

CITY BUILDING, CONSERVATION AND ARCHITECTURE
IN CHINA
WITH THE SPECIAL REFERENCE TO QUFU

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A thesis submitted for the degree of Doctor of Philosophy

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May 1991

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ACKNOWLEDGEMENT

This thesis was supervised by Charles Cockburn and Prof. Douglass Wise.

First of all my grateful thanks are due to my supervisor, Charles, for his warmhearted and generous help and enthusiasm during my time in Britain in general, and in particular his sharp and critical questions and challenges during the period of research and thoughtful comments on the whole research project. I am indebted Prof. Wise for his important advice at crucial stages of the work which helped to guide the research and to seek out other, fresh directions. I would also like to acknowledge the advice and help given by architect John Loring during presentations and discussions which stimulated many ideas covered in the research, especially the issues about British architecture. John's friendship and intelligence have made my time in York unforgettable.

A great many people in China contributed to the material and surveying during my field study in Qufu, among other places. A number of members of planning staff and officers of Qufu City Council welcomed me into their offices to conduct interviews and provided me with materials, and hospitality. Also, local policemen and residents generously assisted me to carry out the important survey in the sampled neighbourhood.

In Britain also, planners and architects on many City Councils and Schools of Architecture helped me during my several case studies, through discussions and by providing materials.

To name all the people who have helped me would be impossible, there have been so many; nevertheless I cannot allow this occasion to pass without recording my special gratitude to several people had been involved in this research by commenting on different parts of the thesis, including Dr. Richard Kirkby, Professor and writer Alison Ravetz and Prof. Ed. Cooney, who gave me courage and confidence in my researches. Mrs. Margarite Meisenhalter worked with me on the written English of my initial papers and essays, and Ms. Corita Myerscough proofed the whole thesis. Without their careful and knowledgable assistance, the thesis would not be in its present shape!

I would also like to say thank you to the many people in the IoAAS, who have facilitated my research in different ways; those include the Librarian, Mr. Keith Parker and his assistant Mrs. Jan Powell, the Secretaries in the General Office and the Continuing Education Group.

Indeed, it would have been impossible for me to carry out my research in a foreign country without all the friends I have made, both in The King's Manor and at Constantine House, where I have happily spent most of the last three years.

INTRODUCTION

Today development and conservation are probably the most important issues in current Chinese city building. They involve a number of factors including government development policies, architects' and planners' ideas and methods to solve the problems. And finally they involve the actual social context in which all the government's policies and the ideas of the professional come together in the decision-making process and the consequent effects they have on the people.

In the late 1970s after 'the gang of four' fell out of power, the reforming government set up the 'Four modernisation' policies to 'catch up with the developed world' as soon as possible. Modernisation is, therefore, first and foremost a strong political intention which is explicitly expressed by the government slogan of 'Building socialist modernisations with Chinese characteristics'. Thus it is that modern city building in China has become a concrete demonstration of increasing economic prosperity and her renewal as a world political power. It has been noted, for example, that in the last ten years most large scale government projects of world importance have been sanitized by propaganda aimed at acclaiming China's new position in the world. For instance, the modern cities built in the Special Economic Zones and the new Asian Games Village in Beijing are identified by the government as representing the 'new spirit of the nation'. Therefore to modernise the centuries old cities is not simply an economic affair, but evidence of a country fixated by the need to project every aspect of its new modernisation policy. The great danger of this dogmatic, even 'idealistic' approach to modernise its past at all costs is the wholesale destruction of historic settlements and their communities.

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But it is curious and alarming to note that, while vast areas of the old cities are being replaced by faceless new architecture and infrastructure, imitations of long since vanished historic monuments and pastiche traditional shopping and commercial streets have been recreated all over the country. The contradicting desire for modernisation *and* cultural identity eventually juxtaposes the symbolic high-rise and high-way with nostalgic recreations of historic features.

The author believes that there is an urgent need for a comprehensive appraisal of these issues if the wholesale destruction of wonderful and irreplaceable Chinese settlements is to be halted. Any *narrow-minded* way of thinking would destroy for ever those settlements that have so far survived the onslaught of institutionalised modernisation. Therefore this study tries to bring an historic understanding to Chinese 'modernisation theory' as applied to city building, conservation and architecture in China today, and to warn of the dangers to the culture and way of life of ordinary Chinese families in the name of economic progress in its social, political, economic and cultural contexts.

After some thirty years of Mao's closed-door leftist regime, modernisation or 'developing the productive forces'¹ and the open-door policy seemed the only consensus which could be promoted over the country as a whole. Previously due to international ideological confrontation, the 'class struggle' dominated the country's social and economic policies, and development had first of all to be considered in terms of political projects; as Deng Xiao-ping (1984) stated, referring to earlier days, 'One of our shortcomings since the foundation of the People's Republic was that we neglected the development of the productive forces' (ibid., p.55). The country's economic development and the individual's need to become better-off were compatible political aims. Nevertheless the conflicting international circumstances of the Cold War encouraged China's industrialisation. This was first superimposed on existing cities, where many neighbourhood industries emerged in the 1950s, and was then practised in the decentralisation development policies in the 1960s and the greater part of the 1970s. According to the latter policies, many of the country's important industries were distributed to inland regions and many small rural industries were established by the People's Communes.

¹ See Deng Xiao-ping, 1984, 'Socialism with Chinese characteristics' in Fundamental Issues in Present-day China, Foreign Language Press, Beijing, 1987, pp.53-58.

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However, the ideological aims and the 'common good' were deeply shattered by the historic tragedy of the Cultural Revolution, when human rights were totally abolished by politicians, who used ideological slogans to disguise their drive for power and domination.

Naturally the new leaders of the post-Mao time from 1978 had to place material good and economic prosperity, which were symbolised by the 'four modernisations', at the centre of the Party's policies. But after being isolated from the outside world for three decades, the interpretation of the notions of modernisation in the Chinese context has never been universally agreed. Even Deng Xiao-ping's ideas of 'constructing Chinese socialist modernisations' themselves are presented in a rather vague manner; as the recent common saying states, 'Crossing the river by testing the stones on the river-bed'. But there is undoubtedly a strong motivation to continue to take some account of world opinion about liberation and human rights because socialist economic development in China needs foreign investment and advanced technologies.

While the politicians were preparing their blueprint, the professionals proposed their own elitist future for Chinese cities. The younger generation, waiting for this opportunity to modernise Chinese cities for decades, now finally had a chance to experiment with all sorts of architectural and planning ideas on the would-be redeveloped cities. But the professionals were also confused about and had little agreement on what modernisation meant. It can be argued that they have been waiting so long to modernise that their ideas of modernisation were 20 or 30 years out of date. If in the past forty years there had been little progress in modernising cities left in a deteriorating condition, now they strongly desire to make up for lost time by rapidly seeking up-to-date, Western modern examples. This obsessive energy is logically understandable. However, by not understanding how the present situation has come about, architect-planners can easily ignore the reality and the pace of change in the West. They are unable to draw lessons for today because they lack the experience to interpret events closely. Their information has been filtered in such a restrictive manner, and for so long, it makes them indiscriminating. To borrow ideas from the developed countries without really understanding the underlying economic, political and social factors, has caused these ideas to transfer badly and this has been reflected by feelings of frustration.

The main purpose of the present work is to try to set out a critical understanding of modern Chinese city building, in order to contribute to the current debate. In China

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among the professionals, academic interest in the history of modern Chinese planning and architecture has only just begun. Recently a few relevant studies have been made, these include Kong De-shun and Zou De-nong's (1985) pioneering brief chronological architectural history from 1949-1984². This work provides the present thesis with a reliable shorthand literature on the history of this period. There are also some scattered articles on different but related aspects published in various architectural journals in China to which the author of this work owes a great debt. Nevertheless, due to the recent practice of city rebuilding of the 1980s, many issues associated with cities as a whole, such as government policies for their expansion and the consequent planning and architectural policies, are still not touched on systematically. More recently though urban planning theories are occasionally mentioned in a very abstract manner with themes of future urbanisation strategies. For example, planning thinking has started on urban development policies based on different sized cities. The government has stated that there must be, 'controls for large cities, rational development for middle-sized cities but small cities must be encouraged to develop'. This basic and rather vague strategy still needs much work of interpretation to actually provide an appropriate living environment for people's daily lives in the 21st century. Furthermore due to the existing political environment, there are few constructively critical studies on the themes of city building, architectural ideologies and related government policies³. On account of this the present study has benefited a great deal from the opportunity to study in Britain. It is the author's intention with this research to put forward a critique of Chinese city building, planning and architecture and its practices in the perspective provided by hind sight and the lessons learnt from a close inspection of others' experience.

In consideration of these general issues in China Part One, which consists of the first two chapters of the dissertation, sets out to show that the city building, conservation and architecture in modern China are expressed through an examination of government policies, professional ideas and practices in the last forty years. Some conclusions that

² Another major work is an M.A. dissertation by Liu Ting under Zou De-nong's supervision on modern Chinese architectural history in the 1950s and '60s, Architectural Department, Tianjin University, 1988.

³ Here I refer to the works including: (1) Wilson Lewis (ed.), The City in Communist China, Stanford University Press, California, 1971; (2) Rhoads Murphy, The Fading of the Maoist Vision: city and country in China's development, Methuen, New York, 1980; (3) Martine King Whyte & William L. Parish, Urban Life in Contemporary China, The University of Chicago Press, Chicago, 1984; and (4) Richard Kirkby, Urbanisation in China: town and country in a development economy 1949-2000, Routledge, London, 1985.

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the author feels are relevant to today are also drawn. In Chapter One first analysed are the economic and political constraints on the post-revolution city building and architectural ideology, and in order to reveal the internal relation between city, architecture and politics, especially during the periods of the Great Leap Forward and the Cultural Revolution during the late 1950s and 1960s respectively. This period saw the establishment of political authoritarianism through the public architectural design offices. Discussion follows on the urban problems resulting from the first thirty years, which became the main concern in city building and architecture in the eighties.

The Economic Reforms of the 1980s, which were introduced by the 'Third Plenary Session of the Eleventh Central Committee' in 1978, first launched in countryside then in cities, constitute four main themes. The first is to shift the Party's central task from the previous *class struggle* to *economic development*. The second is to replace the previous collective welfare policies, which were symbolised as the 'largely-shared-meal' (Da Guo Fan), to the 'Contractor Responsibility System' (Ze Ren Zhi) in order to encourage individuals to work harder for their own benefit. The third is to decentralise the long-established central planning power to local authorities, in order to hopefully introduce more market dynamics to the existing dull and very distant centrally-planned economic measures. Lastly, from the geographical point of view, the new development strategy focuses more on the relatively developed East Coastal Regions of the country rather than on the relatively underdeveloped inland regions as was the case in the 1960s and 70s. These approaches are paralleled by city-centred economic development, which again is different from the earlier anti-urbanisation policies. The successful rural reforms of the early 1980s not only provided more grain surplus to guarantee basic food supplies for the increasing urban population, but also helped to create millions of surplus rural labour which now flooded into cities and formed a enormous labour market mostly used for construction projects. These last two factors provided the foundation to city building in the 1980s in China.

As a result of the economic reforms, increasing industrialisation has begun to require more land for further development which so far has been solved by relocating inner city industries to more rural areas. At the same time the adaptation of new technologies and production lines have caused the renewal of existing city industries. On the other hand, the government's policy for boosting consumption instead of accumulation

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to stimulate economic development has helped the growth of commerce. Consequently the new pressure for redevelopment has come to cities all over the country on a larger scale than before, thereby easing the reorganisation of the existing cities, providing mass urban housing both on the fringes and in the inner city areas, and readjusting the city centre. Again commented have been expressed on how planners and architects have reacted to these new economic and political factors.

Notions of modernisation always touch tradition in one way or another, and somehow people always try to hold on to their identity in spite of rapid social change. In the fifties, while the piecemeal transformation of traditional cities into industrial cities was taking place for their new political, economic and cultural functions, their physical environment was allowed to deteriorate in favour of the authoritarian socialist regime created to enforce a strong cultural identity. However, if cultural identity is only limited to a political agenda rather than to an ordinary requirement of ordinary people's lives, then it will be extremely fragile to the changeable ideological disputes within the power struggle. In other words it can be manipulated by national leaders to meet the needs of the moment, and it can go as easily as it came. This was to be the case with the Cultural Revolution, when leader worship and leftist utopian nonsense took over truth, and when culture and tradition were replaced by barbarism. This issue leads to Chapter Two which describes the development of conservation in modern China, and focuses on its current thoughts and practices in recent city redevelopment.

It is argued that conservation in modern China started with the preservation of historical monuments and developed as a 'monuments' approach that was mirrored by the revival of classical styled architecture of the 1950s. This monumentalism is still alive today, but is found more in commercial developments than in the conservation areas where vernacular architectural styles are found. New conservation in the post-Mao period was first of all, like so much else, a political proposition of the reformist government to unify the whole country by restoring the values destroyed by Mao's Cultural Revolution. Secondly, urban economic development, first introduced in the Sixth Five-Year Plan in the early 1980s, required the preservation of all highly valued historic monuments and the conservation of traditional environments to be part of the city development plan. The government issued two lists of historic cities, then the 1983 Urban Planning Ordinance set out the conservation principles for historic cities. Following this, work began on

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enhancement, maintenance and renovation of historic monuments. In addition the traditional character of old cities was to be maintained. It is noted that urban conservation measures in the 1980s are not opposed to city redevelopment, rather they play a role that helps development go faster.

In China the current thoughts, which are sustained in city building, architecture and conservation practices, are strongly influenced by the West. This phenomenon can be easily observed both from academic research on planning and architecture and practices of city building in every city in China. It is therefore crucial that Chinese politicians and professionals involved with urban development have a better understanding of the lessons from Western experience. The convention is that this is not the case, and the author's aim is to try to set these lessons out in such a way as to make them comprehensive. Those who follow the Marxist materialist approach insist that city and architectural forms are dominated entirely by social production and the level of industrialisation. Modern planning and architectural creations represent the arrival of industrial civilisation - they are universally recognisable. It was commonly assumed that to adopt Western ideas would 'naturally' help the country's modernisation process. Others who are in closer touch with the changing fashion in 'new ideas' spend their energy introducing the latest Western trends such as the popular postmodern architectural styles without asking why and how they have occurred. Both have failed to face the Chinese social, economic and cultural realities, nor have they gone much beyond blind admiration and slavish copying.

In order to re-evaluate the current planning and architectural theories and practices in China which are influenced by the West, this research has attempted to establish a critical analysis of the most important planning and architectural ideas against their economic and political background in post-war Britain.

Firstly, after two hundred years of industrialisation and fifty years or so of modernisation many British cities have almost completed a circle on the path of industrialisation. Although the modern movement in Europe started at the turn of this century and many modern planning and architectural ideas matured during the 1920s and 30s, in Britain modern city building did not really occur on any scale until after the Second World War. Post-war city planning in Britain can possibly be divided into four

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periods. During the first, from the middle 1940s to early 1950s, the coming to power of the Labour Government, brought with it the ideology of radical socialist policies of the Welfare State and nationalisation, and of central planning for the reconstruction of bombed cities, the provision of mass housing for the homeless, and the State ownership of major industry, health and education. The reconstruction after the war for the first time provided the opportunity for modern planning and architecture as proposed by the Charter of Athens, to be introduced especially in the public sector. Both the new towns and the reconstruction of the bombed cities became the testing fields of all these modern planning and architectural ideologies. The spirit of the modern movement was best demonstrated by the Festival of Britain organised by the new Labour Government in London in 1951.

The second stage was in the 1960s, when the much more fundamental modernisation of Britain cities took place because of the economic boom and the massive private sector developments in offices, commercial and industrial complexes and housing. This was supported by large scale construction of public infrastructure, particularly motor ways, that cut through city centres and caused much destruction. Now for the architect-planners these measures created the chance to reshape the old centres. Moreover the development of high-technology enabled architect-planners to contribute to the political-economic success through high rise new world commercial and housing developments.

As a result of the brutal physical changes and social reorganisation in the cities the third stage took place in the 1960s and early 70s. There was growing opposition to wholesale destruction by both public and private development from conservationists and citizen action groups during this period. Thus public participation, amenity, environmental and countryside groups as well as local action and the community architecture movement, appeared and fought against the welfare-state ideology and the post-war norms of modern planning and architecture. Soon those trends were absorbed in the last stage of the post-war city rebuilding in the market dominated Thatcher years.

In much of the 1970s and 1980s Britain saw the continuing processes of economic and industrial restructuring. While some cities and towns experienced growth and new patterns of employment, others experienced massive decline and very high levels of unemployment (BRINDLY, 1989). The economic recession and financial crisis shattered the welfare-state; previous policies were exchanged for privatisation programmes brought

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in by the radical Conservative Government. Along with the gradual collapse of the welfare-state provision of health and education, much of the power of modern planning and architectural doctrines gave way to fragmented planning styles and post-modern architecture dominated by the commercial market and private enterprise. At the same time area conservation, historic cities and regeneration of the old industrial cities played a major role in reviving the economic life of run down and long derelict towns. The most unlikely places became centres of tourist interest through the establishment of the heritage industry.

Since 1989 the European Community (EC) has been preparing a Green Book as the basis of the official EC policy on the urban environment for the 1990s. This document deals with the root causes of the problems commonly shared by most of the old European cities. It reworks the principles of urban planning which originated from the Charter of Athens, issued by modern architects including Le Corbusier sixty years ago. The Green Book states that the European city has stopped growing, the population in most has stabilised, but is becoming dominated by the car. Attention is now shifting from creating new districts to improving and renewing the old ones; also included are issues concerning the relationship between the Central State and the Local Authority. Now the city should be returned to the people, and future urban planning policies must manage the environment as a whole, rather than it be treated as a series of dislocated functions serving the needs of only one section of the population⁴. However different the circumstances between the two countries, the city building experiences of Britain and Europe are significant to the current city development practice in China. Does China have to adopt what can now be seen as bad urban and environmental policies when the lessons learnt in Europe, are these to be learnt? We have an opportunity only not to save our time, our resources and our environment from the profligate waste and extravagance in the West but we can save our urban culture too. The importance of this may be little appreciated in China; it needs a visit to some of the appalling environmental consequences of so-called 'modern living standards' in the west to realise the degradation of the city that has taken place and the large numbers of the poor.

⁴ See John Vidal's report, 'Rethinking the City' in Environment Guardian, 8 July 1990, p.25.

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Secondly, despite the ideological differences between Britain and China, similarities can be found between them if it is considered that both monopoly capitalism and the state socialism are proposed by modern thinkers who all owe a great deal to the period of Enlightenment in the 17th and 18th century. For example, as King (1986, p.67 & p.71) argues, both Marxist and Weber ignored the autonomous community which the young Marx once proposed for socialism. Marx believed that a Socialist State was a powerful way to direct economic production and material consumption, while Weber suggested a 'neutral' rational and legalised modern industrial society. On this account, the post-war political consensus and centralised planning ideology in Britain and the centrally planned development in socialist China both used to different degrees the State interventionist method of Government. After years of centralism in Britain, along with the collapse of welfare state since the 1970s, localism began to redefine its role in the new social and economic environment, while in China not only have the Economic Reforms of the 1980s been the failure of centralism, but also the very recent government campaign to require all bureaucrats to 'respect the people' after Tiananmen Square. The events of those days demonstrate the severe problems caused by the enormous gap between the rulers and the people under the current centralist doctrine.

Thirdly, since the 1940s modern city rebuilding in Britain have taken the major steps and since 1950s much of the old cities have been redeveloped, and now this situation has appeared in many Chinese cities since the middle 1980s. The Economic Reforms of the 1980s accelerated urbanisation in China, and since the late 1970s, most of Chinese cities began to face strong pressure from the increasing needs for commerce, infrastructure, and mass housing. In 1985 it was reported that about half of the existing buildings in most of the city centres were in an inadequate condition and should be renewed (WU, 1985). At the same time the 'Comprehensive Development Policy' introduced by the central government in the early 1980s provided the local authorities with planning and financial power to fulfil the redevelopment of the city centres on a large scale. Under such a policy, wholesale redevelopment and renewal had increased considerably by the mid 1980s. In some large cities, the major new housing programmes and commercial development were carried out through clearance in the old inner city areas. Some city authorities even boasted that in the next decade all the old single storey housing would be redeveloped. Considering the experience shared by Britain in

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the 1950s and 1960s, and China in the 1980s, the post-war period will be a relevant starting point from which to examine city building and conservation in Modern Britain.

The intention is to examine city building in modern Britain to understand the underlying economic, political and social dynamics which brought public and private development into the planning and architectural policies. The simple historical research approach is not enough we have to look at the relationship between politics, planning and the common man has to be looked at, and how architects can realise the visions of both. With all this in mind, the author has tried to ask and answer questions as such: (1) How did modern planning and architecture become so dominant in post-war city rebuilding? (2) If in the event modern planning and architecture failed, what were the causes? (3) How different are the current planning and architectural ideologies from the previous ones, what are the social, political and economic reasons? (4) How did urban conservation in the West happen, is it a particular phenomenon in the post-industrial society, or a general issue in any society?

In Part Two, after the analysis of city building in modern China in Part One, the changing social, political and cultural backgrounds during the post-war period are set up against major planning and architectural ideas in Britain. Part Two consists of three chapters on the British scene. The analysis of the formation of post-war policies for city rebuilding, town planning and modern architecture is covered in *Chapter Three*. It is argued that post-war planning policies were the direct response to the 'socialist' principle where the good of the community is put above the needs of the individual, thus there was centralism in city development. Later on the political consensus made possible the extension of modern planning and architectural ideas leading from the Garden City movement, the City Region and Radiant Cities, etc.. A significant contribution of the 1950s and 60s was the post-war New Towns programme. Slum clearance and commercial redevelopment of city centres were all laid down according to modern planning and architectural principles in less than thirty years. However, after the consensus collapsed, modernism naturally fell into crisis, and all that had been aimed at before, both socially and physically, now becomes challengeable.

Britain after some thirty years of post-war urban modernisation, and the introduction of the welfare-state, began to be transformed into 'a new' era which the

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architectural critics often call post-modernism. In Chapter Four attention is first paid to the debates of the new political situation and the emerging post-modern philosophies that have had so much to do with city building, town planning and architecture since the late 1970s. Against that background, discussion takes place upon the general environmental ideas which have created the fragmented images of current practices.

Since the 1970s urban conservation and regeneration in Britain and other Western industrial countries have been an important aspect of city building, and contributed a great deal to 'post-modern' planning and architectural thought. In Chapter Five the development is examined of the conservation movement in Britain by considering the introduction of conservation societies and government legislation, and the planning and architectural mechanism contributed to urban conservation. Similar to the way the post-war planning and architectural ideas are discussed, an attempt is made to understand the social, political and economic dimension of urban conservation through analysing the potential social conflicts caused by these policies when translated into practice.

After the extensive analysis of city building, conservation and architecture in Chapter Six both in China and Britain in the first two Parts, the different approaches are compared and contrasted, and the general problems are defined which are currently faced by these practices in China. In Part Three i.e. Chapter Six, it is argued that these activities in China have been transformed from their previous political determinism to the more recent environmental determinism which dominated British post-war city rebuilding until the late 1960s. It is suggested that because of the failure of environmental determinism in city development, and the social conflicts caused by current urban conservation in Britain and other developed countries, a critical socio-spatial approach to city building, conservation and architecture be urgently introduced in China. This critical socio-spatial approach should combine city building policies with sociological concerns in urban space and city building processes. This leads to Part Four, which includes a case study of the important historic city of Qufu - the birthplace in the north-east of China of the great ancient Chinese philosopher Confucius. Here a possible way to achieve such an approach is researched in order to save much destruction, both of its heritage and the community way of life.

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At the start of Chapter Seven, the socio-historical back ground of the city of Qufu is analysed and focused on its formation and the underlying traditional planning and architectural principles. The current planning policies are examined for development and conservation and the consequent problems. Through this research in the city, it is found the current planning principles for development and conservation are rather questionable. The central problem is that the physical approach to development and conservation has caused major social, economic upheavals to the citizens; it is destroying the all-important neighbourhood concept, in terms of its social structure and spatial patterns that are such a vital aspect to promoting self sustaining communities with their continuousness of good environmental practices.

In Chapter Eight these problems are first explored by analysing the current practices in city building, both at the larger scale of the city and the smaller scale of the neighbourhood in Qufu. In an attempt to alter current planning policies, in Chapter Eight, the focus, in more detail, is on a typical threatened neighbourhood block, which has been proposed as the largest clearance area in the future, according to the current city's 'Development and Conservation Plan'. The intention of the neighbourhood case study is to try to understand what the people really feel they need for improving their living conditions, by collecting first-hand information to form alternative development and conservation policies. It is argued that the morphology and typology of the neighbourhood block should be regarded as a valuable combination of the current social and spatial structures. Both conservation and renewal should take them into consideration.

In the last section of Chapter Eight, the research on Qufu is summarised, and recommendations are given for its future development and conservation policies.

Part One

**CITY BUILDING
CONSERVATION AND ARCHITECTURE
IN CHINA
1949 - 1990**

Chapter One

CITY BUILDING IN CHINA

1 THE POLITICAL AND ECONOMIC CONSTRAINTS ON ARCHITECTURE AND CITY: 1949-1978

1.1 Socialist Construction and the Soviet Influence

On the 1st October 1949 the Communist Government took power and introduced socialist thinking to the largest and most diverse population in the world. Therefore, for the first time of the last hundred years, China became free from Western colonisation, the continuous civil wars among the anarchic war-lords, and the Japanese occupation. The first step of the new economic system was to transfer the means of production from private to state ownership. Between the summer of 1950 and the spring of 1952 land reform took place in the newly liberated areas. Private property was abolished. Many large premises in cities and towns were transferred to public ownership and many rich mansions were given to the poor. The radical changes of use and the Government's later policy of 'production before consumption' caused enormous deterioration of many high quality buildings.

After the long civil war between the Communists and the Nationalists from 1946 to 1949, China's economic situation was extremely poor and the people were exhausted. The high cost of any construction work had to be tightly controlled by the Government. This led the conventional architectural profession, which used to serve exclusively the wealthy classes, to become unself-reliant. Despite the depressing economic situation

architects were still designing buildings that were relatively expensive. From the beginning of 1952 the Government started the Campaign to 'Combat Waste' (*san fan wu fan*) in city construction. By the August of 1952 the Government found that:

'The reconstruction work in the previous years cost the state too much, and the waste was astonishing because many projects had been dealt with improperly... The construction must accord with the policy that building construction should be above all, sufficient, safe and economical; only then could aesthetic issues be considered to a certain degree if the economic conditions allowed. The "formalism", i.e. building purely for the sake of appearances must be avoided' (GONG, Deshun, 1985).

At the same time the Government began to realise that profit-oriented private design firms tended to gain too much from loosely supervised Government projects. So in April 1952 the new Government established Design Institutes in large cities, such as Beijing and Shanghai. In August the State Construction Commission took over all planning and construction work. Through these measures the Government started to control all major construction work totally.

A few months later the Government set up its general policy for the priority in which reconstruction work should take place: state defence, industrial construction, then civic construction and finally restoration of existing properties. This policy was actually the result of the international political situation after the Second World War. In the 1950s the emphasis was on heavy industry, firmly directed what should and should not be done, and provided a low investment for agriculture. As a result construction was mostly concentrated on institutional and industrial buildings in the cities, but little occurred in the small towns and rural areas. Nevertheless, after three years economic rehabilitation, by the end of 1952 the country's annual industrial and agricultural production achieved a higher level than ever before, and people's lives had been improved to a certain degree.

With the improvements in the first few years the Government started in earnest to control economic development, with the continuing emphasis on heavy industry. During the First Five-Year Plan (1953-1957), they transformed agriculture and the existing capitalist industry and commerce in order to concentrate on building up the socialist-style heavy industry. In these five years, the State planned 694 projects which included 156 projects supported by the Soviet Union. Under these circumstances the main task of the Construction and Industry Commission was to focus on industrial

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construction; any other construction work was regarded as of secondary importance. By 1955 all the design institutes, under the different Ministries, were renamed and reconstructed as 'Industrial Construction Design Institutes'.

During these few years, besides industrial construction, city building was mainly focused on the most important public service projects such as bridges, monuments, institutions, offices, and public services. A few new workers' residences, associated with the new industrial development in the large cities such as Beijing, Shanghai and Changchun, were also developed. Most of the new public services were built in the old city centres by replacing the existing single storey buildings.

In the first few years after the liberation the Communist Government began to organise city reconstruction and economic rehabilitation. However, the international political environment made them very cautious about which direction socialist China should go. After US rejected diplomatic relations and trade with China, the 'Sino-Soviet Treaty of Alliance and Mutual Assistance' was implemented in February 1950. This co-operative relationship affected every aspect of the country's life, from the form of socialist production to the party political aims, and even the pattern of technology. As part of the socialist revolution the Government immediately started an educational campaign of 'ideological re-moulding', intended to provide a favourable political environment to improve the country's economy. From late 1951 to the autumn of 1952 this campaign began to affect the professional and artistic classes. The Government clearly announced that it was wrong 'to blindly adore the British and American style of technology, politics should be considered first' (GONG, Deshun, *ibid.*). Since industrial construction was a totally new departure, and in order to achieve development more quickly, the Government encouraged the whole country to learn from the 'advanced' socialist Soviet Union. In October 1953 the 'People's Daily' clearly pointed out that industrial construction must follow the 'socialist idea', which could be learned only from the Soviet Union - from their expertise and technology. The notion, it was assumed, to learn from the Soviet Union would wash away the bourgeois idea that most of the intellectuals had adopted from the 'old educational system' before 1949, since that was regarded as being in conflict with the socialist construction.

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In similar fashion the political regime decided to adopt the Soviet approach to China's city building and architecture. In September 1952, when China's economy had just begun to improve, a Russian architect was invited to give his lecture at a conference held by the newly established Ministry of Construction and Industry. The Russian architect pointed out that architecture was '... an art, which should aim to build comfortable and beautiful residences, public buildings, and cities'. This kind of art played a great role in educating people's (*si xiang gan qing*) thoughts and passions, and could even heighten people's awareness of the ideology (*ti gao jun wu*), and would help to convince people of '... the brightness and greatness of socialism' (GONG, Deshun, *ibid.*). Western and particularly American, styles of modern architecture were politically condemned, and the Soviet ideas of the 'art of architecture' were to influence architectural practice in the future.

Thus it can be seen that the Soviet impact was enormous. When the first edition of the 'Architectural Journal' was published in the summer 1954, the preface read as follows: '... to respond to Chairman Mao's idea of learning from the Soviet Union, this journal will put all its emphasis on introducing the experience of city construction and architecture from the Soviet Union¹). So the Beijing Soviet Museum (1953-1954) was built in time to show what had been done by the 'advanced older brother, the USSR'; even the building itself was designed in a classical Russian style (its name was changed in the early sixties to the Beijing Museum).

While the Soviet experience had directed modern Chinese architecture to a socialist way, the Stalinist idea of 'socialist content and national form' in the Soviet Union, encouraged Chinese architects to search for the Chinese version of national form. In the Soviet Union new buildings were decorated with classical orders; in China the architects covered the new buildings with the traditional roof and '*dou-gong*' (which is a system of brackets inserted between the top of a column and the crossbeam of traditional Chinese architecture). In October 1953, during the first Conference held by the new Chinese Architectural Association, Prof. Liang Si-cheng talked about the general future of modern Chinese architecture, and stressed that learning the socialist content from the Soviet

¹ See Gong Deshun & Zou Denong, 1985.

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Union must be combined with China's national forms. It was concluded by the conference that architects should try to find a vital national form.

Although the aesthetic concern in architecture and city building gradually increased along with economic growth, the economic condition as a whole, in the early 1950s, was still very vulnerable. This, certainly, could affect architectural output at any time, since it had been perceived as secondary and almost unnecessary.

In late 1954 the 'Conference on Architecture' held in the Soviet Union stressed that 'formalism' ignored economic efficiency and 'classicism' was a wrong trend in architecture. This opinion was immediately reflected in changes of policy for city building and architectural practice in China. In the first half of 1955 the 'Architectural Journal' was criticised by the Government propaganda media for publishing 'classic' architecture; it was banned after only its second issue.

Consequently, the so-called Chinese version of 'national form' was classified as 'classicism' and was heavily condemned by the Government as a wrong direction. In the Government controlled construction field, the architects who encouraged the 'national form' a few years before were bitterly criticised. Through this campaign, the Government introduced yet another new general principle for city building and construction: 'efficient and economical, but beautiful only if the economic conditions allow'. In 1955 the Government warned against the 'enormous waste' incurred in general construction and city buildings. They then reduced arbitrarily by 25% the standard costs of building construction. They gave notice that the speed of development, during the period of the First Five-Year Plan, was too high for the country's economic conditions. As a result, in 1956, many projects were suspended in order to slow down development and thus it was hoped to adjust to the unbalanced economy.

But the political atmosphere around 1956 was still quite tolerant, Mao set up the policy that, 'a hundred flowers should be seen in the arts and a hundred schools should be heard in the academic debate'. This somehow allowed the professionals such as architects, to argue about what they thought went wrong. Obviously, the situation of the Government's neglect of the quality of building design and construction worried architects. In May 1956, the then General Design Institute of the Construction and Industry Ministry reported to the central government that: 'The building construction focused too much on economic issues and ignored the use and aesthetic concerns of the buildings.'

The quality of the buildings was too poor, and might burden the large cities because they were 'not good enough to keep, and not poor enough to demolish'.

1.2 The Politics of Monumentality and the 'Great Leap Forward'

Though politically the economy was required to develop as quickly as possible, financially there was little chance for architects to make a strong argument for their case. Therefore, the situation did not in fact change much during the late 1950s. So yet another policy was introduced in order to speed up the 'Transition to Communism' and overcome the 'Three Great Differences'; those between mental and manual labour, the city and the countryside, and the workers and the peasants. In this context Chairman Mao introduced the policy of the 'Great Leap Forward'. The Agricultural Cooperatives were turned into People's Communes; it is now possible to say that normal production was generally disrupted by those unrealistic policies.

In the field of building construction industrial projects again became the main focus, and any intentions to establish a personal style through architectural design was totally condemned. The only 'right ideas' were to save money and to be productive. Politically the former attitude was again interpreted as 'bourgeois' ideology, and the latter as 'proletariat' ideology. This caused certain professionals to be pushed out of their offices to experience work on the building sites, where they had to do their designing, so as to 'integrate with the workers'. This did have the effect of cutting down the time for design, but many decisions were made carelessly. The quality of building construction fell dramatically and accidents at the work place increased.

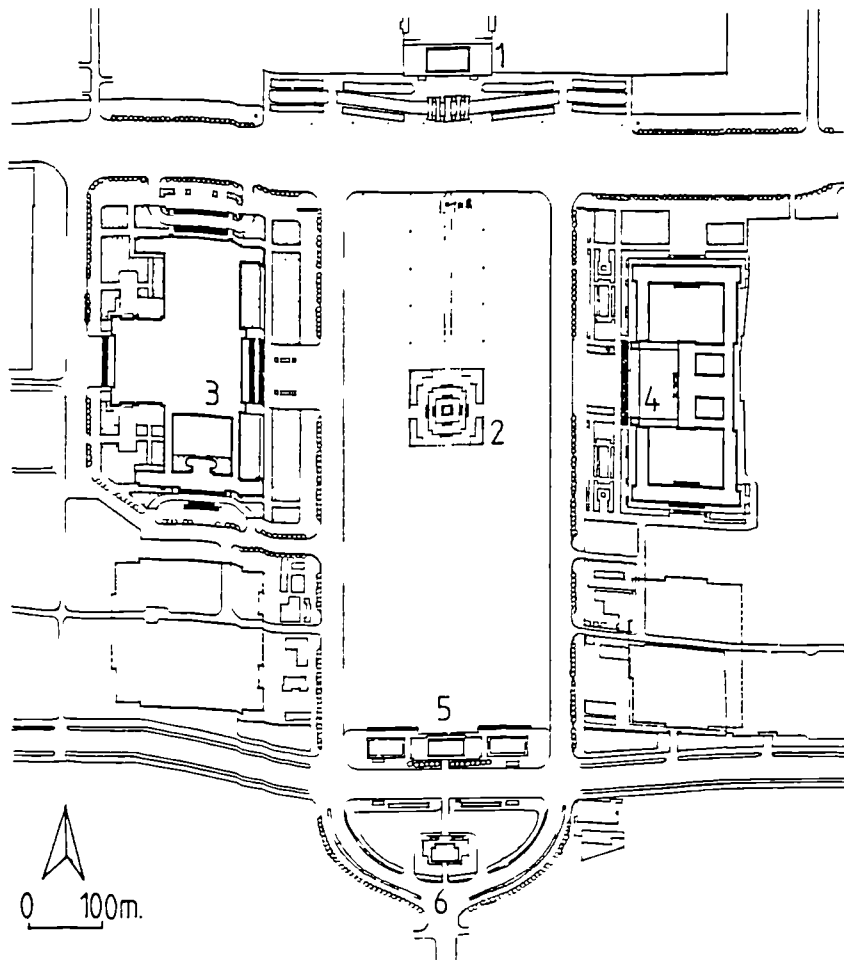
The problems were only too obvious. In the short space of ten years there had been too many changes of direction. The building professions were confused and demoralised. Thus many new buildings were of a low quality in terms of design and construction. The continuing policy of emphasis on industrial development left office building and housing at a disasterously low level. Furthermore this new policy was often interpreted to its extreme; as a result some buildings were designed and constructed in a very awkward manner, and were neither efficient nor functional. The lesson was painfully learned from experience gained over previous years, that it was not possible to make all buildings conform to one standard. Different kinds of buildings should be treated differently. Only through a multi-standard could construction waste be avoided.

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In 1959, at a conference in Shanghai entitled 'Housing Standards and Architecture' the standard of public housing was discussed for the first time. The conference lasted for more than two weeks, but only four days were devoted to 'housing standards', and the rest of the time was concerned with the issue of 'architectural style'. This clearly demonstrated the gap between politicians and architects, and how the latter were more worried about the developments that were taking place in their profession.

Ironically, the policy of low standard building was never applied when it came architectural expression of the political needs of the power of the regime. From the very early 1950s many important public buildings were influenced by the so-called 'national form' or 'classicist expression'. In those projects the architects had enough freedom from political-economic restrictions to be able to concentrated on architectural form and style. From the Monument of People's Heroes in Tiananmen Square to the Department Store in Wangfujing Street in Beijing, and from the Administrative Building in Tianjing University to the New Caoyang Worker's Residence on the periphery of the largest industrial and commercial city of Shanghai, the 'classicist' style was shamelessly applied. They were either an amalgam of classical western architecture and classical Chinese architecture, or classical Chinese decoration on a modern international style building. Similar to the classicism of the thirties and forties, the traditional 'big heavy pitch roof' symbolised the so-called Chinese architectural tradition.

The campaign against 'classicism' around 1955 did cut out the heavy traditional roof, but the demands of the political regime and the architects' desire for cultural identity meant they retained the traditional or classical styles of China. In 1958 the Government began to prepare to celebrate the Tenth Anniversary of China's National Day on the 1st October in 1959. Since the big heavy roof was not popular politically and economically, architects used the thick flat eaves with the classical yellow glazed tiles (as used in the Palaces in the Forbidden City), in order to 'be more close to' the classical style. For their institutional buildings the symmetrical, balanced, and symbolic architecture was the very style needed by the communist regime, as stated in the commonly used saying: 'It embodies the prospect of the great socialist country'. Influenced by the Tenth Anniversary Projects in Beijing, many big projects emerged in the larger cities, which were planned for the same reason, and designed in a similar style.



1 Tiananmen (The Gate of Heavenly Peace); 2. The Monument of People's Heroes;
3. The People's Great Hall; 4. The National History Museum; 5. Zhengyangmen Gate;
6. Jianlou Gate.

Fig. 1-1: The plan of Tiananmen Square, 1976.

Source: Based on the plan publish in 'The Architectural Journal', No.4/1977, p.7.

We have to bear in mind that although the economic conditions made the Government very conscious that the cost of construction might be increased by the architectural style, they never prevented the traditional architectural styles being used for the few really important Government institutional buildings. The buildings which did appear in this period, therefore, were mostly in traditional styles. In this sense, there was not much opposition between architects and politicians. The equivalent political situation in the Stalin period in USSR and western European countries in the 1930s, also clearly demonstrated the relationship between powerful dictatorships and their political

favour for classical architecture². Although the cultural, political and economic conditions were very different, applying classical and monumental architectural style to express the heroic spirit was strikingly similar.

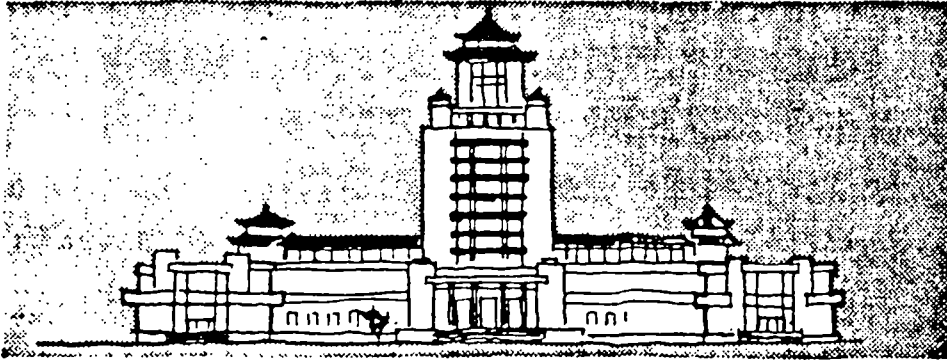


Fig. 1-2: The National Cultural Palace, Beijing.

Source: CHEN, Shimin, 1980, p.36.

The ten most important projects for the Tenth Anniversary were planned by the Government in Beijing, and included the People's Great Hall, the National History Museum, the National Cultural Palace, etc.. Prof. Yang Ting-bao was the General Architect in charge of the whole project. The politicians were heavily involved in the design decision-making. They not only decided the style but also the scale of the buildings, the square and the new streets³. The intention behind the wide Changan Street and the enlarged Tiananmen Square was simply to demonstrate political power - the victory of the Party and Socialism (see Fig. 1-1 & 1-2). These ten great projects took only one year to complete, and were finished before October 1959. This was not because of the application of advanced modern techniques or architectural concepts, but because of the 'spirit of Great Leap Forward' and the determination of the Government to demonstrate to the Chinese people and to the world in general their strength and control.

The first two sub-sections discuss the process of the ideological transformation of architecture and the socialist city building under the authority of the Communist Party.

² See Benevolo, 1971, pp.540-85.

³ The then Premier Zhou Enlai joined many times with the design team during the time of the Ten Great Projects in Beijing.

Both the international political confrontation and the leftist utopian industrialisation policies encouraged a doctrine of national form. But the two contradictory political requirements, as will be seen in the following pages, led to the replacement of architectural design and town planning by political control in city building, and encouraged the later symbolic propaganda architecture.

1.3 Architecture and the Cultural Revolution

After ten years of socialist development following the Soviet pattern, the Chinese Government began to realise that there were many differences between the two countries, and China should not only learn from the Soviet experience but should create its own way to develop. In March 1959 the Government proclaimed that it was now time for construction in China to put the emphasis on ‘... creating our own way’. This attitude was actually a sign of the political split between China and Russia. In the summer of 1960 the Sino-Soviet dispute came into the open and Moscow withdrew its aid. The Chinese Government established a policy of ‘self-reliance’ for development and construction, which shifted totally to its ‘native way’ (*tu fa shang ma*).

The unrealistic ‘Great Leap Forward’ in the late 1950s affected the country’s economy badly, and the continuing number of natural disasters throughout the late 1950s and the early 1960s, helped to push the country into extremely straitened circumstances. In the three years from 1960 to 1962, there were major famines and widespread hardship leading to millions of premature deaths. The problem of agricultural production became crucial. Hence the Government had to change course and focus on rural economic development. In September 1962, at the Tenth Party Plenum, the Government set out the new development policies: agriculture was to be the foundation stone, but industry still led the way. Afterwards, while urban development followed the Daqing Oil Field pattern⁴: combining industry with agriculture, integrating city with countryside rural development was forced to learn from the Dazhai Village pattern⁵.

⁴ The Daqing Oil Field, in a remote area in north-west China, was a completely new oil field and settlement. The example set there was for the development of the field and the building of accommodation to take place simultaneously, necessitating the use of very cheap and simple housing designs.

⁵ Dazhai Village in Shanxi Province in the western highlands of China was in an area with very poor soil; the village co-operated in building terraces along the hills and managed to transform the fertility of the land and made it productive. Later Mao set up the now famous campaign slogan: ‘Industry learn from Daqing, Agriculture learn from Dazhai’.

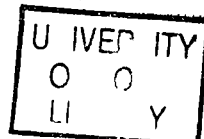
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In the cities during the Great Leap Forward little attention was paid to either the improvement of living conditions or the development of urban housing. By 1960 the Government eventually noticed this omission and decided to stop building offices, hotels or any other kind of administrative or luxury buildings in the coming five years. At the end of 1961 the Chinese Architectural Association (CAA) held a conference on urban housing. At the conference many cities carefully examined and spoke in public about their housing conditions. Two years later the CAA held another conference to discuss particularly urban housing issues, but the Government's single-minded concentration on developing the rural economy and heavy industries again left the urban housing problem aside.

Isolated from international relationships, the Government felt the danger of war from outside. They decided, on security grounds, to scatter the country's industries to remote inland areas to reduce the risk of potential attack in the coming 'Third World War'. This policy had a devastating effect on the subsequent urban development policies in China during the next twenty years. The existing cities became over-used and overcrowded, with little or no maintenance taking place.

In the new industrial areas, the Daqing Oil Field pattern constrained most of the new worker housing schemes to the cheapest and most basic kind⁶. Later this idea spread to many cities. What the architectural professionals had to do was '...to prove the idea was right and scientific', and above all 'revolutionary'. Under these circumstances, the classical architectural style was naturally 'the biggest enemy'. In late 1964 the Government organised a campaign in the architectural profession. It was pointed out that in the past Formalism was the influence of Russia, which occasioned buildings which were too big in scale and too Western (i.e. Russian) in style, too expensive and too complicated in decoration. One year later, the 'People's Daily' further announced that there were two enemies in the way of design, one was 'individualism' and the other was 'bookishness' (*ben ben zhu yi*). To be 'revolutionary' the design professions must '...beat down those two enemies'. The Government, really for the first time, forced building construction and development as a whole to follow a substandard level in order to fulfil its political ends.

⁶ In Daqing Oil Field, under the Government's 'Working first, then living' slogan, most of the workers' dormitories and office buildings were built with mud walls.



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During the Great Cultural Revolution, many intellectuals were sent to work in the factories and the countryside to be re-educated. Those who stayed in the design institutes had to criticise themselves for '...following bourgeois ideology'. The 'Architectural Journal' was banned again till 1973, a period of nearly ten years! Until the early 1970s there was little sign that the country's economy had stopped declining. However, with some improvement in the political atmosphere in 1973, the 'Architectural Journal' started again. But this time, it was far from what had been known as an architectural journal; rather it became a political propaganda medium and engineering journal. This situation lasted for more than five years till the late 1970s. Nevertheless, the contents of the journals still showed what development and general construction was going on, and even to a certain degree reflected upon architectural politics during that period.

From 1965 to 1976, Guangzhou (Canton, opposite Hongkong) was less politically involved, and it was one of the few busy cities open to limited numbers of international business visitors. It therefore saw quite a few projects completed, such as the Railway Station, the International Trade Centre, and some major hotels. Low standards did not prevail here, because politically '...China in the best prospect' had to be shown to the outsiders. Most of the buildings were built in the international style. The International Trade Centre, for instance, was built using a glass curtain wall. In most of the luxurious hotels, a certain degree of traditional embellishment was still used but in a more relaxed way not in a gloomy institutional style. They often had a so-called traditional Chinese garden inside, regardless of the difference between high-rise and low-rise courtyard design. The modern architecture in Guangzhou 'led the way' in China. In the early 1980s, with the more open political atmosphere, people argued that the flourishing modern architecture in Guangzhou was encouraged by the more liberal provincial authorities.

It was true that since the new Government in 1949 had always been the aim of some high officials to modernise China. In 1964, at the Third National Congress Conference, the then Prime Minister Zhou Enlai, for the first time introduced the concept of the Four Modernisations in industry, agriculture, national defence and technology. He mentioned the Four Modernisation again at the Fourth National Congress Conference in 1975.

Nevertheless, on the whole, the old regime, dominated by Mao, was still very powerful. The Great Proletarian Cultural Revolution had already completely condemned 'classicism' for its association with the old ruling class, but the typical institutional building form was still applied consciously or unconsciously to the new buildings. The Beijing Gymnasium in the early 1970s, for instance, was designed in a simple international style, being symmetrical without any decoration. Moreover, the symbolic function of architecture became even more powerful - every building should be of 'revolutionary' and 'proletarian' design. Mao's statues were set up everywhere at central points in public places, as well as in personal homes. Political slogans were stuck to every corner. Red flags floated on top of buildings.

1.4 The Anti-urbanism Policy

In the first thirty years development in China achieved, as it is claimed, rapid industrialisation without the parallel growth of the urban population. This can be interpreted in two ways. Firstly, Marxism has a strong anti-urbanist tendency, but at the same time, they state that the antagonism between town and country must be abolished, however this state of affairs cannot be prematurely wished away. Secondly, anti-urbanist feelings are a traditional attitude in China. In traditional Chinese society, the city-based merchant and artisan classes occupied a lesser status than the peasantry⁷. This attitude naturally influenced the Chinese Communist Party, which observed the exploitative relationship between city and countryside in the early 20th century. Thirdly, Mao himself came from a well-off rural family and had learnt about the misery in the large cities at that time. Later Mao's revolution was of course supported mainly by the mass of peasants; therefore under his leadership the government showed special sympathy towards the countryside. The history of the first thirty years provided empirical evidence through various strands of development policy, such as the Great Leap Forward in 1958, wherein urban-centred planning was more or less abandoned. During the Great Leap Forward many small factories rapidly appeared in the People's Communes, so the

⁷ On this point, F.W.Mote (1977) gave a general view of the traditional Chinese attitude towards cities by examining the transformation of the former imperial city of Nanjing (Nanking). He pointed out that '...China achieved centralisation and political despotism with the founding of the empire, but there was no corresponding influence on the development of the city... Chinese values did not sustain a self-identifying and self-perpetuating urban elite as a component of the population. As a result, the Chinese have never felt the impulse to create one great city that would express and embody their urban ideals, nor has the urban sector in the aggregate typified or dominated the tone of Chinese life'. See Skinner, 1977, p.102.

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Government genuinely believed that China's industrialisation would come from the industrialisation of the countryside Communes⁸.

Ever since 1958, the Government introduced strong measures to restrain the growth of the urban population by means of the household 'Permanent Registration Booklet' (Hu Kou Ben). The registration system divided the entire population into those in rural and those in urban residence. By this means the movement of the population was monitored by local registration with the police, and any unauthorised migration of the rural population to cities was strictly forbidden and severely restricted. Consequently, the provincial regulation of the supply of fixed quantities of grain for urban residents or the non-agricultural population was introduced. The price of the supplied food for the non-agriculture population was under Provincial Government control, and was usually cheaper than free market prices.

Although during Mao's period the Government put a great deal of effort into lifting the siege of the cities by eliminating the three great differentials, the artificial control of rural migration to cities did aggravate the division between town and country in Chinese society. As Kirkby (1985, p.22) pointed out:

'China in 1949 was overwhelmingly an agrarian society... industrial expansion was bound in its initial phase, to be chiefly financed by the rural producers. The burden on the countryside was made all the greater by certain conscious policy decisions⁹... The rationalisation for this was presented in ideological terms, but the underlying reason was the state's obsessive concern to restrict peasant energies to grain and cash-crop production which would benefit the non-agricultural sector'.

The lower standard of living in the country naturally pushed rural migration to the cities regardless of the Government's artificial control. From 1949 till 1978 Chinese industrialisation was characterised by the migratory gradient from countryside to city. The passive control of urban growth maybe provided a model for other developing countries, but it was for the happiness of society at the expense of the individual. Under this system, as Kirkby (1985, pp.58-59) pointed out:

'The Chinese Communist party's authority is - in the eyes of both rulers and people - legitimised not so much by progress towards the nebulous and illusive goal of communism, but by rather more prosaic measures. The most of basic of these is the ability to guarantee the people grain... it is the scarcity of surplus grain which has been the major

⁸ R.Kirkby gave a full argument on this point in his book Urbanisation in China - town and country in a developing economy 1985. Also see W.J. Ye, 1987, p.3

⁹ Such as the Government's concentration on heavy industry, and low investment in agriculture and so on. See section 1.1. of this Chapter.

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preoccupation of China's leaders since 1949, and the division of the population into "agricultural" (basically self-supplying of grain) and "non-agricultural" (basically depending upon the state for grain) has been of far greater practical issue than any abstract definition of urban/rural'.

Table 1-1: Urban/rural and Agricultural/non-agricultural Population

	Rural		Urban		Non-agricultural		Agricultural	
	No.	%	No.	%	No.	%	No.	%
1949	484.02	89.4	57.65	10.6	93.00	17.4	447.26	82.6
1980	853.05	86.4	134.00	13.6	160.89	16.3	826.16	83.7

Note: The urban total shown for 1980 is the official figure, defined as the agricultural population of all designated towns and municipalities. With the addition of the non-registered urban residents, aggregate urban total for 1980 comes to over 140 million. Population figure are in millions. Source: KIRKBY, 1985, p.59.

In reality there are differences between urban and non-agricultural populations. For example, in the factories which are located in remote rural areas or the suburbs of cities, the workers are the non-agricultural population, yet they do not live in the city areas. The official statistics (see Table 1-1) show that over the years there has been more rapid aggregated growth in the urban population, than in the non-agricultural population. Furthermore, this demonstrates the relative decline of the non-agricultural population as a part of China's total population. Although over the years the towns and cities have become 'more urban-like in their population composition' and the expansion of grain output is roughly keeping pace with total population growth, the Government has failed to free itself from 'the constraints of low agricultural productivity and the extremely limited agricultural surplus which results'. In 1949, the non-agricultural population in China was about 10.6% of the total population; it increased to 15.4% by 1957. From 1958 to 1978, the level of urbanisation in China declined to 12.5%, and remained around 15% in the late seventies¹⁰. The Government's anti-urbanisation policy caused the decline of housing and general urban conditions, and these left problems of urbanisation and its part in economic development in the late 1980s under great pressure.

¹⁰ All the figures from YE, W.J., 1988, pp.2-3.

1.5 The Deteriorating Urban conditions

Besides deteriorating urban housing conditions the slow but steady growth of the population and the constraint over the development of cities during the twenty years from the late 1950s till the late 1970s had increased the density of urban land use. In 1958 the average ground space per person in cities was 94.9 sq.m.¹¹ By 1981 this had decreased to 72.7 sq.m. In the large cities the situation was even worse. For instance, it was 38.4 sq.m in Chongqing, and 23 sq.m in Shanghai. In most cities the civic infrastructure was over used and under maintained. Under the extreme leftist slogan 'Producing prior to living', in the first three decades of the Communist Government, the cities' infrastructure had been classified into 'non-productive' construction and was neglected; where it did take place cheap construction methods were encouraged. It was decreed the flow of funds on a grand scale to 'non-productive' capital projects, such as road construction and sewage systems, placed an unnecessary strain on the economy. Figures show that Government investment in city infrastructure declined from the late 1950s till late 1970s. Furthermore, urban infrastructure was regarded as 'welfare' and was totally dependent on State investment, and for which no charge was made to the consumer (ZHANG, Lin 1988, pp.460-65) for it.

The result was that the disproportionate input into city infrastructure slowed down the increase of productive economic activity. Not only was the urban economy delayed by non-matching investment in infrastructure, but also the urban environment deteriorated drastically (ZONG, Lin, 1988, p.186). This situation was multiplied. Taking traffic as an example, in the first thirty years, the vehicles including motor and manual, increased annually by more than 10%, but the increase in road construction, counted by area, was only 5%, during the Cultural Revolution especially it even came down to 2.7%. Additionally, car parking space was lacking in the large cities. The increase in the number of passengers, using public transport, from 1949 to 1985, was 68.1 times, yet the capacity grew only 17.1 times. By the mid 1980s, in cities every 2,700 persons were served by only one bus or tram. This situation was much more acute in large cities such as Shanghai, Beijing and Tianjing. During the same period the slow development of

¹¹ The whole city area, divided by the total number of registered population; this is the Chinese way of expressing population density.

public transport encouraged cheaper transport using bicycles. By the mid 1980s, there were about 150 million bicycles over all the country, with 60 million in the cities, which is over one third of the total. The major traffic congestions were caused by bicycles (GUAN, Zhonghe, 1988). Moreover, essential city services such as water, electricity, central heating, environmental sanitation and public communication services were also inadequate as never before¹².

The delayed urbanisation and economic development had left the cities in general with a relatively declining condition. Urban housing conditions especially were getting steadily worse. The larger the city, the more serious the situation. In 1949, the average density per capita floor space in urban China stood at 6.25 square metres; by 1962 this figure was reduced to about 3 square metres. In the late 1970s and the early 80s the average per capita floor space was only about 3.6 sq.m. (KE, Jianming, 1987, p.4). Up to 1981, the average floor space per person in the city was just 4.12 sq.m, and by 1985 it had only increased to 5.31 sq.m. The quantity of the floor space is only one facet of the story. One-third of the families lived in extremely crowded conditions, and sometimes in structurally dangerous houses. Many young people were delaying marriage because of lack of a place to live.

In China, the State has the major responsibility for the provision and administration of urban housing. From 1949 to 1984, about 1,150 million square metres of housing were built in the cities and towns by the State. In 1982, over 80% (see Kirkby, p.166) of urban housing was mainly offered by two public agencies, the Municipal Housing Bureau and the Enterprises or Work-units. The private sector in cities owns less than 20%. But in the small cities such as Qufu, the private sector owns a much greater percentage of the city's housing, and the majority of the private houses are single-storey and owner occupied.

In the first three decades of the Communist Government, housing was almost completely neglected, because improving people's living conditions was regarded as revisionist (*xiu zheng zhu yi*, i.e. the revision of socialism to capitalism). The State funds

¹² See Jiao Zhaoming, 'The Current Problems of Water Supply in China's Cities and its Development by 2000'; Lu Yangchang, 'The Development of Heat Supply by 2000'; Xu Renjing, 'City Environmental Sanitation Services in China by 2000'; Yu Zhixi, 'Greening Cities by 2000'; and 'City Communication Development in China by 2000', they are all in China's Road to Urbanisation - a initial study, ed. by Ye Weijun, 1988.

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for housing were insufficient; especially during the period between 1958 and 1976, urban housing clearly received insufficient funds to keep pace with rising populations (see Table 1-2). Not only was public housing more or less dropped from the Government agenda, but the private sector was also very tightly controlled in most of the big cities.

Table 1-2: Housing Investment (1950 - 1982)

Year	Housing investment (million)	Annual growth rate (%)	Percentage in total capital investment (%)
1950	125	-	11.0
1951	285	128.0	11.0
1952	448	57.2	10.3
1953	997	123.5	12.5
1954	884	-15.3	9.3
1955	616	-27.0	6.6
1956	1,274	106.8	8.6
1957	1,282	6.3	9.3
1958	810	-36.8	3.0
1959	1,347	66.3	3.9
1960	1,570	16.6	4.1
1961	743	-52.7	6.0
1962	396	-46.7	5.9
1963	728	83.8	7.7
1964	1,116	53.3	8.0
1965	943	-15.5	5.5
1966	877	-7.0	4.4
1967	496	-43.4	3.8
1968	521	5.0	5.0
1969	1,021	96.0	5.5
1970	762	-25.4	2.6
1971	1,370	79.8	4.3
1972	1,797	31.2	5.7
1973	1,985	10.5	6.2
1974	2,155	8.6	6.5
1975	2,294	6.5	5.9
1976	2,181	-4.9	6.1
1977	2,506	14.9	6.9
1978	3,754	49.8	7.8
1979	7,379	96.6	14.8
1980	11,950	61.9	20.0
1981	13,300	11.3	-
1982	11,155	-16.1	-

Source: KE, Jianming, *ibid.*

At the same time, a great part of the housing, especially private houses, were ill-maintained and in bad repair. In nearly half of the big cities, such as the provincial capitals, the average available floor space had not reached the average level. Homeless people did exist (ZONG, Lin, *ibid.*, p.173). Overcrowded housing conditions caused by inadequate funding even led the Government to come to the wrong conclusion: that there

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appeared to be over-urbanisation in the larger cities, but in fact the problem was lack of housing and other urban infrastructures.

2 THE NEW ERA 1978-1990

2.1 Economic Reform

With the fall of the 'Gang of Four' after the Great Cultural Revolution the political situation in China began to change. The Government elaborated the 'Four Modernisation Policies' to take China towards the year 2000. In 1977 the reformist party leaders encouraged discussion of the proposition that 'Practice is the only criterion of truth' in order to break down the 'forbidden zones' which fettered people's minds. They argued that '...there were no forbidden zones in real science'. In December 1978, at the Third Party Plenum, the Government announced that the central policy of the party, in the future, would be economic development. Therefore the conventional 'class struggle' was gradually supplanted by the economic struggle to raise China's standing in the world. The 'Four Modernisations' were an attempt to concentrate the minds of the nation on agriculture, industry, defence and technology. The Four Modernisations were inevitably linked to increased urbanisation, now all the problems inherited from the first thirty years became increasingly obtrusive. The two basic issues which quickly emerged; both in cities and in the countryside, were the massive housing shortages and the deterioration of public facilities.

Although in the first thirty years economically China had achieved more than most of the low-income countries¹³, the ideological aim of reducing the Three Great Differences (between mental and manual labour, city and countryside, workers and peasants) had not really been achieved. Throughout the previous thirty years the Maoist model of a centralised economy had placed too much emphasis on investment in heavy industry. The result, as Gittings (1989, p.106) pointed out was that:

'Industrial growth was based on huge investment spurred by the high rate of accumulation, but output per unit of fixed capital actually declined. In spite of the policy of putting agriculture first, the peasants continued to be starved of investment funds and were poorly rewarded

¹³ The first World Bank report on China found that: During 1957-77 GNP per capita had grown between 2 and 2.5 per cent per annum, in spite of a 2 per cent per annum population growth rate. This compared with an average growth rate of only 1.6 per cent for other low-income countries. See J. Gittings, 1989, p.105-06.

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for their produce. Urban incomes were twice as high as those in the countryside, where inequalities between rich and poor areas persisted'.

Therefore the official policy ironically conflicted with ordinary people's attitudes towards city and countryside. Most of the people liked to stay in the big cities with their relatively higher living standards. Everywhere one would hear the story of how lucky one would be if he or she could officially migrate to the cities, to live on a standard wage and with much better facilities. The preference for cities was dramatically illustrated by the force that was needed to make millions from cities go to the countryside during the Cultural Revolution.

With the political changes the Government set up economic reforms by 'boosting consumption instead of accumulation, raising farm prices at the expense of industry, and focusing on infrastructure needs - transport, energy, and communications' (GITTINGS, *ibid.*, p.108). The first step the government took was to introduce the rural Responsibility System, allowing land to be managed by individual households. This policy abolished the Communes, and improved agricultural production. Many rural labourers were freed from farm work; some of them were transformed into 'specialised households'. They concentrated their effort upon the marketing of a particular crop or product. Some of them came to the cities to find a living. Incredibly, at the same time, rural industry increased in volume and production. Recently developed in China, it was run by farmers collectively in the villages or small towns to produce relatively small-scale products or semi-products, such as spare parts for farm machines, construction materials, clothes, canned foods and so on. By 1985 the independent rural enterprises employed seventy million people, 19% of the rural labour force, and generated 19% of China's total industrial output by value. A great deal of the country's coal, garment production and more than half of all building materials supplies came from the country¹⁴. China's countryside had been changed fundamentally. Many farm households became 'ten thousand yuan households' (*wan yuan hu*, which are very wealthy by Chinese standards), villages began to become towns, towns grew to cities. While rural reform took place, the Government began to pay more attention to cities, which were now regarded as having the central role in economic development.

¹⁴ See J. Gittings, *ibid.*, p.140.

By the end of 1970 the State Council announced that in the 'Sixth Five Year Plan' cities would play a more important part in the future economy. Urbanisation policies were introduced to 'control large cities, rationally develop mid-sized cities and encourage the growth of small cities'. The Central Government required all the cities and towns to produce their Structure Plans to guide their future development.

From the late 1970s many enterprises switched their production lines, both as a result of market demand, as well as because of the government's economic readjustment policy. 'Scientific management' and the 'individual responsibility system' were applied to the new urban enterprises. Additionally, the 'open door' policy produced more trade exchange between China and the outside world. In April 1984 the Special Economic Zones were announced. A total of 14 coastal cities were designated to be opened to foreign enterprises, where the land could be released at concessionary rates. This more market oriented economy stimulated commercial development in all Chinese cities, towns, and villages. The success of rural reform was quickly extended to the urban sector. By October 1984 existing urban economic policies were changed to fit the more market-oriented economy. This in turn brought more changes to the urban built environment.

Successful city based economic development urgently required the improvement of general urban conditions and better accommodation for the new workers. Housing development, town planning, urban renewal, all appeared with new life throughout China. City planning and architectural practices during this period reflected the Government's policies and the requirements of a fast changing economy.

2.2 Architecture at the Cross Roads

The liberal spirit: Besides the economic reforms of the last ten years or so (1978-1990), Chinese society has been changed fundamentally; the conventional attitude towards life shifting from saving to consuming. Before, people used to say '(cloth) worn for three years as new, for three more as old, and then another three as patched-up'; now the young people argue that '... why not wear the new shoes?'¹⁵ In this period political values have been almost absent from daily life. Popular culture and fashion have now replaced the previous political propaganda, and lifestyles have become more diverse.

¹⁵ It is from a pop song 'New Shoes, Old Shoes' during the mid 1980s. It is about the different attitudes between the old and the young generations. The former want to save the old things as long as possible; the latter want everything new, though the old thing may be still usable.

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Economically, China's need to participate more fully in the world market has encouraged the door to open even wider to allow foreign examples of material progress and consumption to be adopted. Above all, the real power in the post-Mao period has shifted from politics to commerce and bureaucracy. The new economic liberation has also led the intellectuals to start thinking on their own again.

For the intellectuals, the last ten years have been the time when 'science' took the position of 'politics', '-izations' replaced 'isms', and liberality was to replace mental trammels. With the decline of old regime, science and technology have played the most powerful part in policy making. In the Spring of 1978 the first National Conference on Science was held in Beijing, and it was called by the Government the 'Spring of Science'. This was most essential to educated society. Since then 'Scientific' has become the favourite 'word'. From Government propaganda to people's daily conversation, 'science' and the 'scientific way' are the most over used terms.

Chinese intellectuals had, for too long, been marginalized from political life. The intellectuals just did what the authorities asked. Chinese scholars have traditionally played a validating role for those in power, whether rewriting history to prove the iniquities of a fallen dynasty or demonstrating the Confucian propriety of the new Emperor's edicts. However, intellectuals were regarded with mixed feelings by the Party after it took power in 1949.

By the mid fifties the intellectuals appeared to have won the leadership's confidence; their social status was reclassified during the Hundred Flowers campaign. The overwhelming majority of the intellectuals, as the Party claimed, had become government workers in the service of socialism and were already part of the working class. This was abruptly ended by the campaign against 'rightists' in 1957. Some 200,000 intellectuals were labelled as 'rightists'. Conditions for many improved in the early 1960s, but they remained easy targets for denunciation in the Cultural Revolution. From 1978 onwards China's intellectuals regained confidence due to the Party's new policies of reform. But the intellectuals' position was still vulnerable. They could reasonably complain that they were the first to suffer when the political wind blew from the conservative quarter and the last to benefit from its easing. In 1983 the campaign against 'spiritual pollution'

again made the intellectuals feel the chill. The situation during this period was as described by the 'People's Daily' (21 July 1986¹⁶):

'Encouraging the people to speak their minds is not easy, because once in our country there prevailed a political atmosphere of not allowing them to say what they really think and also of being unwilling to listen to their innermost thoughts and feelings... In those days, to speak one's mind was to invite an unexpected calamity; without feigning politeness and compliance, it was hardly possible to live a peaceful life. But those who were willing to kiss the feet of people would be in their good graces... Such a situation was completely abnormal...'

To change this became one of the main tasks of the intellectuals. They began to argue that 'Without a spirit of democracy, there will be no spirit of science'. Many scholars called for an end to 'old idols' and the development of a truly scientific spirit.

In intellectual circles, the most topical theme was and still is 'alienation and authority'. In the summer of 1988 a most controversial TV film 'The Death of the Yellow River' (*He Shang*) disturbed the whole country; the message was: we should give up tradition if we want to catch up with the West, since the civilisation and culture nurtured by the Yellow River is dying as the river itself is losing its life. The only way to survive is to flow into the blue sea to meet the industrial civilisation produced in the nations and cultures in coastal Europe. Not only did the intellectuals from social sciences attack the backwardness of the 'five thousand years' of Chinese tradition in order to criticise the current situation, but artists also began to question the traditional art form, for contemporary Chinese art lagged too far behind 'advanced' modern Western art. In late 1986 a famous young painter produced a controversial work, he painted a traditional but NAKED Chinese lady in a traditional Chinese way. He also published an article in 'Weekly Chinese Art' which announced that 'traditional Chinese Painting' was dead. From late 1988 till early 1989 the anti-traditional, rethinking-tradition had an increasingly powerful voice. This was represented by the first so-called Chinese Dada artistic exhibition which opened in Beijing in late 1988. Here art openly rebelled against society by making jokes. It was shocking to a society where public expressions of 'official' humour were rare.

¹⁶ Quoted in J.Gittings, *ibid.*, p.205.

The dilemma of architects: Town planning and architecture, which are social activities involving the economy, government policy and art, could not escape from the whole social phenomena. As mentioned previously, Government policy directly determined the general changes to the city environment both socially and physically. On the other hand, the planning and architectural design professions were fighting to get rid of conventional political and bureaucratic control and to find the truth of architecture through rational and scientific thinking. At the same time they were consciously or unconsciously connected to their fate; to bow to the high-ups as tamed servants. Somehow the planning and architectural design professions found they had lost their way.

Encouraged by the new doctrine that 'Practice is the only criterion of truth', architects again began to search for the proper position of architecture, condemned during the Cultural Revolution. Now the aim was to bring a prosperity to architectural design, to keep it in step with the country's new economic development. In November 1981, for the first time, the Government acclaimed some of the best projects carried out in the 1970s; this was in order to promote modern Chinese architecture which was in a state of depression caused mainly by political oppression, even after the Cultural Revolution. From 1978 to the early 1980s, the main argument about architecture was the question of 'national form' which had disappeared between the early 1960s and 1978. Nearly every nation-wide architectural journal was involved in this debate, though nothing came out of it as it was mainly contributed to by the older generation. Then the journal 'Architects' started to encourage young students to think about the issues as well¹⁷. Not surprisingly, there were no satisfactory answers either. The discussion finally ended up with three opinions; the first insisted that, 'national form' should be '... in the likeness of appearance of the traditional architecture'. The second believed that the only principle to follow for the new national form was to be 'alike in spirit' rather than in physical form, while the third denied the so called 'national form' altogether. The latter argued, that China was a big country with various architectural traditions, it would be impossible to claim one architectural form for all its regions; thus the answers should be found in

¹⁷ The Architects' Journal organised an essay competition to discuss 'national form and modernisation' in the early summer of 1982.

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the different architectural traditions of the Regions themselves, rather than in a national one. This clearly pointed to the new trend: from classical towards vernacular.

Many architects sensed the loss of cultural identity in the reality of the built environment, and began to search for the 'beauty of traditional architecture' that had survived the Cultural Revolution and had been forgotten under the impact of industrialisation and development. Several studies of vernacular architecture in different regions appeared. However 'the beauty of the traditional' seemed less attractive to most of the 'positive' modern architects as well as many of the city dwellers. The architects had been too strongly influenced by the image created by the media, of the fantastic modernity of the advanced industrialised countries. They were convinced that what had happened there was the only 'correct direction'. As for the laymen, they believed more in the superstitious power of tradition and so still followed it. But once 'scientific' knowledge reached them, it was argued, they would quickly throw off their traditional preferences and try to find more fashionable buildings which reflected their better life style.

Unfortunately architects, who were fond of form and beauty, had to face the process of mass housing demanded introduced by the politicians. The monotonous style of public housing and the surrounding environment horrified these architects. 'Thousands with one face' was complained about by everyone. The faceless building blocks were crudely called 'Match-boxes' by society. This shameful situation stimulated the desire for more variety of styles. The professionals who worked with 'the reality' felt they could do nothing with the existing bureaucracy and ill-educated 'high-ups'. The architects in universities had enough free time to emphasis the 'big issues' on paper. It was believed that a fresh style could only be created without any 'mental shackles'. For this reason it was thought that the young students were the best candidates. Since the early 1980s several nation-wide design competitions had been organised for architectural students. In the winning schemes the 'Western impact' was very strong. This was not because they were surrounded by modern architecture, rather because they found 'desirable architecture' in the foreign journals. The styles of architecture and the life they reflected were their fantasy!

The Western influence came together with newly imported *commodities*. Pursuing 'advanced' modern architecture continuously, Chinese architects quickly caught up with

all the current 'isms' in the West. The winning schemes of the first competition were still derivative of 'Gropius', but within a few years, I.M. Pei's and the 'postmodern' style were adopted by the winning schemes. In the students' words, 'The first generation is over, now it is the turn of post modernists'. Since the relatively aged judging panel were still stuck with their old values, the results shown by the competition were still very 'conservative'. It is the ultimate irony that in a country, where to be modern was more a slogan than reality for the vast majority of people, in the schools of architecture the term 'POST-modern' was the most fashionable. To read the books and journals was not enough, and was definitely not 'very clear'. So whenever the students met a Western architect, they had to ask the question: 'What do you think of postmodernism'? For various reasons, most visitors could give no clear answer either.

The introduction of postmodern thinking to China started in the early 1980s with the translation of Robert Venturi's flagship Complexity and Ambiguity of Architecture (1967) and Charles Jencks' The Language of Post Modern Architecture (1984). Their positive attitude towards pluralism and the scepticism of the students towards the modern style, just fitted with their feelings of being tired of the 'monotonous style'. They were fed up with the 'national form'. It is therefore not surprising that postmodernism had so many fans. To many architects to break down the 'mental trammels' meant to put the very symmetrical and balanced institutional style 'to death'¹⁸.

Not only did Western ideas flood into China, but building materials and components as well as construction methods were also introduced. Two influential examples are the Xiangshan Hotel (Beijing), and Changcheng Hotel (Beijing). The former, located in the scenic Xiangshan mountains in a north-west suburb of Beijing, was designed by the American Chinese architect I.M. Pei in the late 1970s. The building was finished by the autumn of 1982 (see Fig. 1-3). Pei grew up in the famous canal-town Suzhou in south China, where vernacular architecture is white plastered walls and dark grey tiled roofs, its beauty has long been deeply loved by Chinese artists and architects. Remembering his childhood in the lovely canal-town, Pei designed the hotel with a series of courtyards but less enclosed than the traditional ones, in order to catch the 'spirit of the voids' (i.e. courtyards) of traditional Chinese architecture. Another dominant feature throughout the

¹⁸ See Gong Deshun, 'Break Down the Mental Trammel to Improve the Level of Architectural Design' in Architectural Journal, No.6, 1979, pp.8-10.

whole building is the repetitive square geometrical shape (it has been called *mu ti fa* in Chinese). As a famous international architect, Pei had the privilege of strictly controlling the design, cost, materials and even the craftsmanship. This was simply because foreign architects were more respected by Chinese officials. Almost none of the native architects would have been able to avoid the normal bureaucratic interventions¹⁹. Pei's attempts to combine traditional Chinese ideas with modern architecture, stimulated a great discussion along the lines that '... the design of Xiangshan Hotel is the Chinese road to modern architecture'²⁰. On the other hand however, Pei's design was heavily criticised for borrowing the Southern region vernacular style and transferring it to the North where the traditional architecture is very different. Particularly inappropriate was the colour of the building materials. Another critical factor was its frighteningly high cost, the result of expensive imported materials and the use of traditional labour with its intensive craftsmanship²¹. For many Chinese architects this was difficult to accept, since they believed that modern technology should save people from 'miserable manual work'.

Changcheng Hotel was designed by an American company and finished by early 1985. The building was sited in north-east Beijing in the new 'developing areas', where most of the projects were funded independently, or jointly by foreign companies. The high-rise hotel was designed with a 'Y' shape plan (see Fig. 1-4). The main building was clad with imported 'mirror-glass-curtain' wall. It was given the name of Changcheng which means 'Great Wall', for obvious but not very subtle reasons. Consequently the low-rise part was designed as a fake traditional city wall. Inside the hotel a enormous atrium was created, and in its centre a classical Chinese pavilion appeared with every authentic detail. Many architecture students on visiting the hotel were amazed by the shining and luxurious materials, but they did not appreciate the use of traditional Chinese elements which, they felt, should have been 'more modern' to fit in with the 'excellence' of the rest. The hotel is mainly used by rich international businessmen and high diplomatic officials. It might be a great pleasure for them, as they sit there

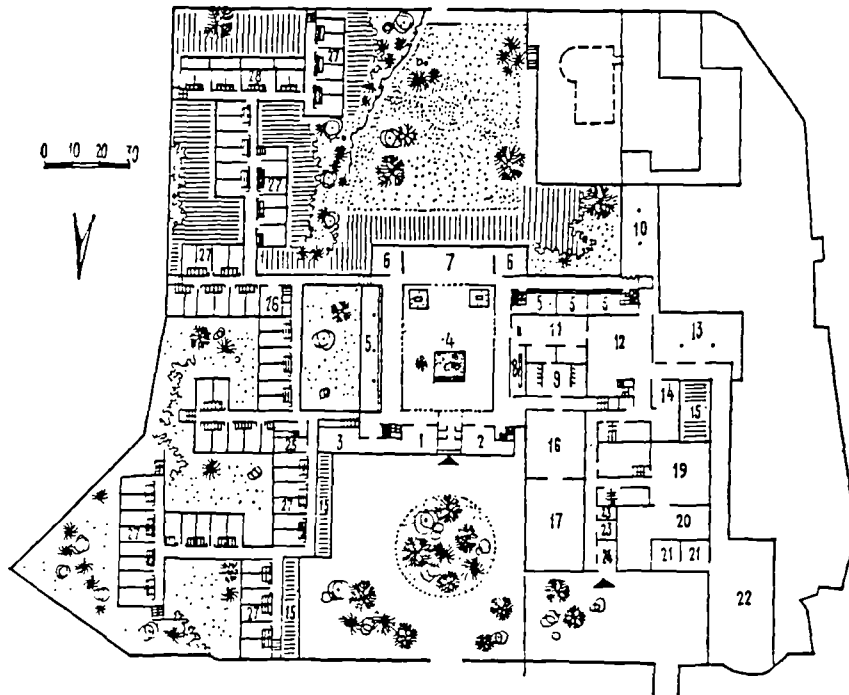
¹⁹ This really made some famous old generation native architects jealous. For example, a few years later when an aged architect compared the newly built Queli Hotel by a native architect in Qufu with Xiangshan Hotel, he found everything with the former was much better than with the latter.

²⁰ Peng Peigen, 1980, p.14-19. Wang Tianxi, 1981, pp.13-18.

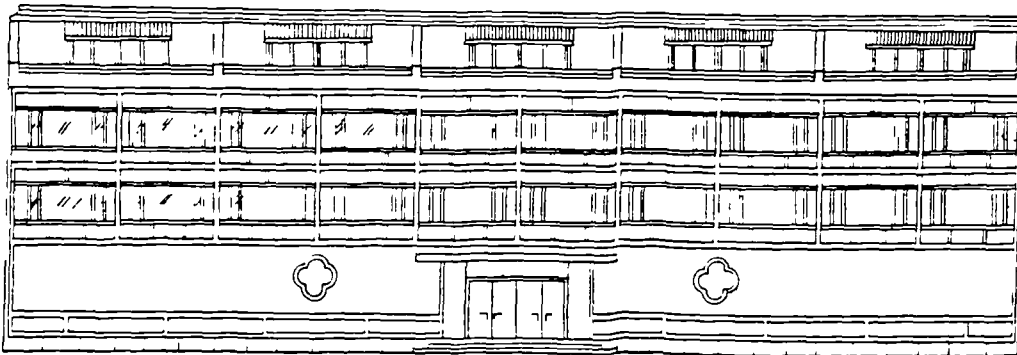
²¹ Some parts of the building were built with the traditional brickwork, and every brick needs to be polished by hand.

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drinking their authentic CocaCola, to see an 'authentic' classical Chinese pavilion surrounded by American high-technology.



1-3. a) The plan of the ground floor of Xiangshan Hotel.



1-3. b) The south elevation of Xiangshan Hotel

Fig. 1-3: Xiangshan Hotel, Beijing. I.M. Pei.

Source: PENG, Pigen, 1980, pp.17-18.

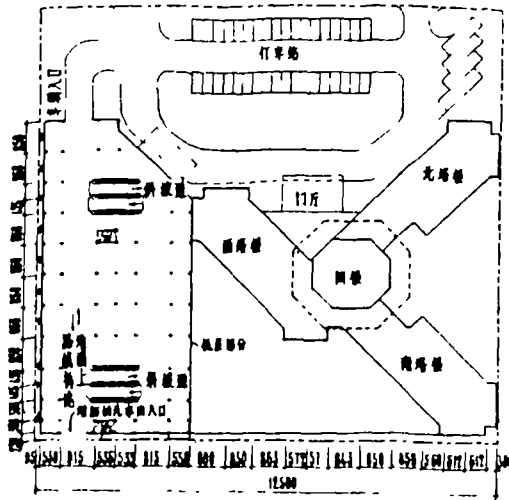


Fig. 1-4: The plan of Changcheng Hotel.

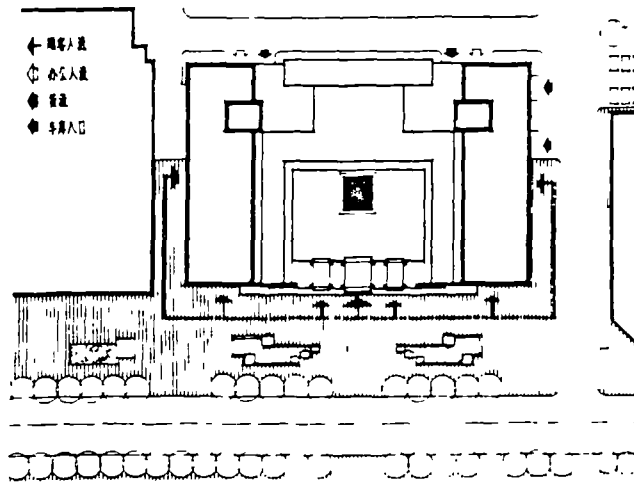
Source: LIU, Daolian, 1985, p.39.

In the following years the Xiangshan Hotel was regarded as a great achievement by the professionals and has been copied in a number of different situations, such as the new Shopping Street in Hefei Province and the winning scheme for the shopping complex in Beijing (see Fig. 1-4). On the other hand, the luxurious style of the Changcheng Hotel was mostly emulated by commercial buildings in many cities and towns. The 'big scale' mirror-glass or the less expensive brown coloured glass has almost become the symbol of modernity and wealth.

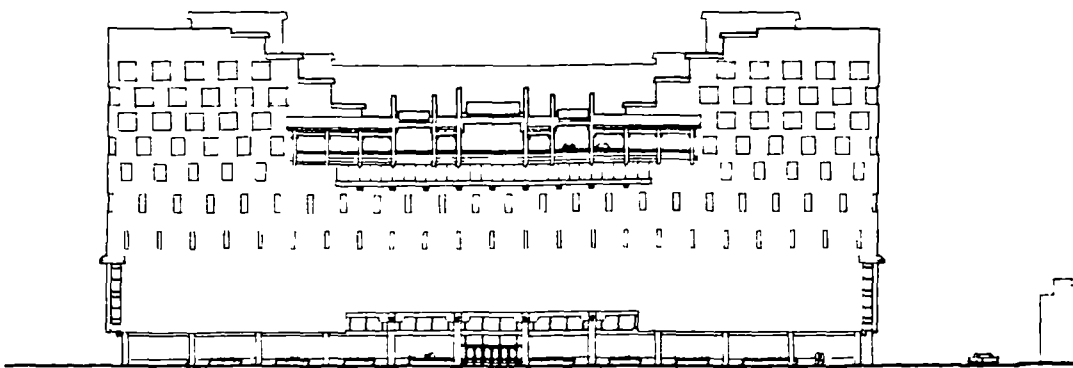
These two hotel buildings inspired two separate styles and caused much argument. More people have started to sense the crisis of 'the new architecture' and the low quality of the built environment as a whole. The effort to solve this crisis were made in two directions. The first was to continue to search for a combination of modern and traditional architecture. The architects involved with this began to argue that the relation between 'form' and 'function' was dialectic, rather than simply in the pattern of 'form follows function'²². The second group wanted to achieve quickly the 'modernness' of the built environment and architectural design. They claimed that the so-called terms like 'national form' and 'local style', 'tradition' and 'cultural treasure' were all used as constraints over architects. They believed that the only right way to go was to establish

²² Shang Kuo, *Architectural Journal*, No.4, 1985.

a more 'scientific methodology' in architectural design, with the intention that architecture could be regarded as 'for the people's interest'²³.



1-5. a) The general plan.



1-5. b) The elevation.

Fig. 1-5: Xidan Shopping Centre, Beijing, designed by Fu Kecheng.

Source: Architectural Journal, Beijing, 7/1985, p.19-20.

²³ Chen Zhihua, Architectural Journal No.4, 1985.

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These two attitudes were exclusively written up in the 'Outline Creating Contemporary Chinese Architecture', which was published in April 1985. First of all, the *Outline* pointed out that architecture in China lagged far behind the developed countries, and that the Four Modernisations provided a great chance for architects to create a Modern Chinese Architecture and culture. The basic meaning of a modern Chinese architecture was defined as the 'People's architecture with Chinese character'. It attributed the current unsatisfactory situation to the lack of 'theoretical instruction', which should be encouraged by a new policy of 'A hundred flowers bloom, a hundred schools heard'. Modern theories should include philosophy, aesthetic ideas, design methodology, etc.. While learning from the best of Chinese tradition and others, architects should do their best to create a 'New Architecture'. But respecting the local character and history does not mean going back to 'classicism that comes from the traditional unchanging concept'. 'The old form must be torn down by new social and technological development...', '... innovation is the soul of the contemporary Chinese architecture'. What does this innovation refer to? According to the *Outline*, it includes: new style and new function, technology, economic efficiency and social effects. The criterion is that it must 'create a beautiful environment', rather than following the conventional bureaucratic dogmas. To achieve this, it was argued, there should be certain legislation concerning architectural design, where the architect's position and responsibilities should be defined and guaranteed. Is it possible to legislate for beauty? A desirable modern Chinese architecture would be based on a richness of diversity derived from 'personal styles'. To produce a 'beautiful living environment' planning controls are important, especially in the small towns and villages. In conclusion, it pointed out that Urban Design was the '... integration of planning and architectural design'²⁴.

In reality, of course, the common difficulty that is faced by all architects is the 'limited freedom' they have in architectural design. They complain about bureaucratic control but architectural design that does not practice within the economic constraints of the society will, in the end, fail. One architect argued, that *any* requirement for uniformity in design would lead to the withering of architecture. Different schools of thought should be encouraged within the profession, and every architect should create

²⁴ The 'Outline Creating Contemporary Chinese Architecture' is published in Architectural Journal No.4, 1985, pp.31-33.

his or her own style. The failure of experiment should be accepted. In short, self-expression in architectural design is essential to the proper development of modern Chinese architecture. The dilemma is that on the one hand we accept industrialisation and high technology, and on the other hand we feel frustrated by standardised mass production. Above all, we have to deal with 'the authoritarians', those who are not so keen on the political regime but on their personal tastes²⁵.

These dilemmas were perfectly illustrated by the annually awarded projects at the end 1986, while the Revised Traditional Architecture of the Lasa Hotel (Tibet) and the Queli Hotel (Qufu); and the Universual Style of the 'International Exhibition Centre' (Beijing) and the 'International Trading Centre' (Shenzhen). This situation continues up to today.

The 1980s was a decade of 'reform and openness'; the spirit of architecture was also to be new and innovative. Apart from the ambiguous definition of 'people's architecture' most styles were welcomed. However the new aesthetic could not escape from the coming commercialisation, therefore a sort of Western fetishism took over the position of the previous Socialist Utopianism, and the 'national form' gave way to Modern Vernacular forms in sympathy with the rising trend in consumerism. The architectural principles defined in the *Outline* have taken official control over people's living environment. This power became the professional's new weapon in the war against the Authorities. Planners and architects began to realise they could make a 'better' living by providing better architecture. So architecturally speaking physical determinism was and still is in vogue. Not surprisingly the term 'people's architecture' meant as little in the People's Republic as it does in most countries. But thankfully, it has been the neglect and narrow mindedness of professionals that has allowed the living traditions to continue to bloom freely in the villages, and the more mixed social uses and healthy neighbourhood components to survive in the old urban neighbourhoods. Nevertheless they are now beginning to face great danger from the new commercialisation supported by authorised

²⁵ In the City of Tianjin, for more than ten years since the late 1970s, the Mayor commanded the city Design Institute and other groups to design 'three streets' in the old poor area to 'enhance' the city's appearance. The three streets were called respectively: Cultural Street, Food Marketing Street, and Hotel Street, and they were all designed in a so-called traditional style. Later the Mayor put forward his own ideas for the Kaiyue Hotel and the new East Railway Station. Those two buildings were commanded to be designed in a pseudo classical European architectural style after the Mayor visited Paris.

redevelopment. The following sections will discuss different aspects of town planning policies and architectural design ideas in the era of economic reform.

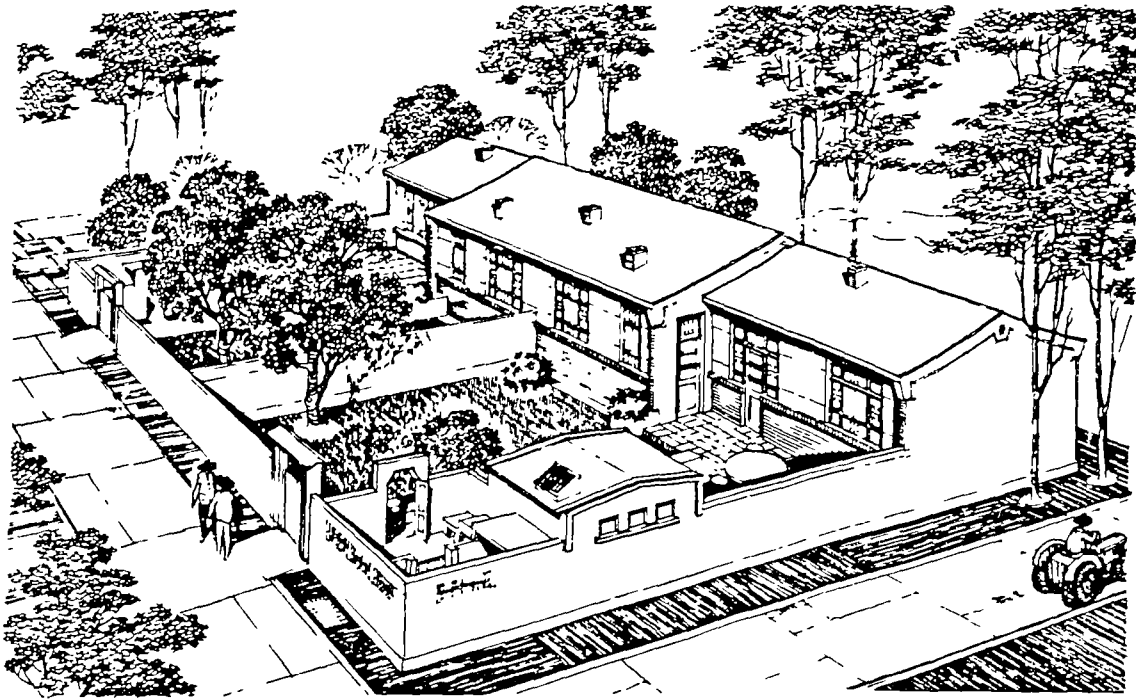
2.3 Town Planning in Rural Areas

Since 1978 the rural economic reforms have brought better living standards to most of those in the countryside. Rural housing in China has always been looked after by the peasant farmers themselves. The richer farmers now began to spend money to improve their own houses. From 1981 to 1985, a total of 3,200 million sq.m of rural housing had been built, thereby enabling 200 million rural residents to move into their new houses. The average floor space per person in the countryside became 17.8 sq.m (YE, Lutang, 1988, also see FENG, Hua, 1986).

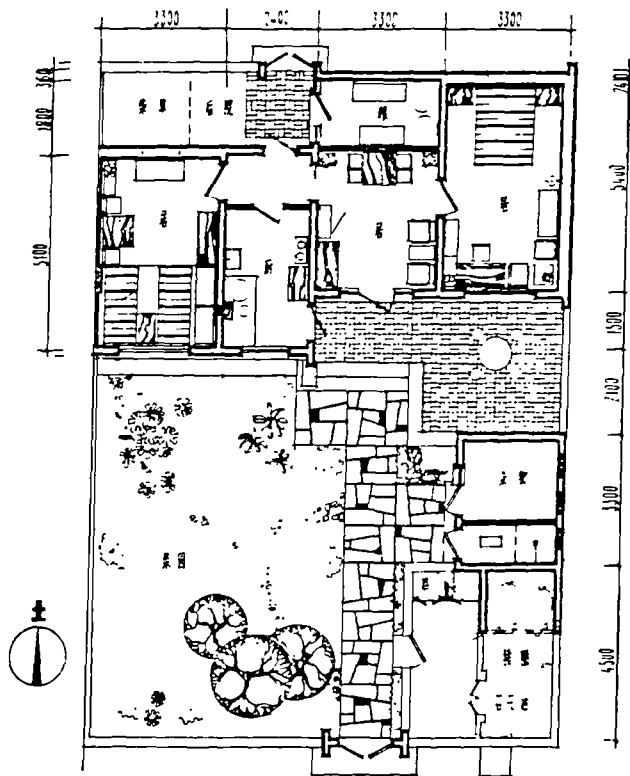
Around 1980 rural housing development was limited to searching for new patterns of living for those farmers who had become richer and needed new and more luxurious houses in which to live. Since 1980 when the 'First National Rural House Design Competition' was organised by the State, many similar competitions have taken place in different provinces and cities. The idea of these competitions was basically to highlight the major problems and devise standard solutions to them, since there was a lack of qualified technicians and little or no technological contribution (see Fig. 1-6). But there seemed to be little concern for an overall general policy of development. This resulted in land use becoming out of control, and led to a great deal of agricultural land being occupied by new housing developments. This land shortage was very crucial to a country where, by the early 1980s, the average area of agricultural land per person was even less than 0.25 acres. It was reported that in the last thirty years, city, town and village development had already reduced the agricultural land from 2500 million acres in 1949 to about 1000 million acres in the late 1970s. If this continued, and considering future developments would take three times more land than the past, there would no land left for agriculture at all²⁸.

In 1982 the State Council published an Act: 'Housing Landuse in Villages' to control the amount of land used for housing development. One year later, the newly

²⁸ See Hua Lanhong, 1983, 'Reclaim Wasteland to Build New Towns', in Architectural Journal, No.1, 1983, pp.1-3.



1-6. a) Perspective



1-6. b) The plan.

Fig. 1-6: The first prize scheme of the first national competition of rural house design.

Architects: Zhu Bizhen, Liu Song-Tao.

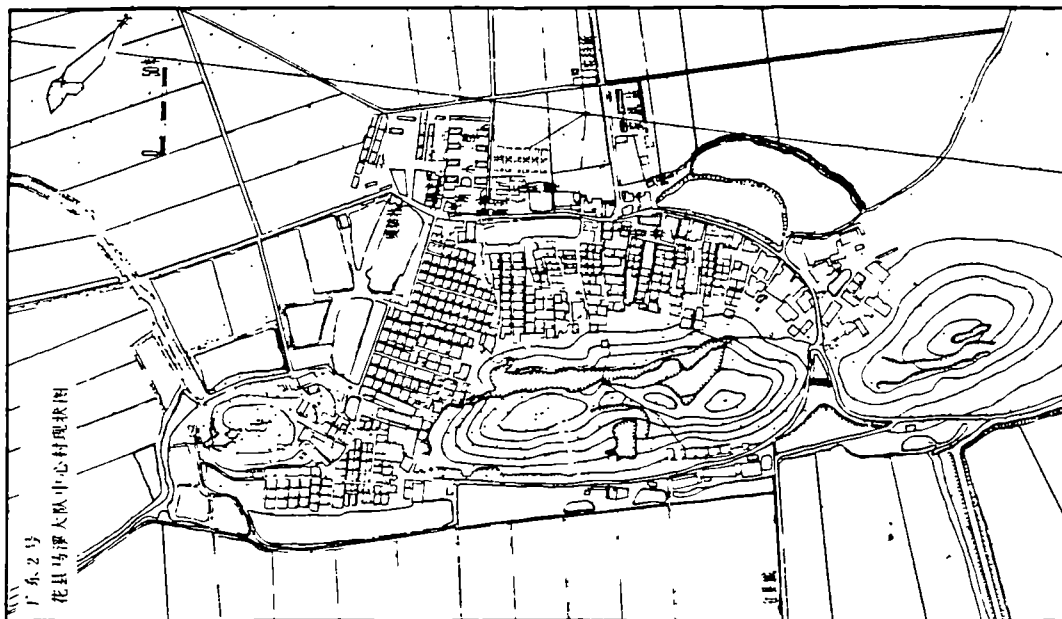
Source: Architectural Journal, 10/1981, p.3.

founded Ministry of Town and Country Planning and Environmental Conservation (TCPEC) organised the first nation wide town²⁷ planning competition, in order to make an 'Overall physical plan and develop towns and villages, and strengthen management and control'²⁸. The competition required the Development Plan to estimate future population, the size of the towns and villages, landuse and so on. Most of the entry schemes were designed according to Local Authorities' requirements. The general development strategy actually resulted in the dialogue between the 'xian' i.e. county level and the villages, through the centralised economic planning system. From the winning schemes it can be seen that centralisation was the main measure in the reorganisation of the villages. The plans tended to relocate the existing busy and disorganised village centres and public facilities away from the through road network and relocate them in such a way as to avoid the chaos caused by traffic, marketing, and so on (Fig. 1-7). This trend also appeared in some other similar competitions (Fig. 1-8: Beijing District town planning competition, also Jilin Province). The idea of village planning pushed the trend of standard housing patterns even more powerfully towards the rural areas. As a governmental requirement, many Provinces had to rush to finish village planning during the Sixth Five Year Plan (1981-85, which was introduced at the Twelfth Party Plenum). By the end of 1984, in Jiangsu Province, a total of 1,207 villages and 1,667 towns were planned and they made up about 65% and 89% respectively²⁹. The radical decisions made in haste left towns and villages with many problems, such as the conflict between the imposed housing design and the local housing tradition.

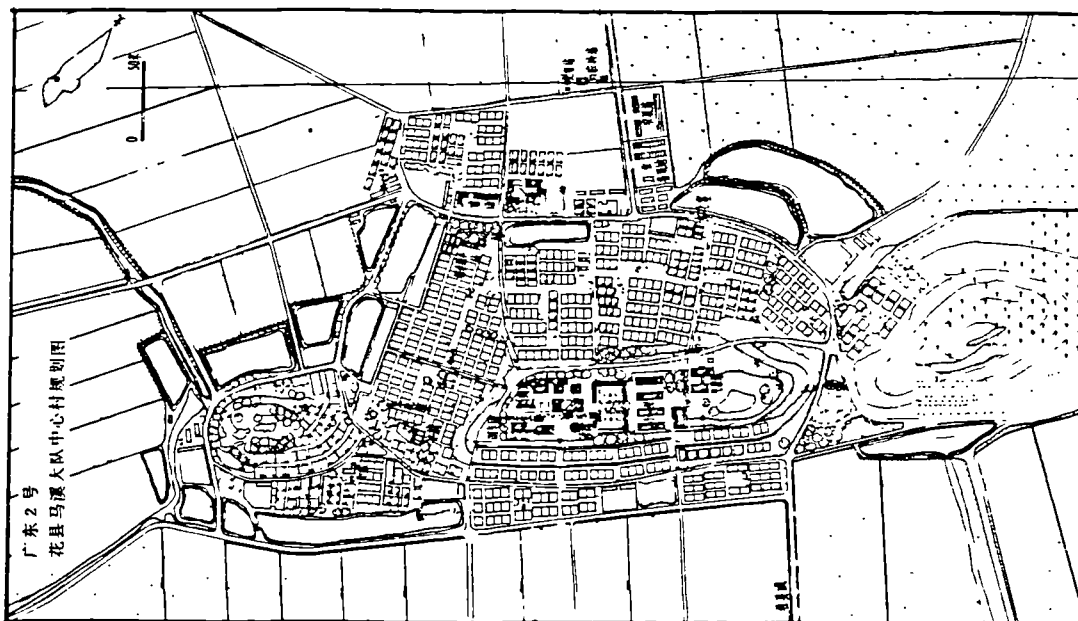
²⁷ In the current Chinese urban administrative framework, town includes market town (Ji Zhen), and non-market town or big village. The former usually serves many villages surrounded in town by trading and other public facilities, and bigger than the latter.

²⁸ See Gao Chengzeng, 'General Comments on the Nation Wide Village Planning Competition', in Architectural Journal No.6, 1984, pp.3-7.

²⁹ Jia Peishi reported the rural housing development in the southern part of Jiangsu Province in 1988, and gave an overview of the position in that area, and pointed out the situation was similar in the whole country.



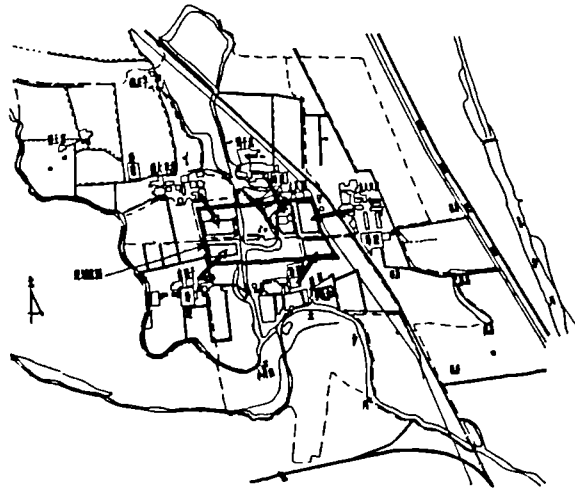
1-7. a) The existing plan.



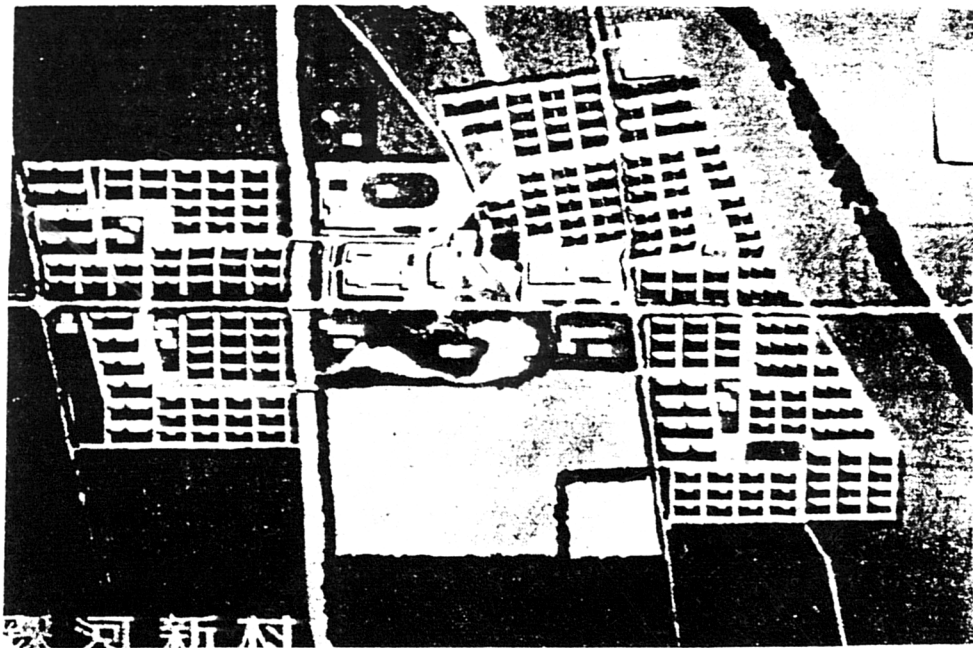
1-7. b) The Development Plan

Fig. 1-7: The Development Plan for Maxi village in Huaxian, Guangzhou. A winning scheme in the first 'National Competition in Town and Village Planning-1983'.

Source: Architectural Journal, Beijing, 6/1984, p.10-11.



1-8. a) The existing plan



1-8. b) The future development plan

Fig. 1-8: The Development Plan for Caihe village by Lou Zhi-chao and others, Beijing. A winning scheme in the competition of Caihe village planning - 1983.

Source: Architectural Journal, Beijing, 1/1983, pp.5-6.

2.4 Urban Housing Policy and Design

As mentioned before, the lack of urban housing was and still is much more acute than rural housing; the larger the cities, the more serious the problems. Housing shortages in China present a very urgent social and political problem³⁰. In October 1978, the Central Government approved the report on housing by the then State Construction Commission. In the report it was decided that by 1985 the average floor space per capita would be increased to 5 square metres. Under this policy, 'systematic' housing construction was thoroughly discussed. Different kinds of prefabrication were tried first of all in the large cities. A few years later in 1983, the Central Government set up a target that by the year 2000 the living space for city residents would be 8 square metres per person. This meant that the State would have to invest approximately 433.79 billion yuan, an average 25.5 billion yuan per year in the coming 17 years (KE, Jianming, 1987). This meant a huge burden for the State and was aggravated by the current housing policy. In 1979 the Government started to transform the country's welfare policy to that of a commodity economy policy. The State called for reform of the methods of urban housing supply, by introducing commercialised urban housing policies in parallel with the existing public housing systems, in order to improve housing production.

After some years of government effort, housing conditions have been improved. According to the People's Daily³¹, in 1988 the average floor space per person in small cities was 7.93 sq.m, in mid-size cities it was 6.40 sq.m, but only 6.06 sq.m in large cities. Through 1988 the average floor space per person had reached 6.63 sq.m (in 1987, it was only 4.5). Moreover, the increasing rate of urban housing in those cities which were designated as in Special Economic Zones was higher than the average national level. In Xiamen, Shenzhen, and Zhuhai, it was 7.73 sq.m, where housing commercialisation was started much earlier and carried out much faster.

³⁰ One can often read in the government newspaper The People's Daily that some cadres of the government at different levels, public enterprise and work-units etc., use their power to occupy more public housing than they should. The Communist Party even believe that this situation is destroying the Party's power.

³¹ People's Daily overseas edition, 5th December 1989.

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But severe problems still exist within this present policy. They can be summed up as follows: firstly, from 1949 to 1984, great sums were invested in urban housing construction. The rents paid were too low to allow the Government to get their money back. Therefore there was a big gap between the needs for further housing and funds available to the Government to pay for them. Urban housing is still heavily subsidised by the State as well as by public enterprises or work-units, because of the low wages and generally stagnant economy.

Secondly, the existing State monopoly of funds going to construction has made housing allocation unfair. The State institutions, enterprises and army could all afford larger investments, and thus built more housing, but the small collective bodies and schools could not.

Thirdly, the low rent policy has encouraged people with a certain status to seek larger houses than they really needed. A survey, carried out on 90 million square metres of housing construction in 1986, showed that the living space for each apartment house was 75 sq.m on average, while the State's criterion is 50 sq.m. Furthermore, the inequality between State owned working units and those in collective ownership³² was incredible, as was that between officials and the ordinary people.

Fourthly, this policy separated the residents from participating in the construction of their living environment, because the investors, designers, contractors and even maintenance, hardly ever met with the users to discuss their needs³³. As a result, the urban residential environment is not always suitable.

As in the rural sectors, efforts were made in the cities to search for 'suitable designs' for new housing. Since the early 1970s³⁴, housing standards and landuse had been two tough problems that affected Government policy and the design of housing form. The central issue was to provide suitable space for more people.

³² The State owned Work Units (*quan min qi ye*) are the direct responsibility of the Central Government, while the collective ownership Work Units (*ji ti qi ye*) are looked after by the Local Authorities, which may be a Neighbourhood Community (*jie dao ju wei hui*), a district (*qu*) in the city, or the Municipal Government. Usually, the State owned Work Units have more social welfare services than the local ones.

³³ See 'The General Housing Context - China' by Ke Jianmin, 1987.

³⁴ In 1973, after the Architectural Journal was republished for the second times, some there were articles which discussed housing standard and design, and all the technical issues such as in Xuzhou city district.

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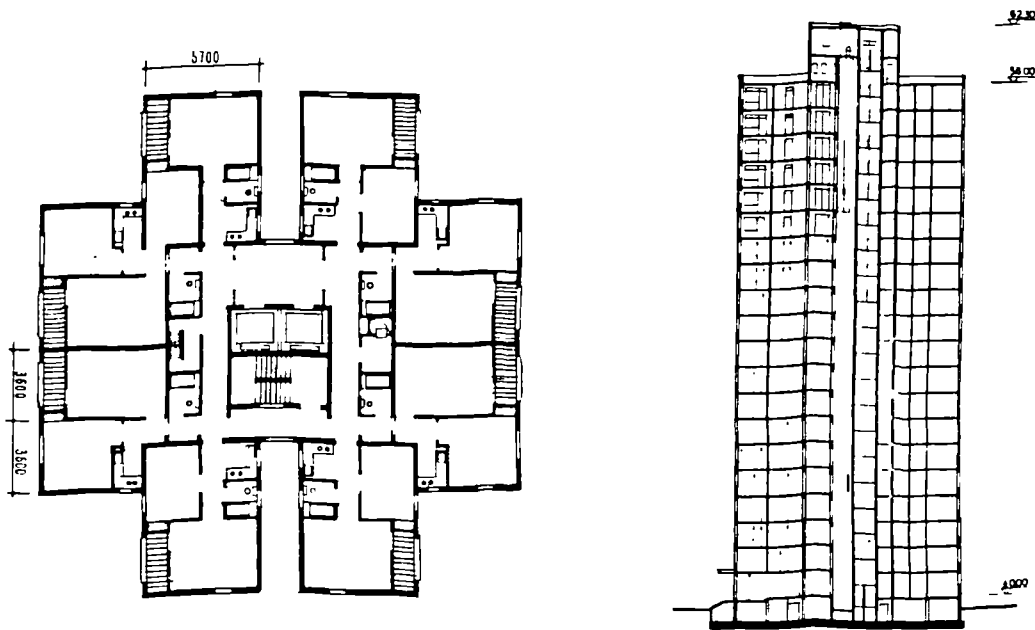
After the Government in 1980 set the target to increase housing standards to 5 sq.m per person by 1985 and 8 sq.m by 2000, the 1983 designs focused on how to arrange the 5 or 8 sq.m in the context of current living standards and lifestyle. The average floor space per person was commonly designed in family units, around 4 persons. In the early Eighties, for instance, in Shanghai, taking into account the increase of population, the improving standard of housing, different kinds of family structures and the economic capacity, and in order to achieve the 5 sq.m set by the Central Government target the Municipal Government controlled the average floor space per family flat at about 40-42 sq.m, but the actual flat unit could be designed in three, two or one bedroom for different sized families. The larger flat unit would be about 70 sq.m per unit, and the latter about 25 sq.m. The high density of housing land use in Shanghai worked out at 24.5 sq.m per person. This situation could only be improved to 32.2 sq.m per person, even if it was planned to extend the city by 200 square kilometres. Consequently, increasing the height and reducing the distance between two apartment blocks was almost the only method that could be used to tackle this problem. Thus some people began to argue that high-rise housing was the solution³⁵. A few years later several high-rise housing projects were finished in Shanghai, Beijing, Guangzhou and other large cities (see Fig. 1-9).

On the other hand, low-rise high density housing forms were also introduced, such as in Tianjin (see Fig. 1-10). It was argued that high-rise was more expensive and took longer to build, and more costly maintenance was needed. Furthermore, most cities now could not provide enough electricity for elevators and so on. A strong argument supporting low rise solutions was that the increase in height did not necessarily increase the overall density. Some planners were convinced that certain kinds of three storey housing could achieve the same density as five storeys, because higher buildings have to be further apart for various reasons, including penetration of sunlight.

A look at the series of official design competitions provided another source of help for the author to understand housing issues during the 1980s. In the late 1970s, the State Construction and Industry Commission organised the first Inter-province Housing Design Competition. The winning schemes were published in the summer of 1979. Although different structural types were used, all approached the problem by the

³⁵ See Cao Bowei, and others, 'Several Aspects of Housing Problems in Shanghai' in Architectural Journal, No.7, 1981.

'systematic' route, such as partial prefabrication, panel prefabrication, beam-column prefabrication etc. in order to use the favoured industrialised construction methods. With the structural considerations taken care of, the schemes tried to create 'diverse designs' and arrangements for 'neighbourhood spaces'. However, they all fell into the basic international and bureaucratic pattern of four and five-storey apartment blocks, laid parallel with each other, as far as the eye could see. Any sign of local, never mind national, Chinese character was totally missing.



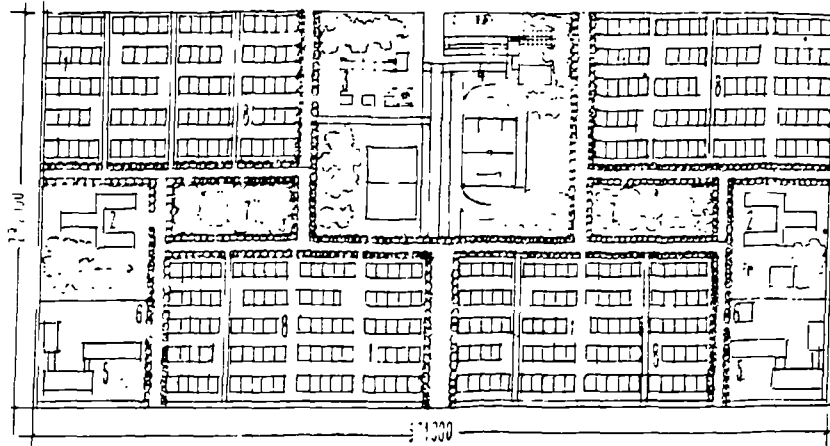
1-9. a) The plan.

1-9. b) The section.

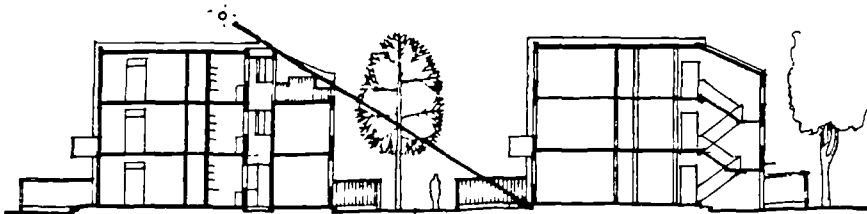
Fig. 1-9: A new high-rise flat building in Shanghai.

Source: CHEN, Ninghua, 1985, p.31.

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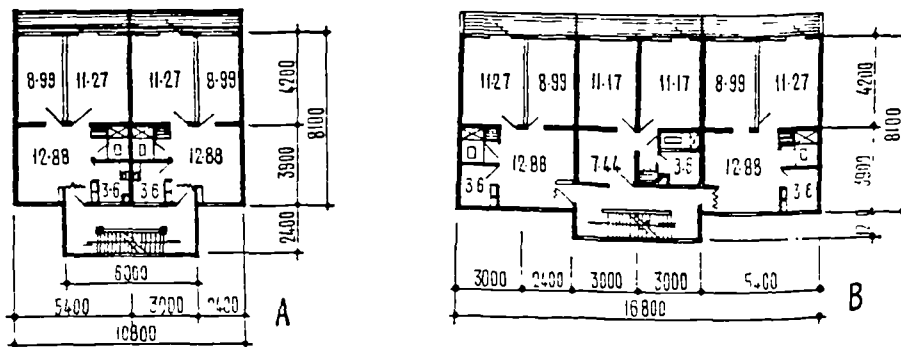
1-10. a) The plan.



1-10. b) The section

Fig. 1-10: A low-rise high-density housing project in Tianjin.

Source: Architectural Journal, Beijing, 9/1981, p.54.



1-11. a) Two-flat unit.

1-11. b) Three-flat unit.

Fig. 1-11: A winning scheme in the first national competition for housing design - 1979.

Author: Nie Liansheng and others.

Source: Architectural Journal, Beijing, 1/1980, p.41.

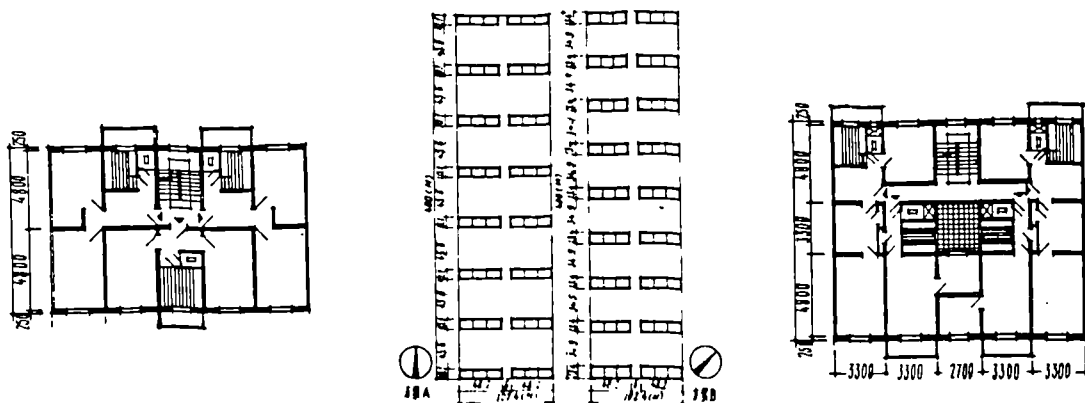
In early 1980, the result of the first nation wide urban housing competition was published. Now a number of issues became clearer (see Fig. 1-11). First of all, the standard flat units were reduced in size to 40-50 sq.m for each family, by introducing smaller separate rooms for different functions. As a result, the so called 'yi ti er hu' (two flat units sharing one staircase) or 'yi ti san hu' (three flat units sharing one staircase) became more common. Secondly, more prefabricated systems were used to supposedly provide more economical solutions. Thirdly, orientation, sunlight and density were given much more consideration. In the latter case, three design considerations were introduced. The first was to reduce the heights of each floor so as to reduce the total height. The second was to extend the depth and to reduce the width of each flat unit, thus keeping the same floor area. The last was to step the top of the apartment building to reduce the shadowed area.

The best way to save land was summarised by Deng Minghou (1983) in his article 'The Ways to Save Urban Land in Housing Construction'. From his mathematical formula he pointed out there were seven factors: length, height of each floor, the total height, the sunlight angle, fire spread, the number and width of units on each floor. He finally concluded that there were four main ways to save land: increasing the number of floors, reducing the width of each flat unit, reducing ceiling height and the distance for sunlight penetration. A comparison between the two examples given by him were as follows: Both in models A and B the buildings had eight storeys, occupying the same area of land. The standard flat unit in model A and B had the same floor area, but in model B the flat unit was narrower and deeper than in model A. He found model B, by using the four principles mentioned above, was much more 'economical' in terms of landuse (see Fig. 1-12).

Associated with housing design, town planning measures can play other important roles in implementing housing issues. Many new housing areas were planned both on the outskirts of cities and in the existing inner city areas. Additional to solving quantitative problems as mentioned above, the newly planned neighbourhood units needed more open space to create a more modern and 'greener' living environment. The concept of the 'neighbourhood greenfield' was applied to all new areas and some of the old sites. Although one designer may be more interested in low-rise than another, or may

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use a mix of housing types, the basic design ideas were not much different from the north to the south of the country, and generally became a universal rule (see Fig. 1-13, and 1-14). A few years later the trend was more for larger projects, such as the new Ti Yuanbei Community development in Tianjin which occupies a total of 90.87 hectares, and accommodates 50,000 inhabitants (ZHAO, Yuanxiang, 1985).



a) Flat unit 'X'.

b) Layout 'A' and 'B'.

c) Flat unit 'Y'.

Note: 'A' uses flat unit 'X', and 'B' flat unit 'Y'. Both in 'A' and 'B' the blocks are all eight storeys in height, and 'A' and 'B' occupy the same sized land of 4.09 hectares. 'A' is southernly orientated, while 'B' south-easterly orientated. See the result in Table 1-3.

Fig. 1-12: Two different housing layouts.

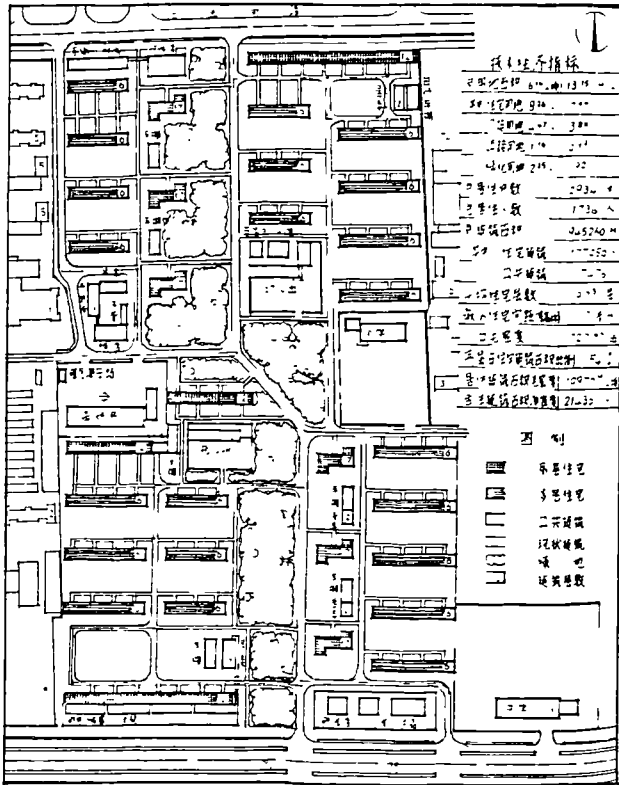
Source: DENG, Minghou, 1983, p.44.

Table 1-3: The comparison of the landuse in layout 'A' and 'B'.

	Width of flat unit (metre)	Ceiling height (metre)	L/H	Total floor space (sq.m)	Number of resident	Population density (people/hectare)	Building density (sq.m/hectare)
A	5.5	2.8	2.17	62,312	4,608	1,125	15,213
B	3.98	2.7	1.74	89,337	6,912	1,687.5	21,810
B - A	-1.32	-0.1	0.43	27,025	2,304	562.5	6,597
%						+ 50%	+ 43.4%

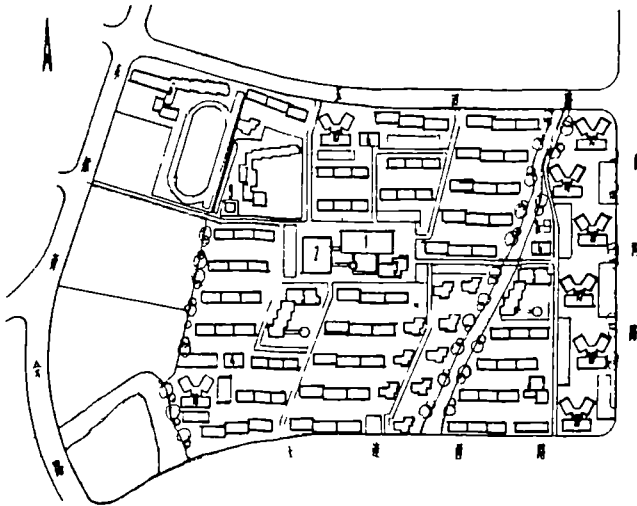
Note: L/H = distance between two blocks/building height.

Source: *ibid.*



1. The total amount of land: 16.14 hectares.
2. The total number of inhabitants: 11,736.
3. The total number of housing: 177,050 sq.m.
4. The average height of housing blocks: 10.53 storeys.
5. Density: 727.14 person/per hectare.

Fig. 1-13: The first prize winning scheme in the competition for Taiyuan Community Development Planning, Beijing, 1981. Source: Architects' Journal 5/1981, p.2.



1. The total amount of land: 10.53 hectares.
2. The total number of inhabitants: 11,520.
3. The total number of housing: 135,334 sq.m.
4. The average height of housing blocks: 7.4 storeys.

Fig. 1-14: The plan for Caoyang community development, Shanghai, 1981. Source: Architects' Journal 7/1981, p.10.

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After gaining a few years' experience the Chinese Architectural Association organised a National Conference on Urban Housing at the end of 1983, and many problems were raised. First of all, the voluntary control of housing standards had failed for many reasons, as had happened before in the Fifties. A number of suggestions were made, like the introduction of legislation to control standards. Secondly, existing funding policy was welfare oriented; low rents had to be more economically set. Thirdly, high densities were essential to save land. Fourthly, the quality of the newly built housing environments was very poor due to the monotonous forms and spaces, lack of trees and green areas, and public facilities. 'The need for variety in the standard housing layouts began to attract attention from professionals and society'³⁶.

Nevertheless economic reforms favoured commercialisation of standardised urban housing forms. In 1984, a radical thinking leader in the Central Government³⁷ announced that: the existing concept regarding housing construction as pure consumption and therefore non-productive should be changed. The construction of housing should be treated as one of the main industries supporting the whole economy. The development of the housing industry would not only provide more homes but also create more employment. In the future, the urban housing policy would aim to set up housing through various ownership enterprises. Later on the Government accelerated the policies of commercialisation³⁸. This quickly changed existing housing policies in some cities such as Wenzhou, Shenyang, and Shanghai. In 1979 only 2% of the funds for urban housing came from individual private investment; by 1986 it had increased to 10%. In 1986 a total of 34 million sq.m of private sector or commercial housing was built over the whole country. From 1979 through 1986, a total of 13.71 million sq.m of urban housing (including new and old) was sold by the Government to individuals. It was reported that in the city of Nanyang in Henan Province by 1985 more than 50% of new housing was bought by individual citizens (CHU, Chuanheng, 1988). And up to 1987 25% of housing

³⁶ See 'Urban Housing in China - conference in Beijing' in Architectural Journal, No.3 1984.

³⁷ Deng Xiaoping, 1984, 'On Construction Industry and Housing Issues' in People's Daily, 15th May 1984.

³⁸ See the then Prime Minister Zhao Zhiyang's (1) Report to Sixth Conference of the People Congress, 1986. (2) The Seventh Five-Year Plan, 1986; and also after he became the General Secretary of the Central Committee of the Communist Party, (3) The Report to the Thirteenth Party Plenum, 1987.

funds came directly from the Central and Local Government, while 60% was from Work Unit funds, and 15% from individuals (LI, Chengrui, 1988).

But in reality, the bad quality of much of the newly built housing drew little comment. To most of the architects and other professionals housing seemed too practical and boring and without challenge, because of the limited budgets, stereotypical designs and way of building. Instead their attention had to be more focused on the economic and technical issues in order to demonstrate their 'social responsibility'. The recommended housing projects by the Ministry of Town and Country Planning and Environmental Conservation in 1986 clearly illustrated this situation. In the Special Economic Zone - the new city of Shenzhen³⁹ high-rise was encouraged to 'attract people both from outside and inside the country'⁴⁰ (see Fig. 1-15). Many high-rise apartments were bought by the rich Hongkongese and consequently the designs from there were copied. In the new town in Shandong Province multi-story housing was recommended for 'its creative layout of the neighbourhood unit and the excellent design of the apartment units' (Fig. 1-16).

While massive stereotype building of housing was going on all over the country, with little consideration of the local environment, some architects did think of ways to include some traditional elements in the living environment. Common among these was the concern to create a new kind of courtyard housing, especially in the hot southern areas. Some ideas were published as early as 1979. In Figure 1-17, the example shows the traditional courtyard but in a new housing design. Around 1984 a big step was taken by a team led by Prof Bao through a 'support housing system' with user participation. The idea of this system was to 'fulfil the requirements of millions of different consumers' by bringing 'the initiative of central government, local authority, enterprises and individuals together to build houses'⁴¹. To do so, the team introduced a

³⁹ Shenzhen was the first Special Economic Zone, introduced in 1979. Most of the enterprises were from other regions of the country.

⁴⁰ When Luo Changhong (1986) introduced the Shenzhen experience in his article 'Urban Planning and Architecture in Shenzhen', he wrote that 'The Central Government's policy was to plan Shenzhen as a city with basic industry, commerce, agriculture and livestock, housing, tourism and so on. The city would be open to the outside, and a window to display new policy, modern technology and management... Therefore, the idea of the city planners was to set up a rational distribution of different functions with an advanced structure, and encourage new architectural forms... The style of the city itself should be attractive to the new immigrants.

⁴¹ See Bao Jiasheng, 'Support Housing in Wuxi Jiangsu - User Interventions in the People's Republic of China', 1979.

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'corresponding construction pattern' together with a series of design theories and methods in technology. The principal differences from current practice lay in 'placing the people or residents in a positive central position in the housing process' and this 'would give the householders the right to invest and the right of choice and decision-making in design'.

The system was designed using prefabricated units: firstly the housing was divided into two parts; the Support Unit and the Detachable Unit. The former was funded by Government, while the Detachable Units were paid for by the householders. This allowed both the government body, the builder, and the users to have their own choice of standards and style with the superstructure according to their financial capacity. Secondly, the design and construction process would be organised by the architects, developers, local government and the dwellers. Since 1984 these ideas have been implemented in the suburbs of the City of Wuxi (see Fig. 1-18).

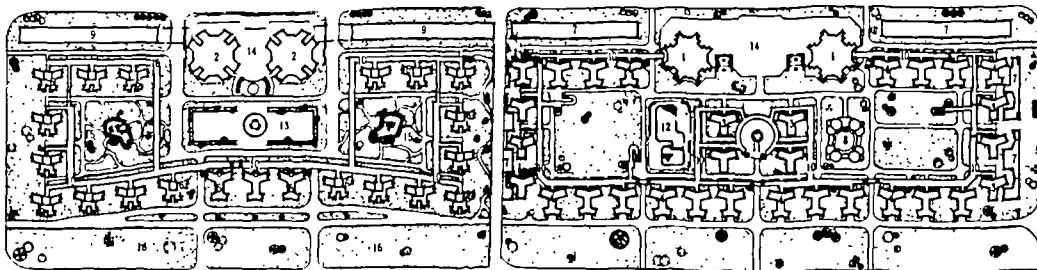


Fig. 1-15: Hebin residential development, Shenzhen.

Source: Architectural Journal, Beijing, 1/1987, p.7.

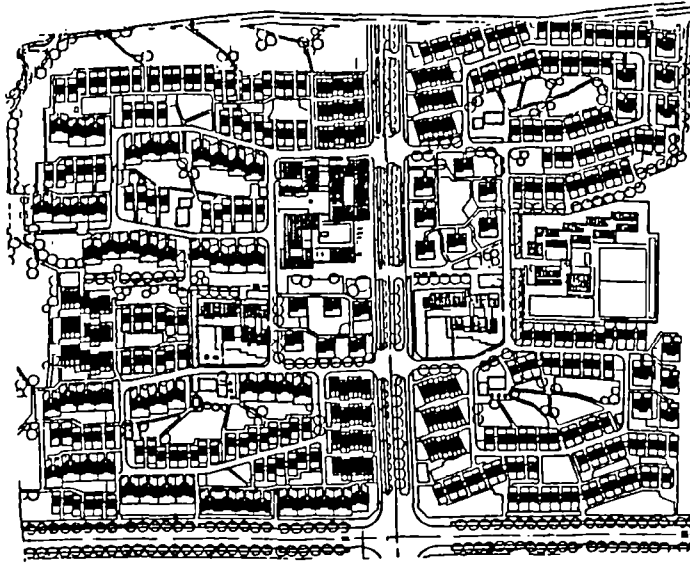
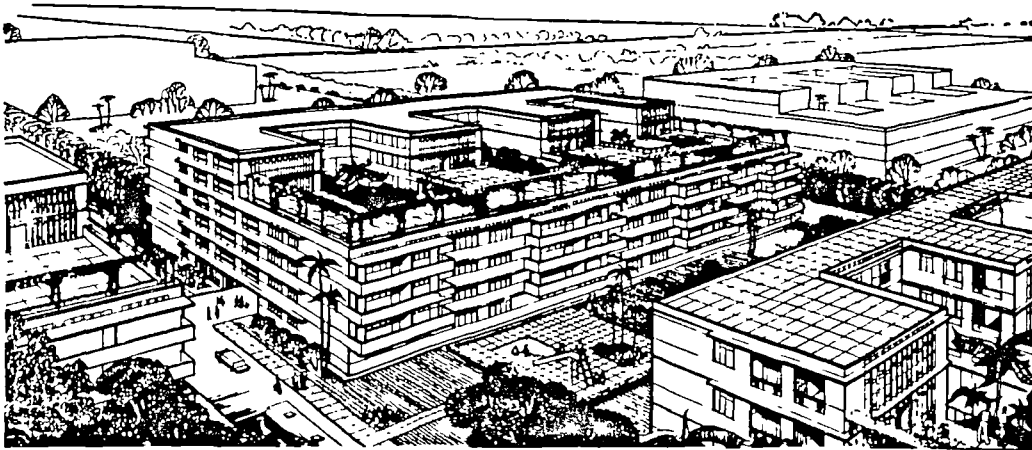
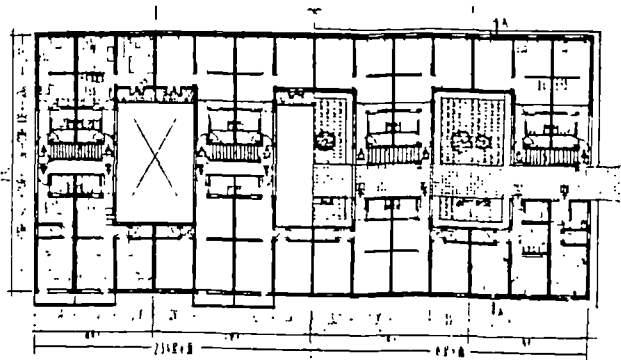


Fig. 1-16: Zhonghua new village in Gudao, Shandong. Source: *ibid.*, p.9.



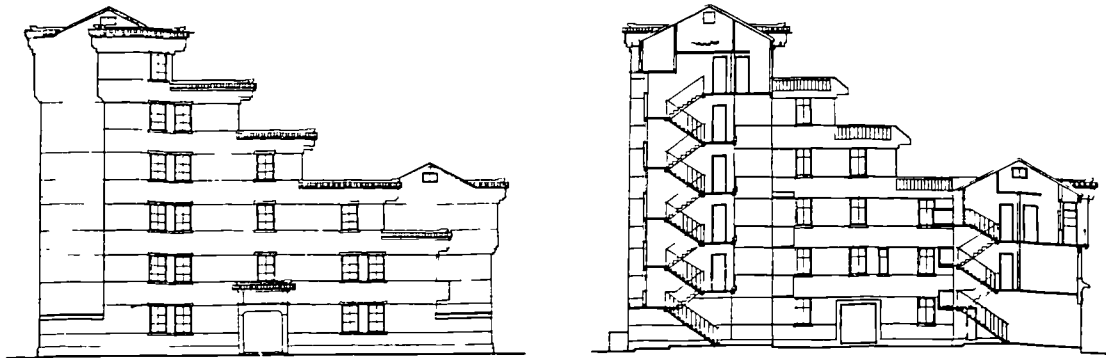
1-17. a) The perspective.



1-17. b) The plan.

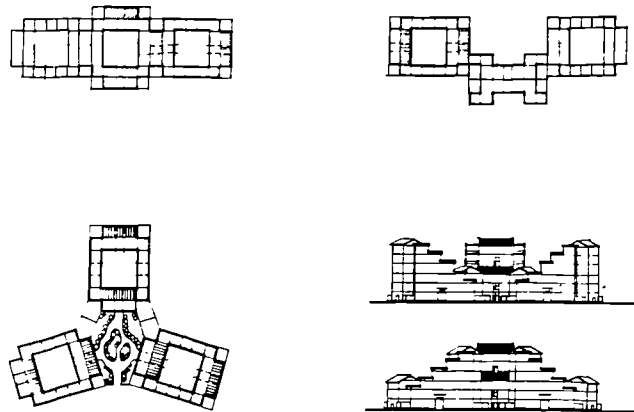
Fig. 1-17: A design of modern courtyard housing for the Southern Regions.

Source: ZHUO, Xiaosi, 1979, p.19.



1-18. a) The west elevation.

1-18. b) The section.



1-18. c) Various plan.

Fig. 1-18: The support housing project in Wuxi, Jiangsu. Source: BAO, Jiasheng, 1987, p.17.

2.5 Housing Clearance with Renewal

Housing developments have not only taken place on a tremendous scale in the new areas outside and on the periphery but also in the cities, as seen in the urban renewal programme of Shenyang City. There were three reasons for housing renewal in old city districts. Firstly, they were often regarded as a sign of low economic development. Secondly, the old house type was normally single storey and landuse pressures made high density housing more desirable. Thirdly, the old housing areas were usually

'sub-standard' according to many 'modern' criteria, which specified greater floor area and outdoor open space, etc..

In Shanghai around the early 1980s there was 46 million sq.m of housing in the central built-up areas. The average density was about 5 sq.m for each person. But this figure should be understood as covering up some dramatic inequalities between the better-off officials and the powerless. For example, many of the latter families lived with less than 2.3 sq.m of floor space per person. Some married couples have to share with their parents or they live in Work Unit dormitories meant for single people only. Also, the figure hides the poor quality of the old housing. Many families did not have their own kitchen or bathroom.

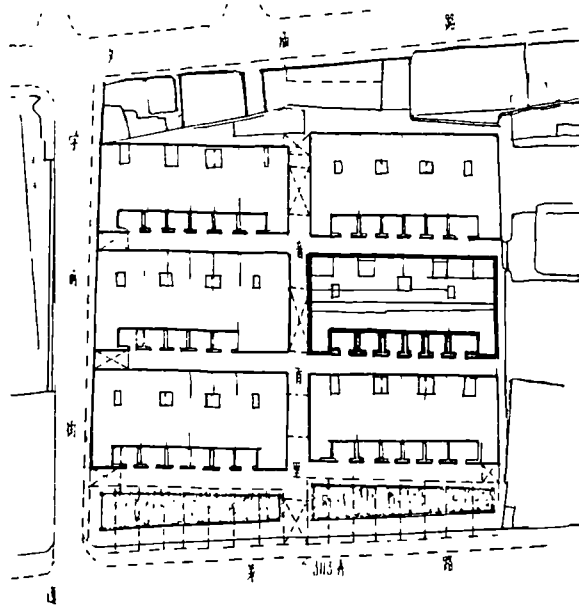
To improve and renew the old houses has been one of the most important policies of the Municipal Government. On the one hand, in Shanghai some 20,000 people work on housing upgrading. In differing degree, approximately 2 to 3 million square metres of housing are dealt with every year. Some housing, in relatively good condition, is improved with even better facilities, or extended. Since 1958 about 0.62 million sq.m of housing space has been added to the city's central areas, accommodating more than 100,000 new families. In the built-up area around 40% of the housing was '*Li-nongs*', the traditional neighbourhood with narrow streets, built in the early 20th century; they are still structurally good but poor in other respects. In the early 1980s there were around 3.1 million residents (out of more than 6 million) who were living in the *li-nongs*. The city planners have decided that most of the *li-nongs* will have to continue in use for the next twenty years⁴².

As an example of this, in 1982 the city authorities decided to rehabilitate a block beside Penglai Street. This housing, built in 1923, consisted of 6 rows of two-storey terraces, and each terrace had 8 units. The total floor space was 4,268 sq.m. In the last few decades around 804 sq.m of floor space had been added to these terraces by the residents. For instance, this block accommodated 642 people in 156 families. The average floor area per capita was 4.72 sq.m but about 22% of the families lived with less than 4 sq.m per person, and 38% of the families had no kitchen. The renewal aimed at: (1) providing each family with a self-contained flat with its own bathroom and

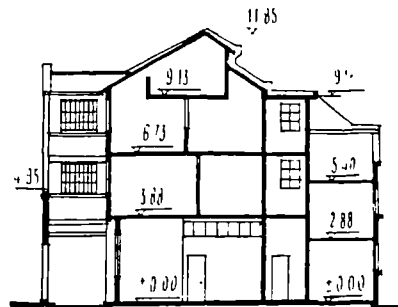
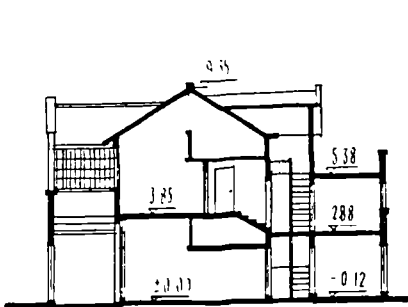
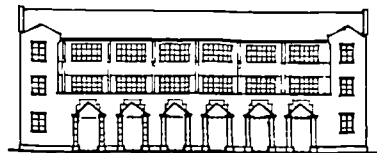
⁴² See 'Housing Improvement and Renewal in Shanghai' in Architectural Journal, No. 3, 1984, p.28-32.

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kitchen; (2) improving the quality of ventilation, light, sound insulation, and outside open space; (3) increasing to at least 4 sq.m the living space for each person, for all the families with less than 4 sq.m per person. Through rearranging the floor area and adding two floors on the top of the existing terraces, some 55% extra floor space was added (see Fig. 1-19). The cost of the renewal work was about half the current cost of new housing.



1-19. a) The plan.

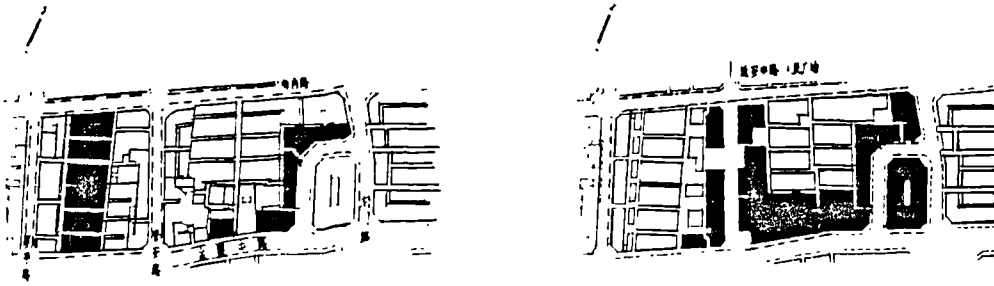


1-19. b) Before

1-19. b) After.

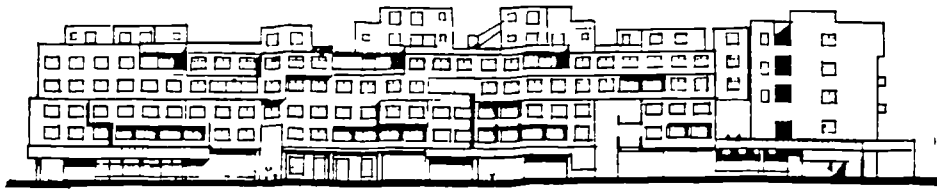
Fig. 1-19: Housing upgrading, Shanghai. Source: *Architectural Journal*, Beijing, 3/1984, p.29-30.

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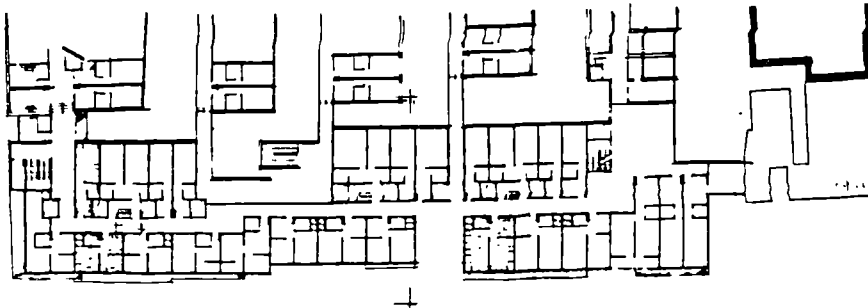


Black: redevelopment;
White: preservation.
1-20. a) Block 'A' & 'B'; before.

Black: public services at bottom or whole
blocks; White: housing.
1-20. b) Block 'A' & 'B'; after



1-20. c) Elevation.



1-20. d) The third floor plan.

Fig. 1-20: A housing renewal project in Shanghai by Feng Ji-zhong, 1985.

Source: Architectural Journal, Beijing, 12/1985, pp.6-7.

In Shanghai, on the other hand, it was estimated that one third of the existing housing could be expanded. This situation encouraged the '*Jiu Di Ping Heng*' policy to solve the housing shortage using existing sites. Developing this idea in 1985, Prof. Feng produced some projects for a Housing Renewal Area in Shanghai (see Fig. 1-20). The site included two city blocks 'A' and 'B', located in central Shanghai, occupying 2.3 hectares

and accommodating 5000 residents within 1500 families. The plan suggested that: firstly, part of the existing housing should be upgraded, part be rebuilt. Secondly, the new housing should be multi-storey apartments. Thirdly, a street-in-the-sky or deck access system was to be built to improve the circulation, provide better sunlight penetration and to meet other problems caused by the high density building. With both the ground and the high level access the architect tried to adapt the traditional 'li-nong' concept⁴³. Finally, the design introduced 'pedestrian streets' with vertical planting such as creepers, etc. on the facades of the buildings.

Housing up-grading work took place largely in the large industrial cities, where much of the old housing was constructed with brick and stone during Colonial times in the early part of this century. Still structurally sound, it is easy to add more rooms or to renovate them. As in Shanghai, much colonial-style terrace housing has been repaired in Tianjin, Beijing and other Colonial cities.

However what occurred to most of the traditional housing in the old city centres shows quite a different view. Beijing is famous for its traditional 'si he yuan' courtyard housing. But nowadays most of the 'siheyuan' are overcrowded, and the living conditions are deteriorating badly. In 1988 some ideas were published⁴⁴, and a block was selected in the Chaoyang Gate Street area. The site occupied about 41 hectares. The block was in a typical traditional neighbourhood street structure; divided by four west-east oriented neighbourhood streets, 5 to 7 metres wide, 70 metres apart. The block was also divided by eight north-south streets, 3 to 5 metres wide. Most of the housing was traditional courtyard but in 'poor conditions'. Two new housing developments were recently built on the site, one six-storey and one sixteen-storey high-rise. A total of about 15,000 inhabitants within 5,254 households lived there. Additionally, there was a school, a kindergarten, community services and four factories. The percentage of green space was only about 14%. The block was due to be divided into two parts, Blocks A and B by a new road, Block A, covering 24.1 hectares and furthest from the ring road, was planned for residential use, while Block B near the ring road for commercial development. The neighbourhood redevelopment project was planned to build 219,000 sq.m of new housing.

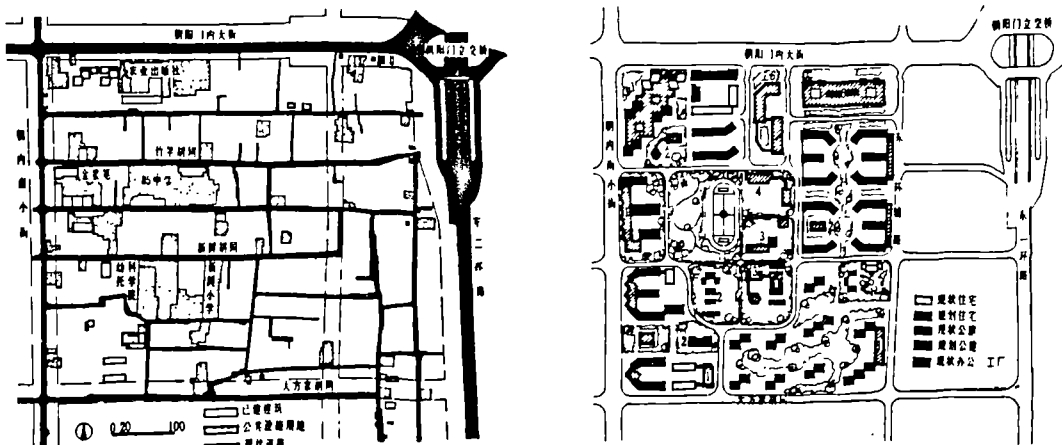
⁴³ Shanghai traditionally has the narrow neighbourhood streets which are the means of communication between neighbours. But now many of them are too crowded, and the physical conditions are poor.

⁴⁴ In Architectural Journal, No.5, 1988, pp.29-32.

The city's planning regulation designated that the buildings in this area should be under 45 metres in height.

The planning idea was to retain some of the neighbourhood streets and a few 'good quality' courtyard houses and all the existing public buildings, and to introduce new housing and neighbourhood facilities in the remainder of the space. The planners argued that it was not practical to preserve the majority of the courtyard houses⁴⁶. Also the existing infrastructure, it was argued, was too difficult to improve.

Therefore 62% of the housing project was planned in high-rise as the only means to provide enough floor space to accommodate the existing residents with better facilities, and to create more green space (Fig. 1-21).



1-21. a) The existing plan;

1-21. b) The redevelopment plan.

Fig. 1-21: A neighbourhood renewal project in Beijing.

Source: HAN, Jianping, 1988, pp.29-30.

The two ways of urban housing renewal discussed in this sub-section can be roughly summarised as: the general housing renewal trends in current practices in China. It was found that the physical conditions and the building density became the crucial factors which determined whether the existing housing was to be improved by additional space

⁴⁶ Some people suggested the traditional courtyard houses in Beijing should be preserved and used in a proper way for their historical value. Therefore, nearly 50% of the present residents who were living in those houses had to move to somewhere else.

and better facilities, such as in the case of the li-nong renewal project in Shanghai, or replaced by entirely new higher-density flats, as was exercised in Beijing. It was also found that there was a conflict between the depopulation policy (which was based on physical conservation ideas) and neighbourhood preservation (partly due to land values, and partly due to the residents' preference for living in the city centre). This conflicting situation resulted in the mixed development described above. But the problem remains - how such new patterns should take account of the unique historic character.

2.6 Commercial Redevelopment

With significant economic and social changes in the existing cities following the economic reforms, the contradiction between the deteriorating urban conditions and the need for urban development became more obvious. Since the late 1970s especially, many cities began to replan their city centres. In the city centres, the shortcomings of space for commercial services, such as offices, trading, retailing shops and restaurants etc. were the most acute problem. In 1978, in the whole country, only 11% of the urban population worked for service industries, but this was increased to 16.4% by 1985. At the same time in most of the large cities this was almost doubled that of the average country-wide figure (LI, Ya-lin, 1987, p.369-70).

To cope with the changing economic and social activities many cities changed their Structure Plans⁴⁶. Moreover in many cities building density in the city centre was lower than that in the newly developed areas; for example, in the city of Shenyang, in the early 1980s the former was only 65% of the later (ZHANG, Fuchen, 1988). While the pressures for new development intensified, the physical condition of old cities was extremely poor. By 1985 more than 50% of the existing buildings in the city centres were ill-maintained or 'should be renewed' (WU, Huanjia, 1985).

At this time a policy of 'comprehensive planning' (*zong he gui hua*) within the existing 'zoning planning' was introduced. The basic idea was to introduce a general development policy for the city centre. The new approach to comprehensive planning began by considering the quantity of functions and spatial arrangements, and left the detailed planning for a later stage. Many new concepts were to emerge in the

⁴⁶ Some cities began to be called 'industrial and commercial' cities, or 'commercial cities'; this did not exist before.

'comprehensive planning' practice. For instance, other professionals, such as geographers, sociologist, transport experts, behaviourist and so on, were involved in the planning decision-making in order to ensure the development plan was based on 'fully understanding' the situations and to try to avoid any injustices. Rationalisation was the key issue. Some cities designated their public services into a hierarchy according to their importance. 'Mono-centre' and 'multi-centre' plans were all tried, as was pedestrianisation.

Meanwhile, in the early 1980s the Central Government introduced the so called 'Comprehensive Development Policy'. According to this policy, firstly any new development, both in the old city and in the new areas, should be undertaken in such way that planning, compulsory land purchase, relocation, facilities and infrastructures, architectural design and construction in the whole development area were to be considered in a co-ordinated way. Secondly, comprehensive development should be managed by Urban Comprehensive Development Companies (UCDC) registered by the City or County Council. Thirdly, 'comprehensive' could be taken in one of three ways: (1) The development was solely entrusted by the city to the UCDCs to develop the site; (2) the UCDCs released the prepared site to other public or private organisations to develop; (3) the UCDCs developed the site and then put the properties on the market. Both public and private organisations were encouraged to invest in different ways in the development areas. In accordance with the Central Government's general policy every Provincial Government issued their own policies to fit their different situations.

Although the 'sense of place' and the 'local character' was mentioned all the time, many people and professionals were not 'satisfied' with the 'existing character', either because of the generally low standard or the old appearance. In reality, for the professionals, the so-called 'local character' of the city centre referred more to 'distinctive' and 'dramatic' sites and styles. So the replanned city centres were either imitations of the old traditional buildings or copies of Western modern cities. They failed to fit in with the existing context (see Fig. 1-22).

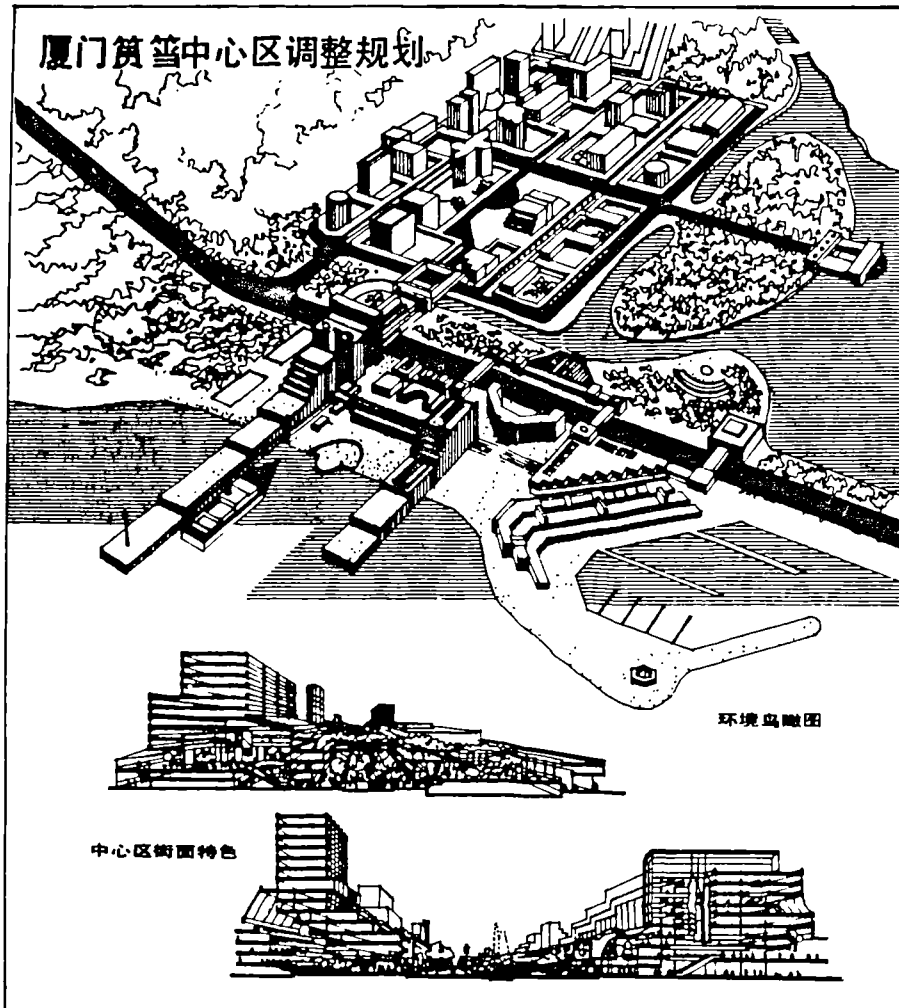


Fig. 1-22: The proposed plan of part of the city centre in Xiamen by Dade Architects, 1987.

Source: Architectural Journal, Beijing, 7/1987, p.6.

In the last ten years or so Central Government policies have increasingly promoted urban redevelopment and renewal from 8% of total construction in 1979 to 11.5% in 1986. Urban redevelopment has been increasingly used by local politicians as their big chance to find favour with the Party 'high-ups' and to gain political merit. 'Quick' and 'large' were the two most popular words to describe city development and change. Everyone believed that this was a good thing to do. Many cities used slogans like 'Some achievement in three years. Great success in five years. Fundamental change in ten years!' Of course it would be unfair to say that quickly developing cities in China were only desired by politicians. The politicians just felt the pulse of the impatient society and

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used this desire for their own political purposes. Even some professionals such as Prof. Wu Huan-jia (1988) deeply believed that:

'... a great part of the task in our current urban renewal and redevelopment is to do the things which were done in the developed countries one or two hundred years ago. In some large cities, we have to catch up with the developed cities in the world'.

This attitude is understandable, but in reality over-ambitious actions were too often taken by the politicians and professionals. Many cities produced unrealistic Development Plans and much worthwhile architectural heritage was destroyed in the process, along with the social relations in the traditional neighbourhood communities. For example, in the city of Shenyang in the 1980s there were 157 areas (only including those of more than 2.0 hectares) totalling 310 hectares redeveloped. In these areas 1.7 million sq.m of old 'unfit' buildings were demolished, and replaced by 9.03 million sq.m of new housing (out of a total of 12.9 million sq.m of new housing). Moreover 70% of the new housing was erected in the 'renewed areas'. This implied that the building density in these redeveloped areas was increased by about 5 times. At the same time 89 main streets were widened or newly constructed. In 1987 it was estimated that 80% of the city's development would be through renewal and redevelopment of the old city areas. This trend has become more universal in the last few years, for instance, in 1983 area-sized redevelopments only represented 25% of the total of development projects, by 1986 this was increased to 81% (ZHANG, Fuchen, 1988).

In 1987, in the city of Wuhan in Hubei Province, a total of 385 hectares was redeveloped, and about half of the entire development of more than 2.0 million sq.m involved redevelopment projects. Again, in the middle Eighties in the city of Hefei in Anhui Province, it was estimated that in the next decade all the old single storey housing would be demolished and redeveloped to much higher density, multi-storey housing and offices⁴⁷.

On a national scale, the area-sized development increased continuously from 1977 onward (see Fig. 1-23). In 1977 it covered about 8% of the total annual construction, and ten years later had increased to 11.5% (ZHOU, Ganzhi, 1987).

⁴⁷ See Architectural Journal (Beijing), No.6, 1986, pp.2-7.

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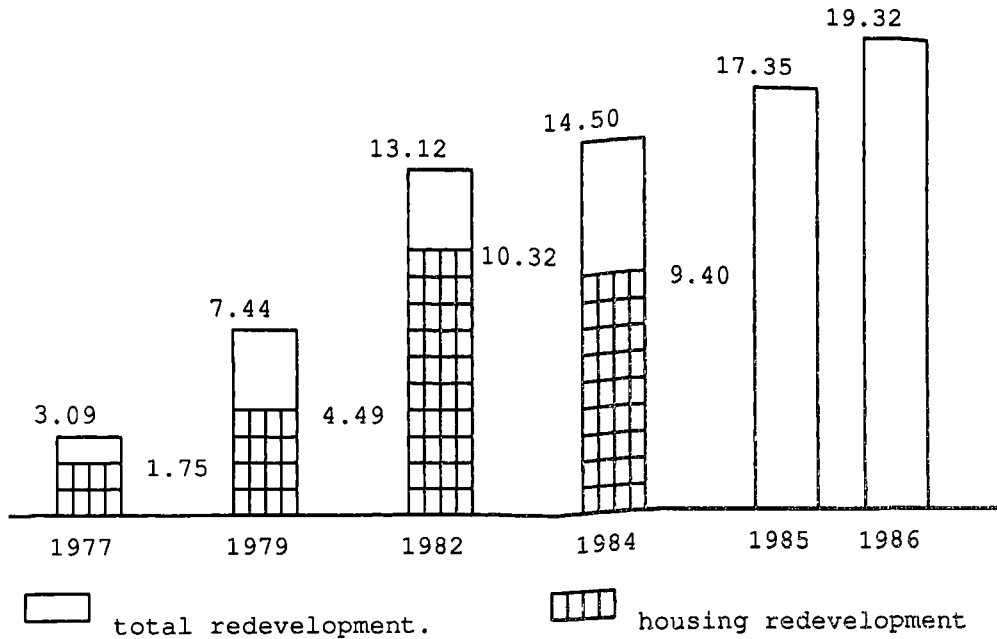


Fig. 1-23: The redevelopment areas in China from 1977 to 1986. Stated in million sq.m. The figures of housing redevelopment in 1985 and 1986 are not available. Source: ZHOU, Ganzhi, 1987.

The urban redevelopment has often taken place on a very large scale. For instance, both in Shanghai and in Tianjin, the new railway stations have swept away vast areas of the old cities. In most of the large cities massive commercial redevelopment has replaced or is going to sweep away more existing inner city areas. In addition to all the rushed large-scale commercial redevelopment in the existing cities, road widening construction has also been going on at a very fast rate. In cities such as Guangzhou, Tianjin and Jinan, the so-called '*li jiao qiao*' (the motor-way intersections) have penetrated into the built-up city areas. These have now become the symbol of modernisation for China's cities.

In the previous pages, it has been observed that in the commercial redevelopment process the increasing commercial activities have begun to affect the existing structure of the city centres. The zoning policy and increasing scale of the new development were ensured by the Comprehensive Development Policy. Within these new phenomena urban design emerged to incorporate the large scale development, and architect-planners played an extremely active role. It was the first time they had been able to exercise modern urban design concepts for forty years.

Chapter Two

URBAN RENEWAL AND CONSERVATION IN CHINA

The first Chapter analysed how modern socialist Chinese cities started with the 'national form' and turned this into an 'international' pattern, and concluded that the economic reform and the new social, political ambitions of the 1980s have brought the previously neglected city development to an entirely new stage. In this city remaking process, most of the new developments in Chinese cities began to follow the Western pattern, and old city structures and existing community life underwent a brutal replacement scheme. The changing city building process also faced architects with a dilemma; they agreed with the organisers that mass building production should be encouraged, so they helped to introduce standard planning and housing ideas, and tried hard to transform Chinese architecture by adopting modern technology; on the other hand, architects wanted to create through their designs high quality, diversity and cultural identity. However, if the power struggle concerning new architecture and city development remains unresolved and economics always decide the final answer, then the beauty of classical architecture has to be preserved.

In this Chapter, urban conservation in modern China will be examined to understand its philosophy and social meaning. Starting with a brief review of conservation in China before 1949, the 'monumental' approach to conservation which was practised from the 1950s to the late 1970s will then be discussed and finally the changing policies and recent practices of the 1980s will be looked at.

1 URBAN PRESERVATION

1.1 Building Protection Measures before 1978

Conservation in modern China started from early this century with the return of some Chinese architects from abroad after their Western architectural education. Unlike many of their colleagues some of them believed that traditional Chinese architecture was no less important than Western architecture. In this way they were similar to many artists who returned to traditional Chinese art after their Western training. In 1926 the 'Commission for the Museum of the Forbidden City' was founded to look after the preservation of historical architecture and artistic work. One year later, the 'Chinese Building and Architecture Society' (CBAS) started its historical research into Chinese architecture. The most influential work was that of Prof. Liang Si-Cheng's 'Building Types and their Principles in the Qing Dynasty' (1934). This seminal book, through many illustrations and a clear text, summarised the classical building types, their structural details, colours and materials, which appeared mainly during the Qing Dynasty (17th C - 20th C).

In the first few decades of the 20th Century, the colonial Chinese cities saw the erection of many of the so-called 'Western buildings' (*xi shi lou fang*) which were loved by merchants and the upper-classes. 'The main cities had been replaced in great part by low quality Western buildings', and the 'grand pure Chinese cities were completely destroyed'. Tragically both historical landmarks and local townscape were 'the victim of city improvement'. However, the leaders of popular opinion ignored this vandalism in the name of progress; they were much more interested in the development of a Western style for their buildings. Nonetheless at that time there were also a few important studies that, '... drew the people's attention to the need to preserve the country's treasure'¹.

From the late 1920s on, many important historical buildings had been studied and surveyed, and some preservation work was taken on by the CBAS. In 1935, Liang Si-cheng issued 'The Plan for the Restoration of the Confucian Temple in Qufu', and

¹ See Liang Si-cheng, 193? 'Why to Study Chinese Architecture', republished in Architectural Journal in No.9, 1986.

pointed out that the restoration work should not be done in the same way as the conventional rebuilding of the old buildings, but should extend the life of the existing buildings by discreetly applying modern technology.

After the Sino-Japanese War (1945), Liang Si-cheng for the first time introduced the concept of 'city preservation' (*cheng shi zheng ti bao hu*) in China. He especially realised the importance of Beiping². He wrote, in 1948, 'From the point of city planning, city history and art, Beiping is one of the greatest cities in the world' and 'Beiping's character was uniquely recognisable by its different areas and street system'. He also stated with great foresight that 'The historical buildings in Beiping were *inseparable* from the whole city'.

1.2 Preservation: 1949 - 1978

In 1949 the Communist Party seized power, and planned to build their political capital in Beijing. Liang Si-cheng and others started to consider the relationship between the New Administrative Centre and the existing city. They stressed that the new centre should be formed in conjunction with the preservation of the whole existing city in mind. In 1950 they wrote to the new Communist Government and recommended that the new centre should be located in the western suburbs, in order to avoid any destruction caused by the new plan. And more significantly, that the whole city of Beijing be treated as one 'big museum'; the whole environment should be preserved, not just the important historic buildings.

The very disturbed and chaotic social, economic, and political situation at that time would not allow such a large city as Beijing to be preserved as a museum. The new Administrative Centre did eventually develop in the old centre of Beijing; the Imperial Forbidden City was, as it were, transformed to symbolise the New Communist State. First of all to build a new centre would cost too much and would take too long to establish. Secondly, the thousands of residents in the old city needed their environment to be improved. This was the reason why, as some scholars³ stated, Beijing remained a 'medieval city in the middle of the 20th century'. On the one hand, it was lucky to have

² Beiping was the former name of Beijing before the Communist Government renamed Peking in 1949.

³ Such as Prof. Cheng Zhi-hua, 1986, and Prof. Wu Huan-jia, 1988.

avoided the destruction experienced by many other old cities in the name of industrial development. However, the city did have difficulties in fitting in with modern life. Even today, forty years later, the conflicting demands of this situation still cause problems for the city architects and planners, and their political masters.

Moreover, the political need for rapid industrial development in the 1950s led to a wrong decision being taken; it was a mistake to develop the historic city of Beijing as a national industrial base, and to increase its population size.

In the Fifties Government policy for preservation was exclusively focused on very 'important historic monuments and relics'. In 1957 the State Council promulgated the first List of National Relics to receive special protection from the State, while the Local Government announced the list of those relics to be protected in the Provinces. In the first instance there were 183 cultural relics at the State level, 34 in cities that had been ancient capitals. These protected 'units', although limited in number, contributed considerably to the preservation of historic cities.

Nevertheless, once the old cities began to be transformed to cope with their new initiatives, the majority of the historical buildings were under even greater threat. In 1958 more than 700 neighbourhood factories and 2,000 huge iron-smelting furnaces appeared in the city of Beijing. In the same period the population increased four times, to reach to four million. In 1953 it was planned to achieve this total over the forthcoming thirty years or so. During the last three years of the 1950s, more than three million sq.m of industrial construction were built, while over three thousand *jians* or parts of houses collapsed in the old city; the average floor space per person decreased from 4.7 sq.m in the early 1950s to 3.2 sq.m in the early 1960s (ZHANG, Hua, 1989).

Although during the First Five-Year Plan period (1952-1957), when urban construction boomed, great attention was paid to the protection of historic cities and cultural relics, the large scale of development did not save the cities; many 'less important' landmarks were destroyed. In this way in the Fifties, Beijing lost many of its familiar features such as those at the ends of streets which visually dominated the vista.

The notion of 'cultural relics' exactly stated the Government's attitude to preservation - to look after the *dead* past. But the author does acknowledge that some care was taken. For instance, in some cities the new development was located outside the old area completely, in order to prevent the destruction of suspected archaeological

remains. In Luoyang, which had been a capital city through nine dynasties, a new district was built south-west of the old city in order to keep it intact and to preserve it with a view to future excavation. Any ancient relics beneath the new district were carefully surveyed and then systematically unearthed.

Most of the listed monuments were empty, and any old buildings still in use hardly attracted the Government's attention. After the Government took over all the old landlords' property, many large building complexes were either occupied by the public sector or distributed among the poor. As mentioned before, the policy of low investment in housing and urban services caused most of those previously maintained large building complexes to deteriorate, and this situation became ever worse until the 1970s. Most of the traditional *siheyuan* courtyard houses were now crowded with unrelated families, and had become 'Dazayuan' (a big compound crowded by many householders). Many vernacular neighbourhoods in the old cities were overcrowded and have often remained so with little improvement in facilities.

The 'relics' concept of preservation also fitted in with the radical attitudes held by many modern planners, architects and politicians. They all under-estimated the value of historical cities as a whole. In urban renewal projects, there has been a tendency to demolish almost everything old, and to replace it by something new where it does not physically damage the 'cultural relics' themselves. But this so often changed the whole structure and character of the city; many, for instance, have demolished their city walls - and in the process destroyed important historic buildings - to make way for new construction. Rapid growth has caused new development to be mixed with the old, increasing congestion and the overloading of existing infrastructure, and deteriorating environmental quality. Due to the limited horizons of the planners in those days and the lack of resources, there was little improvement in the living conditions of the existing quarters.

In the early days the political interpretation given to the role of historic buildings drastically affected the function of architectural preservation in China. For instance, Tiananmen Gate-tower and Tiananmen Square have become well known in their association with the policies of the Communist Party over their period in power. On the other hand, preservation has not always been popular; during the Cultural Revolution, with its extraordinary political changes, most of the previously designated historic

buildings were 'redefined' by ideological thinking.

To destroy the old world and set up a new one has been the Chinese Communist leaders' basic idea since Mao started his peasant revolution in the early Twenties. Later the Great Proletarian Cultural Revolution (1966-76) took place to 'destroy the old world completely' (*za lan jiu shi jie*) in order to 'prevent socialism from being revised' (*xiu zheng zhu yi fu bi*) into of the 'old evil world' capitalism. This view is not without justification. Consequently, everything 'old' and related to the pre-Communist period became the target for enthusiastic destruction by the young Red Guards, who thoughtlessly interpreted Mao's condemnation of the 'old' far too literally. The previously interpreted 'glorious' thousands of years of Chinese history became directly associated with the feudal society. Even Confucius came under attack because his doctrine had been supported by the 'old ruling classes'. People from all over the country destroyed things associated with Confucius, especially at the sage's birthplace Qufu. The finest and largest collection of Chinese calligraphy, carved on tombstones near the burial ground of Confucius, was vandalised. In the tomb area of the Qing Dynasty in Xiling in Hebei Province, the Red Guards cut down most of the decorations on the temples. Even some the great stone carvings were damaged. Everywhere the 'old Dragon' carvings on the front walls (*zhao bi*) of courtyard houses were removed and replaced with Maoist slogans. Traditional architectural decoration was removed from the old buildings. Many descendants of rich families had to sell their priceless antique collections by weight, or they simply destroyed them to avoid trouble. For a decade there was a kind of environmental madness everywhere.

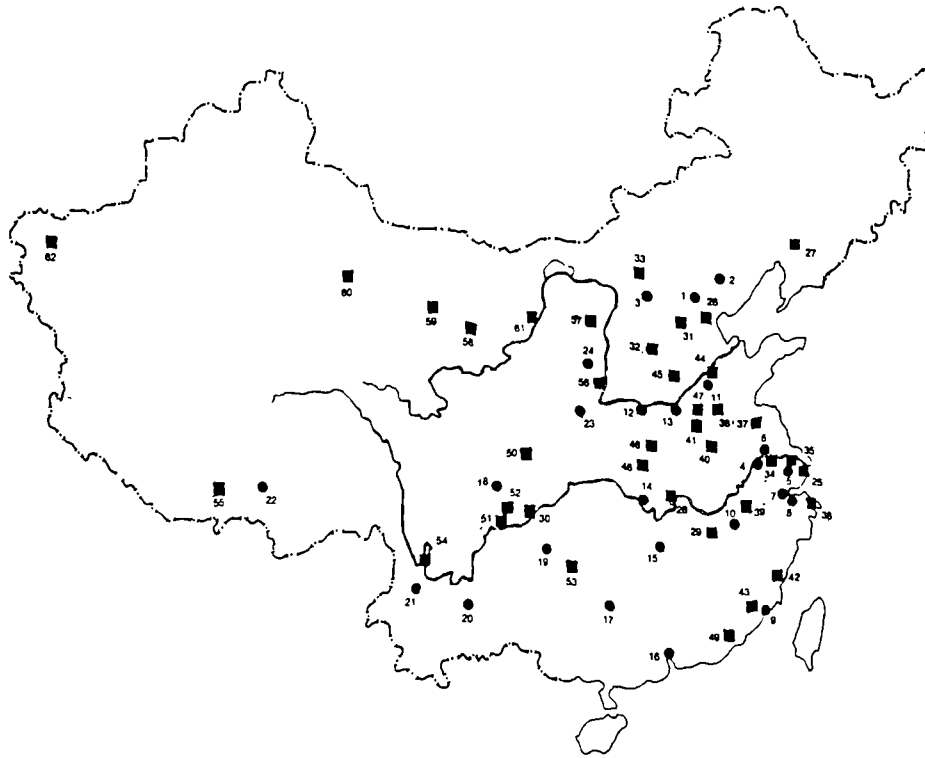
As with other professions, the architects and planners belonged to one of the groups where the class struggle took place. Since Mao had stated that, 'in the past 17 years (1949-1966) most of the educational and institutional sectors were still not dominated by the Proletarian Revolutionary line', the normal practice of urban planning and protection of cultural relics was stopped. The ignorant destruction of many cultural relics and historical sites, by being given over to ruthless new developments or military constructions, was a more subtle way of achieving the same result. For instance, at the famous summer resort town of Chengde, with its Imperial summer palace, about ten Work Units invaded the huge park and occupied four out of the eight temples. They eventually built factories and faceless flats without any planning or architectural consideration in the beautiful garden landscape.

So far the course of historic preservation in modern China and its rise and fall has been traced under Mao's regime up to the late 1970s. Historic architectural preservation started with a strong nationalist motivation during the semi-colonial times. Architectural aesthetics were dominated by the classical interpretation of building design and construction. After the establishment of the Communist Government the concept of 'cultural relics' developed from the early doctrine. However, the ideological struggle and ambitious industrialisation plans overloaded the cities. Beijing experienced a dramatic increase in small neighbourhood industries plus a population boom. Inevitably the older fabric of the city steadily fell into decline, while there were minute improvements to the people's living standards. New developments began to replace many landmarks in the city and large priceless traditional courtyard complexes which were previously owned by private landlords, were now in public ownership. On the surface their replacement was based on ideological grounds, but in fact it was more to do with bureaucratic convenience as the publicly owned buildings could be easily replaced without compensation. During the Cultural Revolution, with the increasing tension of the political struggle, the ideological dimension of history completely denied tradition.

1.3 A Welcome Change of Attitude to Historic Preservation

The political attitude toward history finally changed with the end of the Maoist regime in 1978. Now historic preservation began to attract the Government's attention again. In 1980, the State Council promulgated the Second List of Cultural Relics to receive special protection in urban preservation by the State. One year later in 1982, the State Council issued, for the first time, a list of 24 historic cities as Conservation Cities (see Fig. 2-1). This marked a new stage of preservation in China, and gained a much higher priority in city planning terms. According to the Urban Planning Ordinance (1983), Urban Structure Plans should be based on existing conditions in the city. Enhancement, maintenance and renovation of the historic buildings became the principle for historic areas. In 1984, the State Council further required the Listed historic cities to produce their preservation programmes, which would ensure the protection of all cultural relics and historical monuments, *and* retain local characteristics instead of demolishing everything. A few years later, in 1986, the Second List of Historic Cities

brought 38 more under this special protection (see Fig. 2-1).



● Cities on the first list: 1. Beijing; 2. Chengde; 3. Datong; 4. Nanjing; 5. Suzhou; 6. Yangzhou; 7. Hangzhou; 8. Shaoxing; 9. Quanzhou; 10. Jingdezhen; 11. Qufu; 12. Luoyang; 13. Kaifeng; 14. Jiangling; 15. Changsha; 16. Guangzhou; 17. Guilin; 18. Chengdu; 19. Zunyi; 20. Kunming; 21. Dali; 22. Lasa; 23. Xian; 24. Yanan.

■ Cities on the second list: 25. Shanghai; 26. Tianjin; 27. Shenyang; 28. Wuhan; 29. Nanchang; 30. Chongqing; 31. Baoding; 32. Pingyao; 33. Huhohaote; 34. Zhenjiang; 35. Changshu; 36. Xuzhou; 37. Huaian; 38. Ningbo; 39. Shexian; 40. Shouxian; 41. Bozhou; 42. Fuzhou; 43. Zhangzhou; 44. Jinan; 45. Anyang; 46. Nanyang; 47. Shangqiu; 48. Xiangfan; 49. Chaozhou; 50. Langzhong; 51. Yibin; 52. Zigong; 53. Zhenyuan; 54. Lijiang; 55. Rikaze; 56. Hancheng; 57. Wuwei; 59. Zhangye; 60. Dunhuang; 61. Yinchuan; 62. Kashi.

Fig. 2-1: Listed historic sites in China. Source: WU, Liang-yong, 1987, p.18.

With these supportive policies, many restoration works were funded by Central and Provincial governments. For example, many parts of the Great Wall have been restored. In the ancient capital Xian the city wall has been repaired. In Jixian County in Hebei Province, the famous Temple Dule has been restored. At the same time, the surveying of many important historic sites had been started by the Architecture Schools.

Moreover, around the late 1970s and the early 1980s, society was looking for a return to traditional values which they thought had vanished for ever during the Cultural Revolution. This damaging Revolution had completely and dramatically altered the

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country, changing its political and economic circumstances and the lives of millions of its people. After the ten year nightmare, both politicians and ordinary people needed to recover and restore the country psychologically and physically. The Government consciously started a series of campaigns, one such was the Patriotism Education Campaign in schools and colleges, which aimed to restore people's pride in their heritage.

Historic restoration was used as one of the main ways to remedy the 'illness' as a whole; the revival of the glorious past was still seen as a strong enough force to concentrate again the whole nation's mind and revitalise the struggling, dying country. To architects and other intellectuals, facing the mess left by the cultural vandalism during the Cultural Revolution, 'the great past' naturally had an exaggerated nostalgic charm and beauty. So many of them began to call for rebuilding some of the most famous vanished monuments.

In 1980, the Chinese Architectural Association invited the most famous architects, artists, novelists and so forth, totalling 1583 people, to jointly sign and issue a proposal for 'The Preservation, Restoration and Rehabilitation of Yuanmingyuan Park'.⁴ Three years later Beijing City Council issued a plan to restore the Park. The idea was to rebuild the ruined Park as a 'place to give the youth patriotic education and encourage them to develop the country'. Therefore, more than 100,000 sqms of buildings were proposed for museums and other entertainment facilities⁵. At the same time some architects began to discuss the restoration of other historic monuments, such as the great Huanghelou Pagoda, etc..

⁴ Yuanmingyuan Park was the biggest garden built during the Qing Dynasty (1709-1745). It gathered both Chinese and Western gardening traditions, and enormous priceless historic and cultural treasures. It was judged by some Europeans at that time, as 'the number one of the world's gardens'. It was destroyed by the British Army in the late summer of 1860. See Wang Zhi-li, 1983, 'The Restoration of Yuanmingyuan and the Construction of Socialist Patriotism', in Architectural Journal, No.1, 1983.

⁵ Wang Zhi-li, 1983.

1.4 Readjusting the Planning Process in Existing Cities

As mentioned previously, most of the cities in China had experienced very strict control over urbanisation, in terms of population, city size and provision of public services over the last thirty years, especially from the late 1950s to the 1970s. With the post-Mao programme of modernisation in the late 1970s, rapid urbanisation started again in all the cities and towns. This seriously conflicted with the policies of historic preservation, particularly in the Listed historic cities. The monumental approach to historic preservation did not efficiently protect the listed buildings and sites. During the years from 1978 to the early 1980s, many monuments had been either physically damaged or lost their surroundings. Furthermore, ill-controlled industrial development in the historic cities has caused the destruction of many important monuments, listed sites, and the environment as a whole.

In the so-called conservation cities, to rationally plan the sites, with the sizes and kinds of industrial developments is crucial as they will have a big and long term effect on the environment. In most cities the recently established industrial population presents a very serious problem. Since 1985 hundreds of medium and small sized factories have appeared in cities such as Beijing, Nanjing, Suzhou and Hangzhou etc.. Not only did they occupy much land in the inner city areas, but also they demolished many of the old houses; this has produced even greater pressure on housing shortages. Therefore, the replanning of industry and its development is a matter of great concern in many listed cities (ZHANG, Zu-gang, 1983).

In Suzhou, for instance, in the last thirty years, the city has developed without any rational planning control. This has caused many factories and commercial developments to be mixed in with housing. In the early 1980s, the city's 142 sq.km. supported more than 300 factories. Unknowingly, many historical buildings of great architectural quality were occupied by small factories; there were more than 360,000 residents and a daily influx of fifty to sixty thousand tourists and travellers to the city. Traffic congestion was caused by more than 8,000 motor vehicles and 240,000 bicycles. At the same time, green field areas were reduced to only 0.9 sqms per person⁶. The existing city areas became more and more crowded and many canals were filled in or

⁶ See Yu Sheng-fang, 1983, 'Urban Conservation in Suzhou' in Architectural Journal, No.9, 1983.

were made narrower to make way for new construction.

The need for better conservation planning in the smaller towns was proved by the developments that took place in them in the early 1980s. In some that had been the economic centres of their regions, little industrial development had taken place in the last thirty years. In most the infrastructure was still primitive and getting worse due to rapid economic development in the last ten years. The town of Xingcheng is an example of this state of affairs. What happened to the large cities can now be seen happening in these small towns. Factories are everywhere, industrial structures, for example, chimneys, stand out in the old areas. The existing streets are crowded with vehicles and people. The population has increased considerably and there is a shortage of urban housing. The whole environment has begun to deteriorate⁷. The problems are also caused by the complete lack of qualified professionals and experienced managers to look after the developed properties. Without architects and planners, problems are either arbitrarily decided by the Local Authority or they are studied by experts from outside.

After the first List was published in 1980, planning development in conservation cities and towns was regarded as the most important step. Most cities and towns attempted to define their policies for future development; for example, without exception all of them proposed that they were suitable for tourism. As Zhang Zu-gang (1983, p.18) stated: historic values, cultural activities and both national and international tourism were the first priority for their development; clean industries were second. Following these policies, many cities began to concentrate on reviving their so-called local traditional craft industries, such as china, silk etc., to meet tourist needs.

The undesirable industries were either to be moved to the new areas outside, or to be relocated in other industrial districts in the region. Both in Hangzhou and in Suzhou it was suggested that, in the long term, many factories in those old cities should be removed to the surrounding countryside (ZHANG, Zu-gang, *ibid*).

Associated with the population increase, the designation of listed cities and towns as suitable for tourist development and the relocation of inner city industries to 'new towns' have become the common practice. The city planners in Beijing started to control the new commercial and industrial development, and plan gradually to move one third of the current urban population in the central city areas (a total of 60,000 people) to 'new

⁷ See Li Xiong-fei, 1989, 'Conservation Planning in Xingcheng', in Urban Planning No.1, 1989.

towns' or areas on the periphery (LUO, Jian-min, 1984). In Suzhou, the planners decided that the urban population in the central city area will be reduced from 360,000 to 60,000. In the small city of Chengde, the planners also aimed to relocate many people in the new areas in order to 'solve the strategic issues for the future'⁸. The published plan for Xingcheng town even suggested that the whole city should be devoted to tourist development, '... since there are only 15,800 people living in the walled city', some of them could work for the tourist services, and others moved outside the old city to release land for commercial instead of housing⁹.

These new towns or areas normally consist of housing, educational buildings and some services developments. The new construction is usually to a higher standard, but often less conveniently placed. This is why many residents in the old central areas do not want to move to the physically better housing.

However, to deliberately depopulate the cities is only one side of the coin. While the fashionable cities are growing, many traditional smaller towns are continuing to decline, both economically and demographically. It was reported that in the south-east part of the country, along the lower reaches of the Yangtze River, in the traditional towns, where the old environment still exists, population is declining. Wuzhen, for example, used to have 28,000 inhabitants, but now only 11,000 are left. This is the result of most young people preferring to find a more favourable living in the larger cities, though they can easily find jobs in their home towns; the old towns are gradually losing their activity and attraction. Here is necessary to draw the Government's attention to the revitalisation of the traditional town, rather than to make more investments in setting up new satellite towns to meet the needs of the cities' expansion. For example, in the greater Shanghai region where six satellite towns have been incorporated, four of them are new towns. At the same time, the traditional river side towns such as Wuzhen, Tongli and Jinze are facing a great shortage of funds for development¹⁰.

But in a way this is a self-defeating strategy because one vital element for tourism, the residents of the traditional cities, are being moved away leaving behind a museum-

⁸ See Wang Shi-hong, 1981, 'The Four Issues in Chengde's City Planning' in Architectural Journal No.2 1981.

⁹ See Li Xiong-fei, 1988, 'Conservation Planning for Xingcheng' in Urban Planning No.1, 1989.

¹⁰ See Zhang Ting-wei, 1987, 'The Water Town Region' in Open House International Vol.12, No.1, 1987.

type traditional city centre deprived of the life and activity necessary to the development of tourism.

1.5 Planning Control in New Conservation Areas

Planning control as a main measure in conservation has been exercised in all the Listed cities. In the early 1980s, planning consideration was limited to building heights yet without strong legislation. Furthermore, by following this route conservation simply means individual monument preservation and control of new development. Until 1985, in Beijing, the City Planning Bureau produced a 'Building Height Zoning Act'. This provided the legislative basis for the control of the spread of high-rise blocks and the preservation of spatial order of the immediate architectural surroundings in the vicinity of the listed sites (see Fig. 2-2). For example, immediately outside the wall of the Forbidden City, the height was controlled to under 9 metres, beyond this 9 metres zone it was under 18, or under 30 metres, and so on. After several years of practice, the result was very disappointing. Between the inner ring road and the middle ring road many high-rise buildings have been put up; on the other hand, between the middle ring road and the outer ring road most of the buildings are higher still. But beyond the outer ring road the height of the buildings is much lower. From this point of view, urban land values are clearly illustrated by the gradient of the building heights from the centre to the edge of the city.

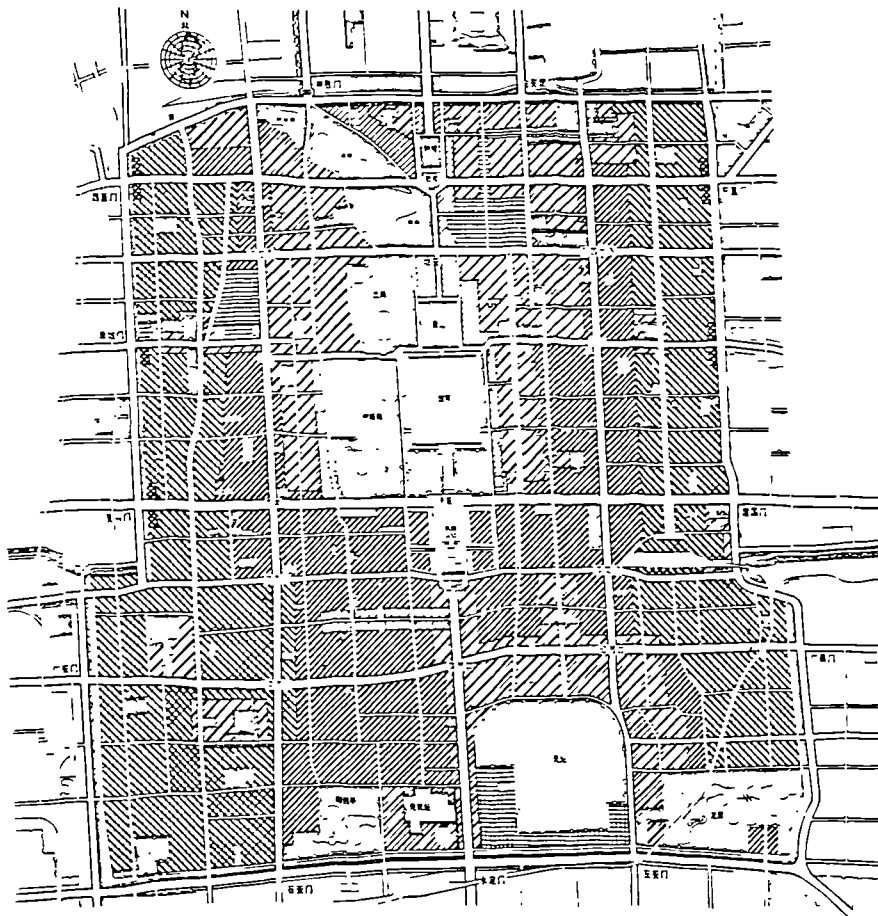
Now the City Planning Department has reduced all the building heights; the 9 metre zones have been brought down to under 3 metres, the 18 metre zones are now under 9 metres, etc.. Furthermore, the volume and colour of the buildings are also controlled. For example, buildings under the three metre limit should be designed in a courtyard form, the area of the buildings should be less than 300 sq.m, and in a relatively dark grey colour. The buildings under 18 metres high should limit their area to 5000 sq.m, and have varied profiles and be in lighter colours, etc.¹¹.

Nevertheless, the physical height control can only partially preserve the listed sites. The listed old buildings themselves continue to disappear. Even the traditional courtyard houses immediately next to the Forbidden City are a potential target for

¹¹ See the notes of the address by Li Zhun at the 'Conference on Urban Conservation in Beijing', 'Architectural Journal', Beijing, 4/1987, p.29.

redevelopment. By 1987, in the old city areas of Beijing, more than half the total buildings were newly built, now about 1,000,000 sq.m of new buildings are being built annually. At the same time 150,000 to 200,000 sq.m of old buildings are demolished every year¹². This rapid 'bulldozer redevelopment' is obviously radically changing the old city.

北京市城区建筑高度控制方案



- ▨ One-storey courtyard houses. ▩ Special areas. ▧ Less than 9 m.
▦ Less than 18 m. ▤ Less than 30 m. ▣ Less than 45 m. ▬ Roads.
▭ Green areas. ▮ Rivers and lakes.

Fig. 2-2: Beijing - Building height and land use control in the inner city.

Source: WU, Liang-yong, *ibid.*, p. 25.

¹² See Qian Ming, 1987, a talk on the 'Conference on Conservation in Beijing', the notes published in Architectural Journal No.4, 1987.

Facing this reality some people began to look for more comprehensive ways of planning control in the old city of Beijing. In the end, 'zoning control' with its rules for 'heights and densities' was suggested¹³. The idea was, firstly, to divide the city into several areas according to their physical characteristics. The study divided the old city of Beijing into twelve areas within five categories: (1) buildings of the highest historic and architectural quality, (2) buildings of good architectural value, (3) a mixture of good and bad buildings, (4) general undesirable conditions, (5) high-rise and multi-storey buildings. Secondly, to divide each area into several smaller areas each with their own more identifiable social and physical characteristics and, finally to produce different planning strategies for each. The purpose of this was to avoid the sweeping or blanket redevelopment policies, and provide more sensitive solutions for each situation.

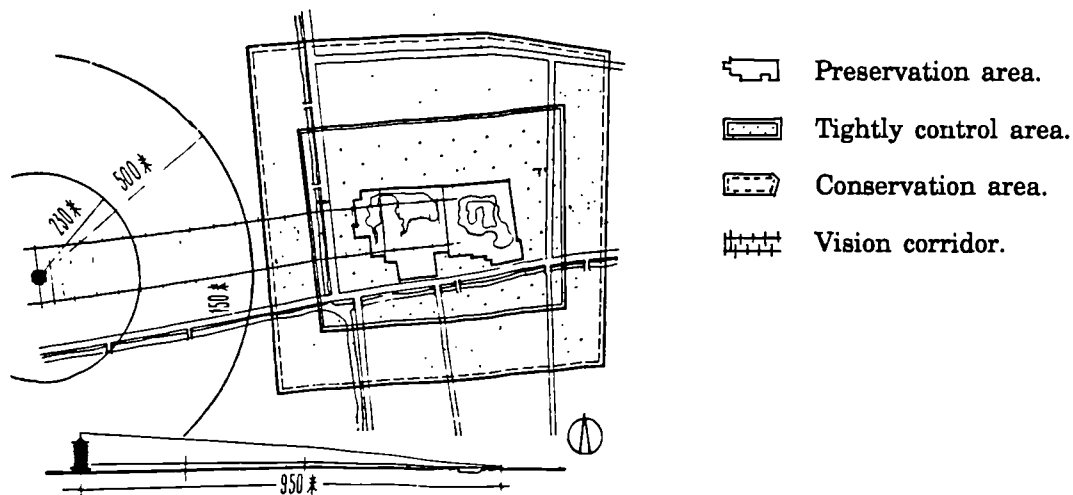


Fig. 2-3: Suzhou - Planning control in Zhuozheng Garden.

Source: YU, Sheng-fang, 1983, 64.

Similar planning controls in other conservation cities have also been exercised. In the famous canal and garden city of Suzhou, since the early 1980s the City Planning Bureau has introduced the so called 'spots, lines and areas' (*dian, xian, mian*) conservation policy to many of the listed sites. 'Spots' refer to the scattered traditional

¹³ See Liu Yan, 1988, 'Conservation Planning in Beijing - zoning policy' in Architectural Journal No.12, 1988.

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private gardens and other important sites in the city. The Bureau has designated three zones surrounding each garden, whereby the inner zone is the garden itself and should be preserved, the second zone immediately adjacent to the garden is a 'tightly controlled' area, and the outer zone is a 'general control' area (see Fig. 2-3). 'Lines' associate with streets and canals. Along the 'controlled lines', the streetscape is the focus of conservation. 'Area control' means the conservation of the general character of the city, i.e. the townscape. The Area Conservation policy is heavily committed to recovering the important ruined historic sites. For example, the City Planning Bureau has decided to restore the old city of Suzhou to its original Song Dynasty style.

The traditional housing areas are also the most distinctive features of the city of Suzhou because of their outstanding beauty: the narrow stone paved streets, white plaster walls and elegant grey tiles, and above all the canals. Traditional housing areas in Suzhou might have been the first in the country to receive the attention of conservationists. As early as 1981 a study was done by the Architectural School of Tongji University¹⁴, which will be looked at in the 'Housing Renewal' section later.

Summary: In the first section of this Chapter the general conservation policies and practice were reviewed at planning level from the late 1970s throughout the 1980s. This period started with restoration, both in political and physical terms. *The political reforms altered the previous hostile attitude adopted towards history and cultural heritage to a new form of nationalism; thus the damaged monuments started to be restored, and more 'cultural relics' and conservation areas and cities were designated in order to prevent further damage. At the same time economic reform required the city be more self-sufficient, so it had to be readjusted to this new policy through overall planning control. Consequently the long existing overcrowded city situation and the generally bad urban conditions, including traffic congestion, ill-located inner city industries, were all under consideration and were mainly to be resolved by relocation. All the new planning policies for replacing cities were inevitably tied to the need for development. Therefore, besides depopulation and relocation of inner city industries, tourism and new commercial*

¹⁴ The study was approved by Suzhou City Planning Bureau in 1981, and was started then. The study report 'Master Plan for Pingjiang Conservation Area in Suzhou' by Zhang Ting-wei, was published in *Architects* No.11, 1982.

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developments were launched. To encourage such changes conservation planning paid much attention to planning control over land use and the physical environment. Furthermore, on the regional scale, under the new high pressure, more market oriented economic development policies, some traditional small towns went into decline through losing population.

2 REDEVELOPMENT AND RENEWAL IN CONSERVATION CITIES AND TOWNS

As in unlisted cities, redevelopment and renewal have been going on in almost every Listed city and town. Tourist development in the conservation cities has directly caused new commercial development such as hotels, shops, restaurants, public open spaces, railway and coach stations, etc. Under Planning Control for Conservation, redevelopment and renewal in the Listed cities and towns has tried in a number of ways to integrate the new with the existing environment. This section concentrates on the general planning and urban design ideas for redevelopment and renewal, by examining the most common development forms, such as shopping streets and housing renewal.

2.1 The Redevelopment of Traditional Streets

Until the early 1980s, traditional shopping streets still remained in most of the old Chinese cities. The local traditional ways of selling in these streets has a long history, and many are still the main shopping centres. Some concentrate on similar specialist shops for clothes, books, food and so on; other streets have more variety. However, since the late 1970s the larger modern shopping developments have begun to have a bad impact on the traditional shopping streets, with many of them becoming extremely crowded with shoppers, goods, and vehicles. Additionally, most of the existing buildings were built in the late 19th or early 20th Century. The Government's negative policy towards maintaining and improving the existing shops in the last few decades has helped their deterioration.

The traditional shopping streets, however, have a very strong psychological position. People remember their familiar environment and the shops are perhaps the most powerful part of that memory. Each street is also very well known for its particular social and cultural function. Furthermore, they are always in the town centre, and in the neighbourhood of any important landmarks such as Gulou (Drum Building) Pailou (symbolic archway), etc.. Therefore, the traditional shopping streets have a special situation in the development and conservation of the city. Though most of them are now in the Conservation Areas they themselves are not Listed Buildings, and their cultural importance naturally makes people desire their preservation. On the other hand, their

limitation is that they are difficult to extend and their deteriorating physical and environmental condition exposes them to the risk of renewal or redevelopment.

The economic boom from the early to the middle 1980s resulted in many traditional shopping streets being completely redeveloped, such as Liulichang Culture Street (1984) in Beijing, Culture Street in Tianjin (1985), Qingfeng (Qing Dynasty Style) Street in Chengde (1986), Chenghuang Miao (City God Temple) Shopping Street in Hefei (1985), Fuzi Miao (Confucian Temple) Shopping Centre in Nanjing (1986), the South Street in Xian (1981-) and so on.

Most of these redevelopments occurred over a considerable area, and were completed in a comparatively short time. Following their traditional concept, all the redeveloped shopping centres are in the form of streets. Their former cultural value and strong historic association caused all of them to be designed with a somewhat traditional appearance. Three different factors influenced the way in which the traditional shopping street redevelopment took place.

Firstly, according to Government policy for 'comprehensive development' as mentioned before, all the shopping street projects were undertaken on a large scale. For example, Beijing Liulichang Culture Street is 500 metres long, and includes 34,000 square metres of shops and offices; Xian South Street project is about 800 metres long and includes new constructions of roughly 200,000 square metres. As a consequence a total of 95 Work Units (including shops and offices) plus 1,500 householders were relocated, with more than 23,000 square metres of the existing buildings being demolished¹⁵. It was reported that most of the redevelopment projects covered more than 10,000 sq.m, some even up to 49,000 sq.m; all were less than three storeys in height¹⁶.

Despite the massive redevelopment, much of the construction work was completed in a relatively short time for political and commercial reasons. The politicians set a time schedule to progress the projects in order to gain the political benefit from their completion. In Shaoxing, the first phase of Fuhe Street redevelopment project included

¹⁵ See Zhou Zhi-liang, 1986, 'Some Recommendation to the Liulichang Culture Street Project' in Architectural Journal No.4, 1986; and Fan Jun, 1982, 'Xian South Street Redevelopment' in Architectural Journal No.10, 1982.

¹⁶ See Liu Chang-zhou, 1988, Redevelopment of Traditional Shopping Streets, MA. dissertation, held at the Architecture Department in Tianjin University, 1988, p.36.

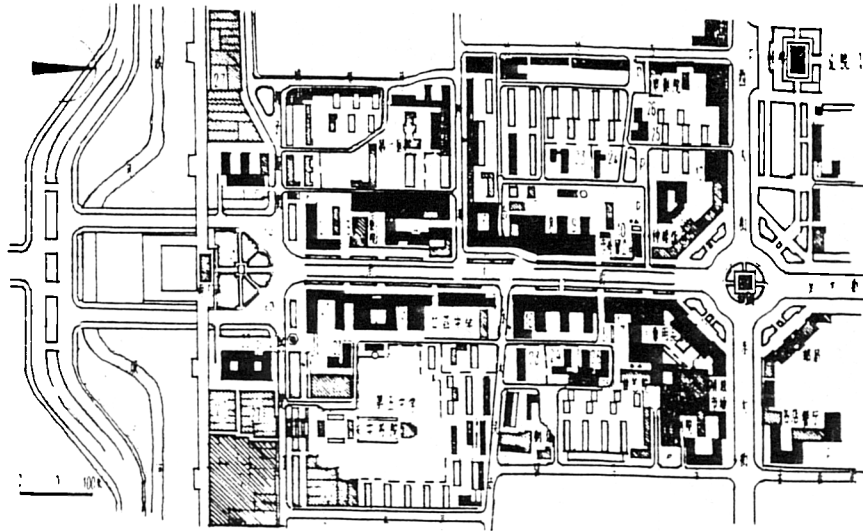
Urban Renewal and Conservation in China

7,252 sq.m of new buildings plus 340 metres of pavement, and demolished 5,089 sq.m of existing old houses by relocating 100 householders on the site; this was finished in 195 days. In Tianjing, the Culture Street was finished in one year, and the Foods Street was completed in only three months. After their completion, both the local and central governments' newspapers praised the 'achievements', and 'the speed of the modernised city building'. Partly for this reason, the Mayor was promoted to a Central Government position. It seems that the more you modernise your city and the more quickly it is done, the more likely you will climb the political ladder.

Furthermore, the redevelopment of traditional streets seems to be motivated only in terms of projected tourist needs, although some redevelopment projects try to claim that the newly built 'traditional' shopping streets are for both the local people and tourists. The old Beijing Liulichang area was used as part of a cultural centre where academics and professionals went to look for second hand books and talk to their friends, etc. and not just for shopping. At that time, most of the shop keepers themselves were scholars and very knowledgeable. However, the new Liulichang shopping streets appear only to serve the needs of international tourists. They look commercial, and have little cultural atmosphere. In the beginning the shops were restricted to international tourists in order to take their foreign currency; even the very famous Chinese painter, Wu Zhuo-ren, was not allowed in. So the criticism was made that the new Liulichang is not a cultural but a commercial street only.

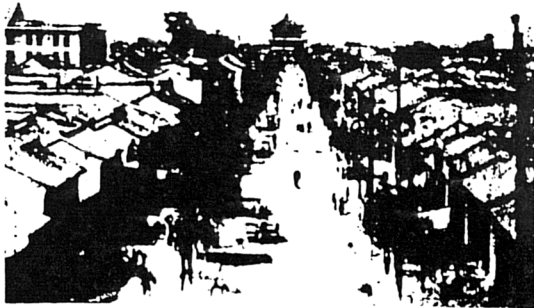
Most of the shops in the so-called cultural streets are very expensive; not only could the poor Chinese people not afford to shop there, but few international tourists could either. Therefore, many shops have to sell fashionable magazines with Western, Japanese or Hongkongese stars on the covers, or the old and new adventure novels. The old streets may be physically rebuilt, yet the soul of the place has gone¹⁷.

¹⁷ See the article 'Comments on Beijing Liulichang Culture Street' in Architectural Journal No.4, 1986.

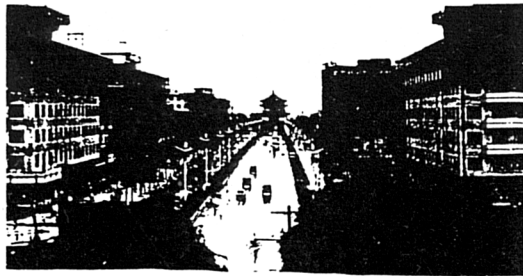


Existing buildings; New housing;
Housing with shops on ground floors; New Commercial buildings.

2-4. a) The executive plan for the South Street renewal project.



2-4. b) Before.



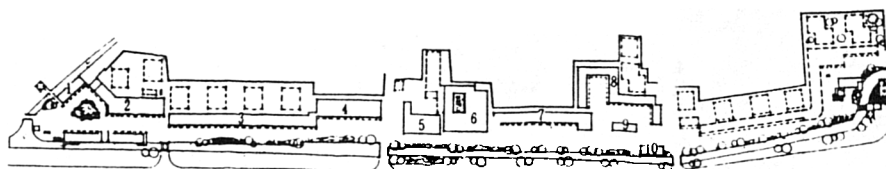
2-4. c) After.

Fig. 2-4: Xian - The South Street Renewal.

Source: a & b: FAN, Jun, 1982, p. 14-15; c: LIU, Chang-zhou, 1988, p.15.



2-5. a) Before - the plan.



2-5. b) After - the plan.



2-5. c) After - perspective.

Fig. 2-5: Shaoxing - Fuhe Street Renewal. Source: HE, Zhong, 1986, p.21.

2.2 Traffic Planning

Traffic congestion in the old city areas has been observed by the Chinese planners as the main problem in traditional cities. In Xian, before its redevelopment, the South Street was 20 metres in width, but the usable road was only 8 metres wide. South Street is one of the dominant commercial areas, and the street itself is the main road which links the north and south areas of the city. By the early 1980s there were already around 5,000 motor vehicles, and more than 10,000 bicycles passing by everyday. During the rush hour, the streets were crowded with a mixture of cars and bicycles. The situation, therefore, convinced the planners and city engineers that South Street must be widened in order to relieve traffic congestion (see Fig. 2-4). Now the street has been widened to 60 metres with the typical three lane arrangement, so that the motor vehicles can use the central lane, and bicycles the two outside ones, and there are two wider pavements for pedestrians. But much has been destroyed in the process, additional traffic has been drawn in.

In Shaoxing, the street pattern was different from other cities in that it contained many canals which were the traditional, major form of transportation. The Hefu Street Redevelopment Project, one of main construction works in Shaoxing in recent years, was also associated with road widening. Hefu Street is located in the central area of the city to the East of the only North-south street Jiefang. From the late 1970s to the mid 1980s that part of Jiefang Street (about 2,000 metres) between the Railway Station and Luxun Street was widened to 32 metres, and along the two sides of the widened road, modern blocks were built. The first road widening construction of Jiefang Street had diminished the traditional canal-streets just behind the main street, for the new buildings and new roads covered the polluted canals. Now the new scheme was committed to preserving the canal and tried to combine the new buildings with the canal, to continue the local tradition. In the end, the project maintained the canal and demolished the buildings on the West bank (see Fig. 2-5).

Alternatively, some redevelopment projects in other old cities have moved traffic from the new shopping streets and left the streets for pedestrians only, yet strangely the old streets have still been widened though no longer used for traffic. In the old city of Anyang (Henan Province), since 1987, the City Council planned a large area along Nanbei Street for redevelopment. The project was planned by the Architecture Department of

Tianjin University. They finally set up a policy for a project to 'integrate the traditional townscape of the city with its modern social and economic needs'. The whole project was divided into three phases. The first phase, including all the new shops and restaurants between the North City Gate to the Bell Building, was started in May 1988 and finished by early November of the same year. The redevelopment designated the Nanbei (south-north) Street for pedestrians only, all the traffic being moved to two parallel streets on its left and right sides. Similarly, the Fuzhi Street in Shaoxing was also planned for use as a pedestrian street only by removing the existing bicycle traffic to a new parallel road.

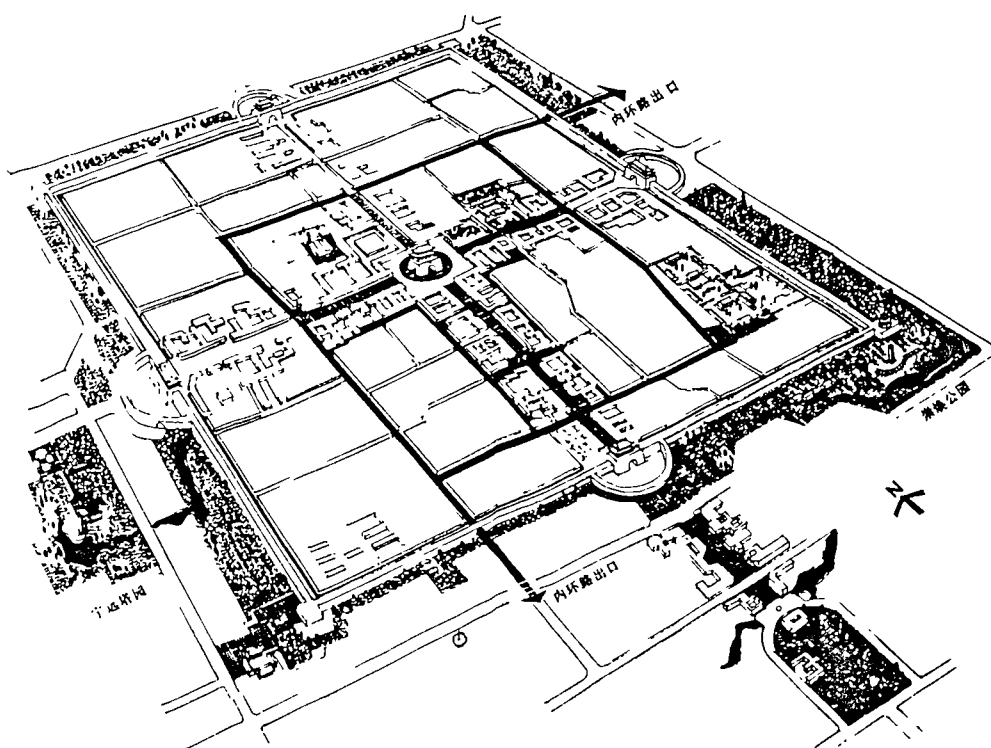


Fig. 2-6: Xingcheng - Conservation Planning. Source: LI, Xiong-fei, 1989, p. 37.

Similar planning ideas were applied to the whole of the Conservation Town of Xingcheng (Liaoning Province). The Conservation Plan proposed to pedestrianise the central area by introducing an inner ring road. At the same time, all the shops along South Street were to be extended in depth, and two new streets were planned for goods

circulation to the shops (see Fig. 2-6). Other cases, such as the Beijing Liulichang Shopping Streets, the new Chenghuang Miao Shopping Street in Hefui, and Culture Street in Tianjin, were all treated as pedestrian streets. This has been possible as there are usually some main roads parallel with the new shopping streets and these can be used to free the new shopping street from any traffic. All the work has caused great disruption to the character of these central areas, without adding very much in return to the convenience of the local residents.

2.3 Urban and Architectural Design

'Two Street-fronts': The large scale of the redevelopment plans inevitably encompassed the whole urban design in the projects (currently, the design and planning associated with these kinds of redevelopment are called '*xiang xi gui hua*', which literally means 'detailed planning'). First of all, being in the Conservation Areas, most of the redevelopments involve some Listed monuments and some desirable old buildings still in good physical condition. Both the intention to preserve the Listed buildings and the commonly accepted ideas for re-capturing the traditional townscape (*chuan tong feng mao*), have encouraged all the planners and architects to combine 'traditional' with modern development. In reality this has been seldom achieved.

Not only are most of the old buildings in the redevelopment sites condemned by the Planners for their 'bad' condition and limited space, but they also tend to add more new buildings because it is taken for granted that they are an 'improvement' to the visual and environmental quality of the sites. To 'improve' the existing physical and visual conditions, the politicians, planners and architects are trying to change too much of the appearance of the city at once. Therefore, in almost every case they try to 'stretch' the new buildings along the two sides of the streets in order to 'economically' redevelop the old streets. However, the new developments do not extend much more in depth than the width of the facades. Consequently, although every redevelopment scheme constitutes a great deal of new construction, the new shopping streets do not often improve the old areas very usefully, because the planners and architects do not want their new buildings to be 'hidden' from the public. As a result, large scale redevelopments, in fact, usually only change the 'two street-fronts' (*Liang Cheng Pi*) which face the streets, regardless of the fact that the initial plans sometimes involve the renewal of the residential areas

behind. Often the way in which the existing shops in the redevelopment projects are designed is also affected by the infrastructure below ground. For instance, many rather good old buildings in Beijing Liulichang were initially earmarked for preservation, but in the end most of them were demolished because providing new infrastructure to the old buildings was too difficult and expensive; it was considered more economic to replace them with new buildings.

The 'two street-fronts' policy often conflicts with general planning principles to the achievement of the whole city environment. While conventional street redevelopment aiming to create more traditional city spaces, both in form and in content to meet the people's 'cultural and spiritual needs', yet many 'rough' and purely functional buildings are emerging just behind the new shops. In Beijing Liulichang some high-rise offices and factories have now appeared immediately behind the two sides of the newly built streets. In other situations the ordinary houses or small existing factories are left without any improvement.

Streetscape fantasies: In China nowadays 'richness' is the most popular term for architectural spaces. The standardised mass housing has been termed 'thousands with one face', meaning they all look the same. Both laymen and professionals are striving to create new 'richer' urban and architectural spaces on every possible occasion. Obviously inner city redevelopment has provided many opportunities for planners and architects to do so. In Xian, the South Street Redevelopment has been following an 'open plan' policy; the 'new streets will be so arranged that they have buildings and spaces at intervals, rather than being totally closed by two continuous building fronts'¹⁸ (see Fig. 2-4. c).

In other less formal situations the urban design ideas are intended to recreate the traditional streetscape by 'casually' arranging the street fronts that project forwards in some parts, and retreat backwards in others, so as to avoid the 'boring straight streets and building front lines' (see Fig. 2-7). On some more restricted sites, such as Culture Street in Tianjin, the new shops have to follow the existing curved street plan because of the restricted nature the site, but the street fronts are still deliberately designed with retreating and projecting facades.

¹⁸ See Fan Jun, 1982, 'South Street Redevelopment in Xian' in Architectural Journal No.10, 1982.



Fig. 2-7: Maanshan - Fuyuan Market. Source: LIU, Chang-zhou, *ibid.*, p.27.

Traditional tastes: One of the main aims of the redevelopment of the traditional streets is to create a so called 'traditional atmosphere'. At the planning level, most of these redevelopment projects have been arranged with some traditional shops, restaurants and so on, in order to strengthen the 'traditional taste' (*chuan tong feng wei*) of the new streets. At the same time, architects are also doing their best to provide appropriate architectural solutions. Various ways have been practised in the last ten years, yet they all fall into three basic categories.

The first is to copy traditional style. Beijing Liulichang Culture Street is the first example of traditional street redevelopment and it has been influential all over the country. The original planning brief required that the design should create 'simple, elegant and traditional' architecture and street spaces, in order to fit in with the function of a 'culture street'. For the architects to design something traditional was not difficult, they could easily copy the traditional styles. However, to design something 'simple and elegant' seemed not so easy. So the Liulichang Culture Street was finally built in traditional forms yet without any 'simple and elegant' spirit. People criticised it for being

too 'commercial'.

Being the first, the architectural idea of Liulichang Street has influenced many projects in other cities. Culture Street in Tianjin is another parallel example. The Mayor decided to build a traditional culture street, the planning brief then asked for the new shops to be designed in a pure Qing Dynasty style. Different from Beijing Liulichang, Tianjin Culture Street followed its original curved street plan; the street itself is narrower, therefore, the streetscape looks 'richer' than the rather straight Liulichang model. Furthermore, the shops were initially planned for all the people, rather than limited to international visitors, so the business in the new street is more successful with many customers. All these help to create the atmosphere of the 'new street'. Nevertheless, the traditional style could not satisfy the massive shopping needs. The new shops are too small because of the limited depth of the buildings, and the narrow streets are too crowded for the thousands of shoppers and visitors.

The other trend is to simplify the traditional style. Consciously concerned about modernity, many architects, who did not agree with the complete copying of traditional styles, have endeavoured to produce a 'fresh face' by simplifying the traditional architecture. In this direction, the designs can be classified into three groups. The first is to simplify the profile and details and then apply them to modern architecture, Shaoxing Fuhe Street (Zhejiang Province, see Fig. 2-5) and some buildings in the Anyang Nanbei Street redevelopment project (Henan Province) are examples of this.

The second is to reassemble the traditional architectural elements in accordance with the modern configuration. A typical example of this trend is the Maanshan Fuyuan Shopping Centre (Jiangsu Province). It was strongly influenced by modern semiotic theories, where the 'meaning' of traditional architecture exists more in a symbolic way than in a design that expresses the whole space and structure (see Fig. 2-7).

The third is a sort of mixture where all sorts of ways have been tried in a single big project, such as the Anyang Nanbei Street (Henan Province) redevelopment. In such a long street, the architects used the idea that different parts of the new street should have several differing architectural solutions (see Fig. 2-8). *They divided the street into three parts.* Along the north part between the North Gate and the Bell Tower, the ordinary shops and apartment stores can be found, while south, from the Bell Building to the Drum Building, there are tourism facilities, such as gift shops and so on. From

the Drum Tower southward, offices and housing are planned.

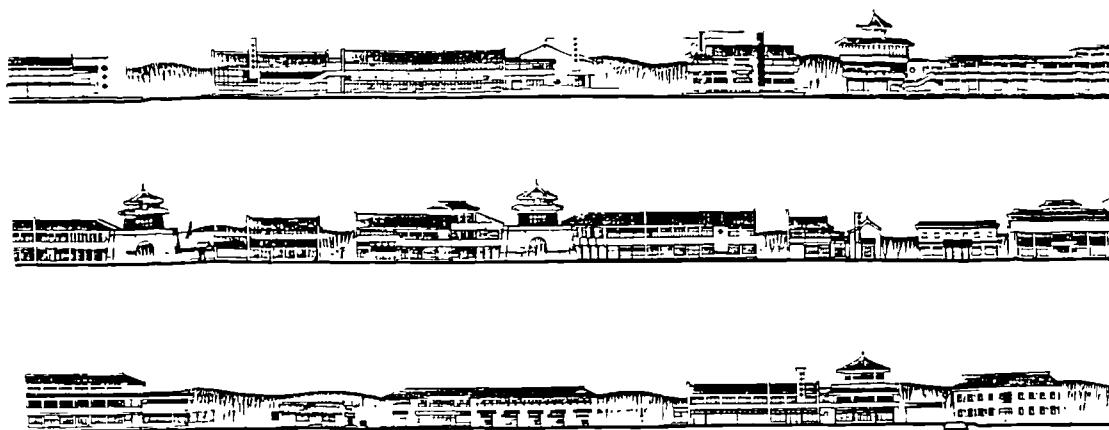


Fig. 2-8: Anyang - The elevations of Nanbei Street redevelopment.

Source: DU, Hai-ying, 1989, p.55.

In the northern part, all the buildings are designed as a simpler version of so called traditional architecture, while the middle part is full of traditional architectural elements in a modern spatial arrangement. In the southern part, the 1950s Chinese style housing and office buildings are seen. Furthermore, the buildings nearby the monuments such as the Bell and Drum Buildings and the Chenghuang Miao (City God Temple) are designed exactly in the traditional style. Maybe because the redevelopment is for shopping and tourists, the whole street is designed with various geometric shapes in order to create a 'commercial atmosphere' (*shang ye qi fen*).

In terms of urban design management, the phases can be easily decided from the natural street blocks, so the street junctions in the redevelopment areas are also involved, they often becoming the potential boundary for the different development phases.

2.4 Management and Funding of Comprehensive Development Policies

Since the introduction of the 'Comprehensive Development Policy' (*zong he kai fa zheng ce*) by the Central Government in the early 1980s, large scale redevelopments in Conservation Areas have been jointly funded from different sources, such as the public

sector, the collective sector, private companies and individuals¹⁹. The local profit-making Comprehensive Development Company (CDC) has the most active role, its task is to assemble the funds and organise the design and construction of the projects and finally to put the property on the market to be sold or rented.

With the system of comprehensive development, in the large cities, for the redevelopment projects are often carried out on a large scale, one building may be more than 5,000 sq.m; only the generally well run Work Units and Collective Enterprises can afford to consider such a large area. The Enterprises themselves have to rent floor space to smaller working units or to individual businesses because they do not actually need that large floor space. Therefore, these large scale buildings often do not fit in with the needs of the actual users. Since the individual businesses are mainly retailers, who need their own stall and storage, the large floor areas have to be subdivided into smaller units.

Taking the Shunjing Street redevelopment in the city of Jinan (Shandong Province) as an example, the whole project includes twelve buildings with a total of 24,780 sq.m, shared by 28 owners. For many small and medium sized companies the floor space is too large, so after the building is handed over to the owners by the CDC many have to replan their floor space. *This is particularly so with the large shopping spaces which have to be divided into smaller units for the individual shop keepers²⁰.*

On the other hand, the smaller scale redevelopment has relatively small, often standard units, that individuals can buy or rent, thus the proportion of private ownership is relatively higher than in the larger projects. For the first time in the mid 1980s individuals could buy properties for their own businesses, and as most of the redevelopment took place in the best areas, the market demand was very high. Therefore many redevelopment projects were sold or rented at very high prices. In Anyang (Henan Province), property was sold at an unbelievable price of 7,000 yuans/sq.m! And the CDC and the Local Council made great profits. However, after a few months, some retailers lost their money because business was not as good as expected. They then complained that the City Council sold the property too expensively²¹. Most of the Redevelopment

¹⁹ See section 2.6, Chapter One.

²⁰ An interview with an officer of the Municipal Comprehensive Development Company of the City of Jinan, June 1989.

²¹ An interview with the Prof. Hu De-jun, who is chief architect of Anyang Nanbei Street Redevelopment Project, June, 1989.

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Projects in the Conservation Areas are on such a large scale and involve considerable areas in the old cities, it is nearly impossible for the Local Government to fund and complete them in the shortest possible period. So many of the redevelopment projects have to be divided into a number of different stages, although some large projects have been finished in a short time for political reasons. For example, the Anyang Nanbei Street Redevelopment Project was undertaken in three phases; phase one was completed in 1988. The Fuhe Street Redevelopment project was in two phases, the first started and finished in 1986, the second by the end of 1987.

In China, with its centrally planned economic system, every public investment has to be approved annually by Central Government. For instance, if a Work Unit proposes to build or extend a shop for their own use, they have to apply for permission from the Local Government one year in advance. The Local Government then approves or disapproves the project, according to its projected budget assigned by the Central or Provincial government. Every public authority applies for funds at the end of the year for the coming year; therefore, they always rush to finish their proposals before the deadline. The changeable government policy makes managers of every public sector project learn that it is more secure to get the funds as soon as possible, and of course as much as you can, because next year you may get nothing if the Government policy changes. Since the government always puts a limit on the amount of money available for any project, all projects tend to be designed up to that limit and beyond, even if they do not really need to be that size. This is one of the main reasons why many similar projects tend to happen around the same concentrated time span; some projects are even built that are not really needed, yet everyone understands that 'Once you pass this village you may never find this inn again!'²²

²² A common saying in China, it tells people never miss the chance.

2.5 Housing Renewal in Conservation Areas

Compared with the commercial redevelopment of the old streets and neighbourhoods in the Conservation Cities and Areas, housing renewal seems to be very marginal. In many cases the old housing stock hardly attracted the Local Government's attention at all. Only in a few exceptional cities such as Suzhou and Beijing, did some of the very outstanding traditional housing areas receive funds for conservation.

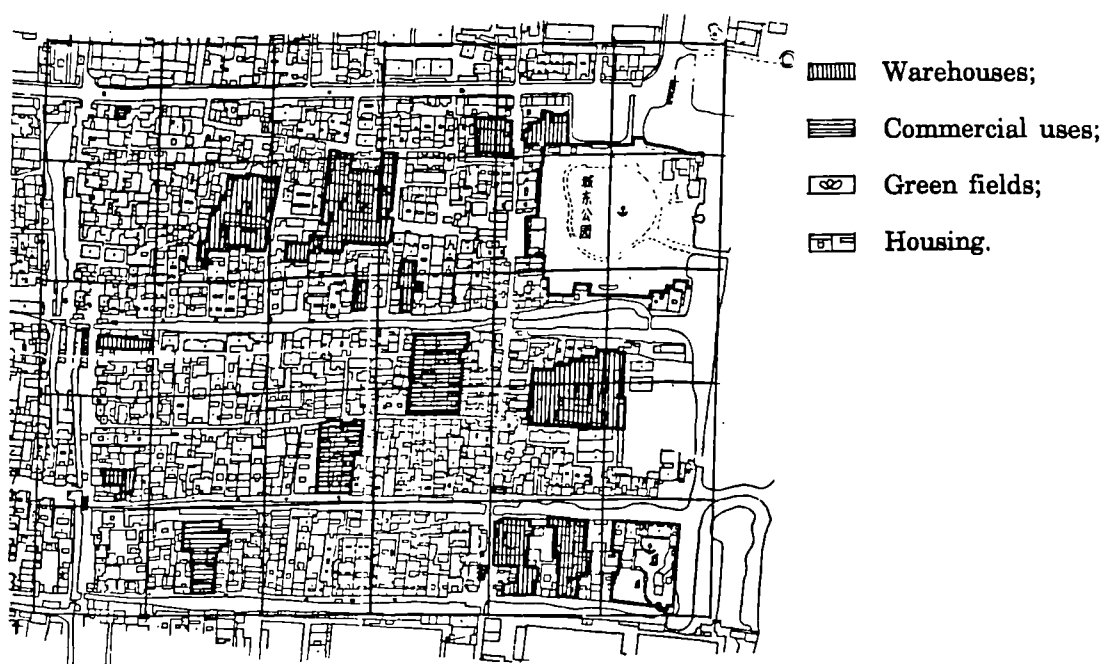
In 1981 a group from the Architectural and Planning Department of Tongji University in Shanghai surveyed a traditional neighbourhood in Suzhou, the Pingjiang Conservation Area in the north-east corner of Suzhou. It occupied 22.24 hectares with a population of 7,305 in 2,184 households (see Fig. 2-9). A residential area since the Song Dynasty (10th - 12th Century), most of the houses today are still traditional in form. By the early 1980s, tragically several factories had been built there, occupying some 10% of the whole area. At the same time, 72.8% of the land was in residential use, and a further 6.3% was taken for public facilities. The uncontrolled development of the last thirty years had caused many of the canals to be filled in and degradation of the environmental quality.

The group made a comprehensive survey of the area, which included population studies, building density and quality, public services, environmental conditions such as noise and air pollution, etc.. They also provided an Improvement Plan for a selected area - the Daxinqiao Street block (see Fig. 2-9). The basic philosophy of this plan was to improve the existing houses, with infill developments for community services. In Chinese urban conservation practice this attitude was pioneering, but the low priority of housing improvement meant little notice was taken of the study. A few years later, another study was made on two blocks (No.21 and 22) to '... define the fundamental structure of the traditional neighbourhood, and to continue its cultural value in urban modernisation' (See Fig. 2-10).

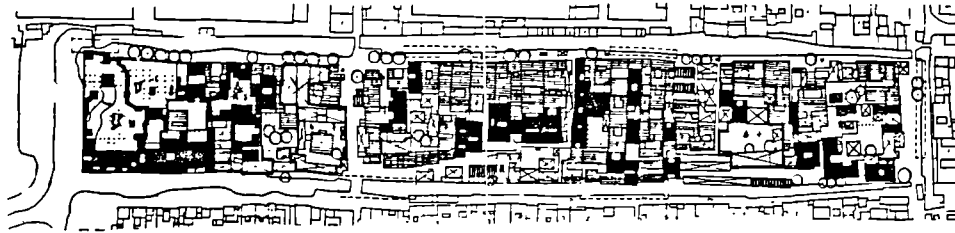
Firstly, the study classified the major spatial elements by size, shape and location in the major neighbourhood blocks; the streets and canals, the spaces between buildings and streets and between canals and streets, and lastly the spaces between canals and buildings. Then the relationship between the six elements above was demonstrated by defining the hierarchical pattern of the street system and its relation to building types







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such as shops, etc.. The study observed that the super-neighbourhood block consisted of several identifiable smaller neighbourhood blocks; and within each a housing cluster was clearly identifiable. This usually consisted of four or five similar courtyard houses - called 'luo'. Finally, the study produced some general policies for the two neighbourhoods (No.21, 22) in accordance with the analysis above, including restoration and planning control. Their recommendations clearly stated that the neighbourhood morphology must be preserved. Within this general idea, land uses must be readjusted by removing the functions which were not in conformity with the neighbourhood and relocated more appropriately.

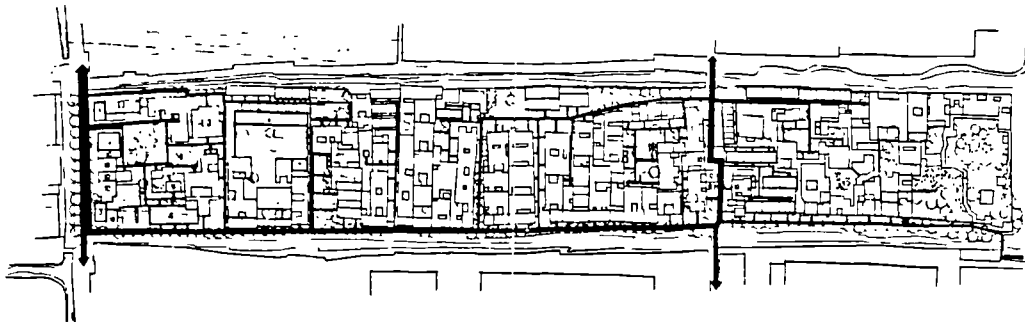






2-9. a) The existing plan of the Conservation Area.



- | | |
|---|---|
|  Buildings for preservation; |  Buildings for conservation; |
|  Traditional townscape; |  Existing green fields; |
|  Trees for preservation; |  Canals. |

2-9. b) The conservation plan.



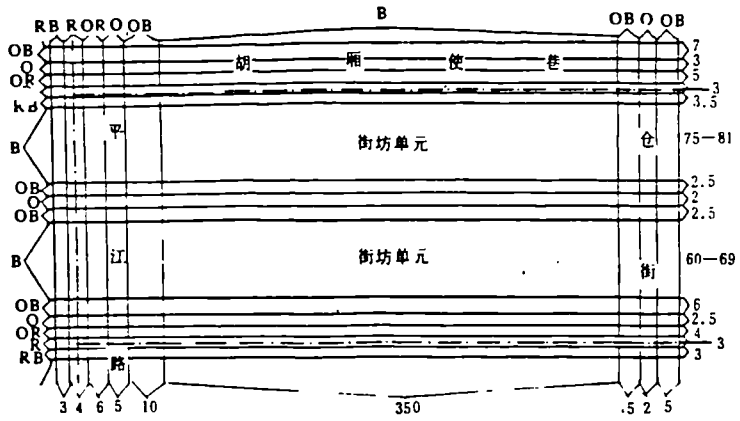
- | | | |
|--|---|--|
|  Roads; |  Existing housing; |  New housing; |
|  New commercial developments. | | |

2-9. c) The renewal plan.

Fig. 2-9: Suzhou - A conservation study in Pingjiang area. Source: ZHANG, Ting-wei, 1982, pp.87, 93, 95.

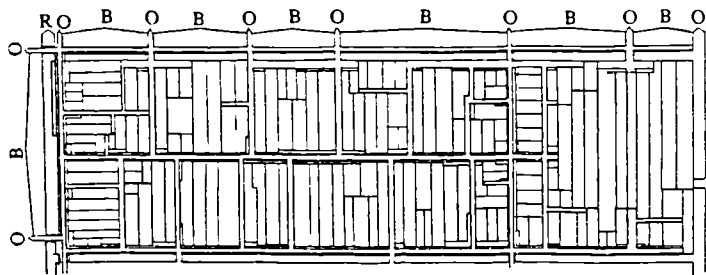


2-10. a) Neighbourhood structure: buildings (white) versus spaces (black).



- B: Indoor space;
- O: Street;
- R: Canals;
- OB: Space between streets and buildings;
- OR: Space between streets and canals;
- RB: Space between street and buildings.

2-10. b) The usages in the neighbourhoods.



2-10. c) The control of land uses in the neighbourhoods

Fig. 2-10: Suzhou - A conservation study in neighbourhood 21 & 22.

Source: KE, Jian-min, 1989, pp. 9, 11.

Though this excellent study may be ignored by Local Government it was an important step forward in the development of urban conservation in China. It recognises the role of the spatial structure of the neighbourhoods in the city and underlines the importance of keeping the existing urban and architectural tradition as a context for any rebuild. Furthermore, it consciously introduces the idea that conservation, renewal and redevelopment could all be used at the same time. This important idea is particularly significant in a time when sweeping and careless redevelopments are being recklessly carried out everywhere in the country, even including Conservation Areas.

However, the attitude toward the traditional neighbourhood in Conservation Areas seems to depend very much on the subjective evaluation of the existing houses. In Beijing and many other cities, the old neighbourhoods in Conservation Areas are still the subject of redevelopment clearance.

The retention of the single courtyard houses surrounding the east and west wing of the Forbidden City have, for example, been a problem for the City Planning Bureau. The existing conditions of the two residential areas are not desirable, though complete redevelopment of the old houses has seemingly been stopped on this occasion. In 1984 a report by Luo Jian-min²³, was published on the physical conditions and some recommendations were made for their redevelopment. Since 1980, Luo has been working on these two areas by observing the surrounding environment in an attempt to understand how they affected the conservation of the Forbidden City. The recommendations the Report makes are as follows:

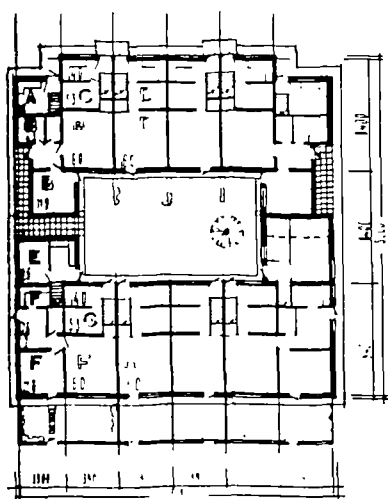
- (1) The buildings at 300 metres distance from the walls of the Forbidden City should not be higher than three storeys.
- (2) Compared with the roofscape of the whole area, building height is a relatively less crucial factor; what tend to disturb the whole environment are the buildings which stand out unexpectedly. Therefore, the buildings in the 300 metre area should be controlled with similar heights with less than one storey difference.
- (3) Similarly, the colour of the buildings should not be too bright.

²³ See Luo Jian-min, 'Low-rise Housing - A Possible Way to Redevelop the Old housing Areas Surrounding the Forbidden City' in Architectural Journal No.7, 1984.

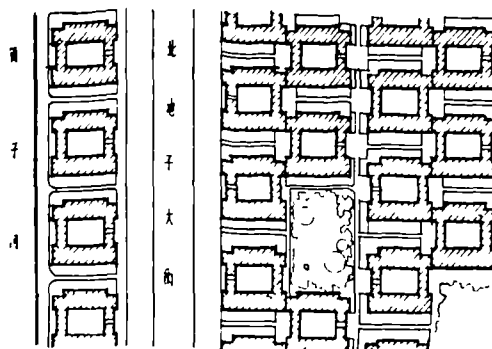
(4) In the immediate areas beyond the 300 metre zones, the buildings should be controlled to between 5 to 6 storeys in height.



2-11. c) Section.



2-11. a) The ground floor



2-11. b) The site plan

Fig. 2-11: The design of housing type 2. Source: LUO, Jian-min, 1984, p.33.

The Report argues that it is possible to redevelopment these two residential areas by increasing the housing units by two or three storey. The same author argues that it is reasonable to so improve the existing residents' living conditions, that existing overcrowding could be absorbed by redeveloping the old housing stock on the same sites, rather than a 'thinking out' policy by relocating the residents (see Fig. 2-11). Although these recommendations have yet to be generally put in practice, they do show a increasingly sympathetic attitude among planners and architects toward the conservation of old housing stock.

In the case of Suzhou, where the traditional neighbourhood environment itself was

the subject of conservation, it proved necessary to depopulate some of the neighbourhood in order to improve the living conditions. While the case in Beijing, on the other hand, tried to keep the existing residents but improve the living conditions through complete redevelopment since, the majority of the existing houses were no longer the traditional courtyard dwellings anyway, and therefore not worthy of preservation.

Indeed housing renewal in conservation areas was marginal to the government agenda because of its seemingly lesser important role in the city, both physically and economically. Both the cases in Suzhou and Beijing showed that housing renewal in historic areas was completely different from the 'monumental' conservation philosophy. It required more socially oriented planning and architectural assessment. Both the socio-economic conditions of householders and the physical conditions and neighbourhood structures should be carefully studied because they all affect the quality of the ordinary residents' daily lives. This Chapter demonstrates that in China there is a general lack of sensitivity towards neighbourhood conservation by those professionals who work in Central and Local Government.

Part Two

**CITY BUILDING
CONSERVATION AND ARCHITECTURE
IN BRITAIN
1945 - 1990**

Chapter Three

CITY BUILDING IN BRITAIN: 1945 - 1970S

Part One discussed the progress of city building, the movement towards conservation and the role of architects and their architecture in China in the last forty years. It was found that Communist Government policies powerfully controlled the living environment in the first three decades; how architecture and city building became the direct means to fulfil the ideological task, which was concentrated on the socialist transformation of the existing cities. Productivity and political monumentality were the main themes, resulting in the revival of classic architecture on the one hand, and the deterioration of the general urban environments on the other. However, due to very slow economic development, and the decentralisation and anti-urbanism policies, most Chinese cities were only able to develop piecemeal; therefore, in physical terms, town planning and architectural design had only limited power over the actual city building process. However since the period of Economic Reform in the late 1970s, cities have begun to face more rapid changes under the pressure of development. With the new government policies, town planning and architectural design have started to have more power to control the living environment; consequently the growth of professionalism and bureaucracy have come together. Both in development and conservation modern planning and architectural ideas have been applied because of the conciliation between political modernisation and modern architecture as proposed by pioneers such as Le Corbusier, and also because of the social and political meaning of the images created by modern styles.

This situation leads to the Second Part which examines the British experience in

city building, conservation and architecture. As mentioned in the Introduction, at the beginning of the 1970s Britain and some other western European countries entered the so-called post-industrial period, when city building, conservation and architecture also began to change from their early modern doctrines. It is the contention of this author that an understanding of this transformation and its causes will be helpful to the Chinese counterpart. Although industrialisation and modernisation in Britain had started in the 18th century, and modern planning and architectural ideologies had also matured in the early twenty century, major city rebuilding and modernisation did not occur till after the Second World War. The emphasis will be on the British experience from the post-war period.

Part Two consists of three Chapters. The first will deal with the introduction of modern planning and architectural ideas, in order to understand the social and political circumstances in which the theories were implemented, in an attempt to see the social and environmental consequences they caused. *The following two Chapters will discuss why modernism is declining and what is replacing it.*

1 POST-WAR CITY REBUILDING AND THE POLITICAL CONSENSUS

The ideas sustaining the practice of post-war city rebuilding, planning and architecture were largely the continuance of attitudes and practices which had been prevalent between the two wars, especially during the 1930s or earlier. To fully understand the post war affairs in city rebuilding, a brief review is needed of the situation during pre-war and war time when the social, economic and political conditions together formed the basis for post-war development, and influenced the planning and architectural ideas of practice in the post-war.

1.1 The Political and Social Context

In Britain by the 1930s, there was a growing sense of disillusionment at the state of the country. Socially, there was a shortage of decent housing and much urban poverty. Environmentally, bad urban conditions such as slums and overcrowding were serious, and rapid urbanisation was out of control. The cities spread out into the new suburbs and public services of all kinds were of poor quality, such as inadequate transportation linking the suburb to work-places in the city. At the same time, the countryside was being eroded by sporadic building development. Economically, unemployment was growing, partly because of the decline of Britain's conventional industries, including coal and textiles, heavy engineering and shipbuilding, and partly because of the world economic recession of the 1930s. Also, considerable inequalities within the country had developed between the prosperous South and the depressed North. Politically, due to the increasing power of the Labour party since the First World War and especially after the Russian Revolution, the Conservatives had been obliged to compete in a class-based, two-party system by maintaining an appeal to working-class voters across the class divide. The problem as Keynes (1936) saw it was that the capitalist crisis was essentially one of insufficient demand, and the chronic unemployment and stagnation which had been experienced in the 1920s and 1930s could be overcome by a rational State policy to control the level of demand.

Therefore,

'... if the political weight of social democracy were strong enough, the political barriers in the path of higher government spending could be removed, and an expanding economy created in which resources could be redistributed and new forms of public enterprise and welfare provision attempted' (GAMBLE, 1985, p.167).

Thus the interest in planning as a form of central direction in Britain's national issues was developed, for example the distribution of industry and the problem of unemployment and so on. The idea of economic planning was symbolised by the inauguration of Political and Economic Planning in 1931¹. This political desire for centralism and planning accompanied the need to reconstruct the unacceptable existing state of the country, and gave the basis for the development of city rebuilding and planning policies, and helped to provide social and political conditions for the implementation of the modern architecture and city planning ideology. For the first time planning became a force for economic intervention in town development, acting either as an intended brake on growth or as a spur to industrial progress. The need for centralism could take various forms, different from the methods applied by Hitler, Mussolini and Stalin in planning their house building, Britain chose the parliamentary way (CHERRY, 1974 & 1982). Nevertheless, in Britain it was the war against Germany which helped form the national coalition between the Conservative government and the Labour party. The political consensus was established as such:

'... the defeat of Fascism, the defence of democracy, and the promise of reforms after the war that would eliminate unemployment and create a more egalitarian society' (GAMBLE, *ibid.*, p.100).

The urban devastation caused by the war served to renew the determination to work towards that new social order and to rebuild Britain's cities to a new, more socially equitable pattern as they were desired and had been promised.

In the early 1940s Thomas Sharp in his idealistic and popular book Town Planning (1940) summarised how 'repulsive and inefficient' urban environment might be reorganised. He wrote:

'We have to realise once more that the town *can* be beautiful, it *can* be healthy, it *can* be efficient, it *can* be a utility for the living of a full and happy life, if only we have sufficient care to make it so. The town can be as full of poetry as the countryside, as full of romance, and packed with beauty' (SHARP, 1940, P.56).

So Sharp suggested:

¹ See Cherry, 1974, p.145.

'Planning for light and air and good living. Built for beauty as well as convenience. Fine sheer towns that will make their inhabitants proud to live in them. Streets of serene houses with an occasional tower of houses lifting into the air. A sufficiency of trees and grass swards and public and private gardens to emphasise their urbanity by contrast: but not so much as to reduce them to suburbanity. A combination of concentration and openness. Towns of a new order, organic, vital, clear and logical' (ibid., p.108).

However, the new order and logic of towns could not be realised in the existing situation in England:

'... each bit of work the separate temporary solution of a particular immediate problem undertaken only when that problem has become so urgent that it can no longer be ignored: day-to-day activities: never the big-visioned, long term, comprehensive planned activity. It is the negation of true planning. It is mere opportunism, and a dull, shifty opportunism at that. And as a result we have muddle, waste, frustration, mess' (ibid., p.142).

Sharp pointed out: 'Plan we must...'

'... not for the sake of our physical environment only, but to save and fulfil democracy itself' (ibid.).

He believed that really vital planning need not be accompanied by dictatorship as many people thought. Democratic countries such as Britain were also capable of large-scale long-term planning. He called for a National Plan since the Local plans were no longer sufficient because

'The regional details in many matters may best be filled in regionally, and the local details locally: but planning can never be successful by beginning with the lowest unit and working slowly through to the greatest. It must begin at the top and spread downwards with ever-increasing detail' (ibid., p.147).

Under this model of planning both by politicians and intellectuals, a Statutory Planning system was brought into being during the 1940s. This statutory town planning legislation grew from the Sanitary Regulations of the 19th Century, which included the setting up of the Local Government Boards in 1871 and the Public Health Act of 1875. It began with the first Town Planning Act of 1909 and another in 1919 after the Big War. Both mainly focused on housing, especially the later Act which imposed a statutory duty on Local Authorities to build their own houses with central government subsidies and design guidance (RAVETZ, 1980). *Ebenezer Howard's ideas about Garden Cities* and the 'garden city movement' also contributed to the formation of the Statutory Town Planning system. The Garden City Association first appeared in 1889 immediately after Howard's book was published, later it was renamed the Town and Country Planning Association (TCPA) in 1909.

The foundation of the New Towns Group in 1918 brought continuing pressure for a government commitment to new satellite towns through the 1920s and 1930s. But the main effort of the public authorities in those years was in producing the 'municipal suburbs' - the low-density council estates. In the 1940s a national planning policy emerged with the aim to redistribute both industries and population. The Town and Country Planning Act of 1944 was regarded as a milestone because it permitted extensive central urban areas to be redeveloped, not only if they had been blitzed but also if they were blighted. Finally after the war the Town and Country Planning Act of 1947 was enacted by the newly elected Labour Government embraced all the previous ideas and influenced all aspects of city planning for the next thirty years.

1.2 Planning Theories

In terms of town planning and architectural ideas, the post-war practices owed much to the pioneer work of the late 19th Century up to the 1930s. Though the 1950s and 1960s did see some modifications, the basic philosophy remained. Just a brief summary of those works is given here, in order to provide some necessary information for later discussions. The starting part is the peculiarly English vision of the modern city - Ebenezer Howard's Garden City, and the closely related theory on the 'City in the Region' developed by Patrick Geddes, the next is the continental fashions which are symbolised by Le Corbusier's Radiant City.

The Garden City: The Garden City ideas were deeply rooted in the English utopian tradition dating from the work of Robert Owen (1771-1858) a wealthy mill owner who built a small collective industrial village. In modern planning history however, it was Ebenezer Howard's Garden City that was probably the most important idea which presaged many of the later events of city development. Born in 1850 in London, Howard grew up in small country towns in southern and eastern England; Sudbury, Ipswich, and Cheshunt. At twenty-one, Howard emigrated to America and stayed there for five years, where he eventually embarked on a career as a shorthand writer in Chicago, after he failed as a farmer in Nebraska. In 1876 Howard returned to England, and worked as

an official Parliamentary reporter for the rest of his life, and died in 1928². Howard developed his ideas in London in the last two decades of 19th century; the age when that metropolis was regarded as an evil and nightmareish place with its notorious slums and moral degradation.

He was an 'inventor, enlightener, self-taught theorist'³. Possessing 'extraordinary intuition and judgement', he had grasped and fastened upon a neglected urban problem of major social importance of his time. His book Tomorrow: a Peaceful Path to Real Reform on the Garden City was first published in 1889 and re-issued, with slight revision, in 1902 under the title Garden Cities of Tomorrow. A garden city, as the Garden Cities and Town Planning Association defined it with Howard's consultancy in 1919, is:

'... a town designed for healthy living and industry, of a size that makes possible a full measure of social life, but not larger; surrounded by a rural belt; the whole of the land being in public ownership or held in trust for the community'⁴ (see Fig 3-1).

Howard's prime contribution was to attempt to form a *balanced* community and to show how ill-organised and disoriented was the society of his time. His idealised diagram of the 'three magnets' highlights the undesirable and separate existence of the 'town' or 'country', and illustrates the hope in his imagination for a combination of 'town and country'. To Howard, the Town, or what he defined as the metropolis, was over-grown and over-congested, adversely affected in its health by its slums, and in its efficiency by ill-sorted and misplaced industries. So it caused wasted time, energy and money merely because of the need to transport its goods and people over unnecessary distances. On the other hand, the Country was impoverished by its lack of capital and the absence of co-operative effort, despite its being the source of all beauty and wealth: the beautiful landscape, fresh air, sunlight, and peace. Agriculture was in decline, and life in a country town was more or less the same as in the slums of big cities.

Howard's Garden Cities in the 'Town-Country' pattern tried to combine the natural beauty of 'country' with the advantages of the 'town' - 'mutual help and friendly co-operation' (HOWARD, 1965, P.48). The ideal garden city he said, contains an area of

² See Osborn's foreword to the Garden Cities of Tomorrow 1945, in 1965 edition; also see Hall, 1990, p.88-9.

³ See Fishman, 1982, pp.7-8.

⁴ Osborn, *ibid.*, p.26.

6,000 acres. One-sixth of the land in the centre is built on with 5,500 building lots of an average size of 20 feet by 130 feet, and the remaining 5,000 acres reserved for farms and forest. The population would be 30,000 in the city itself and 2,000 in the agricultural estate. The community would be self-contained, and the life of the town could be a combination of co-operation in wheat production in large fields with the personal care expressed in gardening.

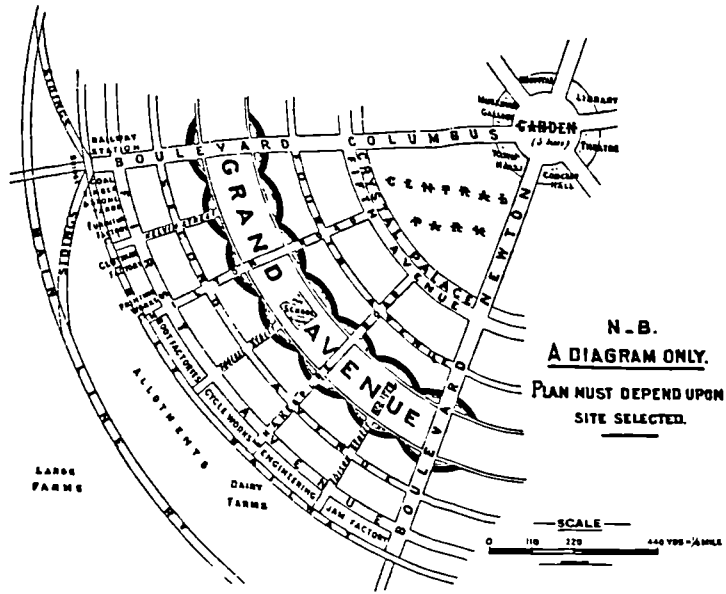
Howard also discussed the sensible way in which the growth of the Garden City could take place. It should grow, he pointed out, in accordance with a principle inspired by the city of Adelaide in Australia, which had a belt of countryside round the Central City that was itself limited to 58,000 inhabitants. Around the central city were a group of smaller Garden Cities with 32,000 people each. Thus the 'city cluster' would grow without spoiling the environment of each sector.

Behind the ideas of the Garden City, Howard presupposed some social assumptions which were mainly inspired by Edward Bellamy's novel Looking Backward, published in Boston in 1888. Bellamy's communistic Bostonian utopia of A.D. 2000 is a community where:

'Industry has been efficiently grouped into one government-owned co-operative Trust. Distribution has also been concentrated into one Department Store whose branches in every city and village sells everything the nation has produced. Competition has been replaced by centralised planning, poverty and unemployment are unknown...'
(FISHMAN, 1982, p.33)

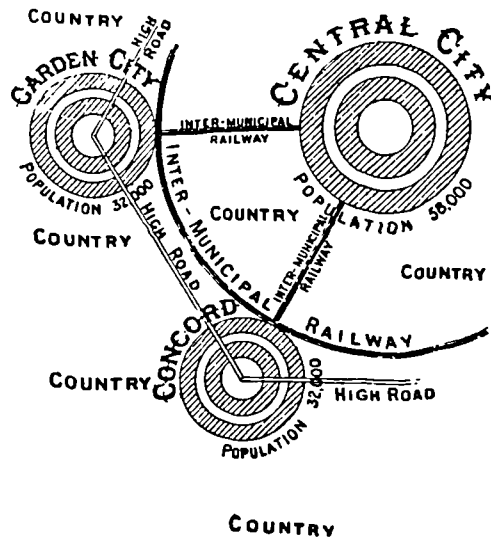
When Howard considered '... how to make our Garden City experiment the stepping stone to a higher and better form of industrial life generally throughout the country' (HOWARD, 1965, p.138), he recommended that 'larger measures of local self-government' be granted by the Parliament. And if this did not happen the State or the voluntary collective bodies should take over the responsibilities for the reconstruction of society, in order to construct a cluster of cities like those represented in his four diagrams.

Therefore, any implementation of the Garden City ideas without these preconditions he predicted, would be disastrous. From the late 19th Century to 1945, as the result of urbanisation, the stock of buildings in Britain grew to the equivalent of at least 300 new towns on Howard's formula, but there had been only two Garden Cities built - Letchworth (1904) and Welwyn (1920) with a combined population of less than 40,000. At the same time industries were still settled on cheap land near the suburban fringes of the larger population centres. On the other hand, the city centres everywhere saw a



3-1. c) Ward and centre of Garden City.

ILLUSTRATING CORRECT PRINCIPLE
OF A CITY'S GROWTH - OPEN COUNTRY
EVER NEAR AT HAND, AND RAPID
COMMUNICATION BETWEEN OFF-SHOOTS.



3-1. d) Correct principle of a city's growth.

Fig. 3-1: Howard's four key diagrams for Garden Cities.

Source: HOWARD, 1965. pp.46, 52, 53, 143.

The City in the Region: Close to Howard's Garden Cities is what is known as the 'city in the region' doctrine, which was first explored in Cities in Evolution published in 1915 by Patrick Geddes' (1854-1932). Geddes started his career as a biologist and botanist, and later developed an interest in geography. His contact with the French geographers, including Elisee Reclus (1830-1905) and Peter Kropotkin (1842-1921) - two followers of Pierre-Joseph Proudhon's anarchistic socialism - contributed considerably to his later ideas on regional planning.

Geddes was disappointed by the 'Paleotechnic' Industrial Age for its large-scale machine industry and its consequent central nation-state because, as he believed, they had eroded regional life and its harmony with the natural surroundings. As Reclus and Kropotkin insisted, Geddes also took the position that,

'... society had to be reconstructed not by sweeping governmental measures like the abolition of private property but through the efforts of millions of individuals' (HALL, 1990, p.145).

He agreed with Kropotkin that the 'neotechnic order', which was brought about by the new power resources such as hydraulic and electric energy, could create small-scale industry based on regional resources, and encourage regional life again. In this point Geddes' de-centralism is similar to that of Howard's Garden Cities.

Geddes' theory is centred on the 'Valley Section' concept which covers all the natural regional resources for cities and towns to build upon. In 1911 Geddes' great exhibition - the 'Cities and Towns Planning Exhibition' - comprehensively illustrated his ideas. Observing the old European cities, Geddes found that it was the different regional natural resources that caused cities to arise and were still arising, which included:

'... the Miner, the Woodman, and the Hunter on the heights; the Shepherd on the grassy slopes; the poor Peasant on the lower slopes; and the rich Peasant on the plain; finally, the Fisher at the sea-level' (GEDDES, 1949, p.166).

He argued that the principles of 'Geographical Control' underlying the old cities should be understood, and that their influence was vital to the lay-out of new towns. Obviously Geddes ignored the early industrial cities and their uncontrolled sprawl, which were so often laid down along monotonous military based grid-irons.

According to Geddes, to plan the future development of cities the projects had to be based upon a 'sounder and deeper knowledge of conditions' than the 'community possess or seeks' (GEDDES, *ibid.*, p.163). Planning before surveying was dangerous. He

wrote:

'A Preliminary Enquiry, a City Survey, is essential to adequate Town Extension Planning, and still more to City Improvement and Development upon any considerable scale. But those occupied with each and every department of such a survey, whether they are primarily interested in their city's past, its present, or its opening and possible future, will soon find themselves in need of a fuller understanding of other cities, and next of city life in general. The processes of city life and growth, and those also of its disease and poverty, its vice and crime, its deterioration and decay, will next force themselves upon their attention, and the adequate treatment of these evils will be seen to be delayed for lack of interpretations clearer than heretofore' (ibid., p.163).

For Geddes the Middle Ages European city was still alive, not so much as a 'romantic retrospect' but as 'historic filiation' with 'social momentum' (ibid, p.177). The essence of Medieval Cities is their fundamental conception of 'Civics', as he pointed out,

'... that institutions and buildings are not imposed from above nor constructed from without, but arise from within. The essential types of social life develop as normal and necessary expressions of their particular ideals; the dreams of each age and each of its social types thus creating their characteristic deeds. The city transformations of each age thus become intelligible. The principle thus emerges that Town Planning is the product of Town Thinking, Town Feeling, and is no mere material resultant of geographical situation and occupation of government or defence' (ibid.,

While recognising the importance of survey work, Geddes also considered public participation as a crucial part of town planning decision-making. Civic exhibitions which Geddes encouraged are an efficient way to establish communication among the local authorities, the professionals and the public. The civic exhibition should include the city survey which covers: geographical resources and topographical conditions, social and demographical data, urban history and the existing situation of the city. Town planning suggestions and designs should also be displayed. The exhibition should be open to public and journalistic discussion and to general and expert criticism. After the Civic Exhibition, Geddes believed, the authorities and the public would be better informed about their present city and its outlook.

However Geddes' wide influence is not so much because of his radical socialism, as his survey and planning methodology. After the war the Labour Government's Town and Country Planning Act required the preparation of local and civic surveys to aid the preparation of a Town Scheme. Patrick Abercrombie's 'The County of London Plan' (1943) and Greater London Plan (1945) were the earliest applications of Geddes' excellent 'City

Survey⁶.

Radiant City: While the English utopians were working on a more nostalgic vision for industrial towns, on the Continent some contrasting ideas were also being developed. First, Charles Fourier (1772-1837), a French shop clerk and sometime planner, invented a concentric pattern for the commercial and administrative town, surrounded by the industrial and then by the agricultural land. Housing was hotel-like communal accommodation and designed for all inhabitants of the 'phalanstery'. About a hundred years later, Tony Garnier (1869-1948), the son of a textile designer from Lyon, where Proudhon's socialism was still very much alive⁷, worked on his ideas of industrial towns from 1901 to 1904. He opened a personal exhibition of his plans in Paris in 1904. Garnier's plans emphasised several concepts which were to become widespread at the beginning of the modern movement: sun, air, vegetation, well-spaced buildings, the separation of pedestrian from motor traffic, and the Garden City with a more modern style of architecture. From 1904 to 1914, Garnier had built a series of exemplary public buildings and residential quarters according to his own ideas, and earned himself a special position in the history of modern city planning.

Nevertheless, it was Le Corbusier who was the most radical and influential new urbanist for the 20th century industrial society. Born in Switzerland in 1887 at La Chaux de Fond, one of the most prosperous handicrafts communities left in Europe, Le Corbusier, earlier known as Charles-Edouard Jeanneret, grew up with the industrial Revolution. Therefore he was 'forced to choose between his love for the values and artistic traditions of the past and his fascination with the powerful new techniques' (FISHMAN, 1982, p.165). In his ideal city he would like to create a vision of a mass industrial society which comprises both the collective order and individual freedom. Politically, Le Corbusier was an avid follower of the intellectual movement sometimes called neo-Saint-Simonianism, though he probably never read Saint-Simon directly (FISHMAN, 1982). In Saint-Simon's (1760-1825) view, in the industrial system:

'... the elite of industrialists, socialists, and artists, would, in their capacities as heads of the great organisation of production and learning,

⁶ See section 1.3. of this chapter.

⁷ Pierre Joseph Proudhon, 1809-65, French socialist, whose pamphlet 'What is property?' (1840) declared that property is theft.

take over all the functions of government. The repressive powers of the state would wither away. The elite would not have to fear disorders arising from the class struggle because ... the proletariat was fundamentally indifferent to questions of ownership and equality. The masses wanted jobs and prosperity. If the great organisation gave them both they would accept the *industriels* as their natural leaders' (FISHMAN, *ibid.*, p.194).

These ideas represented the corner stone of Le Corbusier's urbanism. In his Towards a New Architecture, he concluded that the proper architectural solution was to provide efficient housing for the masses to avoid revolution. Also, Fourier's Phalanstery was well reflected in Le Corbusier's Unit Apartment building for the collective life in his utopian city. He argued that the organisation of the flat-type cells was an essential part of the urban phenomenon. He believed that a grouping of flats could form a 'co-operative organisation' or 'hotel syndicate', which could direct most of the community services.

Architecturally, Le Corbusier admired Louis XIV's Place Vendome and Les Invalides, Napoleon's rue de Rivoli, Haussmann's and Garnier's large-scale plans for the transformation of French towns, as shown by his Contemporary City, Plan Voisin for Paris and later the Radiant City. For this reason, Le Corbusier developed a concept of extreme professionalism. For him, the planner first works as scientist, surgeon, technician - 'the man of reason, a disinterested lover of humanity who studies the problems of the city, formulates clear solutions, and carries them out with an unswerving will', then as '... artist, the isolated man of vision whose insights are the most profound record of his nation's spiritual life' (FISHMAN, *ibid.*, p.210). Planners therefore must provide both the vision and the technical expertise to guide society toward harmony. Thus he concluded that the architect-planner was the natural leader of society.

Le Corbusier recognised the city as the natural home of centralised power. Unlike Howard's decentralised Garden Cities, Le Corbusier wished his cities to exalt the power of the centre to overcome the 'anarchic individualism' which would allow too little room for expansive planning. Deeply believing the power of the elitist professional, he was explicitly 'scientific' in his approach. For him, order is expressed by 'pure forms'. He wrote:

'Machine is the result of geometry. The age in which we live is therefore essentially a geometrical one; all its ideas are oriented in the direction of geometry. Modern art and thought - after a century of analysis - are now seeking beyond what is merely accidental; geometry leads them to mathematical forms, a more and more generalised attitude' (1971, p.1-2).

Strongly related to geometry and mathematical forms are statistics. For Le Corbusier,

'Statistics give us an exact picture of our present state and also of former states; connecting them with a line so expressive that the past speaks clearly to us, so that by following the development of the curve we are enabled to penetrate into the future and make those truths our own which otherwise we could only have guessed at... By virtue of statistics we can achieve an almost instantaneous grasp of a problem of whose complexities we are altogether ignorant; and thus choose a sure path towards fresh creations' (ibid., p.108).

With such faith in science, he had confidence in the new industrial society, which he believed in the end would arrive as 'a magnificent expression of its power' (ibid., p.3).

Le Corbusier's revolutionary urbanism first appeared in his 'A Contemporary City for Three Million People' in 1922. The Contemporary City was the answer to the social problems he observed in the world's Metropolises especially in Paris, including the rapid population growth, the inevitable concentration of the city centre, the conflict between modern transport measures - railway and automobile, and the inadequate narrow street system.

The Contemporary City was intended to construct a 'theoretically water-tight formula to arrive at the fundamental principles of modern town planning' (LE CORBUSIER, ibid., p.160). Structurally, along the dominant north-south, east-west axes, there are elevated roadways 120 feet wide for fast traffic. Right at the centre is the Central Station for automobile, subway, trains and air planes. Surrounding the centre are the twenty-four sky-scrapers for business and hotels. On the west side of the east-west axis is the administrative and municipal centre which is open to the main park further west. On the east side are the industrial quarters. Around the skyscrapers are the luxury apartments for the elite who work in the city. In the great central open space are the public service facilities, including shopping and leisure. The city is protected by a zone of woods and green fields. Then there lie satellite cities for outer industrial zones and where the workers live⁶. The life in the Contemporary City is a polarised one where eight hours of intensive labour sharply contrast with eight hours of joyful leisure.

The density of the great city is extremely high, in the centre it reaches 1,200 inhabitants to the acre. However since the sky-scrapers and the set-back apartments preserve most of the ground as space open, so the city as a whole only occupies some 15% of the ground space (see Fig. 3-2).

⁶ Although Le Corbusier was influenced by the Garden Cities Movement, he never grasped Howard's theory of decentralisation. This was partly because the city planning principles of Garden Cities Movement had been almost transformed into Garden Suburbs, partly because Le Corbusier's own interest in central power of the great city.

In the Contemporary City the traditional corridor-street, frequent cross-roads and the small internal courtyards are replaced by the open spaces and super gridiron system with streets every 400 yards with occasional 200 yard subdivisions. Therefore the modern street can be a 'masterpiece of civil engineering', in which all the traffic has been classified and directed into their own roads.

The social structure is very close to that which Saint-Simon had foreseen in the 19th century, where 'an administration of goods' had replaced the 'government of men'. Similarly in the contemporary city the structures devoted to government stand on the outskirts of the business centre. Moreover, Le Corbusier's own philosophy of 'Architecture or Revolution' led him to propose all dwellings be in the mass-production style. The social hierarchy of the residential areas - the elite in the centre, the workers at the outskirts, also responds to the hierarchy of functions of the great industrial society as Saint-Simon had recommended⁹.

The Contemporary City was designed for the motor age, so aesthetically it has to be appreciated from a fast car driver's point of view or the traveller in his airplane. The new large-scale unit, the sky-scrapers, the great park etc., all form a fascinating scene. Le Corbusier's solution was a rough one and completely uncomprising; it requires the rebuilding of industrial society. In 1925 he started with his 'Voisin Plan' for Paris to test the large-scale transformation of the traditional metropolis (see Fig. 3-3). He condemned the old Paris in the motor age, and insisted that the only way to save it would be to remake the city to suit the new age. The 'Voisin Plan' made a frontal attack on the 'most diseased quarters of the city, and narrowest streets'. Its aim was to open up the strategic heart of Paris by a splendid system of communication. The plan consisted of two essential elements: a commercial city and a residential city. Between them was the central station. A new principal axis was proposed through central Paris from east to west. Using the grand gridiron system he suggested in the Contemporary City, the isolated sky-scrapers created a vertical city, sited in park-like surroundings. Le Corbusier understood the land values of the central business areas, and he deliberately increased the density to an extreme. He argued that the higher density would compensate for the cost of the large amount of demolition. In so doing, planning could make money!

⁹ See Fishman, 1982, pp.194-96.

The 'past' of Paris would also be rescued in the 'Voisin' scheme. Le Corbusier's dream was to see the whole ancient city with its important monuments placed in settings of peace and calm. But the districts such as le Marais, the Archives, and the Temple would be demolished, only ancient churches therein were to be preserved and surrounded by *verdure*. He wrote:

'...certain historical monuments, arcades, doorways ... are pages out of history or works of art' (ibid., p.297).

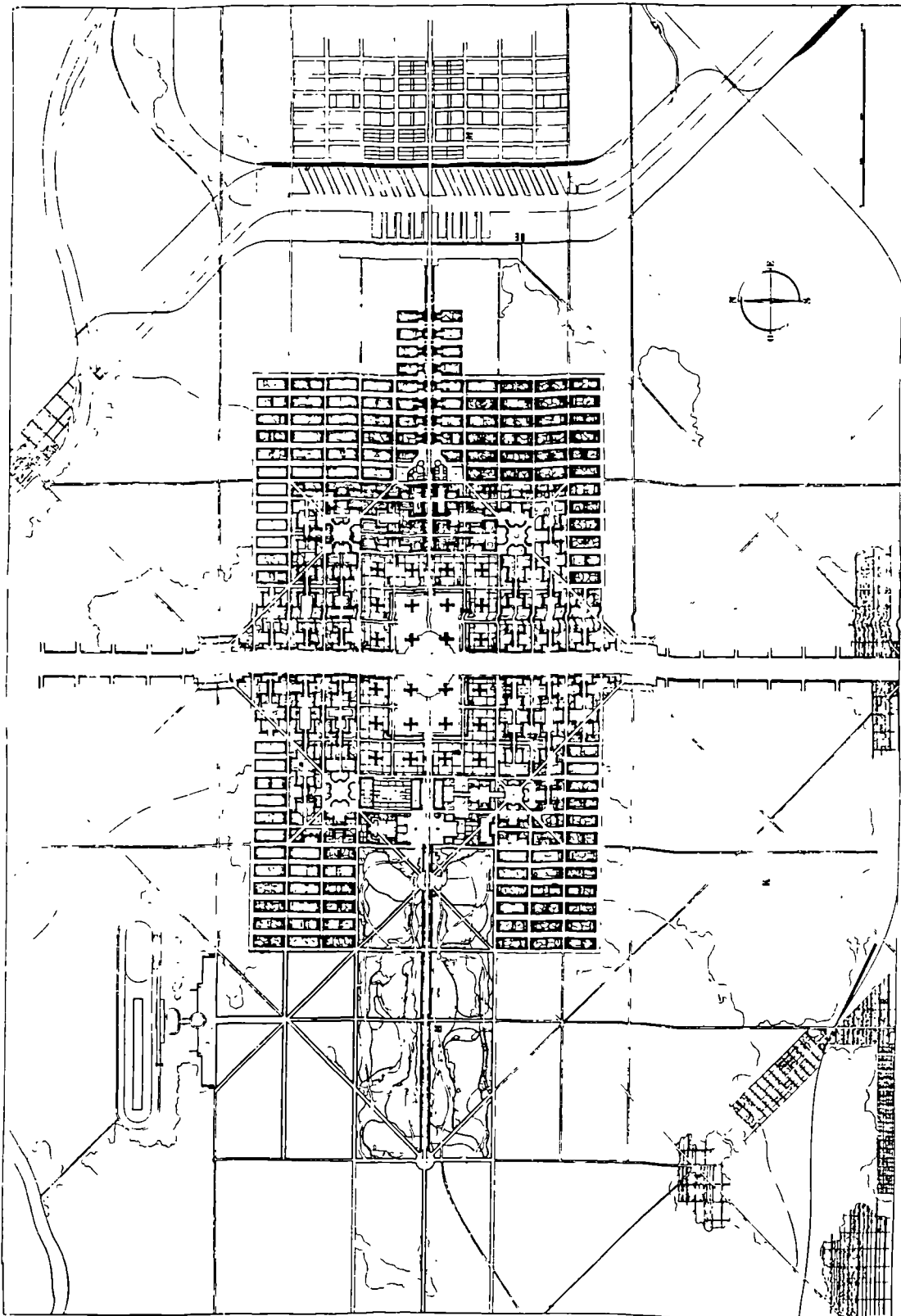
However the great organisation required by Le Corbusier's grand transformation was contradicted by disordered liberal capitalism. The Great Depression convinced him that capitalism and parliamentary democracy had failed the new era, and he hoped the present crisis could be turned into an opportunity to create a new leadership and a new social structure, which would produce the power to begin the new era of great works. The authoritarianism in the 'classless' Soviet Union once inspired Le Corbusier, but he soon found it too crude and left little room for individual freedom. Thus he hoped for a syndicalist society, where both authority and participation could be achieved¹⁰

Le Corbusier's Radiant City mirrored his undecided political choice. The Radiant City retained the main principle of the Contemporary City, but took both the collective order and individual liberty to extremes (see Fig. 3-4). In the Radiant City every aspect of productive life was administered from above, according to a total plan. He proposed a 'pyramid of natural hierarchies' for any future society that would perform there. He wrote,

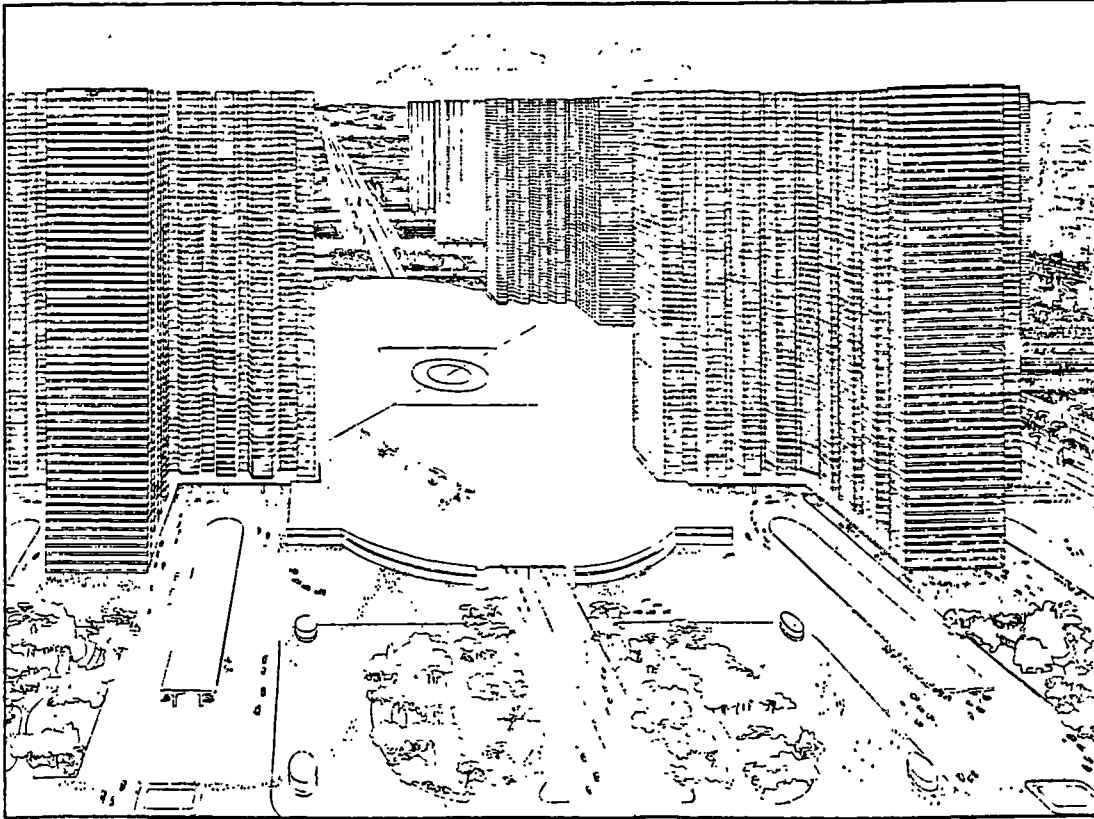
'All men work, practise a trade. All men are capable of making judgements about things concerning their own trades. Men's trades must therefore form the foundation for our edifice of authority and power, for our hierarchy of responsibility. It is in the hearts of those trades that the eternal and fruitful struggle of creative efforts versus academic sterility will be fought out' (1967, p.192).

So far the pre-war economic and political conditions have been examined. The influential town planning and architectural ideas of that period, which were the foundation of the principles for post-war reconstruction have also been. Nevertheless it was Patrick Abercrombie's Greater London Plan (1945) that assembled all the previous ideas in one comprehensive plan which was to be a powerful model for most cities in Britain after the war. The next Section examines this in detail.

¹⁰ See Le Corbusier, *Radiant City*, 1967. Sections: 'The Spectacle of Modern Life', 'A New Form of Gregariousness', and 'Bolshoi... or the Notion of Bigness', pp.176-85. Also see Fishman, 1982, pp.213-25.



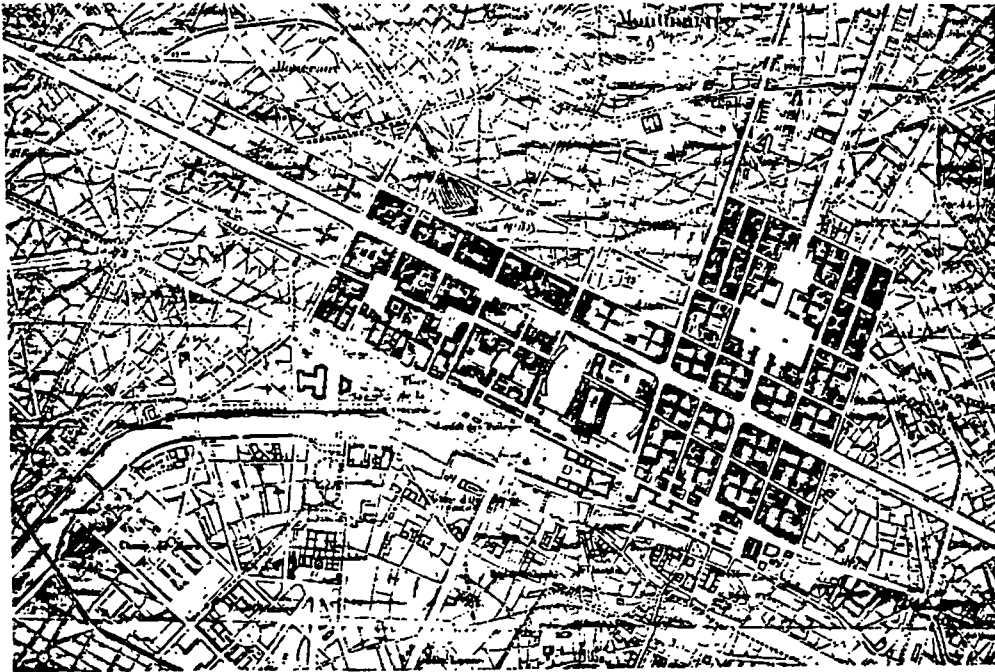
3-2. a) The plan of the Contemporary City.



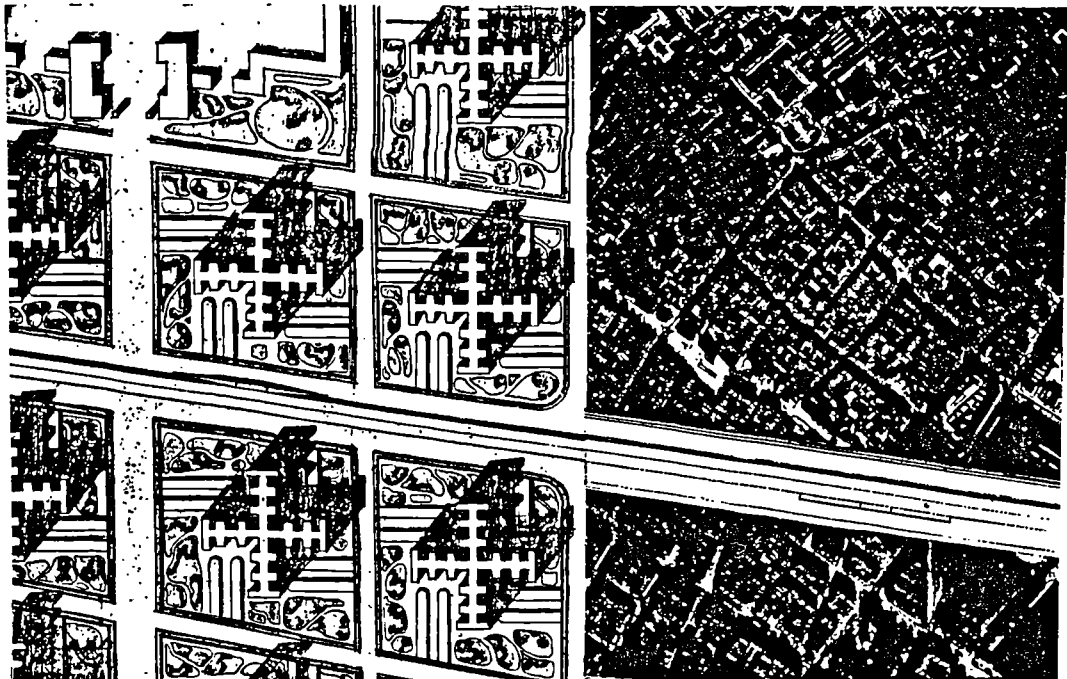
3-2. b) The central station with four sky-scrapers.

Fig. 3-2: Le Corbusier's Contemporary City, 1922.

Source: Le CORBUSIER, 1971, pp.172-73, 192.



3-3. a) The 'Voisin Plan' for Paris, 1925.



3-3. b) The transformation of the old city districts into large scale units.

Fig. 3-3: Le Corbusier's 'Vision Plan for Paris', 1922-1925.

Sources: a & c, LE CORBUSIER, 1967, pp.205, 206; b, 1971, p.289.

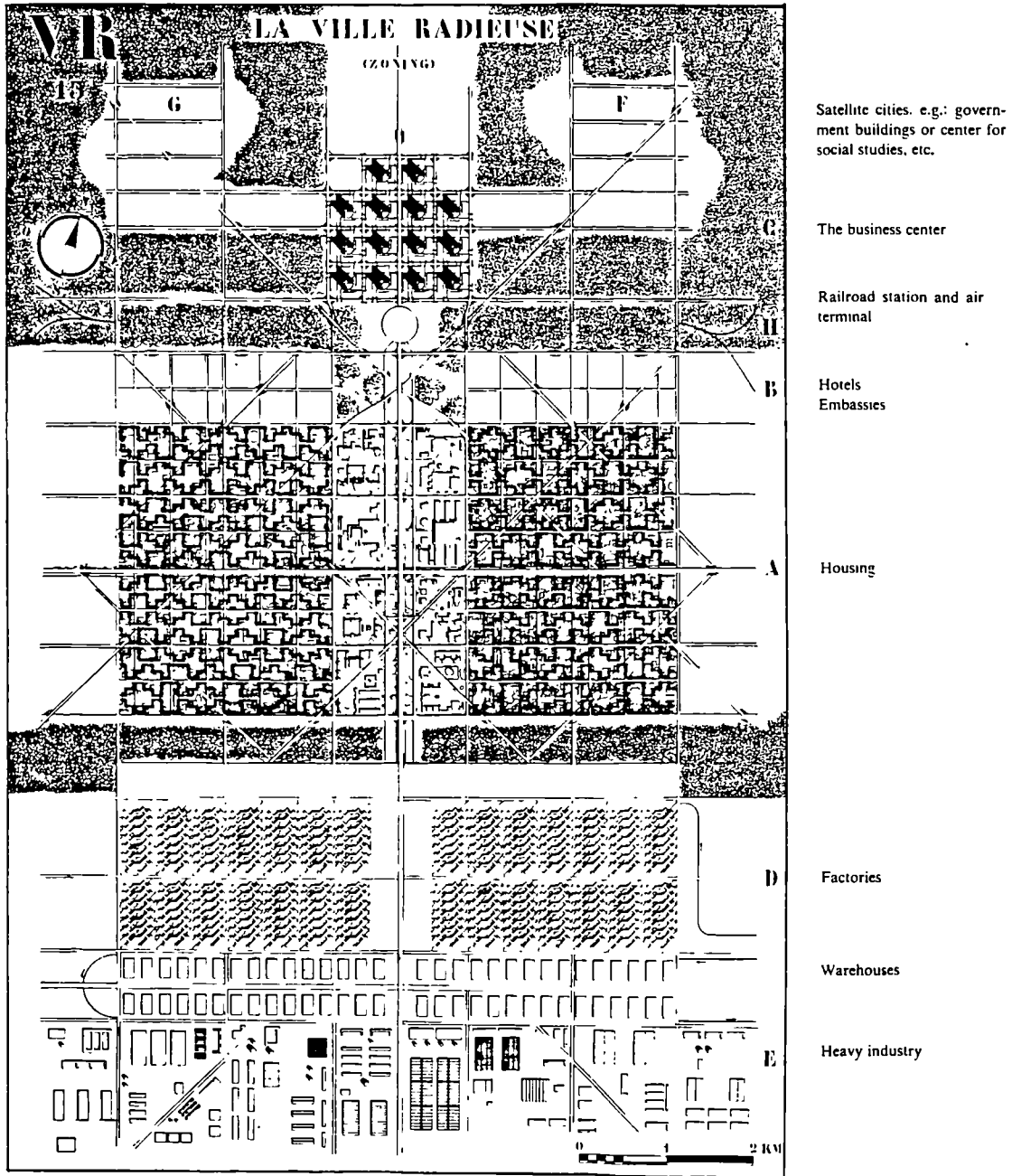


Fig. 3-4: The Radiant City, 1929-30. Source: Le CORBUSIER, 1967, p.170.

1.3 The Post-war Reconstruction in Britain

The post-war city rebuilding can be highlighted by the plan for Greater London in terms of its ambitiousness and the methods applied. During the period from the late 19th Century to the 1930s, the limited area of the then City and County of London lost much of their population. By 1937, the 'square mile' of the City had only 9,000 people left. On the contrary, suburban London and the encircling regional ring received a dramatic population increase. By the end of 1930s, London had a total population of 8.7 million plus 5.9 million living in an encircling regional ring. This population contained one-third of the whole population of England, and inhabited one-sixth of the country's housing stock (CHERRY, 1974, p.159). During the war, the city was badly damaged, and immediate plans were required. Politically the newly emerged central economic control established during the war allowed planners to work on a grand scale for post-war reconstruction. In 1941, Patrick Abercrombie, who was trained with Beaux Arts principles and the neo-Georgian vernacular, and influenced by Patrick Geddes' theory of regional planning, was appointed by the London County Council to work as a consultant with the Council's architect to prepare the plans for post-war development. In their report 'The County of London Plan', which was submitted and published in 1943, the authors recognised four major defects in the organisation of London:

'... traffic congestion, depressed housing, inadequacy and maldistribution of open spaces, and the jumble of houses and industry' (CHERRY, *ibid.*, p.160).

In 1945 Abercrombie was appointed by the Minister of Works and Planning to extend the County of London Plan to produce a proposal for the development of Greater London after the war. In the plan, Abercrombie regarded post-war reconstruction as a great chance that might not occurred again, where the population and work could be rapidly and effectively redistributed; thereby overcrowding and congestion in the location of industry could be reduced.

Greater London, covering 673,400 hectares, had 143 Local Authorities. Before Abercrombie's plan, nearly every local authority had a planning scheme prepared or in the course of preparation, independent of its neighbours. Abercrombie's Plan therefore for the first time provided a strategic planning model which was to serve as the basis for urban and regional planning for *twenty years*. The plan for Greater London divided

London Region into a number of concentric zones overlaid by a revised communications system. As Cherry (1974) summarises:

'The first was an inner ring where a reduction in population densities was necessary as an out-movement of industry. The second was a suburban ring which needed no intervention in the way of receiving either population or industry. Then followed a green belt ring, stretching up to ten miles beyond the outer edge of London. Here, the growth of towns already within would be curtailed, and further growth of London prevented. Lastly there was an outer country ring, containing existing communities set in an agricultural background, where the general character would be preserved, but overspill population with accompanying industry would be introduced in eight new towns' (ibid., p.161).

Obviously the plan for Greater London was based on certain assumptions including:

'... that little new industry would be admitted to the region, and that both industry and worker would be redistributed internally with the area, ... that the overall population of the region would decrease slightly' (ibid, p.162).

The solution to the sprawl and finding sites for any additional population could be provided once and for all.

Influenced by Abercrombie's ideal, nearly a hundred advisory plans for urban areas and half a dozen regional plans for metropolitan areas were prepared throughout Britain by 1951. Almost all the plans provided a shopping centre for the future city, with concentric rings of development which included a green belt as a limit of suburban sprawl.

Government policy went hand in hand with physical design. In 1943 the British Ministry of Town and Country Planning was established as the central planning agency to implement post-war reconstruction. After the war Detailed Planning Control powers were provided by the 1947 Town and Country Planning Act. Now it was the duty of Local Authorities to draw up their Development Plans based on surveys of their areas. They were given extended powers to compulsorily acquire land, to preserve historic buildings and trees and woodlands.

So far both the planning style and the legislative structure were in place. In the next thirty years or so these remained essentially the same apart from some modifications. As Ravetz (1980) pointed out:

'Planning continued to picture itself in the light of an "elite of knowledgeable and public-spirited experts and social Reformers"... It remained certain about its goals and virtually unchallengeable, since they were assumed to be politically neutral and supported by a general consensus. Central to its beliefs was the idea that the old, unplanned

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environment would and should be replaced by a “utopia on the ground” which a class of experts alone could prescribe’ (p.40).

2 REBUILDING AFTER THE WAR

2.1 New Towns

In Britain post-war city rebuilding can be classified under three headings: New Towns, Slum Clearance and City Centre Redevelopment. Through these three aspects, British cities have been transformed fundamentally. If the central theme of post-war reconstruction was to redistribute industry and population, New Towns would be naturally the first priority of the central government's agenda. During the War Britain was ruled by a Coalition Government in which the Conservative, Labour and Liberal Parties were represented. Each party set up its own committees for post-war reconstruction, with a specialised group to study the problems of post-war housing and planning and formulate a party policy thereon. The Town and Country Planning Association (TCPA) was engaged with all parties to work as non-political experts. Surprisingly and after much argument, all three Parties, with some differences of emphasis, included central city redevelopment, population dispersal, strong green belts, and the building of new towns.

After the Labour Party won the first post-war election, the New Towns programme was officially set up through the New Towns Act of 1946, whereby the creation of new towns was to be entrusted to *ad hoc* Development Corporations, appointed and financed by the Ministry of Town and Country Planning. This seemed ironic as Howard's ideas about Garden Cities was that they were to be funded by the creation of self-governing local welfare states. Thus with central government patronage, it was only the shells of Howard's garden city ideas which were borrowed, without the substance¹¹.

Between 1947 and 1950, twelve new towns in England and Wales and two in Scotland were started, soon a third - Cumbernauld - was authorised for Scotland in 1956. The underlying emphasis was that in the 1940s the core of the British urban problem was still seen to lie in London. Of the first fifteen new towns, eight were intended primarily to accommodate people and employment dispersed from the London conurbation; they included: Stevenage, Crawley, Hemel Hempsted, Harlow, Hatfield, Welwyn, Basildon, Bracknell. The eight new towns for Greater London were exactly the same

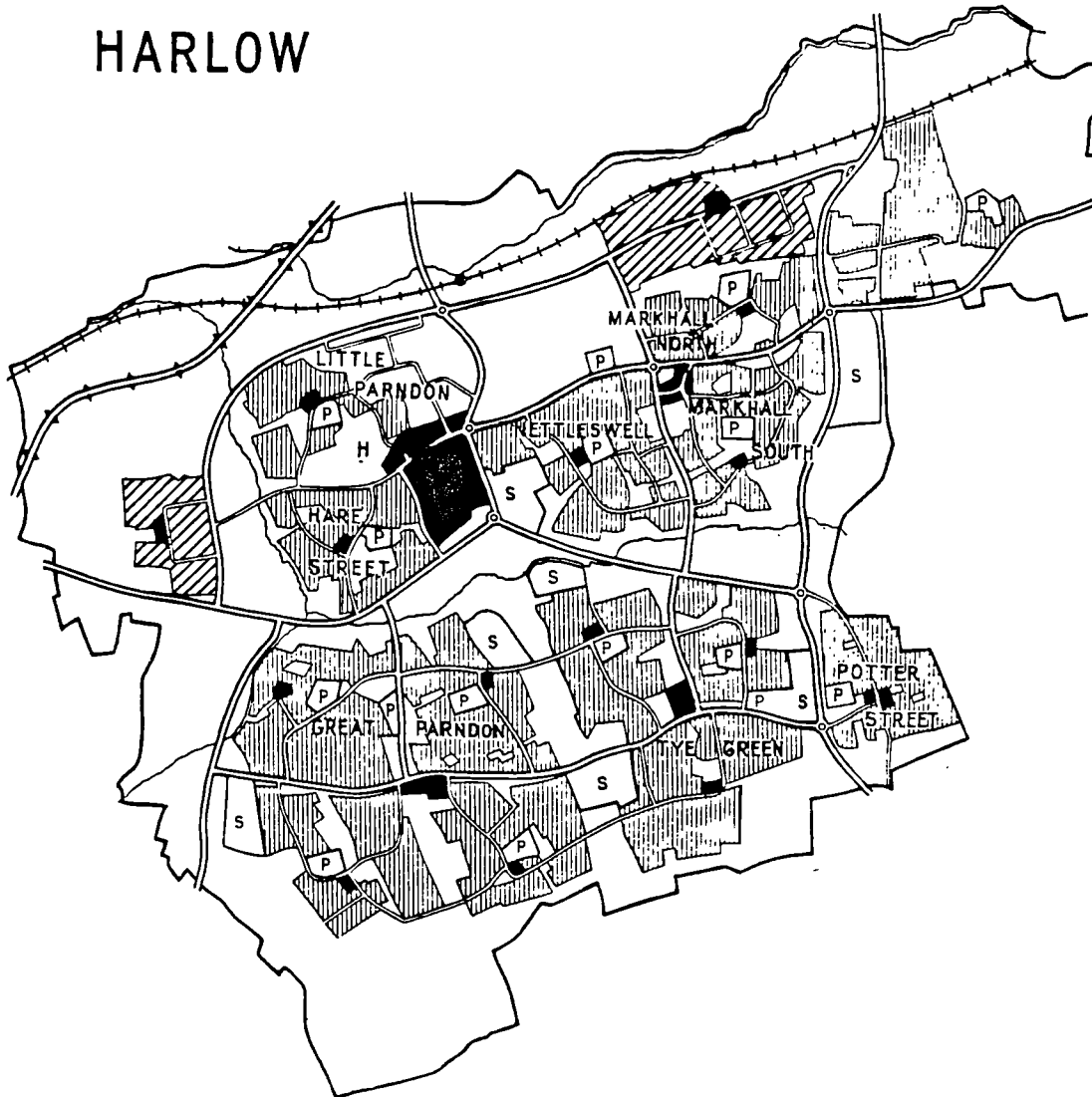
¹¹ See Osborn, 1963; and Hall, 1990, p.131.

number as Abercrombie had proposed, but only two of the sites were the same (CHEERY, 1972, p.166). Later in the 1960s the New Town programme was influenced by the planning of Cumbernauld near Glasgow. An additional eleven new towns were planned in England, four in Scotland and another four in Northern Ireland. They were thought of as an alternative method of relieving urban congestion, especially in the inner rings of large cities. The Country-town Expansion Programme was decreed by the Government in the early 1950s. Conurbations like London, Manchester, Liverpool and Glasgow all had to redistribute tens of thousands of people to their satellite towns. The increase in car ownership and rising incomes were crucial factors that enabled the higher-income groups to enjoy living closer to the countryside (CHEERY, *ibid.*, p.173).

The progress of the New Towns is very significant in urban development terms in Britain, indeed in the world, not only as a recognised success of national planning, but also in terms of planning and architectural design principles which for the first time exercised the ideas of Howard, Geddes and Le Corbusier on a large scale. The first fourteen new towns designated in the 1940s were organised with low density housing developments; for example, in Harlow the approximate net density was only 50 persons per acre. Later New Towns, designated from the 1950s onwards, had a higher density. For instance Cumbernauld had a highly compact plan with a density of 85.5 persons per acre, which meant 26.3 houses per acre; this was about twice as high than the early New Towns¹².

¹² See Osborn, *ibid.*, p.200-01 & p.318.


HARLOW



 RESIDENTIAL

 INDUSTRY

 TOWN CENTRE
NEIGHBOURHOOD CENTRES
AND SUB-CENTRES

 OPEN SPACE AND
AGRICULTURAL LAND

 MAJOR ROADS

 RAILWAYS

 SCHOOLS
PRIMARY

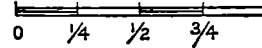
 SECONDARY

 HOSPITALS

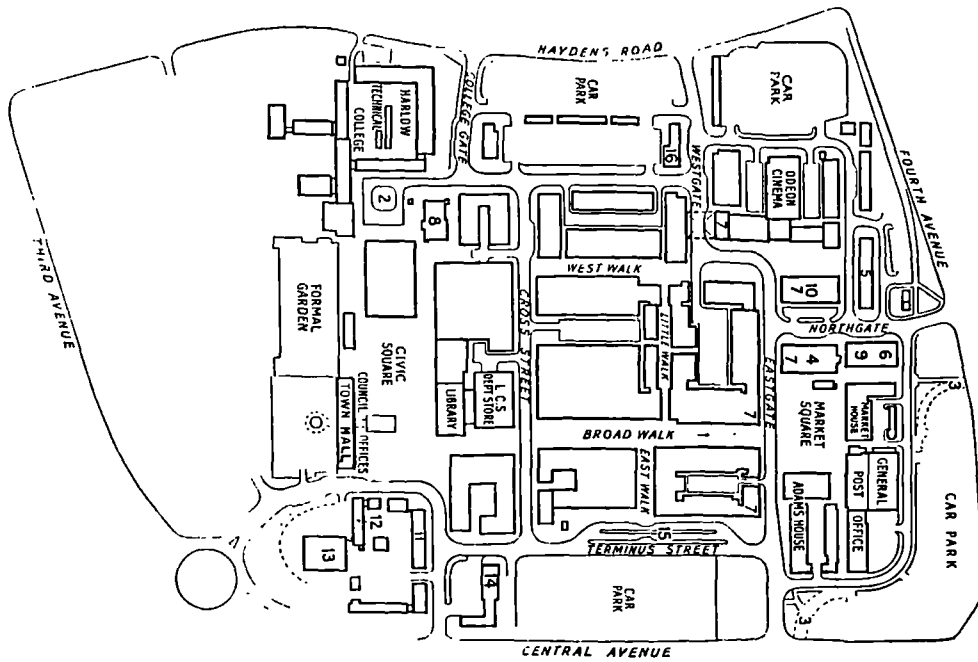


OUTLINE PLAN

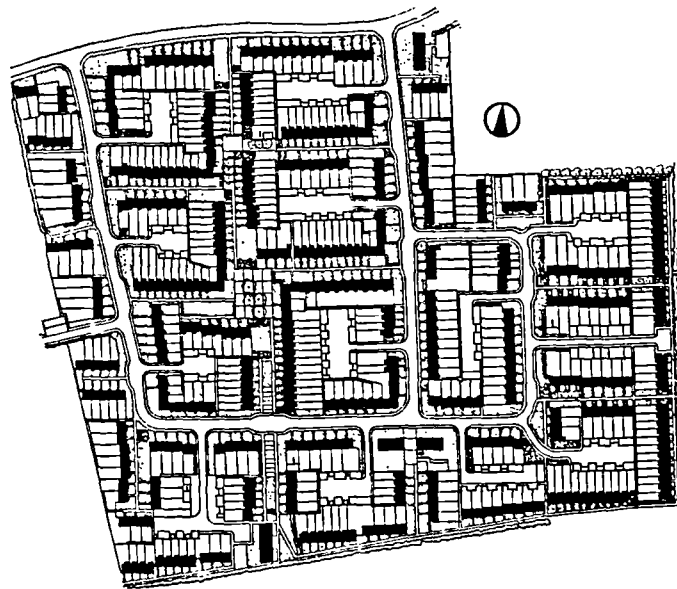
Scale of Miles



3-5. a) The outline plan of Harlow New Town.

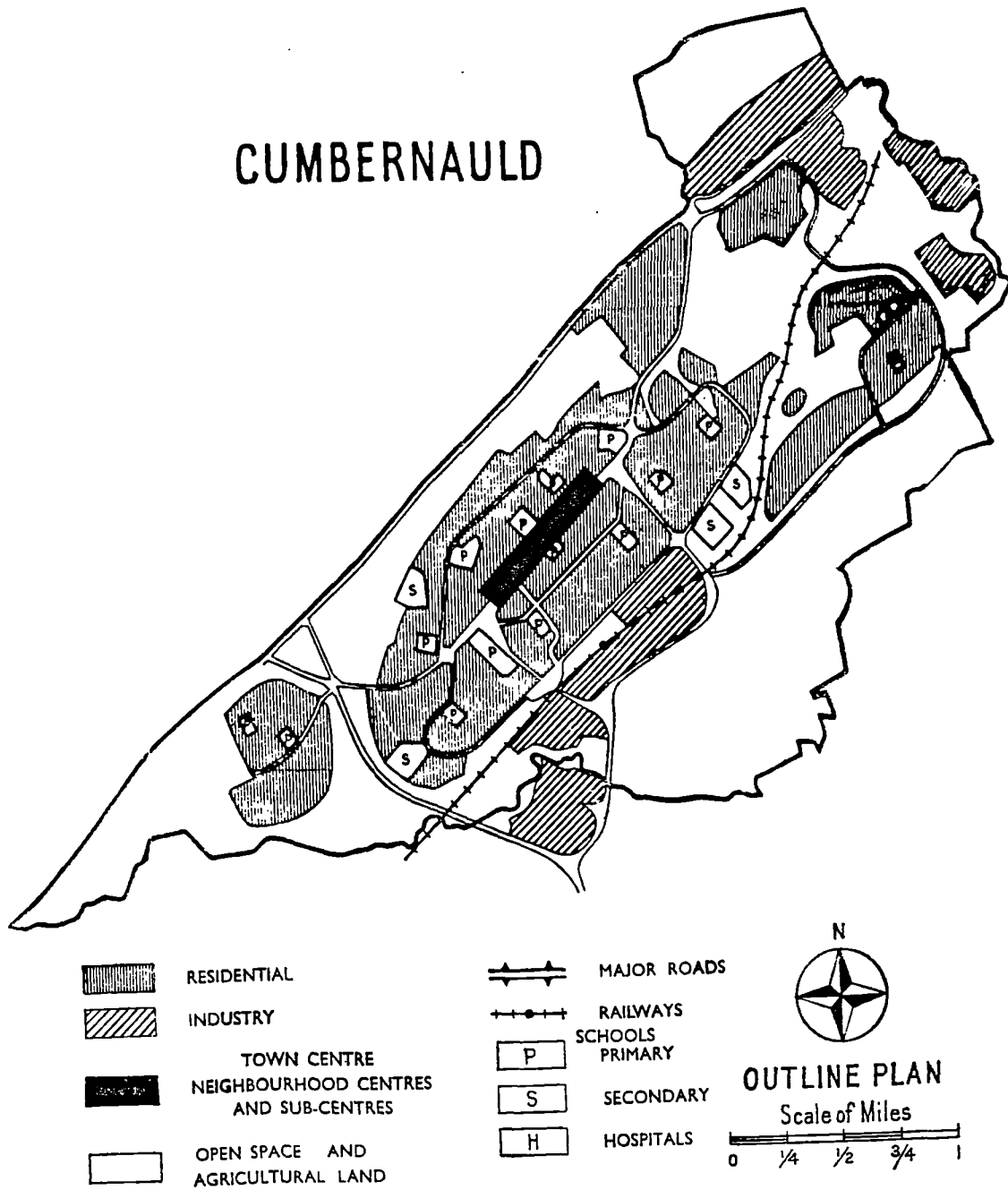


3-5. b) Harlow: Neighbourhood Centre.

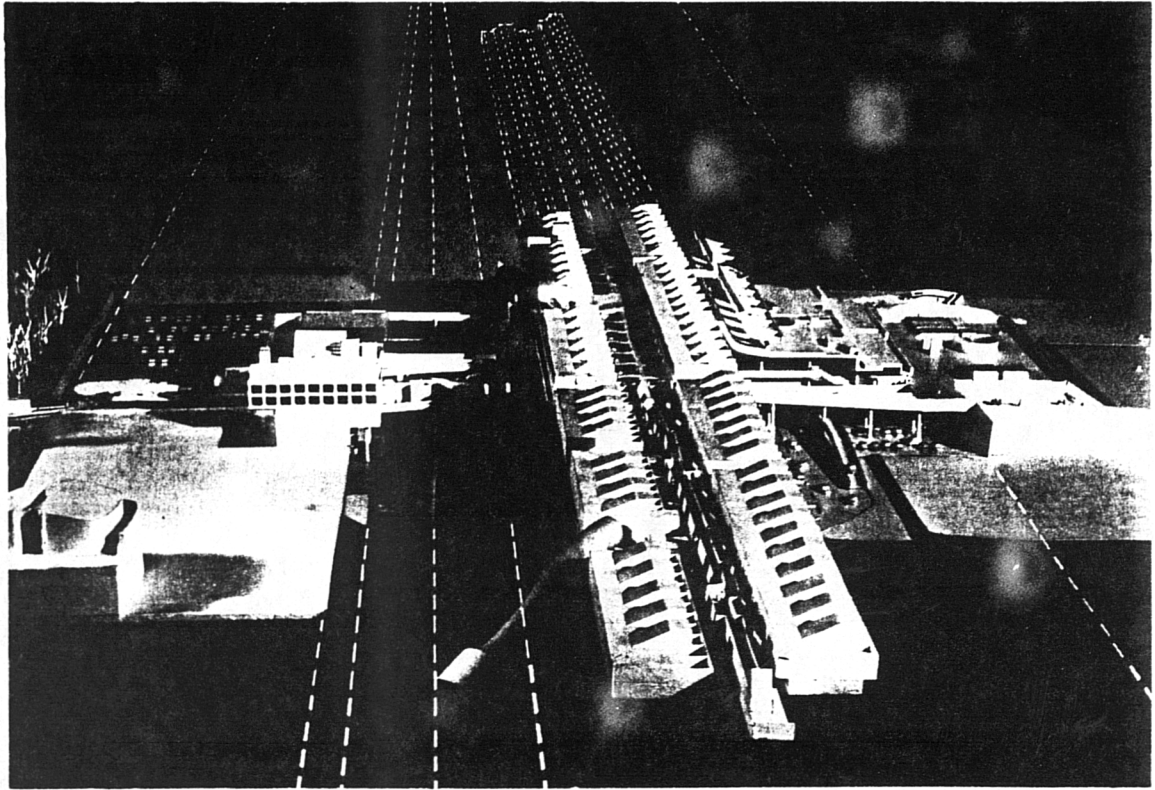


3-5. c) Harlow: A typical housing layout in the early new towns, in which the culs-de-sac are at the rear of houses with garages, with footpaths between the fronts of houses.

Fig. 3-5: Harlow New Town. Source: OSBORN, 1963, pp.198, 205, 202.



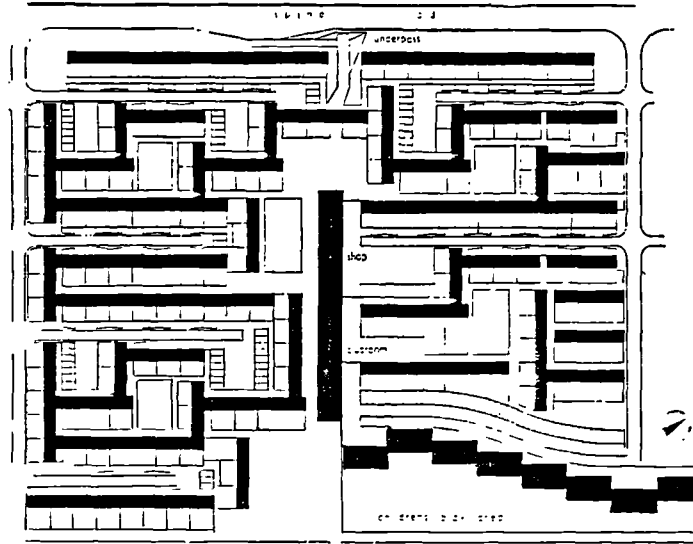
3-6. a) The outline plan of Cumbernauld New Town.



3-6. b) Cumbernauld New Town Centre Project, the view of the model designed by Geoffery Copcutt, 1963.



3-6. c) Cumbernauld: Town centre, only 1/5 of the proposed centre was completed.



3-6. d) Cumbernauld: Housing layout at Carbrain I.

Fig. 3-6: Cumbernauld New Town.

Sources: a & d: OSBORN, *ibid.*, pp.314, 314. b: COPCUTT, 1963, P.118. c: CHERRY, 1972, P.172.

In planning and urban design respects, new towns for the first time used the ideas of separation and zoning of land-uses. Most of the towns adopted the principle of 'neighbourhood units' varying in population from 5,000 to 10,000, with at least one junior school, a group of shops and service work-shops, a public house and some facilities for meetings. All these functions were strictly laid down according to land-use zoning policies. In Harlow New Town, for example, the town was planned for a maximum population of 80,000. There were four main groupings in the plan, occupying roughly the four main quarters of a rectangle, divided by broad green bands. These four groupings included fourteen residential areas each with an average of about 5,700. Each main group had a major neighbourhood centre, with the exception of the north-west where the town centre was situated. At the same time, each residential area had a sub-shopping centre and a primary school nearby, and seven secondary schools were arranged in the dividing green belts. The two main industrial areas were by the side of the railway and main road. The major town road ran through the green bands, radiating from the town centre and factory areas, while cycle ways and footpaths were separated from traffic roads but followed a similar system of radiation (OSBORN, 1963, p.199). Different from the relatively conventional early new town housing layouts, the current new town housing layouts were more related to modern road planning ideas, to form

units or 'superblocks' of housing encircled by distributor roads. Garages were arranged at the ends of gardens with entry into the dwellings from there as well as from the front footpath side (TETLOW, 1965, p.93-96).

Due to the increasing density in later new towns, a more compact pattern was developed first in Cumbernauld; planned for 50,000 to 70,000 inhabitants on a site of 4,150 acres, was to be allocated to the town 2,783 acres. The remaining 1,367 acres including the existing villages of Cumbernauld and Condorrat, would be reserved for open fields (OSBORN, *ibid.*, p.313-14). Town planning in Cumbernauld was distinctive in four ways. First, that high car ownership led to a radically different road system and separated pedestrian and motor traffic to the maximum extent by providing two separate circulation systems. This pioneer design was later regarded as 'the first scientifically designed road system for anywhere in Britain' (TETLOW, *ibid.*, p.90). As Tetlow stated:

'Cumbernauld showed that even in the ideal conditions of new towns, if the motor vehicle was to be adequately dealt with, multi-level traffic junctions were inevitable...' (*ibid.*, p.91)

Secondly, due to the limitation of the linear shape of the site, a highly concentrated multi-level town centre was proposed for Cumbernauld New Town to serve all the neighbourhoods. This pattern replaced the common neighbourhood unit pattern as in Harlow New Town.

Thirdly, a new housing layout was created in Cumbernauld. The early common culs-de-sac arrangement was substituted by the 'long-frontage' house resulting in more useful private gardens that were screened at the sides as well as the back (TETLOW, *ibid.*, p.99).

Lastly, Geoffrey Copcutt's design for Cumbernauld New Town Centre was also an important step toward a new form of urban core both for the new towns and the built-environment. As critic Robert Jeffery (1963) indicates, the design successfully met with 'the challenge of change as a continuous process', because the rapid current changes caused by urban redevelopment upsets the 'essence of continuity in space and time as an aspect of the shape of the built-environment'. In Copcutt's own words, the new urban centre should create 'a permanent structure with demountable enclosures rather than to provide short-term buildings creating at any one time an indifferent environment or to accept the normal time-cycle of growth and decay with consequent social and economic disruption' (COPCUTT, 1963, p.210). Thus once the continuous multi-level form is

established it could grow itself and at the same time cope with the changing external conditions. Copcutt's design concept for Cumbernauld New Town Centre reflected the typical urban design philosophy - 'the city as a building' or 'mega-structure' - around in the 1960s (BARNETT, 1987).

The creation of the town layout for the motor age in the new towns, caused the controversy over the structure of their communities. In the 1940s propagandists of new towns, including Lewis Mumford and Abercrombie, believed that the neighbourhood unit was the only way to form an 'organic' community life. However later studies have seemed to prove that this may not be the case. Michael Young (1957) in his influential study on 'Family and kinship in East London' found that the planner's response to reproducing the old neighbourhoods was simply to build community centres and was totally inadequate, because

'The sense of loyalty to each other amongst the inhabitants of a place like Bethnal Green is not due to buildings. It is due far more to ties of kinship and friendship which connect the *people* of one household to the *people* of another' (p.166).

Moreover, other later studies also pointed out that the attempt to artificially create neighbourhood units, especially in new communities like new towns, was to endanger the possibility of creating the larger town and civic consciousness and pride that were so important. So it was argued that 'the unit' should be the town itself. Moreover because of the changing life style associated with the spread of TV culture and the private motor car, traditional type community life was on the decline. Therefore those who live in new towns these days may find it difficult to know their immediate neighbours. However, the neglect of the so called neighbourhood unit may cause problems for those who could not often move far from home, such as the children, the elderly and the mothers with children, etc.¹³.

Hall later concluded that:

'... the new towns are self-evidently good places to live and above all to grow up in; they do exist in harmony with their surrounding countryside and the sheer mindless ugliness of the worst of the old sprawl has been eliminated. But it is not quite as rich and worthy and high-minded as they hoped: a good life, but not a new civilisation' (1990, p.173).

¹³ See Tetlow, 1963, pp.107-10; Ravetz, 1980, p.52.

If the new towns are the answer to megalopolis as Osborn proclaimed, then a conflict of interest exists between the crowded townsman who needed more space for living, and the countryman who wanted to preserve as much of the countryside as possible from being built on. This conflict is accentuated by the growth of population. Therefore the main opposition to the New Towns was voiced by the conservation lobbies, including the Council for the Preservation of Rural England, Wales and Scotland, and the national Civic Trust. But much of the early attention was given to the preservation of landscape and to open up playgrounds for city dwellers. The greening of the urban settlements rather than development of the rural communities, and what Howard visualised as the interdependence of town and countryside was 'quietly forgotten' (RAVETZ, 1983, p.47).

What is more significant is though the Welfare State instituted the New Towns, their economic development was under taken by market forces, sometimes with a quite different result from what was intended. After a new town was decreed by government, whether or not industry and people were attracted to them appeared to depend on their locations and its economy. In this respect the private sector investment played a crucial part. This meant that accessibility to the nice new towns was limited to certain groups of people who could afford to live there. As a result the people were not necessarily from the older urban centres, nor were they from working-class groups since they were not able to find suitable jobs and affordable rents. By 1971, 28 new towns accommodated some 1.6 million people in Britain, but only little more than half of them were from the old urban centres. At the same time the unskilled workers were under-represented in the supposed socially balanced new communities (RAVETZ, *ibid.*, p.70-72).

2.2 Housing and Slum Clearance

While the vision of tomorrow was being constructed in the New Towns, the unacceptable old cities were also on the way to being transformed into better environments. In Britain housing and slum clearance programmes played a significant role, both due to the vast size of the living environment housing represents, and because of the political motivations and the social consequences in the late 1960s and early 1970s. In Britain post-war housing policies were a continuation of the long established State intervention in housing affairs. After the Sanitary Reform in the second half of the 19th

century, public intervention was increased with the question of housing standards and the provision of working-class housing. The Acts 1872 and 1875 empowered urban authorities to require the construction of new streets and new buildings by making and enforcing by-laws over the whole country. Soon the Housing of the Working Classes Act of 1890 was brought into being. This Act had three main sections which included: the removal of unhealthy groups of dwellings, the closing and demolition of separate unhealthy dwellings, and the statutory powers for new dwelling houses for the working classes to be built with public funds. This Housing Act provided a basis upon which the 20th Century housing legislation was to be built (CHERRY, 1972, p.84-90). An interesting point to notice is that the 1890 Act mentioned housing for the 'working classes', a limitation which was to accompany housing legislation until the term was dropped by the Act of 1949, mainly because of the difficulty of identifying who were the 'working classes' (BERRY, 1974, p.30).

After the First World War, the new era had opened with a campaign for 'Homes fit for Heroes'; the Government intended to build some 500,000 houses for the workers and their families over a period of three years. So further government intervention was developed. The 'Housing, Town Planning Act' passed in 1919 imposed on local authorities the duty of surveying the needs of their districts with regard to houses and of making and carrying out plans for the building of these houses, and losses incurred in executing these plans would be paid by the Exchequer. From then on the local authority estates were built in virtually every sizeable town in Britain. By the beginning of the Second World War in 1939, there was a total of 12.7 million dwellings in Britain, and 10 per cent of these had been built by local authorities with government subsidy during the interwar period. However, most of the houses built in this period were built by the private sector and caused the suburban sprawl. In fact only a limited number of slum clearance programmes were carried out, leaving most towns with many houses unfit to live in¹⁴.

A third phase of massive State intervention in housing affairs came at the end of the last War, and continued to the mid 1970s. After the war, when the Labour Party won its surprise victory, it proceeded to set about the housing problem in a most determined way. First of all the Government confirmed Compulsory Purchases Orders

¹⁴ See Berry, *ibid.*, p.34; and Cherry, 1974, p.133.

(CPOs) without local public inquiry or hearing. Local Authorities were again to be the chosen instrument for the housing drive because they could be made to do as they were told (BERRY, *ibid.*, p.45-47). The Labour Government first set up a target of 240,000 a year, but never reached it during their term in office. With the changing political and economic climate the power struggle soon turned the housing programmes into a numbers game. By 1950 the year of the General Election, the Conservative Party promised to build 300,000 houses a year when if they were elected. In spite of the ideological bias, the Conservative Government realised that such a target could not be managed by private enterprise alone; Local Authorities had to play their part to achieve that number of housing units.

In order to achieve the promised number the Government provided more freedom to private development builders by abolishing Building Licenses. By 1954 the annual number of houses completed rose to 347,805, and reached a high point. Nevertheless during the first decade or so of the post-war period, development clearance was not a high priority on the government agenda due to severe economic constraints. As the Labour Government argued in the late 1940s clearance could only be resumed after the needs of homeless families had been met, and it resisted pressure to withdraw the Circular which had suspended clearance of the slums (ENGLISH, 1976, p.24). Therefore most of the new houses were built out on the edges of the conurbations and New Towns. This deliberate centrifugal swing was accompanied by worsening inner city housing conditions. From 1953 the pressure for slum clearance became stronger, and finally the Housing Act 1954 was introduced. Under the 1954 Act Local Authorities were required to assess the number of slum dwellings in their areas and to submit proposals for dealing with them. They could also buy slum property in advance of demolition and keep them in use for as long as possible.

At the General Election in May 1955 the Conservatives promised to rehouse at least 200,000 people a year and to provide 60,000 new dwellings each year for this purpose. The published figure for England and Wales in 1955 was 847,000 unfit houses out a total of 12,935,000, but in the next five years they expected to clear less than half that figure. This meant it would take more than five years to complete all the clearances (ENGLISH, *ibid.*, p.26). However, apart from the electoral concern, it was asked how faithfully did the government wish to solve the housing problem? As Berry (1974) points

out State intervention in housing affairs meant that Local Authorities had to accept this task reluctantly.

'They have frequently been unwilling to admit that they have much in the way of slums within their borders and when from time to time they have been required to make some assessment of the size of the problem, they have been prone to report the number of unit dwellings they felt they could deal with, or would wish to deal with, rather than make a detached, objective and accurate assessment' (p.3).

Close to the 1959 election the Conservative Government congratulated themselves on achieving their aim of 200,000 people a year rehoused from the slums, and promised to rehouse another million by 1965. But soon it was revealed by the Opposition that the prevailing rate of progress was too slow to achieve the total of 847,000 unfit dwellings. At the same time the academic critique began to be voiced that the housing needs and unfit dwellings were seriously under-estimated and the process of obsolescence was also too low. Therefore the rate of 80,000 demolitions a year set by Local Authority targets had to rise to 200,000 a year instead (ENGLISH, *ibid.*, p.27).

Statistical evidence only showed the problem at surface level, or at best it revealed the scale of the housing problem. But it told little about the social effects of Government policy which supposedly dealt with the number of houses only. By the middle to late 1950s public opinion was changing. After ten years of great public investment in housing, Local Authorities and New Towns in Britain had built rather more than 1.8 million permanent dwellings (BERRY, *ibid.*, p.54). The Government, therefore, began to announce that the gap between houses and households was rapidly decreasing and that, apart from replacement, the main need was for more efficient use of existing accommodation, which a realistic rent policy would achieve. Later the Conservative Government tried to enforce the transformation of previously rented public sector dwellings to owner-occupied ones. The Rent Act 1957 finally removed the rent control in order to cause private enterprise to re-enter the rented housing field (BERRY, *ibid.*, p.56). The relief from rent control contributed to the decay of the 'twilight areas', such as in the North due to the landlords' lack of willingness or ability to improve their houses. On the other hand, in the more prosperous areas such as London the rise of rents created a great opportunity for landlords to make big profits from winking out sitting tenants and then letting the property as furnished rooms which were not subject to rent control (RAVETZ, 1986, p.76). The Government's favour for 'property-owning' policy later created the scandals of exploitation and homelessness in the 1960s. In the

early 1960s, just a few years after the Government of MacMillan told the British people that they 'never had it so good' (BERRY, *ibid.*, p.56), the media revealed that increasing numbers of people in Britain were living in intolerable conditions and that some of them were even homeless. Although the housing crisis was partly caused by population increase, which was wrongly predicted in the early 1950s, Government policy should not be under-estimated. Naturally after the Labour Party came to office in 1964 they had to set higher sights and aimed at a total production of 500,000 dwellings a year by 1970 and to keep it going thereafter. The numbers game continued.

Unfortunately due to economic constraints, although the Labour Government reached a post-war record, and the upward trend continued until 1968, when the annual dwellings completed reached 413,715 and a total of 71,586 slums were demolished or closed, the half million target was never realised (see Fig. 3-7, and Table 3-1).

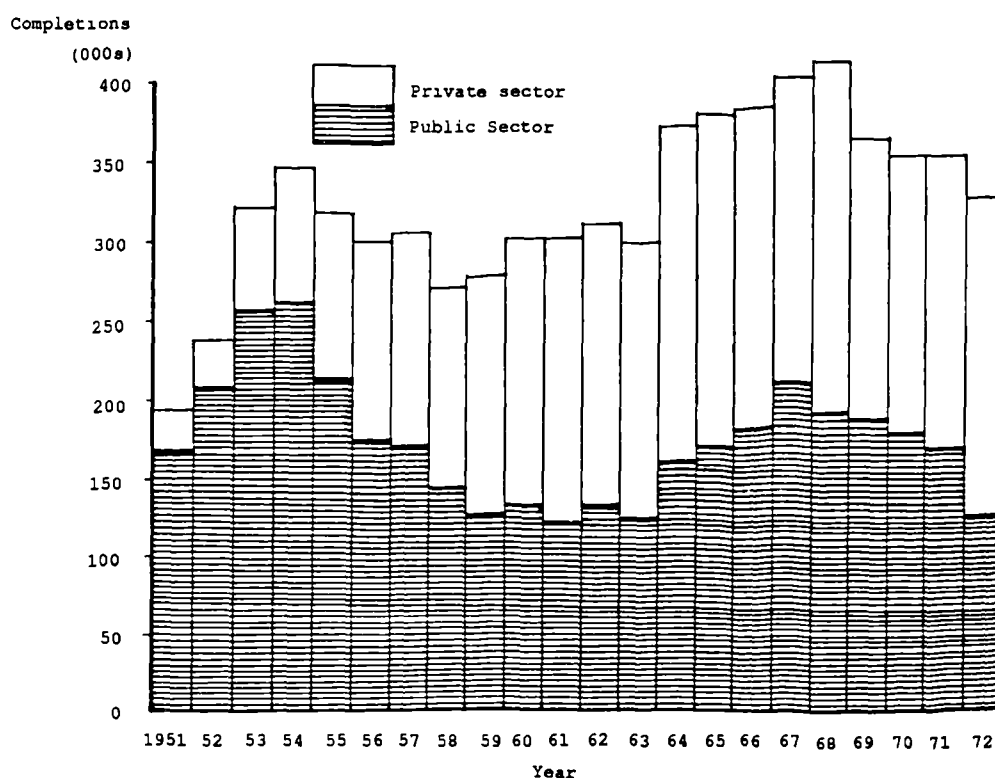


Fig. 3-7: Housing completions, 1951-1972. Source: BERRY, 1974, p.25

City Building in Britain: 1945 -1970s

Table 3-1: Houses demolished or closed, England and Wales, 1955-1975.

Period	Houses demolished in in clearance areas			Houses not in clearance areas			Total	
	Unfit	Others	Total	Demolished	Closed	Total	A	B
1955	8,066	495	8,561	8,731	7,081	15,812	24,373	79,865
1956	13,777	593	14,370	10,620	9,346	19,966	34,336	115,093
1958	21,099	933	22,032	13,053	9,430	22,483	44,515	159,223
1958	28,376	1,521	29,897	13,752	9,074	22,726	52,623	159,923
1959	32,685	2,224	34,909	13,506	9,140	22,646	57,555	154,853
1960	31,334	2,286	33,620	13,789	9,152	22,941	56,561	167,679
1961	34,668	5,273	37,941	15,205	8,823	24,028	61,969	168,032
1962	35,328	3,379	38,707	15,474	8,250	23,724	62,431	173,014
1963	37,216	3,313	40,529	13,383	7,533	20,916	61,445	163,160
1964	37,629	3,524	41,153	12,601	7,461	20,062	61,215	161,861
1965	38,964	3,624	42,588	10,447	7,601	18,078	60,666	171,595
1966	42,847	5,229	48,076	10,930	7,776	18,706	66,782	177,283
1967	46,913	4,604	51,517	11,774	7,861	19,635	71,152	185,132
1968	47,637	6,238	53,875	10,083	7,628	17,711	71,586	188,895
1969	46,746	6,653	53,399	8,499	7,335	15,834	69,233	173,447
1970	47,259	5,279	52,538	8,591	6,675	15,266	67,804	169,598
1971	49,676	6,510	56,186	8,188	5,683	13,871	70,057	157,125
1972	47,964	5,478	53,442	7,140	5,516	12,656	66,098	148,338
1973	46,841	5,898	52,739	6,141	4,677	10,818	63,557	132,703
1974	33,319	3,554	36,873	2,592	2,233	4,825	41,698	96,193
1975	36,586	4,458	41,044	4,659	4,380	8,039	49,083	117,183

Note: A = Demolished or closed; B = Persons moved.

Source: Based on 'Housing demolished or closed, England and Wales, 1930 to 1975', ENGLISH, 1976, p.39.

At the same time the National Housing Condition Survey, published in 1967, disclosed that the estimated number of slums in England and Wales was 1.8 million and was more than twice the figure of 847,000 published in 1955. Moreover, about 4.5 million dwellings, which were not classified as unfit, needed substantial repair or lacked amenities. So a White Paper in 1968 called 'Old Houses into New Homes' announced a switch of public investment from new house building to the improvement of older houses. Obviously the half million target had to be abandoned. Finally the 1969 Housing Act emerged and introduced the General Improvement Areas policy, through which public subsidies were made available for environmental work as well as for rehabilitation of older houses (GIBSON, 1982). In the 1970s the increasing financial problems of the Welfare State caused the steady decline of council estates, and slum clearance finally gave way to rehabilitation.

Housing policies dominated by the numbers game seemed over, but what took its place and what was its impact on the living environment? When Abercrombie floated the notion of New Towns for Greater London, he also determined in some degree the policies

that would affect the rebuilding of inner London. The architect-planners of the LCC first created a density of 136 persons per acre for the inner London zone; then they had to find a mixture of housing types to fulfil that target. Finally they decided to put a third of the people in houses, and some 60 per cent in eight- and ten-story flats; this meant about a half of the families with two or more children would have to go into flats. Even so, four out of ten families in this inner city zone would have to be moved elsewhere (HALL, 1990, p.220). In the central city areas Le Corbusier's Radiant City ideas were favoured by the generation of professionals that had flooded back from the Forces into the British architectural schools. They were determined to create the 'brave new world'. For this idealist enthusiastic generation the low densities of the New Towns only showed:

'... a prophecy of doom: the prophecy that if what is called development is allowed to multiply at the present rate, then by the end of the century Great Britain will consist of isolated oases of preserved monuments in a desert of wire, concrete roads, cosy plots and bungalows. There will be no real distinction between town and country...' (NAIRN, 1955, p.365).

They argued that Britain is a highly industrialised country with some 80 per cent of its population living in urban centres. Yet

'... the popular misunderstandings of one sort and another - misunderstanding of the meaning of democracy - vulgarisation of the concept of liberty - have led the man-in-the-street to kick against the principle of land planning...' (ibid.)

Thus they pointed out that:

'The moral is not the Simple Life. A return to more primitive condition is wanted by few of us; the ultimate objective of all industrial civilisation right down to canned beans and modern conveniences is to simplify our lives... The more complicated our industrial system, and the greater our population, the *bigger* and *greener* should be our countryside, the *more* compact and neater should be our towns' (ibid., p.366).

In the pursuit of Corbusian philosophy, the potential for urban decay that might cause urban sprawl was answered by an appeal to modern technology - to produce 'visually wholesome results' to overcome the complexities of the modern urban problem (ibid.).

Apart from architects' desire for highly compacted urbanisation, there were some other reasons which led to the extraordinary adoption of high-rise housing by the British Government. Firstly, the pressure from the preservation lobby to save rural land as mentioned previously¹⁵; secondly, sociologists argued that the planners were destroying a uniquely rich pattern of working-class folk-life, by exporting families from inner London

¹⁵ See Section 2.1 'New Towns' in this Chapter.

to 'over-spill' estates (YOUNG, 1957); thirdly, the increasing need for two- and one-bedroom accommodation during the period 1945 to 1964 (BERRY, *ibid.*, p.82); and finally, the development of new technology such as industrialised system building, all these made the government's massive high density housing programme possible in the 1960s. In Britain the early high-density housing such as Powell and Moya's Churchill Gardens, and the mixed high-rise development at Roehampton - both in London - successfully achieved the park-like surroundings¹⁶. But from the middle 1950s onwards, due to developments in building economics, tower blocks have become both bigger and higher; at the same time supposedly park-like open spaces started to be cleared for car parks rather than for play-spaces and romantic greenery.

Soon after Le Corbusier's Marseilles *Unite Habitation* was completed in 1952 it was reproduced at Alton West, Roehampton. So the New Brutalism of mass concrete blocks were quickly found suitable for realising the new Jerusalem. Nevertheless, high-density was only one aspect of the solution. 'Diversity' and 'Community' were also essential for the exciting new 'urbanists'. Close to the end of 1950s and in the early 1960s both the New Barbican in London and Park Hill in Sheffield started on their way. The former, occupying 35 acres between the business sector lining Route II and Golden Lane, for middle-class housing, was first proposed in 1954 by the Conservative City Council¹⁷. The planning intention was to inter-mix residential accommodation with commercial, shopping, cultural and educational uses in an imaginative and exciting way in order to produce a new form of urban life 'with a community and social life of its own, attracting back those people who find life in a truly urban environment to be a stimulating kind of life' (TETLOW, *ibid.*, p.151). Again the design of the project was strongly influenced by Le Corbusier's *La Ville Radeuse* ie. the Radiant City. The bold planning had separated pedestrian and vehicle traffic, and provided parking space at ground and basement levels for 2,600 cars. The upper levels above the garages were to be laid out as terraces and gardens. The Barbican scheme progressed extremely slowly. By 1960 when the first glass tower opened London had begun to experience the boom in office building. Unfortunately, despite its mixture of uses, there was 'never enough traffic below and never enough humanity above'. The figures that enlivened the dull geometry of the

¹⁶ Esher, 1981, pp.105-07.

¹⁷ See Esher, *ibid.*, pp.114-19.

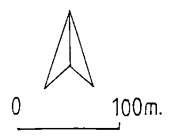
architects' perspectives have never materialised. All we have today is the grey concrete and windily spaciousness that has never been used by the crowds. As it was pictured by Esher (1981):

'Footsteps echo down interminable perspectives, scary after dark, and the pools and cascades, so pretty on a drawing, feature the usual muck and scum' (ibid., p.119).

Park Hill and Hyde Park in Sheffield, which were respectively finished in 1960 and 1955, are two other well-known examples of high-density housing projects of the 1960s. The whole scheme was to provide dwellings for some 8,000 people at a density of 200 persons to the acre. The site was selected mainly because this area was already largely cleared before the war and included some of the oldest and worst slums in the city. The planning intention of the high-density development was to demolish fewer houses and to provide additional accommodation for the people moved out by the city's continuing clearance programmes elsewhere. The site rises 200 feet above the valley where the railway station and Sheffield's famous steel industry are. It seemed a suitable site for high-density housing for the prevailing winds would mean cleaner air, better light and views, as well as open space nearby (TETLOW, ibid., p.153-54). Again the scheme was designed by young architects who admired Le Corbusier's *Unite* at Marseilles. But unlike Le Corbusier, who invented the internal decks for the *Unite*, J.L. Womersley's team designed open street decks plus pedestrian promenades, piazzas, and bridges. To the architects, as Esher criticised,

'... its beauty was social, not architectural: it seemed to promise the rebirth of the Street, of doorstep gossip and children's mysterious games, abolished by the devotees of mixed development, but in its new form safe from road accidents and freed of Victorian claustrophobia' (ESHER, ibid., p.206).

Park Hill and Hyde Park housed more than the slums it replaced, nearly all of the existing inhabitants wished to remain, so a stable community had been kept in the redevelopment. Thus for the first twenty years or so it worked quite nicely as a social experiment (ESHER, ibid., p.207). However, the higher density both produced problems for and caused problems by children when they began to vandalise the place. And there were some functional problems of design as well, such as the waste disposal system was inadequate, the noise of footsteps on the decks could disturb the people living in the rooms below, and the lifts were insufficient and often out order, etc.. Finally in desperation in 1976 the City Council had to thin out a large proportion of the bigger



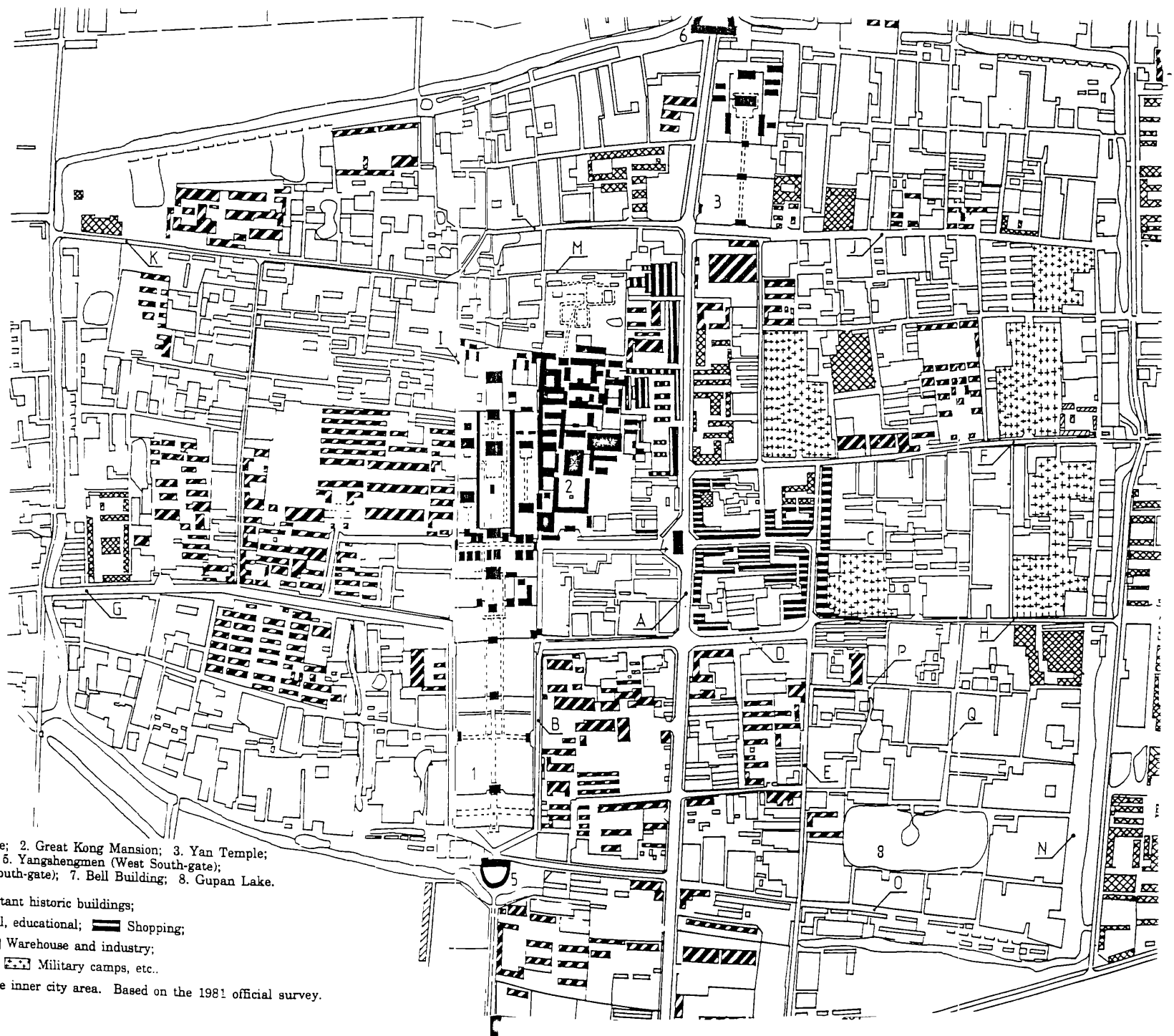
Street names:

- A Gulou
- B Queli
- C Guloumen
- D Qipan
- E Nanmen
- F East-gate
- G West-gate
- H Wumaci
- I Banbi
- J Yanmiao
- K Tianguandi
- L Houzaimen
- M Houzou
- N Dongnanmadao
- O Nanmadao
- P Zhifang
- Q Shangyou

- 1. Confucian Temple; 2. Great Kong Mansion; 3. Yan Temple;
- 4. Drum Building; 5. Yangahengmen (West South-gate);
- 6. Nanmen (East South-gate); 7. Bell Building; 8. Gupan Lake.

- Keys: Important historic buildings;
- Civic, cultural, educational; Shopping;
- Hotels; Warehouse and industry;
- Residential; Military camps, etc..

Fig. 7-3: Qufu - the inner city area. Based on the 1981 official survey.



families, with their more than a thousand children, and gradually to replace them with University and Polytechnic students. Although at first the community's stability contributed to the social success of Park Hill and Hyde Park, the physical deterioration was depressing and the maintenance was poor, it was predicted that '... such a scheme of closely-set high blocks of flats will be a slum in half a century or less...'¹⁸. The architects were blamed that their Brutalist architecture had created a castle-like monumental modern slum that brutalised its inhabitants. This is a typical example of how modern architectural aesthetics has helped to produce totally unsatisfactory social conditions.

The turning point in the building of high-rise blocks for public housing was marked by the Ronan Point disaster, caused by a gas explosion on the morning of Thursday, 16 May 1968. This ensured the public mistrust of high-rise living, because of its medical and social drawbacks and lack of safety. In the following years the building of high-rise housing dropped dramatically from 20,000 blocks in 1967 to 5,500 in 1969 and only 752 in 1971. It was argued that the high-rise buildings themselves were frequently unattractive and environmentally disruptive as well as more expensive to build. It was found that they did not necessarily save land either. So the only credit left to them was that the contractors made better profits from faster building speeds. They could be quickly built and so reduced the unproductive period between site purchase and the time when the rents and subsidies started to come in¹⁹.

2.3 City Centre Redevelopment

Although both the building of new towns and slum clearance had taken place on an enormous scale in the post-war reconstruction period, most of the old city centres did not see any major dramatic changes until the 1960s because apart from the blitzed cities such as Coventry, the majority of them had had their major comprehensive development areas on the fringes, where large numbers of slum houses were cleared. It was becoming clear to the planners in Local Authorities that the demolition of solid Victorian buildings and their replacement appeared unrealistic (HOLLIDAY, 1973, p.13). Nevertheless, as seen from Abercrombie's Greater London Plan, the ideas of the 1940s had already laid

¹⁸ Quoted in Esher, Crook, 1987, p.262.

¹⁹ See Berry, 1974, pp.88-89.

down the zoning pattern for city centre rebuilding; that areas of housing, industry, commerce and culture should be clearly separated. The early experience of city centre rebuilding in the blitzed city of Coventry demonstrated these principles remarkably. The shopping precincts, pedestrian centres and modern circulatory and inner ring roads, had shown how the old city centres, many of them still medieval in pattern, could be transformed.

Since the middle 1950s commercial development had begun to bring further pressure to city centres after the 1954 Act which abolished building licence controls. For example, most of the speculation and building which took place in London between 1955 and the early sixties was for offices. From then on the large provincial cities, including Birmingham, Manchester, Newcastle, Leeds and Sheffield, also started to face the same situation. However during the 1950s the amount of shopping space required was mainly provided by land cleared of old slums and industry; offices were often not located in the most central and expensive sites. Therefore, for many planners and architects, the developments of the 1950s were rather accidental in manner and were regarded as the results of a decline of planning powers formed in the 1940s, due to the Conservative Government's being more in favour of private sector city development²⁰. They regretted the missed commercial development opportunities to resolve, for instance, the growing pedestrian/vehicle conflict and to experiment with new designs. With increasing car ownership throughout the Fifties and early Sixties, the serious congestion and environmental deterioration in the city centres caused by traffic, again made desirable the overall planning of the city centres and large scale redevelopment of their infrastructure.

The problem was severe and enormous in scale. Buchanan in his influential report 'Traffic in Towns' (1963) warned that the frightening growth of traffic would require a great number of primary networks and interchanges, as a result of which most British cities could possibly stand in danger of being dissected by major roads (BUCHANAN, 1963, p.196). A less disastrous scale of physical changes would suffice '*provided there is less traffic*'. However, given the high and rising rate of private car ownership and increasing population of cities, the only realistic solution to the problems was to seek a new pattern for the city through multi-level comprehensive redevelopment, which would '... not only yield much needed extra space, but open the door to the creation of new

²⁰ See Holiday, 1973, pp.9-10, Cherry, 1972, p.176 & pp.193-94.

environments of the most interesting and stimulating kind' (ibid., p.198). The new pattern of the city, according to Buchanan, would consist of 'areas of good environment' like 'urban rooms' where people could live, work, shop, look about and move around on foot without disturbance from traffic. Complementary network of roads - 'urban corridors' - should ensure that their traffic is related in character and volume to the environmental areas. Similar to the way in which Le Corbusier had designed the contemporary city for a fixed three million inhabitants, and Abercrombie had propounded the ideal density of 136 persons per acre for London, Buchanan had to define a maximum size of an environmental area; this is governed by the need to prevent its own traffic building up to a volume that in effect necessitates sub-division by the insertion of a further distributory link in the network. Statistically he found the most effective grid was 4,500 by 4,500 feet, because it would permit the highest level of traffic generation per hour (ibid., p.45 & 132). Thus the environmental areas would be ideally controlled by 4,500 foot grids with three subdivisions on each side. As Buchanan confesses, no sociological content is implied by these environmental areas. 'The concept is no more and no less than a method of arranging buildings for motor traffic' (ibid., p.45). Here Le Corbusier's city for 'the motor age' is strongly echoed. Not only should the existing network be changed, but also the existing street-building pattern should be replaced by a kind of 'traffic architecture' which conveys the idea that buildings and building groups be purpose-designed for the most efficient handling of traffic (ibid., p.46).

However, Buchanan is aware that the 'technical' answer is not enough. He also points out the danger of 'urban sprawl' which increases all the distances that have to be traversed. He suggests that cities be planned in a 'compact area', therefore all journey-distances could be reduced, at the same time the concentration of people makes it possible to provide a social diversity of services, interests and contacts (ibid., p.31). Moreover he argues that planned co-ordination of sound but relatively cheap public transport should be necessarily provided in big cities, in order to limit private car traffic in busy areas. Nevertheless, up to the 1960s, the official assumption was that motoring would remain the favoured form of transport, so that transport planning became in effect planning for the motor car. This bias of official policies naturally led to the decline of public transport which had been Labour's utopia²¹. About ten years later, Holliday observed that one of

²¹ See Ravetz, 1980, p.126-35.

the problems in the Sixties had been to think too much in terms of physical change of the road system (HOLLIDAY, 1973, P.23). In the Nineties, the so-called scientific methods applied to traffic issues have become discredited in favour of traffic management. It was found that 'bigger roads make journeys slower', and 'buses use space more efficiently than cars'. This suggests, contrary to conventional wisdom, that reducing the traffic capacity of roads can make all types of journey faster²².

Nevertheless in the Sixties under pressure from commercial developers and traffic problems, town planning and urban design began to work on a new larger scale with new civic engineering technology brought from America. But above all the grand scale of the problem involved required a strong planning power; once established in the 1940s, it was weakened during the following decade of Conservative administration. As Grebler (1964) in an earlier study on urban renewal in Britain and Europe indicates, national renewal programmes were urgently needed in those countries, in order to avoid the inefficiency of the conventional one off replacement. He wrote:

'Because public as well as private improvements are required and because of the common difficulties of large-scale land assembly in built-up areas, urban renewal is usually characterised by substantial government actions of a national programme, accompanied by financial and other assistance by the central government by far exceeding the earlier concern with housing' (GREBLER, 1964, p.13).

No wonder that planners and architects admired the boldness of the early reconstruction work in the blitzed cities. In Britain most of the major shopping redevelopments came from Labour-controlled Councils such as Birmingham, where the country's first city inner ring road was linked to the national motor-way network, and one of the largest redevelopment complexes had taken place at New Street Station²³.

One year after the Labour Party was back in office in 1964, the Town and Country Planning Association declared that:

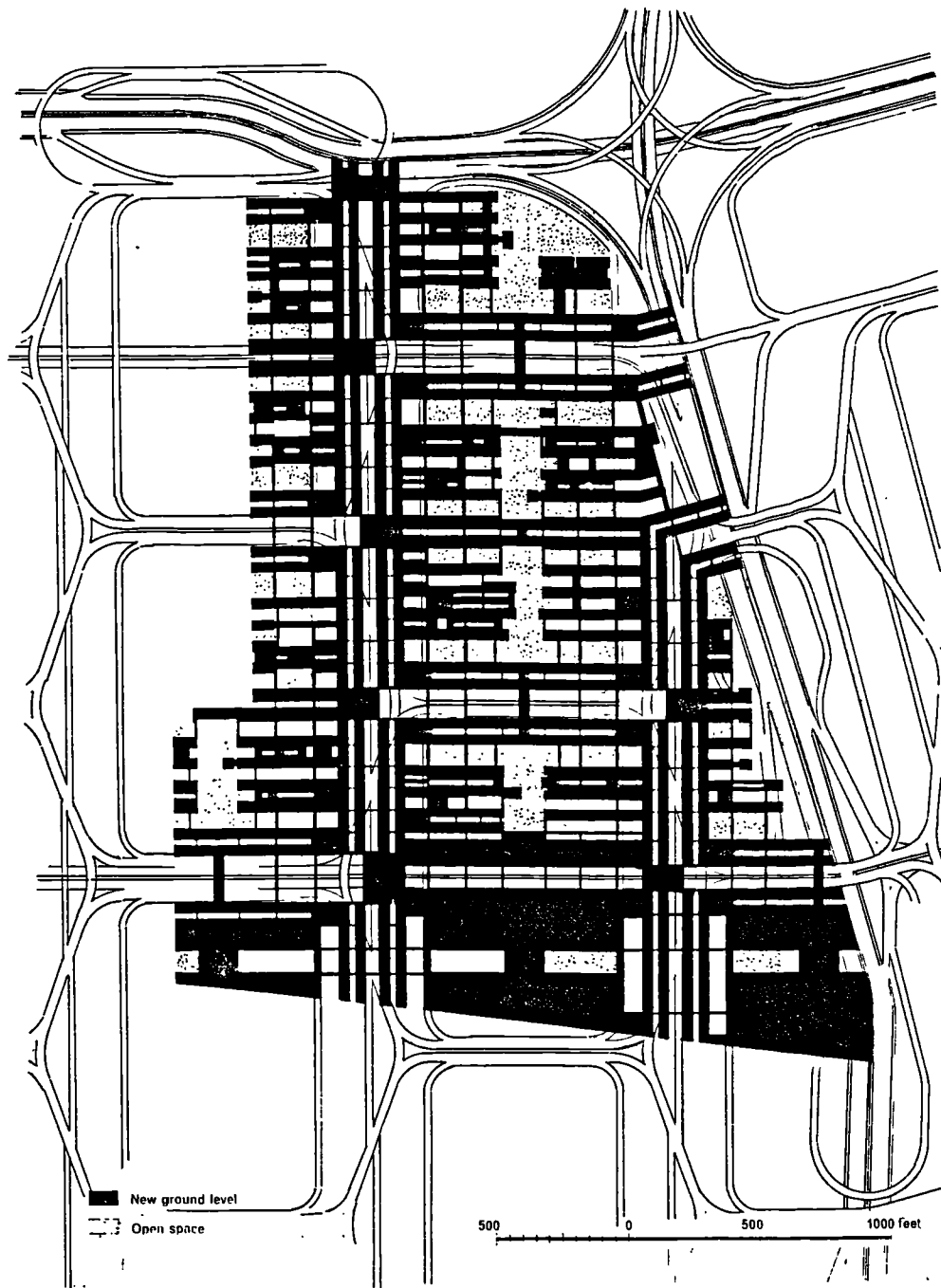
'The dominant task of urban planning over the next twenty years will be the physical reshaping of the large towns and cities, the modernisation of their road and transport systems and the wholesale renewal, whether by comprehensive improvement or redevelopment, of obsolescent housing. This process will call for a radical re-appraisal of the town's functions and of the distribution of activities within the town' (quoted in RAVETZ, *ibid.*, p.99).

²² See Martin Mogridge, 'The Best Laid Plans?' in Observer Magazine, 15 April 1990, pp.32-33.

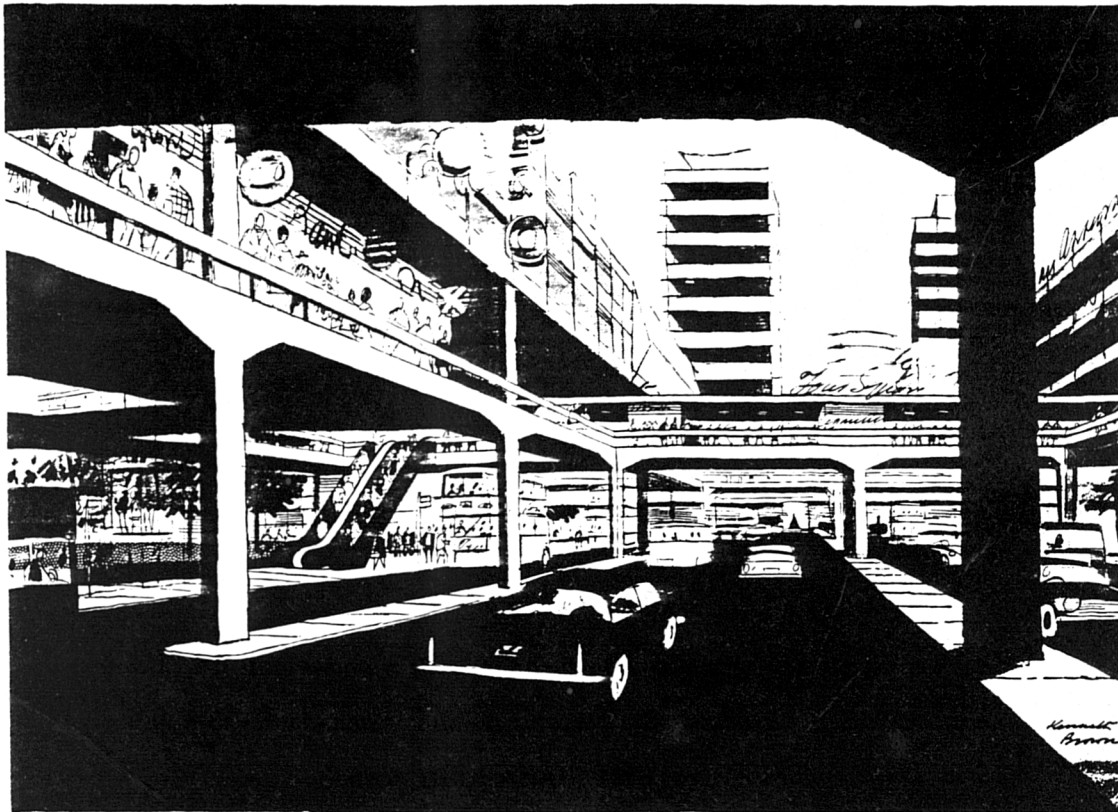
²³ See Ravetz, *ibid.*, p.100; Holliday, *ibid.*, p.16.

The new form of the would-be rebuilt town centre was inevitably affected by the concept of the planners' definition of it. Following the zoning policies established in the 1940s planners of the Sixties found shopping, office, civic and educational buildings and later hotels were suitable in city centres. But ordinary middle-class housing was regarded not financially feasible (RAVETZ, *ibid.*, p.124). Since the middle 1960s planning authorities had been concerned with the depopulation of central areas. Consequently the conventional local services, cafe, clubs and other small businesses found difficulty in surviving without the substantial population in the centre. At the same time continuing changes in retail structure also caused a decline in the variety of outlets as supermarkets took over from small shops. Later on in the 1980s shopping malls had to find available land out of town for the sake of urban conservation, but as will be seen this can cause the potential decline of venerable historic city centres.

After years of redevelopment, the nature of city centres has been changed fundamentally. First of all the scale of ownership is getting greater. Functionally the age-old central wholesale market, such as Covent Garden in London, has been moved out and the residential function has almost disappeared. Replacing them are huge commercial and leisure complexes as well as transport terminals and car parking. In terms of transport, the mass movement of goods from industry to city centre has given way to the mass movement of people to and from shops and offices. With these changes, new problems emerged. From the middle 1960s onwards it became apparent that many city centres often had less activity at night. The main reason was that before many small properties existed in back streets and on the fringes of the centres, where residential flats were to be found above the commercial premises. The latter have either been redeveloped or abandoned for more spacious living conditions. The large-scale of the clearance and redevelopment had never before been seen in Britain. It was said that this systematic attack on much loved and familiar landmarks destroyed more worthwhile buildings than the bombing in the Second World War. The later emergence of the inner-city crisis of the 1970s brought bitter criticism of this brutal redevelopment. Marxism condemned the capitalist nature of the redevelopment, architectural theorists and sociologists blamed the new city form of the 1960s, which was purely a production machine to seek to produce money and ignored both the social logic and humane value.



3-8. a) Diagram from the Buchanan report: the black shows the 'new ground' level which serves as a base for the buildings and beneath which traffic flows freely.



3-8. b) An impression of Buchanan's traffic conduits and traffic architecture.

Fig. 3-8: Buchanan's solution to the traffic problems in modern cities.

Source: BUCHANAN, 1963, pp.138, 143.

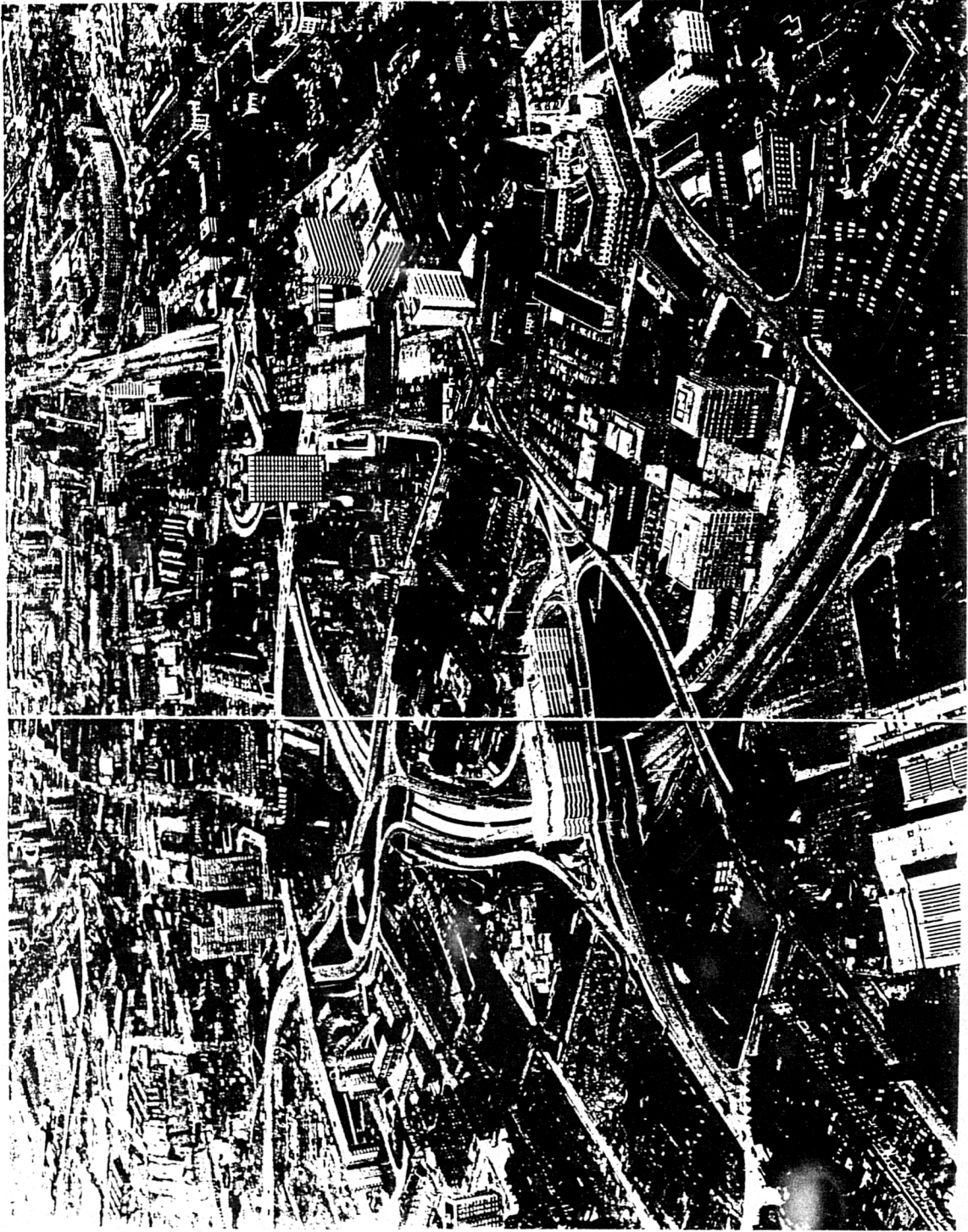


Fig. 3-9:
The central area of Leeds:
the effect of new highways
on the changing urban scene.

Source: CHERRY, 1972,
pp.238-39.

3 THE CHANGING SOCIAL CLIMATE: 1968 - 1979

Up to the late 1960s Britain and most of the advanced industrial countries had enjoyed the triumph of the post-war consensus, wherein the government became ever more powerfully involved in local communities, and development became bigger and bigger and more speedy. The housing programmes, the new town developments, city centre redevelopments, plus massive highway construction and other public infrastructure were all the achievement of the long term economic growth encouraged by the Welfare State. In town planning and urban design aspects, the mega-structure or 'city as a building' ideas were consequently created to cope with large-scale long-term developments. However the negative sides of rapid economic development and city building began to be exposed in the late 1960s. Not only did the Ronan Point flat collapse in London in 1968, when high technology was meant to be conquering the newly built environment, but also poverty was 're-discovered' in this era of the 'end of ideology' and 'economic boom'²⁴. The 'brutalist' style of architecture became the symbol of the harsh environmental and social changes which occurred in the 1950s and 1960s. Moreover, there were growing difficulties both in continuing to finance public expenditure and in containing the pressure for pay increases to control modern inflation; especially, the economic recession in the West after the 1973 oil crisis caused city building and architecture to reach a low ebb. City rebuilding began to receive heavy criticism and pressure from various public groups. The legitimacy of the planning and architectural professions were for the first time being challenged.

3.1 The Destruction caused by Post-war City Rebuilding

The destruction of the post-war development was far more than an urban issue. It extended to the whole living environment. The scale of the problem was enormous. The limited natural resources, the ever-increasing population and rapid urbanisation, and the degradation of the quality of environment became a serious problem which the whole human race had to face. Growth was now no longer identified with optimism but with

²⁴ See Esher, 1980; Mago 1979; Ravetz, 1986.

fear and death²⁵. The environmental problem caused the well-known 'Environmental Movement' in the West. From the late 1960s to early 1970s, Britain and the United States saw a dramatic increase in public awareness of environmental issues. Not only did the media devote much more room to those issues, but also various pressure groups including conservation societies, were formed. At the same time a number of new political institutions were set up and relevant legislation was also introduced with support from almost all parties²⁶. Nevertheless there was no place more affected by the post-war development, both physically and socially, than Britain's cities and towns (WALLIS, 1972). The overambitious housing programmes, proposed road construction, and numerous city centre renewal programmes, all resulted in towns and cities being threatened by the common disease - planning blight. From 1945 to the late 1970s, slum clearance had caused the rehousing of some four million people, plus those who were regarded as 'voluntary' movers to suburbia. Such massive housing developments caused great changes in British towns and cities (RAVETZ, 1986, p.77). Many of the cleared sites were offered to higher-valued commercial property development companies. In the more prosperous and larger conurbations such as London, Birmingham, Leeds and Newcastle, this would be offices and new shopping centres. However, many of the derelict or cleared areas might wait for years for redevelopment, wherein decay and dereliction began to appear. McKean (1977) reported that almost every high street had an empty site caused by the demolition of a building, shops boarded up and covered in peeling posters, walls and buildings covered in graffiti. McKean considered that the Comprehensive Development Area (CDA) policy introduced by the 1947 Town and Country Planning Act was the direct reason for planning blight; it provided the Local Authorities with the right to designate those areas for redevelopment according to their long-term development plan. However the Local Authorities often went overboard in their enthusiasm to remove the so-called slums. The City of Glasgow, for example, declared twenty-nine such CDAs. For the politicians large scale development was an 'easy way' to begin to achieve the over-ambitious figures of housing promised in order to win re-election. But many Councils still regarded the small or often ill-shaped sites as difficult to develop in 'their desirable programme'. Inevitably many houses, which were to be demolished in such CDAs, were

²⁵ See The Limits to Growth.

²⁶ See Sandback, 1980, pp.1-8.

not necessarily in 'bad condition'. It was reported that about 60% of the houses demolished between 1967 and 1972 had been classified in 1967 as being in 'good or fair' condition²⁷.

Facing this massive destruction and redevelopment, the traditional character of many towns and cities was badly affected; innumerable and often worthwhile historic buildings, among which many were listed, were destroyed. The physical destruction was on an enormous scale. Amery and Cruickshank's The Rape of Britain (1975) showed the tragic scene across the whole country, from London to Edinburgh, Liverpool to Glasgow, Bath to Berwick, from big cities to country towns, and the ancient cathedral centres to the great commercial metropolises of the Victorian age, architectural and historic heritages were assaulted and despoiled as never before. The damage was no less than that caused by the war, yet carried out by the very planners who were meant to be the guardians of the country's heritage. From 1945 to 1974, especially during the 1960s, it was reported that at least 712 notable country houses had been demolished, gutted, or allowed to fall into ruin. In London about 1,828 good Georgian and Victorian terraces of houses were demolished for the extension of London University in 1969. In Bath it was estimated that some 2,000 Georgian houses were lost in the Seventies. Losses of important monuments, such as the London Euston Station Arch in 1962 and the late Victorian baroque Town Hall in Newcastle-under-Lyme were repeated up and down the country (BINNEY & HANNA, 197?).

According to the Civic Trust's 1977 report, there were at least 250,000 acres of dormant land lying in various stages of vacancy, temporary use or decay. The area of this 'urban wasteland' was equal to the total amount of land required to build Britain's 34 new towns, designated between 1946 and 1968, or alternatively an area that could accommodate housing for 5 million people or produce food for a quarter of a million²⁸. Moss (1981) sketches the situation as follows:

'...wasteland is most evident in the old industrial and heavily built-up areas. Weedy wastes not only lurk between buildings, but infiltrate the very buildings themselves as dandelions, nettles and rodents breed in the cracks of broken steps and punctured bricks. This kind of vegetated building is now a dominant part of the urban streetscape' (p.105).

²⁷ See McKean, 1977, pp. 12-4.

²⁸ See Moss, 1981, pp.104-23.

However, despite the existence of these great acres of derelict inner city sites, green field sites were still being built on by house builders²⁹. All this was a big blow to the urban vision of the late 1950s and the Sixties which assumed that high density urban redevelopment could *save* land compared with that used to build the New Towns and covered by suburban sprawl.

The urban decay, the loss of so many historic buildings and the threats to the traditional character of towns and cities was only one aspect of the problem. The often bad quality of the new development and buildings was no less severe. Jane Jacobs' (1962) story about the aggressive American cities, for the first time bitterly attacked modern city planning and rebuilding doctrines, which were inherited from Howard's Garden City, Geddes's regional planning, and Le Corbusier's Radiant City legacies. To Jacobs these principles ignored how the city works in real life; for instance the social significance of the traditional sidewalk or pavement, the diverse functions and uses of the city, and the contribution of small building blocks and aged buildings, and the importance of concentration, with the high densities of urban settlements. So it can be said that modern planning principles helped to kill city life and turned the city into a nightmare place. Jacobs' observation was also supported by Alexander's article 'A City is not a Tree' (1965), which tried to show that the modern artificial city is layed down in a tree-like structure, as a result of simplifying it into four function zones: working, living, leisure and transport. In contrast, the traditional 'natural cities' are in a more complicated semi-lattice structure in which the various activities often overlap.

While Jane Jacobs and Christopher Alexander tackled planning problems of modern city rebuilding, Oscar Newman's (1973) 'Defensible Space' pin-pointed design as the major fault in public housing. He believed that in the modern liberal urban environment it is necessary to establish an environment, in which inhabitants can find a sense of security through the physical expression of a social fabric so that the community can defend itself (p.3). The failure of modern low-income public housing is too obvious. In the United States, the Pruitt-Igoe in St. Louis, with its thirty-three identical, eleven storey blocks of 2,800 apartments, by the well-known architect Minoru Yamasaki, was blown up in the Seventies after standing for less than 20 years, simply because the cheaply built flats

²⁹ According to Lawless (1986), in the 1960s and 1970s all regions of Britain had experienced a steady rippling out of the population to suburban areas and the vast proportion of households leaving the urban cores move in the owner occupied sector.

were not inhabitable as the result of vandalism and decay³⁰. In Britain at the beginning of urban redevelopment the American experience was ignored and the same mass housing trend was followed. Later, not surprisingly, some Councils had to blow up their most troublesome towers and rehouse the tenants in low-rise Council houses (HACKNEY, 1990, p.88). Given all the demolition undertaken in the name of redevelopment, developers and planners began to be criticised for being 'vandals', and architects too were blamed for their design responsibility (WARD, 1973).

The physical destruction was only the visible aspects of the urban crises. More deeply, there was a social decay of the urban life, and this decay was beyond planners' and architects' control. The modern city, despite its utopian origin, as a matter of economic and technological development tends to be 'large, clear and brutal'. As Raban (1974) in his cynical book Soft City says:

It is the very success of the city as an economic unit which causes its downfall as a spiritual republic, and that paradox is the hardest of all truths for Augustine³¹ to bear. The city of man ought to be a harmonious reflection of the city of God; in actuality, it is vulgar, lazy and corrupt, a place so brutish that it lacks even the dignity of the satanic. Better the besieged city than the corpulent city, better poverty than wealth; for whatever nourishes the city chokes it too' (p.21).

When physical city becomes harder, the 'soft city' emerges. In the city, the sense of a stable hierarchy has become increasingly exhausted, people no longer live in a world where they can all share the same values, idols. Personal identity is presented as 'plastic, a matter of possessions and appearances'. There is 'no single point of view' from which one can grasp it as a whole. Every community has to find its own 'quarter'. The minority may give 'an area its "character", while its real life lies in the rub of subtle conflicts between all sorts of groups of different people', and 'a strong cultural community can exist quite outside the geographical definition of a quarter', which may be 'a network of communication lines with intermittent assembly points' (p.185). In the large modern cities such as London and New York, people face the crowd of strangers without knowing

³⁰ See Hackney, 1990, pp.82-3.

³¹ St. Augustine of Hippo, A.D. 354-430, was the great Doctor of Latin Church. His Book City of God, written between A.D. 413-426, and first published in 1467, has made 'an abiding mark not only on Christian theology but on the psychology and political philosophy of the West since the Dark Ages'. In the book Augustine defended the 'glorious City of God' against those who preferred their own gods to the founder of the city such as Rome (p.xvi). He wrote: 'I classify the human race into two branches: the one consists of those who live by human standards, the other of those who live according to God's will ... By two cities I mean two societies of human beings, one of which is predestined to reign with God from all eternity, the other doomed to undergo eternal punishment with the devil' (p.xvii). Reference: City of God, ed. by David Knowles, Pelican Books, London, 1972 edition.

'who belong to what'. The fluid movement of city life provides nobody with any fixed address. Individuals become more possessive of the 'senses of place', because only 'place' gives them a sense of belonging and makes the fixed root of life in the metropolis.

Even worse, the city as an economic and technological matter is only suitable for the few selected people - the successful white men, while women, children, racial minorities, are excluded from it (SHORT, 1989). It is the *social inequality* of the post-war development which gives the fundamental explanation to all the physical destruction of city rebuilding. In Britain after decades of growth, there are still more than one-third of a million adults and a million children in old-standard 'initial' poverty. Since 1954 some three-quarters of a million slum dwellings have been cleared, yet the number of families on the waiting lists for Council housing has been growing. The 1966 sample census estimated that there were 1,067,150 cases in Britain where single people were occupying five rooms and over, and more than 10,000 were thought to have ten rooms and more; at the same time the country as a whole had about 2,000 people who were made homeless every month (WALLIS, 1972). Growth under the market economic system does not bring everyone wealth. Hirsch's (1977) account of 'positional economy' and the crisis of moral legitimacy of liberal capitalism warns of the social cost of the market economy and the social limits to its growth.

The inequality became even more obvious when Britain fell into economic recession in the 1970s, and created what became known as the 'inner-city crisis'. Underlying the depressed scene of inner city areas, sociologists found unpleasant social facts. Kirby (1978) discovered that in Britain,

'The inner cities contain: 7% of British population - 3,800,000 people. 14% of the unskilled worker; 20% of the householders in housing stress; 33% of the commonwealth immigrants; unemployment running at twice the national average; employment opportunities contracting at over twice the national average; up to ten times the national proportion of families living below the supplementary benefit poverty line. Up to four times the domestic overcrowding found elsewhere in cities; over twice the national average of single-parent families; less than half the national rate of car-ownership' (p.3).

With physical destruction and social inequality, social riots inevitably took place. The breakout of disorder in Bristol in April 1980 marked the turning point of the relative peaceful postwar period in Britain. During the period, 1980 - 1986, urban unrest took place in British cities almost every year. Especially in 1981, there were widespread disturbances in many parts of the country, including the 'Brixton disorder', the 'race riot'

in the Liverpool 8 district of Merseyside, and other riots in Manchester, Birmingham, Sheffield and Leeds among others. Also there was a most serious disorder at Broadwater Farm Estate in Tottenham, London in 1985. It is argued that the central factor of the urban unrest is 'social injustice'³². This social injustice and its consequent violence provoked the radical ideas heard from left-wing writers. The following section focus on these ideas which are strongly related to city planning and architecture.

3.2 Politics in City Planning

For whom was the city planned? was an issue which had been long disguised. Extensive inner city redevelopment and the consequent relocation of displaced residents to radically new physical environments changed the 'old' ways of life; the 1970s' economic recession, both in Britain and after the 'oil crisis' in the western world, explicitly exposed the negative side of the post-war redevelopment; social inequality brought on by low wages and then unemployment hit the poor and the powerless. These tragic human circumstances caused the ideological aspects of town planning and architecture to be the focus of a number of important studies. It started, in the early 1960s, with Jacobs' (1961) The Death and Life of Great American Cities, which not only passed the message of the crisis caused by the early experience of urban redevelopment in USA, but also attacked the whole planning system, from the Federal government, to local authority, developers, and planners. Then many more works appeared in the 1970s and early 1980s, partly as a response to world events, especially the trauma of the Vietnam war in United States and the upheavals in Europe. Among these are Goodman's After the Planner (1972), David Harvey's Social Justice of Space (1973), Manfredo Tafuri's Architecture and Utopia (1976), Cynthia Cockburn's (1977) The Local State, Alison Ravetz's Remaking City (1980) and its later short revision Government of Space (1986), and Gordon Cherry's The Politics of Town Planning (1982). In contrast to the conventional urban studies which have long regarded the city as 'a focus for empirical research', and as a phenomenon requiring theoretical constructions to explain its evolution, dynamics and structure', these recent studies are more interested in sociology, and the relatively empirical discipline of planning, social policy and geography (LAWLESS

³² See J. Benyon's and J. Solomos' introduction chapter 'British urban unrest in the 1980s', BENYON and SOLOMOS, 1987, pp.3-14.

and RABAN, 1986, p.3).

At the theoretical level, Harvey (1973), a Marxist philosopher, for the first time raised the concept of 'social justice' of the city. Being critical about modern professionals including sociologists, economists, geographers, architects, city planners, etc., Harvey considers that they all deal with urban problems 'in the city' rather than 'of the city' (HARVEY, 1973, P.22). In other words, they all serve the existing urban system in one way or another. Following the thinking of the Frankfurt School, including Marcusean thought which condemns the artificial separation of facts and values, theory and practice, Harvey argues that urban space is not natural, rather it is created deliberately in a specific form to fulfil certain social needs because the professional's observation is always an act of 'evaluation'. Instead of being 'a matter of "eternal" justice and morality', this social evaluation is as 'something contingent upon the social processes operating in society as a whole', so urban space takes its very 'social-process-spatial-form' (ibid. p.15)

Harvey's philosophy of social space disturbed the whole theory and practice which appeared in modern planning and city building, especially from the 1950s onwards, and brought them to the position that the 'common image' they provided is actually derived from some 'group norms'. In economic terms, as Harvey puts it:

'Any overall strategy for dealing with urban systems must contain and reconcile policies designed to change the spatial form of the city (by which is meant the location of objects such as houses, plant, transport links, and the like) with policies concerned to affect the social process which go on in the city (i.e., the social structures and activities which link people with people, organisations with people, employment opportunities with employees, welfare recipients with services, and so on'. (ibid, p.50)

Furthermore,

'Most social policies are directly framed as attempts to maintain a given distribution of income within a social system or to redistribute income among the various social groups that make up a society'. (ibid., p.52)

Therefore, the rapid growth of the cities after Second World War in Western Europe and USA. and its result of significant changes in its spatial form is not simply 'a manifestation of adjustment in the urban system to changing technology, changing demand patterns; rather 'these adjustment in the spatial form of the city are likely to bring about a redistribution of income in a variety of ways' (ibid., p.61). In these ways, the changing location of economic and residential activities and the consequent changing expenditures on transport all limit the accessibility to jobs and housing to a certain group

of people in a certain degree. Within this social-spatial form of the city, people can predict what kind of income groups live where.

In terms of politics, the urban system provides the field for the 'jostling of the "hidden mechanisms" for redistribution'. In the capitalist system, the 'hidden mechanisms' naturally tend to benefit the rich and disadvantage the poor, because the well-organised privileged and intermediate groups can usually defeat the wishes of a wide-spread mass of unorganised people (ibid., pp.73-6).

Within the given framework by Harvey, modern planning history can be viewed in an entirely political context. As Cherry pointed out:

'... town planning is a political activity. It is a function of government, and the people who operate the system (professionals, civil servants and politicians) inevitably subscribe to values and ideologies which have a bearing on decisions and politics. These are made in respect of other people, some will gain from a decision but some will lose' (1982, p.5).

In Britain, modern town planning started with the Public Health Acts of the second half of 19th century, which brought about the clearance of the Victorian slum through housing reform. In this process, the poor working-classes were identified with the 'vile environment', to sweep away the slums seemed also to remove 'slumdom'. However, the real intention of slum clearance was the redefinition of city centres, so that business and commerce and later some public amenities for the new middle-classes could take place more easily in the city centre, to make profit and to serve certain groups of people. At the same time, the thoroughfares and railways could also be built to benefit 'society at large'. The increased cost of houses forced the poor to move further out from the city centre to live in the lifeless 'by-law' houses. Consequently, slum clearance programmes under government intervention caused suburbanisation, so the poor had inevitably to leave the cities as they had previously been forced to move into them. However, the working class housing conditions were not improved as they were supposed to be.

In reaction to this situation, low-density 'garden city' type planning was brought into being by Ebenezer Howard's pioneering ideas by the end of the 19th century. Unfortunately, from its inception, the Garden City idea was entwined with town expansions and garden suburbs, and had little to do with a self-contained community. The radical social programmes of the Liberal Government between 1906 and 1914, the Town Planning Act of 1909 and the Housing Act of 1919, all envisaged the relocation of

the working-class as being a vehicle for town extension, but under Local Councils' control with State subsidies.

Moving to the inter-war years, Britain underwent profound economic and social changes as a result of the catastrophic war: industrial unrest, economic depression and mass unemployment caused unbalanced industrial growth; modern patterns of home making emerged and, as a result of new middle-class attitudes, to smaller family sizes. Between the two wars, over four million new dwellings were built in the typical semi-detached style, but on the other hand, most of the working class were still confined in bad conditions. In the late 1930s in the country as a whole, nearly one million working-class dwellings were regarded as unfit and were to be demolished immediately or in the near future (CHERRY, 1974, p.134).

In order to decentralise the population and industry, the Act of 1932 first introduced the concept of official 'town and country planning', which addressed the problem of how to give Councils the powers to control such development. Now the Garden City Movement's energy went into a campaign for satellite towns around London and a 'hundred new towns' throughout the country. Although the 1932 Act had little direct effect on the current development, because of the heavy potential compensation for any development, the law was really out of all proportion to the size or worth of the scheme, but it marked 'a milestone by extending planning powers for the first time to built-up areas as well as underdeveloped land' (RAVETZ, *ibid.*, p.30).

The Second World war brought an inter-party consensus in planning; centralised planning found favour with the authority. Suddenly, depressed urban and rural areas were important again to the national economy, and public attention was again focused on the poverty and squalor of working-class urban society. The Force's educational programmes mobilised the mass who wanted a 'Better Britain'. The dereliction caused by the War and the flood of speculative development, all convinced people that without stronger planning powers the urban fringe and countryside would be raped. 'Planning won the war, so why could it not win the peace' (CHERRY, 1982, p.42)? Finally, under the Labour Government after the war, the 1947 Town and Country Planning Act was formulated; it provided the new instruments through which the development of entire towns could be brought under control and developed in the national interest. This implied that a person who was refused permission to develop land was not normally

entitled to compensation. The 1947 Act marked the victory of a long series of campaigns and measures making it possible to intervene in and control the market for the industrial society (RAVETZ, *ibid.*, p.35).

The post-war reconstruction started with the idea, which matured between the two wars, of reorganising the existing cities. The central point was a zoning policy and the establishment of the concept that all kinds of buildings have 'limited life'. The political consensus made the planning profession unchallengeable, and Public Inquiries were strictly limited. Thus the grand plans of the 1940s were quite precisely laid down in the badly bombed cities such as Coventry and Birmingham, though details of the plans might be realised in distorted form during the following years. Through the 1950s and most of the 1960s, the Government had alternated between the Conservative and Labour parties, but the main theme of the Welfare State and centralism remained vital. Only 'the question of compensation and betterment touches raw political nerves, and deeply rooted biases and prejudices have made town planning, in relation to land and property, something of a political football' (CHERRY, 1982, P.48). The thirteen years of Conservative administration between 1951 and 1964 resulted in less constriction and a significant burst of economic growth, and the dismantling of those parts of the town and country planning system that conflicted with private enterprise and *laissez-faire*. The ending of the betterment tax (via legislation in 1953-54) created two values for land, according to whether it was sold in the open market or acquired by a public authority. The 1957 legislation restored the 'fair market price' as the basis of compensation for compulsory acquisition; this made public development extremely expensive to carry out.

The Conservative Government's compromise of partial private development with planning control through the compensation policy, confirmed town planning in a 'passive' role, where 'it was dependent on private developers to contribute to the urban environment, and most particularly to the city centres' (RAVETZ, *ibid.*, p.74). Under this circumstance, the Councils had to meet the difficulty of how to get hold of land for replanning, especially in town centres. This problem was quickly removed by the political promise of new housing programmes and the Housing Act 1957 which defined 'unfitness' in dwellings. In town planning, therefore, the role of slum clearance of the inner city working-class housing stocks, as Ravetz says, 'was as it had been in the Victorian city, to provide large tracts of land for reconstructing the city' (*ibid.*, p.75).

The slum clearance programme was contributed to by the increasing owner-occupier houses in the new towns and the newly emerged profitable commercial developments. Moving into the 1960s, with the increase of car ownership and its consequent need for more highway constructions, the old town centres were all to be modernised through redevelopment. The new standard of housing, transport, and indeed a new life style, were stimulated by the American image. Again, the political intention found the only possible way to tackle housing problem was through 'system' building, and large high-rise Council estates seemed to provide the ideal solution. New communities were built without efficient or indeed any public facilities. On the other hand, in the city centres, the large commercial complexes relating to new road construction were built to facilitate the boundless expansion and consumption.

Finally, the declining economy and the failure of the large-scale redevelopments and the threats of changes to people's homes and neighbourhoods directly provoked angry public reactions. Cynthia Cockburn's (1977) report from Lambeth Local Council demonstrates that the 'State in capitalism' is an instrument of class domination by the bourgeoisie who own capital, employ workers, and therefore hold political sway. The Local Council which is subject to Central Government is just the State's agency to fulfil the State's goals - to serve the 'privatised reproduction'. Cockburn's critical view of the collective concept of community undermines the political interest of the so-called community approach to planning. For Cockburn, public participation and corporate management were not new policies to substitute for capitalism, but 'a series of research and development exercises, intended to get better value for the money local authorities normally spend each year' (p.131). Since the late 1960s, the involvement of local pressure and community action groups in planning decision-making, exposed the explicitness of political issues in town planning. However, as part of the planning mechanism, pressure groups can mobilise popular attention over time. As Cherry pointed out 'planning policies can later come under fire when popular attitudes fail to be maintained and turn course' (ibid., p.80). This was well explained by the post-Fordist political-economic policies. The political aspect of town planning not only indicates the inequality of modern city building and the Welfare State's intervention in monopoly capitalism, but also opens post-industrial urbanism to a political inquiry as will be dealt with in the following pages.

Chapter Four

CITY BUILDING IN THE 1980S IN BRITAIN

The last Chapter discussed how modern planning and architectural policies were affected by the social and political demands of post-war city rebuilding, and how modernist ideas were incorporated with the political consensus from the 1940s to 1960s. However this consensus began to collapse in the late 1960s, when the policies of the two-Party system in Britain became more polarised. The apparent failure of much post-war city building and the destruction it caused at that time also helped to shatter the legitimacy of the planning and architectural professions. Therefore, the conventional urban development policies and modern architectural forms started to be transformed into new patterns in the 1970s. This transition was reflected by an increasingly severe social and economic crisis, that marked a low tide in city building and the rise of conservation in place of development, housing rehabilitation schemes and so-called postmodern or new-vernacular architecture.

This Chapter intends to capture the general economic, political and cultural trends that resulted in the eventual transformation of the modern movement, particularly in Britain. Given that background, the most influential planning policies, and architectural ideas in the 1980s will be discussed. Firstly, the new political-economic situation in Britain will be looked at, then a brief review given of the new philosophical debates which were closely related to Western post-modernist thinking and particularly to the new ideas of city building and architecture. A detailed examination will be made of town planning and architectural trends and practices associated with city building and conservation during the eleven years of three Thatcher Governments.

1 THE BACKGROUND

1.1 The collapse of 'Fordism'

The 1973 economic recession in the West marked the ending of the long post-war boom from 1945 onward, which as Harvey summarised,

'... was built upon a certain set of labour control practices, technological mixes, consumption habits, and configurations of political-economic power and that this configuration can reasonably be called Fordist-Keynesian' (1990, p.124).

Fordism was initiated in 1914 in America when Henry Ford introduced his standard wage and working time for workers manning the automated car-assembly-line. Fordism not only recognised the relationship between mass production and mass consumption, but also created a relevant system for the reproduction of labour power through new politics of control and management, and a new aesthetic and psychology for a new way of life. The fruition of Fordism in Europe was influenced by two factors: the major revolution in class relations from the 1930s to 1950s, and the proper configuration and deployment of State powers after the war. Based on new patterns of mass consumption and State power, Europe enjoyed unprecedented economic prosperity up to 1973. During these 25 years or so, in the advanced capitalist countries, 'Living standards rose, crisis tendencies were contained, mass democracy was preserved and the threat of inter-capitalists wars kept remote' (HARVEY, *ibid.*, P.129).

In Britain, the war against Germany encouraged a national coalition between the Conservative government and the Labour party; as a result a political consensus was established: the defence of democracy, full employment, sustained growth, low inflation, and a positive balance of payments (GAMBLE, 1981, P.117). First of all, the Socialist plans including a National Health Service, and the nationalisation of all major utilities were implemented by the Labour Party's election victory in 1946 at the end of the war. These were supported and developed by Conservative Governments through the 1950s and 1960s. Nonetheless, behind all these programmes were ideological factors: first 'the organisational preoccupations of the Trade Unions; secondly the macro-economic planning inspired by Keynesian policies, and finally the priority attached to combating inequalities through the provision of standardised and uniform services' (RABAN, 1986, p.16).

City Building in the 1980s in Britain

However, eventually the crisis of the Welfare State emerged within the system. This was due to the growing gap in income distribution among different social groups, generally between the middle and working classes and between management and workers in industry. This was accelerated by radical new urban policies which undermined social cohesion that depended in some part on technological development according to the old Fordist doctrines. At the same time, strong Trade Unions supported the specialisation of labour policies, so that industry became over-manned and it was hard to re-deploy the labour force from one line of production to another. In respect of the Trade Unions, on the one hand, their ubiquitous power strengthened their capacity to resist re-skilling, management control, and the threat of unemployment. On the other hand, they did effectively serve their members' narrow interests in the medium trend¹, but were eventually in danger of becoming fragmented and only pursuing self-serving rather than general aims. As far as the State was concerned, the Welfare burden that all Governments had to bear became ever dominant in the economy, though it did help to guarantee some kind of social wage for all. Thus the legitimacy of State power depended on its ability to spread the benefits of 'Keynesian welfare statism' and to find ways to deliver adequate public services on a massive scale to an increasingly 'dependent' public. These consumers, for that is how the mass public had come to be called, in the generation since the 1960s began to expect and demand more from the State than their parents. At the same time the ageing national population put greater demands on welfare provision, as care for the elderly became more of a public obligation than a family duty. The limits to government expenditure are ultimately set by the taxpayers, and these began to challenge the high levels of direct-taxes in the 1970s. The middle-income groups were particularly vocal as they saw themselves as the victims of a spiralling welfare bureaucracy primarily designed to help the low-income groups (SHORT, 1989, p.108-11). All this was reflected in poor industrial progress and as a result of these failures the credibility of the Fordist approach was undermined.

In general, from the mid 1960s to the end of the 1970s, the Fordist-Keynesian approach to the economy gradually lost the argument about the inherent contradictions of modern pluralist capitalist policies. A new more market and monetarist oriented

¹ Thought ultimately their ideological perspective of the growth of the British economy as a whole has led this country eventually to become known as the 'poor man of Europe'.

political economy began to emerge. In Britain, as Gamble writes:

'Since 1968, and still more since 1974, the refurbished doctrines of liberal political economy have made rapid progress. Keynesianism has been in considerable disarray; the monetarist doctrines on the control of inflation have become increasingly influential; and state expenditure, state intervention, and state enterprise have all been under considerable attack' (1985, p.137).

However, as 'Flexible accumulation', it

'rests on flexibility with respect to labour processes, labour markets, products, and patterns of consumption. It is characterised by the emergence of services, new markets, and above all, greatly intensified rates of commercial, technological and organisational innovation' (Harvey, *ibid.*, p.147)

All these suggest that in the post-Fordism time, capitalism is not becoming more 'disorganised'. On contrary, governments ideologically committed to non-intervention and fiscal conservatism have been forced by events to be more rather than less interventionist.

In Britain, for example,

'Thatcher's style was to translate the themes of the new economic liberalism into slogans and ideas that tapped popular discontent with many aspects of the present state, such as the arbitrariness of bureaucracy, the inefficiency of nationalised industry, the burden of taxation, the "privileges" enjoyed by immigrants, the damage of strikes, the lawlessness of demonstrations and the undermining of the independence and moral responsibility of families. The key to the translation was the posing of central questions of government policy as problems of individual responsibility and individual choice. This ideology of self-help preaches the right to be unequal, the need for self-reliance, and the need for everyone to take full responsibility for themselves and their families. It was closely allied to the call for stronger measures to discipline and control all social elements and minorities that threatened social order' (GAMBLE, *ibid.*, p.141).

It is the political-economic condition and political cultural climate that provides the backcloth against which to observe city building and conservation as an economic and cultural strategy in post-Fordist Britain in particular and the advanced industrial countries in general.

1.2 The 'Crisis' of Enlightenment

Fordism created a new way of production, and consumption, and a new life style for the modern times; its transformation inevitably involves changing the aesthetics and psychology, to a new politics of necessary labour control and management. According to scholars who are concerned with post-Fordism in a broad sense, including Harvey (1989) and Cook (1990), the changing conditions of modernism from the late 1960s up to today can be summarised in two aspects: the emergence of an anti-Enlightenment 'space-time

concept', and its consequent challenge to the credibility of positive thinking and the searching for localism in politics. Nonetheless, contemporary culture in the so-called post-industrial countries as a whole is still dominated by consumerism, where culture is a result of economic production, personal taste is manipulated and even lured by the market. It is this context that current architectural and town planning ideas with their philosophical concerns and in practical term are understood.

Space-time Concept - From Reason toward Phenomenon: The revolutionary space-time concept of modern thinking has its roots, like so much else, in the Renaissance, when for instance the rules of perspective were set up. Before, man grasped space-time in an ordered pattern related to his philosophy or religion and myth, whereby technology was not separated from morality. However, the Renaissance invention of the fixed viewpoint of perspective generated a pure geometrical and systematic sense of place. This detachment of the scientific and supposedly factual sense of time and space from the immediate perception of the reality of quality of place, stimulated the whole Enlightenment space-time concept. The Enlightenment was rooted in the emancipation of Man through the control of the natural laws, whereby it leads to the domination of man over nature through scientific rationality, without reflecting the glory of God on the one hand, or individualism to free man according to his consciousness and will on the other. Perspectivism challenged all aspects of social life, and their representation in art and urbanism. Thereafter, the medieval artisanal vernacular traditions were replaced by the intellectually active - professionalism. Perspectivism allowed architecture to derive its meaning from functionalism and formal games of combination, and understood the coherence or rationality of style as ornamental language, and led to the use of types as generative structures (PEREZ-GOMEZ, 1988, p.4).

The scientific approach of the Enlightenment gradually moved towards the social sciences, positivism emerged, whereby 'Enlightenment thinkers simply looked to command over the future through powers of scientific prediction, through social engineering and rational planning, and the institutionalisation of the rational system of social regulation and control' (HARVEY, *ibid.*, P.249). This motivation was fully reflected by modern statutory town planning ideas and systems which reached their zenith during the post-Second World-War city rebuilding period, where planning itself became a professional

subject. Once the 'law' of history itself became a force, artists and architects had to find the proper way to spatially express the patterns of history. So the Futurists sought to shape space in ways that would represent speed and motion, the Dadists renounced any permanent fixed spatial expression, and Le Corbusier invented the 'Vertical city'.

However, the notion of abstract Reason distorts the real world in Husserl's mind, and the ethic of the Progress of Civilisation increases repression on the individual in Freudian thought². In this context, the modern German philosopher Martin Heidegger raised the issue of 'Being-in-the-world'. To Heidegger, all metaphysics and philosophy are given their meaning only in relation to the destiny of the people (BLITZ, 1981). To exist as a human being means to present the full 'appropriateness of its nature' in an 'authentic relationship' to all the other living beings in the world³. However, Heidegger pointed out, in modern times, material progress has converted man into a technological being; man himself becomes material for a process of self-assertive production, self-assertive imposition of human will regardless of their own essential natures. Heidegger viewed the modern world of technology as 'a dark and deprived time', as against the Enlightenment concept, as an object of representation and in its relation to human will, as matter or product of a process of production or self-imposition. Heidegger found the 'thing' is gathering and staying in a world of its own special making. The only possible way to define human beings is by 'recalling', 'remembering' and 'memorising' the 'origin' and the 'primitive' as the original meaning of language tells⁴. The crisis to the Enlightenment was rooted in modern aesthetics as well as social theories, thus Heidegger's reaction almost started with aesthetics and goes on to general issues, because he believed that only the task of the poet could help us once more towards the 'bright possibility' of a true world. Therefore, when Heidegger talked about dwelling and building, instead of treating them as an art or as a technique of construction, he traced buildings back into the 'domain to which everything that is belongs'. He stated that buildings are just the means of dwelling, and dwelling is the only end to which human beings are as mortals on the earth. To dwell, is to be 'set at peace', to 'save the earth',

² See D.Held, 1980, p.166-67, and 121-23.

³ See the translator Albert Hofstadar's introduction to M.Heidegger's Poetry, Language, Thought, 1971, p.x.

⁴ Abert Hofstadar, *ibid.*, pp.xvii-xviii, in Heidegger, 1971.

to 'receive the sky', to 'await the divinities', to 'escort mortals'. If man dwells truly, he must dwell 'poetically' in harmony with the living world.

Here Heidegger reversed the abstract modern concept of space-time to specific 'locations' and 'things' and defined dwelling as the 'basic character' of Being in keeping with which mortals exist. This thinking is crucial, it encourages the search for the 'existential dimension' of the living environment. Moreover, Heidegger's method defining Being by 'recalling', 'remembering' and 'memorising' is itself not without poetic atmosphere. Today, when man's use of technology and capitalism is transforming the 'origin' and 'primitive' way to dwell into a pure building process, memorising the lost past can be a means to experience the 'authentic' way of human existence, to substitute for the vanished true Being.

Instead of searching for the cold technology with socially heroic utopias for the future, philosophers and architectural theorists began to talk about the 'intimate day-dream', 'personal space' and memory. Now Self is no longer in the present or in the future, but in 'reflection', where 'I can grasp myself only in my past acts', and 'the very act of reflection is possible only if the object of reflection is part of the past'⁵. Gaston Bachelard (1964), a French phenomenologist philosopher, opens to us a visionary world to contrast with the rational and scientific view of the living environment. For him, imagination is a most secret power that is as much of a cosmic force as of a psychological faculty. Echoing Heidegger's 'Space contains compressed time. That is what space is for' (HARVEY, *ibid.*, pp.4-6), Bachelard writes:

'... our home is our corner of the world... it is our first universe... (Man) experiences the home in its reality and in its virtuality, by means of thought and dreams. It is no longer in its positive aspects that the house is really "live", nor is it only in the passing hour that we recognise its benefits... (Rather) An entire past comes to dwell in a new house... And the day-dream deepens to the point where an immemorial domain opens up for the dreamer of a house beyond man's earliest memory... in this remote region, memory and imagination remain associated, each one working for their mutual deepening... Through dreams, the various dwelling-places in our lives co-penetrate and retain the treasures of former days. And after we are in the new house, when memories of other places we have lived in come back to us, we travel to the land of Motionless childhood, motionless the way all Immemorial things are. We comfort ourselves by reliving memories of protection'.

In short, the poetic space is the image transcended from the past, but not the actual

⁵ See Maurice Nantson's introduction to Alfred Schutz's Collected Paper - The Problem of Social Reality, 1967, p.xxxii.

history because the 'poetic image' has an 'entirety' and a dynamism of its 'own' (ibid., p.viii). These thinkings provide the philosophical ground for the so-called postmodern architecture and urban conservation, both have concentrated so much 'aesthetically' on the spatial expression of memory and the past rather than the social justice of cities.

From Totality to Locality: Parallel to the changing space-time concept, from the rational and universal one to the current personal and metaphysical one, there is also a rising of localism in the recent philosophies. The credibility of the nation-state and consensus in society was first challenged by the weakening legitimacy of scientific knowledge. The influential Dialectic of Enlightenment by Horkheimer and Adorno (1972) first came to question the systematic philosophies of history, which tended to impose themselves upon thought and distort history. To Enlightenment thought, history becomes interesting only as the correlation of a unified theory and as such it is transformed into its opposite. As Held (1980) summarised:

'The dialectic is between these two aspects of reason: reason as universal, common to every being, and reason as domination of the particular. The first has provided the ideals and legitimation which have become embedded in people's interpretations of their activities, while the second has generated the structure of day-to-day practice. The Enlightenment can be seen as a unity of enlightened thought, myth and domination' (ibid., pp.150-51).

This domination is much deliberated on by Foucault's series of writing on modern organisation of theoretical and practical knowledge and their relation to certain practices and forms of social organisations such as the asylum, the clinic, and the prison. For Foucault, the power of the ancient regime was only replaced by the Enlightenment, which localised all State power in the whole of society, through organisation of space dedicated to the techniques of social control, surveillance, and repression of the self and the world of desire. The difference lies in the way State power in the modern time is reduced to the faceless, rational and technocratic, rather than the personal and arbitrary (DREYFUS & PABINOW, 1982, pp.111-14). Therefore Foucault suggested that individual freedom can only be realised by replacing the notions of themes or theories by 'a field of possible options', because the theme or theory must be based upon some conception of society as a defined structure, a system, a totality whose elements and their inter-connection require a form of explanation that refers back to that totality. Foucault demonstrates that social relations can be treated as 'discontinuities', their time is not homogeneous. History is

not a systematic order but a disorder. Thus 'only if these rules can be constructed as autonomous formation rules is serious discourse shielded from the influence of everyday practice' (ibid., pp.71-8).

In the post-industrial society, as Lyotard (1984) puts it, both the great 'legitimising narrative' archetypes of that liberation of humanity and of that speculative unity of all knowledge, which is based on, either, that society forms a functional whole, or it is divided in two, do not function today, because today any person,

'... is always located at "nodal points" of specific communication circuits... No one, not even the least privileged among us, is ever entirely powerless over the messages that traverse and position him at the post of sender, addressee, or referent' (ibid., p.15).

He writes:

'The narrative function is losing its functors, its great hero, its great dangers, its great voyages, its goal. It is being dispersed in clouds of narrative language elements... Thus the society of the future falls less within the province of a Newtonian anthropology (such as structuralism or systems theory) than a pragmatics of language particules. There are many different language games - a heterogeneity of elements. They only give rise to institutions in patches - local determinism.. Postmodern knowledge is not simply a tool of the authorities; it refines our sensitivity to differences and reinforces our ability to tolerate the incommensurable. Its principle is not the expert's homology but the inventor's paralogy' (ibid., pp.xxiv-xxv).

The decline of narrative, Lyotard believes, is an effect of the blossoming of techniques and technologies since the Second World War, which 'has shifted emphasis from the ends of action to its means'; it can also be seen as 'an effect of the redeployment of advanced liberal capitalism after its retreat under the protection of Keynesianism during the period 1930 to 1960, a renewal that has eliminated the communist alternative and valorized the individual enjoyment of goods and services' (ibid., p.37-8).

Heidegger's account of 'place' for Being against the consciousness of time of the Enlightenment, Bechalard's imagination to identify the self with the past in the meaningless temporal 'others', Foucault's favour of local discourse for their capacity to disclose the micro-structures of the operation of power relations, and Lyotard's local determinism to challenge the grand universalizing narratives, all challenge the imposed rationality and theory. The former two define human existence to their origin, while the latter reject totality or theory, declare the end of ideology. However, in 'the practice of everyday life' of the post-industrial society, have the locality and heterogeneity which have appeared been without totality?

Harvey (1989) sets up a strong argument against this. Today world economic development has been involved with nearly every country and place. The powers of financial co-ordination have been ever so enhanced and become more important in the global financial system. It is capital that breaks down any spatial boundary. Now the English buyer can get a Japanese mortgage, an American can tap his New York bank account through a cash machine in Hong Kong, and a Japanese investor can buy shares in a London-based Scandinavian bank whose stock is denominated in sterling, dollars, etc.. In the near future, it seems that the European Common Market Countries will be united in one. With the ending of ideology or idealistic principles, China has seen a great deal of international enterprise, and Moscow has begun to enjoy the first McDonald's. Harvey writes:

'The new financial systems put into place since 1972 have changed the balance of forces at work in global capitalism, giving much more autonomy to the banking and financial system relative to corporate, state, and personal financing. Flexible accumulation evidently looks more to finance capital as its co-ordinating power than did Fordism. This means that the potentiality for the formation of independent and autonomous monetary and financial crisis is much greater than before... Much of the flux, instability, and gyrating can be directly attributed to this enhanced capacity to switch capital flows around in ways that seem almost oblivious of the constraints of time and space that normally pin down material activities of production and consumption' (ibid., p.164).

Furthermore, increasing mobility and transportation have made industry, that had traditionally been tied by local constraints to raw material sources or markets, much more 'footloose'. This has been demonstrated by the decline of the old industrial cities in Britain and America.

In the changing of the global financial system into a more flexible system, the State intervention of the world economic powers, particularly regarding labour control has become more crucial than ever before (ibid, pp.170-71). How much can we expect the existence of locality, as the base of Being in this macro-climate, to establish truly local determinism? Or does the importance of personal memory of places have to be conditioned by the notion that:

'The habitable city is... annulled... Nothing "special": nothing that is marked, opened up by a memory or a story, signed by something or someone else. Only the cave of the home remains believable, still open for a certain time to legends, still full of shadows. Except for that... there are only "places in which one can no longer believe in anything"' (De CERTEAU, 1984, p.106).

So otherwise he or she has to walk about and travel around to yesterday's or today's

'superstitions', because

'Travel is a substitute for the legends that used to open up space to something different. What does travel ultimately produce, if it is not, by a sort of reversal, "an exploration of the deserted places of my memory", the return to nearby exoticism by way of a detour through distant places, and the "discovery" of relics and legends...' (ibid., p.107)

Or does the 'heterogeneity' have to be realised in the distinction of taste which is based on social economic conditions as Bourdieu (1984) discovers? He writes

'To the socially recognised hierarchy of the arts, and within each of them... corresponds a social hierarchy of the consumers. This predisposes tastes to function as markers of "class" ' (pp.1-2).

Nourished by Certeau's (1984), Bourdieu's (1977) and other people's writings, Harvey puts his argument forward that in capitalism, time and space are 'sources of social power'. If place is the site of Being, then Becoming entails a spatial politics that 'renders place subservient to transformations of space... It is precisely at this point that the incipient tension between place and space can get transformed into an absolute antagonism'. The recognition of space to 'democratic ends' challenges the traditional power embedded in place (HARVEY, ibid., p.257).

1.3 Consumerism and 'Postmodern' Culture

If ideology and the meta-narrative have been thrown away, then what fills the emptiness of the superstructure or the formal structure as Certeau (1984) announced? In this context, the popular culture and aesthetics accompanying consumerism arrive to help the rapid transformation from Fordism to post-Fordism, where marketing the new organisational forms and technologies becomes crucial⁶. The mobilisation of fashion in mass markets provides a means to accelerate the pace of consumption across a wide range of 'life-styles'. At the same time, as a way to absorb the large unemployment from industries, service industries are also becoming prosperous with the shift away from consumption of goods into the consumption of services, especially including entertainments, spectacles, happenings. So postmodernism, as Jameson (1985) states, is

'A periodising concept whose function is to correlate the emergence of new formal features in culture with the emergence of new types of social life and a new economic order - what is often euphemistically called modernisation, post-industrial or consumer society, is the society of the media or the spectacle, or multinational capitalism' (p.113).

⁶ See Gardner & Sheppard, 1989, pp.10-14.

Jameson summarises postmodernism in two characteristics: pastiche or parody and imitation, because postmodernism either capitalises on the uniqueness of the various modern styles to produce an imitation which masks the original, or imitates a peculiar style to speak a dead language. Consequently, postmodernism produces two features: 'The transformation of reality into images, and the fragment of time into a series of perpetual presents'; in so doing, instead of retaining history, postmodernism helps us to forget history, to fit in with the perpetual present in a perpetual change of our entire contemporary social system (JAMESON, 1985).

Popular culture in the postmodern society is '... made by various formations of subordinated or disempowered people out of the sources, both discursive and material, that are provided by the social system that disempowers them'. Contradictively, the resources 'carry the interest of the economically and ideologically dominant' (FISKE, 1989, pp.1-2). The popular culture is 'the art of making do'. The people's subordination means that they cannot produce the resources of popular culture, but can make their culture from those resources. The commodity nature of popular culture requires that all the things consumed are not only for their material function, but also for their meanings, identities. Relevance, Fiske states, '... is central to popular culture', for it minimises the difference between art and life (ibid., pp.2-6). Therefore, shopping can become a pleasure that is now equal to art, image is separated from reality and consumed, history is only made by the daily news through the mass media, but is also told by the professional interpreters.

How profoundly can individuals, who are able to access the culture commodities, find their identity in the popular culture? The fate of popular culture, as the Frankfurt School argues,

'Is a "symptom" of tendencies in society as well as of institutionalised wants and typical trends of individual identity formation. The desire for distraction reflects needs to escape from the responsibilities and drudgery of everyday life. The lack of meaning and control people experience registers accurately a truth about their lives - they are not masters of their own destiny. They are "caught" within the present mode of production, with its rationalised and mechanised labour processes and all its hierarchies. The pattern of recurring crisis of the mode of production, its continuous expansion, recessions and depressions, engenders strains, fears and anxieties about one's capacity to earn a living... Furthermore, its product reproduces, reinforces and strengthens dominant interpretations of reality; it schematizes, classifies and catalogues for its customers and often represents a spurious reconciliation between society and the individual, identifying the later

with the former... (therefore) The products of the culture industry can be characterised by standardisation and pseudo-individualisation' (HELD, *ibid.*, pp.93-4).

Moreover,

'The development of the culture industry undermines the intelligibility and validity of autonomous art as the distance between classical and standard advertising aesthetics grows. The seriousness and the challenge of autonomous art is further weakened through incessant "speculation about its efficacy". The meaning of local and folk culture is also often destroyed, because pride and rebelliousness embedded within it are taken out of context, repeated in special programmes, and often integrated into the latest fashions' (*ibid.*, p.91).

More attention should be paid to the 'heritage industry' and its interdependent tourism, which has so much to do with the built environment and reflects the psychological change of the post-industrial society.

Previous sections have discussed the rising of new philosophies of time-space, and the desire for local and cultural identity; these are nothing other than the intellectual reflection of the deep social crisis caused by modern capitalist development. In Britain, as seen in the last Chapter, these crises were the direct result of radical social and physical changes. Since the Second World War, violent changes have been expressed in the built environment. Both the war and the reconstruction damaged the cities, destroyed people's former homes, and so often turned their old neighbourhood to a waste land by planning blight. The new housing, new towns, new patterns of facilities produced a loss of a sense of place and social and personal identity. Socially, since the middle 1960s when the Welfare State began to decline, the spread of American drug culture, student unrest, the breaking down of family relationships, and the degrading of morality in the young generation, all helped to disconnect the immediate present from the perceived past. Therefore, the radical development is perceived as the erosion of the culture and the decline of the quality of life (HEWISON, 1987, & LAENEN, 1989).

However, how people search for their identity and recreate a sense of place in the new 'liberal capitalism' of post-Fordism becomes the important matter. Bachelard (1964) has encouraged people to imagine the past, and De Certeau (1984) has recommended 'travel' to explore the memory and 'exoticism'. Therefore, it is not surprising that conservation of the past becomes the first choice and is accompanied by tourism as an escape. As Hewison (1987) points out:

'Imaginatively deprived in the present, we turn to images of the past, either in reactionary revivalism, or in a spirit of ironic quotation that emphasises the distance between the source and its recycled imagery...

(whereby) Narrative is deliberately broken or disrupted, special relations are subjected to chance, and a self-referring consciousness of medium is all. Without perspective it becomes an art of surface, of appearance, not content' (p.133).

Thus history is transformed into contemporary life by performance, and the past romanticise then mixed with the actuality of the present. Moreover, when the real industry is gradually disappearing such as in Britain, the so-called heritage industry has to play a certain role in the country's economy. Thus heritage can not be neutrally preserved for its own value, but stimulated by the market by Monetarist policies. Therefore, the past becomes an economic enterprise resource, and conservation of historic monuments as producer and consumer makes the past a tourist attraction. Heritage not only is an image which clusters the ideas of the romantic and religious past, but also has been developed into a whole industry (HEWISON, *ibid.*). In the Heritage Industry, museums are its 'factories', sightseeing the consumption. As an enterprise, the heritage industry in Britain has engaged with many government and non-government organisations, including English Heritage and the Civic Trust etc., it also requires a great deal of both public and private resources.

As a commercial activity, what heritage is going to be will largely depend on marketing and the demand of its consumers - the tourists. What do tourists need? According to MacCannell (1976),

'Differentiation is the origin of attractiveness and the feeling of freedom in modern society. It is also the primary ground of the contradiction, conflict, violence, fragmentation, discontinuity and alienation that are such evident features of modern life... (so) *sightseeing is a ritual performed to the differentiations of society*. Sightseeing is a kind of collective striving for a transcendence of the modern totality, a way of attempting to overcome the discontinuity of modernity of incorporating its fragments into unified experiences... It is the middle class that systematically scavenges the earth for new experiences to be woven into a collective, touristic version of other peoples and other places. This effort of the international middle class to co-ordinate the differentiations of the world into a single ideology is intimately linked to its capacity to subordinate other peoples to its values, industry and future designs' (p.11-13).

Thus the touristic integration of society results in those '... elements dislodged from their original, natural, historical and cultural contexts fitted together with other such displaced or modernised things and people. The differentiations *are* the attractions' (*ibid.*). The touristic searching for the 'real thing' and 'authenticity' of both the present and the past of 'others' encourages the staged settings, whereby the real thing is divided into 'front' and 'back'. Once tourists escape from the reality i.e. the social space which they attempt

to overcome or to get behind, whatever they can catch is either 'cleaned-up' history or the decorated 'back'. As a result when tourists are searching for authenticity they destructively destroy it (ibid., pp.101-2).

On the business side profit has to be gained by creating 'authenticity' or excitement to attract more visitors. In Britain, since the 1980s, nearly one museum has opened each week, but the actual numbers of visitors to the steadily increasing museums has increased little. Therefore anyone who is involved in interpretation needs expertise in marketing, financing and visitor attitudes. 'The able get rich, and the incompetent go bust'. In order to succeed and gain more profit in the competition, heritage enterprise has to 'Make History Exciting' by selecting history to provide more entertainment for the tourists⁸. As Fowler (1989) criticises:

'We are not offering "real" history ... through re-enactment, "living history"; we are not attempting more than offering, as a participatory three-dimensional hardware model' (p.62).

Following the idea of 'making history exciting' conservationists tend to preserve or to discover the older history or the 'golden period'. Therefore, a listed Victorian building in Chester may be demolished to dig up a Roman amphitheatre underneath, many neo-classical stuccoed buildings in Bruges have been destroyed to go back to the original medieval brick facades. Even worse, in the backwards looking society, under market forces, if you do not have the real heritage, you cheat by offering the imitation and the fake. This has been demonstrated by the innumerable new pastiches of architectural styles.

Heritage industry serves tourists, so the real life of the local people in the historic cities has been replaced by staged tourist attractions, and so often the local poor are forced to move out. Thus the 'single ideology' of the middle classes can be regressive. Under today's political-economic system, heritage inevitably orients to certain ideology. If image making of the heritage industry tries to transcend the reality to aesthetic experience, then gentrification is the solid social meaning of that reality.

⁷ See Peter Rumble, 'Interpreting Built and Historic Environment' in Uzzell, 1989, pp.24-32.

⁸ See Peter Fowler, 'Heritage: A Post-modernist Perspective' in Uzzell, 1989, pp.57-63.

2 TOWN PLANNING AND ARCHITECTURE

The gradual collapse of welfare/nation-state, and the rise of public participation and protest associated with town planning and city development since the late 1960s, marked the ending of political consensus, which was established during and after the war and was the basis for the whole post-war town planning ideology. In Britain the financial crises of the late 1960s and especially the economic recession caused by the oil price rise of October 1973 eventually ensured that the State withdrew from large scale, 1960s style town planning⁹. In political terms, the Government's policy to transform the centralised economy to a more flexible system by privatisation, first attacked the existing planning system. Now planning was believed by the Conservatives to be a system that imposed too many controls, it was over bureaucratic, obscured the 'simple objectives', and cost the government money. The simple objectives, according to the Conservatives, were 'a last opportunity' for Britain to 'regain a significant place in the world as an economic power'. Thus the planning system should now play a role in this task by 'being able to produce results quickly and efficiently and not stand in the way of creating conditions favourable for economic growth' (CHERRY, *ibid.*, p.68).

On the professional side, the exposure of the ideological side of town planning shattered the planner's reputation. For the last thirty years after the war, planners were assumed to have a great knowledge of the process of city development, and confidently claimed their ability to foresee the future. The 1960s saw the triumph of bureaucratic professionalism, where it was the duty of the planners to convince doubting fellow citizens to let go of the past and welcome the future. But its subordination to direct political control within State bureaucracies pushed planners to offer the 'clean sweep' style and to stand for wholesale change. The growth of the grass-roots *community movement* and the increasing middle-class consciousness of the destruction that was going on all round them brought bitter criticism to the planning profession *for their direct contribution*, especially to the environmental crisis. This attack challenged the confidence of planning

⁹ See G.Cherry, *ibid.*, p.67. Cullingworth argues that the development plan system of the 1968 Act depended on consensus, so the absence of that census left the structure and local plans which were introduced by the 1968 Act indeterminate and vague. See Brindley and others, 1989, p.4.

involvement. Moreover the public preferences are now becoming more and more fickle in an age of affluence, where social values are less predictable. As Cherry (*ibid.*, p.108) puts it:

'An urban motor-way or a regional highway may be seen as impressive technological process one decade, an environmental nuisance the next. Similarly a particular housing design can at first be thought innovative (high rise for example) but latter a sociological disaster. In the wider environmental field a fast breeder nuclear reactor may be regarded first as a major scientific contribution to the energy crisis, but subsequently attacked as an ecological hazard'.

Both the political-economic and social climate in the late 1970s required a change in the conventional town planning system.

2.1 The New Trends of Town Planning Policy

In Britain, the Central Government began to change the framework of planning policy and legislation so as to strengthen the economic and political power of the commercial property development industry READE, 1989, p.64-5. At the same time within this framework, Local Authorities and local communities have maintained with their own goals. As a result town planning has become 'fragments of styles' in different areas, and sometimes different styles compete with one another for dominance in the same area (BRINDLEY and others, 1989). The central point about these styles is the tension between the market-led and the market-critical ideologies. Planning styles which view the market process positively will measure demand by the profitability of the market, and indicate where and when development should occur. In contrast, planning styles which are critical about market values, consider the outcomes of the market process to be partly or even wholly unacceptable. They stress the inequalities of market-led planning, and try to rectify imbalances between short- and long-term goals, use of resources and disparities between different regions. The different approaches to town planning of the 1980s, as a result of the conflict of market-led and market-critical ideologies in Britain, according to Brindley and his colleagues (*ibid.*), can be identified by six distinctive styles. These six styles respond to the uneven spatial effect and sharp division between regions and localities, which were caused by the economic recession and the associated restructuring of the 1970s. Here there is no space to give the full details of those planning styles, but a brief review of them is needed in order to understand the planning policies on which are based the urban design and architectural theory and

practice of the period.

Firstly, the 'Regulative Planning', which lies at the heart of the post-war planning system, has now been adapted to the changed circumstances. Conventionally, within the regulative planning system, the Local Authority had power to draw plans for their future development, and then used it to control the development. The regulative planning ideology was based on the assumption that planning is in the best interest of all (see Chapter Three). Now, under the New Right's economic policy, regulative planning is still based on hierarchical strategic planning and a range of development control powers, but planners no longer expect to have total control over the pattern of urban change, rather they control individual private-sector development in pursuit of public policy-goals. Regulative planning involves extensive debate among the authority and professionals about market demand and strategic planning issues. In Cambridge, for example, the politicians are interested in their party loyalties and local ward interests while the planners emphasise the limited land-use planning considerations.

In contrast to regulative planning, 'Trend Planning' has attempted to introduce the market criteria into development control decisions. Planners are charged with facilitating development in line with market demand. Such planning is justified by encouraging enterprising activity and freeing the wealth-makers in society from 'unnecessary' red tape. Trend planning has been strongly encouraged by the Thatcher Government to reduce delays in the debates about the release of land for private house building in Green Belt locations and areas of high demand. The local discretion can be reduced through 'structure plan' modifications with the intervention from the Secretary of State for the Environment. Thus trend planning in structure and local plans in some degree supports the operation of land markets. On this account, trend planning turns the regulative planning system from the public interest to the private interest by stripping development control to the bare bones, and only retaining those aspects which seem to be functional for private development or which are electorally sensitive. Trend planning is only practiced in the area broadly free of urban problems, such as the case in Colchester - a relatively prosperous area in north-east Essex. Trend planning resolved the conflicts between politicians and planners in regulative planning, since the market is the decision-maker, whereby planners' concern is limited to aesthetic control and conservation, rather than any strategic issues (BRINDLEY, 1989).

City Building in the 1980s in Britain

Apart from the first two, 'Popular Planning' has arisen since late 1960s when public opinion became organised to oppose large-scale developments which threatened local communities. Public participation brings planning issues before a wider audience, and sometimes becomes the object of demonstrations and disruptive campaigns such as the case in Covent Garden. Moreover popular planning often tries to go beyond the anti-development campaign and seeks to implement their own development plans. But this is often only achieved in the marginal areas of the development industry with a sympathetic public sector agency. Popular planning is not a socialist ideal, rather a political device and is based on local control of resources. It normally involves working with local elites in coalition.

'Leverage Planning' has been used in post-war planning practice in Britain, where in various ways the State has been encouraging the private sector to develop certain areas and sites by subsidising them. Often the public sector clears sites and provides infrastructure to support the private sector. However, in the 1980s, the Conservative Government's introduction of Enterprise Zones has promoted leverage planning to a more prominent role. The development of London Docklands is one of the best-known examples. In leverage planning, subsidies have been directly paid to the firms involved in specific projects through the Urban Development Grant, or the Local Authorities reclaim land to make it suitable for redevelopment at no cost to the private sector, so as to support the 'low-cost' home ownership schemes. Thus government's intervention in leverage planning is considerably higher.

In the 1980s, public-investment has specially focused on the rescue of derelict urban areas. Conventionally public-investment planning had been exercised in the Comprehensive Development Areas and the New Towns, and in the Urban Redevelopments from the 1940s to the 1960s. In the new political and economic context of the 1970s and 1980s, some left-wing local governments, such as in the case of Glasgow's Eastern Area Renewal project (GEAR) which was initiated in 1976, have tried to redirect public controlled funds to support their local economy. The ideology underlying GEAR type policies is that the usual British economic crisis is often caused by the withdrawal of private financed investments and priorities. Thus 'only by the public sector taking over the role to redirect socially useful development can the economic base of these areas be rebuilt' (ibid., p.23). Therefore, public-investment planning has

been given comprehensive planning powers at all levels including housing, employment, social welfare, regional balance and so on.

Different from the public-investment planning in the derelict urban areas with the support from the local left-wing authorities, the New Right believes that the recovery of the most deprived and run-down areas of British towns and cities ought to be achieved by handing over the management of the whole renewal process to the private sector. Thus many Council Estates have been disposed of to private developers for renovation and resale. This style of planning is named 'Private-management Planning' because it not only draws in private-sector financial resources but also involves new managerial methods. The private-management planning method is regarded as part of a broader strategy of privatisation adopted by the Thatcher Government. Under this policy, the government has turned the responsibility of the public sector over to the private-sector agencies. The irony is that deprived inner city areas are precisely those areas which the private sector has abandoned. Thus on what basis can the private sector be expected to undertake the public sector's role? Moreover, the success of private-management of property largely depends on public-sector subsidies.

These six styles of planning in 'post-industrial' British economic development, summarised above, highlight the 'fragments' of planning policies for urban development from the highest to the lowest degrees of State intervention and control, and from the small local communities to the large corporative institutions. They illustrate the tension between 'market-led' and 'market-critical' ideologies and create conflict between different social groups. Regulative planning guides the pattern of most new development and maintains the quality of the environment in areas which otherwise would have come under strong market pressure. Although it is concerned with balance and the 'general interest' of the community, the main beneficiaries have been the existing property-owners, i.e. the middle and upper classes. The political consensus used to be its foundation. But since the 1970s the consensus has been weakened by public participation in the planning decision-making process, because in this process there are always the contesting interests between some groups who gain and some who loss. Trend planning obviously mostly benefits those who can take advantage of new development opportunities - i.e. the developers and potential owners of new developments. Compared with regulative planning, trend planning allows a larger number of landowners to receive planning

permissions. So capital gains will spread to a wider range of development sites. Trend planning regards the market as a better judge, and makes no attempt to cope with the negative side or social costs of the market process. The losers from trend planning are the existing owner-occupiers who will see a deterioration in the quality of their environment. Compared with the first two, popular planning is the fragile one. In the existing political and economic system, the low-income class community has limited accessibility to public resources. The leverage planning approach, as London Docklands shows, can create potentially sharp conflicts between the existing community and the new residents and workers (known colloquially as yuppies). The more socially oriented public-investment planning may be able to provide resources and facilities, environmental schemes and even employment for the low-income group, such as the Glasgow Eastern Area Renewal scheme. However, in the continuing economic decline and the resulting population loss, the problems seem difficult to solve by public investment on a major scale. Moreover, how many benefits are gained by the local poor rather than by the new comers remains as a difficult question. In the long run, compared with London Docklands, public investment in Glasgow Eastern Area Renewal scheme has provided little new industry except on a small scale. More seriously, in the Thatcher years public investment in urban renewal has been pushed into an increasingly marginal role; the future of adequate public resources for projects like GEAR are really doubtful. Lastly, the privately management planning process in badly run-down areas seems to have little credibility as a means of renewal, because often the private sector is neither that effective nor that generous. The relatively successful examples, like Workswirth in Derbyshire, depend heavily on both public and non-public subsidies and grants and the fortunate co-operation of the Civic Trust and the Local Authorities.

Clearly the various planning policies of the 1980s were dominated by Government monetarist policies, and their beneficiaries are also evidently limited to a certain group of people who control the money markets. As Brindley (1989) points out,

'Market-led styles of planning offer little to the large group of welfare dependents who lack any significant command over market resources' (ibid., p.181).

The increasing willingness of central Government to use political control over the Local Authorities to facilitate the market-led planning such as with the Enterprise Zones, the autonomous Urban Development Co-operations and the Simplified Planning Zones

demonstrates the strong ideological impact of current city development procedures and methods of conservation (RAVETZ, 1986, PP.93-9).

2.2 Architecture and Urban Design

In the architecture and urban design field, the collapse of modern architecture and the emergence of the so-called postmodern styles have strongly echoed the economic, social and cultural changes since the 1970s. As opposed to the heroic modern architecture and city planning required by the welfare nation-state, the current thinking in architecture and urban design has turned to more fragmental approaches to respond with the market-led urban development. The new patterns of economic development have been intensively concerned through an 'aesthetic' point of view with the quality of the built environment¹⁰, for example, Colin Row's intriguing Collage City (1978), Christopher Alexander's idealised Oregon Experiment (1979), and The New Theory of Urban Design (1987), Jan Tanghe's (1984) humble concept of 'inner growth' and 'process planning' for historic cities, and so on; they are either against the 'totally planned and designed' development, or suggest growth by 'incremental' development or 'step-by-step', or try to guide the unpredictable development according to the existing city structure rather than to sweep it away. Now the wholesale long-term development plan is regarded as utopian and too restrictive to co-operate with the constantly changing economic climate. Even Aldo Rossi (1982) considers that 'the architecture of the city' has to find a way to cope with the fast changes of urban environment, yet at the same time achieve a humanistic interpretation. On this account, architecture and urban design ideology shares a great deal with Foucault's (1970s) 'heterogeneity' and Lyotard's (1984) 'local determinism'. All the works mentioned above express a strong suspicion about the *totality* of the modern utopia, which is best symbolised by Le Corbusier's vision of modern architecture and the city. Row (1978) writes:

'The city of modern architecture (it may also be called the modern city) has not yet been built. In spite of all the good will and good intentions of its protagonists, it has remained either a project or an abortion; and, more and more, there no longer appears to be any convincing reason to suppose that matters will ever be otherwise. For the constellation of attitudes and emotions which are gathered together under the general notion of modern architecture and which then overflow, in one form or another, into the inseparably related field of planning, being - in the end - to seem altogether too contradictory, too confused and too

¹⁰ See Boyer, 'The Return of Aesthetics to City Planning', 1989.

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feebly unsophisticated to allow for any but the most minor productive results' (pp.2-3).

The classical utopia, it is now believed, was necessarily addressed to a small elite group and can no longer exist in modern times, where society is designed for technology and the masses. The end of utopia left history with an equally significant series of events and democratic demands. Thus a 'collage city', Row suggests, should be proposed to accommodate a whole range of utopias which are in essence immature. A collage city, therefore,

'... is simultaneously an appeal for order and disorder, for the simple and the complex, for the joint existence of permanent reference and random happening, of the private and the public, of innovation and tradition, of both the restored and the prophetic gesture' (ibid., p.8).

The 'open field' and 'closed field' offered by a collage city as Row points out are the response to the fact that;

'... the ideally open city (as Le Corbusier's vision of the city), like the ideally open society, is just as much a figment of the imagination as its opposite. The open and the closed society, either envisaged as practical possibilities, are both of them the caricatures of contradictory ideals; and it is to the realms of caricature that one should choose to relegate all extreme fantasies of both emancipation and control' (ibid., p.145).

Hence collage city's open field and closed field can be regarded as a political necessity in the post-Fordist period, when the flexible accumulation of capital can be realised through 'urban revitalisation' that has been seen in the fragmented planning policies in Britain since the late 1970s. The idea of collage city, where all groups have a chance to speak with their own voice, is regarded as authentic and legitimate. But at the same it causes problems of 'communication' - the lack of a common linguistic world and the means of exercising power through the command thereof. Hence a collage city embodies commitments to 'charismatic politics, concerns for ontology, and the stable institutions favoured by neo-conservatism' (HARVEY, 1989, P.339). The political aspect of the postmodern city has been highlighted in the disparate development policies of Thatcher's Britain. Now more attention should be paid to the 'communication' aspect - the architectural and urban design language.

From a theoretical point of view, the current architectural thinking has strongly mirrored the late modern philosophies, including Heidegger's (1971) concept of Being and Dwelling and Bechalar'd's (1964) poetic space. Some trends of thought may be mainly influenced by one philosophy, some may reflect various discourses, though architectural theorists sometimes may not directly refer to the general philosophies, rather they provide

the first sources for that philosophical dispute. In this case the *late* philosophies, which have been briefly discussed in the previous sections, are an attempt to provide a general economic, social and cultural background to better understand the architectural thinking.

Heidegger's concept of Being and Dwelling can be regarded as one of the most dominant philosophies which has been reflected by current architectural discourses; Being and Dwelling can be interpreted in three aspects. Firstly, it parallels the intention to identify the existential expression of architecture with the original architectural forms. Works along this line include Rossi (1982) and the Krier brothers (1970s-80s) and the writings of other neo-rationalists, such as Norberg-Schultz's (1963, 1971, 1984) etc.. Secondly, Heidegger and Bechalard's phenomenological consideration of Being strongly impacts on the notion of *sense of place* and is echoed by the townscape philosophy that originally came from the 18th century picturesque tradition. Thirdly, Heidegger's notion of dwelling as a 'cultivation' - a process that is later intensively developed in Alexander's series of books, including A Pattern Language (1977), whereby the structuralist thinking, which is carried out by the first trends, has been interpreted in the dwelling process, though often Alexander's work does not directly refer to other people's ideas.

The Structuralist Approaches: The recent intention to search for the *existential* expression in architecture and city forms started with the publication of Schultz's Intentions of Architecture (1963), when technological advances focused architecture with new possibilities, and the political situation required cheap massive building construction. As a result modern architecture became 'actual building tasks' - the means rather than the ends (SCHULTZ, 1963, pp.13-19). Against the modern functionalism, which is concerned with the 'how' of building, Schultz argues that it is the concerning the 'what' of building should be answered instead by the designers and planners¹¹. From this point of view, the interpretation of the history of buildings should go beyond the fulfilling of their mere practical needs. Schultz argues:

'A building only realises its full meaning when seen as a part of a symbol-milieu, where all objects carry values as participants in human actions which are *never* indifferent' (ibid., p.88).

¹¹ In Intentions of Architectural Intentions, Schultz directly debates with the Swiss child-psychologist Jean Piaget's structuralist philosophy, but his later work including Existence, Space and Architecture (1971) and Genius Loci (1984) are more influenced by Heidegger's concept of Being and Time, and Dwelling.

The semantic principles should not only provide a detailed knowledge of the formal dimension in architecture, but should also presuppose a profound understanding of the building tasks.

Historically, the attempt to establish semantic concepts of architecture date back to Alberti's formal architectural principles of the Renaissance period, and developed further by Laugier in mid 18th century. The rising consciousness for the aesthetic dimension of architecture in the 1960s can be regarded as a response to the lost autonomy of architecture as Tafuri (1976) concludes. Nevertheless Schultz's Intentions of Architecture is almost entirely devoted to architecture alone and considers little about the city's dimensions. A few years later the Italian neo-rationalist architect and theorist, Aldo Rossi, published his influential book The Architecture of the City in Italian in 1966, and extended the semantic dimension of architecture to the whole city context. Rossi (1982, the first English translation) argues, the architecture of city should be defined in two ways: first as a conclusive result of substantial data provided by urban geography, economics, and above all history; second as 'autonomous structure' - the discipline of architecture itself. Therefore the city consists of such permanent elements as block, district, locus, urban house and monument. All these permanent elements or topological forms are independent from particular situations - the social and economic needs, thus functions change but form remains vital, and history is transformed to memory by the form.

Here Rossi reveals the profound role played by building typology and urban morphology to fulfil the existential dimension. This concept has a strong impact on the neo-rationalists, such as Leon and Rob Krier from the mid 1970s onwards. The philosophical corner-stone of neo-rationalism is that architecture should go back to its human dimensions which it had been deprived of by the mass-productive process of the machine age since the end of nineteenth century (VIDLER, 1978). As the neo-rationalist questioned: is the relationship between architecture and the city, that was constant throughout the history of human settlement, still valid; or is the relationship between human being and urban architecture still valid (SAMONA, 1985)? Therefore, 'the size of an ideal urban block cannot be established more precisely than through the ideal height of the human body', and this kind of urban block should be a mixture of social and cultural functions and building types, rather than follow the 'zoning' principle of

modern planning (see Fig. 4-1). As the name suggests, the neo-rationalist is looking for the order and principle of architecture and urban planning that have been forgotten in the 20th century cities, which consist only of collections of individual buildings with no overall order. At the planning level, the typology of the city can correspond to a model in which regulations, criteria of development, limits of dimensioning and techniques of formation are summed up and integrate with one another; making it possible to represent everything that, in the urban context, may be identified as a function from which architecture in the city is formed (SAMONA, 1985).

The fact is that the insistence on excessive architectural form and the recovery of specific dimensions for architecture and city planning is to seek formal language of architecture in order to overcome the language problems created by the modern avant-garde movement. However, if architecture and city can be interpreted only as linguistic experimentation according to their internal structure, and

'... if this experimentation is realised only through an obliqueness, through a radical ambiguity in the organisation of its components, and, finally, if the linguistic "material" is indifferent and matters only in the way the various materials react with each other, then the only road to be followed is that of the most radical and political agnostic distant - by free and conscious choice - from the very reality that makes it possible for architecture to exist' (TAFURI, 1976, p.157).

Therefore, we read between the lines of the neo-rationalists' message that,

'... it was no longer possible to be a hero, no longer possible to be an idealist; the potential for such memories and fantasies had been taken away forever. No other generation had to follow such a sense of expectation with such a sense of loss. Cynicism and pessimism came to fill the void created by the loss of hope'¹².

Surprisingly, the story told by De Certeau about the lonely individuals in New York city reflects a similar mood (see section 'From Totality to Locality' in this Chapter)!

However, the inescapable fate of neo-rationalism is that it has to integrate with capitalist production to fulfil the political economic dimension. Like Durand's architectural system and Piranesi's Campo Marzio¹³, the 'Third Typology' carried Laugier's banner, to their aim reassemble the formal architectural language in order to fulfil the social needs, and to retell architecture's own story. In reality neo-rationalism, like neo-classicism in general, has led to a free-style of revision of the classical language,

¹² Peter Eisenman's introduction to the English translation of Rossi's The Architecture of the City, 1982, p.4.

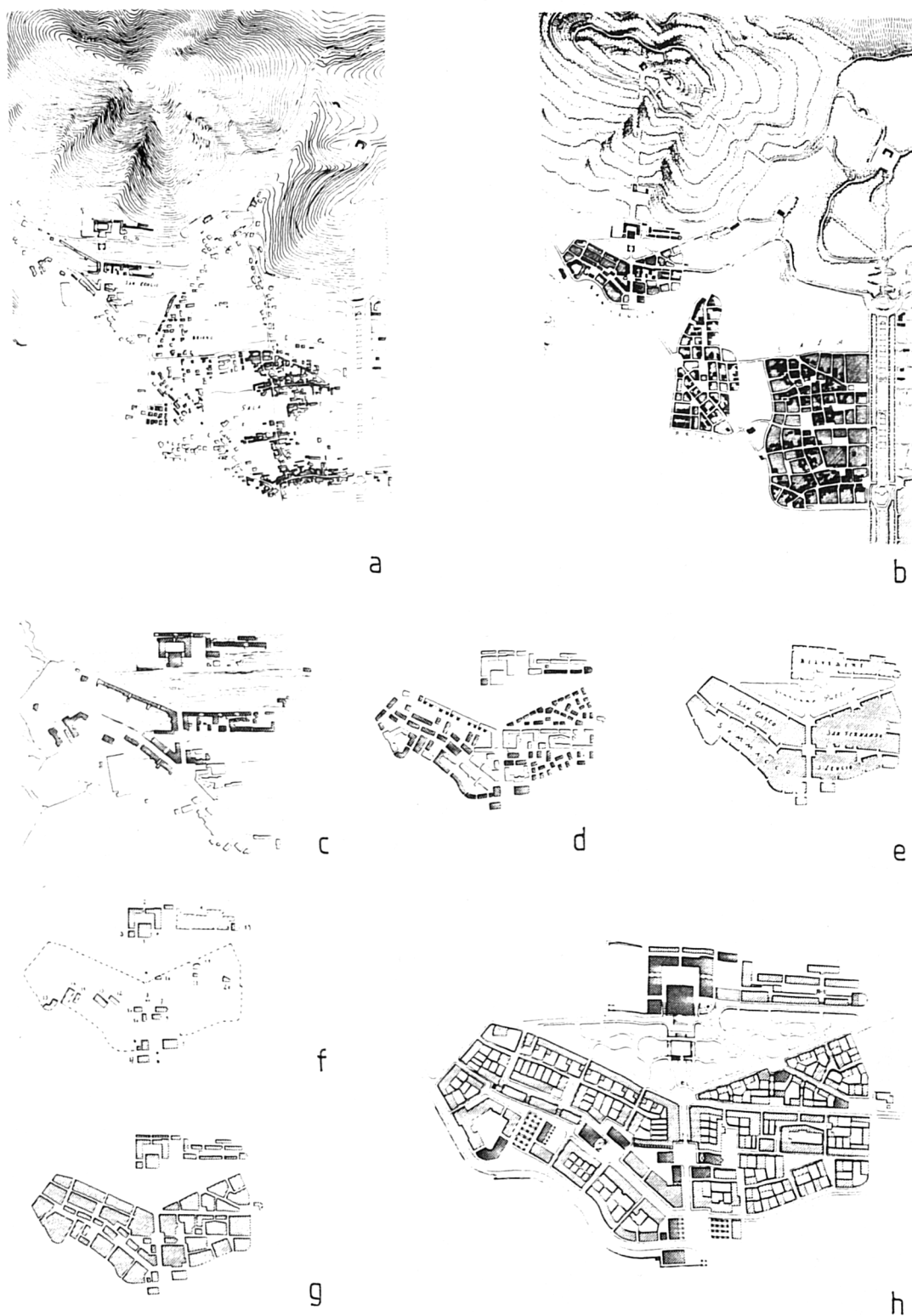
¹³ J. L. N. Durand, 1760-1834, French rationalist architect. Piranesi, 1720 -1778, Italian architect, designed Campo Marzio in Rome, 1761-62. See Tafuri, 1976, p.15.

rather than a canonic version (JENCKS, 1988); since 'an imitation of the world is always a transformation of the world, since what we select to represent through the work of art is necessarily what we have deemed to be relevant for representation' (PORPHYRIOS, 1988, p.17), individual architects will no doubt transform classical architectural elements differently.

The neo-rationalists are often more keen on the ambitious transformation of existing cities. It is argued that saving the old cities and buildings can not answer the truth nor go very far because,

'... continually and fatally the environment that is made up of the small buildings, the old fabric and the much loved houses of the past with their colours and peeling plasters are collapsing, changing, becoming something else' (ROSSI, 1985, P.19).

Instead of saving or making the old buildings habitable, neo-rationalism is looking for the transformation of the city through both old and newly built monumental foci (ibid., p.22) (see Fig. 4-2). But in practice, the monumental style of transformation is rare, and more often we observe modest examples such as the new housing scheme in Venice. A master plan for a new residential district provides different housing types for new housing projects; it respects the existing urban vernacular architecture and its Venetian scale but at the same time tries to overcome repetition and dullness by using a varied interpretation of vernacular models (R. & S. BOLLATI, 1987) (see Fig. 4-3). On this account, De Arce's (1978) humble 'urban transformation and the architecture of additions' maybe summarises the philosophy of the neo-rationalists.



a) San Leucio, Briano, Sala - Existing state; b) L. Krier's 'Proposed Plan';
c) The city of San Leucio - Existing state; d) New buildings; e) Division of quarters;
f) Monuments; g) Streets, squares, blocks; h) The proposed plan.

Fig. 4-1: Leon Krier's 'correction to the Vanvitelli composition' in San Leucio, Caserta, Italy, illustrates a rationalist approach to urban design. Source: KRIER, 1984, p.36.

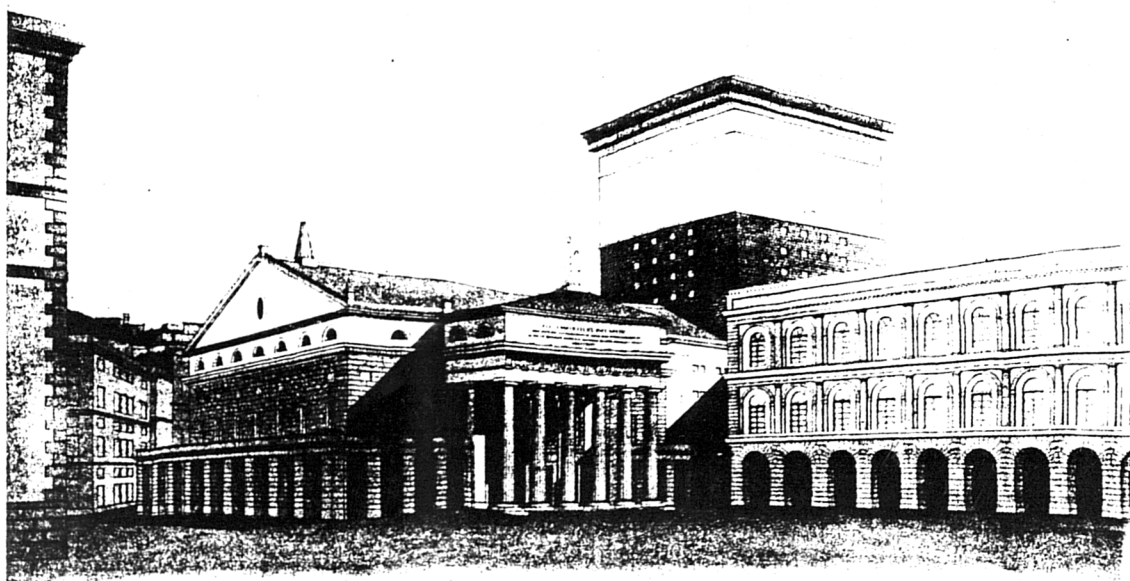


Fig. 4-2: The Transformation of the Carlo Felice Theatre.

Source: ROSSI, 1985, p.19.

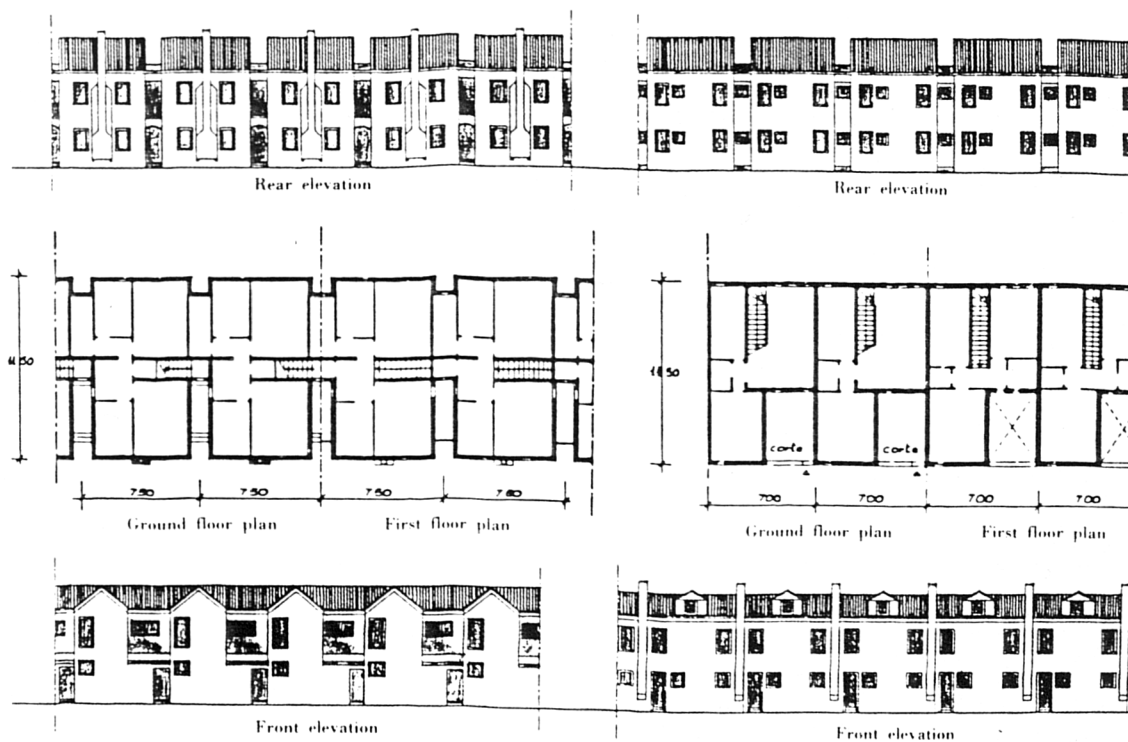


Fig. 4-3: The elevations and plans of two housing types.

Source: BOLLATIS, 1987, p.25.

Townscape and A Sense of Place: Nowadays the development of phenomenology in urban theory can be traced along two parallel lines, one is the traditional townscape discourse, another is the more recent concept of 'sense of place'. The townscape concept is inherited from the 18th century English empiricist aesthetic theorists, including Joseph Addison, Edmund Burk, and Archibald Alison. Their theories directly influenced English picturesque landscape gardening, and were later translated to the urban context as 'Townscape'¹⁴. The concept of townscape was developed during the 1940s and 1950s, when the British journal 'Architectural Review' discussed town planning issues. The townscape philosophy was matured in Cullen's influential book Townscape published in the early 1960s, and its significant contribution is that it looks at the 'city in movement' - a serial vision. In spite of trying to understand the emotional effects created by the 'juxtaposition' of physical elements of the environment in an 'objective' manner, the implication of the townscape idea often abstracts the 'visual message' from the 'cultural message' (WHISTLER, 1973, p.5) and creates the building forms without considering their function.

Another influential theoretical source came from the Continental planning theorist Camillo Sitte during the closing decade of the 19th century. As one of the opponents of Haussmann's Paris, which marked the beginning of modern city planning during the French industrial revolution, Sitte criticised the rationalist approach in city planning concerned with the major three systems: the gridiron, the radial and the triangular, as he put it:

'... one can observe a widespread satisfaction with that which has been so well accomplished along technical lines - in respect to traffic, the advantageous use of building sites, and, especially, hygienic improvements. In contrast there is almost as prevalent a condemnation of the artistic shortcomings of modern city planning, even scorn and contempt. That is quite justified; it is a fact that much has been accomplished in technical matters, while artistically we have achieved almost nothing, modern majestic and monumental buildings being usually seen against the most awkward of public squares and the most badly divided lots' (SITTE, 1965, p.xv.).

Thus Sitte appealed to artistic principles for city planning. He attempted to abstract these principles from historic examples through the analysis of the relationship between buildings, monuments, and their plazas, with particular reference to the medieval

¹⁴ Broadbent has fully researched the theoretical background of the empiricism in his book Emerging Concepts of Urban Space, 1990, p.96-113.

Italian city (see Fig. 4-4). But Sitte clearly understood that modern living and building techniques no longer permitted the faithful imitation of the old townscape. The exemplary creations of the old masters would remain alive with us only if we identified the essentials of these creations, and if we could apply these meaningfully to modern conditions (see Fig. 4-4).

However, due to its visual nature, townscape control over new infill buildings often results in designing the large building to make it look small. Therefore, the top floor can be designed with a fake roof shape to disguise the actual height of the building, for example, the pseudo-Georgian style in Bath in the 1960s. Also, because of its concern for the visual wholeness of the siting, the townscape approach is manipulated by the major developers to get planning permission in relatively small cities. For instance, in Chester, there are quite a few shopping malls which have been built behind the strictly preserved street facades. A popular new vernacular style became the watchword for planning permission (PUNTER, 1985).

A parallel trend to townscape in the development of phenomenology in architecture, in post-industrial urbanism can be highlighted by the concept of 'a sense of place', which focuses on the structural elements of the living environment. A place, according to Schultz (1980), is a space which has a 'distinct character', a harmony of locality with its own environment, a 'gathering' of concrete 'things'¹⁶. The basic property of a man-made place is concentration and enclosure. Schultz (1971) argues that as man's stable schemata of his environment, place is subject-objective in nature. Thus place is a total phenomenon that can only be described as a 'sense', and scientific or quantitative methods fail to capture the wholeness of things. Lynch (1981) put it more rigorously:

'By the sense of a settlement, I mean the clarity with which it can be perceived and identified, and the ease with which its elements can be the linked with other events and places in a coherent mental representation of time and space and that representation can be connected with non-spatial concepts and values. This is the join between the forms of the environment and the human process of perception and cognition'

Deliberation of the sense of place in the physical environment consequently leads to local determination, because:

'There are human characteristics which should be congruent with certain physical characteristics of the designed environment. These characteristics, of individuals and groups, are both universal - common

¹⁶ Schultz adopted the concept of 'gathering' and 'thing' from Heidegger's writing.

to people as organisms and members of a species and - also culturally variable' (RAPOPORT, 1980, p.4).

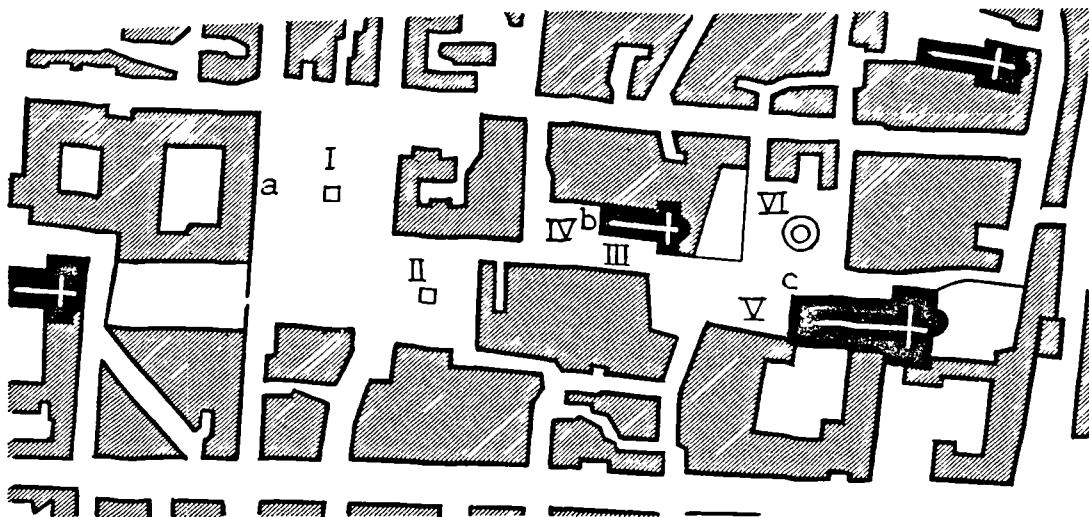
Thus Rapoport (1980) suggests that:

'... it is important to avoid over-generalisations (specially when based on *a priori* assumptions) and deal with the variability of both physical and social environments' (RAPOPORT, *ibid.*).

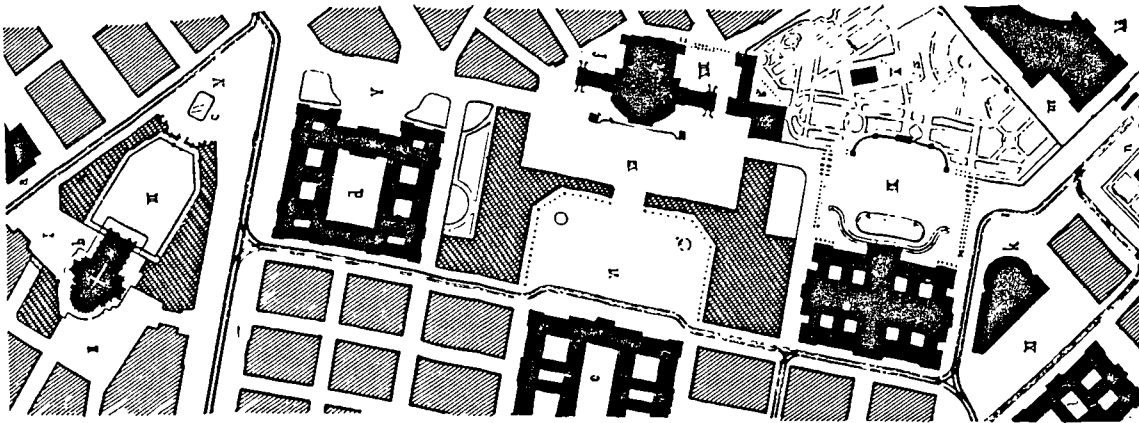
Along this line Frampton (1987) calls for 'Critical Regionalism', he writes:

'The fundamental strategy of Critical Regionalism is to mediate the impact of universal civilisation with elements derived *indirectly* from the peculiarities of a particular place... (and) depends upon maintaining a high level of critical self-consciousness' (p.21).

It is a theory of '... building which, while accepting the potentially liberative role of modernisation, resists being totally absorbed by forms of optimised production and consumption' (*ibid.*, p.56). For Frampton's critical regionalism, the 'resistance of the place-form' is crucial, whereby the typography, existing urban fabric, climate, light and technical forms should all be considered.



4-4. a) The squares and streets in the city of Lucca.



New buildings proposed by Sitte (shadowed by this author)

4-4. b) An example how to apply the artistic principles in modern city planning - Sitte's suggested transformation of the western portion of the Ring-strassa in Vienna.

Fig. 4-4: Sitte's ideal urban space and its planning principles.

Source: Sitte, 1965, pp.56, 157.

Process Planning - Learning from the Traditional Ways of City Building:

The history of modern town planning started with the utopian 'physical planning' to deal with the growth of industrial cities in late 19th century; it then moved on to the 1950s' with large scale, long-term planning mainly concerned with Post-war housing reconstruction. It developed in to the 1960s' 'comprehensive' approach for inner city redevelopment, which was later modified in favour of 'strategic and structure planning' to cope with regional economic development in the 1970s. Finally it arrived at 'process' planning with conservation and public participation in the 1980s. 'Process' planning is a way to guarantee 'inner growth', through considering both the physical and social 'structure' of the existing settlement (TANGHE, 1984). This approach has reintroduced the combination of urban structure and urban form, which modern planning development has split.

Since the middle 1970s, many theoretical researches have been undertaken to explore intensively the ideas of 'process' planning and urban design, by trying to understand the traditional ways of city building. The main point emerging is that long-term, large-scale modern developments have resulted in two basic problems: the abstractions of statistical calculations for long-term economic development and high technological control through formalism on the one hand, and the pseudo-realistic attempt

at rationalisation, through speculation and state bureaucracy on the other. The recent work of Christopher Alexander and his colleagues is probably the most influential¹⁶. They believe that the most important nature of the beautiful traditional cities is their 'wholeness', which has been built up through history *step by step* and not *all at once*. However, underlying the slow process of growing, it is the commonly shared 'patterns' which guide the physical form of human settlements, whereby private and public spaces can be reconciled through the 'morphological' structure. Above all, being 'naive' and holding the idea of 'small is beautiful' and with ecological principles in mind, Alexander's philosophy is a strong argument against the large scale, rapid profit-oriented modern development which he believes has destroyed the 'organic order'. Moreover, by suggesting people should be able to build their own environment, Alexander based his theory on the ambitious assumption that all the current social, economic and political conditions of modern planning and urban design could be changed from profit to humane need, as he claimed:

'It (humane settlement) is a process which brings order out of nothing but ourselves; it cannot be attained, but it will happen of its own accord, if we will only let it' (ALEXANDER, 1979, p.ix).

Here we see the third point of Heidegger's (1971) 'dwelling' and 'location' or place, which is viewed as a 'process of building construction' to cultivate 'growing things'. Through this process man dwells 'poetically' with the fourfold living world: earth, sky, divinities and mortals.

During the process of settlement building, any new building project should follow the existing patterns and respect the existing surroundings to a high standard, in order to contribute to the rich wholeness. At the same time, settlement needs continuing maintenance; therefore planners should regularly 'diagnose' the decline going on, and the needs of the present time, rather than only providing a long-term 'great master plan' to control the future. In design terms, the 'process' idea combines both townscape and morphology aspects but is less about building forms; so Alexander (1987) talks about 'visions' and 'positive urban space' as two of the main urban design rules.

Similarly, based on his Dutch experience, Tanghe suggested (1984) that 'process planning' was about the following principles: firstly, existing community facilities and

¹⁶ Here we refer to: The Timeless way of Building, 1979; A Pattern Language, 1977; The Oregon Experiment, 1979; and A New Theory of Urban Design, 1987.

architectural features should form the basis for any further development, so that the existing social, economic, cultural and environmental values are maintained and improved. Secondly, a mixture of urban activities and building types (especially housing types) are needed to support the city striving to evolve or regenerate itself; since the fewer functions the city has, the greater the danger of its decline. Thirdly, the morphology and typologies of the built environment, such as the streets, housing types, squares, the traditional urban fabric with a continuous street facade, should be well respected. Any new types of building must be integrated with existing building types.

2.3 Design and Development Control

In practice, the contradiction between 'collage city' and the structuralist approaches has been clearly explained by the use of new development and urban design controls. It stems from academic purity and over bureaucracy, not only because of the subjectivity of its aesthetic nature, but more due to the social and political intentions behind the developments and the controls imposed by the success of the conservation movement. The British experience of 'design control' has followed a

'... polarised debate which splits the architectural and planning professions, and which in some senses increasingly splits central and local government conceptions of planning practices' (PUNTER, 1985, p.81).

During the first decades of this century, design control was limited to residential development due to limited resources, and few trained advisers. From the Post-war years up to the early 1970s, Central Government used planning controls to achieve large scale developments. But since the 1960s, with the English Civic Trust's increasing involvement in conservation, the mechanism of design control - through the town planning process - has been geared to take more notice of public opinion and local town-patterns¹⁷. The Civic Trust's whole purpose was to foster 'the local amenity group' movement and arouse public opinion over the quality of the urban environment. A crucial step towards design control was the introduction of the Civic Amenities Act 1967, with its concept of the Conservation Area, this has had an enormous impact in aesthetic terms by preventing premature demolition, in ensuring a more sensitive degree of control, and in encouraging a higher standard of planning application. But elsewhere public participation has been

¹⁷ See J.V. Punter, 1985, p.35, & 81.

largely perfunctory in the preparation of development plans. The property building boom of 1971-3 brought with it a wave of speculation and development, though its general poor quality, combined with the destruction of many fine city environments, caused a dramatic rise in the number of local amenity societies.

This consciousness was first reflected by the well-known publication, A Design Guide for Residential Areas, issued by Essex County Council in 1973. The Guide incorporated many established principles of townscape and urban design such as scale, enclosure, static and dynamic space, elevation unity, etc.. Two main factors raised by the Guide are density increase through more traditional settlement layout and the use of the local vernacular for housing design. These two factors together presented a strong challenge to the common pattern which had appeared throughout the Post-war suburban ribbon development period. Although the Design Guide has been heavily debated over the last ten years, its ideas were taken up and developed steadily, helping to increase public involvement with architecture in general¹⁸. In early 1985, a series of Local Authority experiments in design control were launched as the 'Time for Design' experiment, and they laid emphasis on public, professional and developer participation through exhibitions, seminars and environmental education. Now the control items usually include architectural style, elevational characteristics, materials and colour, scale, setting and site, landscape, etc. (see Fig. 4-5), and all these aesthetic concerns in development control fully reflect the general theoretical debate that has been discussed in the previous sections.

Recently, academic interest in Design Control Theory has also been stimulated by the reality of market-led city development. Design Guides or Building Codes have been pursued, both by the Neo-rationalists, such as Leon Krier, and by the picturesque urbanists, such as Cullon and Gosling's urban design guide for London Docklands development. Cruickshank (1990) writes:

'Given the plurality and eclecticism of the age, it is clear that aesthetic control of architects by laymen and planners is a contentious subject. It is partly as a response to the growing vexation over aesthetic control that code making is now being re-evaluated'.

In general, these approaches are strongly associated with the appreciation of pre-industrial city building processes, which were based on standard devices by which

¹⁸ For example, the debate over the demolition of Mansion House Square in London, and especially the Prince of Wales' initial involvement in the anti-modern architecture campaign in 1984.

City Building in the 1980s in Britain

both state and private estates manipulated and controlled the efforts of individual builders.

CHECKLIST OF AESTHETIC CONSIDERATIONS	CENTRAL GOVERNMENT ADVICE		
	'AVERAGE' AREAS		ENVIRONMENTALLY SENSITIVE OR HIGH QUALITY AREAS (22/80) NP's, AONB's, CA's, LB's etc
	INTRINSIC ARCHITECTURAL MERIT	RELATIONSHIP TO SURROUNDINGS	
1. ISSUES OF ARCHITECTURAL STYLE historical references, 'spirit', intention, functionalism, meanings, symbolism etc.	DC not a licence to impose different concepts on the designer (D/83)		consistency of archit. style in CA's (DCPN 7:69)
2. ELEVATIONAL CHARACTERISTICS expression of structure, solid: void, renestration, shape, proportion, unity, complexity, decoration, detailing	only exceptionally control design details (22/80, D/83) more specific guidance in Local Plans (D/83) where detail acceptable, think twice before seeking to improve it (9/76)	reasonable measure of continuity and cohesion in street (Manual 47) reject obviously poor which is out of scale or character (D/83)	can control design details (22/80) accord with special architectural qualities, CA's (DCPN 7:69) vertical or horizontal emphasis grain of design in CA's (61/68) compatibility of design near listed buildings (DCPN 7:69) <i>development must preserve or enhance (67 CA Act)</i>
3. MATERIALS & COLOUR type of materials, colours, texture, contrast, transparency/reflectiveness, weathering, staining	not be overfastidious (e.g. precise shade of colour) (22/80)		care with colour & materials (DCPN 7:69)
4. SCALE scale, bulk, density (Plot ratio), height, cornice line, massing, set back	scale, bulk, density, height	central concerns (D22/80, D/83)	
5. SETTING & SITE CHARACTERISTICS topography, landscape townscape, townscape role-views, visibility, streetscape		control should be limited to those elements that concern the relationship to neighbouring development - e.g. scale, bulk, density, height, access, landscaping (D 22/80, D/83)	special attention to the character or appearance of the area (DCPN 7:69) development must preserve or enhance (67 CA Act)
6. LANDSCAPING landscaping (hard & soft), trees, public & private amenity space, street furniture	designer's responsibility D/83	consider the relationship to adjacent development e.g. screen planting, tree retention etc. (D/83) importance of trees (DCPN 10:69)	special tree protection provisions in CA's (CA Act 67)
<u>OTHER DESIGN CONSIDERATIONS OF AESTHETIC IMPORTANCE</u>			
7. LIGHT & NOISE daylight/sunlight, privacy & noise, micro climate	(PB No. 5 sets standards for adoption)		LPA able to vary adopted standards in interest of character (CA Act 67)
8. LAYOUT external spaces, access and car parking, servicing pedestrian routes		access and car parking key issues (D/83) guidance advised on car parking	ditto
9. LAND USE MIX & SOCIAL USE ground floor uses, ancillary uses, community/leisure uses	(Traditional development	plan consideration, especially	Local Plan)
10. TIMING OF DEVELOPMENT demolition and dereliction etc.			application for demolition must be accompanied by full proposals (CA Act 67)

Fig. 4-5: Aesthetic Control in Britain: Central Government's advice on relevant considerations in the 1980's.

Source: PUNTER, 1985, P.86.

City Building in the 1980s in Britain

The history of design guides or building regulations dates back to the Romans and Renaissance city building practices in Europe. Even in recent history, urban settings like Edinburgh and Bath still achieve their uniformity in a similar way. Among all the control devices, the restriction of building materials and building forms are the most commonly used. Nowadays design guides or building codes seem to be more appropriate to the design of acceptable buildings, at least as far as the general public is concerned, yet at the same time they help to establish a relatively objective set of criteria by which proposals can be assessed. Currently, in Britain notable developments using design controls and building codes theories are marked by Leon Krier's (1988) Master Plan for Poundbury Development in Dorchester, John Simpson's (1990) vision of Stoke Gifford, a village development in Northamptonshire, and Rock Townsend's (1990) 'Urban Design Strategy Guides' in accordance with picturesque design theory for Leamington Spa, in Warwick District. In the United States, Duany and Zyberk's (1987) 'Ordinances and Codes' for a seaside new town in Miami has already won the confidence of the middle and upper class home makers, and honour from Prince Charles, who has been much involved in conservation and community architecture since the mid 1980s.

However, design guides and building codes all assume an idealised community with a limited population in the traditional sense, which unfortunately hardly exists in the post-industrial plural society, where community is more likely to contain class divisions rather than class unity. Increasing population mobility in a flexible, market-led development leaves little room for a deeply rooted community. The Leamington Design Guide and the Master Plan for Poundbury may lay down the guidelines for the existing or future communities in physical terms, but because of the effects of social stresses and differences between people, the ideas can probably not be realised. Moreover, can design guides and building codes be applicable to a heterogeneous urban district like London or Manchester? From this point of view, Prince Charles' attempt to hold his future kingdom together through community architecture is a naive thought.

Further, how valid will the aesthetic consciousness of design guides and building codes be in the profit-oriented world of private development? The classical failure of the well-intended Essex Design Guide (1973) has already shown that it can be destroyed by developers (RAVETZ, 1980). Design guides and codes have to hold the balance between the ideal vision given by architects and the profit-conscious commercial builders, and to

create an architectural discipline without repelling private investment. Above all, 'the architectural aims have to be presented as a positive advantage to speculators, rather than as an expensive hindrance'. The fact is that 'working within a defined and logical code - even when the rules are demanding - must be preferable to working within a planning system, in which an architect's work can be dismissed or compromised by the often capricious or arbitrary judgement of aesthetic controls' (CRUICKSHANK, *ibid.*). Even the production of design guides and codes themselves itself can be a commercial bonus, as in the case of Leamington Spa. As Murray (1990) puts it, architects will agree that:

'In a time of shrinking workloads ..., producing a 105-page illustrated critical report on a lovely place like Leamington sounds like nice work if you can get it'.

Nevertheless, design control is still heavily criticised, especially by the architectural profession, for its bureaucratic nature, and the monotony and dullness of the built environment produced through that process. It is true that design control is still limited to developers, architects and planners, and has little to do with 'community' or 'freedom to build', though the trend does seem to lead, at least in some cases, to a more local and public involvement.

2.4 'Community' Architecture

The communication problem of the collage city also needs to be solved by a dialogue between the professionals and the consumers in a market dominant city development. In Britain in much of the 1970s and the whole 1980s, as it has been seen, the Government cuts in public services, as a result of the economic recession and the Government's privatisation programmes, have left community services with less public support. It is said that Britain has private wealth amid public squalor. Thus the Government tried to encourage local people to participate more in the regeneration of the inner areas. This is regarded by the Government both as a necessity and an end in itself, because it was Government policy to make people more responsible for their community (MAYO, 1979). Consequently, community action, neighbourhood involvement, all appeared as a means by which people had to look after themselves. Now the residents or the consumers are valued as some of the best 'experts on the effects of urban decline or urban renewal' (GIBSON, 1984 p.37), and community development does not

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have to mean 'expansion' but 'a matter of making good the damage by vandalism or official neglect or government cuts' (ibid., p.107). Within this political and economic context, community architecture has been developed. Community architecture, as Wates and Knevitt put it, is

'... an umbrella term which also embraces "community planning", "community design", "community development" and other forms of "community aid"' (WATES & KNEVITT, 1987, P.17).

It is rooted in the community action of the 1960s and 1970s in an attempt to halt bulldozer-style redevelopment, when people began to realise that failure had resulted from modern development carried out through the paternalistic and centralised economy brought about by Government policy. Up to the middle 1970s, with more practice in inner city improvement and wide spread international experiments, community architecture has begun to define its own task as: to provide the community groups with 'technical capacity' and 'organisational skills' to be able to participate in environmental decision-making, thus it is argued the community can have some control over developments at local level¹⁹.

In Britain and other Western European countries, community architecture is involved with housing, community facilities and other projects. In terms of housing, community architecture is aiming at fulfilling some requirements which have been overlooked by the 'number games' of political power in Post-war housing policies. Thus community architecture projects tend to cover different tenure and measure up favourably to most conventional criteria to achieve similar or better physical standards, with less or the same amount of money and time. Furthermore, community architecture housing projects focus on the needs of the occupants, by trying to integrate people's homes, both physically and organisationally into the fabric of the immediate locality. As a result, there has been a reduction or limitation of vandalism and crime and the enhancement of people's sense of community and civic pride. Although in Britain community architecture projects have been mainly carried out by the private sector, all the attitudes may also be meaningful to public housing projects as Colin Ward (1985) argued: 'When we build again, let's have housing that works not by a plan for housing, but an attitude that will enable millions of people to make their own plans!'

¹⁹ See N.Wates and C.Knevitt, 1987, p.28.

In terms of community projects, 'the essential difference from conventional methods is that people who will ultimately use the facilities, direct the projects from the inception through to construction and management' (WATES & KNEVITT, 1987, P.89). This new attitude profoundly challenges the nature of existing social facilities which are so often decided by people who are not users. The community project is often initiated by the existing community organisation, or by the people, who share a concern to establish a new facility or re-use a redundant resource; the community can organise themselves informally to discuss how it might be done with the involvement of appropriate professionals, who can help analyse the problem and advise on options for solving it. Then approaches are made by the client group and the professionals to the local authorities and others for funds, permissions and other resources. The client group usually takes a form of an association, trust or other legally constituted body to manage land and resources, at the same time being democratically accountable to the people who will use the facility. The detail design is often developed during the construction process by the client group. After completion, the client group will manage the project and take care of it or undertake further improvement as necessary.

Right from the beginning, community architecture is a social approach to the city environment, and is inevitably involved with political issues, as in the case of Covent Garden and some revolutionary housing programmes in Southern European countries²⁰. It is believed that in a class society architecture is given the task of making manifest the power of property, and 'architecture is political action', therefore, as Professor Manuel Castells argues that,

'... unless there is a social force counterbalancing the power of capital and of the state, no sensitive planning, no large-scale architectural creativity can be implemented' (HATCH, 1984, P.284).

Inevitably community architecture faces obstacles which are also political in nature. No matter which party is in power, it disturbs the conventional power framework. After some time a financial difficulty often results in a problem for community architecture. The marginal role of community development and the poor funding given by the Government in Britain limited its ability. Therefore, the Prince of Wales, who is

²⁰ For instance, the 1975 PEEP (Housing Programme for Historic Centre) housing programme in Bologna for rehabilitation of the old city, the 1974 SAAL (the Ambulatory Support to Local Residents Program) housing programme in Curraleira in Portugal, and the Orcasitas Housing Project in Madrid in 1970s. See R. Hatch, 1984, pp.238-85.

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supposedly politically 'neutral' and worries about his 'divided' country, became the perfect supporter for the community architecture movement. Since 1984, the Prince of Wales' involvement in community architecture and conservation has drawn wide attention from both the public and professionals to the living environment. But in the existing political climate, where in the 1980s local power was reduced after a period of success, the limitations of this approach became more obvious.

Many criticisms of community architecture have been voiced in general terms. First of all, by condemning the universal norms of modern planning and architecture as not suitable to the individuals' needs, community architecture tried to satisfy each individual user. But this does not necessarily guarantee that the resulting quality will be higher in spite of the 'democratic' atmosphere in which it was designed²¹. Secondly, community architecture is an 'abstract model inherited from the old bourgeois revolution, far from the historical reality of man which proceeds in reverses; from a collective whole to the personal identities which branch out of a main trunk' (ibid., p.184). Therefore, the community itself may seem to have a consensus for housing and public facilities, as happened in Coin Street in London, but conflicting demands have arisen in the sense of who should benefit from the community plan and who should control its implementation (BRINDLEY & OTHERS, 1989, p.94). Thirdly, by opening up freedom of choice and trying to find the means to keep individual choice from conflicting with the freedom of others, community architecture projects may play an effective role in preparing the user for a consumer society. Therefore, the breaking down of the modernist norm will be followed by quickly erected barriers between social groups and between individuals. This is the underlying reason why so many community architecture projects fail to present a public face and reflect a 'collage' image. Fourthly, the environmental quality and aesthetic concern are often overlooked by community architecture as Martine Pawley (1990) points out '... bad design goes with community architecture, bad technology also and finally bad faith...' ²², because community architecture can not handle the work it is supposed to do.

²¹ See Alex Tzonis and Liane Lefaivre, 'Commentary on UNL *Zone Sociale*', in C.R. Hatch, 1984, p.183.

²² See 'Urban Concept: Denise Scott Brown - rise and fall of community architecture' Architectural Design, No.60, 1-2/1990, p.41.

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From the ideological point of view, community architecture can, at its best, help the local community - which is so often powerless - to improve their own neglected living environment. But it can, at its worst, be seen as a new way of state control in the flexible accumulation of capital, as Cockburn's (1977) report on Lambeth shows and Mago's (1979) account on the political nature of community action. 'Housing by people' may also mean an increasing number of both owner-occupiers and the homeless at the same time. Harvey (1989) agrees that 'local determinism' is,

'... "interpretive communities", made up of both producers and consumers of particular kinds of knowledge, of texts, often operating within a particular institutional context (such as the university, the legal system, religious groups), within particular divisions of cultural labour (such as architecture, painting, theatre, dance), or within particular places (neighbourhoods, nations, etc.). Individuals and groups are held to control mutually within these domains what they consider to be valid knowledge' (p.47).

Prince Charles may criticise the *architects and planners for their contribution to* the environmental crisis, but he hardly points to the core of the issue - the *social causes* for that crisis. As a key member of the Royal Family, he should also know that,

'Free public transport cannot be offered to the elderly and disabled since this would cost £200 million a year, and the Sixth Duke of Westminster ... inherits his father's title to accompany the £500 million already passed to him. The money entrusted to this meritorious young man matches the total amount spent on Britain's inner city programmes in more than a decade!' (LONELY, 1979, p.5).

The hard fact is that in the 1980s in Britain, the incomes of the top 10 percent of the population have increased by an astonishing 43 percent, while the bottom 40 percent have suffered a decrease of up to 8 percent²³!

²³ See Keegan, 'Country and Western Marxism May be Music to the Poor' in The Guardian Monday August 13 1990, p.10.

Chapter Five

CONSERVATION IN BRITAIN

It may be said that since the late 1960s the modern conservation movement in Britain, and in Western Europe as a whole, is perhaps the spontaneous result of the decline of the Fordist welfare state, although the preservation of monuments goes far back to the early stages of the Industrial Revolution. Starting with William Morris' concept¹, historic preservation has extended from monument preservation to urban conservation and, since in the 1980s, urban renaissance. Urban conservation is a direct response to the destruction caused by modern city redevelopment, especially associated with urban motorway constructions in the 1960s. This rapid redevelopment threatened many monuments of national - even international - importance; for example, the Euston Arch in London and many parts of Georgian Bath were demolished. Urban conservation was extended in a much wider social and economic context after the economic recession caused by the 1973 OPEC oil crisis, when the Europeans took stock of their resources and their affluent life style.

Public participation in planning decision-making and the rehabilitation and conservation of deteriorated old buildings all appeared as means to conserve limited resources, to preserve the social neighbourhood and to improve people's own living environment. In addition, 'ecological' concern for the global environment started about this time. Nevertheless, the alternative to the pluralist policies of the Post-war period

¹ In the 19th century, according to John Ruskin and William Morris' theory, monuments should be restored to the idealised vision of styles rather than to their authentic origins. Linda Groat, 'Contextural, Compatibility in Architecture' in Canter, 1988, pp.215-32.

was not a profound change, but a move towards a more individualistic consumer-led pattern whereby living standards for those with money improved; but for the less well off little was done as traditional industries were closed down, housing estates were neglected and inner city blight spread. Therefore conservation is linked, through the monetarist policies introduced by the New Right, with job creation and inner city regeneration. The consumer society turned conservation into the 'heritage industry'. Instead of improving the lot of depressed communities, housing rehabilitation and area revitalisation caused gentrification and the less well-off were replaced by young, upwardly mobile people. Not only has the real history of the country been disguised by the heritage industry to meet tourist desires for 'exoticism' and 'authenticity', but also the true meaning of 'conserving' has been lost to the unproductive, energy-consuming mass tourist traveller. Since the 1980s conservation has become as much a matter of 'vision' as the saving of history. On the one hand, historic cities have been transformed to satisfy intensive touristic needs, rather than in good faith for the local people by providing a real mixture of social functions. On the other hand, the demolition of council flats in London and Manchester had been used as a way to solve the social problems associated with some public housing estates. Certainly the 'defensible space' theory has convinced the planners that badly designed physical environments encourage bad social behaviour. But we also know the inner city problem is more a social inequality than a physical disaffection, and the modern concept of 'defensible space' is a direct response to the violence in cities. Pleasant surroundings may replace the existing modern slum, but the social disease could by no means be remedied by superficial image-making.

In this Chapter, conservation, especially in Britain and other advanced industrial countries is presented by looking at government legislation and policies. The legal framework for conservation not only reflects the conflicts between modern development, the cultural heritage and the human living environment in general, but also mirrors a special way to solve conflicts in a democratic capitalist society where the legal system offers the means whereby the individual can try to protect himself from the Establishment. The development of conservation legislation is not an objective matter; rather it is involved with a certain group of society, say the educated classes. Therefore the social interpretation of conservation and its beneficiaries is also socially characterised. This is demonstrated by the amenity society and gentrification. In terms of technical

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concern, the emphasis will be on planning and architectural strategies on a city level rather than on individual buildings.

1 POLICIES AND LEGISLATION

1.1 Introduction

In the modern development planning process, the legal framework has been the crucial instrument used to guard preservation and conservation work in most of the Western European countries. In northern European countries, such as Britain and France which have long established legal systems, legislation for the protection of historical monuments came much earlier than in other countries. Britain saw its first legislation in the 'Ancient Monuments Act' of 1882, France introduced its 'significant individual objects' preservation legislation in 1913. After the Industrial Revolution, preservation started with individual outstanding monuments and gradually developed to the concept of 'conservation areas'. The French 'Historic Building Act 1930' extended individual building preservation to the protection of groups of buildings, and entire areas of towns. In 1939, Italy introduced its 'Protection of objects of artistic and historical interest Act'. Similarly, in Switzerland, the 1942 Federal Council's Decree of July 29 mentioned preservation of the historic character of the neighbourhoods in old town renewal². In Britain, the Town and Country Planning Act of 1947 introduced the statutory list of historic buildings for their 'group value' (SUDDARDS, 1982, p.5). However, in the early stage, as the Charter of Athens stated, preservation was limited to highly selected monuments. In Venice in 1964, the International Council on Monuments and Sites (ICOMOS) was founded under the patronage of UNESCO. In May of the same year ICOMOS drew up the well known Venice Charter, which expressly set out to treat the monument as 'not only the single architectural work but also the urban or rural setting in which is found the evidence of a particular civilisation, a significant development or an historic event' (p.2)³. This definition includes both the great works of art, as the Charter of Athens introduced, and the more modest works of the past which 'have acquired cultural significance with the passing of time' (ibid.). Up to the middle

² See The Federal German Ministry, 1975, The Renewal of Historic Town Centres in Nine European Countries, p.105.

³ Also see ICOMOS: 1964-1984, PP.12-15.

1970s, the consciousness of preserving cultural heritage and historic areas increased world wide. The European Heritage Year 1975 marked this social awareness. In 1976, UNESCO recommended to its member states that they set up a legal and administrative system for the protection of historic areas through statutory town planning, housing and regional planning processes⁴.

The programmes of urban renewal in Western European cities in the late 1950s, the 1960s and into the 1970s stimulated urban conservation to extend further; conservation attracted much more public interest, and the protection of historic buildings and areas was no longer limited to its museum sense, but had become an active force for improvements which permitted an intensive utilisation of old structures for particular purposes. The French pioneer Andre Malraux established the 1962 Act, which for the first time introduced the system of *Secteurs Sauvegardes* (Sector Safeguard), not only was it for the control of the alterations of historic buildings both internally and externally, but it was also intended to guarantee entire neighbourhoods of cultural importance. Effective urban development measures were aimed at preserving the entire fabric of the area. Then the English equivalent 'Conservation Area' emerged in the 'Civic Trust Amenities Act 1967'. This developed the concept of conservation areas and now comprehensively covers preservation, renovation or renewal and control of the whole townscape of a listed area. Meanwhile more countries in Europe have established their legal framework for historical preservation since late 1950s⁵. This not only creates public powers for the control of listed buildings and areas through public and voluntary organisations, but also provides considerable funds for conservation works, though these are so often inadequate.

It is easy to see that the development of legislation for conservation in the Western European countries has been as a result of the development of modern planning systems, which include whole areas rather than just individual buildings. The generality of the

⁴ See 'Recommendation Concerning the Safeguarding and Contemporary Role of Historic Areas' in Conventions and Recommendations of UNESCO Concerning the Protection of the Cultural Heritage, UNESCO, Switzerland, 1985, pp.191-209.

⁵ Such as the Czech Law of 1958 No.22 which provided the legal basis for historic monument protection; The Dutch Monument Protection Act 1961; The Polish Monuments Protection Law 1962, Poland; and the relevant regulation issued by the Hungarian Office of Monument Protection founded in 1957, and so on. The Federal German Ministry, 1975.

modern development concept such as the British 'Comprehensive Development Area', which appeared in the Town and Country Planning Act 1947, was echoed by the 'Conservation Area' in the late 1960s. As part of the whole planning law and policy, the legislation for preservation and conservation can not be understood simply as the result of individual or public consciousness about the historic heritage. Instead, it has to be viewed in the general context of the social, economic and political changes in the capitalist Western European countries. Only then can its formation and implementation be clearly understood. As Korosec-serfaty (1988, p.145) concludes from his three cases of urban conservation in France:

'The members of the same social class first spread the modern conceptions of architecture and urban planning, then experienced its enchantment born from these ideas and their popular rejection, and finally gave a new and stronger impulse to the spreading of historic preservation ideas'.

The legal framework for conservation has caused some problems, such as interference with property rights and the danger of gentrification. In the first case, public control over listed private properties conflicts with the freedom of the owners, while the second issue is directly associated with the acquisition of listed property through purchase or expropriation such as happened in France and Britain. These acquisition laws often cause gentrification of the conservation areas, as urban redevelopment programmes deprived the urban poor of their homes during 1960s. In this respect, Bologna is one of the rare examples to have succeeded in urban conservation through expropriation without gentrification. In this communist-controlled municipality, conservation was achieved and to a great extent the improved housing stock was returned to its original inhabitants.

1.2 Conservation Legislation

In order to better understand its structure, development and implementation it is necessary to take a close look at the legal background for preservation and conservation work in Britain. The first British national voluntary body in the field of historic buildings and ancient monuments was the Society for the Protection of Ancient Buildings founded in the late 19th century. The first legislation of the 'Ancient Monuments Act' was introduced in 1882, and claimed that the landowner did not have a right to destroy the remains of former settlements which happened to be on his property, and the State had a duty to identify and protect monuments and buildings which were of such quality

or interest that their preservation was for the common good. However, under the 1882 Act, there were only 29 monuments in England and Wales, and 21 in Scotland which were listed. It was not until 1932 that the desirable statutory protection for buildings was extended from the original 'unoccupied' buildings and structures to those in use which had architectural or historic interest (SUDDARDS, 1982, P.1).

In 1944, the first 'Statutory list of buildings of special architectural or historic interest' was published, and comprised some 90,000 entries throughout Britain (PEARCE, 1989, P.16), and the Statutory List was reinforced by the Town and Country Planning Act 1947. The initial criterion was that any substantially complete building before the Industrial Revolution which started around 1750, would be included, or dependent on quality, if the building was later than that. However, the founding of the Victorian Society in 1958 promoted the inclusion of far more nineteenth-century examples. Therefore the number was greatly increased, and totalled 367,000 by the end of 1985. It is now accepted that significant buildings of the inter-war years merit listing. Furthermore, the establishment of the Thirties Society will probably bring buildings of the 1930s into the Statutory List. Today the Statutory List classes listed buildings into three gradings which show their importance: Grade I, II* and II in England and Wales; in Scotland A, B and C. The Grade I includes some 5,000 buildings of 'outstanding interest', Grade II* 20,000 of 'particular importance', and Grade II covers the vast majority of 'special interest'⁶ (PEARCE, 1989, P.18).

The Town Planning Act 1962 set up the Statutory List, and required a 'two months written notice' to the Local Planning Authority if any demolition or change to a listed building in a way that would seriously affect its character was under consideration. Influenced by the French 'Malraux Act 1962', which introduced the much emulated system of *Secteurs Sauvegardés*, the English Civic Trust was established and issued the English equivalent 'Conservation Areas' in 1966, later known as the Civic Trust Amenities Act 1967. It was passed by all parties in parliament. Conservation areas are 'areas of special architectural or historic interest the character and appearance of which it is

⁶ Before 1970, there was a further category, Grade III, it is now no longer used. 'Grade III buildings were those which, whilst not normally qualifying for the statutory list, were considered nevertheless to be of some special interest by current standards'. See Roger W. Suddards, 1982, p.26.

desirable to preserve or enhance', and they can be a whole street, or a group of buildings along a street. or a whole village or whole historic city centre (Civic Amenities Act 1967). Furthermore, the conservation areas may or may not contain listed buildings or monuments. According to this Act, six months notice instead of two (which was required by the Town and Country Planning Act 1962) has to be given for proposals to alter or demolish a listed building (PRESERVATION POLICY GROUP, 1970, p.4). Furthermore, it gives the local authorities the power to carry out repair work on listed buildings, if an order for such work is not complied with within seven days by the owners themselves.

The most important provision of the Civic Amenities Act is concerned with 'Conservation Areas', which the Act make the duty of Local Authorities to identify and protect. In this context, the 'Four Town Report' reviewed the historic cities of York, Bath, Chester and Chichester, in order to discover 'how to reconcile our old towns with the twentieth century without actually knocking them down' (GREENWORD, 1968). The 'Four Town Report' has been regarded as the British pioneer experience in urban conservation planning. The Report included seven common aspects: (1) History studies; (2) the existing physical character analysis; (3) the social and economic functions analysis; (4) traffic; (5) division of sub-areas according to their physical characteristic; (6) conservation studies in detail; (7) financial appraisal.

Under Section 262 of the Town Country Planning Act of 1972, the planning legislation requires Local Councils to identify conservation areas in their local plans. Furthermore, the Secretary of State can demand that an area be declared a conservation area. There are now over 6,000 conservation areas which have been designated (PEARCE, 1989, p.20). In the designated conservation areas, controls are limited, small structures may be added or demolished under the permitted development provision.

Development control in conservation areas is provided by the 1971 Act. Application for any substantial change to the listed buildings, including demolition in whole or in part, extension or renovation, which may affect the character of the listed buildings inside or outside, must be made to the local planning authority. Furthermore, the public - especially neighbours - must be alerted to the proposals by the display for twenty-one days of a notice on site and by an advertisement in the local paper. Local authorities' decision-making must involve participation from both individuals or amenity groups. Five voluntary organisations, i.e. British Archaeology, Society for the Protection of Ancient

Buildings, the Georgian Group, the Victorian Society and the Ancient Monuments, as well as the Royal Commission on Historical Monuments, must be consulted (PEARCE, 1989, p.21, LARKHAM, 1985, P.4).

However, according to the Housing Act of 1969, the Local Authorities have the right to declare buildings substandard, and to close, demolish or repair them. Even more important is that the Local Authorities could possibly declare an area a 'Housing treatment area', where more than half of the houses are deemed to be substandard. So the provisions regarding dangerous structures have sometimes been used to speed developments which councils have seen as being in the broader public interest⁷. Until 1975, the majority of the local councils were not sympathetic to all but outstanding conservation cases, and demolished many listed but 'dangerous structures' for redevelopment. In 1977, in Exeter the city council condemned and destroyed 17th and 18th century listed houses in Magdalen Street (PEARCE, 1989, p.22).

To prevent this kind of demolition, the Housing and Planning Act 1986 removed the local council's right to demolish after their serving of a Dangerous Structure Notice (DSN) unless listed building consent was also obtained. However, these procedures are rarely applied to the privately owned decayed listed buildings of which the councils are not eager to become the owners. In 1988 a Compulsory Purchase Order was confirmed; accordingly the Secretary of State has power to serve a repairs notice himself (ibid).

The scheduling of monuments and the listing of buildings is only exercised by the Secretary of State, while the designation of conservation areas is essentially looked after by the Local Authorities. After consulting with the Local Authorities, the Secretary of State also has power to designate areas as conservation areas in the 'exceptional' case. According to the Circular 23/77, Local Authorities are advised to set up advisory committees for conservation areas, which consist not only of local authority members but of local members of the R.I.B.A., the R.T.P.I.⁸, and perhaps the local Chamber of Commerce. Furthermore, Local Authorities are required to review their conservation areas from time to time, to determine whether any additional areas should be designated, and to designate such areas (SUDDARDS, 1982, P.47-48).

⁷ See The Renewal of Historic Town Centres in Nine European Countries, by the Federal Germany Ministry of Regional Planning, Building and Town Planning, 1975, p.62.

⁸ R.I.B.A. stands for the Royal Institute of British Architecture, R.T.P.I. for the Royal Town Planning Institute.

1.3 Organisations and Funding

In Britain, the majority of the listed buildings and monuments are looked after by the occupants, and there are few public resources to help support their maintenance and repair; this has left the owners with the burden. Nevertheless, various statutory provisions for grants and loans for historic buildings and areas have been introduced by various Acts⁹(SUDDARDS, 1982). These statutory resources of grants and loans have been made respectively to different projects through different organisations.

For example, the Historic Buildings and Monuments Commission for England (or 'English Heritage'), was funded £62.5 million by the Government in 1986 towards its total expenditure of £66.5 million, though the Commission is supposed to be an 'independent body'. In 1988, a grant totalling £9.1 million was offered by the Government to the 'outstanding historic buildings' covered by the National Heritage Act 1983. The 'town scheme grants' in 1986-7 received some £2.6 million from the Historic Monuments and Buildings Commission only, in order to allow the local authorities to upgrade groups of buildings according to the Town and Country Planning Act 1972. Similarly about 2,000 out of 6,000 conservation areas have been funded by public sources according to the 1972 Act; the grants mostly go to inner-city areas with social as well as repair problems (PEARCE, 1989).

Apart from the public grants for conservation work, funds from a number of private charitable trusts may be available to cover the cost of maintenance, repair, or preservation of historic buildings, or even the acquisition of such buildings. For example, the Civic Trust is a voluntary body, and it owns many properties which are regarded as worth listing and preserving.

⁹ Such as 'Historic Buildings and Ancient Monuments Act 1953, Local Authorities (Historic Buildings) Act 1962', 'Civic Amenities Act 1967', 'Development of Tourism Act 1969', Town and Country Planning (Amenity) Act 1972' and 'Local Government, Planning and Land Act 1980', and so on. See Roger W. Suddards, 1982, pp.231-54.

2 CONSERVATION AGENCY - Voluntary Groups and Public Participation

2.1 The Development of Conservation Societies

The previous section has given a overall view of the institutional aspect of conservation through the legal framework in Britain, and it has demonstrated that legislation for conservation is very much a result of voluntary involvement in conservation and in the recent town planning process. This section will examine the impact of the voluntary public groups - the civic and amenity societies in the conservation process in the general context, in order to understand the interaction between the institution and human agents in the conservation movement in the so-called post-industrial European countries.

In Britain, a considerable number of voluntary bodies, such as the Civic Trust, Georgian Group, have had a significant effect upon planning decision making. Those conservation lobbies are concerned in one way or another with the preservation of 'amenities' in the historic heritage, townscape and landscape. The civic society movement began with individual effort in the early part of the 19th century.

'The preservation of Commons from a landlord lacking in public spirit; the preservation of buildings from destructive restoration; the preservation of scenery in trust for the nation; the control of unsightly advertisements; the preservation of special and then unfashionable classes of building ... all these germinated in the minds of individuals' (see Civic Trust: *The Civic Society Movement*, 1967? p.i)

The first British national amenity body the Commons Preservation Society was founded in 1865, which was a response to the industrial and residential encroachment onto common lands and historic places. About twelve years later, the famous artist William Morris set up the Society for the Protection of Ancient Buildings in 1877, in order to protect the historic monuments which could be destroyed by industrial development.

The third British national conservation lobby the Ancient Monuments Society, was established in 1924, but its interests have been far wider than architectural and urban conservation, and include the conservation of 'fine old craftsmanship'. In 1937, the Georgian Group was formed to preserve the many Georgian buildings threatened by urban growth. Therefore, the group's concern includes preservation of individual Georgian

buildings, as part of a group, and their whole setting (LARKHAM, 1985, P.3).

Some twenty years later, the Victorian Society was founded based on the ideas of the Georgian Group.

'The importance of the national amenity bodies was recognised by the Ministry of Housing and Local Government's Circular 61/68 (MOHLG, 1968), which made it a statutory obligation of all local Planning Authorities to notify five national voluntary bodies of listed Building Consent applications for demolition. These bodies are the Council for British Archaeology, Society for the Protection of Ancient Buildings, the Georgian Group, the Victorian Society and the Ancient Monuments Society' (Larkham, 1985, p.4).

Apart from the national conservation lobbies, a great number of local amenity bodies have also been developed. Since the founding of the earliest local body, such as the Sidmouth Improvement Committee in 1846, more than 1,200 local amenity societies had been established by the middle 1970s (LARKHAM, 1985, p.5). For much of the first half of the 20th century, the local amenity societies were mainly concerned with the rural areas, in order to protect their heritage from destruction by the rapid urban development of the countryside. There was only a handful of civic societies existing in the early 1920s to look after the urban amenities, in cities such as Bristol, Bath and Edinburgh. In the late 1940s through to the 1950s, local societies came into existence at a rate of 10 a year or less. Most of them were formed in market towns and cathedral cities like King's Lynn, in the east of England, which first saw the pressure of a growing population during the 1940s and 50s.

By 1957 200 civic societies had been formed; the Civic Trust then became an independent body supported by voluntary contributions, its purpose: 'To promote beauty and fight ugliness in town, village and countryside', by 'ensuring' that the 'compromise between efficiency and economy ... due weight is given to the aesthetic factor'. The Civic Trust strongly believes that 'Though Local Authorities can do a great deal to influence things in the right direction, their powers are primarily negative', 'the improvements in civic design ... will never be achieved by official action alone'. 'In a democratic age, this can be provided only by the people as a whole'¹⁰. Therefore, the measures applied by the Civic Trust are to increase the public's influence over planning decision-making, as well as to take action to improve their own living environment.

During the last thirty years, the Civic Trust's activities have involved a broad

¹⁰ Foreword by Duncan Sandys, the Founder of the Civic Trust, in The First Three Years, 1960.

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range, from 'street improvement' and 'new face for industry', to removing the 'eyesores of every kind' in the environment. As the Civic Trust itself stated:

'In an historic town much of the work will of necessity be concerned with preservation. In a large industrial city it may concentrate on areas of poor housing; in a tract of country it will seek to conserve the landscape from over-use by a leisure-hungry population' (1967?, p.6).

In order to be more actively involved with town planning decision-making for development control and conservation, the Civic Trust co-operated with the Local Authorities in a survey which included town maps, traffic in towns, the public service quality of the living areas, etc.. In terms of preservation and conservation, the Civic Trust acts as a watch-dog to anticipate or arrest the process of decay and destruction by notifying the Local Authority at an early stage or by approaching the owner direct. The Trust also studies, records and photographs areas and buildings to maintain archives, and consider the designation of potential Conservation Areas. At the same time the Trust purchases the individual or groups of *buildings which are worthwhile conserving* and restores them. Otherwise they will encourage others to do so. Indeed, property purchases have become an important way for the Civic Trust to ensure preservation of these buildings.

The members of amenity societies are predominantly the educated, upper and middle classes,

'... whose interests and values diverge markedly from other groups in industrial societies ... whose class position in the non-productive sector locates them at the periphery of the institutions and processes of industrial capitalist societies. Hence, their concern to win greater participation and influence ... a protest against alienation from the process of decision-making' (quoted in Larkham, 1985, p.6).

Therefore, the nature of the amenity societies is regarded for 'the benefit of the fortunate minority'. As they are criticised:

'In the second half of the Twentieth Century, what seems to be happening is that the middle class is adding to its traditional concern for others, a lively concern for its own welfare ... it is developing organisations that are designed both to provide some kind of service and to appraise critically what the ordinary consumer gets ...' (quoted in Larkham, 1985, p.6).

The general attitude of the amenity societies depends very much on their social background. The 1975 survey (see Larkham, 1985, p.7) found that most of the societies had a 100 to 300 members, a few than less 100, or over 900. Their major concern was housing developments in the town centres, and a demand for a better approach to planning by the Local Authority. Only around 16% of the surveyed societies were formed

in response to specific issues, such as seeking the designation of a particular Conservation Area. Therefore, there was more emphasis on a general response to the planning system than to particular issues. Most of the societies felt that in general Local Authority planning officials were sympathetic to their society's views and values, although they were regarded by the Councillors as overly critical.

2.2 Public Participation in Conservation

Public participation in town planning began with the critique of the existing 1947 Town and Country Planning Act. 'Circular 53/67' following the 1967 Act suggested that it would be particularly helpful for Local Authorities to collaborate with local amenity societies, and it was incorporated into the 1968 Town and Country Planning Act. Circular 61/68 recognised the five national voluntary bodies, and the need for statutory consultation with them on the demolition of Listed buildings.

But in the early years of public participation the relationship between the planners and the people planned for, did not change as will be seen in the case of Covent Garden (see also Goody, 1974). As Larkham pointed out:

'... the status and possible influence of amenity groups is often fairly low. Having little leverage to exert, they usually rely upon persuasion and, increasingly, being incorporated within the planning system. Certainly informal contact between societies, councillors and planners is high; indeed there often seems to be a striking sympathy between the views of local planners and those of the amenity societies consulted. Co-operation is thus very important, whereas direct confrontation is often seen as self-defeating in that it may prejudice the close working relationship which has been built up, to the detriment of future consultations. Thus the position of amenity societies, however much consultation is urged by the Department of the Environment, is somewhat anomalous within the planning system' (Larkham, 1985, p.10).

Another relevant public involvement in town planning and conservation is the 'action' or 'community groups' which have been formed in response to some direct threat, usually that of redevelopment, and as long as the threat persists participation tends to remain high (MEKEAN, 1977, P.111). The action groups are different from the civic and amenity societies. The former, like the Covent Garden Community Association, is more related to the ordinary residents, and more active, pushing, tending to hold a Marxist approach and to be criticised as anarchist. While the latter are generally conservationist in attitude, like the Covent Garden Forum which is officially supported, and mostly middle class based, working more bureaucratically, and therefore being criticised by the

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left as conservative since they generally aim to preserve the rights of the wealthy. Nevertheless, there is one thing in common between the action or community groups and the civic or amenity societies; they are all volunteers, and are interested in improving local conditions.

'Action groups are not the only organisations which have an interest in a locality, ... the Council, the local organisations, Parish Councils, industry and commerce all become re-integrated' (MEKEAN, *ibid*, p.120) in the community. In most of the towns, there is a prominent builder or a prominent business, which has a vested interest in the well-being of that town and therefore could be approached in a co-operative spirit to see what could be achieved jointly, such a case would be the chocolate manufacturers Rowntrees in York. Norwich's revitalising scheme launched by the City Council in 1974 can be cited as a successful example. The scheme involved local people, conservation groups, church congregations, schools, developers and youth groups. The scheme won a European Architectural Heritage Year Award 1975.

3 CONSERVATION MANAGEMENT

3.1 Planning for Urban Conservation

It has previously been noted that in Britain post-war development has presented more essential urban changes than have ever occurred before. With the establishment of a central planning mechanism, planning strategy centred upon containment of the larger cities and the dispersal of population and economic activity to satellites or districts beyond. Thus the New Towns have been built, roads and transport have been improved, city centres have been redeveloped, especially in the big cities. In this process, in terms of land use, city centres have been transformed from housing to commercial areas, new open spaces, education institutions. These functional changes strongly impinge on the existing physical structure of the city. In many cities, such as central London, Birmingham, Sheffield, Newcastle and so on, the common phenomena is the replacement of old buildings and conventional urban spaces by modern brutalist-style commercial forms. While in cities such as Bath, Chester and York with their more outstanding historic buildings, where more attention has been paid to conservation, the problems concentrate on the conflict between the willingly preserved structures and the general functional changes which during the 1950s and 1960s also left these historic cities with some 'mistakes', such as the Viking Hotel in York and Shopping malls with multi-storey car parks in Chester and Bath.

In the early stages of conservation planning after the War, much attention was given to the preservation of outstanding monuments and the improvement of now 'unacceptable' urban conditions, such as road construction and wholesale slum clearances and rebuilding. The zoning policy was strong, and the city centre tended to be regarded as the shopping and commercial development area for the whole region. In York, the 1948 Plan by Adshead proposed a slum clearance programme covering many buildings outside the city walls. Similarly in Chester, the 1945 Plan by Greenwood designated a great number of areas, both inside and outside the city wall, for long-term shopping development. With the transformation of land use in the city centre during the 1950s and 1960s, the old, inadequate, normally small structure came under more economic

pressure. By the middle 1960s, with more public awareness of conservation and the extended concept of conservation subjects, town planning began to consider 'suitable' functions for the old settings as well as structures worth preserving. The well known 'Four Town Report' shows the initiatives of such conservation planning.

Revitalisation and Limits to Development in Historic Cities: Many of the historic cities in Britain and in other European countries have been transformed into regional shopping, tourist, and transport centres and this has been accompanied by a population loss to the suburbs. The increasing land value of the historic centre therefore has caused many historic buildings to be under-used and maybe whole areas to decline. At the same time their lack of modern facilities, including accessibility and limited land for development, leads them to face competition from their neighbouring cities, towns and villages which have been more recently modernised or entirely new. Therefore, a broader context is needed to solve the problems of the historic cities. Town planning has been essential to urban conservation in physical as well as in social terms. For example, the 'Four Town Report' (1968) - the classical English conservation studies of Bath, Chester, Chichester and York - all examined the cities at the regional and even national level, in order to better understand the impact on those cities from population, tourism, traffic and future economic development. These studies not only revealed the position of cities in their regions, but also highlighted some of the reasons for the existing problems which are caused by their surroundings, such as traffic access. The Chester report stated:

'Chester is both a regional shopping and tourist centre, and affected not only by local pressures but by change in the region as a whole. The growth of Liverpool and its employed population, and new towns planned in close proximity to Chester, will create development pressures in direct conflict to those of the city itself. These new urban environments will also have a built-in advantage: motor vehicles will be able to move around them with a freedom that the street pattern of Chester would never permit' (INSALL, 1968, P.).

Therefore, how to maintain the function of the historic city in today's economic climate but avoid any consequential damage to the city and its environment became the key issues for urban conservation. In most of the historic cities, the main activities occurring are shopping, office work, education, housing, tourism, leisure and traffic. But not all these activities are compatible with each other in the existing environments, and conflicts between activities are causing deterioration of the urban environment. The separation of conflicting activities on a basis of 'agreed priorities' has been introduced to

historic cities. Among them is the removal of heavy traffic and large-scale commercial developments from the old centres. Economic revitalisation of the old urban centres is only one aspect of the whole process. To bring people back to live in the city is another important issue which is more difficult to achieve in the market-oriented economic system. For example, Esher's 1968 Report suggested that the future development of York should increase the population inside the walled city from the existing 3,500 to about 6,000 by the end of this century. After more than twenty years how this can be achieved with the current gentrification problems is still questionable.

Nevertheless the late 1960s and early 1970s were dominated by the mood of modernisation of cities due to the general economic growth in the West. Despite the initial consciousness of conservation, still many changes outside and even inside the designated conservation areas were planned and carried out with little care. In the city of Bath, the City Corporation determined to see Bath as a developing city that should expand, but Bath City Council and its Planning Department did not want to enlarge Bath's Conservation Areas. The view of Bath as a 'developing' city inevitably encouraged the development of the city on a large scale. For example, the car park in Walcot Street, located in a Comprehensive Development Area that was part of the City's road proposal, the Royal Fine Arts Commission scheme, the new Law Courts project, new housing in Ballance Street (1969), the Trimbridge House site (1970), and the Southgate Street comprehensive development area (1971), were some of the many demolition sites earmarked for potential developments¹¹.

From 1973 under public pressure, some additional conservation studies were undertaken, especially in the Walcot Street area. The 1973 Conservation Study recommended that there be a limited amount of land available for new development. This proved the turning point in conservation for the City of Bath. Two years later, the 1975 surveys provided the most important finding, that the volume of the traffic through Bath had no significant impact on traffic conditions in the City Centre; the main traffic problem was caused by the residents of Bath, or those using the City for work, shopping

¹¹ See Ferguson, *The Sack of Bath*, 1973, in Appleyard, 1979, pp. 71-91; Marks, 'Bath Analysed' 1973; Bath City Council, 'Forty Years On', 1985.

or recreation. This finding directly changed the proposal for the tunnel and finally caused it to be abandoned. Since 1973, several studies have been carried out by the City Council and other groups focused more on the ability of the City to cope with physical change. The common conclusion was that the City had come to the very limits of its large scale physical change because:

'Large scale redevelopment and major urban road construction change the urban fabric. In many urban areas these changes have been deleterious. Such action in Bath, while not necessarily resulting in a loss of listed buildings, would nonetheless threaten the visual quality and unity of design of the City' (LICHFIELD, 1976).

This was in agreement with public opinion. The most influential work was 'Bath Minimum Physical Change Study' by Nathaniel Lichfield and Partners in 1976. Lichfield's approach used mathematical modelling techniques as far as possible. He set out an operational definition of Minimum Physical Change which '... attempted to quantify this qualitative concept, a prerequisite of the analyses of sub-regional consistency, economic impact and socio-economic effects. Thus the floorspace and dwelling limits were seen as a way of "translating" qualities into quantities...' In this study, by looking at the fact that the recession in the economy had its effect on the expected increase in population growth and the manufacturing sector was already in steady decline by the late 1970s, the Study concluded that:

1. there was excessive floorspace for offices;
2. the dwelling volume was high enough to allow some employment growth in retailing, offices and tourism;
3. therefore, the general restraint on physical change would not affect the economic vitality of the City in the future;
4. the limit on housing development would raise rents¹².

The notion of 'limits to growth' was also applied to other European cities in the 1970s after the oil crisis, such as the case of Bologna in Italy and Elsinore in Denmark, when they were still facing the development pressure caused by potential population growth. In the 1970s the Bologna municipal authorities revised their 1950s development plan of the city and reduced the original planned 1.2 million inhabitants to 500,000 (LOTTMAN, 1976). In Elsinore the city planning of 1973 also limited the potential

¹² See Nathaniel Lichfield and Partners (1976): Bath Physical Change Study - final report, p.ii-iii.

population of 125,000 by the year 2000 to 70,000 in order to avoid physical destruction caused by over large population growth (RUD, 1979). Moreover Bologna's authorities argued that the deterioration of the surrounding small historic towns and villages was caused by the expansion of the large industrial cities, therefore, a population control policy should try to stop the deterioration of the surrounding regions, from which the uncontrolled population growth of Bologna would otherwise have come. However, the notable idea of controlling urban development had already been introduced in Post-war town planning in Britain, where it was effective, but in most other European countries this did not happen because of capitalist economic policies. The potential solution is still expected to be achieved by balanced regional development over the city region of Istanbul and the development of a few city centres within the greater city¹³. Even today cities such as Istanbul are facing enormous population pressure. One thing is clear - that the historical city centre can not meet all the needs of the growing population, otherwise the effects of such population concentration will destroy the historic city.

Traffic Planning and Management: In historic cities the balance between traffic and preservation of the environment is paradoxical. One of the most acute issues in Conservation Areas is the limited traffic capacity in the existing city caused by the old layout of streets. The application of standard design criteria for traffic would cause the demolition of many old buildings; consequently the historical and architectural value of the built environment in conservation areas would be degraded. Therefore, one of the most important aspects of conservation planning is to understand the need for traffic limitation and the potential for improving conditions for the pedestrian through traffic calming and pedestrianisation.

Since the late 1960s, most of the American-style highway projects in historic cities have been suspended, partly because of the increasing consciousness of historic urban environments, partly because people have learned that extensive road building does little to solve traffic congestion in the city, since new roads are often immediately filled with *more* traffic. To avoid the destruction caused by motor vehicles in the historic towns, ring roads and underground transport have been commonly suggested if the typographical

¹³ See Turgut Cansever, 'The City Centre of Istanbul: Its Past and Its Future Problems' in D. Appleyard, 1979, pp.91-7.

conditions are appropriate. With the passing of time, traffic control has become the main method to solve traffic problems, although small scale improvements to the road conditions have also been carried out. For example, a tunnel was proposed for Bath in the middle 1960s and eventually abandoned. In York, the completion of the inner ring road around the wall between Bootham Bar and the south side of Lendel Bridge was suspended, while beside the Minster, pedestrianisation has been expanded to include the closing of Deangate. As Patrick Nuttgens (1990, p.13) believes, 'It will not solve the problem by reducing the number of vehicles but it will help to ease congestion'. Apart from new traffic planning, small parking spaces are established in the conservation areas. Sometimes car parking space can be made by demolishing the non-listed run-down buildings in the back street areas. The 1960s' multi-storey car park has been banned in most of the conservation areas because of its incompatibility with existing surroundings and the lack of suitable sites for their construction.

Nowadays traffic management plays a more dominant role than does the section of roads projects. Traffic planning for conservation areas usually gives priority to different kinds of traffic according to the relative importance of the activities in the city. First of all the planning study usually classifies the roads according to their conditions and accessibility, then suggests the appropriate solution for each kind of road. This classification is applied both to car and pedestrian traffic. Pedestrianisation is often realised through closing down streets completely or during certain times of the day, and restricting certain kinds of traffic. For example, no through traffic is allowed in the city centre, only people who live there can drive there during the restricted times and so on. The improvement of public transport services is another measure. It has been found that in the historic cities of Chester, Bath, and York, the bus service was not efficient. More efficient and cheap public transport services have been used in European countries such as Western Germany and France, but less applied in Britain because of the Government's privatisation programme. Similar to the provision of public transport, some historic cities have provided special vehicles for the traditional streets. In Rome and Sienna, small trucks are provided for goods delivery in order to fit the narrow streets, and in Amsterdam, bicycles are encouraged, etc.. In fact, the idea of providing special vehicles to fit the environment have been traditionally used. In Venice, transport still depends on the traditional canal system, at the same time specially designed trolleys are currently

used for street goods delivery.

Nevertheless, there are some problems left unsolved by traffic control. The limitation of traffic controls using existing and new inner ring roads bring with them large scale developments surrounding the historic cores. For instance, in York several few large scale shopping centres have been built outside the city during the late 1980s, which may prove to cause the decline of the old centre. Pedestrianisation does create a more friendly environment for shoppers and tourists, but the increasing pedestrian crowds have made it difficult to walk on the streets at all. In Chester, the problem is more obvious, since the late 1970s the large scale developments have been built along the inner ring road which immediately surrounds the city wall.

3.2 Preservation and Rehabilitation

Architectural appraisal: As mentioned previously, since the 1960s the concept of conservation has developed from preserving individual monuments to conserving whole groups of buildings with architectural and historical value. To avoid traffic destruction is just the first step in conserving the whole area. Urban conservation also started for aesthetic reasons. Therefore, great attention has been paid, many methods have been explored, to preserve the physical urban environment. Once the physical structure is considered to be worthy of conserving, the 'understanding' of the existing buildings becomes crucial.

First of all, a study of urban history is necessary for the understanding of the architectural tradition and heritage because, in nearly all cases, a European historical city is characterised by the inherent plurality of its structure, which embrace a wide range of architectural styles from widely different epochs which are integrated into a corporate whole (PAPAGEORGIU, 1971, p.83). The historical study usually includes the chronology of buildings with an emphasis on the main historic periods. The analyses of the existing urban environment in the conservation area first lays emphasis on the value of the 'wholeness of the area' *townscape* worth preserving. Townscape as Alexander Parageorgiou (1971) summarised, mainly consists of: (a) the character of the road network; (b) the visual density of urbanisation; (c) the integration of different architectural forms within the urban space; and (d) the introduction of various non-architectural elements, including signs, street furniture, trees, etc..

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For example, the English 'Four Town Report' held 'townscape and architectural appraisal' as the first criterion. In the cases of Chester, Chichester and York, the townscape was examined first, then the architectural values of individual buildings. The situation of Bath is different in that the architectural appraisal was taken directly because its main study area is much smaller than the others. Roughly, architectural values are classified into four categories as: (1) major historic monuments; (2) buildings of considerable intrinsic value; (3) buildings of less intrinsic values than those of (2) but of considerable value in their settings; (4) buildings which make a contribution to street scenes, but which are of little or no intrinsic value in themselves¹⁴.

Documentation, analysis, and examination of existing conditions of the property are regarded as essential. In Split in Yugoslav, the conservationists have photographed the whole historic centre and individual monuments and blocks, surveyed the ground floor level of the town in a scale of 1:200, and recorded all the elevations of the town. Furthermore, detailed architectural surveys of monuments and blocks and buildings in a scale of 1:50 were also produced. In addition to the visual data, construction data, building materials, state of conservation, living conditions, sanitary conditions, occupancy, property rights, working space, undeveloped space, types of open spaces and greens areas, potential for architectural solutions, historical, cultural, and archaeological data are all required. Before any recommendations are made, careful analysis of the collected data is needed to evaluate each building and site, to consider which of the objects are in harmony with their architectural environment, to know the state of preservation of the buildings according to the following categories: good, particularly dilapidated, dilapidated, dangerously cracked, ruined or with unfinished parts.

Apart from the townscape approach where attention is given to the characteristic areas and individual buildings, building typology and urban morphology approaches have been developed in urban conservation since the middle of the 1960s. Typology is a method of finding out the general building types through historical development, and urban morphology focuses on the universal spatial structure of the urban environment. In both cases, the generality is the key issue. As a general rule these two methods are supposedly more open to the changing function of the buildings and urban environment, since they are not committed to the actual physical structures inherited from the past,

¹⁴ See Burrows's Chichester - a conservation study, 1968, p.149.

but concentrate more on the concept. On the other hand, they seem to be more restricted in terms of conserving building types and urban morphology, because they regard typology and morphology as the 'characteristic to be preserved as part of the historic heritage' (BANDARIN, 1979). Or from the point of view of the neo-rationalists (ROSSI, 1966, KRIER, 1978), typology and morphology are the architectural and urban disciplines which provide a framework to determine the nature of the city and its architecture.

Bologna is probably the first city where the concept of architectural typology was applied in urban conservation in the early 1960s. It was developed in Brussels in the late 1970s, and all the ideas finally matured in a book called Rational Architecture, published by Maurice Culot's Editions des Archives d'architecture Moderne in Brussels. Contributors to the book thought that it was necessary to conserve the traditional typological elements such as the street, the square, the avenue, the arcade, the park. When conservation of the 19th century European cities is concerned, it is suggested the 'criteria for action on their "integrated conservation" ' should follow the 'structural order' of the city (PARAGEORGIU, 1983).

Planning Policies: After analysing the survey of townscape and architectural details, or building types and urban morphology, building conditions, planning policies and programmes are needed as guidelines for conservation work. The general conservation policies usually proceed as follows:

1. Removing the inappropriate elements from the ground-floor areas;
2. Creating new businesses for vital functions including trade, tourist offices, catering, cultural and educational institutions, etc.
3. Protecting the historic buildings, desirable facilities;
5. Rehabilitating the old houses.
6. Regulating pedestrian traffic through the regeneration of dead communications and the relieving of overburdened streets; regulation of supply services for shops;
7. Constructing parking lots around the old part or the provision of small parking spaces by demolishing inappropriate extension in the backyards in the city.
8. The solution to the sewage problem by improving the original sewer system or providing a new one.

For example, the initial planning polices for conservation in York by Esher defined

the conservation objectives as:

1. That the commercial heart of York should remain alive and able to compete on level terms with its neighbouring cities, new or old.
2. That the environment should be so improved by the elimination of the decay, congestion and noise that the centre will become highly attractive as a place to live in for families, for students and single persons, and for the retired.
3. That land uses which conflict with these purposes should be progressively removed from the walled city.
4. That the historic character of York should be so enhanced and the best of its buildings of all ages secured that they become economically self-conserving.
5. That within the walled city the erection of new buildings of anything but the highest architectural standard should cease' (1968, p.41).

Furthermore, a programme is also necessary to manage the conservation work by establishing the priorities of the restoration works according to the importance of the buildings and their degree of deterioration.

3.3 Tourism and Retailing in Historic Cities

The revitalisation of historic areas is above all to revive the economy of the area so that the old urban environment can be economically self-supporting. This has been realised by the conservation planners right from the beginning, as seen in the previous section. Nowadays tourism is one of the most dominant economic strategies in conservation cities. In the 1980s throughout Western Europe tourism has become one of the main sources of employment and has attracted governments' considerable attention when unemployment is large-scale and long-term as a result of de-industrialisation. Tourism has created innumerable jobs in many European cities. In 1989 there were 400 million international arrivals globally; they spent US \$209 billion. Domestic tourism is estimated at three to four times that number, which is about the whole population of China and USSR. The tourists' high spending kept some 60 million people in work and about 10.5 million hotel rooms open¹⁶.

'Urban tourism' as one of the main types developed recently, and contains two distinctive strands: cultural tourism and business/conference tourism. Although both of them have a strong impact in historic cities, cultural tourism in particular effects urban conservation because its diverse features range from archaeological remains, through outstanding architecture, art galleries, festival and other attractions (WILLIAMS, 1988, p.1-5). In Britain conservation has been seen as 'a major economic resource and an

¹⁶ Alex Hamilton, 'The Enchanted Nightmare' in *Environment Guardian*, August 10, 1990, p.21.

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irreplaceable capital asset'. Since 1965 tourism has become one of the country's strongest and fastest-growing industries, and the historic cities such as London and Edinburgh are the main destinations of international visitors to Britain, as Binney (197?) pointed out:

'Given that "history and tradition" is the main attraction of London for foreign visitors, this suggests that the preservation of London's historic buildings is worth at least £220 million in foreign exchange yearly' (BINNEY, 197?, p.16).

For the Local Authorities, the benefit brought by tourists to the city is one of the main motivations to encourage urban conservation work, at the same time the progress of urban conservation financially depends much on tourist development. Chester, for example, is one of the four most important English conservation towns. The 1971 census of distribution revealed that Chester had the highest retail turnover per head of population of any British town, and after shopping, tourism is the most important activity in the city. Not surprisingly the Local Authority was the first to employ a conservation officer in the city and has given high priority to conservation expenditure (*ibid.*, p.ix). Chester's economic life relies heavily on the success of the city as a tourist centre. It was estimated that in 1983 visitors spent £38 million in the city, and that at least 4,000 jobs were directly related to the tourist industry. In the last 20 years or so, Chester City Council has had extensive and ambitious conservation and restoration programmes which have provided prime resources for tourism in the city (INSALL, 1988, P.116).

In York, tourism has generated thousands of jobs while there have been massive job losses in the key industries of railways, confectionery and engineering. The growth of the tourist industry has been replacing a great number of traditional small businesses which contributed so much to York's character, with chain stores and places cashing in on the tourist trade. Similar situation was also found in the city of Bath - a 'retail gold mine'¹⁶. In 1990 Bath City Council with a Tory majority is trying to keep rents up and the poll tax down. The Council operates a 'best rent' principle, whereby the amount is set equivalent to the highest current rent in the area. As a result by the end of August 1990, about 80 small shops in the city centre had been closed down simply because they could not afford the rents.

The speedy increase of the tourist industry can damage the environment. First of all the growing demand for hotel construction is occupying more land which often is

¹⁶ James Pettifer, 'Pride of Bath Prejudiced by Soaring Shop Rents' in The Independent on Sunday, 2 September 1990, p.4.

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in or near scenic sites. It is reported that everyday, somewhere in the world a new hotel is started, taking more ground, and costing £450 million¹⁷. Transport facilities including airports and highways are also eating up vast areas of land. The problem of numbers, easily absorbed by great cities, is one that affects small towns. In the warm summer of 1989 the City of York, which only contains 100,000 inhabitants of its own, received some three million visitors! Local residents see their communities disturbed by the growth in guest houses and holiday flats and their streets are congested with traffic and parked cars. Growing numbers of relatively low-income local people are finding that they can no longer afford their housing and are forced out, to be replaced by wealthier outsiders. To the citizens of York, keeping an economically vibrant, diverse place means avoiding over-dependence on tourism and the encouragement of employment outside the tourist industry.

Shopping in cities like Bath, Chester and York has been the central economic activity. In the first decade after the war, shopping accompanying other service industries, including administrative and commercial, had increased dramatically. In Chester for example, the gross retail floor space increased from 1.28 million sq. ft in 1949 to 1.34 million in 1961. In the following three years from 1961 to 1964 a total of 432,737 sq ft. was under construction or planned for construction (BAINES, 1964, pp.11-12). However the majority of traders in the new Shopping Precinct were national 'multiples', and local firms occupied a less important position. At the same time many local shops at the Fordsham Street, Brook Street and City Road areas were empty because they lost their function in the town. The vacated premises and the areas left to run down were often those of architectural or historical significance, which it was in the interests of the town's attraction to keep alive. Thus Insall's 1968 Report recommended that no new large schemes for redevelopment should be given planning permission within the following five years. Chester must concentrate on providing departmental and special shopping. A similar situation was found with office buildings.

However in the last twenty years in Britain, retailing has moved from being a dull, business backwater to become one of the most important, dynamic sectors of the British economy, which is seen as 'the epitome of Thatcher's Britain, breeding acquisitive

¹⁷ Alex Hamilton, *ibid.*

individualism and destroying the nation's traditional manufacturing base', and 'post-Fordism' or flexible production has the potential to be qualitatively more responsible to consumers (GARDNER & SHEPPARD, 1989). Furthermore, associated with tourism, for many people shopping itself has become a pleasurable leisure experience. Shopping is no longer just the mundane act of going out and buying a product. With the decline of organised work, with its traditional uniforms, rituals, cultural forms and communal allegiances, for many people self-definition began to be found in, as Gardner and Sheppard (1989) pointed out,

'commodities to differentiate themselves as individuals, to imbue themselves with a distinctive style and create for themselves an identity perceived as lacking elsewhere. Products of all kinds ... have come to signify *who* their wearers are... Today, consumption is both *symbolic* and *material*' (ibid, p.45).

Therefore, there is a rising of 'retail culture', which lies behind economics, town planning or statistics about floor-space and wage levels. It has had an irreversible impact on British towns and cities in general, and conservation towns in particular. Thus for many visitors to Chester shopping is the first thing to do and sight-seeing the second (BINNEY, 197?). The 'retail-leisure mix' has been achieved in the shopping centres in new constructions or converted old warehouses etc., both inside and outside town and city. Shopping centres have become the 'New Cathedrals' of the 1980s. Visiting any conservation town, one will find shops everywhere, and more are coming.

Apart from shopping and tourism, the provision of offices is another major activity in the conservation cities, and this trend has been going on since the 1950s when many huge office blocks were introduced into historic cities. Now under the more flexible economic policy in most of the post-industrial countries, new office development and other businesses are smaller in scale, and are fitted more easily into the limited physical historical environment by converting existing buildings.

By 1985, Chester still ranked as the top non-metropolitan shopping centre in Britain due to the quality and variety of the shops, the compact nature of the centre such as the double level shopping in the Row, and the historic environment. However the large scale shopping centres are still tending to be built in the city centre. As usual under this circumstance, the regional distinctions and specialities have been being replaced by national multiples because the high rentals push the local retailers out. At the same time, the trend towards 'out of town' stores and shopping centres may also

threaten the economic vitality in the centre; the same situation is also found in York (INSALL, 1988, p.115).

Therefore, the growth of tourism, retailing booms and other service industries on the one hand make 'clean history' possible to meet the tourists' need by providing urban conservation work with an economic basis. On the other hand, they bring too much prosperity to the historic cities and can change them more rapidly than gentle decay (PEARCE, 1989).

3.4 Rehabilitation of Old Housing Stock

Apart from the preservation of handsome historic monuments and attractive historic centres where most of the commercial activities are occurring, housing rehabilitation is another important issue associated with conservation. It not only brings people back to the old cities but also consolidates the urban conservation in many other aspects including the mixed land use and visual richness. The idea of rehabilitation emerged along with urban conservation in the late 1960s, and many urban renewal projects at that time invited rehabilitation of the 'structurally good housing' to complement housing renewal, like the General Improvement policies in Britain in the late 1960s. But rehabilitation played a very marginal role for economic and political reasons till middle 1970s. For example, in Denmark, the government's latest revision of the 'Slum Clearance Act' issued in 1973 still confined housing improvement to slum clearance¹⁸. In Britain, housing programmes focused on slum clearance and renewal during the 1960s, but in the late 1960s council housing declined steadily and was eventually replaced by the housing improvement policy, introduced by the Labour Government in 1969 (General Improvement Area) and by the Conservative Government in 1974 (Housing Action Area). Consequently in England and Wales the government subsidy for housing improvement has increased considerably, and State intervention in housing improvement has taken the form of grants to help private owners improve older housing, because the Conservative government was fully aware that public housing programmes were becoming prohibitively costly, and hoped that by sponsoring the repair of old buildings the burden of the State's responsibility to build could be alleviated. So rehabilitation is closely tied to economic

¹⁸ Ove Nissen, 'Planning for the Protection of Monuments and Buildings in Denmark'. Appleyard, 1979, pp.201-14.

and political factors.

The potential areas for rehabilitation were usually the old city quarters which had been suffering from depopulation since early this century, or earlier, up until very recently, and which were inhabited by low income groups that were often mixed ethnic minorities in the large cities, such as Stockwell in Inner London, Jordaan in Amsterdam. The physical deterioration of those areas mirrored the declining socio-economic conditions. These places, where poor citizens found cheaper accommodation, were also for small businesses which could not afford the high rents elsewhere.

The rehabilitation of inner city houses first required information about the socio-economic conditions of the 'action area', which would form the basis of further planning policies for rehabilitation. This kind of survey was carried out in many cities, including Stockwell in London (1977), Elsinore in Denmark (1979). The survey usually covered: (1) the residents' attitudes to the area, (2) the problems of housing, neighbourhood facilities and social environment; (3) the residents' economic conditions and type of tenure, say Council tenants or owner-occupants. Through the survey planners expected to know what people wanted to be improved in their living environment, how much they could pay. However, most of the inner city housing problems in Western Europe and the United States were the result of unemployment and poverty, which could not simply be solved by physical improvement; more profound government policy changes were needed.

In practice rehabilitation is much influenced by government financial policy which will affect both the amount of work done and its social outcome. In the Communist city of Bologna, for the first time in Italy, the City Council used public funds supposedly for new suburban housing development, but actually for inner city housing rehabilitation which was retained by the original inhabitants. The basic housing policy introduced in 1973 was that the City Council expropriated the vacant property and buildings in peril and rehabilitated them, but provided a large proportion of the resources for rehabilitating the owner-occupied houses, at the same time allowing private enterprise to finance rehabilitation work without a subsidy. Under the Communist municipal government's policy, the property was tightly controlled through rent and through restriction on the sale of properties to prevent speculation.

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However, the socialist oriented policy may not work so effectively in other cases, where public funds are channelled through agencies that have to maintain a more flexible approach. This is the case with the British-based Housing Associations since the early 1970s. The community-based Housing Association has played an important role in housing rehabilitation. In Glasgow at an early stage of rehabilitation, it was assumed that if the city corporation was to rehabilitate the property then it must first acquire it, reducing the occupants, including the owner-occupiers, to the status of Council tenants. But acquisition proved difficult so that caused serious delays in the whole rehabilitation process. The failure of Council-led rehabilitation inspired the rise of the Housing Association, which was founded by a group of young architects and a group of middle class residents in early 1970s. Under the Thatcher Government, with the reduction of public resources for Council housing, the *Housing Association movement became the main* vehicle for government supported housing. The Housing Corporation acts as the agent for this support and distributes funds to the Housing Associations. The Associations usually acquires properties to be improved and act as the housing manager/owner of the improved properties, which, wherever possible, retain their original occupants. Finance for improvement can also come via the Council in the form of a repair and rehabilitation grant. In general, housing rehabilitation through Housing Associations have been highly subsidised by public funds and the benefits have gone to the lower income groups, with none of the gentrification and displacement which have characterised improvement in other British cities (KEATING, 1988, p.118-21).

4 SOCIAL CONFLICTS OF CONSERVATION

4.1 Socio-economic Aspects of Conservation

As seen in the previous sections, the development of the legal system in relation to conservation in Britain has been closely controlled by the upper middle-class, which has much involved with the British amenity society movement since the late 1950s, marked by the foundation of the Civic Trust in 1957. This important role played by the middle and professional classes in urban conservation is also true in many other Western European countries and in the United States. Examples can be drawn from the young left-wing architects who started the anti 'Manhattan Plan' in Brussels in the 1960s and 1970s¹⁹, the Philadelphia 'Young Turks' in the early stages of the Society Hill gentrification programmes in 1950s²⁰, the voluntary groups in saving historic Le Marais in Paris in the 1960s²¹, and so on. The part played by the established middle class groups in the urban conservation movement depends much on their socio-economic background. Jager (1986) describes them as a class which

'... must conduct a war on two fronts. On the one hand the middle classes must defend themselves against pressure from the dominant classes, retaining a certain independence and autonomy, and on the other hand they must continue to demarcate themselves from the lower orders'²².

This special socio-economic position of the middle classes decides their particular interest and life style. Their coalition with the low income groups in the early stages of the neighbourhood movement and environmental conservation, is grounded on the limited common interest in preserving the existing neighbourhoods and improving the local amenities. Such was the case in Covent Garden, where the conservation lobby (the Forum) and the Covent Garden Community Association worked together to fight the planners and developers (CHRISTENEN, 1979), and the angry demonstrations jointly organised by the middle and working-class folk over the Westway motor-way in London

¹⁹ See Nicole Brasseur, in Appleyard, 1979, pp.88-103, and Rene Schoonbrodf, *ibid.*, pp.126-32.

²⁰ See R.A. Cybriwsky, D. Ley & J. Western, in Smith and Williams, 1986, pp.92-106.

²¹ See Lottman, 1976.

²² See Smith and Williams (ed.), 1986, p.80.

(WALLIS, 1972). But the separation of the middle class from the lower income groups is inevitable under the hierarchically structured society system and the associated market forces because of their different economic and educational conditions. Thus urban conservation in the reality of capitalism is almost the equivalent to gentrification.

According to Smith and Williams (1986) gentrification is a special social-spatial change in post-industrial societies. First of all, urban centres after the Second World War have been transformed from manufacturing into personal-service, administrative and professional, retail and governmental activities. As one of the double consequences many lower income workers have left the city to locate nearer the newly established manufacturing centres in the suburbs of London, Philadelphia and Venice. At the same time most of the unemployed poor and working poor remain in the city to engage in the growing service sector and its low-skill, low-wage employment. On the other hand, the professional and managerial jobs are filled with both city residents and commuters. 'It is within this urban professional-managerial fraction of labour', Beauregard (1986, p.42) points out, 'that the gentrification is situated'. Moreover, these 'professionals and managers' come mostly from a new family structure; they may have childless marriages, or are single individual householders. So their social life is very much different from the traditional families, and going-out, eating-out, travelling become the major components of their social lives. This kind of life style obviously requires the well established service-sector which has been increased in the post-industrial period. The motivation of professionals and managers to move into the city is therefore inspired by their need for new social facilities for their new life style; no doubt the best choice is the urban centre where most of public services gather, which is closer to their working places.

However, their investment in the old city centre housing stock is also encouraged by increasing inflation, especially in the housing market. With their increasing wages, the new middle classes will feel financially secure if they invest their money in properties in the long-term. Moreover, the government is in favour of privatisation; for instance in Britain and the United States, as the result of the decline of the Welfare State, the governments have attempted to provide sound policies for the owner-occupiers and first time home-buyers. For example, in Britain since the late 1960s, there have been Government grants for housing improvement, and high rates of tax relief on mortgage

payments, etc.; both help the better-off to benefit from property investment²³.

The good economic situation of the middle classes demands that the living environment matches their lifestyles, and their desire for the image of affluence and 'yuppy' tastes makes them favour certain kinds of architectural styles for their housing. In his study of the social critique of 'taste', Bourdieu (1984) found that in terms of the variations of the ideal domestic interior,

'... the proportion of choices emphasising overtly aesthetic properties grows as one moves up the social hierarchy, where as the proportion of "functionalist" choices declines' (p.247).

The 'in between' nature of the middle classes is well reflected by their choices of architectural styles for the building in which they prefer to live. By rehabilitating the traditional building to convert it into a new home, the middle classes satisfy their needs for social distinction. Jager (ibid) writes,

'... in the external restorations, the middle classes express their candidature for the dominant classes; in its internal renovation work this class signifies its distance from the lower orders'.

This social significance of housing style for the middle class is particularly crucial in countries such as Britain which has a more rigid and hierarchical nature of class relations (WILLIAMS, 1986, p.64).

4.2 Politics of Conservation

Gentrification happens in the neighbourhoods which have deteriorated, or are occupied by those with lower- and moderate-incomes, often elderly, or by racial minority households. These residential areas are often close to the central business district, and often have peculiar amenities such as nearness to natural surroundings or some historical significance. This housing is run-down but still structurally sound. Examples can be cited from many London Boroughs, such as Islington, Camden and Greenwich, and the recent Enterprise Zone in the docklands. In the historic cities, including Bath, Chester and York, the old housing areas are also candidates for gentrification.

The Governments' part in the process of gentrification is significant, though it varies in different countries. In Britain since the 1960s, the abandonment of ambitious conventional government plans for slum clearance programmes and policy shifts towards improvement and the later privatisation of Council housing, means a large stock of

²³ Gibson, 1982, p.69; and Ravetz, 1986, p.96.

original dwellings and newer council housing remains available for gentrification. For instance, by 1981 a Central Government report, produced by the DoE, identified some 4.3 million dwellings (almost a quarter of the housing stock in England) as being in a state of disrepair, and over a million were classified as unfit for human habitation. Some 670,000 homes, mostly in the inner cities, lay unoccupied (HACKNEY, 1990, p.107). In the United States, the local government also plays an active role in the gentrification process. The local government can benefit directly from the dislocation of lower-income groups which burden it through social welfare programmes, and from their replacement by the middle class consumers, whose incomes will circulate in the local economy and whose investment will enhance the tax base. Thus the local government is often very enthusiastic about advertising the potential for gentrification in certain of their neighbourhoods. They provide tax abatements for rehabilitation, devote community development funds to rehabilitation and to improve public services in these neighbourhoods. By designating 'historic districts' or labelling 'neighbourhoods', the local government can deliberately diminish public service provision in order to accelerate the decline of the designated districts or neighbourhoods, then facilitate investment there. Sometimes in this process the local government can rezone a mixed use district as residential land use in order to make gentrification easier (BEAUREGARD, *ibid*, pp.51-2.).

The gentrification process often starts with the purchase of buildings by middle and professional-class households, or by a speculator or developer, or by a housing association; then the housing stock is upgraded. In order to encourage the economic revitalisation of the run-down areas, the government invests in the surrounding environment to attract the gentrifiers or developers. In Britain the Thatcher government's economic policies, including 'trend planning' and 'leverage planning' styles mentioned in the previous chapter, have provided favourable circumstances for both the private home-makers and developers²⁴.

However, gentrification is not necessarily confined to the old housing stocks. Ownership of newly developed housing properties in increasingly fashionable localities, such as conservation cities, can also be quickly transferred from the relatively humble local residents to the more affluent outsiders. For instance, the Aldwark area in the historic centre of York was recently developed. In the early stages, around the late

²⁴ Also see Beauregard, *ibid*.

1970s, this unlikely housing project was proposed by the York City Council to increase the residential population inside the city walls. Although this was one of the main strategies recommended by the Esher Report (1968) for conservation in York, it was very difficult to get a private house builder to take the risk that the investment would pay. However after a few years, with the general improvement of most of the city centre, house prices rose dramatically. As a result many of the original residents have sold off their 'new' properties to outsiders to make big profits. Therefore, many of the houses in Aldwark have now become weekend houses or second homes for the rich from somewhere else. Increasingly this has also been the case with other housing developments both in and near the centre of York.

Differing views have been expressed of the social effects of gentrification. The Conservatives support the gentrification process as 'one of renaissance while lamenting the polarisation', while the Left argue that the conflict over gentrification is serious (WILLIAMS & SMITH, 1986, pp.217-21). In Britain, under the Thatcher administration, the gap between the rich and the poor has been widened. Given the uneven development throughout the country, the relatively successful urban renewal programmes, such as in Glasgow, have been economically highly selective. Urban renewal in Glasgow only touched the commercial and tourist sectors but passed manufacturers by, as a result unemployment continues at a high level (KEATING, 1988). The future social and economic life of the city is doubtful²⁵. The conflict created by gentrification can sometimes be violent. In the early 1980s in some British cities the gentrification process helped to provoke serious social riots (RAVETZ, 1986). In Philadelphia, along with the gentrification progress, the conflict of interests between the affluent in-movers and the local poor were demonstrated by many scattered acts of violence, including angry protests in black neighbourhoods against the City Authority's 'recycling policies', even fire-bombing of a house under rehabilitation work during the night (LEVY, 1980).

The political dimension of conservation and gentrification is well mirrored by the political electoral struggles. By the 1980s most of London's old working-class areas had been invaded by the young professional middle classes. These 'yuppies' require something different from those who are older, or the families with children. The former need few social services, while the latter care considerably about social services. In the 1990 local

²⁵ See the 'Public Investment Planning', in section 2.1, Chapter 4.

election, the London Tories promised the young middle-classes that they could pay a low poll tax of £148 for basic social services, while the Labour Party supported more Council services and argued for a higher poll tax. As a result, the Tories defeated Labour in these local government elections by winning support from the 'yuppies'. The consequence was that the Conservative's victory in the local government elections moves yuppies in and Labour tenants out through selling off the Council's stocks of housing to the developers for conversion into luxury apartments²⁶.

In cities which have quite large numbers of left-wing supporters, such as in Venice, gentrification may prove to be an obstacle. The local Communist party preferred public investment in industry on the mainland, and the Christian Democrats favoured physical improvement through private investment, using public resources for tourist developments; this meant the local poor had to give way to tourists and the affluent in-movers. The chaos of political bargaining has caused a delay in physical preservation of the deteriorating old neighbourhoods in Venice (CECCARELLI, 1979). On the other hand, in the Communist governed city of Bologna, rehabilitation of the historic city centre by the city government's control of rent and resale of properties in the area, was in conflict with a group of small owners who just happened to have interests in the historic centre and public intervention resulted (BANDARIN, 1979).

To conclude, Williams and Smith (1986) point out:

'... the contemporary process of gentrification would be impossible in cities where there was no well-developed geographical division of residential location by class. Previous societies certainly incorporated class divisions, but these were not expressed in a systematic differentiation of urban residential space... In reality, gentrification ... could only appear on the agenda after the industrial revolution had led to the dramatic expansion of cities, and the suburbanisation process accomplished an increasingly acute geographical differentiation as part of this expansion' (ibid, p.206).

They believe that the trends of gentrification suggest a continued momentum towards a new central city dominated by middle class residential areas, and the up-market recreational and entertainment facilities that cater for this population as well as for tourists. At the same time, the working-class will become more peripheral in geographical terms. There is unlikely to be any real solution with the private-market phenomenon. In the long run, they argue, 'de-commercialisation of housing' is the only

²⁶ See Martine Linton, 'If I can get it for £148 why pay more?' in The Guardian Society, 16 May 1990, p.21.

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defence against gentrification. This is witnessed by the Bologna experience²⁷.

²⁷ See Paolo Ceccarelli, 'Venice: Urban Renewal, Community Power Structure, and Social Conflict', in Appleyard, 1979, pp.52-64.

Part Three

**SUMMARY AND CONCLUSION OF
PARTS ONE AND TWO**

Chapter Six

TOWARDS A CRITICAL SOCIO-SPATIAL APPROACH TO CITY BUILDING, CONSERVATION AND ARCHITECTURE

1 CHINA: FROM POLITICAL TO ENVIRONMENTAL DETERMINISM

Part One deals with the Chinese ideological impact on city building in the last forty years. In the 1950s Chinese cities were in political, economical and social transition; the newly established Communist Government concentrated on the development of the country's heavy industry in response to the worsening world ideological conflict, in order to ensure the new state was both economically and militarily secure. Therefore city building during the 1950s focused on projects such as factories and housing for new workers. At the same time many cities had been transformed from mainly 'consuming cities' (xiao fei cheng shi) into more productive ones. Consequently China's of urbanisation level increased in the existing cities. To serve their centrally planned construction programme during these early years of socialist policies, the State transformed the old architectural profession into a new political tool. The architects' professional isolation and elitist role was over when they were incorporated into the newly established State Construction and Industry Commission.

As socialism was new to China, the ideological requirements for architecture and city forms naturally followed those of the Soviet Union, where change had started forty years earlier. Consequently the 'socialist content, national form' doctrine was laid down by the Government. This doctrine was determined by two political factors. Firstly, the establishment of socialism was after all a victory over the 'semi-feudalism' and

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'semi-colonialism' of the old China. Thus Chinese socialism was strongly coloured by nationalism from the beginning. Secondly, the universal authoritarian nature of socialism after the Second World War led to the political desire for classical architecture to symbolise the new state power. After the firm establishment of party-control everything in the country became explicitly political. Any planning and architectural ideas were overshadowed by ideology, and professionals as a whole began to lose their individual ways of thinking. This was mirrored in architectural practice in the late 1950s by the Ten Great Projects in Beijing. This is perhaps why, when later in the 1980s, it was recognised that there were really no planning or architectural 'theories' in modern China when compared with the West.

Nevertheless, the slogan of 'socialist content, national form' was more problematic than the government at first thought, because it proved uneconomic, and productivity did not increase. For the State power, money and economic matters were more essential than aesthetics. Inevitably the changing international relationship between the superpowers again required the Chinese leaders to readjust their development policies. China's departure from the line, led by the Soviet Union, in the late 1950s, finally resulted in its decentralisation policies; industries were distributed to the countryside for security, and principal cities were more tightly controlled, both in terms of population and physical development. Communist Party control was extending to the far corners of the country, in response to increasing commercial and political isolation. Development had to be set at a low standard, cities had to be more intensively used, the lower standard of living had to be compensated for by more effort and sacrifice, inspired by the 'proletariat revolutionary spirit'. Now the early classical styles were replaced by cheap, mass building methods. This was one of the main reasons for the depressing city environment in the new people's China of the Sixties and the Seventies.

The urbanisation policies of modernising China can sometimes seem rather mysterious when viewed from the outside world. To understand these policies one has to appreciate two factors. Firstly, the first thirty years or so the level of urbanisation was determined by the surplus grain available to support any increase of the urban population. To ensure the balance of these two elements, central government introduced institutional control over the movement of the population. Secondly, there is the tragic population policy encouraged by Mao, namely that 'the more the people, the greater the

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power' (ren duo li liang da). In the late Fifties he over-ruled the birth control policies of the famous demographer Ma Yan-chu. These two elements meant that if there was not enough surplus grain output to support higher urban populations, then any increase in population had to be sent to the countryside. There they could be self-contained for their basic food needs; it did not matter that the increase in urban population was caused by migration and/or rising natural growth rates. These decentralisation policies did stabilise the cities and encouraged the growth of small industries in the countryside, but the price was declining living conditions in the cities. This decline became extremely acute in the 1970s and 80s as the demands on the inadequate infrastructure and housing crisis has shown.

Until the 1980s and after the death of Mao in 1976, after successful rural economic reform, successive urban reforms began to bring pressure on the old parts of the cities. The new 'Four Modernisations' policies, with their ambiguous definition of the 'Chinese Character', all helped to bring China to a new beginning. Socialism, under the doctrine 'Practice is the only criterion of truth', was not as good as had once been believed, neither was capitalism as bad as it was described. As a result, the depressed centrally planned economy had to share much of its power with the growing market driven economy. The dominant public welfare policies also had to change to become the Individual Responsibility System. Since it was impossible to make all people rich at the same time, a small group could become rich first. Therefore the old 'class struggle' was to be displaced from the central policy of the Communist Party by economic development which aimed at the increasing GNP to 800 U.S. dollars by the year 2000.

The success of the rural economic reform of the early 1980s brought a great property boom to the small towns and villages. For the first time planning and development in these places became important for the government. Their ambitious development policy required rushed planning decisions for hundreds of thousands of towns and villages, in spite of the extreme shortage of qualified planning professionals over the country. Naturally in these circumstances, standard development plans and rural housing were encouraged and used with devastating effect on the character of these places.

The agricultural prosperity tended to speed up urbanisation. For the first time on any level, Chinese cities began to face ever increasing large-scale changes. At the government level, although a reasonably sensible urban development policy emerged,

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they had to strictly control the size of large cities to encourage development in the middle and small cities. Even so the large cities still showed physical signs of uncontrolled, sprawling development. City centres, under the new zoning policy, suffered the greatest physical changes; land was monopolised for civic and commercial building that both spread to displace residential areas, and changed the scale and character of many traditional and historic towns. In order to speed up urban development the government quickly decreed the Special Economic Zones and Comprehensive Development Areas; both had extensive and near autonomous planning power. Within this government policy framework, housing clearance and new fringe residential developments making space for comprehensive city centre redevelopment, especially the case in the large ones. Urban housing design began to struggle with the shortage of land and government housing standards. If the quantity was the primary factor to be considered, system building and industrialisation of housing production had to be the favoured *official solution*.

It is true that the 'quantitative goals and targets' seem a more 'scientifically' worked out solution on account of its mathematical logic. But in the social context this logic is also irrational. From the late 1970s onwards the fashionable term 'scientific thinking' was first used by the government to sweep away Mao's Leftist regime ideas, and then became a powerful means for the politicians to disguise their own nefarious political purposes. As a result many arbitrary decisions concerning large-scale urban developments were carelessly made. The arbitrary nature of some government policies also played a part in the country's economic development. From 1984 to 1988, while the GNP increased by 70%, the investment of fixed assets increased by 114%; at the same time the average income doubled in monetary terms but not in real value¹. The over-heated economy caused serious inflation. Affected by these rapid developments, hurried decisions were taken on city building in order to keep pace. For example, the rush to replan the towns as a result of the Sixth Five-year Plan was only considered on economic planning terms; little attention was paid to the fact that, in thousands of towns and villages throughout China, the extremely limited number of qualified planners and architects could not handle the new developments in the true sense.

¹ See 'The Communist Party Central Committee's Resolution of Further Reorganising Economy and Deepening Reform' in Guangming Ribao (a national newspaper), 17th January, 1990.

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With unprepared planning control, city building and development in many places fell into chaos: many buildings were illegally erected, and the use of land on the fringes between city and countryside ran out of control. The problems of the visibly deteriorating physical urban environment were only one aspect of the whole investment. More seriously, with rapid urbanisation, most of the Chinese cities were being heavily polluted². In order to deal with this difficult and worsening situation the Government eventually realised that a Planning Law was needed to control development. The existing inefficient legal system offered little help, and without generally accepted standards of development, the introduction of any new planning legislation would mostly be used by those in power who legislated for their own purposes³. Through this process many ordinary people lost, but of course some gained. Government development strategy in the last few years of the 1980s has already shown that its policies do not *actually* improve everyone's living condition⁴. In the city building programmes, statutory power for development and redevelopment has led to rural populations having to give up their land, and the citizens' homes and neighbourhoods have been replaced by road construction and commercial developments. As a result of these policies the needs of the powerless have been superseded by those of the powerful. What remain little changed are the 'old marginal neighbourhoods'. In those areas most of the houses are single-storey, and owned and occupied by private people. Located in back street areas they are not commercially desirable nor politically essential to the Local Authorities. Thus these residents have to wait for a long time to get the essential services to improve their neighbourhood environment and facilities.

² One participant at an international conference organised by the United Nations Development Programme (UNDP) and China's own National Environment Protection Agency (NEPA) in Beijing in early 1990, pointed out that 'China is now having the worst of both (natural and human) ecological worlds'. See Simon Long, 'More Than A Panda' in The Guardian - Environment, 9 March, 1990, p.27.

³ The progress of legislation for town planning included the introduction of a Comprehensive development Policy in the early 1980s, and later for the first time the State approved the new planning legislation in April 1990. The essential purpose of the planning law is, as the Minister of Town and Country Planning and Environmental Conservation pronounced, '... to establish town planning, legal powers of control, so as to provide cities with a measure to be rationally developed and to coordinate the city function'. People's Daily overseas edition, 2 April 1990, p.1.

⁴ In the February 1989, the State Statistical Bureau published statistics about the country's economy. It announced that while the average income per capita in 1988 increased by 12.6%, there were 35.8% of the citizens in 19 cities whose income actually dropped. People's Daily overseas edition, 22 February 1990, p.3.

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Moreover, further problems arose when architect-planners applied their so-called professional scientific principles to real life. Since town planning was regarded as a universal 'science', Western solutions were considered to be valid to solve Chinese problems. So we observe that in the large cities, modern high-technology and high-rise buildings have appeared, and in the smaller cities and towns, copies of the universal layout of 'garden cities' or second-hand copies of large Chinese cities. The conflict between the imposed so-called 'scientific thinking' and the local culture is evident everywhere. The Chinese architects and planners who were educated in the Western style mostly found difficulty in relating to the Chinese architectural culture, since traditional values and ways are regarded as dirty, clumsy, and causing delay to the progress of the 'modernisations'. Thus in the first half of the Eighties modern planning methods invaded the traditional rural areas, whereby planners and architects forced their 'scientific ideas' on the 'ill-educated' rural people. Often they used a 'language' which the locals could hardly understand or found difficulty to identify with⁵. For instance, in the southern region of Jiangsu Province architects designed many standard modern rural houses for the local residents to build. But the designs were never realised, because the 'too feudal' peasants could not accept the idea that two or three generations should use the same lavatory, even if they were separate for each sex.

Following the universality of modern planning and architectural form and methods, planners and architects were not keen to understand their fellow Chinese ways, and were intent on introducing Western ways of living and thinking. For instance, the new neighbourhood planning concept introduced the Western type, community green-field land use pattern, requiring that every new neighbourhood reserve certain areas of land for green open space. But the green open land policy did not take account of the many trees and other green areas in people's courtyards or along the roads, which are more common in most Chinese cities than in the West. Take another example, after the first country-wide rural housing design competition, the winning schemes were supposed to provide 'good practice' guidelines in the different regions. Unfortunately, many years later it was found that the winning schemes were not used either for their technical standards or as a design guide. What actually tended to happen was that the householders tried to copy

⁵ For example, the local people traditionally called their living room 'tang wu', while the architects used the more Western term to refer to it as 'qi ju shi'.

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the 'best' housing in their neighbourhood. The householder would translate what he saw in the city or elsewhere into the design of his own new house, then his neighbours and relatives would copy it. After a while another householder, who was fed up with this common style, began to invent another style, perhaps in a similar way. Then for a period this second model would be copied and so on. In this process each householder would compete with his neighbour, so that each model tended to be built more luxuriously than the last. Eventually farmers began to enhance their new houses with heavy traditional decorations⁶. Architects, rejected by the 'ill-educated' masses, began to call for changes to the 'Mass Culture', in order to provide a more suitable environment for modern architecture to be produced. However, they still wished to build copies of Western architecture, and the designs of new buildings became meaningless geometrical games.

On the other hand, due to these new government policies, the official Architectural Design Institutes abandoned the 'political leadership' and took on a new orientation whereby they became architectural enterprises overnight, with profitability as their main aim⁷. Competitions held by the design and build institutes encouraged certain types of architecture⁸, because if the panel of judges was from the universities, the winning schemes tended to be more 'advanced' in architectural and technical concepts, reflecting the most fashionable ideas from the Western architectural world. If they were more provincial and with less knowledge about the West, the choice would be in line with the more fashionable styles existing in the larger cities in China. In both cases the designers were so far from the real users, they only considered the potential taste of the judging panel.

After the winning schemes were selected, additional design decisions were mostly influenced by the local political authorities. In 1984, a group of planners and architects

⁶ See Jia Peisi, 1988.

⁷ In 1984, the then Prime Minister Zhao Ziyang pointed out in his 'Government Work Report' to the Sixth National Congress Conference that: 'Design was the essential focus of all projects... it (the Design Institute) should gradually be turned into a profitable enterprise and become socially aware of its proper role in the new society'. From then on architecture said goodbye to politics, but was still under the clumsy hand of bureaucracy.

⁸ In April 1984, the Ministry of Town and Country Development and Planning and Environmental Conservation decided that most projects should be taken through the tender system, in order to encourage better design and higher quality construction.

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from Tianjin University won the competition for planning and designing Yantai Special Economic Zone and later produced designs for every block. When the new civic Administration Centre was considered, the Mayor of the city of Yantai told the design team that he wanted the new administrative building to be 'impressive', so the architects designed a huge high-rise office block round 200 metres long! Obviously the city did not really need such a big building but the mayor wanted to show off. The planners and architects clearly understood the situation, yet they had to please the authorities and keep their jobs.

Modernisation in the 1980s was no less revolutionary than the establishment of socialism in the 1950s. Mao once claimed that China was poor and undeveloped like a piece of clean paper but on which the newest and most beautiful picture could be drawn. Now the 'unfinished projects' were carried out by a liberal generation in a supposedly more radical way, with the help of modern technology and fresh Western ideas. The 'old and poor' China had to be replaced as quickly as possible, and many traditional neighbourhoods were cleared away altogether with the bulldozer redevelopment movement. At the same time the economic and political reasons were covered by the new myth of 'science'.

However, revolutionary thoughts and actions nearly always contradicted the local cultural identity and demand a strong national identity. Not only has the 'new architecture' been seeking for a solution to this contradiction, but preservation of historic cultural sites has been called for to fulfil the task. Since the beginning, conservation in China has been stimulated by the desire for cultural identity, along with the notion of progress through modernisation. In the late 19th century when the Western powers emerged in China, traditional Chinese cities began to face a challenge. The changing social and economic patterns caused by the introduction of modern technology and Western thinking not only accelerated the collapse of the imperial power, but also the abandonment of the traditional settlements. Both Western and Chinese scholars undervalued traditional Chinese architecture and many Chinese architects preferred to design in the so-called 'superior' Western classical styles.

With their national self-esteem and Western education and experience, however, some of the artists, architects and other scholars began to consciously revitalise the

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traditional Chinese arts and philosophy. In architecture, the systematic study of classical building types and of construction principle, were the most important mark of the consciousness of the continuity of the Chinese tradition, both of which began to strongly influence existing architectural practices and thinking about conservation. While the former led to an eclectic architecture where the form is somehow separated from the 'new' functions, the latter was typified by a 'monumental' approach to designing public buildings due to a limited understanding of classical architecture and city planning.

The monumental approach was matched with the political ambitions of the Communist Government to construct an 'entire new world'. Consequently, the majority of traditional settlements, *where most of the ordinary people live, were neglected*. During the first three decades of the Communist Government, when the country's economic condition was not prosperous enough to replace them, the traditional environments were always over-used and received little maintenance. However, when the economic development boom took place, the ordinary traditional and socially appropriate urban environments were quickly and easily swept away to be replaced by the ubiquitous modern block. An enormous social and environmental price was paid by building only for political goals.

The 'Four Modernisations' or the so-called 'Socialist Modernisation with Chinese Character' has been narrowly interpreted as 'Modernisation at all costs' and has excluded cultural issues right from the start. During the twelve year period from 1978 to the late 1980s, conservation in China was used primarily as a political means to 'remedy the sickness of the whole society' after the Cultural Revolution. Previously, the nation's cultural and historic heritage was condemned during the Cultural revolution, and now it was associated with the 'glory of the whole Chinese Civilisation'. This new view could be used to help mend the existing depressing situation both economically and politically. However, all the preservation work carried out under this new 'socialist spirit' could not escape from the money-oriented economic development, which soon became common practice all-over the country. Preservation, therefore, was used for tourism to make profits and more importantly to make good 'foreign currency'! For example not only have most of ruins of the Yuanminyuan Park in Beijing been turned into places of entertainment, but also massive modern hotels and tourist facilities have crudely invaded many scenic spots, and signalled the destruction of China's long untouched natural beauty

and inherited environment. It is hard to believe that in late 1989 there was a proposal to build a tourist cableway along Badaling, which is one of the most famous parts of the Great Wall in the north-west suburb of Beijing.

Associated with restoration, redevelopment schemes in conservation areas followed similar design principles as for preservation; because they were devoted to tourists, they often ended up with the superficial appearance of the so-called 'Traditional Cultural Street'. In these cases, the planners, architects, and of course the political authorities, seemed to be more keen on creating fake Chinatown by replacing the genuine with a pastiche of the old, rather than modernising the real street and retaining its traditional appearance. The reconstruction of Yuanminyuan Park⁹ indicated the revival of the long since vanished historic monuments in the 1980s, such as the rebuilding of Huanghelou¹⁰. Ironically, the rebuilding of Huanghelou itself contradicts the 'soul of the Pagoda' as described by the most famous lines: 'Gone for ever, the Yellow Crane; Haunting still above, the white cloud - thousands of thousands of years ago...'¹¹. Similarly the building of the fictional Daguan Yuan, according to the classic novel *Dreams in the Red Mansion*¹², ruined people's mental image of the Daguan Yuan. History, legend, all exist on their own right, you can not physically build them again!

Unfortunately the nostalgic imitation caused the destruction of the actual living traditions, there was no fundamental difference between the underlying principles of town planning and architectural design for general urban redevelopment and those in conservation areas. From the plan of the South-north Street redevelopment project in Xian¹³, one can easily see the impact of the 'international planning style'. Without considering the social and cultural logic of the spatial structure of the city, there is no

⁹ See Section 1.3, Chapter Two.

¹⁰ It was a famous pagoda, and originally built more than a thousand years ago. Many great ancient poets wrote excellent lines about it. Yet it disappeared for a long time ago. In 1986 the new Huanghelou was finished.

¹¹ The two most famous lines about Huanghelou (the Yellow Crane Pagoda) by Cui Hao in early Tang Dynasty: 'Huang he yi qu bu fu fan, bai yun qian zai kong you you'. They are still the direct historical association of the pagoda.

¹² Daguan Yuan, a courtyard complex, is a imaginary site in the novel *Dreams in the Red Mansion* (or *Stories of Stone*), which is the most successful classic novel in Chinese literature, by Cao Xueqin, in late Ming Dynasty.

¹³ See Section 2.2, Chapter Two.

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doubt that architectural design has become a pure game of form, little attempt has been made to investigate the 'semantics' of architectural tradition.

The planners are mainly concerned with the notable and unique beauty of the 'monumental' tradition, but hardly pay any attention to the old domestic neighbourhoods, which have been swept aside and replaced by new commercial developments. Although there are a few exceptions, such as the old residential area in Suzhou, which have attracted the planners' and architects' attention for economical reasons, the political authorities have not yet done much to improve them, and the rehabilitation plans have largely been left on paper. The case of the residential areas nearby the Forbidden City clearly demonstrates the attitudes of the Local Government and the professionals; they either want to replace them with new buildings or leave them to deteriorate; there is seemingly no middle way. Although housing improvement is complicated, and for sure the residents would benefit, yet these small improvement areas are not easy for outsiders and visitors to find; but the planners, architects and politicians still feel they need to make the much more impressive statements of their 'achievement's elsewhere.

In contrast to the general attitude described above towards the urban tradition and the existing city environment, there are some different and more hopeful trends of thinking about how to revitalise China's architectural tradition. Some architects are searching for a combination of modern architecture with regional tradition. For example, the design of the Huangshan Yungu Hotel¹⁴ and the project for Xiangsi Dehang Miaozhai Village, have captured the 'soul of the regional architecture'; the new village expresses the character of the traditional settlements and their topographical conditions, and the designers have attempted to learn about the local tradition by living with the local people¹⁵. However all the efforts were directed to the tourists' needs. Apart from the work of professionals, in the countryside the farmers are still in many places, building their own houses in traditional ways. These seem to provide the main examples of 'living architecture', not only in the sense of form, but in terms of the practical way of building, using the available technology and materials, and above all the local people's

¹⁴ It was designed by Wang Guoyu and others; the buildings were finished in 1988. See *Architectural Journal* No.11, 1988, pp.2-9.

¹⁵ See Nie Lansheng, 1988, pp.14-17.

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deep understanding of their environment and pattern of life. Many architects, however, regard these notions as outdated and prefer their 'optimistic' view of the use of modern technology. But the author suggests they should think of the real technology that is still commonly used by the masses of peasants today and not just about their treasured and elitist 'utopian' futures.

✎ BRITAIN: DILEMMA OF THE SOCIO-SPATIAL DUALITY

Part Two was concerned with post-war city rebuilding in Britain in the last fifty years or so, and concentrated on the main planning and architectural ideologies which have been practised during the process of reshaping modern cities in this country. The changing economic, political and social conditions from the Fordist welfare-state, to the recent flexible monetary accumulation in post-modern times, has provided us with the opportunity to observe modern planning; architectural thinking has gone through an almost complete circle, wherein our analytic studies are more open to assessments, which are critically relevant to Chinese cities that have somehow just followed along similar tracks.

Post-war city rebuilding in Britain, and indeed in advanced modern societies as a whole, has demonstrated an environmental or architectural determinism that shows how physical design has a direct effect on the way people behave. This belief has been central to modern planning and architectural ideologies. The fundamental thinking of environmental determinism was theoretically based on the Chicago school of social geography in the 1920s, whereby the well-known theory of 'social ecology' was developed. According to this theory, 'social life is much like plant life, in that it is ordered by "natural" laws of metabolism and competition within a limited habitat' (BAILEY, 1975, p.15). Therefore social life could also be explained by examining the physical conditions or non-social forces which limit social interaction. In the case of urban life, the social ecologists were primarily concerned with the observable indicators and with the patterns that could actually be seen within the city. Although after the 1950s a neo-ecology was developed that was different from the classical ecology of the Chicago school - for instance culture is located in the central place in neo-ecological thinking - the basic factor shared by all social ecologies is 'the placing of description and explanation on a primarily environmental, rather than an institutional or phenomenological level' (BAILEY, *ibid.*, p.121). Methodologically, social ecology is eminently quantifiable. For example, it can present social changes statistically in spatial patterns. The impact of social ecology was strong. It provided sociology with its major research framework for examining city life

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for over the last half century or so. This school of thought was clearly in parallel with the methods developed in modern town planning and architectural ideas. Quantity, simplicity and above all statistics were powerful mechanisms for handling urban problems, it was thought.

To start with Howard's Garden Cities, modern planning theory reacted to the chaos of the 19th century industrial cities by reorganising them to a controlled size which was determined by two major variables, the quantity of housing related to population and the number of jobs. Then Geddes introduced the notion of the city region, and tried to define cities by their available natural resources which could supposedly be understood through the 'city survey before the plan'. Thus the future of city development would be directed by the plan based on a survey. Above all Le Corbusier's romantic vision of technology brought the modern city and its architecture to its ultimate utopian extreme. By predicting the city's future from a statistic base, and rationally clarifying it into functional zones, Le Corbusier reorganised the city in a totally planned manner under the rationale of a 'technical' approach - the Radiant City.

The quantitative methods to city planning and architecture were inevitably static in nature not only in physical terms, but also in their social concern. Since planning and architecture were providing the ground plan and forms for the future, they had to presume the necessary social stability, backed by the conditions on which the predication was based in the first place. Thus the Garden City was supposed to serve self-contained communities, the City Regions were also defined by and largely dependent upon local resources, and Corbusier's Radiant City was based on a wide range of classless collective facilities under a powerful central organisation. In exactly the same sense, Abercrombie's Greater London Plan (1945) followed both the visions of Howard and Geddes, but was later revised according to Le Corbusier's Radiant City, after the invasion of the motor vehicle, and finally resulted in what Jacobs called a 'possible version of the Radiant Garden City' (1962, p.24).

After the Second World War the need for political stability, following the experience of the Great Depression in the 1930s, resulted in centralised planning and monopoly capitalism in Britain and other the western countries. The social and political achievement generated a relatively stable economic growth till 1973, and provided the political environment in which the static, long-term looking environmental determinism

could be implemented. However the stability of capitalism is not static but dynamic, as Hillier (1988, p.264) points out:

'...it depends essentially on the appropriation of surplus in order to increase the rate of production, whether by improving technology or intensifying work, and thus arriving at a higher relative level of wealth'.

Not surprisingly after only fifteen years or so, Abercrombie's Greater London Plan began to face many of the circumstances that proved the opposite of what the Plan assumed in the first place. In the London region, and most other large cities as well, the population increase was much higher, and created further urban sprawl which finally ate into the so-called 'green belt'. This phenomenon was contributed to by the unexpected decreasing household size, which resulted in some places in a greater number of three bedroom dwellings than was needed. More strikingly increasing car ownership encouraged higher quality suburbanisation and left the inner cities in decline. Lastly, office development in large city centres conflicted with Abercrombie's dispersal policies. As a result, post-war city rebuilding was actually conditioned by the reality of social policies, which were pursued respectively by the Labour and then the Conservative Governments, and the imposition of static planning ideas. The conflict between the changing social and political conditions and the static planning ideas was counteracted by the powerless population, who had to keep moving from more desirable locations to cheaper housing estates.

More deeply, as Giddens (1981, pp.147-48) argues, with the advent of capitalism under the modern nation-state, as the city wall itself disappears, the city is no longer the dominant 'power container', because the nation-state has supplanted the dominant role that the city used to play in pre-industrial societies. At the same time, mass migration from the land into the urban areas has also transformed the city as a distinct social form. Therefore all the early balanced city-country development strategies, such as the Garden Cities and the City Region, have fallen as utopias; also the urbanism of Le Corbusier has had to face the challenge from suburbanisation and the consequent decline that has been evidenced by the inner city crisis since the 1970s.

Since the modernists mistook the ethics of capitalist-driven urbanisation, the early so-called urban utopias became a purely technical means to handle the problems caused by such urbanisation processes. In the early stages, the revolutionary social thoughts

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behind modern planning and architectural doctrine presumed that social and physical changes would occur together. When after the Second World War, the State took over all the city forms invented by the modernists as organisational means since the 1930s, many social policies proposed by the original thinkers were lost to the private enterprise ideology. Thus the early planning and architectural ideas were left as pure physical forms. Moreover, the architectural determinism in modern town planning was also due to the fact that, of the intellectuals involved with the creation of British statutory town planning, architects were the only ones who could provide an end plan. In Britain from the 1920s to 1960s, most of the influential planners, including Abercrombie and Buchanan, came from a strong architectural educational background (RAVETZ, 1983). In reality, therefore, town planning and architecture relied much on their design bias, and were based on concepts of engineering. Architect-planners worked on two or three dimensional plans, and planning and architecture were seen in terms of land use and the designs of new forms for new functions. Town planning had become an activity which prepared schemes, plans or layouts for future physical forms. The method applied followed the process as Geddes suggested: survey before plan, analyse and then make the plan. Abercrombie's Greater London Plan was a typical model of this planning methodology.

In terms of architecture, it seemed ironic that, on the one hand, the modern movement followed Bauhaus and Le Corbusier's interventionist ideology to help to create a mass production democratic society, so that modern architectural education had to be reformed from its conventional, client-oriented, working style to a more technologically concerned and officially controlled development. In so doing architects were apparently able to determine the built environment to a much larger scale. On the other hand, the increasing scale of buildings and development involved more bureaucratic decision-making. The growing local authority planning controls meant that much of the design work was being judged by the new profession of planners through the system of planning applications. In this sense architects actually lost their design control over the projects they were involved in, at least in the conventional sense. However most of the architectural students, as the RIBA 1962 survey indicated, still regarded 'architecture as art' (RAVETZ, *ibid.* p.220). This may help to explain why architecture is constantly open to new fashions of style supported by all sorts of spurious theories and advanced technical

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fantasies. No wonder that when Brutalism came to build the so-called 'modern slums', the 'mystic harmonies' speculated by Le Corbusier's *Modular*¹⁶ were called into use to supposedly beautify the barbarism.

Physical approach to planning and architecture influenced by the philosophy of 'environmental determinism' has had a strong impact on post-war city rebuilding in Britain. In the 1950s, the New Towns were based on the neighbourhood unit concept around which to organise the life of new communities, and little attention was paid to social and economic issues as a whole, as Young (1957) observed in East London. In the 1960s with the accelerated social, economic and technological changes, cities started to face new issues, including greatly increased use of road and transport, and wholesale slum clearance resulting in large-scale urban renewal and the eventual growth of local community interest groups, etc.. All these activities required architect-planners to work to a larger scale and make explicit the formulation of development objectives and to evaluate the cost and benefit of alternatives according to their technological feasibility in terms of land use. As a result, the notion of the 'Master Plan' became fashionable again; it simply represented an ideal 'end state' to which the large-scale development process was directed. But the previous long-term plans soon gave way to the shorter term incremental or 'action plan'; thus town planning became a continuous local process. However, the master plan was retained by the bigger authorities because it represented an ordered course of action (CHERRY, 1982, p.141). To cope with the realities of large projects developing over a long period of time, urban designers introduced the concept of 'continuity in space and time', as illustrated by Geoffrey Copcutt's design for Cumbernauld New Town Centre¹⁷.

Despite all the unstable ideas, two things common to town planning and architecture in the 1960s were their boldness and large-scale construction technologies. The major changes in most of the large cities provided planners and architects with the opportunity which had been lost in the 1950s, whereby the rather piecemeal developments did not create any convincing modern city forms as proposed in the 1940s. Therefore

¹⁶ See Crook, 1987, p.258.

¹⁷ See chapter three, section 2.1 New Towns.

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large scale redevelopment, 'mega-structures' and 'the city as a building' doctrine all came together. In Britain although the new building technologies, such as industrialised prefabrication based on materials including concrete, steel and glass, had been practised since the 1950s, it was not until the 1960s that slum clearance and comprehensive redevelopment required the wider use of prefabricated system building¹⁸.

Not only materially was construction dominated by the new technology, but even the architecture and the urban environment were conceptualised as the analogy of technology. The rapid changes and speedy development were again mystified by Futurism as was the early Modernism. Copcutt's design for Cumbernauld New Town Centre provided a Futurist style shopping centre to contrast with the more vernacular-looking residential areas, while Buchanan's 'Traffic Architecture' redefined architecture and the city environment according to the technical requirements of motor vehicles. The most known of all those Futurist science fiction fantasies were *imaginatively presented by the work of the Archigram Group from the Architectural Association School in London in 1964*¹⁹. Architectural determinism portrayed through high-technology and implemented by local government offices up and down the country helped to generate a big gap between the buildings, the city environment and the ordinary users. Traditionally both 'monumental' and 'vernacular' buildings were built mainly with locally available materials. The individual and local groups worked together within their shared culture and traditions. Public and domestic buildings varied in styles and sizes and required a wide range of technologies and left much freedom of expression to the patrons. The locally controlled and gradually accumulated building processes naturally created a spatial history of its own. Each town and city developed according to the predilections of its patrons, based on the economic growth of the local area. Cities become, as it were, history books written largely for all to read. However with arrival of nationally based high-technology in architecture, there was a trend to national uniformity and control of the built environment from regional scale to individual's living space. For example, in centrally-heated blocks of flats, residents often were unable to control their own micro environmental and were either too hot or too cold. It was argued that large scale

¹⁸ See Ravetz, 1983, pp.176-77.

¹⁹ See D. Gosling, 1984, pp.82-83.

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industrialised building was more economic, but Schumacher's (1973) 'Small Is Beautiful'²⁰ proves the reverse if city economic development takes people into account. As Ravetz (1983) points out, industrialised system buildings do not always consider the cost of expensive new materials, the waste of energy, and above all the need of the users of buildings. The designers of industrialised system buildings never met the actual users, and they designed for the needs of a local government committee, supposedly representing the needs of their 'clients'. The reality was that these official committees were not at all representative. They 'regarded buildings as commodities, in the same way as the materials of which they were made' (p.178).

Conventional modern town planning in Britain has been, in the recent past, regarded as a scientific discipline in its own right, but its comprehensive nature had enabled it to integrate with social politics. Its genuine concern with building the 'new Jerusalem' has blinded it to the future results of most aspects of government housing and environmental policies, which in turn relied too heavily on local authority management. Therefore its ideological dimension became, as it were, over explicit in post-war city rebuilding.

First of all, the new towns were used as the answer to megalopolis by dissolving the rural communities' interest, and turned the countryside into an escaping place for the urban people, rather than sustaining the existing rural communities. Moreover, under the market forces the new towns often offered too little opportunity for the unskilled workers, and the new communities were rather unbalanced. In the urban areas, slum clearance and mass housing programmes were played by the both political parties as a numbers game for electoral reasons, while profit was made from the changing use of land from residential to commercial. Not surprisingly the quality of housing and the housing environment were hardly a high priority on the government agenda. On the one hand, as Ravetz (1983, p.137) points out:

'Where the political implications of road planning have to be teased out, nearly all overt discussion of housing is about its political rather than environmental aspects. How housing is provided is the main preoccupation; what it does for its occupants or for the city as a whole is generally ignored'.

²⁰ E.F. Schumacher, Small is Beautiful: a study of economics as if people mattered, Blond Briggs, London, 1973.

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On the other hand, government housing policies had been centred on the housing market, and had helped the transformation of private rented houses to owner-occupation and council housing from the 1930s to middle 1970s. Both the Conservative and Labour Governments agreed on 'owner-occupation' as backing to a 'property-owning' democracy. Despite the bitter controversy over council housing between the two main parties, for both governments council housing was 'a temporary expedient to be used only until the market returned to its "normal" condition, or for certain special needs' (RAVETZ, *ibid.*, p.138). With government intervention, enforcing official standards of housing fitness were a crucial mechanism in carrying out slum clearances by legal powers. Post-war city rebuilding under State intervention has resulted in social segregation both in economic and geographical terms. Behind all the pseudo-scientific planning and architectural ideas there was the power and influence of monopoly capitalism, whereby the big national companies, such as chain stores and wholesale merchants, undermined the traditional small local businesses that gave the local economy its vitality. This was the real force underlying the fundamental changes occurring in British towns during the 1950s and 60s, and really took off in the 70s and 80s.

Moreover within the 'unfairly structured'²¹ cities, architecturally the urban environment has been consciously based on this deep 'social logic'. Hillier (1988, *ibid.*) describes how spatially modern capitalist cities have been transformed from the pre-industrial system

'... that is continuous, through the operation of the everywhere ringy [*sic*], open, and distributed street system, to one that is discontinuous, that is, divided into a number of relatively closed local domains...' (p.263)

He goes on to explain how this came about as follows:

'The essence of the industrial bureaucratic system, however its variants originate and whatever its explicit social values, lies in two principle morphological features. First, there is a fundamental inequality in the system between those who have some kind of control over the forms of production and social reproduction, and those who do not. This creates the precondition for the formation of classes, since the different relations of groups to the basic social process means that differential forms of solidarity are likely to come into existence, linking those in the same relation to the basic social processes and separating them from those in a dissimilar relation. Secondly, there is an expanding, state-sponsored apparatus of intervention in the social relations of the society, whose principal function is to mitigate or eliminate the worst

²¹ This term is adopted from Blair Badcock, 1984, Unfairly Structured Cities, Basil Blackwell, Oxford.

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effects of this inequality by redistributing a certain proportion of the productive surplus to it through the elementary structure of the system. In a literal sense, therefore, the orientation of the state interventionist apparatus towards the mitigation of the effects of inequality is in fact, that an intrinsic and necessary part of the means by which that inequality is institutionalised and perpetuated...'

Here he shows how the underlying cynicism of the capitalist industrial system has contributed to the shape of British cities:

'The central task of the interventionist apparatus is ... to reproduce a viable social order, in spite of the fact that the orientation of the society as a whole to the increase of production is likely to rupture existing social bonds and undermine the forms of social reproduction that prevailed in the traditional antecedents of that society... (The reason is that) The exigencies of production require not only the social separation of worker from worker, but also the spatial aggregation of those same workers' (p.263-66).

As a result the reformist debates in architecture and planning, for instance the Garden Cities and the Radiant City, are always carried out within the confines of the following principles:

'More social fragmentation, more spatial hierarchy, and more separation of groups is held to be the answer to the crisis created by those very policies' (ibid., p.268).

The gap between social and physical environment was exposed explicitly when the political consensus collapsed and the Welfare State began to decline. Consequently the totally planned heroic city was suspended, and left the whole city environment in chaos. The radical changes in cities and towns strongly impacted on the living environment both socially and physically. The profit-oriented large-scale development and redevelopment not only destroyed the traditional urban communities and urban life but also mistakenly created inhuman new living environments. Psychologically at first, people cried for the loss of their sense of place, belonging and identity. The meaning of modern life as 'progress and development' became questionable, with the suggestion that the traditions and social solidarity found in the old slums were more bearable than the anarchy of the 'new Jerusalem'. Moreover, the growing social inequality caused by the rapid urban redevelopment began in the 1970s to shatter the legitimisation of the welfare-state and the political consensus that was the inspiration for post-war city rebuilding. It was really at this point that the postmodern political economy started to emerge. Politically Marxists began to blame the capitalist nature of the Welfare State, and the New Right argued that it was inefficient at best and too expensive at worst. These arguments were

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also taken up in the context of town planning and architectural theory and practice. Both were challenged for their ideological faculty, and the professionals' previous politically 'neutral' position was now no longer convincing or tenable.

As the consensus disappeared and politics polarised the planners, who were supposed to serve the 'general public' but were now very low in public esteem, naturally did not have much to do. Thus they had to pick up the fragmented social policies from a range of different political groupings and serve them in more modest ways. It was about this time that Skeffington (1969) wrote his report on public participation²². Despite all the styles which have emerged since the late 1970s, the common factor is that planning has played a prominent part in altering the previous environmental deterministic approach, both into greater market oriented planning ideologies on the one hand; into more democratically concerned ones to cope with the more extreme social groups and their priorities on the other. As a result, the planners' almost totalitarian control has been superseded by nearly uncontrollable market forces, contested only by the vigour of localised public opinions fighting for what they believe is the greater good.

Philosophically, the collapse of the Fordist welfare state embodies the crisis of the Enlightenment with its thoughts that proposed 'the project of modernity'. According to Habermas (1985, p.9),

'The project of modernity ... consisted in their (the philosophers of the Enlightenment) efforts to develop objective science, universal morality and law, and autonomous art according to their inner logic. At the same time, this project intended to release the cognitive potentials of each of these domains from their esoteric forms'.

Inevitably all these ideals and politics were to be questioned after welfare Fordism ran out of steam. Now we can say that the concepts of 'Place' and 'Being' have come up against science and technology. Locality and local determinism have appeared to resist and react against universal morality and law. Culture and tradition it seems have been called back to confront the new forms of modern culture, if not to totally displace them. These shifts in philosophy are strongly mirrored by all the new trends in architectural aesthetics. The neo-rationalists have tried to redefine architecture in its abstract human dimension, by bringing back classical architectural language to live alongside, if not to

²² A.M.Skeffington was the Chairman of the 'Committee on Public Participation in Planning', which produced a report titled People and Planning to the Ministry of Housing and Local Government in 1969, published by HMSO, London.

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replace, alienating high-tech and market-dominated society, in order to establish a new symbolic and essentially humane order in the urban environment. Thus it is supposed that functional zoning policies, a totem of modern planning, will be replaced by multi-functional, environmentally friendly craft based activities. On the other hand, along with the phenomenological discourse, 'a sense of place' has been widely explored. While some efforts only focus on the perceptual structure of the sense of place, others pay more attention to the process of its formation and find that 'small is beautiful', not only in terms of the physical size of building and urban spaces, but also in the phases in which city building takes place. It is said that the traditional ways of city building are on a more human scale and more flexible to adapt to the complex social and economic changes of the 21st century, and are thus more likely to achieve a visual beauty. Further it is maintained that it is this vital missing ingredient, in the aftermath of industrialisation, that we all need to replace the growing decadence of Western wealth.

In the place of socialist architecture there is now architecture and planning that is socially and environmentally conscious. Planners particularly, in these days of rampant market forces, are again having to exercise their role as guardians of the defenceless community and the greater public good. Some architects also try to provide the local community with professional expertise and innovating spatial and organisational solutions to help them to improve their standard of living and quality of environment where the public sector is negligent and the private sector careless.

Parallel with all the new trends in architecture and urban design, urban conservation has played a strong part in the anti-modernism movement since the late 1960s. It is curious how rapid social changes are often accompanied by a desire for historical preservation. Right from the beginning, the Industrial Revolution in the 18th century caused the rise of neo-classicism and public museums of antiquities²³, because '...ruins helped ground our shaken identity in a rapidly transforming world' (HARVEY, 1990, p.272). The more rapid the transformation, the wider preservation goes. This has been proved by the bursts of historical preservation and museum culture from the late 19th century on. In the early stage of conservation, public consciousness was mainly

²³ See Benevolo, 1971, pp.xxiii-xxv.

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oriented to landmarks and historical monuments. However, from the Second World War up to the late 1960s, city rebuilding programmes have brought such violent change to many European cities that the concept of monumental preservation has been widened, and now includes urban conservation, whereby the whole urban setting could be designated as a conservation area, rehabilitating, if not actually forbidding, any physical change.

Conservation policies in Britain and other western European countries have demonstrated that the monumental approach is ineffective due to the fundamental differences between traditional urban patterns of use and those of today's more democratic cities. The former tended to generate more top-down urban spaces and social orders, while the latter have to cater for the needs of a highly politicised population. The more recent morphological and topological approaches have, it seems, proved to be more effective in implementing urban conservation and gradual city renewal.

Both British and European experience has demonstrated that within the market economic system, legislation is essential to protect highly valued architectural work and the amenities of the urban environment from the destruction caused by solely profit-oriented development. In the democratic industrial societies, the establishment of the legal instrument to ensure public power to intervene in the urban environment owed much to voluntary public participation. However, the contradiction of the legal approach to conservation in the capitalist society is that the designation of conservation areas can be manipulated, in that what is outside them may be developed with much less social and environmental responsibility. Moreover, urban conservation and regeneration in the so-called post-industrial society, are above all processes to revitalise the urban economy. In Britain the heritage industry has been rapidly transforming the historical towns and has as a consequence generated other social and environmental problems.

Historical urban centres, as the most valued built environment in Britain and Western Europe as a whole, are most likely to be the battle fields where the intense conflict will take place between new and old, between different functions and social groups. On the one hand, the more culturally concerned middle and upper classes have been fighting against the *laissez-faire* State to save the historical monuments from destruction caused by new development. On the other hand, all the activities, including commercialism and tourism etc., which have been brought into areas of conservation as

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an economic necessity to vitalise the historic centres, have in turn generated a conflict in local politics between the visitors' needs and serving local life. This situation is often exacerbated by the fact that the incomes of the two groups are unequal.

Indeed, the new planning policies and architectural ideas practised in the post-modern period of the 1980s have demonstrated all sorts of possibilities for solving the crisis of the centralised welfare-state and monopoly capitalism. But the transformation of the Fordist welfare state to post-industrial entrepreneurialism is not a fundamental change; what Harvey (1990) defines as the 'post-modern condition' is still centred on the 'speculative logic of capital'. Thus the fragmented planning styles are too often dominated by greedy entrepreneurs, and post-modern architecture and urban design, as Jencks (1984) points out in pain, tend to be shamelessly market-oriented. The architects and planners have done as they have always done - gone along with the prevailing fashions and policies. However, as shameless exploitation was revealed so also did ordinary community interest find a voice. Not surprisingly popular community architecture has claimed to work *with* the poor and poverty, rather than to *reduce* social inequality. It is doubtful that any different political economic motivations are behind CIAM's cheap standard housing and the current community architecture.

On the other hand, conservation and urban economic renewal are tied to the heritage industry. Thus

'The street scenes of impoverishment, disempowerment, graffiti and decay become grist for the cultural producer's mill, not... in the muckraking reformist style of the late nineteenth century, but as a quaint and swirling backdrop upon which no social commentary is to be made' (HARVEY, 1990, p.338).

With all the blurred social meaning and financial power, aesthetically, as Hassan (1985) summed up, post-modernism in architecture appears more like a 'play' rather than a 'purpose', a 'chance' than a 'design', 'anarchy' than 'hierarchy', a 'performance' or 'happening' than an 'art object', 'deconstruction' than 'totalisation', 'dispersal' than 'centring', 'rhetoric' than 'semantics', 'surface' than 'depth', a 'trace' or 'otherness' than 'cause' or 'origin', 'irony' than 'metaphysics', the 'Holy Ghost' than 'God the father'²⁴. In short, the current aesthetics of city building and conservation tend to disguise the social reality.

²⁴ Quoted in Harvey, 1990, p.43.

§ THE DEBATE ON THE FUTURE DIRECTION

After analysing city building in China in the last forty years, we may conclude that city building and the applied planning and architectural ideas are strongly impacted by government policies both in social and physical terms. It is evident that the quality of city environments cannot only be achieved by either social transformation, as has happened in the first thirty years of the Communist Government in China (when the leftist utopia ignored the physical city environment), or by the physical approaches to city building alone (that have appeared since the late 1970s along with economic reform). Although centralised planning policies have been sustained since the 1950s, the first thirty years showed that because of the slow and decentralised economic development pattern, city building took place mainly piecemeal, and town planning and architecture did not have extensive power to influence the city environment. Thus in physical terms, the local community and working units had more power over their own living and working environment. However, due to the fact that improving people's living condition had a low priority on the government agenda, the more locally controlled city environment received little attention when it came to enhancing the urban living environment in general, compared with the relatively higher increase in other productive sectors in the city, such as neighbourhood industries. Under these circumstances, apart from the preservation of the historical 'cultural relics', conservation was possibly not seriously considered. As a result, most of the large traditional courtyard complexes were misused and the old neighbourhoods, as a whole, have deteriorated. On the other hand, under the centralised regime, the monumental approach dominated architectural ideology, so all the government and public development projects required classical styles, which were really inadequate to solve the housing problems and to improve the living environment in general.

In contrast to the first thirty years, city building in the late 1980s has given way to economic development. Although market forces have increasingly influenced urban development, due to the economic boom and more rapid changes in urban land use, the government's control over the city environment has been strengthened through large-

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scale physical planning policies. Consequently architect-planners have more power to influence the city as a whole in physical terms. It is at this point that it was found that post-war city rebuilding and social remaking in Britain was relevant for China, which has started on its way to modernisation.

As has been seen, city building in Britain since the Second World War has followed a path from environmental determinism during the period of high modernism to the duality of the social and physical approach in the post-modern period. On the one hand it has been observed that the political dimension of modern planning and architecture has drawn criticism from social scientists and encouraged Marxist-oriented social approaches to the built environment. On the other, the lack of understanding of people's interpretations of their social and physical surroundings in modern planning and architecture, as well as in social theories in general, as Dickens (1990) argues in his recent work 'Urban Sociology', has stimulated academic debate towards the social importance of the spatial pattern in city life.

In the plural British society, the fragmental planning policies have been induced to absorb different social and economic groups at the local level in order to avoid the problems caused by the impersonal standard modern planning practices, as happened the 1950s and 1960s. However, 'popular localism' is not some doctrine which, as many post-modernist declared works in a completely self-determining condition; rather it is affected by the general social, political-economic structure of market forces and financial power, whereby localist approaches to city building are more open to social justice, where more balanced social policies are required.

At the same time the new thinkings in architecture and urban design field, such as the 'sense of place', 'social logic' of urban space, and 'process planning', demonstrate the cultural and socio-economic dimensions of the living environment, which the simplistic and central modern planning and architecture doctrines had neglected. But as discussed in the previous chapters, the failure of modern urban planning and architecture in Britain and other European countries is caused by the capitalist social structure; therefore any pure structuralist or physical approach to the crisis of modern planning and architecture would be fundamentally questionable. At this point, many sociologist critics of modern planning and architecture insist that there needs to be a revolutionary consciousness of social and environmental issues in city planning, before we can provided

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proposals for the future environment (RAVETZ, 1983, p.304). It is true that it is the underlying social, political thinking which provides planning and architecture with the intellectual *avant-garde* spirit. In this sense modernism is still valuable and important for today.

If planning and architectural ideologies are always part of the social and political reality then any physical approach will have no social credibility. Unfortunately much postmodern thought in the West has fallen into this trap. Nonfunctional structuralism, townscape and image have all been dealt with as pure aesthetic, communicative issues. Little attention has been paid to their practical social meanings. Once those ideas are implemented in the real city building process, the market force tends to generate the conflict between different groups with different accessibility to the market. Moreover the consumer culture of the post-industrial society leaves little space for the autonomy of art when the difference between art and life became ambiguous. Therefore if artistic need in architecture is still one aspect of our multi-dimensional city environment, then there also needs to be a critical approach to architecture in the mass society.

The importance of a critical socio-spatial approach to urban environment is best demonstrated by urban conservation. Many examples have proved that profit-oriented conservation does conflict with true conservation objectives. On the other hand, as the city of Bologna experience has demonstrated, socially-oriented urban conservation and renewal through applying the principles of urban morphology and typology are essential to ensure that the sense of place and identity and the people's pride of their local culture is maintained and encouraged.

So far the objectives of this critical socio-spatial approach may be summed up as follows: (1) a critical understanding of the general social, political and economic process underlying city building, conservation and architecture; (2) a critical understanding of the local contexts, including the local economic resources, the existing city structure and its relation to the local lifestyle; (3) the different roles played by different human agents and their interests in the existing city building process, and contradiction between the general process above and the local one; (4) establishing a critical locally-oriented approach to interact with the general process.

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Having come to the conclusion that a critical socio-spatial approach is urgently required for city building, conservation and architecture, it appears that in the future both theoretical research and development practices in China should focus much more on the socio-economic and political aspects of town planning and architecture, in order to minimise the problems caused by the environmental determinism in city development. And more attention should be paid to the social and cultural dimensions of the *existing* city environment, to alter the current monumentalism and commercially-led urban conservation. Only then can city building and conservation be ensured as social, economic and cultural viabilities along the way of modernisation, and only then can architectural prosperity be possible.

The next two chapters will look at the possible ways to achieve this critical socio-spatial approach through researching the issues of city building, conservation and architecture in the important historic city Qufu in north-western China - the birthplace of the great ancient Chinese philosopher Confucius.

Part Four

**CITY BUILDING
CONSERVATION AND ARCHITECTURE
IN QUFU:
RESEARCH INTO CURRENT DEVELOPMENTS
AND FUTURE DIRECTIONS**

Chapter Seven

QUFU CITY: ITS ANCIENT HISTORY AND MODERN DEVELOPMENT

1 INTRODUCTION

Qufu was the birthplace of the great Chinese philosopher Confucius, who founded one of the most influential schools of traditional thought in the thousands of years of Chinese culture. Even today, despite the fact that the doctrine of Confucianism has been supplanted by modern sciences and ideologies, many ideas of the philosophy of Confucianism still strongly impact on the ethos of Chinese society and on the individual's attitude to life.

The city of Qufu (pronounced Chufu) is located in the south-western region of Shandong Province in north-east China. To the north of Qufu, at a distance of some 90 kilometres and 180 kilometres, are respectively the famous scenic mountainous city of Taian and the Provincial Capital Jinan. The region to the east of Qufu adjoins with Sishui County, to the south with Zou-xian County and to the west with Yanzhou-xian County. The city is situated on the vast plain between the river Sishui and Yihe. The climate in Qufu is typical of north-east China. The annual temperature is around 13 C degrees, hot in summer and cold in winter. Normally most of the year is dry but with a wet season in the summer¹.

Today, as the local political, economic and cultural centre, the city of Qufu is centred on Qufu-xian County, occupying 440 hectares, with a population of 57,000 which

¹ See appendix 1.

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is about 10.5% of the total population in the whole county. As in many other similar sized cities in China, Qufu has a rural population of 29,000 living in the city area², which is just over 50% of the city's total. This means that Qufu is still a city in which great parts are occupied by rural communities, this issue will be addressed in further discussion later in this section.

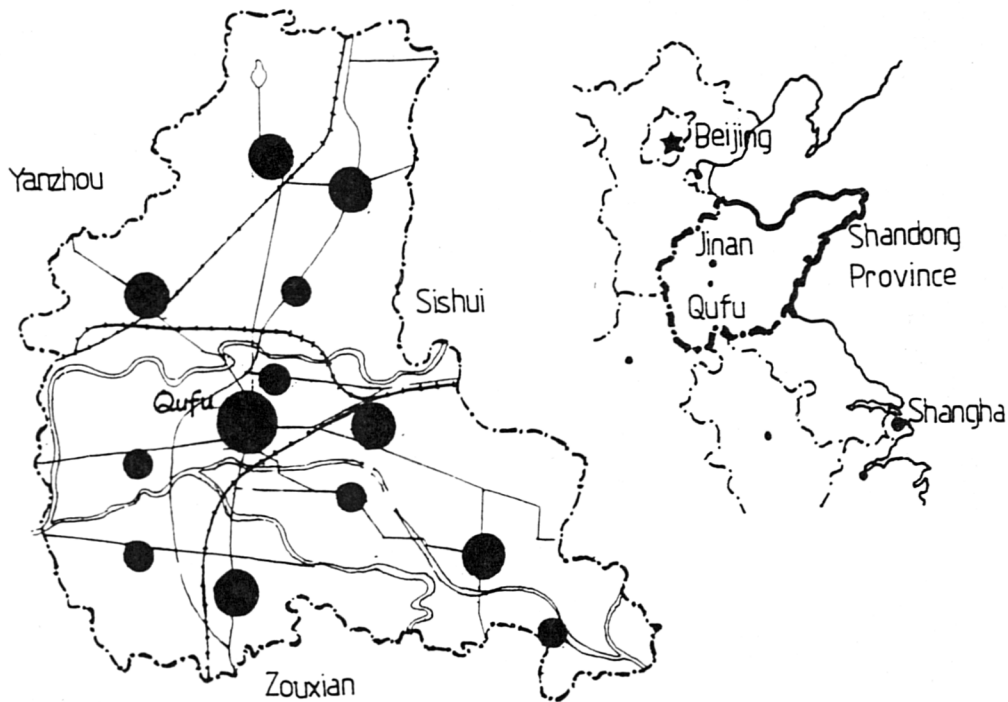


Fig. 7-1: The map of Qufu County. Source: Qufu City Council, 1985.

Access to the city of Qufu is quite convenient from many directions. The important national Ji-wei highway passes through the east side of the city, and links Qufu directly with the provincial capital Jinan, the popular tourist city of Taian in the north, and the Weishanhu District in the south. The Yan-lan highway runs by the southern edge of the old city from west to east, and links Qufu with the mining city Yanzhou, which is on one the most important national railway lines between Beijing and Shanghai. Additionally, there are some other major regional roads which serve communications between Qufu and its neighbouring counties. Recently a new branch railway line, which connects the mining city Yanzhou and the new harbour in Shijiu on the east coast of Shandong province, has been built through the near southern suburb of Qufu, and this will make

² See Chapter 1, Section 1.4 on 'The anti-urbanism policy', where the official definition of urban and rural population is discussed.

for further economic relationships between Qufu and Yanzhou.

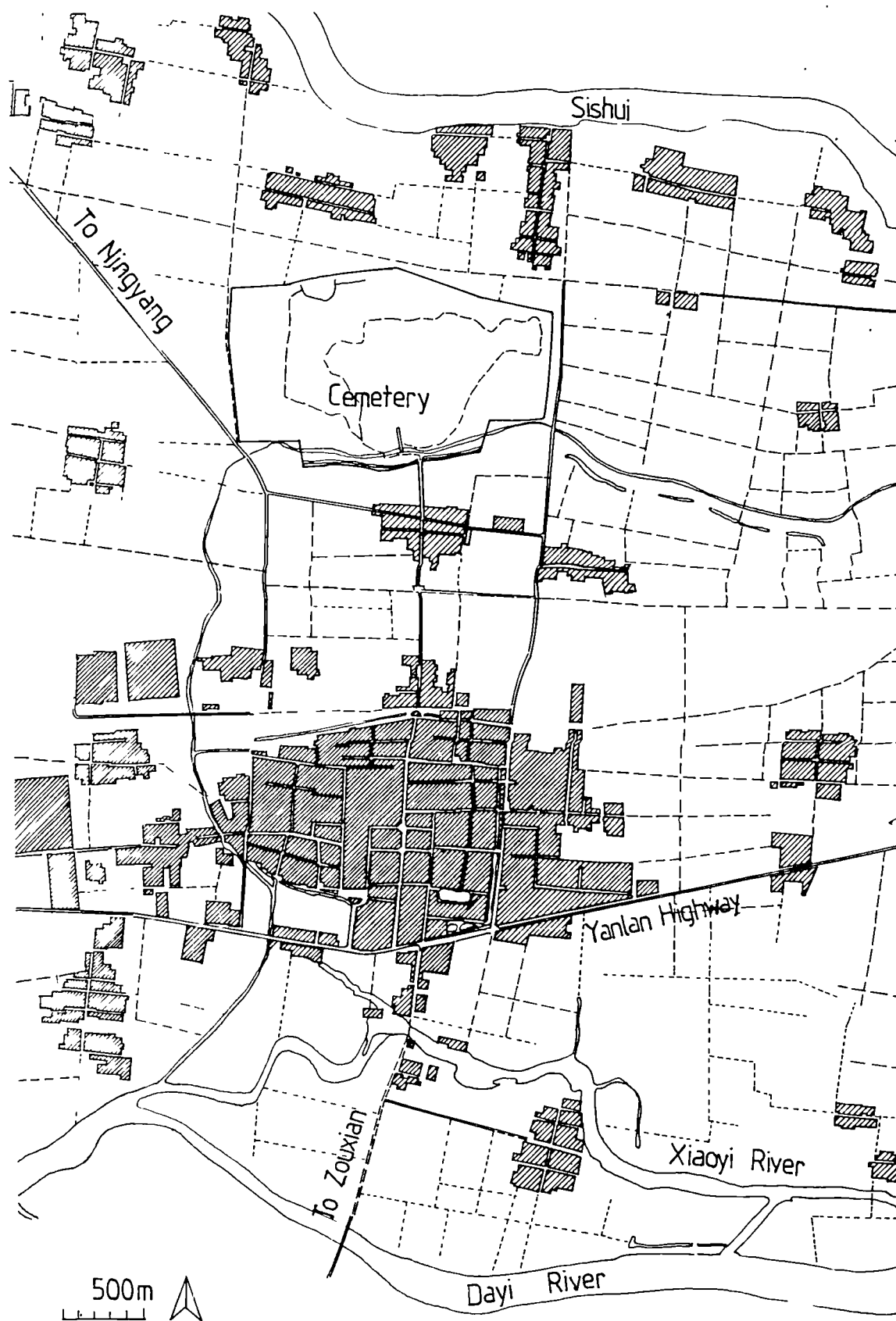
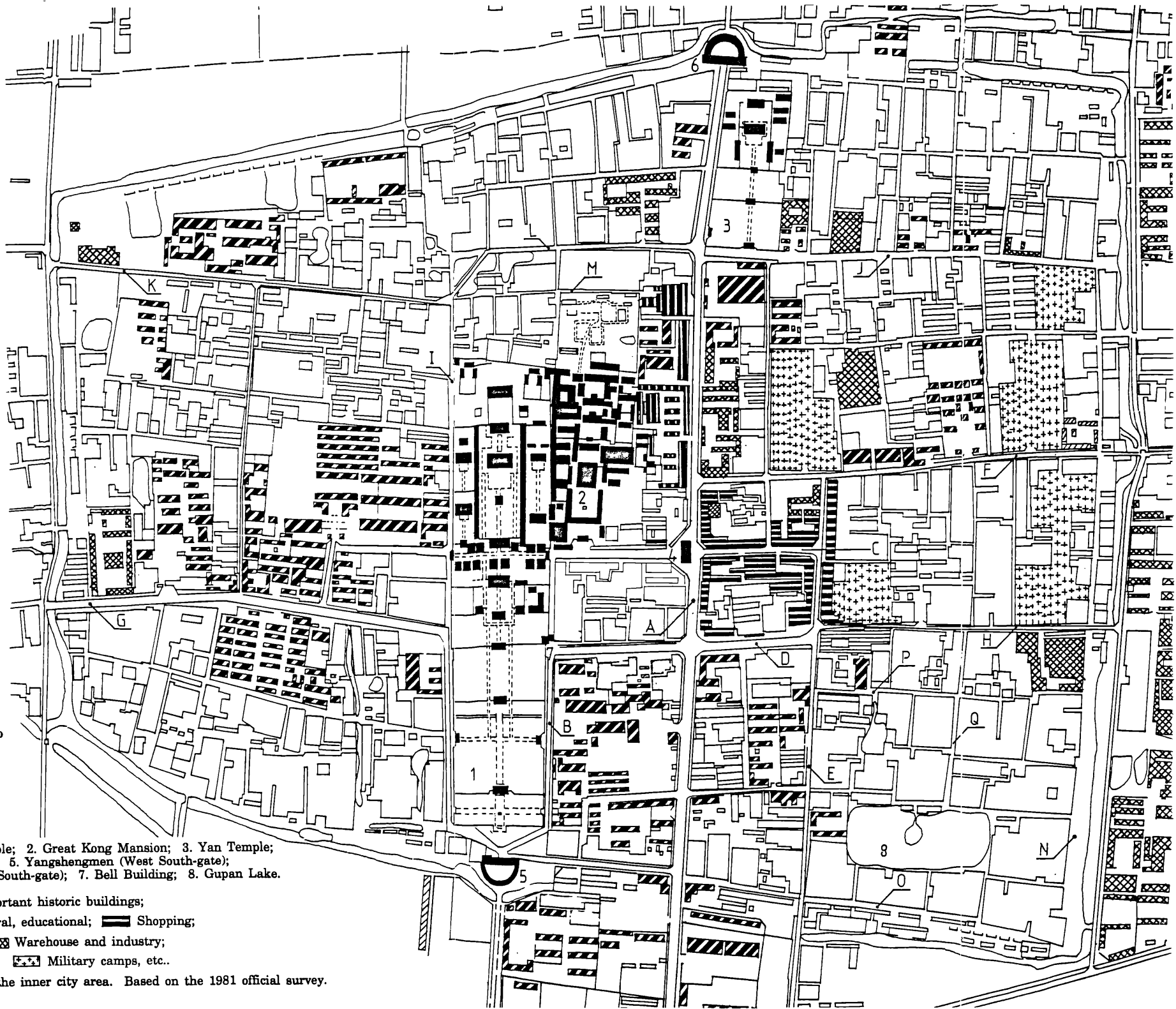
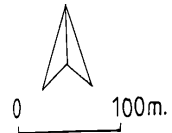


Fig. 7-2: The site of the city of Qufu. Source: Qufu City Council, 1981.



Street names:

- A Gulou
- B Queli
- C Guloumen
- D Qipan
- E Nanmen
- F East-gate
- G West-gate
- H Wumaci
- I Banbi
- J Yanmiao
- K Tianguandi
- L Houzaimen
- M Houzou
- N Dongnanmadao
- O Nanmadao
- P Zhifang
- Q Shangyou

- 1. Confucian Temple; 2. Great Kong Mansion; 3. Yan Temple;
- 4. Drum Building; 5. Yangahengmen (West South-gate);
- 6. Nanmen (East South-gate); 7. Bell Building; 8. Gupan Lake.

- Keys:
- Important historic buildings;
 - ▨ Civic, cultural, educational; ▩ Shopping;
 - ▧ Hotels; ▦ Warehouse and industry;
 - Residential; ⊕ Military camps, etc..

Fig. 7-3: Qufu - the inner city area. Based on the 1981 official survey.

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Qufu has an history spanning over 6,000 years; it is one of the few important original places of the Neolithic Civilisation in China. Throughout the long period of the Chinese Slave Society (21st century BC - 221 BC), Qufu became the important capital of different kingdoms, and saw a great development in technology, economy and culture. Confucius was born 2,500 years ago in the Nishan Mountain area of the eastern suburb of Qufu, and for much of his lifetime he lived at Queli to the south-west of the ancient city of Qufu called Lu Cheng. His great contribution to traditional Chinese education and philosophy earned him an important position in Chinese culture. For more than 2,000 years since the Han Dynasty Confucianism had been officially regarded as the orthodox doctrine in Chinese imperial society. Consequently Qufu, as the birthplace of Confucianism, became very important both in the cultural and religious sense. From then up to the early 16th century in the Ming Dynasty, both the Confucian Temple and the Great Kong Mansion of the descendants of Confucius were developed to the splendid state in which they can be seen today.

Before 1949 Qufu was the capital of Qufu-xian County and the centre of Confucianism, it was, as most Chinese towns, a typical market town. The city of Qufu was the place of residence of the descendants of Confucius and other rural landlords and of the civil servant class, whose most high-ranking member represented the Emperor. From here the surrounding agricultural regions were administered and the lease payments and taxes collected. This income constituted the material basis of the urban population or the town dwellers in Qufu. The production of manufactured goods and the carrying out of crafts existed only insofar as they fulfilled the needs of the landlords and the class of civil servants. Therefore Qufu lived off its agricultural population. This was scarcely a relationship of exchange between the economics of the town and the countryside, as goods flowed solely from countryside to the town.

With the revolution of 1949 radical changes in Qufu ensured that the landlords were dispossessed and the arable land divided amongst the peasants. At the end of the 1950s the land was collectivised and was subsequently administrated by the newly created Peoples' Communes during the period of the 'Great Leap Forward'. Population Units, which also produced for the growing industrial needs of the rural areas, were brought into the towns, and the surrounding agricultural regions provided food for the

town of Qufu. It was intended that Qufu would attain self-sufficiency in many important industrial products such as chemical fertilizer, construction materials, farming machinery, etc..

During the 1950s, small industries grew considerably in Qufu both in and outside the walled city, such as the paper making factory at the north-west corner of the city, and the brick kilns in the north-west suburb along the road from Qufu to Ningyang-xian County. Up to 1957 the value of Qufu's annual industrial output reached 21.83 million *yuan*s (more than U.S. \$ 8 million). In the first half of the 1960s the increase in industry, including distilling, manufacture of construction materials, farm machinery and chemicals, etc., caused the further expansion of the city especially in the west outside the wall. By 1965, Qufu's total industrial output had increased by more than 140%. At the same time, again small and middle sized industries grew both in and outside the city, and many previously privately owned large courtyard complexes, especially in the city, were first changed to public use, then a great number of them were rebuilt for the expansion of the new institutions, which included the premises of the County Council, the College of the Communist Party on the west side of the city, and the Military camps and public schools on the east side. As a result of the increase in industry, urban population in Qufu had been increasing from 1949 to 1966 before the Cultural Revolution. The first official census of population took place in 1965; it showed the urban population was 9,947, taking up 43.2% of the total. A year later this was slightly increased to 43.6%. As we have seen in Section 1.4 in Chapter One, on the national scale the urban population decreased from 1957 onwards because of the depopulation policy in the large cities, but small cities like Qufu still saw a slow increase in urban population. However during the first five years of the Cultural Revolution from 1966 to 1971, there was a dramatic decrease in the population in Qufu because of the government's anti-urbanism policy which caused many inhabitants, especially the young to be sent to the countryside 'to be re-educated by farmers'³. As mentioned in the first two Chapters, the Cultural Revolution extended anti-urbanism to the extreme. Although the urban populations generally decreased, small and middle sized industries in the cities were still encouraged, especially in the small cities such as Qufu. During the Cultural Revolution seven new factories were added to Qufu both in and outside the walls. By 1977, after ten years of

³ See Chapter One, section 1.4.

the Cultural Revolution, the total annual industrial output in Qufu had increased to 594.61 million yuans which was about ten times that of 1965! This trend continued in the 1980s. However the efficiency of these was low, especially in the case of the so-called '*xiang zhen qi ye*' (XZQY) industries which include the enterprises collectively owned by the neighbourhood or Village Committees. Recent official local statistics⁴ showed that before 1985 the neighbourhood industries occupied 46.7% of the total land and 61.8% of the total working floor space for the XZQY industries, yet their products represented only 6.5% of total industrial output⁵. Moreover they are the cause of most of the environmental problems in the built-up areas.

The cost of rapid industrialisation in Qufu was paid for by the deteriorating physical environment and cultural heritage. Officially preservation was first introduced in 1961 after the State Council published the first list of the 'Ancient Cultural Relics of National Importance' in 1957. In Qufu there were a handful of historic sites which were included on this list, such as the Confucian Temple and the Great Kong Mansion. Both the Provincial and the Local Councils listed historic sites respectively according to their own criteria. In 1966, just before the Cultural Revolution, a 'Preservation Plan for Qufu' was made to protect the listed buildings.

However official listing could not alone protect the city. The social and cultural values of historic cities were subject to the political economic requirements of the time. The ambition to reconstruct the humbler parts of old Qufu appeared as early as 1956, when the first road was built cutting through the Great Kong Mansion from Shendao Road to the Drum Building. Obviously the increasing institutions and industries in the walled area after 1949 caused congestion in the narrow streets in the city, but the direct reason for building the wide street was the anticipated reception of a high official from the Central Government⁶. This kind of political manipulation of the city was developed to its extreme during the Cultural Revolution. Under the slogan 'Beat down Confucius', many important listed historic buildings and cultural objects including the unique

⁴ 'An Analysis of the Economic Development in Qufu' by Chai Bao-gui, 1985, in 'Strategic Plan of Qufu 1985', Appendix 4.

⁵ All the statistics exclude the city owned large and middle sized industries, about 50% of them are located outside the city areas, and another 50% on the fringes. They are about 20 times the size of the '*xiang zhen qi ye*' industries, and still the dominate the city's economy.

⁶ From an interview with the 'Principal of the Municipal Cultural Relics of Qufu', May 1989.

Confucian Temple, were partially or completely completely. At the same time many new buildings and roads, were constructed without any sympathy for the existing historic environment. Finally when the city wall was demolished in 1977 the reasons given were 'modernisation' and 'development'!

With the Economic Reforms of the late 1970s, new measures of planning and conservation were introduced, especially after the Development Plans of 1982 and 1985. The close involvement of planning professionals has potential brought potentially stronger controls for the protection of the physical environment, and created powerful bureaucratic domination over the reshaping of the existing city. First of all the successful Rural Reforms accelerated industrialisation in Qufu. By 1985, Qufu's total industrial output was increased to 1,440 million yuans which is more than 240% of that in 1977. Consequently city building took place at a much more rapid pace. The Development and Conservation Plan of Qufu was first issued in 1979, and approved in 1982, this defined the city as a 'historic-tourist city'. Therefore many tourist facilities including hotels and shops were quickly built. Physically, the 1982 Plan introduced 'functional zoning' policies, in order to avoid a conflict between physical preservation and economic development. A new development area was planned for the eastern suburb but was later changed to the southern suburb by the 1985 Revised Plan, due to the archaeological discoveries on the former site. Under those functional zoning policies and with the emphasis on tourism, a great part of the old city has been sadly changed for the worse. Old neighbourhoods have been replaced by tourist facilities and vanished historic attractions restored. In the new areas, vast and fertile agricultural land has been occupied by new hotels, public services, and the relocated factories and neighbourhoods.

As a consequence of all this disruption in the name of progress, many problems have emerged. The key issue is that the centrally decided, long-term planning policies are not flexible enough to cope with the complex realities along with the process of city rebuilding. Firstly, the Central and Provincial Governments' powers leave little room for the Local Authorities to solve their local problems according to their better understanding of the local social and economic conditions. Therefore a conflict has arisen between the more centrally favoured tourist developments and the needs of the local communities. Secondly, the long-term development plan for Qufu does not have very

strong socio-economic validity, although professionals from the whole country have been involved in the decision-making to give the bureaucratic way of doing things so called 'scientific credibility'. Following the fashion of long-term physical planning, the Local Authority set out the programme of urbanisation in Qufu for the twenty years from 1980 to 2000.

In reality, however, the changes in Qufu have been so fast, that the newly introduced city plans have been shown to be inadequate in the area of land-use planning. There is a considerable lack of the necessary coordination between the land needs of the new infrastructure, the peoples' needs of the city, and the city's needs for architectural conservation.

Very often many projects evolved so quickly that good planning practices and architectural design were not considered at all carefully. Therefore, demolishing and even rebuilding have occurred in number of cases due to bureaucratic muddle.

Consequently, the newly developing areas are badly lacking in basic services. The relocated families are living very inconveniently. The new buildings are not well planned, the density and building form has not been achieved due to shortage of money. These developments demonstrate that the zoning policy has failed to control the uses of the buildings owned by the Work Units, and many areas planned for future development have been illegally occupied.

In terms of conservation, while massive restoration work is going on, new destruction has occurred again. The recently restored moat has been polluted again, and the listed Gupan Lake area is facing rapid deterioration due to the uncertain future of the neighbourhood and the current wholesale clearance and restoration policies. At the same time, the extension of the Follower Garden of the Great Kong Mansion has cleared a whole neighbourhood, yet left the empty sites till today because of the shortage of financial resources. Moreover the new buildings in the old city have been designed in a 'popular' conventional fashion without any rational understanding of the local tradition.

The failure of the physical environment is only one aspect. The rapid and ambitious commercial developments and idealistic restoration of the vanished historic objects have also caused economic difficulties and social harshness. While tourist industries have been gradually slowed down, there have been fewer jobs left for the farmers who have recently lost their land. At the same time, the over-supplied tourist

accommodation and shopping facilities have shown the weak economic basis for such development policies.

The author's survey: Methodologically, observation, interview and survey are employed in this comprehensive case study. Before visiting Qufu, the author contacted the Local Authorities and arranged a rough plan for the field work and established the initial accesses to the relevant information. The author spent more than a month in the city of Qufu during the early summer in 1989. The senior secretary of the Planning Department introduced him to all the relevant institutions, such as the city's Economic Planning Department, the Industry and Trading Bureau, the Tourist Board and the city Commerce Bureau. In terms of town planning and conservation, the author worked closely with the Town Planning Department, the city Cultural Relics Bureau, the Comprehensive Development Company and the Housing Development Company. Moreover, he also interviewed the Mayor and his assistants several times about the general policies for development and conservation in Qufu. One of them was the Chief Architectural Consultant who was in charge of all the development projects in the city. The notable thing about this consultant is that he came from Tongji University in Shanghai, and his position in the City Council enabled him to be critical of the current policies and practices in Qufu. In addition to these interviews and unpublished data, the author reviewed the new Local Express newspaper to examine how the Authority's propaganda coordinated with the various stages of development and conservation in Qufu; at the same time some social and cultural aspects of the city were studied.

Through all these introductory contacts, the official information on the current policies for and practices on development and conservation were collected. This initial exercise helped to direct the field studies to focus on four major aspects of city building in Qufu, which included issues concerning relocation, restoration, tourist and commercial developments in the city, and resulted in further interviews and field observations.

Firstly the relocation programme to remove families to the new areas was closely studied in relation to the restoration of major historic features such as the moat, the Flower Garden at the rear of the Great Kong Mansion, and the planned Gupan Lake Park. In order to better understand how relocation was carried out, the author joined

a number of working meetings of the Relocation Committee and discussed with the Director the particular programmes and methods of relocation, after which site visits were carried out. In order to explore the problems of the current relocation policies, a systematic survey was carried out with structured interviews in the Gupan Lake neighbourhood, the last large relocation programme in Qufu according the 1985 Plan. This survey covered the socio-economic background of the householders, their living conditions, attitudes to relocation, and their future needs for housing. This survey also examined housing types and the morphological structure of the neighbourhood which contributed to the understanding of the relationship between urban form and building process.

The Tourist Board inevitably suggested that new hotels should be the major component of investment in Qufu, without really knowing whether most tourists would want to stay overnight or longer. The author tried to establish whether this was the case by various means of investigation. The interviews of numbers of the Tourist Board and the managers of hotels tried to test the credibility of hotel development as a employment resource and as a contributing physical measure to develop the city, in the light of the long term disturbance to the relocated families.

Associated with hotel development, the important commercial projects such as large-scale shopping facilities were also examined. The focus of the author's interest was the relationship between the greatly increased shopping space and the actual requirement for that space relating to potential shopping activities in the city region.

The studies on relocation, restoration, and tourist and commercial development try to target the particular problems within each individual issue, and also try to challenge the fundamental policies applied to the activities of development and conservation in the city. Since these two activities are in some sense contradictory, the author's studies of Qufu were particularly concerned to see if the city planners had been able to resolve this seemingly contradiction and if successful, how they managed to make them complementary instead.

The architectural analysis is based on both literature research and field observation, and interviews with those professionals who planned and designed the buildings in question were also carried out. Particular attention was paid to

understanding the morphology and typology of the city as the author believes that it is this understanding that maybe the missing process of the planners that has lead to such unhappy results. Some recent studies of the architectural history of Qufu provided information on the development of the important parts of the city. But a major part of this work is to try to solve the traditional forms of Qufu through morphological analysis.

In order to analyse the new developments, the observations, from sites visit for various new projects including hotels, office buildings, and housing were noted.

Part Four is devoted to the investigation of these issues, concentrating on the current relocation, tourism and commercial developments in Qufu, to provide a better understanding of the socio-economic and architectural dimensions of the city, and to recommend future policies for development and conservation.

Part Four constitutes two chapters. To begin with, in Chapter Seven, the formation of the city of Qufu is studied by tracing the evolution of its important parts. In order to comprehend the characteristics of the city, the traditional city planning principles are discussed. It is argued that traditionally the city of Qufu combined two Chinese city types, and at the same time followed the basic Chinese settlement pattern defined by the geomantic planning theory of '*fengshui*'. Chapter Seven then goes on to investigate the current city building policies and practices which were introduced in the early 1980s. The formation of the 1982 and 1985 Plans for the first time imposed official development and conservation plans on the city, thus professionalism and politics now work together to control city building and the environment according to 'scientific' planning principles. At the same time the new planning policies went hand in hand with the establishment of the new institutions set up to implement the plans. The current planning system in Qufu has demonstrated a trend to institutionalise city building processes by extending planning power and larger scale development, as a result the traditional, more community-based way of city building is gradually losing its position. Following the new policies and through the new planning system, city building in Qufu has taken place at a dramatic speed *whereby relocation, restoration and development are the major measures to develop tourism in the city*. Chapter Seven ends with a brief look at these actions as an introduction to the more detailed studies in the following chapter.

In Chapter Eight, further research is carried out into the practice of development and conservation in Qufu, through the major relocation programmes, tourism, and shopping developments. It is argued that the rapid relocation and the consequent city expansion has caused socio-economic difficulties for the rural communities. Tourist development is facing more and more pressure to provide employment for the increasing number of urban population, many of whom have been forced to give up their land to the developments. On the other hand, the recent slow down in tourism has meant that the newly built hotels and shopping facilities and the jobs that go with them are very vulnerable. It concludes that the recent approach to planning and development in Qufu has fallen short of expectations through pursuing an image represented by politicians. The long-term physical plan for development and conservation has failed to provide the local community with a balanced improvement of living. This political image-making is encouraged by the central planning system whereby the bureaucracy is dominantly powerful. These current policies inevitably threaten the continuation of the venerable traditional community, in terms of their social, and economic lives and neighbourhood environment as demonstrated in the case of the Gupan Lake area.

Architecturally, it is argued, the current development and conservation policies have ignored the importance of the traditional settlement patterns and the existing urban morphology which are inseparable from the characteristics of the city. The comparison between the traditional and the contemporary morphologies and development patterns demonstrates that current development, especially in the public sectors, is destroying the existing morphology. At the same time architects have failed altogether to integrate the new buildings with the local architectural tradition. It is therefore necessary to draw the worst possible conclusion that the irrational creation of individual styles threatens the foundations of the cultural heritage and will leave future generations angry at the mindless vandalism carried out in the name of the government.

Based on the socio-economic and architectural assessments of the current city building policies and practices, it is recommended that employment outside tourism should be put in a higher priority on the development agenda, so the current relocation programmes caused by restoration and conservation could be reduced to a smaller scale and focused on the most undesirable land uses. The neighbourhood clearance policy

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should give way to improvements whereby the living condition of the local community can be economically and environmentally sustained. At the same time, the long-term development plan of the new area should be under stronger and more imaginative control, and expansion should be secondary to the consolidation of the newly developed areas, so that land would be more economically used and the visual quality be better achieved.

2 QUFU - THE ORIGIN OF CONFUCIANISM AND ITS EVOLUTION

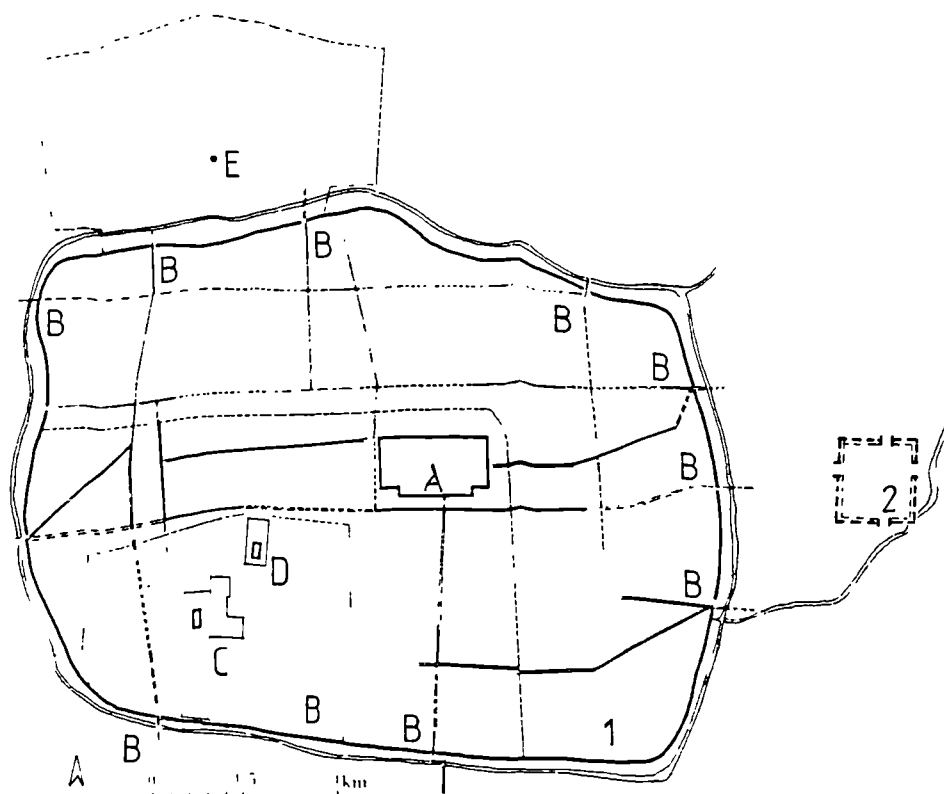
2.1 The Historic Background of the City

Qufu was one of a few important places where ancient Chinese culture originated in the east of China. According to the written legends, Qufu's history can be traced back to the 16th century BC. when Emperors Yandi and Shaoxiao established their tribal capitals there. During the Shang Dynasty (16th - 11th century BC) Qufu was called Yan Guo, and after the establishment of the Western Zhou Dynasty (1100-771 BC.), Qufu was occupied by the Zhou Gong i.e. the Duck of Zhou - King Zhou Wu's brother; in this way Qufu became the capital of the Lu Kingdom for eight hundred years starting three millennium ago. The recent archaeological discoveries have demonstrated that the plan of the city covered an area of 3.7 km by 2.7 km and was square in shape, taking up about 1000 hectares (1 hectare=10,000 sq.m)⁷; its city wall was constructed of earth. There were two gates leading to the city from the south, and single gates on the other three sides. The *Gong Cheng*, i.e. the separate walled city of the king's palace inside the city, was located in the middle, and facing one of the south gates. To the north of the Gong Cheng, there were the residential areas, bronze mills and so forth. The city pattern of the ancient Lu Cheng was very similar to that introduced by 'Kao Gong Ji'⁸.

Confucius was born in Qufu in 551 BC, died in 479 BC, and spent much of his lifetime there. His philosophy and contribution to education earned him a great reputation all over the whole country when he was still alive, but officially he was only respected by the Lu Kingdom. Two years after the death of Confucius in 477 BC, in order to commemorate the great man the King, Lu-ai Gong, turned the former house of Confucius into a Miao i.e. a shrine, which consisted of three rooms. This first Miao for Confucius was located at the south-west of the ancient walled Lu Cheng.

⁷ See The Architecture of the Confucian Temple in Qufu, 1987, p.11.

⁸ Kao Gong Ji or the Zhou Li Kao Gong Ji which introduced the pattern of ancient Chinese cities, see Section 3.2 in this Chapter.



1. Lu Cheng; 2. Song Qufu; 3. Ming Qufu.
A. Lu palace; B. Lu city gate; C. Confucian house; D. Yan's house; E. Confucian tomb

Fig. 7-4: The plan of the ancient Lu Cheng, Song and Ming Qufu.

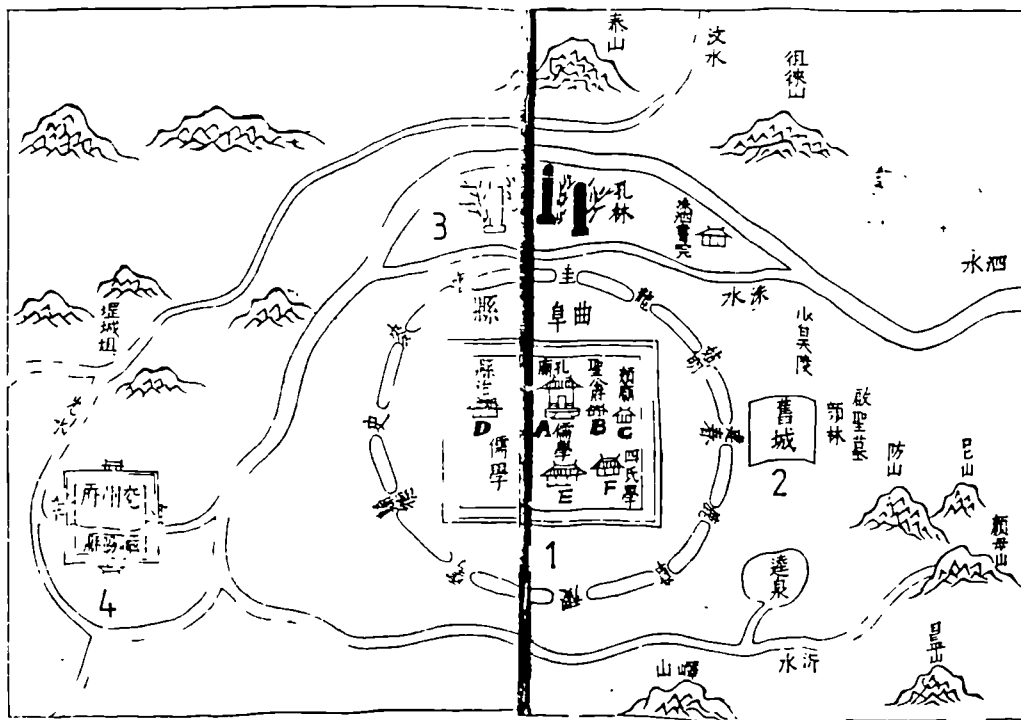
Sources: Based on *The Architecture of the Confucian Temple In Qufu*, 1987, p.13, and 'The map of archaeological sites in Qufu', 1985, Qufu City Council).

Qufu, as the birthplace of Confucius, did not become so significant until the Western Han Dynasty (206 BC -24 AD) more than three hundred years after his death. Confucianism was only one of six main schools of ancient Chinese philosophy⁹ from the Spring and Autumn Period (770-476 BC) and the times of the Warring States (475-221 BC). But after Confucianism had been accepted by the Western Han Dynasty as the only authoritative philosophy for the whole country, the rise and fall of his descendants began to be strongly imprinted on the city's history.

With the beginning of Imperialism between the Qin Dynasty (221-207 BC) and the Northern Song Dynasty (960-1127 AD), several flourishing cities had been built near the larger area of Qufu. Some of them can still be seen around the present city. With the

⁹ The six important schools of philosophy were: Confucianism, Mohism, Taoism, Legalist, Mingism and Yinyang.

growing power of Confucianism in the Imperial Chinese culture and society, the original Confucian Temple had been gradually extended and rebuilt. But slight changes of location and war damage occurred in Qufu so many times that most parts of the present Confucian Temple and the Great Kong Mansion for the descendants of Confucius date from the Ming Dynasty (AD 1512)¹⁰. The construction of the present city of Qufu was directly caused by massive peasant unrest in the middle of the 16th century when the war seriously damaged the old city, first built in the Song Dynasty, and the Confucian Temple which was at that time in the south-west suburb of the Song Qufu. The Song city was located five kilometres away from the present city in the eastern suburb, and designed in a square shape with boundary walls (see the map of the old cities in Qufu). After this disaster, it was decided to build a new city around the Confucian Temples and other important religious buildings. The city was therefore relocated to its present site with high, thick walls taking ten years to build. Thus the area of the first Confucian Miao became the centre and starting point of the present city.



1. Ming Qufuxian; 2. Song Qufuxian; 3. Cemetery; 4. Yanzhoufu.
 A. Confucian Temple; B. The Great Mansion; C. Yan Temple; D. Xianzhi (County Council); E. Confucian School; F. Sishi School.

Fig. 7-5: Qufu in the Ming Dynasty. Source: YU, Shen-zhi, 1545-1607.

¹⁰ The general layout of the Confucian Temple was founded in the Yuan Dynasty.

Obviously, the evolution of the Confucian Temple and the Great Kong Mansion play a very important part in the city's formation. Unfortunately we are still not able to find detailed records about how the city changed before the Ming Dynasty¹¹; however, we do have some available data on the Temple and Mansion¹².

2.2 The Confucian Temple

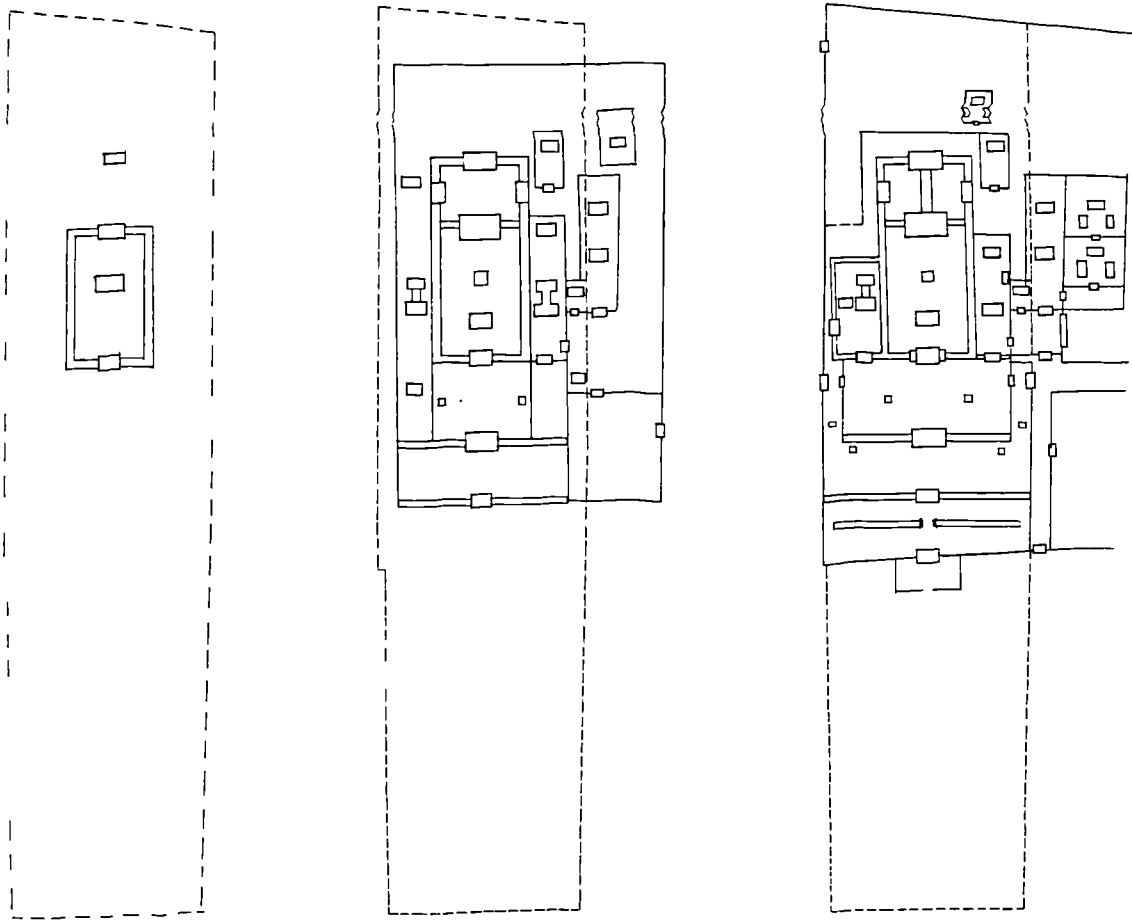
The history of the Confucian Temple started with Confucius's old house in 477 BC, two years after the sage died. Over a period of two thousand five hundred years, the temple has undergone hundreds of changes, either caused by wars or by natural disasters. According to the historic recordings there had been over sixty important restorations and rebuilding of the temple before 1911, without taking into account its regular maintenance. What we see today of the Confucian Temple in Qufu is the result of all these modifications. So the existing plan of the Temple is not pre-designed, but grew through many adaptations over a period of more than two thousand years. The evolution of the Confucian Temple can roughly be divided into five stages. The first stage was from the time of the Spring and Autumn Period to the Tang Dynasty, wherein the sage's old house was originally turned into a *Miao Tang*. The second stage started in the Northern Song Dynasty when the greater part of the general layout was set up. This formed the corner-stone for the later development. The third stage was marked by the massive rebuilding in the Jin Dynasty. The fourth stage during the Ming Dynasty included the most significant extension and restoration work. Finally, in the fifth stage which took place in the Qing Dynasty, only partial changes occurred. In the following pages these five stages are further described.

The first stage: Confucius spent most of his life at Queli in the then Lu Kingdom i.e. the present Qufu. His doctrine, his considerable contribution to education and many other achievements in early Chinese culture and philosophy, earned him great

¹¹ Although nearly every Chinese city has its 'local history' (Fang Zhi), a work often subject to many successive revisions of the history and topography of the place, including traditions of buildings and building plans, most attention was given to the city centre and important official buildings. See Joseph Needham, 1971, p.87-9.

¹² Here I mainly refer to the book The Architecture of the Confucian Temple in Qufu, 1987.

fame over throughout the Lu and other Kingdoms. Two years after Confucius died in 477 BC., the Duck Luai of the Lu Kingdom built a *Miao Tang* and displayed there some personal belongings left by the sage. The *miao tang* was consequently called Kong Miao¹³. We only know, according to the historic recordings, that the sage's old house was represented in three *Jians* i.e. rooms, and the Miao Tang was possibly built to the east of the same courtyard¹⁴.



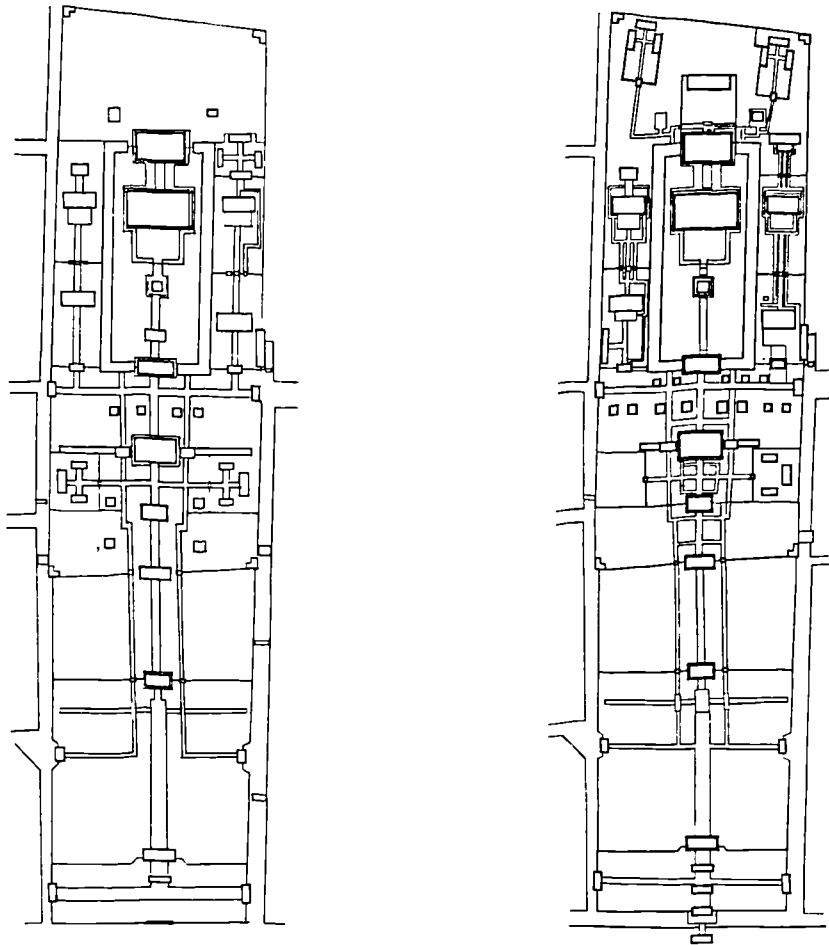
7-6. a.

7-6. b.

7-6. c.

¹³ Kong is the family name of Confucius pronounced in the Chinese way.

¹⁴ By that time the house was arranged facing to the south. The Miao Tang or Miao was built specially for noble persons of high status after their death, and it was always located at the eastern part of the city or courtyard. Although Confucius never reached such a high status in his life, the Duck Luai still built him a Miao to show people's respect for the sage.



7-6. d.

7-6. e.

a) During the Tang Dynasty, b) During the Song Dynasty, c) During the Jin Dynasty, d) During the Ming Dynasty, e) During the Qing Dynasty.

Fig. 7-6: The evolution of the general layout of the Confucian Temple.

Source: The Architecture of the Confucian Temple in Qufu, 1987, pp. 20, 22, 24, 29.

From then on, with the growing significance of Confucianism in China, the Kong Miao became more and more important officially. In 168 AD, the high official, Luxiang Shichen, ordered the local authority of the then Qufuxian County to restore Kong Miao and the walls to protect the surrounding Queli area where the sage's house was located. Some years later, the Kong Miao was ruined by fire, and was rebuilt, but the scale of the buildings stayed almost the same. In 666 AD, an emperor of the Tang Dynasty, Gaozhong Lizhi, visited Kong Miao, and found it very humble. Years later, another emperor of the Tang Dynasty decided to extend the Kong Miao. Unfortunately no information exists to show how the Kong Miao was extended at that time, but it was still described as 'too humble' by Kong Daofu (1018 AD), the forty-fifth generation of the

sage's descendants after Confucius. So the extended Kong Miao was very limited. The suggested layout of the extended Kong Miao as shown Figure 7-5 a..

The second stage: By the time of the Northern Song Dynasty (960 AD - 1127), Confucianism had reached its absolute dominant position. In 983 AD, an emperor ordered the rebuilding of the Kong Miao because of 'the desolate scene in Kong Miao'. No visual information is available about this rebuilding, yet it was written in the historic recording that the rebuilding of Kong Miao established new architectural rules for the Confucian Temple¹⁵ and changed the former types. Thereafter, the Confucian Temple became splendid. Forty-eight years later (1008 AD), the sage's forty-fifth generation, Kong Daofu, requested the improvement of the Confucian Temple because the existing form still did not match the grand title of Confucian Temple. This time, the main Hall was removed to the north of the former site, and the later was transformed into a brick terrace to commemorate the sage's teaching on this site. Many apricot trees were planted, the reason why the terrace has been called 'Apricot Terrace'. In 1022 another hall, the Yuzhan was built to the south of the terrace. All these rebuilding practices were illustrated by a historic drawing which shows the then general layout of the Confucian Temple (See Fig. 7-8. a, also Fig. 7-6 b).

In this plan, the Jianshan Gate relatively equates to today's Dongwen Gate; the Shu Lou equals today's Yushu Lou (the library), and the Yi Gate to today's middle gate of the main Hall Courtyard. All the halls for receiving, and other uses, were arranged at the east, beside the main palace. The extended Kong families, i.e. the descendants of Confucius lived in the area behind the Confucian Temple. Since then, the temple has been restored many times. Not until 1111 AD were two gates added to the temple (See Fig. 7-5 b. The Guessed Song Confucian Temple).

The third stage: In 1129 twenty-eight years later, the minor nation Jin invaded central China, and the Queli Confucian Temple was destroyed during the war. However the newly established Jin Dynasty still respected the sage and his philosophy. Afterwards a new temple was built, but the temple was inadequate because of poor economic conditions at the beginning of Jin Dynasty. Seventy years or so later the Emperor allocated a great sum to restore the Queli Confucian Temple. The construction

¹⁵ We now start to call the Kong Miao the 'Confucian Temple' because only after this rebuilding was Kong Miao temple-like in its form, although its name is still pronounced as 'Kong miao' in the Chinese language.

took about six years, and buildings of more than 360 Jians (ie. rooms) were completed. All these were well illustrated in an historic plan (see Fig. 7-8 b: the Temple and the Great Mansion in the Jin Dynasty, also Fig. 7-6 c).

From the plan we can see that the general layout of the temple was extended. A new gate was added to the original front gate, named as 'Zhi Shen Wen Xuan Wang Miao'; the new front gate was called Da Zhong Zhi Men. Furthermore, at front of the new front gate another gate Ling Xing Men, was set up. Behind the temple, in the northern part, the area for Kong families was expanded as well. At the east, just beside the temple, the mansion of Yan Sheng Gong¹⁶ - Confucius' forty-sixth generation, was also extended. The architectural style of this time was even more magnificent. The most notable thing was the first appearance of the curved dragon columns. The main Hall, Da Cheng Dian, was directly connected to the hall of Yunguo Furen Dian by a corridor, and arranged in a H shape plan. Near the two sides of the main Hall Da Cheng Dian, two gates led to two courtyards; this strengthened the axis of the temple (see Fig. 7-5 c. The suggested plan of the Confucian Temple in the Jin Dynasty).

The fourth stage: Although the Confucian Temple was restored several times due to war damage during the succeeding Yuan Dynasty, the main layout of the temple remained as in the Jin Dynasty, except that two *JiaoLous* (which are the tower buildings on the corners of the city or courtyard wall) were added to the two corners of the south side of the main courtyard.

Immediately after Zhu Yuan-zhang founded the Ming Dynasty (1368-1644), Zhu imposed Confucianism all over the country as the orthodoxy in order to maintain social order and political domination. To develop Confucianism, the Confucian Temple had, of course, to be more imposing. In 1464 the first important restoration of the temple began and was finished by November 1465. The second restoration and extension work took place from 1484 to 1488. This time it was regarded as the most costly construction of the Ming Dynasty. Later records¹⁷ show that the front three courtyards had reached their final layouts. The first gate was located a bit further south of the present Shengshi Gate. Unfortunately only about ten years later a fire caused by lightning badly damage

¹⁶ Yan Sheng Gong was a granted title for all Confucius' descendants by the emperor Song Ren-zong of Song Dynasty.

¹⁷ The Annals of Queli, written in 1499.

the temple. Two years after the fire disaster, the Imperial Government ordered the local authority to rebuild the temple. The construction took four years (1500-1504), and this time all the best architects and most skilful craftsmen were gathered to take part in the work, and the best quality materials were transported to Qufu from many places in China. After the work was completed, a special description of this event and the plan of the finished Confucian Temple was written and drawn on a stone tablet which still exists today (see Fig. 7-7).

This time the general plan of the Confucian Temple differed from before and reached its golden period. The main differences are the following:

(1) Two gates were added to the former front gate, Dazhong Men; consequently the whole layout was extended by two more courtyards with two Paifangs at the two sides of the first courtyard, and two side gates (Yanggao Men and Kuaidu Men) in the second courtyard. Later on, the first gate, second gate and Dazhong Men were all changed from three jians to five jians (one jian refers to one basic unit of the Chinese building). Furthermore, two side gates presented in one jian were added to the sides of Dazhong Men. At the very south end of the axis a Zhao Bi (a special wall) was built to close the axis.

(2) The main Hall of Dacheng Dian was built with nine jians (before there were only seven jians), and this form is the second most important type of palace in the Ming and Qing dynasties (the Taiho Palace in the Forbidden City in Peking is eleven jians in form).

(3) The increasing scale of the main Hall required its courtyard to be larger in size, so the main Hall court was extended on its north, east and west sides. Consequently the surrounding Fudians of the main Hall Courtyard were transformed from twenty-eight jians on each side to forty jians.

(4) The main gate of the main Hall Courtyard was changed from three jians with two single-jian side gates to five jians.

(5) The Qin Dian behind the main Hall of Dacheng Dian was changed from its former five-jian type to seven jians in form.

(6) The former five-jian type Guiwen Ge (the library) was also changed to seven jians to match the new nine-jian hall, although the former library was not touched by the fire.

The fifth stage: The vast reconstruction of the Confucian Temple in the Qing Dynasty was made necessary by a big fire caused by lightning. This time the important buildings of the temple were seriously damaged. Again the Imperial Government spent a large sum of money to rebuild the temple. The whole work covered five years. This reconstruction was mainly based on the Ming style. Only two new service courtyards were added to the back of the former temple, and nine Beitings (pavilions for the stone tablets) were built in front of the Dacheng Men gate. The most notable change was that all the important halls in the Confucian Temple were built with yellow glazed tiles rather than the green ones as used before. Thereby, the halls were upgraded to a higher type¹⁸. From then the temple remained without major change until the Cultural Revolution (1966-1976). During that period, a road was cut through the Confucian Temple along the path that ran in front of the Dazhong Men Gate. The old trees along the path were cut down. Fortunately the road was closed a few years ago and the path was re-paved. New trees have been planted, but it will take a long time for them to grow large enough to have any visual impact. Now the Confucian Temple comprises of nine courtyards along the main axis with many small courtyards at each side. Nearly every courtyard is densely planted with Cypresses and other kinds of trees.

The evolution of the Confucian Temple over 2,500 years has been characterised by three things: the first is the improvement of the standard of the temple types. The Confucian Temple started from a very humble courtyard house, and finally reached its present splendid size and style because of the growing significance of Confucianism. The second is that the later extensions and rebuilding were based on former ones both in detached single building unit design and the whole spatial arrangement. The third is that the same concept of building and spatial pattern has been kept. The Confucian Temple had been the sacred place for ceremonies ever since the sage's old house was transformed into a Miao, i.e. a shrine to commemorate the great philosopher. This theme has been strengthened every time the temple has been rebuilt. From the situation of only one gate before the main Hall in the Tang Dynasty to that of three gates before the main Hall in the Song Dynasty, then to four gates in the Jin Dynasty, and to eight gates in the Ming Dynasty, and finally to ten gates, all these physical changes followed one

¹⁸ The yellow coloured roof was only used for the imperial palaces in the Chinese tradition.

unchangeable concept - to create a very sacred place.

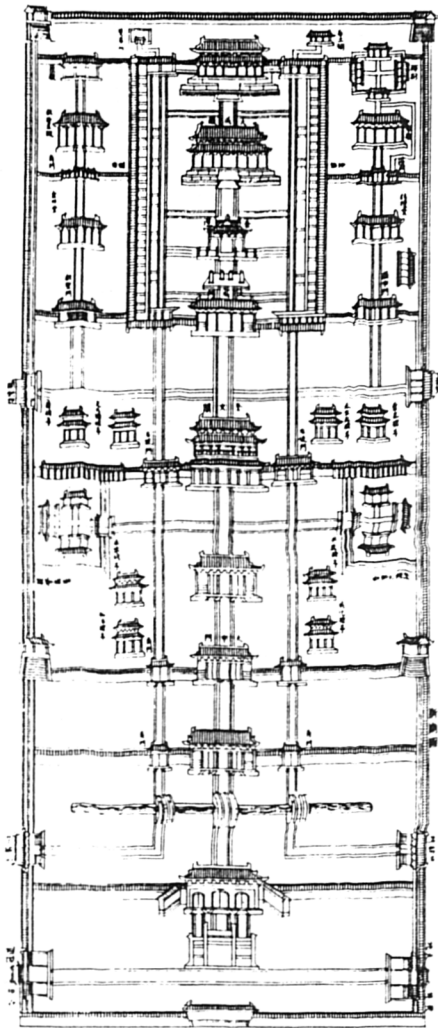
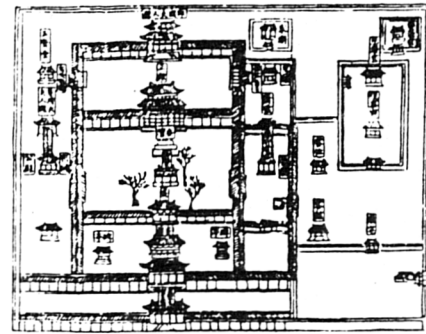
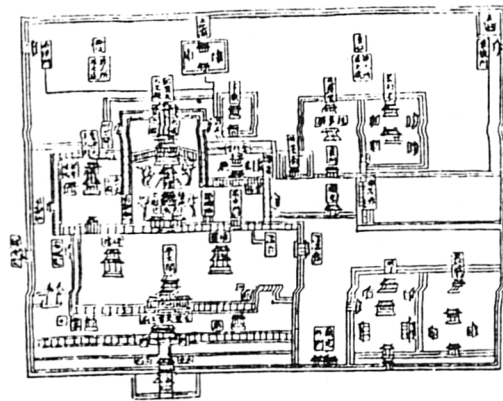


Fig. 7-7: The Temple in the Ming Dynasty shown in a copy of the Ming tablet.

Source: *ibid.*, p.28.



7-8. a) The Temple and the Great Mansion in Song Dynasty.



7-8. b) The Temple and the Great Mansion in the Jin Dynasty.

Fig. 7-8: Two historic records of the Great Mansion.

Source: *ibid.*, pp.21, 23.

2.3 The Kong Mansion and other important parts

The Kong Mansion, the great house for the descendants of Confucius, is connected to the east of the Temple; it used to occupy about 16.1 hectares (1hectare=10,000 sq.m) which was about one-tenth of the whole walled city, but now only 4.6 hectares remains. For more than 2,000 years, from the first Qin Dynasty to the last Qing Dynasty, the descendants of Confucius had been granted different titles, and had reached the important rank of Yansheng Gong in the Song Dynasty; and this title was respected by ensuing imperial governments. The duty of the Yansheng was to look after the Temple and the Cemetery of all sage's descendants, and to organise the ceremonies taking place in both.

At the same time, the descendants of Confucius had run a public school and a family school for hundreds of years. The Yansheng Gong also had power over the county of Qufuxian until the Ming Dynasty when the then Yansheng Gong was promoted by the imperial Zhu Yuan-zhang to become Yipinguan, the highest Imperial Government post in Chinese Feudal society. Until then the Yansheng Gong had been appointed to manage only the ceremonies and the private affairs of the families, but now he was authorised to recommend who should become local officials for Qufuxian. These were usually chosen from his extended family, but the recommendations had to be authorised by the Central Government.

About 2,500 ago The Kong Mansion started from the sage's old house, as did the Temple, its evolution can be defined in five periods. Unlike the Confucian temple, detailed visual and written information about the Kong Mansion, is lacking probably because the role of the Kong Mansion was a mixture of official institution and private house. Thus there has been some difficulty in finding out about the exact physical changes which have taken place throughout its history. There follows a very brief description of the transformation of the Mansion.

The first stage: When Luai Gong initially set up the Kong Miao in Confucius's lecture hall on the west side the old house in the second year after the sage's death, the eastern part of the house was occupied by his descendants to enable them to look after the things left behind by Confucius which were displayed in the Kong Miao. Thus the residence of the descendants was in the same courtyard house. This layout of the mansion stayed unchanged until the Song Dynasty.

The second stage: With the growing significance of Confucianism in the Chinese society, the families of the descendants of Confucius became more respected. When Kong Dao-fu extended the Confucian Temple, he also extended the mansion, thus the mansion was built in three courtyards which were connected to each other with; in the middle were the most important serial courtyards (see Figs. 7-7 a, and 7-5 b). This layout founded the basis for the later development of the mansion.

The third stage: During the period of the Jin Dynasty, the eastern courtyard of Shuanggui Tang was also developed from a single courtyard into a series of courtyards called Xifeng Zhai. As shown in the 'Jin Queli Kong Miao' (see Figs.7-7 b, and 7-5 c)

the size of the mansion, its layout and architectural style had been almost completely established in the time of the Jin Dynasty. But the mansion was seriously damaged during the war at the end of the Jin Dynasty. Afterwards there was much restoration work carried out by the succeeding - Yuan Dynasty, yet the size of the mansion was still limited to that in the Jin Dynasty. Later on in the middle of Yuan Dynasty the western part of the series of courtyards was transferred to part of the Confucian Temple.

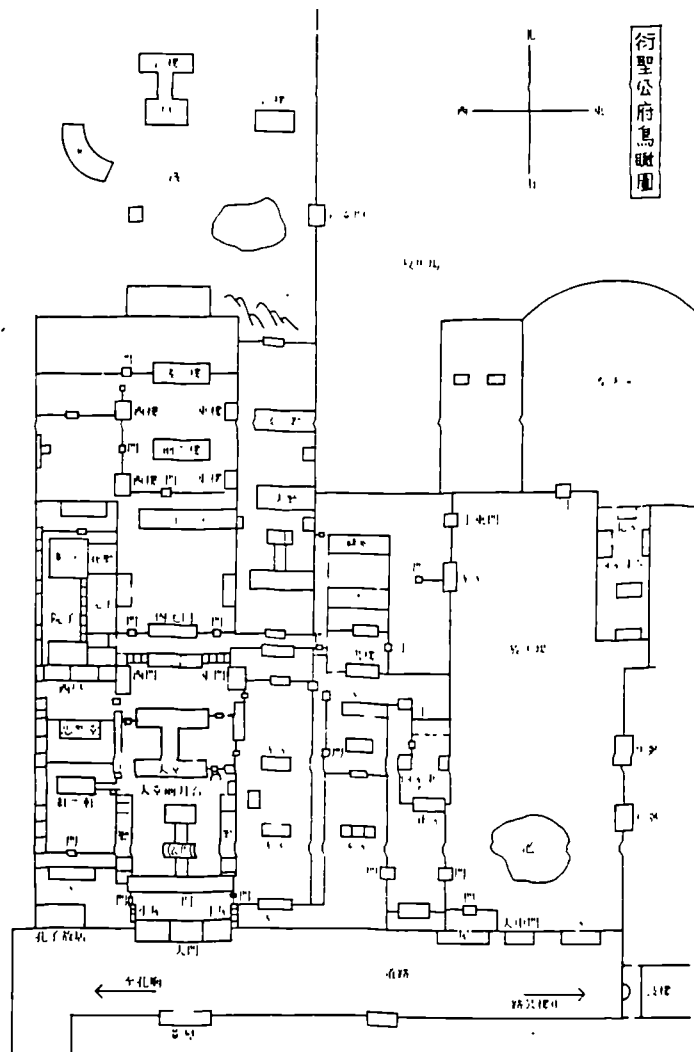


Fig. 7-9: The Great Mansion, 1940. Source: *ibid.*, p.128.

The fourth stage: About fifty years later, the mansion was rebuilt on the same site; unfortunately the newly built mansion was ruined by fire in the summer of 1449. Four years later, the mansion was rebuilt again. This time it was located further east from the temple, and the reconstruction mainly included the front part of the main

courtyards along the main axis and the rear courtyards of the eastern axis. The whole series of courtyards along the western axis, the rear part of the main axis, and the front courtyards along the eastern axis which were also reconstructed, were finished during the period from the middle of the Ming Dynasty to the middle of the Qing Dynasty. Finally, the whole mansion was completed when the layout of nine courtyards along the main axis was formed and joined by two series of courtyards on both the east and west sides. The mansion was now no longer identical with what been there before; it was larger and more luxurious but the general layout of the buildings remained the same.

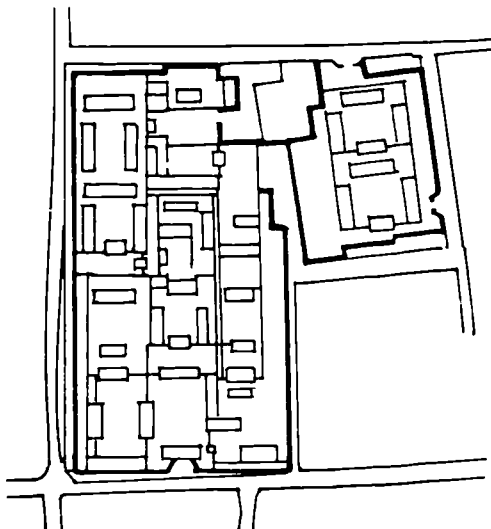
The last stage: Two serious reconstructions have been undertaken, both in the later Qing Dynasty. In 1936, the last restoration took place for the big wedding of the eldest son of the seventy-sixth generation of the great family (see Fig. 7-9). However, none of these changed the main layout and architectural style of the mansion.

The General History of other Important Parts of the City: Before 1956, the small city of Qufu was surrounded by a complete city wall with two gates on the south side and one gate on each of the other three sides. One of the south gates was built especially for the Confucian Temple, and the other for the city. Along the four streets leading from the four gates of the city, there were mainly shops, mills, restaurants, hotels and so forth, both in and outside the city. Not only did the Confucian Temple and Kong Mansion occupy a great part of the centre, but there were also many other mansions scattered in the city (see Fig. 7-10). In this sense, Qufu was unique. The mansions included Shier-fu, Shi-fu, Ba-fu, the East and West Wu-fu, the San-zhai and Si-zhai. All these mansion houses belonged to different sons of the great family. Many of them were built during the Qing Dynasty. Additionally, there were some other smaller and less important houses in the city such as the Su-zhai and Wu-zhai mansions. Besides these mansions, Qufu also had in different parts of the old city many small temples associated with different city gods and *Pailous* which are the traditional Chinese archways. The structure of the city followed a very disciplined pattern (see Fig. 7-16).



A. Shier-fu; B. Shi-fu; C. West Wu-fu; D. East Wu-fu; E. Shan-fu; F. Wuzhai;
G. Si-fu; H. Sunzhai; I. Jiangzhai; L. Ba-fu; M. Yan Mansion.

7-10. a) The sites.



7-10. b) The restored plan of site A and B.

Fig. 7-10: The sites of the important vanished parts of Qufu: mansions and institutions.

Source: Based on the information from Qufu City Planning Department, 1989.

Unfortunately, most of the mansions, the small temples and the *pailous* i.e. the archways were demolished between the 1950s and late 70s, but the sites are still used as either schools or military camps or other institutions which have been built on them.

Something that they all have in common is that all the sites of the mansions maintain their original outline plans. Now only a few parts of the historic buildings remain, for example, the West Wu-fu Mansion has still an original courtyard left, which is listed by the city's Cultural Relics Protection Bureau, and in the Shi-fu Mansion an old courtyard also remains in the north-east corner. Needless to say, all the vanished small temples, the mansions and the Pailous have diminished the importance of the historic city, but later changes to the urban structure have destroyed the city still more. Even more sadly, some of the changes happened after the conservation plan was made, and some are still going on.

Another historically important part of the walled city is the Gupan Lake area. Gupan Lake has a recorded history of more than 2,500 years, and the name Gupan Lake means the ancient lake. From the 'Book of Odes'¹⁹, we read 'Yong Pan Shui' (the song of the water of Pan Lake), and know how it was appreciated by the ancient scholars. In the ancient Lu time, *the ritual drinking ceremony of water from the Lake took place* there regularly. Later on the fame of Confucius brought special meaning to the lake. It started to be regarded as a symbol of the success of the scholars. You would not be a real scholar until you visited the lake. Therefore, in each dynastic period, every local school of a Confucian temple had a Pan Lake as its symbol.

Archaeological discoveries have demonstrated that in the Western Han Dynasty, the north side of the lake was the site of the Ling Guang palace, and the King Lu Gong-wang used to fish there. However, the most prosperous period of the Pan lake came during the Qing Dynasty. The Emperor Qian-long visited Qufu several times and stayed in the palace Xing-Gong nearby the lake (see Fig. 7-11). As a temporary imperial palace, after the emperor left the Xing-Gong and the lake were closed to the people. Consequently, it was abandoned, isolated and desolate. Until the late Qing Dynasty when local people built a Wen-Chang Ci i.e. the temple of intellectuals for educational purposes in order to stop the colonialist converting the former Xing-Gong into a church. Unfortunately the new Wen-Chang Ci lacked maintenance and declined. *The local people* decided to set up a school in the Wen-Chang Ci to keep it alive, and it is still being used today. Although the historic buildings around Gupan Lake were under-maintained for

¹⁹ 'Book of Odes' is the first collection of ancient Chinese songs and poems, which appeared about the second century B.C.. In its present form it consists of 305 early songs of varied origins. Some are folk songs in the broadest sense of the term, with strict patterns of metre, rhythm and rhyme.

a long time, it was full of lotuses in the summer, and many willow trees grew around the edge. During the Cultural Revolution the lake was excavated to get the rich mud for farming. Since then the Gupan Lake has lost its attraction. As the lake fell into ruin, so did the surroundings, which were used as a rubbish dump. The new offices and houses were built very close to the lake which is now polluted by the sewage from the surrounding neighbourhood.

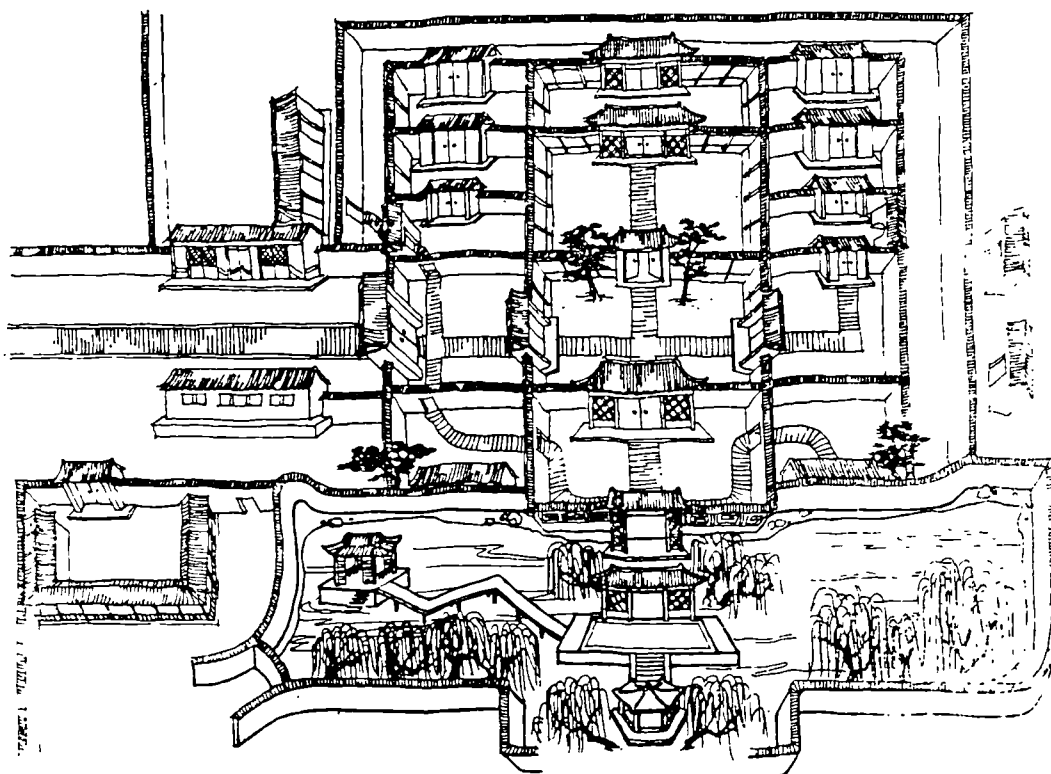


Fig. 7-11: The Xing-gong Palace. Source: FANG, Yun-cheng, 1982, p.20.

The worst and most dramatic change to the city's structure took place in 1956 with the construction of the North Gulou Street, which started from the north gate to the Drum Building, unbelievably cutting through the original Kong Mansion. This new road changed the city structure completely in terms of the dominant position of the Drum Building in the city; this was originally a gate leading from the busiest part of the city to the walled Kong Mansion and the side gate of the Confucian Temple. It was the first time that the width of the street and the size of the block were not in proper proportion with one another. Previously important buildings were always linked by wide streets, and the Gulou (Drum Building) was the most dominant. About five years later,

the buildings on both sides of the new street were demolished to give way to new constructions. In 1968, new hotels were built on the sites of the former storage courtyard of Kong Mansion. At the same time the road from the North-gate to the Shendao was widened; again both the North-gate and the main entrance to the cemetery lost their significance because their scale became relatively smaller compared with the new road. The demolition of the pailou (archway) and the bridge along the axis eliminated the importance of the north-south axis. It is extraordinary that so much damage could have been carried out so recently.

Up to 1977, the Provincial Government decided to open Qufu to international visitors. The then Qufu County Council mistakenly understood that to open Qufu to outsiders meant that the city should be modernised to improve its image in order to impress the people from abroad. The confusion of aims here is an example of over hasty planning decision. Thus they planned a new ring road around the old city. But they also felt that the city wall was an absolute obstacle. It looked too old, and was associated with 'poverty and backwardness', and would 'not impress' the foreign visitors. Thus the then County Council wrote to the Provincial Government seeking permission to demolish the 400 year old city wall. Half a year later, by the time the Provincial Government had replied to the County Council and told them the city wall should be preserved, it was nearly completely demolished except for the four corners and the south and north gates. While the County Council was applying for the permission they had actually already started to demolish the wall, they thought everyone would agree with them that the 'old gloomy wall should be taken away to give the city a modern image'. Another perhaps more likely reason was that many local people wanted the material from the wall to build their new houses, this way the County Council could save money.

The ring road was never actually set up along the line of wall; instead many new buildings and premises for institutions, work places and even public residential buildings were erected there instead. The sites associated with the wall were publicly owned, and every public sector organisation wanted to get as much land as possible to build their own buildings. Consequently the moat around the wall was partly filled in and became narrower. As a result of the new building the moat was increasingly and carelessly used as a sewage canal. At the same time, the south part of Gulou street was widened from 7 metres or so in width to a staggering 22 metres cutting through the former Teachers

College. This road construction caused buildings of 324 Jians i.e. rooms to be demolished. So it was that the centuries old city had been cut straight through by a wide new street from north to south. Today this street makes no worthwhile visual impact; previously all the buildings were single storey traditional courtyard buildings. The new buildings are a totally different character with thoughtless facades on either sides of the street, and large empty spaces between them. They do not give a sense of unity as before; they are still too low in proportion to the new width of the street. Newly planted trees along both sides of the streets will eventually make a limited contribution towards establishing the visual continuity of the street.

3 THE UNDERLYING PLANNING AND ARCHITECTURAL PRINCIPLES

In the preceding pages the historic background of Qufu was discussed and the evolution of the Confucian Temples, the Great Kong Mansion and other important parts of the city. In this section an analysis is made of the impact of the classical planning and architectural principles on the formation of Qufu, by examining the basic traditional Chinese city types. City types in the Chinese urban culture have been developed by different types of social functions throughout the imperial history. Despite the various functions, all the Chinese city types are based on the common ground of cosmology by which the urban artifacts are related closely to their surrounding environment, both ecologically and spiritually.

Qufu was a unique city in terms of its historical urban formation. As the birthplace of Confucius and the living place of the sage's descendants. Qufu was regarded as the second most sacred place outside the Capital from the Song Dynasty onwards. At the same time, Qufu has been the county capital of Qufu-xian. In some respects, the significance of the Temple made Qufu in the form of a Wang Cheng i.e. the City for a King, while the administrative nature of the city retains the County Capital form. To understand this more fully, Chinese city types and their cosmological characteristics need to be investigated in a broader context. An analysis is made of Qufu's city formation to demonstrate the actual influence on the city of the geomantic planning principles and the two types of city form mentioned above. A further concern is to extract some fundamental elements of the city form and bring them into the consideration for future city development and conservation as will be discussed in Chapter Eight.

3.1 The Cosmology of Chinese Cities

The study of urban formation in China has specifically revealed that, the history of the city reflects a shared architectural culture rather than different architectural styles during different periods, as is seen in European urban history. This phenomenon originates from Chinese concepts of change, first defined by 'Yi jing' or the 'Book of

Change'. Change, as Wilhelm (1961, pp.18-20) interpreted in his study on 'Yi jing',

'... is natural movement rather than development that can only reverse itself by going against nature... (Furthermore), the concept of change is not an external, normative principle that imprints itself upon phenomena; it is an inner tendency according to which development takes place naturally and spontaneously.

Development is not a fate dictated from without to which one must silently submit, but rather a sign showing the direction that decisions take. Again, development is not a moral law that one is constrained to obey; it is rather the guideline from which one can read off events.

To stand in the stream of this development is datum of nature; to recognise it and follow it is responsibility and free choice... (Therefore), the principle implies no distinction between inside and outside, content and form. It is implanted in a man's heart; it is active and discernible... The fact that the movement returns to its starting point keeps it from dispersing, which movement in one dimension only cannot prevent. The infinite is thus brought within the confines of the finite, where alone it can be of service to man'.

These concepts of change have significantly influenced the city planning and architectural form in terms of their spatial concept and attitude towards the life span of city buildings. To the old Chinese, the physical city is not eternal, what is important such as the city and architectural forms are the events that take place in the city. With the fragility of the timber material, reconstruction and restoration have been successively required. Even the authorities did not expect buildings to last much more than a generation. As M.P. T' Serstevens (1971, p.12) pointed out:

'This deliberately ephemeral architecture, whose products were not destined to defy time, is explained by the fact that China has never linked its destiny with transient fate to its material realisations. It views history as a predestined, inevitable sequence of events, in which the various moments count less than a certain coherent continuity.

Each great dynasty started out with the idea of restoring the situation that had existed under its predecessor. Its first steps were conservative and several generations passed before original achievements appeared. The same principle applied to architecture. It was not in their monuments that the Chinese expressed their passion for eternity but in the ideas that presided over their design and the spiritual tradition they exemplified'.

After all these centuries history of Chinese cities leaves us with a remarkable preservation of types and forms that show few fundamental differences in respect of materials and methods, shapes and styles. On account of this it seems crucial to understand the cultural background of the Chinese city.

Cosmological Symbolism and Fengshui: historians have commonly shared the point that the principal philosophies of Chinese thought and culture have been greatly

influenced by Yi Jing (The Book of Change) which appeared about 3300 BC²⁰. Yi-jing presents symbolically, the organised, rhythmic and purposeful Universe' (YONG,1988, p.27) by depicting situations from the primary data of life. It says that the universe is an entity and all things in it are in constant flux, and that phenomena are characterised by their dynamism rather than by their individualism. Nature reacts to any change and that reaction resounds in man. In the cyclic changes, 'man is at the centre of events, the individual who is conscious of responsibility is on a par with the cosmic forces of heaven and earth' (WILHELM, 1961, *ibid.*); thus cosmos, nature and man are harmonised. This basic concept of change and the relationship between man, nature and universe endowed Chinese culture with its cosmic nature.

The imprint of the cosmic theory in the settlements can be understood from two inseparable aspects. One is the link between the arrangement of the settlement and its natural surroundings. The other is the pattern which reflects the ancient understanding of the cosmic structure and its representation in the man-made environment. The philosophy finally matured in the Song Dynasty and became known as '*fengshui*'. 'Fengshui' literally means wind and water. Generally speaking the development of fengshui was influenced by China's geographical and climatic conditions. As T.T.Yong (*ibid*, p.28) indicated:

'To its north and west, central China is surrounded by ranges of mountains. The rivers mainly originate from the west for its agriculture and run into the sea. This configuration of natural land forms became a model for almost every type of Chinese architecture.

Climatic conditions have also had an impact on fengshui. China is situated in the northern hemisphere. In winter bitterly cold winds blow from the north west. From the opposite direction the south-east prevailing wind brings in warm air, and in the summer, cool air. The warm sun is from the east and the south-east; the western sun is usually hot'.

Fengshui came from various schools of thought which translated natural and human phenomena into numerical symbols that originated in Yi Jing, the Five Elements, and two forces of *Yin* and *Yang*, and used the relationships between the symbols to interpret the universe. Apparently, fengshui implies the ecological concern of the settlement. In order to minimise adverse influences and derive maximum advantage from favourable conjunctions of forms, it adapts the settlement to the local current of cosmic

²⁰ See Han Qang, 'The Basic Category of Philosophical Thinking during the Pre-Qin Period', pp.233, in Chinese Philosophical Category, People's Publisher, 1984. Also see Cheng Zhong-Ying, 1984, 'A study on the Chinese Philosophical Category', *ibid.*, p58.

breath 'Qi'²¹, which is in turn influenced by the local topography and the morphology of the terrain from hour to hour, and season to season. The geographical configuration and climatic conditions considered in fengshui makes rivers and mountains the two most crucial factors in the arrangement of traditional Chinese settlements, but in addition, the heights and forms of buildings, and the directions of roads and their bridges, were also potent elements. The ideal settlement settings are described as:

constructed on sloping or well drained land, and located so that their northern side possess a hilly or mountainous shield or screen of trees protecting it from malevolent *qi* - the undesirable micro-climate. Entrances to a settlement, say a house or village, should always be from the south-east or south and be given a clear view of this orientation to harvest beneficial *qi* - the desirable micro-climate. The water course should be slow, winding, deep and a best flowing from an easterly or south-easterly direction or at worst be on the south of the settlement.

Before the Song Dynasty, the application of the fengshui system to the siting of cities was only partially and uncertainly implemented, but later in the Song Dynasty, fengshui was elaborated both morally and rationally by some of Neo-Confucians such as Zhu Xi (1130-1200). Consequently, fengshui came to be used not only for major capital cities but also for every aspect of China's development. This is why the later Fengshui School was able to easily incorporate all aspects of Chinese ritual and social order.

The 'significance of rites' has also played an important role in the development of traditional settlements. The use of rites and rituals has brought Chinese urban culture to an evidently high state of symbolic framework which was deeply rooted in the Chinese understanding of the universe. The essential characteristics of Chinese urban symbolism are the cardinal directions and numeral expression of the cosmic pattern, and the preference for square or rectangular shapes in the city, these mirror the Chinese schema of Heaven and Earth, thereby the Emperor of all under heaven lived symbolically in a Heaven on earth²². At the same time, it was believed that the intelligible universe

²¹ From its philosophical understanding Qi means 'the flow of subtle energies in the human body and in the earth respectively'(YONG, *ibid*, p.27). It is a life essence, and animates all things (see ZHANG, 1984, pp.107-116). Also see P.Wheatly, 1971, p.419, and also see T.T.Yong, 1988, p.27.

²² See Mirca Eliade, in P.Wheatley, 1971, p.418.

was founded by three fundamental sectors, for instance the universe was composed of heaven, earth and man, was developed intellectually, and it has influenced Chinese culture in many respects, such as music, literature, architecture and city design etc.. In Chinese urban architecture form, the ideal numbers of 1, 2, 3 and their cardinal consequent numbers like 1, 1/2, 2/3 were visible throughout the city layout and architectural module²³. The belief that the rhythmic and organised nature of the universe also brought the cardinal direction and hierarchy to Chinese urban culture both socially and visually; for instance, east is the symbol of Spring, south of Summer, west is the Autumn, and north the Winter. Therefore, south is lucky and north is associated with darkness and is unpropitious. All the ideas of numerical and orientational expression in cities were formulated for the first time in 'Kao-Gong Ji', which was the first official document about handicraft, technology and a series of systems of management, production processes, city types and hierarchies²⁴.

3.2 City Forms and Fengshui Principles

In the previous pages, the cultural background of the Chinese city was outlined, pointing out that fengshui, and the system of rites and rituals were the two main factors which defined the concept of the early Chinese city and its cosmic characteristics. After the Song Dynasty fengshui became widely adopted and firmly established as the basic principle for architecture, city planning and urban design. As Needham (1956, p.361) observed:

'In many ways *fengshui* was an advantage to the Chinese people... it embodied, I believe, a marked aesthetic component, which accounts for the great beauty of the siting of so many farms, houses and villages throughout China'.

Now a further look is taken at the general morphology of the Chinese city. As far as city planning and urban design are concerned, the principles are summarised as follows (see HE, Yeju, 1988, pp.124-126, also see FAN, Wei, 1989):

The siting of city: Geographically, the ideal siting for a city followed the 'general rules of settlements'. The most characteristic feature was that the quantity of *qi* (the energy of the place) should be greater than that of a smaller towns and villages. The

²³ See Wang Qi-heng, 1989.

²⁴ See Y.J. He, 1985.

size of the city demanded more substantial environmental resources. As a consequence, cities were normally settled on the low flat areas by rivers enabling it to be built in a square shape (see CHANG, 1977, p.83-87). In this way, a city differed from many of the villages which were more often located on hilly or mountainous settings for their less symbolic significance and smaller size, especially in south-east and south China.

Urban morphology model: Firstly, Shui-Kou (the southernly bend in the river) refers to a special landscape associated with the pattern of the water course. Since the main access routes to the cities were from their south gates and in the same direction of the water course. Shui-Kou, by which the natural river was led into the city, became a symbol of the starting point of the city. Secondly, according to fengshui, heaven was regarded as Yang (masculine) and the earth as Yin (feminine), everything in the world was affected by Yin and Yang in the universal context. The city wall was classified as Yin, what was inside the wall as Yang, so the city wall was expected to related to the earth. The vanishing perspective lines to the east and west of the city walls often pointed to the top of the highest mountains of the city's northern aspect. Thirdly, the city gates should either open towards mountains or rivers. Of the gates on the four sides of the city, the south gate was the most important. Fourthly, what was inside the walls was expected to relate to heaven for it was of Yang. The main streets in the city, therefore, were oriented to the Pole Star, and this characterised the cities with a very strong south-north axis. Furthermore, the blocks in the city were nearly always divided into rectangular shapes, and the long and the short sides of the block were in the ratios of 9 to 8, 5 to 4 and 3 to 2. Again this resulted in the basic concern of the balance between yin and yang, and with an ideal ratio of 3 to 4. Fifthly, the centres of the cities were reserved for the most important administrative institutions, while higher sites were more favourable than the lower ones. This pattern meant the centre of the city was most important and was reinforced by the dynastic type of society where social order was extremely strict.

Lastly, fengshui also defined a certain type of urban house to fulfil the city morphology. It required that the arrangement of streets be considered first in all cases. Considering streets as the 'water courses' for the city, for the purposes of privacy a courtyard should not be seen directly from the street, hence a 'sinuous course' of approach from street to courtyard was required. The neighbourhood was expected to be more

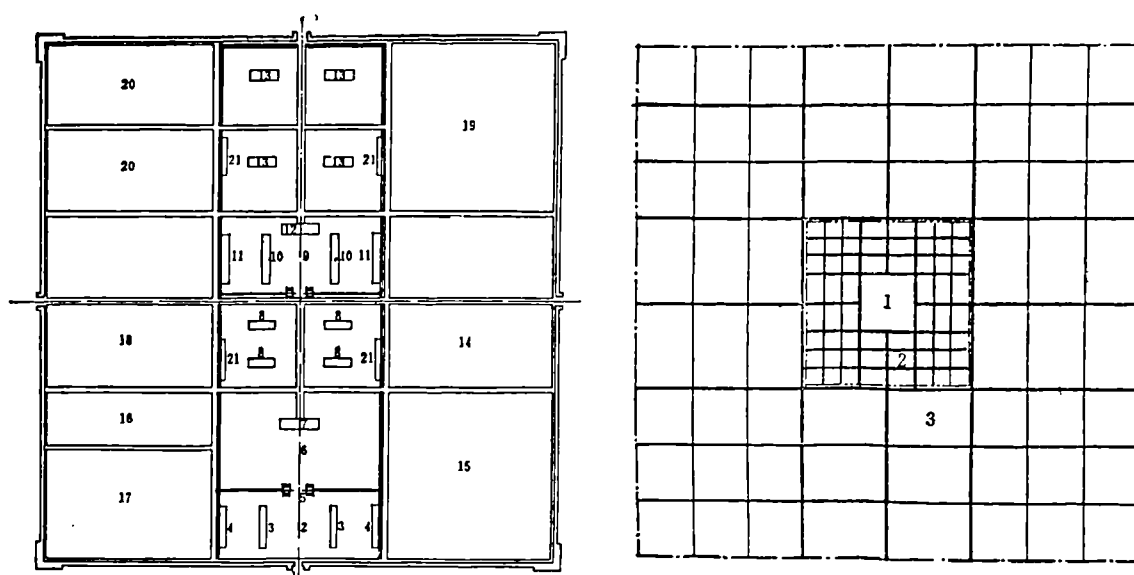
respected rather than any single building, so any dwelling unit should match with its neighbouring units in orientation, height, and of course in style.

As will be seen later, all these rules of fengshui strongly marked the city of Qufu, including its setting, the visual relationship between defensive wall and the natural surroundings, the social meaning of the different gates, the numerical expression (such as the number of courtyards along the central axes of the Confucian Temple and the Great Kong Mansion), the regular ratio of most of the street blocks, and the arrangement between different building typologies and the city's morphology.

Chinese City Types: Having understood the general nature and pattern of Chinese urbanism, it is easier to identify the various types which reflect the social hierarchy of Chinese cities. In terms of the administrative system, cities can be classified into three groups: imperial capitals, prefectural centres and *xian* (county) headquarters. In the hierarchy of settlements there were basically two city types, i.e. the imperial city and the local capital. In the following pages these two are discussed.

The Imperial City Type - Beijing Model: Earlier it was established that 'Li-Ji' set up city system with ideal layouts suited to the social hierarchy and the political dynamism - the concept of the Middle Kingdom derived from the Naturalist idea that included the Five Elements, Yin and Yang, and of course, the I-Ching. The King Cities - *Wang Cheng* - were expected on each side to measure nine Li (a Chinese mile), and on each side should accommodate nine chariot ways. The city should basically be divided into nine sectors (He, Ye-ju, 1986, pp.128-29) (see Fig. 7-12). While the *Gong Cheng* - inner city for the palace and royal residences was supposed to occupy the central sector, the Hall of Audience should be in front of the *Gong Cheng*, with the market behind it. Furthermore, the ancestral hall of the Prince should be on the left, i.e., the east, and the altar of the God of the Soil on the right, i.e., the west. These ideas developed throughout the whole of Imperial Chinese history especially after the Han Dynasty²⁵, and finally matured in the city of Beijing during the Ming Dynasty.

²⁵ See Wright, 1977, p.42.



7-12. a) The ideal structure of the central Wang Cheng.

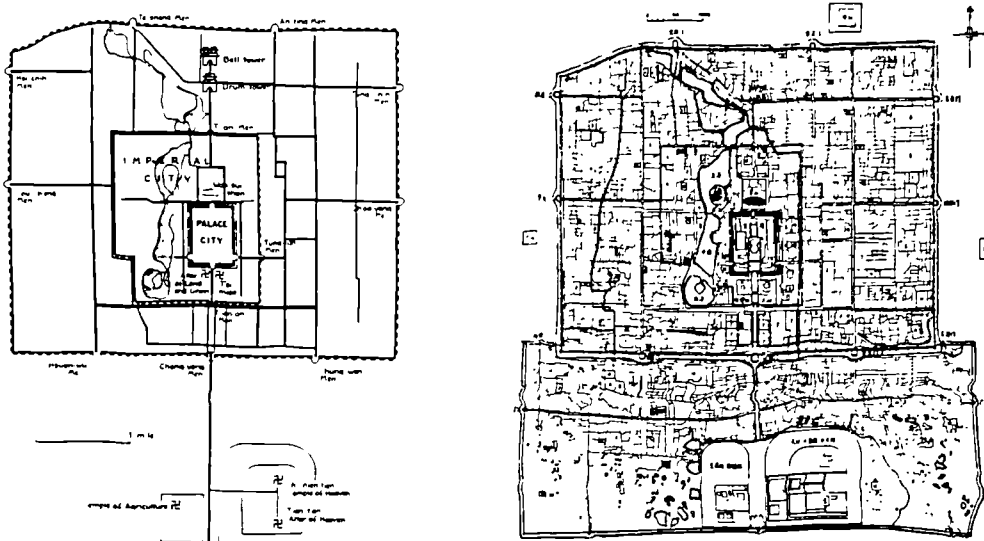
7-12. b) The ideal structure of the Imperial City.

Fig. 7-12: The ideal imperial city model. Source: HE, Ye-ju, 1986, pp.97, 132.

Possessing the desirable geographical conditions, Beijing had been built as the successive capital for several dynasties, Yuan Da-du was the first imperial capital built. It was pre-planned; the vast plain land allowed the city to be formed with a grand layout with inner and outer city walls in rectangular shape. The inner wall was for the Gong Cheng and the outer wall for the *Huang Cheng* (the Royal City). The Gong Cheng was located in the centre of the Huang Cheng towards the south. Three gates were designed for the east, south and west sides, and two gates for the north side of the outer wall.

After the Ming Dynasty took over the Yuan Dynasty, Da-du renamed Beijing, was largely re-used, except that the northern part of the former city was abandoned because it was hardly built up, and it was too close to the enemy from the north. Consequently, the original wall was demolished and the new north wall built back about 2.5 kilometres. At the same time the new Huang Cheng was rebuilt about 0.5 kilometre further south. Later on, the southern suburbs, including the Temple of Heaven, the Altar of Heaven, and the Temple of Agriculture, were enclosed by an additional wall with seven external gates. The Forbidden City was built on the site of the Yuan Gong Cheng. Both in Yuan Da-du and Ming Beijing the Drum Building and Bell Building were located at the far north end of the main axis. The Ming Beijing is still regarded as a classical example of the Chinese imperial city form with its rectangular plan and grid road system, its

marvellous axis through the whole city, its high walls and gates ... (see Fig. 7-12).



7-13. a) Beijing as built in the 1420s.

7-13. b) The Qing Beijing.

Fig. 7-13: The development of Beijing in the Ming and Qing Dynasties.

Source: a) WRIGHT, 1977, P.68; b) PAN, Guxi, 1986, 54.

The general city structure of the imperial cities is embodied in the city of Beijing. Firstly it possesses at least two enclosing walls, the inner walled city is reserved for the socially significant - noble families and city institutions both representing their position of power - and it is located in the centre. The main axis is always directly linked with the axis of the inner city. The inner city is so situated that a few main streets run directly from the east wall to the west wall. The outer city wall normally has three gates on each side. The distinctiveness of all these features will be more evident when they are compared with the local capitals in the following pages.

Local Capitals: With lower administrative rank, local capitals were built in less regular shapes and were definitely smaller in size, regardless of whether they were Prefectural, or subordinate County-level cities. After comparing many examples Sen-Dou Chang (1977, p.88) pointed out:

'In the case of rectangular cities, the ratio between the sides varied from a true square of an extreme of 1:4, as in the city wall of Han-tan. The modal ratio, however, closely approached 1:1.414, which is generally considered by modern psychologists to be optimal in terms of aesthetics and visual stability. Rectangular walls were oriented with the long

side running east-west more often than north-south. Departures from perfect rectangularity include one or more curving sides, one or more corners departing from a right angle (parallelograms, trapezoids, and trapeziums are legion), one or more truncated corners ..., and one or more corners rounded off.

The size of Prefectural capitals varies from 194 to 4,500 hectares. In Shandong Province particularly, the average size is 147 hectares, which is very close to that of the old Qufu which was about 165 hectares²⁶.

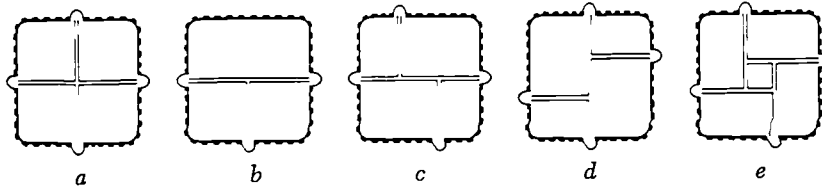


Fig. 7-14: The five models of street grids in cities with four city gates.

Source: CHANG, *ibid.*, p.97.

Usually the ordinary local capitals were expected to have only one gate in each wall. Historical records show that in the late Qing Dynasty a majority of all local capitals in most of the regions had exactly four gates (CHANG, *ibid.*, p.96). Each gate was associated with a cardinal point, with their symbolic significance as discussed in the previous Sections. The local capital cities fall into five groups of layout (see Fig. 1-15). Two main cardinal streets cross each other, each associated with the gates, the central intersection of the two streets being typically located by the city's drum building in a north-south direction. However, because of the preference for avoiding an uninterrupted thoroughfare running straight from one gate to another, many cities with four gates are arranged in three city plans (b, c, d.). In these three cases, some major crossroads will be built with either drum or/bell building(s). Usually, the drum or bell building was located in north-south direction.

Besides the general four gate city patterns, three gates cities often existed with one gate in the east, south and west walls only. Inside the city, the two main cardinal streets join together in a T shape; similarly, a drum and/or bell building(s) would be located centrally at the main junction. In general, the most important official buildings,

²⁶ See 'The Outline of of Qufu' in *Cities and City Building in Shandong*, edited by Jiang Wanshan, Shandong University Press, 1987, p.473.

such as Yamen (the Local Authority in the Imperial China), the Confucian Temple, the Examination Hall, the Temple of the City God, public offices, and the residencies of officials and so forth were located around the centre of the city.

3.3 The impact of Fenshui on Qufu

The discussion of the general urban morphology and city types determined by the fengshui system and administrative hierarchy, leads to a closer examination of the actual imprint of these two fundamental factors on Qufu. The city form existing before modern city times has been researched in order to identify it with the original city concept introduced by classical city planning and architectural design.

In the previous Sections much has been said about the evolution of Qufu, but the lack of historic records before 1956 still leaves the city's original form an unsolved problem. Although the architectural history and a few very brief maps of the historic Qufu are given in the book The Architecture of the Confucian Temple in Qufu (1987), there is a great shortage of evidence, and especially visual data, on the city's traditional structure. In the official edition of 'The Outline of Qufu' in The Cities and City Building in Shandong, edited by the Committee of Town and Country of Shandong Province, published in 1987, a few lines describe Qufu prior the revolution in 1949 as follows:

Up to the dawn of the Revolution, in Qufu apart from the Confucian Temple, the Great Kong Mansion and the Cemetery, public institutions constituted the main features, which included the century old Yamen i.e. the County Administration, a teachers 'college, one secondary school and six primary ones. Residential buildings included 15 mansions of the extended families of the descendants of Confucius, and the large courtyard houses of 23 elite families. Only a handful of humble cottages existed to house ordinary citizens. The walled city was divided by 55 narrow and curved streets. There were 11 stone archways associated with the important buildings and streets. Only 38 shops and workshops were to be found scattered in the main streets. In short, Qufu appeared rather like a village²⁷.

In the interests of historic restoration, the Planning Department of Qufu City Council produced the plans of the vanished splendid mansions and important parts of the old city

²⁷ Jerome Ch'en actually used the word 'village' to describe Qufu in his book China and the West - society and culture 1815-1937, published by Hutchinson in London, 1979.

as shown in Figure 7-10. However these do not include any information about the old city structure. For the purposes of this research, a more adequate plan is needed to help understand the relationship between the city's architecture and the morphology. This is necessary to better safeguard conservation and development in the future.

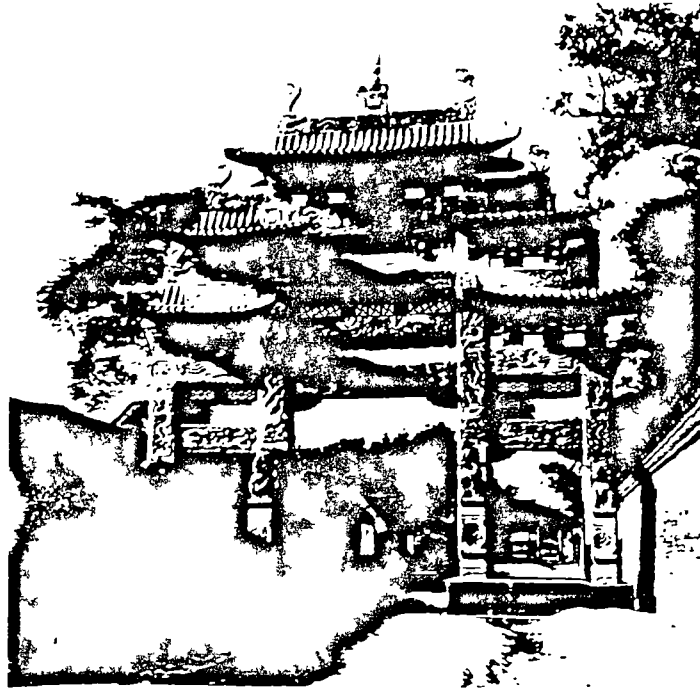


Fig. 7-15: One of the stone archways in old Qufu.

Sources: NEEDHAM, 1971, fig. 807.

The author, in order to produce such a plan, during field studies in the summer of 1989, interviewed a number of local history experts, including the principal of the Municipal Cultural Relics Protection Bureau, who for many years had worked for the great family of the descendants of Confucius. Moreover, the researcher also used another city plan, issued as a result of the first official survey in 1980 by the Council of Shandong Province. From this map the relationship between the old city and its original surroundings can still be read quite clearly.

Based on the above information and researches, the old city plan can be roughly restored as shown in Figure 7-16. Comparing the former city structure in this restored plan with the arrangements of the important buildings shown in Figure 7-10, the hierarchical relationship between the urban morphology and building typologies is evident.

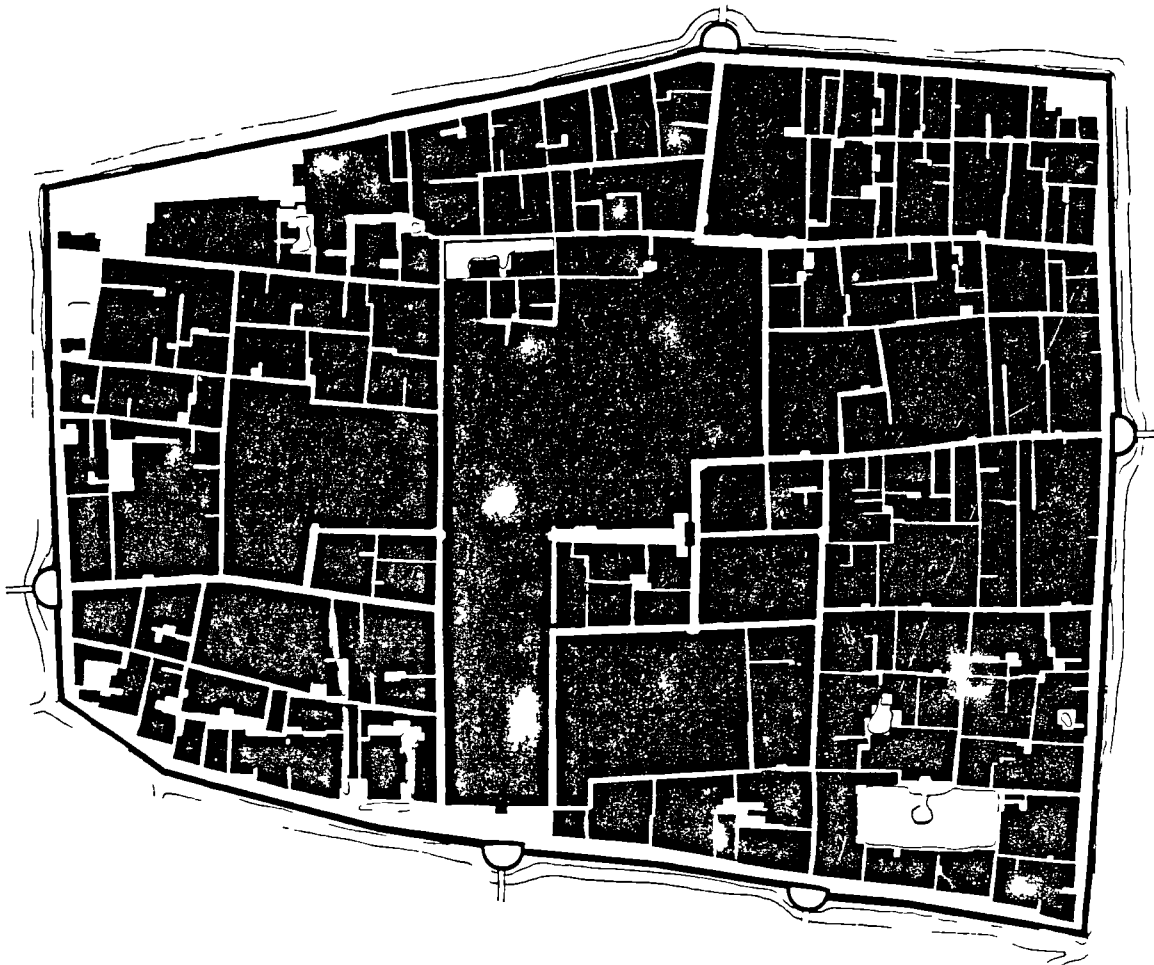


Fig. 7-16: The former morphological structure of Qufu.

Fengshui's influence on the siting of Qufu: The urban history of Qufu commenced about 3,000 years ago, and during this period many cities have been built on the same site. The last city according to the classical concept was built in the Ming Dynasty, and a greater part of it still remains. Previous studies of Qufu's history have already shown that from antiquity Lu Cheng - capital of the Lu Kingdom - had been located between the rivers of Yi and Zhuzi. Beyond the river Zhuzi, mountains are seen in the distance to the north. This is exactly the formula of mountain and water determined by fengshui. The moat of the ancient Lu Cheng was connected with the river Yi. The burial field was arranged outside to the north during the Zhou and Han Dynasties (1100 BC - 220 AD), because the north was associated with death and winter. Therefore the Confucian tomb was set up there. Consequently, the city naturally

inherited the city siting pattern from ancient Lu Cheng.

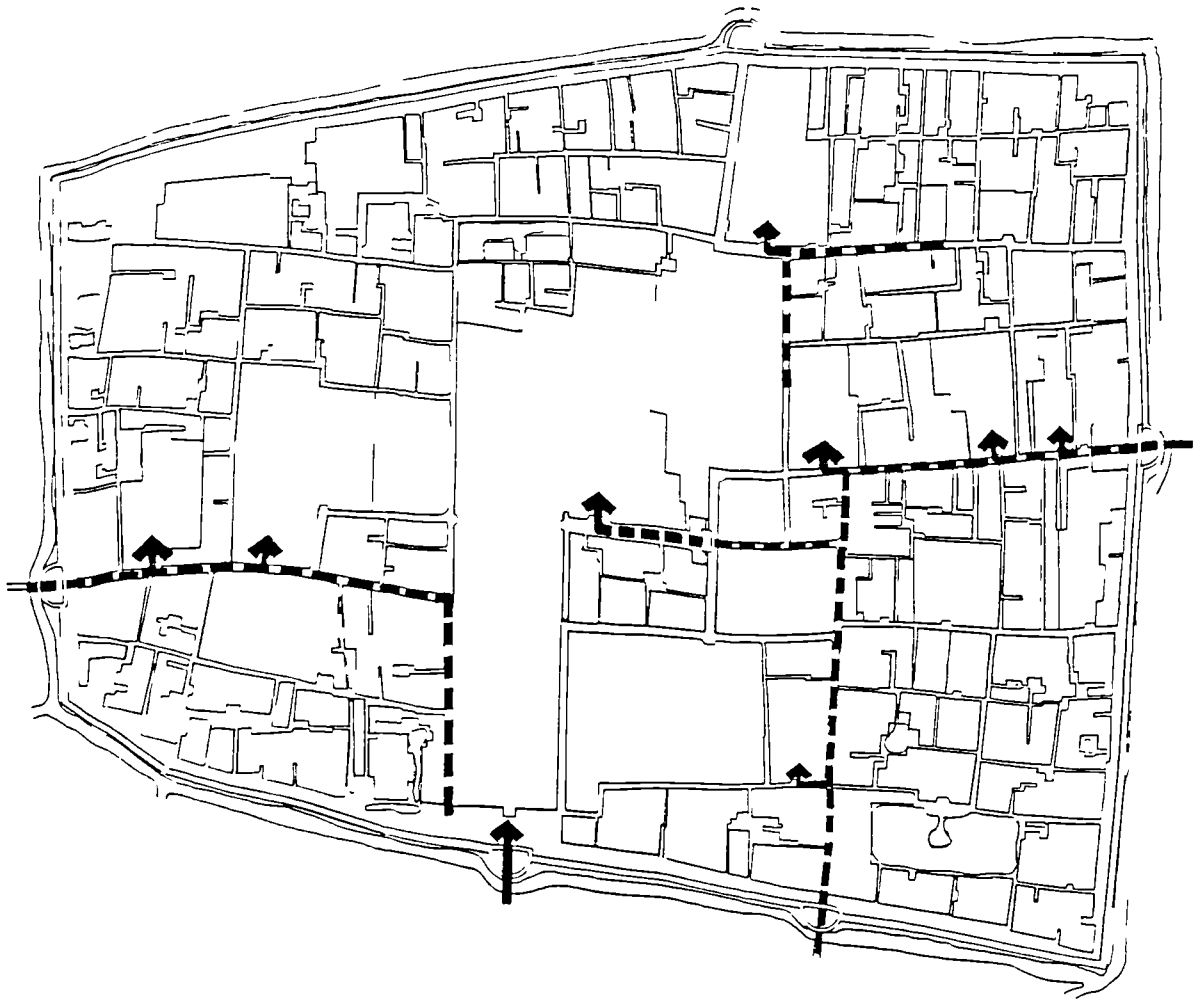


Fig. 7-17: The diagram of the relationship between the main entrances of important buildings and their streets.

The main city gate, *Zhengnan-men* or *Yangsheng-men*, was so placed as to ensure that the out-flood tributary of the river Yi, which came from the south-east to the north-west, flowed towards this gate. Inside the city the main entrance to the Great Kong Mansion was also located so that Nanmen Street, the most important route, led to the Mansion through the Drum Building, i.e. Gulou, from the south-east. The main entrances of other important civic and private buildings were all related to their main streets in the same way (see Fig. 7-17).

Moreover this pattern also had a strong impact on the layouts of the courtyard houses. In Qufu most of the courtyard houses possessed entrances on the south-east

corner, and these entrances were usually faced by a solid wall called *zhaobi*, this could be one side of a western oriented house, or a specially designed wall. This kind of *zhaobi* helped to establish the privacy of the courtyard.

Qufu had a dual nature because it was not only a *xian*, i.e. county capital city, but also the birthplace of Confucius and therefore a place of pilgrimage. Firstly Qufu's ranking in the administrative system determined the city's size and physical form. Secondly from the Han Dynasty onward Qufu has been regarded as the second most important city outside the imperial cities. Thus its formation was greatly influenced by the development of the Confucian Temple in the city.

As mentioned at the beginning of Section 2 of this Chapter, a few cities had been built around the site of the present city, the last one being built in the Song Dynasty 5 kilometres from the present city in the eastern suburb. Due to its *xian* or county capital administrative level, in the Song Dynasty the city was built with four gates in a square shape (Fig. 7-4), and this city remained until the middle 16th century, when most of the important parts of the Confucian Temple and the great Mansion were completed. However in 1551 the wide spread peasant revolt caused serious damage to the existing city, to the Confucian Temple and other important buildings in the surrounding area. To protect the Confucian Temple it was decided to move the site, and it is for this reason that the city of Qufu had to modify the ordinary *xian* city type to its present form.

At the same time the Imperial Capital Beijing had matured during the Ming Dynasty, and by this time all the principles defined for *wang cheng* (imperial capital by 'Kao Gong Ji') were well developed. This practice clearly affected the formation of Qufu too. Firstly, the cultural and political significance of Confucianism provided Qufu with a very important social status which would allow the *wang cheng* pattern practised in the city of Beijing to be used to a certain degree. Secondly, the existence of the Confucian Temple made it sensible to break the social constraint of the *xian* city type. The city was centred on the Confucian Temple and the residences of the sage's extended family, and the Temple was designed in a similar pattern to the Forbidden City; even its most important palace was built in the same way as the most prominent palace in the Forbidden City but smaller in size. The Temple and the great family Mansion were walled like a 'inner city' with the Drum and Bell buildings for its gates giving access to

the city. Slightly different from the imperial city, Qufu's east and west city gates were designed to be associated with the side entrances of the 'inner city'.

Since the main south gate was specially built for the Temple, another gate for secular use was built in the south wall, east of the main one. As already shown, the xian capitals usually had four city gates, and the Drum and/or Bell buildings were located at the main crossroad in the centre. But in the case of Qufu, the centre was occupied by the walled Temple and the great family residence, thus the Drum building was arranged in a west-east direction in order to connect with the main road - Guloumen street (the road through the Drum Building) which was easily approachable both from the East South-gate and the east-gate. The drum and bell buildings in the Ming Beijing were both at the very end of the main axis in a north-south direction, this situation required a modification of their locations for Qufu. In this sense, Qufu is actually a local capital built around a small 'forbidden city'.

The usual arrangement of the official and religious buildings in the local capitals were somehow all modified because of the appearance of the 'inner city'. For example, unlike most of the xian capitals, Qufu's *yamen* was located in the western sector, and its location was also differed from the Imperial City where the official buildings were arranged in front of the *Gong Cheng*. To sum up, Qufu's city pattern was largely based on its local capital city type but all the official buildings, which were normally located in the centre, were pushed aside because of the existence of the Confucian Temple and the extended Kong family Mansion.

Despite the combination of the two city types, there remained many morphological characteristics of ordinary xian capital cities. Not only was size very close to the average xian capital city in the Shandong Province, but also the shape of the walled city was identical with other xian capitals in its proportions²⁸. The walled Qufu was roughly rectangular in shape with the ratio of 1:1.3, which was very close to the ideal of 1:1.414.

Inside the city, if the neighbourhood blocks are divided according to the major city streets, then most of the blocks are in proportions ranging from 1:1.3 to 1:1.8. At the same time, the major city blocks often dominated the two longest cross streets; while the street running east-west divided the major block into south and north parts by 2:1. Moreover the big blocks in such a division were often located at the south-west corner.

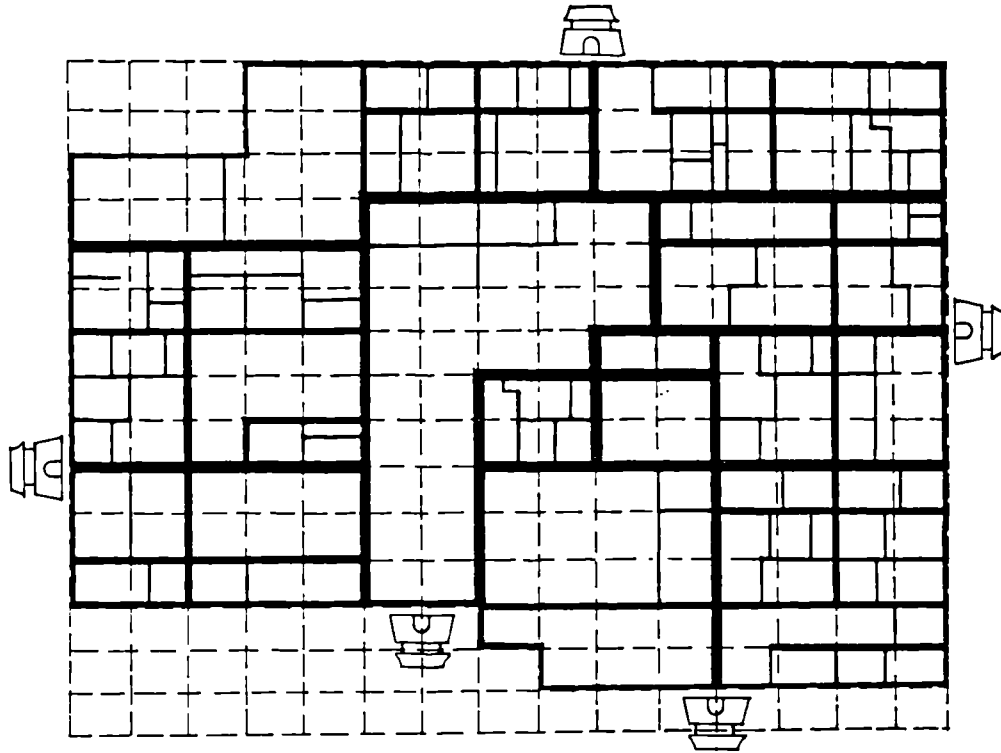
²⁸ See 'Local Capitals', Section 3.2 in this Chapter.

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The climate and social hierarchical considerations in fenshui directed that the large buildings were so located that they would benefit from the best access from the main street, sun light, ventilation and so forth, yet still provide good positions for the small courtyard houses on the east side of the block. These arrangements, seen in the case of the Confucian Temple and the Great Mansion, and the Yan Temple and the Yan Mansion, demonstrated the harmonious relationship between the important public buildings and less important private ones.



7-18. a) The proportion of the city blocks.



7-18. b) A regularised city structure and its controlling grids.

Fig. 7-18: An analysis of the city structure of Qufu.

4 NEW DEVELOPMENT

In the previous three Sections, it has been demonstrated that despite the important historic characteristics of the city and the underlying traditional planning principles, the developments from the 1950s to the late 1970s destroyed many important parts of Qufu, and caused deterioration of the urban environment. Since 1978, along with the Economic Reforms, the Local Authority drew up new large-scale development and urban conservation plans, in the form of 1980 and 1985 Strategic Plans. The 1980 Strategic Plan was a milestone in Qufu's city conservation and development. For the first time the city had a Planning Department to look after its development and conservation as a whole. At last, the city seemed to have the will to consider the significance of its urban history and the architectural value of the splendid old buildings. Now theoretically all the new buildings, both in the old and the new areas, have to get planning permission from the city Planning Department. In consideration of the lack of professionals in town planning and architectural design, the Council invited a professor from outside to be the overall consultant for the city's development and conservation work. The following section discusses how the early strategic plan was brought into being.

4.1 Development and Conservation Planning in Qufu

Although Qufu saw its first general plan for development and conservation in 1958 during the 'Great Leap Forward', this plan was only a draft. In 1966 before the Cultural Revolution, a conservation plan was made for the old city, yet it was never implemented because there was no Planning Department to execute it. Then the political situation during the Cultural Revolution halted all conservation work, but since 1978, with the political changes and the new economic development policies from Central Government, city planning and conservation work has again returned to the agenda. The new plan for the development and conservation in Qufu began in 1979. During that summer, the Council invited some of the nation's well-known experts to consult with them. Among them the most important figure was Professor Wu Liang-yong, the Director of the School of Architecture and Town Planning of Qing Hua University in Beijing, whose talks with

officials and local politicians provided the basis for today's Strategic Plan. In the following pages, the main recommendations by Professor Wu are summarised.

The designation of Qufu as a Listed city, Professor Wu stressed, was in the recognition of its cultural and historic value. In order to open the minds of the politicians and professionals, Professor Wu introduced them to some world wide examples which included:

(1) How European governments conserved their county's heritage through legislation such as in Britain. (2) How conservation of vernacular architecture and historic villages was supported by voluntary bodies such as the English National and Civic Trusts, and (3) How 'listed' cities were divided into different circles of controlled areas such as in Paris.

He also summarised some lessons learnt from other cities in China and noted that there were two basic and opposed attitudes toward the conservation of China's heritage; some thought the past was priceless and should be preserved; others saw the past as a 'dirty legacy' which should be left to its natural deterioration. On the question of tourism he suggested that Qufu should combine any plans for the development of tourism with the famous Taishan Mountain only 90 km away to the north of Qufu. Pursuing this line of thought, '... traditional handicraft industries', he said, 'should be revitalised to encourage the city's economy'. He went on to stress that '... proper estimates of the population capacity of the various scenic spots was very important, both for the development of new tourist attractions and for the preservation of heritage sites'. Finally, he strongly recommended that '... the local people's interests in the city should not be diminished by tourist development'.

Professor Wu's initial suggestions would obviously impact on future policies. The designation of Qufu as a 'cultural heritage city for tourism' implies the general direction of its future development, and this is now officially regarded as the corner-stone of city planning and architectural design. His recommendations were as follows:

First of all, the existing city should be considered as the centre of development. The western part of the old city with the existing Teacher Training College should be planned for educational use. The area between the city and the Confucian Cemetery, i.e. Konglin, should not be developed due to its archaeological importance. The Quyan highway cut through the southern suburb areas, not far

from the old city; this highway would limit the city's development to the south; the eastern suburb, therefore, was the only potential area for development²⁹. This situation would therefore require two new east-west roads outside the city, to solve the traffic problems. At the same time, the old city centre should be pedestrianised.

Secondly, the old north-south axis could be strengthened by including the Cemetery in the north and the Xuequan Snow Spring in the south, where spa water had recently been discovered. Environmentally, Qufu was quite a dry place; it would be good for the city to have more green fields and water. The moat around the city wall should be encircled by a green belt, and the Gupan Lake be connected to the moat. Moreover all the historically important cyprus trees along the streets should be preserved by controlling the traffic.

Thirdly, planning control should focus on the *size* of the new buildings and regulate of building *heights*, as well as considering the usage of the buildings and their surroundings. Factories that caused air or noise pollution should be removed from the city centre. At the same time the 'rural' population inside the city, should be relocated, and the cleared spaces used as green sites. The historical *wholeness* of the city was very significant. Any new buildings should be sympathetic to the Temple, the Mansion and the Cemetery etc. and not compete with the existing harmonious environment.

Fourthly, the lessons from the past errors, Professor Wu stressed, had to be learnt. The slogan of 'Overwhelming the Confucian Temple' by massive buildings, such as the three-storey bookshop by the Gulou and the bulky cinema near the Yan Mansion were a mistake and totally out of place. Good architectural design should integrate with the surroundings. Professor Wu approved the design for the square which had been planned around the Drum Building Gulou in the city centre. But the scale of the square should be in proportion to the height of the Drum Building. In the old city any new buildings should follow the existing local traditions which were characterised by pitched roofs and courtyards. In the new areas the buildings should be designed in more modern styles in order to make a contrast with the old city.

²⁹ At that time, there was not yet any archaeological discovery in the east of the city.

Fifthly, as far as tourist development was concerned, two alternatives were suggested:

(1) to concentrate tourist services in order to manage them more easily; (2) to distribute them near the scenic spots; (3) since Qufu was a small city the volume of international tourists would be limited, so no large specialist shops were needed; (4) the Gupan Lake area was proposed as a new tourist attraction by restoring the long since vanished xing-gong, an Imperial Palace and with a pavilion on the tiny island in the lake. (5) The southern side could be developed as the site for a luxury hotel. Since the conversion of the west part of the Kong Mansion into a hotel was a favourite place with international tourists, the new hotel should well be designed the traditional style.

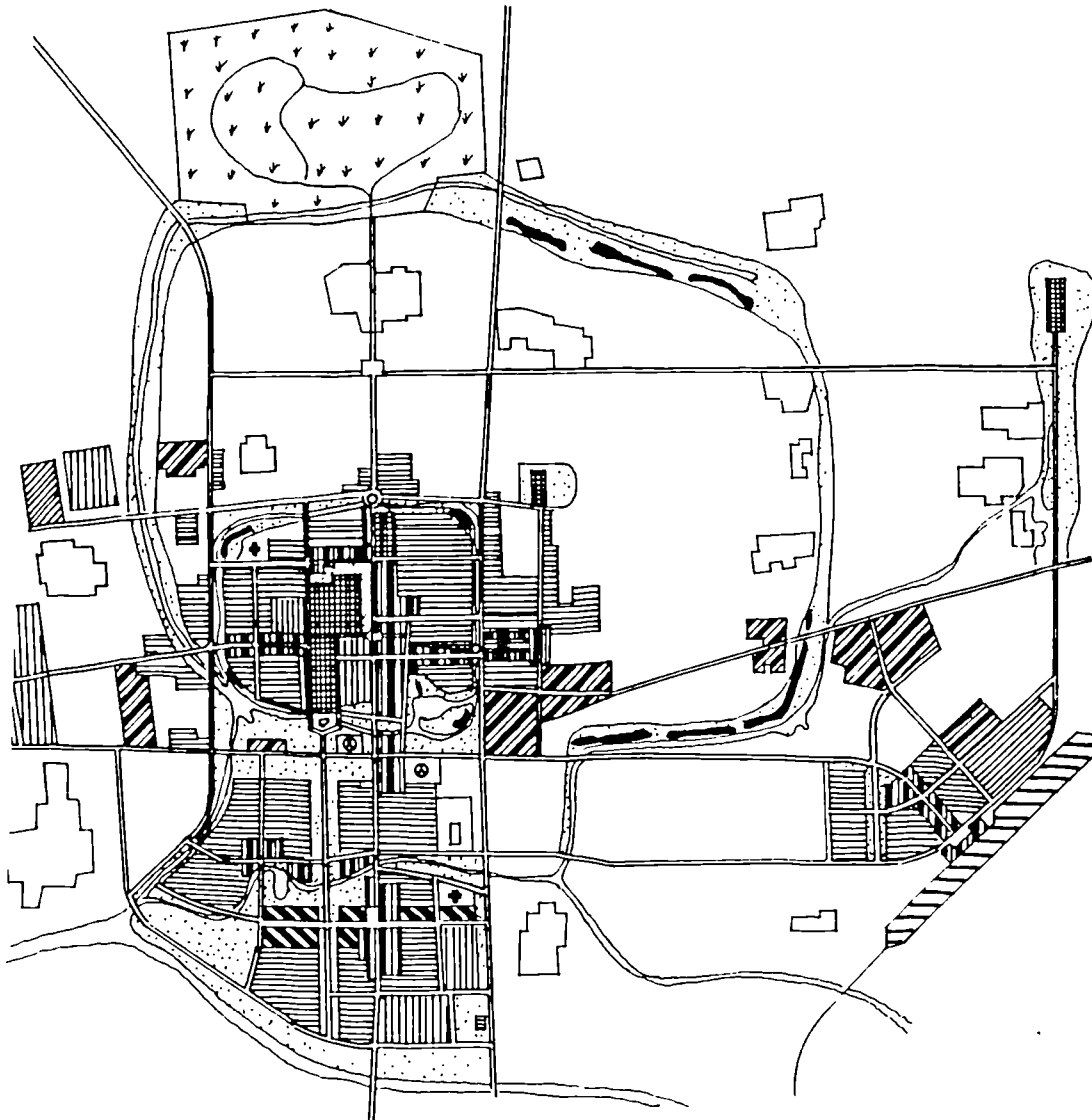
Most of the recommendations and suggestions by Prof. Wu were incorporated into the first draft of the Strategic Plan in 1980, which was approved by the Provincial Government in the autumn of 1982. According to this Strategic Plan, by 1985 there would be 40,000 inhabitants, and the city would cover 3.8 sq.km. By the year 2000 the population would have increased to 65,000 and the city would occupy 6.0 sq.km. But in the old city, the population was planned to remain under 25,000³⁰.

The city structure was proposed, as Professor Wu suggested, so that the old city would be the centre, with the new living and institutional area in the east, education services in the west, and no development around Konglin in the north, nor around the Xuequan Snow Spring area in the south. Tourist services would be located outside the old city and in the south-east. The chemical factory would be removed far away from the city to the eastern mountain area. All the undesirable building uses would be removed from the city centre.

The existing road system would be kept, largely without any big changes but some roads, such as north Gulou Street and Lindao Street, were to be widened. All the important historic buildings and sites should be restored. The traditional house style in the old city should be retained. All the new buildings in the old city should be lower

³⁰ 'The Permission of the "Qufu City Strategic Plan" by Shandong Provincial Government, 9 October 1982, and 'The Report to the Ministry of Town and Country Development and Conservation' by Shandong Provincial Planning Department, 18 September 1985.

than the Gulou i.e. the height of the eaves of the Drum Building, which is 7.92 meters above the ground, and this height was to be used in the old city. The eastern part of the city centre was planned as a new 'traditional' shopping street.



- Industry; Warehouse; Civic, shopping; Offices;
Educational; Residential; Transportation; Archaeological sites.

Fig. 7-19: The Development and Conservation Plan - 1985.

Source: Qufu City Planning Department, 1986.

In the new area, the main streets were planned to be 24 to 30 metres in width, and parking spaces were to be considered in those areas between the old and the new

city. Green belts of some 20 metres in width were planned along the two banks of the Yi and Zhuzi rivers. At the same time the sites of the previous city wall were to be planted as a continuous belt-shaped park.

While further detailed plans and planning documents were prepared as the District Council required them in order to report to the Provincial Government, the archaeological discoveries in the eastern suburb of Qufu in 1983 brought some considerable changes to the 1982 Strategic Plan. From 1984 to 1985, the Plan was revised and approved by the Provincial Government. In the 1985 revised Strategic Plan, the new development area was shifted to the southern suburb beyond the Quyan highway. This time a master plan for Qufu's conservation and development was produced with very detailed written explanations. In the autumn of the same year a special committee was established to implement the 1985 Revised Plan (see Fig. 7-19). Since then conservation and development have been undertaken on a great scale.

4.2 Planning Agencies in Qufu

Before the complexities of city building in Qufu are discussed in detail, it might be helpful to first understand how the local planning system works, and how different organisations relate to one another. Since in China Planning Law does yet not properly exist, the first draft was only issued in November 1989, observation of the planning system can only be understood by looking at each locality.

Modern town planning in the city of Qufu is relatively recent. After the city was designated as Listed in the early 1980s, a town planning system was established. Although the town planning system is new, the conventional building process has always existed, and this is now working under the control of the new system. In reality current town planning and city building in Qufu are a hybrid of the conventional building system and modern town planning practices.

Town planning activity in Qufu is governed by the activities of a number of its departments. Firstly the City Planning Department is meant to be the official organisation for all development and conservation projects. They make decisions concerning land use and development control with its own design group. The Planning Department is completely under the leadership of Qufu's City Council; in a way, the

Mayor can easily influence the planning and city building process, but at the same time, the Department has to listen to both demands of the Provincial and Central Governments. This higher governmental involvement in Qufu is more frequent than in other ordinary cities because of its national importance.

Not only politically are the City Council and its Planning Department 'fragile' in the whole bureaucratic system, but they are also inexperienced in the practice of 'modern town planning' methods. The disastrous changes to the city before the early 1980s have demonstrated now it needs more help at the intellectual level to make the right decisions on technical matters. In the current situation, Qufu City Council and its Planning Department are subject to pressure from two outside groups. As usual in modern China, politicians are hardly challengeable by the professionals; this situation often makes both the experts and the Council feel powerless to make the best decisions. They both also complain about the inconsistent policies coming down from the above. However, at the same time, the outside professionals suffer from a lack of a deep understanding of the city and its current needs. Local planning officers are inexperienced and have inadequate training. The gulf between the politicians and the professionals has helped to undermine Qufu's planning success.

The second is the city's Civil Engineering Department, which is responsible for the infrastructure and the city's environment as a whole, and certainly that of the new developments. In this sense, the Civil Engineering Department holds the real power in the city building process. This is especially so since it was appointed by the City Council to look after Comprehensive Development through the newly established municipal 'Comprehensive Development Company' (CDC) which is the most powerful 'branch' of the Civil Engineering Department. As mentioned in first two Chapters, 'comprehensive development' is a new notion in city construction and economic development in China's urban economic reform. Now nearly every city has this kind of semi-autonomous development company. In Qufu in recent years several big projects have been completed by the CDC. As a developer, it finds the financial resources, organises builders and puts the properties on the market, but all the projects are 'steered' by the City Council.

Between the Planning Department and the Civil Engineering Department, the level of cooperation seems to be inadequate. They each hold quite different views about urban conservation; the Planning Department is more keen on rebuilding the vanished

parts of old Qufu, such as the city wall, the mansions, etc., while the Civil Engineering Department is more interested in injecting new blood into the old tissues of the city in order to meet future needs, both functionally and aesthetically. Since the Civil Engineering Department is the actual organisation which directly looks after development in the city, it has more control over the project designers. With the less important projects they will do the actual design themselves. Therefore, the Planning Department often feels powerless over new developments in the city, unless the location of the sites has been decided by them.

The third organisation is the city's Cultural Relics Protection Bureau. In conjunction with the Planning and the Civil Engineering Departments, the Bureau may be the most autonomous organisation in the city because of its direct links with the national 'Cultural Relics Protection Bureau'. Furthermore, the national importance of the Confucian buildings naturally give the Bureau substantial power in Qufu's city planning decision-making. It has its own ideas for returning parts of the city either to their former glory, or making them more 'historic looking' in order to create more tourist fantasies.

The fourth is the Housing Development Company; this Company is also a newly established organisation, according to the Central Government's policy for urban reforms also to fulfil *comprehensive development* in the city. The central task of the Housing Development Company is to improve housing provision by a housing-commercialisation process. In general, however, the buyers are mostly the public Works Units, where the employees are subsidised, private buyers are far fewer. In the case of Qufu it mainly provides public employees with flats. The first project was the new Yihe Residential Area, where most of the people recently moved to from the old city because of the excavation of the moat. The Housing Development Company is under the control of the Planning Department for planning permission over issues such as the standard for building density and distance, building lines, and so on. The design of the housing is produced by the design group of the Planning Department.

Finally, in the private and small scale collective sectors, the Builders Committee plays an important role. The Builders Committees are more or less traditional in style. In the current Chinese administrative system, cities are divided geographically into

several areas which are looked after by neighbourhood committees. In the rural areas this kind of committee is a basic working unit, and usually has its own construction workers. After the Economic Reforms, the construction workers mostly transferred to commercial builders who provide the service for numbers of their own as well as others' committees. In Qufu most of the private houses are built by numbers of the Builders Committee. The lucky owners who can afford to build their houses use this organisation because it saves getting involved with too much bureaucracy.

The Builders Committee basically works in two ways. First is the piecemeal house building and rebuilding in the old areas. The builders will come to the site without any designs on paper; they just ask the owner what materials and form of house they want; the builder works on the design of the owner's idea. The limitations to the design will be from the city's Planning Department. The second kind of restriction is from the immediate neighbouring householders. They will want to know if the new house will affect theirs concerning daylight, privacy, and ownership rights. But they will also look at the plans using fenshui as a basis. The negotiations from the immediate neighbouring householders can be very complicated.

Secondly, the new houses in the new areas are dealt with in a different way, where the plot sizes are standardised by the city Planning Department. Here each residents committee tends to have its own standardised housing type which the buildings have to follow.

However, for one reason or another the Planning Department has failed to exercise control over the whole area, except in respect of the height. Since most of the people removed from the old city have been relocated in their own committee-owned agricultural land, the Committees have more power to decide how to build than anybody else. Although plot sizes set, Committees can still build so that the roads are left as narrow as possible, and public open space is considerably reduced. Here maximum speed and space are the only criteria which count.

So far the planning system in Qufu has been analysed, and the city building process has been outlined. Hopefully this will provide the reader with a view of the different organisations involved, and thus help to set the later more specific analysis in context.

4.3 Ten Years of Action

Development *and* preservation can be a complicated process, and have lasting effects on the city's social, economic and political future as well as on individuals' lives. Planning decision-making in Qufu appears not to involve public participation. The media is used for this top-down process to inform people of the Strategic Plan projects that require their cooperation. Much has previously been said about the plans for development and preservation in Qufu, but this can be summarised as two major issues:

- (1) to reduce the density in the old city in order to release more land for tourist development, and
- (2) to develop the new city area to accommodate the relocated people and some new development.

In the last few years developments in the new areas have been mainly the result of relocation of old city neighbourhoods; therefore we can say that, conservation and new development have been linked to each other.

First of all Qufu City Council allocated 480,000 yuans to build new roads for the developing areas. Since 1985 according to the Master Plan, 23 office buildings with a further 42,000 sq.m under-construction have been relocated in the new areas, with some 1.26 million yuans both from the Government and the Local Authority. By the summer of 1989 only 65%, i.e. 27,000 sq.m of that had been finished. Additionally, two new residential areas have been set up for more than 1,000 families.

Inside the old city several streets have been rebuilt with many new shops and restaurants designed in the traditional style. Some Listed buildings have been restored. At the same time, numbers of more humble buildings, that surrounded the walls of the Confucian Temple and the Kong Mansion were removed as they were regarded as incompatible with the monuments by the city's planners. These buildings previously provided more than 200 householders with 35,000 sq.m floor space represented by 1,750 'jians' or rooms. The author is bound to ask on what ground these were as incompatible.

The reconstruction of the moat was probably the largest project since the 1985 Plan. It had been badly maintained after the demolition of the city wall in 1977. Not only had many parts of it been filled in with buildings, but the water was badly polluted. After the 1985 Revised Plan, Qufu City Council began to restore the moat and built it into a green park. The work started with the demolition in March 1987 of the buildings

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which included housing, offices and factories on the sites, and involved thousands of labourers from surrounding villages. The whole work was divided into two phrases, and completed in July 1989. While the reconstruction of the moat was still on the way to be completed, some comprehensive developments had already been started. Wumaci Shopping Street was the boldest development by public and private enterprise in the old city. The whole project includes buildings totalling 34,600 sq.m. At the same time, the tourist industry has grown dramatically, as a result thousands of jobs have been provided and hotels have doubled compared with five years ago.

Environmentally, greening the built-up areas of Qufu is one of the main tasks defined by the 1985 Plan in order to improve the city. In recent years Qufu City Council have set up a campaign 'to green the bare yellow earth', and have planted many trees and grasses, both in and around the old city. According to the Council's report, by the summer of 1989 25% percent of the old city area had been greened, and now the green areas have reached 127,500 sq.m, which means that in the city of Qufu the ratio of 'green space' to each person is about 2.3 sq.m.

As in any other Chinese city, housing development is one of the main aspects of city building. Recently housing commercialisation programmes have been introduced to Qufu to provide homes for the employees of public sectors in the city. By mid 1989, commercial housing had provided 52,000 sq.m of new housing with an average standard of 16 sq.m per person³¹ in the new western residential area. In addition there are four low density residential areas which have been set up and scattered outside the old city to accommodate the relocated population, including a number of private houses. By 1989 public housing had reached 130,000 sq.m of floor space with approximate 2,600 dwellings. Obviously, this has increased many people's living space.

In the last few years, Qufu City Council has put much effort into stimulating retailing activity in the city by creating new markets. Lucheng Market alone provides 2,750 sq.m indoor shopping space plus a number of cellars to over 3,000 retailers. At the same time, other basic services such as electricity and water supply have been increased, the latter from 2500 ton/day to the present 16,000 ton/day. In the city area there are

³¹ This standard is three times of the average national urban housing standard of 6.6 sqm/person, and close to that of 17.2 sqm/person in rural areas. 'People Daily' the overseas edition, 30 November, 1990, p.1.

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4,000 householders and 240 public working places that are provided with potable tap water. Streets and lanes have been upgraded in different ways, such as lighting, cleaning street-fronts, and paving surfaces in the important areas.

The environmental sanitation of the city has also been improved. Now there are 200 workers and 60 assistants from different neighbourhoods who work for environmental sanitation. The daily waste is regularly collected from different spots. In order to control and reduce the water, air, and noise pollution, the City Council has issued a directive to charge factories that cause pollution, and at the same time to order certain group of factories to move out from the city and from other nature conservation areas. Now the payment by factories of compensation for causing pollution has become one of the main financial resources for the City Council's environmental improvement work.

All these methods of development and improvement have been increasingly used to demonstrate the 'great progress' in city building by the Local Authority. The Mayor of Qufu has used these environmental improvement as a measure of success and achievement in office. Problems, as usual, however, are always hidden from the public by the politicians. In the meantime, professionals such as planners and architects hardly have any real power to criticize - if they intend to at all. Moreover their outdated ideas of modern planning actually helped the current situation in the city. It is the purpose of the next chapter to investigate the pressing issues in city building and conservation in Qufu by further detailed research into the current practice and policies.

Chapter Eight

RESEARCH: DEVELOPMENT AND CONSERVATION IN QUFU

In the last Chapter, the city of Qufu was comprehensively introduced together with the important issues concerned in this case study; these include the current planning policies and practices in city building. The formation of historic Qufu and its underlying planning and architectural principles were analysed, and the recent planning policies for development and conservation were reviewed; these were mostly inspired by Professor Wu Liang-yong's initial comments at the end of the 1970s. Additionally the local planning system was examined in order to frame the general picture of current town planning policies and practices, and the consequent actions scanned. In this Chapter a more detailed analysis is made by investigating the problems inherent in these policies and practices in Qufu. The previous brief description of the recent changes in the city, highlighted three major vehicles needed to fulfil the long-term development and conservation plan; these are population relocation, restoration of the monuments and new residential and commercial development, both in and outside the old city. But behind them are the pressure of tourism and conservation, and as a result the provision of new hotels, shopping facilities, the restoration of historic sites and the rebuilding of vanished historic items are the most important building projects being undertaken.

In this Chapter, these three aspects of development and conservation are followed as the direct route to tackle the main problems of the current policies and practices, both at city and neighbourhood levels, since any readjustment of the policies relating to them will have a crucial impact on the city's future. Additionally, a comprehensive

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architectural assessment of the current practices is also provided, and lastly some recommendations proffered for future development and conservation.

Qufu's economic development plans both for the short and long term were made in accordance with the Central and Provincial Government's economic development policies; these have determined Qufu's development in terms of tourism, trade, industries and agriculture. But Qufu had historically been a small city heavily dependent on its agriculture; in 1988 Qufu's industrial output was only just over half of its total output. To encourage economic development the Provincial Government introduced a preferential policy for Qufu, enabling the City Council to use its annual tax of over 10.0 million yuans to improve and develop the city, rather than hand the revenue to the provincial government¹. Even so Qufu's annual output is low and most of it has to be allocated to cover the city's labour costs², as well as expenditure on agriculture, education and other items. Therefore in the end there is not much money left to be used on the city's construction.

Financially Central Government policy encourages productive construction investments and tightly controls non-productive projects. The latter (except factories, etc which could borrow bank loans) can only get funding from the City Council; in the new area they include housing, municipal offices and hotels, so funding the new projects is a heavy financial burden for the City Council to bear.

Generally speaking Qufu's plan for economic development *followed* its physical planning. Although the 1985 Plan included some short studies of natural and economic resources of the whole city region, including industry and agriculture, the brief and vague recommendations on future development were inappropriate to cope with the recent rapid physical changes. Since tourism and restoration of the physical historic items were regarded as the first priority for the future development, most of the new development and restoration works were carried out without sufficient socio-economic consideration. In 1980 it was initially planned that the whole new southern area would be completed

¹ An interview with an officer in the Economic Development Planning Committee, city of Qufu, May 1989.

² Qufu has only recently been improved as a city, however the total industrial output in the whole Qufu County was only 144 million yuans in 1985, which just equated to that of Rizhao - one of the smallest cities with a population less than ten thousand in Shandong Province - in the same year. See Cities and City Building in Shandong Province, 1987, p.474, p.640.

in *ten* years, and this was reinforced in the 1985 Plan. But now it seems impossible to realise the development plan either economically or physically.

The City Council can not predict when it can be achieved, and is searching for any efficient way to get funding to complete the work. For the last few years, the so-called 'comprehensive development' has been applied as a mechanism to develop the city with self-funding. But the ambitious large-scale renewal programme for the city overlooked the socio-economic foundation, with the result that construction thus goes far beyond the actual needs; both new hotels and shops are over-supplied. Nevertheless, in order to support new development elsewhere and this chaotic situation the City Council has had to resort to these supposedly more profitable 'comprehensive development' projects.

Most of the developments in the new area are in fact the result of the population relocation programmes, either caused by restoration work or projects associated with shopping and tourism. In other words, their redevelopment in the new area are not due to their own internal economic dynamics but rather due to the imposed force of long term physical planning. Insufficient Central Government funds often mean a terrible financial burden for the Local Authority and Work Units.

The new developments are facing serious management problems. The long-term large-scale plans require a high degree of coordination, but in reality each unit does things in its own way; for example, the City Council may wish to channel some money from the non-emergency projects into infrastructure work on the sewage system in the city, while the Work Units are more concerned in the short term about extending or rebuilding their own premises. Therefore the gap between the plans and the practice has becomes wider and caused the city many socio-economic and environmental problems.

1 RELOCATION, RESTORATION AND ENVIRONMENTAL ENHANCEMENT IN QUFU

1.1 Population Relocation: Policies and Practices

According to the 1985 Plan, which revised the earlier Plan of 1981, the city would be extended in the south near the old city, and at the same time the old city would be improved by restoring the important historic sites and by redeveloping the undesirable parts. All these measures rely on one major policy to relocate two-fifths of the city's population, i.e. more than 20,000 citizens, out to the new area in the south, in order to give more space for conservation and development projects and to try to establish a new balance in favour of the tourists and against the residents. Since 1981 five large projects have been undertaken: the construction of the Queli Hotel, the Wumaci Shopping Street, the Agriculture Bank, Houzhuo Street and the rebuilding of the city moat. This has resulted in more than one thousand families being moved to the new area. In the near future, a whole neighbourhood block at the Gupan Lake Area will be cleared for the reconstruction of vanished historic buildings.

Below are listed the number of families which were moved to make way for each project:

Table 8-1: The number of families that were relocated from the old city.

Queli Hotel:	- 150
City Moat rebuilding:	- 780 ³
Wumaci Shopping Street:	- 57
Agriculture Bank:	- 100
Houzhuo Street:	- 55
<hr/>	
Total	1,142

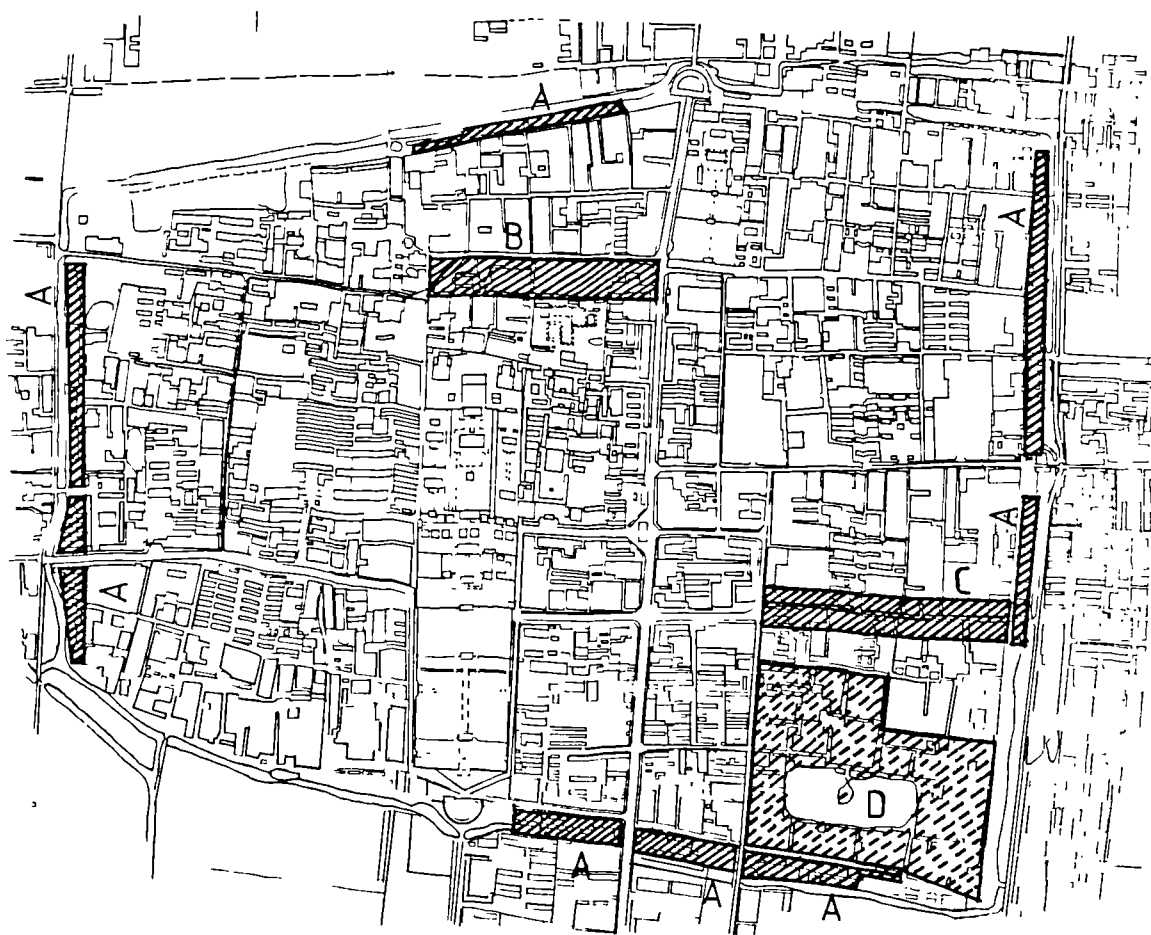
Note: Source: Qufu City Council, 1989.

The general process of relocation comprises four steps. Firstly, the City Council decides which area is to be cleared. Secondly, a building and social survey is taken of each family to determine the value of their present property and to decide the amount of land required for their relocation. Thirdly, the Council draws up an agreement and the owners and tenants sign it. Lastly, the Council supervises the implementation of the

³ These exclude 24 Work Units such as offices, institutions and their dormitories.

agreement and at the same time pays the owners compensation by instalments, in order to guarantee that the residents really do move.

Since 1986 two documents guiding the relocation work have been produced by the City Council. The first one was issued in 1986, and the revision in 1988. The current relocation policies are based on the second revision. This includes a standard building survey form which details the property on the existing site, and the value of compensation each item deserves. In addition, some sophisticated policies are also issued, which include the standards of compensation, land management for relocation, and the arrangement of employment for those who have lost their jobs during the relocation, etc.⁴.



A: Buildings demolished in the Moat Restoration Project; B: Buildings demolished in the Houzhuo Street Restoration Project; C: Buildings demolished in the Wumaci Shopping Development; D: The greater part of the Gupan Lake neighbourhood, planned to be demolished in the near future.

Fig. 8-1: The sites of the major relocated neighbourhoods in Qufu.

⁴ See Appendix 7, 'Relocation Policies'.

Since 1981 the majority of the residents from the demolished areas have been relocated in the new area surrounding the old city to the west and south, according to the Plans of 1981 and 1985. The City Council asked every neighbourhood community to organise the rehousing of those who would be removed from the city centre. Three years ago Qufu was a town with over twenty thousand *rural* inhabitants living in the city. Even today there are still many rural community units i.e. the previous People's Communes inside the city which are the elementary unit for organising agricultural activity. There are also many urban neighbourhood communities which arrange the day-by-day activities of their members. While the latter were relocated on the planned new residential areas, all the rural population located in the areas such as Queli Street, Houzhuo Street and Wumaci Street was rehoused on their *own* community farming land outside the city. In some cases arrangements were made to pay compensation to the original owners of the planned relocation areas, so that they would allow members of other communities to relocate there. This was very complicated as jobs and land had to be provided, and sometimes it seemed easier to let rural communities relocate on land they already owned on sites which were not necessarily in the planned areas for relocation.

To rehouse the relocated people the City Planning Department produced two standard land sizes for each family unit, i.e. 13m x 14m = 182 sq.m/family for the rural-residents, and 11m x 13m = 143 sq.m/family for the urban ones. This land does not include the land for access roads.

The compensation varies from household to household according to the building survey form. Generally each single storey house of burn-brick and tile will receive 50 yuans/sq.m, while those of sun-dried-brick and straw roof received about 40 yuan/sq.m. From the author's investigations, inexplicably, compensation seems to be *relatively* better for the owners of a recently built property than for those of the older types. Most new property owners will be paid enough to build a new house but the older type property owners will only be paid half of the cost of their new house. In spite of there being only a few households with new and inevitably more expensive houses, most owners are reluctant to move due to the compensation being less than the real value of the property.

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For example, one family spent about thirty thousand yuans on their new house, but the compensation from the Council was only ten thousand yuans⁵.

Not only are the majority of residents short of money to build their new houses, but the public utilities are also facing a similar situation. For example, Qufu's Catering Trade Office - a four storey building of about 9,000 sq.m., which was built in the middle 70s, located just beside the Kong Mansion, has been ordered to be demolished by the State Cultural Relics Bureau because the building is out of scale. According to the 1985 Plan for Conservation, the style and arrangement of the surrounding buildings should be returned to their original design as part of the Kong Mansion. To relocate, the Catering Trade Office will only have 1.5 million yuans as compensation from the Central Government, about 40% of the total cost of the 3.5 million yuans needed to build a new office of 9,000 sq.m. How can the Catering Trade Office build their new premises with such meagre compensation when a bank loan has become very difficult to obtain in the last two years, because of the national financial crisis (*ya suo ji ben jian she*).

The relocation is a financial burden for the residents, the public utilities and the City Council itself. To rehouse the people, the Council had allocated a great amount of money for the basic services like water, electricity, and roads in the new area. Up to 1989 about some 0.1 million yuans had been spent on the these three basic services for just fifty-five families removed from Houzhuo Street. This means that the cost of the basic services for each family is about 1,800 yuans. In addition to this every householder has to pay at least 5,000 yuans to build a new courtyard house, and normally the compensation will only cover 50% of the cost⁶. In such a small city as Qufu where the economy is still not yet very well developed compared with other cities in the same province, the money being spent on implementing the policy of relocation is a huge amount.

However, the impact of large scale relocation has implications far beyond simple financial calculations; it deeply affects the city's economy as a whole, especially within its rural sector. The relocation and other new developments have used much precious

⁵ An interview with the Director of the Relocation Monitoring Committee in Qufu, May 1989.

⁶ *ibid.*, 1989.

agricultural land, therefore many farmers cannot make a living from their land any more. According to the local government's policy, farmers who have less than 0.02 hectares of land can be officially transferred to the 'urban population', so that they can buy food at the State controlled prices that are normally much cheaper than those of the free market. Also they will also tend to have more opportunities to find jobs in the city. Normally, people only like to be transferred to the urban population if they can find permanent jobs or good private businesses, so as to avoid their living standards dropping.

In the early 1980s, when Qufu's tourism had just started to develop, it was quite easy for the transferred farmers to find jobs. Now that the tourist industry has slowed down, at the same time, many services being over supplied; too many hotels, more than enough tourist transport, there are less and less opportunities for employment. Before the City Council and the Neighbourhood Communities provided 70% of the transferred farmers with different jobs, but under the above circumstances it is now hard for them to provide enough. All these difficulties appeared following the most recent relocation experience, that of Houzhuojie Street. One day the author visited the Municipal Relocation Office, and observed the heated disputes between different representatives of the would-be relocated neighbourhoods. The furious quarrels were very frightening: the neighbourhood representatives complained about the difficulties that relocation brought to their neighbourhoods and tried to bargain with the City Council for more money. While the Director of the Relocation Office, who was appointed by the City Council had to use his authority to insist that, although he did understand the actual problems in relocation but because all the decisions were made from above, he felt powerless to alter the situation. No doubt that all these difficulties will continue to be faced by the would-be relocated families in the future, if the Council continues to carry out its policies without the cooperation of the people.

1.2 City Conservation

As mentioned at the beginning of this Section, relocation is only the first step according to the 1985 Plan, it leads to immediate restoration of the vanished historic sites and the new commercial developments, mainly for the tourist industry.

Although restoration of the existing historic buildings has been taking place in Qufu since the late 1970s, much of the work was devoted to the most important historic listed buildings, including the Confucian Temple, the Kong Mansion, the Konglin Cemetery and

so on. Since Qufu was designated as a 'Listed Cultural Heritage City' in 1982 building restoration has been carried out by Qufu's Cultural Relics Protection Bureau. Now there are 280 employees, which include about 60 technicians, specialists and managers, who work on restoring historical relics. Additionally, more than 300 workers are employed on a temporary basis in restoration construction activity. In Qufu there are four sites listed by the State Council, 11 listed by the Provincial Government, 10 listed by the District Council, and 87 by Qufu City Council. The different restoration works are financed by different authorities. The annual allocation of funds from the State, Provincial Government and the District Council is about 3 million yuans. Besides that, Qufu's Cultural Relics Protection Bureau can earn 2.8 million yuans from the proceeds of all of the museums, and part of this money is used for the restoration work of the listed sites. By 1988 a total of more than 8.5 million yuans had been spent on restoration and the relocation projects associated with important listed historic sites in Qufu, and by the Chinese standard this is a great amount!

Nevertheless, at the city level it is the rebuilding of the several vanished historic sites that affect the city environment the most. Recently there were two such major restorations which have taken place; one is the rebuilding of the moat, and the other is the extension of the Flower Garden of the Great Kong Mansion. The first is the biggest of the large-scale restorations and much of this work has been completed, but the second has undergone a financial crisis and been suspended after the clearance of the old Houzhuo Street neighbourhood.

In 1985 Qufu City Council took the decision to rebuild the moat as the first major step to realise the Plan. Historically the moat was built in the early 16th century at the same time of the city wall, whereby the earth dug from the moat was used for its central layer. The whole moat was about five kilometres. After the demolition of the city wall in 1977, many new buildings were built on or beside the moat, consequently it became badly polluted. According to the 1985 Plan associated with the restoration of the moat there will be a belt shape park on both sides of it. In order to restore the moat many buildings on adjacent sites would have to be demolished, and the moat itself would have to be reconstructed. This needed a great deal of construction work.

There were two main obstacles to carrying out the project. The first came from the city's financial backwardness, such a large reconstruction work needed lot of money which the City Council could not afford. The second was the difficulty in the management of

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relocating the residents and the offices and factories from the sites, because the people were fed up with the uncertainty associated with city planning. As seen previously, town planning in Qufu in the first five years of the 1980s had been changing all the time. Any high official it seemed could somehow change the Strategic Plan. Most of the buildings along the moat were built only after 1977, but now they all had to be removed. People who were affected by the original relocation programme were really afraid that they would have to move yet again. This had actually happened to over *sixty* families removed a few years before from the *Queli neighbourhood block to the new southern area*, due to the development of the new Queli Hotel. The Council knew they had to convince the citizens through the local media and the neighbourhood committees that the 1985 Plan was made by many experts from all over the country, and the decision-making was not officially imposed; rather it was 'serious and scientific'.

In 1987 from March to April, 223 families and some factories and offices were removed, buildings with about 900 rooms were demolished. Then the City Council mobilised ten towns and villages in Qufu County to join the work for very low pay. On May 14th 1987, the moat reconstruction started with over 7,000 labourers from over all the county. The labourers worked extremely hard in poor working conditions. After only four months the first phase of the project was finished. It covered 2,275 metres, about 44.6% of the whole work. The second phase of the moat reconstruction started in 1988 and finished in late July of 1989. The whole reconstructed moat is 5,100 metres in length. The project took about 560,000 man-days, and included 37 cubic metres of earthwork and stonework. A total of 24 public working places and 780 householders were relocated from the sites. Buildings representing 3,300 rooms were demolished. At the same time many parts of the open space along the moat were planted.

Indeed it is very impressive that such a large construction project was completed in such a short time. But what has been the real achievement? Only one year later, the newly restored moat is polluted again! At the same time, since so many things are going on in Qufu, much work needed following the construction of the moat has been neglected, especially in the south and east parts. Thus the nearby neighbourhood is having to suffer from the unfinished living environment for a long time.



Fig. 8-2: The 'enhanced' south Gulou Street.

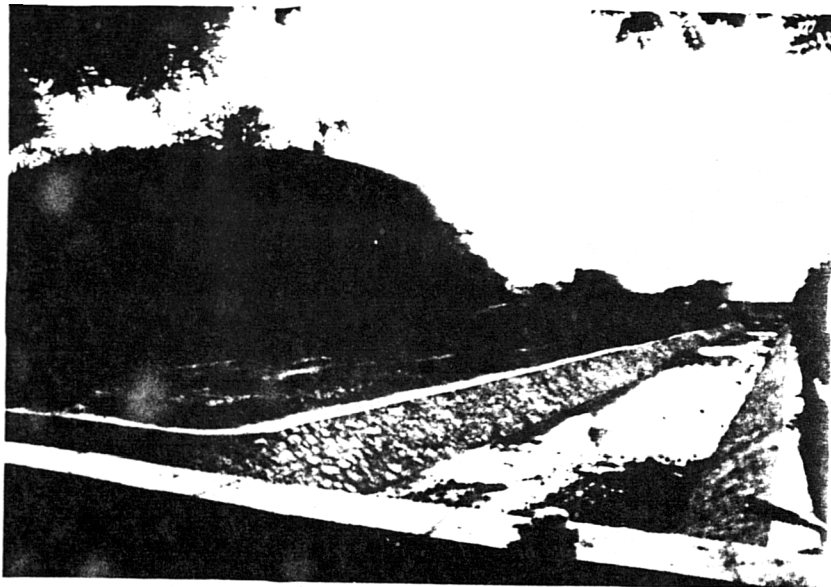


Fig. 8-3: The restored moat.

While the moat was restored, some parts of the city centre were 'improved'. Since the 1981 and 1985 Plans, some enhancement work of 'face cleaning' in Qufu has been carried out by the Council. Six main streets and sidewalks (totalling 6,700 meters) have been paved, while some new 'traditional' walls (2500 meters) and entrances and

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traditional shops (more than 230 Jians⁷ or 4,900 sq.m) were built along the existing streets, such as Gulouqian Street. Also some improvement work has been carried out in the many lanes (totalling 5,970 meters), whether by laying cement or bitumen pavements or by building new walls to hide undesirable buildings; most of these streets are associated with access to the city centre.

However, even the enhancement work is not simply a matter of improving the city dwellers' living conditions, rather it is often manipulated as a political target. This is vividly demonstrated by the 'City Enhancement Campaign' in 1987. Originally this campaign was organised by the Provincial Government as the 'Cities Environment Evaluation Campaign' in order to encourage every city in the Province to improve its appearance. But it was to be limited to the *middle sized* cities with urban populations of more than 100,000, which meant the cities would have sufficient financial resources to carry out the work. Although Qufu is only a small city, it took part in this campaign just because it is a nationally important conservation city. The requirement of the campaign was that every city which joined should at least enhance the appearance of a street of more than 1,000 meters. The enhancement included cityscape design, environmental sanitation, and planting.

Qufu City Council chose Gulou Street, where some work had already been done, to fulfil the requirement of the campaign. Not surprisingly they reached the required standard, and the 'achievement' in this campaign earned the city authorities considerable political merit! For sure, the street was improved through the campaign, but the problem was that this campaign, though suitable for middle sized cities, was not suitable for Qufu. As a small city, without either perfect sewerage or an underground electric cable system, it was not wise in the long term to spend huge sums of money simply to 'clean the face'. Also, financially the city of Qufu inevitably had to bear a heavier burden because it had less income than the middle sized cities. A year later, when the Provincial Government organised the campaign again, Qufu City Council did not join it because they could not even find a street which they could afford to raise to a suitable standard.

⁷ Jian is the Chinese word for one room. For example, one room is called one Jian.

2 TOURIST DEVELOPMENT IN QUFU

The demolition of the old neighbourhoods and the undesirable buildings of the officially defined important historic sites, are all strongly associated with tourist development. Also, the ambitious relocation and large scale restoration works are mainly influenced by the overestimated tourist development plan. Qufu's tourist resources are mainly related to its historic sites and buildings, and most of them are associated with Confucius and his descendants (see Fig. 8-4).

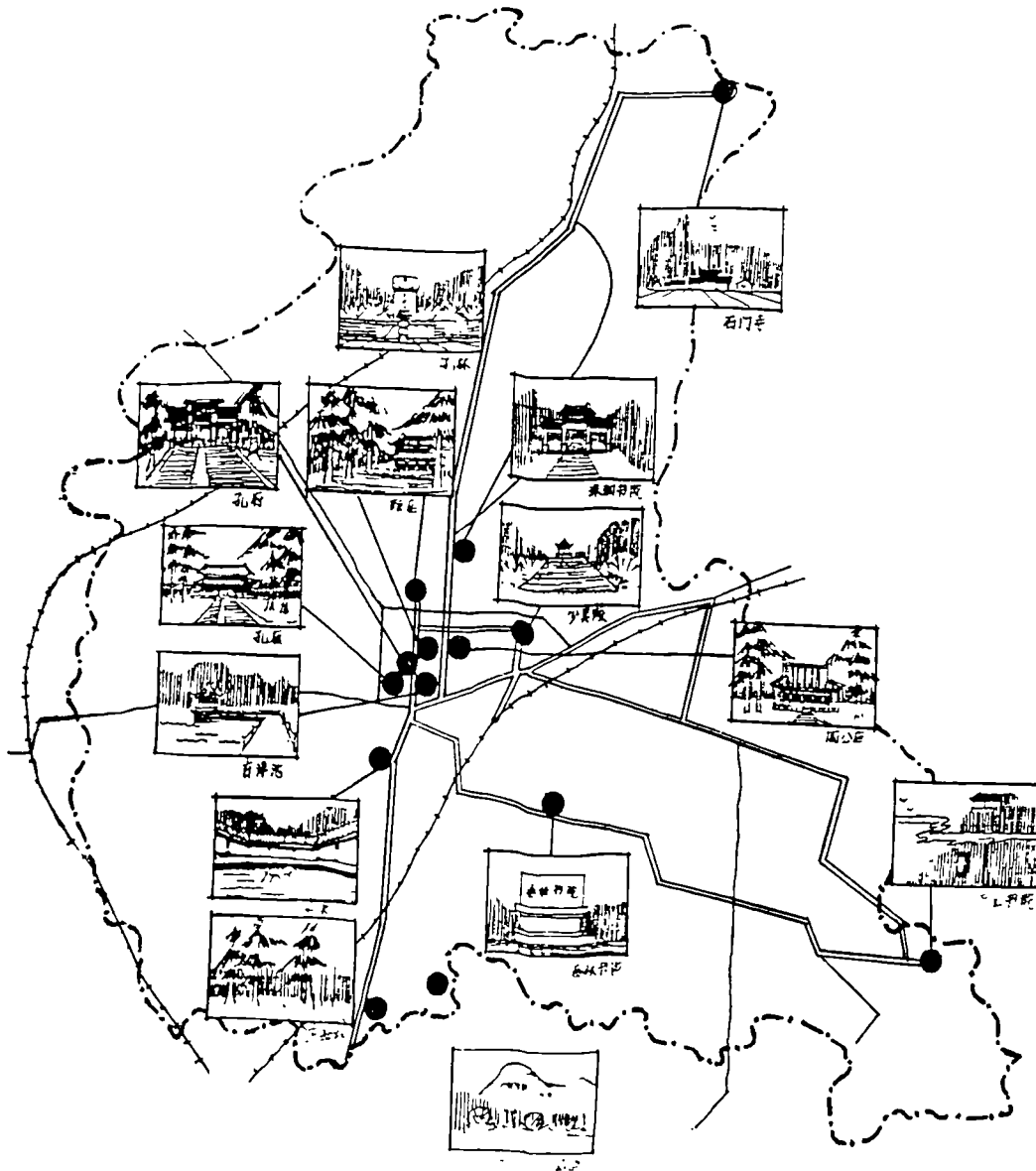


Fig. 8-4: Tourist Attractions in Qufu.

Source: The City Planning Department, Qufu, 1985.

These sites attract tourists from all over of the country and abroad. Moreover, Qufu is about 90 km south of the very popular tourist site of the Taisan Mountains, listed by UNESCO as a site of 'World Natural Heritage' in the early 1980s, and this brings more people to Qufu itself. Recently the annual 'International Confucian Festival', from late September to early October, has attracted many international tourists, and this contributes towards turning Shandong Province into one of the most popular tourist regions in China⁸.

2.1 The Plan for Tourism

In 1985 the Strategic Plan for Qufu defined tourism as the main theme for future development. At that time there were 33 tourist hotels with 3,300 beds, and the annual rate of occupation was only about 33.4%. In 1984 1.5 million tourists visited Qufu, but only 0.31 million of them took accommodation. According to the 1985 Plan, tourism should support Qufu's conservation and general development. This Plan divided Qufu's tourist sites geographically into four areas: the old city, the Ni Hill area, the Jiulong Mountains area, and the Shimen area. To encourage tourism in the city centre, the Council decided to restore some important monuments and architecture, at the same time building more local shops in this area. In the long term, the City Council planned to restore some vanished parts of old Qufu, including the rostrums of the north and south city gates, the four corners of the old city walls, the extending of the Gupan Lake area to a park, with the rebuilding of the old imperial palace 'Xing-gong', and some of the old mansions.

With the considerable potential tourist resources of the city region, Qufu City Council set up both short- and long-term development projects in the tourist industry. Their success was to be measured by the number of tourists and tourist income. Accordingly, the 'Tourist Development Plan for Qufu' was prepared in 1985⁹. It considered the fact that from 1979 to 1984 the annual increase in the number of tourists was 24.6%, and estimated that in the coming five years the rate of increase would be

⁸ See 'People's Daily' overseas edition, December 8, 1990, p.3.

⁹ Here the information is based on the appendix of the 1985 Plan, by Chai Bao-gui, June 1985.

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20%, and calculated that there would be 4.5 million visitors to Qufu by 1990. Thus it was projected that there would be 19.36 million national tourists between 1985 to 1990. If, as it was reckoned, each national tourist spent 8 yuans in Qufu, then the total income should be 36.4 million yuans; the element of pure profit, at an optimistic 25%, would be 9.1 million yuans.

In terms of international visitors, similarly based on previous rates of growth, it was forecast that there would be 130,000 international tourists between 1985 to 1990¹⁰. If the average expenditure per person in Qufu was US \$60, then the total income would be \$7.8 million, equal to 17.16 million Chinese yuans. If the profit margin was 30%, then the total profit would be 5.148 million Chinese yuans. Thus, the total gross income would be (36.4 + 17.16) 53.56 million yuans, with a nett profit of (9.1 + 5.14) 14.248 million yuans.

In the long run, i.e. by 2000, it is anticipated that 74.9 million national tourists will visit Qufu¹¹. If each person spends 20 yuans then the income will be about 1.5 billion yuans, with a profit of 375 million yuans (25%). As far as international visitors are concerned, it is expected that 0.9 million international visitors will be welcomed, and the total foreign exchange income will be about US \$90 million (based on the then exchange rate between the Chinese Yuan and US. Dollar of less than 3:1), equal to some 270 million Chinese yuans; with a profit margin of 81 million (30%)¹². Totally, the income may expect to be 1.77 billion yuans, with a net profit of about 456 million. These global estimates have to be carefully qualified, monitored and adjusted in practice, if they are not to give an inaccurate impression. It was not possible to check them with the official figures. But they help to give an order of magnitude to the potential for tourist income, for the small city of Qufu.

¹⁰ In the five years from 1979 to 1984, the increase in the number of international tourists was 27.3%. It was estimated that in the coming five years, the increase would be 30%, and in 1990 there would be 37,000 international tourists.

¹¹ This is based on the estimation of 4.5 million national visitors in 1990; with the increase rate of 8%, there will be 9.71 million tourists in the year 2000.

¹² Similarly, based on estimated 37,000 international tourists in 1990, and assuming that the rate of increase is 15%, then there will be 150,000 in 2000. Each international tourist is guessed to spend 100 dollars.

2.2 Tourist Developments

Under such a plan, tourism has and would continue to develop very quickly in Qufu, especially after the city was designated as a 'listed city for conservation' in 1982¹³. The Central and Provincial Governments have given Qufu a high priority for its tourist development. According to the Local Tourist Board, from 1979 to 1989, a total of 9,921 international tourist groups (74,061 persons), and 8,290,000 national tourists visited Qufu. In 1988 there were 13,661 international visitors, about 8 times more than in 1979. The increasing number of tourists has brought considerable income to the city. It had been 250 million Chinese yuans in the last ten years, which included a certain amount of foreign currency. The tourist income in 1988 was about 10% of the city's total income¹⁴. This result means that the short term plan for tourist development has been well realised in terms of income¹⁵. This phenomenon in turn has stimulated fresh investments in the tourist industry in Qufu. By 1988 the number of hotels had increased to 72, including 2 luxury ones which are open to international visitors, and in total there were 5,800 beds for tourist accommodation. Associated with tourism, means of transport, restaurants and retailing outlets have also increased in number. As a result, there are some 10,000 employees who are working in the small and large businesses associated with tourism¹⁶.

As can well be imagined, the rapid development of the tourist industry has strongly impacted on the socio-economic structure of Qufu. The expansion of the city has caused the loss of much agricultural land in the surrounding countryside; consequently many small farmers have lost their livelihood and have had to be officially transferred to urban population to live on the State priced food. The Local Authority has to encourage these new urban populations to find jobs in the expanding, private and collective sector tourist businesses. For example, the Queli Neighbourhood Committee was the first group relocated from the city centre, due to the reconstruction of the expensive Queli Hotel in the early 1980s. Now the whole community is rehoused in the new areas but on the

¹³ In February 1982, the Chinese State Council promulgated 'The First Group of Listed Culture Heritage Cities'. There are 24 such cities in all. See Section 1.3, Chapter Two.

¹⁴ 'A Review of Tourist Development in Qufu' by the Qufu Tourist Board, May 1989.

¹⁵ In 1988, inflation went above 25% throughout the whole country, when a market economy was imposed by the Central Government during the summer. If we consider the high rate of inflation, then the officially declaimed annual income of 65.00 million yuans from the tourist industry in 1988 has to be reduced to less than 50 million yuans in real value. This 50 million yuans is close to the projected 53.56 million in 1990.

¹⁶ Qufu City Tourist Board, 1989.

community's own previously favoured lands between Xiaoyi River and the Quyan highway. In order to provide this community with new jobs, the Neighbourhood Committee has had to build two hotels, some restaurants and other commercial facilities in the new area.

yuans (million)

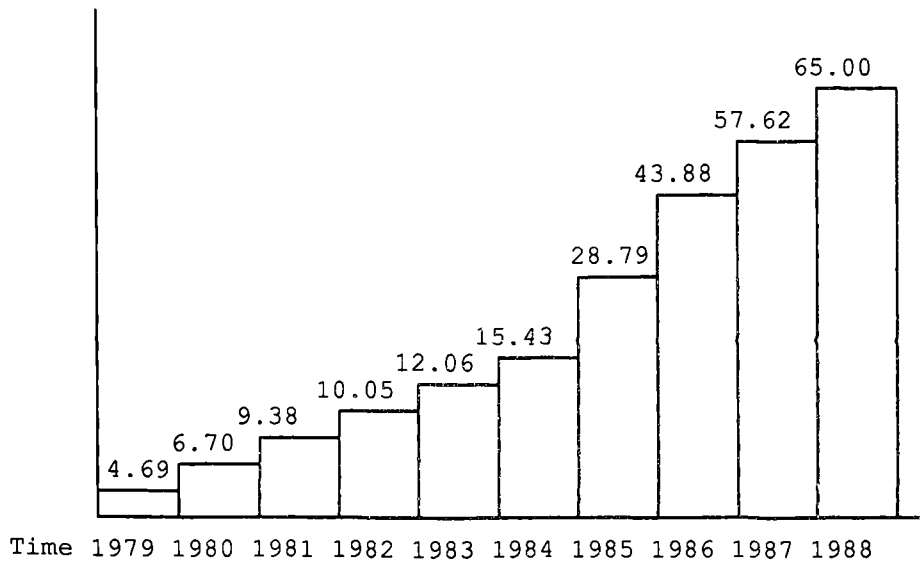


Fig. 8-5: Tourist income 1979 - 1988, stated in million Chinese yuans.

Source: Qufu Tourist Board, 1989.

Table 8-2: Number of tourists 1979 - 1988.

8-2 a. National visitors - A. (stated in millions)

Time	1979	1980	1981	1982	1983	1984	1985	1986	1987	1988
A	0.30	0.40	0.52	0.71	0.77	1.04	1.10	1.13	1.18	1.14

8-2 b. International visitors - B.

Time	1979	1980	1981	1982	1983	1984	1985	1986	1987	1988
B	1,733	3,442	5,175	5,392	6,735	7,533	9,420	10,105	10,868	13,661

On the other hand, the high profits from the tourist industry have attracted many enterprises both from the collective and private sectors in hotels, restaurants, or tourist shops along the tourist streets and sites. Taking the fancy horse-drawn carts and tricycles as an example, these two kinds of transport have been specially developed for tourists, and most of them provide services at the popular tourist sites. As a result, the

drivers can easily earn big money from the fun-seeking tourists. Although most of the drivers previously worked in farming, the considerable sum they earn during the high season can release them from any farming work for the rest of the year. The profitable business arising from this kind of tourist transport service has encouraged more competitors to join in. Since 1989 the Traffic Management Office in Qufu has introduced a primitive form of official control over the number of such businesses in the city. They divided the registered 21 carts and 300 tricycles equally into two groups, and each group can only work on every other day, in order to avoid over-provision and traffic congestion. Nevertheless, the drivers are still satisfied with their business which can earn them about 3,000 yuans a year, which is still much more than the income of most of the people.

2.3 An Evaluation of Socio-economic Effects¹⁷

Above all, it is the growing number of hotels which plays the major role in Qufu's tourist industries. Out of the total of seventy-two, two are luxury hotels¹⁸ especially for international tourists, ten are at the middle level with fairly good facilities, while the rest are very basic. Some hotels are run by the Provincial Tourist Board, some by different Work Units and Neighbourhood Committees under collective ownership. In order to investigate the trends and problems associated with the recent hotel development in Qufu, a survey was carried out by the author through structured interviews with the managers of 13 selected hotels; this was more than 18% of the total, both in the new areas and in the old city. The samples were so selected that: (1) all the three categories mentioned above were included; (2) since the proportion of hotels throughout the whole city built before and after 1985 is about 1:1.1, in the selected hotels this proportion was maintained.

In the new areas two large hotels, owned by the City Council and the local Business Association, and four community-owned middle and small-sized hotels were selected, and these also included both the middle and low level groups¹⁹. In the city centre the two best hotels for international tourists were selected for their specialities; the Queli Hotel

¹⁷ This Section is the summary of a survey carried out by the author in 13 selected hotels in Qufu. Four examples of the surveyed hotels are represented in Appendix 8.

¹⁸ They equate to Three or Four Star Hotels in the UK.

¹⁹ Small-sized hotels refer to those which consist of less than 30 rooms; the middle-sized ones to those of 30 to 100 rooms, and the larger ones to those which have more than 100 rooms.

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in a modern design with some concern for 'local style', and the Kong Mansion Hotel, a conversion of part of the great Kong Mansion which provides a more traditional environment. In addition to these in the centre, two middle level hotels of varying size, and three small, cheap hotels, were also selected²⁰. In the 13 sampled hotels, the proportion of the those built or opened before and after 1985 is 6:7 and very close to the ratio for the total number.

Table 8-3: The hotels surveyed in Qufu listed by size, 1980-1989.

Hotels	Started in	Owners	A	B	C	D	E	F	G
QS. Guest House	1988	Teachers Training College*	10	35	3.5	3-5	70%	10%	No
XH. Guest House	1980	Xinhua Bookshop*	14	65	4.6	3-3.5	90%	15%	No
YD. Guest House	1981	Postal Bureau**	16	48	3.0	4-6	80%	25%	Yes
Gulounan Guest House	1984	Agricultural Machinery Department*	20	71	3.6	3.5-6	85%	23%	No
DF. Hotel	1988	Film Distribution Cooperation**	26	68	2.2	12-30	85%	20%	Yes
WM. Guest House	1987	Military Headquarters*	30	100	3.3	2.5-8	85%	20%	No
Railway Guest House	1988	Railway Department*	31	86	2.8	3.5-18	100%	15%	No
Queli Guest House	1986	Queli Neighbourhood Community*	33	88	2.7	3-5	85%	33%	No
Queli Keyu Hotel	1981	Queli Neighbourhood Community*	34	110	3.2	2-5	70%	45%	No
Kong Mansion Hotel	1980	Provincial Tourist Board**	68	146	2.1	14-80	65%	25%	Yes
Lucheng Hotel	1988 ²¹	Business Association**	100	240	2.4	5-30	85%	25%	Yes
Qufu Hotel	1988	City Council**	104	276	2.7	8-45	37%	10%	Yes
Queli Hotel	1986	Provincial Tourist Board**	164	320	2.0	22-500	30%	20%	Yes

Note: A = The total number of rooms in the hotel.
 B = The total number of beds in the hotel.
 C = The average number of beds per rooms (beds/room).
 D = The range of prices per person per night (yuans/person per night).
 E = The occupation rate during the high seasons including early May and early October.

²⁰ In the new areas, the collectively owned hotels tend to be bigger than those in the city centre; obviously the development in the city centre of such hotels is limited by lack of land.

²¹ Lucheng Hotel was originally built in the old city centre in 1978, but it was removed to the new area in 1988. Thus it is classified as an hotel which was opened before 1985.

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- F = The occupation rate during the low seasons including most of the winter time of the year.
G = The authority to make investment decisions.
* = The community owned.
** = The State owned.

Source: the author's survey, May 1989.

In terms of the location, the survey pinpointed the focal areas with two exceptions, one was the Qufu Hotel, located in the rather isolated new area, the other was the WM Guest Hotel, in a quiet street between south Gulou Street and Nanmen Street. The reason for this choice was because most of the new hotels have been built in busy streets, and it is also common knowledge that there are too many hotels in Qufu. Thus the hotels in the focal areas should be the most representative examples to show the trend and problems of recent tourist development.

The structured interview included issues like the types of hotels, their employment resources, management and future trends, and the types of guests and their preferred accommodation, etc.²². By raising such questions the author hoped to discover the relationship between the quality of the hotels and their financial and economic backgrounds, and possible future conditions. In turn, the problems of the current city development policies in Qufu would be revealed.

As a result, it was found that the hotels could be classified into three groups with low, middle and high standards according to the prices of their accommodation. The low standard hotels tended to have prices ranging from 2 to 8 yuans/person per night. The accommodation of the middle standard hotels was usually priced from 5 to 45 yuans/person per night, and the high standard ones covered a price range from 14 to 500 yuans/person per night. In terms of the relationship between the standards of the hotels and their ownerships, the survey found that lower standard hotels were owned by the local Work Units or Neighbourhood Committees; the higher standard hotels were owned by either the Provincial or the City Government.

²² See Appendix 8, the examples of the recording of the structured interview.

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Although most of the hotels were fully occupied during early May and October²³, the annual occupation rate of the majority was still less than 35%. However, out of the 13 selected hotels, four had annual occupation rates of around 50% to 60%. Three of them were Work Units or Community owned cheap hotels. Of these, the first was a small hotel with only 48 beds called the Youdian Guest House, run by the local Postal Bureau; the second was the middle-sized Queli Keyu Hotel with 110 beds, run by the Queli Neighbourhood Committee. Their success was due to their unbeatable cheap accommodation, with a price range from 2 to 6 yuans/person per night. Thus their guests were mainly students, workers, and lorry drivers. The third was the Railway Guest House, run by the local branch of the National Railway Service i.e. Yanzhou Railway Department, providing middle and low standard accommodation of 86 beds, for conference delegates with prices from 3.5 to 18 yuans/person per night, guaranteeing a continuous stream of visitors to the hotel. The fourth was the luxury Kongfu Mansion Hotel, run by the Provincial Tourist Board, with 68 rooms and 146 beds in the converted west part of the Great Mansion. The majority of the visitors were businessmen, and though previously many international visitors had preferred this to other hotels, most of them were now being housed in the new Queli Hotel which is said to provide a better service to a higher standard.

The most unprofitable hotel was the State owned new Qufu Hotel, with 104 rooms, 276 beds, and 108 staff. It was relocated in 1988 from the city centre to its present site in the new area, but due to its out of town location, never well occupied, the guests were mainly conference delegates and public sector related businessmen. In contrast to the majority which could be fully occupied during the high seasons, the occupancy rate of the Qufu Hotel was only about 30-40% . In the low season, this could drop to below 10%. This situation was shared by the newly built, State owned, luxury Queli Hotel; the hotel managers were planning to open shops along the main street to support the business of the hotel, because the low rate of occupation prevented any profit being made.

In terms of the nature of the management, hotels that have a right to invest in their own businesses was run either by the Provincial and City Governments or by

²³ 1st May and 1st October are national holidays in China, and many Work Units and colleges have a few days off. Moreover the weather conditions during these two holidays are very pleasant, not too hot or too cold. Thus many people take their tourist travels in these two periods.

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powerful collective owners such as Work Units and Communities²⁴, and they tend to be middle and large sized. In terms of facilities and services the majority of them started with a higher standard than most of the small community owned hotels. However, only two of them were profitable enough to allow them to improve their facilities. The first was the Lucheng Hotel, constituting 100 rooms with 240 beds, jointly run by the Business Association in Qufu; recently the manager had decided to extend the restaurant. The second was the Youdian Guest House, which was planning to add some higher standard accommodation. For most of the local community owned hotels, however, their main purpose was to provide jobs for young school leavers from the families of their original employees. Thus most of the money made out of the business had to go towards labour payment and taxation, and there was never enough money left to improve the facilities. Moreover, the recently opened hotels, such as the DF Hotel run by the local Film Distribution Cooperation, were facing an uncertain future, because the increasing number of hotels had made the profit margin drop. This suggested that hotels still under construction would face the same problems.

So far the situation of the tourist hotels in Qufu can be summed up as follows: while apart from the few profitable hotels the majority of the low standard community owned hotels face little prosperity; the unprofitable, Provincial and City Governments owned luxury ones, would be a financial burden. This seems to be partly caused by the seasonal nature of tourism which hardly provides any full time jobs in a real sense. Also the loss of land to the constructions of hotels and other tourist facilities undermines the city's most important economic activity - agriculture. Therefore it can be said that tourism-dominated economic development has created a property boom in hotel building, but it has also caused socio-economic problems for the local community. In the future, tourist services such as hotels and the associated shops (which will be discussed in the next Section) are unlikely to be able to create more solid jobs for the growing urban population, who have lost employment through the relocation policies. As mentioned before, in China by the early 1980s, most of the small cities such as Qufu still had a large proportion of rural population living in the city areas but working in agriculture.

²⁴ In China, there are three major types of property ownership: the State owned (*quan min suo you zhi dan wei*), the collectively owned (*ji ti suo you zhi dan wei*), and the privately owned (*si ren suo you zhi dan wei*). The first two are both called 'public ownership', but Work Units of the first type are directed by the Central Government, and those of the second type are managed by different local communities usually below city level, including neighbourhood communities.

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In Qufu according to the 1985 Plan, the would-be depopulated 20,000 citizens was supposed to include most of the rural population still living in the city. However, so far the majority of the already-relocated people have been those who are officially registered as 'urban population'. This situation will definitely put the rural population of the city at future risk if the current policy continues.

3 SHOPPING DEVELOPMENTS IN QUFU

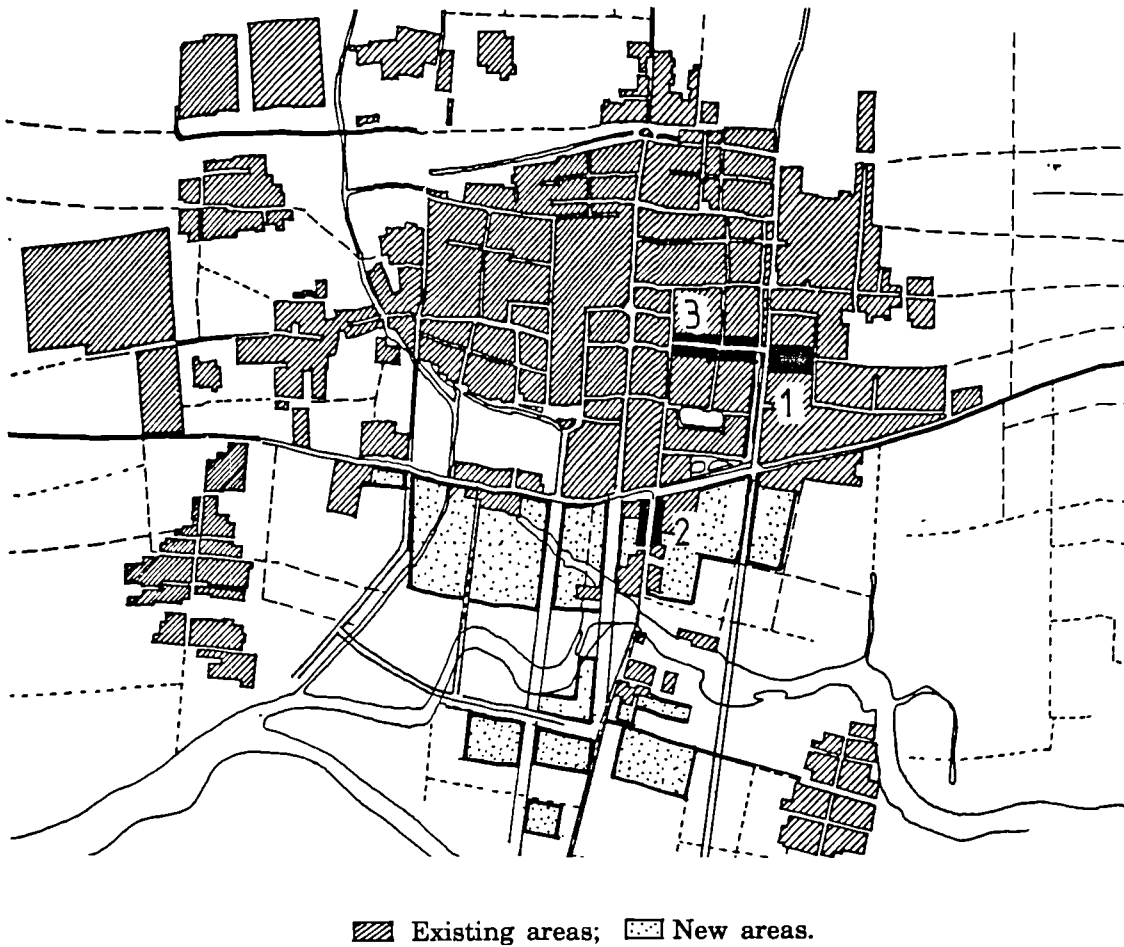
Since the late 1970s local trading and commercial activities have increased considerably, partly due to the economic reforms which encouraged more self-employed businesses in the retail sector, and partly due to the rapid tourist developments which have provided local traders with a new business horizon. In the last few years Qufu has seen three major shopping developments including: Lucheng Market on the east side of the city by the Jiwei highway, then the Ludu shopping street in the south-east of the city by Yanlan and Jiwei highways, and the latest new Wumaci shopping area right in the city centre. All these major shopping developments have been carried out under the newly introduced 'comprehensive development policies', and mainly implemented by the city's Comprehensive Development Company.

Table 8-4: Major shopping developments in Qufu 1987-1989.

	A	B	C
Building time	8/87 - 12/87	8/88 - 12/88	Mid 88 - 4/89
Location	Fringe	Fringe	City centre
Size (sq.m.)	2,500	1,950	15,900
Designers	CDC	CDC	National competition
Selling price yuans/sq.m.	485	677	900 (estimated)
Mix of ownership of property	Majority private	Majority private	Planned Majority private
Main purpose of the facilities	for local people	for local people	for tourists

Note: A = Lucheng Market.
 B = Ludu Shopping Street.
 C = Wumaci Shopping Street: phase one.

Source: author's survey, May 1989.



1. Lucheng Market; 2. Ludu Shopping; 3. Wumaci Shopping.

Fig. 8-6: The recent major shopping developments in Qufu.

3.1 The Initial Developments - the Lucheng Market and Ludu Shopping Street

The old Lucheng Market was located at the south-east corner along the west bank of the moat, and was removed to its present site to allow for the reconstruction of the moat in July 1987. The Lucheng Market was the first project carried out in Qufu under the 'comprehensive development policies'. The development site was originally a gully and a few families had lived on either side of it since the 1960s; the environment was in a bad condition. The whole project directly involved the City Council, the Economic Planning Department, the Industry and Commerce Department, and the Comprehensive Development Company. They dealt respectively with relocation, fund raising, building material preparation and construction. The Council required the project to be finished as quickly as possible. Soon they issued the official policies for relocation and

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development, and published them in order to let people know what was intended. According to the policies, people who wanted to buy or rent shops in the new Lucheng Market had to pay 50% of the total cost²⁵ (about 200-240 yuan/sq.m) in advance, and the future owners or tenants could not change the use of the building.

Firstly, the people on the site, most of them were farmers, were rehoused by their community on the relatively poor land owned by the commune. But their relocation costs were covered by the money which actually came from the fund for the relocation project of the 104 National Road i.e. the Jiwei Highway. Later, however, the prospective free and lease-holders were charged a price which included relocation costs, so the City Council made a considerable profit. Then the city's Comprehensive Development Company (CDC) directed the contracted builders (who came from the city neighbourhood communities and the surrounding villages) to start the construction work. But with only 50% of the money paid in advance to the CDC, they were only able to pay the builder for the shells of the buildings without windows, doors etc., and there was not enough money for the provision of the basic services, which were later provided at the expense of the buyers.

The work started in August 1987 and was finished by the end of the same year²⁶. Everything was in such a rush that the Comprehensive Development Company did not have time to think through the design carefully; they decided the arrangement of the shops and market simply according to future use with little attention being paid to architectural design. The whole project covered more than 2,500 sq.m, mainly in single storey building in two rows, with two sizes of units of 14.1 and 20 sq.m. The two rows of units combined both the small and large units. The purchaser or tenant could choose to have one or more units, with a dividing wall or not between them.

The selling price of each unit was determined by its surroundings, position, orientation and the quality of the buildings. The basic price was decided by a unit in the most unfavourable location at the far east end because it was further from the city centre. It then increased by 1% to 3% for more desirable units, and eventually the selling price was from 467 yuan/sq.m to 502 yuan/sq.m; the average shop cost about 10,000 yuans. All the scheduled properties were spoken for before building started, and

²⁵ The total cost included the expense of relocation and the construction of basic services.

²⁶ Winter is a good season for construction in cities like Qufu, because many labourers are free from agriculture.

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many more people wanted space even when the buildings were under construction. The popularity and financial success of this development encouraged the Council to start work on the Ludu Shopping Street in a similar way in the following year.

Construction of Ludu Shopping Street was started in August 1988, and finished at the end of the same year. It was located in the south-east of the city less than half a kilometre from the moat between the old city and the new area. The site was, prior to development, a dirt road with an open sewerage system at one side. Since 1985 the site had been planned in a controlled manner, where no two-storey buildings were allowed. The new project consisted of 1,950 sq.m of floor space with 51 shop units of 4 (or 5) x 8 = 32 (or 40) sq.m each. It was simply designed by the engineer in the Comprehensive Development Company as two single-storey rows of buildings each with a flat roof.

In August 1988 it was decided to raise the money for the development in two ways: 30% by bank loan and 70% from charging purchasers and tenants in advance. The development of 36 property units was undertaken by the same Comprehensive Development Company. The majority of the investors were self-employed businessmen. Their demands for space ranged from 20 to 60 sq.m with one or two rooms. Two public sectors invested here, one taking 190 and another 400 sq.m respectively, about 30% of the whole project. After three months this financial policy proved to be successful, and the funds had reached 85% of the expected amount. As the Council said: '... this development was only intended to solve the social needs at a low standard'. However, the 'low standard' and bad construction was also accompanied by a huge profit for the Local Authority, especially the CDC itself. The final cost of construction was 339 yuans/sq.m, but the buildings were sold for 676.8 yuans/sq.m which included the cost of construction of basic services and the very high fees charged by the CDC.

For the first time since 1949 Qufu City Council experimented through the first two projects, Lucheng Market and Ludu Shopping Street, to develop shopping facilities, mainly through private investment. The financial success of the two projects proved that locally there was a great demands for shopping services on the one hand; on the other, the high profits the Local Authorities gained from them reenforced the City Council's 'comprehensive development policies'. These policies had strong influences on the largest shopping development - the Wumaci Shopping Street - a project which was initially to

be funded by the State but later left to private investment because of the Government's financial crisis.

3.2 Current Action - Wumaci Shopping Street

The new Wumaci Shopping Street, 594 metres long, was the most important commercial development project in the old city centre of Qufu. This scheme was quite different from the first two, in that it was more rigidly controlled by Central Government, and more professionals were involved due to its importance in the whole development and conservation of Qufu. Wumaci street, located in the eastern part of the old city centre, has western end starting from Gulou Street, and the eastern end connecting with the east ring road i.e. the Jiwei highway. In November 1986, Qufu City Council decided to develop Wumaci street as the 1985 Plan suggested.

The City Council designated 7.4 hectares around the old Wumaci Street to build a total of 34,600 sq.m of new shops in two phrases²⁷. It was planned by the City Council to provide floor space for retail sales, art handicrafts, other local products and local restaurants etc., and the new shopping area was to be closed to traffic with service roads on two sides. In order to ensure higher standards of design quality the City Council invited five reputable design teams to take part in a limited competition. At the same time, a judging panel was formed comprising of some famous urban planners, architects, archaeologists, and other experts. The Planning Brief listed the sizes of different shops, the limitation of the building structure and the conditions of the surroundings; in addition, the development principles were outlined as follows:

1. The whole development should be planned with a comprehensive understanding of Qufu's present situation and future development in mind.
2. The design of the new shopping streets must take into consideration Qufu's history and character. The whole area should be harmonious, yet contain variety and the integration of tradition and the spirit of today.
3. The design should provide a variety of different sized units and the possibility to implement the whole development in separable phases.
4. The design was to encourage private commercialisation of the property.

²⁷ 6,633 sq.m had been finished at the west end of Wumaci street before this main development took place.

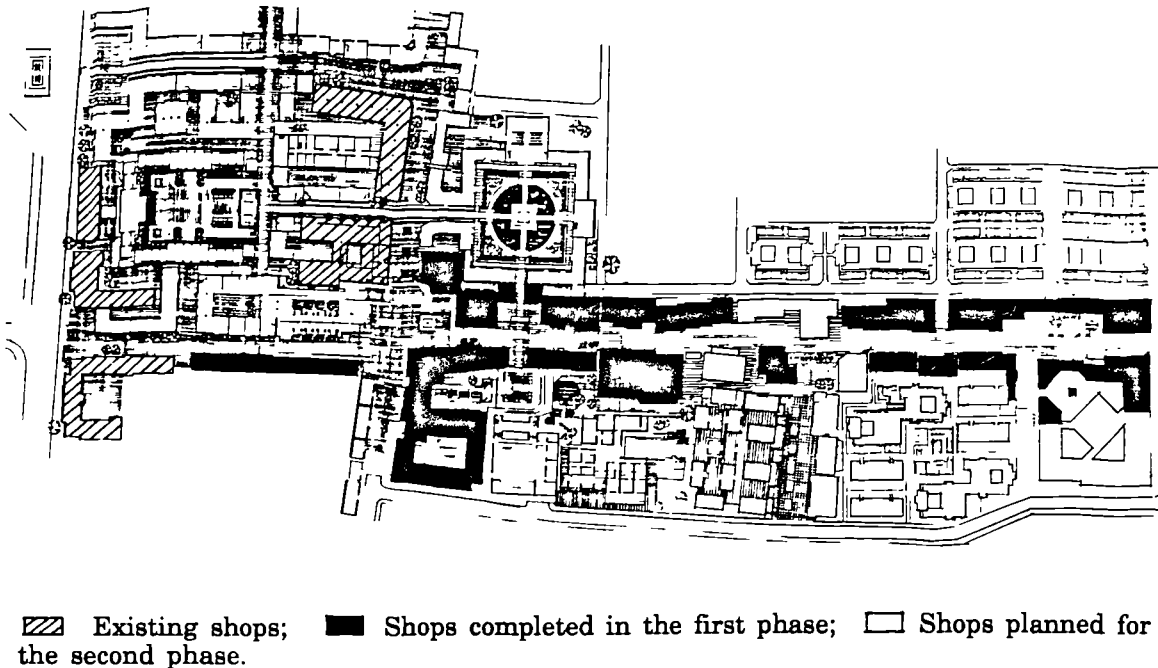


Fig. 8-7: The plan of Wumaci Shopping.

Source: based on the initial plan by Qufu Comprehensive Development Company, 1990.

Just two years prior to the new development Wumaci Street was widened from 10 metres to 20 metres: 10 metres for traffic and 5 metres for each sidewalk. Prior to the new development on the site there were 65 properties, including 15 new 'traditional style' shops at the west end of the street. The majority of the old, single storey houses and small shops were in grey bricks with pitched roofs and in bad condition, but electricity supplies and sewerage systems were available.

In July 1987, a group of architects and students from the Architecture Department of the Central University won the competition (Fig. 8-7). According to the winning scheme, there would be 8,700 sq.m for residential use and 25,500 sq.m for shopping. At the end of 1987 the City Council decided that the Wumaci Shopping Street development would be implemented in two stages. The first phase included shops on the east end of the street, with a total floor area of 15,893 sq.m, plus the necessary infrastructure. Estimates for the first phase were 11.2 million yuans, including relocation. This phase

would be finished by the end of 1988, and the whole project was planned to be completed before the first International Cultural Festival of Confucius in September 1989.

Again the development of the street was to be carried out according to the local 'Comprehensive Development Policies', which appeared in early 1988, and was based on the Provincial Government's relevance. Three things are worth noting about these policies.

Firstly, the cost of comprehensive development, which includes the site survey, land purchase, site preparation, infrastructure (such as water and electricity supply, road construction, design and construction, etc.), accounts for as 45% of *total* cost. Secondly, in the 'Non-comprehensive Development Areas', developers have to pay the City Council a premium of 15 yuans per sq.m *extra* for sites, and this money will be either used for the infrastructure where it does not yet exist, or for the same use in other parts of the old city. Finally, in both cases public and private sectors have to pay 50-70% in advance. In the case of commercial developments, the buyers have to pay to the CDC 50% after the positions of their properties are settled, another 30% after the site survey and design is carried out, and another 15% after the main construction has been completed; the balance should be paid after the work has been checked and accepted. The buyers should pay the interest if their payment is delayed. On the other hand, the builder will be fined 1% of total cost for completion delays. The basic price of properties will be decided by the City Council, but the price is *variable according to the site, quality, orientation of the buildings, and the floor level and location of rooms.*

In early 1988, while the winning scheme was revised, the Comprehensive Development Company (C.D.C.) was designated to develop the Wumaci Shopping Street. The C.D.C. introduced three ways to buy or rent property.

Firstly, anyone who wanted to have a freehold ownership (*wu xian chian quan*) had to pay off in one lump sum in advance. In this case, the owner would have the right to sell or lease his property, but no changes of use were permissible. Additionally, his property could be inherited. Previous residents on the site could buy the new property by paying 1% less than the normal price, and outsiders 1.5% less.

Secondly, anyone who wants to have limited ownership (*you xian chian quan*) of the property had to pay 60% of the price in the first year, 25% at the beginning of the second year, and clear the bill at the beginning of the third year. The owner of the

limited ownership property might not sell or lease his property in the first three years. Again no changes of use would be allowed.

Thirdly, anyone could hire the property for a period of three, five, ten or fifteen years. The rent, which did not include any other costs such as maintenance, water, electricity, etc., had to be paid off in one lump sum at the beginning of the rental period.

Furthermore, all the present tenants, owners and businesses in the would-be demolished buildings in the developing area had certain preferential treatment if they wished to come back after the buildings were finished.

Under the above policies, the first phase of the development took place in early 1988, and the relocation of the existing neighbourhood population started with 46 families and 11 shops. The 57 buildings that were demolished amounted to 9,524 sq.m with 438 rooms. Of the 46 families, 11 lived in single-room houses, 12 in two-room houses, 9 in three-room houses, 6 in four-room houses, 7 in five-room houses, and only 1 in a house with over five rooms. The land for rehousing these families occupied about 0.70 hectare (about 7,000 sq.m). The total cost for relocation was 1.7 million yuans, which meant the average cost for relocation in Wumaci was about 1,790 yuans/sq.m.

At the end of the 1988, the finished construction of the first phase of the new Wumaci Shopping Street was 12,000 sq.m, which was less by about 25% than the 15,893 sq.m scheduled in late 1987. By the end of July 1989, the finished buildings represented 19,700 sq.m. The first phase of the development had included the provision of the basic services like water. The total cost of the construction was about 500 yuans/sq.m, and in all 10.8 million yuans were needed for the first phase of the development. The managers of the local CDC hoped that the selling price would reach 900 yuans/sq.m. They estimated that since the rent period had to cover at least three years, the rent would probably be more than 27 yuans/sq.m per month so that those who hired a property could pay off the total rent of some 1,000 yuans/sq.m²⁸ in three years. This increased the financial burden born by the private shop keepers. In the Wumaci development, up to

²⁸ The annual rent would be more than 300 yuans/sq.m, thus the total rent of a period of three years would be about 1,000 yuans/sq.m, which would equate to the selling price of 900 yuans/sq.m.

25% of the investment was from the individuals who usually rented the property rather than buy²⁹.

So far the recent shopping development have been discussed under the city's current Comprehensive Development Policies in Qufu, which have helped to create the property boom in the city. The first two cases present the more locally controlled development, one with government funding and the other with collective and private investment. But in both cases, speed of completion and profit became the main concern for the Local Authority by charging the users high prices and rents. Nevertheless, they could still be economically self-sustaining. The financial success of the first two projects encouraged the Local Authorities to over focus on profits gained from shopping developments, and further misled them to overestimate the potential of shopping development in Qufu. This resulted in the gloomy future of the Wumaci Shopping development.

3.3 An Economic Evaluation of Shopping Development³⁰

Historically, due to the extreme Leftist regime, Qufu's private industry and trade were not very well developed. Since 1978 when the reforming government introduced the current 'individual responsibility system', self-employed businesses had grown dramatically. In the city alone by the end of 1987, there were 6,300 self-employed businesses involved in retailing, catering, transportation and so on, and in the greater Qufu, more than 10,000. In recent years a great part of the rural population living in the city had been redesignated 'urban population' because the new developments had taken their land away. The tourist industry helped to create many jobs in the city for the new urban population. At the same time tourist development also encouraged trade between the city and the surrounding villages. As a result the annual individual total sales now take up 16% of that of the whole city.

²⁹ An interview with the managers of the Comprehensive Development Company of Qufu in the middle of May 1989.

³⁰ In order to understand the economic vitality of these recent shopping developments, the author first visited the city's Trading and Commerce Department, where he interviewed the officer responsible for the local individual businesses, and the city's Industry and Commerce Department, where he discussed the above issues with an officer who manages the development of the public commercial sector. These two interviews provided useful knowledge of the recent shopping and commercial developments. With this knowledge the author visited the city's Comprehensive Development Company many times to investigate their intentions in these recent developments.

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Now there are 3,800 individual businesses involved with retailing in the city. The increase of individual businesses required more space in the old city. Because Wumaci was planned as a shopping area but confined to tourism, a 'higher standard' of shopping facilities could be provided. Under these circumstances, the City Council decided to develop some shopping spaces outside the city, to meet the needs of the locals, where the location would not conflict with the needs of the tourist. The Ludu Market and the Lucheng Shopping Street projects had these needs in mind. They absorbed a great deal of local retailing and trading. In other words, they reduced the potential commercial success of the later shopping development in Wumaci Street in the east of the city.

In the city centre, tourist shopping mainly takes place along Queli Street and around the Confucian Temple and the Great Kong Mansion, but additionally in the front of the Konglin Cemetery. Tourist services on streets, such as the mobile shops, are small businesses and very flexible. The second phase of the development was planned to confine these mobile tourist services into specific squares in the east of the city but these were not suitable for their activities either in terms of the nature of the mobile tourist services or their financial viability. For these businesses in the newly built Wumaci Shopping Street shops would be too expensive to rent. Furthermore, the majority of the tourists only visit for one day without an overnight stay, and they rarely go shopping around in the east central area; thus the future of the Wumaci Shopping Street demands a regular supply of tourists in order to sustain their businesses.

In general, the number of individual businesses in Qufu is stabilised at present, and the increase is very small. This situation suggests that retailing has reached its maximum in the current economic condition. After all despite its recent urbanisation, Qufu as a whole is still a city with a considerable rural population with a relatively low living standard. In the end commercial development cannot depend on trading only. Qufu has to develop its existing processing industries - both on a small and a middle scale - such as paper and carpet manufacturing.

This has proved to be true in the particular case of the Wumaci Shopping development. The recent statistics of Qufu's annual total sales demonstrate that the Wumaci Shopping Street development has a very weak economic base. Over the last few years, in the city area, each person normally spends 300-400 yuans annually for shopping. In the close suburban areas within the range of about five kilometres from the centre, each person spends 100-150 yuans, and in the far suburban areas 60-80 yuans. As far

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as most of the one-day staying tourists are concerned, the amount spent on shopping per person is roughly 2 yuans³¹.

In 1986, the city's total sales were about 60 million yuans, 80 million yuans in 1987, and about 100 million yuans in 1988³². However, the first phase of the Wumaci Shopping Street presumably needs to reach an annual total sales turnover of 70-80 million yuans to maintain itself financially³³. This means that with the current annual 100 million yuans of sales, there would be intensive competition between the total number of already existing shops and the new Wumaci Shopping Street. But it seems that the new Wumaci Shopping Street is unlikely to be successful in terms of either tourist or local needs. This has been the common worry shared by the Local Authority, planners and developers. There is no doubt that these socio-economic predictions throw shadows not only on the first phase of the Wumaci Shopping development but even more on the second phase³⁴.

The gulf between the mindless increase in shopping space and the real shopping need is not confined to the private sector; it is also faced by the State owned shops. In the last few years economic reform has challenged the State owned shops whose business has dropped. While the State owned shops are still under the Government's control and have little right to decide what to sell and at what price, the individual and community owned shops have been following the market trend to make money by fair means or foul. It is very often found that the fashionable goods are only available in the individual or collectively owned shops. As a result, some of the State owned shops have to close part of their shop space to lease them for other commercial uses. For example, a State owned hardware store in the central Gulou Street rented its first floor to a restaurant because it did not have enough business.

Moreover, both the demolition of State owned shops caused by the restoration of the moat, and the quick growth of individual and collectively owned shops have resulted in the former having less shopping space than the latter. However, despite these facts there

³¹ An interview with the manager of Qufu Comprehensive Development Company, May 1989.

³² See Appendix 4: Trading in Qufu.

³³ Assuming the rent is about 30 yuans/sq.m per month, the rent of the total 25,500 sq.m shopping spaces will cost about 70-80 million yuans each year.

³⁴ An interview with the manager of Qufu Comprehensive Development Company, May 1989.

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will be 4,000 to 5,000 sq.m of new shopping space which has been planned by the public sector in the new area according to the 1985 Plan, because these shopping facilities are unlikely to be taken up by the private sector.

The conflict between the more market oriented collective and private enterprise shopping development and the public one, suggests that future policy should focus on directing the former to contribute to the general shopping network to benefit the citizens, rather than allowing the development of more shopping space to either sector. Thus unnecessary competition can be best avoided, as can meaningless shopping space.

The preceding pages have analysed the socio-economic basis for the recent restoration and development work in Qufu. On the one hand, conservation and restoration of the vanished or destroyed historic sites have been committed to tourism and image-making; the superficial physical approach is ruthlessly carried out in the city without much concern for the real living environment of the citizens, especially those whose living environment has been officially condemned in the Master Plans. Associated with conservation and restoration, tourism has been overestimated. Rapid urbanisation through tourism has produced a fragile economic prosperity. The over-supplied service industries, such as hotels, has suggested that their growth in numbers and their associated employment has slowed down, and many of them are based on an artificial economic analysis. This situation implies that before any solid employment outside tourism is provided, the erosion of agricultural land in the new areas will cause more unemployed 'rural population' in the city and further financial and economic difficulties. At the same time, the artificial increase in tourist services will produce more cheaply built hotels and unprofitable shops. In the early stage of the development planning, although Professor Wu mentioned that the local people's interests should not be overlooked by tourist development, he did not give a clue as to the way this problem should be tackled or simply avoided. In reality, with centralised political and economic decision-making, development and conservation work are always bureaucratically decided. The local politicians and authorities are more concerned with how the higher officials from the District, Provincial and the State Councils think about the work rather than the local people. Local people's interests are often diminished by the conventional way used to mobilise the mass to sacrifice their own interests for the 'common good'. These issues are well illustrated by the relocation programmes.

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On the other hand, the rapid new developments in Qufu through the so-called 'Comprehensive Development Policies' have created a big gap between the property boom and the actual economic and functional needs. The case of shopping developments shows that profit and political desire for fast development have been the first priority of the Local Authority, through the major means of extending planning powers through comprehensive development.

One of the most notable mistakes in recent city building practices in Qufu is the Local Authorities' over ambition to realise the physical image as planned in the early 1980s. From the wasteful reconstruction of the moat to the superficial 'face cleaning' campaign, from the cynical increase in hotels to the developments of superfluous shops: these are the physical manifestation of the political intentions of the Local Authority. The centrally planned development and the locally implemented process generated subtle games between politicians at different levels.

4 NEIGHBOURHOOD RELOCATION IN QUFU

In the previous sections the development and conservation policies in Qufu were examined through the major issues at city level, and it was concluded that the current policies failed to respond positively to the dynamic socio-economic changes, and the gap between the physical 1985 Plan and the reality are becoming wider. In this section issues at neighbourhood level are concentrated on, to discover how the life and living environment of the ordinary neighbourhood are affected by these problematic policies in order to provide some recommendations for the future. This study was undertaken in the Gupan Lake neighbourhood because of its emergent situation.

The history of the Gupan Lake area was given in Chapter Seven. The historic importance of the area has elicited great attention from the Local Authority and the planners. According to the 1980 and 1985 Plans, a great part of this area was proposed as a park with the rebuilding of the former Imperial Palace 'Xing-gong' on the north side and a luxury hotel on the south. The ideas threaten the exiting neighbourhood in terms of its socio-economic life and desirable morphological structure. The purpose of the study in this neighbourhood firstly tries to discover the social and environmental evidence to disprove the current planning policy, and secondly, to provide first-hand information about future planning.

4.1 A Householder Survey: the Gupan Lake Neighbourhood Area

The area: The Gupan Lake area (bounded by Zhi-fang Street in the north, the Dongnan-madao Street in the south, in the east the moat and Nanmen Street in the west), is now mainly residential, with more than 1,600 people living in about 450 dwelling units. Along its western boundary there are some office premises and shops which mainly serve the local citizens.

In this area a school exists on the site of the former Wen-Chang Ci (the Temple of the God of Scholars), but only the old gate and the main hall, Tang Wu, remain in ill-repair. Beside the remains of the Wen-Chang Ci, there are a few other old, big buildings which are shared by a few families with others used as offices; they are mostly poorly

maintained, or even used improperly. A few shops have recently appeared in different streets, such as Shangyou Street along its eastern boundary.

Most of the streets and lanes in this area are unpaved, except Shangyou. Just a few years ago, the majority of the residents in this area were doing farming work, and the sense of rural settlement can still be felt in most parts of the neighbourhood. Many houses along the north side of the lake are built in sun-dried earth-brick, which means that they were certainly built before the mid 1970s, and their existence today demonstrates the owners' poor and outdated living conditions. But many of the new houses exist in this area too; they are nearly all built with stone foundations, grey brick walls, and concrete tiles. Red brick work is rarely used. The new houses have a pitched or flat roof. The traditional gateways of the courtyards create transitional spaces between the street and the private houses.

During the daytime, the people go to work and the whole neighbourhood is quiet. One may find a few women doing washing by the lake, and during the school breaks there are children playing. Occasionally horses and carts are walked along some of the streets. But from the late afternoon onward, if the weather is dry, the whole neighbourhood will be full of life: children chasing around, neighbours chatting on the streets, bicycles and hand carts passing .., and soon the streets are full of the smells of cooking from every kitchen.

Since the 1985 Plan, the area has been in a unstable condition, as have many other parts of the city. Recently, the reconstruction of the moat has brought changes to both the east and south boundaries of the area. Some houses have been demolished along these two boundary areas; many environmental aspects have been neglected. The City Council has stopped investing any money to improve the area and ruled out any new building in preparation for a large-scale clearance in the 'near future'. Therefore the residents have had to suspend improving their own homes.

The survey: In order to understand how the current policies affect the neighbourhood, and what the residents really need, a survey was carried out in the Gupan Lake area. The survey firstly dealt with the relationship between the householders' economic background and their housing conditions and future housing needs. Then it explored how the traditional neighbourhood structure generates a desirable

neighbourhood life, and the sad effects of the current development and conservation policies.

The survey was carried out between 22nd and 28th June in 1989 (see Fig. 8-8). In this area, according to the official statistics, there are 1,679 residents in 446 owner-occupiers households and an additional 158 tenants who rent rooms in 60 houses. The average family size in the owner-occupied houses is about 4 persons/family, while that of the tenants is two persons/family, since the majority of the latter are couples who come to Qufu to do business.

The Survey method: Firstly, the author approached the City Council to explain the purpose of the survey and ask for their help. Through the local authorities, the author was able to work directly with the members of the Gupan Lake Neighbourhood Committee and the local police office. From them came the general information, including the total number of residents and their citizenship. Then accompanied by a member of the Neighbourhood Committee, the author visited a few families in this areas to obtain some information about the existing problems relating to the local people, in order to design a standard questionnaire to be used in the survey. The questionnaire included two sections intended to relate to the types of houses, land use, neighbourhood fabric, street structures, family sizes, the impact of the development on the neighbourhood and so on. Section one covered six aspects including: (1) the socio-economic background of the households (question No.1 to 7); (2) the economic effects of the recent development and conservation policies on the households (No.8 and 9); (3) people's attitude towards relocation and why (No.10 and 11), (4) people's housing needs (No.12 and 13); (5) people's preference for new housing types and the ways to build (No.14 and 17); and (6) people's opinions about the new developments and participation. Section two consisted of 11 questions and a survey form. The 11 questions (from No.20 to 31) covered the basic amenities in the houses, and the survey form recorded the physical characteristics of the houses and their usages (see Appendix 9).

Since the research was associated with spatial distribution of different householders, housing types and neighbourhood morphology, a systematic sampling method was applied. A grid with a module of 40 by 40 metres was finally chosen to superimpose on the map of the area in order to guarantee a random selection of respondents and to achieve the

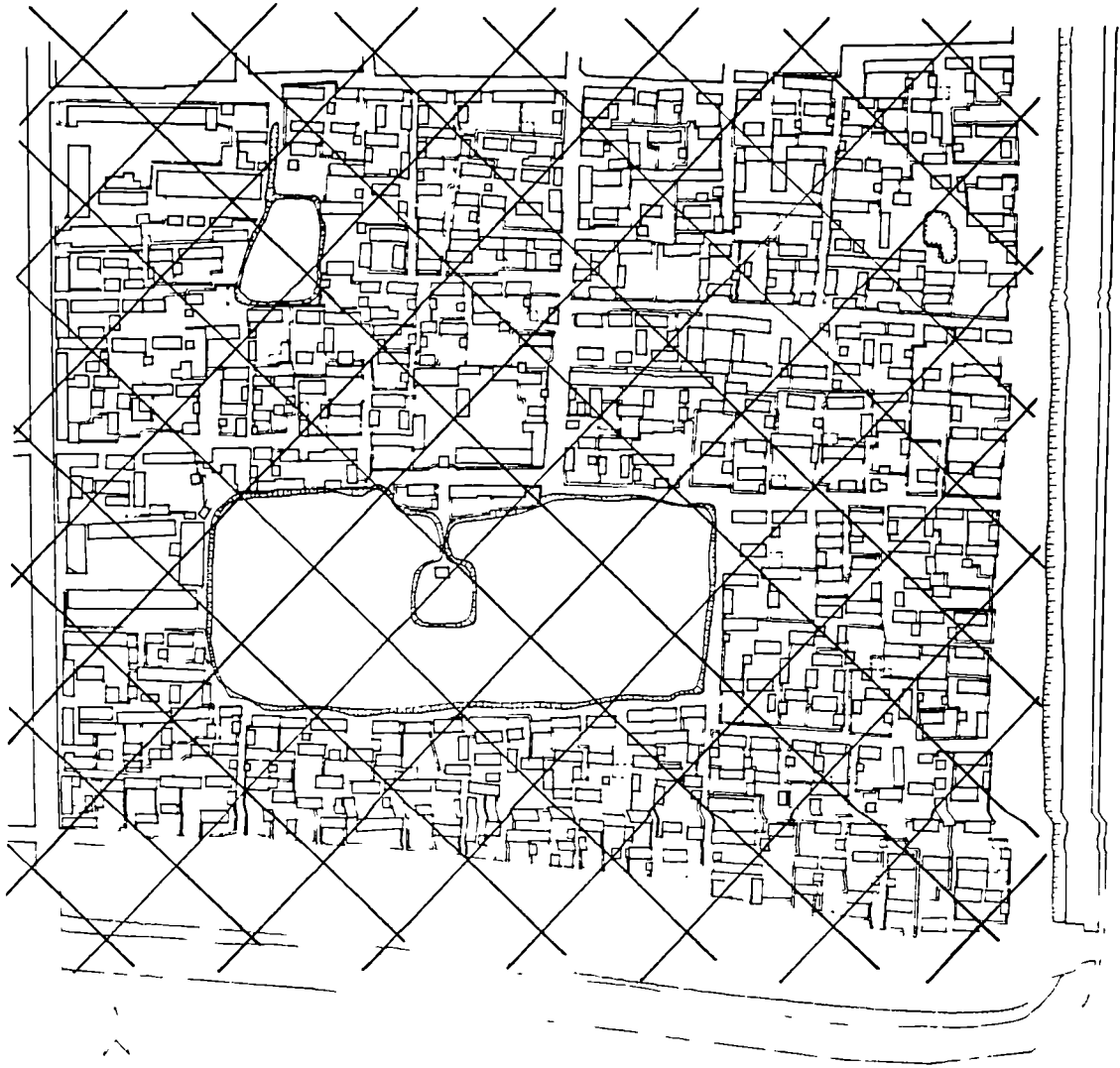
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sample size of more than 10%³⁵. The potential samples were the dwellings on the intersection of the grid lines. Considering the appointed dwelling might be inaccessible, an other dwelling closest to it was the candidates. 53 householders were eventually interviewed. The actual sample size was 11.8%³⁶. The survey was conducted in structured interviews which were guided by the questionnaire which is represented in Appendix 9.

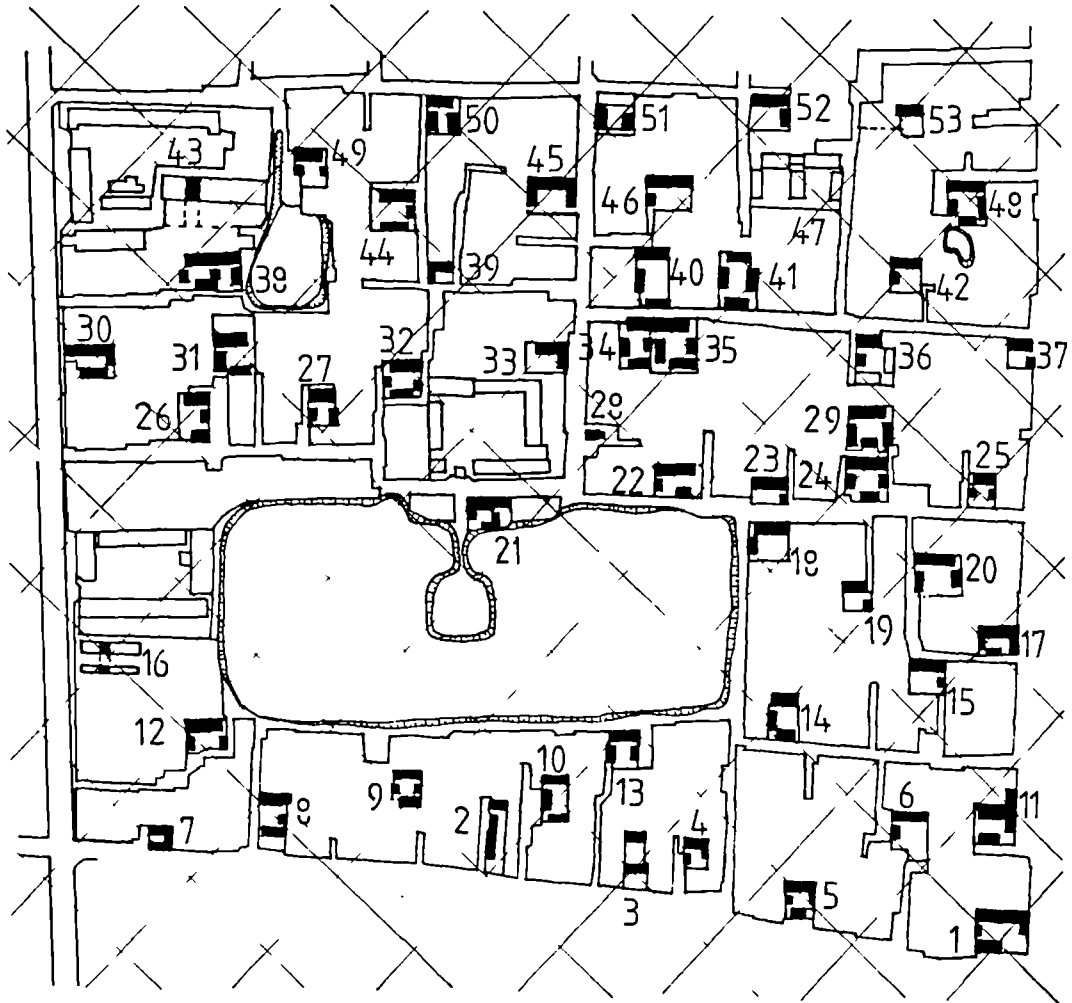
In China as a whole under the centrally controlled political and economic systems and the thousand years of paternalist culture, people are not yet use to voicing their own opinions, especially of political matters. The kind of survey encouraging people to freely speak freely their our minds is new especially in a small place like Qufu. Thus despite the carefully designed questionnaire and systematic sampling methods had been applied, the survey was still affected by the social and political conditions which resulted in a degree of ambiguity in the survey findings.

³⁵ See Urban Projects Manual - a guide to preparing, upgrading and new development projects accessible to low income groups, Edited by Gerald Dix, Liverpool University Press, 1983, p.101.

³⁶ 53 out of 446 owner-occupiers and public tenants; the 60 private tenants living in the 446 dwelling units were not interviewed directly.

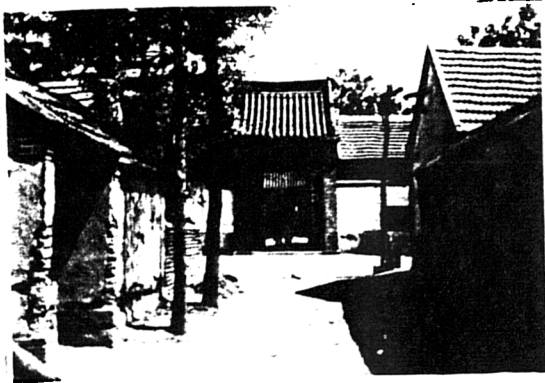


8-8. a) The 1981 plan of the Gupan Lake neighbourhood and the Survey Grid.

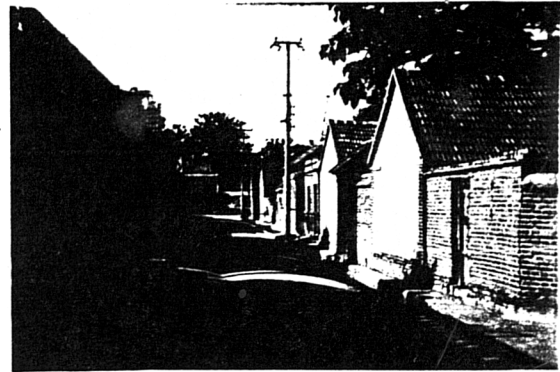


8-8. b) The Survey Grid and the sampled households.

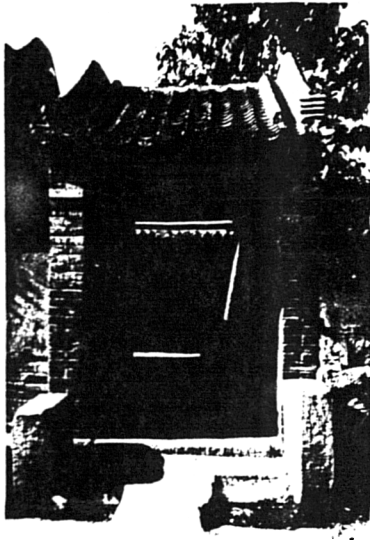
Fig. 8-8: The site of the Gupan Lake neighbourhood and the surveyed houses.



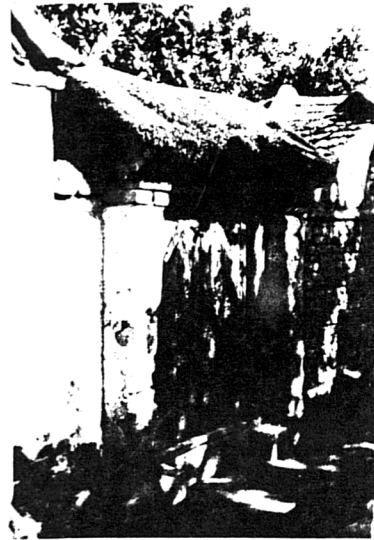
a.



b.



c.



d.



e.



f.

a) The entrance of the Gupan Lake school; b) Shangyou Street; c) & d) Two types of traditional gates; e) A house built before 1975; f) A new flat-roof house

Fig. 8-9: The views of the Gupan Lake neighbourhood.

4.2 The Impact on the Neighbourhood and Reaction of the People

Socio-economic characteristics of the householders: The first group of questions in the questionnaire from No. 1 to 7 covered the socio-economic characteristics of the householders including their family size, number of generations, the number of rural and urban people in the families, and their employment situations both in non-agricultural and agricultural sectors. It was found that because some of the householders' relatives lived in this area but were not necessarily officially registered in the numbers of residents in this neighbourhood, a total of 276 people lived in the 53 surveyed households, and were more than the registered population of 272.

Of these 272 people, 60% were ($163/272=59.9\%$) registered as urban population and 40% as rural ($109/272=40.1\%$). In the 53 interviewed households, there were only 47% ($25/53=47.2\%$) of them living entirely on non-farming income, including some people living on pensions. In contrast, a total of 49% ($26/53$) householders were still partially living on farming; only 4% ($2/53=3.7\%$) of them lived entirely on farming, but 30% ($16/53=30.2\%$) were exclusively registered as rural population.

In terms of employment, 106 people had temporary or permanent jobs in the city, and 62 people worked on farms. There was an overlap of urban and rural employment. For instance, some people did both farm and non-farm work, such as retail selling or manufacturing. This situation usually happened when families were *mainly or entirely* registered as rural population, who had less farming land left because of the new developments. Therefore, at a rough estimate about $106/(106+62)=63\%$ did non-farming work, and $62/(106+62)=37\%$ were employed in farming work. 62 farmers worked on a total of 145 fens of land (1fen=0.016 acre). This implied only 2.3 fens per person, and this figure was lower than the city's official standard of at least 3 fens. If the farmers had less than that they should have been transferred to the urban population register. This would mean that in the same way as every registered urban citizen they could buy basic food at the State subsidized price instead of the more expensive food at the free market.

In sum, in the Gupan Lake Neighbourhood area, nearly half of the families were living on non-farming income, and most of the rest depended only in part on agriculture. In the latter case, for some householders to work outside the agricultural sector was since they could not possibly live on their limited land, but for some householders to

find a non-farming job, such as transport, tourist services, etc. could bring the families a higher income.

Although now the majority in employment were involved in the non-agricultural sector, a considerable number of householders were still heavily dependent on farming. Due to the increasing difficulty in finding jobs outside agricultural sectors, it was crucial for most of the officially registered rural people to maintain their farming land to guarantee their basic food and low income. Otherwise they had to pay high prices to buy food which strongly affected their standard of living. For these people to be forced to remove to the new area and to build new houses seemed impossible. Any improvement in their living conditions could only be based on their sustained income and could only take place on a small scale.

In some extreme cases, improving living condition was far beyond the householders' concern because of their very low income and social problems. Householder number 28, a wifeless man aged over sixty, with a yet unmarried thirty-two year old son, both registered as 'urban population', were quartered in two small bad rooms without a courtyard. The father was a pensioner with less than 30 yuans per month paid by the Government, the son had recently started to work on transportation; this was a hard labouring job although it could provide the family with a little more money. For this two-person family to make enough money to organise a family for the unmarried son would be their most important priority. For them to build a new house was simply out of the question. Household 37 was a family of seven, registered as 'rural population'. Since the elderly grand-parents, the disabled twenty-two year old son and the younger daughter were either too weak or simply not able to do any hard labouring work, the whole family's income depended on the parents and the elder daughter working in farming. However, since the family had less land left, the father, more than forty years old, had to try hard to find temporary job to supplement the income from their hard farming work. Again, the improvement in their poor living conditions could only happen after they had found better jobs and raised their income.

These two cases illustrate the negative effects of the current development and conservation policies on the lives of the new urban and the existing rural populations. Obviously any further economic problem would add more loneliness and difficulty to their already sad lives. They wished to improve their living conditions, even to have a new house, but recent physical approaches could only worsen their lives.

The changes to people's living standards: In order to understand how the current development and conservation policies affected people's living standards, in the survey people were asked such questions as: How were their standards of living changed since 1986 when the final Development and Conservation Plan - 1985 started to be implemented on a large scale, and what was the main reason? (see Appendix 9: Questionnaire, question No. 8 and 9). As a result the survey showed that, since 1980 and especially after the 1985 Plan, the living standards in the neighbourhood have improved for 40% of the families, for 34% they have stayed the same, and for 26% have fallen.

In the case of families with an improved standard of living, for 8% it improved considerably, and for 11% it improved only slightly. This was mainly because the number who had jobs in the city increased, although a few families had the same number of people working in the city but their income had been increased. On the other hand, in the case of families with a falling standard of living, for 11% it had fallen slightly, and for 15% it had fallen considerably. This mainly happened to farmers who lost farming land, without finding an alternative income outside of farming to maintain their standard of living. There were a few cases showing that rural families with more children were more affected by the loss of land, because they could not provide enough food to feed themselves and the basic food from the free market cost more.

These findings also demonstrated that although for some families, with less land left, their standard of living stayed the same, their lives had become unsettled because they could not find permanent jobs to maintain their incomes. Furthermore, most of the rural families who had transferred early on had a better standard of life because they had had more opportunities to get jobs than families who transferred to the urban register later.

There is no doubt that if the current development and conservation policies continue, more families of the rural population or new urban population will be worse off.

People's attitudes towards neighbourhood relocation and housing improvement: Although only about one-fourth of the families' standards of living fell, the number of families with a negative attitude towards neighbourhood relocation was far greater. When people were asked whether they would like to move to the new areas (see Appendix 9, Questionnaire, question No. 10 and 11), 64% of them responded that

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they were reluctant to move to the new areas. The two reasons most often given for this negative attitude were: firstly, that the new areas were regarded as inconvenient. There were no community services provided yet, the infrastructure, including street conditions and sewage system, were poor. The second was the householders' poor financial situation which would not allow most of the families to move and rehouse in the new areas because the compensation paid by the City Council was never enough to cover the increasing housing cost. In many cases, where new houses or extensions had been recently built, the owners definitely did not want to see them being demolished. Furthermore, some psychological aspects were also mentioned, for example, some people's image of the new area was of a 'wide open field' because of the lack of social and physical familiarities.

Nevertheless, 17% wished to move from their houses, mainly because their present houses and courtyards were not big enough. But most of them still viewed relocation as a financial burden because of their lack of money to build new houses in the new area. Sometimes families even had to borrow money to build extensions to their old houses. As the local people said: 'There will be at least three years of shortage of money after a new house or extension'.

19% of the householders had a neutral attitude towards relocation. Some people had not made mental any comparison between the new and the old areas thus they did not hold any strong opinions; there were some people who were unwilling to express their real opinions because of their political concern, but also quite a number pointed out that the location of the new area was much less convenient.

The householders were asked how would they improve their present houses if they could stay? (see Appendix 9, Questionnaire, question No. 14 and 15). It was found that the majority (45%) of householders would prefer to improve their present houses (if they could stay) rather than to building completely new ones in a new area. Of these 45%, 15% planned to add some new rooms to their courtyards, 21% wanted to rebuild parts of their present homes, and 9% planned to carry out repairs. 13% of the householders had no plan to improve their houses because of lack of money.

To conclude the findings so far, first neighbourhood relocation would be a financial burden for many families, and it would make more families' living standards drop, and cause extreme difficulties for some very poor families. Secondly, relocation would cause the demolition of many new houses and extensions; it would be a financial and

psychological threat to the owners and a huge financial burden for the City Council to pay the compensation. Thirdly, the lack of convenience of the new areas contributed to the majority of the neighbourhood who did not wish to move. Moreover, it proved that new houses in the new areas were not enough; people needed better environment and services for living. Finally, people wanted to improve their living conditions piecemeal rather than by completely rebuilding. All these findings should be considered by the Local Authorities when planning future policies for development and conservation.

Housing conditions and environmental characteristics, the future needs for improvement: If, as the author is arguing, improvement is the socially preferable way in future housing development, in the existing neighbourhood, what then are the most urgent items to be improved? To find the answers, question No. 20 to 32 of the survey covered a detailed study of the housing conditions and environmental characteristics in the Gupan Lake area (see Appendix 9, Questionnaire).

Of the interviewed 53 households, 94% of them were courtyard houses. Socially, single-family-occupied courtyards or non-courtyard houses comprised 80%; two family-sharing courtyard houses were 17%, three family-sharing courtyard houses 2%, and another 2% were courtyard houses shared by more than three families.

In terms of the uses of the houses, the large majority of the rooms were used either as bedrooms or living rooms. Some families had to mix these two in one room because of lack of living space. 38% had proper kitchens in the courtyards. About 20% of the rooms were either used as storage or empty³⁷, although some owners of these houses did not have proper kitchens because they preferred to cook under a shelter or outdoors. The housing standard for the householders was about 1 person/room, and for the private tenants just over 1 person/room. But the conditions and sizes of rooms in different houses could be very different. In general, the new houses had much bigger rooms than the old ones as will be seen later. Therefore most of the courtyards were becoming smaller because of the extension of the houses.

Physically over half of the total number of houses were recently constructed and in good condition. 49% were built after 1980, and 15% between 1976 and 1979. These houses were well built with stone foundations, brick walls and tiled roofs, and they

³⁷ In some cases, the householders kept some bed rooms unused, usually they did not turn them into storage or kitchens which might damage the rooms.

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should, by local standards, last for more than four generations. However, 37% of the existing houses were built before 1976; most of them used burned-brick at the bottom, sun-dried brick at the top of the walls, and tiled roofs. These houses normally last less than fifty years, so they are likely to be repaired or rebuilt in the near future.

Table 8-5: The usage of the houses:

L.R.	L.P.	R.R.	T.	S.R.	E.R.	R.S.	Others	Total
264	-	15	-	34	28	10	10	361
	276		19					295
73.1%	-	4.2%	-	9.4%	7.8%	2.8%	2.8%	100%
	93.6%		6.4%					100%

Note: L.R. = the number of rooms (one room is called one jian) in which the owners' family live.
 L.P. = the number of people living in these rooms as L.R..
 R.R. = the number of rooms rented for living.
 T. = the number of tenants.
 S.R. = the number of the rooms used as storage.
 E.R. = the number of the rooms which are empty.
 R.S. = the number of the rooms used as shops or mills either by the owners or by tenants.
 Others = bathrooms, the houses owned by other persons who do not live in the courtyard, and so on.

Source: the author's survey, June 1989.

In terms of housing amenity, 85% of them had piped water in the courtyard, and 6% still used pumped water in the courtyard. The rest had to use a public stand-pipe water supply. Though the residents did not feel it was inconvenient to use the public water supply, they would prefer to have their own. Only 2% of them had showers and central heating. The rest used a public bathhouse for most of the year, and coal heaters were commonly used in winter. Electricity was universally supplied in the area, and used mainly for lighting, televisions, electric fans etc.. Also there were a few workshops including the noodle-maker's shop (house No.36) and the furniture shop (house No.11) in the area which used electricity. The sewerage system in this area was inadequate. Only 25% of the houses had publicly connected sewerage disposal, but the rest drained into the ground. No family had an indoor toilet partly because of local tradition, partly because modern toilet facilities and sewage systems were not available. 93% of the households had their outdoor toilets in the courtyards, and 7 % used public toilets close to their houses.

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Environmentally, in the whole area, except the houses along the Dongnan-madao Street and Qipan Street, there was no underground sewerage system. This makes the neighbourhood environment very unpleasant during the hot summer. Furthermore, since the Gupan Lake is located at the centre of the area and at a lower level, the dirty water flows into the lake, which has become badly polluted. Before most of the people who lived here worked on farms, and they used their food waste and fire ash for fertilising their farming land. But now most of the people in the area are no longer doing farming work, so they leave their rubbish at the corner of the lake near the school, the only collection point in the neighbourhood. Since it is collected only once a week, the rubbish is always spread over the street because there are no containers.

In summary, in the future the housing needs of the residents in the neighbourhood will be housing extension, rebuilding and repairing in order to have more living spaces. The provision of the basic housing amenities, such as kitchens, toilets and sewage systems, will be the householders' highest priority. For over crowded families who have no land to extend their houses, the City Council should provide them with some land in new areas to improve their living conditions if they wish to move out. For the very poor families, the Council should issue some policies for their employment and social welfare.

The number of tenants will increase to fill up the empty rooms in the neighbourhood when the trade between the city and its surrounding villages improves. Therefore the present many single-family courtyards are likely to be shared by two or more families as happened in all the large cities in the country. Sooner or later there needs to be some legislation to deal with the rights of the tenants and the interests of the property owners.

Environmentally, since the neighbourhood is located in the city centre, in general community facilities, including shops and the post office, are convenient. But the provision of a main sewage system for the whole area is urgently needed in order to enhance the central Gupan Lake area. This would allow the streets to be properly paved. The existing rubbish collection point should be relocated to an other place far from the lake and people's houses, and the rubbish should be controlled in a *la ji lou* (a specially designed building to contain rubbish). Also, collections should be run on a more frequent basis so as to avoid the over spread of rubbish. Street lighting needs to be improved especially in the little lanes. As far as planting is concerned, the present naked edge of

Gupan Lake should be greened, and with the future environmental improvement of the area some treed spaces should be created. Moreover there is a lack of play areas for the children, and more open spaces should be provided for them. At the same time, the residents should be encouraged to green their own courtyards.

Finally, the survey shows that the majority of the public held a positive attitude towards participation in any neighbourhood environment improvements, so long as the City Council and the Neighbourhood Committee organised them and provided materials and equipment etc.. Public participation is very important both for the residents and the Local Authorities because it can better ensure that specific local problems can be solved by the people themselves, and could release the City Council from its current financial burden.

The socially desirable new housing forms: Whether the habitants in the neighbourhood want to stay or move, what kinds of new houses are they looking for? Any answers to this question will give an indication of the potential future house forms, both in the existing and new areas. Question No. 14 and 15 of the questionnaire were designed to cover this issue. As a result of the survey, it was found that half the householders in the Gupan Lake area would like to build a simple single-storey courtyard house with stone foundations, burned-brick walls and tiled roofs. But 34% of them want to build a much better house which is usually more compact in plan and more decorative in appearance. Apart from the first two groups, 11% of householders will follow the majority. This implies that the social trend will influence future housing standards and quality. 4% said they had no opinion on this question.

The preferred courtyard house would be traditional in style, with a covered entrance porch, and be built of stone foundations, burnt-bricks and clay tiles, with larger rooms and with a traditional gateway to the courtyard. The survey shows 79% of all householders would prefer this new design, but 8% wanted a two storey version. The younger members of the family preferred two-storey courtyard houses, while the elderly preferred single storey ones. In terms of their attitude towards the two-storey houses and the multi-storey apartments being built by Council in the new areas, 66% of the householders preferred the single-storey house. 17% thought both the two and multiple storey houses were inconvenient for children and the elderly.

With the regard to the problem of building a new house, 88% of the householders would employ a local builder to do the work for convenience. By contrast, 4% wanted to build their own, with help from relatives and friends, while 8% of them did not answer the question because they live in public housing.

The general social opinions of the new development: The survey established that just over a third of the householders had no ideas concerning the merit or otherwise about the new developments in Qufu. This was partly due to the fact that many of the interviewees were women or elderly, but more crucially it was because the local people did not participate in the city's planning decision-making. Nevertheless, only a very few people thought the new developments had made the city 'nicer in appearance'. Unfortunately, nearly half of the householders felt that the new developments were bad because the ordinary people's daily living environment had been neglected, and in some cases even their standard of living had fallen³⁸.

4.3 Lessons from the Traditional Neighbourhood

The Gupan Lake Neighbourhood area is a typical traditional neighbourhood which has grown with the local social and economic life. Even today, apart from the modern buildings along the Nanmen Street which interrupt the organic pattern, most of the area still retains its traditional appearance and way of life. First of all, its street system is hierarchically structured, so that the width and length of the streets embody its use. For instance, the main neighbourhood streets are about 7 metres wide, and all of them, except Shangyou Street, run from west to east. Most neighbourhood services, such as the school, small shops, the Neighbourhood Committee Office, etc., are located along these major neighbourhood streets. These divide the whole neighbourhood into regularly shaped small blocks in which some secondary streets serve house clusters. These secondary streets are around 4 metres wide and most run in a north-south direction. But the social diversity found in the Gupan Lake neighbourhood is absent from any of the other settlements in the new areas because there they segregate social groups and functions.

The more usual mixed social structure of the neighbourhood has resulted from the well established nature of the population over a long period of time. For instance, from

³⁸ See 'The changes to people's living standards', p.397.

1977 to 1988, the amount of new accommodation constructed in each three year period remained at about 51 jians i.e. rooms, except during the second three years from 1980 to 1982 when it was raised to 77 jians³⁹. This indicates that there was a stable and continuous improvement in the neighbourhood. The 'three year' rhythm is explained by the local saying that 'building a new house involves a three year financial burden' (*yi nian guai fang, san nian jin*). Also, the survey has demonstrated that the residents' plans to improve their houses by rebuilding, extending or repairing always depends on the assessment of their finances.

Moreover, this well established self-determining housing improvement process is also geared to the local culture of the courtyard house that allows incremental room additions to take place in the simplest possible way. Out of the sampled 53 households, 50 are private houses, and 3 are public ones. Within these private houses, except for one house at the southern end of the Shangyou Street, all the dwellings are courtyard houses. However they are not in any standard physical form. Some of them only have *fangs* or house buildings on the north side of the courtyard, and so on⁴⁰. This is partly a result of the limited space in the courtyards, but many of them have the potential to extend to courtyards with buildings on two, three and four sides. With this simple growth pattern to the accommodation, the north fang house is the most favourable. They can then extend to the west, east and south in the courtyard.

To conclude this neighbourhood area study, the current development and conservation policies are threatening the traditional neighbourhood both socially and physically. The relocation policy, in particular, undermines the existing community and their living environment. Not only does the ruthless relocation programme cause many people's standard of living to drop, but it also, with the new types of house form, destroys the existing desirable neighbourhood structure. To the people in the neighbourhood, their living condition can only be improved along with their increasing economic viability. Any rash and large scale development will threaten people's living standards. Therefore the traditional small scale improvement is still the best way for the inhabitants to enhance their living standard and neighbourhood environment; in so doing each householder can

³⁹ See Appendix 11.

⁴⁰ See Appendix 10.

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cope best with their economic conditions and housing problems according to their existing living standard. But the current relocation and standardised houses in the new areas do not provide residents with such an opportunity.

The survey demonstrated that in the future the Community Builders will be the major organisations to be involved in housing improvement in the old neighbourhood. It seems important for the City Council to carefully examine Community Builders' activities and the quality of their work in order to produce some policies to gear their work to a better standard. Thus the City Council should keep in touch both with Community Builders and residents to understand the existing problems and the future need. As far as the neighbourhood environment is concerned, the City Council should pay more attention to the local people's daily living environment, and give more support to its improvement. Most of the residents are willing to participate in such work; it will be an opportunity for the Local Authorities to learn to work with them and make it a positive contribution. Public participation is also an important aspect in the general development and conservation programmes. Local people's lack of knowledge of the current developments illustrates the gap between authorities and people.

5 AN ASSESSMENT OF DESIGN POLICIES IN QUFU

In theory, the planning and urban design philosophies practised in Qufu did aim to avoid damaging the city in the first forty years after Mao came to power in 1949, especially in the period of the Cultural Revolution. However in practice these policies have been limited to the consciousness of architectural styles and building restorations of the professional in charge, and little attention has been paid to the city morphology and its related building typologies. As a result, while vast restoration works have been carried out, the old city streets have been and will be rebuilt. For example, it has been proposed to widen a few streets to the same width as the new standard of 13 metres; these include the East-south-gate Street, the Yan-Temple Street and West-gate street.

Outside the old city, the road plan is more ambitious; any new street is planned to be at least 13 metres in width, and some important ones, such as the Nanquan and Xuequan Avenues, have been already rebuilt 30 and 40 metres in width respectively. These widened streets have nothing to do with the traffic conditions in Qufu, rather they represent a continuity with the early, universal, heroic modern urban design ideas, used by Haussmann when rebuilding Paris in the 19th century⁴¹.

As argued in previous chapters, urban morphology and building typologies have been developed as an adequate planning and architectural approach to urban conservation and renewal. Following these ideas, this Section analyses the urban morphology and typologies in Qufu, in order to provide a better understanding of the physical character of the city. Chapter Seven discussed the evolution of the important parts of the city and the imprint from the Fenshui tradition and Chinese city types against their historic

⁴¹ According to the Traffic Management Office in Qufu, in the city area there are only 274 cars, 9 buses, 108 small and 142 large trucks, and 217 motor-cycles. There are 30,633 bicycles. Additionally there are 300 manual tricycles and 21 horse drawn carts only for tourists. In the city centre, the main traffic is made up with cars, buses, bicycles, and all the tourist vehicles. But the author's observation was that even during rush hour, in the high season, say early May, there is never too much traffic in the city. However, as in most Chinese cities, the people's sense of traffic regulation is extremely poor, which sometimes contributes to the chaotic street scenes. Therefore the author argues that town planning should put more effort into traffic management rather than to seek the damaging solution of physical changes to the existing streets, and therefore to the character of the city. The very thing that the tourists come to see and experience.

background. Now the morphology of the old city of Qufu is compared with the present one, so as to show the damage to the visual quality and the changing social meaning.

5.1 The Evolving Morphology of Qufu

The traditional morphology: According to the traditional city structure as shown in Chapter Seven, it can be clearly seen that the logic of the city's morphology is the inseparable part played by most of the important public buildings and individual monuments. This logical morphological structure can be demonstrated by the theory of urban syntax developed by Hillier (1984) and others. Firstly, the walled city was completely closed from the *surrounding settlements*, therefore there were no streets within the walled city that were on the same level as the main roads linking the city gates and the outside world. Secondly, within the city wall, all the streets directly connected to the city gates were the longest, along which most of the important public buildings were arranged, such as the Temple, the local administration *yamen*, shops and so on. Notably these streets were all in a 'T' shape pattern. Thirdly, from these major city level streets, the secondary city level street diverged, and in this group most of the streets running east-west were about 370 to 530 metres⁴², and the streets running south-north ranged from 220 to 400 metres or so in length⁴³. Moreover, most of the streets, especially the ones running east-west, were shaped by the traditional traffic, including pedestrians, horse-drawn carts, and horses, so most of them were formed in a very subtle 'S' pattern, and the turning points were likely to be street corners or the accesses to large buildings. The straight part of the street was around 200 metres long. Curiously this 200 metre distance between two nodes of the street was shared by most of the medieval European cities⁴⁴. These secondary city level streets continued the 'T' or 'L' pattern. Fourthly the major neighbourhood streets emerge in the city blocks to structure a 'cross' pattern, thus the neighbourhood block was sub-divided into four major sub-blocks. Along

⁴² Note their proportion is about 2 to 3. This is explained by the fact that most of the streets in the city were slightly curved in a 'S' shape, and the turning points of this kind of street tended to connect with accesses to major city buildings or neighbourhood streets. Thus the neighbourhood blocks were often divided into two parts in the 2:3 proportion. The same thing happened to the streets running north-south.

⁴³ Similarly, the longest street running south-north was about two times the shortest one.

⁴⁴ See B. Maitland, 'The Minimum Urban Structure' Ph.D. thesis, School of Architecture, Sheffield University, 1982. Also in his famous book *A Pattern Language* (1977), C. Alexander argues the essential visual quality constituted by the regular landmarks in every 200 metres or so in traditional cities.

these neighbourhood streets, as in the case of the Gupan Lake area, the local gentry's houses and the neighbourhood facilities were arranged. From these neighbourhood streets, many much shorter small lanes were generated, and most of them joined in a 'T' shape again. These small lanes provided the accesses to the individual houses (see Fig. 8-10).

In this hierarchical urban morphology, the city can be easily appreciated from Cullen's (1961) townscape point of view for its 'serial vision', and can also be understood in terms of Schultz's (1984) 'genius loci' for its strong sense of enclosure (see Fig. 8-11, and Fig. 8-12).

However, from the social point of view, this hierarchical morphology first of all presented a locally controlled place. The division of the outside road and the city streets reinforced this local power. The urban syntax of traditional Qufu, showed that spatially the public spaces were equally distributed; even the Confucian Temple was on the same level as the street with other public buildings despite its impressive manner, and both the Drum and Bell Buildings shared the syntactic level because of the similar city spaces they contained. Secondly, this hierarchical morphology provided an equal syntactic relationship between public and private buildings. For example, the Great Mansion was located at the same street level as many other houses. Moreover,, the courtyard house types combined the public spaces with private spaces in one courtyard complex; the divisions between these two regimes were not simply separated by streets, since the majority of the neighbourhood streets served both the poor and the rich as direct access to private spaces - the houses.

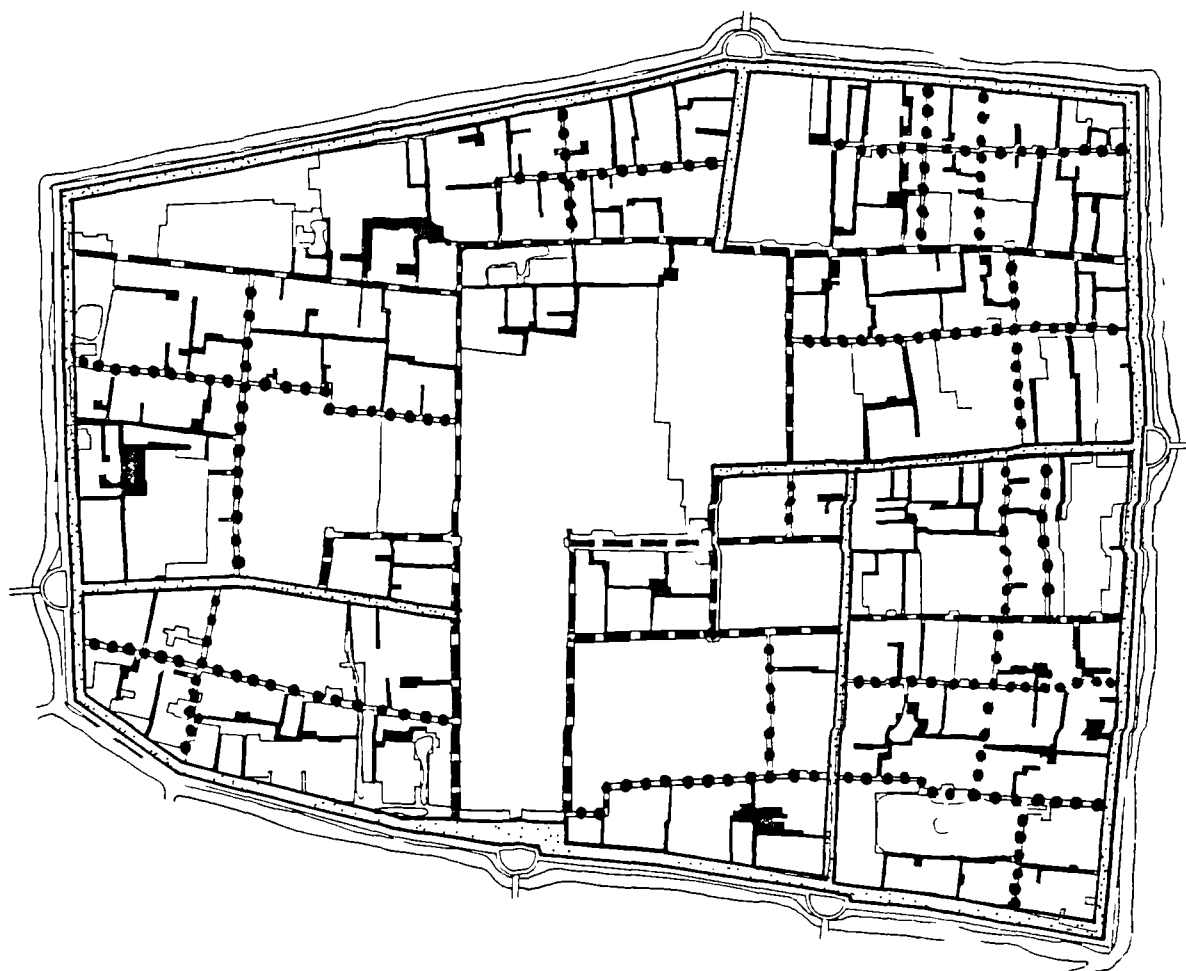
The morphology of the present city: In 1956 when the first new road was built in the city, the traditional morphology began to face the challenge from the outside power - the Central State. This changing social power from local to central was explicitly expressed by the new urban morphology which occurred in the city. The 1956 road construction of north Gulou Street for the first time extended the outside road into the city centre, by cutting off the side courts of the Great Mansion. In 1977, when the city wall was knocked down and the south part of Gulou Street was completed, the city was consequently 'opened' to the outside world. This event turned all the previous first rank city streets into regional ones, when economic activities in Qufu became centrally and regionally directed it forced many first rank neighbourhood streets to become city level

streets. For example, the three newly built shopping streets, including Wumaci, were on this syntactic level (see Fig. 7-19: 'The 1985 Development and Conservation Plan' and Fig. 8-6: 'The major current shopping development in Qufu').

Moreover the tourism-centred development has enforced the trend by the increased economic activities like shopping being concentrated on in the 'regionalised' and even 'nationalised' streets or roads. For example, as mentioned before, historically the Gupan Lake area was once the site of the Imperial Palace 'Xing-gong', but it was still located at the neighbourhood street level. According to the 1985 Master Plan, the greater part of this area will be restored to its 'original' appearance, in that the Xing-gong Palace will be built and the Lake turned into a park for tourism; therefore, the area will be one part of the city level space.

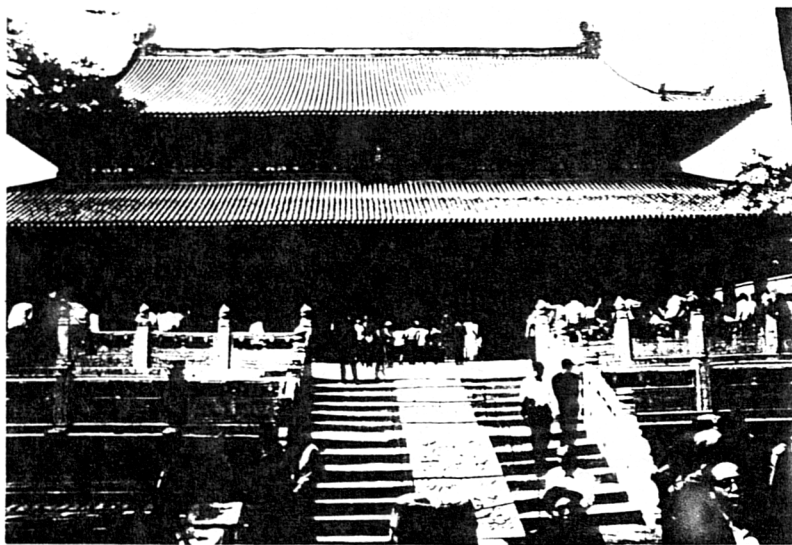
However, the current trend will bring more conflicts between the tourists and the local neighbourhoods. As mentioned in Section 3.1 in this Chapter, traditionally public and private realms were connected in the courtyard house types; therefore any street at any level always served a similar function for both sides of the street, and the social meanings of the urban space such as privacy, was firmly ensured. However, this is no longer true with the new development and its function based zoning policy. Taking the design of Wumaci Shopping Street as an example, while the whole central block is devoted to commercial uses, the neighbourhood residential areas on both the north and south sides of the new shopping area are separated by two new roads, which are planned especially to service the shops from the back. Therefore the existing and new houses on the opposite sides would face a decline in privacy. Moreover the invasion of the tourist facilities and shops onto the major streets will displace many existing small businesses, such as groceries and bicycle repair shops, most of which provide a daily service to the local people. At the same time, as the inhabitants of the old neighbourhoods are removed to the new areas, these small businesses in the city centre will also decline.

In short, the expansion of the city centre with its monopoly commercial function, and the increased numbers of city level streets, will result in the small traditional city losing its essential character. Although the new planning policy has brought in rigorous control of new buildings, such as the limit to building heights and so on, the sense of enclosure around the Temples and the Mansion will disappear. This could also cause a problem of street safety in these expanding commercial areas during the night, because there would be very few people about after dark.



▬ Major city level streets; ▬ Secondary city level streets;
●●● Major neighbourhood streets; ■■ House accesses.

Fig. 8-10: The different streets patterns in Qufu



Top: the first gate Lingxing-men; middle: the fifth gate Shengshi-men; bottom: the dominant hall Dacheng-dian, i.e. the Hall of Great Achievement.

Fig. 8-11: A serial vision of the Confucian Temple

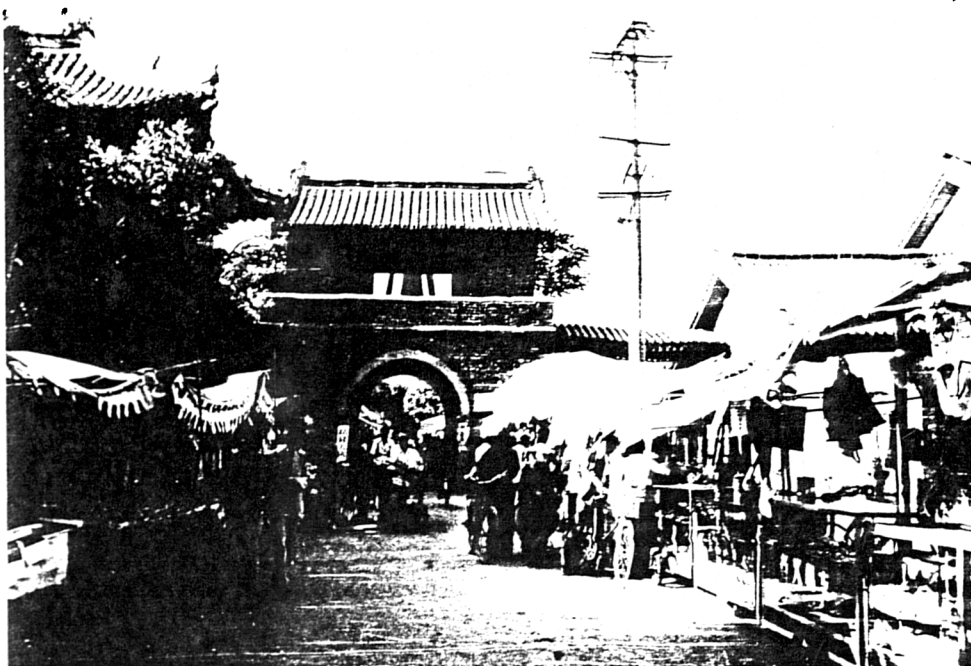


Fig. 8-12: The Bell Building creates a sense of enclosure in the Queli Street.

5.2 The Development Patterns in Qufu

Planning the traditional neighbourhood as a growing process: Looking at the developments before the middle 1950s, or even the present vernacular settlement in Qufu such as the Gupan Lake area, it is easy to see that the city grew from the dominant streets. As mentioned before, the existing city of Qufu was especially built to protect the Confucian Temple and the great Kong Mansion; therefore the Temple and the Mansion were actually the starting point of the city, then the city wall was built. These two dominant elements naturally formed the major road system along which the important civic buildings emerged, such as institutions and shrines and other big mansions of the local gentry. Needless to say, their formation followed the principles of *fenshui*. Then the secondary neighbourhood streets were generated when the number of ordinary citizens increased, when they began to build houses on the empty land between the first groups of buildings. Similarly the increased density of each neighbourhood led to branching, shorter and narrower lanes to fill up the available land and to complete the neighbourhood plan. This process occurred universally in the traditional settlements, and now in Europe it has come to be regarded as a positive settlement building method, and the 'process planning' ideas, as discussed in Chapter Four, followed these principles. At

the same time these ideas also have been adopted in many conservation cities in Europe, such as Lund in Sweden and York in England. In those cases, the new housing developments inside the old neighbourhood areas are trying to maintain the general urban morphologies, by increasing the discontinuous spaces, thus increase privacy while maintained sufficiently density to make the development possible.

Moreover in Qufu the courtyard house pattern allows a continuous growing and changing process to take place, rather than a fixed final physical form that makes no allowances for the future. Except for the important courtyard houses, such as the Great Mansion, which were once built with complete courtyard units, the majority of the ordinary courtyard houses are incomplete; however, the courtyard concept provides the potential for their completion to form an ideal courtyard house. In this process the neighbourhood morphology was continuously reinforced. For example in the Gupan Lake neighbourhood area, only about one-third of the privately owned courtyard houses have buildings on all four sides, the majority only have buildings on three sides or less. Of course some of the latter will be limited by the present arrangement because of the small size of the plot, but there are around one-fifth of them that are potentially able to become four-sided courtyard houses. This traditional internal adaptability harmonises with the socially defined communicative neighbourhood morphology, along with the freedom for each householder to improve their own living conditions and their general living standards.

Modern development patterns: Unlike the traditional development pattern which consolidated the urban spaces, most of the modern developments in Qufu have demonstrated an anti-urban space trend. Again this phenomenon dates back to the middle 1950s, when many large traditional courtyards were rebuilt in a non-courtyard pattern, whereby the new row buildings simply replaced the old courts, and the courtyard walls became a purely territorial boundary. But due to the relatively small scale of many of those buildings, the overall impact did not affect the city that much. This fashion continued throughout the 1960s when additional neighbourhood industries were developed in the city. However, from the late 1960s to 1979, development began to take place on a much larger scale, both in ground area and building heights. The new administration buildings of Qufu City Council are a typical example of this period. Since the large scale of the row type building blocks requires more space between each of them in

consideration of sunlight, ventilation and so on, the gaps left in between are no longer defined by the traditional courtyard walls. As a result, the streets to which they connect are not visually continuous. In other words, these large institutional buildings do not contribute to the street space, because the solid buildings replace the central position of urban spaces in the new environment. This phenomenon is clearly observed in the new development area (see Fig. 8-14).

New housing developments in Qufu fall into two patterns. Firstly, the public apartment buildings that are under the complete control of the city's design professionals, and sadly the resulting design often has little to do with the way people live. Thus the neighbourhood environment of apartment housing is one of the worst in Qufu. One of the reasons is that the new housing does not provide sufficient space for storage which is very important for the residents. Thus after the apartments housing was finished, many families on the ground floor built many shelters for storage. Secondly, the community- or self-built private courtyard houses that are designed in rows with small courtyards in front. The decline of household size has encouraged a compact arranged house plan. The standardised sizes of each house unit and the planned layout of each neighbourhood have reduced the traditional neighbourhood morphology to one or two street level(s). Obviously these planned settlements can hardly form an organic townscape as the traditional city. But more importantly, they have segregated different groups of the community. The previously mixed social neighbourhoods have been divided into new and different neighbourhoods: the dominant public sector, the professionals, the workers, the well-off householders and the ordinary urban and rural population.



Top: the typical pattern in the late 1950s and 1960s. Middle: the typical pattern in the 1970s. Bottom: the typical pattern in the 1980s.

Fig. 8-13: The modern development patterns in Qufu.

5.3 A Critique of 'Styles' and 'Images'

Within these planning ideas and their consequent morphological structures, the only way left for architectural expression is to work on styles and image-making. Thus the conventional architectural languages are explored in a fragmental way. Nowadays tourism and shopping are all regarded as fun-making and leisure, and the architectural expression of a suitable image becomes the important part of these urban spaces. This trend can be easily observed in most of the new hotels and shops. The dispute about styles between the needs of the local people against those of the outsiders has become evident. While the local designers and builders prefer the imitation of their local tradition, the architects from outside insist on introducing 'progressive' styles to this thousand-year old place. For the local people, be they professional or ordinary citizens, the local tradition is deeply rooted in their minds, and its social meaning still dominates their daily life. Therefore a householder might be willing to spend a small fortune on an over-decorated, traditional style gate to show off his family's wealth; the new buildings by the local designer and builder are more easily accepted in the local people's eyes because they are regarded as the conventional norm. This situation is best illustrated in the case of the design of the Wumaci Shopping Street.

The background of the Wumaci shopping development and its design competition were previously mentioned in Section 3.2 in this Chapter. According to the Chief Architect of the winning scheme, the main idea of the design was to integrate the new development in Wumaci Street with the old city centre by connecting the new street to the Drum Building, and thus creating an image of a 'traditional' shopping street. In order to achieve these two goals, firstly the whole project is arranged to stretch across the whole eastern part of the city, from central Gulou Street to the moat with a total length of 425 metre. Secondly, the existing 20 metre wide street, which was widened a few years ago, was to be reduced back to 7 metres, with occasional squares remaining from the wider dimension. This overall reduction in scale attempts to represent the proportions of a traditional street. Moreover, in order to prevent the long narrow street from being monotonous, the street buildings were deliberately designed with some set back and others projecting, thereby trying to creating a more interesting streetscape.

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As far as style is concerned, the continuity of the architectural tradition was regarded by all the design team as their main goal. As the chief architect said: the design of the Wumaci Shopping was to introduce the lost architectural tradition back to the city at the same time to create something new and progressive, in order to 'suit both refined and popular tastes' (*ya su gong shang*)⁴⁵, i.e., be appreciated by the lay people and the professionals.

Following this design philosophy, Wumaci was finally designed in a 'southern Chinese' architectural style. The architects argued that Qufu was situated between the southern and northern Chinese style⁴⁶, so it was excusable to introduce some elements of southern architecture into Qufu. However, the rationale behind this could hardly be pursued. The architects confessed that it was easier for them to deal with southern styles because they came from there and were familiar with them⁴⁷. This is why the modern version of the '*Ma tou qiang*' white walls were used. This phenomenon demonstrated the contradiction between the professionals and the locals. As so often happens in current architectural and planning practice in China, the intervention of outside professionals in local issues created a 'dilemma of styles'. They either copy traditional architecture, or introduce so-called 'revolutionary' styles which have little or nothing to do with the local context. The author believes that outside professionals tend to ignore the local conditions due to ignorance, lack of sensitivity or plain arrogance. Due to these factors, the lack of mutual understanding between the outside designers and the local builders can be seen with disastrous results. In the case of the Wumaci shopping development, for many reasons the architects could not visit Qufu more frequently than once in two or three months, therefore the local builders had to do everything according to the drawings on paper. But not all the situations could be predicted by design, thus misunderstandings easily occurred during the rush of the construction process. As a result, one building at the west end of the street was built in a totally wrong way because the plan had been turned upside down.

⁴⁵ An interview with Mr. Wu yu-ming, the Chief architect of the Design Team for Wumaci Shopping, June 1989.

⁴⁶ In China, traditional architecture is basically divided into northern and southern styles. This crude convention overlooks the various local traditions in each particular locality.

⁴⁷ The architect and his team are from the Architectural Department of the Central University in Nanking, where the traditional architecture is well known for its *ma-to-qiang* and white plaster walls.

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This struggle between tradition and progress, popular and elite tastes was even more comically expressed in the design for Wumaci; in order to be more progressive, the whole street was designed with a changing image along its length. The western end of the street was to be more traditional in order to integrate it with the existing surroundings, where all the recently built shops were in a traditional style. But gradually along the street the design was to change to a newer style, whereby only the outline of the traditional forms remained, while the details were devoted to irrational geometric games, which the local people regarded as 'ridiculous'.

The new Wumaci scheme was a massive development, the scale of the project symbolising the plans and designs of an ambitious modern city. Since they differ from the 'more functional' buildings such as housing, shopping developments have always been regarded as a chance to create a 'sense of freedom and excitement' (*zi yong huo po*) within a total planning ideology. In addition to the arbitrary zigzag pattern of the building line along the street, the whole project was divided into seven parts, which were separately designed by different small design groups, in order to try to bring variety to the streetscape.

However, opinions of professionals are after all only 'academic'; in practice they have to be viewed from a 'financial' point of view, and all the arguments about style have to take 'money' into consideration. During the competition period the project was supposed to be financed by Central Government, but soon they withdrew their funds and it was left to collective and private enterprises through the Comprehensive Development Company process. This reduced the scope of the project through cost cutting. The present design had to give up the supposedly more expensive locally based designs and use the modernised cheap southern traditional style. So it was that the out of context 'ma-tou-qiang' design was used in place of the pitched roofs, which had been used in many new commercial buildings in Qufu. With the introduction of the CDC way of raising funds from the private sector, profit became important, and can significantly affect the physical outcome. Originally there was one large traditional courtyard house that was planned to be rehabilitated as part of the new development. However in the first phase of the development, a part of the house had been demolished, and the Comprehensive Development Company showed no intention of rehabilitating it. The reason given was that the rehabilitated building could not be sold or rented at a

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desirable price, although the actual cost was estimated to be lower than that needed to build a new building.

The failure to value rehabilitation of worthwhile buildings also demonstrates the architectural dilemma in the new climate of consumerism in the development of the urban environment; new developments have to architecturally symbolise the wealth and enhance the status of the building owners. The costs are reduced by simplifying the traditional details, while the fashionable and expensive aluminum window and door frames using costly tinted glass are used to proclaim the newness and modernity of the buildings.



Fig. 8-16: The new Wumaci Shopping Streets.

Note the design of the top of the walls - a poor interpretation of the traditional Matoqiang.

Conclusion and Recommendations of Part Four

In the proceeding Sections of this Chapter, the main aspects of the current development and conservation policies and practices were discussed. The focus has been on relocation and restoration programmes, tourist and commercial development, and the consequent social and environmental impact on the historic city of Qufu. From the socio-economic point of view, the current tourism-centred development policies are finding difficulty in providing sufficient jobs for the farmers whose land has been or will be taken by the new development outside the city. The main employment opportunities provided by hotels have begun to shrink, and further lost jobs in agriculture will not necessarily be replaced by jobs in the new hotels and other tourist services sectors. As one of the chain reactions, the quality of the environment formed by these tourist facilities will remain low in many parts of the city. However, if many of the present poor quality hotels and other tourist services are improved, the expansion of the tourist industry in Qufu should lead the way to sufficiency and quality. More jobs should be created outside tourism in order to absorb the transferred rural population in the city, both in the short and long-term. This will require both the Central and Local Governments to change their current long-term development strategies for Qufu. Government grants and tax free policies should shift to promote agriculture and other small enterprises throughout the whole county to spread the benefits of locally based economic development programmes. In the past the damage caused by neighbourhood industries should be more carefully analysed, rather than just blindly rejecting the policy on the grounds of now unrealistic planning zones.

Qufu region as a whole is densely populated; the total arable land is only about 53%⁴⁸ of the total, and the average size of agricultural land per householder is only about 1 *mu* i.e. Chinese acre⁴⁹. The current policy of '... taking grain as the key line, the economy should be diversified to ensure better all-round development'⁵⁰. The city of Qufu should develop its industries through the way of '*lian-ying*'. This is a newly developed industrialisation policy in China, whereby the highly developed large industrial

⁴⁸ See 'The Economic Development in Qufu' an appendix of the 1985 Plan, by Chai, Bao-gui, 1985.

⁴⁹ 1 *mu* = 0.1647 acre.

⁵⁰ Qufu City Council, 1989.

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enterprises invest in small towns and suburban areas, in order to help the industrial development in the rural areas such as in Jiangsu Province⁵¹. The advantage of this kind of development pattern for Qufu can be applied to provide the city with more suitable industries in terms of appropriate scale technology and environmental consequences; the highly developed industries can help to avoid the often low efficiency and serious environmental pollution which is often caused by relatively low standards of management and technical expertise in the locally initiated industries, as has happened in the last forty years or so in Qufu. Most of the successful *xiang zhen* industries in China are so far all strongly associated with large cities, where industries of all kinds are already well established, such as in the regions of Shanghai and Beijing. In the case of Qufu, this kind of cooperation can be developed between the provincial capital Jinan, from which some selected developed industries can be extended to Qufu as part of their partial or small-scale production. Of course, this requires the Provincial Government to intervene financially in order to help it happen. This strategy for industrial development should by no means be regarded as against tourism and conservation. Rather it aims to improve the city's economy on a broader basis and to correct the current imbalance of tourist-centred development. At the same time, solid development in the city of a high quality must be ensured; this in turn will support conservation, and the enhancement of the whole city environment.

A balanced development strategy for the future can also solve the current conflict between local and tourist needs for shopping facilities. The weak economic basis of the new Wumaci Shopping development is in fact generated by the separation of these two; the assumption is that the 'crowded and dirty' local trading and shopping facilities are not compatible with the needs of the 'clean tourist'. As a result the local market and shopping facilities have been located away from the city centre; that has been reserved for the more expensive shops to please the eyes of tourists. But the policy misconstrues both the real shopping needs in the city and the robustness of the tourists in their search for the real Qufu. Moreover, the conflict between the public and private commercial developments demonstrates the gap between the planned developments and the concentrated nature of shopping activities, and the danger of losing a great many local shops in the city centre. On the one hand, both the local and tourist facilities tend to

⁵¹ See Zhu Tong-hua, 'The Readjustment and Development of *xiang zhen* industries in Jiangsu' in Liao Wang, No.48, 11/1990, Beijing, pp.14-15.

appear in the highly concentrated city areas rather than the scattered new areas. On the other, the market forces likely to replace the local shopping facilities with tourist shops are now mainly provided by collective, and private sectors; essential local shopping services are left to the public sector in the new areas according to the Development Plan. In the future, planning policy should control the over-spread of tourist shops in the city centre rather than just leave it completely to market forces.

Analysis of the shopping development in Qufu has shown that further large-scale shopping development is unnecessary; thus it is suggested that the second phase of Wumaci shopping development should be suspended pending a re-examination of the situation. This will again save some local shops in the city centre from being relocated to the new areas, and avoid some of the financial burden for the Local Authority, which otherwise has to invest a great amount of money in relocating the existing properties without any economic benefit. Additionally, in the second phase of Wumaci shopping development several well structured buildings are supposed to be demolished because of their unacceptable design. But it is arguable whether it is right to spend lot of money on demolishing these buildings rather than on improving the many dilapidated old buildings including the listed and unlisted.

Following the recommended development policies above, current conservation policies also need to be reviewed. Under the current circumstances, to stop the large-scale relocation and restoration programmes would be the first step towards avoiding further losses of agricultural land; it would consequently reduce the potential competition in the already over-supplied tourist services and destruction of the existing neighbourhoods. The Gupan Lake Relocation and its related projects, such as hotels and reconstruction of the 'Xing-gong' Palace, should be banned. Moreover it is arguable whether it is sensible to build such a large park in a small city such as Qufu which is still surrounded by countryside. It seems better to retain some green fields in the new areas instead. The lesson of Houzhuo Street should be learnt, where a whole neighbourhood has been relocated but where the site has remained empty as an eyesore for more than three years because of the financial crisis. This immediately brings in the issue of restoration, that lies at the centre of current conservation policies in Qufu. There is no argument about the restoration of the historic city of Qufu, which has been seriously damaged over the last forty years. The important historic monuments, including the Confucian Temple, the

Great Mansion and the Cemetery, should all be carefully maintained with sufficient financial and technical support from the Governments. Also, the deteriorated city environment should be improved by, for example, the restoration of the moat, but the current superficial image-making contributes little to its real enhancement. The restoration work should be critically viewed in its socio-economic and political context, and its consequent impact on the whole urban morphology. These two aspects are inseparable, as concluded in Chapter Six, and as proved in the case of Qufu itself.

In Qufu the present criterion for historic restoration is arguable. The need for historic improvement can not really explain why the relocation programmes have so far mostly occurred in the powerless neighbourhoods, rather than in the powerful public premises. It is these that have actually destroyed most of the important historic buildings and landmarks in the city, and imposed inappropriate development patterns on the old city. Nor can it explain why the City Council did not improve the infrastructure instead of wasting money on the superficial 'face-cleaning' campaign, and why the newly restored moat became re-polluted as soon as reconstruction work was finished. Not to mention the way it was achieved by the exploitation of thousands of cheap labourers working in extremely hard conditions. Any purely aesthetic or historic proposition about this kind of restoration will only help to disguise further the real political goals. The lessons of the 'Great Leap Forward' in the 1950s should not be forgotten; it led thousands of millions of people's enthusiasm and great effort to support what turned out of to disastrous political ambitions. In Qufu now many planned restoration projects should be reassessed.

The case of the Gupan Lake neighbourhood has demonstrated that the socially desirable environment is threatened by the current development and conservation policies. People do want to improve their living condition, but the current ruthless relocation programme will cause the majority a financial burden and much inconvenience in their daily life. The existing self- or community-building process in fact works better in existing neighbourhoods because it combines the local people's housing need with their ability to pay. In the future, instead of controlling the local housing process the City Council should encourage with financial and technical support the neighbourhood community to improve their own living environment. Why cannot the fund for the relocation programme be used for this purpose?

Research: Development and Conservation in Qufu

In terms of planning control and environmental quality, the current policies for development and conservation have been proved self-defeating. At the early stage when Professor Wu (1979) first discussed planning controls for the new developments in the city centre, he addressed the importance of the wholeness of traditional Qufu, in terms of the relationship between the monuments and the buildings. However, he did not provide an analytical study to define what were the physical structures and the underlying socio-economic factors which determine the harmonious traditional city environment. Both the 1981 and 1985 Masters Plans did not provide any such analysis either, except for a building-height control policy based on a 'visual corridor' idea. As a result, as far as architectural issues are concerned, building height and style are located at the centre of planning controls. This means that though controls have been imposed on individual buildings, the enormous scale of historic reconstruction and commercial development projects have been allowed to take place in the city centre. But the morphology has been totally neglected, which, as argued, is the essential spatial element to form the visual and social wholeness of traditional Qufu. A comparison of the development patterns in Qufu of the last forty years or so demonstrates that what happened before the 1981 Plan has in fact continued on an even larger scale. Since the 1981 and 1985 Plans, the only thing which has changed is the official attitude towards the traditional architectural style and the historic monuments. However, without understanding the morphological importance of the traditional city, as has been seen, the new development is inevitably lost in a meaningless dispute about superficial styles and images.

In the new areas, the long-term planning control has failed because its static nature can simply not cope with the complex social and economic realities. So far the developments, which have taken place on the planned sites, are public projects. But most of the community-owned industries, hotels and housing, and the many private shops, have broken down the Master Plan as discussed in Chapter Seven. As a result, the whole new area is built in a scattered, chaotic manner without sufficient infrastructure, and a considerable amount of farming land left in between is seriously deteriorating. There is no doubt that in the future the planned land use pattern and density can not be realised in many areas.

Considering the gap between the reality and the Master Plan, both in the old and the new city areas, it is recommended that the current long-term planning ideas should be replaced by a 'process planning' strategy in which the dynamic social and economic

factors can be combined with more desirable physical forms. Firstly, the current zoning policy should be revised into an integrated land use pattern for the city as a whole. This land use pattern should encourage the mixture of tourist and local facilities, commercial and residential activities, public buildings and housing projects. Needless to say the mixed functions would not rule out some dominant use in certain areas. The key point here is to avoid the monopoly land uses in large city areas. In this way future development can make good use of the available land in the built-up areas in the whole city.

In general, for a considerable period of time major new developments should be concentrated on the build-up of the new areas rather than displacement from the old neighbourhoods. Now in the built-up new areas many pieces of land between the new buildings are no longer convenient for farming; at the same time, the scattered buildings can not be efficiently provided with infrastructure. Moreover they can not offer any satisfactory visual quality in the new areas. Any future development following the Master Plan will create more isolated buildings and ruin more farming land, and make the whole situation worse. The more concentrated development pattern will minimize these problems. This requires the City Council to encourage a more positive coordination among different neighbourhood communities, so that land can be more effectively managed as a whole. Thus the present land left in between new developments should be developed first in the future, rather than destroy more agricultural land. The planning and urban design control should emphasise urban space, be it streets or enclosed squares; thus the new developments can form positive public spaces.

In the old areas, the mixture of land uses is even more important for the character of the city. As mentioned before, traditionally the street system in Qufu logically integrated public and private spaces together, and some of this system still remains today. Planning policy should respect this system by maintaining the existing parts and improving the destroyed parts. For example, future public building such as institutions, commercial offices, etc., should create some enclosure like the old mansion houses, which connected the major city streets but absorbed public activities deeply into their courtyards. From this point, the traditional 'market square' (*shang-chang*) developed in many large Chinese cities; Yuyuan in Shanghai and Daguanyuan in Jinan are good examples. In the case of Qufu, several sites of vanished mansion houses are the potential locations where the enclosed development could take place. The author is

strongly against the rebuilding of these vanished mansions as future tourist attractions. In the future, after the present military camps and other similar institutions are moved, the vacant land can be developed as public facilities such as colleges, clubs, or even hotels and for commercial use, because of their good accessibility and the surrounding street patterns are naturally suitable for such activities. Following these policies, not only will the existing mixture of land uses and urban morphology be better kept, but it also leave more freedom for the new developments to provide more creative designs for future needs. This development strategy is entirely different from the current 'image making', which only attempts to improve the street-fronts to serve tourists.

As far as conservation is concerned, it is felt that there communication is badly lacking between the Local Authorities and the local people, partly because of the current top-down planning decision-making system, and partly due to the fact that conservation work is exclusively concentrated on the most important monuments for tourists only. However, if the morphology structure and its integrated social uses in the city are to be improved, a creative neighbourhood conservation and renewal programme should play an important part in the planning policies for the city. Both from the socio-economic and architectural point of view the current large-scale redevelopment policies and the monumental approach to historic restoration in old Qufu have been proved to be inadequate. As long as the Central and Provincial Governments and the Local Authority understand the importance of the traditional neighbourhood, financially the improvement of the existing neighbourhoods will be better supported. However improvement is a completely different concept from the present wholesale redevelopment and restoration policies; the former requires a close coordination between the authorities, planning and design professionals, various ownerships, and the ordinary citizens. Therefore each particular local issue should be more carefully looked at. Obviously this will be a challenge to the politicians, professionals and all the people in Qufu, where democratic decision-making and public participation are still under-developed.

APPENDICES

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- Appendix 1: Geographical conditions in Qufu.
- Appendix 2: Population of Qufu.
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- Appendix 6: A list of historic restoration and their cost.
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- Appendix 8: A survey of hotels carried out by the author in May 1989.
- Appendix 9: The questionnaire and survey form used in the Gupan Lake Neighbourhood survey.
- Appendix 10: The housing types and house construction in the Gupan Lake neighbourhood.
- Appendix 11: The statistical results of the survey in the Gupan Lake residential area.

This part consists of many kinds of highly relevant information about the social, economic and planning policies and building construction activities in Qufu collected by the author during the field study in the summer 1989. Also included are the hotel survey and the important statistical results of the neighbourhood survey in Qufu by the author.

Conventional physical approaches to town planning and architecture are currently practised in China, hence much of the information presented here is often regarded irrelevant or unnecessary by the planning and architectural professionals. In Qufu neither the City Council nor its Planning Department nor any other branch of the Local Authority has retained all these important data in any methodical manner. In order to collect these data, the author spent more than seven weeks in Qufu to trace and get them through the bureaucratic systems.

It is even more difficult to carry out a non-political survey in the city. The Gupan Lake neighbourhood survey had to overcome many political and bureaucratic obstacles, and the communicative barriers between the author and the still very politically-minded local people.

Appendix 1: Geographical Conditions in Qufu

The maximum annual rainfall is 959.3 mm (millimetre) (1974), and the minimum is 459.2 mm (1981). The average annual rainfall is 666.6 mm (1965 - 1983). The maximum daily rainfall is 163.4 mm (7th September, 1965). Qufu's annual average temperature is 13.6 C, and the highest is 40.3 C (1966), and the lowest -18.1 (1967). The average hours of sunshine is 56 percent of daylight for the whole year. The maximum foggy time is 19 days (1979), and the minimum is 8.9 days (1967). The main wind direction is southerly in summer, north-easterly in winter, and the average wind speed is 2.7 metres per hour.

Appendix 2: Population of Qufu

1 The historic background

According to official figures, in 1965, the then total population of Qufu Town was 23,033 with only 9,947 (43.2%) counted as urban and 13,086 (56.8%) as rural people. The 1983 census showed that the total population was 40,531 with an urban population of 22,303 (55.1%) and a rural population of 18,223 (44.9%). Over the 18 years from 1965 to 1983, the population increase was 17,498 (75.9%). While the rate of increase of the whole population was 3.4% per year, the rate of increase of the urban population was 4.6%.

Table A-1: The number of population from 1965 to 1983.

Year	A	B	C	D
1965	23,033	9,947	13,086	--
1966	23,372	10,241	13,131	+ 339
1967	23,478	10,206	13,272	+ 106
1968	21,766	8,153	13,613	- 1,712
1969	23,067	7,184	15,883	+ 1,301
1970	23,714	7,581	16,125	+ 647
1971	26,161	9,977	16,184	+ 2,447
1972	27,714	11,377	16,337	+ 1,553
1973	28,236	11,579	16,657	+ 522
1974	27,848	10,990	16,858	- 388
1975	28,651	11,555	17,096	+ 803
1976	29,237	12,089	17,148	+ 586
1977	29,432	12,173	17,259	+ 195
1978	32,358	15,014	17,344	+ 2,926
1979	34,415	17,132	17,283	+ 2,057
1980	36,399	18,947	17,452	+ 1,984
1981	38,308	20,566	17,742	+ 1,909
1982	38,458	20,509	17,949	+ 150
1983	40,531	22,308	18,223	+ 2,073

Note: A = the total population.
 B = the registered urban population.
 C = the rural population.
 D = the increase or decrease of population.

Appendices

2 The Planned Population by the City Council in 1985¹

2.1 Urban population

Assuming the annual rate of increase of the urban population of 4.8% from 1983 to 1990, then by the end of 1990, the urban population would be:

$$22,308 (1 + 4.8\%)^7 = 30,973.$$

Supposing the annual increase rate is 5.5% from 1990 to 2000, then by the end of 2,000, the urban population would be:

$$30,973 (1 + 5.5\%)^7 = 52,906.$$

2.2 Rural population

The rate of natural increase of rural population in 1983 was 8.64%. Yet if we take into account the more restricted birth control policy in the following years and the present age structure, we can reasonably predict that the rate of natural increase of population will decrease to 7.5% by 1990. Then the rural population will be:

$$18,223 (1 + 7.5\%)^7 = 19,202.$$

Similarly, presuming the annual rate of natural increase of rural population will be reduced to 6% by 2000, so by then, the rural population can expect to be:

$$19,202 (1 + 6\%)^7 = 20,386.$$

Then the total population in the city of Qufu by 1990 will be:

$$30,973 + 19,202 = 50,175.$$

and by 2000 will be:

$$52,906 + 20,386 = 73,292.$$

2.3 The distribution of population by activity:

Terms of reference:

1. Working population (*ji ben ren kou*): in this context, it means the people Qufu who are employed in industries, agriculture, fishing, water and gas supply, civil engineering, transport, post, bank, insurance, university and colleges, and institutions not belonging to the city of Qufu. This group of people is regarded as those supplying the basic economic activities in Qufu.

2. Service population: refers to the people who are employed in retail sales, catering trade, education, public health service, public welfare, public services, and the city's own institutions. This group provides the secondary economic activity which originates from by the first group.

3. Unproductive population: refers to all the people in Qufu who do not work, and are mainly considered as consumers such as children, the elderly, the disabled, etc..

Table A-2: Population Forecast

		Existing		Planned			
		1983		1990		2000	
		number	%	number	%	number	%
Urban population	A	12,425	55.7	16,065	46.0	19,800	33.0
	B	3,610	16.2	7,320	21.0	16,800	28.0
	C	6,273	28.1	11,525	33.0	23,400	39.0
	D	22,308	100.0	34,910	100.0	60,000	100.0
Rural population		18,223		17,000		15,000	

Note: A: Working population.

¹ All the information contained in these appendices was obtained by the author while on his field visit in 1989, through interviews with appropriate officials.

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- B: Service population.
- C: Unproductive population.
- D: Total urban population.

Over the ten years before 1983, the average annual increase of urban population of Qufu was 1,100, and in the five years before 1983, the average annual increase was 1,500. Only from 1982 to 1983, the urban population increased by 2,005. So the City Council estimated that the urban population would increase more quickly in the future with the city's tourism and general economic development. Also, many of the rural population would be transferred to the urban population.

Therefore, it was planned in 1983 that by 1990 the basic population would increase by 3640, with an annual increase of 520. But it will only take up 46% of the whole urban population (it was 55.7% in 1983). So the total basic population will be:

$$12,425 + 3,640 = 16,065,$$

and the total urban population would be:

$$16,065 \div 0.46 = 34,924.$$

Considering the development of the city's tourism and the relative under supply of service employees, the City Council decided to increase the service employees annually by 530 persons during the period from 1984 to 1990. The service population in 1983 was 3610, then by 1990 the total services population would be:

$$3,610 + 3,710 = 7,320,$$

and it will take up 21% of the total urban population of the city in 1990.

Therefore, by 1990, the unproductive population would be:

$$34,924 \times (1 - 0.46 - 0.21) = 11,525.$$

This meant in the seven years from 1984 to 1990, the unproductive population would be increased by 750 person every year. Consequently, the urban population in Qufu was planned to increase by 2,500 every year until 1990, and by then, the total urban population would be 25,000 persons.

In the long term, by the end of this century it was planned that there would be a working population (*ji ben ren kou*) of 19,800, which would only take up 33% of the total. Thus the whole urban population by 2000 would be:

$$19,800 \div 0.33 = 60,000 \text{ people,}$$

and the service population would be 16,800 people, taking up 28% of the total urban population. The unproductive population was planned as 23,400 people, taking up 39% of the entire urban population in 2000.

Appendix 3: The Economic Structure of Qufu County

1 The sources of income:

In the last ten years or so, Qufu's income has mainly come from industry and agriculture. Ten years ago, over half of Qufu's income came from agriculture. Only recently, income from industry has grown to be about the same as that of agriculture. In county's industrial income, the income from the City Council owned industries (*shi ji qi ye*) grows more slowly than that from the town and village managed industries (*xiang zhen qi ye*).

Table A-3: Sources of Income. The figures are stated in million yuans.

Year	Na + Ni	Na						Ni	%
		Total	%	A1	A2	A3	A4		
1978	193.37	110.78	57.3	90.03	241	0.19	17.88	82.59	42.7
1979	215.84	131.57	60.9	103.96	268	0.53	23.97	84.27	39.1
1980	237.01	145.12	61.2	113.11	319	0.66	27.53	91.89	38.8
1981	278.76	161.30	57.9	126.29	118	0.38	32.99	117.46	42.1
1982	320.53	174.20	54.3	135.66	117	0.01	36.49	146.33	45.7
1983	330.53	156.50	47.3	114.84	442	4.08	33.08	174.03	52.7
1984	396.51	216.68	54.6	165.15	571	6.34	39.35	179.83	45.4
1985	410.21	220.59	53.8	157.12	4850	11.54	46.65	189.62	46.8
1986	453.85	228.00	50.2	155.45	430	17.77	49.94	225.85	49.8
1987	522.66	234.44	44.9	155.65	515	21.70	51.42	288.22	55.1

Note: Na = total income from sources listed below.

Ni = the annual total income from industry.

A1 = from farming (*nong*).

A2 = from forestry (*lin*).

A3 = side-line production (*fu*).

A4 = from animal husbandry (*mu*).

3.2 The income of the population

1. The urban employees

In 1978, there were 18,376 permanent urban employees. Their annual average income was:

(GNP)9,240,000 yuan/ (total employees)18,376 = 503 yuan/person.year.

In 1988, the permanent urban employees increased to 31,670, and the average annual income was:

(GNP)45,360,000 yuan/ (total employees)31,670
= 1,430 yuan/person.year. It was increased by 186%.

2. The rural population of the city

In 1978, the average annual income of one farmer was about 60 yuans. By 1988, it had increased to 559 yuans, representing an increase rate of 830%.

Appendix 4: Trading in Qufu

Table A-4: The annual total sales in the whole county of Qufu:

million yuans	1978	1979	1980	1981	1982	1983
Nc	59.79	63.11	78.08	100.90	109.12	137.93
Nc1	38.61	46.88	50.25	66.95	72.24	89.39
Nc2	1.35	1.24	5.44	5.54	7.02	8.27

million yuans	1984	1985	1986	1987	1988
Nc	156.61	181.30	209.96	231.77	303.57
Nc1	105.06	126.73	153.09	175.91	250.09
Nc2	7.99	8.67	10.19	9.94	10.65

Note: In 1988, the total sales in the city of Qufu only was 114.24 million yuans, 44% of total sales (Nc1) for the whole county.

Nc = total retail sales Qufu County.

Nc1 = total retail sales to individuals (*ge ren ling shou er*)

Nc2 = total retail sales to the collective and public sectors including Work Units, government administration units, etc. (*ji ti ling shou er*).

Appendix 5: Construction in Qufu

Table A-5 The annual amount and value of the planned construction according to the Government budget.

	A sq.m	B sq.m	C sq.m	D million yuans	E yuans /sq.m
1978	3,750	3,750	1,350	0.125	93.0
1979	4,938	--	2,500	0.180	72.0
1980	3,820	3,820	3,075	0.320	104.0
1981	--	--	--	--	--
1982	1,060	1,060	60	0.006	100.0
1983	--	--	--	--	--
1984	3,500	3,500	--	--	--
1985	14,260	1,036	14,260	0.011	745.5
1986	4,420	1,220	3,620	1.000	990.7
1987	5,349	15,349	331	0.330	344.5
1988	30,957	4,157	21,507	7.440	344.5

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Note: Here commercial buildings include shops, hotels, offices. The figures only present the projects in the Government budget (*ji hua ni xiang mu*)².

- A = annual construction started in each year.
- B = amount of annual construction.
- C = amount of the annually completed construction.
- D = total cost of the annual completed construction.
- E = average cost per square metre of all completed construction of buildings.

Table A-6: The annual amount of completed housing.
1978 - 1987

Year	Hc (sq.m)	Hr (sq.m)		
		Total Hr	N.H.	P.P.
1978	655	--	--	--
1979	14,165	--	--	--
1980	17,240	--	--	--
1981	19,210	10,327,534	--	21.4
1982	17,517	9,651,451	645,201	19.4
1983	16,991	9,538,421	553,579	19.3
1984	23,399	9,774,116	481,592	19.7
1985	34,342	8,992,690	374,646	18.1
1986	29,012	9,612,731	418,826	19.4
1987	15,591	10,060,285	426,407	19.9

Note: Hc = the housing in the city areas of Qufu.
 Hr = the housing in the countryside of Qufu.
 N.H. = the total amount of new housing.
 P.P. = sq.m/person.

Appendix 6: A List of Historic Restoration Projects and their Cost³

Before 1986:

1. Guiwen Building: restored before 1986; cost 1200,000 yuans.
2. Confucian Statue: 1983-1984; 485,000 yuans.
3. The construction of the part of the inner ring road by the Cemetery: 1984 to 1986; 51,000 yuans.
4. Mrs. Meng's⁴ Old House: 1986-1988; 38,000 yuans.

From 1987 to 1988:

5. Shunxinghao (an important historic monuments): 43,000 yuans.
6. Wudaici (Wuda Temple): 15,000 yuans.

² In China every year many Work Units enterprise some projects their own outside the Government budget. These projects are called '*ji hua wei xian mu*'.

³ Source: The Municipal Cultural and Historic Relics Bureau, Qufu, 1989.

⁴ Mrs. Meng was the mother of the most famous philosopher, Meng zi, of the School of Confucianism after Confucius.

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7. The storage for the ceremonial regalia: 24,000 yuans.
8. Zhusi Academy: 290,000 yuans.
9. Mrs. Meng's burial ground restoration: the second phase, 228,000 yuans.
10. General restoration work: 159,500 yuans.
11. The West Hall in the Confucian Temple: 317,000 yuans.
12. General building restorations: 138,000 yuans.
13. Preservation of the old trees: 24,000 yuans.
14. East and west Zhifangs: 48,000 yuans.
15. The restoration of the artificial hill in the Flowers Garden in Kong Mansion: 128,000 yuans.
16. Restoration of the Shihe (shrine): 86,000 yuans.
17. New courtyard walls for the Followers' Garden: 69,000 yuans.
18. Restoration of the Yinglu pavement: 9,000 yuans.
19. Dacheng Palace in the Confucian Temple: 492,000 yuans.
20. Xumizhuo at Ni Hill: 8,000 yuans.
21. Jinsi Hall in the Confucian Temple: 113,000 yuans.
22. Restoration of the Tombstone: 30,000 yuans.
23. Scared trees in the Confucian temple: 26,000 yuans.
24. Restoration of the Dacheng Gate in the Confucian Temple: 2,680,000 yuans.
25. Construction and installation of fire-protection system in the Confucian Temple: 177,000 yuans.
26. Restoration of East Hall of the Confucian Temple: 267,000 yuans.
27. Restoration of Corner Tower in the Confucian Temple: 17,000 yuans.
28. Restoration of East Fast House in the Confucian Temple: 11,000 yuans.
29. Relocation of Houzhuo Street: 1,087,000 yuans.
30. Installation of permanent signs: 3,700 yuans.

Appendix 7: Relocation Policies

Summary of some Relocation Policies by Qufu City Council: 1986 - 1988

1. Once an area is selected for demolition (for redevelopment or conservation reasons) by the City Council and Planning Department, no new residences or businesses are allowed to move into the area. Existing families who have registered as one family can not later alter this registration. Some families in the past wanted to change their registration from one to two in order to get additional land on relocation⁵.

2. Compensation will be paid by the City Council to the owners of the properties in the demolition areas, but if the owner is not occupying his property he is not granted a site for relocation. Owner-occupiers get both compensation and a site for relocation. Tenants are granted a site for relocation, but are paid a smaller amount of compensation for relocation. The size of the land to be occupied by each new house hold is associated with the number of people in the registered family.

3. The new houses will be built by the owners themselves, except for the families unable to build because of age or disability; their houses will be provided either by the companies they belong to or by the City Planning Department. The land use can not be changed and it may not be sold or rented. If no house has been built within one year, the land will revert to the City Council.

⁵ Qufu City Council's document about relocation says that every independently registered family will get from the local authority a standard sized plot of land for their new houses. In Qufu and most parts of China, sometimes three or four generations live together and register as one big family. If one big family divides itself into two or three families with independent registration before the official announcement of demolition of certain areas, each family will get their own standard sized plot of land on which to build their own house.

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4. If, because of demolition of work places, over one hundred urban employees can not work during the relocation period, the local Employment Bureau will help them to find temporary jobs.

5. The housing of tenants living in state-owned property will be arranged by the local property bureau. Similarly, tenants living in Work Units owned property will be looked after by their companies.

6. The local authority will pay for the labour and materials used for the public property relocation.

7. No compensation will be given to the owners of illegally built buildings or the owners of properties carrying undesirable activities, e.g. causing air or noise pollution. From the 11th. June 1986 when 'The General Plan for the City of Qufu' was published, all the buildings or constructions which did not have planning permission have been regarded as illegal buildings.

8. Five percent more money will be paid to owners or tenants who move out completely within 15 days after the official announcement; 2.5% will be paid to those who move out in a month after the announcement. Everyone who delays will be fined and forced to move.

9. The owners and tenants will be paid 70% of the compensation immediately after the signing; the rest will only be paid when the removal is completely finished.

10. Compensation for shops or businesses will be 5 yuans per square metre more than for other buildings. If these properties are newly built, an additional 2.5 yuan per square metre will be added.

Appendix 8: A Survey of Hotels Carried out by the Author in May 1989 - four out of thirteen are presented here.

This survey carried out by the author in Qufu in 1989 covered a total of 13 different kinds of hotels both in terms of their sizes and ownerships. In Chapter Eight, due to the limited space only the summarised survey findings was given. Appendix 8 documents four of the characteristic hotels.

The four examples include two middle-sized, community-owned hotels, and two large City Council owned ones. Of the first two, the Queli Keyu Hotel is highly profitable, and the DF Hotel is facing a gloomy future. In the second group i.e. the Lucheng Hotel and Qufu Hotel, one is profitable and the other is in a desperate situation.

1 The Queli Keyu Hotel

- (1) Two storey building with a large courtyard built and opened in 1981.
Run by the Queli Neighbourhood Committee.
Number of staff: 37.
Average salary: 100 yuan/month.
No authority to make investment decisions.
- (2) Number of Rooms: 34 (20 sq.m/room).
Number of Beds: 110.
- (3) Accommodation
Class A: Three-bed room with black & white TV., electric fan, sofa, 5.5 yuan/day per person.
Class B: Four-bed room, 3 yuan/day per person.
Class C: Eight-bed room, 2 yuan/day per person.
- (4) Communal facilities:
Car park, dining hall, toilets, cold and hot water.
- (5) The rate of occupation:
High season: 70% (fully occupied only for the few days of the May public holiday).
Low season: 45% (only 30% in February and June).
- (6) The guests are mainly students, workers, drivers. Most of them stay one night and prefer B Class accommodation.
- (7) There is no enough money to improve the buildings and facilities. The function of the hotel is to provide jobs mainly for the newly transferred urban population.

2 The DF Hotel

- (1) Two storey buildings surrounding a courtyard, built and opened in 1988.
Some buildings still under construction.
- (2) Run by the Municipal Film Distribution Office, but the hotel is owned jointly by five companies..
Number of Staff: 12.
Average salary: 60 yuan/month.
Authorised to make decisions on investment.
- (3) Number of Rooms: 26.
Number of Beds: 68.
- (4) Accommodation:
Class A: Two-bed room with soft beds, sofa, desk, bathroom, carpet, colour TV..

Appendices

- 25-30 yuan/day per person.
- Class B: Two- or three-bed room with soft beds, sofa, desk, bathroom, black and white TV. 15-18 yuan/day per person.
- Class C: Three- or four-bed room with soft beds, sofa, bathroom, black and white TV. 12 yuan/day per person.
- (5) Communal facilities:
Cinema (for conferences, etc.), dining hall.
- (6) The rate of occupation:
High seasons: 85% (during the May and October public holidays)
Low seasons: 20% (during February and June)
Most of the guests are businessmen attending conferences, and tourists. Classes B and C are preferred.
- (7) The future development of the hotel is uncertain because the profit is affected by the over supply of hotels in the city. The employees are mainly young adults whose parents work in the Film Distribution Office

3 Lucheng Hotel

- (1) Four-storey building erected in 1978.
Opened in 1988 (before parts of it were rented as offices).
Run by the city's Business Association.
Number of Staff: 60.
Average salary: 60-70 yuan/month.
Authorised to make investment decisions.
- (2) Number of Rooms: 100.
Number of Beds: 240 (Class A and B 30 beds, Class C 60 beds, Class D 150 beds).
- (3) Accommodation
Class A: A suite of rooms with one soft bed, bathroom, sofa, colour TV., telephone, 18 yuan/day per person.
Class B: A suite of rooms for two with soft beds, bathroom, colour TV., telephone, 15 yuan/day person.
Class C: Two sharing room with soft beds, black and white TV., telephone. 10 yuan/day per person.
Class D: Four-bed room with hard beds, black and white TV.. 5 yuan/day per person.
- (4) Communal facilities:
Meeting hall, dining halls (high, middle and low standard), public toilets.
- (5) The rate of occupation:
High season: 85% (over 100%⁶ in the first few days of early May and in early October).
Low season: 25% (possibly 70% with conferences).
- (6) 80% of the guests in the high season and 50% in low season are tourists who stay one night. Some stay for more days for business.
Most guests prefer Class C accommodation.
- (7) They have money to improve or extend the hotel; a new restaurant was added in 1988.

⁶ During these periods, some extra beds will be added in the hotel.

4 The Qufu Hotel

- (1) Four-storey buildings built and opened in 1988, and located in the new area.
Run by the City Council.
Number of staff: 108.
Average salary: 60 yuan/month.
Authorised to make decisions on investment.
- (2) Number of rooms: 104.
Number of beds: 276.
- (3) Accommodation:
Class A: A suite of three rooms for two with soft beds, bathroom, sofa, colour TV., telephone, air conditioning. 45 yuan/day per person.
Class B: A suite of two rooms for two with soft beds, bathroom, sofa, colour TV., telephone, air conditioning. 30 yuan/day per person.
Class C: Three-bed room with hard beds, sofas, black and white TV. 18 yuan/day per person.
- (4) Communal facilities:
Public shower, hand washing rooms, toilets, cold and hot water.
- (5) Rate of occupation:
High season: 35-40% (during early May and early October)
Low season: 10% (during February and June)
- (6) Most of the guests are those who come to Qufu for conferences, and government officials.
- (7) So far the hotel is unprofitable. Since the hotel was recently built in the new area the basic facilities were not available; therefore construction was more expensive than those near or in the old city. The hotel is not connected to the main sewer. The hotel will not be well patronized until the new area is fully developed. Its location is too far from the centre.

Appendix 9: The Questionnaire and Survey Form Used in the Gupan Lake Neighbourhood Survey

1 House types summarised:

- (1) Single courtyard house: refers to the house type with only one courtyard unit.
- (2) Multi-courtyard house: refers to the house type with a series of courtyard unit.
- (3) Single family courtyard house: refers to the courtyard houses which are only occupied by the single owner units. It includes the courtyard unit of the multi-courtyard houses occupied by single owners.
- (4) Sharing courtyard house: refers to the courtyard houses which are occupied by more than one family unit such as part of the house which is rented, or shared by relatives.

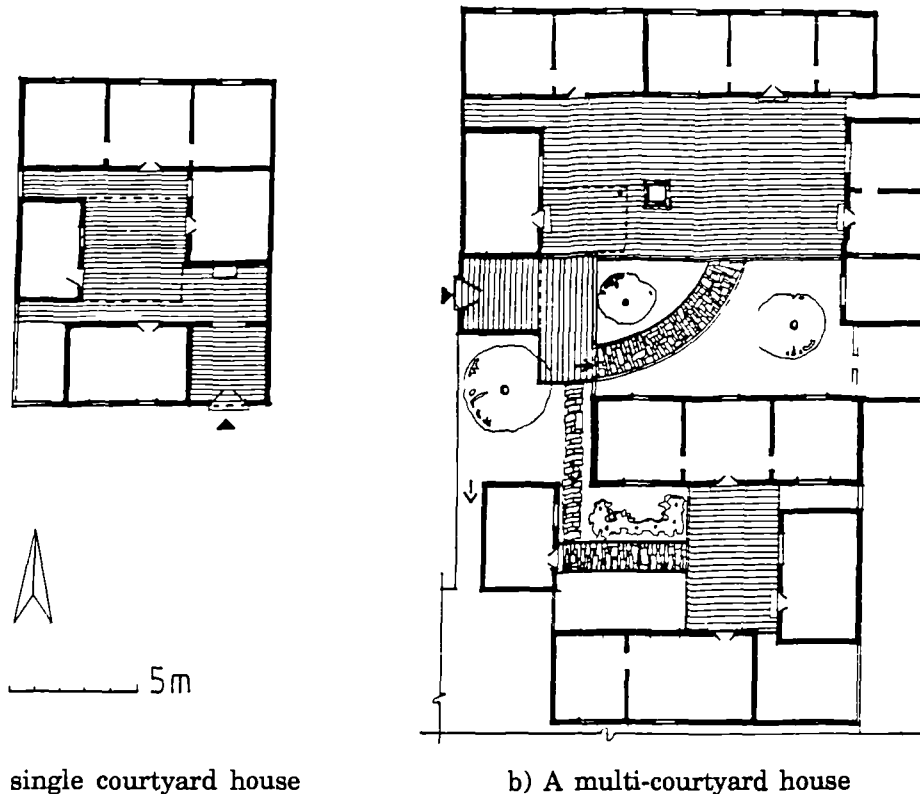


Fig. A-1: Two basic house types in Gupan Lake area.

2 Questionnaire: House number of the interviewed household ____.

Section One: The socio-economic characteristics of residents

1. Family size:
 (1) 1, (2) 2, (3) 3, (4) 4, (5) 5, (6) 6, (7) 7, (8) 8,
 (9) 9, (10) 10, (11) 11, (12) 12, (13) 13, (14) 14. []
2. Number of generations in the family:
 (1) 1, (2) 2, (3) 3, (4) 4. []
3. Number of registered urban people in the family:
 (1) 1, (2) 2, (3) 3, (4) 4, (5) 5, (6) 6. []

Appendices

4. Number of rural people in the family:
(1) 1, (2) 2, (3) 3, (4) 4, (5) 5, (6) 6. []
5. Number of people who have jobs in the city:
(1) 1, (2) 2, (3) 3, (4) 4. []
6. Number of people who do farming work:
(1) 1, (2) 2, (3) 3, (4) 4, (5) 5. []
7. Size of land for farming:
(1) 1 to 2 fen (1 fen=65.3 sq.m); []
(2) 2 to 4 fen;
(3) 4 to 6 fen;
(4) 6 to 8 fen;
(5) 8 to 10 fen;
(6) 10 to 12 fen;
8. How has your standard of living changed since 1986?
(1) risen slightly; []
(2) risen drastically;
(3) stayed the same;
(4) fallen slightly;
(5) fallen drastically.
9. Why? []
(1) More people have jobs.
(2) The number of the working people in the family remains the same but the average income has been increased;
(3) Less land left for farming;
(4) The newly transferred rural people can not find permanent jobs in the city;
(5) The newly transferred rural people can not find job at all;
(6) More children in the family;
(7) The average income of each person in the family stays the same;
10. Would you like to move to the new area or not? []
(1) Yes.
(2) It does not matter.
(3) No.
11. Why? []
(1) The present house is not big enough; []
(2) Want to divide the family into smaller units; []
(3) Not convenient in the new area; []
(4) The new area looks like an open field;
(5) Not enough money to build a totally new house in the new area.
(6) Not enough space to add a new house in present courtyard.
12. If you can stay in the present area, do you have any plan to improve your house in the short term?
(1) Yes, add a new house in the courtyard; []
(2) Yes, rebuild some of the old house; []
(3) Yes, repairing; []
(4) No, because of short of money;
(5) No, because the present house is satisfactory.
13. What do you think should be improved in your neighbourhood environment?
(1) The street is very muddy during the wet days, it should be paved; []
(2) The street lighting should be provided; []

Appendices

- (3) Mains sewerage system installed; []
(4) To install pumped water in the courtyard; []
(5) The rubbish around Gupan Lake should be collected daily; []
(6) Others.
14. If you have to move to the new area, what kind of house will you build or like to live in?
(1) A simple, single-storey courtyard house; []
(2) To build a much better house;
(3) Copy the neighbours.
15. How will your new house be built?
(1) By the family with help from relatives and friends; []
(2) By a community house builder;
(3) Alternatives.
16. Without considering your own income condition, what kind of new house would you prefer?
(1) A two-storey courtyard house; []
(2) A house with a corridor at the front of it, where the room size is much bigger, and with a traditional style gate for the courtyard. The new house to be built totally with brick and tiles; no earth brick would be used.
17. What do you think of two-storey or multi-storey housing?
(1) It is good but too expensive to build; []
(2) It is not convenient for the elderly and young children; []
(3) We are used to the single-storey house with courtyard.
18. What do you think of the changes caused by the new development in recent years to your neighbourhood environment?
(1) Good, because the city now looks better; []
(2) Bad, because the changes make our daily lives more difficult. []
(3) Bad, because the people's living space and environment were neglected during the development;
(4) No idea.
19. If the City Council or the Neighbourhood Committee provides materials to improve the neighbourhood environment, would you like to do some work to improve your immediate neighbourhood without being paid?
(1) Yes. []
(2) No.

Section two: The characteristics of the houses

20. Courtyard house
(1) Yes, (2) No⁷. []
21. The house is occupied by
(1) Single family; (2) Two families; []
(3) Three families; (4) More than three families.
22. Piped water.
(1) Yes, (2) No. []

⁷ The non-courtyard houses include the public row houses and some of the small private houses which are directly connected to the streets.

Appendices

23. Hand pumped water.
(1) Yes, (2) No. []
24. Electricity.
(1) Yes, (2) No. []
25. Kitchen room.
(1) Yes, (2) No. []
26. Inside lavatory.
(1) Yes, (2) No. []
27. Outside lavatory.
(1) Yes, (2) No. []
28. Surface sewerage and waste water disposal.
(1)Yes, (2) No. []
29. Mains sewerage or septic tanks.
(1) Yes, (2) No. []
30. Shower.
(1) Yes, (2) No. []
31. Central Heating.
(1) Yes, (2) No. []

Appendices

32. Construction of courtyard houses:

Five examples of a total of 53 surveyed cases are presented here.

Terms in the forms:

- Trad. = traditional house form.
 Mt = the traditional materials used for houses, which include grey brick, stone, sun-dry brick wall surfaced with white plaster, grey pipe-shaped tiles on the curved pitched roof.
 New P. = new pitched roof house.
 New F. = new flat roof house.
 N.G1 = a modern gateway form built with brick and concrete.
 N.G2 = a simple modern gateway built with brick and concrete.
 G.B.S. = grey colour brick and stone walls.
 R.B.S. = red colour brick and stone walls
 G.B. = grey colour brick walls
 S.H. = built by householders with the relatives' or friends' help.
 BD. = built by local builders.

Table A-7: Summary of construction and building materials used.

House No. 01.	N. side of courtyard		S. side	E. side	W. side	Gate	Total
Number of Jian (rooms)	4	1	2	4	1	Yes	12
Built form	Trad.	New P.	New P.	New P.	New P.	NG1	
Materials	Mt	G.B.S.	R.B.S.	R.B.S.	G.B.S.	G.B.	
Building date	1975	1980	1988	1988	1985	1980	--
Way of building	S.H.	BD.	BD.	BD.	BD.	S.H.	
Number of people living in or other uses	3	for rent	1	1	be rented for shop	--	5+?
shelters	0		1	1	0	--	2
room usage	--		Toilet	Kitchen	--	--	

Appendices

House No. 11	N. side of courtyard		S. side	E. side	W. side	Gate	Total
Number of jians (rooms)	3	1	2	3	1	Yes	10
Built form	New P.	Trad.	New F.	New P.	New P.	Trad.	
Materials	S.B.S.	Mt	G.B.S.	G.B.S.	G.B.	G.B.S.	
Building date	1978	Before 1975	1983	1980	1983	1980	--
Way of building	BD.	S.H.	BD.	BD.	S.H.	BD.	
Number of people living in or other uses	4	1	Storage	rented for shop	Bath	--	5
Shelters	1		0	1	1	--	3
room usage	Henhouse		--	Kitchen	Toilet	--	--

House No. 21	N. side		S. side	E. side	W. side	Gate	Total
Number of jians (rooms)	3	2	0	1	0	Yes	6
Built form	Trad.	Trad.	--	New P.	--	Trad.	
Materials	Mt	Mt	--	G.B.	--	Mt	
Building date	Before 1975	Before 1975	--	1984	--	S.H.	--
Way of building	S.H.	S.H.	--	BD.	--	S.H.	
Number of people living in or other uses	3	storage	--	2	--	--	5
Shelters	0		Storage	0	2	--	2
Room usage	--		--	-	Kitchen	--	--

Appendices

House No. 31	N. side	S. side	E. side	W. side	Gate	Total
Number of jians (rooms)	4	0	0	2	Yes	6
Built form	New P.	--	--	--	New P.	--
Materials	G.B.S.	--	--	R.B.	G.B.	
Building date	1982	--	--	1984	198	
Way of building	BD.	--	--	BD.	BD.	
Number of people living in or other uses	4	--	--	Storage	--	4
Shelters	1	0	0	0	0	1
Room usage	Heater	--	--	--	--	--

House No. 41	N. side	S. side		E. side	W. side	Gate	Total
Number of jians (rooms)	3	2	1	3	3	Yes	12 jians
Built form	New P.	Trad.		New F.	Trad.	Trad.	--
Materials	G.B.S.	Mt		G.B.	Mt	Mt	
Building date	1979	1950s		1988	1950s	1950s	
Way of building	S.H.	S.H.		S.H.	S.H.	S.H.	
Number of people living in or other uses	3	2	Storage	1	Storage	--	6
Shelters	1	0		0	0	--	1
Room usage	Storage	--		--	-	--	--

Appendices

House No. 51	N. side	S. side	E. side	W. side	Gate	Total
Number of jians (rooms)	4	0	0	2	Yes	6
Built form	Trad.	--	--	New P.	Trad.	
Materials	Mt	--	--	G.B.	Mt	
Building date	1950s	--	--	1982	1950s	
Way of building	S.H.	--	--	2	S.H.	
Number of people living in or other uses	3	--	--	1	--	4
Shelters	0	0	1	0	--	1
Room usage			Kitchen			

Appendix 10: The Housing Types and House Construction in the Gupan Lake Neighbourhood

Out of the 53 dwelling units sampled, 50 are private houses, and 3 are public ones. Since the tenants of the public houses have no right to build any new houses nor extend existing ones, in order to improve their living condition, only the private houses are considered in this appendix to reflect the relationship between housing types and the growing neighbourhood. The proportion of fangs i.e. houses with different orientations presents the physical structure of the built-up parts of the neighbourhood. The annual number of housing construction shows the growing process of the self-built neighbourhood.

1. The number of different house types, out of 50 private houses:

3 have only north fangs,	3 /50 = 6%;
1 has south fang only,	1 /50 = 2%;
6 have north and east fangs,	6 /50 = 12%;
8 have north and west fangs,	8 /50 = 16%;
3 have north and south fangs,	2 /50 = 4%;
4 have north, east and south fangs,	4 /50 = 8%;
3 have north, west and south fangs,	3 /50 = 6%;
8 have north, east and west fangs,	8 /50 = 16%;
15 have fangs on four sides,	15/50 = 30%.

2. The annual number of houses constructed in the surveyed area, stated in jian (rooms).

-1976	1977	1978	1979	1980	1981	1982	1983	1984
128	24	14	13	24	17	36	9	24
1985	1986	1987	1988	Total				
19	11	7	23	349				

Appendices

Appendix 11: The Statistical Results of the Survey in the Gupan Lake Residential Area

(Note: [99] = not answered.)

Household No.1

1.[5]	2.[2]	3.[4]	4.[1]	5.[2]	6.[1]	7.[2]	8.[1]
9.[1]	10.[2]	11.[3]	12.[2]	13.[1]	14.[2]	15.[2]	16.[1]
17.[3]	18.[3]	19.[2]	20.[1]	21.[2]	22.[1]	23.[2]	24.[1]
5.[2]	26.[2]	27.[1]	28.[1]	29.[2]	30.[2]	31.[2]	

Household No.2

1.[3]	2.[2]	3.[3]	4.[0]	5.[1]	6.[0]	7.[0]	8.[3]
9.[7]	10.[2]	11.[99]	12.[99]	13.[1]	14.[3]	15.[2]	16.[99]
17.[99]	18.[3]	19.[2]	20.[1]	21.[1]	22.[1]	23.[2]	24.[1]
25.[1]	26.[2]	27.[1]	28.[2]	29.[1]	30.[2]	31.[2]	

Household No.3

1.[3]	2.[2]	3.[3]	4.[0]	5.[1]	6.[0]	7.[0]	8.[3]
9.[9]	10.[3]	11.[4]	12.[2]	13.[1]	14.[1]	15.[2]	16.[1]
17.[1]	18.[99]	19.[2]	20.[1]	21.[1]	22.[1]	23.[2]	24.[1]
25.[1]	26.[2]	27.[1]	28.[2]	29.[1]	30.[2]	31.[2]	

Household No.4

1.[5]	2.[3]	3.[5]	4.[0]	5.[2]	6.[0]	7.[0]	8.[3]
9.[7]	10.[2]	11.[5]	12.[4]	13.[1]	14.[1]	15.[2]	16.[2]
17.[2]	18.[2]	19.[1]	20.[1]	21.[1]	22.[1]	23.[2]	24.[1]
25.[2]	26.[2]	27.[1]	28.[2]	29.[1]	30.[2]	31.[2]	

Household No.5

1.[5]	2.[2]	3.[5]	4.[0]	5.[3]	6.[0]	7.[0]	8.[2]
9.[1]	10.[2]	11.[5][6]	12.[99]	13.[1]	14.[2]	15.[2]	16.[2]
17.[3]	18.[4]	19.[1]	20.[1]	21.[1]	22.[1]	23.[2]	24.[1]
25.[1]	26.[2]	27.[1]	28.[1]	29.[2]	30.[2]	31.[2]	

Household No.6

1.[6]	2.[3]	3.[6]	4.[0]	5.[2]	6.[0]	7.[0]	8.[2]
9.[2]	10.[1]	11.[1]	12.[1]	13.[1][6]	14.[2]	15.[2]	16.[2]
17.[3]	18.[4]	19.[1]	20.[1]	21.[1]	22.[1]	23.[2]	24.[1]
25.[2]	26.[2]	27.[1]	28.[2]	29.[1]	30.[2]	31.[2]	

Household No.7

1.[4]	2.[2]	3.[4]	4.[0]	5.[2]	6.[0]	7.[0]	8.[3]
9.[4]	10.[1]	11.[5]	12.[3]	13.[1]	14.[1]	15.[2]	16.[2]
17.[3]	18.[2]	19.[2]	20.[1]	21.[1]	22.[1]	23.[2]	24.[1]
25.[1]	26.[2]	27.[1]	28.[2]	29.[1]	30.[2]	31.[2]	

Household No.8

1.[5]	2.[3]	3.[5]	4.[0]	5.[2]	6.[0]	7.[0]	8.[1]
9.[1]	10.[2]	11.[3]	12.[5]	13.[1][3]	14.[1]	15.[2]	16.[2]
17.[1]	18.[4]	19.[2]	20.[1]	21.[2]	22.[1]	23.[2]	24.[1]
25.[2]	26.[2]	27.[1]	28.[1]	29.[2]	30.[2]	31.[2]	

Household No.9

1.[5]	2.[3]	3.[5]	4.[0]	5.[5]	6.[0]	7.[0]	8.[3]
9.[7]	10.[2]	11.[99]	12.[2]	13.[1][3]	14.[1]	15.[2]	16.[2]
17.[2]	18.[4]	19.[1]	20.[1]	21.[1]	22.[1]	23.[2]	24.[1]
25.[1]	26.[2]	27.[1]	28.[1]	29.[2]	30.[2]	31.[2]	

Appendices

Household No.10

1.[4]	2.[2]	3.[4]	4.[0]	5.[2]	6.[0]	7.[0]	8.[3]
9.[4][7]	10.[2]	11.[3]	12.[5]	13.[1][3]	14.[3]	15.[2]	16.[2]
17.[3]	18.[4]	19.[1]	20.[1]	21.[3]	22.[1]	23.[2]	
24.[1]25.[2]	26.[2]	27.[1]	28.[1]	29.[2]	30.[2]	31.[2]	

Household No.11

1.[5]	2.[2]	3.[4]	4.[1]	5.[1]	6.[1]	7.[4]	8.[3]
9.[7]	10.[3]	11.[5]	12.[5]	13.[1][3]	14.[1]	15.[2]	16.[2]
17.[3]	18.[3]	19.[2]	20.[1]	21.[1]	22.[1]	23.[2]	24.[1]
25.[1]	26.[2]	27.[1]	28.[1]	29.[2]	30.[2]	31.[2]	

Household No.12

1.[7]	2.[3]	3.[7]	4.[0]	5.[4]	6.[0]	7.[0]	8.[1]
9.[1]	10.[3]	11.[3]	12.[2]	13.[1][3]	14.[1]	15.[2]	16.[2]
17.[3]	18.[4]	19.[1]	20.[1]	21.[1]	22.[1]	23.[2]	24.[1]
25.[1]	26.[2]	27.[1]	28.[1]	29.[2]	30.[2]	31.[2]	

Household No.13

1.[8]	2.[3]	3.[8]	4.[0]	5.[3]	6.[0]	7.[0]	8.[3]
9.[7]	10.[3]	11.[5]	12.[5]	13.[1][5]	14.[1]	15.[2]	16.[2]
17.[3]	18.[4]	19.[1]	20.[1]	21.[2]	22.[2]	23.[2]	24.[1]
25.[1]	26.[2]	27.[1]	28.[1]	29.[2]	30.[2]	31.[2]	

Household No.14

1.[3]	2.[2]	3.[3]	4.[0]	5.[2]	6.[0]	7.[0]	8.[1]
9.[1]	10.[3]	11.[99]	12.[5]	13.[1][3]	14.[2]	15.[2]	16.[2]
17.[3]	18.[3]	19.[1]	20.[1]	21.[1]	22.[1]	23.[2]	
24.[1]25.[1]	26.[2]	27.[1]	28.[2]	29.[1]	30.[2]	31.[2]	

Household No.15

1.[6]	2.[3]	3.[2]	4.[4]	5.[3]	6.[2]	7.[5]	8.[2]
9.[1]	10.[3]	11.[5]	12.[5]	13.[1][5]	14.[1]	15.[2]	16.[2]
17.[3]	18.[3]	19.[1]	20.[1]	21.[1]	22.[1]	23.[2]	
24.[1]25.[1]	26.[2]	27.[1]	28.[1]	29.[2]	30.[2]	31.[2]	

Household No.16

1.[2]	2.[1]	3.[2]	4.[0]	5.[0]	6.[0]	7.[0]	8.[3]
9.[7]	10.[3]	11.[3]	12.[99]	13.[6]	14.[1]	15.[99]	16.[2]
17.[2]	18.[4]	19.[99]	20.[2]	21.[1]	22.[1]	23.[2]	24.[1]
25.[1]	26.[2]	27.[1]	28.[2]	29.[1]	30.[2]	31.[2]	

Household No.17

1.[5]	2.[3]	3.[4]	4.[1]	5.[2]	6.[1]	7.[1]	8.[2]
9.[7]	10.[1]	11.[1][6]	12.[99]	13.[1][3]	14.[2]	15.[2]	16.[2]
17.[1]	18.[3]	19.[2]	20.[1]	21.[1]	22.[1]	23.[2]	24.[1]
25.[1]	26.[2]	27.[1]	28.[1]	29.[2]	30.[2]	31.[2]	

Household No.18

1.[5]	2.[2]	3.[1]	4.[4]	5.[1]	6.[1]	7.[1]	8.[5]
9.[6]	10.[3]	11.[5]	12.[1]	13.[1][5]	14.[1]	15.[2]	16.[2]
17.[3]	18.[2]	19.[2]	20.[1]	21.[1]	22.[1]	23.[2]	24.[1]
25.[2]	26.[2]	27.[1]	28.[1]	29.[2]	30.[2]	31.[2]	

Household No.19

1.[3]	2.[2]	3.[0]	4.[3]	5.[0]	6.[1]	7.[2]	8.[4]
9.[3]	10.[2]	11.[99]	12.[5]	13.[1]	14.[2]	15.[2]	16.[2]
17.[3]	18.[3]	19.[2]	20.[1]	21.[1]	22.[1]	23.[2]	24.[1]
25.[2]	26.[2]	27.[1]	28.[1]	29.[2]	30.[2]	31.[2]	

Appendices

Household No.20

1.[4]	2.[2]	3.[4]	4.[0]	5.[2]	6.[0]	7.[0]	8.[1]
9.[1]	10.[3]	11.[5]	12.[2]	13.[1][5]	14.[2]	15.[2]	16.[2]
17.[1]	18.[99]	19.[1]	20.[2]	21.[1]	22.[1]	23.[2]	24.[1]
25.[1]	26.[2]	27.[1]	28.[2]	29.[1]	30.[2]	31.[2]	

Household No.21

1.[5]	2.[3]	3.[0]	4.[5]	5.[1]	6.[1]	7.[2]	8.[3]
9.[7]	10.[2]	11.[99]	12.[3]	13.[99]	14.[99]	15.[2]	16.[99]
17.[99]	18.[99]	19.[99]	20.[1]	21.[1]	22.[2]	23.[2]	24.[1]
25.[2]	26.[2]	27.[1]	28.[1]	29.[2]	30.[2]	31.[2]	

Household No.22

1.[9]	2.[4]	3.[9]	4.[0]	5.[2]	6.[2]	7.[2]	8.[4]
9.[3]	10.[3]	11.[5]	12.[2]	13.[1][5]	14.[2]	15.[2]	16.[2]
17.[2]	18.[3]	19.[1]	20.[1]	21.[1]	22.[2]	23.[2]	24.[1]
25.[2]	26.[2]	27.[1]	28.[1]	29.[2]	30.[2]	31.[2]	

Household No.23

1.[6]	2.[3]	3.[2]	4.[4]	5.[4]	6.[0]	7.[0]	8.[5]
9.[3]	10.[1]	11.[1][3]	12.[4]	13.[1][3][5]	14.[1]	15.[2]	16.[2]
17.[3]	18.[2]	19.[2]	20.[1]	21.[1]	22.[1]	23.[2]	24.[1]
25.[2]	26.[2]	27.[1]	28.[1]	29.[2]	30.[2]	31.[2]	

Household No.24

1.[5]	2.[3]	3.[0]	4.[5]	5.[3]	6.[2]	7.[2]	8.[4]
9.[3]	10.[3]	11.[5]	12.[5]	13.[1][3]	14.[3]	15.[2]	16.[2]
17.[3]	18.[2]	19.[1]	20.[1]	21.[1]	22.[1]	23.[2]	
24.[1]25.[1]	26.[2]	27.[1]	28.[1]	29.[2]	30.[2]	31.[2]	

Household No.25

1.[4]	2.[3]	3.[1]	4.[3]	5.[1]	6.[1]	7.[2]	8.[4]
9.[3]	10.[3]	11.[5]	12.[3]	13.[1][3]	14.[3]	15.[2]	16.[2]
17.[3]	18.[2][3]	19.[1]	20.[1]	21.[1]	22.[1]	23.[2]	24.[1]
25.[2]	26.[2]	27.[1]	28.[1]	29.[1]	30.[2]	31.[2]	

Household No.26

1.[7]	2.[3]	3.[7]	4.[0]	5.[3]	6.[0]	7.[0]	8.[2]
9.[1]	10.[3]	11.[3]	12.[2]	13.[99]	14.[2]	15.[2]	16.[99]
17.[3]	18.[4]	19.[1]	20.[1]	21.[1]	22.[1]	23.[2]	24.[1]
25.[1]	26.[2]	27.[1]	28.[2]	29.[1]	30.[2]	31.[2]	

Household No.27

1.[5]	2.[3]	3.[3]	4.[2]	5.[3]	6.[1]	7.[3]	8.[2]
9.[1]	10.[3]	11.[3]	12.[2]	13.[1]	14.[2]	15.[2]	16.[99]
17.[3]	18.[4]	19.[1]	20.[1]	21.[1]	22.[1]	23.[2]	24.[1]
25.[2]	26.[2]	27.[1]	28.[1]	29.[2]	30.[2]	31.[2]	

Household No.28

1.[2]	2.[2]	3.[1]	4.[1]	5.[1]	6.[1]	7.[1]	8.[3]
9.[7]	10.[1]	11.[1][6]	12.[99]	13.[3]	14.[1]	15.[2]	16.[1]
17.[1]	18.[4]	19.[1]	20.[2]	21.[1]	22.[2]	23.[2]	
24.[1]25.[2]	26.[2]	27.[2]	28.[2]	29.[2]	30.[2]	31.[2]	

Household No.29

1.[3]	2.[2]	3.[3]	4.[1]	5.[0]	6.[0]	7.[0]	8.[1]
9.[2]	10.[3]	11.[99]	12.[3]	13.[1][3][5]	14.[1]	15.[1]	16.[99]
17.[3]	18.[4]	19.[1]	20.[1]	21.[1]	22.[1]	23.[2]	24.[1]
25.[2]	26.[2]	27.[1]	28.[1]	29.[2]	30.[2]	31.[2]	

Appendices

Household No.30

1.[5]	2.[2]	3.[5]	4.[0]	5.[3]	6.[0]	7.[0]	8.[2]
9.[1]	10.[3]	11.[3][6]	12.[99]	13.[6]	14.[2]	15.[2]	16.[2]
17.[3]	18.[4]	19.[99]	20.[1]	21.[1]	22.[1]	23.[2]	24.[1]
25.[2]	26.[2]	27.[2]	28.[2]	29.[1]	30.[2]	31.[2]	

Household No.31

1.[4]	2.[2]	3.[4]	4.[0]	5.[2]	6.[0]	7.[0]	8.[3]
9.[7]	10.[3]	11.[99]	12.[5]	13.[1][3]	14.[2]	15.[2]	16.[2]
17.[3]	18.[99]	19.[1]	20.[1]	21.[1]	22.[1]	23.[2]	24.[1]
25.[2]	26.[2]	27.[1]	28.[1]	29.[2]	30.[1]	31.[1]	

Household No.32

1.[4]	2.[3]	3.[0]	4.[4]	5.[2]	6.[2]	7.[2]	8.[5]
9.[3]	10.[3]	11.[5]	12.[4]	13.[99]	14.[1]	15.[2]	16.[99]
17.[3]	18.[2]	19.[1]	20.[1]	21.[1]	22.[1]	23.[2]	24.[1]
25.[1]	26.[2]	27.[1]	28.[1]	29.[2]	30.[2]	31.[2]	

Household No.33

1.[6]	2.[3]	3.[6]	4.[0]	5.[4]	6.[0]	7.[0]	8.[2]
9.[1]	10.[3]	11.[3]	12.[1]	13.[3]	14.[1]	15.[2]	16.[2]
17.[2]	18.[99]	19.[1]	20.[1]	21.[1]	22.[1]	23.[2]	24.[1]
25.[1]	26.[2]	27.[1]	28.[1]	29.[2]	30.[2]	31.[2]	

Household No.34

1.[2]	2.[1]	3.[0]	4.[2]	5.[0]	6.[2]	7.[3]	8.[3]
9.[1]	10.[3]	11.[5]	12.[5]	13.[99]	14.[1]	15.[2]	16.[2]
17.[3]	18.[99]	19.[1]	20.[1]	21.[2]	22.[1]	23.[1]	24.[1]
25.[2]	26.[2]	27.[1]	28.[1]	29.[2]	30.[2]	31.[2]	

Household No.35

1.[13]	2.[3]	3.[0]	4.[6]	5.[4]	6.[5]	7.[6]	8.[4]
9.[3]	10.[1]	11.[5]	12.[3]	13.[3]	14.[1]	15.[2]	16.[2]
17.[3]	18.[2]	19.[1]	20.[1]	21.[1]	22.[1]	23.[2]	24.[1]
25.[2]	26.[2]	27.[1]	28.[1]	29.[2]	30.[2]	31.[2]	

Household No.36

1.[4]	2.[3]	3.[0]	4.[3]	5.[1]	6.[2]	7.[3]	8.[4]
9.[3]	10.[2]	11.[99]	12.[1]	13.[1][3][5]	14.[1]	15.[2]	16.[1]
17.[99]	18.[2]	19.[1]	20.[1]	21.[2]	22.[1]	23.[2]	24.[1]
25.[2]	26.[2]	27.[1]	28.[1]	29.[2]	30.[2]	31.[2]	

Household No.37

1.[7]	2.[3]	3.[0]	4.[7]	5.[1]	6.[4]	7.[4]	8.[5]
9.[3]	10.[3]	11.[5]	12.[1]	13.[1][3]	14.[1]	15.[2]	16.[2]
17.[3]	18.[2][3]	19.[1]	20.[1]	21.[1]	22.[2]	23.[2]	24.[1]
25.[2]	26.[2]	27.[1]	28.[1]	29.[2]	30.[2]	31.[2]	

Household No.38

1.[12]	2.[3]	3.[12]	4.[0]	5.[6]	6.[0]	7.[0]	8.[2]
9.[1]	10.[3]	11.[5]	12.[4]	13.[1]	14.[1][2]	15.[2]	16.[1][2]
17.[2]	18.[4]	19.[1]	20.[1]	21.[1]	22.[1]	23.[2]	24.[1]
25.[1]	26.[2]	27.[1]	28.[1]	29.[2]	30.[2]	31.[2]	

Household No.39

1.[4]	2.[2]	3.[0]	4.[4]	5.[1]	6.[2]	7.[2]	8.[5]
9.[3]	10.[1]	11.[1][6]	12.[99]	13.[3]	14.[1]	15.[2]	16.[2]
17.[3]	18.[2]	19.[1]	20.[1]	21.[1]	22.[1]	23.[2]	24.[1]
25.[2]	26.[2]	27.[2]	28.[1]	29.[2]	30.[2]	31.[2]	

Appendices

Household No.40

1.[2]	2.[1]	3.[2]	4.[0]	5.[1]	6.[0]	7.[0]	8.[2]
9.[2]	10.[3]	11.[5]	12.[5]	13.[6]	14.[1]	15.[2]	16.[2]
17.[3]	18.[1]	19.[1]	20.[1]	21.[2]	22.[1]	23.[2]	24.[1]
25.[2]	26.[2]	27.[1]	28.[1]	29.[2]	30.[2]	31.[2]	

Household No.41

1.[7]	2.[3]	3.[0]	4.[7]	5.[2]	6.[3]	7.[6]	8.[5]
9.[3]	10.[3]	11.[5]	12.[4]	13.[3][6]	14.[3]	15.[99]	16.[2]
17.[3]	18.[2]	19.[99]	20.[1]	21.[2]	22.[1]	23.[2]	24.[1]
25.[2]	26.[2]	27.[1]	28.[1]	29.[2]	30.[2]	31.[2]	

Household No.42

1.[4]	2.[2]	3.[0]	4.[4]	5.[1]	6.[2]	7.[5]	8.[3]
9.[7]	10.[3]	11.[1][5][6]	12.[4]	13.[99]	14.[1]	15.[2]	16.[2]
17.[3]	18.[3]	19.[99]	20.[1]	21.[1]	22.[1]	23.[2]	24.[1]
25.[2]	26.[2]	27.[1]	28.[1]	29.[2]	30.[2]	31.[2]	

Household No.43

1.[3]	2.[2]	3.[3]	4.[0]	5.[2]	6.[0]	7.[0]	8.[2]
9.[2]	10.[3]	11.[3]	12.[4]	13.[6]	14.[99]	15.[99]	16.[2]
17.[2]	18.[4]	19.[1]	20.[1]	21.[1]	22.[1]	23.[2]	24.[1]
25.[1]	26.[2]	27.[2]	28.[2]	29.[1]	30.[2]	31.[2]	

Household No.44

1.[4]	2.[3]	3.[0]	4.[4]	5.[1]	6.[2]	7.[3]	8.[3]
9.[7]	10.[3]	11.[99]	12.[1]	13.[1][3]	14.[2]	15.[2]	16.[2]
17.[3]	18.[4]	19.[1]	20.[1]	21.[2]	22.[1]	23.[2]	
24.[1]25.[2]	26.[2]	27.[1]	28.[1]	29.[2]	30.[2]	31.[2]	

Household No.45

1.[5]	2.[3]	3.[2]	4.[3]	5.[2]	6.[3]	7.[5]	8.[3]
9.[7]	10.[3]	11.[3]	12.[5]	13.[1][3]	14.[2]	15.[2]	16.[2]
17.[1]	18.[2]	19.[1]	20.[1]	21.[2]	22.[1]	23.[2]	24.[1]
25.[2]	26.[2]	27.[1]	28.[1]	29.[2]	30.[2]	31.[2]	

Household No.46

1.[5]	2.[3]	3.[3]	4.[2]	5.[2]	6.[2]	7.[1]	8.[2]
9.[1]	10.[3]	11.[3]	12.[5]	13.[4]	14.[1]	15.[2]	16.[2]
17.[3]	18.[4]	19.[2]	20.[1]	21.[1]	22.[1]	23.[2]	24.[1]
25.[2]	26.[2]	27.[1]	28.[1]	29.[2]	30.[2]	31.[2]	

Household No.47

1.[3]	2.[2]	3.[3]	4.[0]	5.[2]	6.[0]	7.[0]	8.[2]
9.[7]	10.[1]	11.[1]	12.[99]	13.[1][3][6]	14.[1]	15.[99]	16.[2]
17.[3]	18.[3]	19.[2]	20.[1]	21.[4]	22.[1]	23.[2]	24.[1]
25.[2]	26.[2]	27.[1]	28.[1]	29.[2]	30.[2]	31.[2]	

Household No.48

1.[6]	2.[3]	3.[0]	4.[6]	5.[1]	6.[3]	7.[5]	8.[2]
9.[2][3]	10.[3]	11.[4]	12.[5]	13.[1][3][6]	14.[2]	15.[2]	16.[2]
17.[2]	18.[2]	19.[1]	20.[1]	21.[1]	22.[1]	23.[2]	24.[1]
25.[2]	26.[2]	27.[1]	28.[2]	29.[1]	30.[2]	31.[2]	

Household No.49

1.[6]	2.[3]	3.[0]	4.[6]	5.[2]	6.[3]	7.[2]	8.[5]
9.[3]	10.[3]	11.[5]	12.[2]	13.[1][2][3][6]	14.[2][3]	15.[2]	16.[2]
16.[2]	17.[3]	18.[2][3]	19.[1]	20.[1]	21.[1]	22.[1]	23.[2]
24.[1]	25.[2]	26.[2]	27.[1]	28.[1]	29.[2]	30.[2]	31.[2]

Appendices

Household No.50

1.[6]	2.[3]	3.[0]	4.[6]	5.[1]	6.[4]	7.[6]	8.[5]
9.[3][6]	10.[3]	11.[5]	12.[1]	13.[1][3][4]	14.[2]	15.[1]	16.[2]
17.[3]	18.[2]	19.[1]	20.[1]	21.[1]	22.[2]	23.[2]	24.[1]
251.[2]	26.[2]	27.[1]	28.[1]	29.[2]	30.[2]	31.[2]	

Household No.51

1.[4]	2.[2]	3.[0]	4.[4]	5.[2]	6.[3]	7.[6]	8.[2]
9.[1]	10.[3]	11.[3]	12.[2]	13.[1][3]	14.[2]	15.[2]	16.[2]
17.[3]	18.[4]	19.[1]	20.[1]	21.[1]	22.[1]	23.[2]	24.[1]
25.[2]	26.[2]	27.[1]	28.[2]	29.[2]	30.[2]	31.[2]	

Household No.52

1.[5]	2.[3]	3.[5]	4.[0]	5.[2]	6.[3]	7.[3]	8.[3]
9.[7]	10.[3]	11.[5]	12.[1]	13.[1]	14.[3]	15.[2]	16.[2]
17.[3]	18.[4]	19.[1]	20.[1]	21.[1]	22.[2]	23.[2]	24.[1]
25.[1]	26.[2]	27.[1]	28.[1]	29.[2]	30.[2]	31.[2]	

Household No.53

1.[5]	2.[3]	3.[5]	4.[0]	5.[3]	6.[0]	7.[0]	8.[3]
9.[7]	10.[1]	11.[1]	12.[1][2]	13.[1][3]	14.[1]	15.[2]	16.[2]
17.[2]	18.[4]	19.[1]	20.[1]	21.[1]	22.[1]	23.[2]	24.[1]
25.[2]	26.[2]	27.[1]	28.[1]	29.[2]	30.[2]	31.[2]	

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