

Residential Space Change and Restructure in Shanghai Downtown Area

— With the Case of Luwan District, Shanghai —

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上海市の都心部における居住空間の変化と再構築
—上海市芦湾区を例として—

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上海中心城区居住空间变迁与重构研究
—以卢湾区为例—

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Abstract : China's economic growth, together with its adjustment of urban industrial structure and reform in urban housing policy, has led to a significant change in residential space in Shanghai. This paper is a research on the residential space change and restructure in downtown Shanghai. With Luwan District as an example, it looks into the configuration of the residential space in its different historical periods and discusses the development of the residential space in downtown Shanghai with reference to housing type and residents' structure. By analyzing the driving force as well as the internal rules of residential space change, it attempts to find out the general trends of residential space development in Luwan District in specific, and in downtown Shanghai in general.

Key words : residential space, downtown area, Luwan District, Shanghai, China

抄録 : 都市における産業構造の調整や住宅政策を伴った中国の経済成長は、上海の居住空間に重要な変化をもたらした。本稿は、上海における居住空間の変化と都心部の再構築について論じたものである。事例地区として芦湾区を取り上げ、異なった歴史的ステージにおける居住空間の配置について精査し、住宅様式や居住構造を参考にしつつ上海の都心部における居住空間の発達をめぐる議論を展開する。居住空間の変化に関わる内的規制と同様に、それを促す営力をも分析し、芦湾区に特有の居住空間の発達についての一般的傾向、それを通じた上海の

都心部における一般的傾向の解明を試みる。

索引語：居住空間，都心部，芦湾区，上海市，中国

摘要：伴随中国经济发展、城市产业结构调整、城市住宅制度改革，上海市中心城区居住空间发生变迁与重构 (residential space change and restructure)。本文以卢湾区为例，对区内各历史时期的居住空间格局进行解析，从住房类型和居民结构的变化来透视卢湾区居住空间的变迁过程。分析居住空间变迁的动力机制，探索居住空间变迁的内在规律，预测卢湾区居住空间变化的趋势，以此为探索上海中心城区发展的一般规律。

关键词：居住空间、中心城区、卢湾区、上海市、中国

1. Introduction

The past twenty-seven years of reform and open-up in China has seen a rapid growth in urban development in Shanghai. A large number of local and international investors, including real estate developers, have swarmed into the city, bringing about a significant development in its housing and old district rebuilding. During the period from 1994 to 2003, a new plan of old district reconstruction was carried out in the city, greatly promoting the development in residential space in its downtown area.

As the most central downtown district in Shanghai, Luwan District is a representative of the great changes in residential space in downtown Shanghai. From 1994 to 2003, with the plan of “one street, one center, four parks” and the policy of “great changes in three years”, the Luwan local government managed to achieve great developments in its residential space through leasing of land, reconstruction of old district and municipal and infrastructural construction.

Based on public figures from Shanghai Statistical Almanac, Luwan Almanac, and Shanghai Property Market, as well as information from public chorographies, this article makes analysis of the general rules of space change in Luwan District. Meanwhile, based on questionnaires, surveys are conducted throughout Luwan District, and residential committee of relevant communities is visited. Through interviews with residents and staff from the residential committee, the authors obtain relevant historical and current information of each area, so as to explore the general rules for residential space change and restructure in Shanghai downtown area.

2. Definition of Basic Concepts

(1) Residential Space

The concept of residential space covers two points. One refers to substantial space which is mainly residential lands, including geographical presence, form of structure, and spatial presence of houses, as well as integral characters. The other refers to residents' choice of houses and the functional space of residential community, including regional character, pattern character, and major structural character of houses, as well as the relationship

between residential space and other urban space. The reasonable distribution and optimization of residential space are a major aspect of the optimization of urban structural function. Change in residential space is a major reflection of change in urban structural function.

(2) Types of Residential Houses in Shanghai

Generally speaking, residential houses in Shanghai can be grouped into garden houses, apartments, dormitories, houses in lane (including the old and the new), and shanties, according to structure of residential houses. Since the reform and open-up policy, the welfare policy of housing has been changed. Houses are divided into villas, high-end houses, commercial houses and so on.

(3) Outline of Luwan District

The article mainly studies Luwan District (Figure 1), which is located in the south of the downtown area of Shanghai. It is geographically connected to Huangpu District, Jing'an District and Xuhui District, and is opposite to Pudong New District on the other side of the Huangpu river. Luwan District covers 2 kilometers from the west to the east, and 4 kilometers from the north to the south, with a rectangular shape. On the east side, it adjoins Huangpu District by Jiangbian Road, Gaoxiong Road, Zhizhaoju Road and Xizang South Road. On the west side, it adjoins Xuhui District by Shanxi South Road, Zhaojiabang Road, Ruijin South Road, and the end of Rihui Port. On the south side, it is opposite to Pudong New District on the other side of Huangpu River. On the north side, it is connected to Huangpu District by Jinling East Road and Jinling Middle Road, which is to the east of north-south high bridge. And it is connected to Jing'an District by Yanan Middle Road, which is to the west of north-south high bridge. Luwan District covers an area of 8.03 square kilometers, including 0.49 square kilometers' water area and 7.45 square kilometers' land area. Luwan District consists of four communities, including Wuliqiao Community (south), Dapugiao Community (middle), Ruijiner Road Community (north-west) and Huaihai Middle Road Community (north-east).



Figure 1 Luwan District and its surrounding area in Shanghai

3. History of Residential Space Change in Luwan District

(1) Residential Space Configuration of “ Poor in the South and Expensive in the North ” before Liberation

From 1910s to 1940s, the northern part of Luwan district was French colony, while the southern part belonged to the Chinese, divided by Xujiahui Road. Population from the north and the south are not balanced. The ingoing of Kiangnan Machinery Manufacturing Bureau and the growth of French colony in size brought two different growth paths for housing types in Luwan District. And also residential space in Luwan District has formed the configuration of “ Poor in the South and Expensive in the North ” which had great influence in China until 1949.

Housing types in the northern part of Luwan District mainly included houses in lanes, garden houses and apartments, with residents made up of rich businessmen, foreigners, church staffs and small owners. Houses in southern part of Luwan District are mainly workshops and shanties, with residents made up of peddlers, junior clerks, common workers, garbage collectors, and the unemployed.

(2) Decrease in Gap between North and South concerning Residential Space during 1950s and 1980s

After 1949, Shanghai started to reconstruct shanties and other areas with poor living condition. City construction was growing to attach greater importance to the harmony between residential space and industrial space. The original “ differentiation ” in urban community and its residential space disappeared. The “ unit ” housing model under planning economical system, which was known as pieces of individual “ unit ” land, formed the configuration of close unit society which combined employment with residence.

Such has been the feature of the residential space in Luwan District. Change in residential space experienced three stages. At the first stage, from 1949 to the 1950s, the status of “ work residence mix ” was formed, with close combination between residence and industry, as well as speedup in reconstruction of shanties. At the second stage, from the 1960s to the 1970s, construction and development of houses were stopped and even became worse. At the third stage in the 1980s, construction of houses speeded up, and residential space was combined closer with commercial and industrial production (Figure 2). During this period, there was a significant increase in the number of new workshops. “ Work Residence Mix ” status was formed in the South, while “ Business Residence Mix ” status was formed in the North, which slightly reduced the gap between the North and the South.

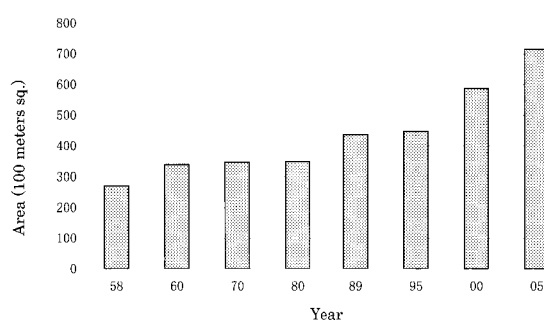


Figure 2 Statistics of newly residential houses' floor area in Luwan District

Source: (from 1958 to 1989) *Choreography of Luwan District*, Shanghai Academy of Social Science Publishing Company, 1998.

(from 1995 to 2005) *Shanghai Statistical yearbook (1996, 2001, 2006)*, China Statistical Publishing Company, 1996, 2001, 2006).

(3) Differentiation of Residential Space in the South, the North and the Middle in the 1990s

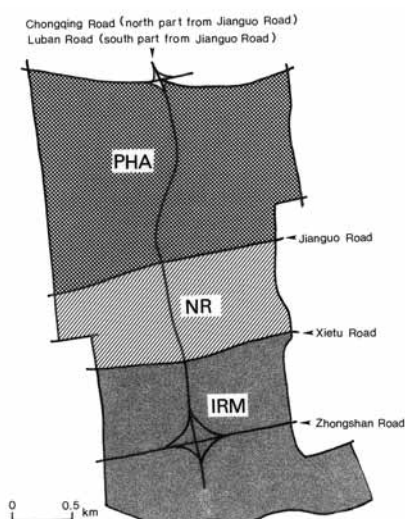
In 1992, Luwan District started to approve lease of “slope land”, which launched the reconstruction project of old district on a large scale within the area. Along with the indepth reform in land system and the continual growth in property market, the gap in residential space between the North and the South in Luwan District was reduced gradually. Dapujiao Community, which is at the middle part of Luwan District, saw significant growth in residential space due to its efforts in reconstruction and its efficiency. The continual growth of business in Dapujiao Community brought great development to residential space in there, which gradually became “glacis” connecting the North with the South in Luwan District. And configuration of residential space in Luwan District grew from “Poor in the South, Expensive in the North” to “Even Development in the South, the Middle and the North”. However, the rapid growth in South and Middle part of Luwan District led to great changes in residential space structure. The South, Middle and North part of Luwan District experienced continual decrease in population density, while residents’ distribution in the district remained the same. Half of the population lived in the North. The imbalance in population distribution demonstrated the feature of “dense in the North, sparse in the South” (Table 1 & Figure 3).

Table 1 Permanent population density and proportion of each area in Luwan District among 1993, 1997 and 1999

Region	area (km ²)	1993			1997			1999		
		population	density	proportion	population	density	proportion	population	density	proportion
total	8.02	419945	52362.2	100.0	375680	46842.9	100.0	365115	45525.6	100.0
South	3.03	80586	26596.0	19.2	76712	25317.5	20.4	75453	24902.0	20.7
Middle	1.62	102151	63056.2	24.3	82871	51154.9	22.1	80043	49409.3	21.9
North*	3.37	237228	70394.1	56.5	216097	64123.7	57.5	209617	62200.9	57.4

* North : North-East and North -West

Source: Chorography of Luwan District by Compiling Committee of Shanghai Chorography (not published)



PHA : present high-end apartment area
 NR : newly residential area
 IRM : industrial and residential mixed area

Figure 3 Layout of residential area 1990s, Luwan District

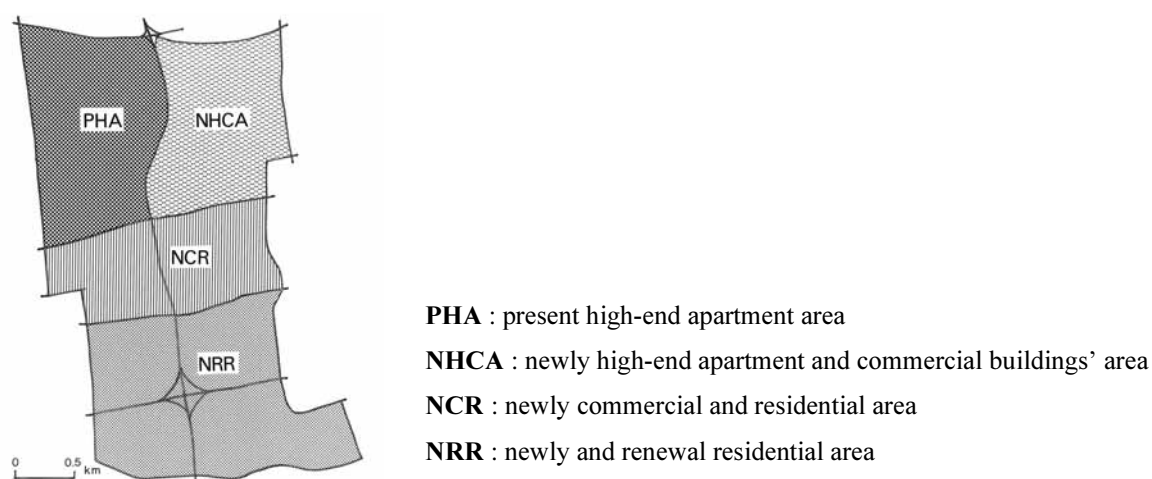


Figure 4 Layout of residential area 2000-2006, Luwan District

(4) Four Types of Residential Space since 2000

Since 2000, Luwan District has got new opportunities in economic growth. Reorganization of residential space in Luwan District as a whole is apparent, which is mainly demonstrated as better residential space configuration, combination of urban residence function and other functions, and so on. Luwan District residential space has changed from “North, Middle, South” pattern to a new pattern which consists of four functional areas divided by Chongqing Road and Jianguo Road. During that period, a group of fine historical houses in the North were preserved, a large amount of advanced newly-built commercial houses were built, and urban commercial function and leisure function were enhanced so as to optimize residential space (Figure 4).

Meanwhile, the distribution of the residents in Luwan District have experienced great changes. Population's proportion in northern part decreased significantly, while it in southern part increased. A large number of residents moved to the south and population tended to be reasonable in regional distribution.

4. Analysis of Reasons for Difference in Residential Space in Luwan District

(1) Reform in Housing Policy and Growth in Commercialization of Housing Market

Reform in housing policy started in Shanghai in 1991. The programme aimed at realization of commercialization of houses and it changed the housing policy which distributed houses with low rent. The programme established a policy which involved the government, enterprises, and individual family in construction of houses. It put forward measures including accumulated fund allowance, purchase of bonds with houses, discount in purchase of houses and establishment of housing committee. Since 1992, Luwan local government transferred its land use with compensation, which was limited to foreign investment projects until July, 1995.

In March 1996, foreign investment companies (including domestically investment companies) made target to commercial residential land at the domestic market. The area which belonged to shanties covering 3.65 million square meters was free to use while the rest of area under development had lower charge for land use, so as to

encourage real estate developers to participate in restructure of shanties. The commercialization of land and houses brought the city real estate developers as well as great amount of fortune, which pushed forward change in residential space in Luwan District.

(2) Consummation of City Planning and Segmentation of Residential Space

City planning serves as important guidance for urban construction. In *Ten Year Planning and Five Year Planning of City planning in Luwan District* prepared by Luwan District in 1990, development of 16 sites were put forward, including Xielu, Dapu Road 53 lane, Baokang II phase. A clear planning goal brought balanced development to residential space in Luwan District. Along with the commercialization of land and houses, the government changed from developer of residential space into administrator, with an emphasis on harmony of the district. With city planning control and regulation, the government co-developed residential area with real estate developers. In 1996, Luwan District prepared “detailed planning of Luwan District”, which positioned the regional function to be offer of jobs, living, education, shopping, tourism, public service and community service, according to the overall growth goal of the city. This helped to promote the reconstruction of residential space in Luwan District.

(3) Reservation and Reconstruction of Old City, Optimization of Residential Space

In the new century, Shanghai government planned to start a new round of city reconstruction during the “tenth five plan”, so as to build up a communistic modern metropolis. During the process of city construction, Luwan District was positioned at a “modern central commercial area”, while sticking to regional feature, the policy of planning first, reconstruction as a whole, and market operation.

In the new round of reconstruction of old district, Shanghai government started to attach importance to preservation of historical streets and buildings with traditional Shanghai elements. Thus, Luwan District decided to preserve places including workshop of River South Ship Manufacturer, site of “the first communist party congress”, Sinan Road Revolution Heritage area, Maoming South Road excellent modern architectural protection area, Huaihai Middle Road business area, Taipingqiao high-end residential area, and so on. Residential space demonstrates city culture, and grows with order.

5. Conclusion of Growth Trend of Residential Space in Luwan District

From the character of change and reconstruction of residential space in Luwan District, it is discovered that change and reconstruction of residential space are demonstrated in the following three aspects: 1) regional change in residential space and development in residential space; 2) change in relationship between residential space and other functional space; 3) flux of population in residential space. Thus, the trend of spatial growth in Luwan District can be generalized as follows.

(1) Commercial Center is Growing towards Maturity, Bringing Further Development to Middle and High-end Residential Space

Along with growth in business function of Luwan District and its radiation area, high-end houses under construction are developed. For example, the success of “Xintiandi” has changed poor residence zones around Taipingqiao district into high end ones. Traditional style houses around Fuxin Road are changed into high-end

houses. During “the eleventh five year plan”, Luwan District plans to quicken construction of commercial facilities, develop modern service industry and commercial retail industry along with the 2010 World Expo opportunity. Luwan District will reconstruct the old buildings and build up a metro system. The district will have a greater portion of high income residents and become a regional business center and modern residential area.

(2) A New Round of Functional Area Construction Further Optimizes Residential Space

Residential space in Luwan District develops from “difference between the north and the south”, to “construction of functional areas”. Configuration of residential space is improving, and it will continue to develop along with the consummation of infrastructure including metro system and urban construction. Functional area with individuality will appear. According to “the eleventh five year plan”, Luwan District will consummate urban functional distribution, enhance general service function and build up a modern urban area.

(3) World Expo to Promote Decrease in Gap between the North and the South

The projected World Expo park is to be located in the south of Luwan District along the Huangpu River, which will help to reduce the gap between the south and the north of Luwan District. According to the requirement of 2010 Shanghai World Expo, exhibition halls and museums will be built in the south. Development of conferences, summits, tourism, industrial expo and cultural expo, and the growth of business function of riverside region will make Luwan District to the famous international cultural exchange center. Difference in the regional function of the residential space in Luwan District will be reduced and the district will become more balanced and harmonious.

6. Conclusion

Luwan District is an epitome of downtown Shanghai as far as its residential category change and reconstruction is concerned.

The four stages in the development of the residential space category in Luwan District is a reflection of residential space change in Shanghai downtown area as a whole.

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