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里弄：历史遗产还是未来发展的新机遇？

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of development for the future?**

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ABSTRACT

Nowadays, Shanghai city's image is the result of a few factors, such as its favorable location on the Yangtze River, the ancient Chinese constructive methods, the western influences of the last two centuries, and the recent astonishing development. This blend of circumstances led entire generations of Shanghaiese inhabitants to spend their life into Lilong settlements, precisely generated by this multicultural approach. Across the two century Lilong typology shaped a culture of Shanghaiese, with their specific lifestyle, customs, traditions and practices. However, these settlements, depositaries of past's memory, are facing the effects of an incomparable growth. The city's image, though, had to adjust itself to the urban and financial development.

This work initially is going to analyze the city's development, deepening Lilong's origins and reasons of construction. After a deep investigation of the model's specific features, the study moves toward the understanding of the current state of those settlements, under a social and a physical point of view. Eventually all these aspects, are leading to a wise research about the possibility to preserve and foster the traditional culture in new housing solutions, in current times.

Key Words: lilong, culture, preservation, heritage, development, new models.

摘要

上海今日的城市意象是多种要素共同作用的结果，如其地处长江入海口的独特区位优势；中式传统的建造方式；西方外来建筑文化于过去的两个世纪的影响；以及现代城市令人印象深刻的迅猛发展。

这种复杂情况及多元建筑文化的混合，导致整代上海人生活在被命名为“里弄”的独特建筑布局中。过去的两个世纪，里弄这一民居形态塑造了上海人的文化，以及他们特有的生活方式，风俗习惯，传统而又现代。而这些承载着过去记忆的民居形式，如今正遭受着各方面的影响，城市意像需要适应城市的发展与经济的发展。

本文将从城市的发展开始研究，深入上海里弄的起源和建设的缘由。在分析了该民居形态具体表现特征后，进而从社会层面与物质现实的角度出发，尝试了解这些定居点的现状。最终，这些方面的研究，将引导“保护、培育和促进传统文化融入现代新住房解决方案的可能性”这一研究课题的继续探索。

关键词：里弄，文化，保护，遗产，发展，新模式。

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1. Research's introduction

1.1. Problem statement

Shanghai, a vast and limitless urbanization, a shiny city rose on the Yangtze River on which it reflects its lights and its origins. Shanghai, one of the capitals of the Far East, condenser of the ancient Chinese culture, where the western and the eastern culture mix up together. Shanghai the charming global city with its thousand modern and ancient faces aligned together side by side.

Shanghai with its long history has been one of the crucial spot for the trade of goods, thanks to its port that was connecting the east with the west side of the world. Along the last two century Shanghai's favorite location has been the attractor of many power's interest, which led it to assume its current identity. Its long history of trade is the base of its last two century of development, which created a unique urban pattern and incomparable architectural forms.

Along the last two centuries, Shanghai developed those settlements that are going to be the focus of this work, the Lilong settlements. Lilong typology where the housing answer of the historical financial, demographic and political events that condensed on the city of Shanghai. Lilong typology is a unique example of mixing up different building forms deriving from different cultures. This cross-culture typology is the one that for more than a century characterized most Shanghainese urban layout, which is partly still visible in the current global city of Shanghai. Lilong are one of the few examples where the human has been able to build the human environment mixing different cultures.

However, regardless to other sides of the globe, the city of Shanghai assisted to an unstoppable development in the last two centuries, leading the city's shape to develop in strict relation with it. Thus, naturally, the city's reproduction followed the emerging priorities, such as the allocative need of huge masses of citizens. This in turn, led to the adoption of new allocative answers, new housing typology. The classic Lilong low-rise model, built by the foreign needs and interest from the second half of the 19th century, have been greatly substitute in the last decades with a higher-rise model able to satisfy the demographic pressures and the modern society's interest. The result is a contrasting layout, where the ancient low-rise patrimony is immersed in vast high-rise portions.

This process led to a condition where the Lilong settlements find their self in a compromised status, between being neglected being substituted or being valorized, where all this three matters have their own pros and cons according to different point of view. Whichever side we want to look at the matter from, this housing typology is preserving the culture of the past, which is expressed by the people still living in them, and by the classic architectural motifs characterizing them.

Properly at this point rise the aim and goals of the following research.

1.2. Research aims and goals

This thesis is a deep study of the history of Lilongs, thus, which are the origins of this typology, considering the economic, politic and demographic factors that led to their construction. Once these bases are set, the study is going to analyze the evolution of the model along the decades, how the stable housing form adapted according to the evolving society that surrounded them. Therefore, the starting point of this work is to comprehend carefully the lapse of time spanning from Lilong construction until nowadays, understanding how this housing form created a form of society, and how evolved linked to its evolution.

Once the bases will be sturdy and the knowledge enough reliable, the principal questions of this work will be:

Which are the current dynamics condensing into Lilong settlements from inside and outside? How can we define those places as a historic legacy of the past?

Moreover:

Is it possible to replicate in the future the positive aspects that we learnt from Lilongs, recreating beneficial outputs?

I consider this study considerably interesting for urban planning discipline since if in one hand I can affirm the central focus of the thesis is the city of Shanghai, in another hand this study is going to highlight the possibility of reproduction of an old model in the current era. If we look at the history of human environment, the shape of them has always reflected the society that generated them. In many sides of the globe, as for instance in my country, we can observe how ancient typologies have hosted along the years an evolving society, and this is an interesting matter as well.

However, what I want to insight here is the possible replication of an old typology's positive aspects in the present, which would preferably produce forms suiting this day and age. Hence, this insight exercise is going to take Shanghai as the work field to put in practice the study, however this survey's approach could be applied to different urban realities.

As a logic first starting point rise the need of understanding which are the available materials that could be used in order to answer these questions. Thus, which is the available knowledge consultable in order to grow an awareness of this phenomenon. I propose an analysis of it in the following paragraph.

1.3. The existing literature about the subject

Due to the its capacity to concentrate the researchers' interest, especially regarding architecture urban planning and sociology studies, there is a great literature standing behind this residential model. Thus, in this section I am going to flick through the existing literature, commenting which are the positive and negative aspects that can emerge from each source considered and where there is a lack of studies where my thesis is targeting. The main aspect we have to take in account regarding this literature is that is mostly concentrated in the description of this model, hence the explanation of its main architectural and compositional feature, its urban layout, which in turn naturally evidences the social aspects. These social aspects are strictly related to the architectural characteristic of the model, since they can be seen as the result or the output of it. We can take for granted that the literature is arguing about the Shanghainese society in the present and in the recent past, with a strict link running across the discipline of architecture, thus urban design, hence sociology. There is also part of the bibliography that soon is going to be presented, which explain which are the current forces and dynamics Lilong settlements are currently exposed to, and which are, in turn, the effects (or the side effects) of these forces.

However, the main aspect to keep in mind is that most of the existing literature, as said, is limited to the description of "what" those settlements are, "which kind" of social model they created, and "how" is Lilongs' current "treatment" and the reflected effects of it into the society and the urban reality. Of course, this literature highlights which are the negative and positive aspects under these points of view. Nevertheless, is still missing a clear proposal for the future. Thus we can state there is a sort of gap. In fact, most of the studies emphasize the potential of the residential model, focalizing in its ability to generate a close and dense social tissue. They analyze how the Lilongs' layout is able to develop some worthy social results.

Anyhow, what is generally missing is the proposal for the replication of these worthy social results in the future. What is missing is the answer to the question: "How to replicate this model in the current and next future?". Moreover, the literature is generally limited until current times, it seems like there is a wide amount of material arguing about the past and current time, but there is not a bibliography with a clear forecast of the future. Thus another question is "which is the future for these settlements?". Hence, we can consider these dilemmas as the incentive of my work, as a work of investigation of the possible existence of a link between the existing settlement and their reproduction, in order to recreate those commendable social results.

In order to better arrange the structure of this literature review we are going to follow the thesis-structure's order, reported in the next paragraph of this chapter, in the sake of clarity and order. Thus, this is going to be divided in three parts: the first is going to examine the literature of description about "what" the Lilongs are and their features; the second is going to evidence the current interventions applied on those settlement; eventually the third and last is going to insight the attempt of reproduction of this model in new settlements. Along this report, several times some themes such as architecture, finance, society and politics are going to be argued, moreover some topics are going to be debated across the three different sections.

Descriptive literature

A deeply accessible work to understand the different subcategories of Lilong housing typology is the book of Leonardo Citterio, entitled *Lost in globalization, the paradigm of Chinese urban housing* and published in April 2015 by Jamko Edizioni, in Milan. After a brief introduction of the Chinese and the Shanghai context the research focalize specifically in the different housing typology composing Shanghai nowadays and the goal is restricted to the pure description instead of deepening one typology's future or reproduction. The thesis has been a good reference to understand and interpret the difference among the subcategories of Lilong are going to be analyzed, case by case, in this work (such as the Old Shikumen Longtang, the New Shikumen Longtang, the New-type Lilong house, the Garden Lilong and the Apartment Lilong).

In the paper entitled *Toward modern urban housing: redefining Shanghai's Lilong* written by Non Arkaraprasertkul published in 2009 by the Journal of Urbanism, the goal changes, since together with the description there the aim is properly the one to give a proposal for the future of Lilongs. First of all, the author set the basis to reach its proposal: he describe what the city of Shanghai is nowadays, how Lilong settlements developed and analyze the origin of the typical social cohesion of the model, which is recognized by him as the feature to be replicated. His proposal is to reorient Lilong's layout by changing the row orientation from having the front of the rows facing the back of the previous row, to having their backs facing each other so that dwellers can share their service areas. This argumentation is interesting if we look at it from the limited settlement's scale, however it does not provide an explanation of its feasibility, how to merge the competing urban pressures, at last where to apply this proposal.

Another paper from the same author is resolutely interesting, and it can be seen as a sort of bridge, or connection, with the further argumentation regarding the Lilongs redevelopment. The research is entitled *The death and life of Shanghai's alleyway house: re-thinking community and historic preservation*, and it has been published in 2015 by Revista de Cultura. Here the descriptive part is definitely shorter, because the aim of the paper is to reflect which is the process and the happening that led the settlement to be transformed. Thus, this study is resolutely important for my work because it allowed me to understand the recent historical political and financial background which led to the current process of restoration and demolition of Lilongs. This is deeply interesting as a basis to reflect once this work is going to deepen in detail the current process of redevelopment.

Current interventions' literature

The research set out by the author Fei Chen in the paper entitled *Traditional architectural forms in market oriented Chinese cities: Place for localities or symbol of culture?* is an interesting study published by Elsevier Journal in 2011. The goal of the paper is to argue about the actual community's preservation within the settlements regeneration. The paper takes as example four case studies of regeneration, though it passes through emblematic cases of Ju'er Hutong, Tongfang Xiang, Xintiandi and Nanjing 1912. I can affirm this study gave me only a

glimpse of which are the economic aspects and the subjects involved, in fact the paper has a deeper focus regarding the quality of the interventions under the physical point of view, but in strict relation to the social point of view. For instance, it also discusses about the process of inhabitants relocation during the redevelopment. Both of these aspects are going to be analyzed in the third and the fourth chapter of my work.

Regarding the system behind Lilongs' redevelopment, thus, the institutional and financial actors involved, I found the two next studies worthy in order to better understand the whole dynamic. The first one has been written by Shenjing He and Fulong Wu, published by Journal of Urban Affairs in 2005 and entitled *Property-led redevelopment in post-reform China: a case study of Xintiandi redevelopment project in Shanghai*. This study reveals which has been the role of the private sector and which of the public one across the last decades in the urban redevelopment. It greatly explain the reason that brought the private and the public sector to establish stronger partnerships with the goal of redevelopment over the years. With the same approach, it shows how the private contribution has been exponentially needed by the public sector for the sake of transformation. Naturally, all these information are the basis of discussion for my work, being the foundation of the current urban condition of Shanghai. This is the approach used to describe the emblematic case of Xintiandi's redevelopment, which is going to be deeply analyzed in my work.

The second study having a more specific approach about Xintiandi and the actors' role was issued in 2006 by Urban studies written by You-Ren Yang and Chih-Hui Chang, entitled *An urban regeneration regime in China: A case study of urban redevelopment in Shanghai's Taipingqiao area*. This research also takes the case of Xintiandi to analyze not only the physical and social aspects of the redevelopment, but mostly focalizing on the role of the public sector. In fact, this study allowed me to understand the specific role of each institutional level from the district government responsibilities to the city government tasks, as well as the private contribution. However, an interesting aspect this research set out is about the financial benefits the transformation of Xintiandi gave to the real estate sector in the area the redevelopment took place, since most of the other studies concentrate on the negative aspects without a balance between the pro and cons.

All these studies describe (some of them with a deeper approach some of them with shallower one) which are the pros and the cons in these kind of urban regenerations. Some of them focus on the financial aspects, some others on the institutional field, such as the cross-institutional responsibilities and interest. Some of them deepen the aspects of the inhabitants' relocation that is going to be part of this text. However, if we pass through all this literature there is something missing, as already explained. The missing part regards a clear vision for the future, a sturdy research that is looking toward the present and targeting the future. Yes, someone might argue that if we observe the new example's literature (the one about Pujiang) that follows, here we are talking about future. Well, we are talking about present and a significant example of reproduction of something new with the style of the past (and this is going to be one of the main aspects argued by this work too). However, is absent the argumentation of the existing old Lilong settlement in the city of Shanghai, their potential and their future currently compromised between valorization, neglect and substitution. This is clearly summarized by Shenjing He and Fulong Wu in the paper presented above:

“Property development significantly facilitates urban redevelopment and transforms urban landscapes in the post-reform period. At an unprecedented scale and speed, urban redevelopment has become an eye-catching and contentious issue in China and deserves further exploration. However, the scarcity of research on relevant issues is greatly disproportionate to the vastness of urban redevelopment throughout the country” (He, Wu, 2005, p. 3).

Hence, regarding these three processes (paragraphs 4.4.1., 4.4.2. and 4.4.3) we are going to pass through the pros and cons of each of them, and they are going to be recalled in many parts of the thesis. Thus, this work is trying to open a discussion about that, which could, and should, be further develop in the future.

Literature about the attempt of reproduction

The study undertaken by Charlie Q.L. Xue and Minghao Zhou about Shanghainese new towns is exposed in the paper entitled *Importation and adaptation: building “one city and nine towns” in Shanghai: a case study of Vittorio Gregotti’s plan of Pujiang town* and has been published by Urban design international in 2007. The study is interesting since analyze the importation of foreigner architectural models, but for the sake of my work, is more interesting the part arguing about the reasons standing behind the choice of the municipality of Shanghai in the construction of nine new external towns. All this matters are definitely important in this work to introduce the specific case I am focusing on. Nevertheless, other two aspect highlighted by the authors which are resolutely crucial for my thesis’ sturdiness are the bureaucratic process which led the accomplishment of construction and the urban composition details of Pujiang. Those compositional aspects are going to be considered in my work as the basis of reproduction of the classic Lilong’s community.

A nice a rich collection regarding the new towns is offered by Harry den Hartog in *Shanghai new towns: searching for community and identity in a sprawling metropolis* published in 2010 in Rotterdam by 010 Publisher. This publication has been fundamental to argue about Chinese urban growth, thus the current process of urbanization craning into the countryside in order to host the astonishingly increasing Shanghainese inhabitants. This book also pass through each single satellite new quarter town and city, thus has been worthy in order to make cross-comparison between Pujiang and the other cases analyzed by the author.

Again, another cross-comparison has been made with the paper we already saw in another work considered in this work, Charlie Q.L. Xue, together with Ying Wang and Luther Tsai. The study they made is mostly focalized in another new town, and this is the reason behind the title *Building new towns in China – A case study of Zhengdong new district*. Elsilver published this article in 2013. The comparison I had the chase to do, which result is emerges from my own consideration along this work, regards the economic condition and politic evolution that led to this urbanization phenomenon. Another aspect emerged thanks to this publication regards the financial output of this urban development, and for sure allowed me to understand the real

estate's implication when this kind of transformation happens within the city borders or outside of them, and when the transformation's scale is wide or small (the case of Xintiandi).

In the specific case of Pujiang new town, I consider the work of Marta Gallo the most helpful for my theses. Hence, the Phd thesis of Miss Gallo is entitled *Shanghai, one city nine towns – Foundation of the city and metropolitan contemporary transformations* (the title of the Phd thesis is in Italian as the whole thesis, thus has been translated by the author), and it has been published by the Sapienza University of Rome. In fact, this research deepen the case of Pujiang analyzing the specific constructive details, with a level of in-depth analysis I could not find anywhere else. Miss Gallo had the choice to access to some design and project documents belonging to the Gregotti Associati International and not available in the rest of the published studies. Naturally, this gave me the possibility to report in my work some precious elements to clearer explain the case of Pujiang.

Eventually is important to mention that many are the other materials that have been worthwhile to develop this thesis, mostly literal material listed in the existing literature review, coming from different sources such as books, articles, papers, news and the web. Moreover, in the web I found videos, various thematic reportages, online blogs and great photographic reportages. This last tool in urban planning field is an important tool of description and interpretation of the territories. All the materials mentioned above are going to be quoted and reported along the text and in the bibliography/sitography. However, an important contribute has been given by the interviews with the local inhabitants in the field of study.

1.4.Thesis structure

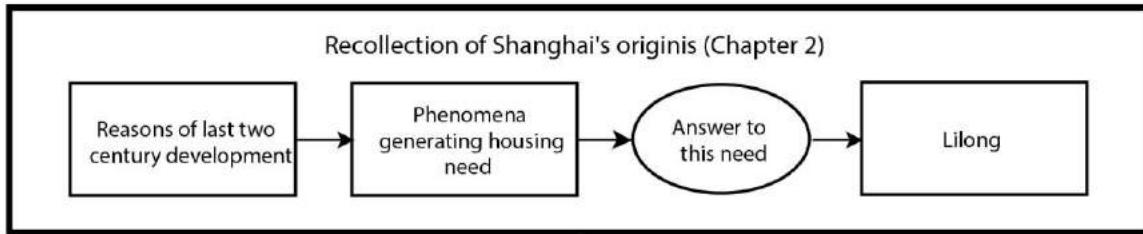
This thesis is the result of a knowledge acquired during the Shanghaiese staying together with the Italian one. During the Shanghaiese staying I had the choice to insight personally the field I am arguing about in this work, not limiting myself at that, instead trying to get as much as possible of the cultural features of the Chinese context, which I see as the basis of the current society, implying in turn the human environment too. I consider extremely fundamental being involved in the social context I am debating about since it allowed me to have a closer and clearer view of the framework, and I am resolutely grateful to both the universities allowed me to do so.

However, the Italian staying has been important as well, since allowed me to elaborate all these information and knowledge I collected in the previous period from a different point of view, with a more neutral approach and richer amount of points of consideration.

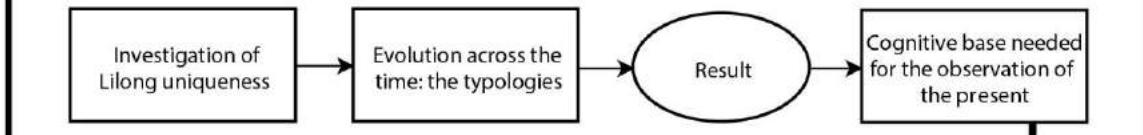
Therefore, the structure of the thesis is mainly reflecting with a chronological order these two periods of staying, corresponding so to the editing work. In the light of this, of course some part of the work are going to recall others backward and forward within the text, according to specific matters.

To better understand the whole structure of the thesis, and to have a mental path, or a guide to use during the reading of my work, in the following page is reported a *structure diagram*, which is summarizing the whole layout.

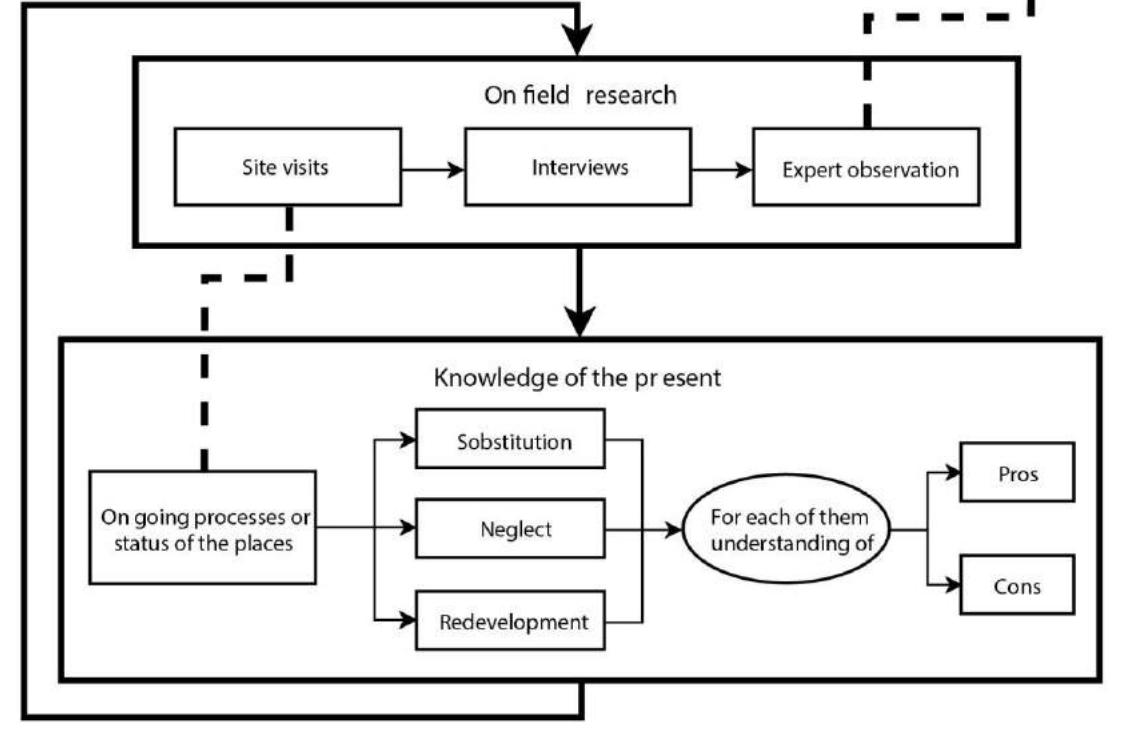
HISTORICAL/COGNITIVE PHASE (CHAPTERS 2 & 3)

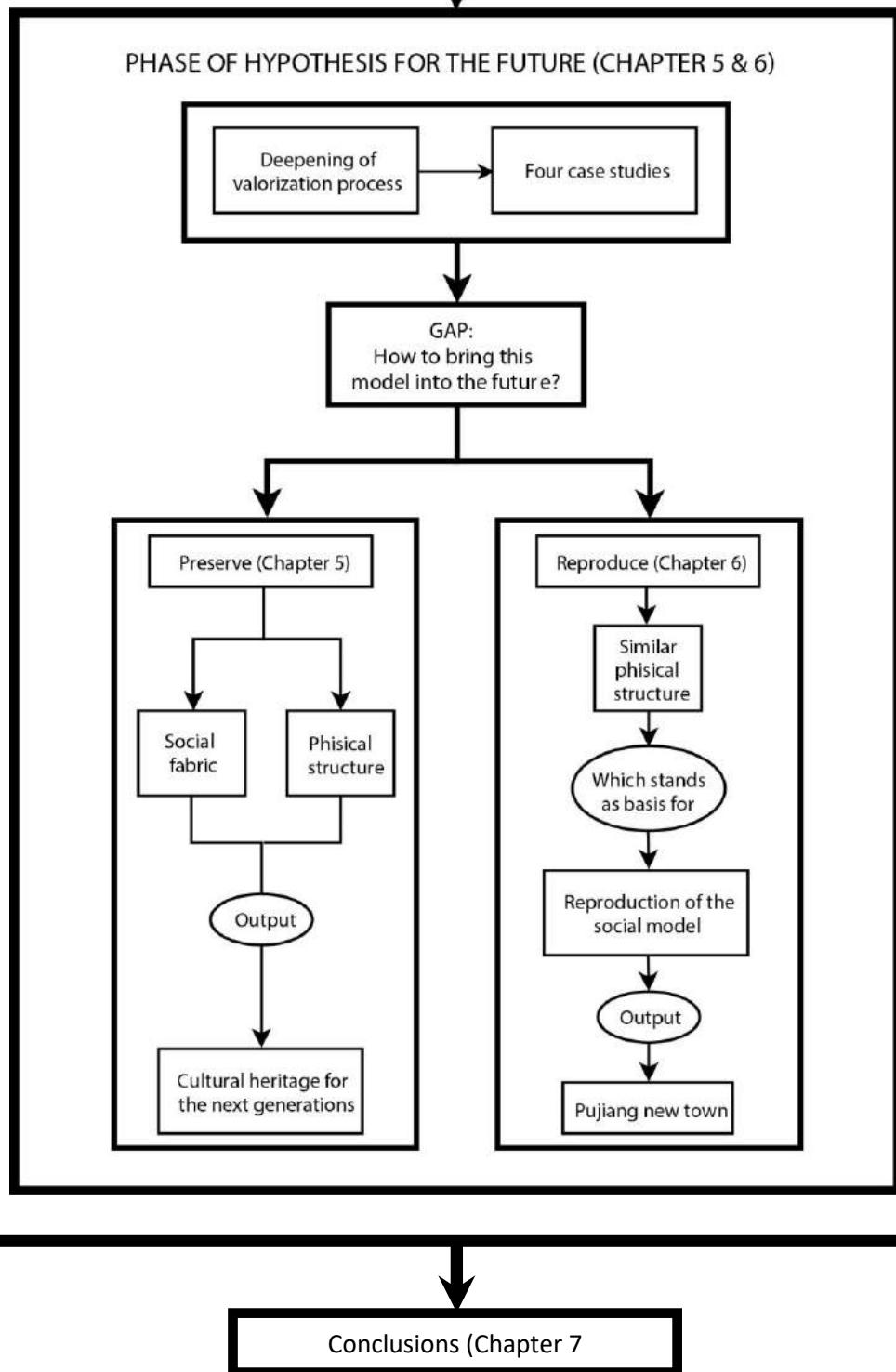


Focus on the target: Lilong (Chapter 3)



EXPLORATIVE PHASE OF THE PRESENT (CHAPTER 4)





As shown above the structure of the thesis, even though is totally composed by seven chapters, can be defined by three phases of analysis. In order to avoid misunderstanding between the phases and the chapters, each phase of the *structure diagram* reports which chapter

is composed by. The first part of the work (chapter 2 and 3) is a deep insight of Lilongs settlements' history, starting from the reason that made Shanghai an attractive city, since their appearance in Shanghai until nowadays. The goal of this phase is to provide the widest proficiency of the typology, thus what is meant for "cognitive basis for the observation of the present" is the necessary wisdom needed about the matter, in order to pass to the second phase, which needs critical skills.

Right after, in a second part (Chapter 4), the study move to the observation of the present of Lilong settlements, with the understanding of the current social tissue still living in them, with the aim of recognizing their architectural historical and cultural value. This analysis leads to the observation of the current pressures those settlements are subjected to, exploring which generally are the processes they are exposed to and highlighting the actors contributing to them. For each of these outputs there will be a discussion about the pros and cons of them.

Eventually the last part (Chapter 5 and 6) is going to evaluate the hypothesis of Lilong's future, hence among the processes exposed in the previous part, deepening those processes Lilongs permanence in the urban space (ignoring, for instance the tearing-down process). The analysis of some emblematic examples is going to open the discussion about the attempt to bring this model in the future. This work is going to show how this operation is hanging in balance between a process of valorization and attempt of reproduction of positive aspects of Lilongs in the contemporaneity, recreating the model in Pujiang new town.

At last, the conclusion is going to make a brief recap of all the previous parts of the thesis, putting them in relation. In the light of these, there will be an argumentation about the possibility to spread, to transmit the culture of the past in the next future and for the next generation, using the shapes of the past, or their slight readjustment.

2. Development of Shanghai during the era of the foreign concession

In order to open the argumentation about Lilong, and all the matters explained in the previous part, we need to make a step back in the time. We need first to understand at least the last two century of history. This step back is resolutely important to understand the origins of a city, the city of Shanghai, which, due to some specific local reason, generated a housing model, the Lilong model. Hence, to understand the history of the matter we can consider the a lapse of time spanning two centuries, fixing this date as the beginning of the tale is going to be exposed in this work.

The development of the city of Shanghai in the recent time has been deeply influenced by the establishment of the foreign concessions. Before the first half of the 19th century, period when Shanghai opened the trades with the rest of the world, the city was only a little town. This breakthrough of Shanghainese history happened after the opening of the commercial harbor.

Indeed, before that happen, the economy was basically based on fishing, farming and textile trade, due to the strategical position of Shanghai in relation with the water of the Yangtze River. This strategic location allowed Shanghai to be a local center of an agricultural system (Den Hartog, 2010, p. 44). Thus the city of Shanghai under a global point of view, was a humble urban center like any other city on the water that did not have an explosive development, therefore none could glimpse at that time about the growth it could assist in the few coming decades. The city at that time was fenced inside walls and the inner part of the city used to look like the typical Chinese town with the main two roads oriented from east to west and from north to south.

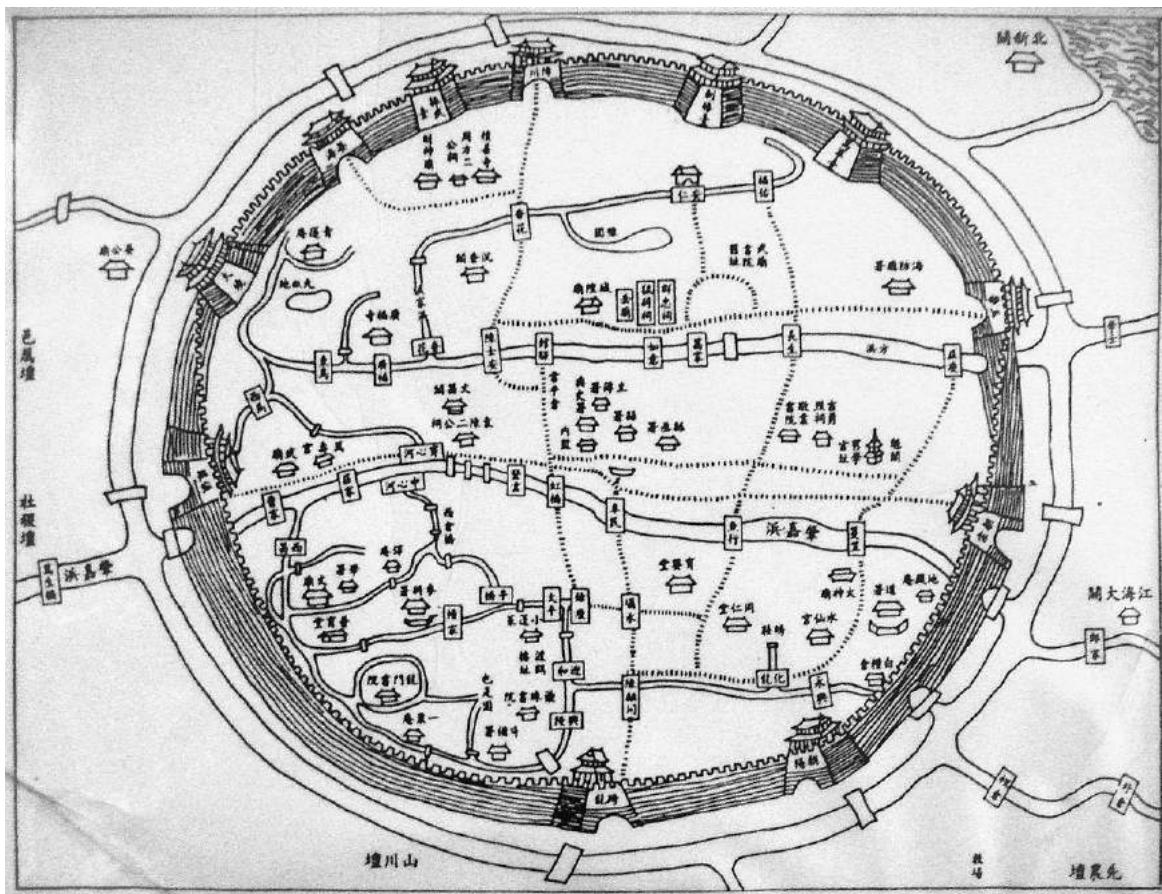


Image 1: 17th century Shanghai is fenced inside the city walls.
 (Source: https://commons.wikimedia.org/wiki/File:Map_of_the_Old_City_of_Shanghai.jpg)

The buildings were mostly two stories and many of them were constructed in wood. The city fabric was extremely dense and the streets were generally narrow. Apart the main roads, there was not a clear pattern that could let understand the planning of the space.

2.1.Historical development of the foreign concessions

For the flowering trade condition during the first half of 19th century and the strategical position, the city has been immediately pinpointed by foreign nation in order to enlarge their trades in Asia having a geographical base in the city of Shanghai.

“The history of urban housing in Shanghai is not complicated. Urban housing is the most significant component of Shanghai’s modernization, industrialization and urbanization which had not begun until the late 19th century with the opening of the Treaty Port and the various foreign settlements”. (Arkraprasertkul, 2009, p.17)

In the 19th Century, the Port of Shanghai's importance grew tremendously. It occupied a valuable strategic position for trade with the West. The British held the Port of Shanghai briefly during the First Opium War. When the war ended with the Treaty of Nanjing in 1842, the Port of Shanghai became one of the treaty ports open for international trade.

The coercive arrival of the English, at first, signed a breakthrough in the history of the city. Thus, the foreigners settle down in a defined part of the city characterized by an urban undevelopment but with an outstanding strategical access to the water that allowed an efficient trade system. The way the foreigner settled in the urban area has not been gentle at all, also in relation of the Opium war that characterize the history of those decades. Soon after, the French as well arrived in town settling right south the English settlement. Moreover, the American defined their settlement in the west of the English concession. The English and the American settlements, after a while, joint together founding the International concession.

After a decades passed, the French concession covered a surface of 32.32 km² and the International one a surface of 10.22 km². The development booming was massive: the urban fabric changed since the foreigners managed to build roads and any kind of functional building for many functions.

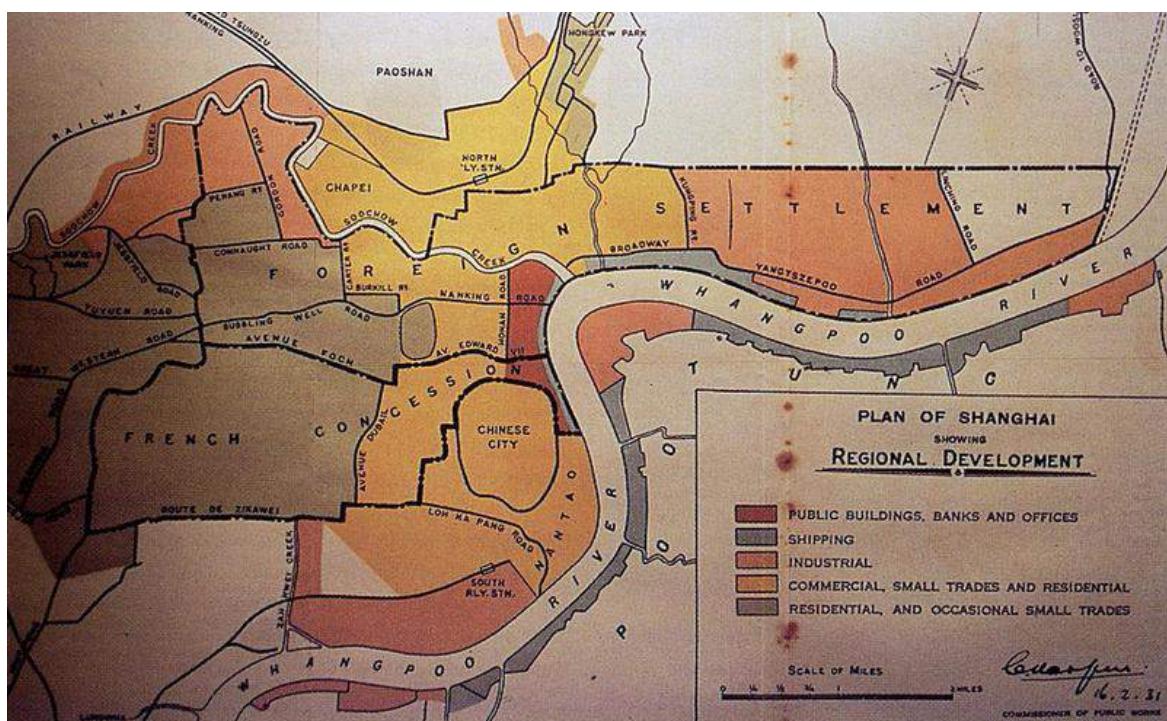


Image 2: 20th century Shanghai. The foreign concessions and ancient Chinese town.

(Source: <https://litshanghai.wikispaces.com/20th+Century+Shanghai>)

The foreign parts of the city were the great majority across the 19th and the 20th century, while the Chinese part of the city was still recognizable in the urban map, it corresponded to the ancient 17th century city-walls' borders (as showed in the image 2). The ancient Chinese city is still clearly readable in the urban fabric of Shanghai that along the last two century have been taking shape in this layout.

The impact of the interventions start to define a shape of the urban space that is still a legacy nowadays. The port size and its related facilities grown as well as the trade passing by and shipped all over the world, until the port has been ranked as one of the ten biggest trade center of the world.

Meanwhile the concessions turned into headquarters of many financial activities related to the wares business. The architecture of the buildings were characterized by the common architectural styles in fashion in Europe and this means a total shock for the millenarian Chinese culture. The buildings started to rise higher, applying the new construction methods used in the west side of the world, for both the most refined buildings such as banks and financial centers but also applied in the housing typologies. The most impressive manifest of this architectural “importation”, using words of the authors Charlie Q.L. Xue and Minghao Zhou, realized in this period still visible nowadays is the Bund. Those building were considered as skyscraper with a total new and breaking-through architectural style.

2.2. The quick increment of population

The important aspect to bear in mind is the fast growing of the city of Shanghai. The growing amount of foreign capitals gravitating in Shanghai, as the huge masses of population moving to the city, shaped it in a peculiar way different from the rest of the cities worldwide. The increment of these external factors has been massive and unique in the history of the cities. We can consider Shanghai a particular case to observe this unusual phenomenon in the urban realities. As analyzed by the author Non Arkaraprasertkul, during the 19th century:

“The consequences of the process of becoming a port was the (...) dramatic population growth and exponential increase of workforce (and also refugees). (...) Not only political upheaval, but also better job opportunities attracted an increasing number of migrants from the hinterland to Shanghai. The number of Chinese inhabitants in the International Settlement rose from 75,000 to half a million in less than three decades”. (Arkaraprasertkul, 2009, p.17)

By the end of the 19th century, the city of Shanghai was a flowering of trades and business activities. The immigration of people from the countryside and from other countries reached outstanding rates and did not stop to grow every year. As the urban population also the trade activity were taking off rapidly. The face of the city changed as the feeling walking on the streets; the volumes facing the street were now accommodating every kind of showcase, from shops to bars, from theatre to cinema. There were also humbler activities on the street mixed with the first ones in a peaceful coexistence. The outfits of the people somehow changed as well, for instance in the Bund’s district, they resolutely reflect the importance of the activity were taking place in those sought new buildings.

This explosive growth of the economic activities made rise the value of the commercial land facing the streets, and the request of housing for the incoming population, as well as the one coming from the people already accommodating in Shanghai.

2.3.A changing shape of the city

The economic expansion of Shanghai has been mostly due to the contribution of the foreign concession by the time. In fact, these city's portions used to occupy a truly huge part of the city comparing to the rest of it, and they used to have a total autonomous system in the fields of law regulation, economics, and as well in the urban planning field. If we focus on the urban planning field, we can understand how each culture would tend to apply his own model of designing the city's pattern. The result of the matching of these different urban tissue, was a patchwork of different fabrics. We can resolutely affirm that this kind of settlements are the watershed of the encounter between the Chinese and the Western culture and building style.

Furthermore, the generated pattern was almost a grid. In fact the classical Chinese organization of the streets follow the four orientations – north, south, east, west – and this rule has been most of the time respected, but not always. The streets were usually 6.6 meters to 8.00 meters wide and 35 meters to 45 meters long, with regular intervals with the perpendicular street. The grid has always been respected somehow, even though sometimes without a strict preeminence in the planning process. There was not a truly clear hierarchy of the streets, since they all use to look the same size. The result was a bit random but in the overall operation of the district, it was truly organic. Nevertheless, the foreign concessions contributed widely to develop a modern network of roads, building them with the western infrastructural features such as sewages and draining system.

Nowadays all the main streets of the city have their starting point from the area where the concessions were settled, merging often nearby the bund. The expansion of the city followed the direction of these main streets, which developed their self in a radial way, spreading off in the north, south and west direction. The density was changing along those roads; in the central area characterized by representative and business western style buildings that was high, and tended to slow down moving toward the peripheries. The central area assumed the architectural and urban shape of a western city, changing again the pattern of it.

By the time, the western-style building were often headquarters of banks, companies, insurances and diplomatic institutions and the most famous ones (especially on the Bund) still nowadays preserve the original function of the past, becoming historical heritage for the city of Shanghai.



Image 3: Bird-view of Shanghai in the early 20th century. 90% of the urban fabric is made bu Lilongs
(Source: *Arkaraprasertkul, 2009, p.18*)

2.4. The rising need of housing

The increment of population was not only due to the blooming economy but also for political reasons. In fact, at the beginning the “land law” signed in 1845 by the Shanghai Local Government forbid the Chinese people to live in the foreign concession except the ones who were living there before the perimeter of those areas had been drown. However, in the following years, the city was shake by conflicts, and the Shanghaiese only felt safe moving in the foreign concession. From that period, the “land law” has been revise by both the Consul General of Britain, the US, and the France authorities regardless the Qing Government, than the Chinese could move to the foreign concession.

This rising amount of population needed to find a housing answer and, in another hand at this stage of the history, was a great opportunity of enrichment of the entrepreneur class. Indeed,

since they figured out they could earn 30 to 40 percent of the benefits, they start leaving the trade activities dedicating only in the real estate. This housing market was a “boiling pot” for the foreigner investors who started to hustle to build as much as they could. Being this a situation of outstanding rate of population’s growth, the buildings where more characterized by a temporary shelter than real housing buildings.

The hosing model which started to be developed is the Lilong. The first sample of a Lilong were though built in Shanghai in the inner part of the block, since the edges where accommodating commercial activities. The firsts of those settlements were built only in wood since they were design as a temporary shelter. The logic behind the construction of the Lilong settlement, at their very first beginning, is completely the opposite of the modern housing-investments or housing-speculation. Indeed leading principle instead of being the housing-business was to find the way to accommodate the maximum amount of people with the shortest time and cheapest way.

The wooden structures of the Lilongs of the first beginning of the 19th century got improved along the decades, new building methods have been introduced during the time, for instance through the use of bricks and sometimes concrete, characteristic of the classic red-bricks Lilong still traceable in the modern Shanghai. The model had been employed by the foreigners to cope the housing emergency, comes from the workers neighborhood that have been built in London and other foreign capitals in those decades, applying an imitation strategy to the Shanghainese new constructions.

2.5.Brief summary

This first part goal was to analyze which are the factors that led to the edification of such a housing model as the Lilongs. Shanghai, being a port of a local agricultural center, soon became a metropolis of the 20th century, attracting the interest of the foreign nation. Its port exploitation, in the bad and in the good side of it, generated an astonishing economic and demographic growth. The job opportunity developed in this period in the city of Shanghai attracted many Chinese to move to the countryside in order to settle down in the city core. The metropolis assumed the image of a cross-culture result, with foreign motifs and Chinese bequeathals, and its urban tissue slowly moved from a classic Chinese layout to a mixed structure. The overall economic and social situation was thriving, nevertheless divided between the higher classes and the migrants, living in harder conditions.

These fast and huge migrants flows compelled the leading sectors of the society of that time to cope the housing emergency. This emergency became the center of many interests, target of laws, investments, and multi-institutional agreements. All this matters meshed up together generated the specific housing typology of Lilong, a unique result of plenty factors contributing. Thus, once we discussed the socio-economic aspects leading to their edification

there is now the need to deepen the specific characteristic of them, under an architectural and planning point of view; and this is specifically what is following in the next chapter.

As we passed through it, what is important to consider all along this work, is that Lilong model is not only a housing structure, a “box”. This layout, is dense of history, a history made of many happenings, where many factors contributed. For this reason, this structure, depository of this dense history have to be protected and need to stand in honor of history.

3. The Shanghainese residential model

The rising trend of building these kind of settlements start to create two urban spaces. The first was the commercial belt along the edges of the block with any kind of commercial facility. The second one was the inner side of the block, where the residential building were allocated.

The Shikumen became in this period the most common way of urbanization, due for its useful use of the space, good organization of the volumes and the flows of people in its inner sides. In this period, none could imagine that this could become the most widespread housing model of Shanghai. None could imagine that more than a couple of whole generations were going to spend their life in the Shikumen. However, this soon became the Shanghainese residential model, where everyone use to live in.

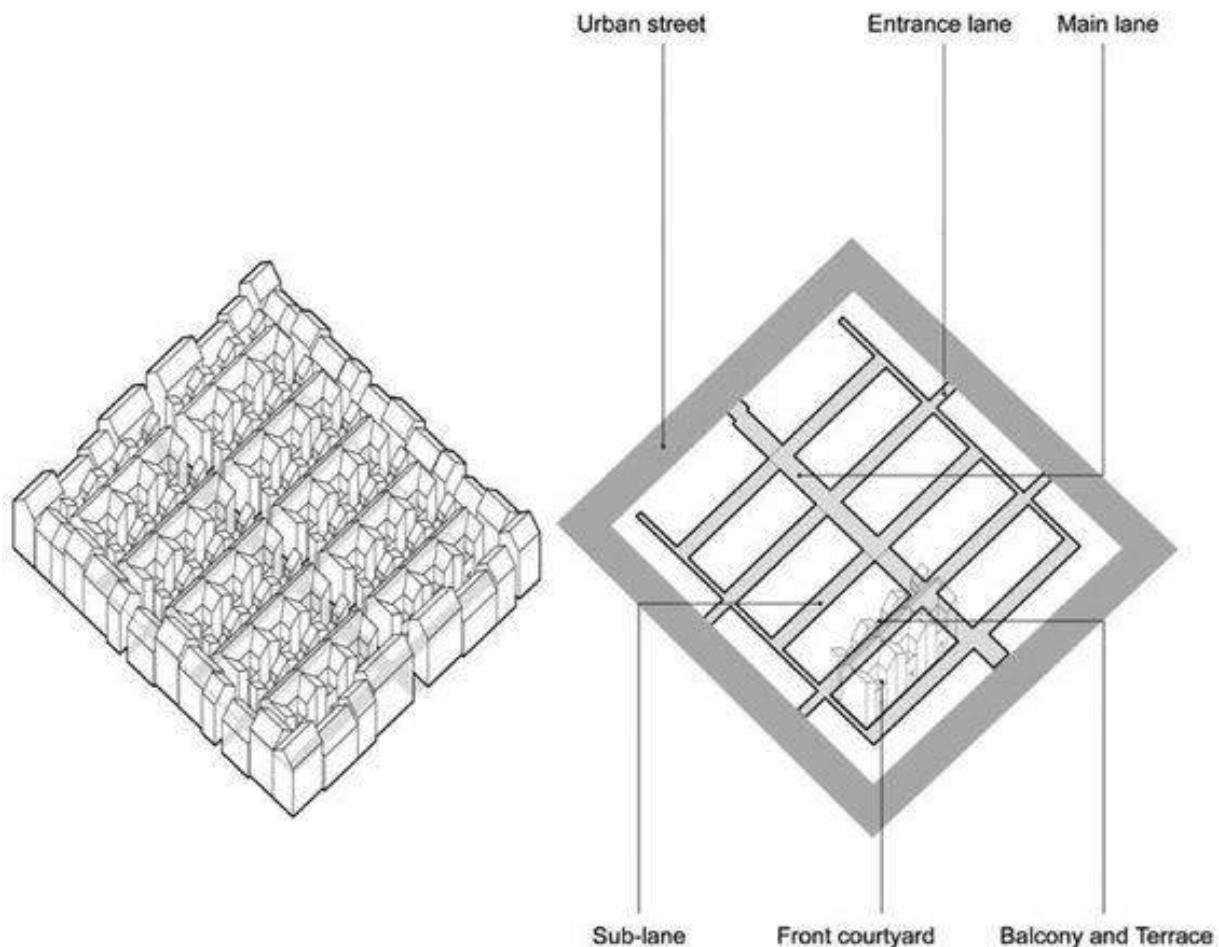


Image 4: The tipical Lilong's fish-bone layout.

(Source: Arkaraprasertkul, 2009, p.14)

Usually the organization of the residential space was arranged by one main lane where sometimes also the car could access, and perpendicularly there were the domestic lanes, in fact this structure was the most efficient to maximize the built ratio. The main lanes were mostly supporting the mobility and the flows of the district, while the sub-lanes were less crowded, accommodating the domestic activities and the gathering of the neighbors. The inner space was though rid by the traffic and the noises of the city, and conveyed a sense of safe thank to the residents living there and using the space. However, the small dimension of the inner spaces, generating in turn precarious sanitary conditions, compelled the inhabitants to use the public space in front of the dwellings. Thus daily life where often spent across the private and public spaces or in the commercial edges beside the retail activities. In this sense, the urban block use to work almost as an autonomous and self-sufficient urban tile.

This residential settlement were usually facing the commercial street by one or two sides, the other borders were walls separating the enclosure from other kind of building. The connection with the external streets was provided by archways, where the main lane of the inner Lilong were usually starting. The inner organization was arranged along the main lanes and the secondary dead-ended lanes organized like a comb. In those last one the inhabitants gather and spend their socialization time. Usually each lane accommodate at least five family in aligned buildings oriented north-south as a traditional Chinese way of building. The dimensions of the Lilong might vary considerably for one third of acre until five acres.

3.1.The taking hold of Shikumen

The need of housing never arrested until in the first decade of the 20th century Shanghai reached the level of population of two millions. We have to imagine an unusual massive and exponential growing of population that only such historical events we mentioned before could cause. At this stage, the building of the Lilongs was not only constructed by the private or foreign companies but also by national firms. In this sense, the Lilongs had been changed and designed better to last in the future and create a well working urban environment.

Also outside the Lilong settlements, the city started to change with the enhancement of the infrastructures. The streets, especially in the concessions, started to be lighted by the first public lightings system. As well as the gas and the water were more commonly provided also inside the Lilong. These kind of amenities are the ones that sign a breakthrough from the old Lilongs as we will see soon passing through all the Lilongs' layout along the time. This new model providing these many facilities inside the housing unit led the population change their social position, and the western lifestyle has been rapidly embraced by the local population. The fireplace, the private toilet, the telephone and the garage were the new amenities for these new kind of Lilongs.

3.2. Classification of Shikumen

Literally, the meaning of Lilong (里弄) is “neighborhood lanes”, since “li” (里) means neighborhood, while “long” (弄) stands for lane. However, this term grammatically is an adjective and not a noun, thus *Lilong housing* is not just a typology of built environment but also implies a concept of community, where its members interacts with the others (Arkaraprasertkul, 2009, p. 20).

The construction of the Lilongs lasted from the half of the 19th century until the half of the 20th century. As we glimpsed above according to historical and economic situation of a certain period of the history, the features of the Lilongs changed considerably.

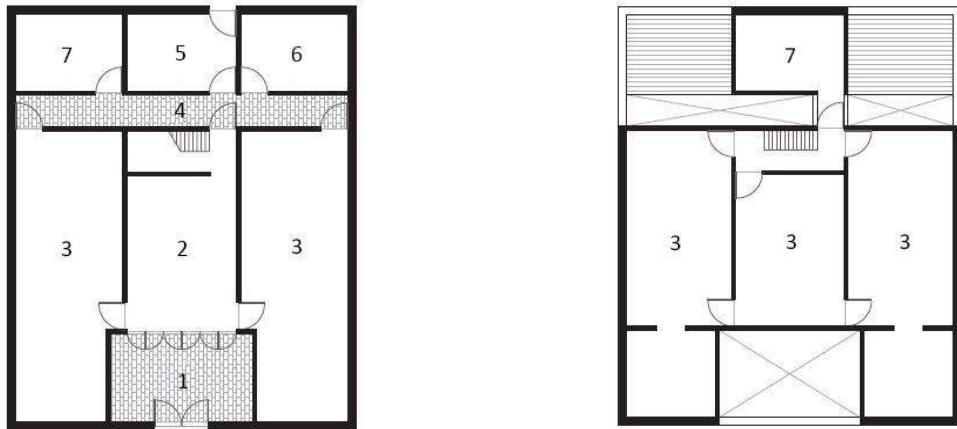
Below we start to list the main features of each type of Lilongs. Nevertheless, we have to keep in mind the process' dimension of building plenty of these settlements, and indeed the uncountable factors concerning those edifications. With this, we have to underline, that seldom some models are not specifically into a category but also crossover some of them. For this reason, the interpretation of each environment and each picture needs to have this background.

In order to understand the symbolic meaning of Lilongs we have to bear in mind that this typology constituted the main architectural features of the modern Shanghai, and it has been the support of its society. In this kind of housing lived, and are still living millions of Shanghaiese, thus it conserves an important cultural heritage.

3.2.1. The Old Shikumen Longtang

The construction of this kind of Longtang started around the last three decades of the 19th century and lasted until the first of the 20th century, when they have been gradually replaced by the new style Shikumen longtang. This kind of model has been designed to accommodate a big traditional Chinese family in a two stories building, with the characteristics of the attached courtyard house, assuming the pattern of the London Row-house with an internal distribution similar to the traditional *Siheyuan* structure from the southeast of China.

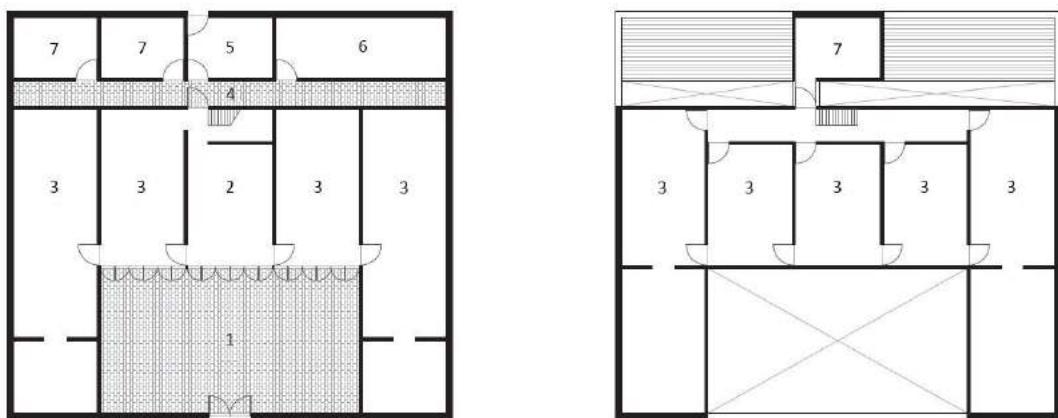
The structure was built in wood and bricks: the loadbearing walls were built in bricks and they were located in the side of the structure in order to share them with the neighboring structures; the cedar wood was adopted for the 15 cm of diameter pillars and the paving.



Img 5: the three-room apartment Old Shikumen Longtang house (first floor on the left and second on the right).

1 Courtyard, 2 Hall, 3 Bedroom, 4 Service patio, 5 Kitchen, 6 Storage, 7 Service room

(Source: Citterio, 2014, p. 42)



Img 6: the five-room apartment Old Shikumen Longtang house (first floor on the left and second on the right).

1 Courtyard, 2 Hall, 3 Bedroom, 4 Service patio, 5 Kitchen, 6 Storage, 7 Service room

(Source: Citterio, 2014, p. 42)

Behind the front gate, there was a small courtyard, followed by a hall facing the courtyard and separated by long and detachable pivoted doors. On the hall's sides, there were two wings rooms and behind, in the back of the house, generally there were a service room, a storage, a kitchen, and a staircase leading to the top floor. The top floor was allocating other three bedrooms and a service room. This type used to be built in two options the three-room and the five-room apartment.

The external walls were enough high to maintain the tranquility of the households. The gate, being the origin of this typology's name, was a mix of wood and stones and the decoration of the facades were often extraordinary, at the beginning with the classical Chinese motifs but then often with western influences. Unfortunately, nowadays almost all of them have been replaced by other structures.



Img 7: The courtyard in the Old Shikumen Longtang
(Source: google.it)



Img 8: A general overview of the Old Shikumen Longtang settlement's layout
(Source: gsb.stanford.edu)

3.2.2. The new Shikumen Longtang

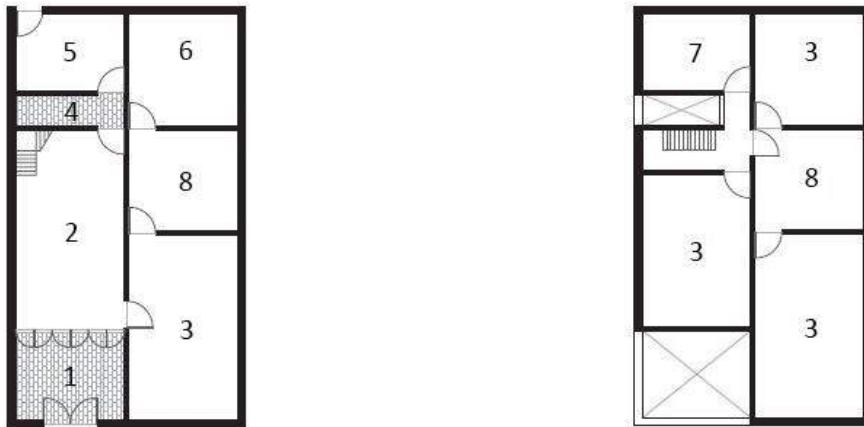
As we saw the Old Shikumen Longtang typology, the housing units were aligned along the lanes and mutually attached. In fact, since the first decade of the 20th century the Old Shikumen Longtang generally have been turned into the New Shikumen Longtang.

The organization of the space in the New Shikumen Longtang was different due to the different housing demand, which has been originated by the collapse of the Chinese empire in 1911 and the consequential restriction of the families' size. Another factor contributing to their development was the growing land speculation with a high space efficiency, thus the density of rooms grown up in the same housing parcel, where each unit was occupying only one third or one fourth of the Old Shikumen Longtang's parcel.



Img 9: the single-room apartment New Shikumen Longtang house (first floor on the left and second on the right).

1 Courtyard, 2 Hall, 3 Bedroom, 4 Service patio, 5 Kitchen, 6 Storage, 7 Service room, 8 auxiliary room
(Source: Citterio, 2014, p. 44)



Img 10: the two-room apartment New Shikumen Longtang house (first floor on the left and second on the right).

1 Courtyard, 2 Hall, 3 Bedroom, 4 Service patio, 5 Kitchen, 6 Storage, 7 Service room, 8 auxiliary room
(Source: Citterio, 2014, p. 44)

Hence the distributions of the rooms was mainly the same but squeezed, in the front of the house there were the courtyard and the hall, while on the side and the second floor was hosting the bedrooms. This typology used to have two options as well, the single-room apartment and the two-room apartment.

The bricks and the concrete took over and start to substitute part of the wooden structure. The roofs' tile were sometimes machine made, and the walls were built by blue or red bricks, with a lime seam between the layers of them. The lanes and the sub-lanes got wider insuring vehicular circulation as well as the ventilation and the lighting of the built and not built volumes. Unfortunately, the sanitary conditions generated by this smaller model, in some cases were not that safe, and for this reason, those building in general has been successively replaced.



Image 11: from the old to the new model of

Shikumen Longtang

(Source: shanghaistreetstories.com)

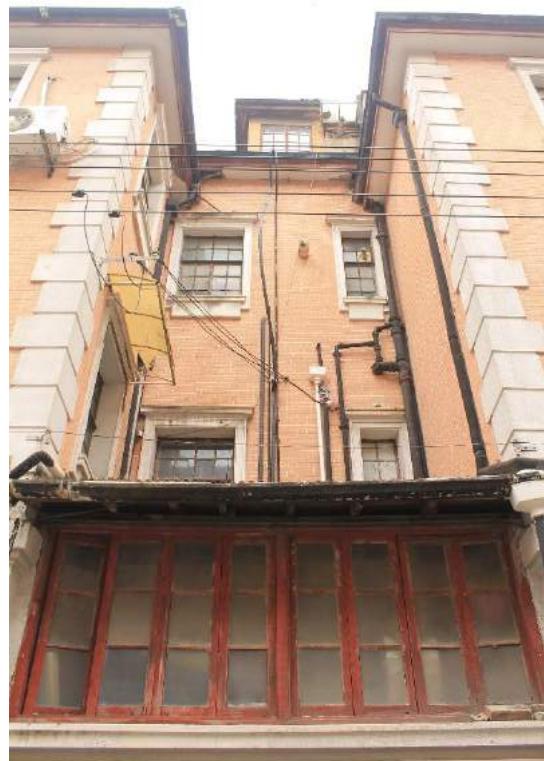


Image 12: a closer view of the inner court closed

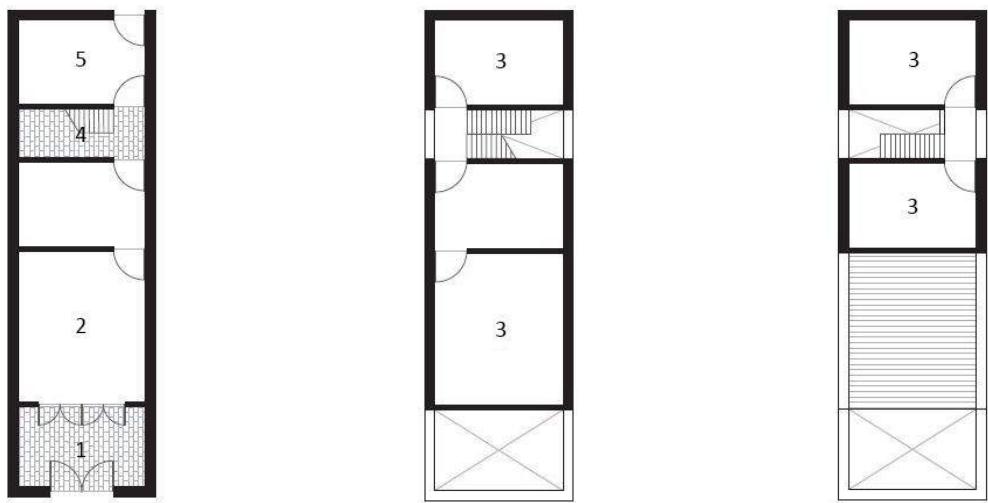
by a ceiling

(Source: photo shot by the author in 延安中

路 740 弄)

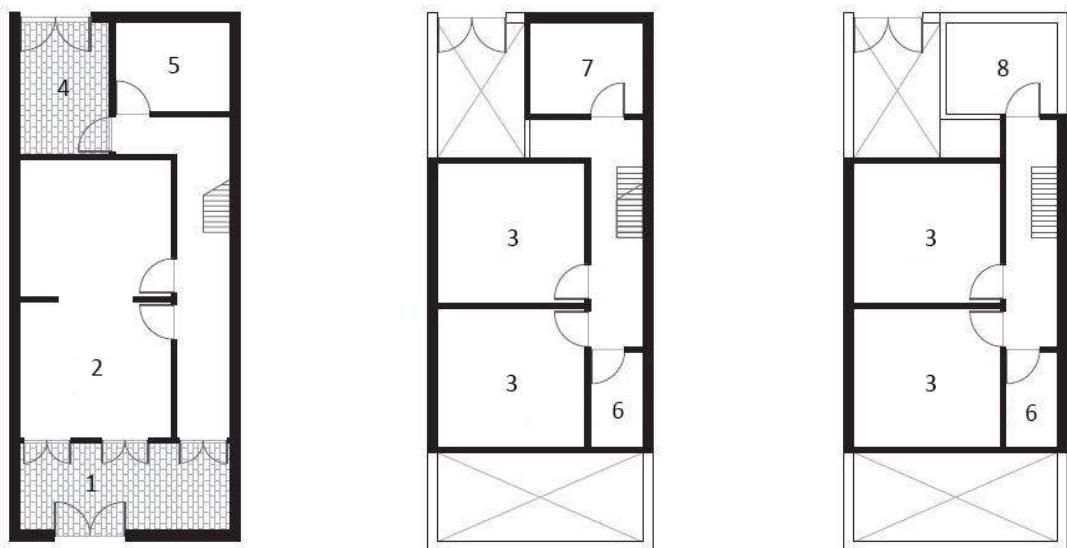
3.2.3. The New-type Lilong house

The New-type Lilong house were a new form of residence based on the improvement made on the basis of the New Shikumen Longtan. This was the result of the economy's development thus the division of social classes. This typology was arranged in three stories, and it could be composed in different option, with one-hall, with one-and- half or two rooms according to each family income. The house was arranged with the same overall inner-function's distribution of the previous typologies however a huge difference is the introduction of the private bathroom. The second floor was allocating the master bedroom while the third the kids' one. In some cases, especially in the single-room apartment New-type Lilong, a part of the third floor was terraced.



Img 13: the single-room apartment New-type Lilong (first floor on the left, second on the center and third on the right).

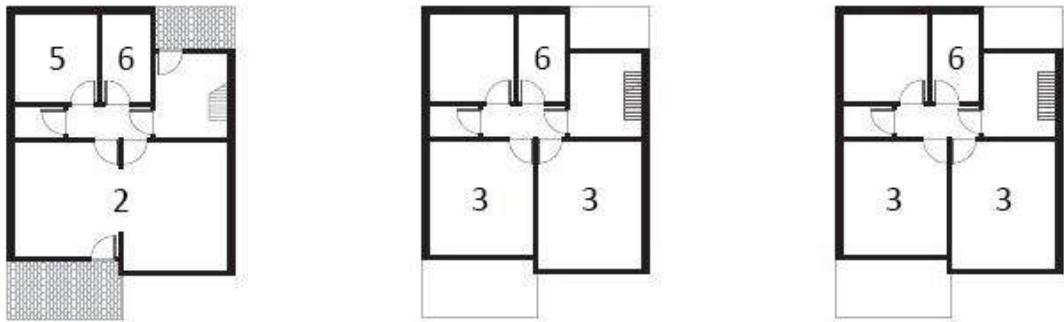
1 Courtyard, 2 Hall, 3 Bedroom, 4 Service patio, 5 Kitchen, 6 Storage, 7 Service room, 8 Terrace
 (Source: Citterio, 2014, p. 46)



Img 14: the one-and-a-half-room apartment New-type Lilong (first floor on the left, second on the center and third on the right).

1 Courtyard, 2 Hall, 3 Bedroom, 4 Service patio, 5 Kitchen, 6 Storage, 7 Service room, 8 Terrace
 (Source: Citterio, 2014, p. 46)

Furthermore, more often there was also the garage, witnessing of how the life was getting westernized. The entrance's gate is no longer corresponding to a single family and the external wall has lowered down, often this is just a bushes-fence. These are all features, as well as the prominent decorations, of an adaptation to the western fashion. The structural technologies evolved comparing to the other models.



Img 15: the two-room apartment New-type Lilong (first floor on the left, second on the center and third on the right).

2 Living room, 3 Bedroom, 5 Kitchen, 6 Bathroom
 (Source: Citterio, 2014, p. 48)



Img 16: the two-room apartment New-type Lilong (first floor on the left and the second on the right).

1 Courtyard, 2 Living room, 3 Bedroom, 4 Service patio, 5 Kitchen, 6 Bathroom, 7 Drawing room
 (Source: Citterio, 2014, p. 48)

Thanks to the technological development and the growing income of a part of the population, this typology can be recognizable by the integration of modern bathrooms and gas-stoves in it, elements that clearly distinguish this New-type from the previous ones.

New open volumes were characterizing this typology, hence the lanes were at this point reaching a width of five meters. The edification of these buildings took off and scattered in the city, in fact the majority of the Lilongs existing nowadays belong to this New-type.



Img 17: A sub-lane in the New-type Lilong settlement
(Source: photo shot by the author)



Img 18: A main-lane in the New-type Lilong settlement
(Source: photo shot by the author)

3.2.4. The Garden Lilong

This kind of edification differs comparing to the others we have been analyzing previously, since it is a two or three stories detached edification and is designed to accommodate high-income families. The lots are wider than the ones belonging to other typologies, and the constructed volume occupy just a part of it leaving enough space for a back or a front yard. The construction's material were red bricks and concrete, and they were enriched by beautiful decorations and motifs at this point mostly all western-style as the way of leaving this kind of building tried to develop.



Img 19: the Garden Lilong (first floor on the left, second in the center and third in the right).
 1 Garden, 2 Living room, 3 Bedroom, 4 Terrace, 5 Kitchen, 6 Service room, 7 Bathroom, 8 Garage, 9 Corridor, 10 Dining room
 (Source: Citterio, 2014, p. 50)



Img 20: Attached Garden Lilong
 (Source:
<https://labreview.wordpress.com/2008/1/23/shikumen-shanghai/>)

Img 21: Attached Garden Lilong in 陝西南路 186 弄小区
 (Source: photo shot by the author)



Img 22: Attached Garden Lilong

(Source:

<https://labreview.wordpress.com/2008/12/23/shikumen-shanghai/>)

Img 23: Attached Garden Lilong in 陕西南

路 186 弄小区

(Source: photo shot by the author)



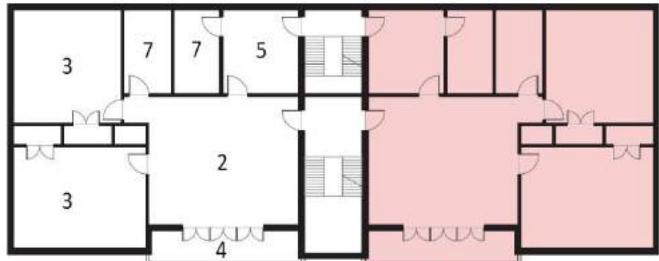
Img 24: Streetscape generated by the Garden Lilong

(Source: Xiaowei, Jiang, 1997, p. 49)

3.3.5. The Apartment Lilong

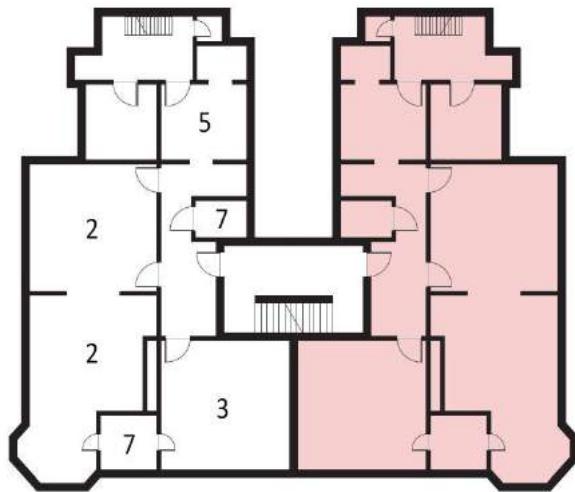
This kind of typology used to rise three up to seven stories building. Every building has a common lobby and a staircase, distributing the flows along the floors and the corridor in each of them. Generally we can distinguish three kinds of Apartment Lilong: the row-patterned building model (with two to six units each floor); the dot patterned building model (with two units per floor); the butterfly building model (with four units per floor).

The housing units are generally distributed along a corridor or a hall and they are equipped with a bathroom, a kitchen, a couple of rooms and a living room. This kind of residences can host variable income families (even though generally lower than the elites of the Garden Lilongs), however the increment of buildings' height, and the merge of more units in a single floor, is a witness of an increment of land's exploitation. The separation between the housing units marks the end of the construction of the classic Longtang's housing form.

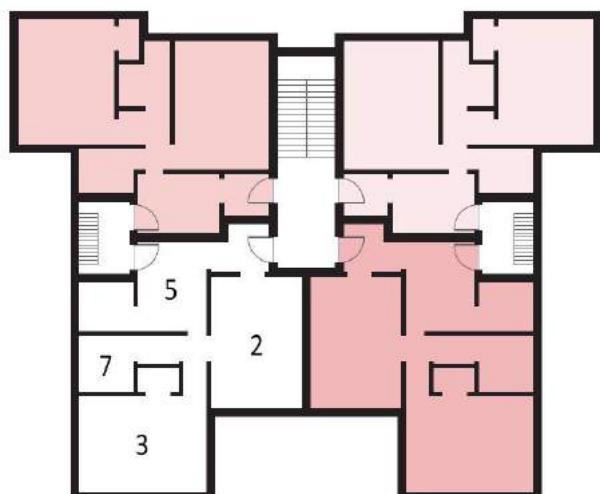


Img 25: the row-patterned Apartment Lilong

2 Living room, 3 Bedroom, 4 Terrace, 5 Kitchen, 7 Bathroom
(Sources: plan Citterio, 2014, p. 51; img shanghaistreetstories.com)



Img 26: the dot-patterned Apartment Lilong
 2 Living room, 3 Bedroom, 5 Kitchen, 7 Bathroom
 (Sources: plan Citterio, 2014, p. 51; img: shanghaistreetstories.com)



Img 27: the butterfly Apartment Lilong
 2 Living room, 3 Bedroom, 5 Kitchen, 7 Bathroom
 (Sources: plan Citterio, 2014, p. 51; img: made by the author)

"The development of Lilong ended around the mid-20th century when the economy took complete control with the Apartment Lilong, a five-to-seven story concrete frame structure, a Western-style apartment (...). With the birth of this general high-rise apartment-type housing, the name "Lilong" no longer resonated with the celebration of Chinese communal life on the ground floor" (Arkaraprasertkul, 2009, p. 19)



Img 28: Birdview of the urban layout generated by the butterfly Apartment Lilong
(Source: Xiaowei, Jiang, 1997, p. 61)

3.4.Brief summary

As the last chapter analyzed, the Old and New Shikumen are more connected to the traditional courtyard house model, with an attempt to fit it in an urban context and its economic logics. These two models are also the basement and the origin of the New-type Lilong, which in one hand is the outcome of a process of adaptation along the years and in the other take distances from the previous model, performing the need of a modern city and its evolving lifestyles. Moreover, the Garden Lilong is relevant to understand how to implement the social strength of Lilongs in a greener environment for a higher social class. At last, the Apartment

Lilong, as the result of increasing land values, can be seen as the starting point for the development of the multi-stored constructions.

Lilong housing typology is an important witness of the last two century of Chinese housing history in Shanghai. Hence having a look of this heritage with the modern models is an interesting analysis to understand the recent and ongoing land-use economy. However the importance of this model is given also by the connection between *what is public* and *what is private* it provides and foster, as well as the sense of security it ensure, moreover it created a social model of the lanes lifestyle.

Thus, Lilong are the depositaries of two main richness: the first is the richness regarding the cross-cultural origins of the settlements, letting them assume a unique shape and layout. The second, which is strictly related to it and could be seen as its output, is the social behavior it generated. The social dynamics originated by this model are unique and specific, because the proximity due by Lilongs' layout give rise to close human relationships and community life.

4. The present and the future of Shikumen's model

4.1.The current use of the space

The current use of the space changed according to the needs of life nowadays. Many are the factor to be considered. The Lilong's edification, designed for a society living in the 20th century, is now accommodating another kind of society, influenced by the use of technologies, and modern lifestyles and way of living. These aspects does not need to be consider necessarily positive, since they can also influence negatively the social aspect, which is the gene of the Lilong settlement. However, the build volume are often basically detached from the moment they have been built, and this means that the process of adaptation took hold inside the fabricated volumes.

Many of the Lilongs started to need some facilities upgrading, for example the bathroom. Hence usually instead of a private bathroom, was common to have a public bathroom, which all the dwellers had to use, especially in the firsts Lilongs' typologies, that have been analyzed previously in this work, thus the old and the new Shikumen Longtang and some of the new-type Lilong house. The common bathroom is still nowadays existing in many settlements, but as we said, the growing need of the Shanghaiese population started to push in the direction of the realization of better solutions for the bathroom fixture's matter. In fact, many are the Lilongs under restauration that now are getting furnished with more bathrooms in order to increase the hygienic conditions.

In February 2016 I had the chance to be accompanied to visit a traditional settlement of Mei Lan Terrace (梅兰坊) with Mrs. Chenjie Zhang, working for Tongji Urban Planning and Design Institute.

The entrance of the Lilong is resolutely inviting; as many Lilongs the security is in the entrance greetings the inhabitants getting in and out the settlement. The inner main alley is wide and bright, many dwellers walk down the street during the day often holding a bag of veggies bought in the nearby greengrocers. The atmosphere is definitely dynamic and active. The building still has the feature of an old building. I have been leaded in one of the building thank to one of the inhabitants who kindly open me the door of it. The building is composed by three floors where are accommodated four families. The ground floor is designated as the cooking space. The kitchen is truly big, being in a shared part of the house where all the four families can cook, and also the entrance of the building itself. Long tables run all along the four side of the room, there are two stove and many tools to prepare food and this witnesses how used is the kitchen.

The cleaning conditions of the kitchen are not very high, but still it is a decent place for the people who live in. In this sense, there are many worse conditions in many other dwelling in Shanghai. For this reason, we can consider those conditions sufficient to live, nevertheless they could be increased rising to a higher standard.

Behind the kitchen, there is the common bathroom. Regarding the bathroom, we could make the same reasoning; the room in this case is small and the toilet bowl is very small and dated, as well as the sink and the shower which directly pour the water on the ground, which is collected in a sewer cover. Hanged on the ceiling there is an electrical heater and a fan.

The tiny wooden staircase leads up to the other two floors of the building, and on the ceiling runs a fire-extinguisher pipes' system. For each floor there are two doors corresponding one family each. Also in the staircase the condition is liveable but surely not healthy. At the top floor, there is a little terrace full of plants, cultivation tools and laundry. There is also a little sink, used for these domestic chores. The view on the Shikumen's alley is truly nice and suggestive from this point of view.

From here is possible to observe the life of the Lilong in many different aspect; there is a lot of people in the alley interacting each other. The social life is deeply blooming, there is a continuous movement of old people, workers and security agent. This point of view is extremely important, thus is going to be analyse all along this thesis manuscript. The strong bonds occurring between the dwellers of the Shinkumen are crucial. In fact, this kind of close and true bond binding the residents is the peculiarity generated by the Shikumen model. The proximity of the dwelling and the building, the low construction density and the high residential density are all features of this layout. These are the factor to bear in mind observing the people's activity.



Image 29: Inhabitants assisting the refurbishment process
(Credits: Filippo Bissi)



Image 30: Inhabitants assisting the refurbishment process
(Credits: Filippo Bissi)



Image 31: Inhabitants assisting the refurbishment process
(Credits: Filippo Bissi)

Afterwards, we headed to meet the neighbourhood's committee with also Mr. Xiaoxiun. The discussion was about the interest of the dwellers to contribute economically in the restoration of the dwellings. The residents were claiming that, high prices of the land and consequentially of the rents of the flats are comparable to modern apartments located in the same area in some high-rise buildings. For this reason, I had the feeling the population did not endorse this kind of solution.



Image 32: Meeting with the neighbourhood's committee
(Credits: Filippo Bissi)

We have been to visit one of the first floor flats. The entrance for a tiny and very clean kitchen leads to a huge room used as living room and bedroom both. Behind it there are two truly small rooms used by the two renter as warehouse. The condition of this dwellings are very good, everything is clean and tidied. This aspect, witnesses how sometimes in extremely close dwellings, maybe of the same size each other, the sanitary condition could change widely. However, of course, in this case, the conditions are extremely clean ad liveable, the standard is high and the space is enough to live quietly and without any overcrowded environment.

Anyway, as discussed previously the price is too high for this kind of accommodation, especially comparing to the other choices offered by the market of Shanghai. Hence, is comprehensible also the missing will of the local society to contribute in the restauration of the buildings. Instead, the phenomenon that is growing is the leasing of the houses to new inhabitants. Basically, many dwellers found someone who wants to rent their house and move in a better accommodation with the incomes of the leasing. In this case, there are many aspects to take in account. For instance, understand how is the relationship between the new and the old inhabitants. Nevertheless, there is a positive aspect, because the new inhabitants are generally belonging to a higher income's layer of the society comparing to the ones who lease. This means that they can better contribute in the cause of the restauration of the buildings and the common space. The new trend of middle class people moving to the Shikumen is taking hold very fast in Shanghai. These groups of people are attracted by the proximity with the neighbours offered by this kind of urbanization, and the quite living often far from the noises of the city's traffic.

This new “alternative” trend is taking hold in different ways in the various Lilong in Shanghai. Many of them are under restauration for their biggest part, and we are going to discuss about this is the case in the next part of this work.

Anyway, what I meant to say is that this new part of the population has the interest to contribute to the restauration of the spaces, in fact moving in those neighbourhoods witnesses an interest to take care of them. In these terms, we could even imagine a system to organize the restauration in a general view and not made by different interventions extemporaneous.

4.1.1. The old sociality's tradition

The author Lu Xun in his essay titled “Business in Longtangs of the past and the Present” recalls straightforward the vibe of the Longtangs at the time of its first arrival in Shanghai in the 20’s and it is reported in the available book Shanghai Longtang edited by Luo Xiaowei with Wu Jiang.

“In the Longtangs, besides sellers of snack there were sale of vegetable, fruit bean curd, melon and egg, even live chicken and duck; sometimes, once or twice a week, there would be hawking or rendering services, such as repairing shoes, mending coir ropes stretched in wooden bed frames or flicking of cotton quilt to make at fluffy. Every sort of trades would have their own melodic tune in hawking, people could identify them without stepping out to see. Apart from them, there were fortune-tellers and those begged for alms. Sometimes, in the still of the night, there were shrill Hawkins of selling fried ginkgo or selling tin foils for the use of burning to the dead, occasionally there even were melancholy howlings for calling back the soul of a sick child” (Luo, Wu, 1997, p. 5)



Img 33: Inhabitants reading the news hanged in the entrance of a settlement

(Credits: <http://www.croci.it/reportage/shanghai-Lilong/>)

The description of Lu Xun clearly explain the amount of activities taking part in those neighborhoods apart the residential one. This is surely a model, which developed a sense of community and sociality, and create the basis of the values of a whole population, still recoverable nowadays. Crossing the Lilong neighborhoods is still a nice experience that attracts the attention of the visitor. The main aspects that emerges is the mechanism behind the community settled in those places. In fact is clear a deep interaction between the inhabitants that are still carrying on activities together.



Img 34: Inhabitants buying food from a local stall
(Credits: <http://www.croci.it/reportage/shanghai-Lilong/>)

These activities are regarding leisure and daily chores both. Thus it is common to come across old people playing table games, and people coming back home with bags full of food. The vibe inside the lanes is resolutely bustling during daytime, and the air is dense of a good smell of food generally cooked in the kitchen facing the lanes with open doors. Someone eats food in the public spaces, others deliver goods and post, grandparents take care of the grandchildren.

The settlements look to be a machine working perfectly, were each of the components living there, the inhabitants, have his own function and task.

Unfortunately the construction of Lilongs quitted in 1941 due to the invasion of the Japanese troops, which began to administrate the city. During this period, the economy as well as the real estate stuck and the construction arrested for this economical reason. After the liberation of the country happened in 1949, the Lilong model had been judged as not convenient to face the huge masses of population coming in the city. Meanwhile the prefabricated components took hold and the periphery of the city was accommodating this new kind of buildings considered suitable to install the new needed technologies.

4.2.Dialog with the population: three case studies to comprehend more about the Lilong

In order to better understand the dynamics characterizing the Lilongs that are occurring nowadays, I decided to deepen three case studies and I am going to confront them according to some specific features. The first part of this manuscript though is designed to be the basement of the deeper inception is going to be reported further. Indeed, from the beginning of this impassioned thesis, I decided to focus first of the genesis of this kind of settlements first, spending the first times to understand his origin. At that point, I could have the tools to move further and handle in the different kind of Lilongs produced time by time. Aware of these factors, I considered myself enough ripe to move further.

Due to my studies and my site-visits in the Lilong I had the occasion to understand the main factors playing in those kind of settlements, but some others remained still unknown or at least difficult to understand. I had to consider first my cultural point of view, which is rather different from the Chinese one. Hence, I tried to enter in the Chinese culture and way of thinking in order to naturalize myself in this environment, understand more, and get a better result. This kind of customization have been taking hold during the thesis studies as well as during my private life. The second huge barrier is the language even though I am daily motivated to study Chinese having achieved a good level of proficiency and fluency, naturally I still cannot handle such articulated chores.

But, one thing I was sure about, one thing that in this discipline does not change from the European to the Asian continent; what I mean is that the only way to understand the dynamics of the settlements is observe them from the users' point of view. The only way than is properly the debate with the local population.

The three settlements I decided to analyze and confront:

- No.18, Lane 186, South Shaanxi Road(陝西南路 186 弄 18 号)
- No.42, Lane 357, South Xiangyang Road(襄阳南路 357 弄 42 号)
- No.30, Lane 205, South Chongqing Road(重庆南路 205 弄 30 号)

4.2.1. The questionnaire's structure

The questionnaire is a fundamental tool for a planner or a designer to understand the environment he works on. It is the way the user and the planner can come into contact in order to generate a worthwhile design. That is moment of the dialog, the comprehension of what needs to be done and which are the mistakes of the past that need to be coped. In fact, more often, happen that the design project spend more time for the development's procedure in the studio, than the true understanding of the issue and the needs. Most of those needs are only recoverable in the local people who can witness them. I think that often some aspects might change during the designing term, generating something that might be useless once it become finalized. What is needed is a dynamic relationship with the user, a frequent contact to verify step-by-step the design process.

In this environment characterized by a huge cultural gap between me and the users, the only way we could come onto communication of complex matters is the questionnaire.

Hence, the questionnaire needs to be designed in a smart way, where the question sometimes are not properly direct, but run behind a meaning to ketch another one. In fact, sometimes, also the user does not feel truly comfortable to open his self to the stranger who ask him some personal information. Especially in the Chinese environment, extremely far from my culture, I had to design the questionnaire carefully avoiding any kind of cultural outrage or misunderstanding. I wrote the questionnaire in English at first, and successively carefully translated in Chinese, giving it a polite and smart form in order to get the needed information.

In the appendix A, I am going to report the questionnaire I exposed to the local population in the three case studies. In order to make clear the porpoise of my research, and which kind of knowledge I wanted to get from the local population, I will now briefly explain the nature of each question the questionnaire is composed by.

The first question tend to analyze who is the person interviewed. As we discussed before, the Lilongs are a sort of core of sociality where there are many different actors interacting each other. For this reason, the resident point of view is not the only one important. Instead, fundamental is also the point of view of who contribute to generate that kind of social core that takes the shape of the Lilong.

The second question regarding the age insight the average age of the people in the Lilong. In fact, during the day is truly common to come across only old people, but this does not need to mean that the old people are the majority. Again, we can see the avail of the questionnaire.

The third question tend to understand how long is the residence's period in the Lilong. This parameter can explain if there are new inhabitants and when they moved in the settlement. At the same time, it can explain how long is the period of staying of the old inhabitants. In general, this information can explain the dynamics of moving in and out in the different period, if it is a smooth or a rusty process.

The fourth question is useful to design a rate of worker comparing to the one of the residents. Meanwhile, the category of the residents who works close the Lilong are probably the most interesting category. In fact living and working there they contribute to the economic and social processes happening in the Lilong. Consuming they contribute to the loop of the core's economy, as also working they produce labor for someone else who benefit from it. From the social point of view, they create a social network that goes across the only residential matter.

In this sense, we can imagine the resident and worker who establishes his social relationships during the leisure time, that sell his working's product to the same people he spend free time with.

The fifth and the sixth question try to understand if the local population is satisfy by living there, or if there are some negative aspects. Interesting is the comparison, for instance, of the opinion among the old inhabitants who moved there for a relocation and the new inhabitants.

The seventh question tend to understand which is the rate owning of the houses and which is the one of renting. If we want to discuss about the renovation of the spaces this is extremely important because allow to figure out how deep is the will of renovation by any inhabitant.

The eight one is about the discourse of the core I was explaining before. The interesting point of view here is the working mechanism of the Lilong, and the analysis of how many are the interaction that have a starting and an ending point inside the Lilong. Could be interesting find out that for the alimentary point of view, the settlement is sustainable only thank to the store located in the direct proximity, around the block. Anyway, it is pretty hard that all the food consumed inside the settlement is directly buy around it, since the modern economy and the technologies leaded other option to be more convenient. Nevertheless, probably these kind of dynamics use to happen in the past, when the Lilong have been designed.

The ninth question is compact but meaningful. Deepening my research I found out the cost of the land in those settlements is comparable to the one of the modern building right beside them. The point of view of the population settled in those residences let us understand how for them is expensive, comparing to their personal economy. Is not certain that for everyone it is compulsory expensive, if we think for instance, of the people who chose to move in for their personal interest about those settlement, who are willing to pay a high rent.

The tenth question is design to find out that part of the Lilong's population that do not like to live in the settlement. From the witnesses I had many inhabitants live there only because they are compelled to do so, or because their flat has been assign them after a process of replacement. However, again, is not sure that all of them would like to move somewhere else. For instance, would be interesting find out if some of the replaced dwellers got such into the Lilong's way of living that now would never live it for something else.

In fact, the tenth question, try to insight the specific aspect that are not suitable inside the settlement. As we discussed before, sometime the conditions of the buildings are a bit nagging and unhealthy, due to an old edification time and a missing care of the spaces strictly related to the economic situation of who live in. In many settlements, the bathrooms have been designed as a detached facility, common among a fixed number of families. Does the population got used to it, and goes along well with it, or the needs of the modern life brought them to wonder a private bathroom, a private kitchen?

The eleventh question focuses on the positive aspects that characterize the Lilong. In this sense, I tried to understand which are the fundamental and strong positive aspects that still keep the people living there. The comparison between the positive and the negative aspects could definitely generate an interesting range of motivations to observe.

The twelfth question tend to understand the community dynamics. In fact, in those kind of tiny and old communities the last one who arrive and pops in it does not has an easy life. In fact, the new one, the stranger, would insert himself in a social tissue already strengthened,

subverting its old main features. We have to think, for instance, of the villages' community in the rural area and the arriving of a stranger. Here again, this is not the behavior of the old dwellers for sure. However, instead, their behavior could be cozy and embracing or cold and disinterested, due to an urban and modern environment.

The thirteenth question try to let the person interviewed focus his attention on the new inhabitants moving in. In fact, the fourteenth one insight the relation between the new inhabitants with the community and the spaces. For instance, we could imagine a middle class family moving in the settlement that does not have the interest to get close to the community, segregating inside the perimeter of his own restored dwelling. At the opposite, we can imagine dwellers who move in eager to contribute to the social life, opening their self to the local community of old dwellers.

The fifteenth again deepen the topic of the new dwellers and their behavior in the community. From the answers of these last questions, I hope to have an exhaustive overview of the bond between the new and the old dwellers.

The sixteenth question is design to insight the feeling of the dwellers, keeping in mind this new flow of people moving in, does the old dwellers would still like to stay there? As well, the seventeenth tries to test the affection of the dweller to the settlement bearing in mind the all questions he answered just before.

4.2.2. No.18, Lane 186, South Shaanxi Road(陝西南路 186 弄 18 号)

The first site I visited located in around the metro station of South Shaanxi road, where the lines one, ten and twelve match together. We can resolutely consider this metro stop one of the most central part of the city, where the concentration of a wide range of activities is located. The distance of the site from the metro station is approximately 200 meters. The neighborhood is characterized by a grid of wide axis carrying the widest amount of traffic, along whose smaller size street are articulated. In this area, both of the different size of streets are designed tree-lined, guaranteeing shades and a pleasant cityscape to walk through. Around the blocks outlined by the smaller street there are many commercial activities facing the street and the variety of them it is resolutely wide. Being located such in an accessible and central area the kind of shops settled there are slightly fancy, and it is undeniable that they contribute to create a beautiful and pleasant atmosphere that keeps you walking down the street.



Img 35: Street surrounding the settlements of 陝西南

路 186 弄 18 号

(Credits: Filippo Bissi)



Img 36: Old ladies talking in the mail lane of 陝西

南路 186 弄 18 号

(Credits: Filippo Bissi)

In another hand, often, those kind of shops are flanked by humbler ones. This phenomenon generate an interesting and dynamic bond, which should need a specific consideration. Anyway, this fact it is definitely interesting also regarding the question number eight of the questionnaire regarding the distances where the Lilong's inhabitants buy their food.

Around this sort of squared "stronghold" made by any kind of shop alternated by some restaurants, there are some opening of the built curtain allowing the access to the inner part of the block. Thus, the gate facing the street allows to enter inside the "double-row" settlements, cut in a half by the street in the middle; for this reason this is going to be the smallest case analyzed in this thesis. The three-lined design continues also inside the Lilong guaranteeing a good environment for the people who lives there and creating a nice space where the volatiles can settle down their nests.

The balance between the voids and the build volumes here found a great merging allowing the settlement to breath, get the sunlight but in the same time avoiding the rumors of the traffic around the block or the proximities. Walking through it, you have the feeling of a quite and livable place, leaving you also the space to rise a few plants or a small vegetable garden.

In the central street rarely there are car moving, this is mostly used as an extension of the private space, as a place where the people meet and have discussion, as well as playing table games sitting on stools. The attached houses of one of the two row are characterized by a huge and private front-yard, deep at least six meters. The result is a long multitude of front-yard along

the row creating a green strip. Nevertheless, the central alley is still used for the social interaction of the people. Some of them make some stretching activities, some of them chat and some of them play chess on impromptu tables made by cardboard.

When I conducted my study most of the part of the settlement was packed by scaffolding, witnessing a flowering interest by someone to restore the buildings and the environment of the Lilongs.

Inside the Lilong the tranquility is undeniable, the people is really quite and available to contribute in the filling of the questionnaire. This factor is considerably important since it can firstly let me glimpse the quite life style of the people settled there.

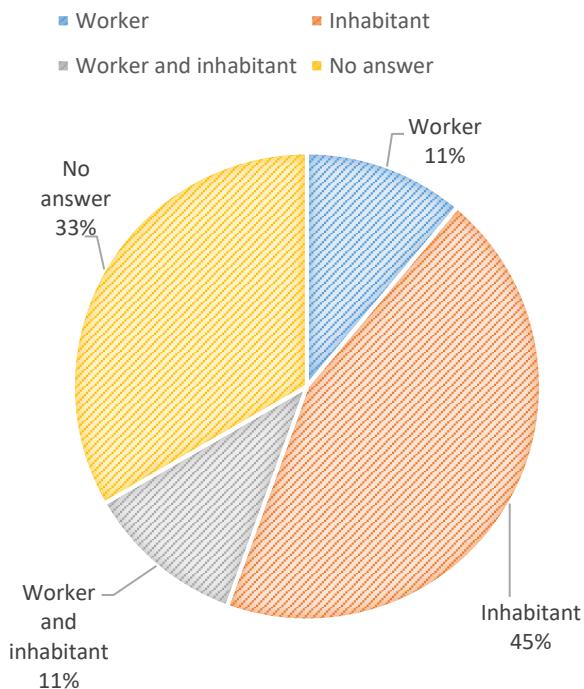


Img 37: Old lady filling the questionnaire in 陝西南路 186 弄 18 号
(Credits: Filippo Bissi)

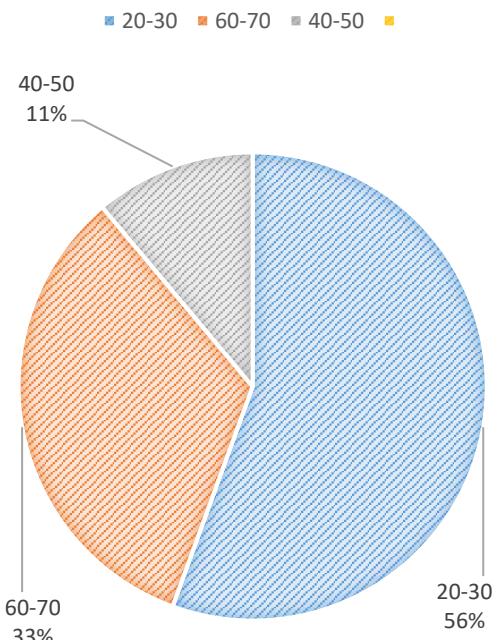
4.2.2.1. Analysis of the questionnaire in No.18, Lane 186, South Shaanxi Road

The questionnaire for this settlement is referring to eighteen people who have been interviewed. The result of the question are going to be summarized in percentages in the following charts, according to the answer of the interviewed people. The results are going to be exposed in the same order of the question in the questionnaire.

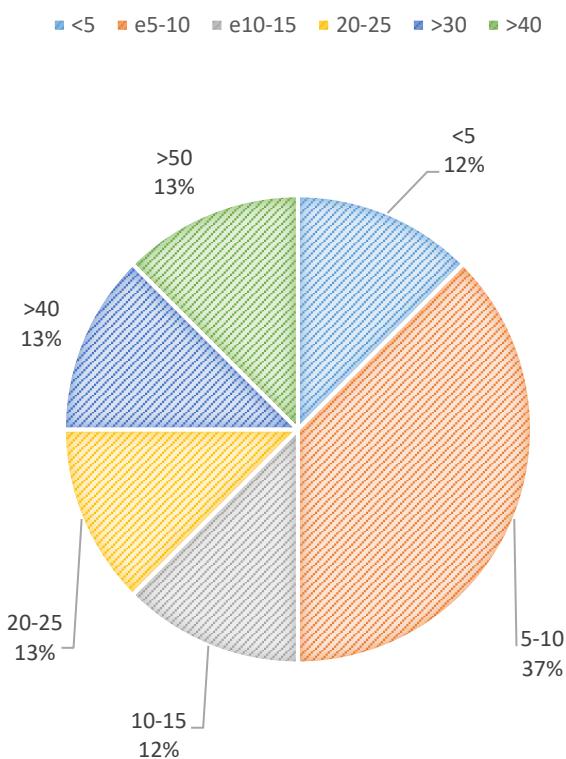
WHICH KIND OF USER ARE YOU?



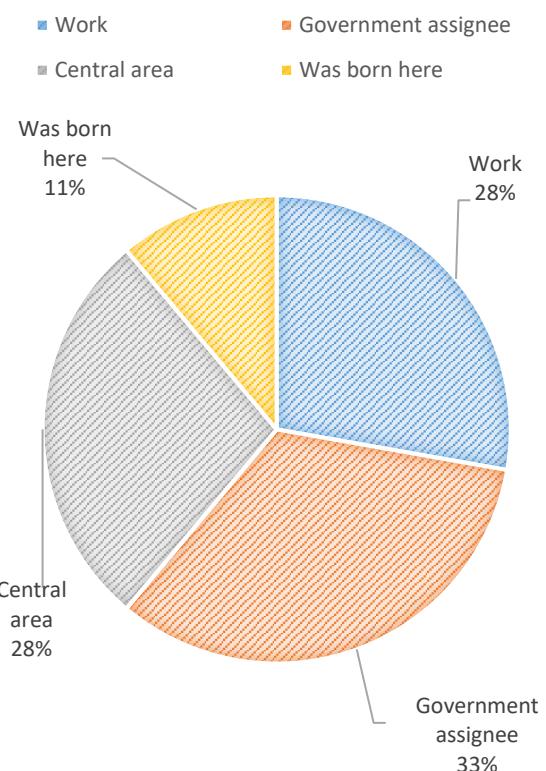
HOW OLD ARE YOU?



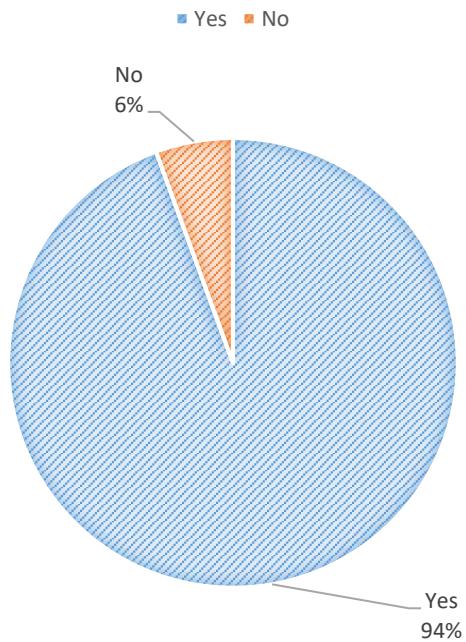
HOW MANY YEARS HAVE YOU BEEN LIVING HERE?



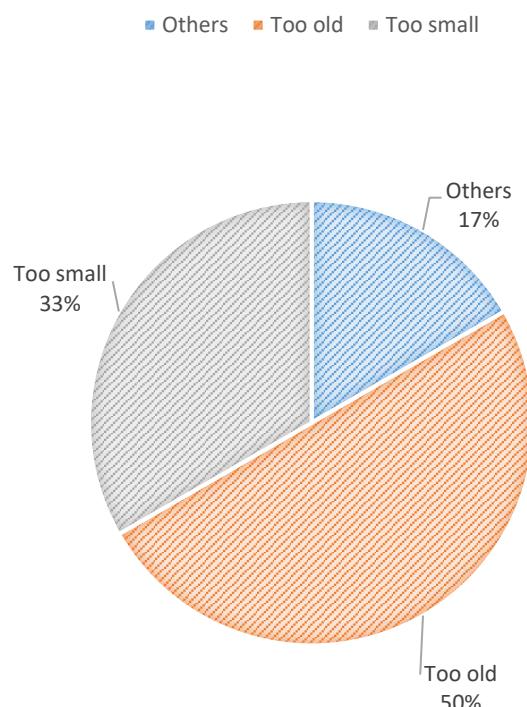
HOW DID YOU CHOOSE TO LIVE HERE HERE?



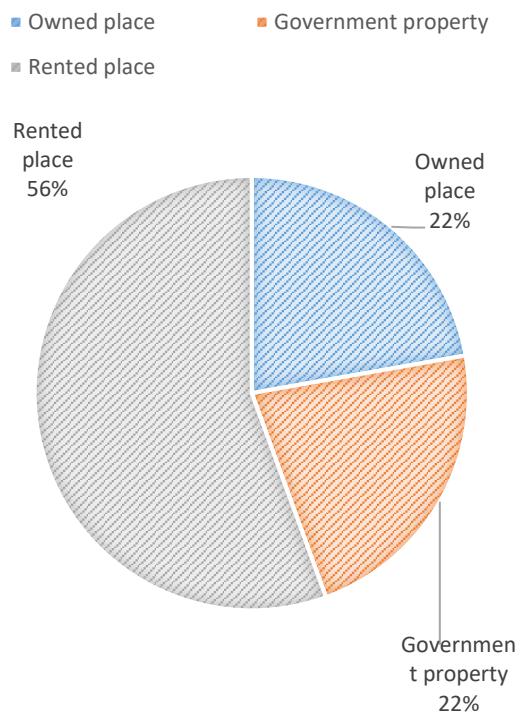
DO YOU GENERALLY LIKE LIVE HERE?



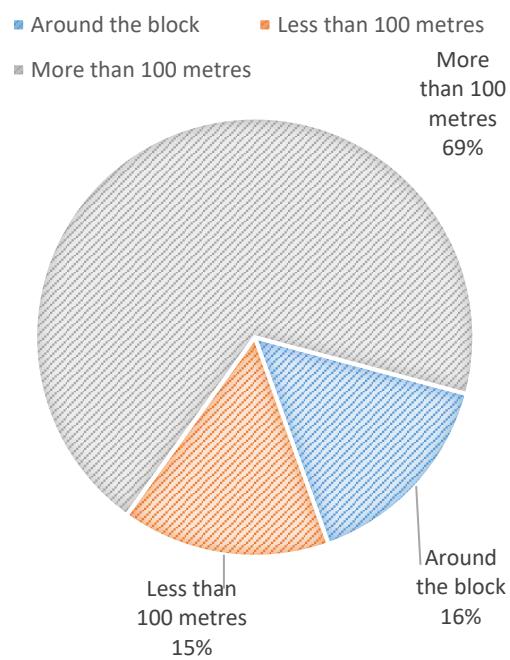
IF NO, WHY?



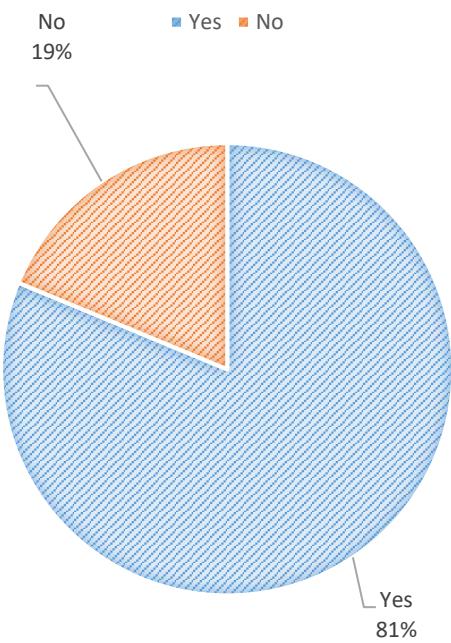
DO YOU RENT OR OWN YOUR APARTMENT?



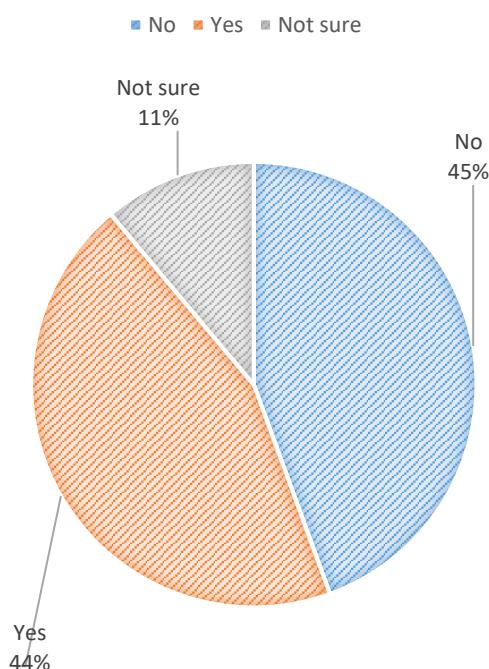
WHERE DO YOU BUY, MOST OF THE TIME, THE FOOD YOU EAT?



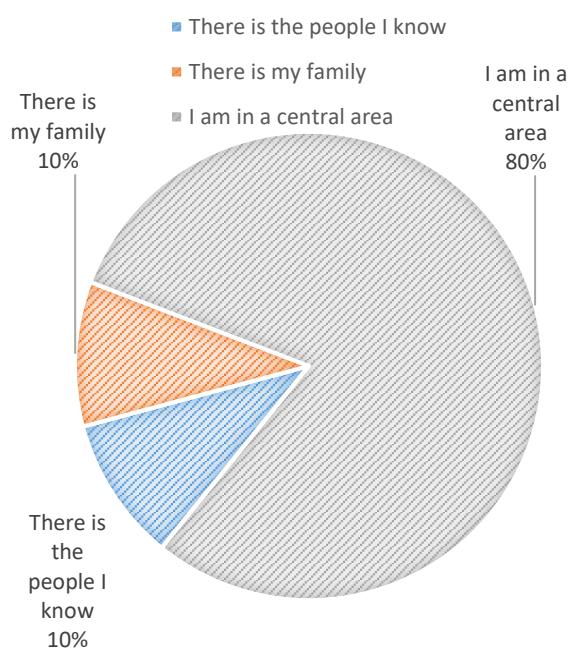
IS IT EXPENSIVE TO LIVE HERE?



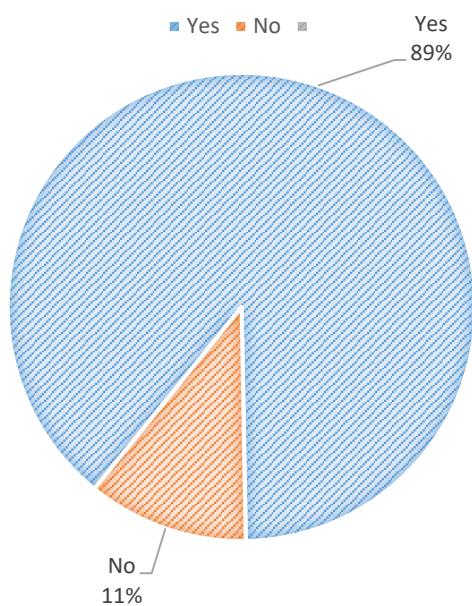
WOULD YOU LIVE SOMEWHERE ELSE IF YOU COULD?



WHICH ARE THE POSITIVE ASPECTS TO LIVE HERE?

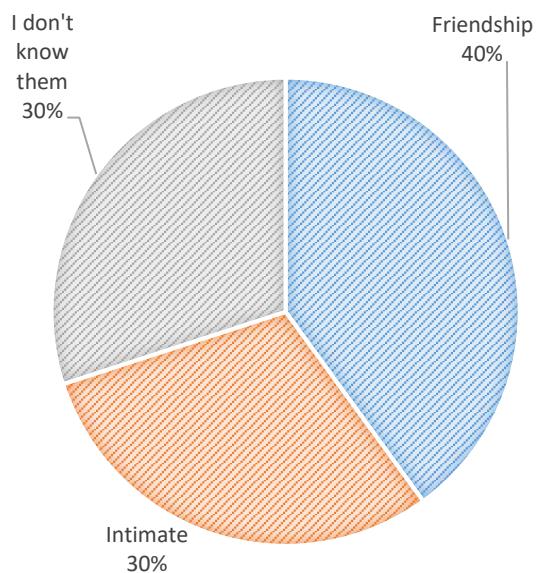


RECENTLY DID YOU NOTICE NEW DWELLERS MOVING HERE?



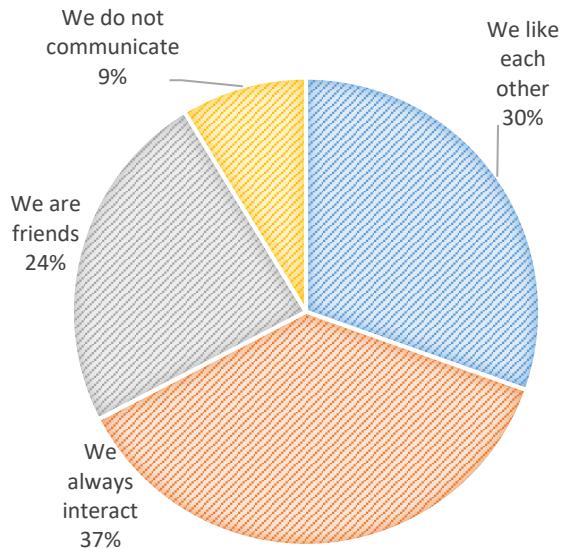
HOW IS THE RELATIONSHIP WITH THE NEW DWELLERS?

■ Friendship ■ Intimate ■ I don't know them



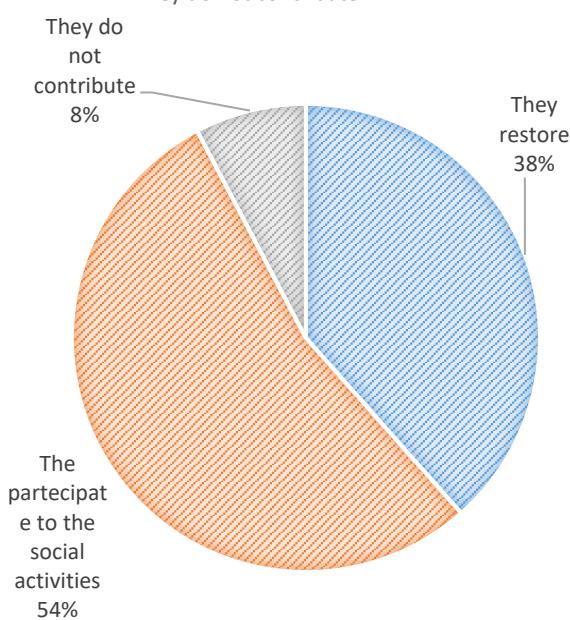
HOW IS THEIR RELATIONSHIP WITH THE OLD GENERATION OF DWELLERS?

■ We like each other ■ We are friends
■ We do not communicate

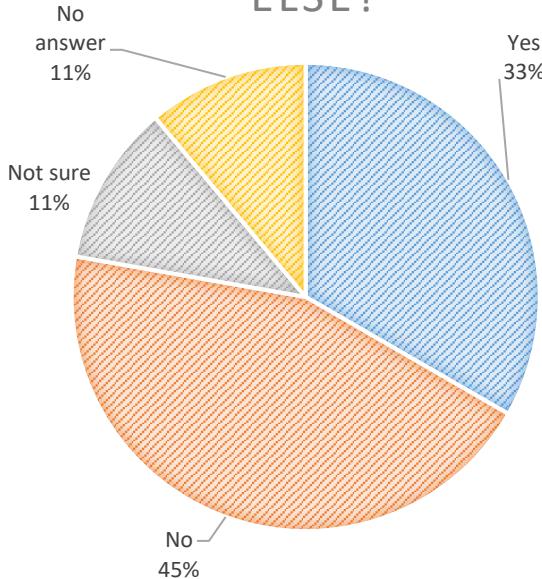


HOW DO THEY TAKE CARE OF THE SETTLEMENT?

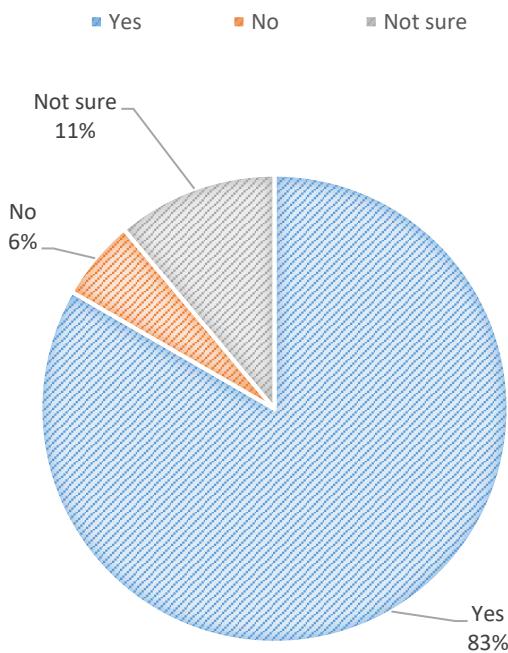
■ They restore
■ The participate to the social activities
■ They do not contribute



IF YOU COULD, WOULD YOU LEASE YOUR FLAT TO SOMEONE AND MOVE SOMEWHERE ELSE?



DO YOU FEEL DEEP AFFECTION TO THIS SETTLEMENT?



4.2.3. No.42, Lane 357, South Xiangyang Road(襄阳南路 357 弄 42 号)

Getting out South Shaanxi Road metro station and moving south after a few block we can find the site in analysis. The distance with the first case study is approximately 500/600 metres and the cityscape is more or less the same; most of the streets are tree-lined and almost all the borders of the blocks are hosting at their ground floor a great variety of trade activity. Indeed, we can find many traditional activities, such as the typical Chinese coarse-grained shop, hardware stores and electrician shops, in another hand we can also find a different kind shop more westernized with a totally different use of the space and price of the goods.

This particular feature needs to be taken into account singularly due to its sociological interest. In fact, it is definitely interesting observe how those two different kind of trades co-exist together in the same urban space. We can imagine that the costumers of the westernized activity are mostly foreigner, while the Chinese-led activities' costumers are all Chinese. Well, is not always like that, since the two different formats do not overlap, do not create competition with their offer of goods, we can observe an interesting mixture of costumers in the two kind of activities. Indeed, we can see an increasing tax of Chinese people attracted by the westernized offer, as well as many foreigner buying food or getting services from the Chinese shops.

However, in this settlement only the local population guarantee the green elements, rising many sort of plants close to their door and inside their little courtyard, but without the presence of tree as in the first case. Moreover, the lane's size is around three and a half metres shaping a prevalence of the built volumes and a high percentage of soil-covering, causing shadow in the lanes. Nevertheless, the lanes are lived by the people who during the day-time seat on some chairs or deal with domestic chores. The feeling of permeability between the public and the private space is given by open doors and windows facing the lanes, giving the impression of a continuity of the two spaces.



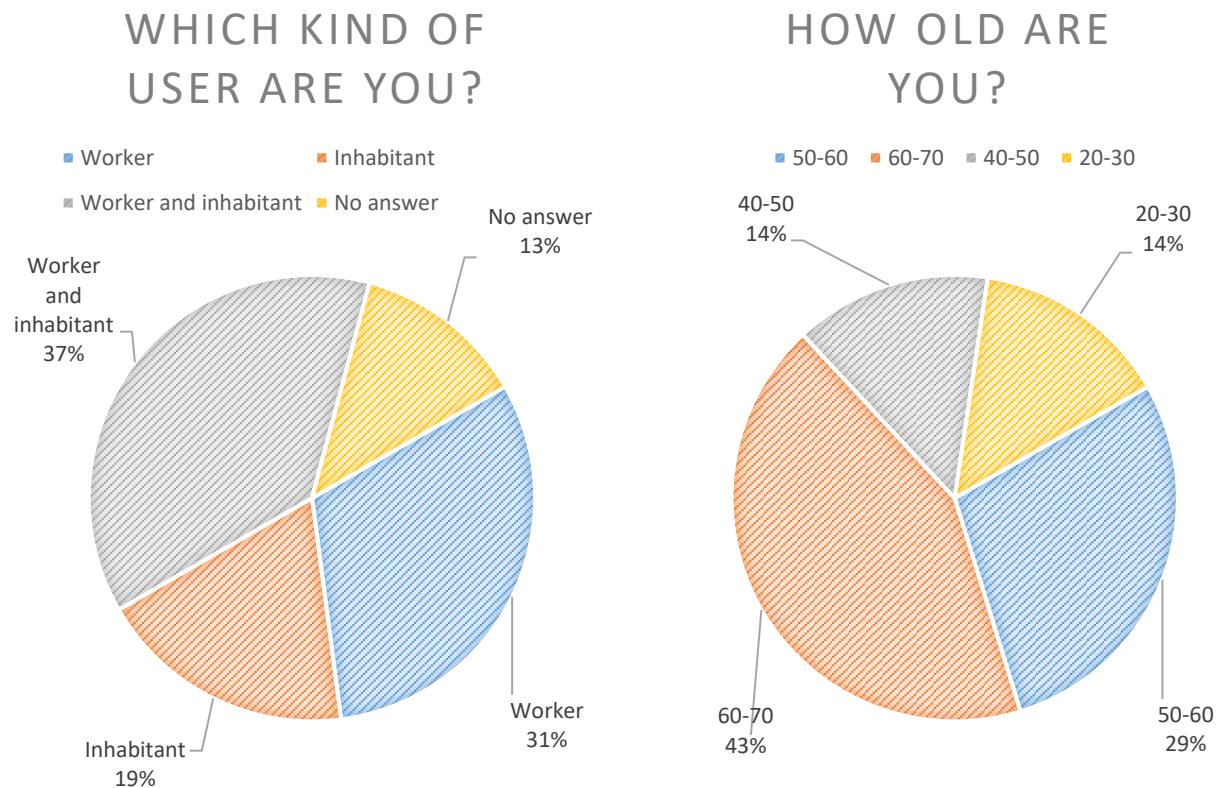
Img 38: Urban environment around the Lilongs
(Credits: Filippo Bissi)

The entrance to the Lilong is taking place right in the middle of commercial activities and controlled by the security. Right after the entrance there is a recognizable small square which can be also interpreted as the symbolic “door” of the settlement. This is stressed by the use is made of it: during the visits some old people were playing table games there, and around them there were many vases with plants. Furthermore the space is also used according to the convenience of the most close housing units, thus we can find some drying rack or some farming or cleaning tools. The settlements is outlined by four lanes with a depth approximately around 80/100 metres. For this reason we can consider this Lilong as the middle size of the ones I have been analysing.

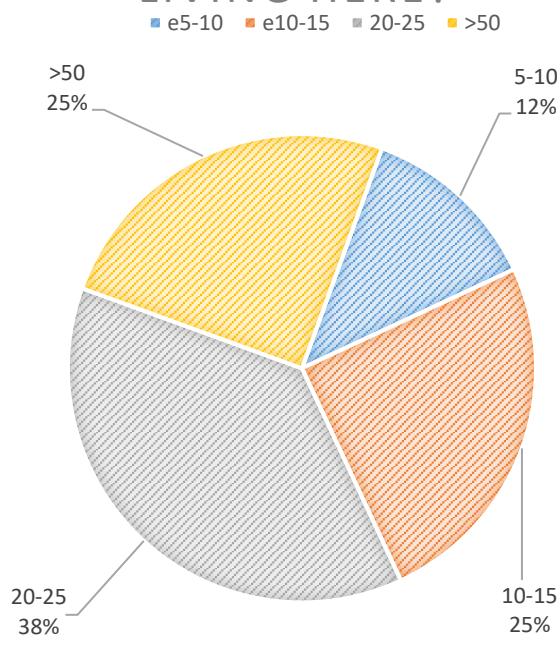


Img 39: Entrance of South Xiangyang Road
(Credits: Filippo Bissi)

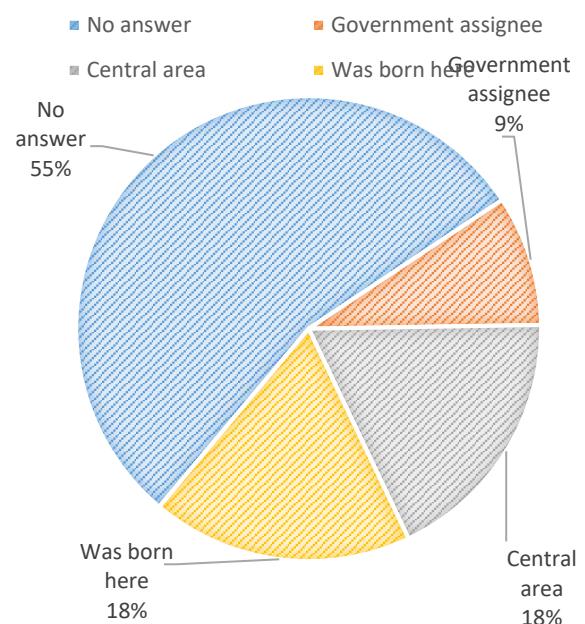
4.2.3.1. Analysis of the questionnaire in No.42, Lane 357, South Xiangyang Road



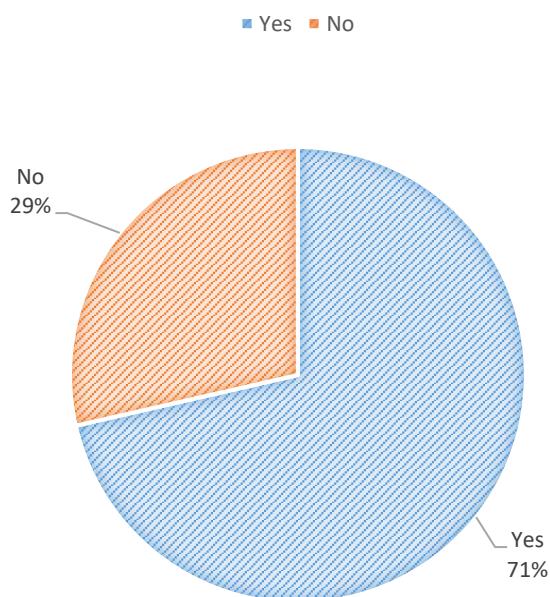
HOW MANY YEARS HAVE YOU BEEN LIVING HERE?



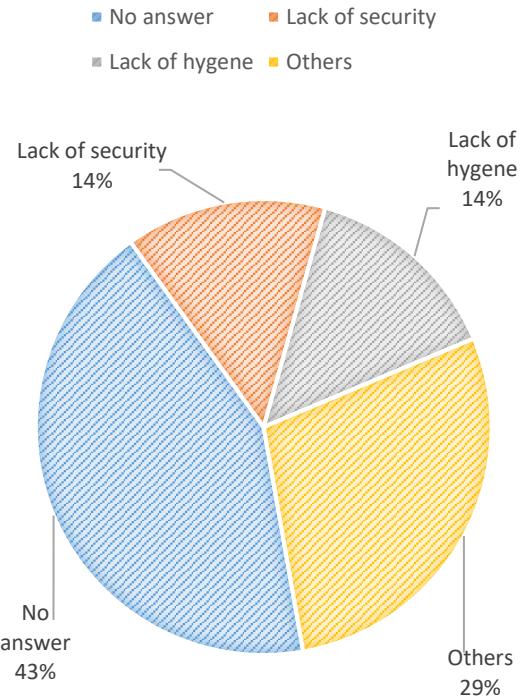
HOW DID YOU CHOOSE TO LIVE HERE HERE?



DO YOU GENERALLY LIKE LIVE HERE?

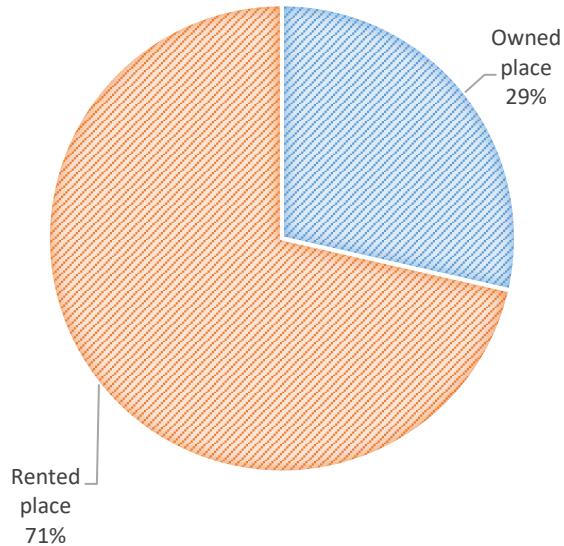


IF NO, WHY?



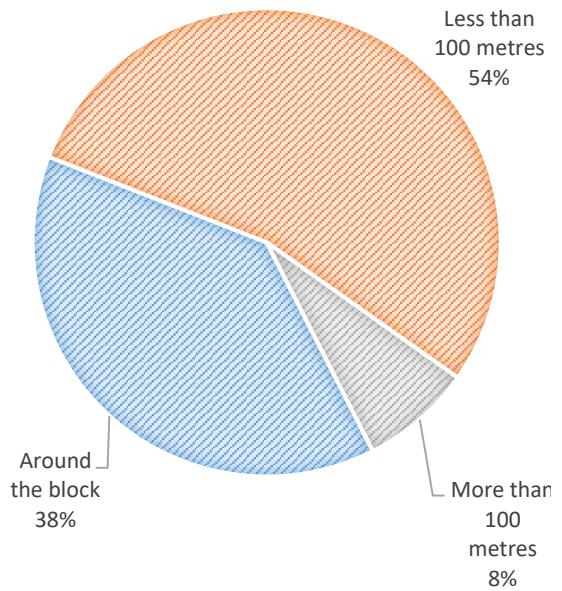
DO YOU RENT OR OWN YOUR APPARTMENT?

■ Owned place ■ Rented place



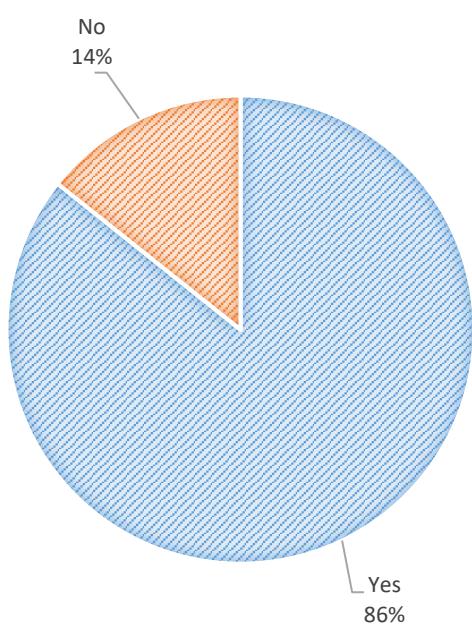
WHERE DO YOU BUY, MOST OF THE TIME, THE FOOD YOU EAT?

■ Around the block ■ Less than 100 metres
■ More than 100 metres



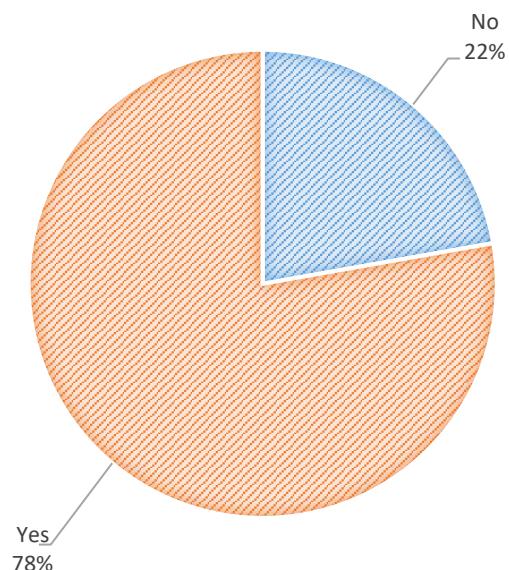
IS IT EXPENSIVE TO LIVE HERE?

■ Yes ■ No



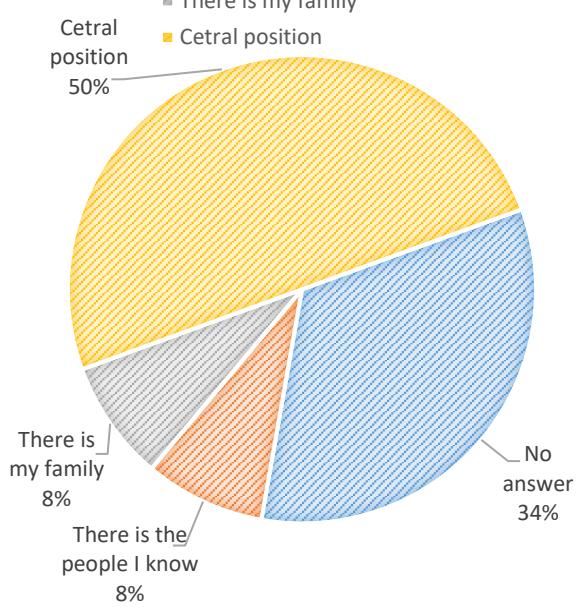
WOULD YOU LIVE SOMEWHERE ELSE IF YOU COULD?

■ No ■ Yes



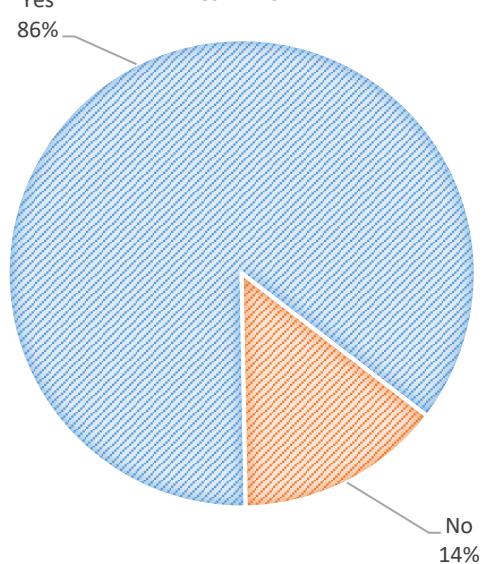
WHICH ARE THE POSITIVE EFFECTS TO LIVE HERE?

- No answer
- There is the people I know
- There is my family
- Cetral position



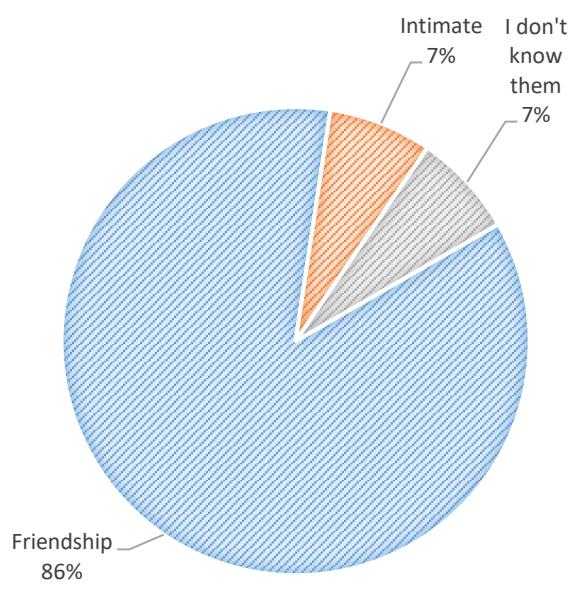
RECENTLY DID YOU NOTICE NEW DWELLERS MOVING HERE?

■ Yes ■ No ■



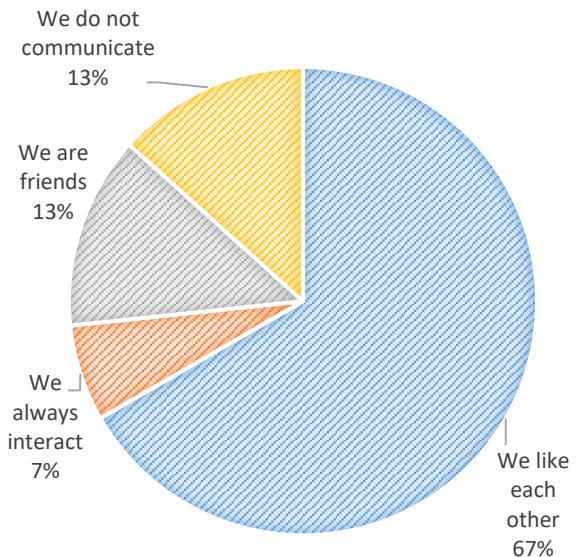
HOW IS THE RELATIONSHIP WITH THE NEW DWELLERS?

■ Friendship ■ Intimate ■ I don't know them



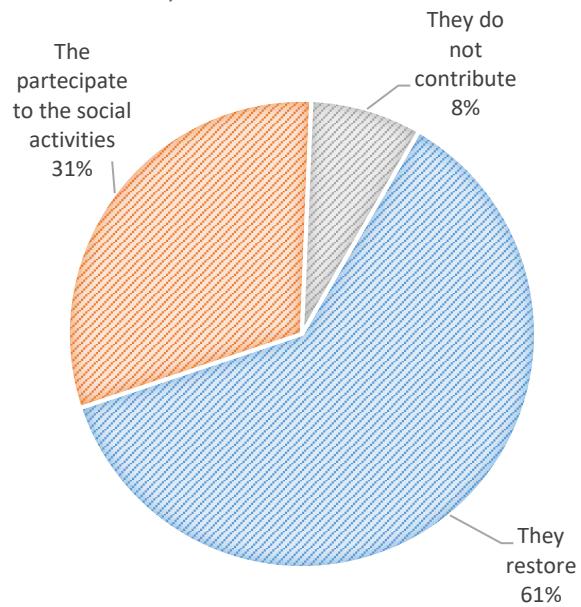
HOW IS THEIR RELATIONSHIP WITH THE OLD GENERATION OF DWELLERS?

■ We like each other ■ We are friends ■ We always interact ■ We do not communicate

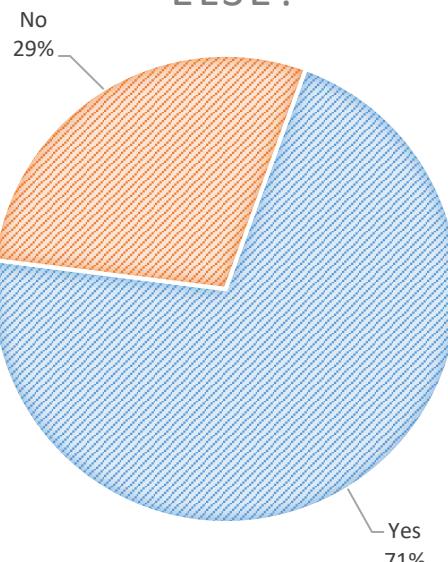


HOW DO THEY TAKE CARE OF THE SETTLEMENT?

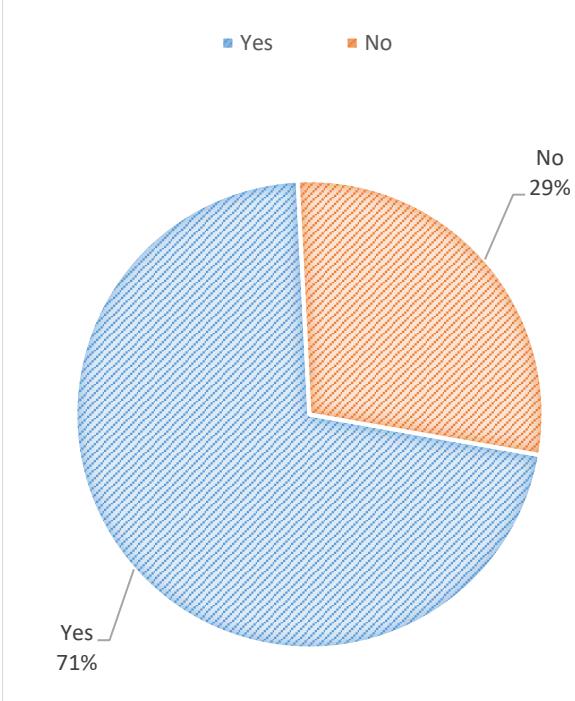
■ They restore ■ The partecipate to the social activities ■ They do not contribute



IF YOU COULD, WOULD YOU LEASE YOUR FLAT TO SOMEONE AND MOVE SOMEWHERE ELSE?



DO YOU FEEL DEEP AFFECTION TO THIS SETTLEMENT?



4.2.4 No.30, Lane 205, South Chongqing road (重庆南路 205 弄 30 号)

The site of No. 30, Lane 205, South Chongqing road is resolutely close to the broadly known settlement of Xintiandi. The location of the site also in this case is resolutely central, reachable along the lines 13 and 10 and getting out the train at Xintiandi metro station. To reach the site the first road to walk on is Madang road (马当路), an interesting road where, moving south the great low-rise modernity of shopping malls and shopping chains in the right is flanked by the original Lilong settlements under a process of conversion, at least of the activities facing the street-front. Turning right in the cross road with Hefei road (合肥路) the feeling of walking in the street is generally similar, but moving west and reaching the cross road with Tanshui road (谈水路) something changes. On both sides of the street the built mass are low rise, typical of the traditional housing, opposing with the previous modern architectures. The street is completely tree-lined and pleasant to walk on.

The settlement under analysis is fenced all around its border except a few entrances allowing to get in. One of them is located along South Chongqing road, precisely at the number 30.

Chongqing road is a trafficked connection vein of the city, which also present a high overpass in the center of it. However, the entrance of the settlement is located right in the middle of many retail activities operating as a sort of barrier to the negative effects of the streets. As soon as one gets inside the settlement the feeling is totally quiet and relaxed, as is noticeable from the activity of the old people, the majority here that one can come across with.



Image 40: Old people filling the questionnaire while relaxing in the alley
(Credits: Filippo Bissi)



Image 41: The quiet vibe of one of the settlement's lane
(Credits: Filippo Bissi)



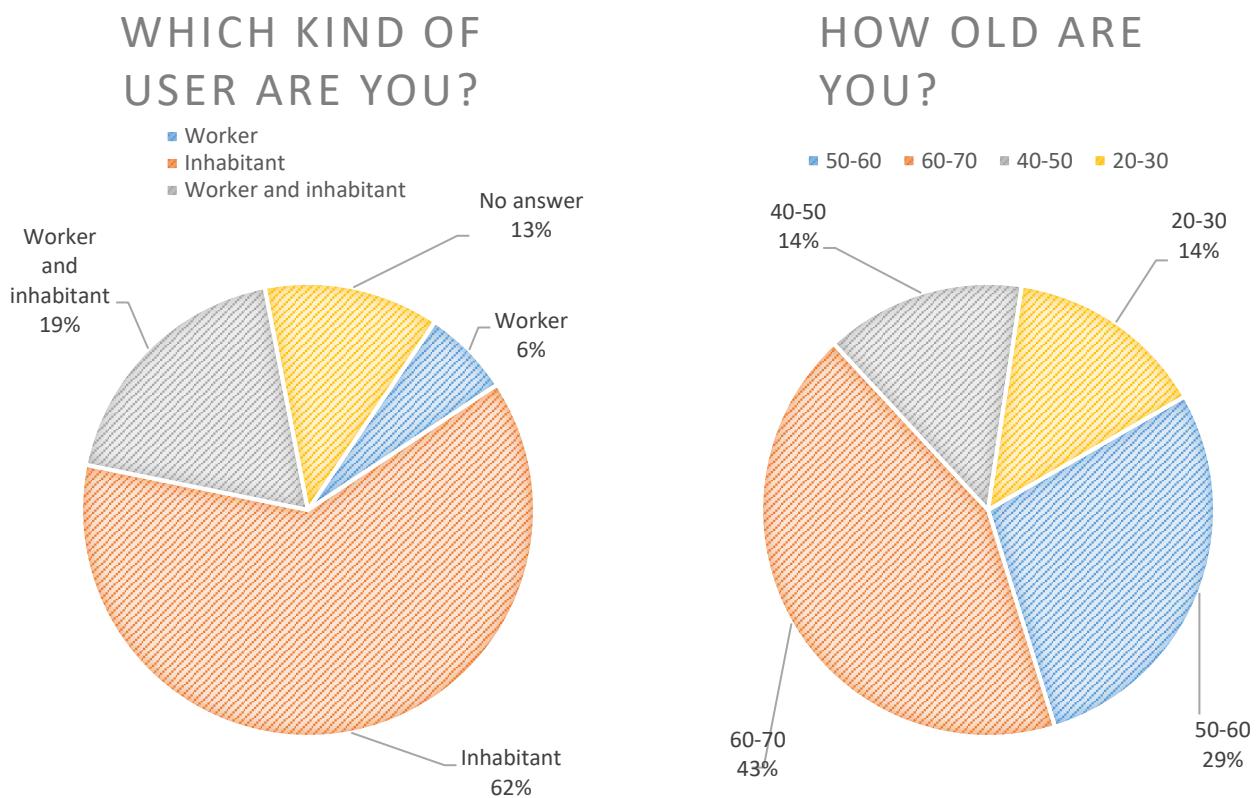
Image 42: A small opening in the middle of the dense built volumes
(Credits: Filippo Bissi)



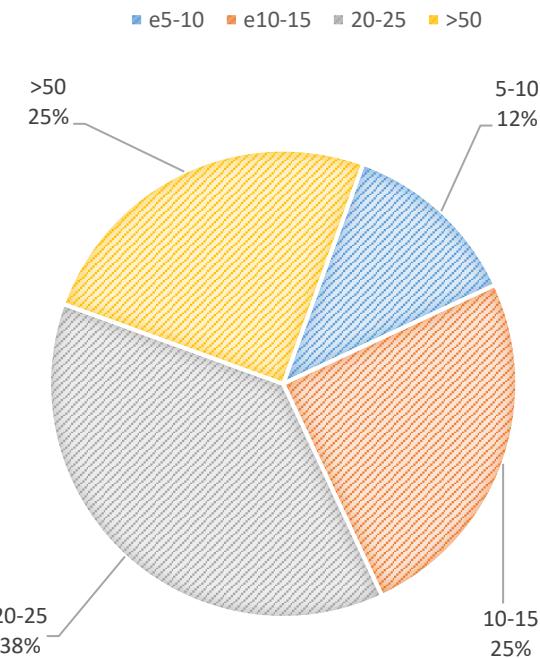
Image 43: Traces of a lively environment
(Credits: Filippo Bissi)

The lanes are roughly four meters wide and seventy meters long, with a few opening in some part of it, creating some sort of little aggregation squares. A few tree are distributed inside the settlement adding green elements to the already existing self-growing plants of the local residents. Many old couples are sitting in front of their house in the side of the lane, feeding their plants or fixing small furniture. If the inhabitants are not in the street they might be inside their house, since the doors are often open, and in many kitchen at the ground floor many women are cooking, and this gives the environment a clear lively sensation. Even though, as had been observed in other settlements, the feeling regarding what is public and what is private is blurred, here this sensation is even more intense. This is witnessed by the constant feeling one has walking down the lane, a sense of invasion of the space of someone else.

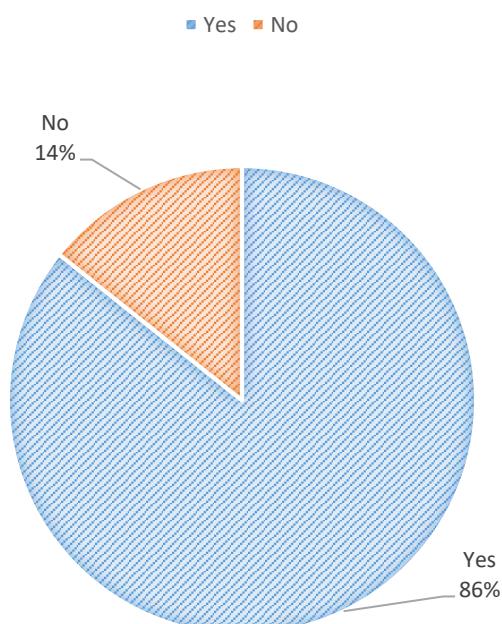
4.2.4.1 Analysis of the questionnaire in No.30, Lane 205, South Chongqing road



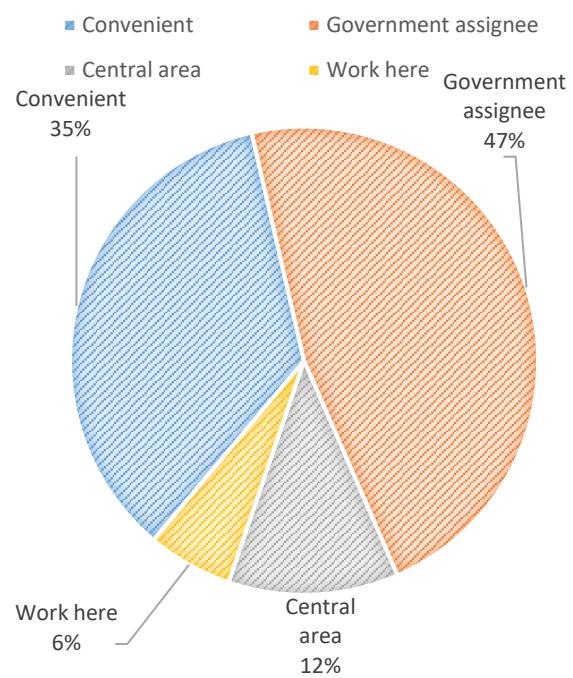
HOW MANY YEARS HAVE YOU BEEN LIVING HERE?



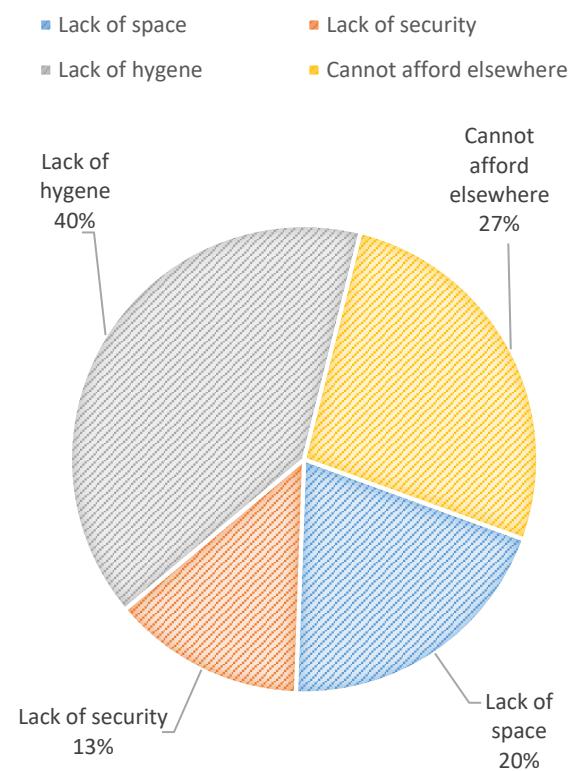
DO YOU GENERALLY LIKE LIVE HERE?



HOW DID YOU CHOSE TO LIVE HERE HERE?

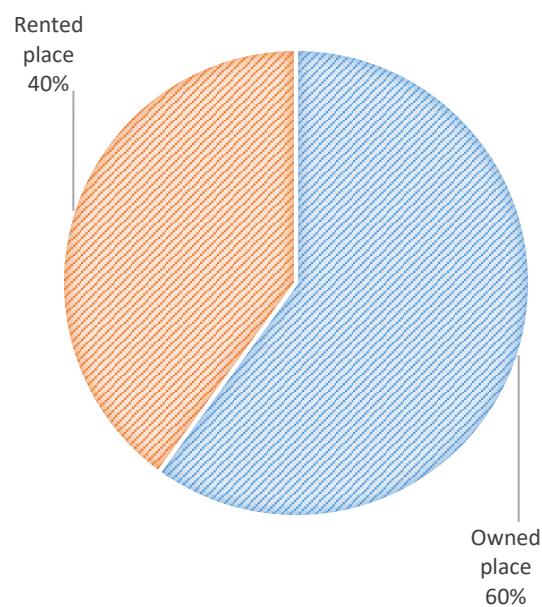


IF NO, WHY?

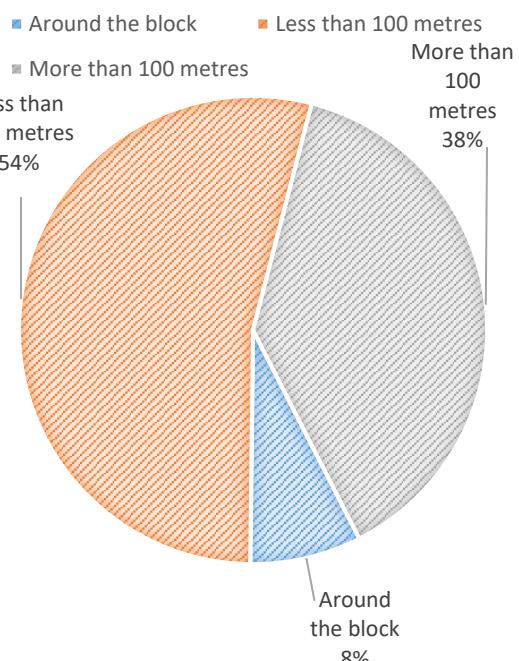


DO YOU RENT OR OWN YOUR APPARTMENT?

■ Owned place ■ Rented place

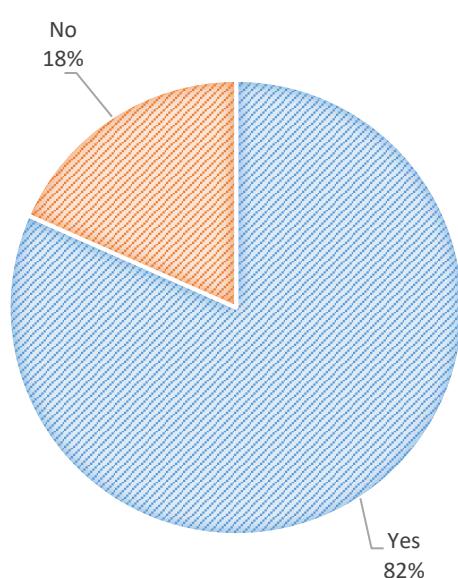


WHERE DO YOU BUY, MOST OF THE TIME, THE FOOD YOU EAT?



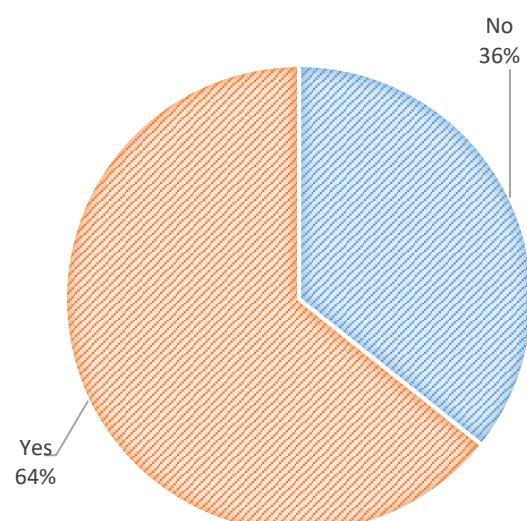
IS IT EXPENSIVE TO LIVE HERE?

■ Yes ■ No

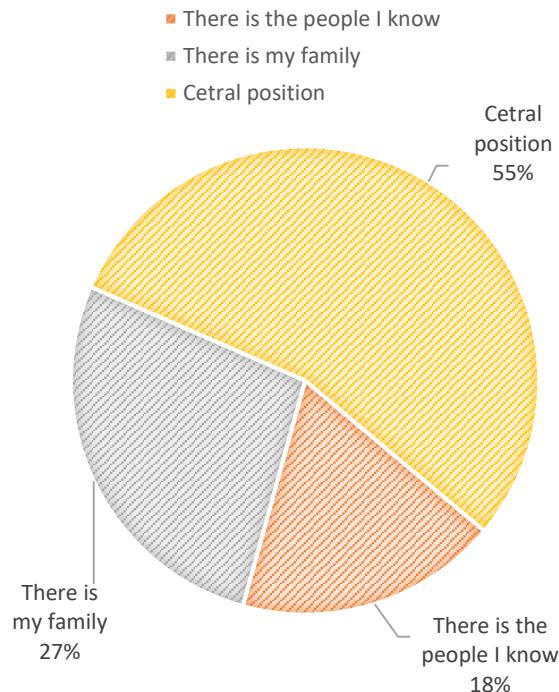


WOULD YOU LIVE SOMEWHERE ELSE IF YOU COULD?

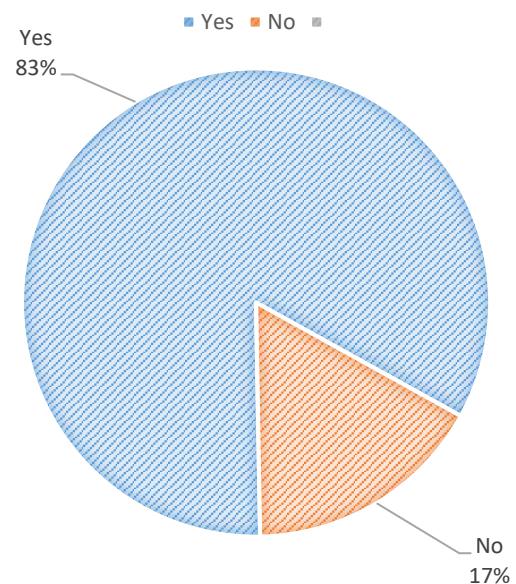
■ No ■ Yes



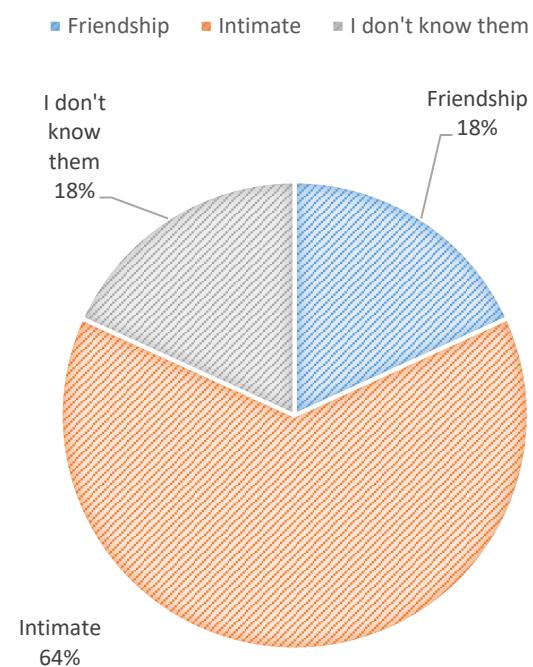
WHICH ARE THE POSITIVE EFFECTS TO LIVE HERE?



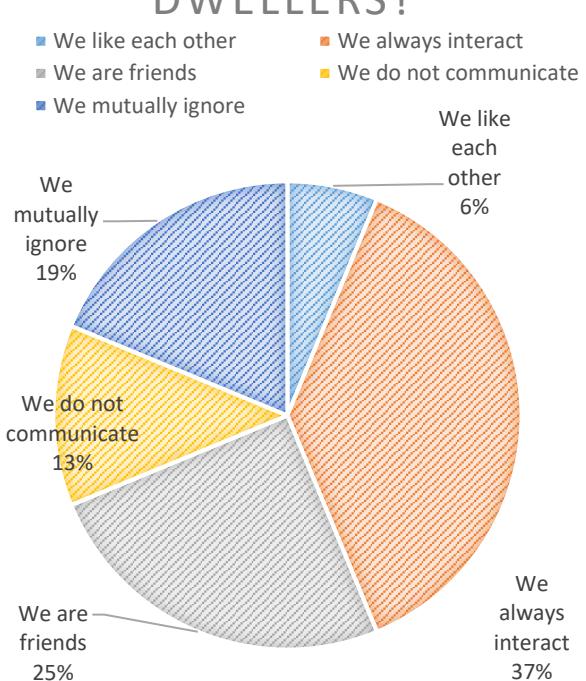
RECENTLY DID YOU NOTICE NEW DWELLERS MOVING HERE?



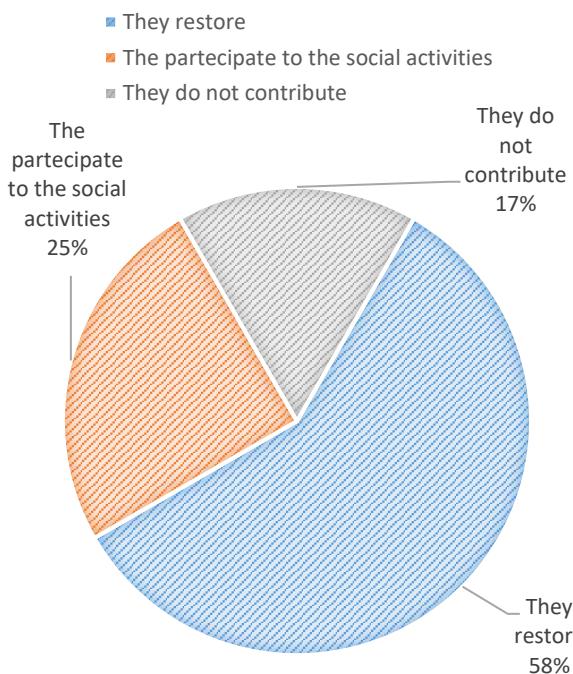
HOW IS THE RELATIONSHIP WITH THE NEW DWELLERS?



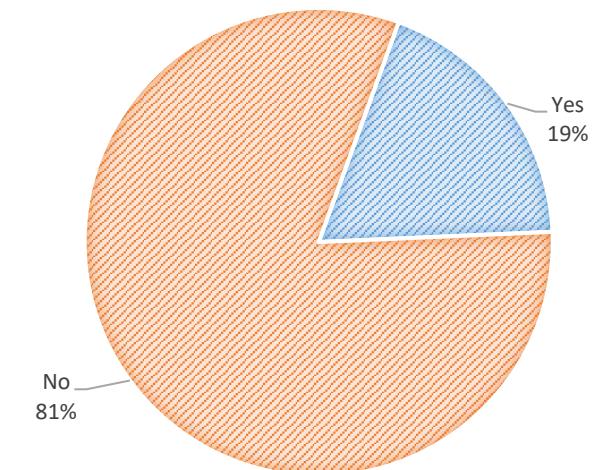
HOW IS THEIR RELATIONSHIP WITH THE OLD GENERATION OF DWELLERS?



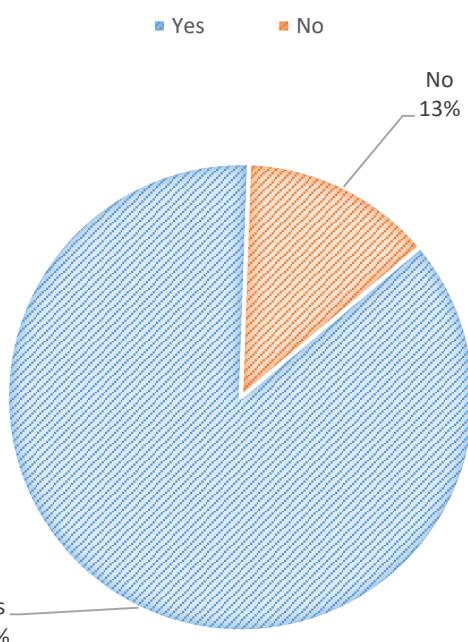
HOW DO THEY TAKE CARE OF THE SETTLEMENT?



IF YOU COULD, WOULD YOU LEASE YOUR FLAT TO SOMEONE AND MOVE SOMEWHERE ELSE?



DO YOU FEEL DEEP AFFECTION TO THIS SETTLEMENT?



4.3 What are the problems about Lilong in both physical conservation and uses?

Thanks to the interviews undertaken in the three case studies, we can draw a clearer view of the people's feeling regarding the ancient Lilong building typology. What emerged from the surveys and from the personal experience of staying in those places, interacting with the local inhabitants is that they generally like to live in those settlements. The feeling of affection the dwellers project into these places is palpable and is confirmed by the surveys as well. It seems like their roots are settled there, their daily life goes around a certain amount of reference points, which has always been standing there since ages.

Strictly linked to this reasoning is the fact that, as emerged from this study, as well through a pleasant stroll in the Lilongs, the majority of the population is rather old aged. This matter is confirmed by the data reported above, since in all the three case studies the age-range with the widest share is the one running between 60 and 70 years old (sometimes 80).

Hence, we can imagine at that stage of a person life how the feeling of affection linked to the memories of the past is deeply developed, and how this influences the inhabitants to become naturally sedentary. The general sensation of satisfaction emerged from the surveys, however, needs to consider also the central location of the sites in analysis. In fact these places during the last few decades had been absorbed by a rich urban tissue bringing the best urban facilities, such as hospitals, social care, education facilities, bureaucratic offices and so on. Is logically convenient for everyone, especially for the elderly with a limited mobility capacity, live in these parts of the city.

However, an interesting fact emerged by the interview is the contradiction between this deep feeling of affection contrasting with the disappointment of those that could be depicted as the negative point of the matter, which need to be considered with the same weight of the first. While the people like to live in the deeper settlements, in the other hand in the remote possibility they could leave it for a better alternative they would do it. This is evidenced by the result for all the three sites. While they feel a natural affection to the place they have been staying the last decades, they think it is expensive for them to rent, or to live there for the ones owning the flats. It is evident in all the cases that there is a lack of some fundamental standard of living for a modern life; has been highlighted the lack of a sufficient standard of hygiene for instance, which is due to the old building typology which has not been restored during the time.

"Minimal maintenance and maximum use of the land were the two considerations of the foreign developers when Lilongs were originally built" (Arkaraprasertkul, 2009, p.13)

It is evident that if we consider this aspect, and we consider that a huge amount of structures still present some wooden components, these kind of settlements are experiencing a downfall, as we saw previously in the images of the settlement of Mei Lan Terrace (梅兰坊).

"Most of the residential architecture in Shanghai, especially the traditional alleyway house, were not built to last this long. Most of the buildings were put together quickly for economic reasons and were built to last just a little under 50 years (...) but they have been used for more than twice the length of their life expectancy." (Arkaraprasertkul, 2015, p.147)

This process naturally incentivize the local inhabitants to leave their apartment in order to move to other places with modern facilities and better living condition, generating as we will see in the next paragraphs, a spiral of gentrification which makes it harder for the inhabitants who keep staying there.

“Previously, it would not have been an exaggeration to say that the 3000 residents of this particular neighborhood knew each other because most of the public amenities such as telephones, bathrooms, kitchens, and hot water boilers were shared. Today, residents only know their neighbors in their own branch lane. - Because people are moving in and out very rapidly, most people here are now stranger to us - said one of our key informants, who is also a key senior citizen in the community” (Arkaraprasertkul, 2015, p.146)

4.4. The probable future of Lilong Settlements

As we saw in the previous paragraph the current situation in the Lilong is the one characterized by a settled society with a deep feeling of affection toward their homes, clashing with the condition of the reality, characterized by the negative effects brought by old settlements built with the accommodation emergency's hustle.

However, another matter regards the socio-economic growth occurring in the city of Shanghai, which open our view to three main aspects “clashing”, some more and other less, with the settled society and the settlements themselves, which are going to be analyzed in the following two sub-paragraphs. In fact we can subdivide what is currently happening in those settlements as the following conditions:

- Those settlements that are currently involved in a valorization process;
- Those Lilongs that had to surrender to the social interested projected on the land, thus are under demolition;
- At last, those which are still stuck, and where there is not any program going on for the future and they verse in a neglected condition.

In the following part, we are going to pass through all of these three condition characterizing Lilong settlements (with the order they are listed above), evidencing for each of them which one could be the positive and negative effects of those practices.

4.4.1. Process of valorization

Regarding the process of valorization, I would like to subdivide the matter into two. The first process of valorization is the one occurring slowly and undertaken by the private inhabitants restoring their single housing property. The second is the one accomplished by

investments corporations and operating in one or more blocks in a single operation. However, in this part I would like to leave aside the mechanism of conservation of the settlements supported by the government together with the private enterprises or corporations. This matter has been already greatly synthesize by the study called “*Consultancy Study on the Heritage Conservation Regimes in Other Jurisdictions*” conducted by the Architectural Conservation Program (ACP) of the university of Hong Kong and issued in April 2014. Moreover, the same topic is going to be deepen in the following parts of this work.

As the interviews highlighted there is a recent trend of people, Chinese and foreigner, to move in the central Lilong of Shanghai. These people are generally well-educated middle-class creative lovers of the ancient and traditional Chinese architecture. Generally, they are attracted by what Non Arkaraprasertkul defines as:

“The nostalgia for an emotional beauty of the Lilong, beauty that lies in the memory and reminiscences of people who have lived in the Lilong” (Arkaraprasertkul, 2009, p.15)

A slow process of transformation is occurring in the most central settlements, unit per unit. As evidenced in the interview’s result most of the former residents daily see and interact with new inhabitants, which are not assignee for a unit of affordable housing, but instead are charmed by these settlements. Sometimes they are not very well seen by those who spent half or more of their life there, sometimes they simply mutually ignore, but what is sure and relevant for our analysis is the fact that this new comers take care of the space and sometimes of the community.

From the analysis is emerging that most of the time the new comers restore the housing units they acquire. Surely, this process is rather sneaky and silent, that someone could not figure out it is in progress. However, in a short term from the restoration of a single unit, we could assist to the restoration of three, and then five, and so on.

However, as has been mentioned in the first part of this paragraph the tiny restoration interventions, one by one, are not the only way the refurbishment of those territories takes shape. In fact, many restorative and conservative initiatives are carried out in a wider scale by public or private’s initiative, or even by a partnership. Thus, this kind of interventions’ try to solve the problems of Lilong adopting a lane-restoration or the entire-settlement-restoration. Hence walking in Shanghai is common to come across workers performing refurbishment as shown in the images below.



Image 44: Inhabitants assisting the refurbishment process
(Credits: Filippo Bissi)



Image 45: A bricklayer at work
(Credits: Filippo Bissi)

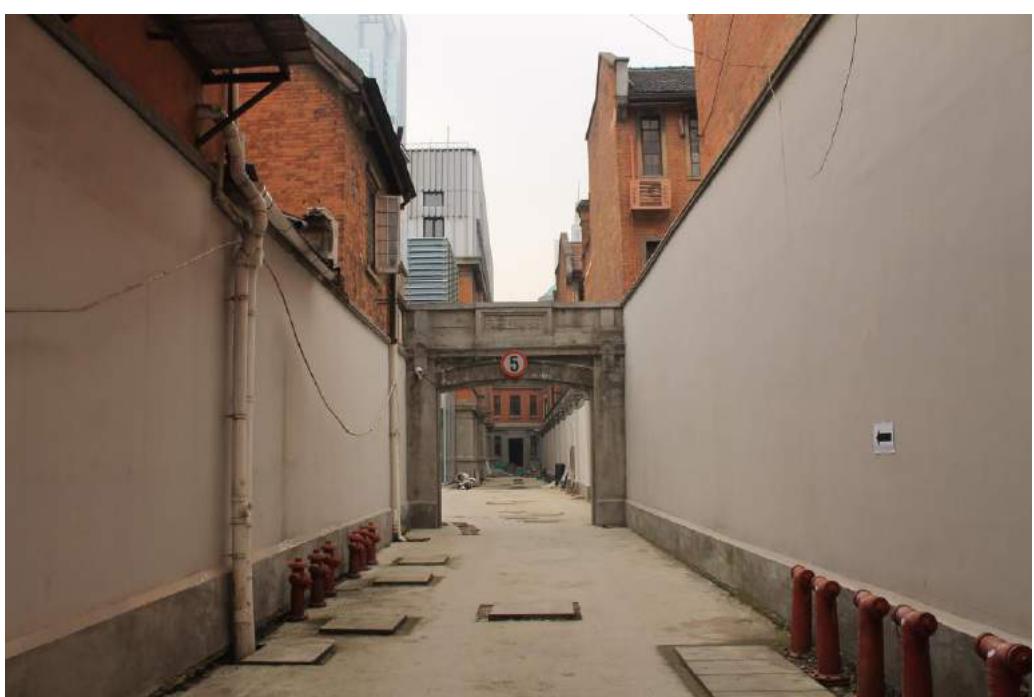


Image 45: Entrance of Lilong under restoration
(Credits: Filippo Bissi)

This exponential refurbishment process, in both of the ways it is carried out, is directly connected to a few effects and results, that could be seen as positive from one point of view but negative from another. In fact, there are many conservative interventions that are carried out with a good architectural quality, adopting excellent qualitative restorative techniques, as shown in the images above. These interventions are able to bring in the future exquisite witnesses of the Old Shanghai's settlements. However, often this kind of interventions are adopted in neglected structures, which have not been maintained for years. This clearly implies high refurbishment expenses. Nevertheless we have to admit that this sort of conservative approach offer the possibility to get some positive factors. For instance, the one of bringing refined architectural motifs into the next future; another positive factor is the economic spin-off this sort of operation offer to the neighborhood and the satellite activities.

Afterwards the topic of gentrification emerges. It is evident that gentrification's effect deploy a series of matters that are clashing with an old society settled in certain place since ages. Indeed, due to the rising cost of all the vital factors the living conditions of the former inhabitants inevitably change. Gentrifications occurs in both cases, when the single private restores or the corporation. However, the probable outcome's difference, between the restoration acted by the private or the developer, is that in the first case there is more possibility of integration of the new incoming inhabitants with the old ones, while the second hardly provide this outcome due to its coercivity. As greatly explained by Non Arkaraprasertkul in 2015:

“the preservation program is only concerned with the maintenance of the façade, with only nominal concern for the interior. In many cases, we have found that the residential advocates support any historic preservation but do not necessarily live in the house because of their dilapidated interiors, refurbishment of which falls outside the remit of historic preservation program. Instead, they rent their rooms to outside tenants, who would then renovate (though often just re-decorate) the apartment to fit the tenant’s need (or taste), and once the lease is over, the renovated room would then return to begin as the asset of the original resident. This strategy may sound harmless on the surface, but if we look more carefully, it leads to a voluntary form of gentrification that maintains no sense of historic underpinning, let alone a sense of community belonging” (Arkaraprasertkul, 2015, p.142)

However, the process of valorization acted by huge corporations, developers and real-estate agencies is the most common one and the most discussed by the disciplinary environment, thus it needs to open a single and deeper discussion. For this reason, the next chapter is going to focus properly about this matter, passing through some case studies to better encompass the transformation dynamics. Thus, we move now to the second process occurring in the Lilong, the one of demolition.

4.4.2. Process of abandonment

It is common walking through the city of Shanghai to encounter some Lilongs settlements, which are clearly neglected, that did never receive any refurbishment lately. There is a specific porpoise this paragraph use the word “abandonment”, which might sound inappropriate for this process, but this term has been used precisely to open a point of reflection about the general condition of those settlement in modern Shanghainese society; however this is going to be explained in the last part of this paragraph.

Many settlements hosting Lilong lanes are currently neglected, rotten, and they should need e renewal in order to get back their original splendor. As previously mentioned, we would make a mistake considering in this group only the building looking rotten from outside; they could have received renewal programs of the external facades in the last decades. Indeed is not sure that if they look tidy from outside they are the same inside, because often there is a difference from how they look inside and how the actual condition are inside. In the beginning of this chapter (number four) we have been passing through this exact matter, reporting the images and the deep observation of Mei Lan Terrace (梅兰坊) which I personally visited with Mrs. Chenjie Zhang, but many others could be the examples. It is a serious and difficult matter to distinguish the internal and the external conditions that need to be tackled; however, this matter could require years and years of studies and plenty of researches.

Anyhow, the reason standing behind the neglected condition of those settlements is traceable in their history, by their period and modality of construction. As we analyzed in the second and third chapter of this work the construction of Lilong occurred, in some cases, in a quick time and with a low share of investments, in order to have reduce the costs. Some other settlements have been constructed later on, some others have been readapted, thus we cannot classify all the settlements belonging to a specific Lilong typology as “neglected”. Something we could state is that generally talking, it is easier to a settlement to be neglected, if its construction period occurred in the early past. However, again, this is just a generalization.

All this neglected conditions could be seen as the cons of this current condition. As a pro we can consider that they are an important opportunity for the future, to bring in the future the cultural heritage of the past. Thus, we might see them as a challenge to be tackled in a wise and proper way. Especially if we consider that most of those settlements are still lived by the inhabitants, who have been staying there for generations, developing their costumes and traditions. For this reason we might absolutely preserve and protect those places in order to be able one day, to let them be witness of Shanghai’s housing history.

Unfortunately, many times the demolition of those settlements happens. Starting from the aspect of the neglected condition, and getting into the argumentation of the demolition which is going to be argued in the next paragraph, I decided to propose a worthwhile quotation of Arkaraprasertkul:

“In the situation of urban housing in Shanghai today, Lilong no longer provide enough density to be economically self-sustained. The change of lifestyle and inadequate maintenance resulted in the deterioration of many of them. In addition, since Lilong were built as housing for workers, they were built in the early 20th century, are in severe need of total upgrading, which is very unprofitable from the point of view of the developer, who

prefers to demolish and rebuild with, at least, ten times higher density. The preservation of Lilong in Shanghai is doomed in light of decay of existing structures and the fact that modern standard high-rise can accommodate more people” (Arkaraprasertkul, 2017, p. 20)

This precise compromised situation Lilong settlements are subjected to, enforced me to use the word “abandonment” for this paragraph. This word comes from the Latin and it was widely used in the ancient French literature. The locution *a bandon* means *at the mercy of*, implying, at the mercy of someone or something. The vocabulary explain that this term, used for places, means the action to leave a place without help, with no protection, at the mercy of the risks. With this argumentation and the previous one in the quotation I would like to open the paragraph regarding the process of demolition.

4.4.3. Process of demolition

The process of demolition is widely taking hold in the last decades mostly in the central parts of Shanghai. The oldest and most neglected Lilongs have been constantly teared down in order to be replace by building typologies that are able to guarantee a better exploitation of the land. Two factors are going against the preservation of Lilongs that many times contributed to the bulldozing of them.

In one hand, we cannot deny and would be a mistake to ignore that there is an unstoppable trend of growth population of the last decades, which somehow had to be faced and absorbed by the city without letting it collapse. In the other hand, we currently assist to the concentration of this huge demand of real-estate investments in the most neglected areas of the city, in this case the Lilongs. Now we understand which were the *risks* of the *abandonment* we discussed in the last paragraph.

This two factor brought to a situation where the land’s value has been always growing, letting it reach skyrocketing levels. This restless escalation brought to a situation where any investment on the land entails a remarkable amount of money.



Image 46: A Shikumen Lilong under a process of demolition in Shanghai.

(Source: <http://shanghaistreetstories.com/?p=6351>)

Hence, what so far have been discussed are surely cons; assisting the destruction of a cultural heritage, taking architectural shape in the Lilongs is for sure a cons. At this point is difficult to me to find the pros of this condition, due to my professional habits which can clearly align my ideals to the preservation of those settlements. However, as we will see in the next chapter there are also some pros in this kind of operations. All of this transformation have a wide financial impact in the society, many are the actors making benefit from this demolitions. Moreover, most of the time, the impact of the new buildings emerging from the bulldozed area, is resolutely important in the urban context. Thus, many other components of the civil society benefit of this operations, even though they did not actively participated. This is the case of the commercial activities in the surroundings, the private owners of housing units assisting their flat's value growing, and all the others activities enjoying their business increase thanks to this kind of transformations. Another aspect that could be seen as a pro is the allocative answer a higher typology rising from the tearing down of a low-rise model offers, especially in the central part of the city. Of course, the allocative demand of the population is resolutely high and this matter cannot be ignore either. However for both the matters, the financial beneficiaries and the future inhabitants, we have always to keep in mind that this operations are made at the expenses of someone how is worse off and disadvantaged.

These conditions in the middle between need and interest, among many other factors (as for instance the settlements' condition previously cited), certainly contributed to the recent trend of demolition. As explained by Non Arkaraprasertkul:

"In the situation of urban housing in Shanghai today, Lilong no longer provides enough density to be economically self-sustained. The change of lifestyle and inadequate

maintenance resulted in the deterioration of many of them. In addition, since Lilong were built as housing for workers, they were not initially built to be permanent. Most of them, particularly those that were built in the early 20th century, are in severe need of total upgrading, which is very unprofitable from the point of view of a developer, who prefers to demolish and rebuild with, at least, ten times higher density. The preservation of the Lilong in Shanghai is doomed in light of the decay of existing structures and the fact that modern standard high-rise can accommodate more people". (Arkaraprasertkul, 2009, p. 20)

The phenomenon of tearing down is happening in Shanghai with an incredible speed, and this matter should make the society think to the future heritage of the city. For every society is difficult to find the balance between wisest choice and most profitable choice. However we must consider Lilong disappearance is a severe fact, and it should be limited, in order to let the new comers understand the history of the old generations.

4.5.Brief Summary

Express a consideration regarding the current condition of equilibrium between valorisation abandonment and demolition is resolutely difficult because in both of them we can find some pros and some cons. This is a compromise, because in one hand we have the possibility to restore what belongs to the past bringing it into the future, but only at the expenses of people who are messengers of the ancient tradition and customs, hence compelling the old community, the values and costumes, to be excluded. Thus, this option would bring into the future the historical buildings' heritage. While in the other hand, there is a severe emergency for the current citizens of Shanghai who have a housing need. This demand is faced by an offer lead by the logic of replacement that a natural market with its interests does, as a definition of what a market is.

Undoubtedly, Lilong settlements represent a fundamental part of the history of the Chinese society. The meaning of their existence is not only to accommodate inhabitants and contribute to the rising need of housing, but it goes over it. Lilongs conserve the history of the crucial last century and a half of Shanghainese history, the fusion between the traditional costumes and the foreigner ones. All this knowledge could be clearly bequeath from generation to generation, but it is still part of the memory of some old people still living in the still-standing Lilongs. Someone thinks that:

"Finding the middle way between community and historic preservation means that cities must strike a balance between preserving their heritage, and being open to change. Destroying heritage destroys memory, community and a sense of place. Refusing to change can render the city a glamorous but stultifying museum. In finding the ideal balance, we must operate from the paradigm that places residents first. There is a limit to how many heritage buildings one can turn into expat bars, gimmicky restaurants, and luxury stores, which will be the case if preservation programs do not take into account the importance of both the affordability and diversity of the neighbourhood" (Arkaraprasertkul, 2015, p.147)

However, giving and answer of what is the best solution for the future of the Lilong settlements needs to be accurately prudent, motivated by deeper studies about all the matters involved. Nevertheless, the amount of studies already made are not sufficient for this phenomenon, as has been already said in the introduction. For this reason, this work wants to stress this topic, in order to let the reader reflect, in order to have, even if marginal, an impact in the academic world. The goal is to bring this topic to high level of importance that could foster further researches. These researches hopefully could be the wise base to assist to a process, which applies a balance between all the actors' interest, such as the entrepreneurs, the developers, the public sector, the inhabitants. And, last but not least, culture, heritage, tradition and costumes of Shanghainese society.

Hence, the hope is properly that the process of valorisation takes place in the city of Shanghai in order to preserve all the existing Lilong. However, often this process is not such easy and entails side effect: all of this is going to be discussed in the next chapter, explaining the experience of Xintiandi and other three case studies.

5. The urban regeneration regime in China

5.1. Introduction

In the last three decades in China took hold a massive and unique economic growth like has never been experienced before. Enormous flows of migrants coming from all over the country, started targeting mainly the cities along the coast of China due to the new working opportunities (Chen F., 2011, p. 410). The Chinese society had to face this huge and fast urbanization, and the cities had to reshape their selves in order to be able to accommodate this phenomenon without collapsing. Hence, this meant to realize housing and infrastructure in a wide scale, such has been accomplished in most of the cities along the coast.

In the following chapter of this work, we are going to analyze this incredible growth that happen in China, investigating which have been the outcome of this transformation under the urban point of view. The point of investigation is going to be the city of Shanghai. Afterwards, in the light of this wide expansion and growth, the other theme analyzed in this chapter is the current treatment of the historic neighborhoods such as the Lilongs. In order to understand better this bivalent urban redevelopment process in the Shanghai context, this chapter is going to go through some emblematic cases.

Hence, at this point of the work, I retain to have set some sturdy basis about the knowledge of Lilongs. Thus I have been reporting a deep study of the ancient Lilong's typologies, their characteristic, their origin and development along the time, and, moreover the on-field analysis of their current state understanding the settled community and their feelings. However, in order to answer my thesis' question, expressed in the introduction of this work, I need to make a step forward, which better clarifies which are the other matters that influence Lilong's permanence in Shanghai's context nowadays. Thus, which are the forces and the pressures those settlements are exposed to, the mechanisms they are involved in, in the modern urban context.

Nonetheless, the last part of the chapter is going to reflect about how Chinese society wants to handle tradition culture and heritage contrasting with the running globalization and modernization phenomenon, how these new trends have been matched with traditional Chinese culture.

5.2. The astonishing growth

Starting from the end of the 90's Chinese cities started to experience an incredible growth of population's density, which have never been experienced before. The flow of new inhabitants in cities such as Shanghai has been tremendous and it can be seen in the charts below.

Shanghai: Population by District & County (Qu & Xian)

2010 Census

POPULATION

Sector	Area: Square Kilometers	Population: 2000	Population: 2010	Population: Change 2000-2010	% Change	% of Growth
INNER CORE	20.1	1,209,000	926,000	(283,000)	-23.4%	-4.3%
Huangpu Qu	4.5	575,000	430,000	(145,000)	-25.2%	-2.2%
Jing'an Qu	7.6	305,000	247,000	(58,000)	-19.0%	-0.9%
Luwan Qu	8.0	329,000	249,000	(80,000)	-24.3%	-1.2%
OUTER CORE	261.4	5,723,000	6,060,000	337,000	5.9%	5.1%
Changning Qu	38.3	702,000	691,000	(11,000)	-1.6%	-0.2%
Hongkou Qu	23.5	861,000	852,000	(9,000)	-1.0%	-0.1%
Putuo Qu	54.8	1,052,000	1,289,000	237,000	22.5%	3.6%
Xuhui Qu	54.8	1,065,000	1,085,000	20,000	1.9%	0.3%
Yangpu Qu	60.7	1,244,000	1,313,000	69,000	5.5%	1.0%
Zhabei Qu	29.3	799,000	830,000	31,000	3.9%	0.5%
CORE DISTRICTS	281.5	6,932,000	6,986,000	54,000	0.8%	0.8%
SUBURBAN	6,051.1	9,476,000	16,031,000	6,555,000	69.2%	99.2%
Baoshan Qu	415.3	1,228,000	1,905,000	677,000	55.1%	10.2%
Chongming Xian	1,041.2	650,000	704,000	54,000	8.3%	0.8%
Fengxian Qu	687.4	624,000	1,083,000	459,000	73.6%	6.9%
Jiading Qu	458.8	753,000	1,471,000	718,000	95.4%	10.9%
Jinshan Qu	586.1	580,000	732,000	152,000	26.2%	2.3%
Minhang Qu	371.7	1,217,000	2,429,000	1,212,000	99.6%	18.3%
Pudong Xin Qu	1,210.4	3,187,000	5,044,000	1,857,000	58.3%	28.1%
Qingpu Qu	675.5	596,000	1,081,000	485,000	81.4%	7.3%
Songjiang Qu	604.7	641,000	1,582,000	941,000	146.8%	14.2%
TOTAL	6,332.6	16,408,000	23,019,000	6,611,000	40.3%	100.0%

Img 47: Shanghai population by district and county.

(Source: <http://www.newgeography.com/content/002283-the-evolving-urban-form-shanghai>)

POPULATION DENSITY

Sector	Area: Square Kilometers	Area: Square Miles	Population/ KM ² : 2000	Population/ KM ² : 2010	Population/ Mile ² : 2000	Population/ Mile ² : 2010
INNER CORE	20.1	7.8	60,100	46,100	155,700	119,400
Huangpu Qu	4.5	1.7	127,800	95,600	331,000	247,600
Jing'an Qu	7.6	2.9	40,100	32,500	103,900	84,200
Luwan Qu	8.0	3.1	41,100	31,100	106,400	80,500
OUTER CORE	261.4	100.9	21,900	23,200	56,700	60,100
Changning Qu	38.3	14.8	18,300	18,000	47,400	46,600
Hongkou Qu	23.5	9.1	36,600	36,300	94,800	94,000
Putuo Qu	54.8	21.2	19,200	23,500	49,700	60,900
Xuhui Qu	54.8	21.2	19,400	19,800	50,200	51,300
Yangpu Qu	60.7	23.4	20,500	21,600	53,100	55,900
Zhabei Qu	29.3	11.3	27,300	28,300	70,700	73,300
CORE DISTRICTS	281.5	108.7	24,600	24,800	63,700	64,200
SUBURBAN	6,051.1	2,336.3	1,600	2,600	4,100	6,700
Baoshan Qu	415.3	160.3	3,000	4,600	7,800	11,900
Chongming Xian	1,041.2	402.0	600	700	1,600	1,800
Fengxian Qu	687.4	265.4	900	1,600	2,300	4,100
Jiading Qu	458.8	177.1	1,600	3,200	4,100	8,300
Jinshan Qu	586.1	226.3	1,000	1,200	2,600	3,100
Minhang Qu	371.7	143.5	3,300	6,500	8,500	16,800
Pudong Xin Qu	1,210.4	467.3	2,600	4,200	6,700	10,900
Qingpu Qu	675.5	260.8	900	1,600	2,300	4,100
Songjiang Qu	604.7	233.5	1,100	2,600	2,800	6,700
TOTAL	6,332.6	2,445.0	2,600	3,600	6,700	9,300

Lead Photograph: The Bund (all photos by author)

Note: Pudong includes the large Pudong business district, which is directly across the Huangpu River from the Bund in the central business district. However, Pudong is a relatively new development and was not a part of the urban core. Moreover, Pudong extends far to the east and southeast.

Img 48: Shanghai population's density per district and county.

(Source: <http://www.newgeography.com/content/002283-the-evolving-urban-form-shanghai>)

As analyzed in the chart above during the decade between 2000 and 2010 the central areas registered a consistent deficit in their population, the outer core generally remained the same, registering in some cases a slight increment of the population. However, the suburbs grown incredibly like the case of Jianding Qu, Minhang Qu and Songjiang Qu which both doubled their number of inhabitants. However, many sources confirm that the city center, even though seems to be demographically shrinking, experienced a process of overcrowding.

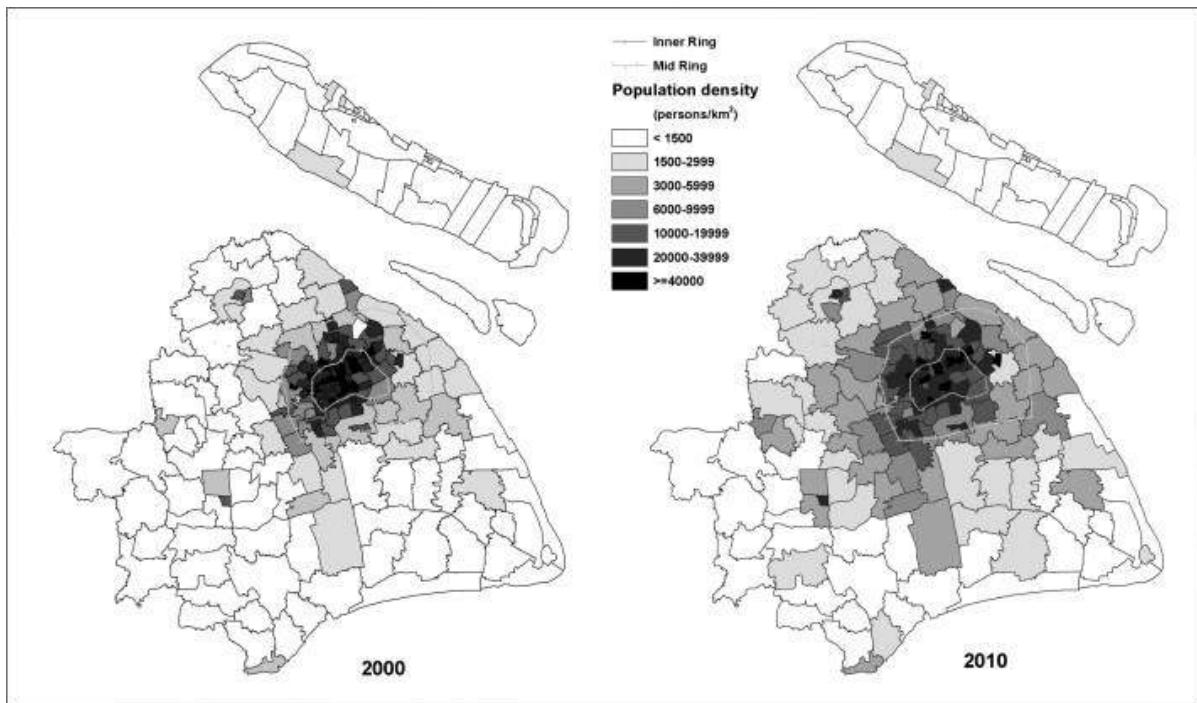
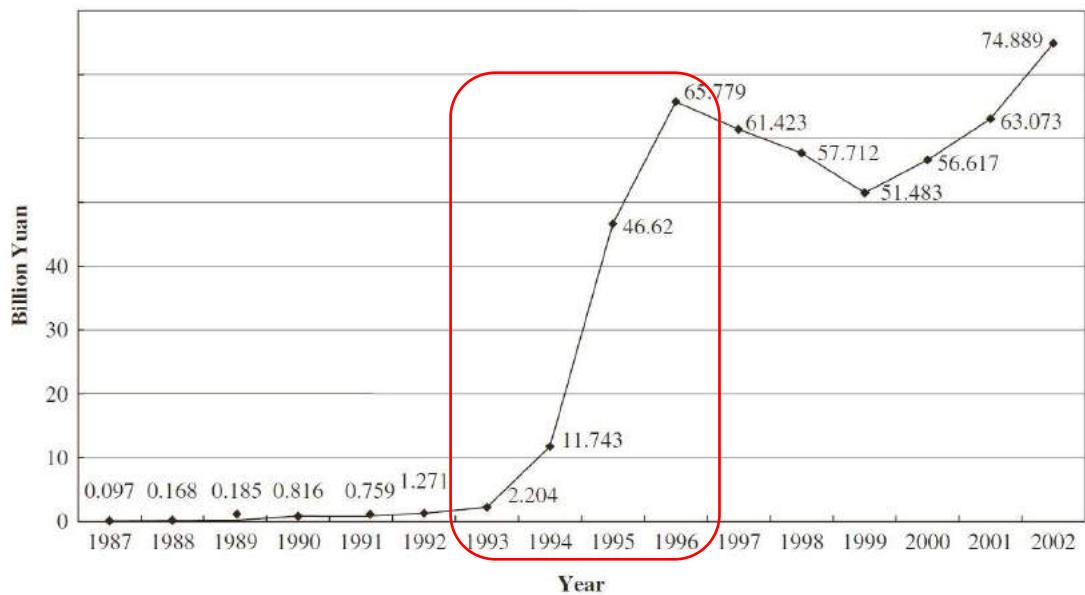


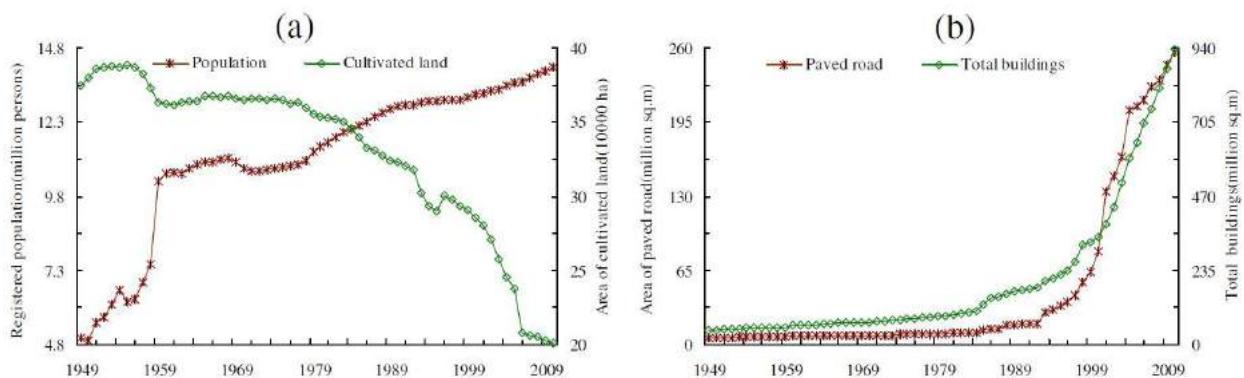
Image 49: Population's density between 2000 and 2010 in the greater Shanghai.
(Source: Yang, Wang, 2015, p. 26)

One of the problem emerging in this fast process of urbanization is properly the speed of it, which compel the system to better care to the allocation priority than to care to other criteria. This aspect can be clearly observed by the growth that real estate industry experienced, in particular the real estate investments from 1993 to 1996 grown respectively from 2.204 billion yuan to 65.779 billion yuan (S. He, F. Wu, 2005, p. 7).



Img 50: Real Estate Investment in Shanghai (1987–2002)
 (Source: S. He, F. Wu, 2005, p. 7, Shanghai Statistical Bureau, 2003)

Bearing in mind this trend, well described by the slope of real estate investment's curve, we can imagine how these years gave a shakeup to Shanghai in many sectors. Strictly linked to the amount of investments in the real estate sector, also the population grown as the job opportunity proliferated in a sort of loop. This is well explained by the chart proposed below, especially if we pay attention to the declining slope of cultivated land in the graph "a"; this specific fact concern both the new job opportunity related to the expansion of the services industry and the proper growth of the city. In fact, the graph "b" shows how during the same two decades, from the 90's until 2010, the paved roads and the number of buildings increased extraordinary at the same pace.



Img 51: Urbanization of Shanghai (a: registered population and cultivated land; b: paved road and total buildings).

(Source: Linli C., Jun S., 2012, p. 5)

5.3.The new shape of the city

During the 90's when the growth started to occur, Shanghai was distinctly characterized by an overcrowded center, a portion of surrounding outskirts and a greater ring of encompassing agricultural land. In the following decade, the redevelopment project occurred first in the central porosity, moving to the outskirts and the agricultural land. This fast phenomenon lead to the urbanization of a wide portion of the agricultural surrounding land. From a municipal scale point of view, we can observe this aspect by the following images.

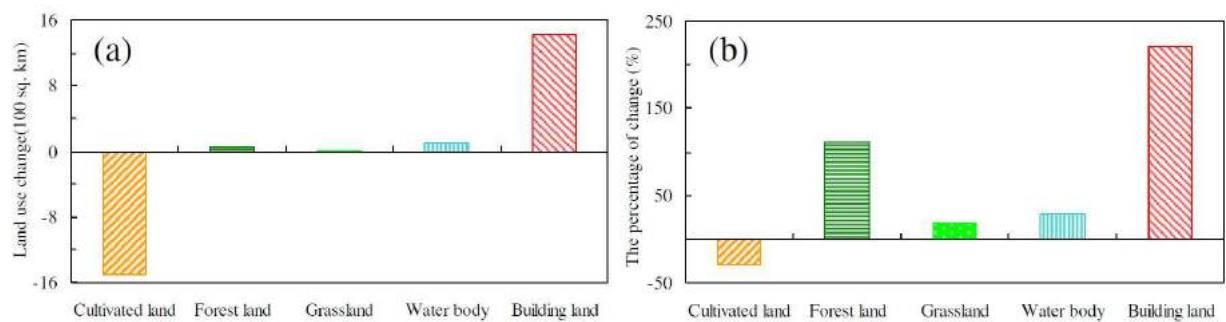


Image 52: Absolute (a) and percentage (b) change of land use in Shanghai during 1980-2008.

(Source: Linli C., Jun S., 2012, p. 7)



Image 53: Shanghai 23rd April 1984



Image 54: Shanghai 11th August 1989



Image 55: Shanghai 5th May 1994



Image 56: Shanghai 24th September 1999



Image 57: Shanghai 19th July 2004



Image 58: Shanghai 28th April 2009



Image 59: Shanghai 10th April 2014

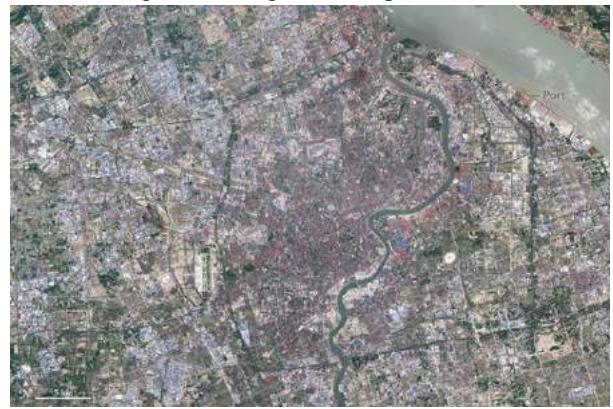


Image 60: Shanghai 20th July 2016

(Source for all images: <https://earthobservatory.nasa.gov/Features/WorldOfChange/shanghai.php?all=y>)

In this wide expansion trend a huge problem was the clash of the most historical and central settlement of the city, such as *Shikumen*, with the restless development logic. Shanghai was planned to become the multifunctional center of China, however to achieve the goal the municipality had to carry out many challenges. It was clear that the central redevelopment's matter would have become crucial for that period. Thus, in order to accomplish better this objective the city municipality started to give the districts government progressively more power in the land's management matter. As we will see in this chapter this new setting of the public sphere influenced radically the urban transformations (Y. Yang, C. Chang, 2006).

5.4. The mechanisms and the subject involved: the emblematic case of Xintiandi

During the 90's the areacentral of Xintiandi has been involved in discussed redevelopment project, which became the first of a series of such urban renewal. This project became the emblem of the central redevelopment process, thus is worthy for this work to analyze the experience of it.

Xintiandi is located in Taipingqiao area, in the central district of Luwan in Shanghai. This neighborhood was a complex of the traditional Shanghainese architecture, thus articulated in lanes and *Shikumen*. During the 90's, when the foreigner real estate investments grew exponentially, the interest of Xintiandi's redevelopment grown gradually, with the idea of preserving the traditional architectural features of *Shikumen*. The new trend in this period was the one of the private-public partnership; many developers without any land to develop started dealing with the municipality in order to acquire developable land, which in some cases has been received by them for extremely low prices.

Hence, in the 90's the municipality of Shanghai launched the "urban renewal project 365", a plan consisting in the demolition of the worst sanitary condition in the central area of Shanghai, with the annex relocation of the residents. Naturally, a primary role to achieve the plan was played by the single district government, which could lease the land to the private investor, and sign the contract with him without the approval of Shanghai's municipal government (Y. Yang, C. Chang, 2006). Moreover, the single district government were absolutely willing to cooperate with the private sphere, since it would get a great amount of urbanization fees from the private investor. Thereby, the municipality of Shanghai put pressure to the district governments with a "financial index" they have to achieve, and an annual rank of the most profitable districts.

Luwan district was one of the most overcrowded part of the city, with many shacks and in general, during the 1993 with the 87.8 per cent of public housing. For Taipingqiao area, this has been a serious and urgent matter since 1992, and there was an urgent need of finding foreign capitals in order to redevelop the area. Due to the Asian economic crisis of 1996 Shui On Group, a huge real estate and development enterprise, moved its capital in Shanghai getting shortly involved in the partnership with the public sphere. Quickly it got the lease of the whole 52 hectares Taipingqiao area, the largest redevelopment project that was ever undertaken in Shanghai. Anyway, the district government in the reality gradually leased the plots in sequence, according to each investment, permitting to do not lose the control of the transformation.

At the beginning, the Xintiandi neighborhood was a protected historical area ruled by the *Law on the Protection of Cultural Relics of the People's Republic of China*, since inside the area the site of the first session of national's people's congress. Thus, the initial transformation concept had to follow the "conservative" standards, however this law did not specify the manner and the way of intervention in the historical sites. Moreover, at that time, the public functionaries' skills about what conservation was, was rather superficial.

In fact, the original plan of Shui On Group, a Hong Kong firm, was to follow the previously approved plan, which were expecting to build a low standard shopping mall, but this concept have been successively changed by the main designer of the group, Benjamin Wood. His idea was to restore the area using the same original heights in order to get as much as possible the *Shikumen*'s cityscape. This idea was accepted by the district planning bureau, which was hoping that the transformation would have increase the surroundings' land value.

Anyway, this turned out to become, expressing it with Fei Chen words:

"...a flagship project for place promotion in Shanghai (...)"(Chen F., 2011, p.413).

The site for high standard restaurants, with tertiary functions annexed, though, basically, attracting the highest segment of the society.

Actually, the strategy of Shui On Group was to use the “traditional” architecture and the cultural uses to attract foreigner investor, and under this point of view they have been successful. The value of the land skyrocketed rising 4/5 times the original in the six months between August 2001 and March 2002 (Y. Yang, C. Chang, 2006). Furthermore, also the surrounding districts benefited from this transformation under an estate point of view. In fact, in the district of Huangpu and Nashi the housing value rose the 20 %.

5.4.1. The relocation of the inhabitants

This is one of the most controversial topic in China, since the cost of this operation can reach almost the 70% of the land acquisition fees paid by the developer to the public, but mostly because (at least in this case) it destroyed the traditional social-life, causing

“A dramatic transformation of the inhabitants’ life”. The cost of it is negotiated among private and public, and generally includes the price of tearing down the building and the transportation of the inhabitants elsewhere. Generally, the relocation activity is handled by the -government enterprises- which are profit seeking” (Y. Yang, C. Chang, 2006, p. 1820).

In this case, that might be taken as an example for others it worked as it follow. The removal and relocation company generally uses the founds coming from the government, and given to the government by the developer, to obtain flats for the relocated inhabitants. These flats are generally already built by the developer and not in accessible areas though with lack of infrastructure and facilities, far from the precedent inhabitant’s reference points. Many of the evicted inhabitants continue to commute from their new location to their job in the city-center, but others cannot bear this cost and eventually the lose their job.

An important step of the process is the creation of a “removal team” which directly interacts with the inhabitants letting them be aware of what is going to happen to their dwellings and the duty to move or accept the compensation; usually this task is fulfilled by the inhabitants association.

In the case of Xintiandi the compensation among the different households was not equal for all of them. Thus it changed among the families have been relocated before and after November 2001 (respectively 114 and 117 plots) data of the new law, since before that it was calculated according to the number of household’s members to replace, and after that only based on the flat’s size. To better report the data present in You Ren Yang’s and Chih Hui Chang’s paper I am going to report a brief part of it regarding the households moved before November 2001:

“A household of three components, who had been allocated a construction area of 20 square meters in public-owned residences, could exchange their flat for 70 square meters of construction are in these new locations. Using the market price of RMB 2 400 prevailing at the time, this was the equivalent of about RMB 168 000. If the household opted for monetary compensation only, they could receive approximately RMB 130 000 in compensation” (Y. Yang, C. Chang, 2006, p1822).

The second part of families, relocated after November 2001 have been refund with the following calculation ($\text{Compensation} = \text{living area} \times 1.54 \times \text{RMB } 4\,009$). Approximately most of the households of this plot had a 20 square meters flat, hence following the previous formula, getting a compensation of RMB 123 477. The biggest part of inhabitants did not want to leave the area, however they were unable to afford the surrounding real estate's stock, then the most of them have been compelled to move to rural areas, and the minority found an accommodation in another secondary unit threatened to be tear down. Naturally, this condition generated a huge social conflict:

“The problems lie mainly in the inappropriate compensation provided to relocated residents compare with rising housing prices and the high profit extracted by the developers”. (He S., Wu F., 2005, p.19)

However, the replacement process, which is the main problem of this chore, in the past not always has been dealt this way.

“In the 1980s, the Shanghai government launched the first round of urban redevelopment. Due to financial deficiency, urban development only covered small-scale urban spaces (Xu, 2004). People were still satisfied with the redevelopment results because most of them were relocated on-site, and their housing conditions significantly improved.” (He S., Wu F., 2005, p.15)

In general, during this period many of these little interventions has been accomplished including the social positive result. In many of these projects, at least the 40% of the previous inhabitants did not strive to stay in the same area or site and that is what they did. For the remaining inhabitants that had to move out the compensation worked such efficiently that they had not to leave the area they have been living in before the actualization of the project. However, we have to consider that the compensation during that period was working efficiently because the housing prices were still decent and not skyrocketing as it happen from the 2000's. We have also to bear in mind in this situation, how this transformation influenced the immediate surrounding market.

“It achieved great commercial success by rising the property values in the area significantly and turning the surrounding area into the most expensive real estate in the city”. (Chen F., 2011, p.414).

5.5.The municipality, the district government, the excluded inhabitants

In Xintiandi redevelopment program were involved many different actors, private and public, at different scales. It is helpful now to list all of them and briefly pass through all of them.

Shui On was the main developer of the whole operation, Skidmore Owings and Merrill (SOM) were in charge of the masterplan, Wood and Zapata Inc. and Nikken Sekkei International Ltd. respectively from Boston and Singapore were in charge of readapting the spaces to new uses. Tongji University's Urban Planning Design and Research Institute was the architectural consultant. There were other investors such as:

"Fuxing Construction Development Ltd, a subordinate real estate development company of Luwan district, is a nominal partner of Shui On, contributing only 2 to 5 % of the investment in the project". (He S., Wu F., 2005, p.11)

The last important actor that we have to bear in mind is the group of inhabitants living in Xintiandi's site. As we saw the private wing of this operation, the main key actors of the public wing, instead, were Luwan district government and the municipality, settling down the guidelines of the transformation. From a foreign point of view, we can imagine that both of the institution are eager to achieve the same result that they have the same interest or that one is the expression of the other. However, this matter did not work in this way, thus in the following paragraph we are going to pass through Xintiandi's sequence of events thorough the point of view of these last three mentioned actors.

5.5.1. The Municipal Government

In this context of fast and astonishing growth, that Shanghai had never experienced before the city had to face complicated tasks. In one hand, there is the concrete construction of infrastructures and facilities, and this in turn did not ignore the bureaucratic processes in order to regulate it.

In a first moment, the Municipality fostered the development of new projects and new urban transformation, and this is witnessed by two acts published in order to accomplish the "urban renewal project 365".

"-No. 18 Document- issued by Shanghai municipal government in 1996 exempted or decreased land use fees and relevant administrative charges for all projects belonging to the 365 scheme; -No. 33 Document- even provided financial subsidy for developers to redevelop the uncompleted 125 hectares of shanties and dilapidated areas of the 365 scheme" (He S., Wu F., 2005, p.14)

Moving in this direction the municipality of course attracted possible interested investors and developers, however, as mentioned this new trend was quite new for the context. We have to consider two main aspects related to the municipality: in one hand, there is a public institution that have the need to regulate and define the rules for a new important phenomenon such as this

one. While in the other has we have to bear in mind that this institution had to see the outcome of its choices, difficult to forecast and imagine before seeing the real result of them.

Well, the result was probably the realization of an amount of volumes higher than the expectatives, that prompted the Municipality to issued acts in order to reduce the Floor Area Ratio (FAR) of the project under construction in the inner city. This happened in November 2003.

Thus, as we can see the Municipal government as a great influence on the other actors, since it defines the guidelines that the District government is secondly putting in act. Is natural that the District Government being in a central position, between the developer's interest and the Municipality's one, has to handle its own interest, which cranes more to the developer's one rather than the Municipality's. Hence, since the Municipal level tries to arrange the general urban framework it slows down the singular projects occurring in the different district. At the opposite the District level just wants to increase the built volumes enlarging in turn the profit generated by every single real estate operation.

5.5.2. The District Government

It was one of the prominent actors in this transformation is Luwan's District Government, which played a resolutely primal role. As Shanghai in the recent decades tried to relaunch its image as an international modern city, to China and to the rest of the world, we can consider the project of Xintiandi fitting in this logic, a project led by this philosophy. Shanghai had to show its ability to the world while Xintiandi the same ability to Luwan and Shanghai's municipality. In this context, we can interpret the goal that:

"Has been proposed in the tenth -Five Year Plan- for Shanghai that real-estate development will continue to be one of the important pillar industries in Shanghai. Obviously, redeveloping dilapidated areas and promoting economic development through property development has become an important element in the development strategy of Shanghai. (...) Shanghai has set a target of redeveloping fourteen million square meters of old urban areas" (He S., Wu F., 2005, p.11)

In Xintiandi operation there had been many restriction, such has the preservation requirements and the height of the buildings since they were right next to the CCP Congress Hall, as well as the relocation of the 1950 households living in the area. In order to achieve this goal Luwan district set out a public-private-partnership.

5.5.3. The excluded inhabitants

As we discussed in the previous paragraphs, the Chinese context had to handle this brand new wave of urbanization. At the beginning, the intent to preserve the social component were resolutely central, with the goal of improving the social condition of the inhabitants. However, in this complicated new experience the outcome did not respect the expectations. The goal of Shanghai to relaunch its image as a concrete effect clashed against the concrete effect of the social aim. In the 90's the growth of Shanghai as an important economic center was colliding with the widespread shabby environment of its cityscape. This in turn entailed that most of the issued policies fostered the position of the developer rather than the inhabitants' one.

In Xintiandi's transformation, the inhabitants had not been considered with the weight they deserved to be. The inhabitants' option to get another dwelling in the area thanks to this transformation was simply impossible. Most of them have been replaced in remote areas and naturally, they have been the passive actors of the sequence of events.

In order to have a complete and compared view of these actors is worthy to analyze the chart below. Thus is interesting to see the role of the directly involved local state comparing to the others, as well as the all the analyzed steps for the social component. It is clear they are just out of the match.

Different Players in the Pro-Growth Coalition			
Players	Role description	Resources	Contribution/Response
Private enterprises	Primary participants	Ample capital resources and compelling accumulating capability.	Act as principal investors and developers.
Directly involved local state	Active and potent collaborator	Lack of influence on local governance. Limited land and financial resources.	Bring new urban landscapes and economic growth. Provides direct supports, e.g., housing demolition and residential relocation.
Upper governing agent	Authoritative mediator and supervisor	Limited governing resources on certain urban areas. Land resources and financial leverages. Superior governing authority.	Strives for favorable policy from upper state.
Urban neighborhoods	Excluded player	Deficiency of economic resources. Deficiency of political/ governing resources.	Encourages or modulates market operation through policy intervention and economic leverages. Delivers the policy of central state and oversees the redevelopment process. Vacate from original places and relocate to suburb. Individual resistances.

Img 61: Different players in the pro-growth coalition.
(Source: He S., Wu F., 2005, p.17)

5.6.Three case studies

As previously explained, Xintiandi is a sort of flagship example of the trend to redevelop the most central and historical sites of the city, thus the research would not be complete enough avoiding passing through this case. Moreover, Shanghai is the city that this thesis consider central in its development, though Xintiandi is an emblematic case to better understand the current situation. However, to deepen the phenomenon, and in order to find out if the case of Xintiandi is just an isolated one, or at the contrary, it is the trend recently going on, we will go through other tree regeneration projects, in Beijing, Suzhou and at last in Nanjing.

5.6.1. Ju'er hutong regeneration, Beijing

In 1987 the professor Wu Lingyong from the Qinghua University, has been designated by the Beijing Municipal Government and the Beijing East City Government to refurbish a portion of central land of Beijing, quite close to the Forbidden City. At that time Ju'er hutong's conditions were extremely gross, it was overcrowded and the lack of facilities such a proper system of water supply and sewages was causing a harsh hygienic situation.

The idea of Professor Wu was to act in a very small scale, with little interventions that could have increase the inhabitants' living condition, letting them be better off and without creating any sort of gentrification. Another goal was to preserve the traditional hutong's space distributions, with the classic courtyards as an intimate space.

In order to accomplish the transformation and to avoid the residents to move away, they have been invited to buy their house after the transformation would have been implemented. In this case, they would have pay a preferential price, because partly would have been covered by an *ad hoc* cooperative established to manage the finances of the project. However, the inhabitants had other two choices, in case they could not afford to purchase their house: the first was to exchange it with another residential unit in the city center, the second was to acquire with a preferential price a new unit in a high-rise new suburban redevelopment owned by the same developer.

Eventually the remaining inhabitants were only the 30.5% of the original population, and the rest of the empty units have been sold by the cooperative to make profit. This was the first of four phases of development of the project.

“The first phase was completed in 1990, and the second phase was conducted during 1990 and 1993. The third and fourth phases have been seriously delayed and have not been completed even today due to the rising land prices and loss of government subsidies”.
(Chen F., 2011, p.412)

As witnessed by Fei chen in this quotation, and as we already discussed in the paragraph regarding the relocation of the inhabitants, it seems that the third and fourth phases were

planned to be implemented when casually the “big growth” or the “economic boom” of the 90’s happened. This situation clearly obstructed the foreseen realization of the project, and compelled the developer to change its design features.

“Under the growing financial pressure, buildings in the fourth phase reached the highest densities and heights along the main street, with a mixed use pattern containing residential, industrial, institutional and commercial uses”. (Chen F., 2011, p.413)

Even though the project’s goal to preserve the social component in-site was deeply appreciable, the financial pressure avoided this idea to become truth. In fact if in a first moment the inhabitants that did buy were staying there, afterwards the land prices got such higher that nudged the owners to rent or sell their house to the new urban elites that were considering that place very traditional. Indeed, we can state that this project had the opposite effect of its initial aim, because under the market conditions of that period it completely gentrified the site.

5.6.2. Tongfang Xiang redevelopment, Suzhou

Tongfang Xiang is located in the historical center of the city of Suzhou. This 3.8 hectares of land are located close to a resolutely famous world heritage site, the Lion Grove Garden. However, the area was pretty overcrowded by both the population and the built density insisting on it. In fact this site, that was looking like a huge single block, was hosting an amount of inhabitants pair to 1800, needed a regeneration program.

The municipality of Suzhou’s concern was to respect the maintain the classic cultural shapes and costumes of the area, forecasting thought to develop and intervention able to preserve those prerogatives. The Urban Planning Research Centre of China was designate to edit the masterplan of the area during 1987 and 1989. The accomplished planning strategy was based on the division of the site in 16 plots, that eventually have been leased to be developed.

The initial goal was to preserve in the site at least one third of the historical buildings and one fourth of the local population. The work started and the main streets has been widened, the sides of the block have been converted in commercial buildings up to the eight stories, and the inner parts of the block have been rose until eight meters. This new neighborhood’s extension of the volumes was due to and enlargement of the floor-area ratio, thus the sustainability of the transformation.

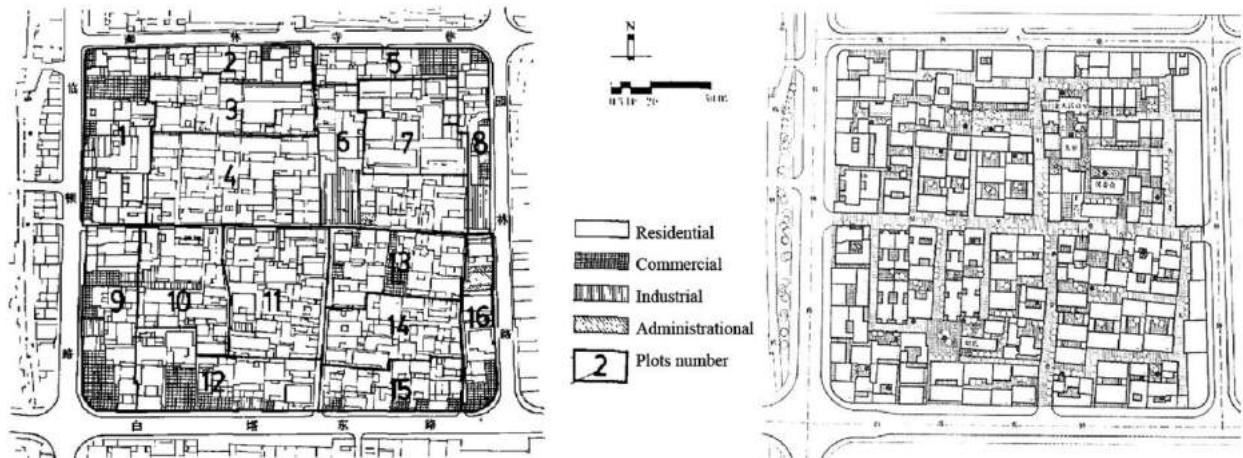


Image 62: Original plan, land use (left) and renovated layout (right)
 (Source: Chen F., 2011, p.415)

However also a community center was proposed, as well as a kindergarten, and the new buildings' style had to respect and be coherent with the traditional shapes and colors of the historical criteria. Actually, the buildings have been restored as such, with the typical features of this kind of Chinese building typology, thus the result under a conservative point of view can be considered as positive (Image 63). The only critic that Fei Chen moves regarding them, under the physical point of view, is the new court's use, no longer a social space to access the houses, instead a neutral passage space.



Image 63: The well-restored buildings
 (Source Chen F., 2011, p.415)



Image 64: A gated community
 (Source Chen F., 2011, p.415)

However, what has been expected under a social point of view has been disregarded, since after the transformation the rise of a skyrocketing real estate market, as in the case of Beijing changed the future of the project. As follows a quote of Fei Chen expressing the result of the project under a social point of view (Image 64)

“The target rehabilitation of original residents on the same site was a major failure due to unreachable land prices for them after regeneration. Instead, houses entered the market and were favorable for middle and upper classes people. Eighteen years after completion, the neighborhood has become a typical gated community in the city that shows distinct social exclusion. Not only the main gates are safeguarded, but also each pair of houses is securely walled, gated and locked. Social interaction is hardly found in the neighborhood”. (Chen F., 2011, p.413)

5.6.3. “Nanjing 1912” renovation, Nanjing

The great commercial success of Xintiandi lead to a trend of such kind of redevelopment in many of the national cities. Nanjing 1912 can be considered such as one of those project, designed and realized later than the previous two, from 2004 and 2005.

The project site occupied an area of 3.5 hectares very close to China Modern History Museum, a resolutely important building, since it was the previous Presidential Palace, nevertheless the mansion for some important political members of the Ming and Qing Dynasties. Due to its vicinity to the Museum, and due to the fact that the museum is a touristic attraction, the aim of the municipality was to follow this kind of vacancy for the area. However being Nanjing the capital of China since 1912, the idea of the municipality was to redevelop the area with the republican taste and stile.

The chief designer, Yang Zhijiang from the Architectural Research Center of the Southeast University agreeing with the municipality was thinking to move the functions somewhere else, following the entertainment function. The only residents living there were employee of the nearby Southeast University.

The implementation of the project have been accomplished with a good care of the traditional stiles, using the same materials, shapes and proportions. However, the only original buildings are two, and the other 15 have been constructed with the traditional standards.

“Unlike Xintiandi, the Nanjing 1912 project does not promote the surrounding property values. However, its management company ‘Nanjing Oriental group’ (Nanjing Dongfang Qiye Jituan) is optimistic about its long-term profitability, which has not yet been proved” (Chen F., 2011, p.416)

Nowadays the project site is occupied by international and foreign chain such as Starbucks, and other sought brands for the middle-high class.

Again, we have to underline that this project has been accomplished in a different period comparing to Tongfang Xiang and Ju’er Hutong, thus might have been led by a different logic. In fact, if the previous ones disregarded their original goal to preserve the social component but then have been compromised by a fast-growing market, this one could be intended with a different aim, such as the real profit seeking and image-relaunch strategy.

5.7.Brief summary

At this point, we are aware about the general trend going on in China, the trend of conversion and transformation of some historical part of the city. These events are the natural result of a society living such a great growth, with the positive and negative aspects this matter encompasses. Along this work and the themes examined, there are a few concepts, a few principle emerging that we could summarize with the following worlds: culture, heritage and tradition. I propose a quotation of Fei Chen to reflect about tradition (though culture and heritage) in the urban environment:

“Tradition is the immediate resource for restoring or maintaining identity. Literally, tradition is something inherited and transmitted over generation with clear continuity. In relation to architecture and urbanism, traditional urban forms crystallize meaningful cultural patterns that are differentiated according to the medium and the circumstances imposed on human expression. Traditional forms reflect residents’ self-identity and are evolving according to their need”. (Chen F., 2011, p.412)

It is now clear that Lilong settlements are depositories of these concepts evolved in the recent history, and these are the focus of this work. Hence, this chapter focused on the attempt of preservation of these settlements, of the refurbishment of these depositories, as they could be seen as “boxes” containing tradition, culture and heritage, and the renovation of these “boxes” is only functional to avoid those feelings to escape out. As previously explained the goal of the work is to focus of how to preserve heritage, how to prompt tradition and foster culture. How to do all of this in a modern running society and its fast logics. Sometimes the preservation of these three concept together in the ancient settlements seems to be resolutely difficult in the wide and jammed market, and this is a cons. The last three cases disregarded their original goal: Ju’er case eventually compelled the inhabitants to rent their flat or scape due to the high prices, Tongfang Xiang create basically some gated communities and Nanjing 1912 is invaded by international chain-stores such as Starbucks. All this happened under market pressures. Moreover, there is the cons of the lack of researches about this topic and in turn the lack of a widely shared public and intellectual debate.

Considering all the matters involved, the valorization of those settlement, eventually, is a remarkable pros, because it brings those concepts (culture, heritage and tradition) into the future, and because is a spin-off for the neighborhood’s activities the transformation takes place at. The conservative approach offers a good manner for Shanghai’s development, generating advantages for its thrive. This model propose a living format definitely blooming, and a sparky and lively environment for the city of Shanghai.

However, maybe due to the lack of research as said, there are other cons clashing to this condition, as the inhabitants’ relocation. In fact, as told before, in the examples analyzed they are generally excluded in the process and this is negative. They are generally compelled to move somewhere else, and this fact could be seen as negative. Moreover, what has been seen as a pros for someone, such as the spin off generated by the valorization, is often a cons for others, such as the inhabitants renting their unit, experiencing the increment of the rental bill. Another risk is the:

“Disneyland approach to preservation simply because it only preserve, in some extreme cases recreating the architectural façade, but not the social structure.”
(Arkaraprasertkul, 2015, p.143)

Ultimately, evidencing all the pros and the cons of the regenerative approach the only way it could be seen as worthy, is the way that finds the right balance (or the *organic approach*) between all the matters involved, hence renovating but avoiding the inhabitants' exclusion, without a Disneyland approach and refusing the increment of rent's cost for the former inhabitants. Thus above everything, finding a strategy to control the market pressure along the project's accomplishment and its firsts years of standing.

To achieve the organic approach – as opposed to the Disneyland approach – we believe that the new and the old can co-exist. The original resident are also happy to see the city grow and develop, and they want to be part of it despite their age. So it is unfair to think that because they are old and likely poor, they shouldn't be living in the city center. In fact, because of their long history with their neighborhood, they care the most for the place.” (Arkaraprasertkul, 2015, p.143)

Thus at this point of the work, is clear the positivity of the “regenerative path”, if operated with an *organic approach*. Hence, the requalification should be undertaken only under these conditions, it would give advantage to culture and heritage, to the inhabitants, to the entrepreneur, and the neighborhood's activities.

However, I propose now to move further and pose the attention on the “reproductive path”, *id est* reproduction of culture heritage and tradition. This action is determined to reproduce the condition that are able to foster and trigger their development. Hence, in the next chapter, we are going to go through one of the policy that Shanghai's municipality issued in order to face this complicated growth. We cannot disregard this imminent and dominating aspect. However, within the choices that has been taken to tackle the growth we are going to analyze the attempt of preserving the tradition, the culture and heritage in a different way than restoring the “boxes”. Instead, in the next chapter, we are going to analyze Pujiang, where the reproduction of the architectural forms of Lilongs had the goal of reproduction of culture heritage and tradition in a brand new settlement.

6. Shanghai's new towns: the case of Pujiang

6.1. Introduction

As we saw in the last chapter, it seems there is still a long path to do in order to establish an equilibrated renovation method, an organic approach to fairly renovate Lilong settlements. This condition is due for the analyse factors: the inhabitants are generally excluded; often they see their rent bill rising; the lack of a long-term control on the market pressure; often the output is a Disneyland approach; the insufficient argumentation about the phenomenon.

However the topic of preservation is considerably significant, because nowadays Lilong settlements are threatened to be destroyed, and are evidently disappearing from Shanghai. This scenario is resolutely dramatic because their persistence, their protection and preservation is completely important for the future of the city. If their destruction continue in this way, and if their renovation methods do not change in a few years we are going to assist to their disappearance. This would entail the disappearance of old Shanghainese society's culture, and it would be a dramatic mistake. To understand the dimension of the phenomenon we have to think that during the '30s in Shanghai there were 200'000 Lilong units and now:

"Thousands of Lilong neighbourhoods, which were deteriorating from overcrowding and degenerating facilities, were removed to make way for higher density housing options, such as the mid-rise walk-ups and high-rise apartments we see in Shanghai today. According to the Cultural Heritage Protection Department of Shanghai Municipality Administration of Cultural Heritage, there are less than 100 Lilong neighbourhoods left in the city, compared to 150 just five years ago." (Arkaraprasertkul, 2015, p.139)

This article was written three years ago, and state that in 5 years one third of Lilong patrimony has been cancelled. Now three years passed and probably other settlements got bulldozed.

In the light of this, of course the primary path that needs to be undertaken is the wise refurbishment of Lilongs. However, we could see a secondary and parallel path that could be undertaken; here is interesting to open a new topic, *id est* the one of reproduction. The goal of this part of the work is, though, to learn the virtuosity Lilong housing typology taught to the discipline, in order to try to reproduce them in the future. We can call this practice of reproduction the secondary path. The significance of proximity and sharing, standing as the basis of Lilongs' communities, are the ones that are going to lead this work to the analysis of a new attempt to reproduce that kind of housing forms, in order to replicate that kind of community for the modern Chinese society.

Within the reproductive approach, another contributing factor is the astonishing growth that overwhelmed China, which is such important and huge that needs to be considered as a cornerstone for many reasoning regarding the last decades of Chinese history, since it generated

incredible market pressures. Once these two aspects are clearly shared, it is worthy to insight the recent housing policy made by the Municipality of Shanghai, in order to accommodate such a severe incoming flow of inhabitants.

One of these policies is called *One city nine towns*. In the last two decades, the municipality of Shanghai started to think to find a solution for an increasingly overcrowded central areas. Actually, this was not the only problem plaguing Shanghai. In fact starting from the outskirts of the city the urbanization was craning randomly scattered toward the limitless countryside (Xue, Zhou, 2007, p. 22). In order to tackle this uncontrolled situation one of the decision of the Municipality was the construction of nine satellite towns in the surroundings of the main city.

Starting from *One city nine towns* policy, this chapter is going to deepen one of the nine case studies, precisely the case of Pujiang. The choice of this town among the nine others is due to its recognized result, such as the social output given by certain housing choices (clearly close to the Lilong model). This chapter is going to examine how the designer tried to adapt the new housing volumes to the classic shapers of Lilong settlements in order to reproduce the cultural model inherited from Lilongs. The goal of this reproduction is properly the one of obtaining, in the future, a human environment similar to Lilong's one. In fact, the achievement of this goal would foster the culture and heritage to be bequeath in the future to the next generation

At last, even if less relevant in the thesis' general sense, this case study is interesting because Vittorio Gregotti designed it, and it could be seen as a sort of bridge between my native Italian culture and my beloved Chinese culture which I deeply esteem and respect.

6.2.The factors behind “Once city nine towns”

The choice of creating new satellite towns is supported by a few main factors that leaded in this direction. At first we have to consider that this is not the first time the city of Shanghai undertake this option to create new towns, since back in the '60s a few satellite towns had been built following the British planning ideas. The creation of those towns has been greatly influenced by the ideas of Patrick Gaddes, which still was inspiring the members of the City Government for this new wave of new towns. However, the already 6000 square kilometres Greater Shanghai was yearning for a position in the “world cities” rank, under cover of London and New York.

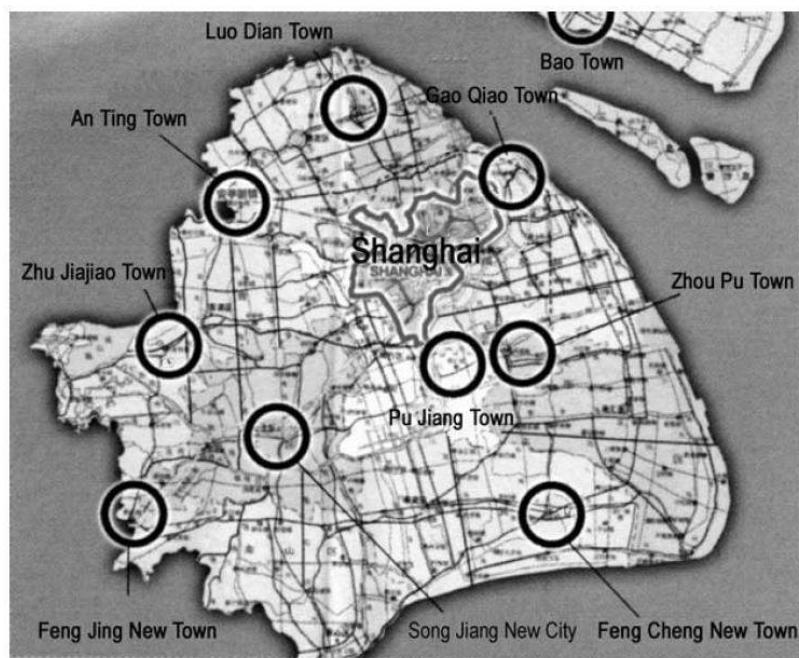
The main goal of the municipality of Shanghai was to set infrastructures for the rural countryside, or peripheries, outside the central core of Shanghai. The sense of this strategy is the development of these outer areas in order to let them achieve the characters typical of the central core of the city, dense of functions, infrastructures, opportunity, and everything else that is needed in a bustling central urban environment. This is well explained by Huang Xiang Ming, in the article *One City, Nine Towns. Search for idela suburbia in China* published in the Italian journal *Urbanistica*, number 122:

“As the new millennium came, the central government made up its mind to take strategic measures to promote urban development. To implement the new urban-rural

policy, Shanghai municipality elaborated a new project of “One City, Nine Towns” as an experiment of a strategic adjustment of the urban system grown during the last decade and of pattern of social and economic development. The municipal government determined, during the tenth 5-year Plan period, to move infrastructure construction priorities from urban regions to suburban and aimed to bridge the gap between urban and rural areas in terms of cultural activities, education, employment, consumption and social security” (Huang Xiang Ming, 2003, p. 80)

Hence, the plan is the design of nine towns each of them characterized by a foreign style and planning composition. The name and national reference of each town are the ones following: Anting, Jiading District – Germany; Luodian, Baoshan District – Scandinavian; Zhujiajiao of Qingpu District – southern China water town; Fengjing of Jinshan District – Canadian; Pujiang of Minhang District – Italy; Gaoqiao of Pudong District – Holland; Zhoupu of Nanhai – European-American; Fengcheng of Fengxian District – Spanish; and Buzhen of Chongming County – European-American.

“The intention of introducing Western styles is to break through the monotonous model of rural town construction and build a new order and identity for the rest of the developments. In its historic formation over a hundred years, Shanghai acquired its leading position in the region by being deeply involved in foreign trade and by selectively assimilating western culture. The plan of ‘one city and nine towns’ can be seen as a natural extension of its ‘glorious colonial past’” (Xue, Zhou Minghao, 2007, p. 23)



Img 65: The distribution of “one city nine towns” in Shanghai, 2000.
(Source: Xue, Zhou Minghao, 2007, p. 23)

6.3.Pujinag: Vittorio Gregotti's italian style new town

Within the context of “One city nine towns” this paper's aim is to focus on the case of Pujiang, the Italian style new town designed by the renowned architect Vittrorio Gregotti. At this point, the analysis is going to pass through the whole story of the project, from its real beginning. The investigation is going to examine the main events leading to the realization, the inter-institutional cooperation, as well as the composition's details.

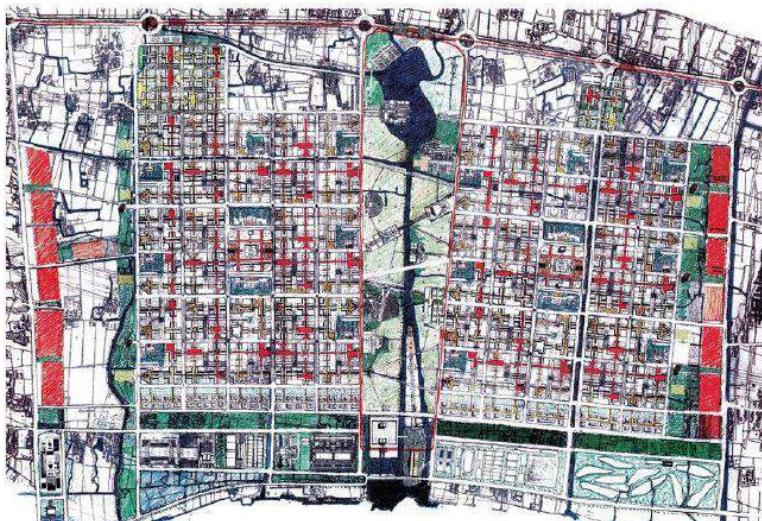
The competition for Pujiang new town started in 2001 and won by the Italian firm Gregotti Associati International in co-operation with Centro studio Traffico s.a.s. (Centro Studi Taffico s.a.s. Is a Milan based firm specialized in the traffic studies) and Ove Arup (Worldwide consultant firm for architecture, planning, engineering of the built environment), with the Chinese partner office Tianhua Architecture Planning & Engineering Limited. The client was Shanghai City Council, while the developer were Shanghai Highpower-OCT Investment Ltd., and Intertek Overseas Chinese Town Group Co. Ltd. The masterplan has been issued in 2002 and the detailed plan in 2004. The implementation period has been forecast to be between 2003 and 2020, although the first phase has been already completed in 2008. The project stands on an area of 15 square kilometers, with an expected population of 50,000 units in 2010, between 80,000 and 100,000 in 2020, though with an overall population density of 9,000 to 11,000 people per square kilometer.

6.4. Plan and process

The project of Pujiang new town, unlike the other eight new towns in Shanghai, has been developed specifically by the municipality of Shanghai. Since part of the future population of Pujiang would have been those replaced inhabitants who were living in the Expo area, Shanghai's mayor put the realization of the project as a top priority for his agenda. Thus, the planning process has been carried out directly by the municipality, instead of being dealt by the local district as in the other new towns. More specifically the municipal level was giving the guidelines of development with a vision projected in the next future in an overall strategy. In the other hand since the projects of the whole operation has been formally defined as “urban and building design”, the districts committees for each site had a certain level of freedom, responsible for the approval of the plan and in charge of controlling the design proposals in detail. Thus, the districts land policies as well as the resources, in all the cases including Pujiang, were concentrated in this transformation. Their first tasks were to provide affordable land for the developers, to evict the farmers, giving them the possibility to be reallocated in the new housing, and to encourage the local banks in order to get loans and let the overall project be feasible.

The first of the three stages of the operation took place in 2001. Pujiang district government sponsored the international design competition, presenting the future developer Highpower-OCT Investment Ltd., and inviting Gregotti Associati international, Scacchetti Associati from Milan and Swa Architects (Sasaki Walkers and Associated) from the US to participate to the call.

To all the participants was given a slot of time of two months to prepare the masterplan of the entire city, a detailed volumetric of one square kilometer, the architectural project of a sample cluster of buildings and a night view rendering. Scacchetti's design proposal was characterized by a division in different lots, each of them taking the shape of a specific Italian city, while SWA's proposal was characterized by a wide use of the water, typically used in the American suburbs, forecasting a wide use of the private transportation.



Img 66: Scacchetti's design proposal.
(Source: Marta Gallo, p. 124)



Img 67: SWA's design proposal.
(Source: Marta Gallo, p.124)

Eventually, 24 hours after the delivery of the final proposal, the proposal offered by Vittorio Gregotti has been judged as the most suitable for the future development of Pujiang. The judging jury was composed by members both from the district and the municipal levels, flanked by local and foreign consultants and experts.

"The scheme of Gregotti Associati International was selected for its merits of rational planning, connection with the city planning context, compact and unique building types and encouragement of public life" (Xue, Zhou Minghao, 2007, pp. 26-27)

The second stage for the designer has been the draft of a urban design proposal in a detailed level for a sample of 2.6 square kilometers area for the Highpower-OCT Investment Ltd., where the Chinese partner Tianhua Architecture Planning & Engineering Limited designed the future infrastructure supporting the new settlement.

Successively, in the third stage 47 hectares as been set as the sample area to settle down the buildings. Moreover in order to achieve a certain level of diversity in the architectural styles some other Italian firms have been invited to participate and design part of the cited sample (the invited italian designer were: Emilio Battisti, Stefano Cordeschi, Francesco Cellini, Marco Pascoli, Mauro Galantino and Renato Rizzi). All of the firms were coordinated by the winner Gregotti Associati International.



Img 68: The collage of the different contribution of Battisti, Cordeschi, Cellini, Pascoli, Galantino and Rizzi.
(Source: Marta Gallo, p. 124)

The cooperation between these Italian architects started from the real beginning of the whole process, and is also witnessed by one of the first draft we can find above, where different Italian cities' pattern are stick together in order to see the result, and the possibility to evolve such a process to design the masterplan. Even though the image presented above might simply look like a patchwork of different disconnected urban fabrics, if we compare it with the following image of the masterplan we can find some interpretative similarities.



Img 69: The masterplan of Pujiang

(Source: Xue, Zhou, (2007) p. 27

By the way, the process of co-operation between the design firm, the developer and the institutional representative worked smoothly, except for a few slight changes for the functions and the composition's layout, such as in the most sought villas the street that supposed to be public became a private service street for the villas.

6.5. Planning methods and strategies

The site chosen for the new city of Pujiang is located about 30 kilometers south from the center of Shanghai, in the district of Minhang among the closest to the city center. It is located in a flat area, six meters above the river level along the Huangpu River, characterized by the presence of a dense network of canals, which historically have considered a traditional support

for the foundation of new settlements, in particular for the transport of agricultural products. The favorable geographical location of the site, closely connected with the city of Shanghai through the new highway, the Puxing road, and the metro-line that runs along the east side of the area, has positively influenced the decision of the central government to reallocation policy. The inhabitants of the sites affected by the World Expo 2010, in particular the residents of the Huangpu districts and Luwan, have been allocated in the new settlement of Pujiang

Since Pujiang, compared to the other cities of the *One city Nine towns*, does not have any industrial pre-existences nor historical, the designer had maximum freedom in the planning composition. In fact, there was not any element to preserve in the area, such as historical or high value buildings, thus they were operating in what is broadly defined as a *tabula rasa*. The leading idea for the design of Pujiang is the creation of city characterized partly by the Italian neo-rationalist architecture principles of the 60's (Hartog, 2010, p. 152), and partly by the Chinese orientation and spaces' distribution and design canons of the Feng Shui. Moreover another leading strategy is the orthogonal grid, a principle common to the two Chinese and Greek-Roman urban cultures and therefore in line with historical Italian centers' plans and with the founding rituals of the ancient Chinese cities. The choice of having the a grid layout, organizing the collocation of the built volumes is also a clear recall of the Lilong layout characteristics. In fact, as we saw in the first part of this research the Lilongs settlements are arranged along a main lane and a few distributive smaller lanes. For this reason this example reproduce that worthy spatial organization system. This grid system is, moreover, arranged by two orthogonal huge central axes which are the support of development of the city. The first one in Puxing Road, parallel to the Yangtze River, and the second one is orthogonal to Puxing Road. All along this "cross-system" structure is arranged the overall 300 per 300 grid, and along this two main axes are aligned the main town's function.

The masterplan overviews 300 meters per 300 meters large blocks, creating a skeleton along which all the blocks would have been aligned. Each of them would be characterized by a specific feature and with an approximated population of 1000 people per block. For each of these blocks, also called *Xiaoqu*, due to the organization of the buildings with a common and central court, is planned to insert four typologies of buildings: the courtyard house based on *Domus Pompeiana* design's features; the waterfront house, the riverside house and the garden condominiums. Following the same Chinese design principles all the building have been oriented toward the south and has been planned to have one spare room for the gran parents.

Many underground parking has been planned under the housing buildings with a high realization cost, since the natural water level of the area is rather high. However, this smart choice allowed to avoid the presence of the car in the inner sides of the blocks since they immediately "disappear" underground. The inner block's mobility is restricted to pedestrian and bikes which can cross the block through some 12 meters wide cycle paths. Instead, the car mobility is strictly arranged following the 300 per 300 meters grid, where the designer carefully arranged the pedestrian and car mobility in order to do not generate conflicts.

The arrangement of the inner/outer space in the block, allowing only the soft mobility to get into the inner parts of the blocks take as a reference Lilongs' mobility as well. In fact, if we carefully observe the functioning of the main lanes and the secondary lanes, we will notice that in the main lane often is the support of a slow car mobility crossing the settlement. However, is resolutely rare observing the car mobility in the secondary lanes, which are designed to be a system of distributive lanes, instead of being a vehicular-crossing-system.

The infrastructural connection of Pujiang with the main city of Shanghai is provided by three metro stations (Jiangyue road, Lianhuang Road, and Shendu Highway metro stations). In fact, surround the site in the east are running the metro/rail line and the highway while in the west the Hangpu River, and in the north and south side the site is protected by some artificial hills. However in order to protect the site by the pollution of the metro/rail way and the highway, an embankment has been erected between the two infrastructure and the site. This embankment is open in correspondence to the rail stops and the main highway's huge junction signing the door of entrance of Pujiang.

Some high rising volumes for the public or collective facilities, are planned to be located in strategical location in order to stand as landmarks of the new town. The main axis running from north to south is called Pujin Road and is a 260 meters wide and 1500 meters long boulevard and for half of its length is flanked by the Hangpu River which flows in the middle of the two direction lanes and it is furnished with a three-line row of trees. Pujin Road is hosting the main public function of the city, such as a hospital, a 500,000 square meters shopping mall, hotels and offices, governmental and religious buildings, a congress center and a university, a college and at last *Palazzo Italia* planned to be a museum with Italian gardens. Moreover, the planned leisure facilities are a stadium, a golf course, a swimming pool and many green areas with bicycle paths.

6.6.Urban composition and architectural details

Open spaces and green

After a general presentation of the masterplan's structure is worthy to deepen the scale and observe how this wide scale proposal is arranged in detail. In order to do so, we can arrange the argumentation looking first through the infrastructures and the open spaces' layout, targeting then the settlements layout which is widely organized by them. Along this argumentation will be highlight the compositional aspects similar to the traditional Lilong typology.

In the whole city, the open spaces are designed at different scales and with different natures, generating a rich and varied urban landscape. The new town in its whole aspect looks like a grandiose garden full of lakes and canals, articulated through three overlapping layers. We always have to consider the main structure of the town made by the orthogonal structure. The first layer is constituted by the Italian garden that stretches for 800 m along the central axis, with the forest and the green curtain that marks the external perimeter, while the second layer is constituted by the tree-lined avenues. Moreover, parks (mainly located in the inner blocks' space) and private gardens compose the third and last layer.

To the green spaces is added a complex system of squares. Along the central axis, a sequence of voids is alternating with public buildings culminating in the large square of the shopping center located at the intersection of thistle and decumanus. A large market square is

located in the middle of the district at the south of the central axis. On the north side, along one of the main avenues of access to the city, an elevated square contrasts with the low building volumes of the Promotion Center building. Public spaces of smaller size located at the intersection of the road axes, articulate the entire urban project.

The lattice structure also determines the arrangement of both the road layouts and the settlement system. The road system, although there are many typological variations deriving from tiling with the canals and green spaces, can be divided into three integrated levels.

- The first level is the primary network of roads creating the 300 per 300 meters blocks, where each road is tree-lined and with a section of 60 meters, presenting in the center a green parterre or sometimes a canal.
- A second jersey of cycle paths divides the blocks into two, establishing a hierarchy between paths and commercial routes. This jersey has a total section of 26 meters occupied by two pavements 5 meters wide, two lanes roads of 7 meters wide and a central flowerbed 2 meters wide. It is evident that this kind of choice is able to generate soft-mobility in the inner part of the block, thus a quieter urban environment where the residences are located.
- A third lattice consists of the canals system partly navigable that allow an infrastructural and landscape connection between the town and the river. The presence of water is a clear recall the ancient Chinese water towns and is appreciable to the cityscape it generate, with a great impact on the urban biodiversity.



Img 70: Pujiang, landscape system

(Source: Cagnardi, 2003, p. 68)



Img 71: Pujiang, water and green system

(Source: Cagnardi, 2003, p. 69)

This three-lattices' system is laying on the central axis that cuts in two parts the entire city, guaranteeing penetration in the east-west direction and representing the road which supports the greatest influx of traffic. Roadways have a constant size of 7 m, while the pedestrian and bicycle paths might vary according to the distance between the buildings, increasing where the road looks like a tree-lined avenue. Both private and public car parks are planned underground.

The built volumes

Following the leading Neo-rationalist concept previously explained, the designer's first goal was to provide a *mixité* of both the social strata, building typologies, as well as functions. However in order to follow the usual Chinese practice of dividing the social strata, the designer created different kind of neighborhoods with different standards. The designer's initial idea was to allocate of different kind of building's quality next to each other which naturally would have provided a proximity of different housing values, as well as different social status' inhabitants. Afterwards this concept changed in the four-kind-of-neighbourhood's layout. Thus, the *mixité* concept has been achieved and is observable only from a higher scale point of view than to the neighborhood one. However, in order to achieve a mixture of functions also the classical concept of *zoning* has been avoided, or better say "carefully used" by the designer. In this sense, right beside the residences there could be a small amount of tertiary GFA, and in the same way, the commercial function is mixed with the entertainment facilities and so on.

The housing system is though divided into four macro areas which are: the *top-grade neighbourhood* located around the city center, the *standard neighbourhood* located in the south, and two *ecological neighbourhoods* located on the in the north and one in proximity of the river.

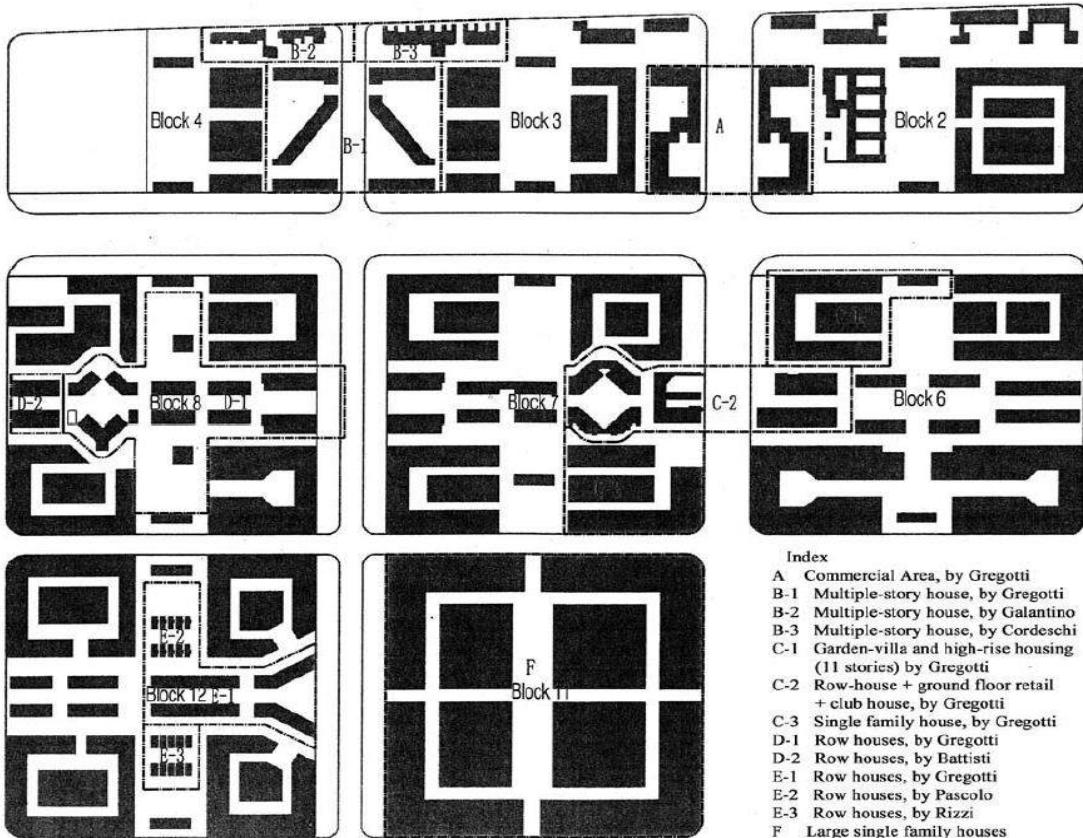
- The *top-grade neighborhood* with a total building area of 2.127.900 square meters and forecasted 25.000 inhabitants, is characterize by three stories buildings with a density of 117 inhabitants per hectare. The neighborhood is generally hosting residences, 200 square meters per apartment, aligned to the cycle road crossing the block (12 meters wide), and the external paths. The inner part of the block is characterized by a public common open space. The buildings' facades facing the external side of the block are arranged by private backyards, and the buildings' roofs are equipped terraces.
- Moreover, the *standard neighborhood* has a total building area of 1.432.700 and is forecasted to host 45.000 inhabitants. The area is constituted by a 314 inhabitants per hectare's density, settled in four stories buildings, with 120 square meters per apartment. Due to the higher density, this solution required the opening of a new street in the middle of the 300 per 300 blocks, creating though two lots with a 300 per 150 meters size. Almost all the buildings are aligned to the streets, and the public spaces is distributed in two open areas.
- The *ecological neighborhood* has a total building area of 4.300.000 square meters and it is design to host 15.000 inhabitants. This neighborhood is dislocated in two areas, one northern than the *top-grade neighborhood* and characterized by the presence of a lake, while the second is developed all along the river front and is cut in two half by the main road. This typology of neighborhood is characterized by a low density, and private villas facing the water.

The presence of these different neighborhood's typology and thus buildings' typology can guarantee a general social integration of different social strata from a town point of view. This is resolutely important, since it aim to provide a cross section of the urban modern society, where each class is fundamentally indispensable for the other ones, for the functioning of the entire community. The creation of three different typologies of neighborhoods perfectly reflect the condition of our contemporary cities' human geography, where different social class live in different districts. Of course, this do not means that they do not need each other or they do not come across each other, but instead the contrary of it.

Locating different housing standards, thus different income population, is exactly what we can observe in the central area of Shanghai with the Lilongs settlements. While inside the Lilongs we can notice that most of the inhabitants belong to the same social class, the surroundings of them host other social classes, often higher. This create a sort of "bubbles-system": as long as the inhabitant move in its settlement (its "bubble") he will come across other inhabitants from its same social strata. However, when the inhabitants get out from the settlement, the Lilong or the *standard-neighbourhood*, intentionally here called the "bubble", he will come across all the others social strata, generating *mixité*, hence social-urban richness. At last the "bubbles-system" is the same both in Pujiang and the Lilong settlements.

Architectural details

Regarding the architectural styles, in this specific aspect, the *mixité* could be reached by the designer. This mixture has been accomplished regarding the architectural styles of the block, and in the sake of a design variety, other Italian architects has been invited to contribute with their work to the general project.



Img 72: The 47 hectares area of phase three. Figure and ground of the different contributions.

(Source: Xue, Zhou Minghao, 2007, p. 32)

Among all the design solution, Cina-Italy cultural *plaza* (also called by the literature *Promotion Center*) and the garden villas are the most praised ones. The *Promotion Center* occupy an area of 1.330 meters square and is aligned along one of the access road of the city, Puxing road. The inner volume is divided in different uses which are always public, these uses are guided by a smart use of different levels of construction. Above it is located a small tower symboling Pujiang landmark. *Cina-Italy cultural plaza* contains the office of Pujiang's promoting society, a conference hall, a bar-restaurant and many out and indoor exposition spaces. Regarding the *plaza* is useful to read how has been judged by Charlie Q.L. Xue and Minghao Zhou:

"The Cultural Plaza follows the general order laid down by the planning concept. The built form aligns with the grid, expresses an exquisite spatial richness and taste of ancient Roman agora. The Plaza is composed of clubhouse, retail, office, exhibition hall, and a landmark bell tower. The external court is the core with the richest expression. It is divided into four huge quadrangles by a stark, thick red wall, elevated above people's height. The concrete wall is clad with grey slates outside and painted red color inside".
(Xue, Zhou Minghao 2007, p 30)

Moreover, the “Garden villa” is a resolutely innovative building typology, because is a mix between a villa and a house. When the sample area has been realized, eight group of this “Garden villas” had been assembled with 20 units per each group and an average GFA of 230 square meters per unit. For each 18 per 18 meter lot the built “L” shape volume is located along the central middle line, touching on two sides the border of the lot, and creating in the other side of the lot two green areas. This technique facilitated to create a “half court” in one green side of the lot, as well as a continuous building plane for the street. The generated space gives a rather deep sense of privacy and form a familiar feeling which clearly recall the classic model of the Shanghaiese Lilong housing typology which for sure can be considered as a concrete positive point for the project.

“The design of garden villa emphasizes both the urban density and family privacy. In a lot of 18 per 18 meters, the L-shape building defines the courtyard in two sides. It is denser than the conventional single-family house, which is usually surrounded by a garden on four sides, and creates a continuous building plane for the street. The privacy of each family is also well protected. It recalls the traditional Lilong lane house of Shanghai”
(Charlie Q.L. Xue and Minghao Zhou, 2007, p. 32)

This choice can be praised not only for the clear recall one the Shanghaiese historical housing model, but also for the aim to replicate that kind of community. The relation between the public and the private space is smartly arranged through the use of different levels, where the residential space is slightly higher than the public- passage spaces.

Similarities with the Lilong settlements

It is evident that many of the compositional features of Pujiang are resolutely close and similar to the Lilong settlements, and this is properly what in this work need to be evidenced. In fact, as previously explained, Pujiang example wants to show how to bring the traditional Chinese human settlements’ layout into the future. However, in this paragraph we deepened the specific urban composition aspects, speaking about details, dimensions, sizes, measurements and so on. Thus, the last part was just a specific and scientific design report. However rises the need to interpret these specific characteristics, clarifying the effects these details have in the reality, to generate a model similar to the Lilongs’ one. Hence, is now worthy to pass again through a few aspects of similarity with the sake of sedimentation of these concepts, in this paragraph.

The block layout is one of the main topic to deepen, or better saying the inner block’s cityscape (Img 73). This inner block cityscape is generated by the green layout in its arrangement in the tiny scale of the blocks, the mobility system that allow only soft mobility inside the block and the strategy of allocation of the housing volumes. In fact the residences are both allocated in order to leave a central open space, and furthermore, to protect this central space from the bad externalities of the external roads.

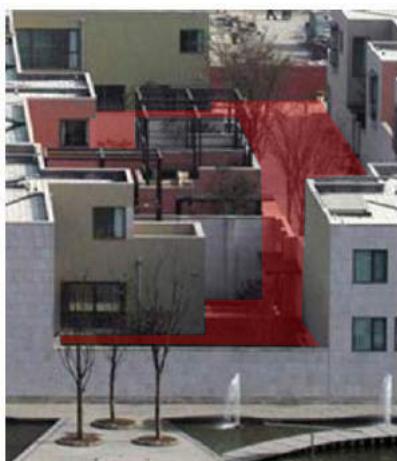


Img 73: The inner blocks' cityscape, generating a quiet and green environment.
 (Source: <http://www.greatmirror.com>)

It is evident from the image the kind of spaces generated by this kind of design. The inner space design invite the user to have a certain calm behavior, creating an atmosphere where the inhabitants get in and out their houses, the children play in front of the houses with toys and bicycles, and there is space for the elderlies to play table games under a tree.

The space characterizing one of the inner spaces of Pujiang's block recalled in my memory the visit in the Lilongs, since the kind of atmosphere I can glimpse from that design, would generate is resolutely similar to the vibe in Lilongs' public spaces. The specific case of similarity that popped up in my mind is No.30, Lane 205, South Chongqing road (重庆南路 205 弄 30 号). In the paragraph 4.3.4. of this research have been discussed the kind of vibe one can feel strolling for a while inside the settlement. Moreover, the images 40, 41, 42 and 43 describe a typology of space which is resolutely comparable to the one of Pujiang shown in image 73.

Other aspects of comparability and affinity of the Lilongs' model and Pujiang's example are the dimension of the private/public inner spaces, the “gates” system in front of the buildings and the building overall size.



Img 74: Public/private space in Pujiang
 (Source: Marta Gallo, p. 135)



Img 75: Lilongs' public/private space.
 (Source: google.it)



Img 76: Pujiang's "gates" system
(Source: Marta Gallo, p. 135)



Img 77 (same of img 42): Lilongs' "gates" system
(Source: Filippo Bissi)



Img 78: Pujiang's building size and lanes
(Source: Marta Gallo, p. 135)



Img 79: Lilongs' building size and lanes
(Source: google.it)

The last series of picture has the goal to show the similarities between the two models. The red area symbolize the specific similarity between the two examples. If we look at the public/private or semi-private space, in both of the case this is generated by the buildings collocation and articulation. Is properly that dimension giving it its own character that foster specific practices. The second aspect is the "gates" system, ancient and precious layout of Lilongs settlements, which is continued in Pujiang. The last aspect is the overall buildings' heights, between 2-3 floors (in this case, even though in some other parts of Pujiang buildings are higher), with a resolutely similar alignment along a central lane.

6.7.The design outcomes

Modification of the initial layout

The sample area has been realized exactly how expected by the designer, with minimum intervention by the public functionaries to change the project. However this is not what happened for the rest of the city, where occurred many modifications, of the built volumes and

the unbuilt spaces. The entire plan has been reduced to 15 kilometer squares and one of the two ecological neighborhood, including the public waterfront along the Hangpu River has been discarded. Located in the same area were supposed to be realized a 18 holes golf course and a horse riding center.

However, a few modification occurred in the site, changing the original style of the “sample area”. In fact, a few parts of the sites has been realized following the market-leading-style of the center of Shanghai, the Art Decò. Nevertheless, all the realized building are following the 300 per 300 grid layout. Moreover, along the main central axe not all the services and the public facilities has been realized. Another modification regards the inner and outer pedestrian paths and the private-public sense of connection, which has been nullified by walls and security gates, creating many compounds.

It is important to consider in these modifications some cooperation factors. The Italian designer's fee was almost ten times the Chinese architects' one, meaning that the developer often relied on the Chinese designer in order to do not burden the Italian designer's already expensive fee, which meant a change in the design layout. Another key factor is the use of the materials, since the ones proposed by Gregotti were expensive compared to the general-used building materials in China. During the lack of control by Gregotti and the missed communications, and given the current market standards, the materials' quality has been applied regardless the original design's layout. This matter generated blocks humbler than others.

In the southern part of the site the rush to reallocate the Expo inhabitants and the missed communication by the designers and the developer, for this part Intertek Overseas Chinese Town Group Co. Ltd, deeply changed the forecasted layout with controversial outcomes.

Different point of views for the final-outcome (Pujiang Literature Review)

In the literature analyzed regarding Pujiang in specific, the point of views of the authors are often different, thus there are some of them more positive while some others highlighting some problems. However the positive or negative aspects analyzed by an author might not match to the ones consider by another. Hence is worthy here to pass through the conclusions drawn up by each of them, the paper of Harry Den Hartog, the Phd thesis by Marta Gallo, at last the two-handed paper of Xue Charlie Q.L. and Zhou Minghao.

Starting with the paper written by Harry Den Hartog in 2010, entitled “Shanghai New Towns. Searching for community and identity in sprawling metropolis”, the emphasis is posed on two main aspects: the social point of view and the speculation.

Under the social point of view, the result of Pujiang New Town construction can be seen by the following quotation.

“Compared to other new towns in which western architects were involved, Pujinag New Town is a success, according to both Chinese and western planners and residents. (...) A more essential problem is the accessibility and separation of “classes”. In contemporary urban planning in China, it is usual to distinguish various income levels in different neighborhoods instead of mixing them. Gregotti Architecture International proposed to mix functions, housing types and prices, since this is essential in European town planning.

But, in the end the plan was structured in areas that are socially distinct, as happens everywhere in contemporary China. A new fragmented landscape is emerging, far removed from socialist ideals.” (Den Hartog H. 2010, p. 156)

A consideration need to be done in regarding the Chinese and the specific Shanghaiese real estate market. The astonishing growth is often creating some dynamics which are resolutely unknown in the western world, or that are generally considered impossible. The case of Pujiang is one of many that can describe a few of these phenomena. The proximity of Pujiang to Shanghai and its own features giving it quality, led the prices to a skyrocket level in a rather quick time. In fact, the prices tripled in the past few years.

Another matter is the common practice of purchasing housing made in order to speculate. According to the developer of Pujiang one fifth of hosing has been acquired following speculation reasons. However, the residents are mostly middle-aged ones and almost the 20 percent of them are originally from Hong Kong, Macao and Taiwan.

This last concept of the speculation technique is one of the three main aspect I want to recall here regarding the Phd thesis of Marta Gallo in the University of Sapienza in Rome, entitled “*Shanghai one city none towns. La città di fondazione nelle trasformazioni metropolitane della Cina contemporanea*”. In fact, she clearly underlines the same aspect of the speculation. However, in both of the cases the speculation fact is just exposed, without a definition of which might be the problems emerging by this practice in the real estate market, strictly related to the current Chinese context, characterized by the mass housing mobility.

The second aspect which can be connected as well to Harry Den Hartog’s paper is the division in class, since in the first analyzed reference is praised for its suitability in the Chinese context, while in this second reference is charged to modify the initial designer’s principles which deeply wanted to integrate the different classes in an homogeneous society. According to the point of view of Marta Gallo the division-in-classes-aspect, is caused by the third and last perspective she analysed regarding the cooperation between the Italian designer Gregotti Architects International, the Chinese partner Tianhua Architecture Planning & Engineering Limited and the developer Highpower-OCT Investment Ltd. Her main attention has been posed on how this cross-continents, cross-institutions cooperation program has not been clear in some parts of it, and how this in turn changed the layout of the project of some segments of it (generating in turn the division in classes). However also in the case of Marta Gallo, there is not a proper analysis of the new built layout (especially the one in the south portion of the site) with a deep analysis of the distribution of the buildings, the dimensions of volumes and densities etc.

The last reference I want to revoke here is entitles “*Importation and adaptation: building “one city and nine towns” in Shanghai: a case study of Vittorio Gregotti’s plan of Pujiang Town*”, issued by Xue Charlie Q.L. and Zhou Minghao in 2007. The connection between this reference and the previous one is pretty interesting, especially regarding what this paper say about the multi-institutional-cooperation, outlining probably the best and most suitable

condition of co-working experience, without any misunderstanding nor hitches between institutions, and it can be synthetize in the following quotation rather distant by the previous reference.

"This made the cooperation smooth, pleasant, and eventually led to the complete implementation of the design concepts" (Xue, Zhou Minghao 2007, p 37)

By the same author is the conclusion that it might be too early now to understand and draw the conclusions on the whole urban transformation under the myriad of involved aspects.

6.8.Brief summary

In order to understand better Pujiang's conclusions, this summary is divided in three parts that could be seen as the preeminent aspect emerging from the case's analysis. Thus we are going to insight three aspects: the inter-institutional cooperation, the social mix and the speculation

Inter-institutional cooperation

As we saw in the previous paragraph many could be the aspects of debate regarding the experience of Pujiang, for instance here have been reported the cooperation between the institutions, the partial modifications of the initial layout, the social division in the current layout and the speculation.

Starting from the cooperation point of view, we have to consider the distances, under a design and a cultural point of view. In fact if the design process on the paper is taking place in a location rather far from the project site, it is difficult that there wont be any difference than design and build in the same spot. We cannot deny our society is currently living in an era where architecture and urban planning are globalize too, like any other product available in the market. However, the physical presence of the people, their interaction, their joint work sitting on a table, is not completely replaceable by the new technologies, the ones allowing us to send documents real time or to make conference calls.

The same thing could be said about the cultural differences. It is true, again, that we are globally moving toward a model where the cultural basis of a single person are just roots, that this person could easily adapt to a new culture's way of doing. But, still, these roots are leading the person on the long-run to live in a certain manner. Hence, in my point of view is natural that these manners are not matching from one world to another, while is in turn a resolutely deep source of cultural interest.

The social mix

As could be deduced by the analyzed literature the final layout produced a sort of division among different classes that could be seen with different opinion by different people. For sure the social mix has been accomplished in the sense that the different standards neighborhoods are flaked to each other. Is resolutely difficult or even impossible try to locate two extremely different income inhabitants in the same building at the same floor. We can consider in Pujiang the social mix accomplished mentioning what has been argued before as the “bubbles-system”. Each inhabitants within the “border” of its own neighborhood (the Lilong, the standard neighborhood, or any other foreign example) is coming across other inhabitants with his same social condition. As this is inhabitants step out his neighborhood (the “bubble”, the Lilong or the standard neighborhood) he comes across different kind of population. However the layout of having the spaces of similarity and the places of diversity is stimulating social richness.

In the majority of the cities around the world, the social classes are organized in different neighborhoods. Generally, this natural reflection of the human geography does not create any problem if we look at the developed societies, there is not any issue as long as all the social strata are represented and none of them is neglected or prevailing above the others. Thus we can observe that also in this case the social integration between different social population has been accomplished regularly and efficiently.

The speculation

One more thing emerged is the speculative manner of purchasing housing in the area of Pujiang. This is a rather interesting but in the same time complicated aspect that might need specific knowledge and tools in order to be fairly argued. Regarding this work, the only possible argumentation could be done is through the lens of the Chinese skyrocketing growth of the last decades, specifically regarding the Chinese and in particular the Shanghaiese real estate market. I invite thus here the reader to consider the following argumentation as a contributive factor and one of the reason at the basis of the previously analyzed matters (the cooperation and the division in classes).

The astonishing growth is often creating some dynamics which are resolutely unknown in the western world, or that are generally considered impossible. The experience of this sort of evolution simply never happened and there is no idea of how could be managed. Since this phenomena is completely unknown, also the side-effects are kind of new and unexplored. As we were discussing the case of Pujiang, have been cited the urgency that Pujiang’s project needed to be finished. Well, this effect, within the speculation effect just mentioned, could be seen as the result of this incredible growth occurring in China. However concerning the speculation the writer does not have the competences to give his opinion about it, however is aware about the fact that this matter could be controlled by the policies’ tools, but this is strictly linked to the politic choices.

7. Conclusions

7.1.A precious patrimony under threat

Shanghai is nowadays owner of a precious patrimony of housing able to recall its recent past. Today in Shanghai, we can assist to ancient building models flanked by modern typologies, making it deeply interesting under an urban interpretation point of view. In this work, I decide to understand the ancient patrimony in order to understand the roots of Shanghainese society.

In order to do so, along the first part of this work, in the second chapter, the focus is the history of a city, which, as many other city around the globe, found its fortune and fecundity in the waters flowing along the Yangtze River, and its close location to the sea. Thanks to this fertility, Shanghai became a local center of exchange and trades, increasing its size and importance. Until here, Shanghai's history seemed to look like any other city that settle down in water's proximity and found its fortune in its harbor: Istanbul, Genoa, Naples, Athens, Singapore and Mumbai are other examples. The list could continue further but Shanghai's history got involved in some specific events, letting it assume the shape it has today. In fact, the peculiarity that changed the course of the history is the arrival of some stranger populations, avidly attracted by the business opportunity offered by Shanghai's potential. Naturally, these newcomers brought their culture in Shanghai, imposing it but also mixing it with the local one.

The most emblematic example of this showed up when, due to the constant growth of the trades, Shanghai's population started increasing dramatically. In fact, as we saw, the urban drift phenomenon got resolutely severe, until the time Shanghai felt the need to cope a real housing emergency. The leading society of that period found the forces and the skills, which, afterwards, would have realized Lilong settlements. Skills belonging to the local populations and the newcomers, which merged, designed a unique housing form. This unrepeatable moment of the architectural and planning history gave birth to a unique built model, Lilongs. In that moment, Shanghai started to develop its architectural patrimony, which is the focus of this work.

Being architecture and planning two of the most significant witnesses of the human expression, this part of the thesis reflects the manner we interpret those settlements, thus with their deeper meaning, linked to a unique history. Is properly this aspect, this gateway, which is consider to be needed to get into Lilongs specific typologies and differences exposed in chapter number three. Hence, this part of the work mainly focus on the rising of Lilong model, which is now considered as Shanghai's most common housing structure. However, along the last two century we had the choice to understand how this typology evolved according to each historic conditions; the materials, the dimensions, the layout changed in the lapse of history.

The model slowly changed, becoming the typical housing structure of Shanghai's population, and it evolved, in different shades, more and more westernized and modern. Lilong, born as an "agreement" between two cultures, as a matching point between different societies, slowly became the most classic Shanghainese housing layout. These settlements, within their lane, their courts and their shared facilities, shaped generations of Shanghainese, with their culture, costumes and uses. Indeed, at this point we understand that this patrimony, is not only the housing one, tangible and visible, but is also immaterial, is abstract. This patrimony is the precisely culture, uses and costumes of the people.

Is properly this bivalence between immaterial and material patrimony the one insight in chapter number four. Hence, in the light of the knowledge previously acquired, this part's goal is to define the current conditions of Lilongs, regarding their physical and material status. What

the first part was glimpsing, has been confirmed by these surveys: Lilong are a unique architectural and planning output of the history, which shaped unique residential and living modalities. Both of these factors, need to be recognized for their richness and importance, they must be seen as patrimonies. The physical patrimony is made by Lilongs settlements' feature, while the inhabitants constitute a human-patrimony, depositaries of the local culture.

However, these settlements are currently facing hard times, they are threatened to be involved in processes changing them or destroying them. These processes are important and complicated to deal with, nevertheless they often contribute negatively to Lilongs' preservation. For this reason, we can affirm this housing patrimony is currently under threats, threats mainly coming from the market, thus from the society. It is resolutely complicated to give anyone the fault of this condition, it would be wrong. What need to be consider is the market, its rules, dynamics and behavior, which often does not accomplish the best condition for the society.

Furthermore I retain the society must not surrender in front of the market rules, especially being the market generated by the society itself. However being something unpredictable and unruly, the society has to adjust itself according to it. What is sure is that we cannot deliver the history patrimony to the market, we have to find the way to avoid to sell the past's legacy to it, cancelling it forever. There is a need to preserve culture, heritage and tradition in the future times.

7.2.Approaches for the future

In order to preserve this culture in the history we can undertake two path: the one of the preservation and the one of the reproduction. These two aspects are respectively the base of argumentation developed in the chapter number five and number six of this work. Preservation is nowadays extremely important. Shanghai's current amount of historical Lilongs is dramatically reducing, and this process should immediately stop. However, preservation's modalities are currently, most of the time, not enough mature to be consider as positive, as the tool to bring the past into the future. This primary path of preservation needs to become mature and to develop further studies in this direction. The hope is to cultivate a wise knowledge about preservation, able to establish good practices that can truly valorize the human and physical patrimony of the city of Shanghai. The advancement of what has been called in this work the "organic approach" (as exposed by Arkaraprasertkul in 2015) is a prerogative to let the new generations be aware about the important bequests of the past, the original costumes and uses of Shanghainese society.

The secondary al parallel path is the one of the reproduction, thus, reproduce new layouts learning from the past, in order to accomplish the goal of transmit the culture into the future. These two path need to be undertaken together. However, this secondary path might be charged of superficiality. This research in the chapter number six showed how, the practice of reproduction (discussed in the case of Pujiang) is resolutely meaningful because is an attempt to achieve the same sense of community lingering in the Lilong settlements. In order to understand the meaning of this matter I would like to quote a meaningful citation from Fei Chen.

“The culture can be achieved from the success of making places that evoke localities’ sense of belonging and community.” (Chen F., 2011, p.411)

As well expressed by Fei Chen we can consider the design of new places as the basis of development and continuity of the culture, the heritage and the history. The author move forward its view, affirming that “making places” able to “evoke localities” can in turn generate a “sense of belonging and community”, and from my point of view, is properly the community to be depository of culture heritage and tradition.

In order to conclude this argumentation, we have to pass through a few last consideration to better sum up the whole discussion, and to give it a clear cover. Firstly, clarifying the reproductive approach, avoiding problems of superficiality.

As a starting point, I would like to highlight the phenomena that involved many urban realities along the world’s history. This phenomenon is the reproduction of the past’s models, that crane into the future. In fact, if we think about it, most of the urban shapes, the architectural models, and the constructive methods, in many side of the globe, are the evolution of previous patterns.

Of course sometimes occurred the application of new models, completely disconnected from the past from a compositional and architectural point of view, but now let’s try to put this matter aside and think only about the reproductive process of an traditional layout.

If we consider, for instance, today’s English countryside settlements, they are mainly characterized by row-villas. Originally proposed by Ebenezzer Howard and the garden city movement in the end of the 19th century, this model aimed to tackle industrial London’s noxious conditions. However, nowadays, the existing row-villas in the English countryside are not only the one built in the end of 19th century, but also new generation ones. We also cannot deny that London solved its insalubrious conditions of the central zones. Therefore, the new generation ones are built considering the architectural tradition, thus we can observe continuity with the past.

To come to another example regarding the Chinese context, Lilongs are the evolution of the *Siheyuan* structure from the southeast of China (together with the English row-house model), which under certain historic conditions, in a bustling urban environment, generated a new archetype. Lilongs’s new layout is the application of an old structure in another time in another place.

Many other examples along the history could show how what is *new* is just an elaboration of what is *old* with a more modern approach. Thus, in practice, the new generation English row-villas are not exactly the same of the ones built in the end of the 19th century, but the layout is resolutely connected and close to them. Hence, we can notice how these elaborations are the result of the past, they are strictly connected with the ancient models, and they could not exist without the heritage of the ancient layout. In this “innovative” elaboration of the past, which become the present, we can still see the origins, and this elaboration can be a fertile basis to do not break the cultural wire, which connects the past and the future. Augusto Cagnardi, partner of Gregotti Associati, explained clearly how to apply a continuity character into design to keep across past present and future:

“first of all that this character is based on an historic awareness as seen from a present-day angle, and second that this awareness is the reference for projects of the future which move away from it” (Cagnardi, 2003, p. 69)

These elaborations can be considered as a fair and realistic compromise to bring the past into the present and the future, in the light of our current market’s logics and interests. Thus, according to this concern, Pujiang housing layout is the attempt of reproduction of a traditional model into the present. Pujiang’s layout, as observed for the modern English villas compared to the ancient ones, is not the exact compositional and architectural copy of Lilong’s typology. It would be superficial and inappropriate the exact reproduction of this typology, with its dimension and GFA, in the modern times. It would simply ignore the wider market’s dynamics.

We cannot assume a narrow vision that considers only the old housing as the place to bring the ancient culture in the present and future time, because we have to face the reality of the current society and market. Of course, in the other hand, we do not have to totally deny the models of the past that need to be protected. However, to have a fairer approach we have to adapt to the market and modernity’s rules and encompass these factors in the current urban phenomena. We have to study the market behavior and learn the consequences of the past in order to be prepared for the future.

For this reason, at this point of the study, and considering all of what has been deepen in this work, I can doubtlessly answer my thesis’ question, and optimistically, give my contribution to the discipline. Thus, I can affirm that Pujiang model is a fair and wise blend of the matters involved in the issue, and its edification is going to bring the ancient tradition, the compositional aspects, the human behavioral and aggregative dynamics, into the future.

Therefore, the case of Pujiang can contribute to the urban planning discipline nowadays, showing how all the actors involved in the planning process must merge and match these all concepts in order to find the best way to bring the past into the future, thus culture heritage and tradition. This path takes two directions. First of all the discipline always needs to consider the importance of preservation and the protection of the ancient settlements with an “organic approach, however with a wise and reasonable observation of the various matter and factors which urban reality encompasses. The second is properly the development of a skillful approach able to merge all the interests playing in the planning process, with the goal of bringing the heritage of the past, the culture and tradition, into the future times. Pujiang new town can clearly witness this last approach, and this story can be taken as an emblematic example.

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Appendices

Appendix A:

QUESTIONNAIRE FOR THE POPULATION

Dear Miss/Mrs:

1. Which kind of user are you?

- Worker Inhabitant Worker and inhabitant

2. How old are you?

- 20-30 30-40 40-50 50-60
 60-70 70-80 80-90

3. How many years have you been living here?

- 5-10 10-15 15-20 20-25
 25-30 30-40 40-50 <50

4. How did you chose to live here?

- Work Relocation Central area I was born here

5. Do you generally like to live here?

- Yes No

6. If no why?

- Lack of security Lack of private space Lack of hygiene Too old
 Too small Others...

7. Do you rent or own the apartment you live in?

- Owned place Rented places It belongs to the government property

8. Where do you buy most of the time the food you eat?

- Around the block Less than 100 metres from here More than 100 metres from here

9. Is it expensive to live here?

Yes No

10. Would you live somewhere else if you could?

Yes No

11. Which are the positive aspects to live here?

There is my family I'm in a central area There is the people i know

12. Recently did you notice new dwellers moving here?

Yes No

13. How is the relationship with the new dwellers?

Friendship Intimate friends Strangers

14. How is the relationship with old generation of dwellers?

Friendship We like each other Continuous interaction

15. How do they take care of the settlement?

They restore some parts of Longtang They do not contribute They participate and contribute to the social activities

16. If you could, would you lease your flat and move somewhere else?

Yes No

17. Do you feel deep affection to this settlement?

Yes No