

贵州中关村乡村建设实践

RURAL CONSTRUCTION PRACTICES IN ZHONGGUAN VILLAGE, GUIZHOU PROVINCE

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摘要
在当下热火朝天的乡村建设运动大潮下，不同背景的人士纷纷试图以各自视角阐述和尝试乡村复兴的可能性。与传统乡村建设过程中的片面“化妆式”环境整治不同，贵州省桐梓县中关村从顶层制度设计入手，结合空间规划、社区营造方式，试图探索一种新型的乡村综合建设发展模式：通过制度建立、乡村产业转型、居民生活改善、公共空间营造、文化修复等策略多管齐下，全方位解决乡村问题。

关键词
乡村建设；协同设计；参与式营建；金融合作社

ABSTRACT
In the backdrop of the current rural construction campaign in China, people with different backgrounds have endeavored to explore the possibility of rural revival from their own perspectives. Contrary to a simple environmental remediation approach used in traditional rural construction processes, Zhongguan Village in Tongzi County, Guizhou Province adopted a top-level design system that combines spatial planning with community establishment using external funds and other means. We have developed a new model for rural construction and development that comprehensively solves rural problems using multiple approaches that include establishing regulations, transformation of rural industries, improving living conditions for residents, the construction of public space, cultural restoration, etc.

KEY WORDS
Rural Construction; Collaborative Design; Participative Construction; Financial Cooperative

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背景

贵州省遵义市桐梓县茅石镇中关村是位于贵州北部深山之中的一座村庄，一共51户人家，整个村子都为徐姓。烤烟种植是当地的传统产业。近年来村民大量外出务工，导致村庄空心化严重，环境凋零、组织涣散。2015年在贵州省扶贫政策的支持下，中关村被选为示范村，由中国乡建院主导的中关村改造正式启动。

人行桥：设计师与村民的协同营建

中关村当地人的生活与一条河流息息相关，贯通南北的河将中关村一分为二，阻隔了东西两岸人们的正常联系与交往，架在河上的几根电线杆是人们赖以通行的唯一路径。由于地处山区，每年夏秋之交的丰水期，河水便会上涨并将这座桥淹没，渡河成了一件艰难而危险的事情。因此，搭建一座沟通两岸的桥，不仅是一件改善当地村民出行条件的迫切之事，也是在构建连接起两岸的村民的纽带。

但由于作为桥梁主要施工人员的村民掌握的技术十分有限，设计的复杂度受到了限制，我们需要借助一种简便且稳定的材料



中关村青草地
Grass Fairyland in Zhongguan Village

项目地址:
贵州省遵义市桐梓县

项目面积:
2.3hm²

项目委托:
桐梓县大楼山文化旅游发展有限公司

景观设计:
中国乡建院傅英斌工作室

首席设计师:
傅英斌

项目负责人:
傅英斌、洪金聪、宋红星

项目团队:
王贺、张浩然、闫璐、刘洋、周道兴、赵金祥、李婷婷

设计时间:
2016年3月

建设时间:
2016年3-8月

建成时间:
2016年8月

PROJECT LOCATION:
Tongzi County, Zunyi City, Guizhou Province

AREA (SIZE):
2.3 hm²

CLIENT:
Tongzi Dalou Mountain Cultural Tourism Development Co., Ltd.

LANDSCAPE ARCHITECTURE:
Yingbin Fu Studio, China New Rural Planning and Design

CHIEF DESIGNER:
Yingbin Fu

PROJECT MANAGERS:
Yingbin Fu, Jincong Hong, Hongxing Song

PROJECT TEAM:
He Wang, Haoran Zhang, Lu Yan, Yang Liu, Daoxing Zhou, Jinxiang Zhao, Tingting Li

DESIGN PERIOD:
March 2016

CONSTRUCTION PERIOD:
March - August 2016

COMPLETION TIME:
August 2016

2. 进行乡村建设前的中关村
3. 桥墩结构图
4. 人行桥结构图
5. 人行桥轴测图
6. 村民负责桥梁施工
7. 上梁仪式

2. Zhongguan Village before rural construction
3. Diagram of pier structure
4. Diagram of the pedestrian bridge
5. Axonometric drawing of the pedestrian bridge
6. The bridge was constructed by villagers
7. The ceremony of the mounting of the beams

及施工方式。最终，我们选用了在水利工程中常见的石笼网箱工艺。其特有的柔性结构使之既牢固稳定、耐冲刷，又可以抵御一定程度的沉降和形变。这种施工简便、造价低廉、无需机械的工艺，非常适合在山区等技术设备受限的场地应用。

三跨的人行桥通过螺栓连接。村民电焊技术熟练，加之易于购买的规格钢材，使桥面可以在现场短时间加工完成。常用于脚手

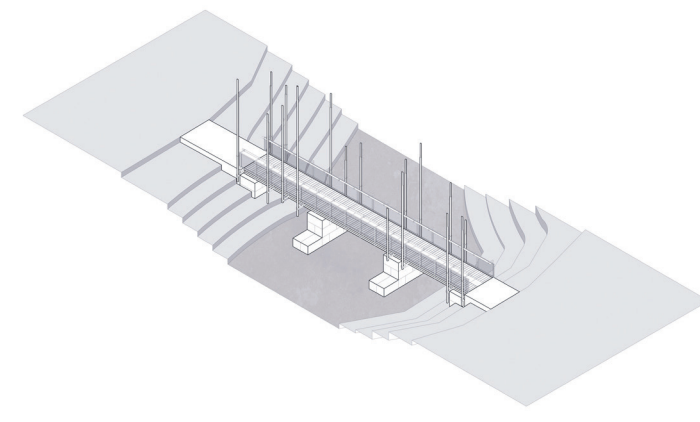
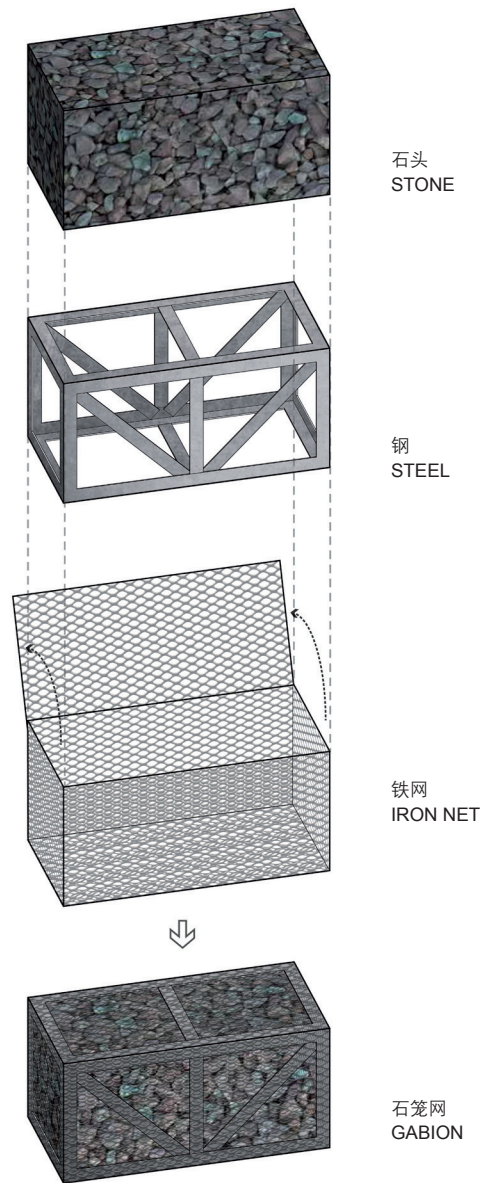
架的钢跳板被选作桥面的主要材料，这是一种被广泛应用的成品材料。跳板经过整体镀锌后极为耐腐蚀，对于桥梁中使用和磨损程度最高的桥面来说最合适不过。高强度的镀锌钢网也可满足桥面的通透性需求，行人可以透过桥面看到河水。考虑到女性穿着细高跟鞋通过桥面时可能会有所不便，我们还在桥面上铺设了一条60cm宽的钢板带。为了与环境形成良好呼应，并弱化桥身和桥面冷

峻的钢材所带来的工业感，灯杆和扶手秉承就地取材的原则，选用当地的乡间材料——竹子。我们将竹竿内部通体打穿并埋入照明线路。高高耸立的灯杆与河中绵延的芦苇荡遥相呼应。夜幕降临后亮起的竹灯仿佛是寂静山野中的烛光。

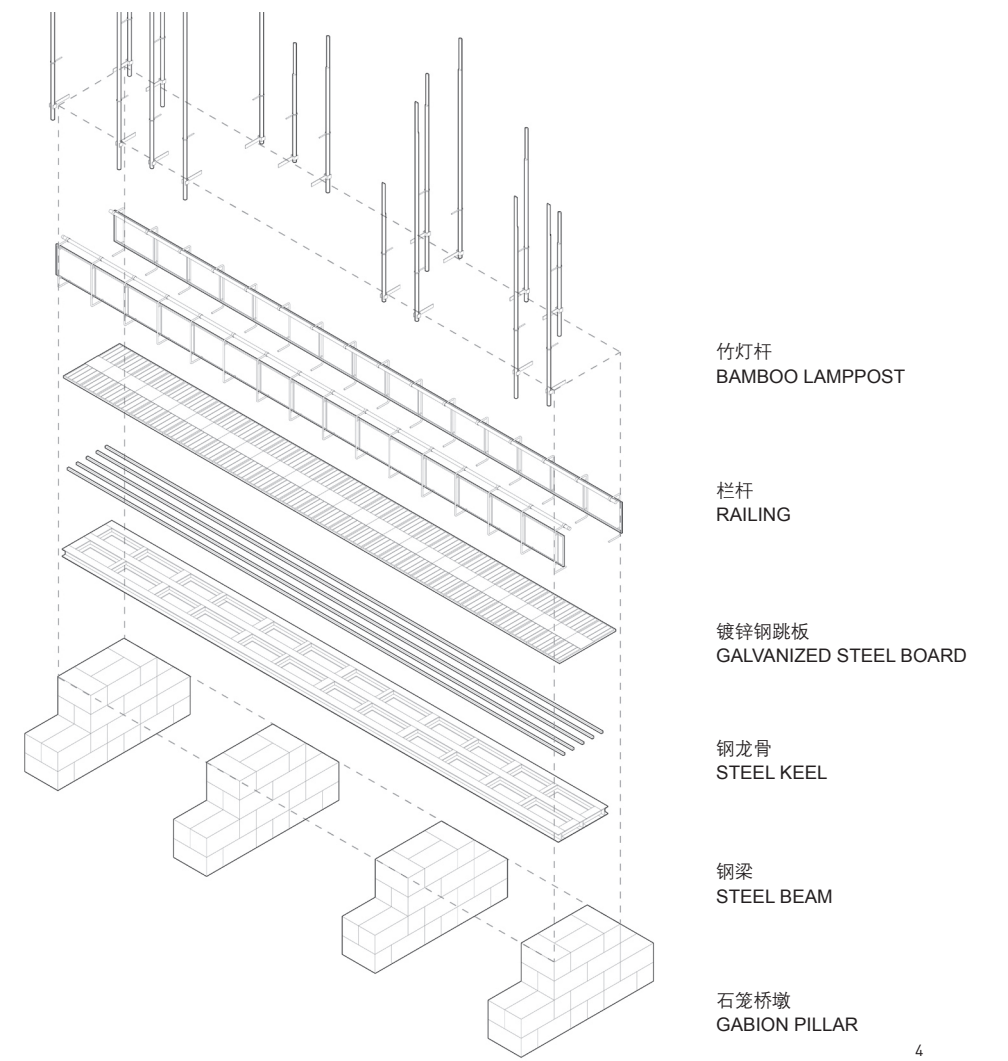
在中关村人行桥的建设过程中，设计师与村民相互支持、相互协作。自古以来，筑桥修路在乡村都被视为是一件累积功德、造



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福子孙的大事。村里的男人们承担起填运石料、搬放钢架的重活。上梁时，我们特意邀请村中最有威望的老人选定好时辰，几乎全村百姓都来到现场观看；一番仪式之后，全村青壮年一同上阵抬梁，梁板安放到位后鞭炮声响彻山谷。这座完全由村民亲手共建的桥，将全村的人联结起来，亦让人们重拾起对家乡和土地的深厚情感。

青草乐园：重塑乡村公共空间

一直以来，乡村中都存在着一些可以称之为“公共领域”的空间。传统乡村聚落中的村口、桥头、晒场、祠堂等空间，承载着乡村居民的生活习惯与公共活动，是乡村聚落整体环境的重要组成部分，维系着社区的认同感，传承着传统文化的精神。许多公共议题在“田间地头”发生，而后通过交流沟通得以解决。在中关村的实践中，我们试图重塑被遗忘的乡村公共空间。

- 8. 孩子们在人行桥上玩耍
- 9. 夜色中的人行桥

- 8. Children playing on the pedestrian bridge
- 9. The pedestrian bridge in the night

中关村青草乐园方案的成形来自多方面的考虑。我们希望在空间上满足乡村儿童活动的需求，而在材料和施工上则注重低成本、低技术建设。与此同时，我们希望能通过这处儿童活动空间为乡村儿童带来环境教育的启发。

乡村建设可以说饱含“修旧起废”的智慧。在乡村建设过程中产生的尾料、废料，以及拆卸的旧物，大量堆积于场地中。我们决定用这些元素来“拼凑”儿童乐园。在现代城市的建设中，这些零散的工程尾料因为无法达到建设材料的标准规格，很难再以“材料”的身份嵌入建设的流程当中。而在乡村的建设中，设计重回人的尺度，所有的设计和施工都可以“因材而异”。在青草乐园的方案中，我们尽量容纳了更多的“废料”。材料的“杂乱”反而能够激发丰富的体验。我们试图让村民参与到项目的建设当中，一是希望获得因某些“不确定性”而产生的有趣结果。二是希望参与建设的过程能

让人与场地产生天然的联系。设计中留有大量的空白，为村民的参与提供了可能性。园中的“资源回收中心”可以收集玻璃、金属、纸张等常见材料，儿童在穿过这栋建筑时，可以看到“资源回收再利用”过程的详细介绍，领悟乡村生活中节约与循环利用的思想。

烤烟房改造：乡村产业转型下的建筑空间改造

中关村以烟草种植为主要产业，至今仍维持着手工烤烟的传统。烤烟房作为烤烟产业的重要组成部分，曾存在于每家每户的院落中，以其独特的外形成为该地区的特色建筑。随着产业转型和新型密集式烤烟房的建设，传统的烤烟房——作为手工烤烟时代最具标志性的产业景观遗存——被大量废弃和拆除。

我们希望对烤烟房进行改造和更新，在



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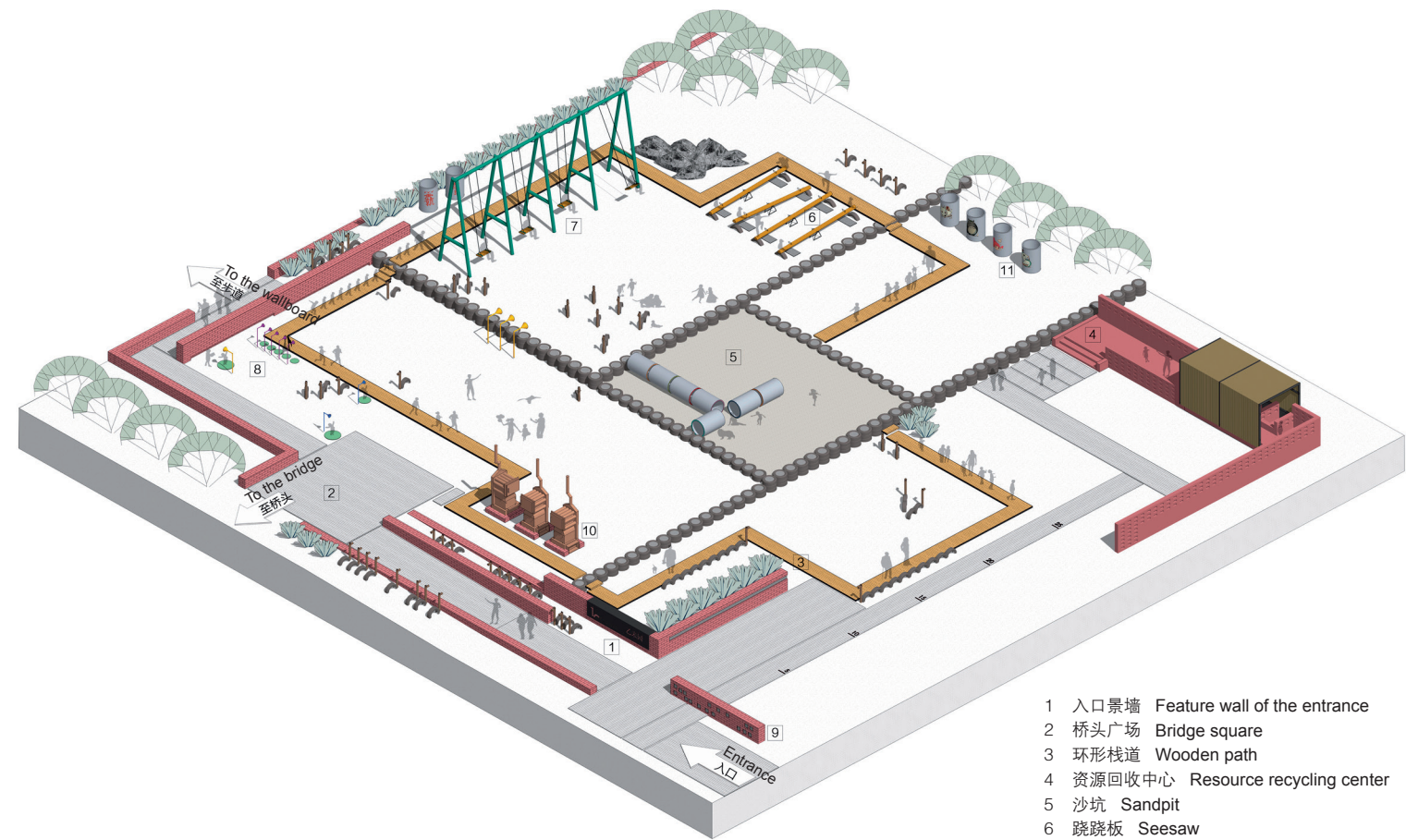
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- 10. 场地中的废弃材料
- 11. 用低成本、低技术的施工材料建造而成的青草乐园
- 12. 青草乐园轴测图
- 13. 孩子们在青草乐园中玩耍

- 10. Waste materials in the site
- 11. Low-cost, low-tech construction materials were used in the grass fairyland
- 12. Axonometric drawing of the grass fairyland
- 13. Children playing in the grass fairyland



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- 1 入口景墙 Feature wall of the entrance
- 2 桥头广场 Bridge square
- 3 环形栈道 Wooden path
- 4 资源回收中心 Resource recycling center
- 5 沙坑 Sandpit
- 6 跷跷板 Seesaw
- 7 秋千 Swing
- 8 传音筒 Megaphone
- 9 景墙 Landscape wall
- 10 烤烟炉 Tobacco-baking house
- 11 传统神符 Traditional amulets

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保留传统产业记忆的同时，寻求其在下一个时代中继续延续的可能性。中关村所在的桐梓县夏季气候凉爽宜人，且由于临近大都市重庆，这里正逐渐成为避暑消夏的胜地。我们希望借助这一契机，将一处破败的烤烟房改造为特色民宿客房。

为解决功能附着问题，我们在建筑内部嵌入钢架，将建筑墙体与承重结构分离开来，形成“双层嵌套结构”。旧墙体不再受力，所有的内部新加功能体块全部附着于钢框架之上。我们在改造过程中尽量保留了烤烟房原有外观：封闭的空间、穿插的晒烟杆、凸起的烟道、狭小的观察窗……我们对墙体进行了修复，并保留了原有的材料和使用中时间的痕迹。烤烟房内原有的一把用来登高挂烟叶的木梯也被保留了下来，使得整个构筑形成了与时间的奇妙对话。

敬字炉：传统习俗的物化呈现

中关村至今保持着“敬惜字纸”的传统，村内家家户户院内皆有竹编“字篓”，

平时收集字纸，集满后在村庙旁的河边烧掉，并将纸灰撒入河中。“敬惜字纸”是中国传统文化中的一种美德，代表着古人敬重文化的思想。这一传统在这个偏远贵州山区农村被保留下来了，尤为珍贵。

在了解到这一传统后，我们在村庙一侧的空地上重新设计建造了一处“敬字炉”，采用简洁的钢板造型，两侧镂空雕刻了传统敬字塔上常见“笔墨化为云烟，文章炳于霄汉”对联，当村民在炉中焚化字纸时火光透过镂空字照出，强化了焚纸的仪式感。新敬字炉建成后受到了村民的极大认可，村中的老支书特意书写了一副对联赠与我们，以表达村民对修建敬字炉的认可和感激。

红军墓：历史记忆的延续

当红军长征途经贵州时，发生了以遵义会议为标志的许多重大历史事件，对整个长征乃至中国革命产生了重大而深远的影响。贵州有一连串重要的空间节点记录着这一伟大历程。中关村的这座红军墓是山坡上一座



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被村民守护了几十年的孤坟，鲜活的军民故事在村中口口相传，成为历史和时间的见证。我们摒弃了以往纪念碑式的宏大叙事手法，试图通过当代空间设计语言和丰富的空间序列来展现红军长征的艰辛历程。本方案通过简单的材料完成了对空间氛围的塑造，这些富有纪念性及序列感的空间层次成为乡村纪念性景观的一次新尝试，原本杂草丛生的山坡孤坟在本次乡村建设过程中被予以尊重和关注。

金融合作社：乡村建设的保障

中国乡建院院长李昌平认为，当前我国农村建设主要面临两大问题，一是农民缺乏有效的自主性组织，二是农村缺乏自主性金融支持。中国乡建院在中关村开展规划设计的同时，协助建立了内置的金融机构——茅石镇富民经济发展专业合作社，政府投入启动资金30万元，中国乡建院投入3万元，14名乡贤各投入2万元，还吸纳村里老人每人自愿投入的2000元。这种金融合作社的运作机制是，村民以房屋、土地入股，使其成为可在内部市场交易的资产，合作社不仅能给本村人提供优惠的贷款，让闲置的房屋、土地产生租金，并为老人提供分红。同时，合作社还有资金存储、联合采购、销售及配送、互助养老等多种功能。在合作社的框架下，参与乡村建设的村民与乡建指挥部签订协议，村民完成房屋主体建设，外部的公共空间和内部软装由政府注入扶贫资金完成，项目统一规划、统一运营，开业后收入的75%归运营主体，20%用于归还贷款，5%作为合作社的运营成本。

结语

大包大揽似乎成为了现在乡村建设的通病，而我们在中关村的系列实践中始终认为，乡村改造是农民自己的事情，并逐步确立了我們作为乡村建设协作者的角色，用设计为村民描绘出未来的愿景，将乡村的建设交还给他们。LAF

Background

Zhongguan Village is a town located in the northern mountains of Tongzi County, Zunyi City, in Guizhou Province. It has 51 total households, and the whole village uses the surname "Xu." Tobacco cultivation is a traditional local industry. However, in recent years, a large number of villagers have left to pursue other work, resulting in an empty village and a dying environment. With support from the poverty alleviation policies in Guizhou Province, Zhongguan Village was selected as a pilot village in 2015. This started Zhongguan Village's transformation program, whose efforts were led by China New Rural Planning and Design.

Pedestrian Bridge: Joint Construction of Designers and Villagers

Local life in Zhongguan Village is closely related to a river that runs north-south through the village, dividing it into the eastern and western portions. This creates a barrier between people on either side, preventing daily contact and exchanges. Telephone poles that traverse the river have been the only means to access the other side. Since the village is located in the mountains, this bridge is annually flooded by the river during the wet season between summer and autumn. Crossing the river is difficult and dangerous. Therefore, not only to build a bridge across the two sides is urgent in order to improve the local villagers' travel conditions, but also the bridge will serve as a link between the western and eastern portions of the village.

Villagers will serve as the main construction workers of the bridge. However, they have limited technical knowledge, which restrains the complexity of the design. Therefore, simple and stable materials and construction methods need to be adopted. In the end, gabions were chosen, which are commonly used in water conservancy



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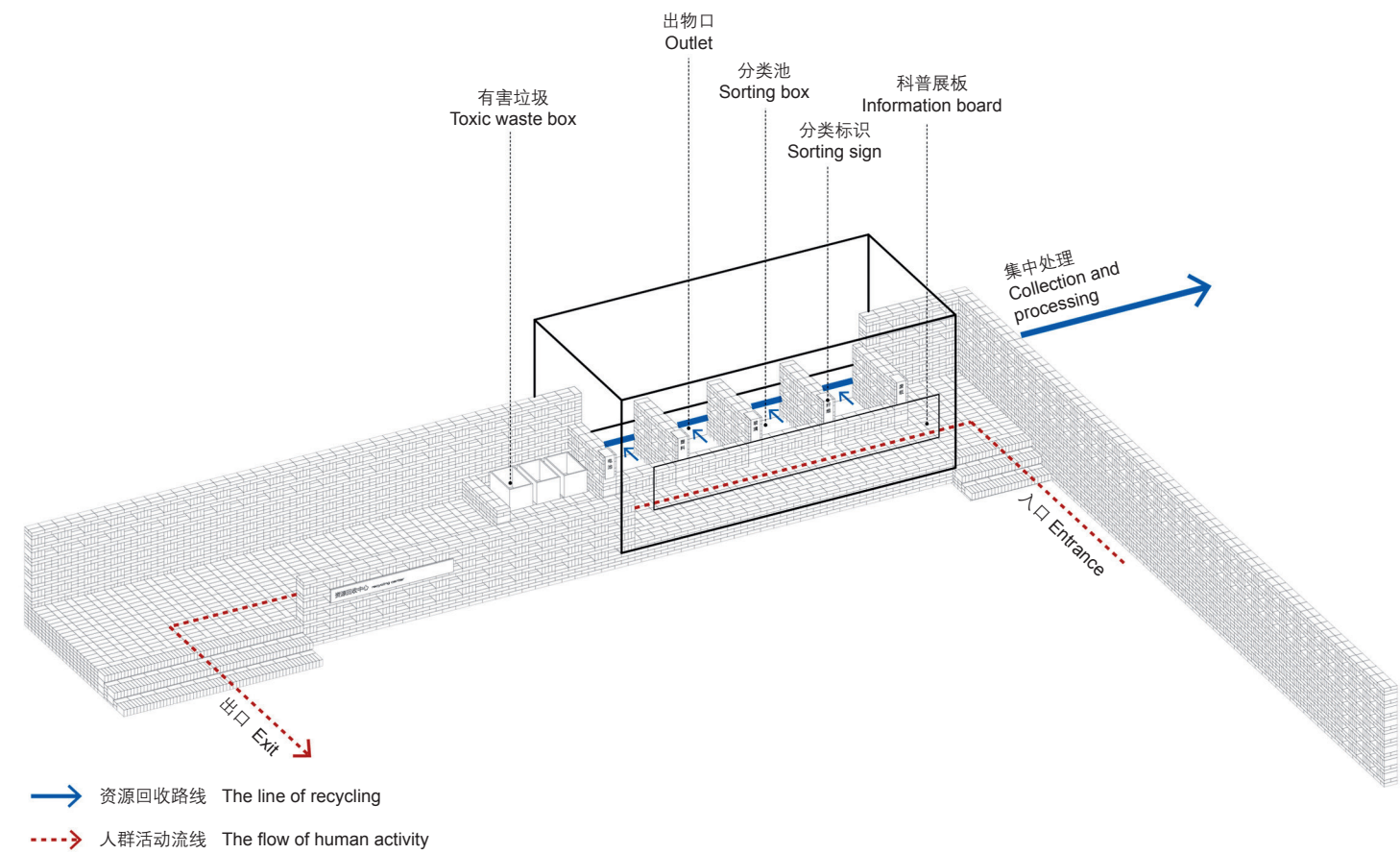


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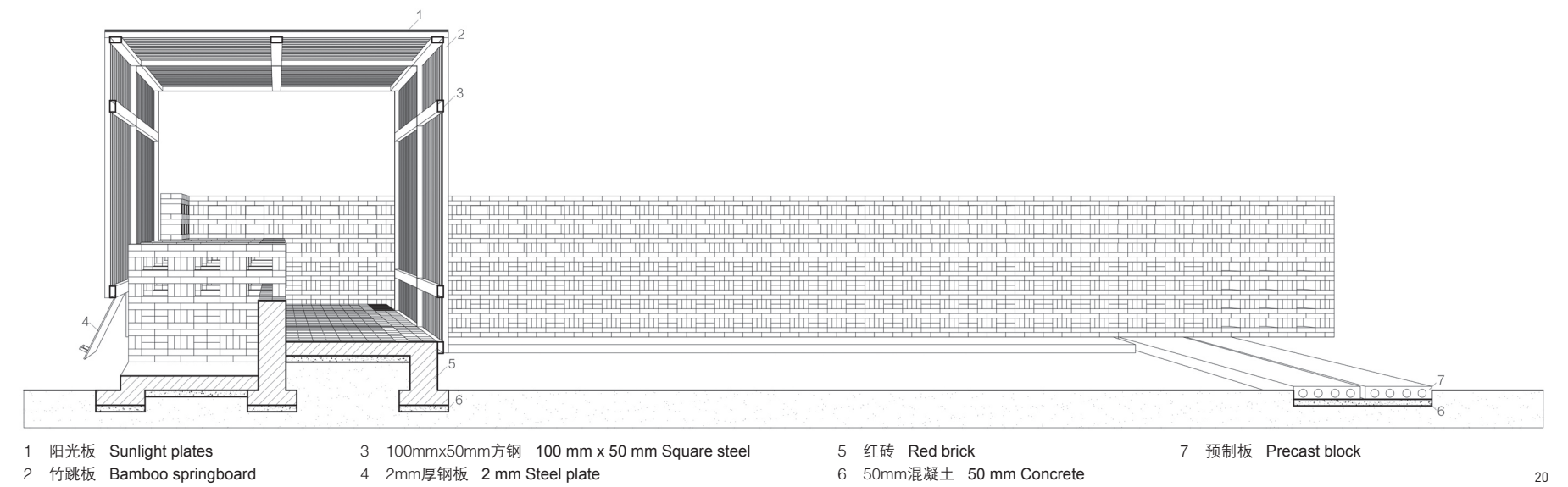
projects. Its flexible structure is stable and erosion-proof, and can withstand a certain degree of settlement and deformation. This construction method is simple, low cost, and requires no machinery. It is therefore very suitable for use in mountainous areas where technical equipment is limited.

A three-span pedestrian bridge was connected with bolts. Electrowelding work was undertaken by the villagers. In addition, standard steel and advanced construction technology guarantee that the bridge can be processed and completed in a short period of time. As a widely used finished material for scaffolding, steel spring board was selected as the main material for the bridge floor. When galvanized, the material is extremely resistant

- 14. 村中儿童在自制的水泥砖上留下手印和签名
- 15. 老支书绘制传统神符
- 16. 村民参与到场地的施工过程中
- 17. 设计建立起人与场地之间的联系
- 18. 村中儿童来自山林的树叶制作的水泥砖
- 14. Children left their palms and signatures on the cement bricks
- 15. The old village secretary drawing traditional amulets
- 16. Villagers participated in the construction work
- 17. This design approach builds the relationship between people and sites
- 18. The cement brick with plant leaf that picked from mountain by children



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21-1



21-2

19. 资源回收中心轴侧图
 20. 资源回收中心剖面
 21. 建成后的资源回收中心
 22. 垃圾分类标识
 23. 儿童参观资源回收中心
19. Axonometric drawing of the resource recycling center
 20. Section of the resource recycling center
 21. Final appearance of the resource recycling center
 22. Waste sorting sign
 23. Children visiting the resource recycling center



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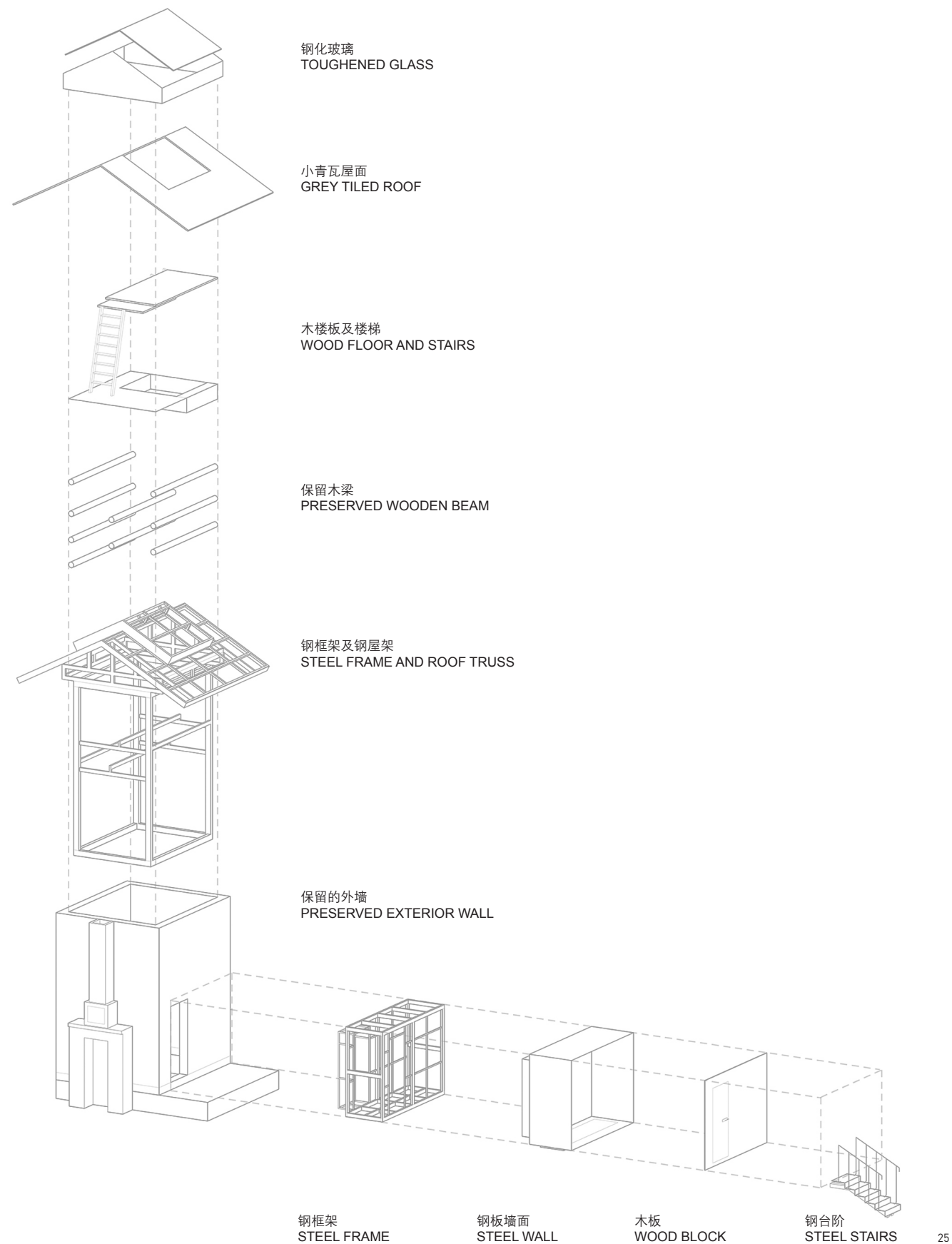
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to corrosion and stress-tolerant. This was highly appropriate for the bridge floor, which has a high attrition rate. High-strength galvanized steel mesh also meets the desired transparency of the bridge, allowing pedestrians to watch the river through the holes. Taking into account the challenge for women wearing narrow high heels to walk through the bridge, 60 cm wide steel strip was laid on the bridge. Adhering to a principle of drawing on local resources, local and environmentally-sourced elements such as bamboo were chosen to construct poles and handrails, lessening the industrial feeling of the cold steel in the bridge. The bamboo poles were internally cut and wired with electricity for lighting. The towering poles were in harmony with the reed marshes that spread in the river. In the evening, the illuminated bamboo poles appear as the candlelight in the silent mountain.

The designers and villagers collaborated during the construction of the pedestrian bridge in Zhongguan Village. Building bridges in the countryside have long been regarded as a cumulative merit that benefits future generations. Men from the village performed more laborious tasks such as bearing and filling the stones and steel frame. The most prestigious elderly in



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the village in village were invited to pick a propitious time for the mounting of the beams. Almost all villagers came to watch this event. After a series of rituals, the young villagers worked together to lift the beams, and the hills resounded with the rumble of firecrackers after the beams were mounted. This bridge was built entirely by the villagers, and the construction process linked them and reignited their deep feelings towards their hometown and land.

Grass Fairyland: Reshaping Rural Public Space

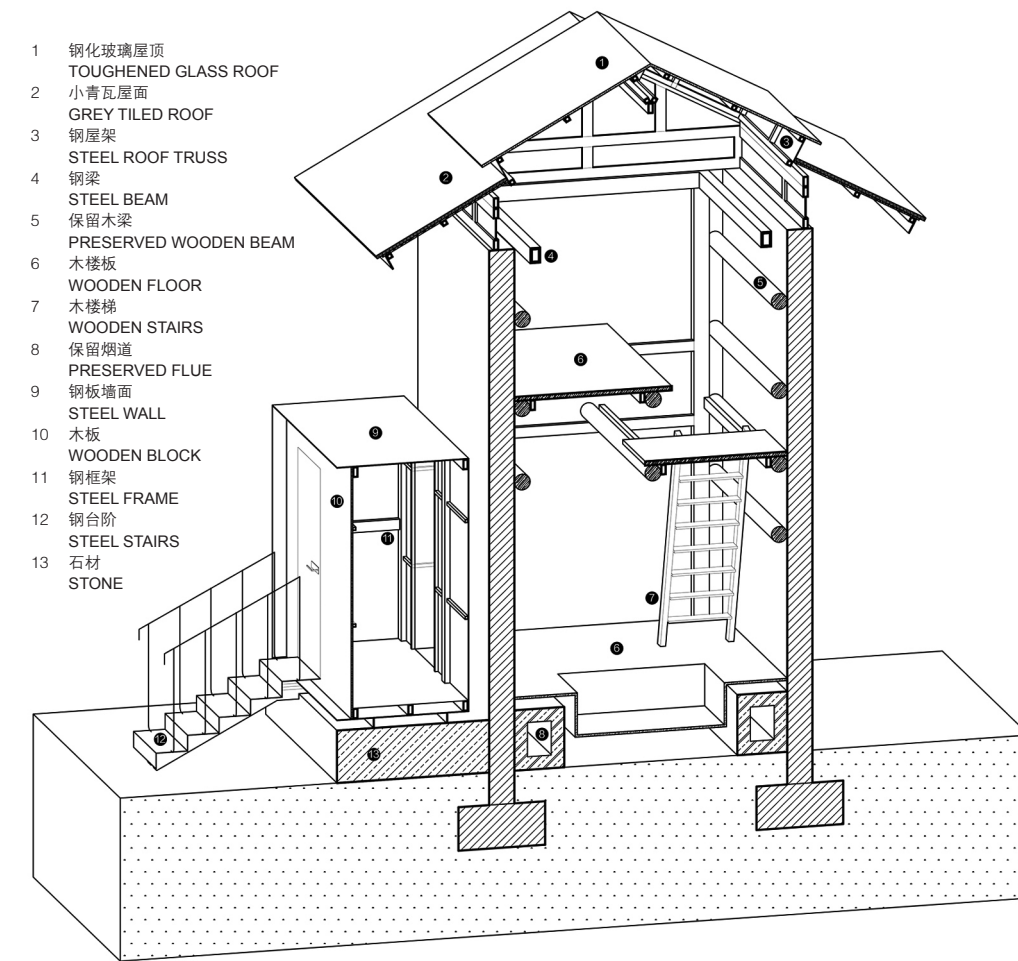
There have always been spaces in the village that can be called "public realm." The entrances to the traditional villages, the bridge, the threshing ground, and the ancestral hall, for example, are all spatial containers for the living habits and public activities of rural residents. These spaces constitute important parts of the overall environment of rural settlements, maintain the community's identity, and carry the spiritual heritage of traditional culture. Many public issues rise in the "field" and are resolved through communication. In the practice of Zhongguan Village, forgotten rural public space was reshaped.



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- 改造前的烤烟房
- 烤烟房结构图
- 烤烟房剖面
- 改造后的烤烟房立面

- Tobacco-baking House before transformation
- Diagram of tobacco-baking house
- Section of tobacco-baking house
- Tobacco-baking house facade



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- 28. 烤烟房屋顶进行过修复，增加了室内采光
- 29. 烤烟房及其邻近民宿楼
- 30. 改造后的烤烟房内部，上层为卧室，下层为起居室

- 28. Repairing the old roof to increase the lighting of the tobacco-baking house
- 29. Tobacco-baking house and adjacent guesthouse
- 30. Interior of the tobacco-baking house, the upper part is a bedroom and the lower part is a living room



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The formation of the grass fairyland is based on multiple considerations. The demand for rural children's activities and the goal of low-cost, low-tech construction were achieved by using simple materials and techniques. The creation of a children's activity space for environmental education for rural children aimed to inspire the next generation.

Rural construction can be seen as a perspective of "repairing the old and the waste." In the process of rural construction, a large number of the production tailings, waste, and the demolition debris were accumulated on-site. These pieces were used to construct a children's paradise. These fragmented materials are difficult to embed in the construction process as working materials while in the context of construction in modern cities because it cannot meet standard specifications for construction materials. While in the construction of the villages, all design and construction can "vary according to the materials." In the plan of grass fairyland, more "waste" was accommodated, and this "mess" of materials stimulates rich experiences. Villagers were encouraged to get involved in the construction of the project. First, interesting results were achieved because of some "uncertainty."

Secondly, the intention was to create a natural connection between people and the site through participation in the construction. The design scheme left a large number of gaps for the potential participation of the villagers. A "resource recycling center" on the site can recycle glass, metals, paper, and other common materials. Children can read the detailed introduction of "how to recycle resources" to understand the conservation and recycling in rural life.

Transformation of Tobacco-baking House: Reconstruction of a Rural Industrial Building

Tobacco cultivation is the main industry in Zhongguan Village, and the handmade baking tradition is still maintained. As an important part of the industry, tobacco-baking houses feature unique forms, and become the region's characteristic architecture that exists in every household's courtyard. Traditional tobacco-baking houses are the remains of some of the most iconic industrial landscape in the era of handmade tobacco-baking, and they were discarded and dismantled during industrial transformation and the construction of new, more intensive tobacco-baking houses.

The design goal is transforming and



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renewing the tobacco-baking houses, and exploring the possibility of continuing its function into the next era while retaining memories of traditional industry. Tongzi County, where Zhongguan Village sits, has a cool and pleasant summer climate and is gradually becoming a summer retreat due to its vicinity to the metropolis of Chongqing. It is an opportunity to transform dilapidated tobacco-baking houses into featured guesthouses.

In order to solve the problem of functional adjacency, a steel frame was embedded in the buildings to separate the building wall from the load-bearing structures forming a "double nested structure." The old wall no longer bears the loads and all of the internal new functional blocks are attached to the steel frame. The original appearance was

retained in the process of transformation: closed spaces, interspersed sun-baking tobacco poles, raised funnels, and narrow observation windows; the wall was repaired, the original materials and temporal traces of use were retained. The ladder that was used to hang tobacco leaves in the house was also retained. Finally, the structure becomes a wonderful dialogue with time.

Furnace for Esteeming and Cherishing Script Paper: Embodiment of Traditional Folklores

Zhongguan Village has maintained a tradition of "esteeming and cherishing script paper." Every household has bamboo baskets used to collect script papers. These papers would otherwise be burnt by the side of the river near a temple, and their ash



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would be poured into the river. "Esteeming and cherishing script paper" is a virtue in traditional Chinese culture, representing respect to the culture of ancient people. This tradition is particularly precious in the remote mountainous countryside of Guizhou.

In understanding this tradition, a "furnace for esteeming and cherishing script paper" was redesigned and built in the open space near the village temple side. The furnace used simple steel plates. Both sides were carved with couplet commonly seen in the traditional tower that read "Ink lift to the cloud; Articles illuminate the sky." The glowing fire from incineration seen through the hollowed-out furnace strengthened the ritual experience of paper-burning. The furnace has been greatly recognized by the villagers. The old secretary of the

village dedicated a couplet to express the villagers' recognition and gratitude for the construction of the furnace.

The Tomb of the Red Army: The Continuation of Historical Memory

There were many major historical events marked by the Zunyi Conference, which had significant and far-reaching impacts on the entire Long March in Guizhou and even the Chinese revolution. Guizhou has a series of important spatial nodes recording these significant events. One of these is the Red Army tomb in Zhongguan Village. It is a solitary grave that has been guarded by the villagers for several decades. Vivid military and civilian stories are still passed on by the local word of mouth, and are a witness of

- 31. 挂在村民家门口的字篓
- 32. 敬字炉与村庙
- 33. 火光从镂空的字中透出来
- 34. 村民使用敬字炉

- 31. Every household has bamboo baskets used to collect script papers
- 32. Furnace for Esteeming and Cherishing Script Paper and the temple
- 33. The glowing fire from incineration seen through the hollowed-out furnace
- 34. A villager putting the script paper to the burning furnace



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history and time. The former monumental grand narrative approach was transformed to demonstrate the hardships of Red Army and the Long March using contemporary design language and a rich spatial sequence. The scheme creates memory and sequences space by using very simple materials, and is a new experiment to form the memorial in a rural landscape. Originally covered with weeds, the hillside solitary grave was respected and paid attention to through the rural construction process.

Financial Cooperatives: Guaranteed Rural Construction

Changping Li, president of China New Rural Planning and Design, believes that the constructions of China's rural areas are currently facing two major problems. One is a lack of effective autonomous agricultural organizations. The other is a lack of autonomous financial support. While the planning in Zhongguan Village was being

carried out, the design team assisted to establish a built-in financial institute — Maoshi County Professional Economic Development Cooperatives, with CNY 300,000 invested by the government, CNY 30,000 by the design team, CNY 20,000 by each of the 14 local elites, and CNY 2,000 by each of the elderly willingly. The operative mechanism of this financial cooperative is that the villagers become stakeholders based on their assets of houses and land, allowing them to be traded in internal markets. It can provide preferential loans to the local villagers, or generate revenue by renting idle houses or land to provide dividends for the elderly. Cooperatives also provide capital storage, joint procurement, sales and distribution, mutual support, and other functions. In the framework of cooperatives, the villagers participating in rural construction sign agreements with the township construction headquarters. Villagers can complete the construction of houses. The external public space and



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internal furnishings are provided by the poverty alleviation funds from the government. The program is carried out under unified planning and operation. After opening, 75% of the income is owned by the operating entity, 20% goes towards the repayment of the loan, and 5% for the operating costs of the cooperatives.

Summary

Taking care of everything seems to be a common problem in rural construction. However, the principle that rural transformation is the villagers' own business has been demonstrated through a series of practice in Zhongguan Village. A role of collaborators in rural construction was gradually established, a future vision with a design for the villagers was depicted, and construction was returned back to them. **LAF**



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- 35. 修复的红军墓
- 36. 村民在红军墓前回忆红军故事
- 37. 乡村改造全村说明会
- 38. 设计师到村民家中拜访
- 39. 与村中老人座谈
- 40. 设计师与村民

- 35. The repair of tomb of the Red Army
- 36. Villagers told stories of the Red Army at the tomb
- 37. The presentation of rural construction attracting all villagers
- 38. Designers visited villagers in their homes.
- 39. Discussing with the elders of Zhongguan Village
- 40. The designer and villagers