

**The Socio-spatial transition of Beijing
in between communal space and associative space**

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Declaration of Honour

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Weimar, 22.05.2014

Signature

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Summary

Problems address and aims of the dissertation

The main problem of this research is on city transition. The research aim of this problem could be addressed: how to analyze or even predict city's development and transition by a socio-spatial structural model?

The fundamental hypothesis:

If city space is an artificial matter, this artificial matter must be conditioned by sociality and spatiality under its specific context. The fundamental character of the specific artificial matter, which be distinguished with others, consist together of the double conditions.

Base on this, the further hypothesis:

the sociality and spatiality of artificial matter can be structuring as communal space and associative space. The relation between them are not opposite dualism but symbiotic. In Chinese context, this symbiotic existed from historical Beijing to present. With the present socio-spatial transition of Beijing, communal space and associative space have realized transformation originated from themselves. It is not a process of that the new replaces the old, but the old shaped the new.

Combined with the initial question, the research question is focused on two issues: first, to establish a general theory of structuration concept of socio-spatiality; second, faced with a specific socio-spatial transition of Chinese cities from tradition to modern, how are the communal and associative space of Beijing changed and what are the conditions in its socio-spatial transition?

Relevant current research in the scientific field

In the field of Chinese city transition, there are many researches, but take the view of socio-spatial to study Chinese city transition, this dissertation is the first try. in general, current study about Chinese city transition are following:

■ Policy and code development study

The academic background are plutonomy and sociology.

The study service potentially for governance and policy making

■ City history study

The academic background are urban plan, urban sociology and history.

The study service potentially for urban planning and chorography.

■ Folk custom and culture study

The academic background are humanities.

The study service potentially for cultural industrial development.

■ Single person study

The academic background are literature and critical theory.

The study service potentially for biography social critique.

■ Urban geography study

Urban geography in China didn't concentrate to city transition study currently. the latest development of Space Science and Technology of digital geography is to establish the real time and interactive city geographical informatic model base on Chinese Big Data Servis (BDS). The model is potentially used for the city transition prediction in future.

The study service potentially for smart city and Urban Geographic information System.

Methods used

This dissertation's approach is understood as:

- From general to specific (macroscopic view),
- Theoretical study + empirical observations (microscopic view).

From macroscopic view, this dissertation analyze urban phenomenon under its specific time-space framework. It is neither historical review nor mapping existing status. The research combines vertical compare and structure analyze. it compare the forms of city transition under vertical timeline of the history. it analyze dynamics of city transition by structure framework, that is capable to analyze city socio-spatiality and its transition in general.

Under the structure analyze framework, the vertical timeline of Beijing city development has 4 phases:

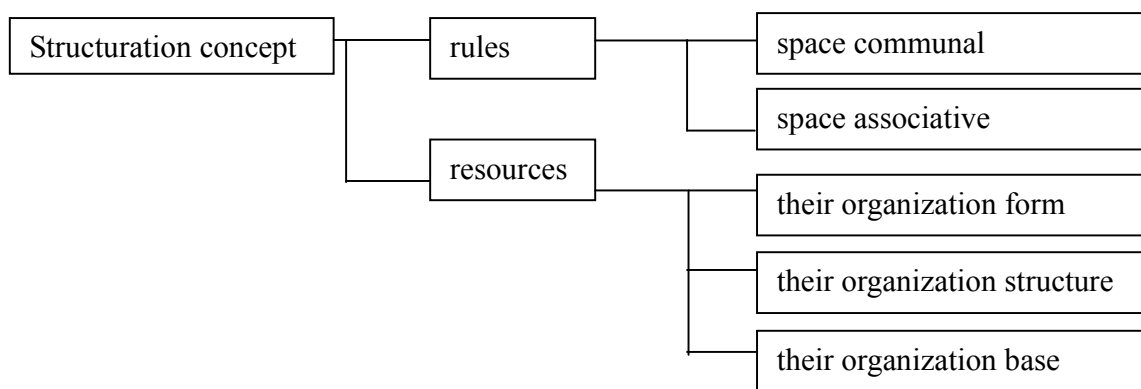
- [1] Dynasty decline (before 1912).
- [2] The Republic of China (1912-1949).
- [3] Communist revolution (1949-1979).
- [4] Open and reform (1979-today).

From microscopic view, This dissertation combined theoretical study and empirical observations. In the

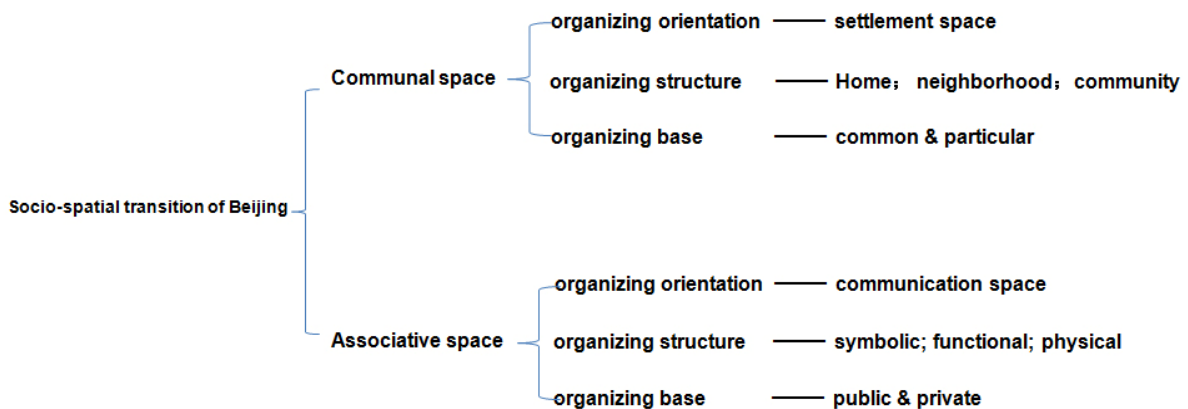
study for Beijing city transition, not only build a comprehensive theoretical framework, but also have field-work that face to target place.

Comprehensive theoretical framework is based on a structuration analyzing. The socio-spatial transition is conditioned by 'rules' and 'resources'. The 'rules' consist of "communal space" and "associative space". The 'resources' are categorized into: " their organization form ", " their organization structure " and " their organization base".

The structuration framework of socio-spatiality in general:



The structuration framework of socio-spatiality in Chinese context:



The field-work on target place:

- Beijing Fangzhuang community, as a case study for development of Beijing communal space in present.
- Beijing Houhai urban block, as a case study for development of Beijing associative space in present.

Main results and outcomes reached

Through the research done in the dissertation, it has found that communal space and associative space are cognizable as non-typological urban space, but the intrinsic mechanism for socio-spatiality. So, for the initial hypothesis of the dissertation, it proved that communal space and associative space are neither opposite dualistic nor symbiotic, but two dynamics of the socio-spatial transitional development, which have commonly existed in urban space. For the other hypothesis, in Beijing's socio-spatial transition, while communal space was transformed from jiefang to unit and to neighborhood compound, associative space was transformed from shi-jing to street-piece to urban block. These transformations consisted of the city socio-spatial transition, as they shifted through their nature. The different communal and associative space in the history were fabrications under this intrinsic mechanism. Therefore, they were heir relations between each other rather than replacement relations.

From the view of empirical observations, the present status of socio-spatial development in Beijing are:

■ Current communal space of Beijing—neighborhood compound.

After the unit system declined, the common attributes that cohered the communal members in unit has become weaken and fragile, leaving the unit community gradually fallen into pieces. In emerging neighborhood compound, community is formed on the basis of property rights and property management. Therefore, it is the basis for community space development to ensure common-particular relations in community space rather than transition to privatization. Otherwise, the associationalized community space will eventually atomize members of community.

■ Current associative space of Beijing— urban block.

Following the end of rationing society, many social functions of old sub-district office have been transferred to market and society, such as tax revenue, service, management, distribution and transaction etc. The sub-district office recovers its sole administrative function. In emerging neighborhood compound, how to keep the balance and justice of public-private relations and reduce the interference of public power over private realm, has become the basis for a sound development of associative space. If there is no rational and democratic mechanism, the social association will eventually yield to corporatism.

Areas of potential further research

This dissertation is a theoretical research about urban transition. In structural analysis, the socio-spatial transition is referred to the status of the development of communal space and associative space. Thus, this is an open-ended work, whose contents could be extensive over the time.

For the areas of potential further research would follow with:

- Continue to study the latest development of Beijing socio-spatial transition
- Compare with other cities which constructed under the influence of Chinese capital mode. for example: Kyoto, Seoul, Hanoi, Taipei and present Africa cities made by Chinese.
- Develop a more precise city socio-spatial model by the layers of empirical, and working in physical levels, for example: collaborate with city plan and urban development.
- Base on field-work, study "in between" of communal space and associative space in the city.

Abstract

In this research, based on socio-spatiality as the starting point, it has conducted extensive city space analysis to advance a new urban social space theory. Resting upon the basis of traditional continent philosophy, this social space theory has adopted the structuration methods, at the same time trying to build certain combination between theoretical frame work establishment and empirical observations. Therefore, the socio-spatial transition study is neither a macro theory of traditional structuralism nor a typology of urban planning theory, or a positivism social geography, but an operative theory on practical purpose. Firstly, what's distinct from the traditional structuralism is that this study examines the endless transiting structural relations, not macroscopic narrations of absolute definition and structure. In fact, any city and space are always co-existed in their structurational transiting relationship, thus research in transition has become the main body of this study. And case study is a must for research in transition, as part of efforts to apply the structuration concept into practice reason. Secondly, this study first establishes the fundamental structuration concept of socio-spatial transition, which, as an operative tool, is applied to conduct transition analysis on specific case about the City of Beijing. Therefore, as a social space theory, referring to as science, remains criticism of traditional continent philosophy. However, this criticism did not working on the level of ideology or conceptions, but on transiting under structural relations, keeping it from incompetent ideology criticism of continental critical theory. Unfortunately contemporary urban and space development have now gone extremely unbalanced under a background of globalization; yet traditional macro theories are incapable of either producing significant impact on practice or helping people identify practical problems. While facing general issues, particularly the Chinese urban issue category established on a meta-structured city mode, the micro-case study has plunged into dilemma for unknowing either to ask questions or to answer questions. Therefore, this study is set to identify dilemma and find direction for future relevant research. In this dissertation, Beijing is used as a model, and structuration methods as tools. It has extensively analyzed the social-spatial transition of the city space of Beijing, acquiring brand-new knowledge of its urban space development. It is helpful to an in-depth understanding of the city space development not only in Beijing, but also in many other cities that were influenced by the capital model of Beijing. Since the start of reform and opening-up, China has created a unique development mode of the new-styled metropolitan and urbanization in history. This research is expected to analyze or decode what China's urban development in between communal space and associative space.

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Introduction: Preliminary Defining the Concept of Socio-spatiality

1 Study background: the Initial Question

The year of 2009 marks the 30th anniversary of China's crucial policy of reform and opening-up, celebrating the great changes and accomplishments China has so far achieved throughout these 30 years. More than a change given in numbers, GDP statistics and other economic indexes, it is a profound change in term of urbanization. China has now become one of the world's most important industrial countries from an under-development agricultural country. City space has then been greatly enlarged both in number and scale, making the cities bigger, multiplier and denser. As the economy is booming, more and more farmers whose genealogy used to bondage with the land for thousand of years have moved to cities and settled down there. Even with a restrict household registration system yet to reform, a large amount of migrating workers are engaged in odd jobs, as most of these jobs are simply created to delivery services to households by moving around spaces in between buildings. For some reason, these buildings are produced in batch in accordance with uniformed state construction standards. As a result, every corner of cities is occupied by a certain-molded compound that devours city space; these buildings have non-distinctive basic features but a sole purpose on measuring volume rate. If the 1910 Berlin was dubbed as the largest city of *Mietskasern Stadt* in the world, the 2010 China could be dubbed as the largest country of *Mietskasernen Staat* in the world. Fortunately the latest innovative architectural techniques have made Chinese architectural products become chromatic on appearance. Actually, despite of being covered with luxury surface constructing, most of these buildings are merely vulgar products of the economic apartment building system of "bedroom, living room, bathroom and kitchen" borrowed from the CIAM's plan in 1930's.¹ So, it naturally raises a string of questions: what kind of lifestyle does the space create? how do we live in the space? Moreover, why do we live in the space? So far there already have numerous researches in architectural techniques, design and function of the house type, building form, etc... But most of them are about the feasibility of the building rather than its usability, leaving an unfilled gap between space usage and space form.²

My research presented in this book came with a background of the urbanization development in Europe and North American, my long-term observance of China, a broad of field survey and data compiling I

¹ Kenneth Frampton, 2007, *Modern architecture, A critical history*. London: Thames & Hudson.

² Note: Usage of the space is more than the function in a narrow sense; rather, it means the space's role in an open social space and its relation with the society.

conducted in the process. Through a deep analysis and a thorough thought, the process of China's urbanization development is unfolded and addressed, the value and question of urbanization are discovered and the future of urbanization is predicated. With China's reform and opening-up underway, urbanization has been gradually expanded across the country, along with a series of nation-wide reform in politics, economy, society and culture etc... Chinese cities have now created a unique urbanity, which is dubbed as another new urban type since the birth of industrial city in 19th century's Britain and metropolitan in 20th century's America as well.³ From a simple physical perspective, residential area in Chinese cities, especially in a typical high rising residential community, is basically a hybrid of enclosure gardening compound of Wright's *Radburn Plan* (Broadacre city project, 1934-58)⁴ and open apartment of Le Corbusier's *Radiant city*.⁵ It could be simply viewed as an economic building in luxurious gardens, a hybrid that mingles city with rural features. Like an edged axe, this new type or the China model, along with China's modernization development, has swept the old appearances of Chinese cities all over the country, creating a new urban style for the Chinese cities. Today Chinese cities' urban development has gone beyond their own features in space and geography, appearing with significantly homogenous urban spatial forms. And where this homogenization came from? What is its present status? And what its future would like to be? How it would influent the changing world in a globalized era? The answers to the questions cannot be found in literature, as the urban revolution in China is unprecedented. Therefore, inter-disciplinary and inter-field studies as well as systematic urban research are done to help understand and analyze the urban development in China. The most effective methods and expertise can be obtained only through cross-research in urbanology, architecture, sociology and geology. So, for research in methodology, I insist on an inter-disciplinary and theoretical way to analyze current situation of urbanization from the latitudes with multiple differences, in a bid to build a theoretical model. It needs to point out that the model is not used as an ideal utopian model of traditional urban architecture to guide practice, but a theoretical tool to help analyzing and thinking. It is a tool to explore the target or help practice, not the target itself.

China's social life has now gone through a dramatic change. So what are the changes of its urban space, of which are the social life relied on? And what are the features and laws of the changes? Compared to research in hot architecture construction, study of this discipline is quiet. The reasons I think might be as

³ Lewis Mumford, 1961, *The city in history, its origins, its transformations, and its prospects*, San Diego: Harcourt.

⁴ "In 1928, Wright coined the term 'Usonia' to denote an egalitarian culture that would spontaneously emerge in the united States".... "It is one of the ironies of our century that Broadacre City corresponded more closely than any other form of radical urbanism to the central precepts of communist manifesto of 1848, advocating 'the gradual abolition of the distinction between town and country by a more equable distribution of the population over the land.'" Kenneth Frampton, 2007, *Modern architecture, A critical history*. London: Thames & Hudson. P.187.

⁵ Kenneth Frampton, 2007, *Modern architecture, A critical history*. London: Thames & Hudson.

below:

1. Before China's reform and opening-up, the country's urban social structure was relatively monotonous, as the planned economy made it extremely homogeneous.⁶ As a result, research in urban space couldn't draw any attentions.
2. China remained a large agricultural country until its reform and opening-up. However, the primary task of the reform and opening-up in its initial stage was focused on countryside. It was only in recent decades it turned on urban issue due to dramatic development of urbanization.
3. Since China's reform and opening-up, the rapid development of urbanization has led mass farm population to move into cities (migrate-workers), forcing cities to put their priority on creating enough space for household settle-down. Thus, decision-making on economy often takes precedence over the consideration of social and cultural things.
4. After a decade chaos of Cultural Revolution, China's academic field was isolated lacking of exchange and communication with the outside world, and had few idea about western urban sociology and geography that prevailed in 1960s and 1970s.

For these reasons, unlike the construction space which is strictly attached to its utility function, the urban space exists in the dynamic process of socialized production. How to set up a reliable analysis method, and whether it is helpful to China's urban space study (particularly on Beijing), has become an initial motivation of my research. It needs to explain why Beijing was selected from several important Chinese mega-cities as a sample analysis. Among them, Shanghai is China's earliest international or westernized and commercial city, and a great many research works has conducted on it thanks to its modern commercial characteristic and special history. Another research hotspot is the Pearl River Delta centered on Guangzhou, where is filled with people and stories mirroring China's modern urbanization. In contrast, Beijing is the country's most rich traditional city with modernization. Also as the capital, its important status is self-evident. On one hand, most studies of Beijing have focused on its historic values; on the other hand, as a model of China's traditional cities and a modern capital that other Chinese cities at all levels would follow, any change in Beijing's urban development has a far-reaching influence not only to China's tradition, but also to its modernization. Therefore, the preference of picking Beijing as a target city for urban space study is due its important role in China's urban spatial modernization, which reflects

⁶ Political identity of Chinese on that time can be classified with cadre, masses and no identity.

its nature of being universally modernized rather than being westernized. In a background of Beijing case, the initial question of this research is: how to understand China's urban space development, particularly in recent 3 decades of reform and opening-up? What kind of influence that China's urban socio-spatial structure has played to its urban development? Has the traditional Chinese urban socio-spatial structure now broken or transformed? Is there a promising Chinese mode of urban spatial development available?

2 Literature review of conception about socio-spatiality

2.1 *Gemeinschaft und Gesellschaft*⁷

Among all research in urban space, especially those in urban space transformation at modern times, two main concentrations are highlighted: spatial composition and spatial conditions. While the former focuses on human, the latter on space. Given the fact that there are a great number of studies of the two concentrations, this research is trying to find an effective analysis method and provide a theoretical instrument for China's hot urbanism development. Its relevant study concentration can also be divided into two parts: one is research in Western urbanization and association phenomenon (western Europe), and the other is literature of Chinese socialization and urbanization. Given the fact that dualism of 'community' and 'society' (*Gemeinschaft und Gesellschaft*) has been used as an important instrument, either for transitions of social structure and urban space in modern and contemporary times, or for Max Weber's traditional studies of public sphere beliefs of the German political thought, it is necessary to, above all, introduce the sociological background of the two concept: 'community' and 'society', followed by a discussion of the role they play in urban space transition.

The 'community' and 'society' dualism theory was developed by German sociologist Ferdinand Tönnies. In his book *Gemeinschaft und Gesellschaft*, Tönnies classified two basic categories of human gregarious life: community and society (same meaning with association). According to Tönnies, community is realized by the group construction on the basis of nature and history, for example, community of blood, place and religion. In community, '*all are living together intimately, privately and exclusively*'⁸

He further pointed out, "*Every such relationship represents unity in plurality or plurality in unity. It consists of assistance, relief, services, which are transmitted back and forth from one party to another and are to be considered as expressions of wills and their forces. The group which is formed through this*

⁷ Ferdinand Tönnies, trans. Charles P. Loomis, 1963, *Community and Society*, New York: Harper.

⁸ Ferdinand Tönnies, trans. Charles P. Loomis, 1963, *Community and Society*, New York: Harper, P.33

*positive type of relationship is called an association when conceived of as a thing or being which acts as a unit inwardly and outwardly. The relationship itself, and also the resulting association, is conceived of either as real and organic life – this is the essential characteristic of the Gemeinschaft (community).”*⁹

Therefore, Tönnies referred to *Gemeinschaft* as ‘real and organic life’,¹⁰ and *Gesellschaft* as ‘imaginary and mechanical structure’.¹¹ The fundamental difference between *Gesellschaft* and *Gemeinschaft* is that even people coexist in society and live together peacefully, as those who are in *Gemeinschaft*, they are actually aggregated, but virtually separated. Hence, *Gesellschaft* could be understood as “mechanical aggregate and artifact”.¹² Tönnies dualism was cited by Max Weber in his “*Fundamental concepts of Sociology*”. Weber first pointed out that ‘communal’ and ‘associative’ are social relationship.¹³ As he put it, “The term ‘social relationship’ will be used to denote the behavior of a plurality of actors insofar as, in its meaningful content, the action of each takes account of that of the others and is oriented in these terms. The social relationship thus consists entirely and exclusively in the existence of a probability that there will be a meaningful course of social action – irrespective, for the time being, of the basis for this probability.”¹⁴ He further stated, “ ‘communal’ if and so far as the orientation of social action – whether in the individual case, on the average, or in the pure type – is based on a subjective feeling of the parties, whether affectual or traditional, that they belong together.”¹⁵ And “ ‘associative’ if and insofar as the orientation of social action within it rests on a rationally motivated adjustment of interests or a similarly motivated agreement, whether the basis of rational judgment be absolute values or reasons of expediency.”¹⁶

According to Tönnies, *Gemeinschaft* stemmed in pre-industrial age, while *Gesellschaft* rose in industrial era. So “*Gemeinschaft is old; Gesellschaft is new as a name as well as a phenomenon*”.¹⁷ The philosophies of these two concepts are opposite. Tönnies imaged an ideal society that could divorce from the dominance of mechanical *Gesellschaft* and return to the garden-styled *Gemeinschaft*. Weber, however, didn’t concur to Tönnies with this ideology; instead he regarded *Gemeinschaft and Gesellschaft* as social relationship. This definition has dissolved the timeness given by Tönnies in *Gemeinschaft and Gesellschaft*, and more importantly, it has laid a ground for further transforming the timeness into spatiality.

⁹ Ferdinand Tönnies, trans. Charles P. Loomis, 1963, *Community and Society*, New York: Harper, P.33

¹⁰ Ibid.

¹¹ Ibid.

¹² Ibid. P.35

¹³ Max Weber, *Economy and society*, Edited by Guenther Roth and Claus Wittich, 1978, Berkeley: University of California Press. P.41.

¹⁴ Ibid.

¹⁵ Ibid.

¹⁶ Ibid. PP.40-41

¹⁷ Ferdinand Tönnies, trans. Charles P. Loomis, 1963, *Community and Society*, New York: Harper, P.34

As Zygmunt Bauman said, while community is formed on common understanding, society is set on common consensus. According to Bauman, the ‘common understanding’ is the ‘community-style, which remains disinterested and takes all agreements and disagreements.’¹⁸ The understanding is not a finish line, but a starting point for living together harmoniously and peacefully. In contrast, society is formed on some ‘consensus’, which refers to agreements reached by people with opinions that are essentially different. It is a product out of tough negotiation and compromise, and it is a result of many fights, many objections, and even occasional rivalry. For community, the sensitive point is the difference between ‘we’ and ‘they’, and for society, it is the similarity between ‘I’ and ‘you’.

Robert Redfield thought there is no force of reflection, criticism and test existed in a real community, and only in this way a community can conform to its essence’.¹⁹ Since this ideal community is based on self-evident common understanding and nature, thus in opposite to social consensus, the primary task of community is to exclude any divergence and contradiction. Hereby, community is constructed out of ‘homogeneity’ and ‘similarity’. If any external factors interfere with this ‘homogeneity’, or any internal factors disrupt this ‘similarity’, the borderline of community will be blurred, leaving community in chaos. So it is vital for community to distinguish the borderline between internal and external. Therefore, community always stays fragile and vulnerable, forever demanding vigilance, consolidation and defense.

As a matter of fact, it is essential to create a man-made distance in space; no matter physical space or psychological space, or cultural space, or even economical fortune space. The social relationship, derived from the ideal social mode of Tönnies’ idyll society, has thus been evolved into space organization of urbanization —‘community space’; meanwhile, society, the other polar of Tönnies’ dualism, has been transformed itself, from an abstract concept of modern society into another space organization—‘association space’.

2.2 Spatiality and Socio-spatial Dialectic

■ Spatiality²⁰

Since 1970s, social science has paid more attention to the studies on space, particularly on urban geography and urban sociology development. In historic view of Descartes, space is often referred to as a container that accommodates various activities. However, it is a static and neutral sphere, which is

¹⁸ Zygmunt Bauman, *Community: Seeking safety in an insecure world*, 2001, Oxford: Blackwell publishing.

¹⁹ Robert Redfield, *The little community and peasant society and culture*, 1971, Chicago: university of Chicago press. PP.4ff.

²⁰ Edward W, Soja, *Postmodern Geographies, the research of space in critical social theory*, 1989, Verso.

opposite to the flowing and opening time. Therefore time is often endowed with progressive and historic significance. Space is usually perceived as static, dead, and non-dialectic, whereas time is always related to dynamic, active and dialectic.

In the book *The Production of Space*, Henri Lefebvre pointed out: “... *space is never void: it always embodies a meaning*”²¹ That is to say, space is not given, but created; space is not a neutral and subjective place, but a man-made social product, which is formed through practice by society and materiality. He put forward the concept of Trinity: namely ‘physical space’, ‘mental space’ and ‘social space’, which he meant to something like perception, conception and life. He further explained them in terms of space, namely material spatial practices, spatial narration and narrative space. Material spatial practices are referred to characteristics of certain society fixed production, reproduction, given places and a whole set of space. Spatial narration is referred to production relations and norms imposed on these relations, namely a fixed system in which icon, code, concept and knowledge are used. Narrative space is referred to deeper structure that relates to “complicated symbolism”, and links with social life.

Lefebvre pointed out that “space is a product,”²² and four precepts are constitutive of this project:²³

(1) *Physical (nature) space is disappearing, which is not to say it is of diminishing importance.*²⁴

(2) *Every society, every mode of production, produces its own space. social space contains, and assigns appropriate places to, the relations of production and of reproduction.*²⁵

(3) *Theory reproduces the generative process. move from a concern with things in space to the production of space.*²⁶

(4) *The passage from one mode of production to another is of the highest theoretical importance. since each mode of production is assumed to have its own particular space, the shift from one mode to another necessarily entails the production of a new space.*²⁷

²¹ Henri Lefebvre, trans. Donald Nicholson-Smith, *The Production of Space*, 1991, USA: Blackwell Publishing, P.154

²² Ibid. P.26

²³ *The Postmodern Urban Condition*, Michael J. Dear, P.49

²⁴ Henri Lefebvre, trans. Donald Nicholson-Smith, *The Production of Space*, 1991, USA: Blackwell Publishing, P.30

²⁵ Ibid. P.31

²⁶ Ibid. P.37

²⁷ Ibid. P.46

For the relationship between society and space, Lefebvre believed that social relations can only exist as given manifestation in space, when they have themselves projected into space and grounded in space to produce space itself in this process. Therefore, social space is not only the realm of behaviors, but also the basis for behaviors.

Edward W. Soja made his comments on either point that Lefebvre and David Harvey each held. As he said on the former: “*the organization of space (in the context of urbanism) was ‘a separate structure’ with its own laws of inner transformation and construction*”, and on the later he told: “*the expression of a set of relations embedded in some broader structure*”. “*...the failure of Marxist analysts to appreciate the essentially dialectical character of social and spatial relationships as well as that of other structurally linked spheres like production and consumption.*”²⁸

In his book *Post-modern Geographies*, Soja differentiated ‘space’ from ‘spatiality’: as he put it, “*While space is sort of given contextual thing, social-based spatiality is man-made space of social organization and production.*”²⁹ Besides, he pointed out that “*time and space in the general or abstract sense represent the objective form of matter.*”³⁰ The view that space is in fact of matter has imposed deep influence upon any form of space analysis. As Soja said, “*space in itself may be primordially given, but the organization, and meaning of space is a product of social translation, transformation, and experience*”.³¹

■ Socio-spatial dialectic

According to Lefebvre, space is not a scientific object exclusive of ideology and politics, but actually is filled with politics and strategy in the end. If only for its content, space tends to be neutral and aloof, thus appeared purely normative, which is a typical of abstract rationality. This is because that space has already been taken and used to become a spotlight during any past process, leaving not always a significant mark on geographic landscape. Although space has experienced test and reform by many historic and natural factors, it is a steadfast political process. Rooted in politics and ideology, space actually is “*a product of various ideologies*”³²

²⁸ Edward W. Soja, *Postmodern Geographies, the research of space in critical social theory*, 1989, Verso. P. 77

²⁹ Ibid. P.79

³⁰ Ibid. P.79

³¹ Ibid. P.79-80

³² Henri Lefebvre, trans. by M. Enders, *Reflections on the politic of Space*, Antipode 8, 1976, P31.

Soja put forward three visions of organized space and production mode:³³

(1) The first vision comes from Lefebvre and Mandel: “Organized space is not only a reflection of all kinds of production mode, for production mode, organized space could incur all kinds of major conflicts and inspire changeable potential. In some degree, it is equal to class structure and all types of class relations.

(2) The second one is a certain form in support of the orthodox Marxism. Although neo-Marxism has nothing new and special, the traditional class analysis method cannot be violated, which is Max’s history determinism.

(3) The third one goes between the first and the second ones. Its representatives are Manuel Castells and David Henry.

Castells explicitly described space as a material product that is manifested dialectically through the interaction of culture and nature. Therefore, space is not just a simple reflection of social structure, namely “a simple opportunity set for use”; but is a concrete embodiment of many exemplifications, namely a kind of “historical macrocosm” in which various substantial factors interplay with each other.

Castells’ research method on urban issues is referred to as Althusser’s structuralism. What he interpreted that the man-made space sets to describe “the structural and connective rules that can determine the existence and change of space”. He thought that “the particular social relations” define the space structure as well as “its related elements with formations, functions and significances”. This view is fundamentally differed from Lefebvre’s point. For Castells, the non-space social production relation is “entitled with a determinative function”.³⁴

Generally for any case, space organization and the society do have some corresponding and even dialectic relationship. This relationship could only endure for a certain period, since people are creating and changing the city space, correspondingly their city life is defined or changed by city space. So, when people think of how to create and change space, they also need to adapt themselves to the shifted space even to change their life styles for it. As a result, both city space and social life are both dynamic. In the early times of urbanization, socialization often kept pace with urbanization. In this process, economy,

³³ Edward W. Soja, *Postmodern Geographies, the research of space in critical social theory*, 1989, Verso.

³⁴ Ibid.

population, society and culture continually interplay with each other in urban space. No matter whether Socio-spatial dialectic is there, the close relationship between space organization and social relations are as indubitable as that between urban space development and social changing.³⁵

in conclusion:

Space is a schéma on relations.

Spatiality is character of the schéma, that is about changing relations between society and space.

Socio-spatial dialectic is the principle of the changing relations between society and space.

Composition of society and space could be understood as: capability to composite a socio-spatial schéma by community and association.

Thus, study about changing relations between social and spatial, which is socio-spatial transition research.

3 Research methodology: Structuration method

3.1 Urban space research and structuration concept

City and urban space have been under dramatic changes since the start of capitalist society, which is a parallel and interactive development of urban physical space and society. Studies on urban space, especially on contemporary, have never alienated to human society that is closely related to urban space. Thus, for any urban research, it is essential to frame a whole picture of urban history in economy, culture, society and architecture. For any urban space research concentration, it definitely needs an interdisciplinary method.

Studies on urban space involve many different disciplines, including urban planning, urban sociology, urban social geography and urban economy etc... Many research methods have been developed within each of discipline. However, to the nature of researches, it can be generally divided into two research directions. The first is generalized as statistics methodology, which is more focused on accurate mathematical models and all kind of positivism scientific methods for urban space study, analysis and experiment. The second is as typology methodology, which is more focused on traditional humanity

³⁵ In Dear and Wolch (Michael dear & Jennifer wolch, “ how territory shapes social life”, *the power of geography*, 1989: Unwin Hyman, London), the views are very useful for understanding the three basic aspects to Sociospatial dialectic: [1] The events happened in social relations is through space, just as the site planning is influenced by place context. [2] The events happened in social relations is limited by space, for example, the influence of old urban fabric or the degree of people behavior which is influenced by the substantial environment. [3] The events happened in social relations is mediated by space, as the general function of distance dispute bring the development of all kind of social activity including everyday life.

methods to describe, observe and understand urban space phenomenon and its internal factors, and use these thoughts and ideas for criticism and practice.

The fundamental difference between statistics methodology and typology methodology lies on the former is a scientific method, whereas the latter is a humanistic method. This is also reflecting the difference between the analytic philosophy of North American and British and the continental critical philosophy of Europe. For the gap between the two methods, many social scientists have tried to combine it.

Among the sociologist, Anthony Giddens developed theory called *structuration theory*,³⁶ which suggests that theories of sociological theory is not as absolute as that of mathematics, but comprised of a series of sensitive concepts that loosely link to each other. For men of initiative, they can change not only the nature of any social organization, but also rules of any generality. The *structuration concept* tries to connect the duality of structure: ‘agents’ and ‘laymen’ together. That means ‘agents’ must know and use the “structure”. While using the structure, agents might change it or even produce a new one. Giddens suggested that structure can be generalized to the use of rules and *resources* by agents in ‘interactive situations’ that surpass ‘time’ and ‘space’. Through this process, ‘agents’ may either keep or change the structure. Thus, what the meaning of the ‘structuration theory’ in methodology is that *rules* and *resources* construct structure, offering territories for agents to take action. So agents can make changes in the structural territory or add new thing to it. As a result, the structure is founded on an interactive system, which is organized by the process of culture and region, and strongly influenced by practice.

3.2 Methodology of structural analysis and framework

So how can we employ the methodology of structuration theory into studies of urban space transition? In other words, how can we construct the concept of structuration on ‘socio-spatial transition’? The concept of space materiality has deeply influenced any of space analysis. Instead of interpreting space just as life ‘container’ like Descartes, Edward W. Soja argued that space itself remains unchanged as time goes on, but its organization and significance is as a result of social changes, social structural transformations and social experiences. Therefore, ‘spatiality’ of organized space has inherent social characteristics.

The development of urban space is a concurrent process of spatial and social development, which means that, in the city space structure, it is a process of ‘agents’³⁷ use of ‘rules’ and ‘resources’³⁸ in the

³⁶ Anthony Giddens, *The Constitution of Society: Outline of the Theory of Structuration*, 1986, University of California Press.

³⁷ Ibid.

³⁸ Ibid.

interactions which go beyond 'time' and 'space'. 'Rules' here refer to "inductive programs"³⁹ interpreted and used by the 'agents' in a certain setting. The most important 'rules' are those used by agents for reproducing social relations in prominently significant time and space spans. At the turning of the 20th century, there have been a great number of studies on the consequences of the urbanization. Among those studies, the duality social theories on 'community' and 'society', which was put forward by Tönnies, had a far-reaching impact. Since the time when the duality theory was first used by Max Weber, it has been used in a wider social realm. Considering the interaction and closed relations between spatial and social development, this research is going to apply theories in the social realm to the realm of urban space. On socio-spatiality, the 'community' and the 'society' defined by Tönnies, have undertaken independent development. Although they couldn't replace each other, it doesn't mean they couldn't influence each other. Through this process, they have finally constituted the duality of structure: community and association. By analyzing the duality structure, we can infer that the "inductive programs" are used and understood by 'agents', which means that the agency in socio-spatiality, in social and city space both 'communal space' and 'associative space' can be understood as the 'rules' of the 'structuration' in socio-spatiality. According to Giddens, 'Rules' are part of agents' knowledge capability. Although the 'agents' often are not familiar with the methodology or operation technique of the 'rules', they can still have the 'rules' as their guide.

Despite the duality social spatial structure theory has been used for structure analysis of urban space, according to "structuration concept", the 'communal space' and 'associative space' have never been used in a form of duality, but merely used as 'structuration rules' for urban space analysis. And the rules may also be remodeled or changed in different situations in agents' initiative. While using "rules", socio-spatiality is also using the "resources" simultaneously. Giddens suggested that the 'resources' are tools for agents to deal with affairs. Even though 'rules' are set, 'resources' still need be accessible to actions. Differed from the view of Giddens, the "resources" examined in this research also produce power. Although power can take some "resources", it cannot take the resource itself. Despite the fact that power is everywhere in the structure, it would rather to reveal 'structuration' through the interaction analysis among 'resources', 'rules' and 'agents' than showing power relations to reflect the structure. Giddens' basic assumption is that 'resources' are controlling elements, which involve conditions of implementing and completing the tasks. 'Rules' can make the agents' action not only to be legitimized but also to produce some significant meanings.

As for the city space analysis in the socio-spatiality, its focus in this research is the analysis of 'communal

³⁹ Ibid.

space' and 'associative space' in the 'structuration rules'. The rules are of course 'dynamic', which means that they are likely to undertake changes in action. The fundamental difference between 'rules' and 'resources' lies in the fact that, 'rules' are the common and general characteristics in the city's socio-spatiality, this common and general characteristics can occur in spaces of different societies, cultures or even races. But it needs to be pointed out that the rules are constantly altered and some of them may even vanish. In contrast, 'resources' is the foundation and groundwork of the realization of socio-spatiality, and they vary in different regions, cultures and societies. Thus the detailed description of what 'resources' refer to is not only impossible but unnecessary. Even though, 'resources' can be broadly divided into three categories in the socio-spatiality: their organization forms, their organization structures and their organization bases. Therefore, due to the differences of 'resources' themselves and the agents' flexible approaches on them, the structural analysis in different places and cases could result in very different results, although we can find similar 'rules' or rules with the same starting point and 'resources' within the same category. The analysis framework of this research is based on the discussion before. Below is the framework of structuration concept of socio-spatiality.

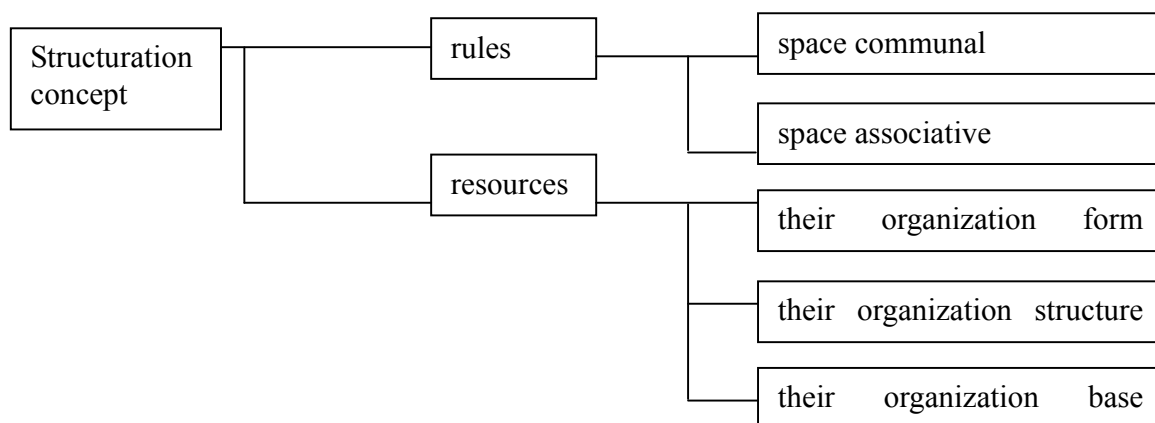


Figure 0-1: framework of structuration in the socio-spatiality, Source: author

One vital point worth mentioning is that, we will see those concepts in the framework as ever-steady; rather, we use them in a dynamic and flexible way to illustrate their characteristics in the discussion of this framework.

4. Research question and hypothesis

Urbanization is a common phenomenon in today's world, along with globalization. Obviously Europe, China, and North American have different tenet of urbanization and shifted urban phenomenon. There are strong dual-opposite dialectical traditions in European culture, echoing to 'Yin and Yang' theory of China.

The Chinese dialectic regards transition, a kind of dialectic intended to keep the two opponents in a balanced co-existence. The concepts of community and association are originated from duality traditions in German sociology; more accurately say they are directly derived from German sociologist Ferdinand Tönnies' basic sociological concepts of *Gemeinschaft und Gesellschaft*. As far as the duality-divided traditions are emphasized by Ferdinand Tönnies, He regarded the traditional society and the modern society as an organization mode of community and association to enhance family value of traditional society and resist the rigid systematic machinery of modern society. Influenced by Ferdinand Tönnies, many other European scholars have continued to inquire the basis for dual-structure sociology. Although Max Weber disagreed with Tönnies' thought of return to traditional society, he affirmed that rational crisis values came from modern society, in a bid to counter the crisis of instrumental rationality by the forces of middle-class society and the value-oriented rational behaviors. Since then, the macro sociological inquiry about the dualism has been replaced by more specific sociological topics. In fact, back to one hundred years ago when the dualist structure of community and association was a hot topic, it just entered into a crucial transition period of urbanization in Europe and North American. With farmers flooding into cities, the cities were suddenly raised in population, and the era of metropolises was born. Tönnies' basic sociological concepts of *Gemeinschaft und Gesellschaft* are commonly seen against a background of representing past "rural society" and modern "urban society". In space realm, these terms are easier to create an illusion that the phenomenon of urbanization is seen as a process of modernization, in which urban society takes over rural society while city replaces countryside. Thus, city equals to modern society whereas countryside equals to traditional society. Obviously this interpretation is deviated from the basic connotation of community and association accounted for social organization structures. In a perspective of typology, the definition of community and association as countryside and city has made the basic sociological concepts stemmed from sociology to lose potential for further structural analysis and research in other social subjects, and more remained in macro-level or even turned to moral discussion. By the end of the great European-American migration and urbanization movements that occurred between 19th and early 20th century, sociologists had paid more attentions to all kinds of concrete social problems. Therefore, the dualistic theory of community and association can also be regarded as the social theory of social transformation and urbanization development. After a hundred years of urbanization development with globalization emerging and booming, we have to confront the pressure of social transformation. The dual macro-sociological theories of community and association created for analyzing the process of social transformation are necessary to be re-acknowledged and applied to the actual analysis of contemporary social and spatial development. Benefited by globalization, today's China has achieved an incredible development to realize its goal of modernization since its start of reform and opening-up⁴⁰. As a symbol

⁴⁰ Note: Since 1979.

of modernization, Urbanization is regarded as both a development of economical (GDP needs) and a macro-political economics strategy in China (plutonomy tool), where opens to all kinds of approaches to modernization. In other words, a historic fiercest and largest-scaled social movement is spreading through the country, as the rural areas are either spatially shrunk or eliminated to make way to cities in order to achieve the goal of modernization. As a matter of fact, modernization is always a national goal of China since late Qing Dynasty.⁴¹ During first 30 years from the May 4th student progressive movement debuted in 1919 to the new China founded in 1949, the country initiated to achieve the goal of modernization in the cultural realm. In the following 30 years from 1949 to 1979, it extended the task in the social realm, and in recent 30 years from 1979 to 2009, it turned out to be impossible to achieve the goal through community movement, as what attempted to eliminate countryside dissatisfied ideology-criticism was failed to actual huge economic differences between city and countryside, so it had turned to pursue a national equality in the economic realm. Since the outbreak of global financial crisis in 2008, China has launched a new round of 30-year development. Facing the financial crisis of 2008, the nation has eagerly found a new realm to continue modernization. The new realm may more lie in the development of spatial modernization, basically the infrastructure development with large investments by central and local government, such as fast-railways, urban subways, and applying urbanization phenomenon as a spatial development strategy into practice, say expanding the city and compressing the countryside. Faced with China's dramatic social and spatial transition, it has made contemporary social and spatial theories invalid for study of this particular phenomenon, as China's change is varied all the time and may head to an unknown development direction. Therefore, it needs to find a macro theory to analyze and establish a fundamental theoretical analysis framework as well. In fact, if the traditional restraints in typology can be loosen; the basic sociological concepts of *Gemeinschaft und Gesellschaft* of Ferdinand Tönnies would be very suitable for research in contemporary China's dramatic social and spatial transition. Fortunately, since the publication of *Gemeinschaft und Gesellschaft* by Ferdinand Tönnies and *Wirtschaft und Gesellschaft* by Max Weber, we have got enough time to observe the urban and society development of Europe and North American (developed countries). In reality, community and association are peacefully co-existed, with neither destroying each other. And most of us are commuting between family in community and society in association everyday. The communal space and associative space jointly consist of our daily living space. Therefore, due to such a simple finding or a common sense, we have to re-think the dualistic theory of Tönnies and Weber regarding community and association are opponents and fight each other. If we go beyond this narrow-minded duality theory to observe, we would get a clear vision of that community and association are two fundamental concepts of social structure, not necessarily creating an opposite relation between each other but solely representing different social

⁴¹ Note: since 1840 to 1911.

organization modes of each other. Based on this, we are able to establish a scientific and objective analysis framework for analyzing the social and spatial transformation for contemporary cities, especially the cities in China. For this method, I'd like to call it a structural method rather than a non-structural, since this structural concept is applied to analyze realistic social and spatial transition in an open situation, rather than the macro and narrative-oriented structuralism.

Although we have acquired profound knowledge from contemporary urban studies in different science disciplines. We still lack of inter-discipline research among different sciences, which always leads to more profound and better research outcomes. Most sociological studies are focused on cities and rural areas, but few in space related to architects, urban planners or urban geographers. As the urban space is the most important product and vehicle of human society, however, study related to the socio-spatial is of scarcity. Therefore, I started a relevant research in space and chose Chinese capital Beijing as a socio-spatial case of urban space to conduct a profound analysis. As a representative combined with capital features of ancient and modern China, Beijing is an ideal subject for understanding the social-spatial characteristics and transformation of Chinese cities, thanks to its history and presence of communal space and associative space. A thorough discussion of Beijing's social-spatial transition could also key to understand the contemporary Chinese urbanization.

the main problem of this research is on city transition. **the research aim** of this problem could be addressed: **how to analyze or even predict city's development and transition by a socio-spatial structural model?**

the fundamental hypothesis: if city space is an artificial matter, this artificial matter must be conditioned by sociality and spatiality under its specific context. the fundamental character of the specific artificial matter, which be distinguished with others, consist together of the double conditions.

base on this, **the further hypothesis:** the sociality and spatiality of artificial matter can be structuring as communal space and associative space. the relation between them are not opposite dualism but symbiotic. in Chinese context, this symbiotic existed from historical Beijing to present. With the present socio-spatial transition of Beijing, communal space and associative space have realized transformation originated from themselves. It is not a process of that the new replaces the old, but the old shaped the new.

combined with the initial question, the research question is focused on two issues: first, to establish a general theory of structuration concept of socio-spatiality; second, faced with a specific socio-spatial

transition of Chinese cities from tradition to modern, how are the communal and associative space of Beijing changed and what are the conditions in its socio-spatial transition?

Chapter 1: General theory of socio-spatial transition

1.1 The socio-spatial origin of communal space and associative space

In the earliest human permanent settlement, there already had the man-made cave or semi-cave shelters formed by a simple floor and a shabby roof.⁴² The roof and floor clearly defined the internal and external space. So, the physical structural characteristic of space owned its initial feature of inside and outside.⁴³ According to the archaeological evidence, the early man-made house was relatively small and brief, without any basic functions as that of modern buildings, such as heating, cooking and even accommodation. However, it was those independent man-made spaces that had made it possible for human to form family and no longer keep the commune of kinship.⁴⁴

Benefited by adequate food and effective division of labor,⁴⁵ the human population was rising, and their activities were expanded to form communication action between other racial groups. The primary communication action built on kinship thus became untied, and the secondary one built on community started to develop. The earliest villages formed the social structure of community (*Gemeinschaft*) in the places outside of the villages or some other tribal villages where food, commodities and ideas were exchanged, so it became the social space.⁴⁶ These places gradually divorced with the basic structure of survival on diet and reproduction, developed into the more complex associative social structure, and eventually formed the earliest cities in the coming ages. Thus, the socio-spatial structural characteristics of introverted and extroverted space were developed to express the communal and associative feature of space.

When the human settlement was first founded, it simply depended on the ethnic groups of kinship, in distinction of "we" and "they", the stuff of the village belonged to the common.⁴⁷ However, the independent housing and the internal space within the introverted space enabled the space and space user

⁴² Lewis Mumford, 1961, *The city in history, its origins, its transformations, and its prospects*, San Diego: Harcourt.

⁴³ Hanno-Walter Kruft, 1985, *Geschichte der Architektur Theorie*, Muenchen: C.H. Beck

⁴⁴ Stephen Gardiner, 1974, *The House: its origin and evolution*, UK: Constable & Robinson

⁴⁵ Lewis Mumford, 1961, *The city in history, its origins, its transformations, and its prospects*, San Diego: Harcourt. P.18

⁴⁶ Ibid. P.10

⁴⁷ Ibid.

to gradually form a unique relationship between them. Such as where should be used to store their own tools including man-used hammer and wooden stick; women- used jewelry and furniture and so on.⁴⁸ Hence, the ownership of the stuff was not divided between public and private, but in between the public ownership, particular rights to use some stuff had gradually emerged and eventually transformed into private property and private ownership. According to a large number of archaeological evidence,⁴⁹ the ancient human settlements were enclosed with small houses, in which some vacant lots were used to build functional structures, such as the food storage crypt, the square for collective activities, or buildings for some collective belief services. Here the space was divided into two parts—the common space for collective activities and private space for individual living. Thus, the ownership and usage of communal space and associative space initially possessed common-particular and public-private features.

After a period of use, these human structures could be raised some sort of affections with its owners. And the owners could take care of the structure and even reform it. So the human structures and human beliefs, along with the local climate and resources, could inevitably create some particular local culture. For instance, using their favorite colors to decorate the interior walls, using some kind of designs to paint potteries and even some special way to build the roof. The local culture once was formed, it could be continued to improve itself and emphasize its unique value, in order to distinguish itself from other cultures. Thus, the culture forms of communal space and associative space absorbed some kinds of features of local and nonlocal, new and old.⁵⁰

The communal and associative of space was produced through human sustainable development: community and association upon the society; inside-outside and open-close upon the physical space; common-particular and public-private upon the ownership and user-ship; local-nonlocal and new-old upon culture form, all those factors have formed the introverted and extroverted spatial characteristics of the socio-spatiality of the earliest human society. That is communal, inside and outside, common and particular, local introverted space and associative, open and close, public and private, and nonlocal extroverted space. Therefore, the socio-spatiality of communal space and associative space originated from the introversion and extroversion of this man-made space, and all above characteristics constitute the basis and variables of the socio-spatial structuration concept.

1.2 Community and Association

⁴⁸ Stephen Gardiner, 1974, *The House: its origin and evolution*, UK: Constable & Robinson. P.6.

⁴⁹ Benevolo, Leonardo, trans. Juergen Humburg, 2000, *Die Geschichte der Stadt*. Campus Verlag.

⁵⁰ Stephen Gardiner, 1974, *The House: its origin and evolution*, UK: Constable & Robinson.

Like most animals, human beings are also driven by instincts to establish their own territory. It was indispensable for early human to build a self-owned safe territory for rest and storage, which became a direct means of them to survive the harsh natural environment. According to anthropology, prehistoric people lived gregariously, as any individuals or even small groups definitely faced great threats and difficulties either from natural disaster or illness.⁵¹ In order to survive and live on, human consisted of larger groups, in which everyone helped each other to cope with all kinds of difficulties and crisis. As a result, community and its spatial territory was formed, in which people had things in common, thus they were inter-dependent. In the community, people were closely associated with each other and functioned as a whole. They had either settlements or mobile camping grounds. The community promoted creating homogeneity and all its members were born to be dependent on the community. The association among members of the community was viewed as internal occurrence, whereas that among non-community members as external occurrence. Living in one community, for better or worse, every single member had to share everything to maintain and develop its space. And the interests and stability of the inside community were above all, thus it was natural for members to sacrifice their own interests for the whole community. As a result, life, association and space organization of community had an intense nature of introversion, thus the introverted community space then became the home created by human in the natural environment.

Like settlement, migration is another survival instinct of human. For some reason such as hunting and picking or changing of climate and seasons, human could walk out of their territory to look for better living conditions for survival and sustainable development in the outside world. To avoid marriages between kinships, human actively chose to marry those who were non-community members and in other territories.⁵² This interaction was occurred outside of the community or linked to the external, thus it formed different behavior and spatial organization from that within the community. When people walked out of their own territory to go into a wide space, they met other people on other territories and started communication with others. This external occurrence could happen occasionally or periodically. People from different groups could come to a certain place to exchange information, food and commodities or even marriage. People had their own purposes and expectations, and defended their own interests as well. This external occurrence lied in strength and wisdom, and people exchanged their resources to others and got what they wanted. In this space, associations and extroverted social activities of early human emerged, which gave birth to heterogeneity, as only heterogeneity could guarantee the compensation of resource

⁵¹ Andre Burguiere, trans into Chinese by Shuren Yuan, 1986, *Histoire de la famille*, 《家庭史, 遥远的世界, 古老的世界》, Pairs: Armand Colin. Beijing: 三联书店, P115.

⁵² Ibid.

exchange. The association didn't come from a big group, but from individuals of heterogeneity. They could come from different individuals, groups or communities, representing each of their different interests and needs. Any individual interests should be treated equally, as any negligence and sacrifice of individual interests could result in a loss of the socio-spatial resources, or even invite the danger of breaking up that space. To be at advantage in resource exchange, individuals in external occurrence should have intensive extroversion, and even strengthen their own differences. To avoid the potential instability and various conflicts within association, people needed to make rules for interaction in order to put every individual in equal status, and if problems occurred, they could stand on those rules, rather than the common benefits that couldn't necessarily exist in association. Therefore, in contrast to the introversion featured community, association had a strong characteristic of extroversion.

1.2.1 Their organizational structures

Introversion and extroversion is a pair of term, when used for space descriptions, they are given some human characteristics. Therefore, the terms can be used to describe some non-natural features of space. In fact, space has always been connected to man-made construct from the very beginning. If it is put in a pure natural environment, the space never comes naturally. In contrast, nature is a real God-given world, such as a tree, a big stone, a cave, never similar to one space or some spaces. As far as human had a sense of independence, they began to create all kinds of constructs, such as crypt, high-platform, square as well as village. These artifacts were bonded with some certain land, creating a series of functional spaces. These spaces were related to the purpose or intention of people, which never existed in any nonsense spaces, even in an abandoned space, where it was still full of human's intentions. Therefore, if it lost human's intentions, the space was no longer a space but returned to its original natural state with pure natural attributes. From this perspective, it could tell that once the dumping ground was done with garbage, this particular space immediately vanished. From a perspective of space, however, it could say this space simply withdrew to nature, despite of the garbage buried underground might need hundreds of years to dissolve into harmless substances. Similarly for cemetery, whatever it's out there for several hundred or even longer years, as long as it remains a form of mausoleum, and no matter its owners became ash and resolved in nature, the space always exists, owned by death and memory, not by nature.

Therefore, without artificial construct there is no space; and without social labor-division there is no social cooperation, thus the existence of space cannot be kept; without the reliable and safeguard economic forms there is no completion of social production and reproduction, thus the development and evolution of space cannot happen. Similarly without human civilization and diverse spatial cultures, there would be no meaningful and a variety of space forms. Space is both a means of human understanding of

the world and a goal of human to change the world.

From the very beginning, space had characteristics as below:

- Physical organizational structure characteristic of man-made construct;
- Social organizational structure characteristic of social labor-division and cooperation;
- Economic organizational structure characteristic of securing social production and reproduction;
- Cultural organizational structure characteristic inevitably created in human history and civilization development.

Community and association are two basic forms of organizational structure of society. In early human society, communal society organizational structure preferred to the vertical integrated organizational form based on kinship, this kind of organizational form could be called as the “introverted structure” built on trust, while associative society organizational form preferred to horizontal combined organizational form based on social interaction, which could be called as the “extroverted structure” built on compensative practices.⁵³

(1) Introverted structure

The community social life possessed the introverted structure. Initially this kind of social life most depended on kinship to form races, clans and family. Built on a form of trust, the foundation of this early social life was intimate relations such as kinship and friendship etc... And the introverted structure social life was also a goal aimed at integrating both individual and common interests. As far as the common interests were ensured, the individual interests could automatically be satisfied. This kind of organization was all-sided, not instrumental, and its foundation was to fully understand and recognize each other and exclude differences, as each other shared the same identity within the extroverted structure and took the same action. The introverted structure made kinship and friendship become the spiritual core of community space. However, it could be very considerate sometime, but also be ruthless another time.

(2) Extroverted structure

⁵³ Max Weber, *Economy and society*, Edited by Guenther Roth and Claus Wittich, 1978, Berkeley: University of California Press. P.41.

The association social life possessed the extroverted structure. Initially this kind of social life mostly depended on instrumental social connections aimed at realizing various goals to form various social organizations, such as commerce chamber, government, enterprise and school, etc... The early foundation of this social life based on compensative practice was instrumental association aimed at reaching the goals or interests of each individual. The foundation of extroverted structure lied on equality to realize the interests of each individual. The goal of extroverted structure is not to form a close union but an association of independent individuals, which at any time could be disintegrated or reorganized into a new association with the changing goals. In extroverted structure, the foundation of social action is based on common goals and guarantee of individual interests; this kind of social life is open, inclusive, and tolerant. As far as the common goals are ensured, the individual differences are secured as well. All kinds of social action are based on reaching common goals as their starting point. In order to keep stability of this temporarily or physically formed but naturally divided association and carry out effective action, it was necessary to make certain public rules. Thus, the extroverted structure made rules and rationality as spiritual cores of association to surpass affection to continue in redefining itself.

1.2.2 The socio-spatiality of community and association

As two structural forms of social life, community and association definitely have effect on the artifact of human production and their living space. Since social life and reproduction need some space in which tasks get realized, this kind of space no longer remains an unknown position in nature. It has been named, used and transformed by human action. Here, this space was being separated from the whole nature, being put on human purpose or intention and eventually becoming an artificial space to fulfill human purpose. Thus, through the change of a natural position to an artificial space, the position could be transformed into some resources to be used and reformed in various styles by human. When different groups or different individuals get involved in the process, they would definitely seek the planned joint action according to their life styles, in order to make most use of the land or the space as resources. Even with the spaces used by individuals, if it wishes to be recognized by other individuals or groups, it could acquire the common social life style. The artificial space never existed alone. Due to its physical features, it was first granted with some structures or features within inside and outside and between open and close, and then being used or reformed by human plans, the space could be injected with the structural features of social community and association into its structure, as a way to realize people's goal expecting on this artificial space. After various goals on creating or rebuilding of some spatial constructs are attained, or in process, the space—a place for human survival and sustenance, could inevitably change its living and existential state, thanks to the purpose and intention of groups and others or the construct itself. Space exists as an artificial matter, and in return it imposes influence or reflexive to people, once space loses reflexive, it

would lose the reason to exist as an artificial construct. Therefore, as an artificial matter, space has artificial structural features, when appeared as a whole structure; it manifests not only natural physical features, but also human structured social life style, similar to the beehive society, in which there are not only the physical features of materials used to build the house, such as light, elastic, warm and transparent, but also the social structural features such as social labor-division, group life and gregarious reproduction. Space represents both social life in space and social life on human purpose, and even restrains social lifestyle. Therefore, space exists in structure, not in isolated part or unit. Space is used and reformed by the planned action of human. The fundamental features of this space structure are common features of social life and relation: the introverted community and extroverted association, are both consisted of two fundamental space structures: introverted structural community space and extroverted structural association space.⁵⁴

1.2.3 Spatial organization structure of themselves

As the resource for human survival and sustenance, space could only be used or systematized unless it is entitled or surely forms relations with certain individual or community. The “entitle” and “forming relations” are usually defined as “ownership” or “usage”. In other words, whoever owns the space and whoever uses it. The terms tell what kind of relations is between the space and the individual or the group. Space is thus organized to present its features of structuralization.

[1] Spatial organization structure of community space : Particular ownership and common ownership ⁵⁵

Community space originated from ancient times, when people were organized in close-kinship groups to live, pick and hunt together. They were engaged in production through either divided-labor or cooperation according to their gender, age and physical strength, so as to create all favorable conditions for survival and development. The intense community feature had left the division of labor not based on separation but on cooperation. All labor’s work and products were attributed to interests of the whole community. While community space was a basis for maintaining and realizing the interests, it naturally served the whole interests of the group. Thus, ownership of community space belonged to its entire group. Therefore, “common ownership”, opposite to another “particular ownership” of community space, was the basis for ownership of community space. As usage of any space and other materials could form both “particular

⁵⁴ Note: In definition, community space and association space are differed from introverted structural community space and extroverted structural association space, the former refers to the concept of socio-spatiality structure of artificial space, the later to the actual existence of artificial space.

⁵⁵ Juergen Habermas, trans.Thomas Burger, 1992, *The Structural Transformation of the Public Sphere, An Inquiry into a Category of Bourgeois Society*. Cambridge: Polity Press. P.6.

usage” and “common usage”, due to the divided-labor, separated-life and cooperation engaged in production, thus, the “particular usage” in usage laid the basis for creating the “particular ownership” in ownership.

According to anthropological studies, the relationship between “particular ownership” and “common ownership” emerged in the late Neo-Stone Age, along with the family system created in primitive tribes. Back to 10,000 or 12,000 years ago, human ancestors entered into the era of settlement, in which animals were domesticated, regular meals were made and agricultural production was started-up.⁵⁶ With the advent of agricultural revolution, human got ride of the threat of starvation to keep growing population. With capability of arranging and organizing their lives, one crucial functional stuff—container was invented in that era. The container could be used for carrying and storing food, no matter it was made from clay, stone or weavings, it had led to the realization of primitive settlement. Intentionally collecting, distributing, transporting, storing and even exchanging the spare food had made a primarily development in social life and economy of primitive settlement. The invention of container had pushed people in the Stone Age move a crucial step into agricultural society. The rural settlement could also be viewed as a container of agricultural production, in which can not only store grains and a variety of agricultural products, but also create additional things of architecture, culture, society and economy, which just liked alcohol brewed from grains. Following the development of agriculture, all kinds of containers have been invented, such as jars, bottles, buckets, ponds, cellars, granaries, and houses. These containers and the things accumulated inside consisted of the common property of people who lived in primitive villages.⁵⁷ For example, in the Merimdeh Beni-Salameh located at the west of delta in Nile,⁵⁸ there was usually a wide-mouth jar on house floor for gathering rain water. Though rain is a natural resource, but it could become a human property or resource after being collected and storing on purpose. Like many other villages, Beni-Salameh also had some common granaries, which are underground crypts made from weaved branches. Containers in early times should be the common property belonging to the clan or commune. But since the container resource was on purpose to be produced, kept, distributed and trade with other goods, the concept of property then emerged. As a result, the property-related power also emerged, such as wield, transit, inherit, and destroy the power, a series of actions related to power. This power involved not only the whole commune but also every member of the commune. Thus, there existed gaps between the overall interests and individual interests of the commune and its members. In the end, it had to develop a distribution system in which the monarch and seignior determined the overall interests, while families under the system of pairing determined individual interests. The social development of

⁵⁶ Lewis Mumford, 1961, *The city in history, its origins, its transformations, and its prospects*, San Diego: Harcourt. P.11.

⁵⁷ Ibid. P15.

⁵⁸ Ibid. P17.

common property in the commune gave birth to social stratification and eventually led the jointly-made containers to be divided into common ownership and particular ownership, with different containers for different ownerships. This process had started from making containers for both particular use and common use, such as for monarch and family, to gradually transform them from particular use and common use to particular ownership and common ownership. Monarch and family had extended the concept of “container” to the land. Following disintegration of commune, rights to use and ownership were significantly divided, with the common space and particular space no longer related to the user.

[2] Spatial organization structure of association space: Private ownership and public ownership ⁵⁹

The early community space was built on consanguinity and kinship, fundamentally it was commonly shared and cooperative, whereas association space was formed upon open social contact, thus fundamentally it was individual and divided. In space without a priority of common interests, the guarantee of interests of each individual became the basis of forming association space. With the development of production and socialization, social division of labor has started, causing social stratum to directly result in social inequality. In order to protect individual interests effectively, people consisted of temporary groups in divided social spaces. In order to maintain and develop the on-going broken and divided social spaces, public space that solely guarantee the interests of each individual was formed, namely “public space” vs. “private space”. Thus, the relationship between private ownership and public ownership was created.

The concept of public and private came long time ago. Back in the 'polis' of ancient Greece, the gap between public field (*Koine*) and private field (*idea*) already existed. ⁶⁰ The attributes and features of the public life in the public field and those of the private life in the private field were different. At that era, the polis was founded on slavery system and ruled by seigniorial, leaving the socialization level of the Greek cities lower than that of post-era cities. Due to the limited openness of cities, the public field was the free-citizen owned communal urban space under authority of seigniorial. Thus, either exile or confiscation or ruin of the family could all mean to divorce with this communal urban space. ⁶¹ In *Republic*,⁶² Plato even hoped that families in private field would disintegrate, thus marriage and breeding would be arranged according to people’s age and constitution, so as to let the Republic citizen have common parents and common children, which turned the polis into one closely integrated family. *Republic* indefinitely expands

⁵⁹ Juergen Habermas, trans. Thomas Burger, 1992, *The Structural Transformation of the Public Sphere, An Inquiry into a Category of Bourgeois Society*. Cambridge: Polity Press.

⁶⁰ Ibid. P.3.

⁶¹ Ibid. P.3.

⁶² Plato, *Republic*, trans. new standard, 2004, Hackett Publishing Company.

the mutual boundary of polis and even suggests mutual families, wives and children, thus creating a theoretical polis communal space. In addition, it defines private field equal to particular usage, and public field equal to common usage. This was a call to return to the simple life of the clan commune, which intent to turn the conflicts between the public interest and private interest into an internal issue under one common and whole interest.

In ancient Roman, conflicts between private interests and public interests were fully addressed in Roman law, which included public law and private law respectively. Roman jurist Domituis Ulpianus points out, public law is about Roman National system and institutions, whereas private law is about individual interests (*publicum jus est, quod ad statum rei Romanae spectat, privatum, quod ad singulorum utilitatem*).⁶³ Therefore, public law prescribes Roman's political status, adjusting subjects such as religious beliefs and activities, sacrifice positions, and rights and obligations of executive and judicatory clerks. It is the regulation of religious sacrifice, administration and judicial system, including contents similar to constitution and criminal law in modern meaning.⁶⁴ And private law prescribes individual interests, including property and personal relations between citizens. It mainly refers to the relations of rights and obligations among individual citizens.⁶⁵ Private law is similar to civil law in modern meaning. The division of private law and public law in Roman law produced a direct influence to the setting of law system in the capitalist era. Despite of a polarized relationship between public and private defined in Roman law, it was simply lack of mutual restraint, as what prescribed that either "everyone is equal in front of law" or "private interests are above all" was far from being fulfilled in the era of ancient Roman.⁶⁶

The abstract concepts of "private" and "public" were more measured upon the differentiation between "special benefit" and "common benefit" in ancient times, when territory was the basis for social and economical production, and also the core of economical power. In the territory of the ancient society, the land was divided into particular ownership space and common ownership space. The place used for special benefit referred to the particular realm, whereas the place used for common benefit referred to the common realm. The realization of special benefit and common benefit lied on the ownership and usage of particular realm and common realm respectively. Therefore, ownership in the relationship between "particular" and "common" could be divided into "particular ownership" and "common ownership",

⁶³ Jiang Ping and Mi Jian, 2004, *the Foundation of Roman Law*, 《罗马法基础》, Beijing: cuplpress. 中国政法大学出版社. P.70.

⁶⁴ Ibid. P.70.

⁶⁵ Ibid. P.71.

⁶⁶ Ibid. P.72.

while “usage” in the relationship between “special” and “common” could be divided into “particular usage” and “common usage”. But before the national states raised in modern age, the relationship between “ownership” and “usage” had been intersected. In other words, there was no such a spatial power beyond “ownership” and “usage” that could integrate this structure and make it to serve each own “special and common” interests. When the idea of modern national states began to form and emerged with the development of capitalism, the basis of socio-economical production has been transformed from land to space, namely from the stage of by using land to engage in production to by using space to do with production. This finally led to the advent of the spatial integration power: "state and civil society" that overpowered the land. The emergency of this relation has left the presence of public interest and private interest in space ensured and took over the traditional relation of “special and common” interests. The original “common ownership” and “common usage” in common realm has now served public interests, while the original “particular ownership” and “particular usage” in particular realm for private interests. Thus, the opposite concepts of “public space” and “private space” were formed in space. As a result, the common field and particular field that are more closely linked to land have been transformed into public sphere and private sphere that are more closely linked to space. It has made the private space of private ownership solely to serve private interests, whereas public space of public ownership solely to serve public interests. Until now it has set up the relationship between the ‘public” and “private” in urban life described in Roman law. However, in real world, the relationship between public space and private space, and the relationship of public interest and private interest cannot remain balanced and stable. In fact, in framework of “ownership and usage”, concepts like “particular and common”, “private and common” are always intersected and overlapped, creating some phenomenon, such as “privatized public space” and “publicized private space”, to disturb development of modern cities.

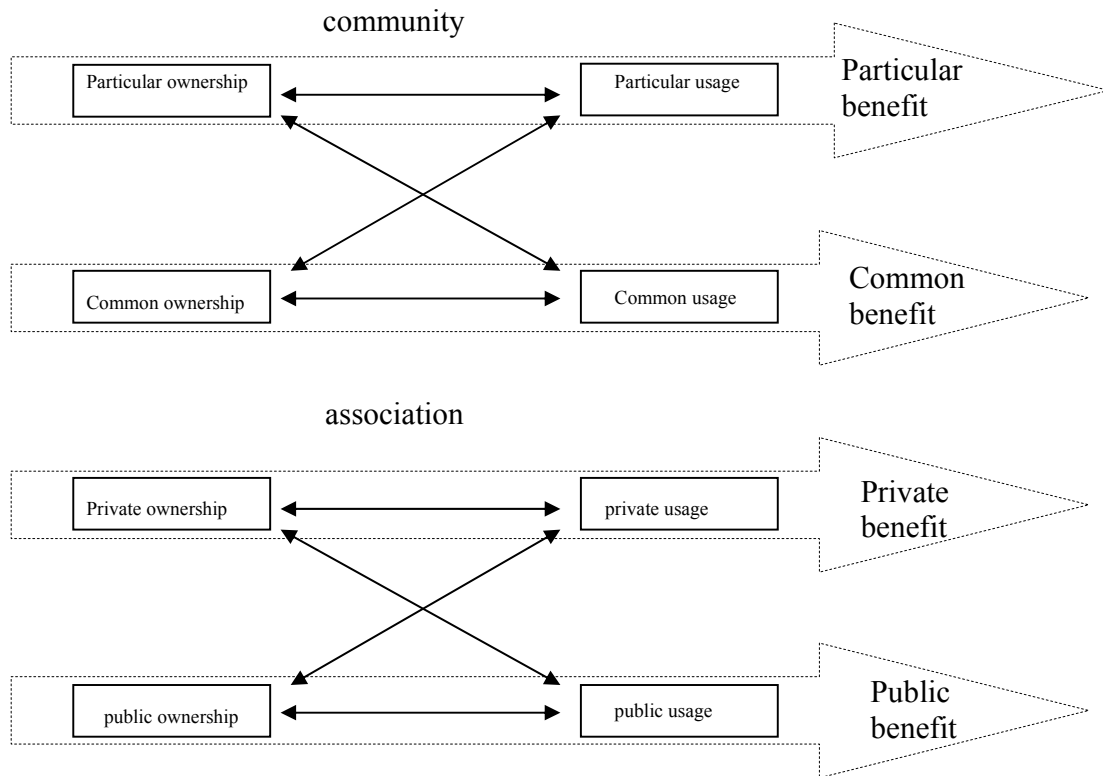


Figure 1-1: social fundamental relation between community and association. source: author creation.

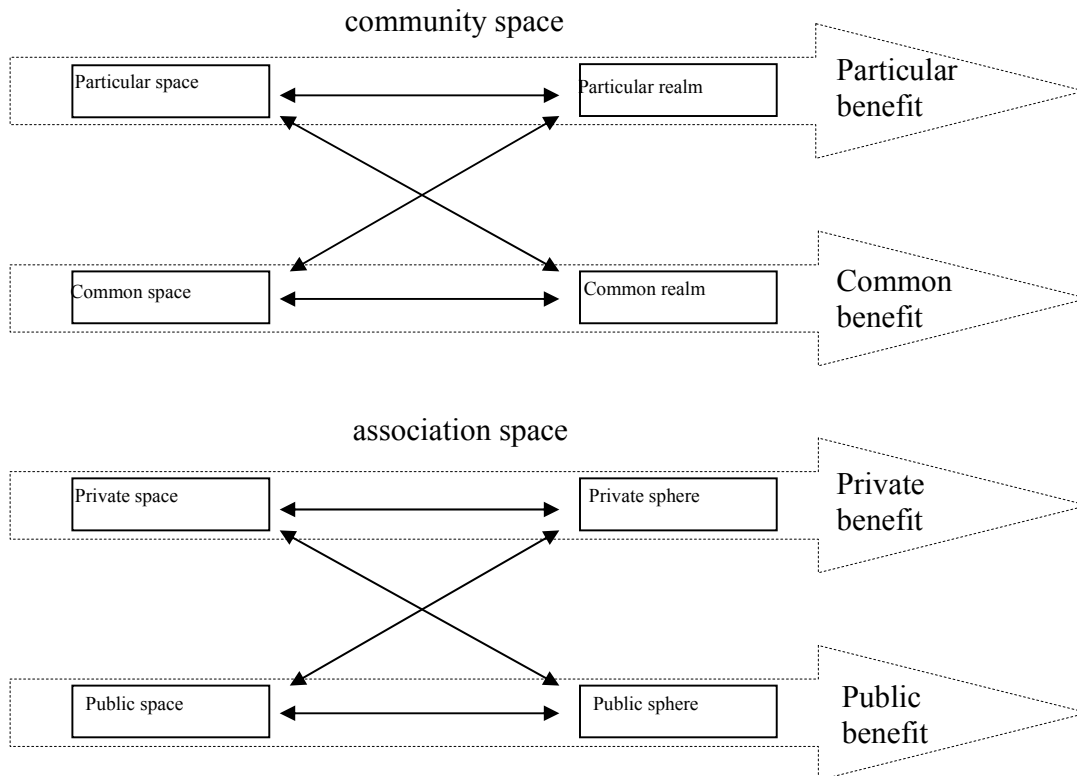


Figure 1-2: spatial fundamental relation between community and association. source: author creation.

1.3 Community space and association space

1.3.1 Community space - The Container of land and blood

■ The emergency of settlement: Land-oriented safety

Humans' early permanent settlement was closely associated with the natural environment. Besides hunting and picking, the early clans and tribes still needed certain environment or places for production, pass-over the winter and other activities. Thus, some functional encampments (camp sites)⁶⁷ were established, laying the basis for later formation of agricultural villages.

According to the latest anthropological discovery, about 10,000 years ago human started to domesticate animals, grow crops and settle down.⁶⁸ Settlement simply offered steady food provision and storage, safe environment, plenty water and relatively convenient transportation. Obviously early human permanent settlement was benefited by agriculture revolution, as the agricultural development not only guaranteed the stable village life, but also provided with favorable conditions for population growth, life improvement and safety. The settlement space was just like a variety of containers produced at that time; people lived inside of this "container" and enjoyed a stable and safe life, referred to as living together and raising offspring together. This container was good for both material conditions and people themselves. As a result, better material conditions had brought greater population, and vice versa. In settlement space, a great variety of materials and stuff of human extensions were created. In a sound circle of that material brought survival and population brought reproduction, survival and sustenance became the core of the social life of the village settlement space. Of course survival was up to land, and sustenance up to consanguinity, thus stable land forms and stable consanguinity relations jointly consisted of stable communal space. The emerged permanent settlement or village had made human to get away a direct exposure in natural environment and avoid all kinds of danger and uncertainty in a relative long time period. Therefore, safety was the starting point of the development of the early human settlement and their later community. The safety here could be generally defined as the means that people acquired to cope with uncertainty.⁶⁹ For early human beings, it was a major course on acquiring steady conditions and goods for survival and sustenance, so it cannot simply assume this safety was as the means of defending or resisting the physical threats.⁷⁰ While unmovable plants and static-life-forms could only be submissive to the volition of the nature and all kinds of uncertainty, the movable life could try to avoid the

⁶⁷ Lewis Mumford, 1961, *The city in history, its origins, its transformations, and its prospects*, San Diego: Harcourt. P.9.

⁶⁸ Stephen Gardiner, 1974, *The House: its origin and evolution*, UK: Constable & Robinson. P.4.

⁶⁹ Lewis Mumford, 1961, *The city in history, its origins, its transformations, and its prospects*, San Diego: Harcourt. P.11.

⁷⁰ Note: Lewis Mumford: "the order and stability of the village, along with its maternal enclosure and intimacy and its oneness with the forces of nature, were carried over into the city." Ibid. P.15.

uncertainty from the nature in their own ways, such as ways of migration and hibernation. Nothing could be better than people had started building their artificial construct as they wished, in some extent to isolate themselves from the nature and its uncertainty. Human had constructed their own territories, such as fields, ponds, houses, pastures, and orchards, which constituted good conditions for human survival and development, leaving them to make plans and set goals for their sustainable development. According to archeological discovery, some early settlement space was of openness. The border of the settlement simply got shabby fences or dykes surrounded, with its main function of either defending wild animals or representing a symbolic border of the primitive faith.⁷¹ So the safety there was centered on nature, but not human, as it was then far from the time and conditions to form conflicts or wars among humans. For land's security, it had led people to create a series of artifacts without purpose. In village, invention and creation of artifacts were all centered on safety, and the land was the core of guarantying this security. However, it was impossible for all works done by one individual. So it was necessary for the entire community to cooperate. Thus, safety was shared by all the community and became a "common" safety. In community, safety was structured, so the responsibilities of each artifact consisted of the whole safety. Thus, each individual's safety benefited the whole community, and also rested on the relationship between the individual responsibility and the artifact responsibility. Once the people placed safety on the artifacts, the artifacts in return formed either close or distant relationships with some individual and group who involved or not involved in the process of creation, maintenance and reform; and due to their special functions and effects, the "general safety" and "special safety" were further being formed. For instance, while fields and ditches constituted general safety, storages and houses constituted special safety. Therefore, the responsibility of the artificial space to guarantee the safety could also be divided into "general responsibility" and "special responsibility".

■ Firm land's shape: Community – as container of land

The general responsibility and special responsibility incurred by safety constituted the initial relationship between human community space and artificial space. For the sake of safety, every member of the community was obliged to bear correspondent responsibilities. Meanwhile, they also had correspondent rights and interests to their obligation and responsibilities. Thus, the general interest and special interest were formed corresponding to the general responsibility and special responsibility

[1] Usage: Particular usage and common usage

The settlement and agricultural production led human to reform and organize the land and its space with their own plans through changing the land natural features to meet their purposes and expectations. Many

⁷¹ Stephen Gardiner, 1974, *The House: its origin and evolution*, UK: Constable & Robinson. P.25.

space artifacts, such as houses, fields, roads, storages, squares and temples, were gradually created and organized into one organic unity.⁷² First, according to the kinship of human, this artificial space formed a close unity based on this relation. No matter what kind of activities people engaged, such as cultivating, planting, constructing and fixing houses, etc..., they coherently stayed in a group to live and deal with various issues. Mutual benefit, mutual help and mutual win were the common law of the common life. The common behaviors led people to naturally settle down in fair and neighboring land and chosen their commonly-believed favorable spots to build the common space of squares, storages and roads. The common action was based on labor division for cooperation, which was fairly divided according to people's age, gender, and physical strength, etc...⁷³ Through the close kinship relations and their extensive cooperation, the earliest human settlement was thus formed.

According to archeological findings in Eynam of Jordan, about 7,000-9,000 B.C. the earliest human permanent settlement was established with three villages, each of them had 50 buildings. Every building was in a round shape with a diameter over 7 meters. Those buildings were built surrounding a central area, where had a setting of some bell-shaped mortar storage pits.⁷⁴ Although such kind of early settlements are no longer to be seen, their shadows still remain in some remote isolated tribes. In those confined place, people work together to create and maintain the space. Among the zones of the space, some relatively independent houses had particular usage for one family and its members, and the central zone, storages and other constructs had common usage for the whole community. Thus, users of the particular space must take particular responsibility to manage and maintain that space, and in return they obtained some "special interests" from it. In the meanwhile, users of the common space must take general responsibility to maintain and make it to meet all members' "common interests".

[2] Ownership: Particular ownership and common ownership

Once human permanent settlement was established, the inherent relationship between people and land and its space was formed and passed on to later generations. In clan times that the kinship groups lived up to their basis for labor division, land and its space was divided into particular usage and common usage. In later community life, numerous tools were invented, such as ploughs, wheels and saws etc..., which greatly changed the association and relation between human and space. As a result, people felt more confident to create or reform spatial artifacts. This means every individual could remain more personal traces in space and create greater influence to others, after more and more particular space and common space got done. With enhanced tools and improved experience and skills in using tools, certain people

⁷² Lewis Mumford, 1961, *The city in history, its origins, its transformations, and its prospects*, San Diego: Harcourt. P.19.

⁷³ Ibid. P.18.

⁷⁴ Stephen Gardiner, 1974, *The House: its origin and evolution*, UK: Constable & Robinson. P.5.

were given access to acquire expertise in certain affairs and the relevant space, obtaining rights of particular usage to them in a fixed long term. Thus, within those clans and families, those acquired expertise could be passed on to their offspring. Besides, after a long period of development, some settlement communities gradually developed into a genealogy of a clan, in which more close families were formed. Consequently, within this community, it had to depend on some experienced seniors or some large and capable clans that obviously had more rights to make decisions on some issues, specifically regarding to the distribution of each individual's benefits—"special interests" and how to make a best use of the common space to realize the common interests, as the two things both related to safety—the core of the existence of the individual and the whole community. As far as the rights were granted, it was hard to be given up automatically. Thus, it was necessary to create the "ownership to guarantee the acquisition and stability of certain rights, and furthermore, to define the relationship between users and owners. Thus, artificial space was then divided into "particular space" and "common space".⁷⁵

There were few historic literatures regarding to this respect. And we only found some information from few ancient scripts, such as the Black Obelisk of Manishtushu. This obelisk was entitled by the name of King Akkadian (about 2,250 B.C.). In the epitaph, it said that King Akkadian had bought a piece of land about 3, 5000 hectares. Besides, it also recorded the detail kinship of the sellers. According to *A History of the Family: Distant worlds, ancient worlds* (Band 1) by André Burguière, it tells that there were 98 sellers and several witnesses who came from about 60 different families, which consisted of the territory with 8 big clans. In this land transfer, those families jointly managed the land and acquired their needs for life. As the most important resource to maintain an existence of the community, the land was commonly owned, not individually. However, as the representatives of the whole community, the king and royals had the particular ownership of the land, which was approved by all members of the community. The 98 sellers were all the representatives of the community members. Through the recording of this sort of resource transfers, it could offer some rough ideas of all relationships of this community land space and even indirectly lead to learn the genealogy of these families. In addition, the author of the obelisk had tried to illustrate the kinships among these sellers and ranked them the positions according to the orders they were mentioned in the text. The first mentioned seller was the patriarch of the dominate family, followed by sellers of lesser importance respectively.⁷⁶ All those information was gravely carved on the obelisk to tell the later generations, indicating they hoped the relationship of particular ownership and

⁷⁵ Andre Burguiere, trans into Chinese by Shuren Yuan, 1986, *Histoire de la famille*, 《家庭史, 遥远的世界, 古老的世界》, Pairs: Armand Colin. Beijing: 三联书店.

⁷⁶ Ibid. P.152.

common ownership could be recognized and informed.

■ Firm kinship: community -- as container of blood

While living together and raising offspring, the kinship family made alliance with their neighbors through intermarriages, which eventually merged the kinship families to the kinship community. The artificial space established on the introverted structure of the kinship community thus formed the organic kinship community space. The community became one large family of all members. The direct or indirect blood links made every member of the community to share common duty and responsibility to protect and sustain their common family of community. And the structure of community space lied in the close and distant kinship connection, namely the close lineal consanguinity and the collateral consanguinity. With the development of community space, this relationship became more and more complicated and systematic. By the end, patriarch rose to represent interior family power, whereas councils of elders were formed to represent exterior community power. In order to guarantee a sustainable development of the kinship community, the kinship family could be functional as a result of the natural union of male and female who bred and raised their offspring in the family and community combined structure. On the one hand, each family needed a representative—the patriarch, to protect and aggrandize its interests, and on the other hand, it was necessary to intermarry between different families to avoid inbreeding. This kind of intermarriage gradually tied many close families together, leaving them to be assimilated at different levels. Thus, the clan was produced. In a considerate-scaled clan, people could further organize their lives. Also in a bid to balance interests and relationships of every kinship family, the patriarch of each family voluntarily constituted some representative groups, such as councils of elders, to make judgments and decisions on issues related to their kinship community's stability and safety.⁷⁷

[1] Nuclear family space—nuclear kinship community space⁷⁸

Most of traditional human villages were constituted by some families, with their number ranged from several to scores. Those families might have originated from the labor division between men and women due to reproduction of their offspring. While men usually engaged in hunting and toiling outside, women worked at home to raise children and pick fruits. Each person belonged to not only a bigger community but also a smaller community—his or her family, which was the smallest organization of the kinship community comprised of parents, children and siblings. And the space usage and ownership of families was varied due their different internal structures, for instance, husband-wife family or preliminary family,

⁷⁷ Andre Burguiere, trans into Chinese by Shuren Yuan, 1986, *Histoire de la famille*, 《家庭史, 遥远的世界, 古老的世界》, Pairs: Armand Colin. Beijing: 三联书店. P.220.

⁷⁸ Ibid. P.82.

say, limited family or nuclear family. And this basic family structure could be changed to different types in different cultures and times, such as monogamy, polygamy, or others. No matter in what type of family, it all had potential to create the patriarch, the representative of this smallest community unit who executed the power. Man and woman tied their knot in this smallest community unit not because of having common ancestors, but in order to have common offspring. Production was for the sake of reproduction, and vice versa.

In a nuclear family, among the family space naturally structured due to the needs of reproduction, common space was created for all the family members' activities. And an activity center of this introverted space was formed. Through this activity center, the patriarch or the core of the family could bring all members together and make decision and judgment on all kinds of affairs in community life. In any house built since the era of settlement, it was the stove or hearth that took its center position.⁷⁹ The surrounding space of the stove also formed the introverted activity center of the nuclear family. Surrounding the stove, the nuclear family had constructed the earliest common space upon the nuclear kinship community space.⁸⁰

[2] Kinship family space—the stem kinship community space⁸¹

In certain human settlement, it was a natural process for the family and family group to emerge and develop. In this natural process, a pair of male and female joined their union to reproduce their offspring. This kind of union had enabled the family space to be naturally created and enlarged. Reproducing more offspring obviously needed more space and resources acquired to raise and nurture them. Once the offspring grew up and got married to reproduce the next generation, the preliminary family divided into their preliminary families as the cell did. The decline of the old generation and the growth of the new generation had let the family space continually develop and fashion. The foundation of catalyzing family development and division was an effective union of male and female, which also needed a continuous import of outside blood. Intermarriage had established direct connection with other families, leaving their posterity to inherent the blood of both sides.⁸² A nuclear family could expand to a greater genealogy after several generations. Furthermore it could constitute an enlarged family: the stem family made up of seniors and juniors based on husband-wife families. The stem family might have numerous preliminary

⁷⁹ Stephen Gardiner, 1974, *The House: its origin and evolution*, UK: Constable & Robinson. P.31.

⁸⁰ Note: the stove space was solely a basic form of the common space upon the nuclear kinship community space, in circumstances differed from geographic climate and natural environment, this common space definitely could come with a different form.

⁸¹ Andre Burguiere, trans into Chinese by Shuren Yuan, 1986, *Histoire de la famille*, 《家庭史, 遥远的世界, 古老的世界》, Pairs: Armand Colin. Beijing: 三联书店. P.82.

⁸² Ibid. PP.220-233.

families in the same generation, which might even formed a next generation of preliminary families. Through the reproduction of the families, a family group had thus been formed. The family group gregariously lived under one roof, including not only relatives, but also servants, slaves, and guests. The concept of household—“Bitum”, first appeared in scripts of Akkadian in Mesopotamia about 2,500 B.C. ago. “Bitum” also referred to a householder and what he managed including personnel, materials, houses, accessories, land, all properties, and their offspring from common ancestors.⁸³ The presence of household also meant the presence of householder, who not only represented all members of the family group but also embodied the power of the family group.

In nuclear kinship community space, the kinship family space definitely needed common space for all its members. A number of nuclear family spaces were organized by one stem kinship, which got all members to live together and jointly respond to all opportunities and issues. The patriarch of each family played a decisive role in this common space for the development of this kinship family community. Usually a small inner yard or courtyard was formed in the position between those nuclear family spaces or in the center position.⁸⁴ This inner yard was a place to have held many family meetings. In this stem kinship structure, the fundamental figure of the kinship development—the eldest was usually the representative of this community as the householder, who carried the heavy load of responsibility for maintaining and developing this space. Environing with this inner yard space, the family group had set up the earliest common community space organized by the stem kinship relations.⁸⁵

[3] Clan space—extended kinship community space⁸⁶

When the stem family group space was extended to its utmost, or its core husband-wife family pattern naturally declined, it had then been gradually disintegrated into scattered or loose units. These units might spread into other space around to form a bigger community that was not as close as the stem kinship family community but associated with each other, which could be called as the extended family.⁸⁷ After several generations, this kind of relation had developed into a big-branched clan relation. Members of the clan had constituted a large kinship community by acknowledging common ancestors or common offspring. In order to distinguish from others, members in this community needed a signifier to stand for their common links or ancestors, while each individual might have one or several signified to identify him

⁸³ Andre Burguiere, trans into Chinese by Shuren Yuan, 1986, *Histoire de la famille*, 《家庭史, 遥远的世界, 古老的世界》, Pairs: Armand Colin. Beijing: 三联书店. P.154.

⁸⁴ Stephen Gardiner, 1974, *The House: its origin and evolution*, UK: Constable & Robinson. P.32.

⁸⁵ note: inner yard was solely a basic common space form of the stem kinship community space, in different geographic climate and environment, this common space could inevitably appear in different form.

⁸⁶ Andre Burguiere, trans into Chinese by Shuren Yuan, 1986, *Histoire de la famille*, 《家庭史, 遥远的世界, 古老的世界》, Pairs: Armand Colin. Beijing: 三联书店. P.82.

⁸⁷ Ibid.

or herself. This signifier was the family name, and the signified was the given name. Under this family name, the clan was formed to jointly own and run the land and properties. They shared common language, customs, ceremonies and even temples and graveyards. Back to 2600 B.C., a notion of clan aggregation space appeared in Sumerian culture of Mesopotamia. In Akkadian scripts, “kimtum” referred to the notion of the clan space.⁸⁸ The emergence of the clan inevitably caused the emergence of the head of the clan, who naturally represented all members of the clan and executed the power to guarantee the stability and development of the clan.

Similarly, for the extended kinship clan community, it also needed a common space to strengthen association and activity with each other, in which they could communicate, grow affection and make decisions for the development of the community. From there those representatives or householders of the stem families, on behalf of the clan, gathered together to manage, maintain and develop the spatial organization. In community activities, it was often commanding the most powerful family’s representative as the patriarch to represent the whole community. In clan community space, it usually formed a meeting place between every family space, which had become the center of the entire community space, with all decisions being released from here to all members of the community. In many cultures, there are traditions of commemorating their ancestors or connecting their clan to a special god. Therefore, in the common space of many clans, certain clan temple was built to worship ancestors or to protect the god of the clan.⁸⁹ Therefore, the clan temple had gradually become the center of the clan community space to administrate the central function of clan agenda and policy making. Environing this clan temple, the clan had constituted the earliest community space formed upon the extended kinship, and the core of the introverted space was the clan temple, which could also be called the meeting place of the clan.⁹⁰

1.3.2 Association space – The magnetic space of land and communication

■ The emergency of communication space: Land-oriented accessibility

Before creating the permanent settlement, prehistoric human mainly lived in the wild hunting animals and picking fruits. These people, made up of a small number of kinship families perhaps dozens of people, lived an unstructured life in the natural environment. According to archeological evidence, human had first set up some non-permanent encampments prior to the permanent encampments. For instance, due to

⁸⁸ Andre Burguiere, trans into Chinese by Shuren Yuan, 1986, *Histoire de la famille*, 《家庭史, 遥远的世界, 古老的世界》, Paris: Armand Colin. Beijing: 三联书店. P.154.

⁸⁹ Lewis Mumford, 1961, *The city in history, its origins, its transformations, and its prospects*, San Diego: Harcourt. P.37.

⁹⁰ Note: the clan temple space was solely a basic common space form of the extended kinship community space, in different geographic climate and environment, this common space could inevitably appear in different form.

seasonal changes, early human could have built some camps and returned to camps when necessary.⁹¹ Besides the camps built for living or breeding, there still remained some non-permanent encampments beyond the mere survival, which were those communicative space created by some complex motives, such as worship place, holy land, or cemetery, etc... According to the archeological discovery, many Stone Age people began to think about questions that remain puzzled us today, such as body and soul, to be or not to be, the origin and future of mankind. Therefore, they created some space with special meanings in the natural environment. For example, the caves or crags for painting fresco; some particular places such as caves to set the deceased person as planned; decorations like shells, bones or tattoos to attire a person different from others intentionally for attending some open or non-open ritual events in a particular space.⁹² These activities were not directly linked to the goals of survival and breed, but about to meet the spiritual needs. Also the activities themselves made up prehistoric culture and social communication. Meanwhile, the non-permanent encampment place to hold these events had transformed from a natural site to a place with some cultural characteristics, which could also be called magnetic space.⁹³ Like those camps sites, the magnetic place had attracted people to come at regular intervals and gradually developed into human's earliest ritual meeting place ('ceremonial meeting place'⁹⁴), where people held various ceremonies and holy events, engaged in communicating and learning with each other, and enjoyed its exclusive supernatural power. However, this magnetic space differed from the container space built by the community group; it wasn't owned by the inner community but the outside that any group people could reach. Its essence was not to store but to give. From here, everybody could get some special things they wanted, such as comfort, belief and memory, etc... This magnetic space had left human forever distinguished from other animals. Differed from the introverted community space, the extroverted magnetic space had made it possible for social communication among different group people. And the emerging of the communicative space had pushed human civilization enter into a brand-new stage. With the development of the non-permanent encampment of the magnetic space, it had laid a ground to germinate the next emergency of the earliest city.⁹⁵

Unlike community group's container space, safety was not the theme of the magnetic communication space, whose core basis was accessibility. Also unlike the kinship community space, the association space was based on social communication, which also happened in communicative space. Facing the puzzles of how to communicate and how to make it possible to communicate, accessibility⁹⁶ became the starting

⁹¹ Lewis Mumford, 1961, *The city in history, its origins, its transformations, and its prospects*, San Diego: Harcourt. P.9.

⁹² Stephen Gardiner, 1974, *The House: its origin and evolution*, UK: Constable & Robinson.

⁹³ Lewis Mumford, 1961, *The city in history, its origins, its transformations, and its prospects*, San Diego: Harcourt. P.10.

⁹⁴ Ibid. P.10.

⁹⁵ Ibid.

⁹⁶ Ibid.

point for the development of communication space and association space. In fact, only accessibility could make it possible for all kinds of communication to happen. The communication action, which people initiated to exchange what they needed or acquired the differences between each other, had left people from different communities come to an accessible place to communicate. Whatever the reason, people went out of their community territory and entered into an outer world, where had drawn people to come together with its specialties. Therefore, the earliest accessibility was based on accessibility of the natural environment, which was the accessibility of a certain place or a certain land. This certain place was a general reference, of course including mountains, lakes and rivers etc... Accessibility must be a place known to all people from different communities and within a distance that everyone could easily reach, leaving the communication possible to happen there. Those empty land in the forest, special topography and beautiful lakeshore had become the earliest communication space, where people camped or encountered to engage in communication. Before people chose the settlement lifestyle, the existence form of hunting and picking had forced them to acquire a large area of natural resources to feed a very small population. In the same time, people had to keep migrating around, creating more chances to meet other different group people. All kinds of communication had made people understand each other and even probably coped with natural risks together if necessary. Thus, it had become indispensable to find each other when needed. In an accessible site that belonged to no one, the regular or non-regular gathering had formed the social communication space. Whatever styles of this communication, it happened between strangers, who had no relations in blood. This kind of space organizations formed by social relations had become the earliest extroverted association space. In this space, people were linked by social bonds. Since there was no common value or intimate affection, everyone needed to defend his or her own accessibility, in the meanwhile wishing to surpass others' accessibility to be at advantage in communication space. Thus, to ensure the existence of the association space, it had let all members of the social relations get accessibility and make it a general accessibility. And in the development of this social association space organization, each member needed to depend on their resource or capability to get accessibility, which could be called special accessibility. Therefore, to ensure the accessibility of social association space, it was indispensable to divide its rights and obligation of this accessibility to public and private.

■ Specific land's shape: Association as magnetic space of land

For people who engaged in production and various actions in social association, cooperation or organization between them was not depended on natural division of labor, but mainly on social division of labor. Social associations were connected by certain magnetic, such as belief, power, wealth and interests, etc... The basis of this association was individuals who separated from each other. Back to 3000

B.C., artificial space organization created by mankind first appeared in initial socialization, following a large amount of implosion of this social action in magnetic space.⁹⁷ Thanks to a great number of people and agricultural products gathered in a limited space, the earliest city space appeared. In earlier settlement, some people first cut themselves off from labor work and engaged in more creative activities, not for natural reasons of age, physical ability, gender or injury, but for definitive social division of labor to step into some career. The emergency of career had strengthened the organization of the magnetic space.

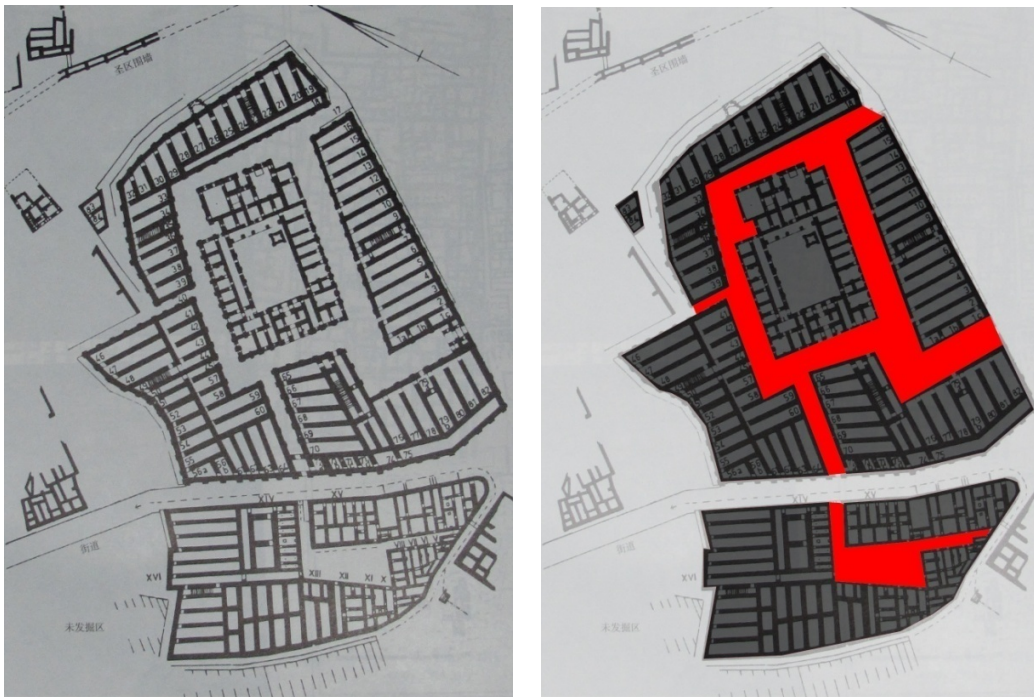
In the book of *the history of the city wrote* by Leonardo Benevolo, there is an ichnography about the great temple of Hattusa⁹⁸ and its surrounding urban areas in Hattusa, the capital of Hittite Empire. In the middle of the ichnography there is a street, whose upper part is the temple area and the lower part is spontaneous downtown area. While the temple area comprised of a central temple and an adytum with 84 surrounding storerooms in every direction, the spontaneous downtown area had a central yard with 14 surrounding space units in every direction. This ichnography shows clearly in that city of Hattusa, by one street division, the association space and common community space had existed and developed together. By comparing with the two parts in the ichnography, it tells that the temple-centered association space was built on the core concept of accessibility, so there have exits and entrances in the four directions, and the links to these exits and entrances were the street space surrounding the temple formed by the space of storerooms circling the temple. And the yard-centered spontaneous downtown area was enclosed by walls with only one exit and one entrance. This kind of design indicates that the core it concerned was security. By comparing with the outside spaces of the two parts, it clearly distinguishes the extroversion of the association space and the introversion of the community space. Construction of temples had dismissed the topographic factor, but depended on corresponding spatial modulus and scale. In the ichnography, it was basically straight lined and formed the regular space. In a similar size of each rectangle space, they aggregately appeared in even. It can tell that construction of the temples was in advance planned and designed in an organized way, and maintenance of this space existence was guided by social norms. The process of building the temples and using them must have been realized by social division and social organization. In the spontaneous fabric of the city, however, the whole ichnography was in irregular shape, and construction of these spaces had depended greatly on the topographic conditions, with the 14 units varied in size. Most space units had been further divided into even smaller units according to the limitations of topography or different construction needs, with the exit and entrance of each unit both linked to the courtyard. Thus, it could conclude that the spontaneous fabric of the city had gradually been formed around the courtyard as a center. To compare with the temples area, this part of space structure

⁹⁷ Lewis Mumford, 1961, *The city in history, its origins, its transformations, and its prospects*, San Diego: Harcourt. P.34.

⁹⁸ note: Hatti and Arinna temples in around 1200 B.C.

was more organic and elaborately divided into 14 units, which along with the courtyard made up of the whole land piece. The establishment of the space might have come from a rough plan, leaving its later use and development unable to rely on social norms, but on a way of community. Although now it is hard to find that this community was built based on whether kinship or space neighborhood, by comparing with the center of two parts in the ichnography: the upper is a solidly constructed-temple whereas the lower is an open courtyard, it exactly tells different characteristics of the extroverted space and introverted space that have attracted people to visit the sightseeing of this mingled magnetic space and container space, which both made the life of that era.

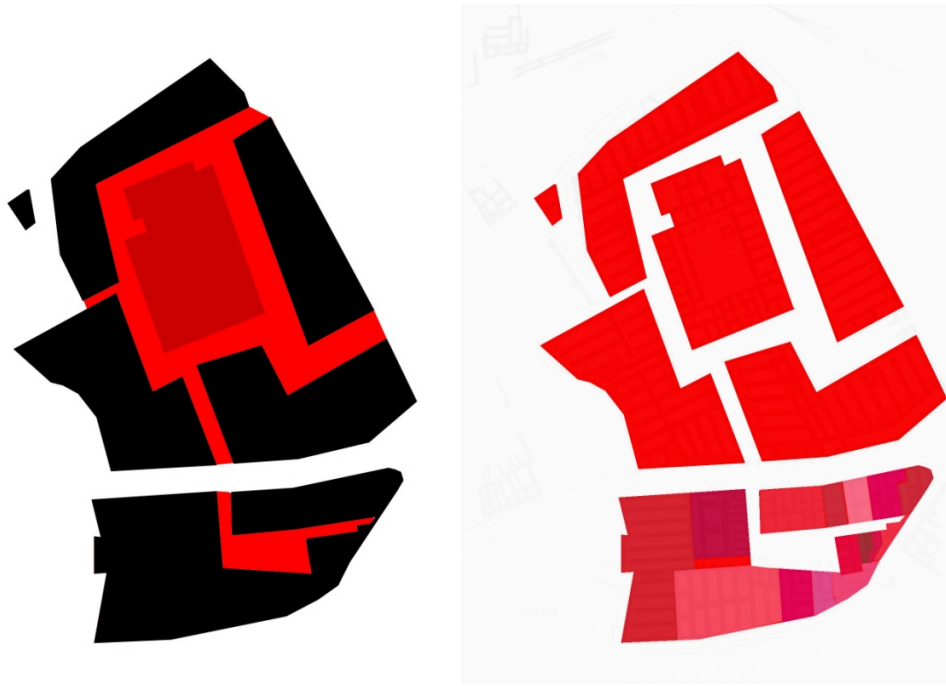
While the 14 units represented the particular usage of the land piece community, the courtyard space embodied its common usage. In temples, those 84 rooms met the special needs of the social association space, which had later been changed into private usage for those individuals who actually used the temples.⁹⁹ And the road space in between the rooms and the temples met the general needs of the social association space, which had later been changed into public usage for those individuals who used them. Furthermore, the needs of public usage and private usage in social association presented themselves as public benefits and private benefits.



Map 1-1: ichnography for the great temple of Hattusa and its surrounding urban areas in Hattusa, the capital of Hittite Empire. picture source: Benevolo, Leonardo. *Die Geschichte der Stadt*. trans. Juergen Humburg, Campus Verlag, 2000. P37.

Map 1-2: accessibility and safety for the great temple of Hattusa and its surrounding urban areas. picture source: author creation.

⁹⁹ note: such as ruler of the temple property.



Map 1-3: Magnetic Space & Container Space for the great temple of Hattusa and its surrounding urban areas. picture source: author creation.

Map 1-4: Public-Private & Common-Particular relation analysis for the great temple of Hattusa and its surrounding urban areas. picture source: author creation.

[1]Usage: Public usage and private usage

Since the emergence and development of ancient city, city life gradually thrived in the magnetic city space: namely the emergency of specialized profession and labor division. The magnetic city space was attracting more and more strangers and immigrants to come. Following the development of the association space including temple, market, and road, these spaces had taken a lot of land, even those limited land of the city.¹⁰⁰ The association space formed type and status of rights to land usage according to social structure, namely common usage and private usage. As the communication space was the basis for founding social association, thus the relationship between the land and its use in association space changed all the time, unlike that between the land and its users or owners always remained firm in different community spaces. With the establishment of communication between different groups or different individuals as well as all kinds of social relations, the associative space was used and reformed by the migrating people, thus it needed to get the land ownership and space usage specific to respond the coming of many strangers who had great mobility. In association space, based on the essence of

¹⁰⁰ Lewis Mumford, 1961, *The city in history, its origins, its transformations, and its prospects*, San Diego: Harcourt. P.35.

communication—accessibility, people usually divided some space for common use with new comers. This common usage had been granted some publicity or public characteristic. Therefore, the association space built on norm of communication essentially welcomed “any strangers” or outsiders to come in. the common users of this space were necessarily belonging to one community or group. Thus, this common usage was essentially different from the common usage for the inside community members, but the public usage for the outside public service. The public land, building, river, road, market, and facility offered general accessibility.¹⁰¹ In the meanwhile, there was a requirement of special accessibility: for instance, the special place offered to individuals engaging in private talk with god or spiritual activities in temple; the warehouse or trading place offered to individuals for private use in market; the wharf offered or water offered to individuals for private use. The special accessibility formed a usage status that was divided from public usage to be private usage. Since communication occurred between different individuals, thus individuals constituted the basis of the social association. Therefore, the private usage of special accessibility based on different individuals was essentially different from the particular usage of particular responsibility of some types of members in community.

The earliest-formed common interests and private interests in associative space centralized on accessibility of land and space, which could be divided into three dimensions: spiritual, functional and physical. Public usage and private usage symbolized commonality and particularity of accessibility in these three dimensions. Although “private usage” and “public usage” might be later defined as definite concepts to curtain their ever confounding with land ownership or space ownership, their actual usage status in private and public had already existed for a long time since associative space and ancient cities emerged.

[2] Ownership: public ownership and private ownership

Through the development of early city and urban society, it created social labor division system and stratification. The cause of poor and rich was not only stemmed from solely accumulating wealth or products, but more from mainly setting on the organized social system that could support or guarantee the Stratification.¹⁰² Therefore, the presence of wealth independence and wealth system was a far-reaching transition of social development. The social associative space was thus fundamentally different from the kinship community space. In community, it was the people who attached to the land, not the land attached to the people, and the most gained from the land belonged or shared to all members of the community.

¹⁰¹ Stephen Gardiner, 1974, *The House: its origin and evolution*, UK: Constable & Robinson.P.10.

¹⁰² Lewis Mumford, 1961, *The city in history, its origins, its transformations, and its prospects*, San Diego: Harcourt. P.107.

However, in cities formed by the magnetic space, the holy land, temple and castle symbolizing the magnetic center and power gradually evolved into the theocracy and regalia, which replaced the central power of the magnetic space and stayed the top of the social stratum. The magnetic space had gradually developed city and controlled neighborhood land. These land areas then belonged to these magnetic powers and their representatives like flamen or king.¹⁰³ Land, along with its products, and even farmers all belonged to these corporations. For the first time the products by work on the land no longer belonged to the farmer or the community of farmers, but belonged to the owners of the land, and some of the products could return to the farmers after all those products being allocated through social distribution. To make this social system sustainable, people had to build infrastructures such as canals, ramparts, and temples etc... These infrastructures only belonged to the abstract social system, namely public utility. This public utility, along with the public property derived from it, didn't belong to any corporation of the socialized organization, but ensured the existence and development of the entire social association space. The public properties formed due to protect the public interests, particularly the land, when it served an abstract commonality, there needed a socialized organization and system to realize the fair and equal treatment of the public, and to protect and development this public property, leaving it to realize the public interests. After the rise of city, the theocracy and regalia came from the center of magnetic space not only represented the power of social life, but also claimed the land—the most important property, to their name. Under the control of the regalia, the land completely became the private property of the monarchs. In the meanwhile, for the sake of maintaining the social system and regalia itself, the monarchs had to deputize the public interests, with part of their private property lined out to be public property. In Roman laws, despite that the concept of ownership was not definitely formed, but its relevant descriptions were elaborated (Basis of Roman Laws¹⁰⁴). In fact, long before the emergency of public ownership and private ownership, the differentiation of public property and private property had already been pronounced. Like the community space, the association space couldn't exist alone, but also took part of the land resource and established its own land organization at the same time. The way of the land and space organized in the association space was determined to form and divide the land ownership into the public ownership and private ownership.

■ Specific social relation: Association, as a communicative magnetic space

People constructed the extroverted social life outside their community space. So the basis for the association space was the land and space where all communications occurred. As a result, different social

¹⁰³ Lewis Mumford, 1961, *The city in history, its origins, its transformations, and its prospects*, San Diego: Harcourt. P.47.

¹⁰⁴ Jiang Ping and Mi Jian, 2004, *the Foundation of Roman Law*, 《罗马法基础》, Beijing: cuplpress. 中国政法大学出版社. P.215.

relations and activities fabricated different space organizations and artificial matters. The association space became mechanical artificial space organization.¹⁰⁵ The normative and institutionalized communications and definite and clear space organization made communication effective between different people and acquired the accessibility of communicative space. Social communication space was created and used as an artificial matter, which specifically prepared for the occurrence of various social relations. These social relations, either loose or tight, created the extroverted space organization. Based on this organization structure, all kinds of resources were converged and effectively integrated to create human civilization, leaving the rise and development of city become possible. Therefore, as the super artificial matter created by ancient civilization, city space was the product of that the association space combined with the community space. The community space was as the social resource that had been drawn to the association space by its strong magnetic. The stronger magnetic the association space had, and the higher degree its social organization created, the more social resource it attracted, resulting in the formation of a permanent large-scaled settlement and an orderly, explicitly-ranked, and highly socialized space organization. This great and complicated artificial matter became a comprehensive concept: city. City presented the existence of diversity, rather than a corresponding term vs. village in quantity or scale. Thus, to keep working of this space organization needed more accurate and reasonable rules and institutions to ensure, pushing the formation of the later civilized system including law, contract, ethics, etc...

[1] Symbolic association, as a spontaneous action space¹⁰⁶

All kinds of social relations or communications initially depended upon people's participation and willingness. Spontaneous communication space might have been the earliest emerged certain social relation. People came together due to something very appealing, such as somewhere a special formed sightseeing or some beautiful place suitable for rest. Back to prehistoric time, these places had gradually become human ritual centers in era of Stone Age, where people commonly or individually participated in some spiritual and artistic activities, experiencing super-nature power, memory and meditation. This kind of place included Lascaux grottos in southeast France and Altamira grottos in north Spain. According to archeological discovery, these two places had served as some ritual centers in ancient times, but not used as the long-time residence of ancient people. This kind of grottos remained a great number of frescos, whose contents covered daily life and rituals.¹⁰⁷ However, many frescos were made in some deep and dark spots, where definitely didn't fit for sight. Therefore, back to the earliest time of these ritual centers,

¹⁰⁵ note: Here the mechanical artificial space organization was more corresponding to the organic artificial space organization of community space.

¹⁰⁶ Jan Gehl, 1987, *Life Between Buildings: Using Public Space*, trans. Jo Koch, Island Press.

¹⁰⁷ Lewis Mumford, 1961, *The city in history, its origins, its transformations, and its prospects*, San Diego: Harcourt. P.8.

people participated in activities spontaneously, not intentionally or organizationally or collaboratively. Social relations or communications between people turned to be merely symbolic and spiritual. Since human entered into the settlement age, the ritual centers with symbolic social relations had gradually been replaced by a similarly spatial form- the “holy lands”. It could say that the holy lands were the ritual centers of the human settlement age. The characteristics of these spaces were all closely related to the natural environment, and the lands that had unique features or natural environment set the basis for forming the ritual centers. Here was a communication space between the holy nature and artificial space. This symbolism embodied the spiritual nature of the artificial space. From here people could experience the super spiritual power and calling, symbolically connecting with each other to form a social association. Therefore, the space formed by different people who came together for spontaneous activities based on a certain symbolism had made up of the social association space based on the symbolic social relations.

[2] Functional association, as a social action space¹⁰⁸

As far as the ritual centers emerged, different people had also gradually established extensive life relations. People gathered together in certain season, with these gatherings ranged from the needs of breeding to a simple trading of goods by goods, such as the exchange of food, ornaments, and even various tools. That was how the earliest market came into being. In the residence times, the concept of profession gradually emerged because of the social division. This indicated that some people might undertake one single production form. The earliest market was exactly rising from these open locations where people often came. After human entered into the settlement era, a variety of social labor division had rapidly developed, with some specialized singular production modes emerged, followed by the formation of the concept of profession. With the rise of ancient cities, city residents no longer made most of their life products as did the rural villagers, but rather relied on the social labor-divided production. This labor division had made more and more specialized products and professions, leading to an inevitable presence and development of further stratum social relations. How to make, distribute and exchange the socialized products had made the occurrence of the functional social communications and relations. Unlike in spontaneous activity space, people who came to here not only had a willingness to participate but also took actions. In this kind of communications, different people must communicate face to face, further exchange their own ideas, and only made their communication fruitful unless they reached consensus. In the market, it was only possible to make a deal between the two parties unless the value of their goods was equaled and both agreed to exchange. Like the emergency of professions, these communicative actions couldn't be realized by themselves, but had to rely on the social division system to become a functional organ of the socialized space organization. Once the social actions and

¹⁰⁸ Jan Gehl, 1987, *Life Between Buildings: Using Public Space*, trans. Jo Koch, Island Press.

communications became the functional social relations, this functional extroverted space had become people's social life, particularly the indispensable activity space for city life. While a variety of functional social communicative actions such as market, military camp, court and jail began to come, a life style completely different from the rural life emerged. When some place had special appealing and was formed into a magnetic space that had drawn various resources to itself, this space must depend on socialization to form organization. Among this kind of space organization, some might be unconsciously and passively formed by nature, while others might be actively formed by the power entities derived from the magnetic centers during their socialization process. The former included the spontaneously formed free market. For example, in Sumerian ideograms, the word "market" is represented by the alphabet "Y", which indicates that a market is usually located at an intersection of the roads.¹⁰⁹ In fact, it's very hard for a free market to be alone in a socialized space organization, as that the basic functions of a market, such as collecting, storing and distributing goods, need a collaboration of extra space resources to get them done. The trade activities simply based on an open place to conduct could remain a lower level of social relations due to various uncertainties. Thus, many open place markets had become the covered bazaars,¹¹⁰ with specialized and functional space being artificially created and supervised by the power of the magnetic space. People from all walks of life could have engaged in communicative actions and formed extensive social relations. Therefore, social actions constructed the social association space that was based on functional social relations.

[3] Physical association—an inevitable action space¹¹¹

The establishment of the earliest human communicative action and its corresponding space, such as the ritual center (symbolic communication) and market space (functional communication), had promoted communication into a high-frequency and long-lasting social action, which actually needed a broad platform to realize. In this platform, the communication presented as an inevitable action. This inevitability was not because of people's common willingness or purpose, but an inevitable action. In this platform, people were not actively but passively engaged in communicating with each other. The inevitable communication space offered a physical accessibility, leaving people from all walks of life to participate in this action. From here whether people passed by or stopped by, this action space had become part of their daily life. To reach the social and spiritual communication, people inevitably activated themselves into physical action. Human's earliest invention of boat had enabled them to travel across the water or utilize the water system to get the lower reach or remote place. Thus, the boat and water system constituted human's early waterway. In ancient civilizations' great river territories, there

¹⁰⁹ Lewis Mumford, 1961, *The city in history, its origins, its transformations, and its prospects*, San Diego: Harcourt. P.72.

¹¹⁰ Ibid.

¹¹¹ Jan Gehl, 1987, *Life Between Buildings: Using Public Space*, trans. Jo Koch, Island Press.

were usually hundreds and thousands of waterways used for the establishment of association and communication with far away people. For some waterway, it could travel either up or down the current. But for some other, it couldn't do up the current. For example, in ancient Egypt's Nile River, merchants took the rafts down to low reach to sell scarce goods and woods to locals and buy the local specialties, and then returned to the up reach through the land.¹¹² The land routes were thus formed too. In inevitable action space, people were physically related.¹¹³ And the platforms that carried this action, such as waterways and land routes, had become artificial spaces. Why called them as artificial spaces, it's because that they were not physical creations by human, but processed, reformed or utilized by human with organization and purpose, and became an important part of the extroverted space. When different people used the same water route or land route, they were inevitably fallen into the same space to participate in the action. Many of these actions were not the communication between people, but the association with the platforms, namely the water route or land route. Based on this action, people formed physical social relation. Thus, the inevitable action space had constituted the social association space based on physical social relation.

1.4 Socio-spatial Transitions of Community Space and Association Space

1.4.1 From kinship community to neighborhood community

■ The transition of settlement: Space-oriented safety

After thousands of years since human entered into the urban civilization, the introverted community space, in either city or countryside, still keep with relatively stable common relations—the first relations based on kinship. Beginning from the 10th century,¹¹⁴ European cities started to develop into municipalities.¹¹⁵ While feudal Lords built towns around borders and empowered autonomous citizens with weapons, which not only reduced the stationary of soldiers, but also brought with tax revenue, the new municipality obtained the social contracts and legal protection from the feudal lords. For example, if a serf resided in a town for one continuous year and one day, his serfdom status and obligations might be exempted.¹¹⁶ Thus, work at city to get citizenship replaced the traditional relations of kinship, family and homeland. However, following the establishment of centralized states in European Baroque age and the development of

¹¹² Lewis Mumford, 1961, *The city in history, its origins, its transformations, and its prospects*, San Diego: Harcourt. P.56.

¹¹³ Stephen Gardiner, 1974, *The House: its origin and evolution*, UK: Constable & Robinson.P.9.

¹¹⁴ Benevolo, Leonardo. *Die Geschichte der Stadt*. trans. Juergen Humburg, Campus Verlag, 2000.

¹¹⁵ note: Europe is a very broad definition. It should be avoided to use such broad term in theoretical course, but for this book that is related to a large amount of macro-research, therefore, it is unnecessary to further define the complicated time and space relationship of Europe, if not specifically defined, the term of Europe appeared in this book is broadly referred to west European countries or regions.

¹¹⁶ Lewis Mumford, 1961, *The city in history, its origins, its transformations, and its prospects*, San Diego: Harcourt. P.262.

national strategies of mercantilism and commercial economy, the monetary economy gradually replaced the goods economy. Until 17th century when the capitalism began to dominate social development and urban expansion, the solid ties between the land of community space and kinship had gradually loosen and then broken, resulting in a historic profound change of the kinship community space.

Between the 18th century and the 19th century, following the massive growth of productions in Europe, the development and maintenance of community definitely shifted the production from land to space. A space on land no longer was an emblem of 'kinship community', but construed community itself, with the site becoming the emblem to represent this 'neighborhood community' instead. Meanwhile, labor specialization, a large-scale use and invention of machinery, information dissemination and technological progress, and clear division between capitalists who own production materials and hired laborers were constantly expanded and exponentially produced. The container that protected the community development was changed from land to space, with the process being accelerated by industrialization. Prior to the emerging of the industrialization giant, the Enclosure Movement began in Britain, since agricultural revolution had reduced the size of farming land and labor. Land concentration and farming technique development had not only greatly improved agricultural production, but also emancipated people from the farmland, resulting in a large migration from rural areas into cities and various industrial production spaces. In the meanwhile, safety originated from space was more important than that originated from land. Either special safety or general safety was all accountable for division features of community space. If says, it was relatively difficult in the past to build a division in land—such as wall or ditch, nowadays it is easier to do in space with feasible technique conditions.

■ From a stable land form to a solid space form: common or particular - from land's shape to function space

Community space usage in Middle Ages was still based on natural cooperation, in which there was no strict functional zoning. Thus, family life and production were mixed together in house. The unit of family community lived “under one roof”, including not only the kinship family, but also non-genetic relations of servants and workers, etc...¹¹⁷ The workshop was a large family, so was the accountant, both lived “under one roof”, where was a factory when working, a cafeteria when eating, and a bedroom when sleeping. When some associations were under the control of some large families, it would form a clan structure, making the extroverted association appeared to the introverted communal within a period of time. Thus, this kind of association could develop into a patriarchal system, in which the interior rules were set up by these patriarchs in accordance with the mode of kinship community, and the family life

¹¹⁷ Benevolo, Leonardo. *Die Geschichte der Stadt*. trans. Juergen Humberg, Campus Verlag, 2000.

and work were perceived as one thing.

According to *The City in History* by Lewis Mumford,¹¹⁸ urban houses at that time generally had 2-3 floors, and there were few independent unit houses, which not only needed more wall supporting areas and heating fuels, but also a waste of land. Thus, it was often a row of terraced houses built along the backyard. And sometimes a large courtyard could be formed, with a path leading to the outside. The block formed by row-houses constituted a solid shell as the wall of the community space, where guards could be put on the first floor entrance to watch this container space. City residences could be either a home or a workshop, or a shop and an accountant. Following its development, various spaces sprawled; the original backyard for gardening had to give way to construction of various messy spaces. During a golden era of business reviving and population growing in Europe between the 13th and the 17th centuries, this situation had been changed, with more emphasis on functional zoning. Thus, separating production from life became more specialized, with more functions and space usage forms subdivided for industrial production and family life.

Some industrial production such as leather, iron, glass and flour needed an independent operational space, surrounding which sometimes relevant industrial manufacturing might be required, such as dyeing, weaving, and distillation etc... Thus more and more specialized industrial productions were separated from the under one roof family life. And various particular spaces were created to make production efficiency greatly improved. Although the production relation had still kept a status of community, the production process was gradually moving towards socialization. While land and people constituted a community status in the past, space and people had now constituted a community. As a result, the particular and common relationship exclusively owned by community started to shift from land to space. With the specialized space replacing the specialized land, the efficiency of space usage was greatly improved, and the bondages between people and land on identity and power were loose. Since then the identity and power of community originated from the land had been converted into the space, and the land could directly engage in production through itself, thus power could be directly obtained through the land size or the land measurement. Unlike the land, the space couldn't directly engage in production. Instead it needed to be produced in function, even if the real estate was used for transactions and land space was used as an abstract monetary unit, thus the space had been given a property's economic function to be reproduced. Therefore, the specialization of space had defined the space by its function, leaving the particular and common relations of community space no longer reflected in the form of community land,

¹¹⁸ Lewis Mumford, 1961, *The city in history, its origins, its transformations, and its prospects*, San Diego: Harcourt. P.282.

but in the function of community space. Therefore, the “particular interests” and “common interest” thus reflected in the space, leaving the space form to replace the land shape and communal space to replace community land. Thus the duties and rights of communal space were connected to their corresponding functions.

[1] Usage: Particular usage and common usage of space

Fire stove has normally existed since human entered into the settlement era, and gradually split from the housing center into different parts, such as fireplace, chimney, stove and lantern etc... Flame division was same as function refinement: such as cooking, boiling, heating, lighting, and even decorating. The usage mode of community internal space—particular usage and common usage, had become more and more refined through the development of living conditions, which also moved forward to functional development as production did. The functionalized life required the functionalized space. As early as in Middle Ages, nobles started to divide the room into bedroom and living room etc...¹¹⁹ Between the 13th and the 17th centuries, the functionalized space became popular. People needed more particular space and particular function, leaving the division of the functional space from the community common space to ensure an independence and efficiency of each subdivided function. Beginning from the 14th century,¹²⁰ British nobles no longer ate with all family members including servants, with their own space of eating and entertaining as well as toileting available. Split bedding was originated from Italy, where nobles no longer slept on common bed. The common condition of one family sleeping in one room in the 13th century had gradually changed till the 17th century, when single bedroom was created even for master and hostess in France. By the 17th century in Europe, it became a certain trend to separate family life from workplace.¹²¹ The family space became a daily life space for meeting guests and raising offspring, whereas the workplace changed to a space for making, selling and consuming products. With the development of urbanization, urban buildings commonly rose in height, from 2-3 floors to 6 floors and even with a basement. However, the growth in building's height couldn't bring a larger space, on contrary, it even made the space become smaller, as each room was given particular function for either particular usage or common usage. The instrumental and rational development of space broke the communal space into multiple functional pieces, cooking - kitchen; eating – dining room; sleeping - bedroom; entertaining - living room; meeting guest - salon; reading – study room; releasing - toilet; bathing - bathroom; exhibiting - gallery; storing – garage etc...¹²²

¹¹⁹ Lewis Mumford, 1961, *The city in history, its origins, its transformations, and its prospects*, San Diego: Harcourt. P.286.

¹²⁰ Ibid.

¹²¹ Ibid.

¹²² Benevolo, Leonardo. *Die Geschichte der Stadt*. trans. Juergen Humberg, Campus Verlag, 2000.

Since the Industrial Revolution took place in 19th century, urbanization and industrialization have come together for co-development. The invention of the steam engine and a variety of other machines had extremely enlarged production scale. Obviously efficiency of machines required more concentrated production, which in return required more centralized plants with spacious space accommodating a large number of workers. Then 4-5 floored plants were built, and plants that could hold hundreds of workers or even more workers had emerged in numbers.¹²³ A large concentration of population around the plants had made an increase of various public service facilities, which became more intense in later age of railway and trains. As far as industrial cities emerged, the urban environment had been extremely worsen for a while, producing a large amount of shabby worker residences and various slums that manifested the evil consequences of co-development of industrialization and urbanization. In such kind of residences, it usually had several generations of one family packed in one small room. In this living condition, the space was made most of use to its limit according to people's size, like the design of astronaut capsule.¹²⁴ Construction of highly dense worker residences or urban residences had followed economic principles. In order to produce more spaces in the limited land, the higher the building reached, the lower each floor suffered. The businessmen in real estate constructed the residences and sold or rent the produced space. Architecture appeared as a decorated shell of space, no longer an extension of land into sky. The modern spatiality emerged, as space became an independent product that is binder-free of land and architecture. When space is designed as a luxury, it needs an expensive architectural shell; however, when it is designed for dwelling, it only needs a cheap architectural cover, or even go nude without any cover. In fact, architectural space no longer serves a certain employer, but an abstract commercial partner, a potential purchase group and use group. The commercial space product had made the maker and user of the space no longer a same person. This division had left the space no longer unique, but subjected to common standards. The industrial development ultimately led to the industrialization of architectural section, with steel structure, concrete technique and elevator being invented in late 19th century and widely put into a large-scale application.¹²⁵

Industrialization, standardization, and rationalization of living space ultimately resulted in Le Corbusier's extreme concept: living machine.¹²⁶ The theme of CIAM in Frankfurt (1929) was existenz-minimum, which aimed at determining a minimum standard for economic living conditions. This idea was focused on the combination of space as production of industrial products based on principles of economy between

¹²³ Lewis Mumford, 1961, *The city in history, its origins, its transformations, and its prospects*, San Diego: Harcourt. P.463.

¹²⁴ Benevolo, Leonardo. *Die Geschichte der Stadt*. trans. Juergen Humburg, Campus Verlag, 2000.

¹²⁵ Kenneth Frampton, 2007, *Modern architecture, A critical history*. London: Thames & Hudson.PP.29-40

¹²⁶ Ibid.

space efficiency shared by occupants.¹²⁷ That is, the higher efficiency of a space, the more rationality of its principle of economy. In this way, the space usage was guided by the economic rationality. Meanwhile, complex functions in the Baroque era were combined with people's physical size and physiological functions, which were manifested by human behaviors. Space was designated to functions to get more efficiency. For example, the kitchen space particularly designed by G Schuette-Lihotzky,¹²⁸ which was one of the most compact spaces compressed together with cooking-related features, became the prototype for all modern kitchens. Besides, many functions are combined to further improve efficiency in the use of functional space, such as bathing and excretion; cooking and eating; parlor and living, and so on. The emergence of functional space made usage of space a typology. In this living machine, human were no longer masters, but well-functioning machine lubricants for the space. Thus, particular and common usage of space has to adapt to its function, making it more flexible. When a space has been used at different times, the function of its particular and common usage would replace its space usage.

[2] Ownership: Particular ownership and common ownership

Particular ownership and common ownership have gone through constant development in each stage since human society began building cities. As the core of power and safety, land ownership was transformed from common ownership into particular ownership, along with the end of the primitive society and the emergence of family property. The common ownership (condominium) referred to common and associated dominium in Roman law,¹²⁹ which was an indivisible and indispensable part of ownership. "Common" here referred to common to all. In Roman law, common served as a special form of ownership in existence, which centered on the smallest unit of kinship — family, namely, all members of the community shared common ownership, such as common land ownership. In ancient Rome, the family property was jointly owned by all members of the community in spite of some restrictions of patriarchal system, such as patriarchal right to dispose property. Private ownership made the nature of ownership permanent, exclusive and absolute.¹³⁰ Thus, there should be only a full ownership basically. In the medieval feudal times, feudal lords had privilege of land, which was granted by either royal or church power. Gradually by the end of Middle Ages, the rise of capitalism started to change the particular and common ownership form. By 17th century, the emerging 'handelstaedte' and capitalist freedom acted as a revolutionary force to break out various social systems, borders of social stratum and rules of power distribution that feudal society had made based on a fixed land-setting.¹³¹ The fixed granted land setting

¹²⁷ Kenneth Frampton, 2007, *Modern architecture, A critical history*. London: Thames & Hudson.P.138.

¹²⁸ Ibid.

¹²⁹ Jiang Ping and Mi Jian, 2004, *the Foundation of Roman Law*, 《罗马法基础》, Beijing: cuplpress. 中国政法大学出版社.

¹³⁰ Chen Zhaobi, 2006, *the principle of Roman Law*, 《罗马法原理》, Beijing: law press. 法律出版社.

¹³¹ Lewis Mumford, 1961, *The city in history, its origins, its transformations, and its prospects*, San Diego: Harcourt. P.410.

under the feudal system rapidly changed into a flexible commercial land setting under the capitalism system, which eventually made land free to trade in the market. Following the development of land privatization, common and particular nature of the land ownership declined rapidly, but it didn't mean the disappearance of land ownership. With the advent of industrialization in 19th century, population and immigration movement developed into an unprecedented scale. This movement, on one hand, left the relationship between kinship community and land gradually disintegrated, on the other hand, mobility made people lose their alliance bonded with community and land. However, in front of great uncertainty of life, people couldn't give up the community setting and reorganized it into the community neighborhood; rather they became more dependent on safety that community provided. Gradually, people formed their living space based on a private land setting of community, facing life crisis together. Therefore, particular and common ownership here indicated space in stead of land.

With the continuous expansion in business, some concepts such as partnership system, company, legal person, joint-stock system were invented in accordance with common ownership tradition. Moreover, Industrialization has brought population booming after more and more people moved into cities. It was a revival of Roman swaying insular in late 19th century's slum, whose extremely-poor living conditions forced people to change this situation. In 1844, the Rochdale Equitable Pioneers Society¹³² made up by 28 labors emerged in Rochdale's industrial town of the United Kingdom, followed by Housing Cooperatives. Members of the cooperative community bore all costs of housing construction and maintenance together. The theoretical basis of these Cooperatives was rooted in cooperative economy thought, proposing that labors voluntarily take part in joint stock and members of community own equal rights. It was a common ownership-oriented, common and particular ownership combined economy form. By 1862, Housing Cooperatives had totally built 36 sets of co-operative houses in England. It was a common space form developed through transiting the land-centered ownership to the space-centered ownership. This kind of housing solutions depended on space community emerged one after another in countries of France, Germany, Italy, Denmark and Sweden, and various types of cooperative housing organizations were set up. This cooperative form remains a large ratio in western countries till now. The well-known pioneer Rochdale's guiding principles were:¹³³ voluntary and open membership; one-man-one-vote democratic management system; fixed dividend and capital stock dividends restriction; surplus distribution by member purchases; develop education; cooperation between cooperatives; neutrality on politics and religion; cash transactions; product quality assurance and fair trading. In fact, its goal was to establish a community where members shared common interests in their own families. Compared with those existed

¹³² Walton, John K. 1997, *"Co-operative movement" The Oxford Companion to British History*. Ed. John Cannon. Oxford University Press.

¹³³ Ibid.

in urban fringe or kinship remnants in slums, this community which established on common and particular space constituted a rational plan for community social-spatial transformation. Nowadays, with rapid development of social living, common and particular nature of space was seen as lack of clear proprietary ownership. Therefore, they were generally been looked upon as lack of planning or full of problems in modern cities where the boundary between public and private was so clear-cut. Meanwhile, this ownership, along with declining of community space, began to contract. Thus, the community space also had difficulty in sustainable development due to lack of its ownership basis.

■ From steady kinship to solid neighborhood: Home, neighborhood and community - From kinship community to neighborhood community

Following the urbanization and industrialization development of Europe between the 18th century and the 19th century, community space organized by kinship as common property has now changed into neighborhood as common property. “Common property” here is not referred to social relations between people but organization relations between spaces. The community space, thus no longer loyally manifests the kinship between community members and its founded realm of superstructure, such as traditional life, cultural values and ethics.

Although urbanization and industrialization never broke up the “traditional family”, it totally changed the lifestyle of “traditional family”, kinship and their special bonds with land. Since then, people no longer constructed or maintained their community space based on kinship, whose status degraded from goal to means.¹³⁴ Faced with the threat of encroaching urbanization (a space machine), whatever royals, capitalists and labors, they never passively awaited death. If being pressed, individuals could still seek kinship to be a support system for them to respond the social development and meditate strategies to cope with difficulty. The support system could be used as a shelter and a resource. When people had to adapt to the city-oriented lifestyle, or when they got accustomed to space instead of land, conflicts between space and land speed up their movement and their uncertainty towards land. And common community space organized by families, kinship or communities no longer connected with particular land. Also, land measurement and development concepts like family, household, clan disintegrated in the space production, giving place to home, neighborhood, community and district.

The land commercialization divided the land into pieces as small as possible, and served as an abstract unit of land transaction. Fixed block depth, corresponding size of land along the street facilitated land

¹³⁴ Lewis Mumford, 1961, *The city in history, its origins, its transformations, and its prospects*, San Diego: Harcourt. P.410.

calculation and transactions. Thus, this kind of land constituted standard land for commercialized real estate development, forming standard block and standard street width.¹³⁵ Besides, this standardization neglected lands' original features, and created a chessboard pattern of urban space. Mechanical planning and construction in the land privatization process, together with industrialization in the 19th century, created kinds of worker housing and slums. Featureless workers' housing arranged as closely together as barracks, and rigid streets and high-density residential housing grouped into a workers' community. In fact, even in relatively-advanced residential areas, or a house with a lawn in front of it and a backyard behind it, the whole community looked like a mechanical plot complex combined by standard plots.¹³⁶ Urbanization and industrialization made most of the population in Europe's major industrialized countries live in such plots, whether in cities or in suburbs in the late 19th century. When people transformed from traditional mode of production to plants or production space itself, safety provided by traditional kinship community no longer relied on common land but common space. Thus, planners began to create or simulate those traditional communities living space in the mechanical space. As the common community based on kinship in a mobile society might be unsustainable, people in it look to a neighborhood family (neighborhood community) modeled on kinship community. Thus, kinds of utopian thinking came into being, which inherited the community space organization described by Sir Thomas More in his book *Utopia* in 1516. In *Utopia*, there are 54 cities or towns, and every utopian city has four regions with a market as its center. In it, neighborhood served as a basic spatial organization, focusing on stem families (6,000 families altogether), each of which was composed of 10 to 16 adults. Thus, the urban population was limited to 100,000. Every 30 families elected an official, and then a mayor was elected by those officials.¹³⁷ Finally, representatives participated in utopian legislature in representative of their cities to exercise powers. Administratively, 30 families form a neighborhood unit, which was the basis of the entire utopian government. Besides, each neighborhood was held together eating in the canteen under the guidance of official couples on a regular basis. In More's *Utopia*,¹³⁸ neighborhood community organized by stem family constituted main part of urban living space. Community space through neighborhood organizations became core of a variety of utopian thinking and space practices. Neighborhood Community Planning, attempted by Ebenezer Howard in his Garden Cities, formed a more rationalized program by Clarence Stein and Henry Wright in the 'Radburn Plan'¹³⁹ in New Jersey of the United States. Although it stopped constructing due to the recession in 1929, this program has constructed two super blocks. Basic features of the 'Radburn Plan' were: walking trails and roadways have been separated to

¹³⁵ Lewis Mumford, 1961, *The city in history, its origins, its transformations, and its prospects*, San Diego: Harcourt. P.421.

¹³⁶ Ibid.

¹³⁷ note: compared with Fangzhuang Community in Beijing, same number of people and space organization.

¹³⁸ Thomas More. *Utopia*. trans. Ralph Robinson, Hertfordshire: Wordsworth Editions, 1997.

¹³⁹ Eugenie L. Birch. 1980, "*Radburn and the American Planning Movement*", *Journal of the American Planning Association* 46 (4): PP.424-431

form separate road system; external vehicles could drive along the super-block in stead of entering into it; interior parklands were available to the neighborhood community members. Thus, zoning in Moore's *Utopia* changed to a super block; 30 family communities changed to cul-de-sac (cluster) grouping; connection for external waterway transportation and internal 20-foot wide streets separation changed to separation of vehicular and pedestrian traffic.¹⁴⁰ In addition, gardens here have been shared to be interior parklands. All in all, this plan culminated a modern neighborhood community – a communal space relatively independent from the external space. It also exerted a profound impact on future communal space development, making a partial thought of that “neighbor is better than distant relatives” come true.

[1] From family to home -- communal space of nuclear

Family form of parents and children living together began to dominate since Europe entered the feudal times in the 12th century. Thus, the large house (Geschlecht) living under one roof with their relatives disintegrated. This disintegration produced more independent nuclear families, which made the couple relationship enter into a new stage: in this kind of family, consensus, feelings, sex, etc...¹⁴¹ became dominated, and some couples even formed a covenant relationship in some Christian countries, thus their relations came to equality. Meanwhile, family, as a basic cell of society at that time, replaced those large and scattered villages, which could be confirmed by lords' changing tax system for *Questa* in the 13th century. In the meanwhile, houses of nuclear families were built to replace those 30 meters × 15 meters hall-style buildings. Until recently, those old one or two-story houses with an area of 70 to 90 square meters are still seen around. As family life became more internalized, the internal space was then divided into some basic functional spaces, such as bedroom, storage room, hall and kitchen (designed internally and linked with the chamber). With the connection between kitchen and hall, the latter began to replace the former's space to become a center of nuclear families.¹⁴²

As the smallest community unit, the nuclear family began to play more important role in society in the coming eras. In Western Europe,¹⁴³ with the improvement of production technology and the growth of population, family size reduced in an overall level. Although family forms ever changed in different countries or regions at different times, undeniably, the family form based on kinship since the 10th century was profoundly disintegrated with the advent of industrialization and urbanization in the 19th century. This trend could particularly be seen in urbanized areas of developed European countries:

¹⁴⁰ Lewis Mumford, 1961, *The city in history, its origins, its transformations, and its prospects*, San Diego: Harcourt. P.326.

¹⁴¹ Andre Burguiere, trans into Chinese by Shuren Yuan, 1986, *Histoire de la famille, Le choc des modernites*. 《家庭史, 3, 现代化的冲击》, Paris: Armand Colin. Beijing: 三联书店, P40.

¹⁴² Norbert Schoenauer, 2000, *6,000 Years of Housing*, London: W. W. Norton & Company, P.258.

¹⁴³ Andre Burguiere, trans into Chinese by Shuren Yuan, 1986, *Histoire de la famille, Le choc des modernites*. 《家庭史, 3, 现代化的冲击》, Paris: Armand Colin. Beijing: 三联书店.

families became smaller; relationship between family members became fragile. In this process, many features of traditional family have been socialized: nurture children- kindergarten; educate children- school, eat - restaurant; drink - bar; cleaning - domestic service; family property management - bank or other financial services, and so on. Reasons for this trend could be: commercial development of capitalism, industrialization, automation of daily life, urbanization, religion recession in the public, and so on. Among them, the most fundamental one was that the family no longer closely bonded to land, but exposed to an ever-moving space. Yet, moving is common to citizens but incredible to rural people. The smaller size of a family is, the more adaptability to mobility of a home space it has. In urbanized areas, the combination of men and women was no longer a combination of land and property, or transference of responsibility, or associated with family division or expansion, or even linked with an independent address, that is, the couple constituted a nuclear family through marriage was no longer a necessary, instead, it became an administrative method. Currently, non-marital cohabitation and children born out of wedlock were common phenomena in many places. This is not because the family has disappeared, but the family form changed from a kinship concept to a spatial concept, namely, the original kinship community has been replaced by a common community. In other words, kinship did not disappear but reflected in mobility between people and space in stead of solid connection between human and land. With the in-depth development of privatization, community space was shrinking, taken over by public space and private space. For example, when houses or apartments changed into a standardized space product, people bought it, carried out further processing in the first place, made it suiting their needs, and changed it from a standardized family production into a home space. In this process, family transformed into home, 'sweet home'.¹⁴⁴ Therefore, home turned into a fortress of community relations in space. How to create or decorate a small world for nuclear family members have become important daily things for the home space, which went so far as the word "home-making"¹⁴⁵ was coined in English. Subsequently, interior design and decoration arising from the Baroque era penetrated from noble families into ordinary families, even formed an industry. Many developed countries have almost finished urbanization from the 20th century. Thereafter, the relationship between couples changed dramatically attributed to high-socialized way of life, since then, they became partners of common property, and they combined voluntarily (based on true love) to share a common living space – home. Besides, marriage was no longer a constraint for them, and even cohabitants could own a sweet home. In this communal space of nuclear, the family life was broken into various acts and functional spaces. When survival needs, kinship and raising children no longer naturally linked to this communal space, daily routines in the family constituted

¹⁴⁴ Andre Burguiere, trans into Chinese by Shuren Yuan, 1986, *Histoire de la famille, Le choc des modernites*. 《家庭史, 3, 现代化的冲击》, Paris: Armand Colin. Beijing: 三联书店. P565.

¹⁴⁵ Ibid.

a variety of rituals, which could promote feelings and convey a kind of safety. Subsequently, the place where held most activities, such as living room or sitting room, became center of the place. Furthermore, powers, more often than not, were related with space, people who was more involved in these activities, the more power he has.

[2] From household to neighborhood – communal space of stem

In the Middle Ages of Europe, stem families started altering from joint families to household. Thus, those families based on kinship living "under one roof" found themselves difficult to sustain with growing population. Hence, the family community began to transform from a common hall or living " under one roof" to adjacent or close household. In addition, the concept of family property and the development of private ownership divided common families into family-based household. For example, when a son got married, he had to start an independent household, which was born with marriage and expanded with the increase in children. Furthermore, "household", as a spatial concept, showed dramatic differences in cities and countries. In cities, household based on nuclear families gradually took place of close relationship from living together. For example, after the death of their father, brothers no longer live under one roof. Instead, they tended to live in adjacent areas on the same street, transferring their joint family activities from common hall or yard to neighborhood space, like various vestibular gardens or neighborhood streets. In contrast, in some noble families or country areas, people chose to live together under the charge of a household authority. In summary, this living style was conducive to family business development for the nobles, as well as land concentration and tax reduction for the country. Still, yard and hall remained the activity center for the big "household".

The size and composition of household has kept changing in later times, with their differences especially reflected in cities and countries. With the development and expansion of European business, people began flooding into cities. Meanwhile, rural land system and its mode of production were constantly changing. Besides, the common land, the common property, co-production, co-habitation originally shared by stem kinship began to separate. Thus, household, a unit representing stem family community, referred both to nuclear family and big family later on. The household size was not equivalent to member number, but the capacity to support more family members financially and spatially. Feudal fiefs centralized lands and farmers for nobles, thus workers took means like household size and construction due to land management system to deal with them. For example, in the Tuscany region in the 15th century,¹⁴⁶ the Mezzadri who shared half of land profits was greater than other farm families. A household needed to

¹⁴⁶ Andre Burguiere, trans into Chinese by Shuren Yuan, 1986, *Histoire de la famille, Le choc des modernites*. 《家庭史, 3, 现代化的冲击》, Pairs: Armand Colin. Beijing: 三联书店. P.34.

accommodate more family members to maintain its land productivity, whose capacity did not depend on kinship but land production. In cities, by contrast, many residential buildings have been increased to 5-6 layers due to increasing population and scarce lands.¹⁴⁷ Since the 16th century, the feudal land ownership began changing to commercial real estate which shouldered no responsibility other than paying taxes.¹⁴⁸ Subsequently, investing in and profiting from real estate instead of laboring on it brought them easy and lucrative profits. Later on, with the expansion of market and production, an increasing number of people started living in crowded apartments in cities. Consequently, house rents promoted land rents, and the latter speeded up property development, so on and so on, which also encouraged common development between real estate industry and urbanization. The industrialization arising from the 19th century replaced handicraft production mode by socialized production mode. This trend could even be felt in countries where the state authority and civil society gradually substituted the mutual-aid society based on kinship along with the rise of modern state. The land production mode became more socialized, indicating that the production depended more on industrial system than on self-sufficiency. That was, industrial production made production a separate functional space, separating it from self-sufficient families into a society. Thus, since the industrial age, household- a spatial concept based on kinship family community began changing to neighborhood- a space community unit based on family members. When people no longer relied on land to survive and reproduce but on space which carried social production functions, safety provided by the community also must come from space. Therefore, the stem community or extended family began to build houses around the space instead of land. However, extended families still played a role in some spaces, be it mutual aid or business financing. No matter the kinship community exist or not, their community ties still reflected in some spaces- their common space, common work space, and common living space, etc.¹⁴⁹ Space only has differences in terms of scale but not nature. Doors constituted a spatial connection no matter in high buildings, single-family residential apartment, shared apartment in a room, or townhouses. As long as this connection showed stem community relations, it went beyond the physical beside level, becoming a neighborhood communal space. This neighborhood friendship like kinship community might exist in places like slums, high-density housings, rural housings, or urban community, etc... In the neighborhood, people often organized by common events. Some experienced people, for example, taking the role of patriarchs, actively planned and maintained common interests for members. However, activities now changed from yards or halls to common spaces, like internal roads, corridors, gardens, etc... Thus, power of the neighborhood was limited to a common space, showing neighborhood friendship beyond their kinship. Although spatial forms of the neighborhood vary, they were closely linked with a common stem - streets, corridors, or

¹⁴⁷ Benevolo, Leonardo. *Die Geschichte der Stadt*. trans. Juergen Humberg, Campus Verlag, 2000.

¹⁴⁸ Lewis Mumford, 1961, *The city in history, its origins, its transformations, and its prospects*, San Diego: Harcourt. P.421.

¹⁴⁹ Ibid. P.500.

other forms. The reason for this could be property, work, or life, but it was neighborhood friendship that strengthened community ties and provided community members with safety. In the 20th century, the neighborhood unit as a planning idea has been tried in a variety of living space designs. In low-density suburban communities, common space served vehicles due to commercial real estate and means of transportation development. By contrast, in high-density apartments, the smallest common space served traffic and elevators attributed to economic requirements or reasonability in architects' eyes. For some reason, the space that acted as a stem has been instrumentalized, making it difficult to accommodate a variety of colorful community life. Thus, the neighborhood relations maintained at a minimum level. Common activities shared by community members have been socialized. Subsequently, a variety of common rituals, like cook, banquets, entertainment, sports disappeared. Feelings, trust, habits, traditions, hobbies, understanding shaped in daily life, therefore, tended to die. As soon as the stem linked common community lost its capability to command, or the stem was no longer owned by all the people or people no longer work for it and live on it, the fragile stem space and shrinking neighborhood common life finally resulted in an unattainable neighborhood community.

[3] From clan to community – extended communal space

In Middle Ages of Europe, clan might only exist for the Celts in the British Isles in a strict sense.¹⁵⁰ However, family name, which formed from extended family and kinship, played an important role. Hereditary aristocracies or non-hereditary nobilities all adopt a common ancestor name or feature as their collective name. Then, this large genealogy has been subdivided into smaller families, thus a large family, or genealogy - clan relations were formed. These relations not only reflected their family honor and unity, pooled human and financial resources together to fight against the external pressure, but also maintained their internal order. In addition, depending on extended kinship, they have been constituted by a set of mechanism, such as land, property, family emblem, name, and so on. Meanwhile, they have been expanded by kinship but not limited to kinship and marriage relations. In fact, virtual relative relations and widespread human relations slowly penetrated, which was due to the fact that the stronger relations, the more resources and power connected with it. Sometimes, different families even went so far as to merge with other families to create an even larger one. Subsequently, some families developed into a huge family, both genealogical and regional. Here, we would like to cite the *alberghi* in Genoa of Italy for example.¹⁵¹ In this community, close relatives living in the same neighborhood were incorporated and then expanded to form a permanent family community. Up to the 14th and 15th century, 30 branches of

¹⁵⁰ Andre Burguiere, trans into Chinese by Shuren Yuan, 1986, *Histoire de la famille, Le choc des modernites*. 《家庭史, 3, 现代化的冲击》, Paris: Armand Colin. Beijing: 三联书店.

¹⁵¹ Ibid. P.113

alberghi have been formed, which lived in the same area. In fact, the family-clan community-*alberghi* produced more families, which went on continuous merging in order to maintain their stability. Merging into a family implies: a common name, a family crest, a private church, a representative meeting, some judges, and sage management. Thus, the growing clan community-*alberghi* became a spatial concept and a tie, who shared its responsibility on regional development, construction and maintenance. The common space for those sages or authorities, later on, became center of coextended communal space.¹⁵²

Extended relations between family-clan and dominant power in the local rural community were either strengthened or weakened due to land operation mode and property inheritance mode. Countries became increasingly dependent on cities since the 16th century. In Britain, feudal lords changed into gentleman-farmers, carried out the Enclosure Movement, imploding and expanding their territories. Besides, they changed the original rural community to private lands, and then lands to farms, thus profited from wool production and processing. Accordingly, the privatization of land changed rents to farm rents paid to the lord. At the same time, similar movements occurred in many areas in Western Europe. In this way, the export-oriented commercial development disintegrated the protective economic model gradually. Later on, the European kinship community found it difficult to dominate an introverted common community built on lands with the development of commerce and urbanization. This was due to the fact that nuclear family was more adapted to export-oriented industrial production in Western Europe. By contrast, in Eastern Europe or in Southern Europe, nuclear family was more accustomed to export-oriented agricultural production, where feudal lords gathered lands together to produce food for export. This could be thought as a re-feudalization from its surface, but actually it was a kind of land privatization.¹⁵³ In either case, laboring on land privately owned by capitalists, farmers shifted to agricultural workers, and production changed from community to society. Besides, the purpose for production was profit rather than guarantee. Thus, Faced with this pressure, the kinship community sought adopting strategies to resist or adapt to this change in spite of lands' shrinking and decomposing. For example, in rural areas, locals made efforts to integrate neighborhood and their lands into an extended community through marriage and internal marriage to cope with this change.¹⁵⁴

The Industrialization in the 19th century came along with unlimited expansion of the commercial market. Thus, small market due to the feudal land system and labor shortage caused by numerous people tied to lands has been completely resolved. Community relations no longer directly connected with lands. Despite of the development of urbanization, the size of family was shrunk in order to cope with modern

¹⁵² Ibid.P.128.

¹⁵³ Ibid.

¹⁵⁴ Ibid.

life and mobile works. As safety provided by traditional communities to their members has been socialized, common services originally belonged to the community has been transferred to social functions, such as insurances, education, employment, and safety etc... In this process, community members entered into the social system individually, and then became citizens. Singles, divorced, single-parent families, even gay families were no longer special or difficult to survive, since their basis for survival was no longer a community based on land resources, but a social system in support of living spaces. In the following ages, people's way of living made a dramatic change. Individuals comprised of a flexible home voluntarily, no matter in a nuclear, stem, or extended family; they must live in this spatial product – home. Reasons for this are complex, but one important reason is that home-space as a good, must comply with commercial principles. Good money value implied inputs, reasonable design, and good outputs. The result is that those standardized, compact, and smaller space units were easily to be sold. Several adjacent small home units could be combined together into a large family, whereas large ones were difficult to cut into multiple parts to sell. Therefore, commercial strategy for the space business tended to make products smaller, which did not mean its size shrinking, or extended community relations disintegrated. In fact, many elements shared by common community members became independent from this home-space. The original relative networks, community relations, and extended family were dispersed to vast spaces owing to life mobility. In this way, such relations became diluted with disperse of assets in spaces in some places, and some other places vice versa. This extended community relations became a network connecting different spaces, in which assets and information were flew and concentrated, and then strengthened the space in return. It is family love that finally spread to spaces and passed over by people, thus spaces have been reset to be a space community. Urbanization has brought immigration waves and settlement construction which aimed at solving housing problems. A variety of communities have been developed: worker residential community, social housing, high-rise apartment building, super block, suburban house, and gated community. All these settlements were, fundamentally, formed by a pile of small-scale home-spaces with the only difference lied in their combinations and way of arrangements. Since products relied on their profits for the commodity economy, and difference between products was, actually, difference between consumer markets. When people became increasingly accustomed to retreat into their private domains, or back into closed spaces isolated from outside, they were characterized by indifference and blasé. Thus, how to collect these loose space form into a cohesive space became the foundation for space to exist. In the 'Settlement House Movement'¹⁵⁵ in the United States, Clarence Perry found that a community center equipped with modern facilities and democratic ideas could replace the traditional center appeared in common community, such as family church, clan temple, or family meeting hall. People could participate in various common activities, and they also could

¹⁵⁵ Lewis Mumford, 1961, *The city in history, its origins, its transformations, and its prospects*, San Diego: Harcourt. P.500.

discuss and decide issues within the community on the center. In Perry, in consideration of convenience, the population was limited to 5000¹⁵⁶ in case that too large the space would make travel difficult. What was more, functional space and schools were designed within walking distance around neighborhood units; children's playing ground has been set up near the home space; walking road has been separated from vehicles road; vehicles road has been set outside the neighborhood walking distance to ensure safety; and a space boundary line was set up with green belts or roads. In the early 20th century of the United States, some of these fully-functional and convenient communities have been built around the community center. This architecture style has been functionalized in functionalist architects' hands, and became a model for community building after the World War II. In this kind of design, the community center was endowed with political function, thus has been changed into a public space served individuals in stead of a common space served collective communities. The essence of the Zoning Principle in functionalism is that life has been broken into various functions, and then was put into spaces for mass production. This process intended to make space functionalized. Any attempts to socialize life contents and space would undermine the foundation of this community. Therefore, to design community for a variety of functional spaces increased people's efficiency on the surface, but actually split their living spaces. Consequently, the community spirit gathering people together neither existed in public space which expressed their thoughts, nor in single functional space. Ultimately, this program turned to single living function in functionalists' hands, becoming a huge bedroom community, eventually suffered from failure. By contrast, this program was distributed to sale in the hands of commercial real estates, disintegrating into separated functional space. Later on, community spirit could only be found in so-called community saved in slums, or urban ethnic villages. Although there were numerous community planning theories, none of them transformed traditional family love to friendship which could brought community spirit into being. Architects tried every means to find something representing the past ethnic cohesion - temple, family badge, family church, family honor, etc., designed community centers, public events hall, community sports centers, etc., and inserted them in the community. However, such practices naturally resulted in nothing since cohesion could only be found in members' co-efforts, common space, co-work, or co-existence in stead of giving or buying. Here, family and friendship could not be interchangeable since the community spirit needn't a distinction between blood and assets. An integrated community was composed of extended communal space, which formed by combining with home space, neighborhood space, and community space featured on homogeneity. What was more, the common space for home, neighborhood and community constituted space nodes for extended structure of a community. In addition, this subdivision like snowflakes showed obvious levels, which composed of home at the end, neighborhood in the middle, and community at the high-end. Those efforts like became independent from

¹⁵⁶ Ibid.

this structure, went through one level of the structure (such as neighborhood), or changed the existing level of relations to build a community doomed to failures.

Conclusion

Currently communal space of nuclear - home, communal space of stem - neighborhood, and extended communal space - community no longer form a closely-related community in the same area like kinship community, which ever comprised of family, family groups and clans. Instead, they project community relations in space and separated products — home like pixels, neighborhood like mosaics, and community like clumps. Seemingly community and spatiality have reached a compromise, completing a transition from kinship connection to emotional connection, land integration to space integration, and kinship community to neighborhood community. In other words, community has already finished its modernization in urbanized areas of developed countries, and merged itself into the space machine. In this sense, space production not only produce space (as a commodity), but also yield communal relations originated from space. Hence, community of space production no longer directly relies on land, but disperses into space. Such factors like home, neighborhood, community, and even district are closely related together in space. 'Sweet home', neighborhood friendship and community spirit have glued this virtual kinship together, providing modern people with fragile safety from space in the risk of opening at any moment. Thus, home, neighborhood and community constitute three basic dimensions of modern space community. Without home as a community foundation, community could no longer exist; without common space, community could not be conformed together; without neighborhood, community could never exist and maintain friendly environment, thus it ultimately would affect home development. Therefore, neighborhood has played a crucial role as an inter-space. In conclusion, this communal space adaptable to extensity and transition could be named neighborhood community.

1.4.2 From land association to space association

■ The transition of communication space: Space-oriented accessibility

Extroverted social association space has undergone sustainable development with the emergence of early urban cities. Accumulation of factors like wealth, knowledge, technology and civilization enhanced power of magnetic space center. However, this power wasn't aimed to enhance social association space or expand communication space. In the first millennium of AD, European cities once declined, thus the communication space was restricted to a limited scope. However, from the 11th century to the 13th century, the industry and commerce start rehabilitation.¹⁵⁷ With the emergence of early capitalism, the

¹⁵⁷ Lewis Mumford, 1961, *The city in history, its origins, its transformations, and its prospects*, San Diego: Harcourt.

ancient protection economy began shifting to the commercial economy.¹⁵⁸ The former, built on inherent position and function, intended to maintain its internal stability. In contrast, the latter, based on independent enterprises, aimed to pursue external economic interests. Therefore, such transition actually implied the transference of magnetic economic space from hands of protectionist small producers to privileged wholesalers. Such change liberated the city, replaced goods trade for currency, and replaced identity and status for contracts. While social association space regained its development and defined land owners and their users, residents and citizens built their relationship on social contracts instead of military conquest. The emergence of the municipality as a legal person provided their residents with liberty, namely, when residents gained their public identity, they obtained corresponding rights to move forward. As far as the shackles of people relying on land are broken up, the mobility would enlarge the communication space both in its scope and depth.

With the rise of municipality in the Middle Ages, solid connection between land and social interaction began to loosen. In the Baroque era, the emergence of centralized states concentrated more lands on states represented by royals. For example, France owned almost half of lands of its country in the 18th century.¹⁵⁹ Power concentration changed residents into citizens. A large number of walls were removed to make the land present an unprecedented openness. Such openness further promoted business expansion. Thus, the medieval city faced with disintegration. New commercial cities rose from old cities or countries. Remote trading and risk speculation, soon broke away from the baroque state monopoly, established their own rules according to their own will. In Middle Ages, market as a protected city function, transformed from a limited space to an infinite functional space. Where there was an interest there would be a market. Expanding market penetrated her aims and methods to all spaces business could reach. The growth of the emerging bourgeoisie enlarged the communication space with social development. Extroverted social association space was expanding and took over many contents of urban life and production from introverted community space.

Unlike the community space, the association space was characterized by heterogeneity rather than homogeneous. Here plants were cited for example. After a tree grew bigger and bigger, no matter how big it was, it must rely on its trunk and roots to survive. Thus, the whole tree formed a community. However, in small ecological niches, an effective association could be formed only through biological interdependence. In this association, various biological plants played different roles in a system according to their merits and ultimately formed symbiotic existence. For the tree community with its stem and roots

¹⁵⁸ Lewis Mumford, 1961, *The city in history, its origins, its transformations, and its prospects*, San Diego: Harcourt. P.338.

¹⁵⁹ Ibid. P.374.

as a container for water and nutrients, its safety constituted a basis for its existence. However, for niches association, one or more magnetism attracting them together due to various biological activities, such magnetic accessibility and coexistent efficiency and extent based on accessibility constituted a basis for symbiosis.

With the development of urban civilization, human's communication actions not only expanded but also deepened, which connected more people and group together closely and effectively. Social association space became an integral part of people's lives. People relied on a variety of contacts provided by the accessibility of space to create new ideas, technology and life. By "accessibility", we mean not only visual physical space and physical penetration, but also frequency of communicative behavior and efficiency. In early human life, people's contact space was relatively narrow and simple, where people could conduct limited interaction. Although the magnetic space developed a space structure characterized by point pole, net pole and line pole based on three basic communication actions - symbolic communication, functional communication and physical communication. However, all these magnetic spaces clearly existed on a particular land.¹⁶⁰ The relationship between land and magnetic space prompted land owner forming power relations with magnetic space to some extent. Thus, the power has been established around magnetic space, and exercised and consolidated through lands' usage and ownership. In this case, lands confirmed rights, rights confirmed accessibility, accessibility confirmed communication space, and communication space confirmed association space. Throughout medieval Europe, lands and magnetic space built on it were cut and divided. The owner of each piece of fragment would protect it carefully, thus, broken and limited space was under the control of strong rights. This situation continued until the late Middle Ages when business capitalism developed and expanded in the 18 century with the rise of commerce and development of Baroque centralization. In other words, the pole in communication space has finally been filled by frequent contacts, and thus a huge point-like magnetic space has formed, which initiated a space explosion. Rights originally attached to lands have all been recovered now by huge magnetic pole. The magnetization implied that lands have been converted into communication space and circulated in the capital market as a commodity. This pole began to give rise to structural development of points, networks and lines. In this sense, the ultimate goal for capital markets' globalization was global magnetization. In the giant point-like pole explosion process, rights have been re-allocated: association space formed by point-like magnetic poles confirmed communication space, communication space confirmed accessibility, accessibility confirmed rights, and rights confirmed lands. In this new order, the original spatial orientation of lands confirmed space has been reversed to space

¹⁶⁰ Note: What should be noted was that there was no flat pole since once a pole has been fully filled, it would form a so-called surface, and then the surface would form a point in an even larger spatial scale, and directly involved in a new point, net, line structure.

confirmed lands. Thus, accessibility directed to lands originally now directed to space due to this change. In another word, the basis for development and maintenance of social association transferred from lands to space from the 18th century to the 19th century.

■ Specific space form: Public and private - from land to space

In the Middle Ages, the association space in Germany, for example, had some *allmende* like public lands, well water and market.¹⁶¹ Actually, their ownership was privately owned by lords, only with public usage. This complex situation was caused by the feudal system of land. In the medieval feudal society, there was no strict distinction between public and private in terms of ownership. In fact, imperial or feudal lords' families were cores of ownership. Feudal lords' ownership represented the highest rights within the territory. Since this rights has originated from lands, it integrated lands under it, too. Therefore, in the Middle Ages, public and private were merged into each other. In Germany, feudal lords' ownership changed into private property with peasants' liberation until the 18th century.¹⁶² The control of feudal lords of lands severely limited the association space, which did not disintegrate until the feudal land system was shaken.

Therefore, the relationship between public and private couldn't exist on feudal lords' land since everyone belonged to a collectivity that connected with land or rights originated from land more or less. Only when people gained their independence both financially and politically or live in the society without relying on conventional community, can they become citizens and exercise their public rights in public spaces and protect their interests in private spaces. This division of public and private developed in Europe from the 15th century to the 18th century, and deepened with urbanization of capitalism. Economically, the development of remote trade has generated a new economic form: Commercial Capitalism; politically, the development of centralized rule gave birth to a new political concept: national rights of the Baroque (modern nation state). Capital flowed in a larger space, and lands have been concentrated in a larger scale. This change exerted profound influence which made social lands association space under the control of church, feudal kingship and guild in medieval era disintegrated and entered into a new framework - a private sphere representing private scope and a state representing public sphere. Different categories of "public and private" emerged from the Roman law finally entered into legal level, becoming structural factors that constituted modern life. Social land association characterized by vertical power structure (common or particular between upper aristocracy class and lower working class) has transformed into

¹⁶¹ Juergen Habermas, trans. Thomas Burger, 1992, *The Structural Transformation of the Public Sphere, An Inquiry into a Category of Bourgeois Society*. Cambridge: Polity Press. P.6.

¹⁶² Ibid.

social land association characterized by horizontal structure (public and private between state and citizen). Thus, vertical hierarchy built on lands has changed into horizontal rights based on space. In this transformation, everyone including the upper class and the working class must re-define themselves in public and private sectors. In the religious reformation movement, religious belief retreated from common thing into private realm, which served as a basis for civil society. Universal principles of the church forced it into public sphere, and even became a public sector. In the privatization process, as regards feudal monarchy, private property owned by the king has been separated from state-public realm, which pushed forward independence and formation of public finances. Subsequently, royal rights split into royal family which entered into the private sphere and organs of state power, bureaucracy and the military system which entered into public sphere. Thus, the feudal hierarchy was replaced by juridification.¹⁶³ Besides, guilds within working class quickly declined with the commercial capitalism development, localism and autonomy recovered by states, and international trade by industry monopoly capital. This declining somehow due to the fact that its basis or its common interests in city and town has ceased to exist. Public duties and responsibilities shouldered by guilds in municipalities now have been transferred to public sectors, like business monitoring, taxation, public health, public services, and public education, etc... Moreover, the original management and production has become private plants, private organizations and consortia. As for working classes, labor and survival became a private business for them; they could enter into a relative broad and equal labor market with more autonomy. Loyalty, trust, conflict and rebellion of workers toward their community then turned into anarchism and patriotism of citizen society towards national public powers. Therefore, workers were split into working individuals which belonged to private sphere and labor market or resources which belonged to public sphere. In this way, communication in social space changed from the upper and lower into the public and private. Thus, the land, the rights of carrier in the feudal era, first needed to be redefined. It became a tool safeguarding public interests and private interests rather than a carrier embodying rights for the upper class and working class. Thus, it became abstract public resources like labor who served public rights on one hand, and it changed into private property with individual labels on the other hand. In conclusion, no matter public resources or private property, it was incorporated into an abstract and widespread social system, and then split into public space and private space. Later on, city life has completely changed once the public and private space was defined. Thus, everyone has to make choices between defending private interests and protection of public interests.

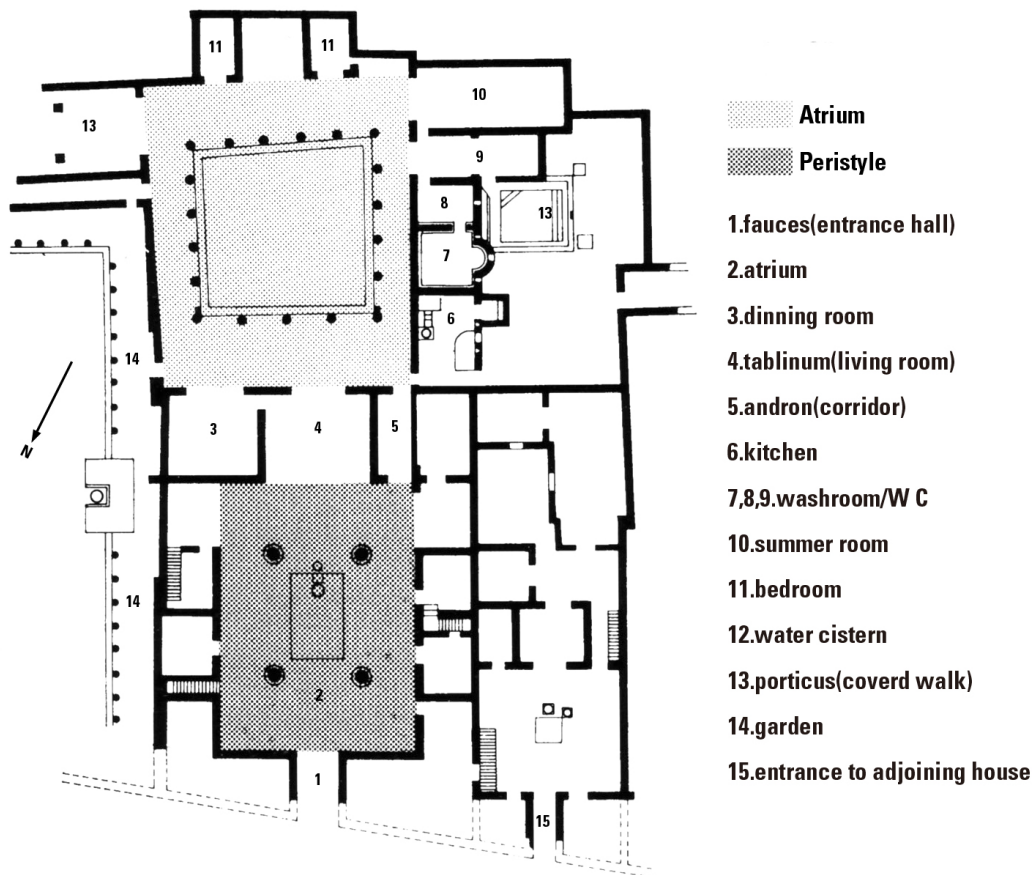
[1] Usage: Public usage and private usage of space

¹⁶³ Juergen Habermas, trans. Thomas Burger, 1992, *The Structural Transformation of the Public Sphere, An Inquiry into a Category of Bourgeois Society*. Cambridge: Polity Press. P.11.

Following a universal rise of ancient cities, urban space became the most common and the most frequently used communication space. In the slavery era of Greece and Rome, close attention was paid to public nature of communication space in cities that were gradually formed in history, although this feature was interpreted differently in these two countries, democratic politics of slavery and national rule of slavery developed from this feature. Public architecture and space of a city to a citizen, served not only an important communication space for him and society, but also an essential component of his daily life. “Private” here means deprivation in Latin, which implied that the private space is split off from the public space.¹⁶⁴ For the Romans, the public space could enter into without declaring themselves by citizens. In contrast, the private space could enter into only with owners’ endorsement. In order to prevent losses of land (as public assets), or gradually being privatized, the confirmation of boundary between private property and public property played a crucial role in consolidating Romans’ social life and politics, which was part of the reason for production and enrichment of Roman law. Roman social life was formed by factors such as roads and squares connected with *Tutte le strade portano a Roma*, temple for worship or pray, public buildings providing social functions, like theater, government house, market, public bath, library, magnetic attraction of traffic, faith, function, and so on. The social life here showed strong tendency of publicness and public interests. In order to effectively link private life and public life together, the Romans also created a series of proliferated border spaces, like colonnade, *cavaedia*, *peristyle*, vestibule, etc.,¹⁶⁵ which made the edge of private property more friendly. Besides, they connected public life of the city together, providing shelter physically and facilitating personal and social contacts, thus they were conducive to community solidarity and understanding. For example, *peristyle* was a space lied in the middle of the inside of family community and outside society.

¹⁶⁴ Ibid.

¹⁶⁵ Benevolo, Leonardo. *Die Geschichte der Stadt*. trans. Juergen Humberg, Campus Verlag, 2000.



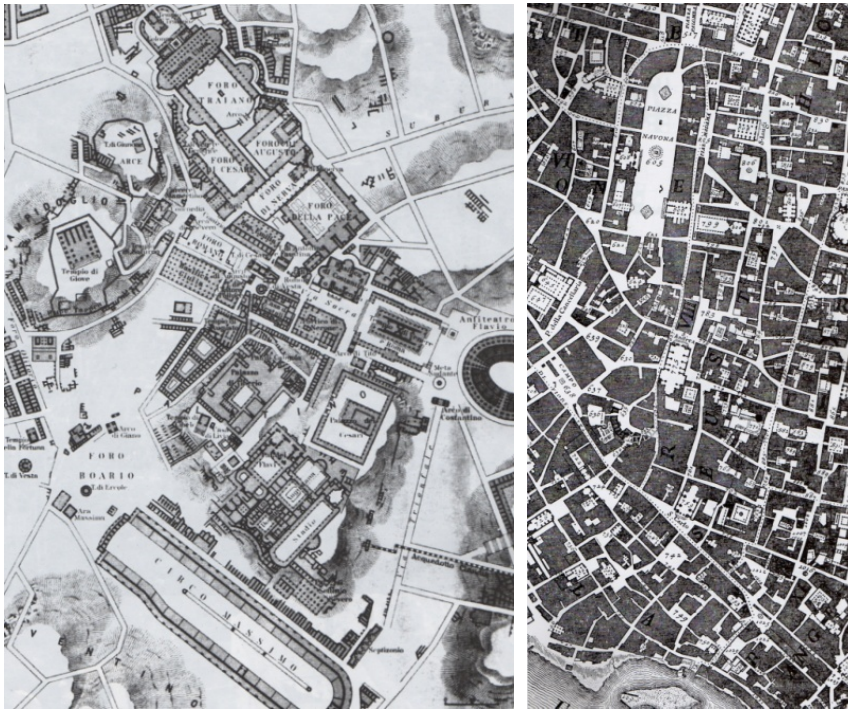
Map 1-5: the plan of the House of the Silver wedding in Pompeii.

source: <http://www.mlahanas.de/Greeks/Texts/Vitruvius/Book6.html>

Rome's prosperity was attributed to the fact that it provided a fascinating magnetic space and has developed a rigorous set of public system to support its prosperity basis - public life. "The public system" here referred to public usage. Later on, this system began to show its problems and then terminated its operation when the external expansion and plundering-slaves action slowed down and came to the end. The Roman decline was accompanied by its publicness decline.¹⁶⁶ With the magnetic disappearance and the corrosion of public life, Rome could not maintain its huge body. Thus, those positive public lives full of life, like defense fortifications, converting to Christianity, increasing festivals, and free distribution of food, became irreversible. The connection linking public usage and private usage together changed from public benefits to private interests. Its decline was partly due to lack of a sustainable way to maintain its publicness. Public space eventually became a battlefield, benefits field and cemetery, and thus to be abandoned in the end. This extroverted publicness which called for strong support was hard to appear in a

¹⁶⁶ Lewis Mumford, 1961, *The city in history, its origins, its transformations, and its prospects*, San Diego: Harcourt. P.227.

fragmented Middle Ages Europe, and only the universal church could form a symbolic social association in a larger context. However, this association was lack of physical and functional links, thus the publicness it provided was limited and reflected only in spiritual aspect.



Map 1-6: the plan of ancient Rome City. source: Benevolo, Leonardo. *Die Geschichte der Stadt*. trans. Juergen Humberg, Campus Verlag, 2000.

Map 1-7: Rome city map drawing by Giambattista Nolli at 1748. source: Benevolo, Leonardo. *Die Geschichte der Stadt*. trans. Juergen Humberg, Campus Verlag, 2000.

In medieval times, Rome was almost abandoned with less than 4 million inhabitants in cities by the 15th century.¹⁶⁷ In the following times, the Renaissance revived not only the ancient architectural style but also the publicness. After centuries of liberal capitalism development, the “government action” began to appear, controlling the space development and enacting laws to protect public interests. Later on, urbanization found a way for balanced development between public rights and private property, namely, organ of state power no longer restricted private property and interests’ expansion through land, instead, they used rules and regulations in spaces to limit private intentions and achieve public goals. Social association was re-united by publicness and not directed to a one-way society with theocracy, monarchy, or commercial interests. The publicness declined since ancient Roman times started renaissance in the

¹⁶⁷ Lewis Mumford, 1961, *The city in history, its origins, its transformations, and its prospects*, San Diego: Harcourt. P.314.

civil society of the 18th century.¹⁶⁸ In this urban space, social association was linked due to space and its resources rather than land and its resources, thus, it could be called social space association. The public space was open to all citizens in theory while the private space was closed from outside. For a period of time, concepts in the physical space¹⁶⁹ - open space and close space was equivalent to concepts in the social space - public space and private space. Namely: open space = public space; closed space = personal space. Open public space joined the social space to a maximum extent and made free contact possible to ensure realization of public interests in space usage. Closed private space ensured personal interests legally and clarified boundary between private usage and public usage in space, which was helpful to establish a clear social order. The social space association began to emerge, therefore, with the confirmation of public usage and private usage in the space, and support from states and civil society at the institutional level. Giambattista Nolli,¹⁷⁰ an Italian architect, invented a Roman map in 1748 based on the principle of “open space = public space; closed space = personal space” which characterized the 18th century civil society. The white street as a public space became the main border limiting black private space. The white block connected blank public buildings in black land like churches and government agencies, and open spaces like squares and gardens together. On the ancient Rome plan, public buildings were drawn in black and occupied an important block, which reflected a priority of land. Besides, irregular distribution of public buildings on the map indicated the primacy of state power. Blank spaces outside public buildings became possible spaces for private property, which lied in edges and cracks. The white space on the map can be seen as grace or charity space from the state. Therefore, the ancient Roman actually was a city built on national social land association from top to bottom. The black representing internal public rights in ancient Rome now turns into representing closed private rights in modern Rome; the white indicating external private rights in ancient Rome now indicates open public rights in modern Rome. The Nori map embodied a spirit: the white communication space was featured with public and open. The map became a bond and formed a public system including recreation, social function and transportation to unite the private space together, creating a socio-spatiality association based on citizen basis ranking from bottom to top.

[2] Ownership: public ownership and private ownership of space

In the medieval Europe where the self-sufficient agricultural production dominated, scarce or limited social communication space compressed social association space into a smaller scope. Since the decline of Western Roman Empire, only the Catholic Church could provide a public system within a framework

¹⁶⁸ Juergen Habermas, trans. Thomas Burger, 1992, *The Structural Transformation of the Public Sphere, An Inquiry into a Category of Bourgeois Society*. Cambridge: Polity Press.

¹⁶⁹ Benevolo, Leonardo. *Die Geschichte der Stadt*. trans. Juergen Humburg, Campus Verlag, 2000.

¹⁷⁰ Ibid.

based on the private space in Europe. The Church established basic social units based on chapels, and maintained various public services through taxes.¹⁷¹ The spread of Christianity in Europe rapidly made structural functions of original clans in social space fall apart. Nevertheless, the public and private were never clearly reflected in terms of ownership in feudal times. The church itself once produced public ownership concept, for example, in order to renounce self-interests and egoism, St Francis tried to abolish personal housing and permanent property owned by clergies, and encourage priests to serve society voluntarily.¹⁷² However, this idea never won support from the church. In fact, publicness without support from public space was difficult to sustain. Since public space couldn't be clarified in terms of its ownership, the public space and private space for a long time had been shrouded in the shadow of the communal in the Middle Ages. Beginning from the 13th century, the liberal capitalism had started to rise, till the 16th century the emerging commercial capital began to transform land and its space into tradable products. Thus, land turned into spatial products on the lands registration map in accordance with its fixed size and specifications. More and more land transferred from community between landlords and tenants under the feudal system to merchants' private hands. Besides, land invested by private owners focused not on lands' safety and sustainable agricultural development as before, thus, soil, topography, vegetation, and even history no longer held a place. Land as a blank space had been incorporated into a commercial distribution system. Thus, how to determine its position in the social production and consumption became the space's most important business objective. Since the 16th century, with the rapid expansion of capitalism privatization towards land and space, more and more land has been put into real estate market.¹⁷³ Therefore, feudal tenure systems featured on stability and continuity were replaced by the commercial real estate characterized by speculative and uncertainty. Consequently, "private ownership" and "private property is inviolable" have generally been identified in Western Europe with the capitalist revolution, and embodied and carefully distinguished in the preparation of capitalist codes in each country.¹⁷⁴ Real estate and space became a private domain where untouchable private interests were their development goals, and this commercialized private space ownership bore no responsibilities and obligations besides tax payment to business owners. The commercial real estate space expanded with production and markets' scale, and covered traditional urban and rural areas with capitalist urbanization. The communication space once restricted in the Middle Ages now had been liberated. Various protestants, new ideas; boulevards and ocean channels; emerging markets, raw materials production places have been long suppressed exploded out of this space. Meanwhile, the space had been privatized in the liberal capitalism phase, resulting in rapid environment deterioration. Besides, the industrial production turned the internal urban area into

¹⁷¹ Lewis Mumford, 1961, *The city in history, its origins, its transformations, and its prospects*, San Diego: Harcourt. P.265.

¹⁷² Ibid.

¹⁷³ Ibid.

¹⁷⁴ Juergen Habermas, trans. Thomas Burger, 1992, *The Structural Transformation of the Public Sphere, An Inquiry into a Category of Bourgeois Society*. Cambridge: Polity Press. P.73.

factory area that suffered from environmental degradation and simple renting houses, causing many people to flee to suburban areas. Partial public social function shouldered by church, municipality, guild and lord had suffered from failures or been transferred to the emerging nation state in the capitalism expansion process. The social communication space began to face environmental degradation and private monopoly due to uncontrolled private ownership. The social space started to confront many social problems after its resumption of freedom. Since the development of private ownership began to affect the private space itself, the publicness regained its attention. Although the commercial real estate spurred public transportation development, and coach, rail, road were conducive to expansion of markets, and therefore supported by private capital, the public space lack of clear ownership protection found it hard to defend its selfless publicness in front of commercial interests. The problem lied not in status of public interests and private interests, but in scarcity of a mutual-checked and balanced mechanism. The smaller private space led to a chessboard-like urban space, which could facilitate a variety of business ventures and investment. Despite of the reservation for civic center in the early development of some new towns, these reservations could be put into property markets as soon as the real estate speculation occurred and finance needed. The New York Central Park (reserved green lungs)¹⁷⁵ served as an exception since it was protected by certain laws. In commercial cities where space has been privatized, the aim of gathering plots of land scattered in private hands together for public or private projects was more than difficult. Despite the Lex Adickes¹⁷⁶ allowed concentration of private lands to produce good development plans, and redistributed it to its owners according to land ratio. It was not until 1902 that this law was implemented in Germany.¹⁷⁷ The steam engine and railway, important inventions in the Industrial Revolution, not only created the industrial city but also focused on more and more people's work and life. In industrial areas where extreme environment became worsening had forced people to seek public ways to solve problems like illness, health, municipal facilities and so on. The air, sunlight, and water that were originally a public resource became valuable resources in a city. People use ventilation equipment to obtain the air; use solar lighting equipment to obtain the sunlight; use create long-range water supply pipeline to get the water. Those problems mentioned above could be resolved through public planning and public administration. For example, the United Kingdom passed the "Public Health Act" in 1848, and thereafter enforced relevant reforms. Various municipal facilities had been handed over to public institutions to manage and excluded private interests' involvement, thus the public ownership has been gradually communized. In the late 19th century, national authorities and private capital reached an agreement to maintain a balance between public and private in major western countries. Its main features were:

¹⁷⁵ Benevolo, Leonardo. *Die Geschichte der Stadt*. trans. Juergen Humburg, Campus Verlag, 2000.

¹⁷⁶ Lewis Mumford, 1961, *The city in history, its origins, its transformations, and its prospects*, San Diego: Harcourt. P.424.

¹⁷⁷ Ibid.

[1] The space ownership form has been identified. Municipal facilities and road system have been communized and channeled into the management of nations. The resting lands and space have been privatized. Private ownership has been paid respect to since once a public project has been developed, the nation must let it enter into property market as a private purchase.

[2] Usage and ownership of lands have been separated. Lands usage was decided by their owners according to various regulations, such as height, size, and façade requirements.

[3] Public ownership extended in the form of streets, and private ownership of lands have been cut and limited. The former was strengthened by concentration of space and streets, whose extreme case was in *Ville radieuse* designed by Le Corbusier, whereas the latter was strengthened by dispersing of space and streets, whose extreme case was in broadacre city designed by Frank Lloyd Wright.¹⁷⁸

Up to the 20th century, principles of publicness were widely accepted and confirmed by public ownership within a certain range in the design of national municipal and road system, government agencies and city functional space, and natural landscape and urban parks. The management of public space welcomed all private supervision, and the development of private space allowed restrictions on public rights. Although the balanced mechanism between them has been established, public interests and private interests still countered each other since each part wished to clear their interests in the form of ownership, that is, more privatization or more public ownership. The former was reflected in many plans in the 19th century, for example, in “garden city” plan set by Ebenezer Howard, he clearly expressed his will to make all land publicized, and to place it under the management of public authority institutions to ensure the implementation of plans and control of urban space development. Public ownership was best illustrated in the communist states in the 20th century. It tried to compress all aspects of private ownership by national means from the Baroque era, or even intended to replace it with building a public society without private interests. In contrast, private interests never compromised. They developed a set of democratic concepts by means of European civil society’s concepts from the 18th century, setting itself on the top within the framework of autonomy and independence of capitalism, and compressing the public ownership to the lowest place. With the end of the Cold War, privatization in the United States also underwent extreme development in an attempt to privatize public space, and to build a Disneyland-style private empire, or a private society without public. Based on historical and political reasons, this game was difficult to change in a short term. In fact, what counted in space development was when to control, control what, and how to control rather than control or not, and control more or less.

■ Specific social relations: symbolic, functional and physical - from social land association to social

¹⁷⁸ Kenneth Frampton, 2007, *Modern architecture, A critical history*. London: Thames & Hudson.

space association

During the urbanization and industrialization development from the 18th century to the 19th century, land-based social space (like Hanseatic League) had changed to space-based space (like New York Futures Exchange). Life, cultural values and ethics of traditional introverted space never vanished with the decline of kinship; instead, they were socialized and transferred to external social space. In another word, they were carried by social space association. Therefore, the tradition was not died out but modernized or socialized. The introverted: the particular history, culture and tradition faced extinction; the extroverted: the universal history, culture and tradition have been developed. The association space organized by symbolic, functional and physical nature no longer related with particular land. Meanwhile, places served land size and land development like ritual center, market, and road disintegrated in socialization and space production process, giving way to recreation place, urban functional space, and traffic system. In the communication space and association community, the order of communication - land - purpose and magnetic - space - instrument has now been reversed to communication - space - purpose and magnetic - land - instrument, which released communication space from lands and achieved communication - space through magnetic - land. After being socialized, the extroversion of this reversed purpose-tools (*Zweck-Mittel*) of the association could get rid of instrumental rationality, and develop into what Max Weber called value rational.¹⁷⁹ Since the instrument to realize communication was not space but land- abstract land with magnetism, thus, magnetic land made magnetism and its basis (universal value) a premise to realize instrumental rational in the communication space and association community. Therefore, since extroverted social space association has achieved its purposes instrumentally, it will not bring adverse effects with its value rational of its instrument.

In the transition of social land association to social space association, space as a land product processed land in return. Thus, space not only became a tradable commodity, but also took over all social structures originally built on land relations, forcing it to finish transition from “land nature” to “space nature”. Such transition had profound impact on modern urbanism and social life just like ancient man created the first city full of complex land association, thus it had epoch-making significance. Therefore, human entered into city from settlement, and then into urbanism. While the first transition was marked by the emergence of social land community, the second was marked by the appearance of social space association. In this transition, the magnetic space of social communication changed its’ magnetic pole from land to space. Individuals from constraints of land gained its full freedom in space for the first time, and their social behavior no longer followed ethics from land but re-established their own order in the space. Juergen Habermas brought forward three basic sociological concepts based on relations to the world in his book

¹⁷⁹ Max Weber, *Economy and society*, Edited by Guenther Roth and Claus Wittich, 1978, Berkeley: University of California Press.

the theory of communicative action,¹⁸⁰ namely, Teleological (Strategic) Action (*Teleologisches Handeln*), Normatively Regulated Action (*Normenreguliertes Handeln*), and Dramaturgical Action (*Dramaturgisches Handeln*). These three basic behaviors constituted three basic communication spaces from perspective of socio-spatial action, in which actors formed a social space association based on various communications. Teleological (strategic) action needed space to achieve its purpose.¹⁸¹ These spaces composed a space association because of their functions. Actors in it communicated socially due to various purposes, and meanwhile changed functions of these purpose-action spaces to adapt themselves to a variety of purposes; Normatively Regulated Action needed space to embody its norms.¹⁸² All these spaces were organized by their physical nature into space association through norms. Actors set norms, obeyed norms, and applied norms to spaces in the Normatively Regulated Action space, making space a carrier restricting actors' behavior or determining their roles. Dramaturgical Action needed space for performance.¹⁸³ These spaces gained the symbolism through performance, and then linked it together to form a space association. Actors performed spontaneously in the Dramaturgical Activity space, and tried to gain this kind of space with symbolism. For actors, the communication spaces formed by these three basic sociological behavior concepts respectively were: performance space, purposive space and normative space; for association space, they were symbolic associative space, functional associative space and physical associative space. The establishment of new communication space structure changed spontaneous action space into dramaturgical activity space, social action space into purposive activity space, and inevitable action space into normative activity space. Three basic structures of communication space, namely, symbolic relations, functional relations and physical relations have completed their transition from land-oriented to space-oriented. In symbolic relation, magnetic space developed from traditional ritual activity center (like church) to scenic spots. This fascinating attraction could be artificial landscape in parks, or natural scenes of landscape, or even a space with special cultural characteristics. Symbolism here was not connected with sacredness and eternity from land, but with differences deliberately created to gain itself symbolism. People gained symbolic connection because of differences in space, which from the magnetic center expressing differences. A variety of spontaneous activities occurred around the center, and then formed the point-like magnetic space. In functional association, the magnetic space developed from earlier free market to urban functional space. Then, the urban functional space created a network structure among country, commerce and civic. Later on, many functional social spaces developed from this structure, namely, authority space from the state, such as prisons, barracks, schools, hospitals, libraries, administrative institutions; commercial space from commerce, such as kinds

¹⁸⁰ Juergen, Habermas. *Theorie des Kommunikativen Handelns*. trans. Frankfurt/M: Suhrkamp, 1981.

¹⁸¹ Ibid.

¹⁸² Ibid.

¹⁸³ Ibid.

of shops, warehouses, shopping malls, stock exchanges, etc...; civil society space from the public, such as club, salon, club, theater, etc... The ever-improving functional space not only formed a horizontal space within itself based on its realm, but also linked with other two realms vertically, thus a functional network center - net magnetic space was formed. In physical relation, the magnetic space has been developed from road to municipal facility and transportation system. This relation has connected different spaces together, facilitating peoples' quick movement from one place to another. Meanwhile, this relation has showed its function in people's mobility as well as flow of material and energy. For example, transport the distant water to another water-shortage location, or transport the sewage to another place for treatment. Consequently, the relation facilitating peoples' movement has developed into a modern transportation system, and the relation facilitating material and energies' flow has developed into a modern municipal facility system. Since this movement was always linear from one point to another, the magnetic center it formed was also linear, or a linear magnetic space of physical relations. In this way, the point magnetic space, network magnetic space and linear magnetic space intertwined with each other to constitute modern social space association. Meanwhile, the basis of social space association was space instead of land, which in turn accelerated the expansion of urbanization and led to the potential globalization.

In social land association, since the formation of land and its boundary needed a long time to accumulate and develop, it showed a structured spatial pattern; in social space association, since space got rid of lands' restriction, it could produce a large number of spaces in a short period of time, thus it showed a machinery spatial pattern. An automated and mechanical association space, without control and plan, might product many bubble spaces, undermining people's daily life and upset the space's order. Therefore, various types of planning began to emerge in the 19th century, including landscape planning, municipal and transportation system planning, urban planning, and so on. People began to exert extensive and intensive intervention on space development rather than let it be a free development. Each planning aimed to provide a framework for development within its realm, which could allow the associative space to develop according to its will. More and more frequently interactions have extremely extended the communication space, leaving people have to arrange their own lives in this socialized space.

[1] Symbolic space association: From spontaneous action space to Dramaturgical Activity space

The spontaneous action space, like human early ritual action center, was gradually replaced by religious action place with the development of religion. After Christianity as a universal denomination became main religion in Europe, church, as a general term comprised of land, wealth of Christians, priests and chapels, became a main symbolic connection of social association of medieval European society. This tie was even far more important than functional and physical second relations. In church, people who ever

shared with common faith came together to participate in sacrifice and religious activities. After the Roman Empire declined in Europe, church became the highest power taking over the secular imperial and also spiritual ties of the social association. Socialized space organization resulting from it basically could be divided into parishes and Dioceses.¹⁸⁴ Each parish took a group of public buildings like church as its core, and had a spiritual leader representing the Pope. According to British historian George Gordon Coulton,¹⁸⁵ every 100 residents had a church in the United Kingdom then, and many towns with less than 100 residents even had a parish church where tithe was adopted. Capitals of the church were used to build or maintain its public buildings, such as churches, monasteries, etc... In medieval Europe, many areas adopted the caesaropapism system and parish organizations,¹⁸⁶ however, had been developed into local social system and partially disintegrated kinship clans' control on society in spite of the fact that the church was organized by individuals. Many functional spaces derived from this social space organization, had shouldered some functions of social functional space, such as relief centers, nursing homes and hospitals. After ending of the Middle Ages with the rise of various Protestants, the social functional space has then been separated from the church. Therefore, the church once again became a mere ritual space, and a ceremony space for performance and holding ceremonies. Unlike before, each participant is no longer a passive audience, but co-participants in activities. Therefore, individuals give space symbolism by their performance rather than passively shared symbolism of a specific space. In this profound transformation, the symbolism has been transferred from spontaneous action space to performance action space, and made ceremony space enter into people's daily lives rather than monument.

With the disintegration of traditional parishes and religious belief retreated to private sphere, the association organized by people by symbolic connection no longer enjoyed powerful integration. Thus, various spontaneous activities were no longer constrained but emerged in social space. People began to re-obtain from similar space symbolism like those spontaneous action center created in the earliest human history. However, such places had close association with space instead of land, where people gathered together to share certain symbolism. As the god-giving land, it provided natural and eternal symbolism, whereas the human-creating space provided artificial and temporary symbolism. In conclusion, different from the natural symbolism owned by land, the symbolism in space was made by human. Therefore, the symbolism was integrated in religion and history never disappeared due to the collapse of its basis (land-rights), but scattered in a variety of space – rights to be created even more. The spiritual symbolism from land gave place to material symbolism from artificial space. The latter served as artificial scene to connect people together symbolically. When the symbolism lost its sacred sense and religious beliefs, it entered

¹⁸⁴ Lewis Mumford, 1961, *The city in history, its origins, its transformations, and its prospects*, San Diego: Harcourt. P.265.

¹⁸⁵ George Gordon Coulton, 1925, *The medieval village*. Cambridge.

¹⁸⁶ Ibid.

into the daily life realm and became a daily ritual. Thus, the scene space that continuously provides symbolism has composed an indispensable part of modern life.

Dramaturgical activity and performance space constitute an important part of the modern social space association. This space has now showed itself more in a form of scene space in daily lives, where displays people's encounter and performance and forms a social association space. The accessibility of space communication is symbolic. The symbolic communication space actually is a non-functional ritual space. After religion retreated from the social space, daily life has replaced the symbolism provided by religion, in another word, religion of modern life is life itself. Thus, all daily ritualized behavior occurred in the open space, such as visiting parks, shopping, touring, doing leisure activities, visiting museums, etc... constitute symbolic social action. Since such a behavior is always constituted by encounter and performance, the performing space is always rendered point-like. In social space outside functional space and traffic space, the symbolic space is composed of numerous dramatic space points that could trigger performance. Later on, this ritual space served daily lives was given a special name - recreation. In the Charter of Athens (1933), CIAM made equivalence between city life and reside, industry, recreation, and transportation.¹⁸⁷ The recreation acted as a separate spatial type to be classified, whereas the urbanism space that carried it was included in landscape space, such as squares, parks, openings, scenic spots and so on. After the capitalist urbanization, the social association originated from land's symbolism disintegrated. Thus, the symbolism in space has been conferred upon man-made; therefore, recreation design formed a basis for realizing symbolic communication. At the same time, only by fully mingled the landscape and recreation space into daily life, the symbolic communication could produced. Otherwise, a passive characterized space, now or later could be reduced to a functional space due to a lack of spontaneous action. Between the settlement and contacts, community and association, the stage of life was leisure space rather than function space, and then urbanism daily life combined them together. If the medieval city life was a close relation between church and community, the modern urbanism is a close integration between recreation and neighborhood.

[2] Functional space association: From social action space to purposive activity space

In many medieval Europe city, the most profitable economic interests was weekly market transactions, which attracted many farmers, fishermen, artisans and so on to trade.¹⁸⁸ The original medieval urban space was developed around castles or monasteries, but after the 11th century, main activities of urban

¹⁸⁷ Eric Mumford, *The CIAM Discourse on Urbanism - 1928-1960*, Cambridge Mass. and London 2000

¹⁸⁸ Lewis Mumford, 1961, *The city in history, its origins, its transformations, and its prospects*, San Diego: Harcourt.

space appeared on the market.¹⁸⁹ The most noteworthy fact was that those merchants engaged in trade living outside walls became permanent members of the self-governing institution. Besides, many cities began to protect suburban areas where businessmen lived with walls to make it part of the city. This marked merchants' identity as free citizens were recognized by the city.¹⁹⁰ Social activities of business formed widespread guilds in the medieval era, that is, different individuals were connected together because of their common profession and common belief, thus fellowship was produced. Most importantly, such relation like *Conjuratio* (suffer from hardship with partners)¹⁹¹ was key to group relations. Under this relation, group members dined together, developed industry's regulations and conventions together, and constructed various public buildings such as churches, secular school, and even guildhall like Cloth Hall of Ypres¹⁹² together. Guilds organized activities with themselves as the center and also formed friendly competitive relations with other guilds. For example, Mainz established a guild of textile traced back to 1099.¹⁹³ Meanwhile, they undertook different functional social activities and association in accordance with their professional differences. They then were divided into trade guilds and craft guilds. The former was a universal social association, which was responsible for organization and controlling towns' economic life, developed rules, and protected merchants; the latter was association of handicraftsmen from all kinds of professions, which was responsible for the internal production and developed industry standards. Guilds, as a functional social association form, gradually evolved a public function, for example, trade guild established a *Rathaus* or market hall; craft guild constructed a hall of craft guild. Some of these halls were framed by a professional guild, such as small council chambers in Venice, whereas some big halls were constructed by fund-raising from labor unions of guilds. All in all, these public buildings have served social life and provided communication space for citizens, with functions like commerce, culture, politics, and celebrations etc...¹⁹⁴

In the Middle Ages, guilds, feudal lords and Churches controlled the social space through commerce, land ownership and religion. Then, with end of this ages and development of commercial economy, some port cities developed. For example, Venice began large-scale construction since the 12th century, and this island developed later into a powerful city-state through centuries. Its development relied more on guilds because of its business and trade needs. Its transportation system formed by 177 canals connected various islands together.¹⁹⁵ Canals acted as a boundary, and six major guilds divided Venice into six

¹⁸⁹ Benevolo, Leonardo. *Die Geschichte der Stadt*. trans. Juergen Humberg, Campus Verlag, 2000.

¹⁹⁰ Lewis Mumford, 1961, *The city in history, its origins, its transformations, and its prospects*, San Diego: Harcourt.P.271.

¹⁹¹ *Ibid.*

¹⁹² *Ibid.*

¹⁹³ *Ibid.* P.273.

¹⁹⁴ *Ibid.*

¹⁹⁵ *Ibid.* P.322.

neighborhoods.¹⁹⁶ In each neighborhood there were clubs, squares, churches and schools of its own. The city center was the San Marco Square and surrounding public buildings, such as ducal palace, public library, Procurator's Hall and the St. Mark's Basilica and so on. Venice, a social association space depended on commerce, not only produced a variety of communication spaces to ensure its commercial functional requirements, but also created its development strategy – to safeguard effective operation of space through functional zoning, and concentrated production activities on a certain space. Venice set different functions for islands according to their geographical features. For example, a Glass Industrial Zone was set in Murano with pass of bills in 1225.¹⁹⁷ Venice has put economic development in the first place, creating efficient and productive associative space.

Unlike Venice where ever developed social association space based on commerce, the colonial settlement (like Back Bay) of New England in colonial period established an autonomous government by settlers based on their sharing of 0.5 to 1 acre of land.¹⁹⁸ Meanwhile, they reserved a common land in new town's center served as a public space, and built around it a variety of public buildings providing services and social functions, such as churches, town halls and schools. It tried to limit its lands' size and scale to ensure every resident's participation. Once available land was split up, new members should migrate to other places to re-establish a new settlement.¹⁹⁹ Thus, it guaranteed that every individual and family owned a land and enjoyed equal rights. New England town had a set of democratic system to ensure smooth running of the social association space. Every male residents shouldered responsibility to participate in annual meetings, and made decisions on towns' development through democracy. In this way, township, an autonomous space form was organized in a large scale. The township, whose radius could be 12 miles, including a group of towns, villages, settlements, and so on,²⁰⁰ and replaced roles of local government to some extent to organize and manage kinds of functional spaces (like roads and schools). In this town, livelihood was put on the top of its development list, and then a communication associative space with beautiful environment and quality life was created.

Differed from New England town where the development of social association space was based on people's livelihood, Paris in the continental Europe that ever lived up to its national power divided the city into many administrative areas to effectively manage the increasing complex city space. Based on its geographical position, it was divided into three parts, namely, the ile de cite, left bank of river seine and

¹⁹⁶ Ibid.

¹⁹⁷ Ibid.

¹⁹⁸ Ibid. P.331.

¹⁹⁹ Ibid.

²⁰⁰ Ibid. P.332.

right bank of river seine, and formed administrative divisions since the 14th century.²⁰¹ In 1795, it divided again urban areas into 20 administrative districts.²⁰² Each district had a district government who held responsible for the Central Government, and four major administrative blocks set to bear responsibility of government towards block space. In the George Baron Haussmann period of the mid-19th century,²⁰³ Haussmann re-divided urban spaces according to national forces of Napoleon III, property Confiscation Act in 1840, as well as public Health Act in 1850. He redesigned the city's administrative structure, eliminated customs territory formed in the 18th century, and expanded urban areas. Also, he re-planned the urban space based on urban development, making it to fully reflect the state power and safeguard smooth running of functional spaces. In addition, he redefined urban central area, organized the urban space with newly-built boulevards. Meanwhile, he constructed various functional space for government and city, such as schools, hospitals, prisons, barracks, city parks, etc... Plus, he erected public transportation and urban infrastructure, such as transportation system for carriages, water-transferring and sewage-treatment system, etc... Well-functioning government functions and administrative management system ensured development of the city, thus triggered a growth of population in Paris in a short span of time. Paris in Haussmann's time had put national power at the first place, creating a highly integrated associative space.

Economic functional zoning created by Venice, residence autonomous sector (township) created by New England, and administrative division created by Hausmann were all social space association based on purpose oriented action. Thus, they composed three basic categories of functional communication space. The leadership of the association was owned by the commerce, such as Venice; by the citizen, such as the New England; by the nation, such as Housman's Paris transformation. They regarded space as an instrument to achieve their goals based on their development objectives and interests. Finally, they endowed the space with explicit functions, and combined development of the association and their fundamental interests together through a series of strategies. In this integration process, the "social activity" space has been replaced by "purpose oriented action". Reasonable and specific "purpose-tools" (*Zweck-Mittel*) and strategy – decision could directly determine the success or failure of functional communication space. Modern urban planning had served more than one or more systems instead of king's will. The urban plan discipline was born in the late 19th century. The comprehensive zoning resolution was first adopted by New York in 1916, and the American City Planning Institute was established in 1917.²⁰⁴ Thus, in the 20th century, the social space association formed through urban

²⁰¹ Benevolo Leonardo. *Die Geschichte der Stadt*. trans. Juergen Humburg, Campus Verlag, 2000.

²⁰² Ibid.

²⁰³ Colin Jones. *Paris: Biography of a City*, London: Allen Lane/Penguin, 2004.

²⁰⁴ Peter Hall. *Cities of Tomorrow: An Intellectual History of Urban Planning and Design in the Twentieth Century*,

planning included national functional space, citizens' functional space and commercial functional space. In practical operation, the party who had more rights to say would gain more interests for the planning. Most of urban development planning processed through conflicts and fights. However, in fact, as they organized space association through "purpose oriented action", so essentially there was no fundamental contradiction, that is, they could be placed into an integrated system, making rational decisions from a common goal.

[3] Physical space association: From inevitable action space to Normative Activity space

In the Middle Ages, with the development of urban defense operation, walls and fortifications once upon a time replaced roads development to become physical second relations. This relation was linked by channels, city gates, or water gates. Walls and Channels formed early municipal works. In 1184, Peace of Constance granted rights of wall establishment to Italian municipalities, in this way, "the closure with walls can not only defense invasion, but also had a new political function, that is, safeguard freedom of the city." Frederick William Maitland,²⁰⁵ a British historian once pointed out: "it is possible to set a condition of legal rights on the ability to support a permanent army and construction of walls." At the same time, the Crown began to authorize monasteries and nunneries to build walls to defend against the invading heathen.²⁰⁶ On surface, walls seemed to block up the accessibility of social space; in fact, the accessibility was controlled by magnetic space rights center to protect its own interests.

From the 15th to the 16th century, with the extensive use of artillery, the urban fortifications developed. This was especially true after Prospero Colonna won its battle in the Milan Defense War, since then, building fortifications designed by an Italian military engineer had been widely used as a new engineering method.²⁰⁷ In order to defend and close cities, the municipal government had to bear enormous financial pressure to ask for a loan from financiers to construct a fortification. Thus, new fortifications became a systematic project designed and guided by professional engineers and technicians, which involved a large number of labor input, demolition, and other social problems. The new fortifications designed external fortifications, a variety of bastions and convex angles in defensive bastions, thus, they provided more shooting angles for the garrison. Therefore, this engineers-oriented public works distinguished itself from the previous design of walls. Cities in the past were designed and built in accordance with the block, where walls were used to maintain them (walls can be expanded with city expansion). In contrast, the new defense wrapped up the city tightly, whose scale depended on trajectory of artillery. Therefore, areas of

Blackwell.1988

²⁰⁵ James R. Cameron. *Frederick William Maitland and the History of English Law*. Norman: University of Oklahoma Press, 1961.

²⁰⁶ Note: such as German Emperor Henry I.

²⁰⁷ Lewis Mumford, 1961, *The city in history, its origins, its transformations, and its prospects*, San Diego: Harcourt. P.358.

new fortifications often were bigger than the urban area. The first Municipal Engineering with modern significance was born here.²⁰⁸ The traditional walls served purpose of delineation between the internal and external whereas the fortification served the trajectory distance. Besides, the former was a land boundary, whereas the latter was a space place, that is, it showed not as a line on the map but as a space place. In conclusion, although both of them had defensive capabilities, the former's function came from lands whereas the latter came from space. Walls reflected rights and ethics from lands whereas the municipal engineering embodied abstract mechanism and system from space. As far as defense was concerned, it embodied military science and ballistic trajectory. For military engineers, city became a subsidiary part of defense works. In the 17th century, with invention of telescope and advancement of artillery technology, pure defense was at a more disadvantageous position when it faced modernized military offensive. With formation of modern nation-state, urban defense began its transition to homeland defense. Although the defense began to be removed from the city, engineers and engineering never vanished in the city, instead, they promoted development of other municipal engineering. Since then, the main objective of municipal engineering was not isolated city from outside but linked them together. In the Baroque era, scale and planning of urban roads were designed based on wheel carriages. Universally-used carriage developed a new concept from the road - the transportation system,²⁰⁹ a system planned by its flow, or capacity and speed. Leonardo da Vinci once proposed a separation between walking road and transportation system. Meanwhile, a system could be established as follows: it regarded the city's space as abstract figures or data, just as the engineer's way, through statistical analysis, prediction and calculation, an efficient and unified municipal system to protect effective running of urban functions was to be established. With engineering methods, standardization and rationalization to develop urban space had already begun before the Industrialization. Therefore, standardization and rationalization were not an invention of the Industrial Revolution since the latter only enriched the engineering means as well as provided possibility of mass production. In the 19th century, municipal engineering undergone rapid development in large cities of Europe and quickly formed a city transit system, subway transport system, urban water supply system, urban drainage system, urban cemetery system, and lighting system, etc... For example in Paris,²¹⁰ the carriage transportation company was first established in 1855, the tram transport network was set up in 1873, and public bus system and rail transportation system were formed in the late 19th century. During the Hausmann transformation period, Paris had also constructed new water supply pipeline network and underground sewage pipes. With the Industrial Revolution and technological development, the municipal engineering had increased its contents in the 20th century, such as electricity system, gas system, and heating system, etc... It was the increased engineering and technical means that helped realize

²⁰⁸ Ibid.

²⁰⁹ Ibid. P.368.

²¹⁰ Ibid. P.429.

urbanization development and urban space explosion in the 19th century of Europe.²¹¹ As far as human transportation was equipped with tires and tracks, the city within walking distance was overturned and redesigned by the scale of tires and tracks. The urban space has then been connected physically by engineering technology and means in a more extensive scale. The physical scale of urban space association was depended on capacity range that the municipality could offer. With the development of national municipal infrastructure system, metropolis, metropolitan group, and even landscape-urbanism began to emerge. Therefore, the city division or definition no longer have had geographical significance but associated with politics.

The municipal engineering takes full advantage of newly-invented engineering technology and served statistical objectives. Various engineering design and construction methods, such as standardization, mass production, quantitative production, detail design, mould, and standardized structural element, and so on, are mingled with urban construction into a space system. Many norms are appeared, such as width of roads, depth of various laying pipes, lux of street lamps, fire facilities settings, etc... in the urban space to facilitate construction. People begin to live in a physical space developed from the engineering, and all their activities are understood as hydrodynamics. For buildings, people are calculated in terms of weight; for traffic, people are calculated in terms of traffic flow or traffic flow; for power, people are calculated in terms of resistance; for heating, people are calculated in terms of acreage. In short, as for the municipal system, people as wasted energy only have significances in terms of statistics. Different norms have categorized people into different roles, who have to enter into their own roles according to different norms. This system could only run smoothly with recognition of roles and obedience of norms. Therefore, contemporary people live in many specified physical spaces, such as traffic code, fire code, architecture code, municipal code, public facility code, and so on. Although people still walk on the road in a hurry pace same as before, they have now entered into a normative activity space and must subservient to norms of space in accordance with their designed roles, which are totally different from a conventional act of walking across others' land. Today's subservience is to follow mechanism and system originated from space in stead of ethics and power originated from land. The inevitable activity space based on land has changed into normative action space and physical space association that come from it. This associative space is a hybrid stitched with a multiply of redline (building restriction line), green line, blue line, and yellow line, etc...

Conclusion,

²¹¹ Peter Hall. *Cities of Tomorrow: An Intellectual History of Urban Planning and Design in the Twentieth Century*, Blackwell.1988

If “control” is the core of modern planning, for the symbolic space association, the nature of control is the relation between “encounter” and “performance”; for the functional space association, the nature of control is the relation between “purpose” and “instrument”; for the physical space association, the nature of control are relations between “norm” and “role”. Thus, the social association space is unified by norms, organized by functions, and identified by symbolism. Unlike the neighborhood as the middle layer different from the vertical spatial structure connected the upper layer of community and lower layer of home, for the horizontal spatial structure, symbolic communication space and functional communication space are connected by physical communication space to form an overall extroverted social space association.

Chapter 2: Community space and association space of historical Beijing and its socio-spatial transition

2.1 Historical Beijing and its communal space and associative space

2.1.1 Background of urbanization development in China

The year of 2009 was the 30th anniversary of the implementation of China's reform and opening-up policy and the 60th anniversary of the founding of the People's Republic of China; also, it was yet to have been a century of 100 years since the end of the last feudal Qing dynasty. In the past one hundred years, city in China has gone through great changes amid domestic urbanization and socialization and globalization and informatization from the outside world. For most Chinese who have grown up or lived here, the nation's complicated and comprehensive changes can be concluded in just one word: "modernization"—namely modernized cities, life and people. But what does the obscure "modernization" mean for China whose GDP ranked the top three of the world's economy in 2009?²¹² Also, what does the "modernization", which lacks of a statistical significance, really mean for the common post-modernism in today's globalizing world?

According to *Harmonious Cities, State of the World's Cities 2008/2009*, urban population around the world has exceeded more than half of the total population for the first time in history, that is to say, there are more than 3.3 billion people who live in cities of the world. The level of urbanization in the developed countries in Europe and America is 70% or higher, but the numbers are only 40% and 38% in Asia and Africa respectively. The level of urbanization in the developing countries is low, but the speed of the urbanization development is accelerated. According to the report, the level of urbanization is estimated to be 70% by 2050 across the world. While urban population is stagnant or in negative growth in the developed countries in Europe and America, urbanization development in the developing countries is going fast. It is estimated that the level of urbanization will reach 50% in Africa and 70% in China by 2050. There will be 6.4 billion people predicated to live in cities by 2050. Currently there are 193,107 people who become urban residents daily, at a rate of each second more than two persons being added to urban population. Once most of the world's population are living in cities, what city means to every human life is simply overt.²¹³

²¹² data form: National Bureau of Statistics of China. [online] available at:
http://www.stats.gov.cn/tjsj/tjgb/ndtjgb/qgndtjgb/201002/t20100225_30024.html

²¹³ *Harmonious Cities, State of the world's cities 2008/2009*, UN-HABITAT, P.11.

According to the Ministry of Housing and Urban-Rural Development of the People’s Republic of China, as of the end of 2008, China’s urban population was 607 million, the level of urbanization grew from 10.64% to 45.68% after the New China was founded in 1949, at an increasing rate of 35 percentage points in total years and 0.95 percentage points on annual average. In China’s three densely urbanized regions: the Pearl River Delta, the Yangtze River Delta and the Beijing-Tianjin region, the factual utilization rate of total foreign investment took up of 60% nationwide and the import-export volume in the three regions was 935.916 billion US dollars in total, accounting for 75.9% of the country’s import-export volume. Urban highway mileage reached 250,000 km from 11,000 km in 1949, with 43 billion km² highway being added by 58 times of the initial state. The per capita residential space of rural residents increased from 4.5 m² in 1949 to 28 m². The total area of urban gardens and green space increased from 128,212 hectares in 1959 to 1,747.493 hectares at the end of 2008.

City	1978	2007	Increasing number	increasing (times)
Total:	193	655	462	2.39
Beyond 2 million resident	10	36	26	2.60
1-2 million resident	19	83	64	3.37
0.5-1 million resident	35	118	83	2.37
0.2-0.5 million resident	80	151	71	0.89
Under 0.2 million resident	49	267	218	4.45

Table 2-1: Cites increasing in China in between 1978-2007. Source: National Bureau of Statistics of China

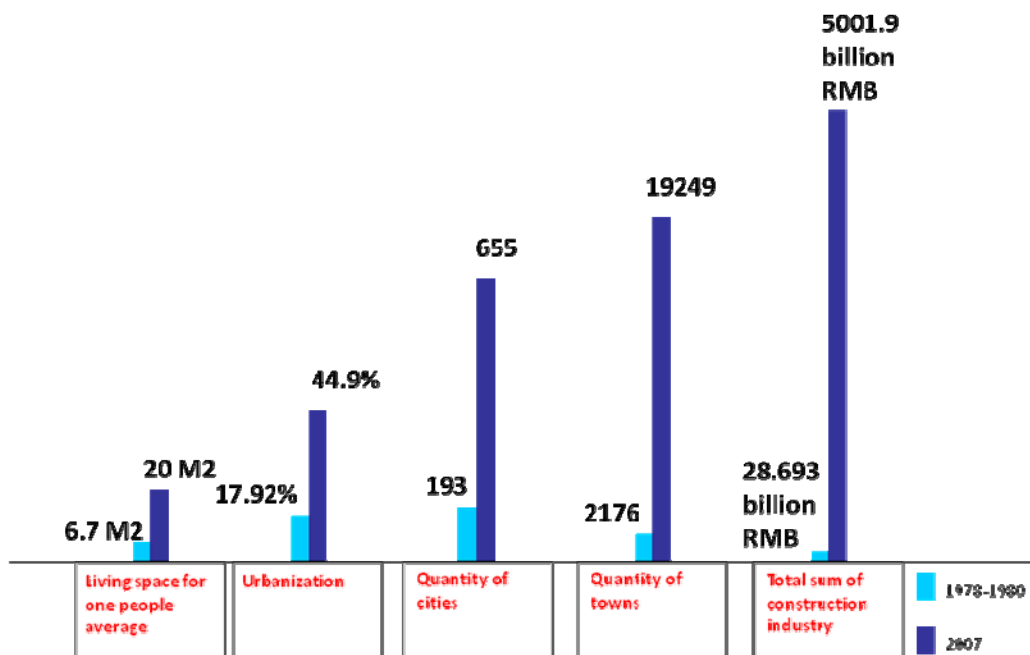


Figure 2-1: urbanization development in China in between 1978-2007. Source: National Bureau of Statistics of China

A real urban revolution is approaching to every Chinese people who live in the country. This is a thorough revolution that will permanently change their daily life. Every Chinese of this era will face unprecedented challenges, which could be the most drastic ones in their life since the start of ancient Confucius eras. The life of the Chinese population accounted for 1/5 of the world demography will be changed forever. As China becomes more and more important in global economy and politics, the changes of itself will produce a far-reaching influence to the globalizing world, and China urbanization will be completed within one generation. In the foreseeable 10 or 20 years, the fast development of urbanization in China will be done and finalized. The finalization of the China model based urbanization can hardly be transformed again by itself in the coming century or even a long-shot time, as a matter of fact, any forces at regional levels cannot easily shake the China model, unless global severe changes.

What the China model really is for what the world is now talking about? After 30 years of construction and development since it launched reform and opening-up in 1979, China has set up records in the speed and numbers of space construction. Why does the high-rise building, which proved a failure and abandoned in cities of the western world, become the only choice and ubiquitous in China? How to evaluate the quality of urban life in China? Is it improved or degraded? Is “building a harmonious society” only a propaganda slogan or a promising program with certain goals? Are contradictions between urban and rural areas becoming intense or moderate? Are there any Chinese characteristics in urban construction, and what are they if they exist? The achievements and development of urbanization in China cannot be denied in front of the statistics, but what are the core achievements and what are the experiences and lessons we can learn from? They should not be the questions worrying us; on the contrary, they should be keys to our understanding of urbanization and urban life. The reflection on it and putting it in a general urban theoretical frame will give us a broad vision and help us judge the complex historical phenomenon of China.

2.1.2 Chinese origin of community space and association space

China has a long-standing history of civilization. It entered into the slavery society from the primitive society in 21st B.C. And the slavery society ended in the late Spring and Autumn period of eastern Zhou dynasty (475 B.C.), there were Xia, Shang and Zhou dynasties in the period lasting for about 1,600 years. The time of the Chinese settlement period could be traced to an even earlier age.²¹⁴ According to the archaeological findings, many human settlements of early ages had a history of more than 6,000 years.

²¹⁴ Pan Guxi, *the history of Chinese architecture*, 《中国建筑史》, Beijing: China Architecture & Building Press, 2009.

For example, the famous Banpo site in Xi'an is the Yangshao culture site of the New Stone Age in the valley of the Yellow River, which is 5,600 to 6,700 years old.²¹⁵ Settlements of the Yangshao culture period mostly have round flat surface and there are surrounding entrenchments on the brinks of the settlements. For example, in Banpo site in Xi'an, around the settlement is an entrenchment about 5 m deep and 6 m wide, which is called the "great entrenchment"²¹⁶ by the archaeologists. The "great entrenchment" is mainly to ensure safety of the settlement. In Jiangzhai village site of Lintong in Shanxi province,²¹⁷ another settlement site of Banpo culture period,²¹⁸ it is dated back to 4,600-4,400 B.C. and is located on the north bank of Lintong river of Shaanxi province. The settlement has an oval surface and it is consisted of residence, pottery site and graveyard. The settlement is surrounded by rivers and man-made entrenchments. The total area is 18,000 m² with a central square in the middle which take up an area of about 4,000 m². Around the square are more than 100 neatly lined houses which are divided into five clusters; each cluster has a large house and several small and medium-sized rooms. All the houses face the central square. The houses are mainly round and square. There is kitchen range in the rooms and lime paintings are found in the rooms of the later period. The container space composed by the settlement community clearly reflects the organizing structure of clanship society at the time.²¹⁹



Figure 2-2: the imagination image of ancient human settlement in Shanxi lintong jiangzhai in China, 4600-4400 B.C. source: <http://wenku.baidu.com/view/d2f4ec19a76e58fafab00316.html>.

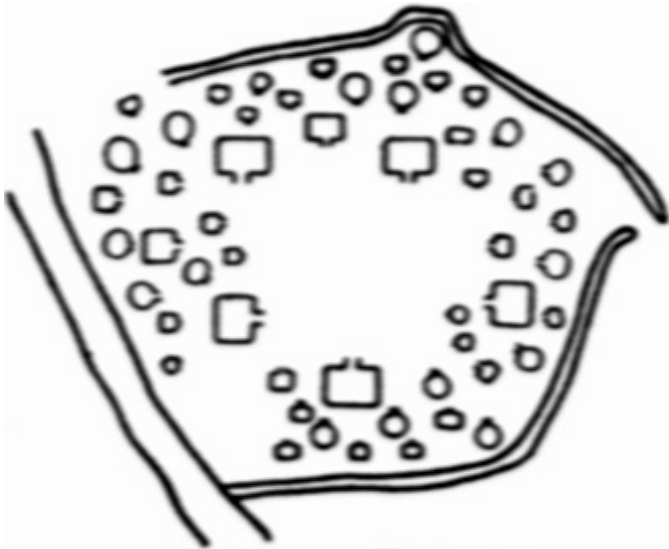
²¹⁵ Gong Qiming, *Digging at a Site of Jiangzhai*, 《姜寨遗址考古发掘的主要收获及其意义》, 人文杂志, 1984 (4).

²¹⁶ Ibid.

²¹⁷ Ibid.

²¹⁸ Ibid.

²¹⁹ Ibid.



Map 2-1: the plan of ancient human settlement in Shanxi lintong jiangzhai in China, 4600-4400 B.C. source: <http://wenku.baidu.com/view/d2f4ec19a76e58fafab00316.html>.

The emergence of city in China may begin with the building of castles. If city is defined as: in a permanent settlement, a large population are not engaged in agricultural production and begin to live a settled life. The history of city in China began with the expansion of castles and the change of its role from purely military or ruling function to a living one. Based on the archaeological findings, the site of the early castles or cities in their infancy is in the late Yangshao site of Xishan in Zhengzhou.²²⁰ It has a round surface with a history of 4,800 to 5,300 years. The maximum diameter is 180m with an area of 34,500 m². The buildings in Xishan old town contain defensive city walls and entrenchments. The city wall is about 4-8 m thick and the entrenchments outside the city wall are about 4 m deep and 5-7.5 m wide. A city gate and a road leading through the city were found at the north wall of the city and buildings were also found located on the eastern and western sides of the road.

²²⁰ Zhang Hongyan, *the archaeological site plan of early city: the late period Yangshao at zhengzhou xishan in China Henan province*. 《中国考古学十八讲》, 陕西人民出版社, 2008 年出版, P. 202.

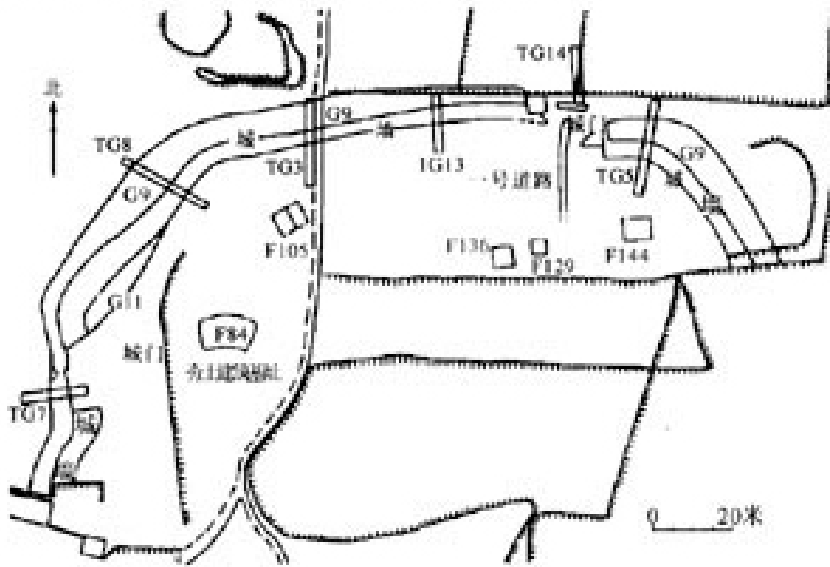


Figure 2-3: the archaeological site plan of early city: the late period Yangshao at Zhengzhou Xishan in Henan province, China. source: 《中国考古学十八讲》张宏彦著, 陕西人民出版社, 2008. P.202.

According to the literal records, castles in China were called “*cheng*” in the beginning and the enlarged residential area was called “*guo*”. According to the ancient book *Huainanzi • Yuandaoxun*: “*cheng*(castles) were built for residence from the time of Yellow Emperor (*Huangdi*)²²¹”. According to the records of *Annals of Wu and Yue*, the 24th article of the ancient book *The Primary Anthology*: “*Gun* (the descendents of the Yellow Emperor) had *cheng* built to guard the emperor, had “*guo*” built to accommodate the person, which was the beginning of *chengguo*”.²²² In Chinese, city is the combination of *cheng* and *shi*. That is to say, in the beginning, *sheng* and *shi* were two separated concepts. According to Kong Yinda’s explanation to *Yongfeng • Dingzhifangzhong* in *The Books of Odes*, “*Wengong* moved to *Chuqiu* and had the *cheng*(castle) built and the people could settle down; he had the *shi*(market) built and people could trade... it was the beginning of the building of *cheng* and establishment of *shi*, since then the two were mentioned together”. In the Spring and Autumn period, “*Wei Wengong* moved to *Chuqiu* and had *chengshi*(city) built and managed the palace”, in Chinese, *chengshi* appears as two different space concepts, they are the castle as the base for territory control and defence and the market for trading. Castles, various kinds of temples for sacrifice and ancestral temples and naturally formed markets made up the earliest magnetic space in China, and their associative space appeared roughly during the Western Zhou period. According to *Diguan • Situ*, the fourth volume of *The book Zhou Rituals*, *shi* (market) were in various forms: big and small, morning and evening, regular and irregular one. In *The book of Zhou*

²²¹ note: the Yellow Emperor 2697B.C.—2599B.C., Gun: 21st century B.C.

²²² 'guo' is the enlarged area of a castle.

Rituals • Diguan: “The big shi begins after the sunset and the majority is all kinds of ethnic people; morning shi begins early and mainly consisted of the businessmen; the evening shi begins when the sun sets and is mainly consisted of vendors’. At the same time, officials in charge of market management appeared in the Western Zhou Period. An article in *The Zhou Rituals* is dedicated to recording the “market manager” of the time. Markets were set inside the castles, market managers were not only responsible for supervising vendors’ activities in the market, supervising and maintaining the order of the market, they were even responsible for setting prices and making management rules. So, city and the association of *sheng* (city) and *shi* (market) emerged as early as in the Western Zhou Period. The term *chengshi* was not used with a fixed meaning until the Warring period.²²³

2.1.3 Capital model of Beijing

Beijing has been the ancient imperial capital of Yuan, Ming and Qing dynasties. The planning and construction of old Beijing as the capital and the planning theory of ancient Chinese cities was derived from the same origin. The theory had high continuity and it could be traced back to as early as the beginning of Western Zhou Period (1046B.C.—771B.C.). According to *The Biographies of the Five Emperors* in *The Book of History*,²²⁴ after emperor Wuwang overturned Shang dynasty, the emperor had *The Rituals of Zhou* Made to improve system of the slavery state. When Zhougong was the regent, he led the fight in the east to suppress the riots staged by the adherents of Shang dynasty; he re-planned and rebuilt Luoyi on his return. That is “rebuilding the cities in Luoyi as Wuwang has planned”. Base on *The Zhou Rituals*, he made the plan and had Luoyi rebuilt. It is probably the earliest records of urban plan in China. *Kaogong Ji* of the *Zhou Rituals*²²⁵ which was popular in the Warring Period (475B.C.-221 B.C.) has defined clearly that: “when the workers build the capital, it must be 4.5 km long and wide, three gates are to be set, and there must be nine areas in longitude and latitude respectively; nine streets leading north-south; ancestral temples on the left and sacrifice temple on the right facing the back of the market”. It hard to verify if it is the plan for Luoyi, but it reflects the ancient planning theory of *The Zhou Rituals*.²²⁶ The Spring and Autumn Period and the Warring Period had witnessed the drastic changes, it was the transition period from the slavery society to the feudal society. With the rising of feudal lords²²⁷ and the emergence of more and more fiefs cities and its citizens, the old faith and system began to disintegrate. The great Confucius tried to change the chaos. He set up private educational institutions to teach the ordinary people, especially the emerging craftsmen or citizens, the knowledge and lifestyle

²²³ Ma zhenglin, *the origin of Chinese cities*, [online] available at: http://www.360doc.com/content/14/0429/00/16988302_373071586.shtml

²²⁴ Si Maqian, *Shih Chi; Historical Records*, 《史记》, 中华书局.

²²⁵ *Kaogong Ji of the Zhou Rituals*, 《周礼·考工记》, 中华书局.

²²⁶ Wang Dehua, *the thinking of ancient Chinese urban planning*, 《中国古代城市规划思想》, 中国城市出版社, 1997.

²²⁷ the three big families in Lu state of Confucius time.

which had been the exclusive right of the slave owners and flamen.²²⁸ Similar to the universalistic principle that Christianity founded based on Judaism, Confucianism founded by Confucius makes the ordinary people become *Junzi* (exemplary person) through learning *Li* (Rites) and abiding by *Ren* (benevolence); *Li* was the way of act of *Junzi* in ancient times and *Ren* is their core of spirit. *Junzi* was formerly the title of the aristocrats based on lineage and wealth, Confucius extracted aristocrats' way of act and their faith as *Li* and *Ren* and combined *The Zhou Rituals*—the sacred ancient rituals with the people's daily life, thus making *Junzi* an abstract standard no longer connected to lineage.²²⁹ It separated aristocrats from the term *Junzi* on the one hand²³⁰, on the other hand, *Junzi* got universalistic value making the common people live in the aristocratic way²³¹ both materially and spiritually. *Junzi* became a moral goal as well as the common people's spiritual weapon fighting against the aristocrats. The theories created by Confucius became Confucianism in the coming Warring Period, but it was not officially admitted in Qin dynasty—the first dynasty in China.²³² In the following Han dynasty, the famous event that “*all schools were prohibited and only Confucianism was the only valued one*” took place during the reign of emperor *Wudi* of Han dynasty.²³³ It was similar to the issue of Edict of Milan by Constantine in 313 recognizing the legal status of Christianity thus making it the state religion of Rome. The proposal made by Dong Zhongshu in 314 B.C. (the first year of Yuanguang) brought Confucianism the dominant position till the contemporary history.²³⁴ The life of *Junzi* and *Li* became the core concept of urban space and its planning since Han dynasty. The imperial capital, as the illustration and representative of the concept, the core of planning and construction lasted despite of the changes of dynasties and locations. From Chang'an, the capital of Han dynasty to Chang'an and Luoyang, the capital of tang dynasty, Kaifeng, the capital of Song dynasty and Beijing, the capital of Yuan, Ming and Qing dynasties, the main planning concept was derived from the same origin in *Kaogong Ji* of *The Zhou Rituals*.²³⁵ The “city of God” built by Chinese represented the universalistic principle of Confucianism and its topmost pursuit. Like the Eternal Rome, the city was the symbol of noble civilization. Preserving the city is to keep the civilization that can be exceeded by other tribes.

As the imperial capital and the residency of the emperor with divine right, it became the “city of God” for Chinese. Combining the lifestyle of *Junzi* with city space planning, the urban space formed a strict set of frame rules. The set of urban rules could last as long as the faith for Confucianism *Junzi* remained. The

²²⁸ Ibid.

²²⁹ Si Maqian, *Shih Chi; Historical Records*, 《史记》, 中华书局.

²³⁰ notes: due to this, Confucius could hardly win the support from the aristocrats in his life time.

²³¹ for example learning the six classic arts.

²³² burning books and burying Confucian scholars alive at the time.

²³³ Si Maqian, *Shih Chi; Historical Records*, 《史记》, 中华书局.

²³⁴ Ibid.

²³⁵ Wang Dehua, *the thinking of ancient Chinese urban planning*, 《中国古代城市规划思想》, 中国城市出版社, 1997. P.57.

whole city was like a secular and enlarged medieval monastery. Based on the *Junzi* theory, combining astrology of Taoism and temples of Buddhism, the planning foundation of the imperial capital's urban space was formed. Thus a "capital model" for building city was formed and it could be seen from the building of capitals of various dynasties in China. Fundamental changes did not come until the founding of People's Republic of China. But the concept of "building a harmonious society"²³⁶ was proposed at the fourth plenum of the 16th CPC Central Committee; the concept seemingly aimed to combine the traditional faith of Confucian *Junzi* with the socialism practice to form a new reflexive '*Confucian-socialism*'. In China's capital model, emperors or the son of heaven, became paragons of virtue as the most moral representative and was at the top of the structure, equally, planning of the capital also overtopped other cities as the example of urban space and was imitated by other cities. In the capital, Royal Palace, namely Palace City, is in the very centre of the city as the royal residence. Surrounding it is the imperial city, within which are administrative organizations, imperial Ancestral Temples and sacrificial altar. Outside the Imperial City is the urban space where the people live. Urban space stretches in layers with the royal family in the centre and the layers are separated from each other by space boundaries. For example, the walls in all kinds are the immediate impression people behold with old Beijing. The boundaries symbolize ranks; they act as the distance of the son of heaven as the moral paragon on the one hand, on the other hand, they are the endowed or set role or even obligations of the individuals with the faith of *Junzi*. The royal space model like this is not different from the residence of aristocrats and the common people in essence; they are only distinguished in terms of size and scale. The lifestyle of *Junzi* is not differentiated in terms of rights or lineage. The model, just like S, M, X, XL, forms the rare harmony in urban space. In a common family, the householder, as the representative of *Junzi* in the family, leads the family life just like the emperor. The capital model is widely learned in the other cities, where the royal palace as the centre of the city was replaced by the mansion of the prince or the local government offices. Surrounding the centre are the common households. The emperor claimed the whole world to be one family and he was the most authoritative parent to lead the family in law through a whole set of bureaucracy. So the local officials were also called parent-officials within their jurisdictions. In the time with *Junzi* faith, the Chinese capital model played an important role in the urban development, and even greatly influenced the urban construction of other nationalities in Chinese culture circle, like Japan, Korea and Vietnam and so on in history. Capital model gave birth to many flourishing major cities in Chinese history, to some extent, it also formed urban space of the unification of the state and the religion, as a result, it made the autonomous cities that could be spiritually, politically and economically independent hard to emerge. So, most cities in China became the local representatives of

²³⁶ Qiu Baoxing, *Harmony and innovation, problems, dangers and solutions in dealing with rapid urbanization in China*. Milano: Arcaedizioni. 2007.

the empire in terms of legality, and also the political, economical and cultural centres within their jurisdictions. Like the ways of space organization in the Catholic parishes, people and space are managed or organized in a stratified way in certain numbers and scales. But what makes difference is that, in Catholic churches, people are connected spiritually, but in Chinese cities, people are linked physically. The advantage of the latter is that people's life is more diversified in micro space; race and faith are never the fatal problem in neighbourhood life, but its disadvantage is that the connection is too fragile to collapse as a result of a partial problem. As autonomous cities could not appear in history, it was hard to form the economically and politically independent class in China. Although business adventurers and private business organizations engaged in long-way trade were not rare in Chinese history, but generally speaking, these organizations and individuals incorporated rather than opposed the imperial ruling class. Thus, the commercial city like Venice or the urban organization like Hanseatic League could not come into present in China. The urban politics was responsible for the lack of urbanization development in imperial China like that in Europe in the 17th century.²³⁷ The shape was not broken until the end of Qing dynasty with the global expansion of industrial capitalism. The status of Beijing—the old imperial capital, declined in the early half of the 20th century with the emergence of the autonomous commercial cities like Shanghai. After the founding of the People's Republic of China, Beijing became the capital again. It has begun to transform into a productive city and gone through another process of urbanization. Urban space is organized in a more functional way. In the socialist revolutionary period just after the founding of the PRC, urbanization of Chinese model tried to accelerate the process in reverse thinking and moderate the contradictions between the urban and rural areas. It was supposed to be realised through promoting association of the introverted space and the communalization of the extroverted space. The examples were the obliged implementation of people's commune in rural areas and unit system in the urban areas. The social experiments were full of confusions, but they still acted as the basis for the reform and opening up started in 1978 and the urbanization development in contemporary China. Beijing in nowadays is not innovative enough like Shenzhen special economic zone, but its every single step will have a significant influence on the urbanization in China.

As a matter of fact, capital model still plays an important role to some extent. Beijing is still the model for many cities in China. Many urban planning policies made for Beijing become rules and regulations to be implemented nationwide. Many important urban policies are experimented in Beijing in the first place, like Fangzhuang residential courter in Beijing—the first commodity residential courters since the ending of age of housing allotment in China. Upon the completion of CCTV, the bird's nest and the new terminal 3 of the capital airport, the ambition of Beijing—once the capital of Yuan, Ming and Qing dynasties, to

²³⁷ R. Bin Wong. *China transformed: historical change and the limits of European experience*, Cornell university Press, 2007.

become a global city again or even the Asian capital is evident to all.

2.1.4 Historical review of Beijing²³⁸

Beijing has a long history in urban development.²³⁹ It can be traced back to be the capital of Yan state at the beginning of Western Zhou Period in the 11th century B.C. Based on the archaeologist findings, the site of capital of Yan state is located in Dongjialin of Liuli river in Fangshan district of Beijing. The site is 600 metres wide from north to south and 850 m long from east to west and it has city walls and entrenchments.²⁴⁰ During Sui and Tang dynasties, Beijing was called Youzhou and was the place of strategic importance to defend the monadic peoples in the north. Youzhou was renamed Nanjing in 937 of Liao dynasty as the support capital. In 1511 of Jin dynasty, Nanjing was enlarged to be a middle capital of Jin. The middle capital of Jin dynasty was the beginning of Beijing to be the capital formally. The middle capital of Jin was damaged by the Mongolians in 1215 and only Dali palace—the detached palace to the northeast of the middle capital survived. Kublai Khan, the great Mongolian Khan founded Yuan dynasty and had Yuan Dadu, the famous capital of Yuan dynasty built with Dali palace as the centre. In 1368 on the ending of Yuan dynasty, the name of Yuan Dadu was changed into Peipingfu in Ming dynasty. In the second year, the northern part of the city was moved southward for about 2.5 km and the city walls were built. The southern city wall was moved southward again for 500 m again in 1419.²⁴¹ The capital of Ming dynasty was moved in 1421 and Peiping was renamed Beijing. The name was used till the late years of Qing dynasty. During the reign of emperor Jia-jing of Ming dynasty, it was planned to enlarge the city walls to build another circle of city walls to form the outer city outside the existing one. But only the southern city wall was built because of financial reasons.²⁴² The city wall built in 1553 was connected to the eastern and western corner of the southern part of the inner city to form the upside-down T-shaped surface of old Beijing and the outer part of the city.²⁴³ The old Beijing with the upside-down T-shaped surface lasts till now and becomes the major part of the old Beijing of the present day. In 1644, Manchurian occupied Beijing and founded Qing dynasty; Beijing remained the capital of the empire. Qing dynasty ended in 1912 and the period of the Republic of China began. Beijing was renamed Jingzhao and after the Republic moved the capital to Nanjing, it was named Beijing again. Upon the founding of the People's Republic of China in 1949, Peiping was renamed Beijing again and has served

²³⁸ Baike, Baidu, *the history of Beijing City*, [online] available at: <http://baike.baidu.com/subview/2621/13223029.htm?fr=aladdin&fromtitle=%E5%8C%97%E4%BA%AC%E5%B8%82&fromid=126069&type=search>

²³⁹ Beijing Academy of Social Sciences. 北京市社会科学研究所“北京历史纪年”编写组, *chronological account of the events for historical Beijing*. 《北京历史纪年》, 北京: 北京出版社, 1987.

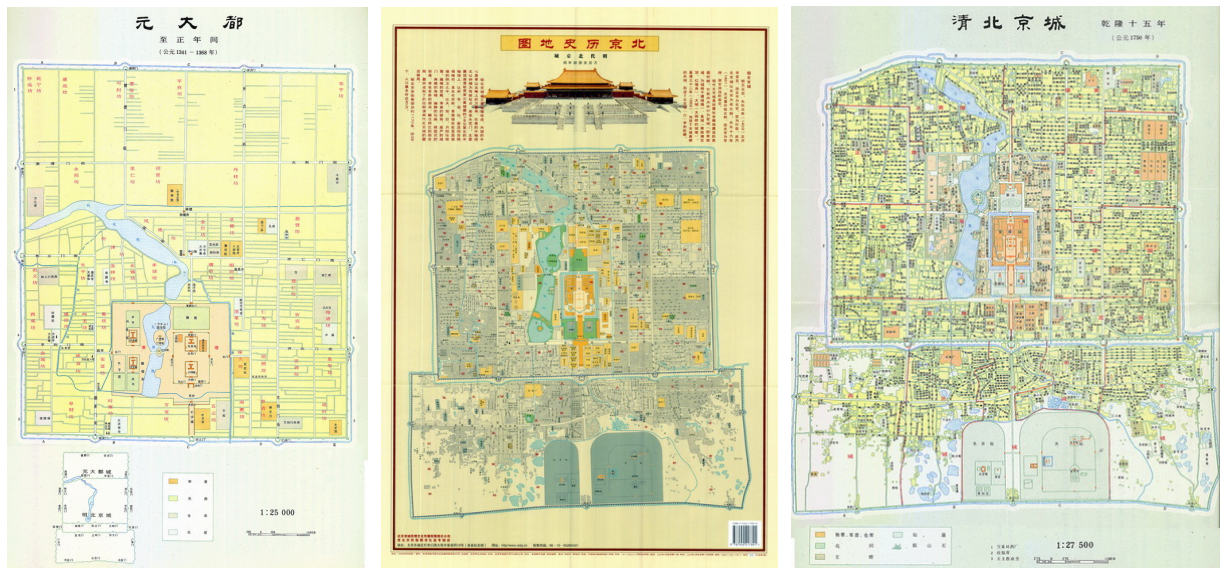
²⁴⁰ Pan Guxi, *the history of Chinese architecture*, 《中国建筑史》, Beijing: China Architecture & Building Press, 2009.

²⁴¹ Ibid.

²⁴² Ibid.

²⁴³ Ibid.

as the capital of the country till now.



Map 2-2: the city map of Yuan dadu (Beijing) in Yuan dynasty. source: Beijing university of civil engineering and architecture library, <http://114.113.224.189:8080/>

Map 2-3: the city map of Beijing in Ming dynasty. source: Beijing university of civil engineering and architecture library, <http://114.113.224.189:8080/>

Map 2-4: the city map of Beijing in Qing dynasty. source: Beijing university of civil engineering and architecture library, <http://114.113.224.189:8080/>

If the centre of the feudal central empire was in Beijing in Ming and Qing dynasty, the centre of the centralized authority is the royal city in Beijing city where the functional space of the central government locates. And the royal palace surrounding the palace with the emperor in the centre is the Forbidden City. In this way, with the emperor—"the son of heaven" in the centre, concentric circles of space and rights are formed. In Ming dynasty, the centre of the circle is the emperor and the Royal Palace, and the outmost circle is the Great Wall in the north, mountains and primitive forests in the south, oceans in the east and deserts and plateaus in the west. In the following Qing dynasty, with the expansion of the territory of the empire and the long-term trade surplus, especially the surplus with Europe, the centre of the rights of the empire radiated more widely and the centre of the circle—the Forbidden City radiated larger than it did in Ming dynasty to include the Great Wall. Beijing in Ming and Qing dynasty was divided into the palace city, namely the Forbidden City, the Imperial City, the inner city and the outer city. They stretch outward in layers. The perimeter of the Forbidden City in the centre is 3 km, the city wall is 7.9 m high and it is the place where the emperor ever lived and worked.²⁴⁴ The front part of the palace city is the place the

²⁴⁴ Baike, Baidu, *the history of Beijing City*, [online] available at: <http://baike.baidu.com/subview/2621/13223029.htm?fr=aladdin&fromtitle=%E5%8C%97%E4%BA%AC%E5%B8%82&fromid=126069&type=search>

emperor ever held court and the grand ceremonies were held. The back of the palace city is the inner court where the emperor and his concubines ever lived, and the innermost part is the royal garden. Next to the Forbidden City is the Imperial City with the perimeter of 9 km.²⁴⁵ According to the tradition of “ancestral temple on the left and the altar of earth on the right”, the ancestral temple and the Altar of Earth were set, symmetrically laid out on both sides of the central axis are the main offices of the central government. The outer part of the Imperial City is the inner city with public facilities such as markets, temples, bell tower, drum tower and residential buildings such as quadrangle dwellings and so on. In the early period of Qing dynasty, the whole inner city was the residence for the Manchuria immigrants. The southern part of the inner city was called the outer city. There were also busy business streets apart from the residential communities with quadrangle dwellings. The total area of Beijing was 62 km².²⁴⁶ There are nine gates in the inner city and seven in the outer city. Beijing is consisted of city walls, it is a city of wall with the grey city walls, walls of the ordinary households and roofs of different sizes. It is like grey and limitless ocean at the first sight. In the grey ocean, the gentle and smooth waves of grey ceramic tiles surround the golden Forbidden City. The golden palace rising above the high red walls was built in an imitation to the palace the king of heaven living in the ancient Chinese legend; sitting on the pedestal of white marbles, it overlooks the sea of tiles. A traveller from the west arrived in Beijing in Qing dynasty; while walking across the alleys, he suddenly got confused in the space and felt being in wells of horizontal direction. It was like walking in the endless passages of wells built by grey bricks. The city of Beijing, made of walls, appears to be closed, separated and arrogant to people from other places. But the time you are in the city, you will find that, the high and low walls, grand and small walls, the hard and soft walls are not the cut space as hard knives as imagined; on the contrary, they connected the spaces neatly like the needles and threads. Life of people in Beijing is formed inside and outside of walls. People walk together outside the walls and enter the urban life; inside the walls, people lead a family life with their family members. Walls of Beijing are never alienated, in fact, they are very friendly.

2.2 Concept Overview: Community space and association space of old Beijing

Like other cities, Beijing has the community space as the container space and the association space as the magnetic space. The communal space built on the introverted structure and the associative space built on the extroverted structure make up the urban space of Beijing.

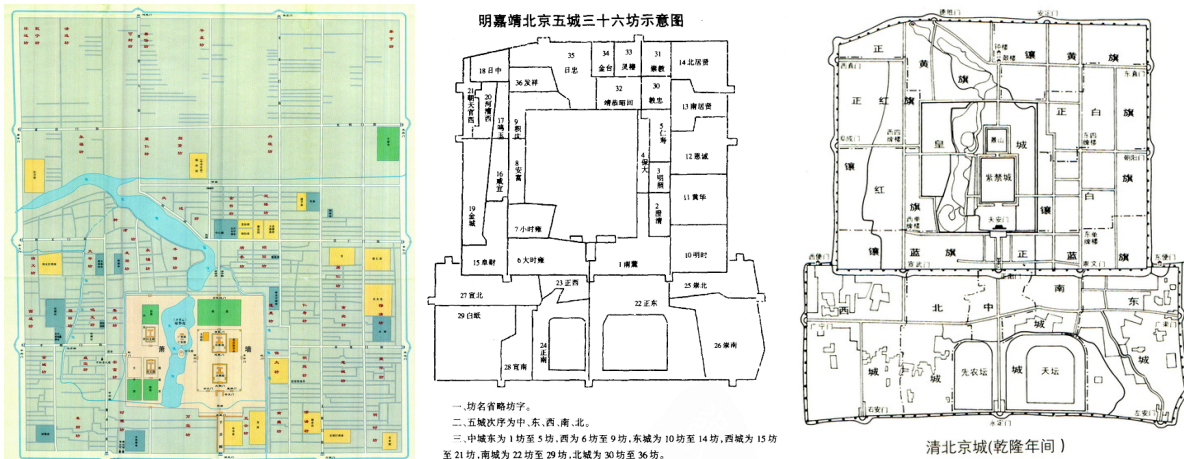
²⁴⁵ Ibid.

²⁴⁶ Ibid.

2.2.1 Community space of the introverted structure: siheyuan(courtyard)—home, hutong—neighborhood, Jie-fang—community

Just like the other famous historical cities, the community space of Beijing formed its own characteristics, and it even became people's first impression of old Beijing(city image). That is the community space of Beijing, which is consisted of *siheyuan*, *hutong* and *jie-fang*. In the introverted structure, *siheyuan* is the container of home, *hutong* is the container of neighborhood, and *jie-fang* is the container of community. The three are organized effectively to be the living space of community life.

[1] Jie-fang — community



Map 2-5: the Jie-fang community map of Yuan dadu (Beijing) in Yuan dynasty, the whole city consisted by 50 fang. source: Beijing university of civil engineering and architecture library, <http://114.113.224.189:8080/>

Map 2-6: the Jie-fang community map of Beijing in emperor Jiajing of Ming dynasty, the whole city consisted by 36 fang communities . source: Beijing university of civil engineering and architecture library, <http://114.113.224.189:8080/>

Map 2-7: the Jie-fang community map of Beijing in Qing dynasty, the inner city government by 8 Banner jurisdiction. source: Beijing university of civil engineering and architecture library, <http://114.113.224.189:8080/>

In Beijing, people usually call the neighbors *jie-fang*. As the majority of the residential buildings in Beijing are the self-contained *siheyuan*, the neighbors are connected by the fish-bone-like *hutong*, which are connected with wider streets. Rectangular blocks are formed among the major streets and the blocks are called *jie-fang* in Beijing. So, *siheyuan*, *hutong* and *jie-fang* formed the neighborhood community space structure exclusive to Beijing. *Jie-fang* in Ming and Qing dynasties originated from the urban community units called *li-fang* in Tang dynasty.²⁴⁷ residence units at the time were closed. Community walls and gates were built to separate the inside from the outside. *li-fang* is the circled residence unit

²⁴⁷ Tan Gangyi. *the residential housing of Song dynasty*, Doctor Library of South China University of Technology, 东南大学出版社, 2008.

which is generally rectangular or square. The residents in the units were rules strictly and prohibited from migrating. In Chang'an, the capital in Tang dynasty and also the largest city in the world at the time, there were altogether 10 *fangs*. The history of *li-fang* began as early as the Spring and Autumn Period and was even recorded in The Book of Odes. In the period before Qin dynasty, it was called *lv-li*, *lv* means the gate of *li*.²⁴⁸ The name of *fang* appeared from northern Wei period. With the development of handicraft industry and commerce in Tang and Song dynasties, the separated residence units, with walls and separated *li-fang* in Song dynasty were replaced by the open *Xiang-fang*. *Xiang-fang* became the main urban administrative units with residents and land.²⁴⁹ In the city Kaifeng of northern Song dynasty, there were over 80 *fangs* in the city set to be managed under within in 8 *xiangs*.²⁵⁰ The relation of neighborhood community based on street structure was formed in this way. The way lasted till Yuan, Ming and Qing dynasties. There were 50 *fangs* in Yuan Dadu (the capital of Yuan dynasty) and 36 *fangs* in Beijing during the reign of emperor *Jiajing* of Ming dynasty. *Fang* at the time existed as the urban blocks and means of administration and its role was more evident in terms of tax. In Qing dynasty, while the existing urban physical space structure was kept, *fang* system in the inner city was abolished and changed into Banner jurisdiction; *fang* system was kept in the outer city and was divided into five blocks for the sake of management. The urban area was similar to *xiang* of Song dynasty. Urban streets in Yuan Dadu (the capital of Yuan dynasty) were divided into three scales:²⁵¹ the narrowest *hutong*, medium-sized small streets and broad big streets; and the fabric of the urban space were organized on the basis. According to the size of the axle of the bull-cart—the major means of transportation in the city of the time, it was calculated and stipulated in Yuan Dadu (the capital of Yuan dynasty) that the width of *hutong* is 6 *bu* (roughly 9.3 m), the street 12 *bu* (roughly 18.6 m) and the main street 24 *bu* (roughly 37.2 m). The space structure was also the basic structure of Beijing in Ming and Qing dynasties. Only that in Qing dynasty, with the system of separating Manchurians from Han people, the commerce developed rapidly and population density increased in the outer city as lots of residents of the inner city moved out. The system did not work as the land in the city became scarce. As the residence units in ancient China, *jie-fang* was once managed in a closed way and the management became open only after Song dynasty.²⁵² The openness was based on the closeness of the private residence (like *siheyuan*). *Lv*, the gate of *li*, of the period before Qin dynasty never disappeared and was transformed into *pai-fang* which stood at the

²⁴⁸ Zhang Jihai. *A study on the urban society in Han China*, 《汉代城市社会》, social sciences academic press (China), 社会科学文献出版社, 2006. P.137.

²⁴⁹ Huang Zhihong. *the transformation mode of urban residential space structure*, 《城市居住区空间结构模式的演变》, social sciences academic press (China), 社会科学文献出版社, 2006, P.180.

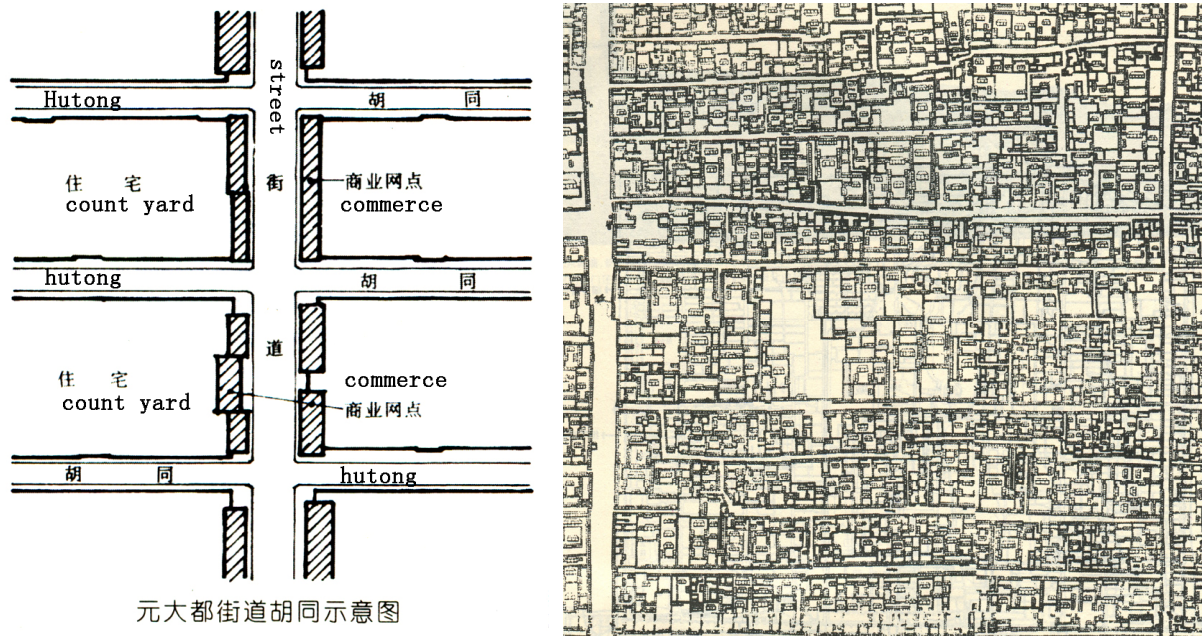
²⁵⁰ Ibid. P.186.

²⁵¹ Pan Guxi, *the history of Chinese architecture*, 《中国建筑史》, Beijing: China Architecture & Building Press, 2009.

²⁵² Huang Zhihong. *the transformation mode of urban residential space structure*, 《城市居住区空间结构模式的演变》, social sciences academic press (China), 社会科学文献出版社, 2006.

entrance of the *jie-fang*. The gates in the open form become the landmark of the north-south streets and blocks like the chessboard of the city of Beijing.

[2] Hutong — neighborhood



元大都街道胡同示意图

Figure 2-4: street and Hutong system in Yuan Dadu (Beijing) in Yuan dynasty. source: Beijing university of civil engineering and architecture library, <http://114.113.224.189:8080/>

Map 2-8: the map of Beijing in 1740 (Qing dynasty), source: 《重建中国，城市规划 30 年 1949-1979》，华揽洪，北京三联书店，2006. P16

The name of *hutong* appeared for the first time in Yuan dynasty. According to Chinese Words Encyclopedia,²⁵³ “*hutong*: people in Yuan dynasty called alleys as *hutong* and then it became the name for alleys in the north. According to the research, *hutong* came from Yuan people’s pronunciation ‘*Gudum*’ for alley. And in etymology, ‘*Gudum*’ came from *Sutok*²⁵⁴—the Mongolian word for well. As the nomadic people living on the prairies drank the flowing water rather than the water in the well. They regarded well as the character for the settled life and the space concept for alleys in a sense. In Yuan Dadu (the capital of Yuan dynasty), the main streets divided the urban spaces into rectangular lands—*fang*, and several alleys or small streets leading east and west were built on the longer side of *fang*, namely between the north-south main street. The distance between *hutong* was 50 *bu* (about 77M). The 77M distance was the length for the building space of *siheyuan*. According to the book of *Xijin Record*, the masterpiece of Xiong

²⁵³ *Unabridged dictionary*, 《辞海》，上海辞书出版社。

²⁵⁴ Zhang Qingchang, *Hutong and others, a study on sociolinguistics*, 《胡同及其他——社会语言学的探索》，北京语言学院出版社，1990。

Mengxiang of Yuan dynasty, there were 384 *huo-xiang* and 29 *hutong* in the capital of Yuan. The name *huo-xiang* appeared in as early as in Song dynasty to indicate smaller alleys. The difference between *hutong* and *huo-xiang* might be the way of saying them in Mongolian and Chinese. When Beijing became the capital in Ming dynasty, the urban fabric of the capital of Yuan was kept to a great part. In *The Records of Beijing Five district Fang-xiang and Hutong in the Capital*, the work of Zhang Jue²⁵⁵ of Ming dynasty, the number of *hutong* listed was 459; *jie-xiang* 711 and the recorded alleys were 1170 in total. To the early period of emperor Guangxu in Qing dynasty, according to *The Record of Fang and Xiang in the Capital* written by Zhu Yiqing,²⁵⁶ there were 1497 *jie-xiang* in the inner city and 714 in the outer city and the total was 2211. In Qing dynasty, according to Zhang Qingchang,²⁵⁷ with the development of the outer city, opening of the imperial city, the decrease of waters and illegal buildings, the number of *hutong* kept increasing. The increase of the *hutong* illustrated the more detailed dividing of the urban land, the luxurious suburban *siheyuan* in garden style were replaced by the compact *siheyuan* in urban apartment style.

Just like the road space in Manhattan, the road leading north-south is called avenue and road leading east-west is street. The structure of urban space of avenues in Manhattan resembles the streets in Beijing and the streets in Manhattan are like *hutong* of Beijing. The same chessboard plan is different in that, the centre of Manhattan is the open Central Park for daily life and the center of Beijing is the Royal Palace—the closed political centre.

[3] *siheyuan*(court yard) — home

²⁵⁵ Zhang Jue (Ming Dynasty), *The Records of Beijing Five district Fang-xiang and Hutong*, 《京师五城坊巷衞集》, 北京古籍出版社, 1982.

²⁵⁶ Zhu Yiqing, *The Record of Fang and Xiang in the Capital*, 《京师坊巷志稿》, 北京古籍出版社, 1982.

²⁵⁷ Zhang Qingchang, *the history of name of Beijing Hutong and street, a study on sociolinguistics*, 《北京街巷名称史话——社会语言学的再探索》, 北京语言学院出版社, 1997. P.277.

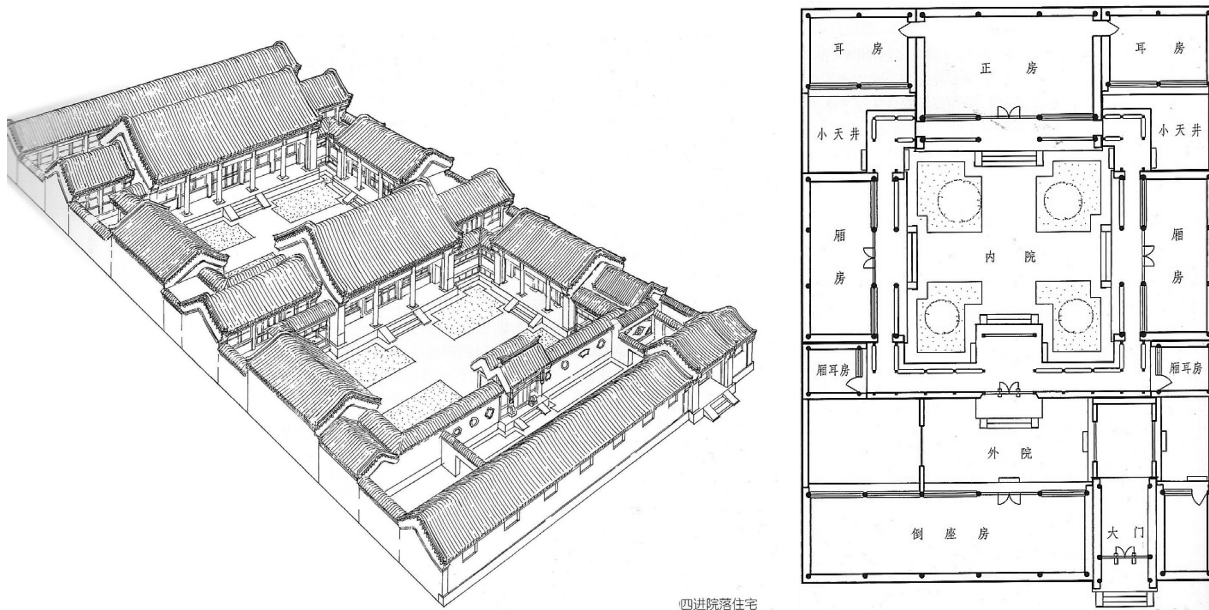


Figure 2-5: typical siheyuan count yard in Beijing.

source: http://www.360doc.com/content/12/0608/07/1374285_216755086.shtml

Figure 2-6: the plan of typical siheyuan count yard in Beijing.

source: http://www.360doc.com/content/12/0608/07/1374285_216755086.shtml

The major residence form of Beijing is *siheyuan* in history, the self-contained building form to organize the residence space by circling the inner court was the major componential part of the urban buildings in Beijing. According to the statistics in 1950, the area of the *siheyuan* in Beijing at the time was over 17 million m², accounting for more than 90% of the total building area of the city.²⁵⁸ As a matter of fact, *siheyuan* prevail in the north as a courtyard residential model. With a center of independent inner courtyard, rooms were built around the court and rooms and the court were connected through colonnades. This space form made up the basic space of *siheyuan*. The way to organize the space with court and colonnade existed as early as in western Zhou dynasty. The example is the archaeological discovery of the *siheyuan* site in Fengming village of Qishan in Shanxi province.²⁵⁹ *Siheyuan* in Beijing started to come into being in Yuan dynasty. The distance from front to the rear part of *siheyuan* formed according to the distance of *hutong* on the horizontal level is 77 m. According to *the fifth volume of The History of Yuan • Biography of the First Emperor*, the set area of residential land is 8 acres (about 5336 m²), so the width of each *siheyuan* is about 70M, forming a square land of 70×77 M. The length of *hutong* was about 700 M in Yuan Dadu (the capital of Yuan dynasty). According to Wang Jun,²⁶⁰ the researcher of the history of Beijing, the length of *hutong* came from the length of the palace city in Yuan Dadu (the capital

²⁵⁸ Gao Wei, *Siheyuan (court yard) of Beijing*, 《北京的四合院——砖瓦建成的北京文化》, 学苑出版社, 2006. P.2.

²⁵⁹ Ibid. P.4.

²⁶⁰ Wang Jun, *City records*, 《城记》, 三联书店, 2003.

of Yuan dynasty), and the plan based on the modulus of the palace city is the reflection of the idea of “*treating the household in a national way*” of the emperors’ in ancient China. The Forbidden City built in Ming dynasty on the basis of the palace city of Yuan Dadu (the capital of Yuan dynasty) is about 753 m wide from east to south. So a standard *hutong* can accommodate 10 *siheyuan* in standard size. The gates of all *siheyuan* face the *hutong* and they are separated by boundary walls. During Ming and Qing dynasties, the area of *siheyuan* decreased with the increase of population and the small one was only one acre (about 667 m²). The main gate of larger *siheyuan* faces the *hutong* in the south and the back door faces the *hutong* in the north. The smaller *siheyuan* can be divided in the middle within the 77M distance between the *hutong* to form two small *siheyuan* that are leaning against each other. And their gates face the *hutong* in front of them. When a family became larger and more room was needed, the expansion could be realized through the combination of the neighboring *siheyuan*, or even through taking up the whole *hutong* to form a huge *siheyuan*. The illustration is the garden of the Na family in the Golden Fish *hutong* in the eastern part of the city in the later period of Qing dynasty. For the sake of lighting and as a result of the northwest seasonal wind in winter, the best layout of the buildings in Beijing is the north room facing south, and the second best is the room in the west facing east and the room in the east and south are not good enough to be the ideal residence. Most *siheyuan* facing the east-west *hutong* are used as residence for that reason, and the ones facing the north-south *hutong* are put into commercial use. In fact, even the direction of the gates of *siheyuan* varies, the interior layouts are similar: the main room is the north room facing south, even if the gate faces north, the gate is connected to the southern entrance of the *siheyuan* through a long passage. The interior structure of *siheyuan* is divided into several kinds by a special unit: ‘*jin*’. *Jin* roughly means to enter or pass a gate, and there is generally an open yard after each *jin*. The court yard with one *jin* surrounded by the rooms is the basic unit of *siheyuan* in Beijing. Ordinary residence has one or two *jin*, and the residences with three *jin* or more are owned by the rich and powerful families. *Siheyuan* can be expanded in lengthwise direction to have three, four or even five *jin*, and it can also be expanded in crosswise direction to take the form of one main room with a smaller one, a main room with two smaller ones, or the coexistence of two groups or more. There are also gardens in some residence.²⁶¹

The one-storey *siheyuan* is the most characteristic residence building in Beijing. Every single building is connected by colonnades and courtyards to become a whole. In some connected residence with three or more *jin*, the space is flowing and every single building becomes a room with different functions: sitting room, dining hall, the host’s room, the room for the savants and garage and so on. Differed from the buildings in Europe in which all rooms are under one roof, they are put in the independent small buildings

²⁶¹ Gao Wei, *Siheyuan (court yard) of Beijing*, 《北京的四合院——砖瓦建成的北京文化》, 学苑出版社, 2006.

in *siheyuan* and organized in order according to the traditional *Li* (ritual) or the faith for *Junzi* (exemplary person). The fluidity and functional organization of *siheyuan* is different from the fluid space in the buildings of Karl Friedrich Schinkel age in that, the former was developed into a complex interior and the latter became a league of private functions.

2.2.2 Association space of the extroverted structure: the midline—symbolic, shi-jing—functional, wall—physical

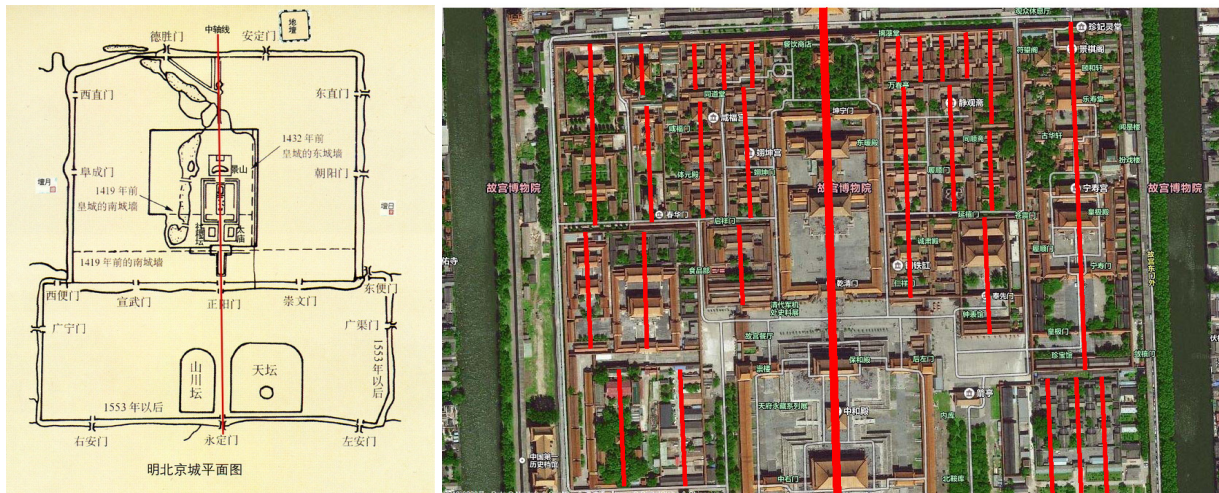
China has had a rich history of feudal dynasties. There were all kinds of feudal manors within the territory of the empire, ensuring a smooth flow of people and communication. Especially in the imperial capital that ever attracted all kinds of talents from everywhere, there were provincial graduates who came to compete for high-ranked official posts in annual national examination, foreign envoys, merchants, and travelers from wealthy local families all together to be there. It was even true in Beijing where Associative space formed on purpose of serving all kinds of communication was noticeable. The midline of Beijing as the magnetic space of the symbolic communication, *shi-jin* as the magnetic space for functional communication, and walls as the magnetic space for physical communication form the special association space of Beijing.

[1] The midline — symbolic

Forbidden City as the centre of Beijing was completed in 1420 (year 18 of emperor Yong-le) when the capital of Ming dynasty was moved to Beijing. It is 961 m long from north to south, 753 m wide from east to west, around it are the city walls of more than 10 m high and there are also moats of 52 wide outside the city walls. The total area of the Palace is 724,250 m.²⁶² In Chinese, Forbidden City does not only mean “forbidden city,” it also means Supreme Purple Star (Polaris). The emperor, the son of the Lord of Heaven, had the Divine Right. According to the ancient astrologists in ancient China, the Supreme Purple Star (Polaris) is in the middle of the sky with an immobile position, so it is the residence of the Lord of Heaven. So the palace of the Lord of Heaven is called the Purple Palace and there is a saying “the Purple Star is in the very center.”²⁶³ So, as the residence of the divine “son of heaven”, the Forbidden City symbolizes the Supreme Purple Star and the Purple Palace.

²⁶² Deng Hui, Hou Renzhi. *the origin and transition of Beijing city*. 《北京城的起源与变迁》, 中国书店, 2001.

²⁶³ Ibid.



Map 2-9: the middle line of Beijing in Ming dynasty. source: Beijing university of civil engineering and architecture library, <http://114.113.224.189:8080/>

Map 2-10: the different level of middle line system of Beijing. source: author's drawing on Google Map. Source: author creation

Forbidden City lies in the centre of Beijing with Huangji-dian in the center and the throne is in the centre of Huangji-dian. The midline of Beijing crosses the throne. The midline is 7.7 km long,²⁶⁴ from south to north, it crosses Yongding-men, Zhengyang-men, Tian'an-men, Duan-men, Wu-men, Taihe-men, Taihe-men, Taihe-dian, Zhonghe-dian, Baohe-dian, Qianqing-men, Qianqing palace, Jiaotai-dian, Kunning palace, Shenwu-men, Beishang-men, Jinshan-men, Wanchun pavilion, Shouhuang-dian, Di'an-men, drum tower, Bell Tower and ends at the northern city wall. The layout of buildings in Beijing is based on it. The way to set a midline in the capital city can be traced to Ye-cheng of Wei dynasty. The midline connects Forbidden City, royal city and inner city with the outer city. The functional space of the city stretches on both sides of the axis according to The Zhou Ritual of Confucianism,²⁶⁵ astrology, fengshui and the ancient tradition. The midline of Beijing is leading north and south. In ancient China, a central stand was usually built to be the geometrical center when a city was built.²⁶⁶ When Kublai Khan had Yuan Dadu (the capital of Yuan dynasty) built, the center of the city was set on the northeastern bank of Jishui-tan, the drum tower of present day. According to *Xijin Record* of Yuan dynasty, "the central stand is 50 bu south of the central pavilion. A blue stone stele indicates it to be the stand in the centre, the centre of east, south, west, and north." The set of the centre made it possible to expand the midline and the urban space. In Ming dynasty, the northern part of Beijing was compressed and the southern part was expanded so the centre of the city was moved southward. An artificial mountain—Jingshan was built here in Ming dynasty. Wanchun pavilion in the dominant position of Jingshan became the center of Beijing. It remained the

²⁶⁴ Ibid.

²⁶⁵ Wang Dehua, *the thinking of ancient Chinese urban planning*, 《中国古代城市规划思想》, 中国城市出版社, 1997.

²⁶⁶ Deng Hui, Hou Renzhi. *the origin and transition of Beijing city*. 《北京城的起源与变迁》, 中国书店, 2001.

center of Beijing till now. Surrounded in the royal city, Jingshan is the dominant position of Beijing and the panorama of the city can be seen from here.

The symbolic magnetic space is point-like, so, the symbolic line is formed with the linear arrangement of some centers even if it is linear. So the midline of Beijing is different from the axis of the Baroque cities in Europe in essence. The axis of the main streets in baroque cities is less connect the city space symbolically but more physically. So even the midline and axis are the same line-like, the former is formed with the concentrated arrangement of point-like space that it was not possible for even the emperor to walk on the virtual axis. People walk roundabout the point-like space with the midline in mind. The latter is formed by a straight and seemingly endless street. Everyone can walk in the empty and open space. Just like the radiation rays, people can move to distant places with vehicles and roads. Axis here in treaded on.

[2] Shi-jing — functional

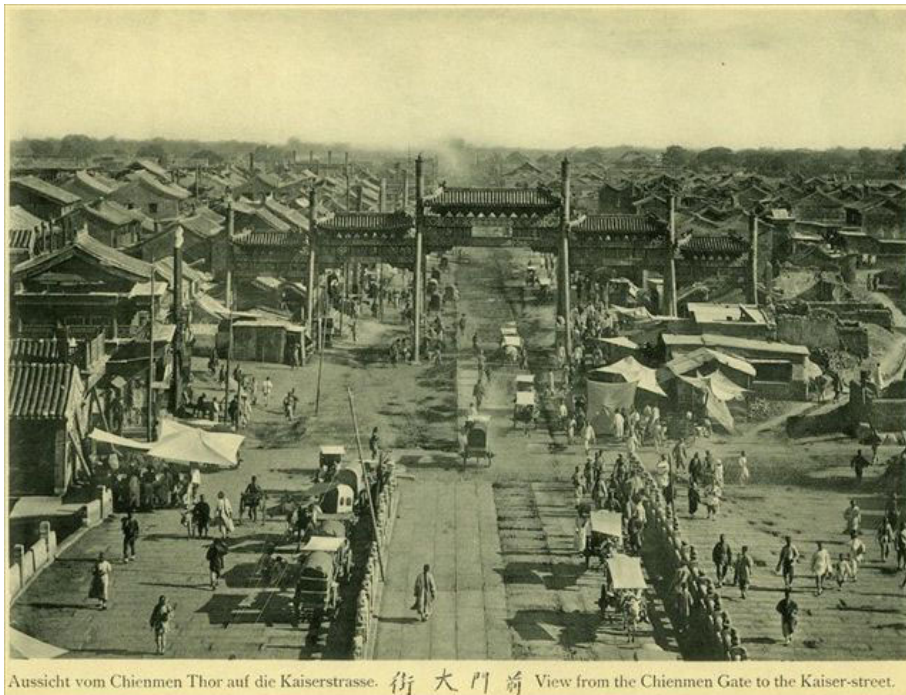


Photo 2-1: the view from Qianmen gate to the Kaiser-street of Beijing in the early 20 century. source: Beijing university of civil engineering and architecture library, <http://114.113.224.189:8080/>

Unlike the cities with convenient means of traffic or the cities formed with flourishing business, the imperial capital as the residence of the emperor was built as an enlarged castle. The core of the planning of the urban space was not for the civil life, more consideration was given to ensure the stability of the

imperial power and the smooth progression of the affairs in the big empire. The residence district in the city was to accommodate the people and their family members serving and working for the royal family and the empire, such as officials, military men, servants, craftsmen in the royal factories and so on. The number of the population was large, and service industries, commerce, and restaurants flourished to meet all the needs. *Shi-jing* life and civil society were formed in the capital city.²⁶⁷ As a result, at the beginning of the social activity space in Beijing, the official space in the castle, namely the official institutions the inner city of Ming dynasty, and the *Shi-jing* space on the brink of the castle or in the expanded area were formed. They were the spontaneous commerce and residence district in the southern city before the building of the outer city of Beijing in Ming dynasty and the southern urban district in the expanded outer city.

In ancient China, planning urban space in the imperial capital could be in accordance with the continuity of the tradition to reflect the legality and orthodox of the royal power. The palace city in Beijing of Ming dynasty was laid out in the traditional way of Outer Court and Inner Court.²⁶⁸ The Outer Court was the place the emperor worked and the Inner Court was the residence of the emperor and his family, namely the Back Palace and Imperial Garden. According to the tradition of the imperial city of “ancestral temple on the left and sacrifice altar on the right, and the division of Outer Court and Inner Court,” on the both side of the front part of the south gate of the palace city were the Imperial Ancestral Temple and the Sacrifice Temple, to the south of them are the five mansions and the six ministries. Inside Dong’an-men which lied outside the north gate of the palace city was the inner market and other handicraft workshops for the imperial family. Inner market served the palace city or the imperial city for trade activities that were set on three days a month: the 4th, 14th and 24th on lunar calendar.²⁶⁹ The commodities here were top grade, such as mink, fox fur, wine, jewelry, drug ingredients and so on. Li-fang system(block oriented) that divided the residents in ancient cities from Song dynasty was abandoned with the development of commerce, open commercial blocks gradually formed along the streets instead of restricted in the separated cities.²⁷⁰ Zhang Zeduan’s famous painting *The Qingming Festival on the Riverside* of Song dynasty revealed the flourishing open commercial blocks. Beijing in Ming dynasty took the form of jie-fang system (street oriented) of the Song dynasty in that the commercial zones were located among the streets instead of concentrated in certain space. Fang still existed, but its restriction on people’s movement had gone. In Beijing, markets and commerce formed different district and function space on the basis of

²⁶⁷ Zhao Shiyu, *the structure of social space in Ming & Qing dynasty of Beijing*. 《明清北京社会空间结构概说》, 《史学月刊》, 2001 (2)

²⁶⁸ Wang Dehua, *the thinking of ancient Chinese urban planning*. 《中国古代城市规划思想》, 中国城市出版社, 1997.

²⁶⁹ Ibid.

²⁷⁰ Tan Gangyi. *the residential housing of Song dynasty*, Doctor Library of South China University of Technology, 东南大学出版社, 2008.

the urban space structure. In the early period of Ming dynasty, some residential houses and shops were built near the city gate to promote the development of commerce, and they were called *Lang-fang*.²⁷¹ Commerce at the time concentrated in the areas: the four gates of the imperial city, Dongsi pailou (decorated archway), Xisi pailou, Bell and Drum Tower, and near Chaoyang-men, Anding-men, Xizhi-men, Fucheng-men and Xuanwu-men. Before the building of the outer city of Beijing, flourishing commercial zone had formed at Zhengyang-men (Qianmen), near the government office of the imperial city.²⁷² After the building of the outer city, especially after the implementation of the “separating residence of Manchurians and Han people,” commerce and markets in the outer city developed rapidly and *shi-jing* culture with the characteristics of Beijing residents formed. There were concentrated commercial zones in Beijing of Qing dynasty, such as Dashila, Liulichang, Xidashi Street and so on. There were also commercial streets with certain functions with the development of the guilds, such as Mishi(rice market) street, Zhushi (pig market) street, Caishikou (vegetables) and Ciqikou (ceramic wares). Regular or irregular markets also existed, such as regular temple fairs. Regular markets of Qing dynasty were five temple fairs: flower market and land market in the outer city and Baita temple fair, Huguo temple fair and Longfu temple fair in the inner city.²⁷³

In Beijing of Ming and Qing dynasties, social life was divided as official and civilian. As an extended castle city, generally speaking, the two kinds were not completely opposite. The two cooperated with each other to ensure the livelihood and stability of the city. The outer space of Beijing is mainly consisted of streets, wide and open waters and channels. Citizen plaza which is common in European cities does not exist. On the one hand, the rulers of the city did want it; on the other hand, the citizens who lacked of independent spirits did need a space like this. It is the street system without a plaza as a joint point; the network space made it led to the functional communication space and the scattered social life.

[3] Wall — physical

²⁷¹ Deng Hui, Hou Renzhi. *the origin and transition of Beijing city*. 《北京城的起源与变迁》, 中国书店, 2001.

²⁷² Ibid.

²⁷³ Ibid.



Photo 2-2: the view of Xiao-Wailangying Hutong, one of narrowest Hutong in Beijing. source: photograph by author, 25,04,2007

Beijing is a city formed with walls and gates.²⁷⁴ Among the walls are roads, *hutong*, streets, and other kinds of space, such as water surface. People's necessary activity space was formed here; walls and gates formed the social space of physical communication for the people in Beijing. After the outer city was expanded in Ming dynasty, the layout of four city walls of Beijing was formed: palace city from inside to outside, Imperial City, inner city, and outer city. Gate in the four city walls became the core of the urban streets system in Beijing. There is a saying of gates in Beijing, "nine inside, and seven outside, seven in the Imperial City and four in the palace city."²⁷⁵ That is to say, there are nine city gates in the inner city: Chongwen-men, Zhengyan-men, Xuanwu-men, Hucheng-men, Xizhi-men, Desheng-men, Anding-men, Dongzhi-men, and Chaoyang-men. The seven city gates of the outer city are: Guangqu-men, Guang'an-men, Dongbian-men, Xibian-men, Zuoan-men, Youan-men, and Yong-ding-men. The seven gates of the Imperial City are: Tian'an-men, Di'an-men, Dong'an-men, Xi'an-men, Daming-men (changed into Daqing-men in Qing dynasty), Chang'an-zuo-men, and Chang'an-you-men. There are four city gates in the palace city: Wu-men, Shenwu-men, Donghua-men, and Xihua-men. The innermost palace city is the Forbidden City. The length of the city walls is 3 km in total and it is 10 m high. The imperial city outside the palace city was about 9 km long in Ming dynasty and it was extended to be about 11 km long and 7-8

²⁷⁴ Oswald Siren, *The Walls and Gates of Peking*, 《北京的城墙和城门》, trans into Chinese by Xu Yongquan, 北京: 北京燕山出版社, 1985.

²⁷⁵ Deng Hui, Hou Renzhi. *the origin and transition of Beijing city*. 《北京城的起源与变迁》, 中国书店, 2001.

m high. The inner city outside the Imperial City is 23.6 km in length and 11.8 m in height. The outer city to the south of the inner city is 28 km long and 10 m high.²⁷⁶ Every gate in the city walls was given a symbolic name and bore certain space organized function. For example, the nine gates of the inner city have had strict functions. So the gates were given special names according to their functions. Zhengyangmen is the front gate of Beijing for the emperor to enter and exit, it was called the state gate by the citizens of Beijing; check posts for fish and liquor were set at Chongwenmen for the transporting of liquor wagons. Besides, the only waterway to enter Beijing was through Chongwenmen in Ming and Qing dynasties; water transportation was convenient there so it was also called tax gate; Chaoyangmen was the entrance for the grain transported by water from south, many barns were set inside Chaoyangmen, so it was also called grain gate; Dongzhi-men was the entrance for the bricks and timber used in the capital and the palace, so it was called brick-tile gate; the triumphant army returned through Andingmen, so it was called soldier's gate; the gate the night carts travelled through was also called dung gate; the army leaving for battle exited from Deshengmen and it was called soldiers' gate; water wagons entered the city through Xizhi-men as the water used in the Forbidden City was taken from Yuquan mountain, so it was also called water gate; camels carrying coals from Xishan entered through Huchengmen, so it was called coal gate; prisoners in van travelled through Xuaneu-men to be executed at Caishikou, so it was called penalty gate.²⁷⁷ Many exits were made in the city walls of Beijing in the late period of Qing dynasty to make the convenient traffic. The number of the city gates in Beijing increased to as many as 30.

²⁷⁸

Apart from the city walls, there are also *hutong* and grey brick walls formed by *siheyuan* in Beijing. Most *siheyuan* are introverted with the exception of the shops in the commercial streets. Only gates and walls of *siheyuan* can be seen in *hutong*. The space in *hutong* is streets, and also the important space of the neighborhood life in *hutong*. Daily life of Beijing residents is "inside and outside the walls." Unlike the historical ideal cities which were designed on a horizontal plan, Beijing was not designed and built through elevation instead of the horizontal plan, and the whole urban space and the urban life within it were organized on the basis. The biggest difference is that, the ideal plan cannot be seen within human vision; it is mediocre as the splendor can be seen. In Beijing, the ideal elevation is the ubiquitous walls in different sizes, materials, and colors. The walls is always wholly captured in people's sight every time and everywhere, this why it comes to be so great.

²⁷⁶ Beijing Academy of Social Sciences. 北京市社会科学研究所“北京历史纪年”编写组, *chronological account of the events for historical Beijing*. 《北京历史纪年》, 北京: 北京出版社, 1987.

²⁷⁷ Deng Hui, Hou Renzhi. *the origin and transition of Beijing city*. 《北京城的起源与变迁》, 中国书店, 2001.

²⁷⁸ Ibid.

2.3 From 'Jiefang' to 'Unit' – the socio-spatial transition of old Beijing's community space

2.3.1 The transition of settlement space: From *siheyuan* to unit housing

In dynastic periods, as the capital city, Beijing became both the mental and physical fort of the feudal dynasties to defend the legality of the ruling class. The reason why it was hard to develop strong and autonomous civil society was that most cities in China at that time were fort cities. Introverted fort and extroverted market were incompatible with each other. Beijing in the imperial period did look like a fort, because it was too big that sometimes, it made one forget its own existence. To the later years of Qing dynasty, under the military attack from the outside forces, the introverted fort city developed into an open city. In Opium War, the Joint Anglo-French forces took Beijing and forced Qing government to sign Tianjin Treaty and Beijing Treaty. The treaties began to loosen the fort of the city. Physically, the city walls of the fort could not withstand the modern military techniques such as the attack of cannons; mentally, the center of the central empire had to integrate into the spherical globalised world. On October 13, 1860, the stationed-government of Qing empire in Beijing surrendered to the Joint Anglo-French Forces and handed over Anding-men; like the Qing empire, Beijing was forced to tearing down the city walls and becoming open. In more than one hundred years that followed, city walls and city gates were gradually replaced by overpasses and roads, the Forbidden City and royal palaces became museum and parks, government offices in the royal city were replaced by newly built government agencies, and various commercial facilities spread all over the city. The imperial capital gradually developed into a modern city.

■ The transition of settlement space

Since the opening of Beijing by force in 1860, the introverted community space of Beijing has transformed promptly. The order and settled life built on kinship and land in the past millenniums began to loosen and deform. A conservative medieval city started to give up its barriers and the opening of the society began from the opening of the city. The Qing dynasty established by the Manchurians became shaky; the inner city for the habitation of the royal family and the Manchurians started to open, businessmen, foreigners and strangers to the city entered the inner city. The habitation container built on kinship and land was transformed by all kinds of immigrants, and a potential urbanization process began.²⁷⁹ The process can be clearly divided into three stages with the changes of the regimes in China: the last feudal dynasty in China: Qing dynasty ended in 1911; the Republic of China (ROC) founded in 1912 till the Kuomintang government ended its reign in mainland China in 1949; the People's Republic of China led by the Communist Party was founded in 1949. The three stages represent three significant

²⁷⁹ Sidney David Gamble, 1921, *Peking, a social survey*. New York: George H. Doran.

historical stages in modern China. The collapse of the feudal ruling of Late Qing Dynasty; the development of capitalism in the period of the Republic of China; and the three-decade Communism movement age from the founding of the People's Republic of China to 1979. The Communism movement ended in 1979 when China's reform and opening-up was underway.

[1] Late Qing Dynasty

At the end of Qing dynasty, with the political and economic decline of the government, the settlement space of Beijing city began to change. Trains and cars entered the urban districts and changed the layout of city streets. Many city control measures of the Qing government became loose and inefficient. The old systems were about to become invalid and new ones kept changing. *Bao-Jia* system—the traditional census household registration and security administration system was replaced by modern police system.²⁸⁰ The divided- habitation policy of Manchurians who lived in the inner city and Han people who lived in the outer city made in the early period of Qing dynasty and the kinship settlement policy of settling Manchurians in different areas of the inner city on the basis of Eight Banners were abolished completely. Bannermen and civilians could move more freely in different districts of the city. With the entering and settlement of foreign embassies, more and more foreigners began to purchase real estate in Beijing and designed and built houses in western style. Many buildings with both Chinese and western style appeared in traditional streets and *hutong* of Beijing. With more immigrants entering the city, the newly built settlement buildings no longer served as residential space of big families, instead, they were designed and added more functions for smaller families: business, service, renting and so on. New buildings flourished real estate market. The former *siheyuan* of Beijing are one-story residence, and the houses in it have to be rented separately for convenience's sake, leaving it become '*Dazayuan*'. *Siheyuan* designed for the big family could hardly fit for the need of the small families. Many new buildings, on the land bought in the former *siheyuan* and streets, were two-story or three-story small buildings facing the streets. The small buildings and *siheyuan* formed the apartment buildings of in Beijing of late Qing dynasty and accommodated the immigrants. In late Qing dynasty, the number of *hutong* increased and the existing urban space order and planning were not longer followed strictly. The opening of Beijing speeded the transaction and turnover of the land and space, and the flow and pouring of the immigrants brought old Beijing into urbanization.

[2] Republic of China (ROC)

The decline of the urban space of Beijing couldn't be saved by the collapse of the Qing Empire; on the contrary, the overall decline was deteriorated. In 1912, when Republic of China declared itself the

²⁸⁰ Ibid.

legitimate government to replace the Qing empire, Beijing was plunged into a state of turbulence in politics. After the political center of China gradually moved southward, Beijing lost its political significance. Elite class started to flee Beijing; the city government lacked the passion and money for city construction, especially the construction of ordinary residence building. The privilege of the Manchurians were abolished with the abdication of the emperor of Qing dynasty, the bannermen once supported by the government lost the source of income and their living standard deteriorated drastically. Many of them had to sell the residence in the inner city to gain source for living. A large number of bannermen went bankrupt and became the poor as a lack of working skills and experience. The living standard of the ordinary bannermen was deteriorated, the aristocrats lost their privilege and government protection, even many luxury houses, manors in the suburb and real estate remained private property, but many of them lacked the management skills, which were declined or destroyed by stronger forces in the turbulent time.²⁸¹ Thus, more and more *siheyuan* in the city were divided, rented, sold, built, and transformed. The once closed *siheyuan*, just like the city, was forced to be opened. The space unit once used by a family was now taken up by several and more families.²⁸² Urbanization not only changed the interior of the fort city, but also expanded to the suburbs of the city. Many farmers in the suburb lost their land and flowed into the city, making the space of the city full of one-story house more crowded. In the imperial city mostly formed of luxury houses like the DOMUS of the Ancient Rome period, the gap between the rich and the poor emerged. The privatization of urban space supported the development of commerce and urbanization, the land and real estate of the bannermen, which once wasn't allowed to be transacted to become the commodity entering the market. However, space no longer linked with privilege and lineage and became the commodity in circulation. Renting became the major way to accommodate more people in the city. Slums were rampant in some areas in the outer city of Beijing. For instance, Longxu ditch was a notorious slum in Beijing.²⁸³ In the old Beijing city, underground drainage facility existed only in the Forbidden City; in most areas of the city, drainage was mainly rivers, channels and other ditches. Longxu ditch was one of them. With the urbanization in the period of Republic of China, urban infrastructures depended on the natural circulation were on the edge of collapse. The municipal administration started to plan the urban space, but the infrastructure once financed by the royal family was then facing a lack of funding. Many facilities, such as running water and electric bulbs, were already being used in Beijing in the late Qing dynasty; but public investment in urban public space was in a shortage. The surrounding area of Longxu ditch became the edge zone of the city, a large number of impoverished migrants settled there for the cheap residential space. In the period of the Republic of China, any political states, neither the occupation interim of the Japanese army in World War II nor the republican government itself formed

²⁸¹ Ibid.

²⁸² Ibid.

²⁸³ Deng Hui, Hou Renzhi. *the origin and transition of Beijing city*. 《北京城的起源与变迁》, 中国书店, 2001.

enough strength to improve the entire residential space and environment of Beijing. Before the founding of People's Republic of China, *siheyuan*—family house of Beijing that accommodated one family only took up a small portion of the city.²⁸⁴

[3] Communist movement age

The three decades from 1949 to 1979 could be called as the Communism movement age as I suggested. After a three-decade long of the communism movement, the communist government was grounded in mainland China tenaciously. During these times, the Chinese society had witnessed the most radical revolutionary years. All the social movement and forces: New Democracy, socialism, egalitarianism, peasant revolution, Marxism, anti-colonization movement, feminism, cosmopolitanism, anti-imperialism, and even the universal ethics of World Commonwealth of Confucianism were gathered under the flag of communist revolution and all the efforts in China during the three decades were guided towards an ultimate goal: the realization of Communism in China. As a result, the Chinese society witnessed the social movements of unprecedented scale and numbers. Generally, the completion of the first Five Year Plan from 1949 to 1957, China experienced the period of rapid economic growth; from 1958 to 1965, China witnessed the famous Great Leap Forward, people's commune and the economic crisis in the three-year difficult period; and the Great Proletarian Cultural Revolution from 1966 to 1976.

From the late 1949 to the late 1952, before the issuance of the first Five-year Plan in mainland China, it was the recovery period of economy in China. The period was called the New Democracy period in China, as the transition period from the old China to a socialist China. The main goal in the period was to take over the government administration system, complete the land reform, and smash the economic basis of the feudal society. In fact, before the communist party took the regime, land reform was carried out in the areas controlled by the communist party. For example, in the liberated areas of northeast and northwest China, land reform was completed before October 1st 1949. And in other provinces and areas, it was not completed gradually until 1952. Land reform means distributing the land of the landlords who were not engaged in production to the peasants without land, making the land-to-the-tiller. Land reform made it unnecessary for peasants to pay rents to the landlords. At the same time, the egalitarian land-to-the-tiller policy laid the basis for the collective development in China's rural areas in the following years. At the same time, after the land reform, farmers tried agriculture cooperation, mutual-aid group was formed in the liberated areas in southwest (1946), and it was developed into China's Rural Cooperative. From the early period of the 1950s to 1979, the collective development in rural China went through the period of mutual aid group to China's Rural Cooperative; from the prime Cooperative to the high Cooperative and

²⁸⁴ Ibid.

then to the people's commune.²⁸⁵

From the Great Leap Forward in 1958, with the collectivization in the rural areas, cities entered the period of socialist transition, namely the nationalization.²⁸⁶ Many businesses (the transition of capitalist industry) became joint state-private ownership; the private renting houses underwent socialist transition in Beijing in 1958. The movement was called "managed renting," namely the state managed the renting houses. According to Several Opinions on the Basics of the Present Private House and the Socialist Transition issued by the second office of the Secretariat of the Central Committee of the Communist Party of China, "the private renting house can be managed, rented by the state and jointly managed by the state and private, the city houses are redeemed and the owners are given fixed rents in a certain period and transfer their ownership gradually. In 1958,²⁸⁷ during the transition of the private renting house, the way was the state managed renting instead of joint management of the state and the private. Managed renting, the private renting house with the number above the stipulated number, the related authorities rented, managed and repaired them and paid the owner a certain proportion of rent. The starting point of managed renting varied in different areas. In Beijing, the private renting house with more than 15 rooms (or 223 m²) should become managed renting. The proportion of rents was paid to the owners differed in different areas according to circumstances; it ranged from 20% to 40% of the rents.²⁸⁸ The way lasted to 1966, after the beginning of the Cultural Revolution,²⁸⁹ rents were no longer paid to the owners. As a result of the political movements, the owners had the property rights over the houses in law, in reality, their houses became nationalized. Industry had the priority in the economic development of the city, and the development of residence building and the maintenance of old buildings lacked of the fund. With the joint state-private ownership and the development of socialist planned economy, when the first Five-Year Plan ended in 1957, over 90% of city population in China was divided into "working units."²⁹⁰ During the process, to satisfy the need of industrialization, more people flowed into Beijing and were received by the units. Various kinds of units in large numbers were set up in the old areas and suburbs of Beijing, making it hard for the already crowded urban residential space to withstand it. The increase of population forced the city to increase residential space, but large amount of fund was used for industrial development, and only small amount was used for residence buildings. With the outbreak of the economic crisis as a result

²⁸⁵ The Editorial Committee of Beijing construction history, *the construction history of Beijing after 1949*. 《建国以来的北京城市建设资料》, 北京建设史书编辑委员会编辑部. 北京: 1992.

²⁸⁶ Song Haiqing, *the rise and fall of people's commune*, 《人民公社兴亡录》, 新疆青少年出版社, 2000.

²⁸⁷ The Editorial Committee of Beijing construction history, *the construction history of Beijing after 1949*. 《建国以来的北京城市建设资料》, 北京建设史书编辑委员会编辑部. 北京: 1992.

²⁸⁸ Ibid.

²⁸⁹ Ibid.

²⁹⁰ Yang Xiaomin, Zhou Yihu, *The Chinese unit system*, 《中国单位制度》, 北京: 中国经济出版社, 1999.

of the collectivization in the rural areas, the need for residence once depending entirely on the allotment of the units had to adapt the strategy of making full use of the existing old buildings and designing and building low-priced simple buildings.²⁹¹ This transformed the single occupied *siheyuan* into *Dazayuan* completely, becoming neighborhood courtyard. And the neighborhood courtyard became the public houses of the units for allotment. The nationalization of residence and the lack of government fund deteriorated the conditions of the residence buildings. The trend did not get better in the Cultural Revolution starting in 1966, instead, it became worse. With the birth and growth of the descendents of the city immigrants into Beijing as a result of the industrialization and other residents in allotted houses, the residence space in Beijing became denser. Many residents built simple residential space secretly in collectively owned or state owned residence. With the acquiescence of the government, the courtyard space in *siheyuan* was taken up completely. The crowdedness in *Dazayuan* was like the poorly-paid workers' residence zone in the primary period of industrialization in Europe. Group living became the several generations of the family living in the crowded community space. Over use and the lack of maintenance fund as a result of nationalization deteriorated the building conditions of *siheyuan*, which was still the major part of the residence space in the old city. Decrepit houses emerged in a large number.²⁹²

■ From *siheyuan* to unit housing

During Qing dynasty in Beijing, residence space of citizens was mainly made of *siheyuan*. When the population and residential density are in good proportion in the city, *siheyuan* can provide good residence space. Qing dynasty gave the city and society the stability on the basis of the divine monarch by combining population and land. But once the monarch was threatened, or even the feudal period was ended, the close link between population and land would loosen and stability would be replaced by fluidity. With large population flow and the increase of population, the residential space mainly in the form of *Siheyuan* in Beijing could hardly satisfy the need of the fluid society and the increase of population, especially the transition of residential demands. Since the founding of the People's Republic of China in 1949, residential buildings in Beijing have gone through a series of changes, some of them may be not distinguished in terms of scale, but there were indeed changes and developments in different times that created certain influence to the formation of residential space in Beijing today.²⁹³

²⁹¹ Leon Hoa, *Reconstruire la Chine: trente ans d'urbanisme 1949-1979*, 《重建中国, 城市规划三十年 1949-1979》, translate into Chinese by Li Ying, 北京: 三联书店, 2006.

²⁹² The Editorial Committee of Beijing construction history, *the construction history of Beijing after 1949*. 《建国以来的北京城市建设资料》, 北京建设史书编辑委员会编辑部. 北京: 1992.

²⁹³ Ibid.

[1] row house

After 1949, the one-storey *siheyuan* could hardly meet the need of the rapidly increasing population, either in general, or in some areas densely scattered with newly established units. As the government was incapable of launching large scale demolition and residence development, during the period of emperor Kangxi of Qing dynasty, row houses once for temporary accommodation of bannermen and their family members were built. The row houses were like simple military camp, facing north and lined in rows. They could save materials and were convenient for management. The distance of the temporary space was usually three to four meters wide. The house was incomplete in terms of residential function, and there were no independent kitchens and toilets. A public toilet was usually built in the first house of every row, there was only one water-tap for each or several rows, and kitchen could only be built in the space between the rows in nearby places. Row houses accommodated as many as people temporarily, but the temporary buildings were not fit for a long-term residence, and the one-story row houses could not fundamentally increase residential density in the city.²⁹⁴

[2] Residential communities in Soviet style and Block building

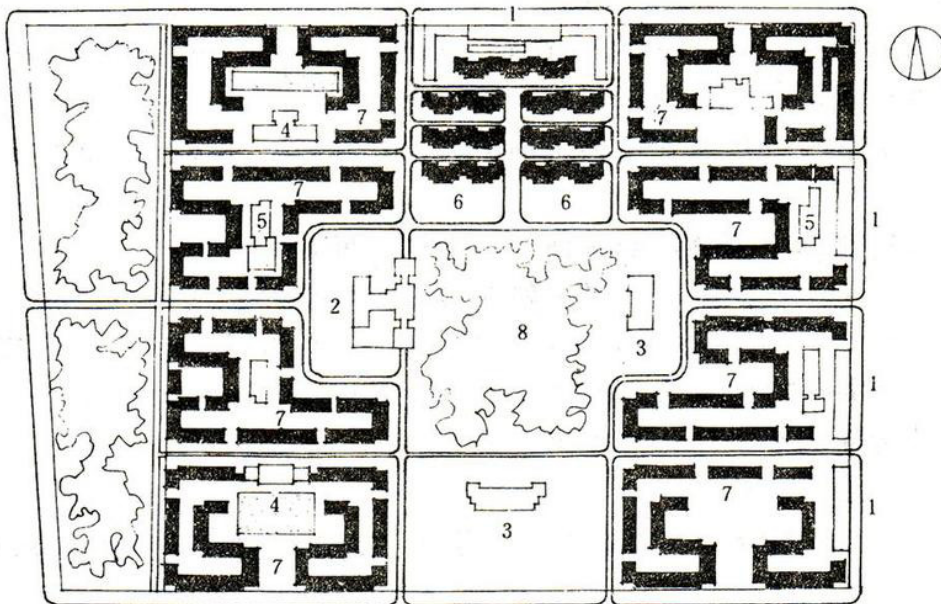


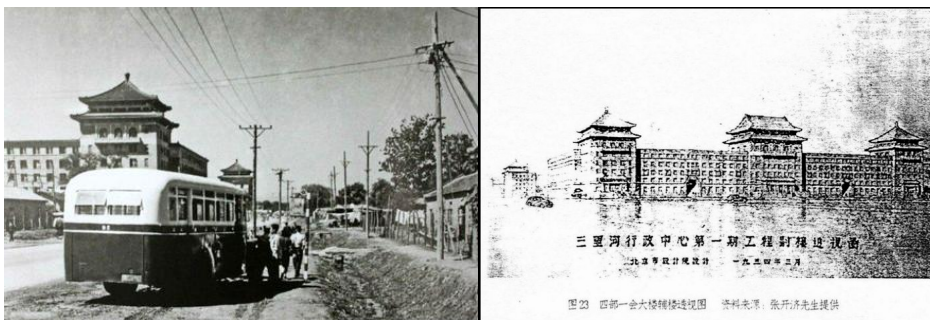
Figure 2-7: the Plan of Baiwanzhuang residential block of Beijing. source: 《重建中国，城市规划30年1949-1979》，华揽洪，北京三联书店，2006

Between 1950s and early 1960s, China was most aided by the former Soviet Union and learned from it in

²⁹⁴ Ibid.

all aspects.²⁹⁵ Many experts from the Soviet Union came to China, including experts in the fields of city planning and architecture. The experts brought the experiences of postwar rebuilding of their country, especially laid the foundation of building of municipal engineering and the setting of standards of all forms of constructions. They also brought block buildings prevailing in Eastern Europe that time. The urban space fitting for walking formed in medieval Europe was transplanted directly in urban space planning in China. Stress on accessibility and organizing urban space through facade were the characteristics of the block buildings serving the open space. With the aid of the experts of the Soviet Union, some residential communities were planned in Beijing.²⁹⁶ The example was the workers' residential community of the cotton textile mill (the No.1, No.2 and No.3 state mill) in the eastern suburb. The planning of block building made many buildings in the shape of T or L. residential buildings became blocks surrounding the inner yard and the blocks formed larger groups, and some service and public buildings of the residential community were added in the groups. Residential buildings were mainly three-storey, and each house was equipped with independent kitchen, toilet, water supply and drainage system and heating facility. The buildings were the symbol of the happy socialist life. Stiff street space and black inner yard formed by the block buildings, especially the rules of letting in the light facing the south according to the climate in China was broken, the buildings of the type met with opposition in China at first.²⁹⁷ What was more fatally, in the later years of 1950s, the system of overall responsibility of the units and household registration system were fully set up, city dwellers in China were surrounded by the walls of their working places and cities in China became closed from the state of opening; façade, especially the façade in the main streets of the city served more for political purpose than public walking in the open city. The block buildings lacking fluidity and an open city as the inner core became the expensive ornaments and were given up by the administration for the reason.²⁹⁸

[3] Big roof

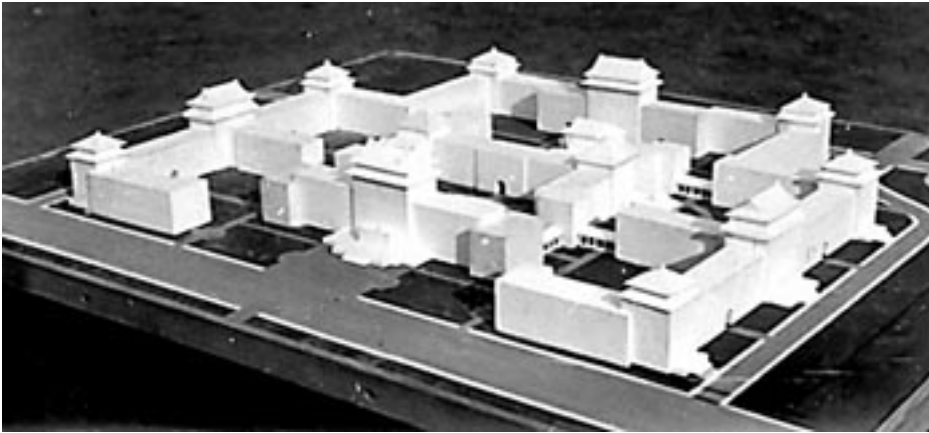


²⁹⁵ Leon Hoa, *Reconstruire la Chine: trente ans d'urbanisme 1949-1979*, 《重建中国，城市规划三十年 1949-1979》，translate into Chinese by Li Ying, 北京：三联书店，2006.

²⁹⁶ Ibid.

²⁹⁷ Ibid.

²⁹⁸ Ibid.



[1] **Photo 2-3:** the view of 4 Ministry and one committee at Sanlihe of Beijing in the middle of 1950s. source: unknown photographer

[2] **Figure 2-8:** the perspective drawing of 4 Ministry and one committee at Sanlihe of Beijing. source: Zhang Kai-ji (architect)

[3] **Photo 2-4:** The architecture Model of 4 Ministry and one committee at Sanlihe of Beijing source: Zhang Kai-ji (architect)

In the 1950s, apart from the aid projects and the buildings of Soviet Union style, experts of Soviet Union also brought the architectural and art theory of “*realism in socialist conditions*”.²⁹⁹ There was a slogan at the time: “socialist content and national form.”³⁰⁰ The slogan was interpreted as the blending of socialist buildings with new functions and the traditional Chinese architectural style. So, the traditional Chinese big roof, glazed tiles, and other architectural details such as bucket arch and lattice window were used in the new buildings in large numbers. The traditional wooden decorative structure and character were largely imitated and used in modern non-wooden buildings, making the modern Chinese decorative style in the form of big roof the most popular style.³⁰¹ The examples are Friendship Hotel in Beijing, the administration building of the State Planning Commission in Sanlihe and so on. The form of big roof did not appear widely in residential buildings, but the decorative style influenced the detailed planning of the residential buildings to a certain extent. With the gradual setting of the economic state in the years after the founding of the People’s Republic of China and the planned economy system, the cultural need gave its way to economic need and ideological construction gave its way to material construction, so, during the second session of the first NPC, when vice premier Li Fuchun³⁰² proposed building up the country with thrift and hard work, big roof became the building waste to be criticized and abolished soon.

²⁹⁹ Leon Hoa, *Reconstruire la Chine: trente ans d’urbanisme 1949-1979*, 《重建中国, 城市规划三十年 1949-1979》, translate into Chinese by Li Ying, 北京: 三联书店, 2006. P.64.

³⁰⁰ Ibid.P.64.

³⁰¹ Ibid.

³⁰² Ibid.P.82.

[4] The building of Great Leap Forward



Photo 2-5: the Fusuijing city commune tower in Beijing in 1962 . source: unknown photographer

With the beginning of the Great Leap Forward in 1958, “abundance, speed, quality, and thrift”³⁰³ became the slogan of building socialism at the time. The essence of the slogan was that, to speed up construction in China, new ways and ideas could be tried to find its own way to build socialism. After 1958, people’s commune in rural China began to have an influence on city life and three “urban people’s commune residence” were built in Beijing, and they were:³⁰⁴ Fusuijing building in Xicheng district, Beiguanting building in Dongcheng district and Anhua building in Guangqumennei street. The commune buildings with elevators, public facilities, and space became the prototype of communist life at the time. Great Leap Forward not only brought about commune building but also the construction of other residential communities. For example, the demolished and re-settled residential communities as a result of the construction of the top 10 buildings of Beijing and new urban road network: Yong’anli residential community, Hepingli residential community, and Ganjiakou residential community and so on. Advanced techniques such as precast concrete units were adopted in some residential buildings, thus speeding up the

³⁰³ Leon Hoa, *Reconstruire la Chine: trente ans d’urbanisme 1949-1979*, 《重建中国, 城市规划三十年 1949-1979》, translate into Chinese by Li Ying, 北京: 三联书店, 2006. P.80.

³⁰⁴ Ibid. P.91.

construction.³⁰⁵ The three-year difficult period starting in 1959 halted the construction.

[5] Box unit and '9014' design³⁰⁶

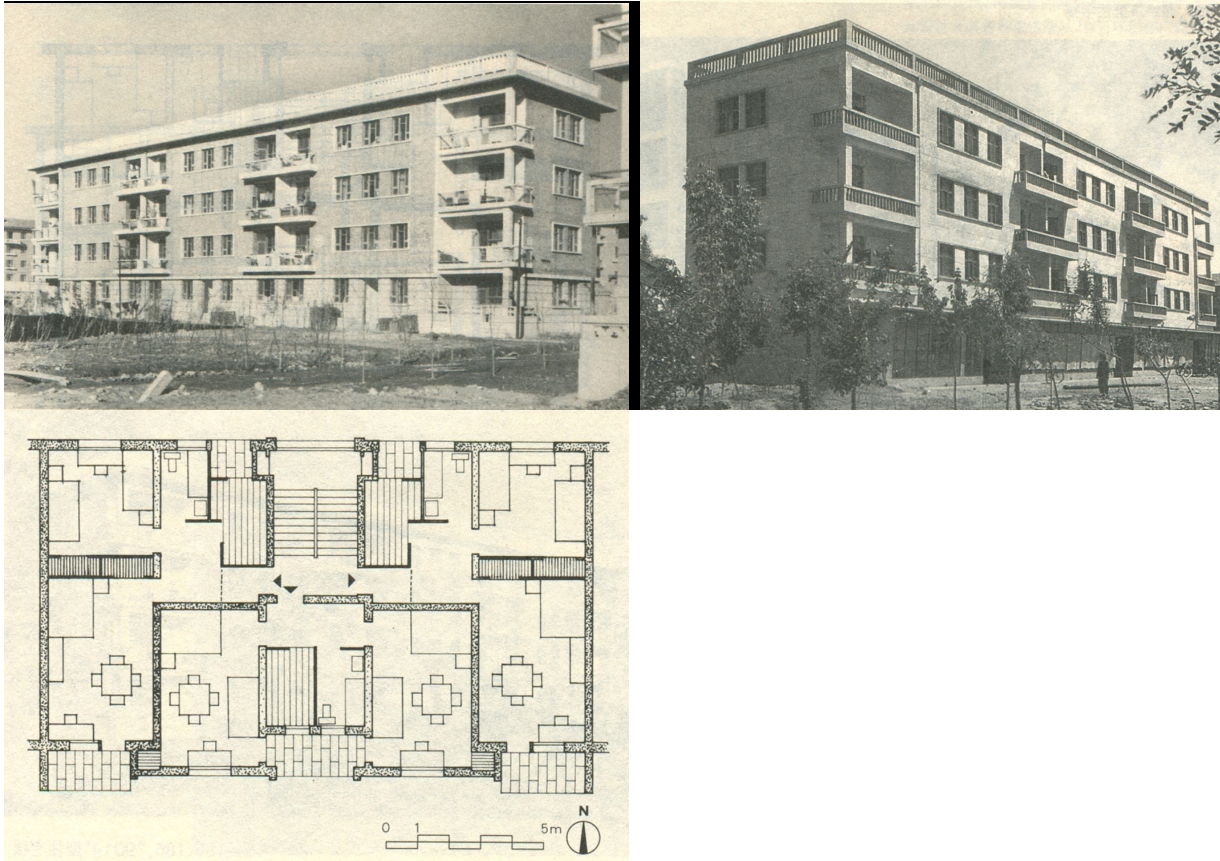


Photo 2-6: '9014' design. source: 《重建中国，城市规划 30 年 1949-1979》，华揽洪，北京三联书店，2006. P145

Photo 2-7: '9014' design. source: 《重建中国，城市规划 30 年 1949-1979》，华揽洪，北京三联书店，2006. P145

Figure 2-9: '9014' design, two rooms apartment and its floor area about 67m². source: 《重建中国，城市规划 30 年 1949-1979》，华揽洪，北京三联书店，2006. P146

From 1962 to 1966, when the three-year difficult period was over, city economy recovered rapidly. And with the economic recovery, city units started to design and build various kinds of residential building and staff dormitory. The buildings were mostly three-storey to five-storey residence unit without elevators. As thrift was advocated, the buildings were constructed as simple functional box unit, just like the match box.³⁰⁷ Even though, in the interior of every residence unit, there were also basic residential function and private space of family life could be formed. Standardized residence became the architectural creation of

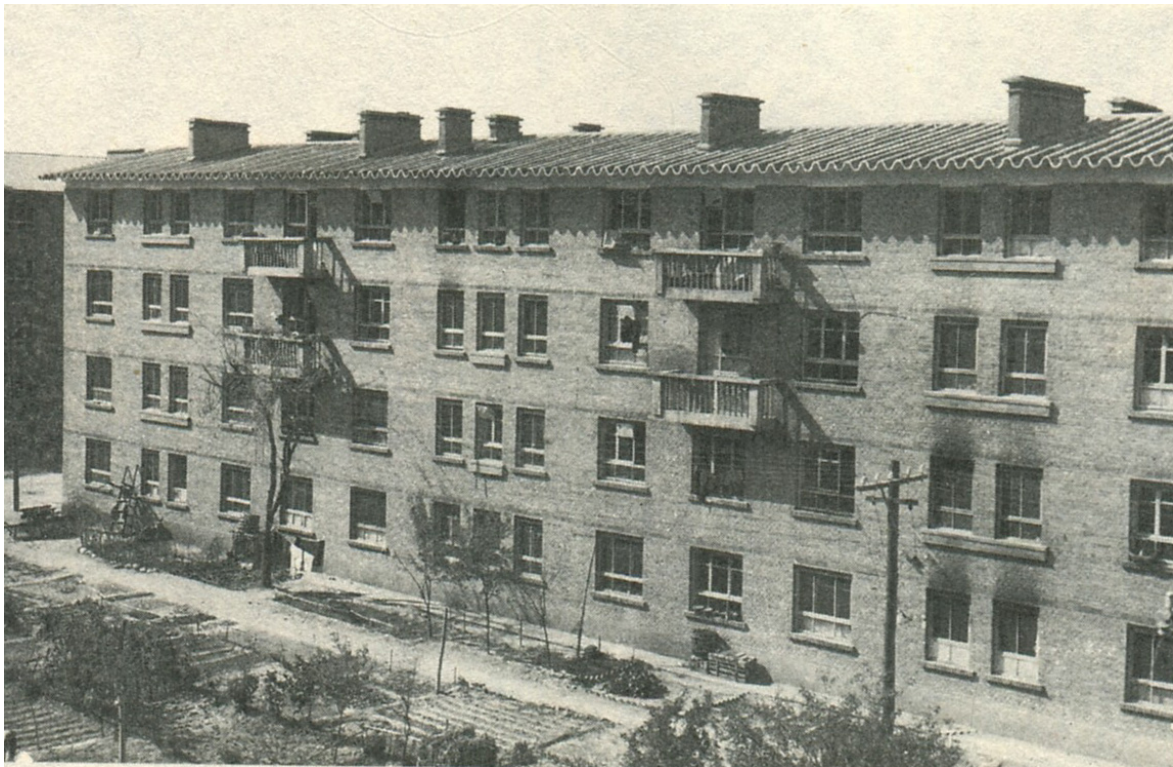
³⁰⁵ Ibid. P.83.

³⁰⁶ Ibid. P.145

³⁰⁷ Ibid.

the period. The social members of China became alike with the progress of socialist revolution, and this could be seen in terms of income and also social status. So, standardization of the design and construction of residence was not only a matter of architecture, the egalitarianism became a kind of political program. Under the circumstances, the primary standard design was formed according to the standard and the blueprint of large scale buildings that the experts of the Soviet Union provided in the 1950s. (Type 2 residential building)³⁰⁸ was adapted according to the basic conditions of China; the famous “9014” design was formed. The standard design formed in Beijing evolved into many types and showed strong adaptability and was advocated nationwide.³⁰⁹ But construction of the type came to be stopped by the start of the Cultural Revolution in 1966.

[6] Economy building and Super Economy Building³¹⁰



³⁰⁸ Ibid. P.143.

³⁰⁹ Ibid.

³¹⁰ Ibid. P.119.

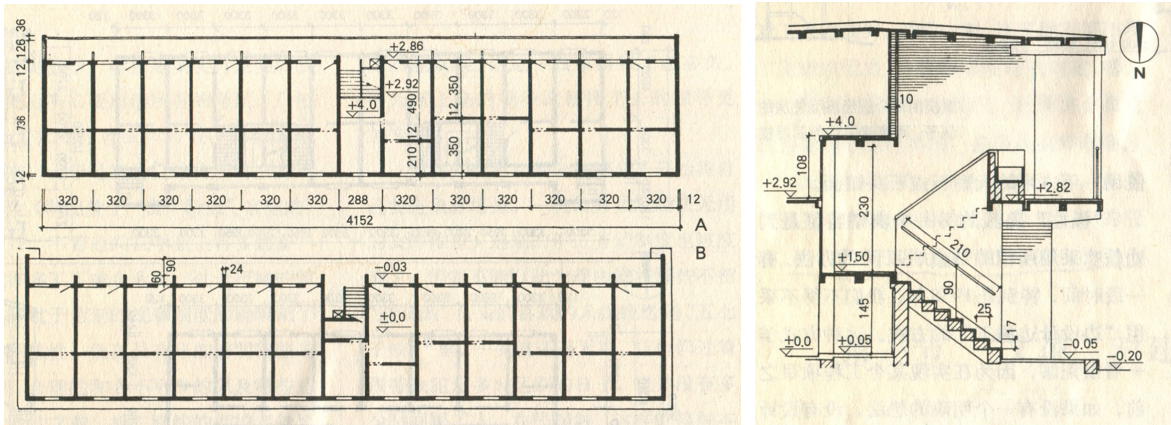


Photo 2-8: super economical residential housing. source: 《重建中国，城市规划 30 年 1949-1979》，华揽洪，北京三联书店，2006. P146

Figure 2-10: one of Beijing super economical residential housing, ground floor plan and typical floor plan. one faucet for each floor, without private toilet, public toilet out of the building in the street, without kitchen in the apartment but be used in common corridor. source: 《重建中国，城市规划 30 年 1949-1979》，华揽洪，北京三联书店，2006. P120

Figure 2-11: one of Beijing super economical residential housing, the section drawing. source: 《重建中国，城市规划 30 年 1949-1979》，华揽洪，北京三联书店，2006. P120

Cultural Revolution began in 1966 and the economy and society were paralyzed in China. Economic stress and population pressure forced the large scale construction of super economy building, or economy building as it was called.³¹¹ In the construction of the economy building, the size of the building was cut, the walls and floors were thinner, and the number of public toilets and kitchens was decreased. The short, thin, crowded, and ugly buildings were also called “armament building,”³¹² in preparation for the possible world war. Living conditions of the super economy building were simple and crude, but it relieved the pressure of the increase of urban population, especially the pressure of the housing allotment with the birth of the second generation after the founding of the People’s Republic of China. Poor quality and lack of maintenance fund of the super economy buildings transformed themselves into squatter settlement soon. And the publicly financed squatter settlement made it convenient for the urban development strategy of demolition in China.

Most people in Beijing lived in the allotted houses during the Cultural Revolution in the 1960s. Not all the allotted houses were built after 1949, but most private houses such as *Siheyuan* became the property of all kinds of units, and entered the housing allotment system as public resources. However, severe shortage of houses forced most Beijing citizens living in the crowded space. According to *the statistics of*

³¹¹ Ibid. P.119.

³¹² Ibid. P.120.

Beijing Annals: Chapter of Real Estate: urban per capita living area in 1976 was 0.34 m² less than that of 1957, and was less than 4m². Sharing an apartment was the only choice of most people at the time. And *siheyuan* became *Dazayuan*.

2.3.2 From Firm land's shape to solid space form: common and particular

Public and private relations only exist in associative social relations. In community social relations, however, there are only common and particular relations. In a community, the relations between the members are directed to inseparable common properties rather than non-profitable alliance. That is to say, public properties never appear in a community, which shows collectiveness rather than the world spirit in association space. After the founding of People's Republic of China, urban development of China and the unique household registration system³¹³ led to the dual structure of urban and rural areas, the form of ownership in China was the coexistence of two systems: common and particular use of common space, namely the collective ownership; public and private ownership in associative space, namely ownership by the whole people. At the beginning, the two systems were linked to specific cities and villages. On September 20th, 1954, the first Constitution of People's Republic of China was formulated in the first session of the first National People's Congress.³¹⁴ Article 5 of the Constitution stipulates: The forms of ownership of the means of production in People's Republic of China are as follows: state ownership (ownership by the whole people), capitalist's ownership, commune ownership (collective ownership of the working people), and ownership of the individual worker. State ownership (ownership by the whole people) and capitalist's ownership are the public and private ones. Commune ownership (collective ownership by the working people) and individual worker's ownership are the common and particular ones. During the three decade of communist movement from 1949 to 1979, the government led by the Communist Party of China made efforts for the realization of communism and the most important goal of the efforts was to eliminate private ownership in China. So, in associative space, the goal of development in China was to establish single collective ownership and nationalize private ownership. And in common space, the goal of development in China was to communize particular ownership. Under the dual structure of urban and rural areas, nationalization was the goal of urban development and communization was the goal of rural development. The radical social goal and its realization, the former brought about the allotted society in urban planned economy and the latter gave birth to people's commune in rural China. The strict dual structure of urban and rural areas restricted the flow of population between urban and rural area.³¹⁵

³¹³ Yu Depeng, *City and village society: from segregation to open, a study on Chinese householder registration system and its law*. 《城乡社会：从隔离走向开放——中国户籍制度与户籍法研究》，山东人民出版社，2002.

³¹⁴ Constitution of the people's Republic of China. 1954.

³¹⁵ Yu Depeng, *City and village society: from segregation to open, a study on Chinese householder registration system and its law*. 《城乡社会：从隔离走向开放——中国户籍制度与户籍法研究》，山东人民出版社，2002.

But community space and association space, as the basic form of social life, would not subordinate to the simple management system. The two basic social lives were not distinguished by the administration system or the physical walls. The social relations organizing people determined the basis of common and associative space. So, the collective ownership by the whole people and collective ownership with defined goal targeting dual structure of the urban and rural areas intertwined with each other soon. Collective ownership appeared in urban space and rural areas were sometimes infiltrated with the ownership by the whole people. In the former, urban people's commune appeared in urban community space (with the prototype of "learn from Dazhai in agriculture").³¹⁶ In the latter, "rural rationing society" (with the prototype of "learn from Daqing in industry")³¹⁷ in rural associative space.

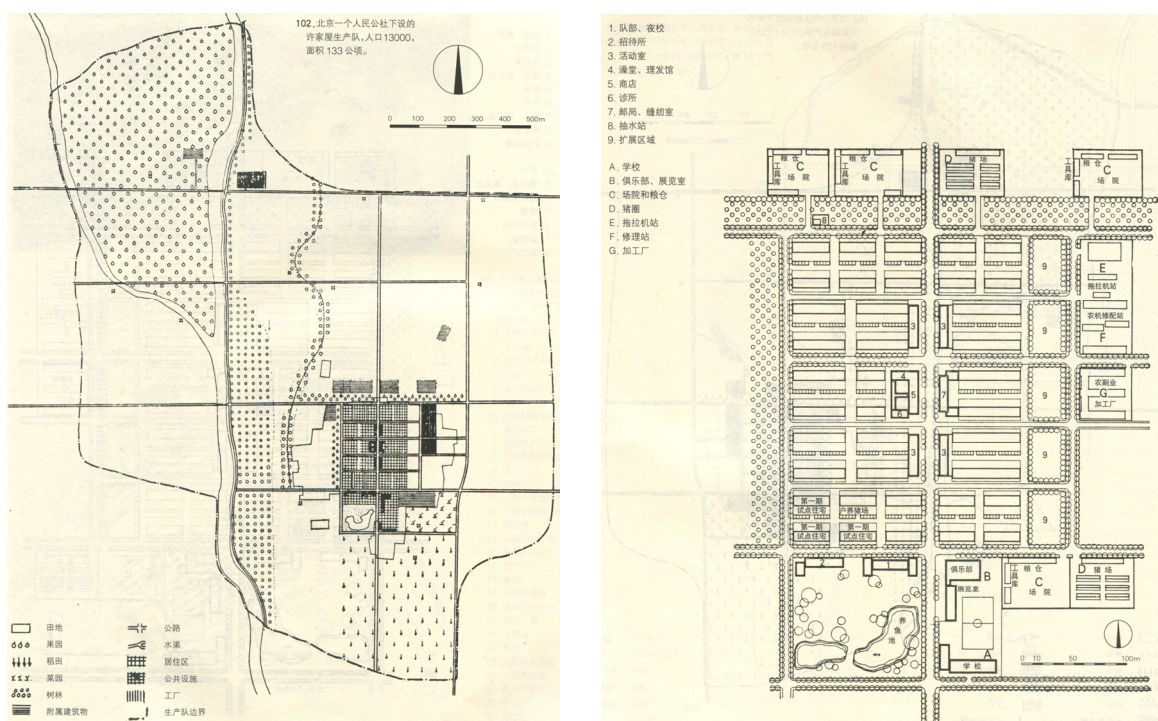


Figure 2-12: the Rural Planning of Xujiawu production team under one of Beijing's people's commune. it has 13,000 people and in the site of 133 Ha. source: 《重建中国，城市规划 30 年 1949-1979》，华揽洪，北京三联书店，2006. P87.

Figure 2-13: the central residential area of Xujiawu production team under one of Beijing's people's commune. source: 《重建中国，城市规划 30 年 1949-1979》，华揽洪，北京三联书店，2006. P87.

The symbol of socialist movement in China and the basis of planned economy were to nationalize the ownership of land in urban areas and collectivize the land in rural areas. In the process, land as resource

³¹⁶ Leon Hoa, *Reconstruire la Chine: trente ans d'urbanisme 1949-1979*, 《重建中国，城市规划三十年 1949-1979》，translate into Chinese by Li Ying, 北京：三联书店，2006. P.91.

³¹⁷ Ibid. P. 103.

was socialized and became the basis of allotment in the prevailing equalitarianism period.³¹⁸ compare with the period of the rapid development of free economy in Europe in the 18th century, land became a commodity and entered market, and was further processed into various kinds of space products in real estate market, promoting the capitalist urbanization development; in planned economy period, land in China was nationalized and collectivized, making it the resource in national planned economy system. Even land was not put into market as a commodity; it was still transformed into space, secured the development of planned economy, and promoted urbanization as means of production instead of commodity. Urbanization was subordinated to the plan of rationing society, and there was even de-urbanization sometimes, the development on the whole represented the urbanization characteristics of the rationing society in general. In planned economy system, the nature produced by “space production” was the socio-spatial production of planned economy. In the period of planned economy in China, the process of land’s spatial transition was completed. As long as there was the possibility, space material in the rationing society could be put into market and transformed into spatial production. In fact, space material already existed in market, only that the market was a closed and planned one serving the rationing society.

2.3.3 From firm kinship to solid neighborhood, From kinship community to unit community

From the end of Qing dynasty to the implementation of reform and opening up policy in China in 1979, the social organizing structure of community space in China has transformed from kinship community to unit community. With the ending of Qing dynasty and feudal period in China, the clan society built on family, household, clan and the kinship community began to shatter and collapse. The process was not violent at the very beginning, especially in rural areas.³¹⁹ Kinship community was based on land property right, and transition of the particular ownership of land to privatization was moderate, the old kinship or clan structure kept functioning. But in big cities, the transition of the particular ownership of land to privatization was violent. In Beijing, the one-time imperial capital, most Manchurian bannermen living in the inner city lost the privilege and government allowance, the inherited land and houses from kinship and banners system had been transformed into private property. Especially for the aristocrats, princes, and high ranking officials who owned a large amount of land in the city and real estate and manors in rural areas.³²⁰ Although according to the Preferential Treatment of the Royal Family in 1912,³²¹ private properties of the royal family were to be protected, the real estate and manors brought the royal family a large amount of rents and other incomes had been removed with the measuring and allotment of the

³¹⁸ Yu Depeng, *City and village society: from segregation to open, a study on Chinese householder registration system and its law*. 《城乡社会：从隔离走向开放——中国户籍制度与户籍法研究》，山东人民出版社，2002.

³¹⁹ R. Bin Wong, *China Transformed: historical change and the limits of European experience*. Cornell university press, 1997.

³²⁰ Sidney David Gamble, 1921, *Peking, a social survey*. New York: George H. Doran.

³²¹ Lin Yongkuang, *the history of residential culture in the period of the Republic of China*, 《民国居住文化通史》，重庆出版社，2006. P.99.

manors and real estate in the provinces according to the orders of the government of the Republic of China. The manors and real estate were measured and allotted, and sold to individuals at a low price, and the feudal land was privatized quickly. The disintegration of manors and the privatization of land cut off the source of income of the princes and aristocrats on the one hand, on the other hand, the closest link between kinship community and land was cut. The dual division led to the quick decline of the prince's mansion community space that was formed in centuries in Beijing. For example,³²² in the mansion of Rui prince, as the descendants of Duoergun, the prince regent in the early period of Qing dynasty, there were over 500 houses in Shidaren hutong of Dongcheng district, and there were also over 130 servants except the princes and their family members. In the period of the Republic of China, as a result of the end of government allowance and the loss of rural land and manors, the economic situation of the mansion deteriorated. In 1925, the mansion went bankrupt for the inability to pay debts and the properties of the mansion were sealed and confiscated by the court.³²³ In the early years of the Republic of China, the situation of the mansion of Rui prince stood for that of the most prince mansions, and the situation of other aristocrats and bannermen were more or less the same. Land and houses in Beijing that were based on big family and clan were disintegrated, sold, or re-structured soon. When the link between the urban fort of feudal landlord and the rural land was cut off, the old big families and clan living in the urban fort could hardly support themselves, they went bankrupt or found ways of making a living, in the period of the Republic of China, community space of Beijing experienced a series of turbulent periods. The big families with several generations living together were replaced by more and smaller families. Especially the big families of the princes and aristocrats of Qing dynasty, they went bankrupt or migrated. With Beijing transforming from a closed fort city to an open commercial city, the organizing structure of community space transformed from kinship to neighborhood.³²⁴ It took hundreds of years for medieval European cities to finish the process, transforming urban buildings from one or two-storey to five to six-storey, buildings in Beijing in the period of Republic of China remained the appearance of *siheyuan*, only that the space unit of *siheyuan* became smaller to meet the need of the real estate market: from one household in a compound with many *jin* to one household in a compound with one *jin* and one household in one house. Some buildings with several floors appeared, they did form urban fabric of larger area.³²⁵ In Beijing, when kinship community transformed slowly to neighborhood community and fitted for the development of the commercial society, the founding of People's Republic of China in 1949 and establishing Beijing as the capital changed the process fundamentally.

³²² Ibid. P.100.

³²³ Ibid. P.101.

³²⁴ Ibid.

³²⁵ Liang sicheng, Chen Zhenxiang, 1950, *the urban plan proposal from Liang sicheng & Chen Zhenxiang and Beijing*, 《梁陈方案与北京》, Edit by Wang Ruizhi, 辽宁教育出版社, 2005.

On the founding of People's Republic of China, after years' of recovery and adjustment, and with the implementation of the first Five-year Plan, China's economy started developing toward socialist planned economy. During the first Five-year Plan period, with the aid of Soviet Union and other eastern European socialism countries, the construction with 156 projects as the core, nearly a thousand industrial projects with 921 big and medium-sized projects as emphasis and the construction of tens of thousands of units began in China.³²⁶ All these laid the foundation for the formation of independent industrial system in China. It took 19 years for the construction of the first project in 1950, to the completion of the 150 projects under the 156 projects in 1969. Starting from the first Five-year Plan, large scale production, and construction of enterprises began in China; the formation of the enterprises came with direct state investment and served the country's economic development plan. Enterprises of the kind did not have independent market management status, they were the componential parts of the country's economic construction, and could be integrated easily with other public management units and public authority system. Enterprises finally became the collective space semi-independent of the public system and appeared in national planned system as functional sector of social production. Enterprises of the kind were called **units** in China.³²⁷ On the completion of the first Five-year Plan, starting from 1958, planned economy system was carried out in full scale in China.³²⁸ In the years of planned economy, **unit responsibility system**³²⁹ was practiced in urban areas of China; society members were brought in all kinds of social production units and managed as a whole. Spatial relation between units and places was strengthened by household registration system to form the structural basis of the allotting society. Population flow was controlled to the least possible scale. Units became the major units of social common space. In one unit, it was the social production unit; there were also housing allotment and all kinds of welfare and guarantee measures, and even children's education. The utopian-like super social unit—unit community, in the direct management units under the national planned economy, every individual or even every family were included and managed as a whole; power took the place of wealth, and the members of the society became equal. The super social unit—unit community appeared directly in the early period of the People's Republic of China, the temporary employment system to solve the unemployment of urban population. It was called “cover” policy of the country.³³⁰ Labor's bureau was established in every city, local enterprise employers and labor were allotted according to the plan of the central government. To strengthen the realization of the national plan and to control and manage the enterprises and labor,

³²⁶ Yang Xiaomin, Zhou Yihu, *The Chinese unit system*, 《中国单位制度》, 北京: 中国经济出版社, 1999.

³²⁷ Yang Xiaomin, Zhou Yihu, *The Chinese unit system*, 《中国单位制度》, 北京: 中国经济出版社, 1999.

³²⁸ Zheng Hangsheng, Li Lulu, *Social structure of the cities in contemporary China*, *Sociological library*, 《当代中国城市社会结构, 现状与趋势》, 中国人民大学出版社, 2004.

³²⁹ *Ibid.* P.43.

³³⁰ *Ibid.* P.45.

formation system and household registration system linked the enterprises, national plan, and labor closely.³³¹ Formation system linked the budget of the units and the planned personnel quotas of the central government, and household registration system limited people's migration between urban and rural areas to the smallest scale. Formation system ensured country's control over the labor allotted to the enterprises, and household registration system eliminated the possibility of individual migration, confining individuals to units firmly. Military management on urban population restricted population flow to a great extent, but the nearly violent way helped to recover and develop the economy rapidly just after the founding of the country, and to lay the foundation for the development of the socialist planned economy and the development of the society. From 1949 to the completion of the first Five-year Plan in 1957, the formation and development of the units of the Chinese style played a crucial role for the transition and motivation of labor, employment in cities, relieving employment pressure in cities and creating a huge working class. Units also enrolled many idle labors and relived employment pressure in cities just after the foundation of the country. To 1957, over 90% urban population entered socialist units.³³² Unit community could almost cover the members' whole life from birth to death. And the policy of the children taking their parents' place even emerged. In 1950s, the policy of children taking the place of their parents' originated from the related terms of labor insurance. On January 26th, Ministry of Labor under the Administration Council issued Draft of Amendments to Labor Insurance Act Enforcement Regulations of People's Republic of China, chapter 6 of the draft stipulated: "In the case of the worker's duty-related death or injury, if his immediate family member is in need of job and the unit needs to employ, the administration or managing party should enroll them in precedence". In the Three-year difficult period after the Great Leap Forward, the nation's planned economy and food allotment were faced with great pressure. And the central government decided to adjust the national economy policy, the number of employees and urban population were to be reduced, much urban population was moved to rural areas to reduce the food supply pressure in cities. From 1962 to 1963, large scale reduction of employees was conducted. In the period, retirement of the staff and their children taking the places was fully conducted as the policy to encourage the retirement of aged, weak, and disabled staff, and the policy gradually developed as the basic content in the socialist labor system in China. From the end of the 50s to the middle of the 70s in the 20th century, the implementation of the children taking their parents' places was mainly in the retirement and quitting of the staff in enterprises and institutions, and the scale was relatively limited.³³³

³³¹ Yu Depeng, *City and village society: from segregation to open, a study on Chinese householder registration system and its law*. 《城乡社会：从隔离走向开放——中国户籍制度与户籍法研究》，山东人民出版社，2002. P.23.

³³² Yang Xiaomin, Zhou Yihu, *The Chinese unit system*, 《中国单位制度》，北京：中国经济出版社，1999.

³³³ Ibid.



Photo 2-9: the factory unit community: the 3rd textile factory of Beijing 1960s. source: unknown photographer.

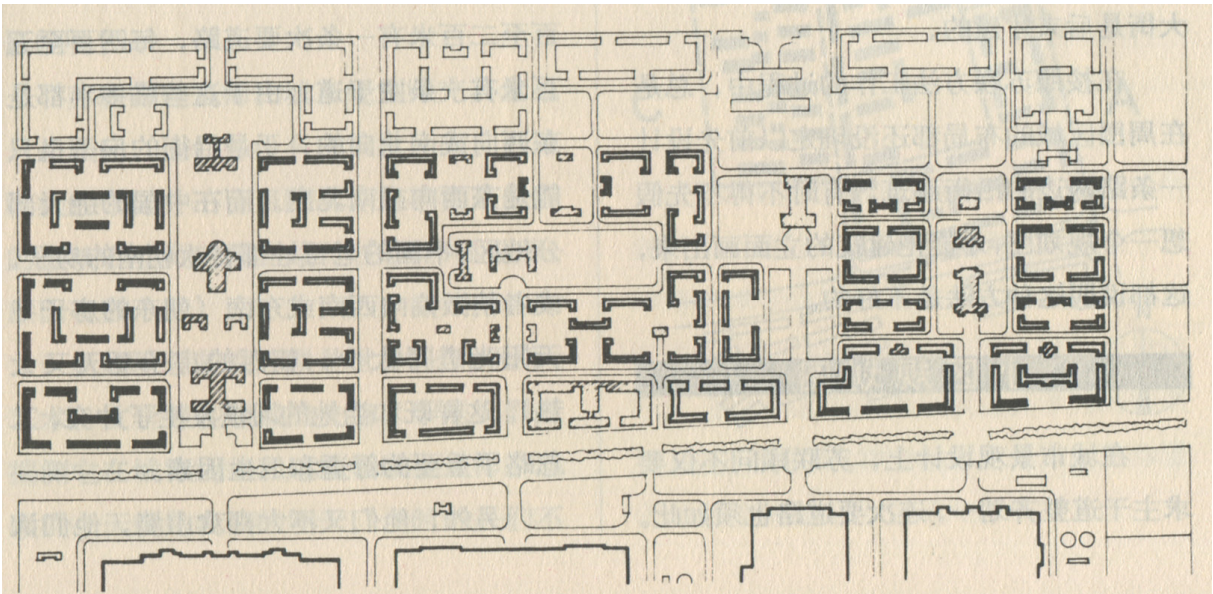


Figure 2-14: plan of the 1-3 textile factory of Beijing. source: 《重建中国，城市规划30年1949-1979》，华揽洪，北京三联书店，2006.

From 1958, organizing basis of community space in Chinese cities transformed from kinship community to unit community. As a special form of neighborhood community, unit community became the community for the socialist China to deal with special market. Unit community space formed unit-home, unit-neighborhood, and unit-community. Collective movement of urban community space in the planned economy period, communization of ownership transformed the community space in Beijing from *jiefang* to unit compound in planned economy period. Unit compound existed as a collectivized community space mode and formed wide and equal community social space. After 1958, unit became the system containing extensive social and economic content. With the completion of socialist transition in cities, urban economy was nationalized or collectivized on the whole. How to include national economy and collective economy in the planned economy system became the major issue in socialist economic development. As the socio-economy unit, units took the economic tasks of production and development, they were also integrated with the social function of the allotment society, providing welfares to the members and

supervising them.³³⁴ Units integrated the politics, economy, culture and urban physical space in the planned economy period, therefore, unit compound became the unique urban phenomenon in China.

2.4 From Shi-jing to ‘Street-piece’ – the socio-spatial transition of Old Beijing’s association space

2.4.1 The transition of communication space: From shi-jing to ‘street-piece’

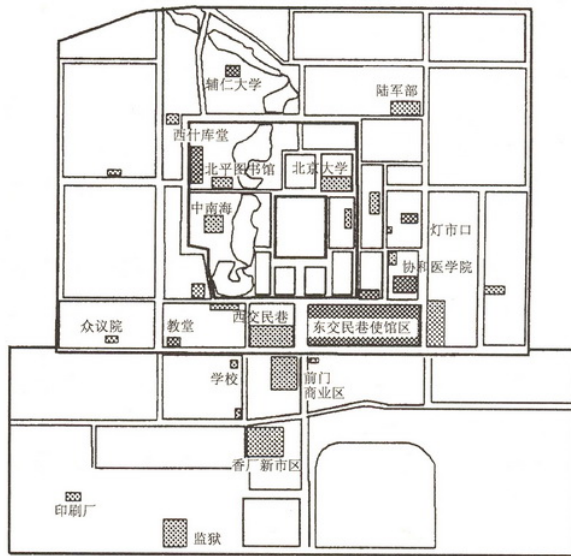
After the humiliated signing of Beijing Treaty in 1860, the government of Qing dynasty set up Office of Foreign Affairs in Dangtangzi hutong of Beijing.³³⁵ The peg-top space consisted of concentric circles that were formed through the careful development of dynasties began to split. And the foreign embassies set up with force in Beijing were one of the external factors for the splitting; coming with it was the Westernization Movement launched by the government under heavy pressure. The pressure came from interior as well as exterior. Exterior factors, it appeared to be the colonial wars of the western nations, however, in fact, it was the global expansion of industrialization that should make China a loop of the industrial chain. The interior pressure appeared to be peasants’ war, but it was in essence the fight of the small-scale peasant economy against the feudal power and the invasion of exterior industrial capital. The splitting appeared in 1860 appeared to be thin fabrics, but the fabrics soon became wider and deeper, and disintegrated the peg-top surrounding the emperor.

[1] Late Qing Dynasty³³⁶

³³⁴ Zheng Hangsheng, Li Lulu, *Social structure of the cities in contemporary China, Sociological library*, 《当代中国城市社会结构, 现状与趋势》, 中国人民大学出版社, 2004.

³³⁵ Beijing Academy of Social Sciences. 北京市社会科学研究所以“北京历史纪年”编写组, *chronological account of the events for historical Beijing*. 《北京历史纪年》, 北京: 北京出版社, 1987.

³³⁶ Note: from 1840 to 1912.



北京城内近代建筑的分布

资料来源：王均. 近代北京城内部空间结构的历史地理研究；
[博士学位论文]. 北京：北京大学，1997

Map 2-11: the modern functions building in the inner city of Beijing. source: Beijing university of civil engineering and architecture library, <http://114.113.224.189:8080/>

Office of Foreign Affairs, the institution like foreign affairs ministry, was set up in Beijing in 1861.³³⁷ The Westernization Movement was launched by the government of Qing dynasty, in the attempt to learn from western countries and transform the feudal empire into a modern national country. In 1898, the Metropolitan University (the predecessor of Peking University) was set up, and general post office, railway company, customs office and other institutions were set up in succession.³³⁸ Legation quarter was designated in Beijing, expanding to Chongwen-men street in the east, Bingbu street in the west, Chenggen in the south and east Chang'an street in the north. Government offices and residents within the area were moved out and a legation quarter with independent space was formed. In 1905,³³⁹ the government of Qing dynasty officially abolished the imperial examination system starting from year 1 of emperor Daye of Sui dynasty (605 AD) to year 31 of emperor Guangxu of Qing dynasty (1905). Advance Normal University (the predecessor of Beijing Normal University), industrial school, higher police school, taxation school, law school, Wucheng School, and other educational institutions were set up.³⁴⁰ Then Ministry of Civil Affairs was also set up in Beijing. Then ten administrative districts were set up in the inner city and the outer city respectively, subordinated to the general police department of the inner and

³³⁷ Ibid.

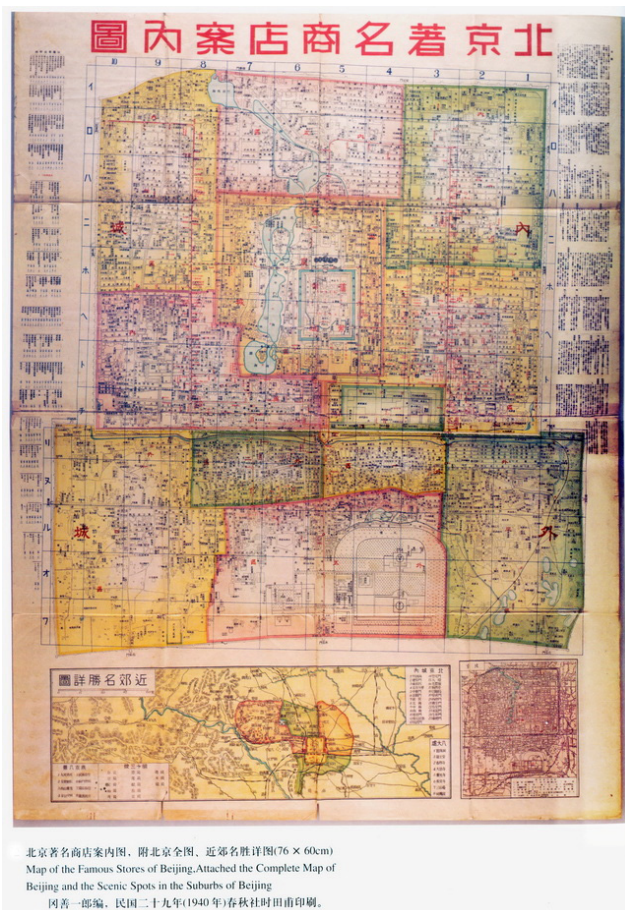
³³⁸ Ibid.

³³⁹ Ibid.

³⁴⁰ Ibid.

outer city. In 1909,³⁴¹ Qing government declared preliminary constitutional movement, advisory council and office of constitutional policies were set up, ministry of revenue was transformed into ministry of revenue budget, ministry of war was transformed into ministry of navy, ministry of army and military consulting office; ministry of punishments was transformed into ministry of justice, ministry of works was transformed into ministry of agriculture, industry and commerce; Dali temple(court of judicial review) was renamed Dali court; court of tribal affairs was transformed into ministry of tribal affairs; academy ministry and post ministry were added. The series of reform transformed the feudal dynasty centered on the emperor and court into a modern country established on public authorities.³⁴² The measures laid the foundation for China to become a modern sovereignty, a country that can treat its counterparts equally and can also be treated equally.

[2] Republic of China (ROC)³⁴³



³⁴¹ Ibid.

³⁴² Baike, Baidu, *the history of Beijing City*, [online] available at: <http://baike.baidu.com/subview/2621/13223029.htm?fr=aladdin&fromtitle=%E5%8C%97%E4%BA%AC%E5%B8%82&fromid=126069&type=search>

³⁴³ Note: from 1912 to 1949

Map 2-12: the famous stores in Beijing inner city 1940. source: Beijing university of civil engineering and architecture library, <http://114.113.224.189:8080/>

The outbreak of China's Nationalist Revolution in 1911 straightly overturned the last feudal Qing dynasty. On the first day of 1912, Sun Yat-sen took office in Nanjing and issued Declaration of Provisional President, Message to the Compatriots and so on, declaring the birth of the Republic of China.³⁴⁴ On January 2nd, all documents were dated with solar calendar. On 12th February 1912, the emperor of Qing dynasty was forced to accept the preferential treatment to the royal family provided by the Republic of China, empress mother Yulong, mother of Puyi, emperor Xuantong issued abdication proclamation, "make the sovereignty known to all, and the system of the country was republican. Republic of China officially replaced and succeeded the Qing Empire. In April 1912,³⁴⁵ Sun Yat-sen resigned as the provisional president and Yuan Shikai was elected as the provisional president by the senators, and the capital was moved to Beijing from Nanjing. Till 1928, the period was called the Northern Warlords Period, and the government of the Republic of China during the period was also called Northern Warlords government. In 1927, Kuomintang decided to establish the national government in Nanjing. On April 18th, Nanjing national government held inaugural ceremony and issued Declaration of National Government. Nanjing national government finished the second Northern Expedition in 1928 and took Beijing, and Beijing was renamed Beiping(Peking) special municipality, Nanjing was established as the capital. The famous Lukouchiao Incident broke out in Beiping on July 7th, 1937, representing the overall breakout of Japanese invasion of China. In the same month, Beijing was taken up by the Japanese army till the end of World War II with the declaration of surrender of the Japanese army. Kuomintang ruled from 1945 to 1949 and the army of the Communist Party of China took up Beiping on January 31st 1949.³⁴⁶

When the nationalist government moved to Beijing in 1912, presidential palace was set up in Huarentang of Zhongnanhai, the royal garden which was once the summer resort of the emperors of Qing dynasty and where they handled official works, and where emperor Guangxu of late Qing dynasty was imprisoned, became the location of the national authorities, and the presidential palace of the Northern Warlords government. When the national government moved the capital to Nanjing, Zhongnanhai was open to the public as a garden. The national government adapted the separation of executive, legislative, and judicial

³⁴⁴ Beijing Academy of Social Sciences. 北京市社会科学研究所以“北京历史纪年”编写组, *chronological account of the events for historical Beijing*. 《北京历史纪年》, 北京: 北京出版社, 1987.

³⁴⁵ Baike, Baidu, *the history of Beijing City*, [online] available at: <http://baike.baidu.com/subview/2621/13223029.htm?fr=aladdin&fromtitle=%E5%8C%97%E4%BA%AC%E5%B8%82&fromid=126069&type=search>

³⁴⁶ Baike, Baidu, *the history of Beijing City*, [online] available at: <http://baike.baidu.com/subview/2621/13223029.htm?fr=aladdin&fromtitle=%E5%8C%97%E4%BA%AC%E5%B8%82&fromid=126069&type=search>

powers. House of senators and House of Representatives were set in Xiangfang Bridge; court of judicial review was in Sifabu Street; state council was in prince regent's mansion. Other ministries: ministry of internal affairs, foreign affairs, communications, finance, navy, staff office, agriculture, and commerce scattered in the city. When the emperor of Qing dynasty abdicated, according to the Articles of Preferential Treatment to the Royal Family, the royal family could also live in and use the areas inside Qianqin-men of the Forbidden City. The living areas, namely the inner court, including Qianqing palace, Kunming palace and Jiaotai palace, and the six palaces on the east and west respectively, this was the imperial residence where the emperor and his concubines lived. Starting from 1914, working areas of the emperors in the Forbidden City became open gradually. In 1915, Taihe palace, Zhonghe palace and Baohe palace became exhibition halls of antiques. From 1912 of the Republic of China, many significant sacrificial places and fanes were transformed into city parks. Xiannongtan in the outer city was transformed into Chengnan Park. And Temple of Heaven gradually became open in 1917. Altar of Land and Grain was transformed into Central Park in 1914 (renamed as Zhangshan Park in 1928).³⁴⁷

After a series of dramatic changes in early 20th century, Beijing was promptly transformed into a civic city from an imperial city.³⁴⁸ The fort where the court ruled China had to adapt her new host—the citizens, officials and businessmen. The old urban space confined by the many high walls needed to be liberated; just like metabolism, the new city grew bit by bit from every part of the old city. The process was not visible at the beginning, but it never stopped. The driving forces of urban development, commerce, residence, migration, education, production, and even international politics were doing their best to change the city, making it meet the need of development. The city walls of the imperial city in the past blocked the communication between the eastern and western parts of Beijing. In the early period of the Republic of China,³⁴⁹ the street leading to the east and west in front of Tian'anmen and Shenwu-men were built, and many convenient gates were opened in the city walls of the imperial city, then, it was decided that some city walls to be torn. Daqing-men in the south in front of Tian'anmen were renamed Zhonghua-men, Qianbulang inside the gate, and the location of many central government offices of Qing dynasty: the six ministries, the five palaces, and military affairs, were torn down in 1913. At the same time, to facilitate communications in the city, the barbican entrance in Zhengyang-men (Qianmen) was torn in 1914 and eastern and western gates were added. And the barbican entrances in Chaoyang-men, Dongzhi-men, Anding-men, and Desheng-men were torn down in 1915, and ring railways were built. Ring

³⁴⁷ Lin Yongkuang, *the history of residential culture in the period of the Republic of China*, 《民国居住文化通史》, 重庆出版社, 2006. P.201.

³⁴⁸ R. Bin Wong, *China Transformed: historical change and the limits of European experience*. Cornell university press, 1997.

³⁴⁹ Beijing Academy of Social Sciences. 北京市社会科学研究所“北京历史纪年”编写组, *chronological account of the events for historical Beijing*. 《北京历史纪年》, 北京: 北京出版社, 1987.

railways were mainly used for the transportation of coal and food in the city. The railway started in Xizhimen station, the starting point of Jingsui railway, surrounding the space between the city walls and the moats—Guanhuangdi, when Dongbianmen was integrated with Jingfeng railway, the railway led to Zhengyangmen, Qianmen railway station. It was 13.2 km long in total.³⁵⁰ Walls of the barbican entrances of the city gates on the way were all torn down. And the railway was open to traffic on January 1st 1916. Railways and roads passed all city walls and barriers, more and open space created linked Beijing and the world tightly. After the founding of the Republic of China, various types of modern educational institutions increased rapidly. Metropolitan University set up in the end of Qing dynasty was renamed State Peking University. At the same time, more than 40 universities and colleges, along with some 500 primary and middle schools, were opened in Beijing.³⁵¹

[3] Communist movement age³⁵²

On October 1st, 1949, People's Republic of China was founded, Beijing was renamed Beijing and became the capital of New China led by the Chinese Communist Party. In the economy recovery period from 1949 to 1952, urban planning units and architecture management units subordinated to the municipal administration were established.³⁵³ Systematic surveying and mapping were conducted. At the same time, municipal government got the fund for public investment for the first time, to improve the city environment and infrastructures. For example, Longxu ditch³⁵⁴ became slum, the gutters were changed quickly and the environment got improved. In the three-year recovery period, China's economy developed quickly, especially the national industries that were directly invested by state developed rapidly. In the total industrial output value, the proportion of national or semi-national enterprises (ownership of the whole people, collective ownership, and joint state-private enterprises) rose from 36.7% in 1949 to 61% in 1952,³⁵⁵ and the proportion of the enterprises of private ownership dropped from 63.3% to 39%. After three-year recovery and preparation, the Chinese government decided that the aims of urban development was “transforming the consumption city into production city” and “every city has its own industry”.³⁵⁶ The first Five-year Plan was launched in China in 1953, and with the aids of the Soviet Union, development programs were made. Planners and architects of the Soviet Union made use of their

³⁵⁰ Ibid.

³⁵¹ Ibid.

³⁵² Note: from 1949 to 1979

³⁵³ Leon Hoa, *Reconstruire la Chine: trente ans d'urbanisme 1949-1979*, 《重建中国, 城市规划三十年1949-1979》, translate into Chinese by Li Ying, 北京: 三联书店, 2006. P.28.

³⁵⁴ Lin Yongkuang, *the history of residential culture in the period of the Republic of China*, 《民国居住文化通史》, 重庆出版社, 2006. P.143.

³⁵⁵ Ibid. P.39.

³⁵⁶ Ibid. P.30.

experiences in postwar reconstruction, helping make the master plan of zoning plan in Chinese cities.³⁵⁷ During the first Five-year Plan period, Chinese government highly promoted industrialization and developed the country's economy with heavy industry. During the period, development program of Beijing was made and practiced. In fact, after the founding of the country in 1949, urban planning committee of Beijing was set up.³⁵⁸ In the following years, there were differences of opinions on urban planning and development program. The differences lied in the plan of "protecting the old city and develop the new city" proposed by Chinese architects Liang Sicheng and Chen Zhanxiang, and the opinion of "transform and develop the city on the basis of the old city" proposed by the experts from the Soviet Union.³⁵⁹ A series of controversies came as a result: whether the administrative center should be inside or outside the old city, concentrated or dispersed; should the city walls of Beijing be torn or kept or should all of them be torn or half of them be torn; the protection of old buildings in Beijing and the development of road system and so on. In November 1953,³⁶⁰ Beijing municipal committee of the Communist Party of China submitted Main Points of Planning Draft of Rebuilding and Expanding Beijing. And the urban development plan of Beijing was made clear in the document. It was decided to "transform and develop the city on the basis of the old city", Tian'anmen Square was enlarged and administrative center was established in the old city, the necessity of develop industry in Beijing was confirmed; and it was also made clear to transform the traditional old buildings to adjust to the collectivism way of living in the socialist city. It was not made clear in the proposal whether the city walls were to be torn, but it was clear that the city walls were the symbol of feudal reactionary ideas and were incompatible with socialist ideas.³⁶¹ The urban development program made in the first Five-year Plan period became the core basis of Beijing's development in the future. The spatial structure it formed lasted till nowadays. Beijing has ever since become the subject to transition and experimentation rather than protection. The value of traditions remains till now, when people around the world are amazed at the revolutionary architectural experimentation of the buildings of CCTV, bird's nest and the National Theatre; however, citizens of Beijing are not so excited, as they knew their city has always been a revolutionary city that welcomes all kinds of experimentations.

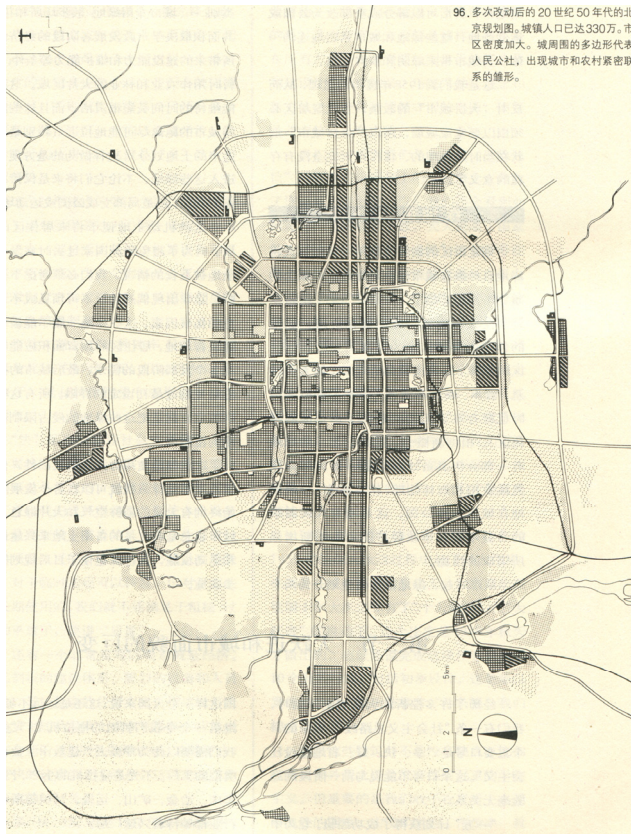
³⁵⁷ Ibid. P.45.

³⁵⁸ Ibid.P.28.

³⁵⁹ Liang sicheng, Chen Zhenxiang, 1950, *the urban plan proposal from Liang sicheng & Chen Zhenxiang and Beijing*, 《梁陈方案与北京》, Edit by Wang Ruizhi, 辽宁教育出版社, 2005. PP.90-98.

³⁶⁰ Ibid. P.105.

³⁶¹ Ibid. P.100.



Map 2-13: the Master Plan of Beijing City in 1950's. source: 《重建中国，城市规划 30 年 1949-1979》，华揽洪，北京三联书店，2006. P79

From 1958 to 1965, China witnessed the famous Great Leap Forward, people's commune and the 'economic crisis of the three-year difficult period'.³⁶² Large scale transition and construction began in Beijing from 1958. In 1957, Preliminary Program of General Construction Plan of Beijing was formally proposed. The making of the program was conducted on the basis of the surveying, mapping, and research done during the period of the first Five-year Plan, and on the basis of Main Points of Planning Draft of Rebuilding and Expanding Beijing proposed in 1953, industrialization, transition of the old city were to be strengthened, and the urban scale was to be enlarged to six million people.³⁶³ Great Leap Forward was launched in China in 1958. During the movement, the planning program made in 1957 was revised by the municipal party committee of Beijing. In August 1958, under the circumstances of the people's commune, the emphasis of the revised program was to eliminate the "three differences" between "workers and farmer, urban and rural areas and the brain workers and manual workers," and the

³⁶² Song Haiqing, *the rise and fall of people's commune*, 《人民公社兴亡录》, 新疆青少年出版社, 2000.

³⁶³ Beijing Academy of Social Sciences. 北京市社会科学研究所以“北京历史纪年”编写组, *chronological account of the events for historical Beijing*. 《北京历史纪年》, 北京: 北京出版社, 1987.

combination of workers and farmers was stressed.³⁶⁴ The layout of the city was “*scattered blocks*,” 600 km² urban land was divided into dozens of “blocks”, farmland and green fields between the “blocks” were kept as the Green Belt of the city.³⁶⁵ The Green belt formed by the combination of farmland and gardens for entertainment stood for the combination of workers and farmers. The program compressed the scale of the urban area, and urban population was reduced to 1.5 million from 6 million. Urban area was enlarged to be 16,800 km² and the scale of population in Beijing was set to be 10 million. In fact, permanent population of Beijing in 1959 reached 6,841,044.³⁶⁶ From 1958 to 1959, to celebrate the 10th anniversary of the founding of People’s Republic of China, the famous top 10 buildings³⁶⁷ of Beijing were designed and constructed in Beijing within one year; various infrastructures were built; and the appearance of Beijing greatly changed. A closed imperial fort was transformed into an open socialist city. However, with failures of the three-year difficult period from 1959 to 1961 and the people’s commune in 1961.³⁶⁸ The scale of basic constructions of China was downsized. The task of basic construction in Beijing was also reduced; infrastructure construction in the city was stagnated; and the “Great Leap Forward Plan” made in 1958 was not approved.

China entered the period of the ten-year “Proletarian Cultural Revolution” from 1966 to 1976. The movement initiating the people to launch class struggle from top down and aiming at smashing the bureaucracy in the stiff Party and government units, motivated the people successfully, but the authorities in the country and the bureaucratic system were paralyzed. The movement developed into turmoil, the mission of smashing bureaucracy and straight authorities in China was not accomplished. The most important reason was that, the basis and driving force of the Cultural Revolution came from the Mass instead of the Publics. The movement of the Mass was always the unit subordinated to collective Group and the movement of the Publics has individuals as its unit. Criticalness from the collective cannot replace that from the individuals to form the social basis of democracy. Therefore, the Cultural Revolution and a series of utopian experimentations of the time ended with turbulent failures. Independent opinions and ideas could not be insisted without independent economic basis of individuals. As the Cultural Revolution began in 1966,³⁶⁹ the overall plan of Beijing stopped; city planning bureau was abolished and planning

³⁶⁴ Song Haiqing, *the rise and fall of people's commune*, 《人民公社兴亡录》, 新疆青少年出版社, 2000.P.153.

³⁶⁵ Leon Hoa, *Reconstruire la Chine: trente ans d'urbanisme 1949-1979*, 《重建中国, 城市规划三十年 1949-1979》, translate into Chinese by Li Ying, 北京: 三联书店, 2006.

³⁶⁶ Beijing Academy of Social Sciences. 北京市社会科学研究所“北京历史纪年”编写组, *chronological account of the events for historical Beijing*. 《北京历史纪年》, 北京: 北京出版社, 1987.

³⁶⁷ Leon Hoa, *Reconstruire la Chine: trente ans d'urbanisme 1949-1979*, 《重建中国, 城市规划三十年 1949-1979》, translate into Chinese by Li Ying, 北京: 三联书店, 2006. P.82.

³⁶⁸ Ibid.

³⁶⁹ Beijing Academy of Social Sciences. 北京市社会科学研究所“北京历史纪年”编写组, *chronological account of the events for historical Beijing*. 《北京历史纪年》, 北京: 北京出版社, 1987.

came to a halt. Urban construction in Beijing was stagnated. Even though city planning bureau was re-established in the end of 1972,³⁷⁰ and the third revision of overall planning was conducted, the program was not carried out. During the Cultural Revolution, some radical opinion exerted direct influence on city development and building plan. According to Rebuild China—Three Decade of Urban Planning from 1949 to 1979, the masterpiece of Hua Lanhong, the phenomenon can be concluded in three aspects:³⁷¹ (1)super economy buildings. In compliance with the slogan “*comfortable and economic conditions realized through renovation*,”³⁷² super economy buildings were constructed during Cultural Revolution. Simple techniques were adopted on a large scale, for example, reduction of the size of the buildings, decrease of the thickness of walls and cancelation of sound insulation effect of walls. (2) “*Rapid program of conducting planning and construction at the same time*”.³⁷³ With many political tasks of construction and design, it became commonplace to speed up designing and construction. There were waste and turmoil in construction without complete design, shortened project cycle offset the loss, but the quality was affected to a great extent. (3) “*Designing on the site—on site combination of designing and construction*.”³⁷⁴ The combination of designers, leaders, and workers was emphasized. On site designing, the combined designing with users and builders of the project were emphasized. The way ended in failure as a result of over emphasis on the central role of workers and its stiff executive way.

In generally speaking, radical urban and construction experimentations failed as a result of lack of rational thinking, scientific ways, and detailed reasonable ways, but they had deep influence on urban development in China in the future. The famous viewpoints “*utilitas, firmitas and vennustas*” proposed by Vitruvius, author of Ten Books on Architecture, were interrelated as the use of most basic tools, lowest construction cost and plain aesthetic standards of the working class. And it led to a large number of simple box buildings of poor quality. The decade long development in the way changed Chinese architects, the number of whom was already small, into simple technician, without active thinking on the essence of the city and its buildings. As the situation was like that of the same period, city roads and modern building widely built in cities of Western Europe changed and destroyed the urban space of the historical cities, during the same period, many historical cities, and building were replaced by modern buildings critical of the history. What was different was that, historical cities in China were covered by a large number of super economy buildings of poor quality. With the deterioration of the quality of buildings and life, when the reform and opening up began in China, the New Historical Buildings in the

³⁷⁰ Ibid.

³⁷¹ Leon Hoa, *Reconstruire la Chine: trente ans d'urbanisme 1949-1979*, 《重建中国, 城市规划三十年 1949-1979》, translate into Chinese by Li Ying, 北京: 三联书店, 2006.

³⁷² Ibid. P.118.

³⁷³ Ibid. P.119.

³⁷⁴ Ibid. P.120.

old urban areas had to be torn on a large scale. And it had two deep influences on the urbanization of China in the future. Firstly, during the most radical modernism construction movement, there were complete and large number of urban and construction experimentations, but the outcome could hardly been seen by the later generations. And it brought the suspicion of the real existence of the period; and the modernization of cities and construction in China could easily be linked with the reformed and opening up starting in 1979. Speaking from the critical aspect of history, cities in China completed the process of modernization in the period of Cultural Revolution, and urban development in China had entered the post modern period after the reform and opening up. Secondly, large scale demolition of the dangerous and poor quality super economy buildings formed the urban development mode of “demolition—rebuilding” of the old city. The way was abused without differentiating, many real historical block and buildings were torn down, and the development mode of replacing old buildings with new and cheap buildings. With the development of real estate, “no construction without destruction” became the means of capital circulation in cities, and demolition became the basis for the possibility of the economy mode. Here, people saw the increase of employment, budget surplus of government and the accumulation of capital, but the waste of resources, environmental destruction, and smashing of urban space were not noticed. In fact, super economy buildings in the period of Cultural Revolution, “*fast designing of conduction designing and construction at the same time*” and “*on site designing—on site combination of designing and construction,*”³⁷⁵ the three inventions became the secret for the rapid urbanization in China after the reform and opening up. They created the 'world's factory' and 'China speed'. The Cultural Revolution completed modernization of ideology and urban space, and the reform and opening up completed economic growth and urban development on the basis.

2.4.2 Specific space form: public and private

During the period of the Republic of China following the collapse of Qing dynasty, private property right of land was specified in law for the first time in China, and the range and ways of protection of the private property right and land were also stipulated in law, and there were also some limitations on it. Private ownership transformed the royal assets to the private ownership of the royal family and manors and lands of the aristocrats became private land and wealth of them. From this aspect, the Revolution of 1911 that ended the feudal imperial system in China was the first complete bourgeois revolution in China. Imperial ruling ended in China, but in China's society with landlords and peasants as majorities, capitalists in small numbers were not capable of establishing a political platform with stable power; that is to say, the abstract concept of nation representing public authorities could not be established in a short time. The concept of nation in modern times was formed gradually in the period of Northern Warlords period, and a large

³⁷⁵ Ibid.

amount of governmental, royal, and aristocratic assets became private properties at the time. The lack of legal system and national supervision, individual interests could not be protected and the basis of private ownership of property was destroyed. However, assets, especially land property had been changed from the ownership of the “government and civilians” to the ownership of “the public and private,” and the change was irreversible. In 1914,³⁷⁶ “bureau of land management” was set up by the Northern Warlords government; “acts of real estate registration” was issued in 1922,³⁷⁷ measuring and registration of land started in 1927; Land Law was issued on June 30th 1930,³⁷⁸ article two of the law stipulated the content of registration of the land, for example: registration and registration of changes of the property right of land and its existing form of land, registered rights of land included property right of land, the right over the land, renting right of the land, easement, pawn and mortgage right of the land; controversy arising from the registration procedure of the property right of the land was to be judged by the land judge institution, and so on. When the Communist Party of China gained the victory in 1949, based on the land policies made in the party ruling areas, such as Jinggangshan Land Law issued by the China Soviet Government in 1928,³⁷⁹ Country Flourishing Land Law issued in 1929; Land Registration Law passed in the 41st session of Central People’s Committee in 1931 stipulated “issuing land certificate and confirming the property rights of land”,³⁸⁰ in July 1947, Central Committee of the Communist Party of China formulated Outline of Land Law in China; on November 7th 1949, the central government officially set up the land office in the Ministry of Civil affairs, with the major function of measuring, registering of land and the issuing of land certificate.³⁸¹ In 1950, Reform Act of Suburban Land in Cities was issued and the land management system with the major content of land check, registration and registration of land right and issuing of land certificates; in June 1953, Land Reform Law of People’s Republic of China was passed by the central government committee.³⁸²

From the period of Republic of China to the People’s Republic of China led by the Communist Party, a series of land policies were full of uncertainties and contradictions, but the essence remained the same: the legacy from the bourgeois revolution of the Revolution of 1911—nation taking the place of dynasty, “public and private” taking the place of “government and civilians”; the difference was that, Kuomintang and the Communist Party of China interpreted “nation” and “public and private” differently and adopted different strategies. When privatization got rid of the restraints and developed, land was transformed into

³⁷⁶ Beijing Academy of Social Sciences. 北京市社会科学研究所以“北京历史纪年”编写组, *chronological account of the events for historical Beijing*. 《北京历史纪年》, 北京: 北京出版社, 1987.

³⁷⁷ Jiang Ailin, *Study on land policy*, 《土地政策基本理论研究》, 中国大地出版社, 2001.

³⁷⁸ Ibid.

³⁷⁹ Ibid.

³⁸⁰ Ibid.

³⁸¹ Ibid.

³⁸² Ibid.

asset and put in land market, private land was sure to develop into private space. More space carrying land value became the deep development direction of privatization. Unlike land, space can be processed, transformed, and re-produced more easily to be products with added values. So, in the period of the Republic of China, space production as asset entered circulation and gain largest mobility to ensure the development of capitalist industry and commerce, and it was more obvious in big cities. After 1949, space production disappeared gradually from circulation area to limit its mobility to the maximum extent, to make it the most important resource and product in the national planned economy system, obeying uniform distribution and supply. Around 1949, space production in China experienced privatization and nationalization, and the balanced development of the two did not appear after the reform and opening up in China after 1979.

2.4.3 Specific social relation: From social land association to street-piece association

With the nationalization of social association and nationalization of ownership, association space of Beijing changed from traditional double dimensional association of “court—*shi-jin*” to singled dimensional “rationing society” in planned economy period since China was founded in 1949.³⁸³ Private ownership in *shi-jin* society was shattered, and government and the public in the “rationing society” were changed. Social association space formed equal “street-piece,” the social associative cells subordinating to the administrative unit of Subdistrict Administrative Office.³⁸⁴ Subdistrict Administrative Office as the government agency at the basic level is the leading and management agency within its judiciary area. The initial aim of the setting was to establish effective communication system and interaction platform between the community and government, but with the complete establishment of planned economy and rationing society, Subdistrict Administrative Office became the ruler and supervisor of the local society.³⁸⁵ Keeping the stability of the local society and maintaining the order of the rationing society became the primary function of the Subdistrict Administrative Office.³⁸⁶ As the commodity economy with market orientation was replaced by planned economy orientated with government rationing, social association space changed fundamentally. Social space losing fluidity depended more on administrative planning, and the jurisdiction where the Subdistrict Office was located developed into a socio-spatial concept: Street-piece association, which no longer took private land or space production as the basis of association space, but the public space resource and administrative division as the basis of the associative space. In this way,

³⁸³ Chai Yanwei, *The inner living space structure of Chinese cities, based on Units*. 《以单位为基础的中国城市内部生活空间特征结构》, 《地理学报》, 1996 (2).

³⁸⁴ Ibid.

³⁸⁵ He Yanling, *State and society in urban community: an investigation in Le street in China*. 《都市街区中的国家与社会：乐街调查》, social sciences academic press (China), 2007.

³⁸⁶ Ibid. P.53.

“street” as administrative concept and “street-piece” as spatial concept were combined to become the socio-spatial unit—street piece, and were consisted of the community space of Subdistrict Administrative Office: administrative agency, local police station of the public security bureau—security administration agency and the units within the jurisdiction.³⁸⁷ Even though the nationalized open space seldom blocked the fluidity of space physically, social life of various kinds took place in the space of the “street pieces” and was subordinating to the spatial structure. Associative space of “street pieces” combined citizens with social production and the need of the country tightly, and became the basic structure of extroverted space in China’s cities in planned economy period.

Urban life in medieval Europe was the perfect combination of church and community, and urban life in China’s planned economy period was the perfect combination of streets and units. Street-pieces and unit compounds formed the most basic socio-spatial unit in Chinese cities, a managing mode in rationing society. Open space and closed space of the city were placed clearly in different socio-spatial management system. Open space was ruled by street and closed space by units. In theory, each member of the society was in the unit system or street system in any space of the city.

Collectivization of community space brought about 'unit compound': as the community of home, neighborhood, and compound, and became the community in planned economy—socio-spatial unit. Nationalization of association space brought about street-piece, and the city extroverted space of symbolic association, functional association and physical association, becoming the association in planned economy: socio-spatial unit.

■ What is street-piece?

Street-piece exists as association space mode after nationalization and forms widespread and equal associative social space. The space of street-piece was defined by the jurisdiction of the Subdistrict Administrative Office. Subdistrict Administrative Office is the agency of the people’s government in the municipally managed districts and the city without district. The basic functions or tasks of the Subdistrict Administrative Office were stipulated in three rules in Organizing Acts of Urban Subdistrict Administrative Office: dealing with the matters in related with the residents that are assigned by municipal people’s committee and the municipal district; directing the works of the resident’s committee; reporting residents’ opinions and demands.³⁸⁸

³⁸⁷ Ibid. P.52.

³⁸⁸ Ibid.

Summary

After the People's Republic of China was founded in 1949, the New China had always struggled with the capitalist ideology in its nation-wide communist movement aimed at achieving the country's social goals. Among the goals, elimination of private ownership has fallen into the primary target. Under the ordinance of the communist ideal, associative space in China became nationalized, and community space became collectivized (communized). In the powerful planned economy system and strict dual structure of urban and rural areas, the former formed rationing society—the system in nationalized associative space in China, while the latter formed people's commune—the system in China's collectivized community space. The guarantee for the smooth functioning of planned economy system in cities was the special socio-spatial structure derived from introverted and extroverted space: unit community and street-piece community. The instructions given by Mao Zedong in 1963: "learn from Daqing in industry, learn from Dazhai in agriculture, and the whole nation learn from People's Liberation Army".³⁸⁹ Learning from Daqing in industry was the rationing society mode of "street-piece unity"; learning from Dazhai in agriculture was people's commune mode of "unit community"; and the whole nation learning from the PLA was uniform organizing, planning, and managing. This determined the core content of urban planning in China was management rather than service. On the basis of sacrificing social fluidity and people's freedom of migration, rationing society and people's commune were set up. Strong socio-spatial mechanism subordinating to the nation pushed the development of urban space slowly forward. Community space based on common ownership, and association space based on public ownership was blended unprecedentedly. Abolishing the "private," the opposite of "public," and "particular," the opposite of "common," social space of China entered the period of unprecedented equality. The practice of egalitarianism replaced communist idea. Like the ceaseless motion of 'yin and yang', when one part was missing, the motion would stop and there would be the disappearance. The secret to the motion was not the advocating of one the suppression of the other, but the balance of the motion. And this also points a direction for development of the harmony society.

³⁸⁹ Leon Hoa, *Reconstruire la Chine: trente ans d'urbanisme 1949-1979*, 《重建中国, 城市规划三十年1949-1979》, translate into Chinese by Li Ying, 北京: 三联书店, 2006. P.103.

Chapter 3: Community space and association space of Beijing and its socio-spatial transition

To interpret the meanings of contemporary in terms of time, particularly in Chinese context, this book has avoided to limit the circumstance of contemporary China community space and association space in a certain year, such as 2008 or 2010; instead, it has open to a broad time frame that came to focus on a specific period—the start of reform and opening-up in 1979 up to the present time. As this historical course kept moving forward in China, it has now faced with challenges to extend the comprehensive reform from economic system to political system.

Since 1979, street-piece and unit compound — China's most basic socio-spatial unit of city life in planned economy time have gradually diminished or become void, as old structures of planned economy, rationing society and people's commune came to the end. Despite China's economic reform is a transit from the government oriented to the market oriented, the macro-control policy directed economic development does not allow a replacement of the market oriented over the government oriented but a cooperative to it, as any divided or confronted economic strategy cannot independently survive in the Chinese market dominated by state-owned enterprises. In fact, cooperative is an inevitable choice for most private enterprises, as they struggle to find ways in collaborating with public enterprises. Therefore, contemporary Chinese social space structure is not totally disconnected with the old ones in planned economy, and street-piece and unit compound — the most basic socio-spatial unit in planned economy have been preserved in some ways and gradually changed to meet the new needs.

3.1 New Capital model of Beijing and the communal and associative development of its space

According to the Statistical Communiqué on the Beijing 2009 National Economic and Social Development issued by Beijing Municipal Bureau of Statistics,³⁹⁰ Beijing's per capita GDP exceeded \$10,000 in 2009, indicating that it has become a moderately wealthy city according to the World Bank's Standard of Living. By the end of 2009, Beijing's permanent residential population (PRP) was 17.55 million, among which, the registered population was 12.458 million, and migrated population was 5.092 million, accounting for 29% of the PRP. The urban population was 14.918 million, accounting for 85% of

³⁹⁰ Beijing Municipal Bureau of Statistics, *Statistical Communiqué on the Beijing 2009 National Economic and Social Development*, 《北京市2009年国民经济和社会发展统计公报》, 北京统计信息网, [online] available at: http://www.bjstats.gov.cn/xwgb/tjgb/ndgb/201002/t20100202_165217.htm

the PRP. Birth rate of the PRP was 8.06‰, mortality rate was 4.56‰, and natural increase in birth was 3.5‰. The PRP density in the city was 1069 per km². The average dwelling floorage per capita of urban residents was 28.81 m² and the per capita living area was 21.61 m².

China's three-decade reform and opening-up is not only a thirty-year long development in society but also in urbanization, which embodied in the development and transition of its socio-spatiality. The Chinese society development included the evolution of social relations: the development of community and association of introverted and extroverted space. However, the core goal of Chinese socialism construction and utopian ideal, namely the "public ownership of land", could not be achieved in the past three decades since New China was founded in 1949. It had never come to a final decisive realization of the goal through these years, even in the radical Cultural Revolution period. But it has commonly recognized that the goal was attained in 1982, when the task of developing private economy was added to China's reform and opening-up policy. Following the issuance of "Reform Constitution",³⁹¹ land in China has been nationalized, which is specifically manifested in the state ownership of urban land and the collective ownership of rural land.³⁹² Despite of the nationalization of the land ownership, the space usage right was separated from the land to form the concept of Land Property. And the privatization of usage right in land property was finally confirmed in the Law of Property, which took effect on October 1st, 2007.³⁹³ The privatization of usage right is based on the state ownership, and the development of this mode of privatization has created the unique socio-spatial phenomena of China, as what nowadays witnessed, the progressive social development, the rapid economic development, and the brutal urban explosion in China, say, that are all driven by this mode.

Since 1979, Beijing has witnessed dramatic changes in urban space development to reach the top in recent years. After hosting the 2008 Beijing Olympic Games, the Chinese capital has transformed into an international metropolis, which set a high goal to become the world-class city by 2050. Beijing first hosted the international architectural design competition in 1998 to put its Grand National Theatre project on bid, and French architect Paul Andrew won it. Since then, the Beijing's architectural design market has opened to the world. After a large number of landmark architectures rise in Beijing's skylines, such as CCTV office building designed by Rem Koolhaas, bird's nest by Herzog & De Meuron, the swimming venue of "water cube" by PTW Architects of Australia, and Terminal T3 of the capital airport by Norman Foster, the city is upgraded by these modern buildings that made up of new top 10 architectures of

³⁹¹ Wang Renbo, *The modernization of Chinese legal system*. 《中国法制现代化的历史》, 知识产权出版社, 2010.

³⁹² Constitution of the People's Republic of China, 《中华人民共和国宪法》, 1982.

³⁹³ The property law of the people's Republic of China, 《中华人民共和国物权法》, 2007.

Beijing in the 21st century. As most of them are public buildings, they have formed the extroverted space of Beijing. These projects were directly or indirectly funded by the government, so the strategic plan for design and development of the projects were also made by the government. The 1998 design competition of the Grand National Theatre reflected the government's embracement of foreign architecture design; more importantly, it demonstrated the government's direction and stance on opening-up in architectural industry. After 1998, following the nationwide expansion of urbanization, all kinds of international architectural design competitions debuted in China. The stance and play of Beijing always remained a win vane for national urban development, so the capital model of Beijing originated from ancient dynasties naturally became a code in minds of many urban administrators in central cities for urban development, design and management, regardless the standard of rank, morality or spiritual faith. Thus, some highlighted features of Beijing, such as CBD, high-rising residence community of great density, urban central park, axis, pancake expansion from a central ring, and even the 798 art zone, have become examples for urban development in other Chinese cities.

Contemporary urban development in China is closely related to the development of national economy. Urbanization has become the core of the development and transition of China economy since the outbreak of the global financial crisis in 2008. The central government has tied the GDP development to the central macroeconomic policies, imposing the pressure of the declined growth in domestic economy and foreign exports solely on urbanization. After 2008, in order to gain the financial support and loan from the central government to increase the revenue of local government, the nationwide urbanization development in China has formed a movement with far-reaching influence. Urbanization appears as construction of roads and buildings, but the nature of it is evolved into privatization of the state owned land and usage right of space, forming a Chinese-styled enclosure movement that rapidly grew and extended everywhere in a short frame of time. In today's China, numerous of new cities or new urban areas are planned and built every year, however, most of which made are not for a natural urban growth and factual needs, but solely for a practice of the macro-development policy upon the wishful plan and imagined goal. This unprecedented scale of a nationwide radical practice is rarified over decades of reform and opening-up. The usual way in China's urban development of the past was to set experimental cities in certain places, such as Shenzhen special economic zone, and then to popularize the modes of the pilot cities in other places. But today's urbanization movement no longer follows it, and simply takes place everywhere in country, like a second Great Leap Forward that China has now experienced in its urban development. In such a background, Beijing, as top policy maker on urban development strategy and planning regulations, remains a national model of urbanization development for local cities. It's not necessarily due to the fact that the model of Beijing proves fittest in practice, but the abstract state policy on urbanization

development that needs to be followed by local government, as part of their legitimate efforts to conform to the central government. Thus, it is important for understanding the radical urbanization in China nowadays through the studies of the development of urban space in Beijing and its present situation. Emerging from the existed capital model of imperial traditions, the new capital model of Beijing has inspired and advanced the movement of urbanization across China.

3.2 Community space of Beijing and its socio-spatial transition

3.2.1 From Unit Housing to Neighborhood Community

After the start of reform and opening-up in China, with the macro-control by government, market economy gradually replaced planned economy. City people who used to be orderly allocated in unit community started entering extroverted social spaces and seeking new opportunities for work and life. Although the movement from communal space to associative space didn't mean the disappearance of unit community, the community providing protection to its members from birth to death indeed decayed.³⁹⁴ The decline of the utopian form of community, namely the disintegration of the conventional unit community in cities, restored the scale of the community to relatively smaller size—family. This happened in both urban areas and rural areas. With the implementation of household contract responsibility system, the utopian form of community in rural China—people's commune also disintegrated like the unit community in cities.³⁹⁵ Thus, family has become the basis of community in both urban and rural China. From the middle and late period of the 1980s, China had tried construction of commercial dwellings. The Corbusier high-rising dwellings combined with the Radburn neighborhood community plan has formed the Chinese residence plan.³⁹⁶ The opening of real estate market has transformed colleague-neighborhood in past unit housing into space neighborhood. At the same time, homogenous society in China began to stratify through a gap-widening economical development. High-end estate, ordinary commodity housing, low-rent housing, and allocated welfare housing that belong to different income classes have emerged.³⁹⁷ Residence is no longer the socialized production tool subordinated to planned economy but the commodity as space machine of contemporary urban reproduction. Why people became neighbors are no longer due the requirement of country or the allotment of unit but their own requirement and the stratification of market. After thirty years of reform in housing system, most citizens in China have moved into new neighborhood community from old unit

³⁹⁴ Chai Yanwei, *The inner living space structure of Chinese cities, based on Units*. 《以单位为基础的中国城市内部生活空间特征结构》, 《地理学报》, 1996 (2).

³⁹⁵ Cheng Xueyang, *Institutional transformation of the rural land property system of China from Public-law perspective: 1920-2010*, 《公法视角下的中国农村土地产权制度变迁: 1920-2010年》, 《甘肃行政学院学报》2010 (1).

³⁹⁶ Yu Qing, *Architecture and Planning*, 《建筑与规划》, 中国建筑工业出版社, 1995.

³⁹⁷ Liu Qi, *Contemporary Chinese residential housing economy*, 《当代中国住宅经济》, 中国建筑工业出版社, 1992.

housing. The mental sense of security based on familiarity and egalitarianism in the past unit space has now been replaced by the physical sense of security built on walls, gatekeepers and gated system.

■ The transition of settlement space in the three-decade reform and opening-up: From unit allocated housing to commodity housing

The most important core idea of the reform and opening up policy launched in 1979 was to realize China modernization. The development of settlement space and housing is an important goal in realization of modernization. In times of planned economy, city residents who lived a better life with social welfare than country people who had none of these benefits, and housing was one most important part in urban welfare system. Having an allocated housing to live with a symbolic little payment on rent was a standard benefit treatment for city residents. After China gradually opened market and extensively promoted business development to replace planned economy, its old allotment welfare system was shrunk and urban dwellings in Chinese cities were being marketized, in which the real estate development of commodity housing replaced the housing allocation welfare of unit housing.³⁹⁸ In fact, the urban development in China was not immediately accomplished but gradually realized in a long period of three decades. Throughout these years, like other Chinese cities, Beijing had witnessed a huge transit in its own. More specifically, it has been changed from a low-flat city featured with *siheyuan* and *hutong* into a high-layer metropolis of great density. As more and more local people moved in the commodity housing compound, the *jie-fang*-neighborhood of traditional *siheyuan* and the colleague-neighborhood of unit housing have been left behind.

[1] The new type unit housing—precast panel system building



Photo 3-1: precast panel system residential Housing of Qiansanmen in Beijing. source: unknown photographer.

³⁹⁸ Ibid.

According to the statistics in Record of Beijing: Record of Real Estate: per capita living space for urban resident in 1976 was less than 4 m², decreasing by 0.34 m² from that in 1957.³⁹⁹ After the end of Cultural Revolution, a large number of Beijing residents who were sent to countryside returned to home, leaving the city to face a housing crisis. Local government immediately recovered the method of the 1950s, namely “centralized plan, centralized design, centralized investment, centralized construction, centralized allocation and centralized management”,⁴⁰⁰ to construct large scaled residence compound in several major sites including Tiantan-nan, Dongdaqiao, Anding-men and Yanshan Petrochemical Corporation. Among them, the most representative one is the Qiansanmen residence compound built in 1978. The construction system of a big model of cast-in-place concrete in inner walls and precast concrete in outer walls was used in the project. The planning of the residence compound included the land pieces for hostel, office building, commercial area, primary and middle schools, street service facilities, and municipal supporting facilities. Despite the Cultural Revolution was already ended, yet the newly launched reform and opening-up was far from reaching the residence sector. So, residence building at that time remained the conception of unit housing for living rather than that of commodity housing for investment in real estate market. Thus, the economic and pragmatic principle dominated similar projects. According to the standard of the first class high-rising residence of Beijing at that time, the per household building area of the residence in Qiansanmen was 55m², studio took up 10% of all residence types, two-room apartments took up 73% and three-room apartments took up 13%. Every apartment had a kitchen, a bathroom, a fitted wardrobe, and balcony. The basic bay widths were 2.7 m, 3.3 m and 3.9 m, and the width of 3.3 m took up the most part.⁴⁰¹ On October 20th, 1978, China’s late paramount leader Deng Xiaoping, along with a company of leaders from Beijing municipal party committee, inspected the newly built residence building in Qiansanmen. Comparing to his own small physical size, Deng Xiaoping joked about the frugality of the building: “The smallest room is suitable for me only.” then he said that the kitchen and bathroom were too tiny, better facilities with more functions should be provided with and the construction cost could be offset by lowering the floor height.⁴⁰² Deng’s advice on reasonable layout of the residence planning, enlargement in room size, comfortable consideration for residents and better decoration, had directly influenced then and after construction standard of the high-rising residence buildings of Beijing. In

³⁹⁹ Note: per capita living space for urban resident in 1983 was 4.6 m². resource: Liu Qi, *Contemporary Chinese residential housing economy*, 《当代中国住宅经济》, 中国建筑工业出版社, 1992. P.24.

⁴⁰⁰ Leon Hoa, *Reconstruire la Chine: trente ans d’urbanisme 1949-1979*, 《重建中国, 城市规划三十年 1949-1979》, translate into Chinese by Li Ying, 北京: 三联书店, 2006.

⁴⁰¹ Zhao Le, Guo Jinsheng, *View and Expectation on Design of Residential Tower in Beijing*, 《北京地区塔式高层住宅设计的回顾与展望》, 《城市建筑》2009 (1).

⁴⁰² Feng Bingling, Bi Bingshi, *Three phase for the development of high rise residential Housing of Beijing*, 《北京高层商品住宅平面演变的三个阶段》, 《城市建筑》2007(1).

addition, the changes of the floor height and room size also directly influenced the development and construction idea of nowadays economy housing.

[2] The redevelopment of *hutong* area—Ju'er *hutong*⁴⁰³



Photo 3-2: Ju'er Hutong. source: Beijing university of civil engineering and architecture library, <http://114.113.224.189:8080/>

Figure 3-1: the elevation of Ju'er Hutong, which designed by Prof. Wu Liangyong, one of influence postmodernism architect in China. source: Beijing university of civil engineering and architecture library, <http://114.113.224.189:8080/>

In early 1980s, Beijing was faced with an urgent city problem of reconstructing the old urban areas piled with *Dazayuan*—the common residence that declined into very bad living conditions. While most traditional *siheyuan* became the unit housing from former private family houses, Ju'er *hutong* was a rare case of being selected as a representative project of the old city renewal. Local famous architect Wu Liangyong was principal architect of the project.⁴⁰⁴ In his design, the urban fabric of traditional *siheyuan* and *hutong* remained intact, with one-story *siheyuan* being refurbished into multi-story buildings with modern functions. Wu called the method as “organic renewal.”⁴⁰⁵ As a result, this organic renewal project has got over 200 households inhabited in the 438 meters long Ju'er *hutong*, where the common space of courtyard life is preserved, with a series of multi-story unit buildings forming a special and Hypo-*hutong* Community instead of an old high-density *hutong*.⁴⁰⁶ The project was looked like realizing some significance of modernization on *siheyuan* in the area. In fact, similar to medieval European cities that first started increasing the floors of buildings to gain more urban space in the 13th century, Ju'er *hutong* and its Hypo-*hutong* Community is more like a pre-modern project instead of a meaningful modernization, which represented an interim form of the medieval fort cities to the commercial cities. Actually the “organic renewal” of urban space initially started in Beijing after the end of late Qing dynasty, such as

⁴⁰³ Fang Ku, *Contemporary redevelopment in the inner city of Beijing: Survey, analysis and investigation*. 《当代北京旧城更新: 调查, 研究, 探索》, 中国建筑工业出版社, 2000.

⁴⁰⁴ Wu Liangyong, *The old Beijing city and Ju'er Hutong*. 《北京旧城与菊儿胡同》, 中国建筑工业出版社, 1994.

⁴⁰⁵ Ibid.

⁴⁰⁶ Fang Ku, *Contemporary redevelopment in the inner city of Beijing: Survey, analysis and investigation*. 《当代北京旧城更新: 调查, 研究, 探索》, 中国建筑工业出版社, 2000. P.196.

Dashila in Qianmen. More specifically, the Ju'er *hutong* project has tried to add height and density into traditional form. In the 1980s of post-modernism architecture trend, following a big success of Beijing's Fragrant Hill Hotel designed by American architect Leoh Ming Pei, Ju'er *hutong* has been credited for its post-modernism characteristics. However, despite of a huge appealing to public, this kind of independent work featuring humanity and architect personality gets no further developed in Beijing, as the explosive urban construction and development in the city demands most pragmatic way and technical methods from modern civil engineering.

[3] The Commodity Housing Compound — Fangzhuang community and butterfly plan

On August 23rd, 1984, Beijing municipal government officially approved the development and construction of Fangzhuang community. This was the first large-scale community built in the middle of 1980s in Beijing and also the first open community in Beijing. Construction of Fangzhuang community was the starting point for the national housing system to transform from traditional allocated housing to commodity housing. Fangzhuang occupied an area of about 148 hectares, and the total construction area was 2.66 million m².⁴⁰⁷ The initial plan of Fangzhuang was divided into four areas: Fanggu garden, Fangcheng garden, Fangqun garden and Fangxing garden. To present, Fangzhuang has become a large community mainly consisted of many residence communities accommodating over 100 thousand people, who live in multi-story, super high-rising buildings with complete supportive facilities. With the establishment of *Fangzhuang*, it has become the first commodity housing compound whose ownership can be transacted in China after the Cultural Revolution. The housing purchase made by either units or individuals has got people from anywhere inhibited the community, leaving the household registration system and unit responsibility system that had regulated restricting people migration in the country since 1958 to lose control. Fangzhuang's demonstrative effect has rapidly influenced other cities around the country. And the community building model of Fangzhuang residence, namely high-rising buildings, central common land, gated community, supportive facilities and buildings in the community, such as kindergartens, community service centers and so on, has become the main developing model of the residence community in China.⁴⁰⁸ Beginning from the 1990s, with a rapid growing of China urbanization, the residence community of this kind has kept spreading across the country till today. To work out of this project, local architects had spent much time on calculating and analyzing the most economic layout of high-rising buildings at the start of design. The core of the layout plan was elevator, sunshine, and

⁴⁰⁷ Zhao Wenkai and Kai Yan, *60 Years of Community Planning in China*, 《中国住区规划发展 60 年历程与展望》, [online] available at:

http://wenku.baidu.com/link?url=iGVTNwFK5EN401pmvPIWRQ9IU7uQvYtLhyT2edA0JLNtYERYx_tZHgBU9AQWkrMImPuSY8jIaUhXcWOLxy7RnJQmtlg_nAyOB4Zc-FHMvC

⁴⁰⁸ Hu Wen, *The principle and design method of residentail area planning*. 《居住区规划原理与设计方法》, 中国建筑工业出版社, 2007.

apartment type. And it came the final solution of the “butterfly plan”, which could be the most economic plan for high-rising buildings aimed at obtaining largest lighting area, highest per unit elevator service efficiency.⁴⁰⁹ After ending of the planned economy, most residence in China have been built in the form of commodity housing compound and put into the emerging real-estate market since the Fangzhuang community was first founded in Beijing. But the butterfly plan development resembling the 9014 design of the 1960s has quickly become the model of national residence buildings. According to the state planning regulations and development model of land, the butterfly plan seems a certain standard component of urban infrastructure to be applied to the places around China with totally different geological and climate conditions. However, its high feasibility couldn’t rest upon the architecture but the land regulations, policies and the economic costs. As a result, nowadays Chinese cities are flooded with this kind of economic residence compound, whose commercial prices forever surpass their expected values. The residence compound consisted of the economic residence like the hybrid of the *garden city* of Ebenezer Howard and the *radiant city* of Le Corbusier, namely the hybrid of introverted community environment and extroverted urban flat.

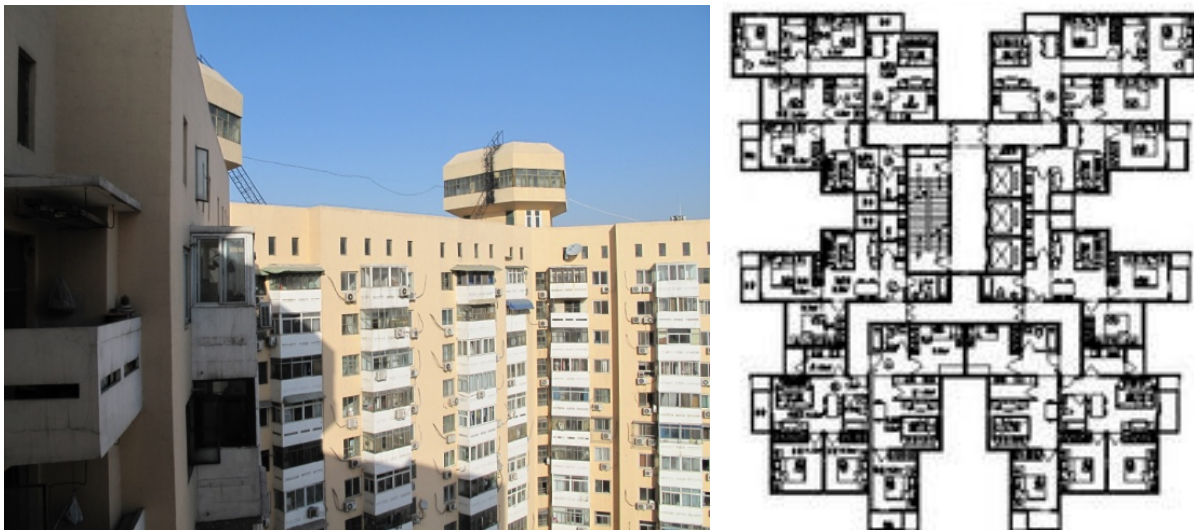


Photo 3-3: one of apartment building from Fangqunyuan 2nd compound of Fangzhuang community.

Figure 3-2: the butterfly plan of residential apartment housing. source: www.zhulong.com

On July 3rd, 1998, the state council issued Circular on Deepening Housing System Reform and Speeding Housing Construction, declaring that “the ending of welfare of allocated housing and the beginning of monetization of housing distribution will take effect from the second half of 1998, and multi-layer urban housing supplying system centered on economy housing will be established and developed at the same

⁴⁰⁹ Ibid.

time”.⁴¹⁰ The year of 1998⁴¹¹ became the turning point of China’s urban residence development by terminating an era of unit housing, indicating that China had finally completed the transformation from unit housing to private housing after two decades of reform and opening-up. Real-estate then started booming in China, with a large scale of ongoing urban expansion in cities. Up to present, the urban explosion has already lasted over a decade and would stay for at least another decade. Real-estate in China has now become an important industry on state policy to develop domestic needs, and become an important or even core driving force to push local economic development. Despite the extent of real-estate opening is restricted in China, but when facing a bottleneck in its development in the near future, China’s real-estate would probably open to the international market in the end, similar to what RMB intent to become the international currency. As cities rapidly grow in size, the community space occupied by unit housing has been gradually replaced by more and more community space taken by commodity housing community. China’s urban development in the past and the coming decade, namely those high-rising or high-density economy buildings and gated community, will form a major outlook of the future of Chinese cities and produce a constant and fundamental influence to the daily life of Chinese people.

3.2.2 From stable land form to firm space form: common and particular, from land form to functional space

3.2.2.1 Space ownership: common ownership and particular ownership

■ Rural area: From people’s commune to rural collective group

After the start of reform and opening up in 1979, China’s primary national task for economic development was recovering production in rural areas. The initial rural community with people’s commune as the main production unit has changed under the new policy, as ownership and usage right of land owned by the people’s commune and the collective group not only failed to improve production efficiency in most cases, but also lowered famers’ enthusiastic participation to worsen production efficiency.⁴¹² In order to boost agricultural production, it had become a developing trend of bringing the unit of agricultural production from people’s commune back to the production team or household. The nature of the trend development is to give up the common ownership and collectivization of ownership and usage of rural land, returning rural community to its traditional relation of common and particular. As

⁴¹⁰ State Council, 1998, Nr.23

⁴¹¹ Feng Bingling, Bi Bingshi, *Three phase for the development of high rise residential Housing of Beijing*, 《北京高层商品住宅平面演变的三个阶段》, 《城市建筑》2007(1).

⁴¹² Cheng Xueyang, *Institutional transformation of the rural land property system of China from Public-law perspective: 1920-2010*, 《公法视角下的中国农村土地产权制度变迁: 1920-2010年》, 《甘肃行政学院学报》2010(1).

the *Constitution* revised in 1982⁴¹³ says: resuming the country government, setting up residents' committee or villagers' committee based on residential place either in urban or rural area as the grassroots self-governing organization. In accordance with the principle of separating politics from society, people's commune in rural areas, along with agricultural production cooperatives and other forms of cooperatives, returned to collective economy organizations. In 1983,⁴¹⁴ as the central committee of CPC and the state council stipulated that, "the scale of country is generally based on jurisdiction area of its former people's commune; village committee is the grassroots self-governing organization that should be set up according to residential situations of villagers". After the 1982 Constitution was revised in 1993, it had "rural people's commune, agricultural production cooperatives" changed into "rural responsibility system centered on household contract," thus, "people's commune" was removed from the laws of China. The end of people's commune as the basic community unit in rural areas has left a legacy to nowadays with its collectivization policy in past decades, namely ownership of land in rural China ever belonged to the group instead of individuals. The reform of household contract was in fact making the separation of ownership and usage right of agricultural land,⁴¹⁵ keeping the ownership in rural collective social unit such as production brigade or production team, and equally allocating the using right to farmers. On ownership of rural land, as *Land Management Law* made in 1986 (article 10) says: "*Land collectively owned by farmers that belongs to village is to be operated and managed by village economic organization or villagers' committee; that already belongs to more than two rural collective economic organizations is operated and managed by the rural collective economic organization or villagers' team; that is already collectively owned by farmers of country (town) is to be operated and managed by the country (town) collective economic organizations*".⁴¹⁶The law remains valid.

■ City: From unit allocated housing to commodity housing in market circulation

Through the nationalization of urban land and space in planned economy, city residence belonged to the public housing allocation system of "being managed and allocated unitarily and being kept through renting."⁴¹⁷ By 1978, per capita urban living area was only 3.6 m², and 8.69 million households were in need of residence, accounting for 47.5% of total number of urban households.⁴¹⁸ After entering the period of reform and opening up, with the development of market economy and the decline of planned economy,

⁴¹³ Constitution of the People's Republic of China, 1982.

⁴¹⁴ Cheng Xueyang, *Institutional transformation of the rural land property system of China from Public-law perspective: 1920-2010*, 《公法视角下的中国农村土地产权制度变迁: 1920-2010年》, 《甘肃行政学院学报》2010 (1).

⁴¹⁵ Ibid.

⁴¹⁶ Land Management Law (China). 1986. article 10.

⁴¹⁷ Hu Wen, *The principle and design method of residentail area planning*. 《居住区规划原理与设计方法》, 中国建筑工业出版社, 2007.

⁴¹⁸ Liu Qi, *Contemporary Chinese residential housing economy*, 《当代中国住宅经济》, 中国建筑工业出版社, 1992. P.39.

the public housing allocation system had gradually changed. In September 1978, the urban housing construction meeting of the central government conveyed an important speech by Deng Xiaoping,⁴¹⁹ as he put: “To solve the housing problem, private building or public funded private building is permitted through installment payment; in a long-term plan, construction industry must be put on priority”. In April 1980, Deng Xiaoping further pointed out: “housing reform needs a trend to the commercialized”, unveiling the direction of the state reform on housing system. After the separation of usage right of land and ownership of land, the housing reform has targeted the goal of the privatization of usage right of land and space in commercial market. The goal has been accomplished in a series of reform initiatives and fulfilled with prosperity in real-estate industry of present China.

[1] Common Housing⁴²⁰: pilot housing selling (1979-1985) ⁴²¹

In 1982, the state issued “three one-third system” subsidy to sell newly built housing, namely the government, enterprise, and individual each pay 1/3 respectively, and it was piloted in cities of Zhengzhou, Changzhou, Siping and Shashi. Since the experimental piloting that was still in the old planned economy system, the unit allocated housing had incompatible welfare advantage over the “three one-third system” private purchased housing, so the individuals lacked the motive to buy commercialized housing; thus, construction fund couldn’t circulate itself and the policy was then called off by the government in 1985. From 1985, reform of housing system turned to the research and design of renting system from the “three one-third system” of housing selling.

[2] The rental of public housing: raising rent and offering subsidy (1986-1990) ⁴²²

In 1986, Chinese cities of Yantai, Tangshan and Bangbu were selected to implement housing reform, with the experimental plan of “raising rent and offering subsidy, combined renting and selling, promoting selling through renting, and auxiliary reform”. Pricing rent started from the basic cost, monthly rent was raised to be more than one yuan/ m² from the original 0.07~0.08 yuan/m², equaling to 70%~80% of the cost rent; public housing were sold on the basic cost of building, land expropriation, and compensation for demolition. With prices of rented housing being tied to actual maintenance cost and that of selling housing to building cost, housing construction was enabled to go market. In 1988, the first state housing system reform meeting held by the state council issued *Plan of Partial Implementation of Housing Reform in Cities and Towns*: firstly, raising rents and offering subsidy, combined renting and selling, and charging a five-itemed cost rent, including maintenance fees, management costs, depreciation charge,

⁴¹⁹ Ibid.

⁴²⁰ Note: housing built with funds collected from buyers.

⁴²¹ Liu Qi, *Contemporary Chinese residential housing economy*, 《当代中国住宅经济》, 中国建筑工业出版社, 1992. P.60.

⁴²² Ibid. P63.

investment interests and housing tax; secondly, the adjustment of salary, housing subsidy should be included in salary and also included in the cost, rent should be raised to the market level comprised of eight items: cost rent plus land use fee, insurance charge and profit. The implementation of the policy raised rent heavily and also caused a high increase in employee salary cost at state-owned unit. Many unit housings were sold to employees at cheap prices. Finally this incomplete marketization of public housing failed. According to an incomplete statistics, a total of 6.54 million m² of old public housings were sold in 1988 nationwide, with an average returning fund of every square meters being only 65.7 Yuan.⁴²³ The housing reform office under the state council declared recalling the policy.

[3] The purchase of public housing: selling through renting (1991~1993) ⁴²⁴

In June 1991, the State Council issued Circular of *Positive and Stable Implementation of Housing Reform in Cities*, demanding rents of the existed public housing that needed to be increased to the level of the cost rents through planned schedules; the selling price of the public housing for employees was the standard price within their allocated living area. In November, the State Council issued Opinion on Complete Housing System Reform in Cities, determining the overall goal of housing reform: “starting from reform on low rent system of public housing, gradually transforming the welfare allocation of housing into the currency allocation of salary, individual obtaining ownership or usage right of housing through buying or renting, making housing become commodity to enter market, and realizing a sound circle of the input and output of housing funds. However, as construction of “housing reform-oriented housing” was still operated by units, due to the lack of supervision, benefit communities were formed within units, with many housing built by units being sold to their employees at cheap prices. To some extent, privatization of housing was realized, but housing development was limited to the inner part of the introverted unit communities and failing to form an expected free commodity housing market. In June 1992, the housing reform office of the state council at its work conference again declared withdrawing the policy.

[4] Housing reform-oriented housing: fully pushing the establishment of the marketized housing reform (1994-1997) ⁴²⁵

In July 1994, the State Council issued Decision on *Deepening Urban Housing System Reform*, making it clear the fundamental goal of housing reform: establishing new urban housing system in compliance with the socialist market economy system, realizing housing commercialization and socialization; accelerating housing construction, improving living conditions to meet urban dwellers’ increasing needs for housing.

⁴²³ Ibid.

⁴²⁴ Ibid. P.64.

⁴²⁵ Chen Jie, 2012, *60 years on Chinese Residential Housing development: review and rethinking*. 《中国住房事业六十年：回顾与反思》, Fudan Center for Housing Policy Studies, [online] available at: <http://www.chps.fudan.edu.cn/content.asp?id=50>

The basic content of housing reform can be concluded as “three changes and four establishments”: “three changes”, changing the welfare system under the planned economy system, changing the investment system of housing construction from the state and unit in charge to the reasonable sharing of the state, unit and individual; changing the system of the construction, allocation, maintenance and management of housing by the state and unit to the socialized and professional operation; changing the housing allocation system to the salary-dominated distribution according to work. “Four establishments”: establishing new housing system in accordance with socialist market economy system, including establishing economically affordable housing with social security character supply system for middle-low income families, and commodity housing supply system for high income families; establishing housing accumulation fund system; developing housing finance and insurance, establishing housing mortgage loan system with policy and commercial characters; establishing standard real estate trading market and housing maintenance and management market. With the issuance of the Decision, local governments made housing implementation plans. By June 1998, the total amount of housing accumulation fund was 98 billion Yuan. By the end of 1997, the rent of public housing in 35 middle-sized cities raised greatly to 1.29 Yuan/m². By the middle of 1998, the portion of privately owned housing in cities was up 50% nationwide and it was even more than 60% in some provinces and municipalities.⁴²⁶

[5] Economy housing: the realization of housing marketization (1998 to present) ⁴²⁷

Earlier on July 3rd, 1998, the state council issued Circular on *Deepening Housing System and Accelerating Housing Construction*, declaring that beginning from the second half of 1998, the termination of housing allocation system takes effect in cities by ending the implementation of monetization of housing allocation, and establishing and improving the multi-level urban housing supply system based on economy housing.

1. Adjust housing investment structure, focus on economy housing development, and solve housing problems that perplex urban residents with housing hardship. The price of the newly built economy housing should be government guided, and sold on the principle of bottle-line cost and low profit; the cost included the charge of land expropriation, demolition, research and design, and prophase construction fees, installation fee, infrastructure construction fee, enterprise management fee, loan interests, tax. Basically, enterprise management fee should not exceed 2% and development profit should not exceed 3%, leaving the middle and low income families affordable.

⁴²⁶ Ministry of Construction of the People's Republic of China, *Housing statistic bulletin of cities and towns of China*, 《2005 年城镇房屋概况统计公报》, [online] available at: http://www.gov.cn/gzdt/2006-07/04/content_326591.htm

⁴²⁷ Ibid.

2. Different housing supply policies for families of different income. For lowest income families, government, or unit should supply them low renting housing, mainly depended on providing rent allowance and accompanied by renting the allocated object or reducing the rent. Per capita living area for lowest income families should not exceed 60% of per capita living area of locals; rent should be determined by the government according to maintenance fees and management charge. Middle and low income families should purchase economy housing or ordinary commodity housing. The price of commodity housing bought or rented by high income families should be adjusted by the market.

3. Provide housing allowance. If the portion of housing price and income (the portion of the average price of the economy housing with the building area of 60m² to the annual average salary of dual income family) is four times higher, government and unit should subsidize the employees without dwelling or whose living area below the standard.

By the end of 1998, housing allocation had been terminated nationwide, leaving China's urban housing system to realize the transformation from planned economy to market economy. With the development of real estate, housing price has rapidly risen up. In this process, the old unit public housing are quickly privatized, and the new commodity housing are expensively priced; social stratification has become deteriorated, and the problem of target group of housing reform, namely the problem of those who lack of housing can never be solved through commodity housing. As the economy housing of the same period couldn't take preferential position in urban economical development plan, private interest has taken control of the development of the real estate, as a of result of the principal body of public interest, namely governments at different levels couldn't shoulder the responsibility initially taken by state-owned units. Due to a lack of technical methods, the development of economy housing is faced with suspension. From 1998 to 2003, the total completion area of economy housing nationwide was only 477 million m², solving housing problem merely for 6 million more households, it has failed to become the major supplying channel in urban residential construction.⁴²⁸

[6] The low-rent housing: the establishment of housing security system (2003 to present)⁴²⁹

Since 2003, the state council has issued the “pre-eight state stipulations”, the “post-eight state stipulations”, and the “six state stipulations” respectively to control the increasing price of housing and

⁴²⁸ Ministry of Construction of the People's Republic of China, *Housing statistic bulletin of cities and towns of China*, 《2005 年城镇房屋概况统计公报》, [online] available at: http://www.gov.cn/gzdt/2006-07/04/content_326591.htm

⁴²⁹ Ibid.

establish the housing security system. To lower down the housing price, government raised the proportion of residential land in land supply, and increased the land supply of middle and low price ordinary commodity housing and economy housing. From June 1st, 2006, for newly approved and constructed commodity housing, the housing with the building area of less than 90 m² should take up more than 70% of the total construction area; for the transaction of housing bought for less than five years, sales tax of the total sale income should be charged. For construction of housing security system, government has tried to improve living conditions of low income families through the construction of low rent housing. Governments at different levels should build low rent housing with a certain portion to the net income of land selling, and government budget at different levels should also support it. In August 2007, the state council issued *Several Opinions on Solving Housing Problem of Low Income Urban Families*, as it says: “The problem of low income families is to be solved through low rent housing and economy housing; the problem of middle income families is to be solved through price-set commodity housing and economy renting housing according to the circumstances; and the high income families are mainly depended on market”. In November 2007, Premier Wen Jiabao elaborated on the housing principle of China at the National University of Singapore, namely the “new housing policies”: firstly, the most important responsibility of the government is effective management of low rent housing, enabling city residents or migrant workers who cannot buy the housing but can afford the renting; the second is construction of economy housing for the middle class; and thirdly, high-graded housing is being adjusted by the market, and the state macro-control is needed to prevent from the market chaos caused by real estate speculation.

■ The new type of community space: compound

After a series of reform in land system of China, unit big yard, an old type of community space formed by household registration system and unit responsibility system in planned economy, was pressed by the increasing development of free society and urban fluidity and gradually replaced by compound—new type of emerging marketized community space.⁴³⁰ Compound developing model became the major model of real estate development in China: firstly, the state transferred the usage right of the land into hands of individuals or enterprises through auctions or other means, then, private developers built commodity housing compound and sold every apartment or the whole building to private clients. In the process, the usage right of the land was divided into privatization of every building space after privatization of the real estate dealers. The privatization from land to space brought the local government and real estate dealers or even real estate speculators profit. Government made profits by separating the land usage right from its

⁴³⁰ Zhao Wenkai and Kai Yan, *60 Years of Community Planning in China*, 《中国住区规划发展 60 年历程与展望》, [online] available at: http://wenku.baidu.com/link?url=iGVTNwFK5EN401pmvPIWRQ9IU57uQvYtLhyT2edA0JLNtYERYx_tZHgBU9AQWkrMIImPuSY8jlaUhXcWOLxy7RnJQmtlg_nAyOB4Zc-FHMvC

ownership to make its privatization; real estate developers made profits by maximizing the land usage right or developing it into the ownership of building space to make its privatization; and the real estate speculators made profits by transferring the ownership of the space. The mode promoted the rapid development of China's real estate industry and formed urban community space in the country. After the 2008 global financial crisis, if economic entities in China couldn't get any fundamental development, the present development model of real estate would be very hard to change. Non-stop revising of urban planning and demolition brought profit to local governments, maximizing of building density and height of compound brought profit to real estate developers, and multiple and larger scaled purchasing of housing brought profit to real estate speculators. It is hard to avoid this urbanizing phenomena of large scale enclosure movement and urban demolish-migrate, high-rising and high-density compound building, high housing vacancy by stocking of real estate speculators. The dual-goal of everyone has housing to inhabit and every housing has been inhabited will perplex the future of Chinese cities. The most extreme situation will be that urban development will be prone to faster demolition; higher buildings and more vacant housing, as faster demolition leads to higher buildings, and higher buildings lead to more vacancy that leads to more demolition, a perfect bubble profit chain was thus formed in them. When vacancy rate reaches a certain scale, maybe the speculators would learn the strategy of local government, separating the usage right of the building space to make profit by selling it instead of simply renting it.

In fact, as a major model of real estate development in China, compound includes not only residential buildings, but also business offices, industrial factories and other things. This model is an only system that has so far worked for the urban land development in China. There are walls for most communities, claiming or representing the private ownership of the land. They look like the usual gated communities in America, but their motive and socio-spatial structure are different from that of America. Walls of communities in China tend to indicate the physical boundaries of the private usage right of the land that is different from the state-owned right and responsibilities. Most types of real estate development in cities are for residential, office, and commercial use, which are all fallen into one compound developing model. Within the walls of the community or the private ownership of the land, real estate developers get the usage right of the land from the government, and build residence and other types of buildings, selling the ownership of the building space to their private owners. So the property rights of a community include: the entire ownership of the land, the usage right of the outer space of the buildings in the community, the common ownership of the common space inside the buildings of the private owners, usage right of the underground space of the non-building part in the community. The entire ownership of the land is state-owned or collective-owned. The usage right of the land was initially obtained by the real estate developers, but due to the default of relevant laws, it is hard to make sure whether the usage right of the

land was transferred to the common ownership of the proprietors after the developers sold the buildings. Especially in Beijing, generally individual buyers can only get the property right certificate, namely the ownership of the building space, but they can never get the certificate for the usage right of the land. So the usage right of many communities is still owned by the developers. As a result, some developers can get loans from banks by mortgaging the land usage right of the communities. The extreme case is that, the developer goes bankrupt, the usage right of the land will be sold to other developers by the bank, and the other developers can demolish and re-develop the area by only compensating the building cost to the proprietors. In fact, ordinary building construction cost only takes up less than 20% of the housing price in Beijing. And many communities are faced with demolition only after several years of usage. As the ownership of the building space belongs to the private proprietors, the usage right of the exterior space is not defined with the default of laws. So it can still be owned by the developer or by all the private proprietors, or owned by the janitor service company. Common ownership of the common space of the proprietors inside the building is commonly owned by the private proprietors. Usage right of the underground non-building space inside the community is not defined due to the loophole of legal default. As the space ownership inside the community is not specified, so the local government is not responsible for interiors inside the walls of the community; the real estate developer is not responsible for the community after selling; the speculator is not responsible for the environment of the community after purchasing, and private proprietor lacks the specific power over the community. Thus, the existing community model will face great pressures when China's economic development slows down and the maintenance cost of the old buildings goes up. However, the pressures couldn't impose on local governments, real estate developers, or even speculators, but local residents, as far as the problems arise in large numbers, they will threaten the whole society of China.

3.2.2.2 Space usage: common usage and particular usage

■ Rural areas: From collective farm to the household contract responsibility system

After 1978, the central government realized that the political movement of class struggle must be given up and the development of production and economy must be carried out.⁴³¹ In rural areas, common usage of land and means of production in people's commune became unfixed, in some areas, it began to restore the traditional relations of common usage—particular usage of land, namely, common land of village or commune and particular land of farmers. Although ownership of land was still in hands of people's commune or village group, usage right of land was equally distributed to farmers. And farmers needed to finish state planned food output quotas and gain profits through their surplus. So, the scale of common

⁴³¹ Liu Qi, *Contemporary Chinese residential housing economy*, 《当代中国住宅经济》, 中国建筑工业出版社, 1992.

usage of land decreased rapidly through its transformation from commune to family. The farm production mode of “Fixing of output quotas for each household, or fixing of work for each household”⁴³² was then gradually established around the country and developed into the renowned **household contract responsibility system**.⁴³³

[1] The separation of land usage right from ownership: the household contract responsibility system (1978-1987)

From September 14th to 22nd, 1980, the central committee of CPC held the work conference with the first CPC secretary general of provinces, municipalities and autonomous regions, passing the Decision on *Strengthening and Improving Farm Production Responsibility System*. As the Decision says: “In remote mountain areas and poverty-stricken regions, the farm production team that had long-term depended upon an evil mode of ‘food supply by back selling, production by loan, and living by relief’ made some individual farmers lose their trust in collective farm, thus, farmers who demanded the ‘fixing of output quotas for each household’ must be supported. Either the ‘fixing of output quotas for each household’ or the ‘fixing of work for each household’ can be adopted and kept stable in a long-term...”⁴³⁴ Through practice, the “fixing of output quotas for each household” proved a success. The ‘fixing of output quotas for each household’ or the ‘fixing of work for each household’ was then established nationwide and developed into the whole “household contract responsibility system,” it was a farm production responsibility system that farmer contracted land and other means of production from the collective farm for each household. The production mode empowered farmer the independent management on running the collective ownership of farm land for each household and adjusted operation income apportionment relations of the farm land. Starting from the end of 1978, after the first batch of 18 households in Xiaogang village, Fengyang county of Anhui province signed the contract of ‘fixing of output quotas’, ‘the responsibility system centered on ‘fixing of output quotas for each household or fixing of work for each household’ has become popular in China. After the central committee of CPC issued Circular on *Printing and Distributing the Basic Questions of Rural Economic Policy* in 1983, the ‘fixing of output quotas for each household’ had been implemented in rural areas all around the country. By 1987, the responsibility system centered on household contract production had been adopted by 180 million households in China, accounting for 98% of the total rural households in the country,⁴³⁵ realizing the separation of usage right of land from its ownership.

⁴³² Jiang Ailin, *Study on land policy*, 《土地政策基本理论研究》, 中国大地出版社, 2001.

⁴³³ Ibid.

⁴³⁴ Cheng Xueyang, *Institutional transformation of the rural land property system of China from Public-law perspective: 1920-2010*, 《公法视角下的中国农村土地产权制度变迁: 1920-2010年》, 《甘肃行政学院学报》2010 (1).

⁴³⁵ Ibid.

[2]The transference of land usage right (1987- present) ⁴³⁶

With China's popularization of household contract responsibility system in rural areas and the equal distribution of land usage right to households, a problem that ever haunted the central government in China history, namely "land annexation", was coming back. After separating the land usage right from its ownership as particular usage for farmers, the transference of the land usage right became inevitable. For some reason, landlords and poor cottiers who ever existed in history did not appear, as their non-existence could ensure a stable society. This can be attributed to two factors: First, ownership of land belongs to villages and towns and is strictly controlled by the government. Second, also most importantly, China's economic structure has gone through some great historical changes after adopting extroverted economy to become the world-class manufacturing center. The accelerating urbanization around the country has absorbed a large number of rural populations to work at factories in cities. Labor intensive industries are not only driving national economic development but also hiring a great amount of rural labors. With China's rapid industrialization, more and more famers have become industrial workers, creating a fundamental boost to the urbanization development. Thus, these two factors have downplayed the land annexation, which no longer remained a major social problem to hold back the country's economical and social development as it did in history.

In 1987, the state council approved the experimentation of land operation within certain extent in certain developed provinces and cities in coastal areas, making the transfer of land operation right breaking the restriction of household contract production, the transfer of land usage right developed in a larger scale. In the following period, the first generation of **migrant workers** appeared in China.⁴³⁷ Their typical characteristics were: while being farmers in the household registration system that specifies their stay with the farming land where their residence was registered, they actually came to cities becoming workers in terms of job category. The migrant workers had double identities, which were their advantage and also their confusion. In slack farming season, they went to work in the cities in large numbers and even worked in the cities for a long period. The land they owned in the rural areas and the harvest from it ensured that they could accept the low salaries the "world factories" paid to them; and the salaries they earned in the cities could also add to the low income of the small-scale farming. The first generation of migrant workers gained the space for living and development in the middle of the swing of their identities. From 1987 to the end of the 1990s, the transference or change of usage right of rural land was relatively stable with the swing living of the first generation of migrant workers between rural and urban areas.

⁴³⁶ Jiang Ailin, *Study on land policy*, 《土地政策基本理论研究》, 中国大地出版社, 2001.

⁴³⁷ Ibid.

Land Management Law issued in 1999⁴³⁸ still put a lot of restriction on the free transfer of rural land usage right. Since 2000, many migrant workers lived for long time in cities and formed families, or when the second generation of migrant workers grew up, the first generation of the swing way of living between rural and urban areas declined, a large amount of rural household land was deserted or transferred. So, the transference of land usage right attracted the attention of the central government again. On August 29th, 2002, the 9th National People's Congress passed *Law on Land Contract*⁴³⁹ in Rural Areas taking effect from March 1st, 2003, reflecting the protection of the legal land contract and operation right in law. Article 32 of the law stipulated that, land contract and operation right gained through household contract can be subcontracted, rented, exchanged, transferred, or circulated by other means. But the nature of land use, namely the nature of farming land can't be changed. In July 2005,⁴⁴⁰ Guangdong provincial government issued *Administrative Measure (draft) on the Usage Right of Collective Construction Land in Guangdong Province*, making it clear that the usage right of construction land in rural areas could be circulated in market from October 1st, 2005. Thus the operation land in rural areas of Guangdong entered market, and it could be transacted by four means: bidding, auction, nominal quotation and price bidding on internet. In 2009,⁴⁴¹ the central government published "No. 1 document"—CPC Central Committee and State Council's *Several Opinions on Enhancing Stable Agricultural Development and Increasing Farmers' Income*. The document clearly demanded to establish and improve operation right circulation market of household contract land. "The circulation of the operation right of the household contract land is not to change the collective ownership nature of the land, not to change the usage of land, not to harm farmers' right of household contract land. Upholding the principle of voluntariness and compensation, respecting farmers' subject status in land circulation, any organization, or individual should not force the circulation or impede the circulation." In places with the ready conditions, circulation service organizations can be set up to provide information, legal advice, price assessment, contract signing, disputes mediation for the transaction parties. There are also many uncertain factors in the circulation of land usage right in rural areas till now, but the circulation of usage right gains legal support and will play an increasingly important part in the process of future urbanization.

■ Cities: from dormitory to private home

Unlike ownership of rural land belonging to collective group, ownership of urban land is owned by state or public. In the 1982 *Constitution of People's Republic of China*, "Any organization or individual should

⁴³⁸ Law of Land Administration of the People's Republic of China (1999).

⁴³⁹ Law of the People's Republic of China on the Contracting of Rural Land (2002).

⁴⁴⁰ Cheng Xueyang, *Institutional transformation of the rural land property system of China from Public-law perspective: 1920-2010*, 《公法视角下的中国农村土地产权制度变迁: 1920-2010年》, 《甘肃行政学院学报》2010(1).

⁴⁴¹ Ibid.

not encroach, transact, rent or illegally transfer land in other means".⁴⁴² With China's reform and development of market economy, the ownership of land was separated from its usage right. *The Constitution* was revised in 1988, permitting the circulation of land usage right, and *Land Management Law* of 1986 was also revised, permitting the circulation of the usage right of state-owned land. In 1990, the state council conducted great reform of land using policies, publishing *Provisional Regulation on the Selling and Transferring of the Usage Right of State-owned Right in Urban Areas of People's Republic of China*, making clear the rules for the selling, transfer, rent, mortgage and suspension of land usage right. According to the administrative levels, state-owned urban land can be divided into municipality directly under the central government, province capital city, city, county-level city, and town.⁴⁴³ With the reform and privatization of urban land usage right, people has started moving into private homes from the unit allocated dormitories in the planned economy time. The common kitchen and common toilet in the old dormitories disappeared, and most of the function space was transformed into home space from neighborhood space. In urban compact housing, the unit of living space returns to household rather than the larger units such as corridor neighborhood, common activities among neighbors mainly take place in physical passages. While the common bathrooms, kitchens, gyms, cafeterias, and balcony are disappearing, people are more turned to enjoy their home life.⁴⁴⁴ And home space with complete functions indeed provides family life with certain stages and activity spaces. The size of present family has become increasingly small, that is not only due to the one-child policy but also to the increasing social mobility. In the meanwhile, with improvements on living conditions, common space of family life has been changed into multi-functional space such as living room and drawing room from either the outdoor courtyard of old Shiheyuan or the indoor kitchen of compact housing. The change is advanced to diversity, and even with an expensive space of home area, the particular use space for family members gets more and bigger, whereas the common use space gets little and smaller. This development trend to the private realm is definitely not good for keeping liveliness and stability of the family life.

3.2.3 From stable unit relation to firm neighborhood relation, from unit community to neighborhood compound

After starting of reform and opening up, collectivization of common space has come to the end. In rural areas, with the implementation of household contract responsibility system, the relationship between

⁴⁴² Constitution of the People's Republic of China, 1982.

⁴⁴³ State council, *Provisional Regulation on the Selling and Transferring of the Usage Right of State-owned Right in Urban Areas of People's Republic of China*. 1990.

⁴⁴⁴ Zhao Wenkai and Kai Yan, *60 Years of Community Planning in China*, 《中国住区规划发展60年历程与展望》,

[online] available at:

http://wenku.baidu.com/link?url=iGVTNwFK5EN401pmvPIWRQ9IU7uQvYtLhyT2edA0JLNtYERYx_tZHgBU9AQWkrMImPuSY8jlaUhXcWOLxy7RnJQmtlg_nAyOB4Zc-FHMvC

common and particular ownership of community land and space has been recovered. In urban areas, unit community of planned economy has been disintegrated, after the ending of rationing system through the development of market economy. Commodity housing began rising. While real estate is rapidly thriving in China, new neighborhood community is gradually replacing unit community.

■ The decline of unit system ⁴⁴⁵

Following the development in reform and opening-up and in market economy, unit system—the product of the planned economy system has declined. The rapid development of private enterprises and the expansion of market scale have brought vibrant initiatives to the market-oriented economy, making it no longer satisfied with merely passive completion of various production plans and indexes ordered by the state. Unit system is faced with profound changes.

[1] The decline of the social control by unit system

With the ending of rationing system that restricted the mobility of citizens, the state is no longer the only subject for resource distribution; and many resource distributions have been given to market to operate. The marketization has brought more initiative rights and more freely flowing resources to the enterprises, but weaken the units' ability of re-distributing resources under the protection of planned economy system. To acquire the assigned jobs by the state is no longer the only choice for social members, who prefer entering into the mobile society and enterprise, as part of reason that bilateral selection plays a main role in easing the social control by unit system.

[2] The decline of the welfare of unit system

Unit responsibility system, namely the unit welfare of “covering all”, no longer lasted with the marketization. It has to make the welfare socialized, resulting that the medical care, pension, social insurance, housing, and education, etc... are all transferred from units or enterprises to the exterior or the society to be solved through the state social welfare security system or the private insurance. A series of welfare system reform have been carried out in China since the 1990s. In the reform of housing, the Ministry of Finance, along with the leading team of housing reform under the state council and the People's Bank of PRC, jointly issued the *Provisional Regulations on Establishing Housing Accumulation Fund System* in 1994, which has set up the housing accumulation fund system. In the reform of pension insurance system, the state council published *Circular on Establishing Unified Enterprise Staff Basic Pension Insurance System* in 1997, which has set the basic standard of the personal account, enterprise,

⁴⁴⁵ Zheng Hangsheng, Li Lulu, *Social structure of the cities in contemporary China*, Sociological library, 《当代中国城市社会结构, 现状与趋势》, 中国人民大学出版社, 2004.

basic pension and personal pension account of the pension insurance. The pension insurance system has been officially implemented in all the enterprises of the country. In the reform of medical insurance, the State Council issued the *Circular on Establishing Basic Medical Insurance system for Urban Staff* in 1998, which has been carried out in the country. Funded by both units and individuals, the social management fund and personal medical account are set up for registers. While minor expenses for mild disease will be resolved through their personal account, large amount of expenses will be covered by their social management fund in accordance with certain proportion. The State Council also listed pension insurance, medical insurance, employment insurance, and housing accumulation fund as the enterprises' and units' payment, ensuring the legitimacy of the implementation of the social welfare system for “three insurances and one fund”.

[3] The decline of the employment system of unit system

In the era of unit system, the assigned job position was not only an interior operation in the state-owned units, but also an important urban and social function. The state-owned units essentially acted as the subordinate sections to complete the state production quotas of planned economy. With the development of marketization, as enterprises gained dominated status in market, units have had to finish transforming their status as state functional sections to enterprises. The traditional employment system must face the reality of market competitions, which also impose pressure on both enterprises and employees.

[4] The decline of unit community

With the conditions of rationing system, unit community was formed. The community was jointly developed by the state and the unit; the land was provided by the state and the building was funded by the unit. The interior of the unit community was the community complex with work, production, living, and other function space. The unit community formed the famous big unit yard, where people's basic needs of daily life could be satisfied without walking out of it. This type of big unit yard formed a concept of urban planning—‘super economy community’, similar to ‘super economy building’. However, the unit community was built at the cost of mobility and migration, but formed strong community spirit and provided unprecedented safety. With the decline of unit system, the unit community also decayed. This decline not only reflected in its physical realm, but also in its weakened community culture and spirit and an overall shrink of safety that it ever provided.

■ The rise of neighborhood community

With the decline and end of rationing system, unit community changed into community unit. It was a shift from the social unit of production to the administrative unit for land division. In some old

communities, especially in residence communities, the existed housing management stations have been adjusted to changes effectively.⁴⁴⁶ After the privatization of community buildings, many housing management stations have changed into the community residents' committees, which offered daily management and community services. At the same time, the residents' committees communicate and coordinate efficiently with the sub-district administrative offices, from where they get direct orders or even salary payments. However, in some newly developed communities, due to the lack of the basis of community facilities, residents' committees couldn't work efficiently, thus most new communities maintain the daily life of community by employing janitor to serve company and the supervision of the proprietor's committee.⁴⁴⁷ From the past neighborhood transiting into the present space neighborhood, it is also a change from the social functional communication relations to the physical communication relations. Social stratification has emerged and increasingly widened the gaps between rich and poor. Housing buyers of same purchasing power live in same community, causing the social space a great change from its relatively equal status in the past. As far as same economic level people lived in same community, they formed the neighborhood community of the marketization city with their common language in interests and hobbies, living styles and some problems they both faced in community. The neighborhood community's complete disintegration and replacement of the unit community formed the major community space structure in nowadays China.

To compare with unit community:

- (1) neighborhood community does not limit its members' mobility, as community buildings are commodity housing, people can freely move in and out.
- (2) community is no longer a management agency of its members but a service agency.
- (3) members of community gain their autonomous status to become proprietors, and this community built on the basis of proprietors' committee becomes a real grass-rooted residents' autonomous organization.
- (4) unit charge society changes into society charge community.

'Community' was a strange conception to ordinary people in China before the middle of 1980s, when the country's urban space structure was mostly based on the government-allocated housing system. The graded model of human settlements featuring organized functions, which originated from the zoning model of the former Soviet Union's urban development, was adopted around the country. Till today, this kind of residential zone still plays an important role in urban space of Chinese cities.

⁴⁴⁶ He Yanling, *State and society in urban community: an investigation in Le street in China*. 《都市街区中的国家与社会：乐街调查》，social sciences academic press (China), 2007.

⁴⁴⁷ Ibid.

In 1986, Ministry of Civil Affairs of China (MCA), for the first time, put the conception of ‘community’ into official documents and advocated promoting ‘community service’ in cities.

In September, 1987, MCA held a conference on ‘national city community service’ in Wuhan, defining contents of ‘community service’.

‘Community service’ first appears in China law issued on December 26th, 1989. In the document of ‘Organization Laws of City Residents’ Committee of the People’s Republic of China’ approved by the National People’s Congress (NPC), it says that ‘residents’ committee should provide convenient and beneficial ‘community service’ to residents.

On May 31, 1991, Cui Naifu, then minister of MCA, after listening to the report on tasks of grass-roots organizations, pointed out that the grass-roots organizations should focus on work of ‘community construction’. It was the first time of ‘community construction’ to be specified.

In October 1992, China grass-roots organization construction research committee held a seminar on national city community construction theories at Hangzhou lower downtown area, in which the conception of ‘community’ was formally transformed from “service” to “construction”.

In 1999, MCA set up 26 experimental zones of ‘city community construction’.

In 2000, as *Advice from MCA on Advancing National City Community Construction* (issued by the Central Governmental office [2000] No. 23) says, by the end of 1999, China had 667 cities, 749 city-districts, 5904 sub-district offices, 115,000 residents’ committees.

In March, 2001, ‘community construction’ was listed in the program of the 10th National five-year development plan.

In November, 2002, ‘community construction’ was written in the 16th China Communist Party (CCP) Report, in which it says, “improving ‘city residents’ autonomy, constructing new community of sound management and civilized and harmonious atmosphere.

In Chinese cities, there are city and city-district in two classifications of administration and two city

geographic zones.⁴⁴⁸ The city-district administrative zone is the first level government, leading the sub-district / or street office executing administration and local police station safeguarding the zone. So, sub-district office was an agency below the state authority but above community.⁴⁴⁹ Therefore, the structure of three administrative levels, namely city-district, sub-district, and community of residents committee, was formed in Chinese cities.

In view of urban physical space, China's urban residential district plan was divided into three classifications according to population number, as it shows in the following table:

	residential district	residence compound	dwelling group
households	10,000-15,000	2000-4000	300-
population	30,000-50,000	7000-15000	1000-3000

Table 3-1: Residential district classification control scale. source: Code of urban residential district planning & design GB50180-93, 1994.

According to *Organization Laws of City Residents' Committee of the People's Republic of China* (Article 6), residents committee should be set up generally with the number of households ranging from 100 to 700. Thus, it can say that, residents committee is constructed above dwelling group—the smallest residential space unit in city planning. According to *Organization Byelaw of City sub-district office* (Article 2), a city-district of population over 100,000 or a city without any city-district should have sub-district office... a city-district of population below 50,000 and a city without any city-district should have no sub-district office. It is apparent that, the scale of sub-district, in terms of physical space, is similar to that of residential district. In other words, a sub-district office has a population from 30,000 to 50,000. Let's say that a community of residents' committee has 3000 people, then a sub-district office rules about ten residents' committees.

In view of urban social space, space of community is organized in light of 'residents' committee'. According to the *Organization Laws of City Residents' Committee of the People's Republic of China* (Article 2), residents' committee is an autonomous organization of the mass, with the aim to realize residents' self-management, self-education and self-service. Government of those cities without city-district or government of city-district, and its branch body should instruct, support and help the residents' committee.

⁴⁴⁸ He Yanling, *State and society in urban community: an investigation in Le street in China*. 《都市街区中的国家与社会：乐街调查》，social sciences academic press (China), 2007. P.58.

⁴⁴⁹ Ibid.

In *The Example City District Standard of National Community Service* (Article 22 and 23) issued by Ministry of Civil Affairs of China (MCA) in 1995, it says that city-district of mainland city should have a multifunctional community service center, with an architecture area of over 1000 square meters; a sub-district should have at least one multifunctional community service center, with an architecture area of 10 square meters per 1000 resident; Quite a few cities set the rule that, the architecture area of a community service station of Residents' Committee should reach up to 30 square meters.

According to the general principle of 'the *UDC State Standard, Code of urban residential district planning & design* (GB50180-93, 1994, Article 1: General Rules 1.0.3.): City residential district planning should assort with its administration management system. That is to say, the population of dwelling group 'should be identical to that of administration scale of residents' committee (ranging from 1000 to 3000 resident); the population of residential district should be identical to that of administration scale of sub-district office (ranging from 30,000 to 50,000 resident). In this way, it is not only convenient to the organization and management of residents' life, but to the corresponding setting of management facilities.'⁴⁵⁰

The organization structure of space planning in Chinese cities can be divided into the following two categories, with residential district of 50,000 people:

- [1] dwelling group → residence compound → residential district [three-level planning structure]
- [2] dwelling group → residential district [two-level planning structure]

The former is of three-level corresponded setting and three-level structure, while the latter is of three-level corresponded setting and two-level structure.

⁴⁵⁰ Code of urban residential district planning & design GB50180-93, 1994.P55.

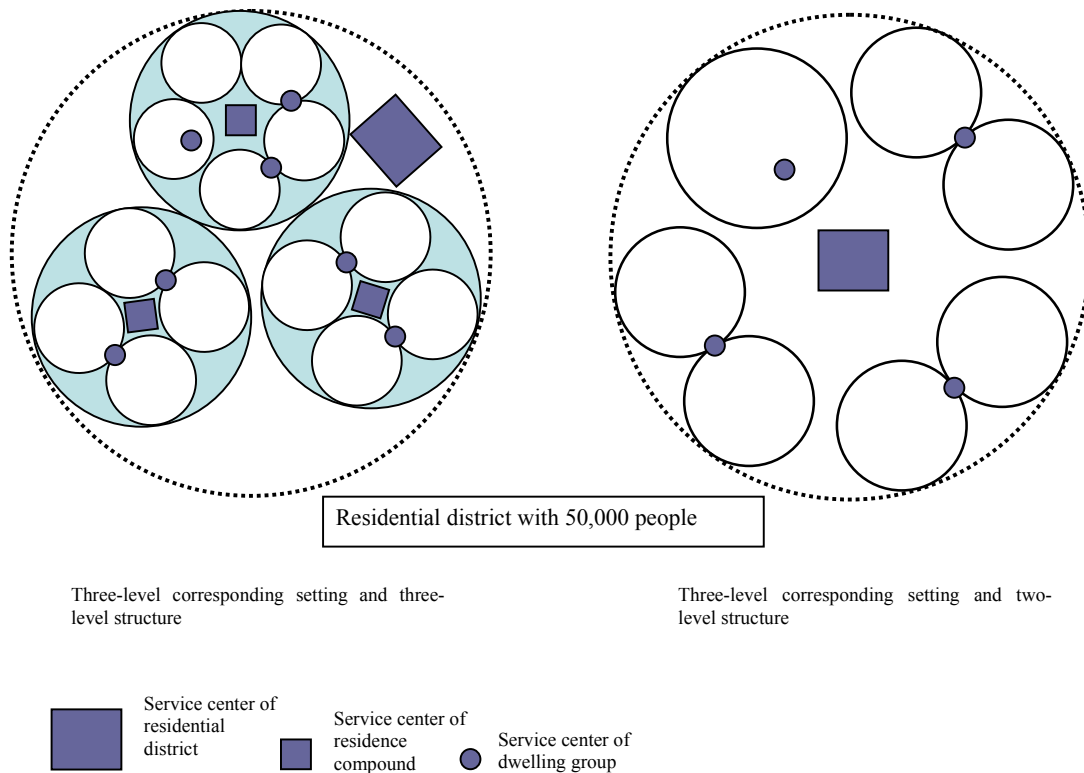


Figure 3-3: Chinese urban residential district spatial structure. source: author creation.

The combination of this space planning principle and city administration structure has resulted in forming basic social space structure of the Chinese cities. The most popular structure is the second category as mentioned before, that is of ‘three-level corresponded setting and two-level structure’. The ‘three-level corresponded setting’ refers to three-level requirements of residents to meet their basic needs for living. There are requirements of grass-root services (of dwelling group), like residents’ committee, comprehensive service station; requirement of the settings for basic establishments (of residence compound), like primary school, community shop, shop for life necessities; and requirements of having a set of physical and cultural establishments (of residential district), like department store, clinic and culture center.⁴⁵¹

The ‘two-level structure’ refers to the administrative zone of resident-committee community which established among dwelling groups and the administrative zone of sub-district office which established among residential district.⁴⁵²

⁴⁵¹ Code of urban residential district planning & design GB50180-93, 1994.P.55.

⁴⁵² Ibid. P.55.

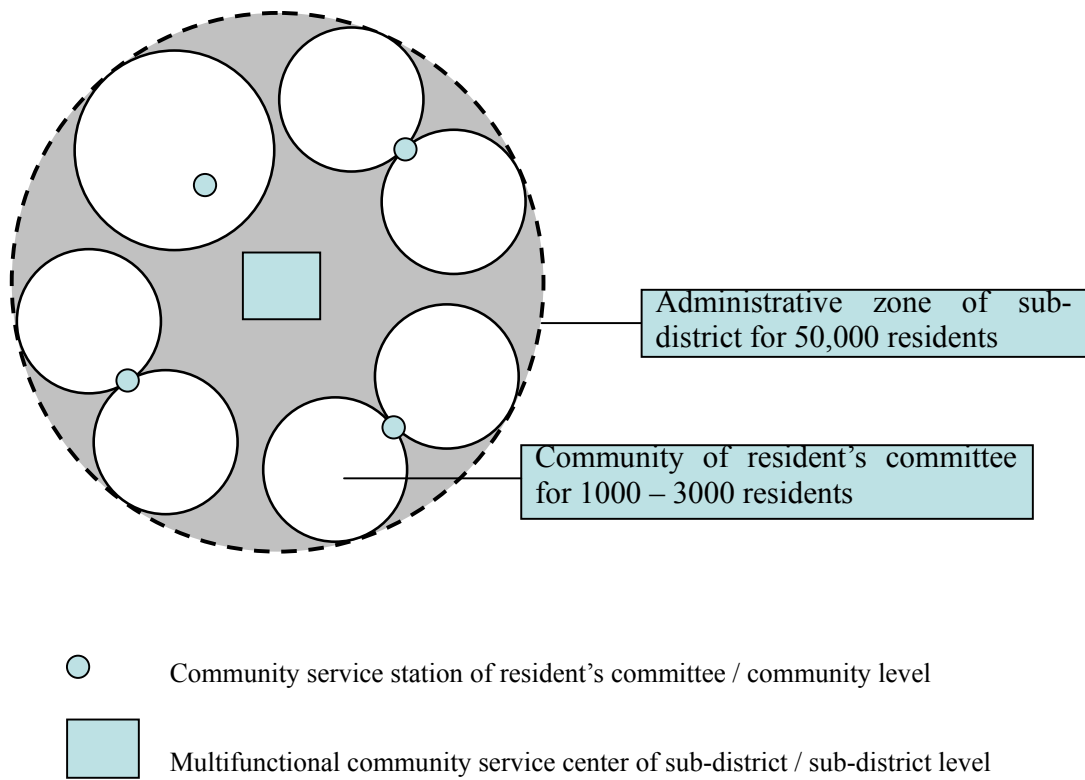


Figure 3-4: Chinese urban residential district social structure. source: author creation.

Generally speaking, every city or city-district has about ten sub-district offices, which have a population of 200,000 and 500,000 in some megacities, like Beijing and Shanghai, whose city-district usually has over 10 sub-district offices, with a population of 500,000, or sometimes even over 1,000,000. Due to the fast growth in city population, the sub-district office actually has taken over the function of the first level government city-district. Therefore, we can see the following city socio-spatial structure, which was named Average Round Mode by CHE Fei.

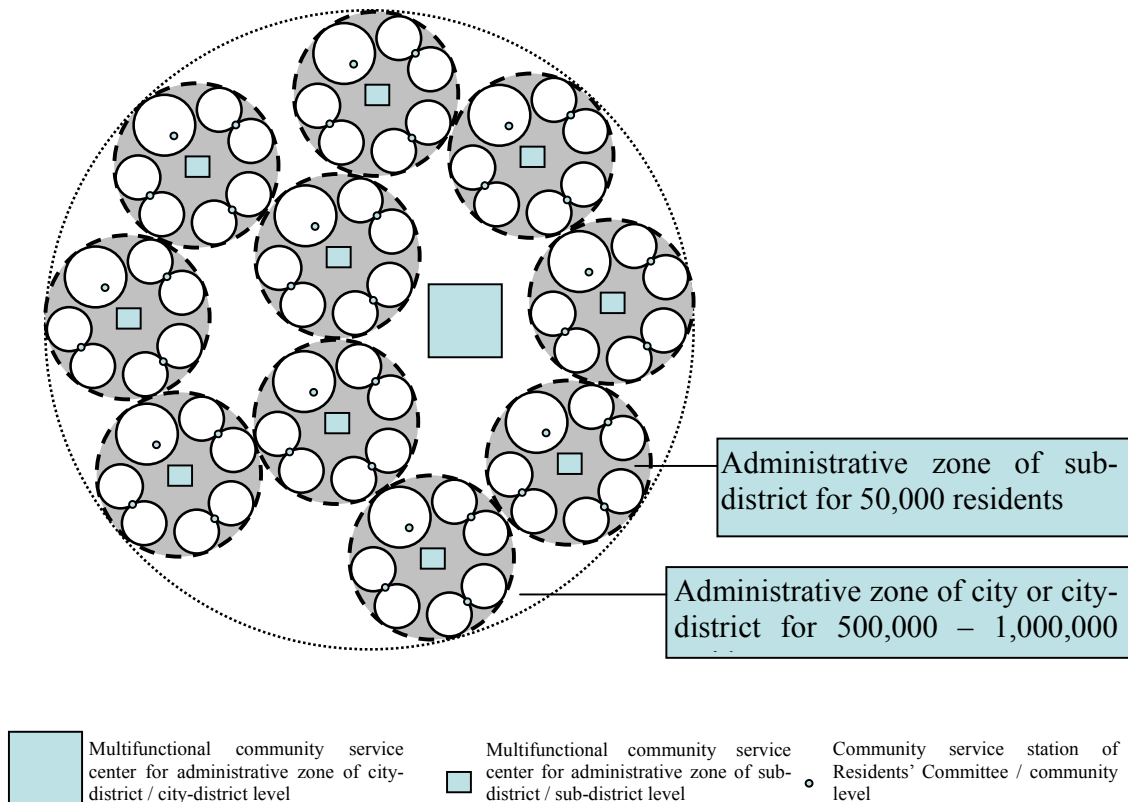


Figure 3-5: *Average Round Mode* (named by author): Chinese urban socio-spatial structure. source: author creation.

In this way, a city-district has four-level setting (of dwelling group, of housing estate, of residential district and of city-district) and three-level structure. (residents’ committee, sub-district office and city-district government)

Summary

With the adoption of the one-child policy nationwide, China has gradually moved into an ageing society, with the family—the basis of community space becoming small and small. Large house in old days with several generations and many offspring living together is shrunk. It is estimated that China will have more single-parent families and single households in the future. More surprisingly, “bed company”⁴⁵³, an extreme social phenomenon, even appeared in some large Chinese cities. Some people chose a heterosexual person as their sexual company, but their actual lives are not connected to each other at all. They formed the non-committal “bed company” instead of the legitimate family. To be clear, “bed company” is an association based on sexual relationship instead of the undivided community based on

⁴⁵³ Note: bed company in Chinese: “床伴”

intimate partnership. The emerging of the extreme phenomenon of “bed company” indicates that the smallest community of family in big cities of China is faced with the danger or tendency of being associalized, and other social members have to risk the danger of being atomized and bear greater social pressure.

Besides, nowadays China is also faced with dilemma created by its land development strategy, which emphasized ‘destroying old communities to build new ones’.⁴⁵⁴ That is to say, local governments can keep demolishing old communities to gain profits from land; real estate developers can make profits from building commodity housing; real estate speculators can make money by stocking commodity housing; in this process, a profit chain of land development was formed in the basis of such a strange logic—‘destroying old communities to build new ones’. Community is not only a physical space but also a social space, in which members help each other and build close relationship to reinforce the community. The strength of community spirit and culture ensures the stability and harmony of society, as this kind of spirit and culture is based on the long-term understanding, respect, mutual help, and trust among members, which can never be made in a short time. But when a society keeps disintegrating these kinds of community spirit and community culture through a non-stop urban development planning, residence community development, and real estate development, the so-called harmony can only be built on interests and regulations instead of understanding and trust. It has become increasingly harder to develop community spirit and culture in present neighborhood community. Sooner or later neighborhood communities in China would definitely be haunted by indifference and self-closure.

3.2.4 Case study: Sandglass space / Fangzhuang Community

⁴⁵⁴ Zhang Jingxiang, Luo Zhendong, He Jianyi, *Institutional transition and restructuring of Chinese urban space*. 《体制转型与中国城市空间重构》, 东南大学出版社, 2007. P.59.



Figure 3-6: the master plan for Fangzhuang residential community, 2000. resource: http://shixi.bnu.edu.cn/field-trips/human/hum_bj/fangzhuangtu1.htm



Map 3-1: fangzhuang community, resource: google earth map. 2009.



Photo 3-4: Fangzhuang community, the most of buildings in the view are residential housing. 2009. resource: author

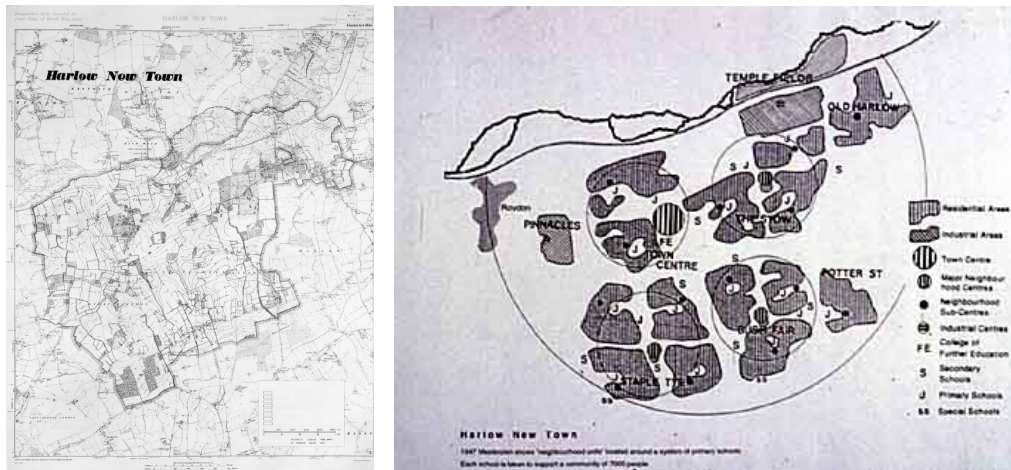
On Aug.23rd, 1984, Beijing Municipal Government approved construction plan of Fangzhuang Community, which was the first large community in mid-1980s and the first open community in Beijing.⁴⁵⁵ It symbolized the transfer of Chinese residential housing system from the welfare allocated housing in planned economy to commodity housing in market-oriented economy. Since the establishment of Fangzhuang Community, most of its planning concepts have then become examples for other Chinese urban residential community construction.

In early 1980s, when China's transformation of planned economy to market-oriented economy was at its initial stage, it had made many important innovations on some detailed practical cases according to Deng Xiaoping's famous reform theories, such as 'groping stones to cross river', which says it must be brave in

⁴⁵⁵ Zhao Wenkai and Kai Yan, *60 Years of Community Planning in China*, 《中国住区规划发展60年历程与展望》, [online] available at: http://wenku.baidu.com/link?url=iGVTNwFK5EN401pmvPIWRQ9IU7uQvYtLhyT2edA0JLNtYERYx_tZHgBU9AQWkrMImPuSY8jlaUhXcWOLxy7RnJQmtlg_nAyOB4Zc-FHMvC

exploring the way to reform. After being approved effective in practice, many ideas had been adopted in some frontal reform regions such as the development of the Shenzhen Special Zone. The planning of Fangzhuang Community was just such kind of innovation with far-reaching influence. In today's China, there are many residential communities originated from the model of Fangzhuang around the country. In the 1980s, when China's transformation of unit community to neighboring community and public housing to commodity housing came to a turning point, Fangzhuang Community took the chance to lead the transformation, pointing out the direction of the urbanization development in the whole country.⁴⁵⁶

Free from the foreign-residence concept imported from overseas after China's implementation of reform and opening up, the social-spatial transformation of community of Fangzhuang Community was based on local social space resources and borrowed from foreign case development plans. As far as the residential community plan was considerate, Fangzhuang Community, in a way, adopted the framework of neighborhood community plan of former Soviet Union in times of planned economy, including the establishment of various living standards and economy layout plans, and combined with local demands, such as façade direction, lighting and apartment area. In addition, Fangzhuang Community took some western cases for reference, including Harlow, a satellite city of London.⁴⁵⁷ Founded in 1947, the Harlow new town had a population of 88,000 in 2001, its initial plan was to accommodate a population of 60,000 and cover an area of 20,000km².⁴⁵⁸



Map 3-2: POST WAR PLANNING AND RECONSTRUCTION IN BRITAIN HARLOW NEW TOWN, resource:

<http://media.iwm.org.uk/iwm/mediaLib/26/media-26829/large.jpg?action=d&cat=photographs>

Figure 3-7: The Harlow planning concept. 'Neighbourhood units' developed around a grid of primary schools. resource:

⁴⁵⁶ Ibid.

⁴⁵⁷ Hu Wen, *The principle and design method of residential area planning*. 《居住区规划原理与设计方法》, 中国建筑工业出版社, 2007.

⁴⁵⁸ Tan Ming-hong, Li Xiu-bin, *The development of new town in London metropolitan area and its implications for urban development in China*, *Economic Geography*, VOL 30, No11. P.1085.

http://www.presidentsmedals.com/showcase/1999/1/145_1.jpg

To guarantee the independence of the new town, Harlow is from the central London 40km away. As a reference case, Harlow had a similar scale of population size to Fangzhuang Community. Despite the planning of Harlow as a satellite city of London was considered in that of Fangzhuang, unlike Harlow, Fangzhuang is set in the central Beijing.⁴⁵⁹ Therefore, the planning of Fangzhuang was for a large new residential zone in close suburb Beijing rather than a satellite city of Beijing. Obviously this urban planning concept on community division was derived from the urban planning concept of planned economy. The planning of Harlow was aimed at realizing a balanced development of residence and employment, as the employment rate in its new town was over 85% than that in its old town. However, Fangzhuang was made of being a large residence community, where 100,000 populations inhabited with a few commercial accessory facilities available.⁴⁶⁰ This standardized Fangzhuang model is prevailed in local residence community planning and urbanization development, but it has also laid the basis for today's dissoluble traffic jam in Beijing.

■ The background of Fangzhuang Community

Fangzhuang Community is located at the southern side of the ancient city of Beijing between the 2nd south ring and the 3rd south ring, occupying the area around Puhuangyu Road (west), Fangzhuang Road of Zuoanmenwai (east), Fangzhuang Bridge (south) and the Longtanhu moat (north). It is one of the over ten new rural residence communities of Beijing developed in the 1980s. Covering an area of about 20,000km², it was planned and designed in 1984 and constructed in June 1985. The 4 central sub-residential communities of Fanggu Garden, Fangqun Garden, Fangcheng Garden and Fangxing Garden were completed in June, 1998. Added with Zifang Garden and Fangchengdongli Community which were later developed, Fangzhuang Community was enlarged to have an area of 5.53km² in 2009, including 15 community residential committees, 363 residential buildings and about 103,000 residents.⁴⁶¹ Fangzhuang is the largest residential construction program of Beijing since New China was founded in 1949. Under the guidance of the planning principles of function modernization, housing commercialization and living socialization, Fangzhuang has grown into the most modern residential community in Beijing and even in China, and the model of urban residential housing development in China's fast urbanization.

⁴⁵⁹ Notes: Zhao Zhijing, former Beijing Municipal Commission of Urban Planning, said that Fangzhuang was chosen for it is closest to Tiananmen Square.

⁴⁶⁰ Tan Minghong, Li Xiushan, *the inspiration for our urban development by new town plan of London metropolitans'*. 《伦敦都市区新城发展及其对我国城市发展的启示》, 《经济地理》, 2010, 30 (11) P. 1085.

⁴⁶¹ Hu Wen, *The principle and design method of residential area planning*. 《居住区规划原理与设计方法》, 中国建筑工业出版社, 2007.

The land of Fangzhuang Community used to belong to the Puhuangyu Group of Nanyuan Commune. Most locals there were then farmers who lived on vegetable planting and poultry breeding.⁴⁶² The name of Fangzhuang was given by the village of Fangjiazhuang. At the west stood the uniform residential area of Beijing, and at the east is the rural and urban residential area at the east. By the end of 1989, the first batch of residents moved into the Community. Differed from former construction of unit housing, Fangzhuang Community collected capitals from the society and adopted several operation modes including pre-selling, joint-venture and association, running of constructing and selling simultaneously, and finishing one batch of buildings and selling them out. The total investment on Fangzhuang Community has reached RMB4.2 billion.⁴⁶³ To realize the primary development principle of municipal administration, the Beijing city government allotted 0.1 billion RMB to the initial stage development of the project. Fangzhuang Community was the first commercial residential housing spatial product for the newly-emerged Chinese real estate market, which was an early-development market comprised of some units and several individuals at that time. The commercial spatial products of Fangzhuang Community were far from diversity as today's community that must adapt to gradually changing and subtle commodity housing market. Despite of this, Fangzhuang Community echoed the forming real-estate market by dividing the selling price into 3 levels of A, B and C.⁴⁶⁴ When it started selling in 1986, there were three different prices such as 1,700-1,800RMB/m² for class A housing, 1,400-1,500RMB/m² for class B housing and 700-800RMB/m² for class C housing. As the market reform preceded throughout the 1980's, between the late 1980s and the early 1990s,⁴⁶⁵ those who first got rich in reform came to purchase the housing in Fangzhuang Community, along with the state departments and affiliated companies. Differed from relatively homogeneous unit housing, Fangzhuang's neighborhood community has shown its diversity, which is mainly displayed in clusters of several building group or differences among neighborhood compounds. For instance,⁴⁶⁶ the 2nd zone of Fangcheng Garden gathered the residents from the Ministry of Agriculture, the former Ministry of Electronic Power, the former Ministry of Mineral Resources, the Ministry of Foreign Affairs, the NPC, China Academy of Science and Beijing Municipal Administration of Cultural Relics, most of them are high or middle-ranked cadres. Fangcheng Garden and Fanggu Garden centered many celebrities, rich, intellectual and figures from the art circle. To make compensations to local farmers, the real estate developers provided some buildings in Fangqun Garden and Fangxing Garden located at the south of Fangzhuang rotary island. Therefore, there were more re-

⁴⁶² Zhang Shuling, Fangzhuang, *25 years of the first commodity housing community in China*, 《方庄, 第一个商品房小区的25年》, 《京华时报》(2009年8月24日第014版). [online] available at: http://paper.people.com.cn/jhsb/html/2009-08/24/content_326501.htm

⁴⁶³ Ibid.

⁴⁶⁴ Ibid.

⁴⁶⁵ Ibid.

⁴⁶⁶ Ibid.

locators in Fangqun Garden and Fangxing Garden. With the consistent development and sales of Fangzhuang, the community appeared more diverse neighborhood relations. The development of Fangzhuang Community was a process of Beijing's transition from unit community into neighborhood space community.

■ The planning of community space development

The central area of Fangzhuang Community looks like a square, which is evenly divided into 4 parts by a cross, including Fanggu Garden, Fangqun Garden, Fangcheng Garden and Fangxing Garden. With the Fangzhuang rotary island in center, the cross meets the 2nd ring road and the 3rd ring road at the two ends of southern and northern. A 30m-wide ring road, which is designed between the island and the community, connects the 4 compounds together. The 4 compounds are further divided into 13 residential clusters and Fangzhuang Sports Park by the branch roads. Though the ring road connects the geometrical centers of the 4 compounds together, it is hard to realize smooth ring-like traffic road due to the division of the cross, which is the main lane for traffic flow. What's more, the rotary island at the center of the ring roads is closed rather than open as interior parklands. As a result, the ring roads linking the compounds become the branches that connect the garden to the main lanes, the introverted community spatial structure is hard to produce spatial cohesion, and the clusters and compounds are separated from each other.

There are hundreds of buildings and tens of thousands of residential houses in the 13 clusters. The primary basis of the household design of these residence followed the principle of economy, according to standards of China residence before 1976, the household floor area of two bed rooms and one living room is no more than 52m².⁴⁶⁷ Despite the household floor area was increased to 55m² in Qiansanmen residential compound built in 1978,⁴⁶⁸ it was still only 57m² on average in initially planned buildings of Fangzhuang, with their story height being decreased to 2.7m from 3.0m. To save land resources, most buildings in Fangzhuang Community are 25-29 floors with elevators, which are arranged in a compact style with lifts in center to maximize their efficiency.⁴⁶⁹ Thus, economy multi-floor buildings and garden compounds formed Fangzhuang Community. With the developing of market economy and the booming of social mobility in China, the over standardized household floor area originated from the unit allocated dorm-housing no longer meet the increasing market demands, so the urban residential housing product began branching many types. Like various commodities on market such as living necessities, mid-class products and luxurious products, housing prices of Fangzhuang Community are also adjusted by market.

⁴⁶⁷ Liu Qi, *Contemporary Chinese residential housing economy*, 《当代中国住宅经济》, 中国建筑工业出版社, 1992. P.27.

⁴⁶⁸ Ibid.

⁴⁶⁹ Zhao Le, Guo Jinsheng, *View and Expectation on Design of Residential Tower in Beijing*, 《北京地区塔式高层住宅设计的回顾与展望》, 《城市建筑》2009 (1).

■The development of social space

In May 1985, Fangzhuang sub-district office separated from the Dongtiejiangying Sub-district Office was opened.⁴⁷⁰ After the completion of the entire Fangzhuang Community projects, it faced a problem of how to maintain its operations as a first commercial residential community in China.

Residents bonded to the unit responsibility system and the old monopolizing system in planned economy time were mixed with private property owners from the emerging market of real-estate. Although the market economy system has freed individuals from their bond to unit community, the old urban rationing system didn't go away. As a result, the community management based on rationing system had to be transformed into the community services based on market system. However, the transformation is two-way bound. On one hand, the rationing system was changed by the operation of market to provide highly-efficient services; on the other hand, the new communities were confronted with the penetration of government powers to provide highly-efficient management. Under the pressure of the market, the management and maintenance departments for old unit housing had to transfer to the property management companies for private property owners. In December 1990,⁴⁷¹ Shoukai Group established the 2nd Real Estate Management and Operation Company for Fangzhuang community. On Apr. 26th, 1995,⁴⁷² the Company was changed to Fangzhuang Property Company by following service concept, which was the first property management company in Beijing. Many of its staff had been officials of the former Real Estate Management Office, who became staff of private property management enterprises from agents and managers of unit residential housing. However, the newly-formed property management companies were basically lack of service skills, as most of its staff came from the former real estate management companies as civil officer, making it uneasy for them in new status as social service company workers to serve the private property owners. The power relation between the two parties was dramatically substituted; the property management company had their staff become service worker from allocated housing administrators, whereas their residents become property owners from allotted housing recipients. Apparently the reason was because that the property management company could no longer make money from the government but from the private property owners who decided the worth of its service quality. The private property owners were beginning to think how to make use of the property companies. As a result, property owner committees were founded in many communities and expected to realize self-

⁴⁷⁰ Zhang Shuling, Fangzhuang, *25 years of the first commodity housing community in China*, 《方庄, 第一个商品房小区的25年》, 《京华时报》(2009年8月24日第014版). [online] available at: http://paper.people.com.cn/jhsb/html/2009-08/24/content_326501.htm

⁴⁷¹ Ibid.

⁴⁷² Ibid.

governing and common decision-making, and even decide to change the property company if necessary.

Faced with this down to up power change, the local governments were also thinking how to strengthen the management of newly-built communities with private property owners. In the planned economy era, sub-district offices were the minimum governmental organizations in cities, with units playing the bridge role between offices and individuals. However, after the withdrawal of units from private owner communities, it became a major issue on how to establish connections between urban management and each individual. There are over 100,000 lives under the administration of Fangzhuang Sub-district Office,⁴⁷³ and it is impossible solely depended on the office to manage such a number of populations. Therefore, neighborhood committees, namely the self-governance organizations for community residents in the past, have become the bridge connecting residents and offices. The neighborhood committees fulfilled and expanded part of management functions of the former real estate management offices, and begun to implement many management functions including birth control and policy transmission, etc. Meanwhile, the committees also grew into the activity centers for basic CPC organizations. The sub-district offices maintained the development of neighborhood committees by assigning coordinators, providing financial subsidies and salaries, etc. Thus, local governments also established a set of management systems from up to down power change in accordance with to the social estate system of residential community planning. For instance, Fangzhuang Community is under the Fangzhuang Sub-district Office; 15 clusters of Fangzhuang Community have 15 neighborhood committees; and hundreds of residential buildings have hundreds of residential building committees.⁴⁷⁴

⁴⁷³ Beijing Fangzhuang sub-district office, [online] available at: <http://fzjd.bjft.gov.cn/>

⁴⁷⁴ Ibid.

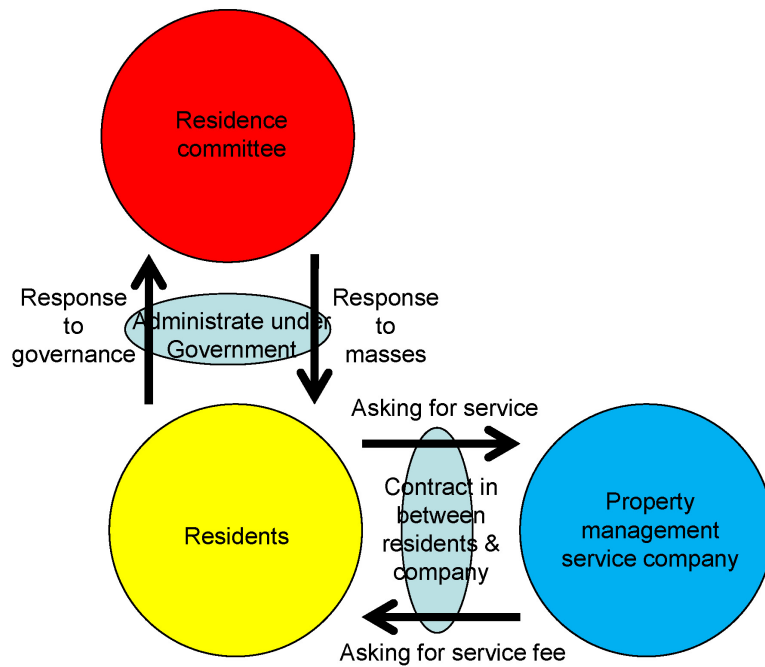


Figure 3-8: dual social structure in zhuangqunyuan 2nd compound that are: the vertical social structure in between residence committee and residents, horizontal social structure in between residents and property management service company. both of them were not working well, even many residents did not knew their job. source: author creation.

Due to its dual system setting, Fangzhuang Community was faced with two different tensions in two-way transitions from the community management system based on allocation system to community service system based on market. The two opposite tensions included the down-up power transition from private property owner committee to property management company, and the up-down power transition from sub-district office to neighborhood committee.

■ Corridor neighborhood

on 2009, Fangqunyuan 2nd compound of fangzhuang community was surveyed by author. fangqunyuan is one residence compound of fangzhaung community. the total residential area are 192,800M2. common green area are 51,100M2. it has 18 residential building with 6,776 permanent resident population within 2,421 householder.⁴⁷⁵

⁴⁷⁵ Beijing Fangzhuang sub-district office, [online] available at: <http://fzjd.bjft.gov.cn/>



Map 3-3: Fangxunyuuan 2nd compound of fangzhuang community. resource: google earth map.2009. source: author creation.

according to the survey by author in 2009, Fangqunyuuan 2nd compound was in the process of their socio-spatial transition.

organizing orientation: settlement space

the residence compound were consisted of 18 residence buildings and some other functional buildings. the whole compound were built over 20 years until 2009.⁴⁷⁶ compare with other Beijing residence, it is a quite old compound. the price of this housing was also lower than other surroundings. in this case, the former upper class apartment housing were going to decline. many original resident were moving out, and the poor and elder resident were left. the new immigrant were moved in. they are new Beijinger, and normally came from working class. more and more immigrants choose to rent the flats than buy it. the old neighbor net work were going to break as well as they moved out and lost connections each other. due to rising prices, more people try to rent and share with one flat. even some householder renovate one 2 or 3 rooms flat into 6 or 7 rooms for make money. all of this made whole compound worse: more young and poor immigrant came in, more original middle class moved out. floating population bring many questions to compound, for example: crimes rising, default property management fee, dispute between lessee and owner. both of residence committee and housing property management service company are more and more difficult to maintain the compound whatever physical or mental.

⁴⁷⁶ Ibid.



Figure 3-9: the plan of Fangxunyuan 2nd compound, the total residential area are 192,800M2. common green area are 51,100M2. it has 18 residential building with 6,776 permanent resident population within 2,421 householder. source: author creation.

organizing structure



Photo 3-5: Home inside, Home field survey in fangqunyuan 2nd compound, 2009. source: author



Photo 3-6: corridor inside of residential building, neighborhood field survey in fangqunyuan 2nd compound, 2009. source: author

Photo 3-7: open space inside of compound, compound field survey in fangqunyuan 2nd compound, 2009. source: author

Home: family is going to small scale. the most of lessee of flat were unmarried and single, the multi-generational families were more and more less. the people who lived there were more and more dependent on social insurance but not by family. the home life were changing from labor to recreation. the old regeneration watch TV, the new enjoy internets. for many home, common time is shrinking, but private time is rising.

neighborhood:

according to 20 Questionnaire:

the most happening of neighborhood life in Fangqunyuan 2nd compound were consisted of 3 things:

- [1] say hello, in situations of: rush hour; shopping; cares children; pick up children to school; sport etc.
- [2] chat, in situations of: home in chat because of short talk, chat out of home at corridor for example.
- [3] clean neighborhood common space at corridor.

high density collective housing base on the economical building model were built. people has minimal common space in the building to has maximal private home space as well as. the minimal common space means that the most least neighborhood life they would had. the narrow corridor is the container for the most of neighborhood life. if one people try to occupy little bit space in the common corridor for private use for example store something or bicycle, the neighborhoods will do the same. it made a vicious circle. because many people were moved out to some other place, the traditional acquaintance neighborhood were in the process of disintegration. the original acquaintance neighborhood of Fangqunyuan 2nd compound were came from: same one working unit, local landless farmer re-immigrants etc. now the neighborhood were going to do not know and do not want to know each other. for this reason, burglar grille and burglar gate is popular in the building and out of the building. the neighborhood eyes were older and less.

compound community:

compound-community space has a large green area in the open space. due to lack of commerce space which based on the original land use system and zoning plan of Fangzhuang community plan by government, floating vegetable and fruit or chandlery peddlery were came into compound open space. they bring convenience to the people who live here, but also bring many social problem to the compound. it rise the costing of compound maintains, but depress the income of compound from other legally commerce activity. because the most of floating peddlery were tax evasion. in the process of losing the

original owners, the residence committees were more and more hard to work with the stranger faces, because residence committees were used to work with unit in the city or collective production team in the village. but now, both of them were functionless. in the mean time, the housing property management service company were harder too. because only some householder choose to pay and make contract with them. there are many apartment still belong to unit or collectivity. the ownership of housing in Fangqunyuan 2nd compound were complicated because of the process of Chinese urban housing reform. in this compound, there are many different housing ownership under public, private or collectivity. few contracts made harder to the housing property management service company, then they reduced their service. it made worse feedback from people and were going to a vicious circle.

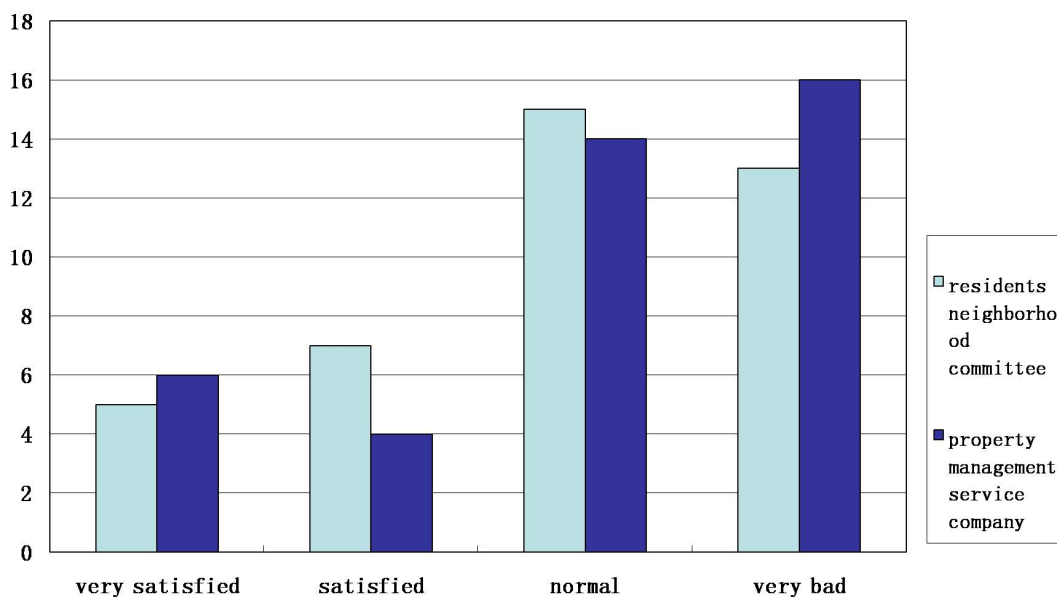


Table 3-2: questionnaire survey by 40 people of Fangxunyuan 2nd compound. for crimes happening in the community, do they satisfied for residents neighborhood committee which sponsored by local government sub-district office and property management service company that sponsored by local people. most crimes were burglary and bicycle stolen. 2009. source: author creation.

organizing base: common & particular

because the Fangzhuang community is the first commercial residential building in Beijing and China, everything was in the process of reform, the usage right of land and space did not clear until now. it made big problem for the community. the most of owner of apartment or local people cannot distinguish the boundary or different in between public ownership space and common ownership space. only very few lasted constructed compound (around 2000) in Fangzhuang community were total fenced community under the security control, is separated their compound space from municipal usage street space. in this compound normal has wonderful landscape garden and nice maintains. but in Fangqunyuan and many

similar compound, the gate community securities performed practically no function. illegal building can be seen everywhere in the compound, even some of them were going to legal in the chaotic housing reform history. it makes the situations more complicated.

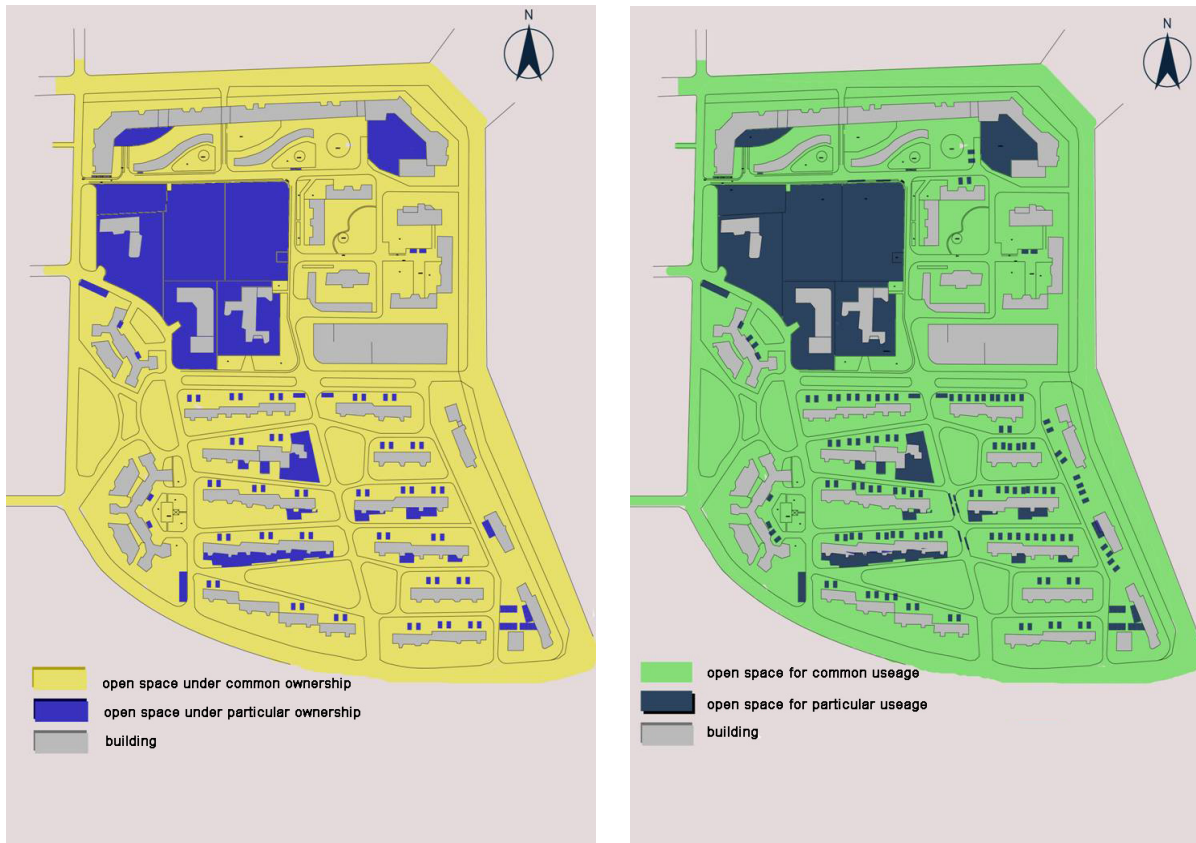


Figure 3-10: the open space under common ownership and particular ownership of Fangxunyuan 2nd compound. 2009. source: author creation.

Figure 3-11: the open space for common use and particular use of Fangxunyuan 2nd compound.2009. source: author creation.

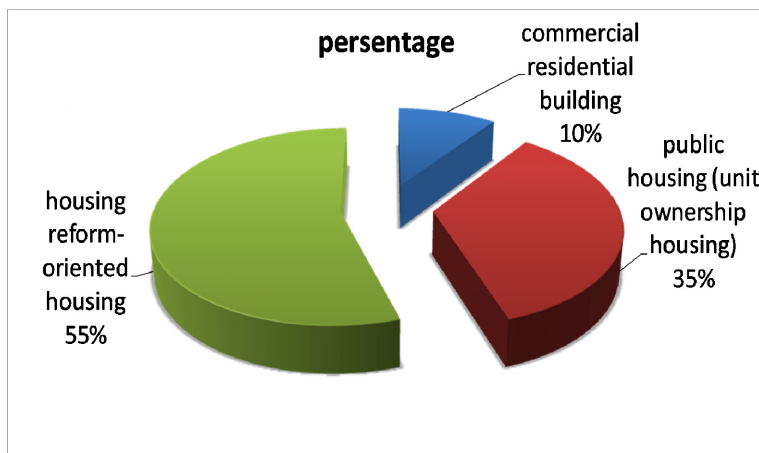
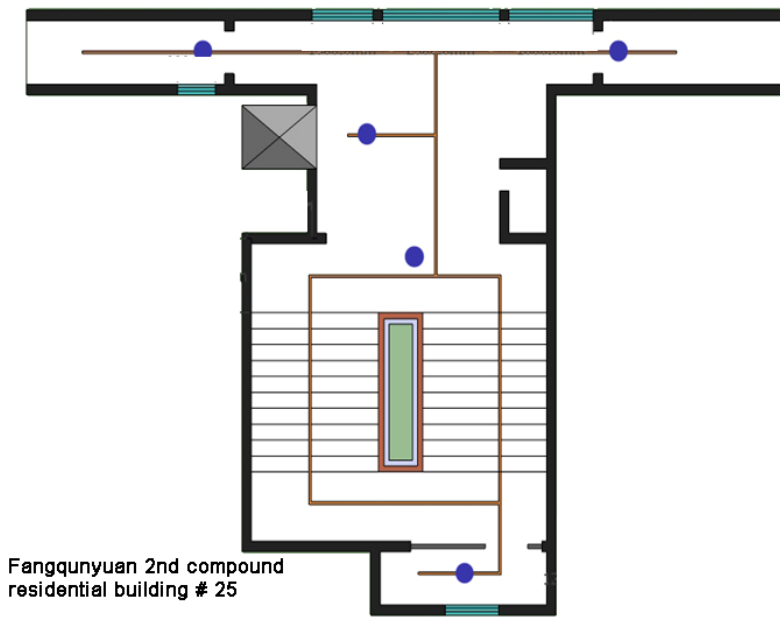
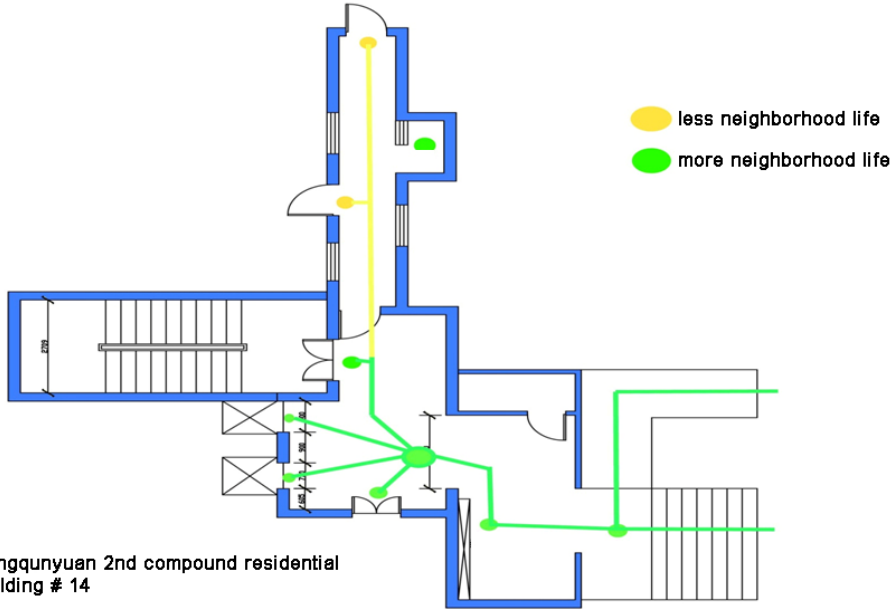


Table 3-3: the housing property ownership percentage of Fangxunyuan 2nd compound. data resource: data by Fangqunyuan 2nd

compound property management service company.2009. source: author creation.

corridor neighborhood:



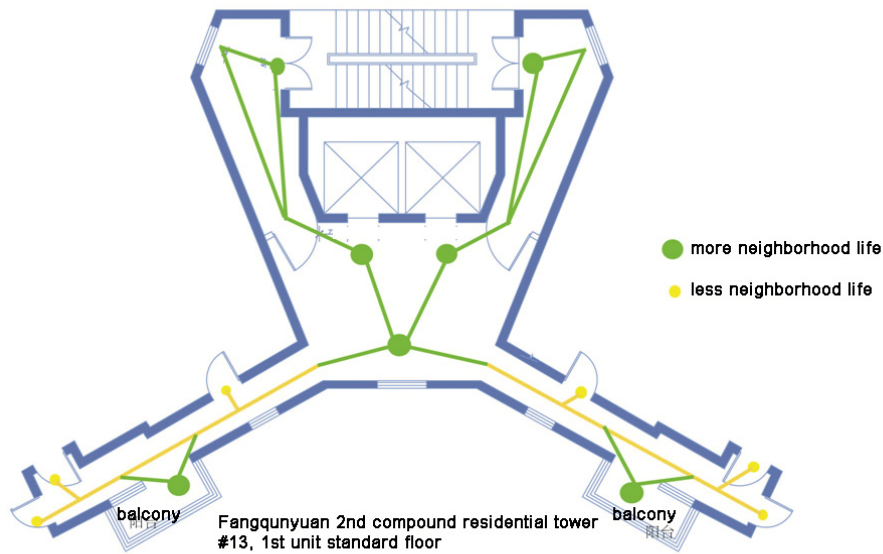


Figure 3-12: corridor neighborhood of residential building #14 in fangqunyuan 2nd compound, 2009. source: author creation.

Figure 3-13: corridor neighborhood of residential building #25 in fangqunyuan 2nd compound, 2009. source: author creation.

Figure 3-14: corridor neighborhood of residential tower #13 in fangqunyuan 2nd compound, 2009. source: author creation.

finally, the Fangqunyuan 2nd compound and those represented compounds became to corridor neighborhood, neither unit comrade neighborhood nor garden yard neighborhood. For the apparent reason were the people's selfish and indifference, but for the deeper reason were people did not find a reason to be dense and collective live together but finance capability. in the corridor neighborhood, the people retreat from common space into their private space, and leave their responsibility to others (property management service company) or government (residence committee). a sustainable publics is hard to becoming but to have a helpless masses under a corridor neighborhood society.

■ The sandglass space: corridor neighborhood

The planning prototype of Fangzhuang Community was not according to the “garden city” in downtown center, but the Radburn compound plan.⁴⁷⁷ The similarity to the Radburn compound plan is that Fangzhuang Community consisted of several levels of neighborhood, cluster and compound. But differed from the Radburn compound plan's basis of private house, Fangzhuang Community's basis of economy high-rising buildings was aimed at solving the housing problem that then Beijing residents faced with. As a result, the high dense collective neighborhood living space replaced the low dense garden neighborhood

⁴⁷⁷ Tan Minghong, Li Xiushan, *the inspiration for our urban development by new town plan of London metropolitans'*. 《伦敦都市区新城发展及其对我国城市发展的启示》, 《经济地理》, 2010, 30 (11) P. 1085.

living space. What's more, Fangzhuang Community simply changed the Radburn compound plan's 1-2 floors single houses to the 25-29 floors collective building, but remained community environmental systems such as open grassland, circular communication and central public grassland. The style of Fangzhuang Community became the blueprint of most communities in China with high-rising residential buildings, gated communities and neighborhood villa compounds. For those common seen high-rising residential buildings in Fangzhuang Community, each floor of building consisted of neighborhood, whose narrow corridors consisted of neighborhood space of residents. Differed from the Radburn compound plan which provided neighborhood space in private gardens, the neighborhood space of the economy high-rising buildings was compressed to the minimum. As the neighborhood relationship in allocated unit housing collapsed, people prefer to withdraw to their private family spaces to enjoy privacy freely rather than associate with strangers in narrow neighborhood spaces. Each type of apartments accommodated a household, each floor established a neighborhood, each several buildings consisted of a cluster, each 3-5 clusters composed a compound, and the 4 garden compounds including Fanggu Garden, Fangqun Garden, Fangcheng Garden and Fangxing Garden as well as later developed Zifang Garden and Fangchengdongli Garden composed the 100,000-population Fangzhuang Community. The crossed main lines and the rotary island of Fangzhuang well connected the compounds, each of which had closures and similar accessory facilities like kindergartens. The clusters shared their common living space on the open grasslands between buildings, and the compounds shared their common spaces in the interior parklands as Radburn compound plan. The common space of the whole Fangzhuang Community is the Fangzhuang Sports Garden neighboring to the northwestern corner of the rotary island of Fangzhuang. This 7.8 hectares Sports Garden is not only the open garden for citizens but also the central activity center of Fangzhuang Community.⁴⁷⁸ As Fangzhuang Community is so large, it has tried to establish the community spirits through the Garden. Unfortunately this effort has seen little effect, and finally each compound and even each cluster has separated from each other. While the high-priced compounds set high closures, hired safeguards and installed cameras to form gated spaces, the low-priced compounds had security-fenced windows to obtain the separated spaces. As a result, Fangzhuang Community presented a clear vertical neighborhood planning model, such as type-set apartment-home, corridor-neighborhood, space between buildings—cluster, interior common parklands—compound, exterior common parklands—community, etc... The model is neither same with structural relation of traditional community space of Beijing—courtyard house-home, lane-neighborhood and neighbor-community, nor the structural relations of community space in the Radburn compound plan—single house-home, neighborhood private garden-

⁴⁷⁸ Zhang Shuling, Fangzhuang, 25 years of the first commodity housing community in China, 《方庄, 第一个商品房小区的25年》, 《京华时报》(2009年8月24日第014版). [online] available at: http://paper.people.com.cn/jhsb/html/2009-08/24/content_326501.htm

neighborhood, interior parklands-community, etc.

From the perspective in size, Fangzhuang Community took a floor area of about 3 million m²,⁴⁷⁹ most of which was covered by apartment buildings. Most exterior space was covered by communication network and grasslands. To sum up, there were a lot of family living spaces and enough community activity spaces, but limited neighborhood spaces including narrow corridors, elevators and fire lifts. Therefore, Fangzhuang Community formed a sandglass liked space structure. In this sandglass space, the smallest neighborhood connected the largest residential buildings and the same large community. The sandglass structure made it either hard to establish effective relations between its upper and lower ends or create community cohesion. Today, as the lane neighborhood of old Beijing and cul-de-sac of Radburn compound plan are replaced by corridor neighborhood, we have to be faced with the dilemma of losing traditional culture but hardly building mid-class morality.

3.3 Association space of Beijing and its socio-spatial transition

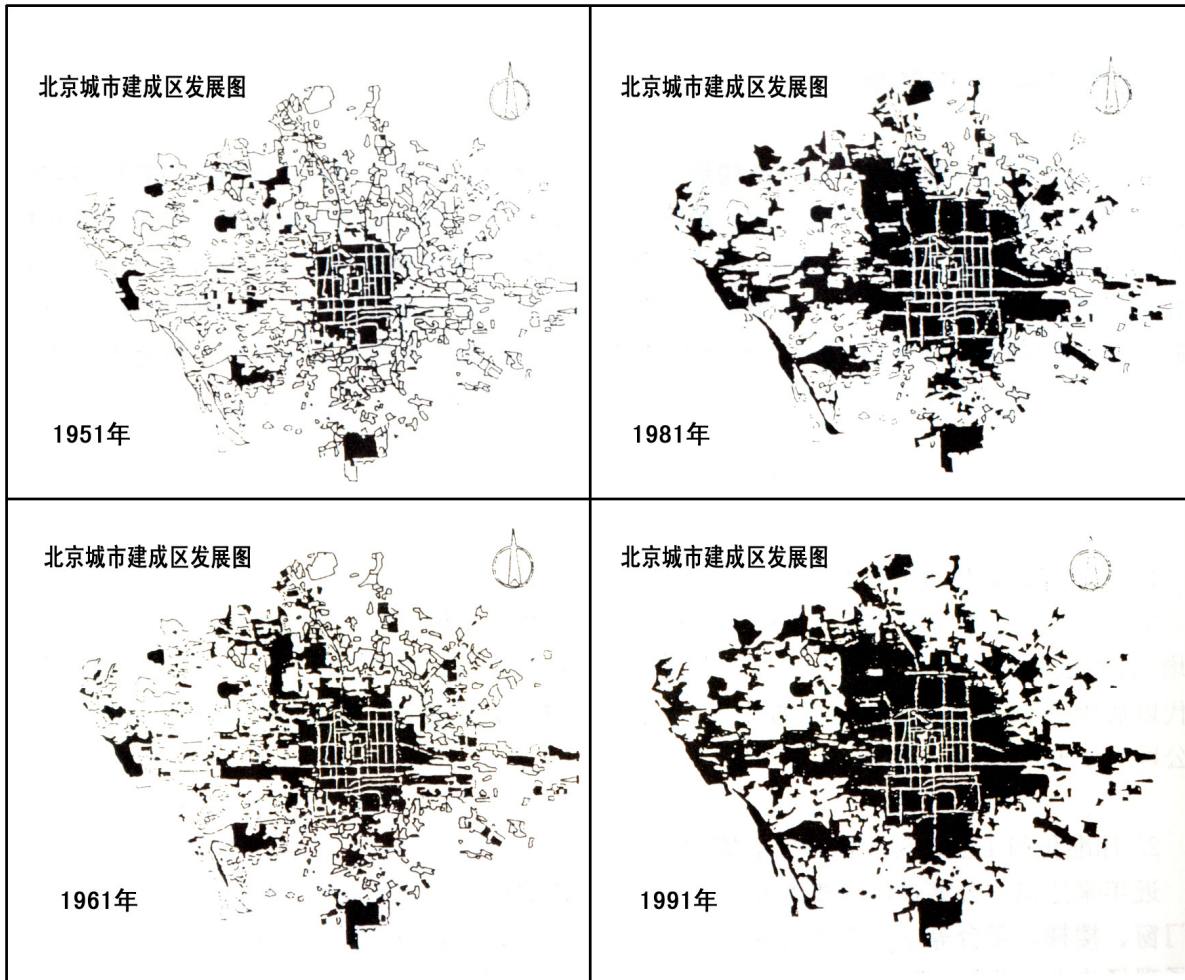
3.3.1 From rationing society to commercial society

The Cultural Revolution in China had plunged the nation into a chaotic period since 1966 to 1976, during which economic production in the country was almost shut down. By the end of the Cultural Revolution, China's economy was on the brink of collapse, and the urban life became extremely hard, as it was totally depended upon the state planned rationing system. In this most critical moment, the central government under Deng Xiaoping's leadership launched the reform and opening up policy. For the reform in China's economy system, it was aimed at changing the highly concentrated planned economy into the socialist market economy. However, China's reform wasn't accomplished in a short period of time, rather it had to gradually develop and grow. In 1978, the Third Plenary Session of the 11th Central Committee of CPC first proposed the policy of reform and opening up. In October 1984, during the Second Plenary Session of the 12th Central Committee of CPC, a series of significant theoretical and practical problems regarding the economic system reform were discussed and clarified, confirming that China's socialist economy was the "planned commodity economy"⁴⁸⁰ on the basis of public ownership, and the decision was the programmatic document for guiding economic system reform. In January and February of 1992, when Deng Xiaoping inspected several places including Shenzhen, Zhuhai and Shanghai, he made the famous

⁴⁷⁹ Beijing Fangzhuang sub-district office, [online] available at: <http://fzjd.bjft.gov.cn/>

⁴⁸⁰ Chen Shu, 2008. *30 years: from planned economy to socialist market economy*. 《回首30年：从计划经济到社会主义市场经济》. [online] available at: http://news.china.com.cn/txt/2008-11/26/content_16833613.htm

‘talk in south tour’.



北京四十年建成区发展比较图

Map 3-4: Beijing urban sprawl development from 1951 to 1991. source: Beijing university of civil engineering and architecture library, <http://114.113.224.189:8080/>

According to Deng's talk, the old concept of building “planned commodity economy” was changed, and the establishment and development of “socialist market economy” was formally proposed.⁴⁸¹ In 1993, the state council issued *Circular on Accelerating Systematic Reform of Food Circulation*. Food sales price was open to market nationwide, and food supply system for urban dwellers: rationed system in the past forty decades was broken.⁴⁸² In 1997, the 15th National Congress of the CPC formally proposed that

⁴⁸¹ Ibid.

⁴⁸² Ibid.

“non-public economy is the major component of the socialist market economy”,⁴⁸³ in 1999, the 2nd Session of the Ninth National People’s Congress passed the *Amendment to the Constitution of People’s Republic of China*, making it clear that non-public economy is the major component of the socialist market economy in the country. In 2007, the 5th Session of the Tenth National People’s Congress passed *Property Law of People’s Republic of China* and set it to take effect on October 1st of the same year. Property Law became a basic law in China’s socialist law system, of which the significant part confirmed with the regulations on protecting private property. Due to the fact that private transaction was absolutely banned and commodity circulation was basically prohibited in the old planned economy system, it had neither needed an existence of the property law regarding the ownership of property nor of the conception of natural property right.⁴⁸⁴ From the launch of reform and opening up policy in 1978 to the issuance of the property law in 2007, China’s association society had completed the transformation from rationing society to commercial society.⁴⁸⁵ So, the core content of association space of China has also changed from the rationing allotment to commercial development.

■ The transition of communication space in China’s 3-decade reform and opening-up

In planned economy time, namely before 1979, social life in cities of China was restricted to the limited space, despite there were many open spaces, such as park and wide boulevard, there was few communication space available for people to engage in free and actual communication. Initiative social life, like that initiative commodity economy was replaced by planned economy, was replaced by planned social life such as political rallies, as *unit charge society*⁴⁸⁶ was then mainstream society. Thus, social life in most cities was restricted in the unit community space and tended to introversion. Homogeneity and introversion were the basic features of the social life at the time.⁴⁸⁷ Since the reform and opening up started in 1979, unprecedented openness has then found its way to Chinese society. Generally speaking, assimilation to group is the basic strategy for the introverted community to gain safety, whereas dissimilation to the other is the basic strategy for extroverted association space to gain accessibility. As far as people in China no longer wear the same blue uniform in public, they are dressed as whatever they like, as part of efforts to make them distinctive to draw attention and gain advantage in free communication of social life. The increase development in market economy has made free flow and open social space

⁴⁸³ Ibid.

⁴⁸⁴ NPC National People's Congress, *Property law of the people's republic of China, articles, reasons, sets*. 《中华人民共和国物权法, 条文说明, 立法理由及相关规定》, Beijing: Peking university press. 2007.

⁴⁸⁵ Chen Shu, 2008. *30 years: from planned economy to socialist market economy*. 《回首30年: 从计划经济到社会主义市场经济》. [online] available at: http://news.china.com.cn/txt/2008-11/26/content_16833613.htm

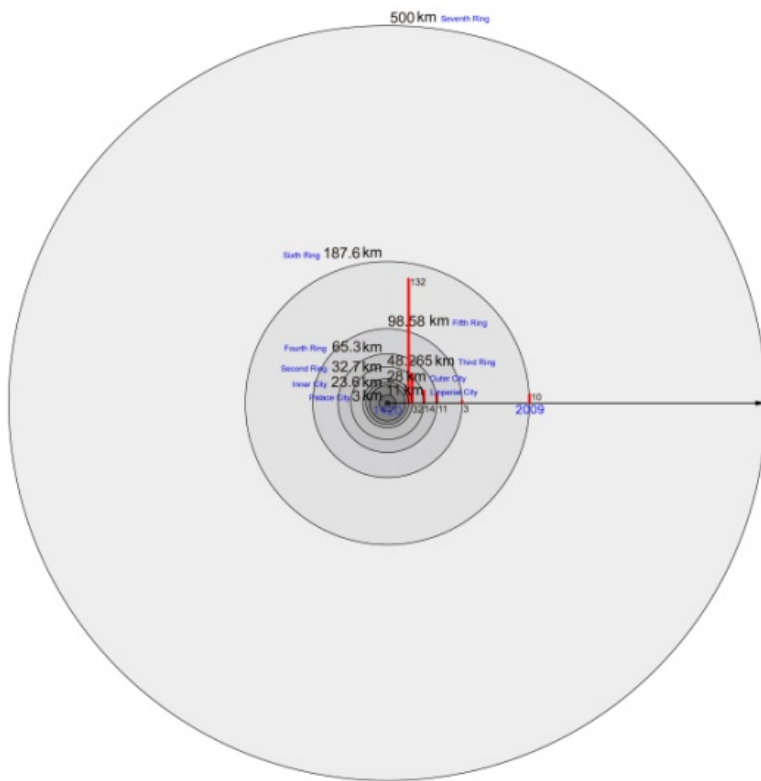
⁴⁸⁶ He Yanling, *State and society in urban community: an investigation in Le street in China*. 《都市街区中的国家与社会: 乐街调查》, social sciences academic press (China), 2007. P.53.

⁴⁸⁷ Chai Yanwei, *The inner living space structure of Chinese cities, based on Units*. 《以单位为基础的中国城市内部生活空间特征结构》, 《地理学报》, 1996 (2).

become more and more important, as communication space began fashioning the image of the city and developing new type of city in China.

[1] The association of symbolic space: Urban annual ring & annual ring city

If the urban space of Beijing grows like the trunk of a tree, thus, the urban space development patterns are displayed as what appeared on a cut-off tree trunk. The Forbidden City built in 1420 is the most detailed core of the trunk, then from the palace city—the core outward: imperial city, inner city and outer city formed the urban age ring of old Beijing. In 1421, Beijing became the capital of Ming dynasty and then formed the inner city. After 132 years of development, the outer city was built in 1553 and remained the style till 1949.⁴⁸⁸ After a time span of 426 years, the suburbs had been developed in Beijing through 1949 to 1979, when China launched the reform and opening-up policy. Since 1979, Beijing has gone through unprecedented changes and expansions in urban development. In the past three decades, like the annual ring of trees, the second, third, fourth, fifth, sixth and the planned 7th rings formed in city of Beijing one by one. While construction's period becomes shorter and shorter, its scale gets larger and larger.



⁴⁸⁸ Beijing Academy of Social Sciences. 北京市社会科学研究所“北京历史纪年”编写组, *chronological account of the events for historical Beijing*. 《北京历史纪年》, 北京: 北京出版社, 1987.

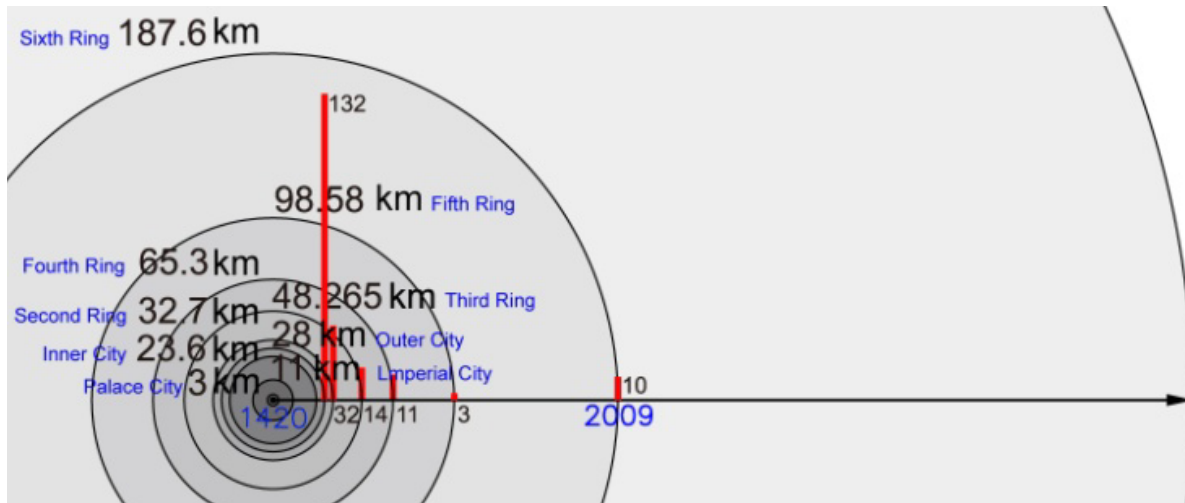


Figure 3-15: time and space development of radio-city model of Beijing. source: author source: author creation.

Palace city (the Forbidden City) built in 1421, length of 3 km ⁴⁸⁹

Imperial city built in 1421, length of 9 km, expanded to 11 km in Qing dynasty ⁴⁹⁰

Inner city built in 1421, length of 23.6 km ⁴⁹¹

Outer city built in 1553, length of 18 km ⁴⁹²

Second ring road built in the 1960s, open to traffic in September 1992, length of 32.7 km. The second ring road of Beijing is the first express way surrounding the city, also the first closed, all overpass urban express ring road without traffic lights—a milestone in the traffic development of Beijing. ⁴⁹³

Construction of the **third ring road** began in the early years of the 1980s, open to traffic by standard of expressway in 1994, a whole length of 48.265 km. As a ring urban expressway, it has 44 overpasses, 9 stream crossings, 62 footbridges and 15 pedestrian passageways. ⁴⁹⁴

The first part of the **fourth ring road** was built before 1990. By June 2001, the fourth ring road was open

⁴⁸⁹ Baike, Baidu, *the history of Beijing City*, [online] available at: <http://baike.baidu.com/subview/2621/13223029.htm?fr=aladdin&fromtitle=%E5%8C%97%E4%BA%AC%E5%B8%82&fromid=126069&type=search>

⁴⁹⁰ Ibid.

⁴⁹¹ Ibid.

⁴⁹² Ibid.

⁴⁹³ Ibid.

⁴⁹⁴ Ibid.

to traffic, a whole length of 65.3 km. It is an expressway around the city, and is about 8 km away from the centre of Beijing. There are 147 bridges along the road and complete traffic facilities. The fourth ring road was designed by standard of expressway. The planned speed was 100 km/h in times of completion. Later, with the increasing traffic volume of the road, the speed was limited to 80 km/h. The fourth ring road became an urban expressway from a highway. It remained the highest standard and largest-scaled urban expressway in the country by May 2005.⁴⁹⁵

Construction of the **fifth ring road** began in November 2000, and finished to open to traffic at the end of October 2003, a whole length of 98.58 km. As a modern ring expressway in Beijing, it has two-way six lanes and sequential parking strip, and its planned speed is 100 km/h.

The first part of **sixth ring road** was built in December 1998 and was open to traffic on September 12th 2009, in a length of 187.6 km. It is a ring expressway in Beijing with a former name of “second ring highway,” and the name was unified to the “sixth ring road of Beijing”. It is a toll expressway with two-way four lanes and planned speed of 80 km/h. The sixth ring road is linked to seven radiating highways of Beijing and several national highways, about 15 to 20 km away from the center of the city.⁴⁹⁶

The planning of the **seventh ring road** was on the “third ring highway” included in the overall planning of Beijing in 1993, which is still under planning with an expected length of over 500 km.⁴⁹⁷ The seventh ring road planning made in 1993 was “starting from Liulihe, passing the important towns of Beijing, and cutting into roads in Dachang, Sanhe and other places of Hebei province to enter Pinggu, then heading to north and west, and finally passing Zhangfang in the south to return to Liulihe and completing a circle. Later on, prestigious Beijing architect Wu Liangyong suggested that the seventh ring could be larger to pass Hebei and Tianjin, linking the satellite cities of Beijing to form zone cities. Construction of the section of the highway from Zhuozhou, en-route Miyun to Langfang has begun since August 2005.

In fact, the elevation control plan of urban space of Beijing initially centered on the height of Taihe palace of the Forbidden City. As height increased outward in the model of concentric rings, a basin with lower center and higher external part was formed.⁴⁹⁸ Urban space surrounded the Forbidden City like the concentric mode expanded outward, from the earliest second ring to nowadays’ sixth, even seventh ring.

⁴⁹⁵ Ibid.

⁴⁹⁶ Ibid.

⁴⁹⁷ Ibid.

⁴⁹⁸ Leon Hoa, *Reconstruire la Chine: trente ans d'urbanisme 1949-1979*, 《重建中国, 城市规划三十年 1949-1979》, translate into Chinese by Li Ying, 北京: 三联书店, 2006.

This is how the “annual ring city” formed. The new city has developed environing the old city, when the traditional south-north bounded midline meets the east-west bounded Chang’an Street at Tian’anmen square to form the symbolic center of Beijing. The expanding urban concentric spaces are closely associated with the symbol. Unlike the concentric zone model proposed by E.W. Burgess in 1925, the center of the concentric model of Burgess is CBD, whereas the concentric model of Beijing is a symbolic model rather than a functional model. Urban physical space of Beijing is organized in such a symbolic way to have developed the second, third, and other ring roads. But the symbolic meaning of the ring roads is more weighted than their practical meaning to make this annual ring city faced with unresolved traffic problems. The center of the annual ring city is the preserved cultural heritage of the old town and the Forbidden City, so the central area is free of dense population. But environing this center, it has developed imbalanced CBD, financial zone, universities area and other dense functional areas. So the section of the annual ring city formed a hallowed core, which has been circled by several outwardly formed tree knots. The section with dense exterior and loose interior will eventually undermine the development of the annual ring city.

[2] The association of physical space: City Master Plan

■ Master Plan of Urban Construction of Beijing approved by the State Council in 1983⁴⁹⁹

After the Cultural Revolution, Beijing decided to revise the city master plan. Master Plan of Urban Construction of Beijing (draft) was officially proposed in March 1982. The main content of the plan was as followed: 1. Determining the nature of the city to be “the political and cultural center of the country”, and no longer be the economic center and modernization industrial base”; 2. The scale of the population of the city would be less than 10 million in 20 years and the urban population about 4 million; 3. Making clear the goal of improving environment quality; 4. The construction plan of “gradual renovation of the old city, adjustment of supporting facilities in the urban areas; active development of the suburb areas”; 5. Determining Beijing’s status as the historical and cultural city; 6. Making clear the compound as the basic living unit of the residents; 7. Developing urban infrastructure. On July 14th 1983, the Central Committee of the CPC and the state council approved the plan, and the capital planning and construction committee was set up on November 12th 1983 to consult the planning and construction of the capital.

In this stage, spatial development of Beijing was decided to be the “annual ring city”, namely the ring-layer structure. The first ring-layer expanded along the second ring road, to exemplify the function as the

⁴⁹⁹ Beijing Municipal Commission of Urban Planning (Office of Capital Planning & Construction Commission), *Master plan of Beijing (1983)*. [online] available at: http://www.bjghw.gov.cn/web/static/catalogs/catalog_233/233.html

political and cultural center and the international communications center, and to preserve the appearance of the historical and cultural city. The second ring-layer expanded along the third ring road, according to the principle of the urban plan of “Afforestation”⁵⁰⁰ partitioned by gardens and green belts, working and living areas with complete facilities and better eco-environment would be constructed. For example, Asian Games Village is a typical project developed by the plan. The third ring-layer is suburb counties and towns. Economical and technical cooperation zones surrounding Beijing were also founded. During the stage, population density of the first ring-layer didn’t grow, but there was an obvious increase in the second ring-layer. The density in the inner city is being controlled to protect the preserved historic sites, demanding a necessity to dilute residential population to the second ring-layer and beyond.

Meanwhile, with the increasing mobility of people in China, the residential population of Beijing kept growing heavily in this stage. The actual number of population in Beijing exceeded 10 million. Under the strict household registration system and population control, the population still expanded rapidly in the city in types of natural growth, migration, and floating population. In 1990, permanent household registered population of Beijing was 10.3221 million, among which, 61% was in the city; floating population was 1.27 million, and 80% of them lived in the city; the actual population of Beijing was 11.5921 million.⁵⁰¹

1. Natural growth, the natural growth of population in Beijing had entered the period of family plan. Family plan goal management was implemented in the city for the first time, and the population index was set for the first time. In 1990, family plan rate in the city raised from 90.91‰ in 1980 to be 96.4‰, natural population growth rate decreased to be 6.6‰ from 9.27‰ of 1980.⁵⁰²

2. Migration growth, the decade from 1981 to 1990, 0.997 million people migrated to Beijing and 0.493 million emigrated, and the number of immigration was 0.0505 million. During the seventh five-year plan (1986-1990) period, the total number of emigration was 0.0498 million, and the immigration was 0.0253 million, and the migration increase was 0.0245 million; among the numbers, the enrolled students were 101 thousand; those who came to live with their relatives were 50 thousand; the migration with the change of jobs were 34 thousand; officials and military spouses were 30 thousand; retires military men were 21 thousand and the increase of other reasons was 31 thousand.⁵⁰³

⁵⁰⁰ Zhong Jianwei, Tian Ye, Liu Ruiling, *the urban planning chorography of Dongcheng district of Beijing*. 《东城区规划志》, 北京科学技术出版社, 1993.

⁵⁰¹ Ibid.

⁵⁰² Ibid.

⁵⁰³ Ibid.

3. Floating population. A large number of floating population appeared with the rapid development of commodity economy and the opening of the city, among them are migrant workers, and many tourists and other types of floating population. In 1990, the temporary residents of Beijing were 1.27 million and the foreign tourists were 1.2 million.⁵⁰⁴

■ Master Plan of Beijing approved by the State Council in 1993⁵⁰⁵

With further economic development in reform and opening up, new development plan of Beijing was made, as the population scale of the city exceeded the goal set for the year of 2000 in the 1983 master plan, getting 12 years ahead of the estimated time.⁵⁰⁶ From 1991 to 1992, Beijing Municipal Planning Institute revised the master plan. In October 1993, the state council approved the revised Master Plan of Beijing. The new master plan was different from the old version in two respects: one was adding a cross-century 50-year plan, and the other was the planning based on market economy. The main contents of the plan are as below:⁵⁰⁷

1. The style of the city: “Beijing as the capital is the “political and cultural center of the country”, and the “world renowned ancient capital and modern international city”;
2. Clarify the relations between the economical development and the political and cultural center, and emphasize that the economic fit to the capital is the modern industrial structure centered the third industry (service industry);
3. The population scale of Beijing in 2010 could be up to 12.50 million from 10.35 million in 1990, floating population could be up to 2.5 million from 1.3 million of 1990, and permanent residents could reach 14 million in 2050;
4. Uphold the Afforestation planning; shift the focus of city construction from urban to suburban, and change urban construction from outward expansion to adjustment and renovation;

⁵⁰⁴ Ibid.

⁵⁰⁵ Beijing Municipal Commission of Urban Planning (Office of Capital Planning & Construction Commission), *Master plan of Beijing (1993)*. [online] available at:

http://www.bjghw.gov.cn/web/static/catalogs/catalog_233/233.html

⁵⁰⁶ Zhong Jianwei, Tian Ye, Liu Ruiling, *the urban planning chorography of Dongcheng district of Beijing*. 《东城区规划志》, 北京科学技术出版社, 1993.

⁵⁰⁷ Ibid.

5. Include the preservation of the historical and cultural city in the master plan;
6. Shift the focus of building urban residential community in new development zones on combining the development of new zones and the renovation of old zones;
7. Make it clear to strengthen legislation to ensure the implementation of the master plan.

During this period, the population scale of Beijing kept increasing. According to the statistics of the fifth census in 2000,⁵⁰⁸ the population of Beijing in the same year reached 13.569 million. Despite there are strict household registration system and control over migration in Beijing, the city population has kept growing. The proportion of migratory population continually rises in Beijing to make a big part of its population. According to the 5th census, the migratory population in Beijing reached 2.494 million in 2000, accounting for 18.4% of whole population.

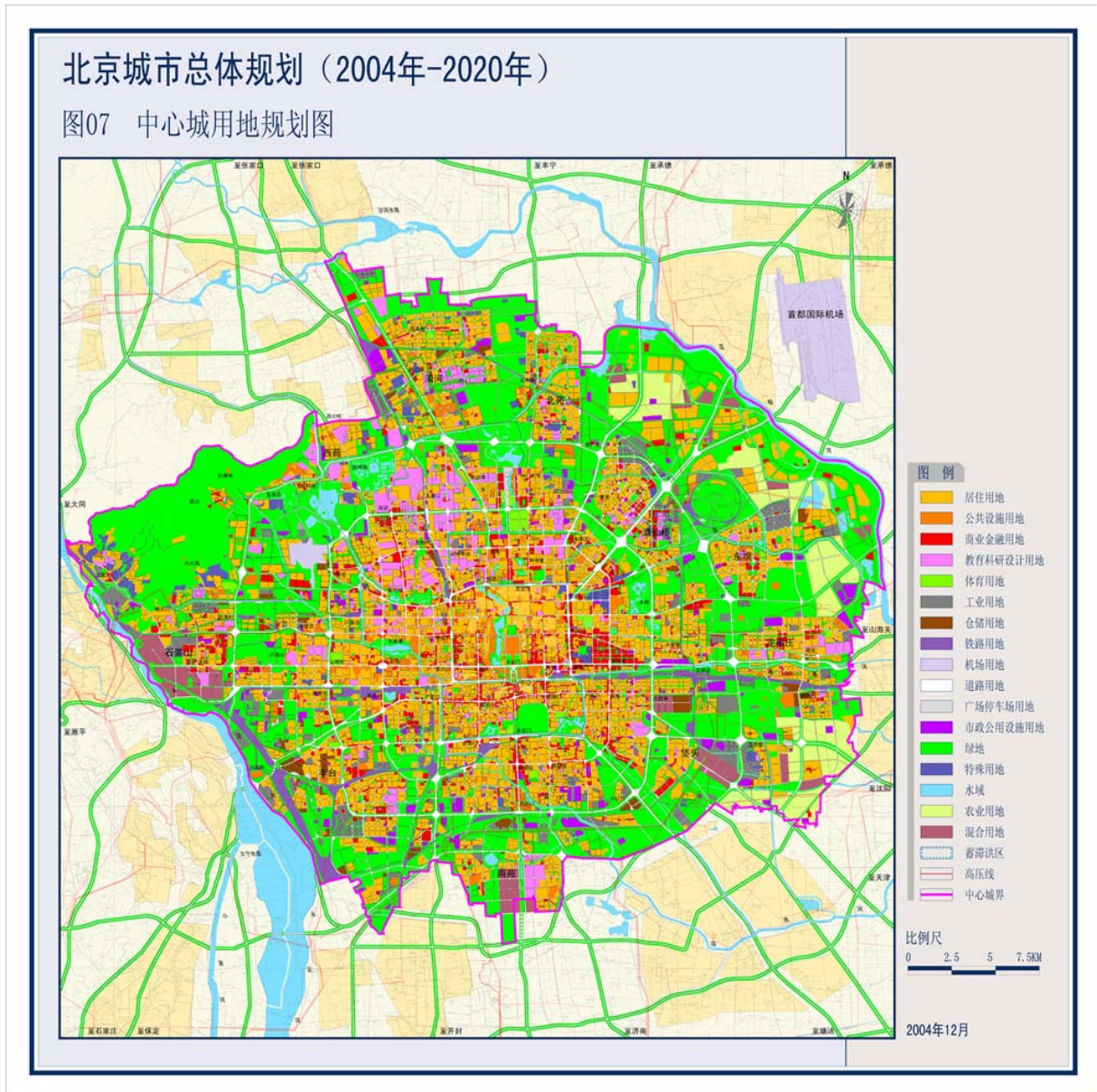
■ Master Plan of Beijing (2004-2020) approved by the State Council in 2005⁵⁰⁹

With the rapid development of Beijing city in the 21st century, the latest urban development plan was made. In January 2005, the state council approved the Principles of Master Plan of Beijing (2004-2020), setting the urban development goal of Beijing as “the capital of the nation, a global city, a renowned cultural city, and a city suitable for habitation,” suggesting “two axes and multiple centers”.⁵¹⁰

⁵⁰⁸ data form: National Bureau of Statistics of China. [online] available at: http://www.stats.gov.cn/tjsj/tjgb/ndtjgb/qgndtjgb/201002/t20100225_30024.html

⁵⁰⁹ Beijing Municipal Commission of Urban Planning (Office of Capital Planning & Construction Commission), *Master plan of Beijing (2005)*. [online] available at: http://www.bjghw.gov.cn/web/static/catalogs/catalog_233/233.html

⁵¹⁰ Beijing Municipal Commission of Urban Planning (Office of Capital Planning & Construction Commission), *Master plan of Beijing (2005)*. [online] available at: http://www.bjghw.gov.cn/web/static/articles/catalog_233/article_4628/4628.html



Map 3-5: The master plan of Beijing from 2004 to 2020. source: <http://bjghw.gov.cn/web/images/b.jpg>

Two axes are referred to the traditional midline of the city that goes through north and south, Chang'an Street and its prolonged road to east and west. The midline of north and south has been a cultural symbol of the city since dynastic times; In the new planning, the midline extends to the ends of two directions, reaching Olympic Park in the north and Yongding-men in the south. Unlike the symbolic midline without traffic function, the east-to-west Chang'an Street and its prolonged road has been developed into the city main street as the image of Beijing since new China was founded in 1949. On both sides of the street are located the typical memorial buildings and other important buildings constructed in over the 50 years

since 1949. The original 5-km long Chang'an Street has now been prolonged to beyond the 6th ring in the east and beyond the 5th ring in the west. The "two zones" are referred to the eastern development zone linking Beijing to Langfang and Tianjin in north and east part; and the western ecological zone linking Yanqing and Changping in the western mountain areas of Beijing. Although the location of the multiple centers is yet to be clarified, the main idea is to change the single-center development model of Beijing, namely the central area in the inner city. The function of the centers is to relieve the pressure of population increase in downtown area and ease the traffic pressure on road.⁵¹¹

Population of Beijing has kept growing since 2000. According to the nation sample census of the 1% population, by the end of 2005, permanent residents of Beijing was 15.38 million, migration population of Beijing was 3.573 million,⁵¹² accounting for 1/5 of the permanent population. The uneven distribution of the population, along with the increasing of the housing price, i.e. rent, a large number of populations dispersed to marginal areas of the city. Despite of this, population density of urban areas was 3.8 times of that of suburb areas, and 56.6 times that of distant suburbs. According to the Master Plan of Beijing published in 2005, the population of Beijing would be 18 million in the year of 2020. In fact, the population of Beijing in 2010 will exceed the number set for 2020. Under the current situation, mechanical increase of the population has shown no signs of slowing down. Without new and effective adjustment measures, at present increasing rate, the factual population in 2011 will exceed the number set for 2020 in the city planning.⁵¹³

Despite there was a strict control over the population growth in Beijing, this international capital city had to keep enlarging its urban area to digest the growing population that came from all over the place. Before the reform and opening up, the urban area of Beijing was limited inside the second ring. After 30 years of the tremendous development in Beijing that was accomplished by its huge diverse population, the urban areas have now expanded to the sixth and even seventh ring. But the expansion of the urban area of Beijing could never be compatible with the explosion of its urban population, which put the city on the edge of exhaustion. And ring road traffic brings forth the longest traffic distance in the city. As the north-south midline in the newly planned two axes remains a symbol of culture and spirit, only the politics symbolized Chang'an Street can serve part of the east-west traffic. So the pressure of heavier traffic flow in the city is mainly imposed on the ring roads, but the commercial zones and residential areas along the road sides could only make it worse. The concentric model of Beijing has created a dilemma, according to

⁵¹¹ Ibid.

⁵¹² data form: National Bureau of Statistics of China. [online] available at: http://www.stats.gov.cn/tjsj/tjgb/ndtjgb/qgndtjgb/201002/t20100225_30024.html

⁵¹³ Beijing Municipal Commission of Urban Planning (Office of Capital Planning & Construction Commission), *Master plan of Beijing (2005)*. [online] available at: http://www.bjghw.gov.cn/web/static/articles/catalog_233/article_4628/4628.html

the concentric theory, the dynamic of urban development should meet at the center of CBD through radiating roads. But the center of Beijing is not the open CBD instead of the monument Tian'anmen Square and the renowned Forbidden City Museum charging ticket for entry. The dilemma inevitably brought concern about the concentric model of Beijing. Through attentive observations, it can find that there are greenbelts set in the fourth, fifth and sixth ring roads to restrict the urban expansion, and commercial zones, office zone, industrial zones, and traffic hubs spread along the ring roads. Here the functional space developed along the ring roads is different from what the concentric theory suggested, the city center should be commercial zones, with industrial zones, residential zones and farmland being distributed respectively and outwardly. Based on observations, a bold judgment could be made: Urban space of Beijing is not the concentric but the linear city model, as the linear is not expanded to the two wings, but connected to the two ends, so it could say this is a ring linear city model. The physical space of Beijing is always associated with rings, as ring roads and greenbelts served the city as walls in old time. But these made it hard for the expansion of the city, which has to stretch outward in very painful ways, similar to exuviations of animal. Despite of this, Beijing still keeps expanding, as the new ring greenbelt replaced the old greenbelt and the new boundary replaced the old boundary, it has become more looked like a winding dragon instead of a concentric circle. For today's Beijing, only if it could develop high vision and embrace the world cultures, it would return to rank among the world most advanced and be a dragon instead of a snake in the end.

[3] The association of functional space: From rationing society to commercial society

After a decade chaos of Cultural Revolution, China faced severe economic crisis. City life had to depend on food coupon that controlled sales and purchase to some extent.⁵¹⁴ The way was not as strict as the control strategy of food rationing during wartime, but it was still the rationing way of food and daily necessities. The way of distribution was not as strict as that in the wartime, but unlike the temporary measures in the wartime, the food coupon system⁵¹⁵ in China started from 1955 and lasted to the period of reform and opening up; the usually temporary rationing system became normality. In fact, the food coupon was more than the coupon for "food," and it was the common name for the rationing of daily necessities. It included other kinds of coupons: oil coupon, cloth coupon, meat coupon, electric appliance coupon, bicycle coupon and so on.⁵¹⁶ Food coupon unified the social members in the rationing system and formed the top-down one dimensional rationing society. Food coupon system was not the rationing

⁵¹⁴ Chen Shu, 2008. *30 years: from planned economy to socialist market economy*. 《回首30年：从计划经济到社会主义市场经济》. [online] available at: http://news.china.com.cn/txt/2008-11/26/content_16833613.htm

⁵¹⁵ Chen Yuanming, *The testimony of history: 40 years of coupons and RMB*. 《历史的见证：四十年票证和人民币史》，凤凰出版社，2009.

⁵¹⁶ Ibid.

according to the need; it was the lowest living guarantee under the ranks of rights. The lowest guarantee implemented in the entire society led to the shortage of daily necessities commonplace and normality. With the combination of the food coupon system in the city and the household registration system,⁵¹⁷ farmers without the rationing of food coupon for they could plant were separated from the urban life forever. One dimensional rationing society put the farmer producing food at the end of the rights, and urban dwellers under the food coupon system in the middle of the vertical structure, and the policy makers and executors of the rationing system on top of the structure. The three parts formed the rationing system in the planned economy and the rationing society adjusting to the normal measures.

■ A brief history of food coupon

In 1953, the Central Committee of the CPC and the State Council issued '*Circular on Unified Purchasing and Selling of Food*', and '*Orders on Planned Purchasing and Supplying of Food*' respectively. On August 25th, 1955, the State Council approved '*Temporary Regulations on the Printing of Food Rationing Coupon in Cities and Towns*',⁵¹⁸ thus, 'food coupon system' for non-war time supply came to be. During the three-year economic and food crisis after 1958, food supply was uniformly distributed to nationwide, as part of efforts to balance the needs among different regions. After 1959, food management plan was issued quarterly instead of annually by the Central Committee of the CPC and the State Council, thus overall and strict food coupon system was then set up.⁵¹⁹ In terms of food only, food coupon covered rice coupon, flour coupon, grain coupon, refined grain coupon, millet coupon, and potato coupon and so on. In fact, the common name of 'food coupon system' covered all kinds of coupon related to people's daily lives. Except housing allocation and the public traffic system, based on other needs of daily lives, all kinds of coupon were sorted into three categories: '*Eating, clothing, and daily consuming*'.⁵²⁰ 'Eating' included food coupon, oil coupon, pork, beef and mutton coupons, chicken, duck and fish coupons, various sugar and candy coupons, various bean products coupons and vegetable coupon. 'Clothing' included coupons of cloth, fabric, shirt, vest, shoe, and cotton quilt and so on. 'Daily consuming' included coupons of handkerchief, soap, detergent powder, toilet paper, match, towel, and kerosene; all kinds of coal coupon, commodity purchasing coupon, electric appliance coupon, bicycle coupon, watch coupon, also temporary coupon and flexible coupon, etc.... According to the *Uptown Record of Hangzhou*: In the 1960s, Hangzhou households had two papers (food purchasing and commodity purchasing), two cards (vegetable and fuel), five coupons (cake, industrial commodity, non-staple food, textile, and meal), and 33

⁵¹⁷ Ibid.

⁵¹⁸ Baidu, Baike. *coupons*. [online] available at: http://baike.baidu.com/link?url=7sVjnj3iNpVGlbLR9BA2Feh_4IJS04LDcUt938oOB3X0iB-O4SUZlmbMqpFrUIzb

⁵¹⁹ Ibid.

⁵²⁰ Ibid.

tickets (oil, salt, seafood, meat, pork, television and so on).⁵²¹ In planned economy time, each city resident's life needs of 'cloth, food, habitation, and transportation' were strictly allotted in quota. Food bureau of city allotted certain amount of grains to each grocery store according to the household registered population in its area, and each grocery store was responsible for selling grain based on each household's quota, under this circumstance, food could not be obtained without coupon if there had only money. So, food supply for urban households was directly connected to the household registered locations, and the so-called food relations were formed. People could hardly get food without having their food relations registered to their residential locations. The food coupon system had deeply weakened peoples' mobility in Chinese society.



Photo 3-8: feed coupon for 5 Jin(2.5 Kilo) in Henan province. source: <http://baike.baidu.com/view/1347.htm?fr=aladdin>

With the implementation of reform and opening up and the increasing development in market economy in China, the long-standing shortage of food and daily necessities was eased, and the fluidity of market and society was improved. Like the declined work relations of unit system, the food relations also became less important. With the eventually opening of domestic market, the rationing system in charge of people's life needs of 'cloth, food, habitation and transportation' was completely eliminated by market operation.⁵²²

⁵²¹ Ibid.

⁵²² Chen Shu, 2008. *30 years: from planned economy to socialist market economy*. 《回首30年：从计划经济到社会主义市场经济》. [online] available at: http://news.china.com.cn/txt/2008-11/26/content_16833613.htm

On New Year Day of 1985, the Central Committee of the CPC and the State Council issued *Ten Policies on Invigorating Rural Economy*, stipulating that “unified purchase of food and cotton was revoked and replaced by order in contract.”⁵²³ Thus, it began the reform on food circulation system, transforming the purchasing and selling system of agricultural products from the unified system to the planned and marketing dual-track system.

In 1987, overseas remittance coupon was revoked in Beijing.⁵²⁴

In 1991, sugar coupon was revoked in Beijing.⁵²⁵

In 1992, meat coupon (pork, beef and mutton), egg coupon, soap coupon, and residents’ purchasing coupon were revoked in Beijing.⁵²⁶

From April 1st, 1993,⁵²⁷ the state council issued Circular on Accelerating the Reform of Food Circulation System, withdrawing food coupon and oil coupon to get food and oil products opened for supply.

In 1994,⁵²⁸ food coupon was revoked nationwide, ending an era of the food coupon system.

In 1998,⁵²⁹ the State Council issued Decision on Deepening Food Circulation System, initiating a new round of reform on food circulation system. The principle of the food system reform was “four separations—improvement”, namely the separation of government from enterprises, the separation of the responsibilities of the central government from those of the local government, the separation of storage from management, the separation of old account from the new one, and the improvement of food pricing system.

In 2001, the National Food Work Conference held by the State Council officially issued Opinions on Deepening Reform on Food Circulation System, expanding the reform in the whole country, specifically in focused places of Zhejiang, Shanghai, Guangdong, Fujian, Hainan, Jiangsu, Beijing, and Tianjin. It

⁵²³ Baidu, Baike. *coupons*. [online] available at:

http://baike.baidu.com/link?url=7sVjnj3iNpVGlbLR9BA2Feh_4IJS04LDcUt938oOB3X0iB-O4SUZlmbMqpFrUIzb

⁵²⁴ Ibid.

⁵²⁵ Ibid.

⁵²⁶ Ibid.

⁵²⁷ Ibid.

⁵²⁸ Ibid.

⁵²⁹ Ibid.

started a third round of reform in food system.⁵³⁰

In 2004, the State Council issued Opinions on Deepening Reform on Food Circulation System, announcing that from 2004, food purchasing market should completely open to realize the marketized food buying and selling and diversified commodities.⁵³¹

The extension of urban function is centered on people's daily life. In planned economy time, municipal government had to make specific plan on people's life needs of cloth, food, habitation and transportation.⁵³² Urban space also centered on these functions in expanding. Thus, functions and space integrated people's life goal into city machine. In the same time, multiple relations between people and city machine determined peoples' daily lives and even their fate. Also association space was determined by these functional relations, which bonded the individual to the site. Consequentially, sub-district offices determined people's personnel relations, units determined people's work relations, food administration office determined people's food relations, housing allocation bureaus determined people's living relations, and local police stations determined people's household registration relations. These certain relations between people and site and urban space fixed each individual's life with site.⁵³³ The situation remained intact until the reform and opening up. From the decision of increasing fluidity of food market in 1985 to the official abolishment of food coupon and rationing system in 1993, it indicated a realization of moving the vertical ladder structured rationing society into the horizontal network commercial society. Meanwhile, the magnetic structure of association space transformed from the planned-oriented sustainable security into the market-oriented consumption, which means that the focus of magnetic pole of association space changed from security to consumption. Thus, the associative structure environing the security magnetic pole collapsed steeply and completely, giving way to the new associative structure. As a result, unit was replaced by company; food administration office was replaced by grocery store; housing administration office was replaced by janitorial service company; and personnel relations determined by household registration office, local police station, sub-district administrative office and unit, were gradually replaced by human resource market.⁵³⁴ The relationship between social individual and association space has changed from governance to contract, and the relationship between association

⁵³⁰ Ibid.

⁵³¹ Ibid.

⁵³² Chen Shu, 2008. *30 years: from planned economy to socialist market economy*. 《回首30年：从计划经济到社会主义市场经济》. [online] available at: http://news.china.com.cn/txt/2008-11/26/content_16833613.htm

⁵³³ Zheng Hangsheng, Li Lulu, *Social structure of the cities in contemporary China*, Sociological library, 《当代中国城市社会结构，现状与趋势》，中国人民大学出版社，2004. P.46.

⁵³⁴ Zhang Jingxiang, Luo Zhendong, He Jianyi, *Institutional transition and restructuring of Chinese urban space*. 《体制转型与中国城市空间重构》，东南大学出版社，2007. P.16.

space and people has changed from administration to service. The fundamental change has made a subversive shift in structure and form of the association space.

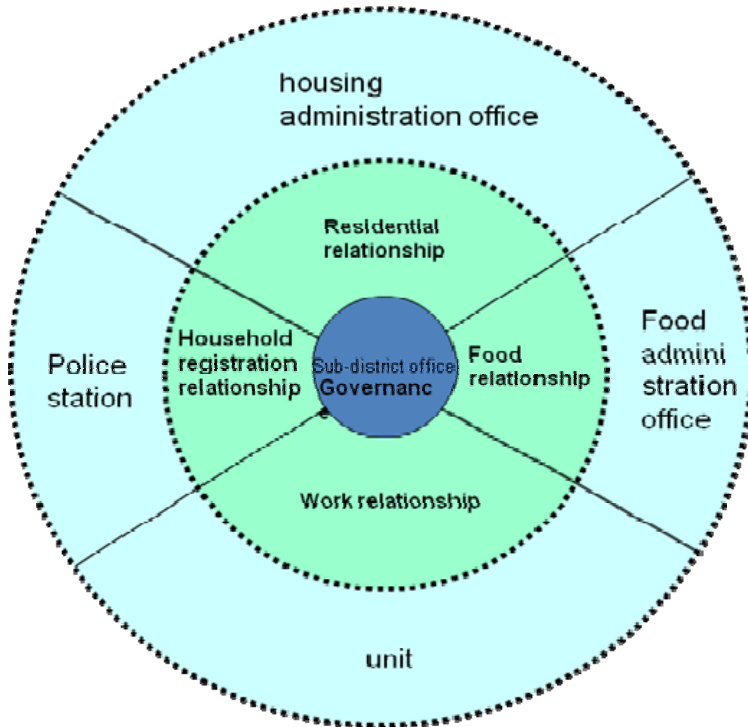


Figure 3-16: magnetic structure of functional association space in planned economy time. source: author creation.

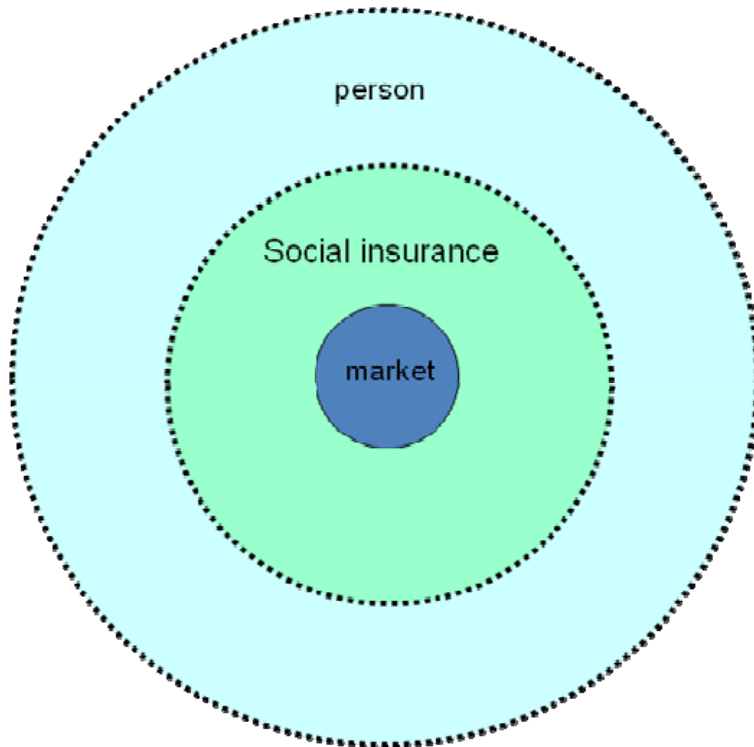


Figure 3-17: magnetic structure of functional association space in market economy time. source: author creation.

3.3.2 Specific space form: public and private — from land to space

3.3.2.1 Space ownership: public ownership and private ownership

■ The publicization of land ownership

After founding New China in 1949, the publicization of land, especially urban land has been the aim of the communist revolution in China.⁵³⁵ And China has gone through a series of movements during the process, such as socialist transformation, people's commune and so on. Since the start of reform and opening up in 1979, economic development has taken the place of class strife.⁵³⁶ As far as planned economy transformed into market economy, ownership of urban land was justified in law to state-owned. As a matter of fact, the publicization of urban land was not aimed at reaching the communist society goal but instead of developing a socialist country with Chinese characteristics. The publicization of ownership of urban land and the privatization of usage right of urban land happened at the same time. The conception of property of urban land formed, as property is referred to as the 'right cluster' whose ownership right and usage right are separated. In 1982, the publicization of ownership right and the privatization of usage right combined the country and the people to exemplify the "strong country and wealthy people." On December 4th 1982, the Fifth People's Congress passed the new Constitution of the P.R.C. to act as the 'Reform Constitution', for it was the guidance for the ongoing reform and opening up. In terms of land ownership right, to compare with the former Constitution, the article 10 of the new Constitution stipulated that: *'Urban land is owned by the country. Rural and suburban land, except that has been stipulated under the state ownership, is owned by the collective group; rural residential site, farmer governed plot and mountain are owned by the collective group. The state could requisite land according to the regulations and laws for the sake of public interests. Any organization or individual should not encroach, transact, rent, or transfer the land in any form. Any organization or individual should properly handle and use the land.'*⁵³⁷

On June 25th 1986, *Land management Law of People's Republic of China* was published, specifying the regulations on confirmation, registration, certificate issuing of the ownership and usage right of the land.

On August 1st 1986, the state land management bureau was set up. Functional offices for the management

⁵³⁵ Cheng Xueyang, *Institutional transformation of the rural land property system of China from Public-law perspective: 1920-2010*, 《公法视角下的中国农村土地产权制度变迁: 1920-2010年》, 《甘肃行政学院学报》2010(1).

⁵³⁶ Chen Shu, 2008. *30 years: from planned economy to socialist market economy*. 《回首30年: 从计划经济到社会主义市场经济》. [online] available at: http://news.china.com.cn/txt/2008-11/26/content_16833613.htm

⁵³⁷ Constitution of the People's Republic of China, the article 10. 1982.

of land ownership and other offices were set up to manage the ownership of rural and urban land. And the new land registration system started to form.

On April 8th 1998, organization under the state council was reformed and Ministry of Land and Resources was set up, land ownership management department was established as one of the important functions to manage the land registration.

On August 29th 1998, the Fourth Plenary Session of the Ninth National People's Congress passed the *revised Land Management Law*, making clear the land survey and land statistics system, the land ownership, and land usage right registered in accordance with the laws are protected. So, land registration system was formed in China, including: certificate system for land registration, regular check of land certificate, public inquiry of land registration, land registration agent system.⁵³⁸

Thus, with the publicization and nationalization of the urban land, the basis of socialist land property with the Chinese characteristics was formed. The transition laid the foundation for the government guiding urbanization with unique Chinese characteristic, and also laid the foundation for the economic development model that has not been completely marketized.

■ The development of associative space: from city openness to open city

In cities, apart from the space that is organized in the form of community, other spaces are combined into different forms. As a matter of fact, before 1982, exterior space in Chinese cities had been nationalized.⁵³⁹ Urban association space was formed with the core of national interests to a large extent. In Beijing, Tian'anmen Square and Chang'an Street have served the political assemblies and parades as well as the capital image. After New China was founded, few private lands existed in cities and gradually vanished by 1982, leaving tons of land unclaimed in public. Before the reform and opening up, these lands became the government resource for improving traffic and developing factories, units, and dwellings. Apart from the land for infrastructure of commuting, manufacturing and living, some other lands were constructed or rebuilt into entertainment and leisure spaces for citizens. But this kind of spaces were more depended upon the traditional royal gardens, whose names and functions have been changed to the park setting for public, such as the Summer Palace, Beihai Park, the Temple of Heaven, and Temple of Earth, etc. As far as these state-owned royal gardens and temples were open to the public, the whole wall-enclosed urban space of old Beijing before the reform had gradually become openness. In general, the state-owned lands

⁵³⁸ Jiang Ailin, *Study on land policy*, 《土地政策基本理论研究》, 中国大地出版社, 2001.

⁵³⁹ Ibid.

that were not used for traffic, production and habitation remained status of being closed, wasted, and opened. Before the reform, ‘street pieces’ and ‘units’ shared the responsibilities of full management on urban social life.

[1] From mother earth gardenization to grand garden city

In August 1958, when Mao Zedong went on vacation in Beidaihe, he put forward a charming and symbolic idea—‘mother earth gardenization’⁵⁴⁰ to the nation. From November 28th to December 10th of the same year, the Sixth Plenary Session of the Eighth Central Committee declared to “carry out the plan of mother earth gardenization”.⁵⁴¹ From February to March in 1959, the national forestation and gardenization meeting was held in Guangzhou to discuss the plan. Also in March, People’s Daily published relevant editorials and paragraphs, proposing that “Mother Earth Gardenization is a long term mission.” Later, China Forestry Publishing House published two editions on Mother Earth Gardenization with complied articles. The mission of mother earth gardenization was not only to build a garden city but also a garden country, which has not been disregarded since it was proposed by Mao Zedong. Before the reform, the plan was mainly implemented on forestation and land greening in the country. After the start of the reform, the ‘mother earth gardenization’ started embracing the urban environment. In 1982, while the ‘Reform Constitution’ was issued, the idea of ‘grand garden capital city’ was proposed by Beijing at the same time. If the plan of ‘mother earth gardenization’ for nation could treat the 9.6 million km² land area as a whole to design and planning a grand garden in the country, the plan of Beijing would treat the 164 hundred km² jurisdiction as a whole to uniformly planning a grand garden in urban and rural Beijing. The idea proposed in 1982 was carried out to become the plan of grand garden city for Beijing.⁵⁴² In fact, after 1982, with the nationalization of urban land and the development of market economy, grand garden city is presented not only in the large-scale overall investment of the beautification of urban land, such as street-center gardens, but also in numerous newly built parks. Since the “mother earth gardenization”⁵⁴³ was proposed in 1958, the land greening space in Beijing has almost been fulfilled through a half-century forestation. By the end of 2009, forestation rate of Beijing was 36.7%, greening rate was 52.6%, and urban greening rate was 44.4%. Beginning from 2010, the fund for the “grand garden city” was put into building parks, with a largest scale of construction of park underway. By the end of 2011, there were 28 projects of large parks started in urban and rural Beijing, covering a total area of 8,000 hectares. Once

⁵⁴⁰ Baike, Baidu. ‘mother earth gardenization’. [online] available at: http://baike.baidu.com/link?url=Rm6EpoDHvUZ_2M6ot_B7rhLcwpUsiwybDZvAIEZc7cqQRDB9upnQpCWE-SVOyTV63ombjjsuwl-CIPp2Owcza

⁵⁴¹ Ibid.

⁵⁴² Chen Junyu, *Rethinking about mother earth gardenization and grand garden city, the speech on symposium for the book launch of grand garden city*. 《重提大地园林化和城市园林化——在《城市大园林论文集》出版座谈会上的发言》，《中国园林》. 2002.

⁵⁴³ Ibid.

complete, they will be open to the public for free. The total investment for land demolition, environment improvement and the building of parks themselves was almost RMB 8 million. According to the plan of Beijing Municipal Greening Bureau: “*Beijing will preliminary build an urban forest park system, which is comprised of suburb riverside forest park, suburb parks in the urban-rural fringe areas, and downtown leisure forest parks.*”⁵⁴⁴ Among the 28 large parks, 11 are new urban riverside forest parks. In the first green belt between the fourth and fifth ring roads, 10 suburb parks will be built, mainly distributing in the urban-rural fringe areas. The parks, along with the 42 suburb parks, will be the suburb park ring surrounding the capital. In the second green belt outside the fifth ring road, some other suburb parks will be built.⁵⁴⁵

After 1982, ‘mother earth gardenization’ and ‘grand garden city’ led the ‘City Beautiful Movement’ in China, which had a larger scale and more profound influence than American a century ago. The number and area of city garden in China increased from 579 and 152,286 hectares in 1978 to 7913 and 202,244 hectares in 2007.⁵⁴⁶ And the types of city gardens are also diversified: comprehensive park, zoo, botany, amusement park, children’s park, science and technology park, cultural park, sculpture garden, etc. Since the Ministry of Construction started promoting nationwide movement of building garden city in 1992, more than 146 cities (regions) became the national ‘garden city’.⁵⁴⁷ Currently building gardens in public land with public investment has not only become an important part of the “city beautiful movement”, but also an important means of urbanization of local governments. In fact, the city park built based on the grand garden city plan should be called public garden instead of park or landscape park. China has a long history of garden design and building, but for the transition from garden to landscape, namely the transition of their concept of design from garden serving a certain family or a certain group of people to landscape serving publics, is still at initial stage. The differences between garden and landscape are rested on not only whether or not enclosure with walls but also whether or not checking the ticket, of which the core difference is that garden space is introverted and the landscape space is extroverted. When Mao Zedong was dedicated with ‘mother earth gardenization’ in 1958, the Country Beautiful Movement in China was prone to be introverted communal instead of the extroverted associative of the landscape planning. The ‘mother earth gardenization’ is endowed with “emotional unification” that bears more

⁵⁴⁴ Beijing Municipal Greening Bureau. 2010.

⁵⁴⁵ Beijing Municipal Commission of Urban Planning (Office of Capital Planning & Construction Commission), *Master plan of Beijing (2005)_Green system planning*. [online] available at: http://www.bjghw.gov.cn/web/static/articles/catalog_30100/article_ff8080812ac7af9e012ac8ecc5c10055/ff8080812ac7af9e012ac8ecc5c10055.html

⁵⁴⁶ Beijing Municipal Greening Bureau. 2010.

⁵⁴⁷ Chen Junyu, *Rethinking about mother earth gardenization and grand garden city, the speech on symposium for the book launch of grand garden city*. 《重提大地园林化和城市园林化——在《城市大园林论文集》出版座谈会上的发言》，《中国园林》. 2002.

values and symbolic meanings than the “rational contract.” In the half century after 1958, this symbolic meaning was followed by governments at various levels in China. While landscape urbanism is prevailing in today’s western world, garden urbanism is now growing in China.

[2] The Big Green

Apart from the spirit grand city garden, urban land tended to be changed into urban greens in the physical perspective, especially the space for traffic and infrastructure. In 1979, the National Urban Construction Bureau opened a branch of National Garden Greening Bureau. In 1992, the state council published the first law regarding *urban greening Urban Greening Regulations*, and the urban greening management was regulated. In 2001, the first urban greening meeting was held by the state council, issuing *Circular on Strengthening Urban Greening*. Ministry of Construction made *Technical Plan on Urban Greening Systematic Planning (pilot)* and *Classification Standard of Urban Greens*, and a series of supporting files and standard regulations.⁵⁴⁸ The area of urban greens and its proportion in the newly built projects have become a solid standard.

Urban big green construction began in Beijing in 1999. From 1999 to 2002, there have 52 big greens being built in the city with a total area of 214 hectares. Average green rate in 1995 was 32.68% and per capita green area was 30.75 m². Urban average green rate was 24.57%~39.92%, and it was 11.3%~55.13% in suburbs; per capita green area was 28.87 m² in urban area and 41.93 m² in suburbs. In 2009, the increased green area in Beijing was 9,458 hectares, 25 million various types of trees were planted, forestation rate was 36.7% and green rate was 52.6%, urban green rate was 44.4%, per capita green area reached 49.5 m², per capita park green area was 14.5 m². In 2010, Beijing made a development strategy of “park sent to countryside and forest coming to city.”⁵⁴⁹

The implementation of urban green standard has enhanced the green construction nationwide. The constructed green area in the nation increased to 1,251,573 hectares in 2007 from that of 110,008 hectares. To the end of 2007, among the 655 organizational cities nationwide, per capita green area was less than 3 m² in 40 cities, and per capita green area was less than 1 m² in 6 cities.⁵⁵⁰ The seeking for big green and green rate in cities are different from the symbolic or thematic grand garden city, green city is endowed with the meaning of urban construction. The greening of cities seeks to green all the open space in the city:

⁵⁴⁸ Beijing Municipal Commission of Urban Planning (Office of Capital Planning & Construction Commission), *Master plan of Beijing (2005)_Green system planning*. [online] available at: http://www.bjghw.gov.cn/web/static/articles/catalog_30100/article_ff8080812ac7af9e012ac8ecc5c10055/ff8080812ac7af9e012ac8ecc5c10055.html

⁵⁴⁹ Ibid.

⁵⁵⁰ Ibid.

road side, vacant land, traffic rotary island, separation belt and even roofs. That is to associate the physical space of the city to be a green whole. Like other cities in China, Beijing has improved its green rate and green are year by year with the increasing public investment, but there is still a large disparity between the means of an artificial greening and a sustainable and ecological green. The widely developed golf course field is not green as it appeared. As part of celebrations of National Day each year, the streets and traffic line such as third and fourth ring roads are always covered with potted flowers, most of which are disposable. The repeating arrangement of flower decorations each year requires a large amount of vehicle deliveries that produced lots of carbon emissions to undermine the intention of go-green. Neatly cut greens like that in the private gardens can be seen on the streets of the cities in China, and most of them need a large amount of labor and costs for maintenance. It could be done when labor is cheap, but with the inevitable increasing cost on labor in China, the way to make the city a big garden by public investment would be a problem. And another disadvantage of it is that, citizens have now become the guests of the public garden instead of the hosts, and the responsibility of maintaining the greens of the city goes solely to the municipal government or the green bureau.

[3] The Nationwide Physical Fitness and street life

Apart from building the public urban land into gardens and the wide green, leisure and recreation become the major function of the urban open space. Especially after the reform and opening up, with the booming of the market economy, government-guided political activities reduced. After 1989, the kind of activities was even less. Public communications in urban open space can be found in leisure recreations featured with the public physical fitness.

The first *Physical Health Law* of the People's Republic of China was adopted in 1995. In the same year, the State Council promulgated *the Outline of Nationwide Physical Fitness Program*, followed by a series of rules and regulations. A survey released by the State Physical Culture Administration indicates that 33.9 percent of the population between ages of 7 to 70 exercise regularly and 60.7 percent of the urban population go to sports clubs for fitness activities in 2009.⁵⁵¹

In January 2009, the state council decided to set August 8th to be the **Nationwide Physical Fitness Day** from 2009. In September 2009, the state council published *Regulations on National Physical Fitness*, which became the first complete and systematic special administrative regulations regarding the development of national physical fitness. And the new round National Physical Fitness Plan will be promulgated in 2010. According to the *Regulations on National Physical Fitness* and the *new National*

⁵⁵¹ China academy of urban planning and design. *Urban planning data set*. 《城市规划资料集》, 中国建筑工业出版社, 2011.

Physical Fitness Plan (2011-2015), it is the government's goal to build the physical fitness service system for the public. There are 616 thousand stadiums and gymnasium open to the public at present, convenient physical fitness sites with physical fitness equipment and facilities are built in urban communities, parks and plazas, meadows, road sides, and the residential areas.⁵⁵² After Beijing Olympic Games, the central government invested 12.4 million Yuan in the construction of the *National Physical Fitness Project*⁵⁵³ to support the Farmers' Physical Fitness Project in over 30 thousand administrative villages, 148 Timely Support Projects, over 3,000 National Physical Fitness routes, 71 National Physical Fitness Centers and 53 national physical fitness outdoor camps, physical parks, national physical fitness squares. At present, State Administration of Sports and the National Commission for Development and Reform are working on the Twelfth Five-year Plan on the Construction of Physical Fitness Public Infrastructure. The basic idea of the Plan is: in terms of the model of the physical fitness equipment, the centre is the construction of the national physical fitness centers in urban communities and towns and villages, at the same time, the public spaces such as greens, parks, plazas are to be explored for outdoor physical fitness; the management of the stadiums and gymnasiums is realized by the means of the separation of management and activity holding, consigned management, public construction and private management and so on, the stadiums and gymnasiums used to be managed by the sports authorities are to be managed by a third party, and the stadiums and gymnasium built by the local government are to be managed by the non-profitable third party, and the management authorities supervise the opening time and the ticket price.

In 2003, Beijing municipal government promulgated the Olympic Operation Plan for the Sports in Beijing to start the activities during the preparation for the 29th Olympic Games.⁵⁵⁴ In the five years preparing for the Olympic Games, the group activity plan of "national physical fitness, going with the Olympics" was carried out. To the end of 2007, there were 6,069 national physical fitness projects in Beijing with and area of 4.19 million m², and the total investment was 726 million Yuan. Among the investment, the State Administration of Sports invested 25.85 million, the municipal sports bureau invested 210 million, the districts and counties invested 490 million, and all the streets, towns and the communities with necessary conditions were equipped with national physical fitness facilities.⁵⁵⁵ On December 1st 2005, National Physical Fitness Plan of Beijing was issued and it was enforced from March 1st 2006. As legal regulations, article 12 of the Plan stipulates: municipal planning authorities should inform the sports administration of

⁵⁵² Regulations on National Physical Fitness (China). 2009.

⁵⁵³ Baike, Baidu. *the National Physical Fitness Project*. 2012. [online] available at: http://baike.baidu.com/link?url=WatfB931yiyEqXkWr322Up4i7spIlyAM1GdNJJ2MMaCR5ATGD5OrYZYPQjnsTKeJ44xm4jPiMMxmcFpIfpefR_

⁵⁵⁴ Beijing Municipal bureau of Sport. *Olympic Operation Plan for the Sports in Beijing*. [online] available at: <http://www.bjsports.gov.cn/publish/main/116307/116331/20121219164258343723761/index.html>

⁵⁵⁵ Ibid.

the situation of the planned and revised supporting sports facilities in the residential areas; the sports authorities at municipal, districts and county levels should cooperate with the planning, construction and land and resources authorities for the checking, supervision and management of the supporting sports facilities in the residential areas. The target of *Outline of National Physical Fitness Plan* issued in 1995 in 2010 is: finishing the building of the national physical fitness system with Chinese characteristics. The great outcome of the implementation of the plan is that, outdoor public physical fitness areas can be seen nationwide with the same facilities. Physical fitness in urban open space and various kinds of recreational activities become the unique features in the cities of China. In parks, street parks, the outdoor areas and even in the shade in the streets, people are engaged in all kinds of exercises in the morning and at dusk: martial arts, running, gaming, dancing and playing chess; the outdoor activities, recreation, and leisure belong to the concept of 'national physical fitness'. The aged and the retired people are the major group in the active physical fitness in urban outdoor space. The policy of 'national physical fitness' has got many open space services done for the physical fitness of citizens with the public funds, with these artificial public open spaces becoming some kind of free communications platforms. People come along doing interactive exercise there, talking about public affairs and exchanging their free thoughts. So, it has produced an unexpected effect from the 'national physical fitness' over the physical exercise—the mental exercise of people's mind and spirit, despite most of these people are senior citizens.

3.3.2.2 Usage: public usage and private usage of space

■ The privatization of land usage

China's transition from planned economy to market economy could be divided into three stages:

In the first stage, the idea of 'planned economy' as the primary and 'market economy' as the supplementary was created.⁵⁵⁶ The Sixth Conference of the Eleventh Central Committee of the CPC held in 1981 passed "Resolution on Certain Questions in the History of the Party since the Founding of the State", and it officially proposed the model of "planned economy as the primary and market regulation the supplementary", paving the path to developing market economy.

In the second stage, the conception of 'planned commodity economy' was created.⁵⁵⁷ The Second Conference of the Twelfth Central Committee of the CPC held in 1984 passed Decision on Economic System Reform, emphasizing that socialist economy was the planned commodity economy on the basis of public ownership. And the ideological perception of the opposition between planned economy and

⁵⁵⁶ Chen Shu, 2008. *30 years: from planned economy to socialist market economy*. 《回首30年：从计划经济到社会主义市场经济》. [online] available at: http://news.china.com.cn/txt/2008-11/26/content_16833613.htm

⁵⁵⁷ Ibid.

commodity economy was then changed.

In the third stage, the ‘socialist market economy system’ was founded.⁵⁵⁸ The 14th Conference of CPC held in 1992 set up goals of reform in economy system, defining the establishment of ‘socialist market economy system.’

The reform and opening up started in 1979 first began in China’s rural areas. Household contract production responsibility system in rural areas transferred usage right of land in rural village from People’s Commune to the farming households. And the rural collectivization policy that had been implemented in the countryside since 1958 then terminated. But in cities, urban reform found prudent and slow, as it was only carried out in the special economic zones such as Shenzhen and certain cities. The reform started developing commodity market. With the development of urban commodity market and the rapid thriving of commodity economy of China, land, an important urban commercial resource, eventually moved toward being commercialized. But the process was not finished in one move. The reform Constitution of 1982 has nationalized urban land and developed a conception of ‘land property right’ from the state-owned land, which conglomerated a right cluster of multiple rights including land ownership, land usage right and other kinds of right. Since then, China’s urban land began the process of commercialization, namely the process of the privatization of usage right of land. Today, real estate is overdeveloped in China, with a large amount of real-estate bubbles coming out in large cities of Beijing and Shanghai. Thus, from the 1982 separation of usage right and ownership of urban land to the 2010 policy of adjustable control on real estate bubbles or over-commercialization, it had passed three stages:

[1] The separation of usage right 1982~1988

Article 10 of the Constitution of 1982 stipulated: “*urban land belongs to the state.*”⁵⁵⁹ To the end of 1980s, many laws and regulations were published: *Regulations on Urban Planning*, *Regulations on the Management of Urban Private Houses*, *Regulations on Land Requisition for National Construction*, *Land Management Law of the People’s Republic of China*, *Civil Law* and so on. The laws and regulations in the stage were mostly policies supplemented by the specific laws to form the land management system, ensuring the state ownership of urban land, as well as realizing the separation of the usage right from ownership of urban land.

[2] The formation of usage right 1988~1998

⁵⁵⁸ Ibid.

⁵⁵⁹ Constitution of the People's Republic of China, Article 2. 1982.

Beginning from 1988, China began to change its planned economy into market economy, which was approved by the Fourteenth Conference of the CPC. The first Plenary Session of the Seventh National People's Congress held in 1988 passed the *Amendment to the Constitution of the People's Republic of China*, emphasizing the reform of land usage system in law. Article 2 of the Amendment stipulated: “*Any organization or individual should not encroach, transact or transfer land illegally in any other form. Usage right of land can be transferred in accordance with the law.*”⁵⁶⁰ On April 23rd 1990, the Reply to the Ownership and Usage Right of Urban House Site of National Land Management Bureau to the Supreme People's Court pointed out that: “*After the Constitution in 1982 stipulates that urban land is owned by the state, citizens have the natural usage right over the land they own.*” In December 1998, the Fifth Plenary Session of the Seventh National People's Congress revised *Land Management Law*, issuing *Urban Planning Law*, *Regulations on the Demolition of Urban Houses* was issued in 1991, *Urban Real Estate Management Law* was issued on July 5th 1994, and *Regulations on the Demolition of Urban Houses* was revised in October 2001, and so on. The issuing of the laws and regulations in the stage symbolizes the primary forming of the land usage right in law.

[3] The definition of the usage right 1998~2007

House allocation in China came to the end by 1998, when urban housing system was transformed from the planned economy to market economy. After 1998, with the development and flourishing of the market economy in China, the number of private property increased, and legal demand for the protection for private property also increased. During the Sixteenth Conference of the CPC held in November 2002, it was proposed to “improve the legal system to protect private property.” In March 2004, the Second Plenary Session of the Tenth National People's Congress passed the Amendment to the Constitution, and the rule “legal private property should not be encroached” was written in law for the first time, and private property right became constitutional. On March 16th, 2007, the Fifth Plenary Session of the Tenth National People's Congress passed *the Law of Property (draft)*, which was to be implemented from October 1st of the same year. The law confirms the equal protection of the public and private property, stipulating that “*national, collective, individual property right and the right of other owners are protected by law, any organization or individual should not encroach.*”⁵⁶¹ With the issuing and implementation of the *Law of Property*, usage right of urban land was finally confirmed in law, and there was legal protection for the privatization of usage right of urban land.

After three-decade of reform, the usage of urban land in China was built on the basis of property right.

⁵⁶⁰ Amendment to the Constitution of the People's Republic of China. 1988. Article 2

⁵⁶¹ Law of Property of the People's Republic of China. 2007. Article 4.

That is to say, the ownership of urban land is public and the state council has the right on behalf of the country. And the usage right enters real estate market and becomes privatized. The tenure of ordinary house land is 70 year and the commercial land is 50 years.⁵⁶²

3.3.3 Specific social relation: from street-piece association to Urban block association

Since the start of reform and opening up, social association space has returned to the relation of public and private. The nationalization movement started with the new Constitution in 1982, and came to the end after the nationalization of the ownership of all urban lands. At the same time, with the separation of the usage right of land and space from its ownership, the privatization of land and space in China began. The single dimensional allocation society in time of planned economy began to disintegrate. The development of market economy has brought China with the double dimensional structure of public and individual. After the issuance and implementation of the *Law of Property* in 2007, legality of private property was formed in law in the form of property right. The double dimensional structure of public and individual was confirmed, the association space of Beijing changed into the urban block from the homogeneous street-piece before the reform. And the urban blocks with different features and functions are formed: financial block, CBD commercial block, bar block, embassy block, Hutong block, and 798 art zone block and so on. Based on the old street-piece, the blocks developed rapidly with the market economy and form the association space of contemporary Beijing.

Through reform, marketization and associative space have simultaneously developed in China. With the shrink of unit system, national plan and the old welfare system from the society, social space has been re-socialized to take over the former social realm in forms of enterprise, company, and social organization. Through the transition, the sub-district administrative office, which used to aid unit and government in managing urban space, changed its function to bear more duties that belonged to former social responsibilities of unit and government.⁵⁶³ According to the survey conducted by the civil affairs authorities, the sub-district office has had at least 8 tasks: (1) Community management. Carrying out urban management laws and regulations, making and implementing urban management plans in the jurisdictions, organizing and supervising the management of city image, environment, infrastructure, greening and environment protection. (2) Community services. Organizing, instructing, and supervising the community service for seniors, the disabled, infant and children, mental health, social assistance, life

⁵⁶² Urban and rural planning law of the people's Republic of China. 2007.

⁵⁶³ He Yanling, *State and society in urban community: an investigation in Le street in China*. 《都市街区中的国家与社会：乐街调查》，social sciences academic press (China), 2007. P.63.

accessibility, custom fashion, etc. (3) Comprehensive measures on social security. Organizing, guiding, and supervising the promotion of law, civil mediation, and social security to assure social stability. (4) Construction of civilized society. Organizing, guiding and supervising activities in promoting civilized spirits in the jurisdiction such as community culture, community education, community technology, community sports, and community hygiene so on. (5) Street-piece economy. Managing the national and collective property to maintain and increase their value. Supporting, encouraging, and guiding individual development, private, and other forms of non-state-operated economy, to increase value and explore channels of revenue. According to the Constitution of the People's Republic of China, as the representative offices of the local government (municipal jurisdiction, municipal government without districts), sub-district administrative offices have the function to manage the economy. According to the requirement to change the function of the government for the socialist economy development, the sub-district administrative offices should focus on district economy, improve community environment and enhance economic development. (6) Civil affairs such as social welfare activities (7) Population management including family plan, employment, and migrated population. (8) Instruction on work of residents' committee.

The above-mentioned eight tasks can be concluded in three aspects: localized governance, community services and economic development in the jurisdiction.

■ The decline of Street-piece

With the change of the role of sub-district administrative office in the process of reform and opening up, and the privatization of the usage right of urban land in China, street-piece—association space in the planned economy times declined. On June 27th 2009, the Ninth Plenary Session of the Eleventh National People's Congress passed Decision of the Standing Committee of the NPC to Rescind Certain Laws, including *Organizing Regulations of Local Police Stations*, *Organizing Regulations of Urban Sub-district Administrative Offices* and so on. Thus, *Organizing Regulations of Urban Sub-district Administrative Offices* issued in December 1954 was rescinded after over 50 years. The reason is that, after 50 years, the setting, structure, and functions of the offices changed greatly and the rules of the Regulation were no longer suitable for the need of social and economic development. The offices were not removed after the Regulation was rescinded and they still existed as the front-line organizations of the local government. The setting, organizing, and the responsibilities of the offices were to be stipulated in administrative rules and local law. For example, *Working Regulations on the Work of Sub-district Administrative Office of Beijing* issued in 1999 and the *Regulations of Sub-district Administrative Office of Shanghai* issued in 1997.

During the Cultural Revolution, faced with the developed unit responsibility system and the least floating population, the sub-district administrative office and street management system had basically lost their fundamental duties and functions in urban management and social affairs. Their major responsibility was to serve the political activities that took place in the open urban space. With the reform and opening up, the *Organizational Regulations of Urban Sub-district Administrative Offices* of 1954 was re-issued in February 1979, the daily work of the offices recovered and the key work of the offices were “two services”: serve economic construction and serve people’s daily life. *The Organizational Law of Local People’s Congress and Local Government at Different Levels* issued in the same year specified it again that “the municipal district government or the municipal government without the district setting can establish sub-district administrative offices as its legal dispatched agencies upon the approval of the government at a higher level.”⁵⁶⁴ After the Fourteenth Central Committee of the CPC, city governance system was built in China to meet the needs of the market economy development, on the basis of city, district and sub-district, the new city governance system of “city and district governments and three-level management” was set up, the role and status of the sub-district administrative office were strengthened in city governance. More and more city governance function of the municipal government gives the offices the function of the organizing, management and service of the community. Thus, as the major practitioner of city governance, the offices should finish the work assigned by the district government. And some of it may include: economic examination. To finish the examination work assigned by the government, the temporary tasks should be finished at first. And the important task of the long term planning of the street-piece and public interests become an extra job that can be hung. And according to the old *Organizing Regulations of Urban Sub-district Administrative Offices*, as the front-line organizations of the district government, the offices manage the community and community committees in their jurisdiction with administrative measures. As the autonomous organizations, residents’ committee is guided and not led by the offices. But in fact, especially in the communities formed with the allocated houses during the planned economy period, residents’ committees existed as the subordinates of the offices and were less autonomous. So the offices responsible for the affairs of the association space had to deal with the affairs of the community. It led to the disorder of functions and the increase of work load. In general, with the restraint of the government financial system, the offices could get enough financial support from the government. So the devotion to economic development became the major function of the office. In the old street-piece, namely the jurisdiction of the offices, the offices exerted public rights and resources to help develop economy. The change transferred the function of the office from city governance—public benefits to the developing of the collaboration of public rights, resources and social capital that formed a

⁵⁶⁴ The Organizational Law of Local People’s Congress and Local Government at Different Levels. 1979.

phenomena of corporationism.⁵⁶⁵ But the change usually tended to be introverted rather than extroverted, so it is hard to form a wide and decentralized corporationism, which is more turned out to be a benefit community in the development.

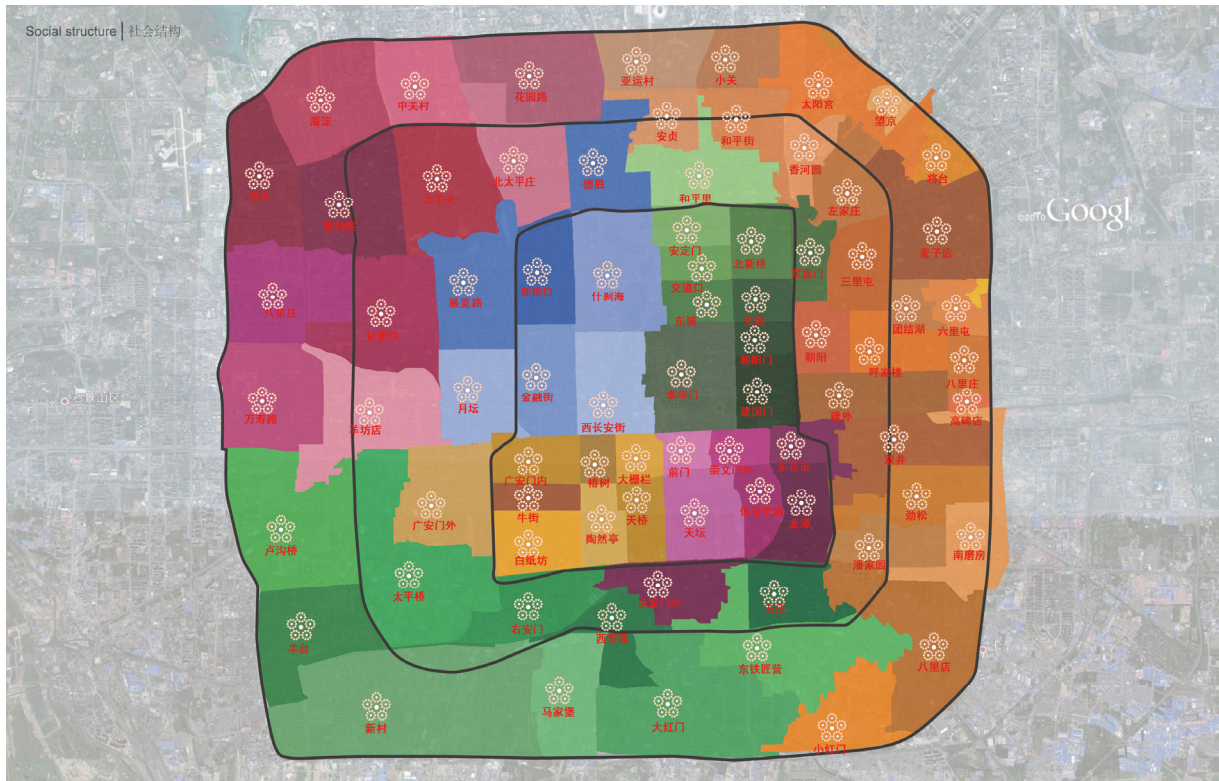
■ From sub-district office to management committee: from street-district to block

Following the reform in marketization, the old responsibility system, namely the street-piece in charge of the extroverted urban space and the unit in charge of the management of the introverted urban space, rapidly declined. Sub-district office—the basis for the socio-spatial street-piece was also faced with the reform of itself. During the Cultural Revolution, the city governance system for the homogeneous urban society was “governments at two levels and management of the same level.” After the start of reform and opening up, while facing the development of commercial society, the model was developed into “governments at two levels with management on two levels in late 1980s, in a bid to increase the efficiency of city governance. In 1996, Shanghai municipal government first proposed sub-district governance model of “governments at two levels with management on three levels”,⁵⁶⁶ emphasizing the social management role of the office as a grass-root organization. The Shanghai Model was widely applied into practice in the country.

After the abolition of Organizing Regulations of Urban Sub-district Administrative Office in 2009, the sub-district office—the grass-root urban management organization, was faced with uncertainties in its future development, which could affect its function, role and value. There were different opinions on the development of the office: change its functions, change it into the first-level government aimed at realizing the “governments at three levels of municipal, district and sub-district with management on three levels”, and remove the office.

⁵⁶⁵ He Yanling, *State and society in urban community: an investigation in Le street in China*. 《都市街区中的国家与社会：乐街调查》，social sciences academic press (China), 2007. P.74.

⁵⁶⁶ Urban and rural planning law of the people's Republic of China. 《中华人民共和国城乡规划法》，2007.



Map 3-6: The sub-district jurisdiction of Beijing inside of 4th ring road and its social structure. source: author creation.

Beijing municipal government issued *Work regulations of Sub-district Administrative Office of Beijing* in January 1999, emphasizing that “*exert the role of the office in city governance*”,⁵⁶⁷ and clarifying that the office is the dispatched agency of the district government to exert governance responsibility in the jurisdiction; the work of the office is to provide the residents with city governance and community service, including city governance, social management, community service and guidance for residents’ affairs. *Work regulations of Sub-district Administrative Office of Beijing* extended the responsibilities of the office and granted it relevant authorities and powers, indicating Beijing’s two tendencies of transforming the function and role of the office into “government-like”.⁵⁶⁸

Besides the models of Shanghai and Beijing, while facing the nationwide economic and social transition, there are also different models in other Chinese cities. Different strategies are made in accordance with the transition of the function, role and value of the sub-district office: (1) government-oriented governing model: based on current conditions, keep improving the organizing structure of the office; (2) society-oriented governing model: remove the office, and transfer the social function of the office to the

⁵⁶⁷ Work regulations of Sub-district Administrative Office of Beijing. 1999.1.

⁵⁶⁸ Ibid.

autonomous community organization, such as community residents' committee; (3) enterprise-oriented governing model: for newly built urban district after urbanization, no such kind of office is to be set up, learn from the managing model of urban development zone and set up the enterprise-oriented governing model of the 'management committee'. The management committee formed a half-administrative and half-autonomous, public and private cooperative organization, which is consisted of heads of autonomous organizations, heads of administrative organizations and representatives of proprietors. In three models, following the development in urbanization, the old street-piece is gradually replaced by demolition and newly developed real-estate projects. Like animal's skin shedding, the old street-piece is replaced by new-born urban association space. The sub-district office is no longer the only socio-spatial basis of the urban association space; it is the basis consisted of urban administration, enterprises, and society. This new basis has formed the urban block in nowadays China. After the subject in the jurisdiction of the sub-district office is changed from the state-owned unit in planned economy into the company centered on business and service, followed by the development of urban real-estate, it has left space in street-piece mostly used by individuals, with the expended private space gradually taking over the open space that previously belonged to the public. Thus, the sub-district office's urban governance function should turn to ensure the maximization of the public interest. So it needs a public and open social platform to create a win-win situation between the government administration and the social needs and commercial development, and eventually realize a balance between public and private interests. With the expansion of urban areas and the increasing construction of new city zones, in foreseeable future, the enterprise-oriented governing model, namely management committee model, should bear with greater importance and development.

■ From free market to featured block: new type of association space, urban block

The development of market economy, through its beneficial supplement to planned economy, to plan-oriented economy, to the market-oriented socialist market economy, has left the core of the organization of social association space eventually changed from state planning to market demanding.⁵⁶⁹ In the process, commodity market grew from the retreated planned system, such as the crevice of unit. Unlike the shock therapy of the Eastern Europe, the way of China's transformation is step by step.⁵⁷⁰ The free market began emerging from underground to public and entered into the open urban space. The natural commercial space association gathered resources through membership and form the space environment with unique features. In Beijing, the free market developed from the wings of some streets and the urban tradition of business street in Beijing was recovered to certain extent. After stores took the space in front of the streets,

⁵⁶⁹ Note: market demanding under the state macro-control.

⁵⁷⁰ Zhang Jingxiang, Luo Zhendong, He Jianyi, *Institutional transition and restructuring of Chinese urban space*. 《体制转型与中国城市空间重构》, 东南大学出版社, 2007. P.32.

business expanded to the surroundings of the streets. Most urban space in Beijing is square, so the expansion of business street extends along the horizontal and vertical street system. The expansion of the business street in the period of free market forms a stable area after the increase of several streets in the same direction. So a block was formed. The scale of the block was formed naturally within the walking distance of customers, which is usually a radius of five-minute walk. Once the block is formed, except for the outside force, such as government demolition, it is hard for the business block in the free market period to expand in its power, and it can only be expanded by increasing the density or height of the space.

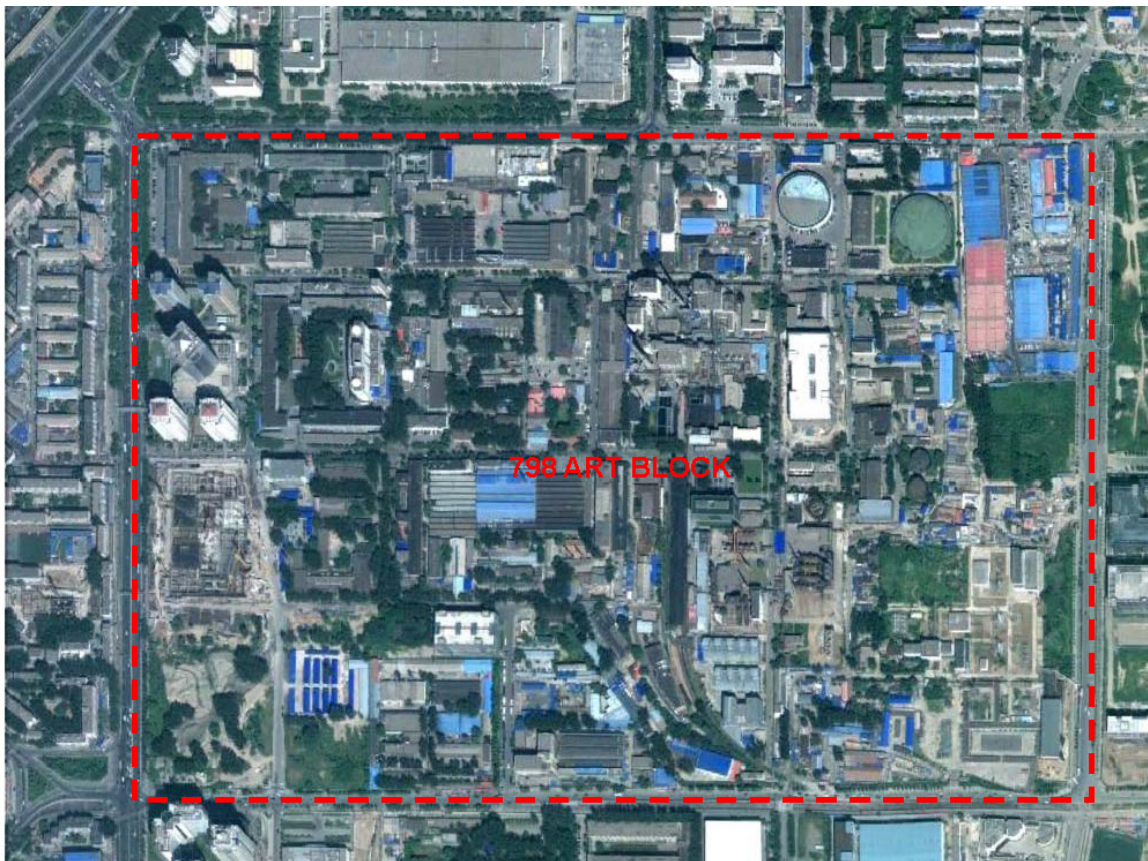
Among business blocks formed in the free market period, some came from old urban space traditions, such as Wangfujing business street, antique street of Liulichang, snack street of Fulong Temple and so on, since reform, these places have regained their traditional life again; and others benefited from the opening policy, such as Panjiayuan Second-hand goods market, bar street of Sanlitun, and bar street of Houhai, etc. After 1998, with the end of housing allocation in China, urban real estate has developed quickly, the land usage right of business blocks formed in the free market period has become the most important commercial resource of the municipal government. Some naturally formed business blocks were torn down by the government and sold to the real estate developers for commercial development. As the land is owned by the state, thus, for the large land development in city, the transference of land usage right is usually accredited to the jurisdiction of the traditional sub-district office, namely the street-piece as unit; whereas for the small land development, it is accredited to the several streets naturally formed block as unit.

Due to special circumstance, some naturally formed blocks remain intact, for example, Houhai bar street survived a traditional protected urban area, where is forbidden to normal real estate development; and Art Zone of 798 arsenal survived an important historical site, etc.

Since 1998, the development in real estate of Beijing has grown fast. As far as *Work Regulations of Sub-district Administrative Offices* of Beijing was issued in January 1999, the conventional offices were empowered with more city governance functions. Apart from aiding the municipal government in urban demolition and real estate development, the sub-district office is also responsible for making and developing plans in urban block, especially for its economic development and raised tax revenue. How to increase the competitiveness and space value of the urban block becomes the goal of the office as a local administrative organization. Under the circumstances, urban blocks of Beijing are diversified and characterized. Some urban blocks with unique features emerged, for instance, financial street block; women's street block; Wangfujing Street, Solana recreational block and so on. According to their driven

forces in development, it can divide the blocks into three types: market-oriented; government-oriented and society-oriented. The market-oriented social space association, such as Houhai bar street, Nanluogu alley traditional business street; the government-oriented space association, such as Zhongguancun technology town, financial street; society-oriented space association such as 798 art zone. Today, the development of urban blocks in Beijing is mainly government-oriented, leaving either the market oriented or the society oriented only exist in some special cases. Even among these special cases, they are amid with government interference and influence everywhere. But only one case is exceptional, 798 art zone, a declined military factory that could be demolished for real estate development but has been preserved, thanks to its important influence to contemporary global art. This rarefied special case is a precious reference for the future development of urban blocks in Beijing.

■ Social oriented associative space——798 Art Zone



Map 3-7:798 art zone in Beijing, as a urban block. resource: google earth map.2012.

798 Factory was a large-scale military factory site close to the 4th ring road in the Shunyi District of Beijing, which was a typical product of the 1950-1960 Soviet Union facility planning mode in China. In

fact, it was built with the assistance of former socialist East Germany (DDR), with lots of plant buildings belonged to so called Bauhaus' style.⁵⁷¹ As a demonstrative project aided by socialist country, 798 Factory had a glorified history both in its infrastructure and industrial production. After entering the 1990s, like many other old industries in the city, the industrial production of 798 Factory gradually came to a halt. The busy factory in the past was cooled down by its immense amount of debt, worn-out production lines and absent state orders. Following a great number of workers' laid-off or resign, the factory area eventually became deserted. And the demolition and renovation of the whole area was then put on the agenda of the city administration. However, an abrupt change in here slowed down the process of the planned demolition and renovation of it. Since 2000,⁵⁷² a great number of artists' studios and galleries have been open in the factory site, where the idle factory buildings with enormous dimensions, cheap rents, and of course, a rather free atmosphere, have drawn lots of artists to come together. This waste land of 798 in the corner of city suddenly revived with youth and endless charming. After several years of development, 798 Art Zone has reached an unprecedented prosperity, attracting many overseas agencies to come for either investment or station (such as UCCA). In nowadays, it has become very hard to rent a free space here. But for artists who work and live here, gallery operators, coffee shop workers, readers, and even those who come touring or wandering, 798 Art Zone is a glamorous maze of treasures. The art map of 798 factory site became the road map for diggers who are looking for treasures. In fact, the charm of 798 is not for its galleries, coffees, bars or others, as which could be easily found in other places, but from the vagueness of its maze style and the complete openness of its public space. In addition, it is featured with a kind of temporariness, so a threat of being demolished anytime before and a kind of temporariness now have greatly increased the vagueness and openness of the 798 space.

⁵⁷¹ Huang Rui. *Beijing 798*, 《北京798》, 四川美术出版社, 2008.

⁵⁷² Ibid.



Photo 3-9: 798 art zone. 2012. source: photographer by author

[1] The Vagueness

The vagueness of 798 Factory came from its vague terrain and vague identity.

If you pay a first visit to the gardening in the South of China, you would be dazzled by the changed scenes in every step, the complicatedly borrowed scenes, and the roundabout lanes to water or the winding paths to hill. In 798, while a broad road at the beginning may lead you to a dead end at the corner, a narrow path may suddenly become a wide street waiting for you at the next turn. Countless paths are interwoven in the factory site, with each of them leading to a mystic cave. What even more interesting is while new paths or new spaces may appear at anytime, old roads or spaces may suddenly disappear. There are not any definite boundaries between the spaces; sometimes you may cross one space and into another before you are aware of it. The enormous factory buildings were transformed into countless separate space fragments, which are piled together without signs, changing the environment all the time and producing even more space fragments. You never get to know the street names, let alone to find street numbers for clues. Everywhere you see various arrows or signs which lead you most likely to nowhere, though they seem to indicate that certain spaces exist or once existed. A random walk may be more suitable here. The numerous complicated paths, various overlaps and transfers, mutually connected or separated spaces, constitute the peculiar vague terrain of 798: the blending of indoors and outdoors, the confusion of interior and exterior, the co-existence of different heights and directions, the constantly

opened and closed space fragments and the current paths that connect these fragments. The spaces in 798 look like the constant living and growing organic beings.

In current 798, there are art galleries, studios, restaurants, bars, coffee houses, franchised stores, bookstores, agencies and institutions, enterprises, and some of the old workshops that are still in production. On the 798 art map, there have no road names, building numbers or street signs, but the marks of main entrance and rough site marks for various galleries or studios. How to define 798? Is it a gallery street? a work camp of artists? a base of art education? or, a bar street? a shopping center, or, a tourist resort? The vagueness of 798's self identification has made it hardly to be clearly defined in light of planning theory or land use. 798 still remains the old name of 798 factory, despite this factory no longer make military products instead of spaces of itself. In 798, there is piled with a large amount non-material, from garbage to work of art, from defected product to certified product. Of which, some are on display in exhibition halls, some are discarded on the side of road, and some even appeared at the corner of wall of the studio or in the courtyard. After failing to discern and indentify whether an exhibition hall or a corridor, visitors could hardly believe whether a work of art or a discarded stuff even they are on spotlight. Sometimes it looks like an exhibition hall but a corridor, sometimes it looks like a coffee house but an exhibition hall. The vague spaces of ambiguous meanings formed 798. The crowds in 798 consisted of diverse people of different nationalities, skin colors, occupations, languages, ages, and backgrounds, etc. They came for watching exhibitions, working, eating, shopping and wandering. Once the crowds enter into 798, they become part of its huge spatial performance: visitors like the works and audiences like the cast. With such a glamorous broad stage open 24-hour each day at 798, anyone who comes in could be absorbed by its dramaturgical dimensions and become part of its performance. The uncertainties of its spatial identity, and the object and subject identities in its spaces have jointly constituted the indefinite identity of 798.

[2] The Temporariness

In a constantly changing system, you can never determine all information or variables. What you can see from it are only countless details and moments that could never be copied. In 798, an uncertainty of the unknown demolition plan and its timetable for the whole area brought about a shabby and make-shift nature of its buildings. Any money-consuming plan for new building or renovation is not practical, for no one knows what exactly the timing of the area is to be demolished. So it's unnecessary to take any responsibility for the future, as 798 could never have any century-old buildings. It was a consensus to make the fullest possible use of its present buildings and spaces for its renovation. As most galleries or exhibition halls could change their exhibiting themes once in a while, the interior shape of the space

would constantly be changing in accordance with the requirements of different items on display. Thus, to visit a same space at different times, you would find that it could be completely changed, for sake of the space itself, whatever the shape, content or size, could all be unrecognizable, even the entrance could be changed too. Maybe a green unit space this time, and a white complicated space with a three-story interior next time. It would hardly find any other identities in this space except its rough spot and name could have some sort of continuity. The space was only provided with the framework and ground by the old plant, but in its interior and exterior, various small spaces have freely divided and combined like cells, making the space constantly fluctuated. On the other hand, due to the same uncertainty of the unknown demolition plan, the spaces in 798 are usually rented for short periods. No high-efficiency property management services are available, no buying or selling of the property; whatever available are only rented and subleased. The temporariness in the use of spaces made the same space in different appearances when put in different hands: which could be either a sculpture workshop, or a coffee house, or a multi-media lab, or a tailor's shop, or even an empty space. Here it never has had identical space shapes. Every time you come to 798, you will see a different 798.

[3] The public space of complete openness

Openness is the most important feature of 798. It is open 24 hours a day, even the setting up of an exhibition there is open to the public. The studios are all open to the public, where display the works of owners and also serve as their workshops. The environment of the studio as well as its occupants becomes parts of the display. Various spaces of large or small connect with all kind of paths and make them open towards the paths as much as possible. While a future tourism slogan is called for 'search and explore the unknown spaces' of 798, the aim of the 798 spaces is dedicated in the complete exposure to the public. 798 created an unusually complicated public space with open multiple caves and holes. Here the concepts of interior and exterior, street and plaza, public and private, open and close, space and skin are all becoming meaningless. Connected in all directions with mutual penetration, the spaces have formed new types of urban public places in openness. People from all walks of life, student, professor, merchant, paddler, artist, official, worker, tourist, group or individual, different social class, all gathered here, where they shared the space to do whatever they wanted and express themselves in ways of: praising, criticizing, instructing, joking, inspiring, scolding or mediating. Here all pieces of social scenarios are freely presented: the dog of the rich, the high-eye browed oil painting, the fashion item of the decoration, the nostalgic genre of the revolution, the modern image of the alternative people, the living status of the migrated worker, and the family picture book of the laid-off worker, etc. 798 has various social groups, crowds, classes, nationalities or cultural backgrounds melted into one real open public space that is rarely formed in contemporary cities. Like a broad stage, its open exterior space has connected with every

interior space to serve the public sphere, creating a social life of complete openness, vibrancy and diversity.

[4] The question of urban planning

To city planners, the 798 was nothing but a chaotic and ruined space, lacking of or simply not having sidewalks and boulevards, let alone to say any magnificent and symmetric architectural facades. The shabby and untidy flat houses or small plants built in private ways are everywhere. Even its main street is nameless, and finally it got a short name-calling of 798. For such a chaotic and desolated area, it could only find a last resort of demolition in the old urban planning theories to pave the way for urban avenues, concentrated green lands and high-rising residential buildings of 20-story or higher. It can be imagined, in a new-built spacious and gated management compound, the elegant middle-class residents and the quite residential community would jointly help achieve the planners' ambition and the new dwellers' ecstasy, and simply let this desolated and wasted space of that maze factory forever disappear.

Without a clear definition, this piece of land was meant the desolated.

Without a clear nature for the use of land, this piece of land was meant the uncivilized.

Without a definite development plan or goal, this piece of land was meant the urgent need of planning and development.

Without clear-cut divisions between public spaces and private spaces, this piece of land was meant the dirty, ugly and chaotic situation.

In dogmatic planning theories and urban theories, all of the above could define 798 as a dirty, dark corner in the city that needed an urgent redevelopment. However, in reality, 798 is a lively flourishing urban space. It can be described with many adjectives such as safe, healthy, transparent, optimistic and colorful, etc. In the past few years, the 798 has transformed from a deserted old factory site to an art community with over one hundred galleries and art studios and become more and more appealing to people from all over the world. In the foreseeable future, its scale will grow larger. Although there are many unknown factors that may hold back its development, if anyone wanted to demolish this place now, it is absolutely invincible.

In conclusion, 798 may have created a new type of associative block space, where is no isolation and forced boundaries. The unique characteristics of 798 are highlighted by its vagueness in space and identity, temporariness in existence and complete open space in public. For those who were tired of the crisis of urban public space in the 20th century, 798 brought them with hopes. In the meanwhile, it defeated the obsolete urban planning theories with its genuine existence, and even raised concerns about the planning of it. In one word, 798 made it possible for the open public associative space of vibrancy and diversity to present in China and become the social communication stage for the emerging middle class of China.

Summary

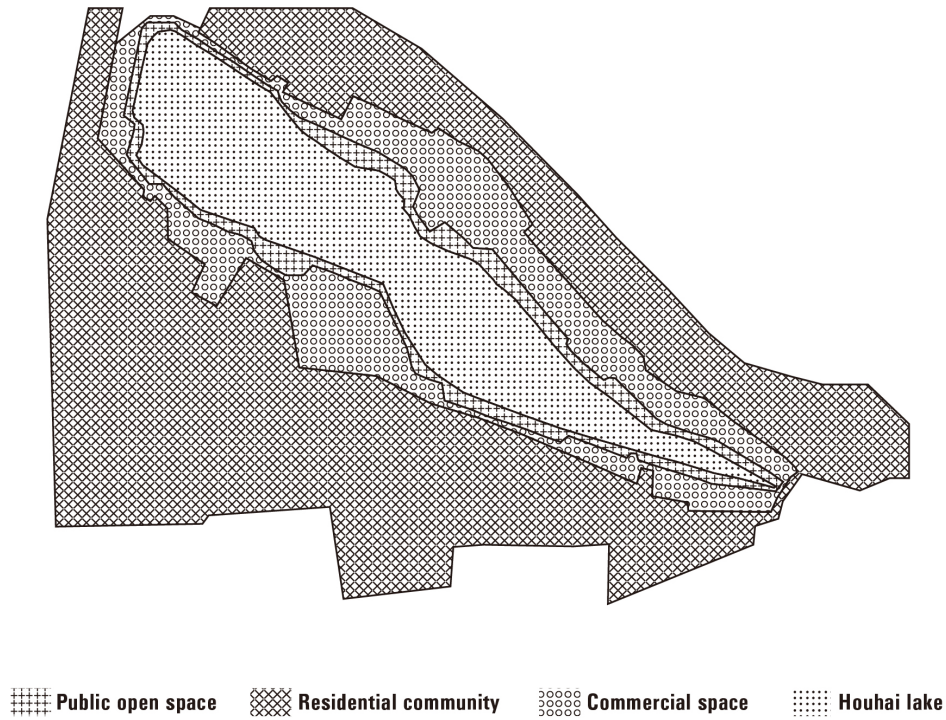
China has accomplished the transformation of the economic system from planned economy to market economy since the reform and opening up was started in 1979. Through the process, social vibrancy has been released from the restraint of the community and association space of the rationing society formed by units and street-pieces, with more and more social people of personality coming to surpass those unit people in blue uniforms. Like the unit community from the old economic system that lost cohesion in the new economy system, in a more open and developed urban society, the old street-piece association also lost magnetism and got disintegrated. Gradually those street-pieces of faded-out social life have one after another fallen into the placement of urban administrative zoning. With the rapid urban development, Beijing has started forming new social space association, which is based on the transforming of the social structure of the Chinese society to form the special socio-spatial features—the urban block. Among the urban blocks in the city, many were formed spontaneously by free market, and some others were formed by government orientation, such as CBD, financial streets, etc. And most spontaneous blocks have then formed some business featured blocks after the free market period. Since 1998, the sub-district office—the former government organization in the street-piece, after its work priority was changed to help increase tax revenue and develop business, the spontaneous urban blocks have drawn much attention from the office, which stepped into urban blocks with its increased intervention and control. Thus, the urban blocks have entered into a new stage of development, as every sub-district office wished to make a unique block under its management. So, a variety of names are created for blocks, which also get the support from government, as a way to draw investment in upgrading the blocks. The upgrading of the blocks means: higher buildings, greater population flow, more investment, more taxes and more income, and also a fashioned name. There are many blocks given the new names after the upgrading, such as Silk Street—Silk Town, antique street—antique town, Zhongguancun street—technology town. In fact, the city in Chinese language is formed in two words: cheng, shi, which are originally meant city-market. The market of the city appears in form of street in Chinese traditions instead of square in European traditions, so, markets in Chinese cities are always named xx street, such as Wangfujing Street of Beijing, Gui street of

Dongzhi-men, bar street of Sanlitun, etc. As a matter of fact, literally in Chinese, the renowned China Town in Manhattan of New York is not translated into China town but Chinese street. That means, it is an open market for Chinese, rather than a city built and inhabited by Chinese. In nowadays Beijing, for some reason, the market association space named after the streets have now been renamed after the cities. It could be most explained in a fact that the shifting from street to block has left the sub-district office replaced by the block management committee, which is more caring about its own block and block interest instead of the entire open urban space and public interest. With such kind of change, Silk Street was renamed as Silk Town, snack street of Fulong Temple as Fulong Temple store, bar street of Sanlitun as Sanlitun village, etc. The transition changed the old Cheng-shi (city-market) of China into Shi-cheng (market-city). Shi-cheng is the new type of urban association space—block, along with compound—the new type of urban community space, the basic structure of the urban space has been formed in contemporary China.

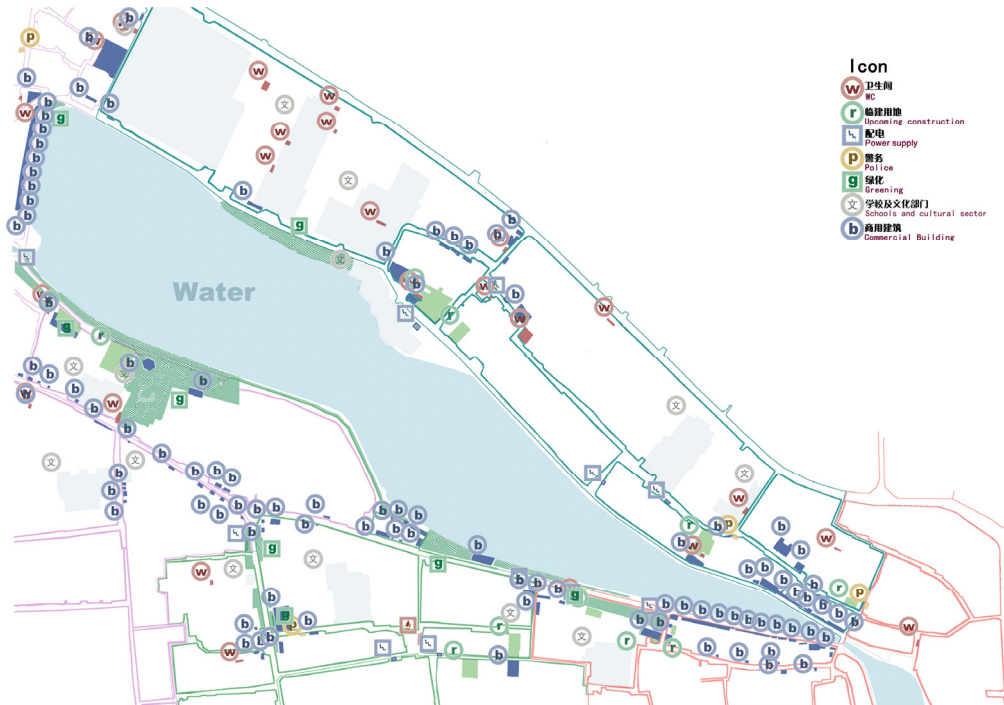
3.3.4 Case study: Houhai Bar street area, Shichahai Urban Block



Map 3-8:houhai urban block. resource: google earth map.2009.



Map 3-9: landuse mapping of Houhai urban block. 2007. resource: author creation.



Map 3-10: mapping of public facilities and commercial space in houhai bar street area / physical space association. 2007. source: author creation.

Since the start of reform and opening-up, with the market-oriented economy gradually replacing the planned economy, Beijing, the country's political center, has then added a great vitality into its social communication space and leaned some political power on the stage of economic development. In urban open space, people come to communicate and meet with each other or make business deals. So, the accessibility of urban communication space manifests not only on rights of citizen freedom, but more on promoting the prosperity and development of commercial society. The unit people who once lived in the unit-allocated housing in planned economy time started walking out of their fixed space into the more flexible communication space to interact with strangers from other places. The social people disassociated with their unit protection were no longer staying with their household registration places and moving to the upper reaches of interest chains of the commercial society according to their own willingness and competence. After a long period of being restrained by the planned economic system and registered permanent residence system, the Chinese society has instantly released great energy, with hundreds of millions of population floating in and between various large cities. This floating population not only formed the world-class manufacturing workforce in China, but also the professionals in each realm of society. The urban development model of street-piece in the planned economy time was no longer fit in the fast growing commercial society where is full of uncertainty. Thus, reconstruction of broken association space of street-piece from the planned economy time that was disintegrated by the aggression of commercial economy has formed nowadays social association space—block. So, what happened to the street-piece and the sub-district office during this transition, whether they disappeared or transformed? How the urban communication space refilled with fluidity and energy to transform from the street-piece association to the block social space association? And what nowadays blocks in Beijing are consisted of?

■Houhai Bar street area study

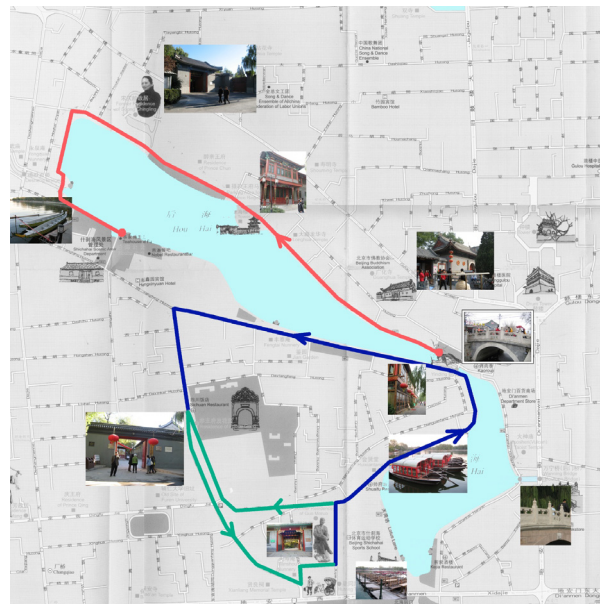
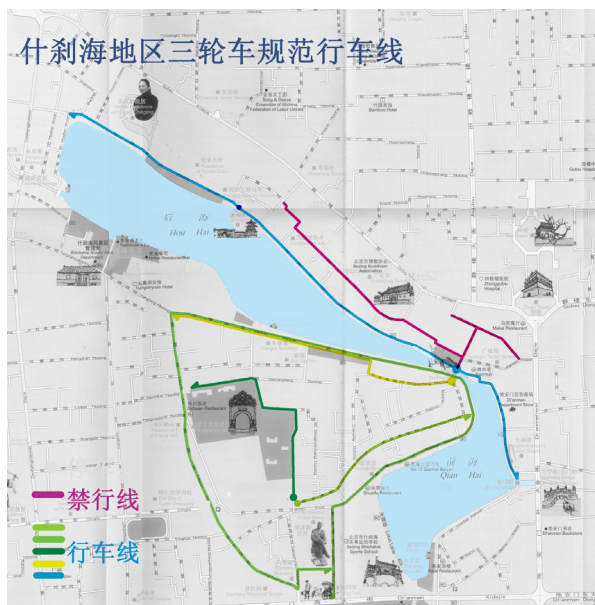


Map 3-11: Mapping of Tourist Attractions / Symbolic space association. 2007. source: author creation.

The case is the Shichahai historical and cultural tourism block formed by Houhai bar street and neighboring street-piece as an example of the market-oriented social space association. Shichahai, consisted of a group of lakes Qianhai, Xihai and Houhai in the interior city of Beijing, is located at the northwestern corner of Xicheng District. Since 2000, a great many of bars and canteens have been developed on the banks of Houhai Lake. These bars and canteens rent the refurbished traditional courtyard houses for dining services. In an arid city of Beijing, while the water of Houhai Lake offered a free unique view, the side walk and gardening plants along the banks made the lake area an unusual leisure relaxed urban space. Situated in old town of Beijing, Shichahai has had architectures of hundreds-year old that are basically in shape of the traditional Shiheyuan and Hutong, which could be dated back to Yuan Dynasty.⁵⁷³ Therefore, old Beijing's cultural traditions and Hutong tour are highlights here. Surrounding the lake, the traditional sightseeing, Hutong tour and bar street life are extended around. Here, old Beijing's traditional Shi-Jing district and modern bar street are mingled with each other amid conflict and energy. The sleepless bar street, the packed tourists on Hutong tour, and local residents who live in Shiheyuan have come together to play a passionate melody in the backyard of this modern Chinese capital. Although not the earliest bar in Beijing, it is the most famous bar street of the city nowadays. The name of bar street given here is not only for having bars on one street, but actually for extending the name to the whole open space along the banks of Houhai Lake and neighboring Hutong. On the one hand, Houhai has borrowed the name of bar street from Sanlitun, where is the earliest bar street in Beijing. On

⁵⁷³ Beijing Academy of Social Sciences. 北京市社会科学研究所以“北京历史纪年”编写组, *chronological account of the events for historical Beijing*. 《北京历史纪年》, 北京: 北京出版社, 1987.

the other hand, it has reflected the major business feature of the old ‘street-piece’ of Shichahai—bars, just like ‘Finance Street’ in Xicheng district of Beijing. When all street-piece in Shichahai were merged to the social association space featured with bars, the sub-district office, which used to manage and control the social space through the state units, had then to through the house property owners of bars or the establishment of other indirect legitimate private enterprises to realize the government goal. Through this functional change, the government agency of the sub-district office was transformed from the government administration into the management committee of the block space development (Department of the scenic spots management).⁵⁷⁴ This change has made the sub-district office, the government administrative structure of the old street-piece, fit in the new type of block.



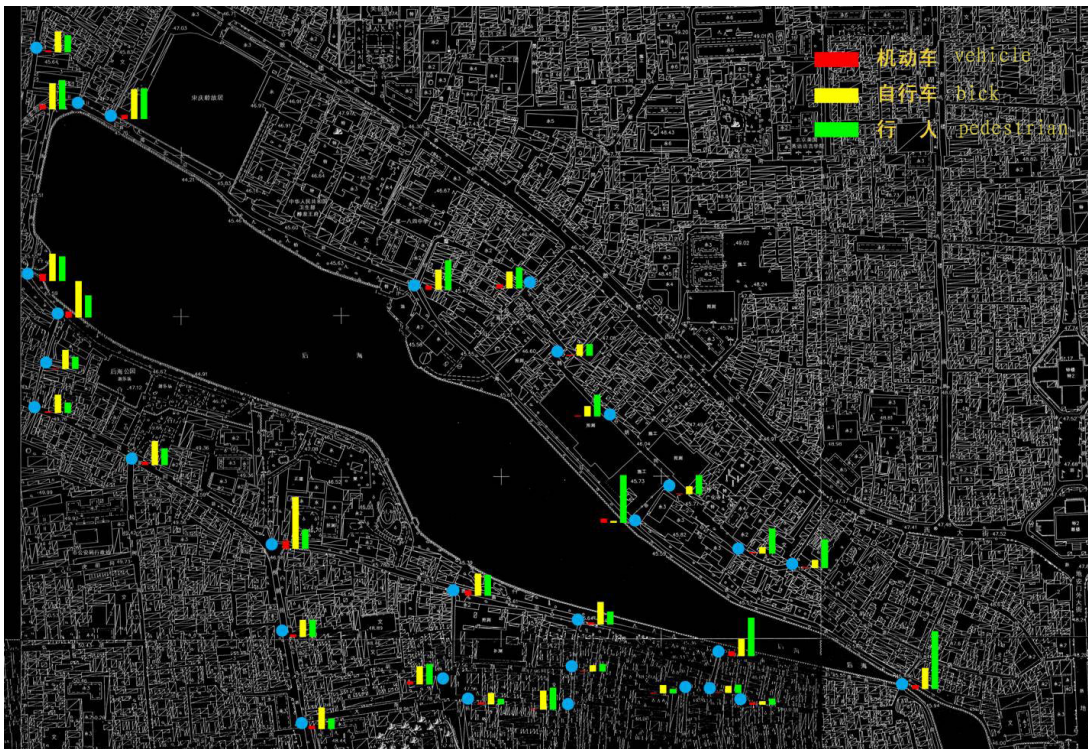
Map 3-12: mapping of Human tricycle for tourists routes by statute / physical space association. 2007. source: author creation.

Map 3-13: mapping of The 3 routes of Electric sightseeing car / physical space association. 2007. source: author creation.

⁵⁷⁴ Beijing Shichahai sub-district office, [online] available at: <http://schjd.bjxch.gov.cn/index.yes>



Map 3-14: mapping for open space and street / physical space association. 2007. source: author creation.



Map 3-15: mapping for vehicle flowrate, bicycle flowrate and visitors flowrate of the street cross / physical space association. 2007. source: author creation.

■ Shichahai Historical and Cultural Tourism Block

1. The functional block

Shichahai Sub-district Office manages the northeastern part of Xicheng District of Beijing, which is consisted of the eastern region of Xinjiekoubaida Street and the former Changqiao street-piece. The street-piece covers an area of 5.80km² from the old Gulou Street, Dianmennei and Waida Street in the east to approach the East District; from Xinjiekounan Street, Xinjiekoubei Street and Xisibei Street in the west to link with the Jingshanqian Street, from Wenjin Street and Xianmen Street in the south to link with Xichangan Street, and from Deshengmendong Street and Deshengmenxi Street in the north to approach the border of Deshengmen street. The Office had 29 community neighborhood committees, 42,826 households and 105,131 permanent residents.⁵⁷⁵

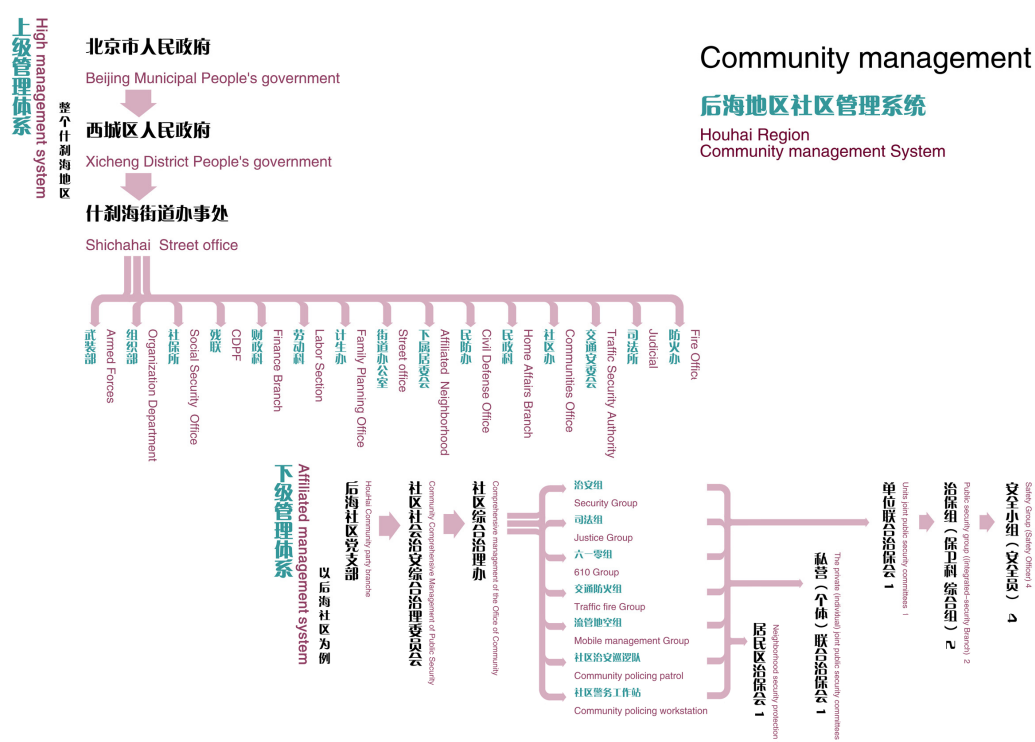
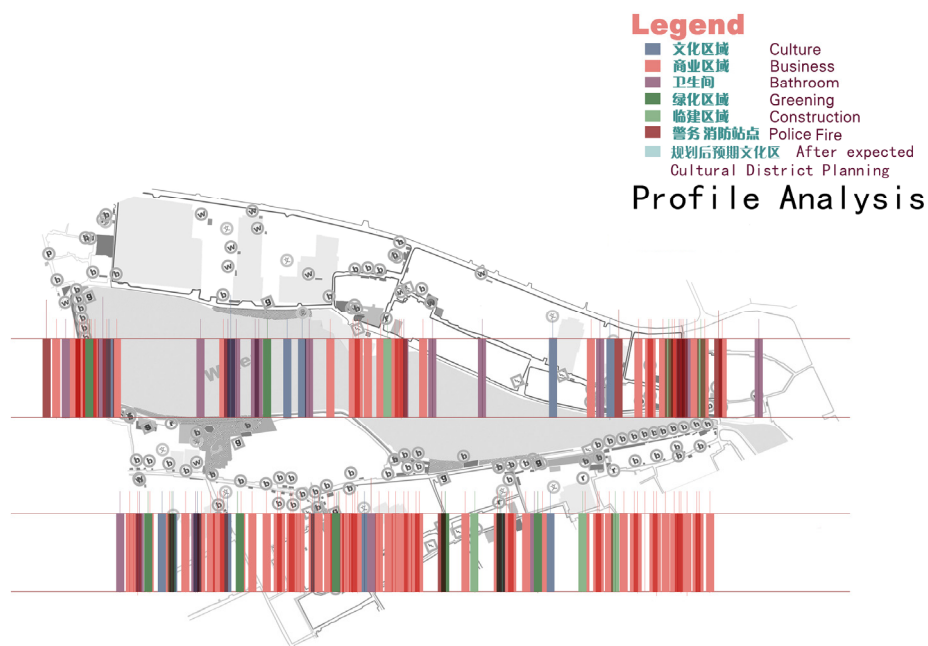
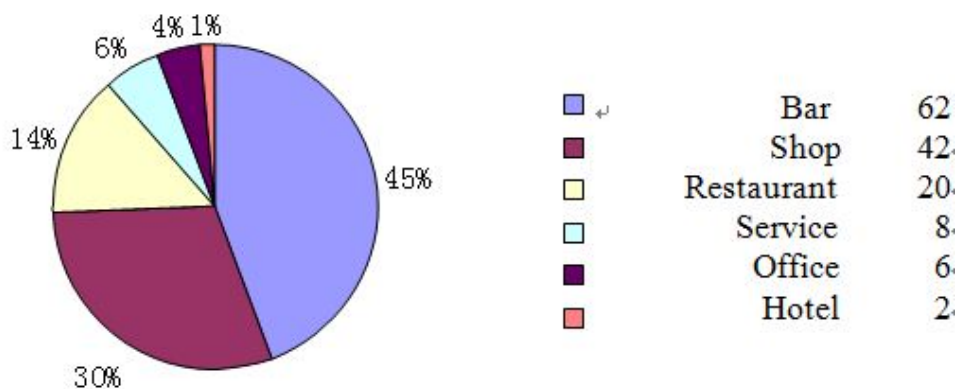


Figure 3-18: shichahai urban block social governance structure / functional space association. 2007. source: author creation

⁵⁷⁵ Beijing Shichahai sub-district office, [online] available at: <http://schjd.bjxch.gov.cn/index.ycs>



Map 3-16: mapping for the space program of Houhai Bar-street north shore and south shore / functional space association. 2007. resource: author creation.



unit: Entries

Tble 3-4: statistic about houhai bar street business / functional space association. 2007. source: author creation.

The block of Shichahai owns cultural relics, preserved architectures and tourist scenic spots, with many traditional Hutong and courtyard houses. Of which, there are 25 first-class or second-class streets and 170 Hutong, including famous Yandaixie Street and Longtoujing, etc. In addition, there are many government

or army departments in the block, along with 31 cultural relic protection units (3 national units, 11 municipal units and 17 district units)⁵⁷⁶ and 30 official courtyard houses including Prince Gong's Mansion, Former Residence of Soong Ching Ling and Guo Moruo Museum. Also Shichahai water system has an important position in the urban development history of Beijing. Two famous scenic spots of Eight Views of Yanjing are Spring Shade on Jade Islet and Mountain View on Silver Sycee, where many tourists from home and abroad come to visit each year. As the block is located at the cultural protection zone of Shichahai rich in history and culture as well as tourism resources, Shichahai street piece has become one of 6 cultural tourism functional blocks of Beijing.⁵⁷⁷

In the 10th 5-Year Plan (2001- 2005), the Xicheng District government proposed the innovative ideas for the acceleration of 6 functional blocks construction. The 6 blocks included Beijing Financial Street, Xidan Mall Center, Desheng Science & Technology Zone, Xizhimenwai Tourism Commercial Zone, Fujing Cultural Tourism Street and Shichahai Historical and Cultural Tourism Block. The regions of the six functional blocks are most concentrated of economic function, social function and urban function. The district government sponsored the development and construction of the blocks in many ways and promoted growing them into the leading forces in economical and social development of Xicheng District. Therefore, after 2001, the main goal of the development of functional blocks was set on economy, and the intended economic development indexes were thus specified.

	total Assets	paid-up capital	The main business income	total profit
Functional blocks add up	5120.9	1060.7	219.3	30.4
Desheng technology zone	61.8	28.1	15.6	2
Fujing cultural street	4.4	0.7	1	0.02
Shichahai Tourism Block	11.3	2.6	3.6	0.08
Financial Street	2611.7	524.8	134	35.1
Xidan Mall Center	2372.3	477.2	54.1	-8
Xizhimenwai Tourism Commercial Zone	59.4	27.3	11	1.2

unit: billion RMB Yuan

Table 3-5: the statistic of accomplishment of the intended economic development indexes 2004 about 6 functional blocks in Xicheng District of Beijing. resource: <http://www.xc.bjstats.gov.cn/sjjd/tjfx/14156.htm>

	industry	construction business	Transportation and telecommunication	Retail, wholesale, catering	service	banking business	Real estate	Public service
Desheng technology zone	48	10	22	360	66	5	48	26

⁵⁷⁶ Beijing Shichahai sub-district office, [online] available at: <http://schjd.bjxch.gov.cn/index.yes>

⁵⁷⁷ Ibid.

Fujing cultural street	6	6	6	172	34	1	29	27
Shichahai Tourism Block	36	24	6	431	65	1	49	69
Financial Street	7	3	10	153	48	42	55	42
Xidan Mall Center	12	4	8	211	26	3	29	21
Xizhimenwai Tourism Commercial Zone	0	0	1	26	158	0	6	2

unit: Entries

Table 3-6: statistic of the composition of industry in 2004 about 6 functional blocks in Xicheng District of Beijing. resource: <http://www.xc.bjstats.gov.cn/sjjd/tjfx/14156.htm>

2. The core organizations of the CPC management of post-street piece: Sub-district Committee and Sub-district Office

Street piece organizations of CPC— Shichahai Sub-district Committee of Xicheng District of CPC.

Street piece organizations of Beijing—Shichahai Sub-district Office of Xicheng District.

Attribute:⁵⁷⁸ According to the Governmental Organization Reform Plan of Xicheng District approved by the Municipal Government of Beijing, Shichahai Sub-district Committee of Xicheng District of CPC and Shichahai Sub-district Office of Xicheng District are established. The Committee, as the local authority of the District Committee, is the leading organization of various departments and functions of the sub-district. The sub-district office, as the local authority of the District Government, is the administrative department for community development, urban management and resident management.

3. The market-oriented functional association

(1) The market-oriented association: Shichahai Autonomous Bar Association

With the thriving of Houhai Bar Street and more opens of bar and canteen, the bar market in Shichahai started seeking public orders to secure business orders and public interests. On Aug. 7th, 2003, Shichahai Autonomous Bar Association was founded in Liutangrenjia Bar, sponsored by 21 operators of Houhai Bar Street as the first association in the bar industry. Wang Xiaohong, one of the sponsors, owner of Liutangrenjia Bar and the chairman of the Association, announced the draft of autonomous rules.

(2) The association of society, government and market: extroverted corporatism association

The establishment of the Association immediately drew attentions from the society, government and

⁵⁷⁸ Ibid.

market. On Oct. 31st, the representatives from the society, bar industry and government held a meeting to discuss the development of bar industry. The representatives included China Foundation for the Development of Social Culture, Zhongjing Media Development Co., Ltd. and Qunyan Press from the society, over 30 bar owners from the bar industry and a department director from Beijing Municipal Bureau of Commerce. The topics of the meeting included: development situation of bar industry of Beijing, business planning and development of bar industry, promoting market shares of bar industry, logistics system of bar suppliers, feature cultivation of bar industry, government industrial management, bar industrial self-discipline, etc. The meeting ended up with a *joint announcement of Autonomous Development Proposal for the Bar Industrial Market of Beijing*.

In follow-up, delegates of 8 branch committees of China Democratic League held an extensive meeting on bar industrial development as a research theme, putting forward 3 advices on the development of bar industrial associations and their relationship with government, society and market. The main ideas of 3 advices are: 1. The Shichahai Autonomous Bar Association should cooperate with the government and accept the government management; 2. The bar street shall concern public interests and cooperation with the neighboring communities; 3. Commercial culture activities such as bar culture festival should be held to promote the tourism development.

(3) The community association of government and market cooperation: Shichahai Chamber of Commerce— introverted corporatism association

The booming of bar industry immediately drew attentions from the newly-founded Beijing Municipal Bureau of Commerce. In research report of the China Democratic League meeting, the advices on government and market proved success, as bar owners acquired government support on commercial culture activities such as bar culture festival, and the government needed to develop block economy. However, the social demand suggested in research report was not concerned by government and bar market, due to the absence of voice and participation of local residents. Thus, the property owners of bar houses and community neighboring committees had to operate technically in this aspect. Therefore, it was far from forming a real association of society, government and market, because the instant economic relationship of government and market has been transformed into the benefit community of them. So, the bar industry accepted the management from the government, which in return supported the development of the bar industry. Thus, the extroverted corporatism association of society, government and market turned out to be transformed into the introverted communal association between government and market.

Shichahai Chamber of Commerce was founded in Dec. 2003,⁵⁷⁹ with leaders from Xicheng District Committee and Government, Beijing Chamber of Commerce, etc attending the conference. Over 60 enterprise owners of Shichahai neighborhood became the first batch of members of the chamber. The conference passed the ‘*Regulations of Shichahai Chamber of Commerce of Xicheng District Chamber of Commerce*’ and the ‘*Chart of Shichahai Chamber of Commerce of Xicheng District Chamber of Commerce*’, and elected 1st round leadership: the position of chairman of the Chamber held by the Board Chairman of Beijing Duanshi Trading Company, special consultants included the deputy directors of Xicheng Branch of Beijing Administration of Industry and Commerce and Xicheng District Chamber of Commerce, and the position of honorary chairman held by the director of the Management Office of Shichahai Historical Cultural Tourism Scenic Zone.⁵⁸⁰

■ Sandwich space——social space association with local features

The establishment of Shichahai Chamber of Commerce has built a platform with similar function of the block economic development committee, which connects the Shichahai Autonomous Bar Association to the Shichahai Sub-district Office. However, it was introverted cooperation rather than open communication. For the bar owners, the Chamber of Commerce is more focused on management rather than service. The Sub-district Office also found that it was easier to manage the property owners of the bar houses than the bar runners. As the property owners belong to local community, it is more convenient for the sub-district office to manage and lead them in a communal way.

Under the management of the Sub-District Office, Shichahai Chamber of Commerce has also promoted the role shift of the Sub-district Office through the transition from street piece to block. Thus, the Sub-District Office is blended with the old system and the modern system to become a multifunctional body of administration, management and development of local economy. Due to a lack of access to independent social entities including industry and resident representatives, who could share unequal discourse power and decision-making power in regional development and management with the Sub-District office, it has caused the Office lack of publicity, leaving the public space of the bar street hard to be integrated with local society. Thus, the so-called ‘sandwich social space’ was formed, namely the sub-district office as the government administrative department was on the upper layer, whereas the property owner of the bar house was on the bottom layer. And the two layers just like two pieces of bread to hold the most important part of sandwich—meat, vegetable and cheese, which in here were bars, canteens, cameras and hotels. As far as a sandwich is served, the bread is always the same, but the most important part of it could be

⁵⁷⁹ Beijing Business today (2003.12.30.). *Shichahai Chamber of Commerce was founded*. 《什刹海商会成立》. [online] available at: <http://finance.sina.com.cn/roll/20031230/1343583696.shtml>

⁵⁸⁰ Beijing Shichahai sub-district office, [online] available at: <http://schjd.bjxch.gov.cn/index.yes>

different from each other, either fish or chicken or beef. Despite bread is indispensable to sandwich, but the title of a sandwich is not given by the bread but the most important part of it. Whatever the content of sandwich, it could only be an instant food that is usually invisible on a formal din table. The formation of sandwich space has left no power for the autonomous associations of the bar street, whatever the content of the sandwich, it has to depend on the two layers of bread as its decisive force, which ends up shaping the spatial form of a sandwich. Thus, depended upon the changing tastes of customers or affected by external factors, the sandwich space could be changed anytime to meet the demands of circumstances. Therefore, as the association of content yielded to the association of form, the autonomous associations rooted in content have struggled to survive by either cooperating with the sub-district office or risking the invalidity to seek an insulated development. In fact, after its establishment, the Shichahai Autonomous Bar Association was soon taken by the Shichahai Chamber of Commerce under the management of local government.

The sandwich space formed a temporary association space, which might not be stable but flexible for the changing market, so it was able to transfer more pressure onto the market and, in a way, to preserve the stability of the original social space structure. Meanwhile, the sandwich space also created an instant food culture that was eager for the short-term quick success at the expense of the long-term sustainable development of the society and economy. More badly, it has left the conservative local society unable to merge with the public society that turned to be more active and diverse. In fact, it is the certain form rather than the uncertain important content that has blocked the development of the sandwich space.

Conclusion

In the end, it is necessary to draw conclusions from the dissertation in brief summary. This dissertation is a theoretical research about urban transition. In structural analysis, the socio-spatial transition is referred to the status of the development of communal space and associative space. Thus, this is an open-ended work, whose contents could be extensive over the time.

Assessment for Beijing socio-spatial transition

(1) Associative space

■ **Form of Socio-spatial transition:**

the transition of communication space: from rationing society to commercial society

■ **Structure of Socio-spatial transition:**

from street-piece association to Urban block association

■ **Base of Socio-spatial transition:**

the nationalization of ownership right and the privatization of the usage right for city land

■ **Status of Socio-spatial transition:**

From sub-district office to management committee, from street-piece to urban block.

After the subject in the jurisdiction of the sub-district office is changed from the state-owned unit in planned economy into the company centered on business and service, followed by the development of urban real-estate, it has left space in street-piece mostly used by individuals, with the expended private space gradually taking over the open space that previously belonged to the public. Thus, the sub-district office's urban governance function should turn to ensure the maximization of the public interest.

■ **Question of Socio-spatial transition:**

The communal association of government and market cooperation: introverted corporatism association were growing up.

due to the absence of voice and participation of local citizens, it was far from forming a real association of society, government and market, because the instant economic relationship of government and market has been transformed into the benefit community of them. the extroverted corporatism association of society,

government and market turned out to be transformed into the introverted communal association between government and market.

many management committee of urban block came from street-piece and its sub-district office. actually, management committee and sub-district office have one same body, it is charge both of governance and their private business. they are confused.

■ **Chance of Socio-spatial transition:**

in foreseeable future, the enterprise-oriented governing model, namely management committee model, should bear with greater importance and development. PPP model will be mode developed for urban block association. it is possible to delimit the boundary of public and private benefit, state owned or private owned. distinguished boundary contribute realize the public and private development and make associative space go back to health.

(2) Communal space

■ **Form of Socio-spatial transition:**

The transition of settlement space: From allocated unit house to commodity house

■ **Structure of Socio-spatial transition:**

From stable unit relation to neighbourhood relation, from unit community to neighborhood compound community

■ **Base of Socio-spatial transition:**

the nationalization of ownership right and the privatization of the usage right for city land

■ **Status of Socio-spatial transition:**

From allocated unit house to commodity house, from community management to community service, from residents' committee to owner's committee.

the community management based on rationing system had to be transformed into the community services based on market system. However, the transformation is two-way bound. On one hand, the rationing system was changed by the operation of market to provide highly-efficient services; on the other hand, the new communities were confronted with the penetration of government powers to provide

highly-efficient management.

■ **Question of Socio-spatial transition:**

Due to its dual system setting, neighborhood compound community was faced with two different tensions in two-way transitions from the community management system based on allocation system to community service system based on market. The two opposite tensions included the bottom up power transition from private property owner committee to property management company, and the top down power transition from sub-district office to residents' committee.

residents' committee are confused for fluidity of real estate, owner committee are confused for government intervention. both of them are problematic. compound's resident were more and more retreated into private realm from community space and neighborhood life. lack of common sense and trust, will make the communal space decline.

■ **Chance of Socio-spatial transition:**

according to the **Law of Property (2007)**, the first time confirmed by government in PRC, private property be protected. in this case, owner committee and owner community have big space to develop. with the rising of Chinese middle class, neighborhood compound community, which based on civil society, will go to the way for sustainable.

About Prediction:

Due to every communal space and associative space has different situation in the city context, the constitutional source for their socio-spatiality are also different and their forms, structures and bases are changing quickly, it is hard to predict the future of communal space and associative space precisely.

Precise assessment and prediction for every communal and associative space would be only based on deeply survey and analyzing, for example: Fangzhang compound community and Shichahai urban block. But according to current situation, it could be seen a very general tendency of them.

Answer the hypothesis:

Communal space and associative space were not symbiotic, but were the rules of socio-spatial transition. They are developing by their changing conditions and resources.

The rural-urban dualistic system has not been changed in China yet after 30 yeras of reforms. The system

guaranteed the operation of planning economy mechanism in the first 30 years since the establishment of the People's Republic of China, and promoted the development of extroverted economy in the second 30 years. The country completed its economic development targets with 60 years, but there are still imbalance between rural areas and urban areas. The basis or nature of the existing urban-countryside dualistic system is not the household registration system that people concerned but the fundamental differences between the land systems of city and countryside, namely public-private relations of urban land ownership and common-particular relation of rural land ownership. The property of land can be manifested in what urban land is state-owned and what rural land is collective-owned. In realm of system and regulation, it has simply attributed urban land to association space and rural land to community space, which is a key to form the phenomena. As spontaneously formed social space, association and community have commonly affected people's life with their commonly formed urban and rural spaces. In fact they are different from each other not on city or village, but on the formation mode of social space. As the socio-spatiality takes effect and is put into spatial production, the corresponding community space and association space will be formed. Any physical or systematical interference with the structure will have profound effects on social space and change our daily life.

City in Chinese language was formed in two words of *cheng-shi*, which means downtown-market. In Chinese traditions, many downtown markets appeared in form of street, unlike European styled square. Thus, markets in many Chinese cities have names related to street, such as Wangfujing Street, Gui Street and Sanlitun Bar Street. In Chinese language, the name of famous CHINATOWN of Manhattan in New York City is not meant China town, but Chinese street, which refers to a market for transaction rather than a town for Chinese residents only. It is interesting to learn that many market community spaces named after street in Beijing have now been renamed after city. The reason of this phenomenon is mainly accountable for the transition from street-piece to block. After sub-district office was replaced by block committee, it has drawn more attention to a piece of local block space rather than an integrity of the city open space, in another word, local block interest is more attended than public interest. In such a transition, Xiushui Street was renamed to Xiushui Town, Longfusi Snack Street to Longfusi Mall, and Sanlitun Bar Street to Sanlitun Village. This change has left Cheng-Shi (city-market) in the past become Shi-Cheng (market-city). Shi-Cheng, the new type of block in urban associative space, along with the new type of compound in urban communal space of China, jointly formed the fundamental structure of contemporary Chinese city space.

Current communal space of Beijing, neighborhood compound:

Today, as the **unit** collapses in Beijing, the common character which collected the communal members

together in the past also gets fragile and broken together with unit communities. As for the new neighborhood compounds, community is formed on the basis of property rights and property management. Therefore, it has been the basis for communal space development to insure the common-particular relations in communal space rather than transition to privatization, or the associative of community space will atomize the members of the community.

Current associative space of Beijing, urban block:

Following the end of rationing society, many social functions of old sub-district office have been transferred to market and society, such as tax revenue, service, management, distribution and transaction etc. The sub-district office recovers its sole administrative function. In emerging neighborhood compound, how to keep the balance and justice of public-private relations and reduce the interference of public power over private realm, has become the basis for a sound development of associative space. If there is no rational and democratic mechanism, the social association will eventually yield to corporatism.

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陈师曾，《北京风俗画》，北京：北京古籍出版社，1986。

文化部文物局北京文物整理委员会编印，《北京文物建筑等级初评表》，1951。

刘侗、于奕正（明），《帝京景物略》，北京：北京古籍出版社，2000。

张爵（明）《京师五城坊巷衢集》，北京：北京古籍出版社，1982。

朱一新（清）《京师坊巷志稿》，北京：北京古籍出版社，1982。

Glossary:

四合院 | siheyuan(courtyard)

胡同 | hutong

街坊 | Jie-fang

单位公房 | unit housing

中轴线 | midline

市井 | shi-jing

墙 | wall

街道片 | street-piece

户主 | householder

官方 | Official and

民间 | Civilian

扩大的堡垒型城市 | extend castle city

互助组 | mutual aid group

合作社 | Rural Cooperative

初级社（小合作社） | the prime Cooperative

高级社（大合作社） | the high Cooperative

人民公社的过程 | the people's commune

邻里四合院 | neighbourhood courtyard

大众 | Mass

公众 | Publics

拆迁 | relocation

社会—空间性单元| socio-spatial unit

沙漏空间 | Sandglass space

三明治空间 | Sandwich space

市场导向 | market oriented

政府计划导向 | government plan oriented

首都模式 | capital model

新首都模式 | new capital model

同事邻里 | colleague-neighbourhood

空间邻里 | space-neighbourhood)。

商品房居住小区 | commodity housing compound

街坊邻里 | jie-fang neighbourhood

门禁社区 | gated community

小区 compound

配给制 | rationing system

邻里小区 | neighbourhood Compound)

单位大院 | big unit yard

床伴 | bed company

年轮城市 | annual ring city

人事关系 | personnel relations

工作关系 | work relations

粮食关系 | food relations

居住关系 | living relations

户籍关系 | household registration relations

公有化 | publicization

私有化 | privatization

大地园林化 | mother earth gardenization

花园国家 | garden country

公共园林 | public garden

城市美化运动 | City Beautiful Movement

国家美化运动 | Country Beautiful Movement

园林都市主义 | garden urbanism

Fei Che

until: 2013

Present Employment

Associate Professor

Department of Environment Design
Beijing Institute of Fashion Technology, China

Director

Smart Environment Research Center (SERC)
Beijing Institute of Fashion Technology, China

Visiting lecturer

on urbanization in China for PKU-SCIENCES PO. dual master degree course of sustainable and international relations.
Peking university, China

Principal Architect

CU Office (Beijing), China

Personal Data

Birth day: 3rd, November, 1975

Nationality: China

Marital Status: Married

Education

- Bauhaus University, Weimar, Germany Oct. 2004 to date
 PHD study
- Hochschule Anhalt, Dessau, Germany April 2002 - April 2004
 Master of Architecture
- Düsseldorf Kunstakademie, Düsseldorf, Germany Sept. 2001 - June 2002
 Postgraduate study of Baukunst
- Tsinghua University, Beijing, China April 2000 - Sept.2000
 Postgraduate study of Architecture
- Central Academy of Art and Design, Beijing, China Sept. 1994 - June 1998
 Bachelor of Environment Architecture Design

Membership of Professional Bodies

- Urban Planning Expert Commission of China Foundation for Poverty Alleviation, Since

2008.

- Architects Registered of Thuringia Architects Association, Since 2012.

Prizes and Awards

- The crucial project of philosophical and social science study of Beijing city council 2014. Project theme: *the socio-spatial transition study of the neighbourhood structure of Beijing residential community*. (win 300,000RMB research budget from philosophical and social science sector of Beijing city government)
- The nomination of China Architecture Media Award for young architect prize 2012.
- The nomination of China Architecture Media Award for residential building prize 2012. Project: Minle settlement (Sichuan province of China) reconstruction after 512 earthquake.
- The third prize of the architecture design competition of Jinding Artist community at Kunming of China, 2014.

Workshop

- Tutor for "Meta-Hutongs urban space mapping workshop", the students are from architecture master course of Tsinghua University, architecture students from Central Academy of Fine Arts and environment design students from Beijing Institute of Fashion Technology. September, 2013.
- Tutor for "Museum study, summer workshop of Columbia University in the city of New York", the students are from architecture and art master course of Columbia University in the city of New York. August, 2013.
- Tutor for "Mapping Hutongs workshop", the students are from architecture master course of Beijing University of Civil Engineering and Architecture, architecture students from Central Academy of Fine Arts and environment design students from Beijing Institute of Fashion Technology. December, 2012.
- Tutor for "Social life and Education joint workshop between Finish university and Chinese university", the students from architecture school of Tsinghua University. March, 2012.

Lecture

- "the socio-spatiality of Beijing City", Peking University. April, 2013.

- "the upcoming urbanity of Beijing City", Peking University. March, 2012.
- "socio-spatial architecture", Seoul National University. November, 2011.
- "Jin-street model, as a case study for socio-spatial transition of Beijing", Delft university of Holland and Architecture school of Central Academy of Fine Arts China. October, 2010.
- " Socio-spatial Intertextuality, as a Strategy for Urbanism", TEAM 10 & CIAM with Contemporary China international conference, South China University of Technology, November, 2009.

Architecture Exhibition

- "Villa Jian museum & Projects of Fei Che", Chinese palace, Architecture of China exhibition in Segovia, Spain. 2013.
- "Bamboo Venus and Bamboo David", Beijing Design Week, China. 2013.
- "X-field", Garden City Gallery of Taipei, Taiwan. 2013.
- "Maximal Unit", Times museum at Beijing, China. 2010.
- "Social street: Jin-street model ", EAST gallery, at Tallinn, Estonia. 2010.
- "Sexy City", Architecture Biennial Beijing 2004, at China National Art Museum , China. 2010.

Published Book

- "Concussion", Liaoning science and technology publishing house(China), 2009.

Published Journal Articles

- "*Light and Materiality*", Architectural Journal, No. 542. 2013.
- "*Retreat of Utopia, Reconstruction of Social Life or Opportunities?*", Time Architectural Journal, No. 132. 2013.
- "*Association, the third way to rebuild after 512 earth quake*", Architecture Technique, No. 193. 2010.
- "*A case of trans-community: Jin-street in Beijing* ", SOCIAL SPACE Scientific Journal, Rzeszow, Poland. 2011.
http://issuu.com/socialspacejournal/docs/ca_o_/2?e=3714400/2969968)
- "*Open Space ≠ Public Space — Beijing 798 Factory in the Contemporary Crisis of*

Public Space ", 《DOUBLE HAPPY: 8+8=19 Views on Architecture in Finland and China》, A Newly Drawn Publication, Finland. 2010.

- " *Modern City's Consumption in Image, Weimar Atrium* ", Interior Design (Chinese version), No.9. 2007.
- " *Bauhaus Building and two Modernity* ", Art and Design, No.6. 2007.
- " *Identity and Image* ", Architecture & Design, No.121. 2005.

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