球化空间的生产，而本地居民和外来人口则主要通过物业出租、就业（以跨国商贸业和服务业为主）等方式参与空间生产。

如前文所述，义乌全球化空间生产结合了强空间生产和弱空间生产，其中强空间生产表现出明显的“地方政府企业主义”空间生产模式的特征。与此同时，本文认同李志刚等学者^[4]的观点，认为在跨国商贸主义背景下，义乌的全球化空间兼具消费空间、非正规空间和分异空间的特征。其中非正规空间以批发专业街、韩国风情街为代表，表现为自下而上的弱空间生产，具有“缺乏稳定性、随机性强、经济效率低”等特征^[4]，是一种“底层全球化”^[46]。未来，全球化转型背景下的义乌全球化空间发展趋势还有待进一步探讨。此外，对国内外不同类型和规模城市的全球化空间在生产模式、与地方政府的城市发展和文化政策的相互作用、族裔群体的社会融入等方面的对比研究亦有待进一步展开。地方政府亦需持续思考如何打破属地化管理观念，积极管控、引导和规划全球化空间发展。

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- 福建省自然科学基金面上项目“东南沿海工贸型城镇工业用地‘穿孔型收缩’的特征、机制及规划应对研究——以泉州地区为例”（编号：2021J01300）
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图 1. 义乌全球化空间的分布
图 2. 研究框架
图 3. 专业市场的发展与多元资本的介入
图 4 四层半的发展历程：自下而上博弈与多方利益协调
图 5. 义乌全球化空间生产过程中产生的新社会关系图示