

The Social and Morphological Construction of a Retail Landscape in Tianjin, China

Kun Zhai

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ABSTRACT

The Social and Morphological Construction of a Retail Landscape in Tianjin

Kun Zhai

The dramatic reform of the economy is a watershed in history of China that is denoted notably by the commodification of housing and land-use right. This work explores to what extent the change in the economic policy brings a corresponding change in a urban landscape. It inquires more specifically on how an urban landscape manifests shifts in the social and economic dimensions. This study zooms into an ordinary neighbourhood in Tianjin, China, to focus on the morphological and social production of a new retail landscape. By building a typology of six retail building types manifested at the periphery of large housing estates, it documents the genesis of a retail landscape and analyses its spatial relationships with the residential built environment. An investigation on the production process of each type provides an understanding of how a shift in political economy had its impact on the built environment. The results also speak about a continuous cultural model carried out in the morphological process in spite of the changing social environment. The results suggest a dialectic between the social and economic dimensions of city building and the material form.

Keywords: morphological process, social production, retail landscape, China,

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LIST OF ACRONYMS

Acronym	Full expression
CACH	Construction administration commission of Hexi
CCH	Commission of commerce of Hexi
CCP	Chinese Communist Party
CLMCH	Cityscape and Landscape Management Committee of Hexi
FAR	Floor Area Ratio
FIE	Foreign invested enterprise
LHE	Large housing estate
POE	Privately-owned enterprise
PRC	People Republic of China
RMB	Ren Min Bi (Chinese Yuan)
SOE	State-owned enterprise
TEDA	Tianjin Economic-Technological Development Area

Chapter 1: Introduction

1.1 Incentives

In recent years, when walking on a Chinese street, one is able to perceive that the construction of retail buildings is gradually transforming residential districts. The rapidly developing market economy is witness to new forms of retail space emerging to satisfy the growing local demand for consumption. A new and distinctively recognizable retail landscape is found in Hexi District of Tianjin. Retail streets are created by incorporating small shop buildings into the large residential buildings, or remodeling the large walled housing estates by building with new retail spaces facing outward, and so on. Surveying 1.5 km² of the Hexi District, the study identified six different retail building types.

Some authors argue that material culture is a manifestation of social relations (Gauthier, 2005). This study posits that these building types manifest the actions and interweaving social interactions between agents who are involved in the production of the retail landscape. If this is the case, what is this urban landscape telling us about the evolution of the Chinese material culture and society? What kind of social relations are manifested in this distinctive retail landscape? What are the broader forces behind such relations? And how are they related and intertwined?

Morphologists argue that the urban landscape is collectively produced by the enactment of cultural models manifested in the daily building practices of a population (Gauthier, 2005; Bliet & Gauthier, 2006; Bliet & Gauthier, 2007).

Sociologists on the other hand emphasize the social production of the urban landscape,

arguing that the latter is produced through the interaction of social forces (Castells, 1983; Certeau, 1988; Bourdieu, 1990; Lefebvre, 1991). It is suggested that a cross-examination of the evolution of architectural and urban forms and of the social determinants of the morphogenesis could provide a rich understanding of the urban landscape (Gauthier, 2005; Blik & Gauthier, 2006; Blik & Gauthier, 2007)

1.2 Objectives

The study attempts in particular to apply sociologist Pierre Bourdieu's theory (Bourdieu, 1984; Bourdieu, 1990; Bourdieu, 2005) to the production of a landscape by proposing an examination of morphological attributes and an exploration of the social determinants in the production of the urban landscape. It intends to offer a compelling understanding of the mechanisms and processes that inform and propel a landscape's evolution by answering the question "*who* does *what*, *how* and *why*?"

This study takes a close look at retail landscape of Tianjin. It is based, among other things, on Bourdieu's field theory (Bourdieu, 1984) and the notions of field and habitus (Bourdieu, 1984; Bourdieu 1995), and suggests a method to read the urban form as it is socially and culturally produced. In particular, the study assumes that the studied retail landscape is culturally produced under auspices of the Chinese "wall culture" rooted in everyone's mind. It also assumes that the ancient philosophy of emphasis on hierarchical social stratification has been carried out in the morphological transformation of the retail landscape. The study illustrates a dialectic in the production of the urban landscape, where a change in political and economical dimensions informs the urban form transformation while the urban landscape

manifests the more or less deeply engrained material, social, political and economic habitus.

1.3 Thesis structure

This study includes eight chapters. Chapter 1 introduces the incentives, objectives and structure of this study. Chapter 2 provides a brief review of the historical background of the Chinese urban culture to establish a knowledge base of the Chinese traditional built form. It discusses, in particular, the notion of wall and the hierarchy in social relations as a part of the cultural models engaged in Chinese building practices. Chapter 3 presents a literature review that informs the theoretical framework. The theoretical framework is twofolds. 1. the morphological construction of the retail landscape and 2. the social construction of the retail landscape. This chapter links the notion of type in urban morphology and the notion of habitus in Bourdieu's field theory, and suggests a cross-examination of the morphogenesis of the retail landscape and the social determinants of the morphogenesis. Chapter 4 provides the methodological approach of this study, including a qualitative method to analyse semi-structured interviews, a morphological analysis based on mapping and surveying the built environment, and a textual analysis of the planning and political policy framework. Chapter 5 reviews the morphological evolution of Tianjin, the Hexi district and the studied landscape. It aims to establish knowledge of the morphological development in Tianjin and thus to explore the inner logic of the built form of Tianjin. Chapter 6 discusses the morphological construction of the studied retail landscape. It identifies and classifies six types of retail building form by an analysis and a

comparison of their morphological characteristics. It reveals the spatial relations between these types and corresponding residential buildings and tissues. It intends to understand further the cultural model manifested in the urban form. Chapter 7 studies the social construction of the studied retail landscape. It reveals the production process of each retail building type by interviewing the key agents who had been involved in the production of the built environment. It answers the question “who does what” in producing the retail landscape. It also studies the interweaving between the central, municipal, district and street government, SOE (state-owned enterprise), POE (privately-owned enterprise), and grassroots. In addition, it tries to identify the principal social determinants in the production of an urban landscape in contemporary Chinese cities. Chapter 8 is the conclusion.

Chapter 2: Historical Background

The study found six recognizable retail building types in Tianjin's Hexi District. Although these commercial amenities were recently built in the wake of the post-1978 economic reforms, one can wonder how such development resonates with Chinese urban tradition. How does such a retail landscape compare to previous examples in Chinese history? What can be learned from the history of urban form that could help us understand the current spatial manifestations? This chapter delves into China's urban history and builds a connection between the present and the past of Chinese urban form and the retail landscape by briefly reviewing the general evolution and basic components of Chinese urban form.

2.1 The traditional Chinese urban form

Traditional Chinese architecture has evolved for thousands of years. The basic knowledge of such material culture is an essential prerequisite to the understanding of today's built form in a historic city and neighbourhood. In general, the traditional Chinese city has been developed based on a hierarchical spatial system. The courtyard house or "siheyuan"(四合院) is the basic element composing the ancient northern Chinese city. The lane or "hutong" and alleys connect each individual courtyard house and form a group of courtyard houses called "li" (里), or the "neighbourhood". And many li, later called "fangli" (坊里), form the layout of the city.

2.1.1 The city

The grid system was prevalent in the ancient Chinese cities of the north in

particular with its “chess-board” pattern of the division of land. The gridiron patterns were derived from the division of farmland and the “nine-square” land system has been used as the basic division of land in ancient Chinese cities (Wu, 1999). It is argued that the grid system, which forms the base of Chinese urban form, has been strongly influenced by the moral and social values fostered by Confucianism (Zheng, 2000; Feng, 2001; Gu, 2001; Dong, 2005; Su, 2005). The earliest literature about Chinese urban form can be traced back to the Zhou period (1100–256 BC). The *Kaogongji* (考工记: Artificers’ Record) as the last chapter of *Zhouli* (周礼: Rituals of Zhou) known as one of the Confucian classics portrays the form of the ancient capital cities and planning principles. In the *Kaogongji*, the idea of urban form was based on the ancient ritual system. It suggests that the ideal Chinese imperial city as one of the most potent symbols of imperial rule should follow the Confucian “li” principles (理 : ration), which emphasize the legitimate rulership and the social and political hierarchical systems of ancient China (Zheng, 2000).¹

The ideal imperial city described in the *Kaogongji* is shown in Figure 1: the city is square in shape and enclosed by walls. It has a symmetrical grid street system,

¹ In fact, the ancient Chinese urban form is also influenced by another well-known Chinese philosophical book *Guanzi* (管子). It is argued that cities planned under the influence of *Kaogongji* represent the characteristic of a universal model, while cities under *Guanzi*’s influence feature organic model, which develop spontaneously based on the local natural landscape and conditions (Lynch, c1981; Zhou & Yuan, 2003). For instance, more organic and non-geometric urban form found in southern China where the environment is more diversified than that in the north (Whitehand & Gu, 2006). This study focuses on the social determinants of the urban landscape production of Tianjin, a northern city heavily influenced by the imperial rules and prescriptions. Thus the situation of organic model of city will not be discussed.

deployed according to a north–south orientation and featuring a centrally–located palace. The dimensions of streets and defensive infrastructure are commensurate with the town or city’s position in the urban administrative hierarchy (Whitehand & Gu, 2006).

Figure 1: The ideal imperial city of China

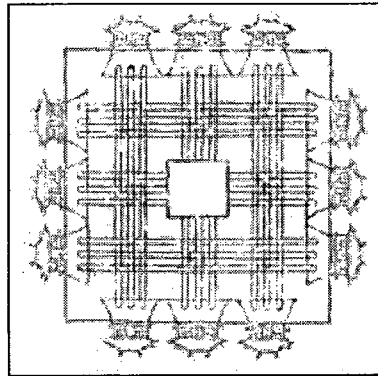


Figure 1: the ideal imperial city described in *Kaogongji*. It is also known as Wangcheng (王城)

It is argued that not all Chinese imperial cities adhere to the *Kaogongji* rule and that local planners may introduce some modifications (Steinhardt, 1986), the major Chinese ancient cities had common features:

“outer and inner sets of walls and gates, the clearly articulated spaces, implementation of a sort of grid pattern, the direction of movement along major north–south and east–west axes, the centrality of imperial sectors, and the existence of prescribed ceremonial places.” (Steinhardt, 1986, p. 342)

It is argued that the cosmological ideas of traditional Chinese philosophy also

have a great impact on the Chinese urban form (Whitehand & Gu, 2006).² The core traditional Chinese thought is the “tianrenheyi” (天人合一: accord of heaven and man) which is reflected in the urban form as the rule of “tianyuanfang” (天圆地方: the round sky and the square ground). The traditional Chinese philosophy stipulates that,

“Heaven is round, earth is square, Tao is in the exact center. The ruler (the possessor of Tao) sits as a fulcrum and mediates between the celestial and moral worlds. Such a sitting was regarded as responsible for aligning the human realm with the moral pattern of the cosmos” (Major, 1993, p. 67).

Figure 2: Temple of Heaven

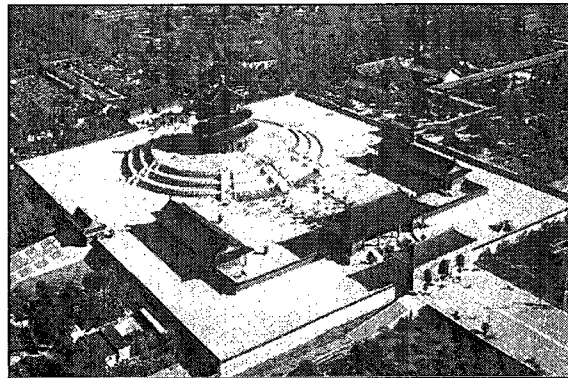


Figure 2: Temple of Heaven. It manifests the ancient notion of tianyuanfang in a material form as the temple locates in the center surrounding by a rectangle wall.

Source: <http://img.zdnet.com.cn/0/205/lilTcwRyHcimE.jpg>

² Feng Shui (风水: literally means wind and water) is regarded as another conception informing the landscape of traditional Chinese city. As defined by the Oxford Dictionary, it is Chinese art or skill of geomancy, taking account of the five elements and the two forces of yin and yang.” It is argued that Feng Shui has shaped the landscape of China, although the use of Feng Shui was interrupted right after the founding of the new regime in 1949 (Bruun, 2003; Ding, 2008). Therefore, it will not be discussed in this thesis due to its absence after the establishment of the PRC. Future studies concerning of fengshui and modern architecture in mainland China are suggested.

2.1.2 The neighbourhoods

As mentioned earlier, the ancient residential quarters were called li (里).³ Li was the basic unit of the residential quarters in ancient China, which refers to a group of courtyard houses, or siheyuan, aligned in some way. Later the li transformed into the wards system, or fangli. The wards were large walled street blocks and the gate of the ward opened and closed at certain times of the day. Within the ward, there were lanes of alleyways providing residents access from streets to the individual courtyard houses. The boundaries of the wards, gate and walls, had gradually disappeared during the late Tang (AD 618–907) and early Song Dynasty (AD 960–1279). As a result, for the first time, the neighbourhood was open to the street without the control of gate and wall, a spatial character that they maintained since then. As Figure 3 shows, the residential quarters became “a continuous precinct integrated by a fish–bone–like street–lane–alleyway system”; lanes and alleyways are made up of one or more smaller blocks and connected the neighbourhoods. The blocks are of mixed land use of various building types, such as shops, offices, temples, mansions, ordinary houses and so on (Wu, 1999, p.73). The opening–up of the ward was considered an important change in the morphology of the cities and a turning point in Chinese urban history. Some fangli structures continued to be built as recently as the early 20th

³ It is called firstly the li, then the lili and finally the fangli (Wu, 1999, p. 70). This ‘li’ (里 : neighborhood) is different from another “li” (理 : ration) mentioned earlier in the context. Despite same pronunciation, they have completely different meanings.

century, including a modern style known as “Lilong” (里弄: lanes and alleys)

neighbourhoods of Shanghai under Western influence.

Figure 3: The possible arrangement of the li

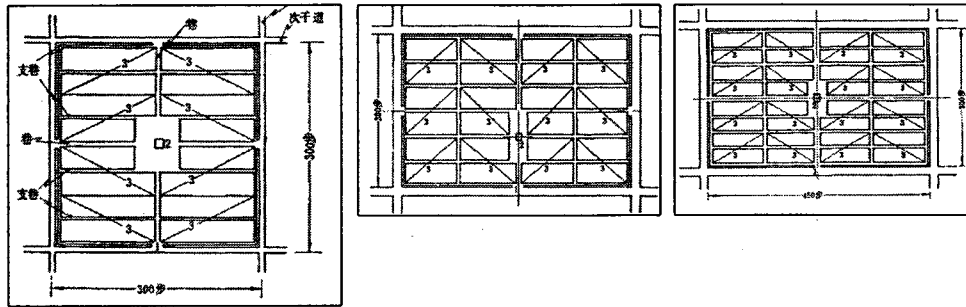


Figure 3: the possible arrangement of the neighbourhood in an ideal royal city. Source: He, 1985, p.120

To sum up, the hutong and courtyard houses together form an integrated system in the ancient Chinese city. The city follows a “fish-bone-like” structure which orders the space while putting its inhabitants under effective control through a hierarchical system of enclosure laid out in a grid pattern. The hutong connects neighbourhoods and provide access from the most public spaces to the most private, creating a pedestrian-friendly and quiet residential environment (Wu, 1999).

2.1.3 The courtyard house

The courtyard house or siheyuan (see Figure 4) is an essential element of the urban form that composes the traditional Chinese city. The typical siheyuan is enclosed and the building components are placed along three or four sides of a rectangular site, forming a courtyard. The courtyard provides an outdoor space,⁴

⁴ The courtyard is also called tianjing or the sky well. The sky well is “the central void created by the partitions forming the surrounding rooms.” (Berliner, 2004 , p. 149). Flower pots or fish pool are sometimes put in the skywell. At the scale of the domestic space, the skywell shares similar functions

brings natural light to the rooms, and serves for circulation and family activities and so on. The social rank of the residents in the hierarchy determines the dimension, position, orientation, and furnished level of each room. It is argued that despite the different forms of individual buildings across China, the courtyard composition is the most common (Wu, 1999).

Figure 4: a bird-eye view of siheyuan

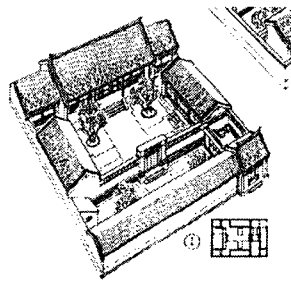


Figure 4: a bird-eye view of a typical courtyard house. Source: Liu, 1990, p. 210

2.1.4 The retail landscape

- The li

Before mid-Tang Dynasty (618–907), the city was divided into three parts: the area devoted to governance, which includes the temple and the siege of the government activities, the commercial areas known as “shi” (市 : market) and the residential areas, known as the li or fang.⁵ The li was carefully planned and offered

as the jing known as the well centrally located within the neighborhood li which is a place for gathering and for local activities such as trade and exchange.

⁵ Shi (市 : market), and jing (井 : well) are used together as shijing (市井) in Chinese referring to the market. Shi refers the place for trading, and jing refers to the place (used to be the well) for gathering.

Recorded in a section of shijing (*the Book of Songs*) by Yan Shigu: chenfeng-dongmenzhifexu 《诗经·陈风·东门之枌序》 : the folk song of Chen-a preface of Elm of the East gate.

housing to the majority of the city's residents. Gates of the li, or lümen (闾门), were watched over by gatekeepers in order to control the residents' access to streets and other areas. The residential houses within the wall of the li were banned from opening the wall to the street except for some nobility that benefited from such privilege. The number of residents of each li was flexible depending on the demography of the city. Zhang (2006) indicates that the residents of the Han city were living within at least three layers of walls: the wall of their house, the wall of the li, and the wall of the city. He argues that the li is an important tool of government provision, which strictly controls the daily life of the residents by setting the opening and closing hours of its gates.

- The shi

The shi literally means the place for trading. During the Han dynasty (206BC - 220AD), most of the shi located in the north of the city. Until the Tang dynasty, the commercial area shi had been spatially enclosed by walls. The shi functioned as a specific place of commerce, culture and politics (Zhang, 2006, pp. 221,342).

The shi is predominantly a place for commercial activities. According to the ancient literature or "houhanshu", (后汉书 : the book of the later Han) various commercial activities were held within the shi. There were restaurants, cloth shops, liquor stores, grocery stores, variety shops, clinics, medicine stores, funeral services, bookstores and the servant market (Ye & Sima, p.445).

The shi was also a cultural place. Despite of the gate control of the shi, there was almost unlimited access to the shi. In fact, the shi was not only for consumers to

purchase goods but also a pleasurable place to meet, socialize and have leisure activities (Zhang, 2006; Ning, 2006). As Zhang (2006) indicates, in the Han dynasty there was even a group of people wandering within the shi every day, for consumption.

The shi also served political purposes. First, it was established, organized and maintained by the government. The head of the shi and its administrators were attached to the government and were responsible for the tax collection, price control and so on. The intervention of the government in the Han Dynasty at some point regulated the market in such a way that it did not follow the law of a free market economy, especially when there was an intervention in the market from the privileged class (Zhang, 1998; Zhang , 2006). Secondly, the government used the shi as an execution place for more than a thousand years in order to warn the public and maintain its social stability, as the shi was the busiest place in the city with a large concentration of population (Zhang, 2006; Ning, 2006).

2.1.5 The emerging of a new urban landscape

- The emerging of the retail landscape

The strict provision of the li system was criticized due to its inconvenience for people's daily life and due to an increasing need for commercial activities. Li (2007) argues that the collapsing of the li system stemmed from Chang'an of middle-late period of Tang dynasty and finally ended in the end of the Song dynasty (960 - 1126). In the capital city Chang'an of the mid-Tang dynasty, a few residents started to break the regulation of the li by opening walls and occupying the street by establishing their

own buildings. Moreover, retail stores started to emerge within the li. The Song government had strictly regulated the encroachment on the street through banning and demolishing the illegal buildings, especially those belonging to the upper class. However, such ordinance was only effective within a short period. The “invasion” of the street has continued; moreover, a few residents even started to occupy the river. Finally, the Song government compromised. In 1102–1106, it began to collect money from the encroaching buildings, implicitly accepting their pervasiveness. As a result, retail stores mushroomed. Since then, a new urban landscape emerged, as a spread of the mix use of retail and residential buildings on the street (Ning, 2006; Li, 2007).

Figure 5: A part of the *Qingming Festival by the Riverside*

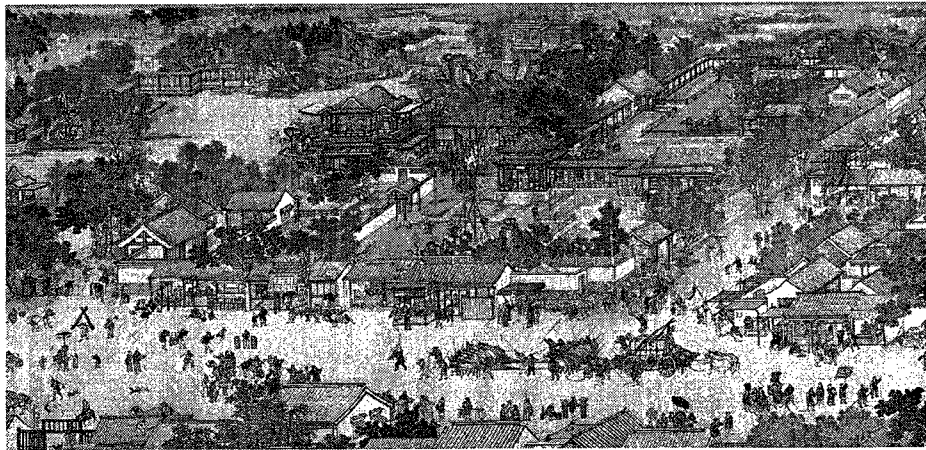


Figure 5: A part of *The Qingming Festival by the Riverside*, by Zhang Zeduan. It describes the urban landscape of the Song Dynasty, as retail shops distribute on major streets and within the li. Source: http://www.npm.gov.tw/en/collection/selections_02.htm?docno=90&catno=15&pageno=5

The Qingming Festival by the Riverside (see Figure 5) provides a vivid picture of the urban landscape of the Song Dynasty. In this painting, retail stores are distributed either along the main street of the city or on the small streets within the li. Some parts of the wall of the li can be distinguished while some have disappeared.

- The transformation of the shi

The emergence of the new urban landscape contributed to the prosperity of the city and the new retail streets replaced the former market–shi with a more diverse commercial activity.⁶ As a result, the role of the shi shifted from the market to the execution ground (Li, 2007); at the same time, the shi and li were integrated and the gates of the li were replaced by the paifang(牌坊) known as the monumental archway which can be seen in many Chinese cities nowadays (Ning, 2004).

2.2 The contemporary Chinese urban form

The walled residential compound is the most common unit of the contemporary Chinese city. It is defined as

“[A] form of residential community often segregated by major roads and natural boundaries, characterized by a closed perimeter of walls and fences, always containing controlled entrances for pedestrians, bicycles, and automobiles. [It is] usually consist of small residential streets and include various amenities. For large communities, it may be possible for residents to stay within the community for most day-to-day activities.” (Sun, 2006, p. 8)

The contemporary residential compound is represented by two most common residential built environments: the “danwei” (单位) compound and the “xiaoqu” (小区), or small district (Bray, 2005; Wu, 2005; Sun, 2006).

2.2.1 The danwei compound

The danwei compound (see Figure 6), the work unit or workplace is the

⁶ The prosperity of Song’s capital city Dongjing was described in Meng Yuanlao’s Dongjing Menghua Lu (东京梦华录 : Reminiscences of the Eastern Capital) written in 1147.

dominant form of housing development constructed on a large scale in China between 1949-1978 when the housing reform took place. The danwei, is an “enclosed, multifunctional, and self-sufficient” factory-based system; “the most basic collective unit in the Chinese political and social order” (Lü, 1997, p. 21). The danwei functions both politically and socially. It can be referred to as an administrative unit that belongs to the public sector (Lü, 1997), which regulates populations and settlement for the cities. The danwei can be also referred to as a workplace, or the work unit which controls the labors in the factory and the pattern of labor mobility. In short, the danwei is a factory that takes care of its employees as a “community organizer” (Straus, 1997).

Despite the wide variety of types and sizes of the danwei,⁷ they share a common range of functions: they not only guarantee their employees jobs, housing, medical care, retail services and other low cost services, but also benefit the political control through limiting the labor mobility and monitoring the political loyalty of its party members. The danwei is both a spatial entity and a community which integrates the work and life of its employees and their family, providing a social identity, a sense of community and a sense of belonging to its members (Bray, 2005; Wu, 2006).

The origin of the danwei system is debatable. Most of the people assume that it emerged in the 1950s either along with the establishment of the household registration system or other measures for the socialist transformation of urban society; while some

⁷ The type of the danwei can be as wide as the publicly and collectively owned units, SOEs, temple, military and government units, and so on (Bray, 2005).

argued that the danwei was developed during the wartime revolutionary period (Li, 1993; Lu, 1993), or even before the establishment of the PRC (Lü, 1997).

Furthermore, a few academics argue that the danwei shares some similarities with the Japanese model known as enterprise culture (Chan, 1997) or shares commonalities with the Soviet experience of enterprise management (Sil, 1997; Straus, 1997). In spite of a debatable origin, in the main, it is well known and acknowledged that the danwei system fulfilled the social need, in an era marked by scarce supply of commodities, by providing employment, housing, welfare and services at a very low or free direct cost for its population (Straus, 1997).

Typically, the danwei compound consists of a large rectangular block that is enclosed by a wall, and of five to six storeys apartment buildings which face inward. The wall as a physical barrier is constructed for security. It is also the visible expression for identity and boundaries (Lu, 2006). The walled danwei share some similarity with the traditional walled compound known as li and hutong in terms of social control and hierarchy. Bray (2005) points that the architectural formations of both the walled danwei and the traditional walled residential compound serve similarly to mark social spaces and space of power. Ma and Wu state that the walled compounds function as small cities within cities (Ma & Wu, 2005).

Figure 6: A danwei compound

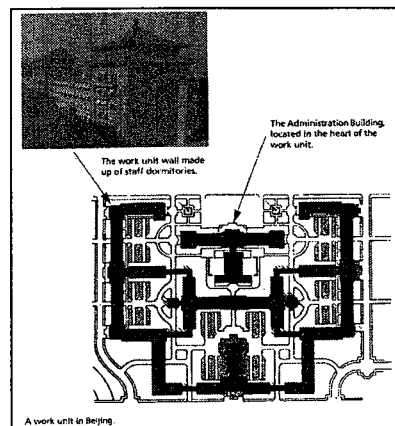


Figure 6: a danwei compound in Beijing (Dutton, 1999)

2.2.2 The xiaoqu

The xiaoqu, the small district or small estate, is another common residential compound in China. It was widespread over Chinese cities after the housing reform, and it has become the basic unit of residential development in China since the late 1980s (Bray, 2005). The spatial form of the xiaoqu resembles the danwei compound. It integrates the housing and community facilities—which are usually centrally located—such as clinics, superstores, restaurants, café, the gym, etc. The scale of each xiaoqu is about 1500 to 4000 households. Most of the xiaoqu are surrounded by walls or fences. A professional property management company is hired in most xiaoqu to oversee the security and maintenance. Its responsibilities often include providing security guards to monitor the entrance of the xiaoqu and of each building, repairing or mending facilities such as hydro supply and electricity, offering indoor and outdoor cleaning jobs. The range of services differs. Unlike the danwei, to which people were assigned, residence in a xiaoqu is determined largely by choice and the ability to pay.

Both the danwei and xiaoqu provide their inhabitants with a social identity, a sense of belonging and a feeling of safety (Bray, 2005).

Some argue that the enclosed residential compound is in part a transformed version of traditional walled compounds as a spatial outcome of the implication of the Chinese wall culture (Wang & Wang, 2000; Bray, 2005; Sun, 2006).

2.3 Summary: the notion of walls

“Walls, walls and yet again walls form the framework of every Chinese city. They surround it, they divide it into lots and compounds, they mark more than any other structures the basic features of Chinese communities.”

Osvald Sirén, Needham 1971, 42–43

From the well known Great Wall to the ancient walled imperial city recorded in Kaogongji, to the enclosed courtyard house and to the contemporary walled residential compound, the notion of enclosure seems to remain despite the drastic evolution of the Chinese urban form in recent years. In Chinese history, the wall is a consistent cultural mark deeply rooted in everyone’s mind that continues to influence the physical form of today’s city.

Where is this wall culture coming from?

The wall functions as a device to separate the outer environment from the inner environment. It protects the inner environment while excluding all information from the outer environment. Yet, who built the wall, or whose tool is the wall? Whom is the wall meant to enclose? In recent times in particular, who broke the wall, and for whose benefit? I argue that the symbolic meaning of the wall is so strong in Chinese

culture that every social agent would get control of it. Based on the literature view, I posit that beyond its mere symbolic function, the wall presents a long lasting control device of the government in the Chinese context. In that context, the collapse of the wall of li and the emergence of the first retail landscape that accompanied the replacement in the Tang Dynasty, and then the replacement of the danwei compound by the xiaoqu or, more recently, the emergence of a new retail landscape in Tianjin acquire a powerful connotation that denotes fundamental shifts in the political economy. The most recent manifestation corresponds to economic reforms. I assume that a political change, and its corresponding social and economical change have a great impact on the urban built form, meanwhile a change in urban built form manifests a corresponding social change.

I also assume that in the case of China, the highly centralized government introduced the wall system known as li and the danwei as a political control tool. When the central government decentralized its power and thus a new type of interaction of the “upper” politics and the “lower” social practices became possible, a breach in the “wall” could manifests a decentralization in political control as walls are opened and thus a new retail landscape emerges. This research raises the question: whose wall it is? Who opened it, and for whose benefit?

As Karl Marx wrote, “history repeats itself in spiral form.” The essence of the spatial relations between residential and retail space is highly politically determined in a Chinese context. In this study, I suggest that the emergence of retail building types resemble the emergence of the retail street in Tang and Song dynasties as both

residential compound xiaoqu and li have seen their walls opening to thriving commercial activities. In the current context, the urban landscape changes when a transition occurs toward a more flexible policy. At this point, I posit that the variety of retail building types found in Tianjin is a manifestation of the transition in political economy known since 1978 as the economic reform and its corresponding land and land-use right reform. By studying the detail of spatial transformations and the socio-economic processes at play in the making of such a retail landscape, I intend to shed new light on how the economic reform is played out at the “ground” level in a locality such as Tianjin’s Hexi district. The emergence of new ordinary street retail landscape is not a trivial matter as it is redefining the urban experience of a population in a transitional era that from planned economy to market economy.

Chapter 3: Theoretical Framework

This chapter discusses key concepts of morphology, a discipline focused on the built environment before discussing the work of sociologist Pierre Bourdieu. It then sets about building a bridge between the urban morphological and sociological studies and presents a theoretical framework that allows the “cross-examination” of the morphogenesis and the social determinants underlying the making of the urban landscape.

3.1 Urban morphology

3.1.1 Urban morphology and the notion of type

Urban morphology explores the inner logic of the built environment by studying the material and spatial outcomes of social practices shaping the cities. Saverio Muratori of the Italian School argues that,⁸ in each period of its development, a cultural group carries mental representations or cultural models of what to build and how to build it. These models known as collective codification or *type* create and shape the built environment creating regularity in morphological patterns. Muratori developed a method to ‘read’ the old artefacts and their associated types as in a way of understanding the morphological transformation. He also sheds light on the critical role of built environment and the material culture as he stresses that these are an

⁸ According to the ISUF (International Seminar on Urban Form) there are three schools of urban morphology: the British school, the French school and the Italian school. This study mainly discusses typological process theory of Italian School as a tool which was initially developed by Muratori and later defined by a second generation of researchers such as Caniggia and Maffei (Moudon, 1997; Gauthier 2005).

“imprint of human culture” (Muratori *et al.* 1959; Muratori, 1960 as cited in Gauthier, 2005, P. 82; Gauthier, 2005). The second generation of the Italian school represented by scholars such as Gianfranco Caniggia and Gian Luigi Maffei emphasizes the materiality of the built form through developing a more thorough scientific methodology to read artefacts (Gauthier, 2003). Morphologists argue that the making of the built landscape is dynamic process which is governed by its own internal logic and granted with a certain level of autonomy. The collective codification or *type* plays a central role in the mechanisms of transformation and the inner logic of the development of the built environment (Gauthier, 2005; Bliet & Gauthier, 2006).

3.1.2 Type

It is argued that *type* synthesizes knowledge derived from the historical experience. First, *type* is experience, knowledge, culture within history. It is a code rooted in everyone’s mind that is activated when social agents produce or consume the built environment as an internalized “collective codification”. It commands agents in an unconscious way of “what to build and how to build it” (Gauthier, 2005, p.82).

Type is becoming a common sense, which is established based on the previous knowledge and experience. It is a model, “a pre–projection of what the end product will be” (Caniggia & Maffei, 2001, p. 50). To some extent, *type* is a dynamic result of time and space. It is an accumulation of experience, history, knowledge and culture (time) in a particular form through the building and dwelling practices of social agents. The transformation unfolds to meet new social needs while being informed by past experiences, representations and knowledge.

If *type* is a cultural model and a direct expression of culture within a given historical period, this is to say that the uniqueness of cultural experience ensures the uniqueness of the corresponding urban form. As Lefebvre says, every society has its own space and no one could escape from its ideological or cultural spheres (Lefebvre, 1991). Finally, the *type* finds its spatial and physical expression in spatial forms and artefacts of a given historical period. Hence, the *type* can be retrieved by reading and examining the urban architectural forms.

3.1.3 Type and habitus

Gauthier argues that the notion of *type* bears some resemblance to sociologist Pierre Bourdieu's central notion of habitus (Gauthier, 2005).

The habitus is a "spontaneous" historical ensemble of "tastes" and "dispositions" that informs and shapes actions and social practices of agents, including towards material objects and thus the way they (re)produce space without being "immediately conscious or reflexive" (Bourdieu, 1984; Bourdieu, 1990; Bourdieu, 2005; Turner & Edmunds, 2002, p. 220). Similarly to *type*, it is a collective memory of cognition and a cognitive device: "an internal law through which the law of external necessities" are enacted a "guarantee" of the "correctness of practices and their constancy" in the future which is "more reliably than all formal rules and explicit norms", and therefore, it is "the principle of the continuity and regularity" (Bourdieu, 1990, pp. 54–55). It is argued that habitus is "known" only through its realizations in practice (Moore, 2004). To conclude, habitus is a continuous and unconscious will of social agents who play a critical role in their everyday practice and including, as far as this study is concerned

the (re)production of the spatial forms and the built environment.

3.1.4 Summary: a cross-examination

As Bray says, “the physical walls may be connected to the wall in the mind”.

Within the retail of the habitus, the wall as a type exist both on the ground and in the minds. In other words, the habitus informs the production of the built environment including through what is known as the type, which implies that space is not an intended outcome of a design or plan by any specialists. In spite of its unequal power and alternative interest, the local inhabitants either as individuals or collectively consume and (re)produce space through the unpredictable and uncontrollable every day practice (Castells, 1983; Certeau, 1988; Lefebvre, 1991). In the case of China, in spite of the lack of public participation in construction, implementation and evaluation of urban development (Zhang & Fang, 2004) I assume that the inhabitants shape the urban landscape through their daily practice which is “guided” by their habitus. At this point, I assume that the retail building form can be seen a cultural product, or a *type* constructed through the everyday practice of the inhabitants inaccordiance to collective codifications that are informed among other things by wall culture of urban China.⁹ In this study, the habitus is believed to be framed in part by the Chinese wall culture as a hidden principle that contributes to the production of the studied retail landscape. Such a landscape also manifests a type, a new cultural model that can be studied by looking at the artefacts and by enquiring onto the social practices.

⁹ Future studies are highly recommended. The raise of consumerism could be discussed as a major factor in creating the built environment if possible.

As I mentioned earlier, a retail landscape articulated around six retail buildings types can be found in Tianjin. This research aims to explore to what extent these buildings are informed by a habitus that incorporates the “culture of the wall” on the one hand, while responding to the new social–political and economic reality of contemporary China on the other?

The notion of *Type* suggests a relative autonomy of the built environment that responds predominantly to an inner logic rather than to exterior forces. However, the built environment is the product of the interweaving of both the material realm and social practices (Gauthier, 2005, Blik & Gauthier, 2006, Blik & Gauthier, 2007). As Moudon says, “The city is the accumulation and the integration of many individual and small group actions, themselves governed by cultural traditions and shaped by social and economic forces over time” (Moudon, 1997, p. 3). Moreover, within an era of rapid growth, when there is a sudden alteration of the cultural model as well as their corresponding altered social relations and spatial order, a wide variety of specific social, economic, and cultural conditions that have influenced and determined the creation of heterogeneous artefacts should be considered (Gauthier, 2005, p. 85).

Some studies show that the production and transformation of the built environment can consider both the exterior forces and the inner mechanism of the built environment. They also suggest cross–examining the morphogenesis of the urban landscape and the social determinants of the morphogenesis (Gauthier, 2005; Blik & Gauthier, 2006; Blik & Gauthier, 2007). This study therefore attempts to acknowledge the inner logic of an emerging retail forms as it aims at the same time to

examine the exterior determinants that influences the transformation of the retail landscape.

3.2 Social production of the urban landscape

3.2.1 The social production of space

“[Social] space is a [social] product.” (Lefebvre, 1991, p. 26) and space is socially produced by the involved forces. How is space socially produced? Lefebvre (1991) stresses the important role of the dominant power in the social production of space, arguing that space is a spatial manifestation of power, authority and dominance; yet, other portray that space as a manifestation of the social relations of production is a symbolic representation of the shift and transformation of dominant powers (Castells, 1983; Harvey, 1976). Some emphasize the interaction of forces within the production process. Bourdieu argues that space is a field (of power), a spatial symbolization of the dominant power within a field where social agents using their capitals (economic, cultural, social, and political in a communist context) struggle for positions (symbolic capital) (Bourdieu, 1984; Bourdieu, 1990; Bourdieu, 2005).¹⁰ Others argue similarly that space is a dynamic process of engagement and interactions among agents and everyday practices (Castells, 1983; Certeau, 1988; Gottdiener, 1995; Lefebvre, 1991; Bourdieu, 2005).

To sum up, social provision functions through the interweaving of agents actions

¹⁰ Social capital is the sum of resources activated through durable networks of persons. (Bourdieu, 2005) Cultural capital is closely related to educational qualifications and social background; it is a cultivated disposition of the cultural good consumed (Bourdieu, 2000). Habitus is another form of cultural capital. Although capitals are of many kinds, economic capital often predominates, as is certainly the case in the building provision field.

struggling for reinforcing or improving their positions within the field; and at the same time the process of such interweaving dynamically produces space. In spite of various agents at play, space is predominantly the manifestation of the dominant power. In this study, I am wondering who are the agents, who has the dominant power within the field, and how the social agents interact with each other to produce the studied retail landscape.

3.2.2 The field and agents

I refer myself to Bourdieu's field theory to explore the power relations and interactions between agents.¹¹ The "field", according to Bourdieu, is a dynamic field of forces. Social agents within the field struggle for positions which are determined by the allocation of capitals known as social, cultural and economic capitals (Bourdieu, 1984; Bourdieu, 1990; Harker, Mahar, & Wilkes, 1990; Bourdieu, 2005). Bourdieu posits a social world made up of multiple fields. Here, a large field can be divided into subfields. Each subfield follows the overall logic of its field, while displaying its own internal logic. The subfields display an unequal distribution of power, and some groups of agents could have more power than others within a field as a whole, and the inner logic of one field could highly influence the other subfields (Bourdieu, 1984;

¹¹ Bourdieu suggested three steps which could be used to investigate a given field:

1. analyze the positions of the field vis-à-vis the field of power;
2. map out the objective structures of relations between the positions occupied by the social agents or institutions who compete for the legitimate forms of specific authority of which this field is a site;
3. analyze the habitus of social agents, the different systems of dispositions they have acquired by internalizing a determinate type of social and economic condition, and which find in a definite trajectory within the field[...]a more or less favorable opportunity to become actualized (Bourdieu & Wacquant, 1992, pp. 104-5).

Thomson, 2008).

In the case of this study, if the urban landscape is the field as a whole, what are the sub-fields? What is the internal logic of each subfield? Which subfield has the dominating force? And how agents struggle for their positions within the field? Bourdieu indicates that the bureaucratic field—i.e. the state, the territorial field—i.e. the local powers, can be considered as the subfield. He discusses the struggle between social agents within a field of the housing market in France, and argues that the housing market is “sustained and controlled, directly and indirectly, by the state” through its administrative measures, for example, the housing policy (Bourdieu, 2005, p. 92). While the local powers may, “against the rigidity authorized by bureaucratic monopoly,” bend the rules and function not as ideal but as the expectations or legitimate demands of the users of the services through the builders, planning department and architects (Bourdieu, 2005, p. 141).

In this study, I assume similarly that the retail landscape production is a field in itself. The central government of China, as the bureaucratic field, has framed the retailing landscape through its land use rights policy and housing reforms; the local powers as the territorial field leave their own mark on the retail landscape through master planning and their associated regulations. SOEs, POEs and grassroots are the other main groups of agents in the field.

3.2.3 The bureaucratic field

The central government has launched an economic reform in 1978 that brought two subsequent shifts in political economy of China: the housing reform and the

land-use right reform.

The housing reform is a watershed in the history of housing provision in China. Before the housing reform, the housing stock was built and managed by the municipality's Housing Management Bureau,¹² financed by both the local and the central government. The danwei was the dominant allocator of housing, which allocated housing according to the seniority and position of the employee. However the danwei had some drawbacks. Firstly, there was inefficiency and inequity in housing distribution (Barlow & Renaud, 1989; Xu, 2005). Secondly, most of China's urban housing at that time was built, owned and maintained by the danwei or city housing bureaus, however, the low rent paid by the housing tenant did not even cover the maintenance costs in most cases (Xu, 2005).

In April 1980, China's housing reform¹³ initiated by Deng Xiaoping as an important component of economic reform took place. The basic idea of the housing reform was to commodify public housing, by converting its role from social welfare good to a commodity. The housing reform was considered as an accelerating factor to development and the economic reforms as a whole. The State Council announced in March, 1988 that,

“The objective of reform of the urban housing system is to commercialize housing according to the demands of a socialist planned commodity economy. The reform

¹² There was also a small portion of privately owned housing, most of which were pre-1949 structures owned by individuals who were not classified as capitalists in the early 1950's.

¹³ There were two distinct housing reforms since 1978: one took place in rural China, and one in urban China. The housing reform and the relevant information discussed in this thesis refer mainly to the case of urban China.

should begin by changing the low rent system of public housing. The current practice of housing distribution will be gradually changed to a housing allowance, and the resident will acquire the ownership of or the right to use houses through purchase or rental. In this way, houses will become a market commodity, causing a beneficial circle of input and output in housing construction and enabling us to blaze a new trail in solving the urban housing problem and promoting the development of real estate business, the building industry and the building materials industry.” (State Council, 1988, quoted in Barlow & Renaud, 1989)

In 1988, the National Housing Reform Conference introduced two policy instruments for the municipal housing bureaus allowing them: 1. to raise rents to a more competitive level and at the same time to distribute housing subsidies to offset the increase; 2. to implement of the sale of public-sector housing (Wang, 2000). The transition in policy separated housing from the danwei, so that danwei would play no direct role in housing (Barlow & Renaud, 1989; Xu, 2005). Furthermore, as the economic reform introduced market competition, the danwei became profit-seeking entities and could no longer shoulder the social benefits for its employees (Rosen & Ross, 2000). The commodity housing was to be built and sold by the property developers instead of the danwei or the government.

As a result of housing reform, there are three major forms of housing supply in Urban China: 1. commercially built private housing at market prices for the high-income groups; 2. commercially built subsidized affordable housing for the middle and low-income groups; and social housing for rent to the very low-income

group (State Council, 1998, quoted in Wang 2000).

In conclusion, the housing reform introduced the market economy into the housing provision; the nature of housing shifted from social welfare provided by the danwei or the local government to a commodity built and sold by the property developers. Today housing provision is a shared responsibility among the state, local government, danwei, private enterprises and individuals (Xu, 2005).

The land reform in land-use right is another watershed in the urban history of China. The major change in housing and real estate in general is the transition of the ownership of land-use rights rather than ownership of the land, as the constitution of China stipulates that any organization or private individual cannot trade, rent or transfer the land. Before the land reform, the land was granted to the danwei and SOEs free of charge, and the land tenure was not clearly defined. Neither the land ownership nor land use-right could be transferred, traded or leased. The land ownership and the land-use right were not clearly defined. The land-use right reform after 1978 had gradually separated the land-use right from the land ownership. Organization or private individual can purchase, transfer or lease the land-use right within a specific term. It is important to note that, the land ownership remains the same, as it is always a property of the state and the people of the PRC.

3.2.4 The territorial field

The housing reform stresses the existence of large-scale system of housing construction in China. In the urban development of the late 1990s, with administrative decentralization of the state, the role of the local government was significantly

enhanced. Xu (2005) elaborates on the role that the government at each level plays in urban development. The municipal government focuses on maintaining social stability, promoting economic development and sustainable growth through policy interventions and regulations such as: Floor Area Ratio (FAR) control, control and monitoring of crime and so on. The district government regulates the development and delivers the policy made by the municipal government on behalf of the municipal government, and at the same time it helps the developers to negotiate with the municipal government. The street government is responsible for the execution of the demolition and relocation process, ensuring a fast and efficient relocation process despite a certain ignorance of the community member's interests.

The local government at its different levels and property developers together form the growth coalition based on the system of paid transfer of land-use rights, and common development interests (Zhang, 2002). Zhang and Fang (2003) also argue that housing models with a higher exchange value rather than a higher use value was favored in the decision-making process. As a result, by manipulating real-estate development in China's transitional economy, local government build growth coalitions with local state owned enterprises known as the danwei to maximize exchange value at the expense of the local community's use value of the place . Within the territorial field which I identified earlier, although there is legislation of housing at the national level, the local governments and development companies obtained a very strong and important power. (Zhang & Fang, 2004, p. 294).

Chapter 4: Methodology

4.1 Research design

The basic idea behind this research is the studying of six retail types found in Tianjin to understand the morphological evolution of a retail landscape and to explore how such a landscape is morphologically and socially produced in a Chinese context. The study is both descriptive and analytical. Three research questions are developed:

1. What is the retail landscape of the study area?
2. Who produced the retail landscape?
3. How the retail landscape was produced?

The research method is threefold: morphology, qualitative analysis of interview with key actors, and textual analysis of planning policy framework. A morphological study is conducted through surveying and mapping six retail types in the study area in order to investigate the morphological evolution of the retail landscape.

Semi-structured interviews with key informants are conducted to explore the interaction between agents and to reveal how the retail landscape was produced. The study applies grounded theory to analyse the emerging qualitative data of interviews.

A textual analysis of the planning policy framework provides an understanding of the field and of the prerogatives of various group of agent. The study examines secondary sources such as governmental documents from both the central government of China and government of Tianjin. Policy documentation is a complementary source of information to the interviews in particular in the context of the difficulty to approach

certain agents or in the case where theoretical saturation was reached at an early stage.

4.2 Research process

This research was a gradual process. Basically, the research proceeded in three phases. The first phase consisted of data collection and morphological analysis through surveying and mapping. As mentioned earlier, the research interest was developed by observing the changing streetscape. In order to determine the characteristics of the targeted retail landscape, I selected the initial site where I found the unique retail building to observe and named it as study area A. When taking photographs and field notes, I analysed the surveying data and classified three categories of the retail building type. However I felt that I had not saturated the concepts which refer to “labels given to discrete phenomena” (Strauss & Corbin, 1998, p. 101), so I sampled a comparable but different site and named it as study area B. The same data collection approach was taken as with the study area A and some new concepts were generated. The new data allowed me to reinforce and expand my concepts and eventually to produce a categorization of six types of retail buildings.

In the first phase, the study found six retail buildings types as the output of the transformation of the retail landscape, which reveals the morphological process of the retail landscape and shows how the inner logic of the built environment to a certain extent changes an urban landscape.

The second phase of this study mainly examines how the change in political and economical reality had impacts on the retail landscape. I conducted semi-structured interviews with the key informants who were involved as agents. The interviews were

followed by an analysis of the interview transcripts. This step aims to explore the key social determinants in the production of the retail landscape. Key agents role was investigated, including the government at a municipal and district level, the SOEs, POEs and grassroots.

The third phase is the textual analysis of planning policy framework as a supplement to further understand the production of the retail landscape. Main policies during the economic reform and land reform were studied.

This research process and outcomes shows in a chart as Figure 7 shows:

Figure 7: the research process

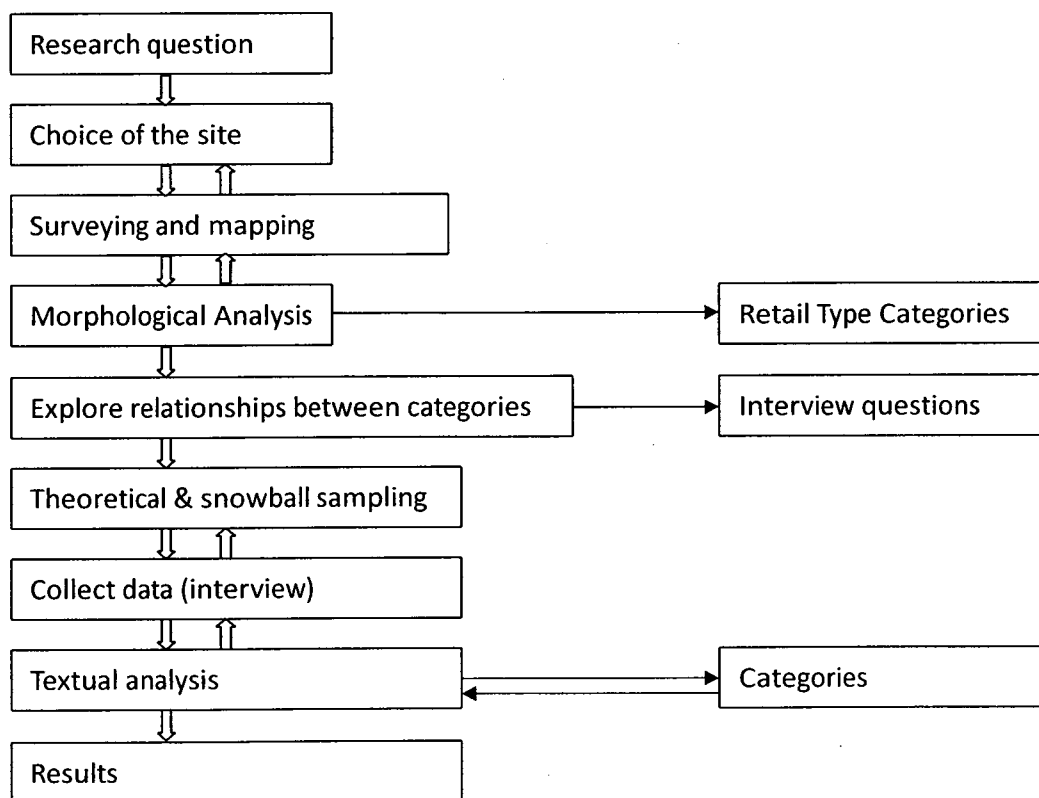


Figure 7 : the research process

4.3 Urban Morphology

Urban morphology explores the inner logic of the built environment by studying the material and spatial outcomes of ideas that shape the city. This study focuses on the morphogenesis of the retail built forms by adopting morphological methods of enquiry to read and interpret a number of retail buildings as in a way of understanding the morphological transformation and inner logic of the built environment. The study builds recognizable categories of retail buildings based on an abundant data collected first hand by site survey and then mapping. By linking the spatial patterns to various types, it provides an understanding of some of the material manifestation of emerging social relations in contemporary China.

4.3.1 Building a typology

The study will first categorize various retail building types among a large number of retail buildings found in the study area. According to Caniggia and Maffei (2001, P50), a building type is to “indicate any group of buildings with some characteristics, or a series of characteristics, in common”. Their definition implies that, in order to realize the coincidence between a retail building type and a discrete building, it is necessary to examine key attributes and characteristics. The study identifies every retail building type by examining three main characteristics: the façade, the circulation system and the overall dimensions, making it somehow distinguish to other retail building. In particular, the study first provides an observation on the characteristics of the building façade by examining the style and openings such as

window and entrance. An observation of the circulation also provides an understanding of the circulating path and accesses to each retail building. Another way to distinguish various building types is to estimate their dimension as well as the dimension of their openings through a street observation and a rough estimate on a plan. Through a careful comparison and morphological analysis, the study sorts retail buildings into six recognizable categories. It then discusses the building process, trying to provide an understanding of the evolution of retail forms in the study area. In addition, the study illustrates the spatial relation between types and the residential buildings, and it discusses the spatial distribution of each type by exploring the spatial relations between various types, and the spatial relation between types and major street. It tries to find spatial patterns associated to various types and the surrounding built environment and to identify any continuity in the morphological process of the studied retail landscape.

4.3.2 Definition

Caniggia and Maffei (2001) in their book *Interpreting basic building* elaborate some key definitions in morphology.

- Building type: “[to indicate] any group of buildings with some characteristics, or a series of characteristics, in common” (p. 50).
- Variant: a transformation when “the wide range of changes occurred over the time to a building type in order to be updated to new specific needs” (p. 245).
- Typological process: with reference to a sequence of significant time spans, the typological process expresses the progressive transformation of the

concept of “house” or, by extension any category of specialized building into a specific place (p. 244).

- Synchronic variant: “the application of the same type, the same “house or building type concept” in situations less fitting than with the type itself, and therefore, producing less efficient buildings (p. 76). It is “the modification of a building type in order to fit it to non–standardized tissue constrains. In such way the yield¹⁴ of the type inevitably decreases.” In other words, the synchronic variants are “the application of the same type, the same “house concept” in situations less fitting than with the type itself and, therefore, producing less efficient buildings.” (p. 246).

4.4 Site

The study found a variety of retail buildings in the neighbourhood of Qiandezhuang and Xiawafang of Hexi district, Tianjin.

4.4.1 Tianjin

Tianjin is one of the four municipalities directly under the Central Government of China. It is located in the northeast of the North China Plain and it is only 137 kilometers southeast of Beijing—the capital of China. Tianjin has jurisdiction over 15 districts and 3 counties. The administrative region of Tianjin covers an area of 11,760km². Its urban districts cover 7,399km² including 6 districts: Heping, Hedong, Hexi, Nankai, Hebei and Hongqiao (Stats Tianjin, 2004). Tianjin is the birthplace of

¹⁴ Yield: “every atrophic action implies a modification of the build environment. The yield assesses the capacity of the contest to absorb traumatical events.” “We can take yield to mean the dialectic between a human action and an environmental reaction.” (Caniggia & Maffei, 2001, pp. 49,243)

modern machinery industry and textile industry in China. Until the establishment of PRC, Tianjin was the second largest industrial city in China after Shanghai. It became one of the most rapidly developing cities in China since the policy of reform and opening-up in 1978. In the Outline of the 11th Five-Year Plan for the Development of National Economy and Society in the PRC approved of in 2006, it is pointed that the development and opening of Tianjin Binhai New Area is part of the overall national development strategy of China. Moreover, according to the 17th National Congress of the Communist Party of China on October 2007, Tianjin is identified as the economic center of Northern China (The People's Government of Tianjin City, 2008). As a result, Tianjin is having its “urban surgery” in a hurry; a rapid urban development is underway that has already deeply transformed the urban environment.

4.4.2 Hexi district

Hexi is one of the central districts of Tianjin and lies in the southeast of urban area. The total district area is 37.9654 square km with a total population of 650,050 and 215,725 families as of until April of 1999 (Stats Tianjin, 2004). The city of Tianjin has six administrative districts: Hexi, Heping, Hedong, Hebei, Nankai and Hongqiao. It has the highest GDP that is six times higher than Hongqiao who has the least GDP (Stats Tianjin, 2004). The Hexi district also includes the oldest and largest suburb of Tianjin—Meijiang. Overall, Hexi district is one of the developed districts in urban Tianjin.

4.4.3 Qiandezhuang and Xiawafang

Figure 8 study area A and B:

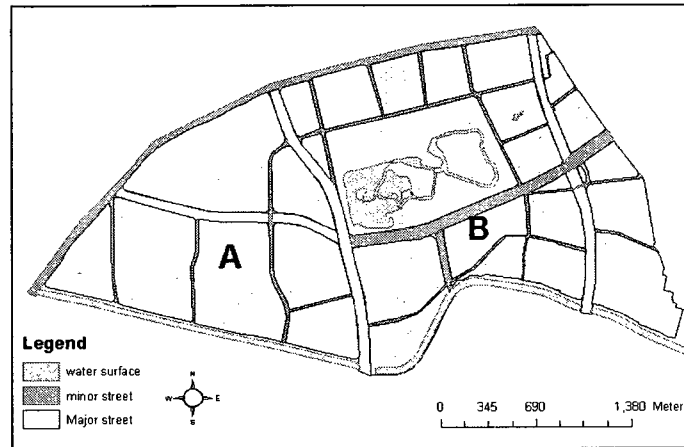


Figure 8: study area A and B

This study mainly examines two study areas A and B that correspond to the neighbourhood Qiandezhuang and Xiawafang respectively (see Figure 8). The two neighbourhoods present an extensive retail landscape. They are respectively under the governance of the street government of Qiandezhuang and the street government of Xiawafang. Each neighbourhood consists of at least one major commercial strip and a number of residential compounds that are either the danwei estate or xiaoqu. Each neighbourhood is divided into several sub studied–areas. They were chosen because their characteristics are representative of the post–reform neighbourhoods that are spreading at the outskirts of Chinese cities.

The study area A includes seven blocks divided by seven streets. Based on their traffic volume, there are two major commercial strips: Guangdong Road and Yong’an Ave; and there are other five minor streets: Shaoxing Ave., Huangpubei Road, Yuexiu Road, Jinhebei Ave. and Shantou Road. The study area B includes twenty blocks

divided by twelve streets, including one of the oldest commercial streets in the history of Hexi Dagunan Road; and other ten minor streets: Shaoxing Ave., Minhou Road, Fenghua Ave., Qiongzhou Ave., Xiamen Road, Xilouhou Street, Jiulong Road, Huizhou Ave. Nanchang Road and Jinhua Road.

4.4.4 Surveying and mapping

The surveying and mapping strategy allows a direct observation on a variety of retail shops by walking or driving in the devised area while taking photographs and fieldwork notes. The two contiguous residential areas of Qiandezhuang and Xiawafang (study area A and B), were built at different historical periods. Each has at least one major commercial street parallel to the other. The selection of two contiguous study areas allows a possible number of retail building types to support the categorization of the retail building types. I numbered each lot under the sub area of where it belongs by A1, A2, A3... and B1, B2, B3... A digital plan of Tianjin in 2006 at a scale of 1:2000 is used as my base map. It provides basic geographical and buildings information of the study area.

The surveying was conducted with a prepared base map of the study lot at a scale of 1:500 that allows greater space for more detailed geographic information. Once arriving in the area, I started to take a walk from one residential compound to another, took photograph for each retail shop and the surrounding built environment. At the same time I wrote down the surveying detail of every retail store, such as the location, orientation, scale, height, façade condition, commodity type and so on. The surveying schedule was as follows:

Table 1: surveying schedule

Date	Area	Date	Area
2009/05/02 2009/06/18 2009/07/04	A-1	2009/06/15-16 2009/06/24 2009/07/04	B-1
2009/05/02-03 2009/06/18 2009/07/04	A-2	2009/06/18-19 2009/07/04	B-2
2009/05/03 2009/07/04	A-3	2009/06/19 2009/07/04	B-3
2009/05/09 2009/06/18 2009/07/04	A-4	2009/06/20-21 2009/07/04	B-4
2009/05/16-17 2009/06/20 2009/07/04	A-5	2009/06/22 2009/07/04	B-5
2009/05/17 2009/07/04	A-6	2009/06/23	B-6
		2009/06/23	B-7
		2009/06/24	B-8

Table 1: the surveying schedule of the study area. Most of the sites were revisited more than once to ensure theoretical saturation and to fit the generating concepts.

4.5 Interviews

The second part of the study focuses on investigating the interaction of the social agents involved the production of the landscape by interviews. The core of the interview is to document “who does what” during the production process. I arranged interviews with key informants involved in the production of the studied landscape, aiming to explore the social dynamics among them.

4.5.1 Sampling

Theoretical sampling is employed in the interviews entailing sampling interviewees on the basis of the emerging theoretical focus. It is an ongoing process of data collection controlled by the emerging theory, and the decision of what data to collect and where to collect is made with the refinement of ideas (Bryman, 2008; Charmaz, 2000; Glaser & Strauss, 1967). During data collection, sampling is carried on until achieving the theoretical saturation, which refers that data collection of sampling is good enough to be tested for the emerging theoretical ideas (Bryman, 2008).

In this study a total of 10 participants, who had been either directly or indirectly involved in the production of this retail landscape were carefully selected through snowball sampling. The informants include the senior official of the Commission of Commerce of Hexi, the senior official of the Construction Administration Commission of Hexi, the senior official in municipal government, the senior official of the Cityscape and Landscape Management Committee of Hexi, senior lawyer of housing market and real estate in Hexi, the CEO of a real estate company in Hexi, a senior architect and project manager, two owners of retail shops in the studied retail strips, and two residents who live in the study area for more than twenty years. They were not selected at one time. A new sampling process was taken based on my emerging theoretical focus when I found data from the initial sampling informants had not achieved theoretical saturation.

4.5.2 Interviewing

I conducted Interviews to explore further who produced the retail landscape and how the retail landscape was produced. The production of the retail landscape involved a number of people, thus I selected the qualitative method of semi-structured interviewing as my research method.

The interviews with informants were conducted at a time and place based on the availability and preference of the participants, and the interviews were conducted in Chinese as it is the native language of all the participants. Cultural differences are irrelevant in this research since I am a native Chinese. The list of fairly specific topics, themes and key questions known as the interview guide was prepared before each interview to make sure each theme was fully covered by the end of the interview (see Appendix B). All the key questions were asked and a similar wording was used from interviewee to interviewee for comparison and validation.

Each participant to the semi-structured interviews was forewarned that the information discussed is used for academic purposes. Before the interview, the nature of the research, the research orientation and its objectives were fully described (see ethics forms in Appendix C). Each interview took one and half-hour to two and half hours. All informants confirmed were informed that they could discontinue the interview any time when feeling uncomfortable or they feared the loss of some benefit to which they are otherwise entitled.

An auditing approach was adopted which entails ensuring that complete records are kept of all phases of the research process in an accessible manner, helping “to

correct the natural limitations of our memories and of the intuitive glosses that we might place on what people say in interviews” and “permits repeated examinations of the interviewees’ answers.” (Heritagr, 1984, p. 238) Under the permission of all the informants, each interview was recorded with the digital voice recorder in plain sight.

During parts of the interviews regarding the evolution of a retail landscape, an effort was made to keep each interview as formal as possible and I maintained silence at a maximum to ensure that the informant’s train of thought was not interrupted, giving the informant the opportunity to reflect and amplify an answer. To the rest of the interviews, I maintained the conversation to flow naturally, allowing the flexibility to discover a new angle to view the production process. At all the time during the interview, I was very aware of my position as an overseas student whom was considered to have the potential to judge. For that matter, I remained honest about my research intentions and chose to listen attentively to what the informant is saying.

The sample consent form to participate in research was translated into Chinese and provided for each participant (see Appendix D). During a semi-structured interview, an informant did not want to provide too much detail due to the fear of losing his privilege. In this case, further information was explored through document consultation and textual analysis as the important supplement to ensure internal reliability of this research.

When transcribing the interviews, I wrote down exactly what the interviewee said, word for word. The transcripts allow me to generate concepts precisely and easily, it was extremely time-consuming and it produced a large amount of paper though.

Table 2: Interview Schedule

Occupation	Date	Location
Small retail owner	2009-07-15 PM9:00-11:30	Café shop
Senior official in municipal government	2009-07-18 PM8:30-9:00 2009-07-20 PM2:00-2:30	Restaurant Café shop
Large retail owner	2009-07-20 AM 10:00-11:00	Office
Senior official in CACH	2009-08-12 AM 10:00-12:30	Conference room
Senior official in CCH	2009-08-12 AM 10:00-12:30	Conference room
Senior official in CLMCH	2009-08-15 AM 10:00-11:30	Office
CEO of a real estate firm	2009-08-19 PM 8:00-10:00	Café shop
Lawyer	2009-08-20 PM 12:00-2:30	Restaurant
LHE residents	2009-08-14 PM 8:00-10:30	Restaurant
Architect	2009-08-22 PM 2:00-4:30	Café shop

Table 2: the interview schedule of 10 informants.

4.5.3 Data Analysis

Grounded theory is used in this study to analyse the qualitative data collected as first hand data. Grounded theory implies that the data collection and analysis repeatedly refer back to each other and finally induce the theory. As Bryman explains, it is “iterative”, or “recursive” in data collection and analysis (Bryman, 2008, p. 514).

Strauss & Corbin (1998) defined grounded theory as “a theory that was derived from data, systematically gathered and analysed through the research process. It can be understood as an approach to generate theory or concept out of data, and it can be used in connection with different kinds of data (Bryman, 2008). According to grounded theory, coding is an important step to manage data and generate theory. Coding begins at almost the same time when the data emerge (Charmaz K. , 2000). It manages data by examining, comparing, conceptualizing and categorizing” (Strauss & Corbin, 1990), and it generates theory through “reviewing transcripts and/or field notes and giving labels to data which is component parts that seem to be of potential theoretical significance and/or that appear to be particularly salient within the social worlds of those being studied” (Bryman, 2008, p. 542). It also validates relationships between categories for further refinement and development (Strauss & Corbin, 1990).

In this study the initial focus has been to investigate “who does what” in the production of the retail landscape. General categories were gradually established through reviewing the interview transcripts. As the research developed and data accumulated, the initial categories became more precise and then were repeatedly refined. Eventually, comprehensive categories were developed replacing the initial ones, and the conclusion revealed.

4.6 Textual Analysis

The third phase is the textual analysis of planning policy framework as a supplement to understand further the production of the retail landscape. I studied main policies during both planned economy and market economy. The study focused on the

policies of economic reform and land reform.

4.7 Limitations and Suggestion

In terms of grounded theory, I encountered difficulty to spell out the possible implications of the planned investigation as I can suspend my awareness of relevant theories or concepts until a quite late stage in the process of analysis. In terms of research method such as interviews, I realized that qualitative researchers are expected to acquire an appropriate interview techniques and communication skills in order to obtain a high-qualified interview. Professional training or specific workshop could help improve such ability. In terms of theoretical sampling, when the researcher feels that the categories achieve theoretical saturation at a very early stage and thus give up for additional sample selection, he or she may ignore some aspects of the research. In addition, In terms of data analysis, the recording of conversations and interviews and then transcribe interviews enhance the dependability of qualitative research, but to handle and interpret the qualitative data such as interview transcripts can be extremely time-consuming. This research tried to take into consideration such methodological limitations.

Chapter 5: The Morphological Evolution

5.1 Introduction

This chapter focuses on the morphological evolution of Tianjin in history. By a review of urban history, this chapter explores how social and economic changes have shaped the urban form of Tianjin. It identifies the key factors determining the production of an urban landscape in the history of Tianjin, trying to provide a general framework for the later discussion on the production of the retail landscape.

This chapter first reviews the morphological evolution of Tianjin by introducing major physical transformations of the city's urban form in history. Then it zooms into the study area and reviews the birth and development of Hexi district. It reveals the morphological transformation of two study areas Qiandezhuang and Xiawafang during a hundred years. It particularly examines the development of the retail landscape and the development of the large housing estates within Hexi, aiming to understand the social determinants of a morphological construction in this study. The conclusion discusses both morphological and social determinants in creation of the urban landscape of Tianjin in history.

5.2 The Morphological Evolution of Tianjin

5.2.1 1404–1860

Tianjin is an old city, as its earliest human settlements was founded along the Yan Mountain in the Neolithic age. It had served as a southern gate to the capital ever since the Yuan Dynasty. In the Yuan Dynasty, Xiaozhigu or the “Little Straight Port”

later known as Tianjin became the military base and the transportation center of the Chinese capital Dadu, present-day Beijing due to its strategic geopolitical position as a natural gateway to Beijing.

A wall was constructed in 1404 of the Ming Dynasty with an increasing awareness of Tianjin's military importance to protect the Ming Dynasty. Yet with the rapid development of both commerce and transportation, the role of Tianjin centered on military defense slowed its urban development especially when the city became a center of salt and food distribution. Finally during 1725 to 1731 in the Qing Dynasty, Tianjin was granted local authority and upgraded to a prefecture, and then a county. Tianjin benefited from its new political position and grew rapidly. Soon it became an important center for finance, commerce and transportation. (Yang & Li, 1989; Wang, Lu, & Wang, 1993; Duckett, 1998;)

Figure 9: map of Tianjin in Ming Dynasty

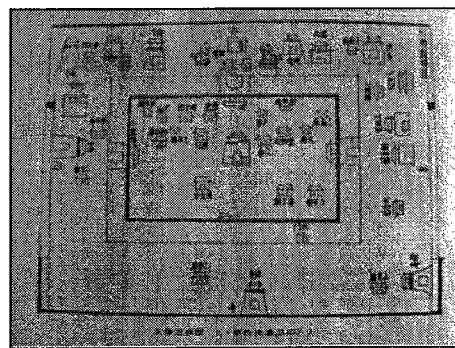


Figure 9: Tianjin as a town in the Ming Dynasty. (Yang & Li, 1989, p. 18)

The walled city of Tianjin (see Figure 9&10) follows the rule of a layout of traditional Chinese cities as discussed in Chapter 3. The city is a rectangle and is enclosed by walls.

Figure 10: Map of the walled-city in Qing Dynasty

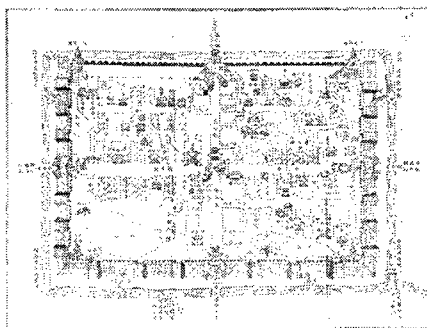


Figure 10: Map of the walled city in the Qing Dynasty. It was published in 1825 in the *Jinmen baojia tushuo*.

It

has a symmetrical grid street system, deployed according to a north-south orientation and featuring a center located palace (the drum tower). As mentioned earlier, the wall was ordered to be built as a military outpost. It was constructed in 1404 of the Ming Dynasty. It was in a rectangular, with a 1.5 km in length and 1.0 km in width. The total area of the city was about two square kilometers. The wall was repaired respectively in 1493, 1586, 1654 and eventually rebuilt in 1674. It had four gates; each was associated with one of the cardinal directions: the East, South, West and North. The significance of the various gates was linked to a symbolic system¹⁵. Instead of placing a palace in the centre of the city, a drum tower or Gulou (鼓楼) was centrally located in the city. The drum tower had four gates that connected the other four gates of the city wall by four basic route named East Boulevard, South Boulevard, West Boulevard and North Boulevard. Streets and alleys distributed on each side of

¹⁵ the wall facing the sacred capital pointing north, the section reaching south towards the Yangzijiang and the fertile Huai regions; the section in the East, embraces the sea; from the West, invites travelers from all directions (Chang, 1977).

the boulevards forming a grid street system. The shi and commercial district of Tianjin emerged during 1426 to 1435 of Ming Dynasty. They were spatial distributed in the center and nearby the four gates of the city.

Liu (2008) argued that Tianjin in the Ming and Qing dynasties consisted of two main parts: the administrative district within the city consisted of bureaucrats and government officials, and the commercial district outside the city consisted of markets and resided the merchants. For example, within the walled-city, temples, government department offices, government official's houses and rice warehouses distributed in the north, a large residential area distributed in the south. The suburbs outside the city gates grew especially along the south canal and right side of the Hai River. The suburbs areas were favored sites for handicraft industries, trading markets, warehouses and piers, and a number of denser residential areas emerged outside the gates (see Figure 11) (Wang, Lu, & Wang, 1993).

Figure 11: Map of Tianjin in Qing Dynasty

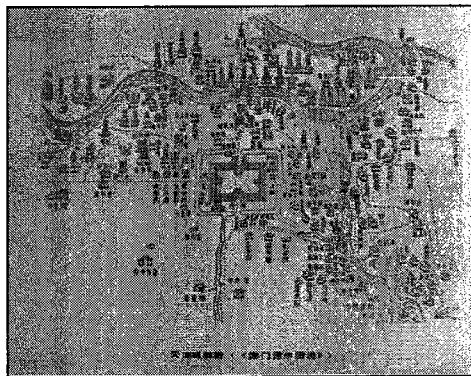


Figure 11: Map of the walled city and its surrounding in the Qing Dynasty (Yang & Li, 1989, p. 22)

It should be noted that although there was a distinctive division in the layout of Tianjin, there was no distinct boundary between these two districts and there was a

mixed spatial distribution of the residents regardless their social status. For example, poor people lived inside the wall-city so did the rich people. Yet there was a distinct spatial distribution of people who lived inside the wall city that reflected the social hierarchy (Lu, 2006). For example, people in the higher social hierarchy tended to live along the main roads enjoying a more convenient transportation which were close to the gate whereas people at a lower end of the hierarchy were largely found living around the corners of the city wall or near the graves, puddles or marshes (Liu, 2008).

5.2.2 1860–1948

Tianjin was deeply influenced by the ideologies and planning methods of the western culture with the invasion of foreign powers during and after the 1840's Opium War and the creation of concession areas for foreigners in the city. Tianjin became an open port by treaty after 1860 following the Second Opium War. Its proximity to Beijing made it an attractive port for foreign countries to use in order to expand their China trade. Britain, the United States, France, Germany, Japan, Russia, Belgium, Italy and Austria–Hungary respectively established concessions outside the old city of Tianjin or Laochengli (老城里) during the nineteenth and early twentieth century. The population of Tianjin was booming during this period. The population of 0.42 million in 1906, increased to 1.11 million in 1927 and 1.91 million in 1948, which was almost ten times more than the population in 1846 (Wang, Lu, & Wang, 1993, p. 34).

Tianjin was recognized as a municipality of China in 1927. By 1930, it was the second in China in terms of foreign trade, and the largest industrial and commercial

centre in northern China (Marinelli, 2009). Moreover, it became a base for the Westernization movement, military modernization and transformation of societal infrastructure (Duckett, 1998).

During the historical of 1860 to 1948, Tianjin's configuration was of a crescent (see Figure 12). The tradition combined with the modern shaped the city as the traditional walled city (as the arrow indicates) and foreign concession areas existed side by side. The old city retained its grid street system. At the same time, the urban area on the east-south of the old city was rapidly developed by the name of the concessions. Each concession's territory was reinvented by employing the imported urban planning criteria, building regulations and architectural styles of the country controlling the area after demolishing the previous spatial organization of the site. A number of new piers, warehouses, financial services, factories were established within the concession area. In fact, besides the old city and the concession areas, there were also slums distributed on the urban periphery. These slums mainly located in the area between the concessions and the wall-city, for example, the well known Nanshi (Liu, 2008). The residents in the urban periphery consisted of a large number of migrants from small towns, countryside, or other cities. Their housing was low and lacked of maintenance. There was neither green space nor public facilities. In all the living condition was extremely bad.

Figure 12: The map of Tianjin in late 1930s

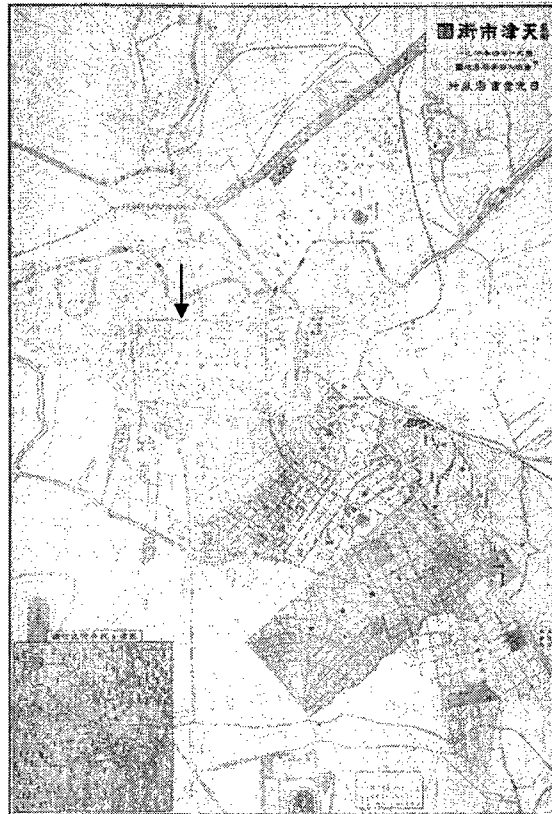


Figure 12: the map of Tianjin in late 1930s Source: Tianjin University

5.2.3 1949–Present

With the economic development, Tianjin has continued to grow since the establishment of P.R.C in 1949. A large number of worker residential settlements were established outside the old city. More than ten new industrial sites were developed in the urban periphery. Furthermore, satellite towns known as Junliangcheng, Pengliuqing, Xianshuigu and Dananhe have started to grow since 1958. (Wang, Lu, & Wang, 1993)

Nowadays Tianjin is divided into a special economic development district and eighteen county-level divisions, including fifteen districts and three counties. In 2004,

the old city and its wall were demolished and replaced with several large high end housing estates. Only the drum tower and a few commercial streets were preserved.

5.3 The Development of Hexi District

5.3.1 The history

Hexi district is one of the central districts of Tianjin. The earliest activities within Hexi can be traced back as early as the Tang Dynasty. The earliest literature found to document the activities within Hexi is *the record of reestablishment of Guajia temple* which in the 28th year of Wanli in the Ming Dynasty says, “[...], there is a legend that the troops of the Tang Dynasty were once stationed in this temple.”¹⁶ In the Song Dynasty, Hexi became the border of Song and Liao. The transportation on Hai River was prosperous and residence emerged along the river in Yuan Dynasty. Villages were formed within Hexi and villagers started to grow crops with the help of troops in the Ming Dynasty. Until the Qing Dynasty Hexi had become one of the most important area for rice production. At the end of the Qing Dynasty, modern industry began to develop and Hexi became one of the birthplaces of Tianjin’s modern industry (Hexi Local Chronicles Commission Office, 1998).

In 1895, Germany took the north–east part of Hexi and established the German

¹⁶ The sentence is translated from the ancient literature. The original texts as followed: 明万历二十八年 (1600) 《重建挂甲寺碑记》载：“大直沽迤南三里许，古刹曰庆国寺，后名挂甲寺，其由来远矣，图经无考，得于父老传闻云：当大唐征辽奏捷，驻师此寺，因更名焉。世远倾颓，遗址尚在。”

concession—the present Tianjin German Style District. The German Concession occupied an area of 1034 mu (亩: a unit of mu=0.0667 hectares) and expanded its existing area to a total of 4200 mu in 1901. In 1917, the Chinese government regained the German Concession and rename it No. 1 Special District. From 1943 to 1955, it was called No. 6 District, and in 1956, it was renamed Hexi District—a designation that was continued to be used until today (Culture&Historical Committee of Political Consultative Conference of Hexi District Tianjin & Construction Administrative Commission of Hexi District Tianjin, 2006).

5.3.2 The Development of the Retail Street

Hexi had been the major agricultural land of Tianjin for centuries. The use of the land has seen a major shift in the late Qing Dynasty, for Hexi had gradually transformed its agricultural land into industrial land with the rapid development of modern industry in Tianjin. Moreover, since the late Qing Dynasty, the commercial activities for instance small scaled retail shops and the street vendors had flourished with the increasing urban population. By the end of 1948, the commercial strips started to take shape as the retail shops distributed either on both side of the major streets known as Dagunan Road or concentrated within highly dense residential area such as Dayingmen, Sanyizhuang and the studied area Xiawafang (Hexi Local Chronicles Commission Office, 1998).

The commercial activities within Hexi continued to grow after the establishment of PRC, whereas the retail business had experienced a dramatic transformation during the socialist reform that was expect to suit China's specific conditions in dealing with

capitalist industry and commerce since 1952. In particular, the socialist reform aimed to transform the private ownership of the means of production. It devised a whole series of transitional forms of state capitalism from lower to higher levels, such as the placing of state orders with private enterprises for the processing of materials or the manufacture of goods, state monopoly of the purchase and marketing of the products of private enterprise, the marketing of products of state-owned enterprises by private shops, and joint state-private ownership of individual enterprises or enterprises of a whole trade (The Central People's Government of the People's Republic of China, 2009). As a result, by the completion of the socialist reform movement in 1956, almost all private owners of the retail business within Hexi lost their ownership and many private-owned retail shops merged into a larger state-owned business. In the era of planned economy from 1950s to 1970s, the main function of the retail shops in Hexi as the other places in China was to guarantee the essential supply of people's daily need due to the scarcity of the commodities instead of promoting people to consume.

The private retail business was finally revived in 1978, the year of economic reform. Since then, private capital, foreign capital, state-owned capital and collective capital mushroomed and they are competing with each other in the retail business. By the end of 1995, Hexi had 41 markets, 2 large commercial streets known as Daganan Road and Youyi Road, more than 3,000 commercial services of middle and upper level, 5 regional business clusters which located within Bailou, Nanlou, Xiawafang and Xiaohaidi residential areas (Hexi Local Chronicles Commission Office, 1998, p.

5).

5.3.3 The Development of Large Housing Estates

Before the establishment of P.R.C. in 1949, the state of housing in Hexi was greatly different from what will happen under the communist rule. Basically, the distribution of the urban infrastructure and the residential buildings were polarized. For example, in the colonial area known as Wudadao where successful merchants and government officials often lived, the living environment was decent and comfortable. The road and the drainage system in Wudadao were rather developed. Most of the residential buildings were spreading in a low density environment with a fancy appearance. Yet in the neighbourhood of the working class, for instance in Donglou, Nanlou, Guajiasi and one of the studied areas Qiandezhuang, there was no drainage system at all. The management of the garbage disposal was also poor. Moreover, the local residential fabric was dense and crude (see Figure 13).

Figure 13: Qiandezhuang (study area A) before the redevelopment

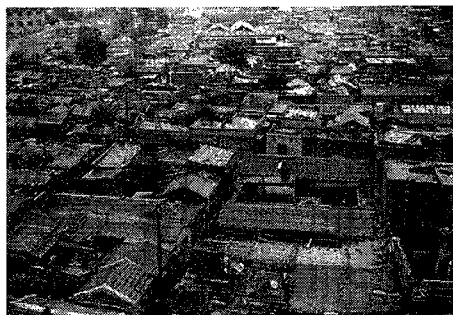


Figure 13: the bird view of Qiandezhuang (the study area A). Source: www.tjhexi.gov.cn

In order to improve the living conditions of the working class especially to accommodate a number of workers for the recently established industry, the municipal

government of Tianjin invested and established several large housing estates (LHEs) within Hexi in the 1950s. These LHEs come in two forms of estates: one developed with single storey houses such as newly Xi'nanlou worker residential settlement (distributed in the two study areas, see Figure 14) and Tonglou worker residential settlement and one developed with multistoried apartment buildings within Machang and Jianshan. The state-owned enterprises or the danwei also involved in the production of the LHE. They built single storey houses near the industrial site as their worker quarters such as Chentangzhuang and Huidui.

Figure 14: Xi'nanlou worker residential settlement in 1952



Figure 14: the photo of Xi'nanlou worker residential settlement took in 1952. Source: (The Tianjin committee of Chinese People's Political Consultative Conference; The Committee of Culture and History Documentation, 1999)

The housing development had continued until the Cultural Revolution completely paused the urban construction and other developments from 1966 to 1976. During the decade, the residential areas of Hexi were not able to sustain the rapid growing population due to the lack of housing maintenance and the absence of newly housing development. Dwellings were running down and it is often seen that two generations lived in the same room. The housing condition became even worse when two serious earthquakes destroyed more than 90,000 dwellings in 1978. By the end of the Cultural

Revolution, the municipal government of Tianjin and the district government of Hexi started the new housing development by using funding allocated from the central government. They developed new large housing estates known as Tianyuanbei and Xiaohaidi. They also redeveloped the existing large housing estates such as the two study areas Qiandezhuang and Xiawafang. According to the data in 1995, 80% of the housing in Hexi were built or rebuilt after 1978 (Hexi Local Chronicles Commission Office, 1998).

5.4 The development of the Study Area

The study area A and B respectively belong to the street government of Qiandezhuang and the street government of Xiawafang.

5.4.1 Qiandezhuang

Qiandezhuang (study area A) covers 0.478 km². It consists of 87 hutong, li and lane. The site was originally a wasteland outside the suburbs of Tianjin. In 1917, a flood struck the countryside of Tianjin. As a result, a large number of flood victims living near Tianjin flowed into the city and many could not find a place to live. A merchant, Li Jinchun, built about 200 mud houses for the victims near the People's Park. And the local church Chongdetang and a few land-owners also built Yuanxingli, Benbuli, Shudeli in the area to provide enough shelters for them. Since then, Qiandezhuang became a dense residential area, and it became officially a part of the city in 1934.

Before the establishment of the PRC, Qiandezhuang was an extremely prosperous place. Face and palm reading, street performance, standing shows and

other entertainment activities were taking place while there were other recreation places such as the movie theatres, the Beijing opera house, the story telling house, etc. However, Qiandezhuang was also a controversial place for its concentration of casinos, drug houses and brothels. It was under control of gangsters who set their base in Hexi. After 1949, the municipal government of Tianjin took over this place and eliminated the illegal entertainments such as casinos, drug houses and brothels. Meantime the government had redeveloped this area by paving roads, constructing sewing system within the hutong, and demolishing a number of rough single storey houses and replacing by new housing. A numbers of stores were established along Baoan Street, Yong'an Avenue and Shantou Road. The stores were accommodated various business types including cinemas, bath houses, barber shops, grocery shops, cigarettes shops, candy shops, handy shops, restaurants, convenient store, etc. According to the statistics, in 1993, there were 118 stores within the area including 23 daily services and seventeen production business network under the collective economy, which made Qiandezhuang one of the busiest areas in Hexi district (Wang, Lu, & Wang, 1993; Hexi Local Chronicles Commission Office, 1998; The Tianjin committee of Chinese People's Political Consultative Conference; The Committee of Culture and History Documentation, 1999).

In the end of 1993, the municipal government of Tianjin proposed to improve the housing conditions in Hexi. Qiandezhuang consisted of 18 clusters of the raw single storey houses in which about 7,000 residents lived. With more than 0.3 million m², it was one of the largest and densest residential areas in Tianjin and it had been the

focus of the redevelopment project. However, due to unsatisfying profit, few property developers expressed interest in being involved in the redevelopment. The district government of Hexi launched a new housing policy and eventually completed the project in less than four years (The Tianjin committee of Chinese People's Political Consultative Conference; The Committee of Culture and History Documentation, 1999; Sun, 1999).

5.4.2 Xiawafang

Xiawafang (study area B) is a residential district with a large number of residents. It's area of 0.879 km² was comprised of 9 large housing estates and 62 hutong, li and lane as Xiawafang was initially the name of three small stores, which were providing tea and food to the travelers passing by in the late Qing Dynasty. With a raising number of residents, more stores opened in Xiawafang that became known as the Baoxinghe rice house and Tongyi pawnshop. In 1895, it became the German concession until the end of the WWI it was renamed as the special first district. At that time, about 300 residents lived in Xiawafang, and most of them were the small merchants, workers and other urban poor.

The living conditions within Xiawafang were not good. Before the housing redevelopment in the 1990s, the houses within Xiawafang were all brick single storey houses except those along Jiefangnan Road (close to the concession). Most of the roads were in mud. The Tangshan earthquake on July 28 1976 heavily hit this area, as 1956 housing were destroyed including 994 rooms of residential buildings and 1012 rooms of single storey houses (Sun, 1999; The Tianjin committee of Chinese People's

Political Consultative Conference; The Committee of Culture and History

Documentation, 1999). After the earthquake, the area was redeveloped by the district government of Hexi through a housing redevelopment and the reconstruction of the commercial street Dagunan Road, to revive the commercial activities of this area and to improve the city appearance and living conditions of the residents. To date, the Dagunan commercial street with its large number of retail stores has become the most prosperous and diverse commercial street in Hexi District.

5.4.3 Dagunan Road

Dagunan Road is an L shape street, with a length of 8892m and average width of 40m. Its initial name was Haida Road and Haihedie Road in the ancient time. It is one of the oldest streets in Tianjin. It was as a mud street established before PRC by the local government and the businessmen. It had been reconstructed several times during history. In 1937 it was first constructed with cement. Later in 1956, Dagunan Road was widened and reconstructed in asphalt (The Tianjin committee of Chinese People's Political Consultative Conference; The Committee of Culture and History Documentation, 1999). It was widen again in 1981 and 1994. The latest district plan has proposal to upgrade it into a municipal leveled commercial street.

In sum, Dagunan Road was a commercial strip as early as the establishment of PRC, and its commercial function have been emphasized for years. A photo in 1912 took in Dagunan Road (see Figure 15) shows that there were a large number of one- or two-storey retail buildings distributed on Dagunan Road. Many well-known traditional stores have existed before 1949, including Tianxiang bathhouse,

Hongqishun Restaurant, Yuchuanju pickle veggie garden, Guifaxiang mahua shop, and so on. Today, Dagunan Road has become one of the busiest commercial streets in Hexi.

Figure 15: Dagunan Road in 1912

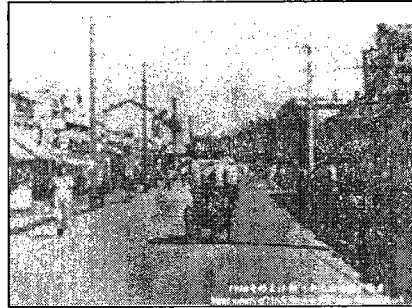


Figure 15: the photo of Dagunan took in 1912 (Culture&Historical Committee of Political Consultative Conference of Hexi District Tianjin & Construction Administrative Commission of Hexi District Tianjin, 2006).

Figure 16: Dagunan Road in 1980s–1990s

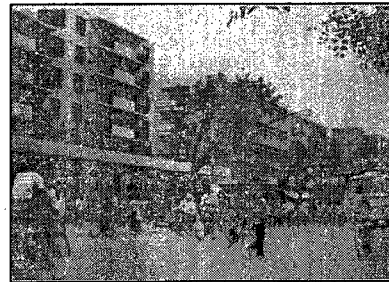


Figure 16: the photo of Dagunan took in the 1980-90s. (The Tianjin committee of Chinese People's Political Consultative Conference; The Committee of Culture and History Documentation, 1999)

5.5 The morphological evolution of the study area

Figure 17: The map of the study area in 1903

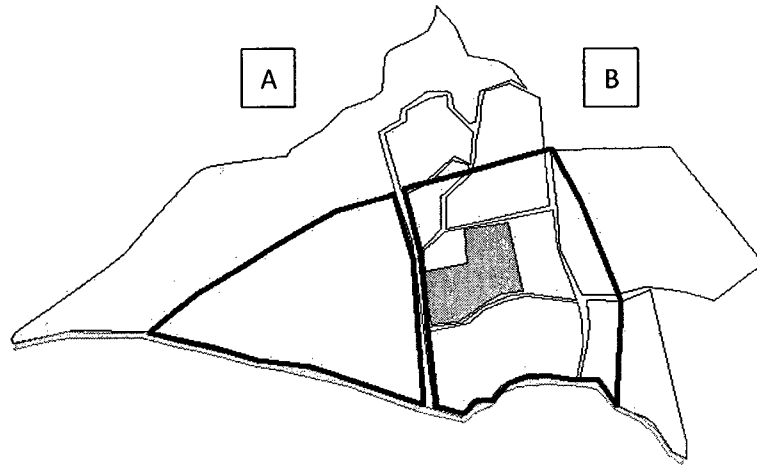


Figure 17: the plan of the study area in 1903. This map is reconstructed by GIS based on the German military map of Tianjin published in 1903. Source: Tianjin University

Figure 18: The map of the study area in 1930s

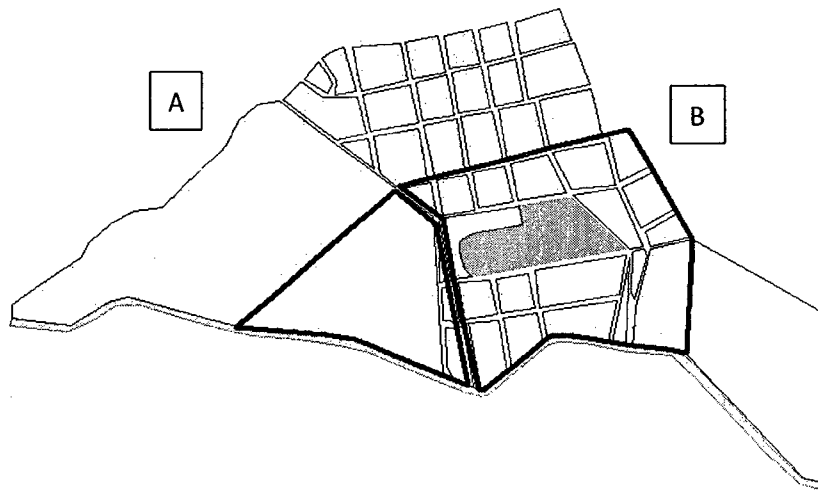


Figure 18: the plan of the study area in 1930s. This map is reconstructed by GIS based on the Japanese map of Tientsin in late 1930s. Source: Tianjin University

Figure 19: The map of the study area in 1946

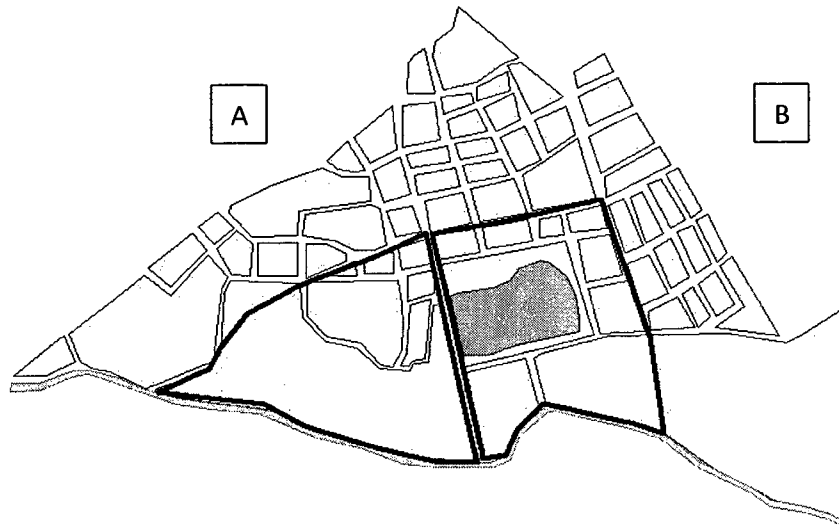


Figure 19: the plan of the study area in 1946. This map is reconstructed by GIS based on Latest complete Map of Tianjin City dated 1946; edited compiled by Shao Zhaozong; printed by Shidai tushushe. Source: Tianjin University

Figure 20: The map of the study area in 2006

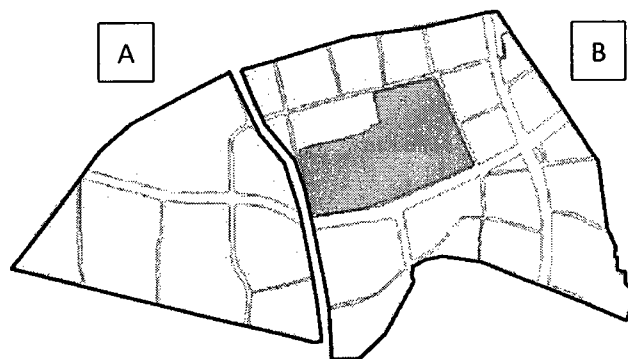


Figure 20: the plan of the study area in 2006. This map is reconstructed by GIS based on the plan of Tianjin 2006. Source: Tianjin City Planning Bureau

According to Figure 17–20, the morphological evolution of the study area shows the following characteristics:

1. The study area B was developed about 30 years earlier than the study area A.

In 1903, the study area A already had formal lots that were divided by Guangdong Road, Dagunan Road, Shaoxing Road, Qiongzhou Road and Huangpubei Road. Yet, the area on the western side of Guangdong road (the study area A) was undeveloped as there was not a single route besides Guangdong Road.

2. The study area B had continued to grow between 1903 and the 1930's. It is the approximate location of the German concession as a part of the concession plan. In late 1930s, the large lots of the study area B were divided into smaller rectangular lots, connecting with the newly built small routes. However, the study area A had not been developed yet during 1930s.

3. The layout of the study area B remained unchanged in 1946 except for the lots south of the park that were merged into a larger lot. As a result, some small lots and routes disappeared. Meantime, the study area A started to grow. Several routes emerged to connect the study area B, and the lot division became more detailed.

4. To date, in the study area A, several large lots have emerged and some small lots in irregular shape have vanished when compared to 50 years ago. A new route, Yong'an Avenue was built, extending the Qiongzhou Road of the study area B, and connecting the study area A and B by providing a wider access. In study area B, most of the lots remained unchanged except for those south of the park divided into smaller lots.

5.6 The morphological evolution of the routes

Overall, the routes of the study area haven't been changed much when comparing maps in past and at present. Both the major commercial street Guangdong Road and

Dagunan Road have existed since the early 20th century. According to Figure 17–20, Guangdong Road within study area A has existed before 1903 eventhough a large part of the study area A had not yet been developed in the colonial era. However, there was no single route that had existed on the western side of the Guangdong Road before the establishment of the PRC in 1949. The study area B was developed earlier than the study area A. Dagunan Road, Shaoxing Road and Qiongzhou Road were established at least as early as 1903. The minor streets such as Shantou Road, Minhou Road, FenghuaAve., Xiamen Road, etc. were planned during the 1930s with the estalishment of the Germany concession. All the routes as well as the large park are preserved very well even today. It should be noted that several minor routes which had existed in the 1930s vanished after 1946. To conclude, the major streets Dagunan Road, Guangdong Road have been developed before the establishment of the PRC; another major street Yong'an Ave. was developed later than the other two.

The Dagunan Road had gradually took shape and became an important commerical street during the 1930s and 1940s (Hexi Local Chronicles Commission Office, 1998). It has been one of the most major commerical street within Hexi that serves a large amount of population. There is few literature documenting the emergence of Guangdong Road and Yong'an Ave as a commerical street. Yet the morphological evolution of the area implies that Guangdong Road emerges later than Dagunan Road. Guangdong Road is parallel with Dagunan Road and serves as a major street for both transportation and commerce. Yong'an Road emerged the latest. It connects the study area A Qiandezhuang and the study area B Xiawafang. Today, all

three street serve as important commercial streets within Hexi even though they emerged in different eras and provide commercial activities at a different-level.

5.7 Conclusion

The review of the historical development of Tianjin and of the study area identifies some of the key determinants in the production of an urban landscape in the history of Tianjin. First, the formation of the urban landscape of Tianjin manifests the inner logic of the built form. The ancient philosophy of Confucianism and cosmology as a mechanism of the morphological transformation had been carried out in the urban planning of Tianjin for more than 500 years. The built form of Tianjin had developed in a rather stable process even if there was replacing of dynasties. The evidence is that the walled-city had been well preserved for almost 600 years.¹⁷

An extraneous force that induced a shift in administration is a major factor to shape the built form of Tianjin. The colonization since 1860 had recreated a large part of the urban landscape by adding the Western elements into the city plan. The wall of the walled city separated Tianjin into a dual world with the co-existing of both the cosmological and symbolical walled city and the functional and gridded concessions. On the one side of the wall, there was the traditional Chinese administration; while on the other side there was the foreign concessions with another system of administration. Among them, there was the city poor and a number of rough dwellings. Whose city and whose culture? The extraneous force brought its own cultural models and enforced it into the local built environment. As a result, the built form of Tianjin at

¹⁷ Unfortunately, the walled city was demolished in an urban renewal program in 2004.

that time manifests a hybrid of the traditional Chinese and Western culture and administration.

In the era of PRC, the economic reform has brought more players into the field of built form production, including the municipal government, district government, danwei and POEs. Meanwhile, a few players left the field such as the churches and small private land owners. There is clear evidence pointing to a participation of the grassroots in the production of the retail landscape in the history of China as Chapter 3 reveals. Yet it is not clear whether the local population participated in the production of the retail landscape in the era of PRC.

In sum, a review of the urban history of Tianjin finds two major determinants in shaping the traditional urban landscape of Tianjin: the inner logic of the built form known as the Li system that represented a social hierarchy, and drastic transformations echoing radical social and economic change; first, with the advent of the concessions, and more recently following the economic reforms.

Chapter 6: the morphological construction of the retail landscape

6.1 Introduction

To study the emerging retail landscape in terms of “who produced the retail landscape and how it was produced”, it is necessary to know what is there. By identifying characteristics of a retail building category, this chapter builds six retail buildings categories through a morphological analysis of the defined characteristics.

6.2 Recognizing types

Based on the field survey, six types of retail buildings are classified on the basis of their morphological characteristics and the spatial relationship between the residential building and the retail shop as Figure 21–26 shows:

Figure 21: C1–A

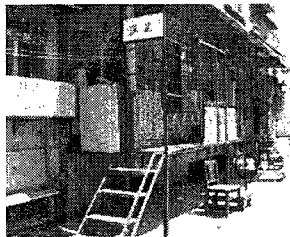


Figure 22: C1–B



Figure 23: C1–C

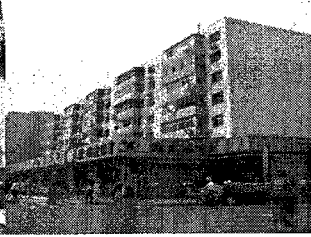


Figure 21: Ande Apartment

Figure 22: Yong'an Road

Figure 23: Dagunan Road

Figure 24: C1–D



Figure 25: C1–E



Figure 26: C1–F



Figure 24: Dagunan Road

Figure 25: Guangdong Road

Figure 26: Dagunan Road

6.3 C1-A

Type C1-A (Figure 21) is a one-storied retail shop with a very small scale. The retail space is created by transforming a dwelling or part of a dwelling. In particular, some local residents convert part of their balcony or private room, either a living room or a bedroom into a tiny convenient store, and sell daily commodities like beers and snacks or provide tailoring and public phone service through a window of their private room or a window of their balcony. The transformation of the C1-A converts the previous residential space into a mix-used space of residential and commercial.

6.3.1 Façades

According to observation, the façade of C1-A is poorly maintained. It has neither specific colour nor design on the façade. Most C1-A do not have a store sign. A few shop owners hang their store sign inside or outside the room, whereas the sign only indicates the main category of the service or the promoting commodities instead of showing the shop name. Figure 22 shows the example that the store sign only writes “hamburgers” (汉堡) in red on a white paper board. The store sign shows great mobility. It always hangs in the air either inside or outside the room as if the owner can easily take it off at any time. The mobility of the store sign implies a sense of unsure and insecure. Interestingly, the design of the store sign, either the text is written in red on a white paper board or the sign consists of flashing neon lights implies an intention to draw attention.

C1-A is transformed from a former residential unit so that its façade reserves most of the features of the initial design in terms of orientation, dimension and

circulation. In type C1-A the retail space often faces toward the open space within a residential compound. The major group of consumers is from the residents living within or near the residential compound where the C1-A distributes. In most of the cases, C1-A has no entrance. The shop owner puts different kinds of daily commodities behind the window so that the customers can see and pick their desired commodity through the window.

C1-A has two types of façade that depends on where is C1-A transformed from: a private room or a balcony. The following figure shows a window-based C1-A (see Figure 27) and a balcony-based C1-A (see Figure 28):

Figure 27: The window-based C1-A

Figure 28: The balcony-based C1-A



Figure 27: the window-based C1-A



Figure 28: the balcony-based C1-A

6.3.2 Circulation

A C1-A shop is seen only on the first floor of the residential building within a residential compound so that a modification of the previous private room or the balcony is able to take place, thus offering a trading access to both the customers and the shop owner. There is no entrance on the façade at the exception of very few cases where the shop owner reconstructs the façade and opens a door on it (see Figure 28), so that the circulation of C1-A is half-enclosed. As a general rule, the commercial

transaction takes place through a window rather than in an enclosed commercial space. In addition, C1-A does not impede the residents living above to use the stairs as the stairs is outside C1-A.

The window plays a crucial role in understanding the form of C1-A. The transparency of the window allows customers to choose their commodity without physically going inside the shop. It plays a role as a medium to transform C1-A into a half-opened or a half-enclosed environment. I define the space outside the C1-A, either it is a balcony-based or window-based as an external space, and the space inside a C1-A an internal space. When the shop owner opens it, it builds a bridge over the internal and external space, allowing a commercial transaction to take place that converts the private room or balcony into a commercial space. When he closes it, it separates the outdoor from the internal environment, creating an enclosure and converting back the room into a residential space. To some extent, the window is the key to determine the nature of the room. In the case of this study, a window shows a different characteristic from a door. A door is a medium that could determine the nature of a room as well. When a shop opens, the door allows the customers to come inside or leave at their free will. The shop owner certainly has the dominant power to open or close his shop, whereas to a certain degree, the customers also have power as a door allows customers to take action, to “open” in order to enter or exit the room. However, a window as a major access of C1-A only shows a will of its owner as it restricts a free access from the external environment. It expresses a sense of flexibility, yet it may deliver a message of an informal commercial atmosphere. Interestingly, the

study found a few evidence to show a contradiction that some C1-A have the will to creating a friendly environment by providing a small outdoor patio.

6.3.3 Dimensions

It is difficult to define the boundary and thus the dimension of a C1-A due to its ambiguous use of the space. In terms of the window-based C1-A, if considering the private room completely as its commercial space, the study found that most of window-based C1-A have a dimension approximate to 15-20m², which is an ordinary dimension of a regular residential room. The balcony-based C1-A has a more clear division in its space use. When balcony is used for commercial only, the dimension of the balcony-based C1-A are considered as same as the dimension of its balcony.

The balcony-based C1-A has a more integrated commercial space although its dimension may be smaller than window-based C1-A. The study found that the balcony-based C1-A often has a larger scale of commercial activities. First, the balcony-based C1-A has a larger opening that is able to sustain a larger amount of commodities at one hand and to attract more attention on the other. Secondly, it has a larger commercial space. For example, some owners who benefited from favorable position along the street or at the intersection of residential buildings, modify the building structure by opening a door on the initial balcony toward the street or within the residential compound. Figure 28 provides a good example of such transformation. This C1-A completely transforms the previous private room to a breakfast bistro. The shop owner removed some windows on the balcony and replaced them with a door.

He also removed all the furniture in his previous bedroom and replaced with a full set of restaurant furniture such as tables and chairs. He built several stone steps in front of the shop and installed a high-powered air conditioner for his customers. Other than window-based C1-A, which serves small commodities such as beer and bread to a limited number of customers, a modified balcony-based C1-A is able to serve a larger population with a larger business such as a bistro, a mahjong house, or a bookstore. It should be noted that like window-based C1-A, a balcony-based C1-A has also no obvious store sign or advertisement for what it is selling. Moreover, it could bring some issues to the neighbourhood, such as noise, smoke and traffic.

6.3.4 Spatial Distribution

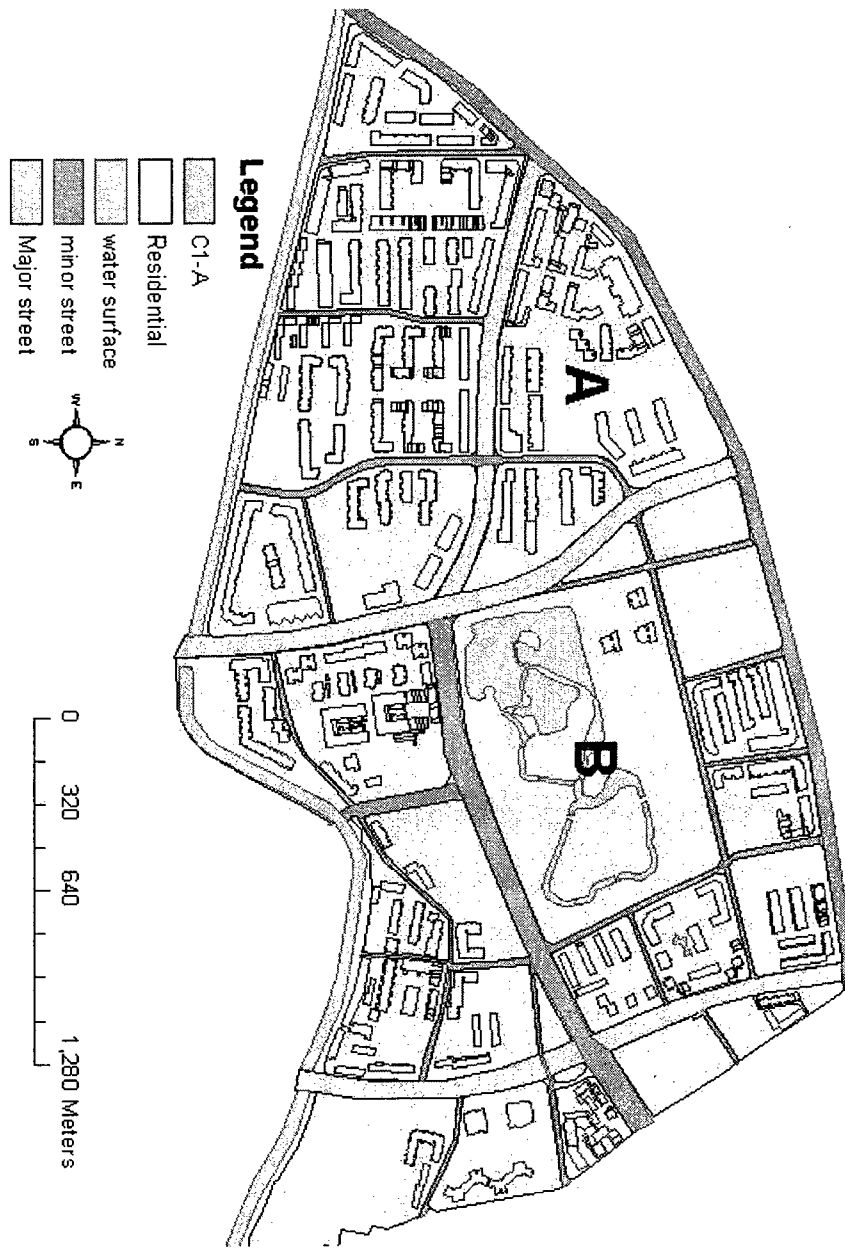


Figure 29: the spatial distribution of C1-A

Figure 29: The spatial distribution of C1-A

The spatial distribution of C1-A shows the following characteristics:

- a. In most of the cases, C1-A shops distribute within the residential compound. A few of them distribute along the minor street whereas few are on major streets. The study finds three to four C1-A along the major street Daganan Road (in a 1 o'clock direction) and Guangdong Road (in a 9 o'clock direction) yet all of them emerge in an intersection of the major street and a minor street and never in busiest section of the street.
- b. The study found that a C1-A shop rarely emerged alone within the residential compound. Two or more C1-A often co-exist within a same residential compound. They sometimes distribute in a line and keep a close distance from another, or they distribute in an opposite position as Figure 30 shows.

Figure 30: C1-A distribute in pair

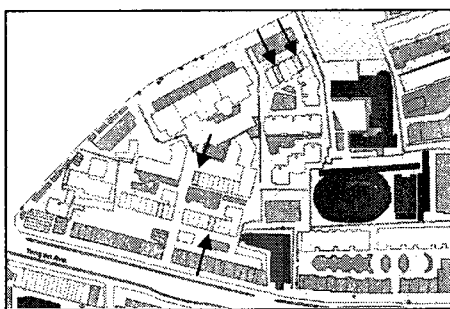


Figure 30: C1-A distribute in various position, on Yong'an-Shaoxing

- c. In addition, a C1-A shop in a corner position often emerges in pair. For example, if there is a C1-A shop in the corner position on the left-hand side of the residential building, in most of the cases, another C1-A emerges in the similar position on the right-hand side of the residential building as Figure 31 shows.

The pair of shops denotes their polar location in the residential fabric, in this case, by taking advantage of a split in the circulation.

Figure 31: C1-A in a corner position

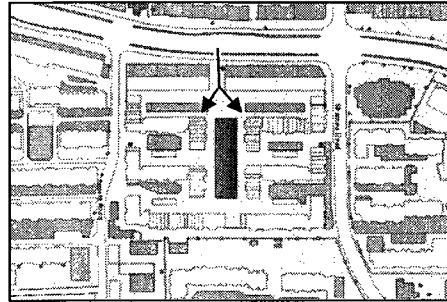


Figure 31: C1-A on Shantou-Yuexiu-Yong'an

- d. The study found that along the minor street facing outward the street, there is a concentration of C1-A shops arranged in a row and merging into a retail strip. In Lot Huangpubei- Yong'an as Figure 32 shows, C1-A distribute along the street forms a retail strip that in fact is not often seen.

Figure 32: C1-A in retail strip

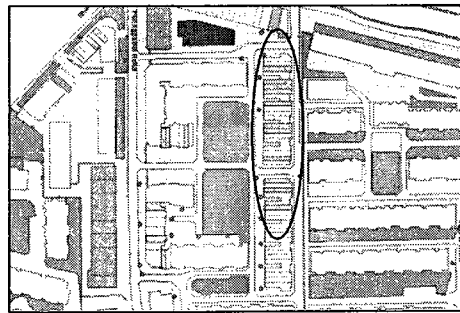


Figure 32: C1-A on Huangpubei- Yong'an

- e. In the case where C1-A emerge within the residential compound “facing inward”, the study found many C1-A retail spaces locate in the corner of the residential buildings, near intersection of the paths, or more rarely in a central location of the residential building.

f. The study found almost all the C1–A within some relatively old residential compound. It never found any in recently developed “gated communities”, or xiaoqu. Most property management office of the xiaoqu strictly forbidden C1–A type of retail space in order to maintain a secure, neat and comfortable living environment, as the interviewees would put it.

6.3.5 Conclusion

C1 is an interesting type of retail shops. It provides essential daily commodities to the neighbourhood as a small supplement service of the residential building. However, an ambiguous division of its space implies a lack of architectural self-identity. The informal arrangement of its store sign and window opening design delivers a message of its unsettled or transitional state. Its sparse distribution within old and low-income residential compounds implies a small business. Its absence in presenting on a major street shows a lack of economic capital in operation. The low-level of maintenance to a certain degree impedes creation of commercial atmosphere. A modified balcony-based C1–A tells a slightly different story though. It creates more commercial atmosphere by adding an entrance and providing access to the retail space. Overall, C1–A is low-key to some extent as it always hidden from the major population and major road; whereas it shows a desire to attract more attention, and shows a will to provide a better service. Such an apparent contradiction to a sounder retail business environment is unusual. The chapter 7 will discuss the conditions that could explain this state of affair.

6.4 C1-B

Type C1-B (Figure 22) is a one-storied retail form produced by incorporating small shop buildings into the large residential buildings. The retail space are located on the ground floor of a residential building. Different from C1-A, C1-B is better built and maintained. Stores of the C1-B category have a formal entrance and at least one window. Business occupying C1-B amenities is often of a small scale, for example, a small restaurant, hair salon, travel agency, convenience store, etc. The study found a number of C1-B which transformed the street into retail strips and create a thriving commercial area in the Hexi district.

6.4.1 Façades

Comparing with C1-A, C1-B displays a more specific and recognizable layout for its façade. As Figure 33-34 show, the façade of C1-B is consisting of three parts: the store sign, large store windows and one or more entrances. The store sign has the name of the shop written in a striking color and hanged firmly on the upper part of the façade. The level of the façade's formal arrangement varies from according to geographic location. The study found that C1-B retail spaces located on the major streets have a better façade arrangement than the one in a minor street. As Figure 33-34 shows, the store sign of C1-B stores located on the major street Dagonan Road have a uniform design for the store sign as the name of the shop is written in different colours in a uniformed white background. The uniform design of its store sign visually highlights the uniform of a retail strip and stresses the commercial function of a major street. Yet C1-B manifestations along minor streets do not have a uniform

façade arrangement. The use of colours for the façades of the store signs shows a design irresponsive to its neighbours, thus the commercial function is not as clearly denoted as in the former case.

A street observation and surveying found that the uniformisation of the store sign design took place just recently in the name of a district beautification before, as a number examples of the C1-B type is under construction or transformation on the major streets. The uniformisation took a concerted effort to achieve a greater uniformity to create an impression of commercial order. Yet transformations in the façade are limited to major streets. On the minor street C1-B maintains the original eclectic design of its store sign.

Figure 33: C1-B on the major street

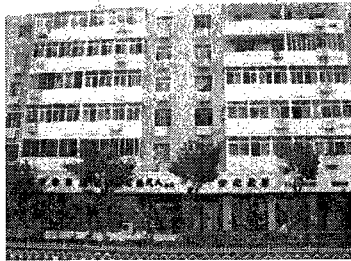


Figure 33: C1-B on Dagunan Road

Figure 34: C1-B on the minor street



Figure 34: C1-B on Xiamen Road

Unlike the case with the C1-A type that relied on the transformation of a private room C1-B is built synchronously with the residential building and is designed for commercial use in the first place. The study found some evidences to that effect in that the distribution of its openings is in accordance with the distribution of the openings of the residential building. For instance, as the Figure 35 shows, the window of C1-B and the window the residential building distribute in the same position on

X-axis. The entrance of C1-B shop and the balcony of the residential building also aligned vertically along the X-axis. The accordance in the distribution of openings ensures the ordering of the design of the whole façade of the building. However, if looking in a distance, it is uneasy to distinguish the difference between a C1-B and an ordinary residential unit especially when the stores are closed.

Figure 35 : C1-B's distribution of openings

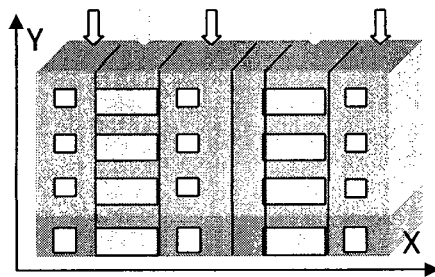


Figure 35: C1-B on Dagunan Road

6.4.2 Circulation

The entrances on the ground floor of a C1-B building provide a horizontal access to two directions (see Figure 36). They provide an access to each store from the street on the one hand, as well as an access inward the residential compound when there are back doors, so that the customers can access the shop from either the street or the compound. However, the survey showed that the customers rarely use the second access, as many shop owners sealed or locked the “back door”. Like C1-A, there is no evidence showing that the existing of C1-B affects the configuration of the residential floors of the upper floors. The customers access to the C1-B retail spaces by an entrance toward the street in most cases, whereas the residents access their dwelling by a staircase accessible from the compound side as is the norm for non-commercial

buildings. C1-B retail, incorporated exterior staircases and paths giving access to the upper residential floor. As Figure 37 shows, a central corridor is likely to provide the residents an access to each residential dwelling. It should be noted that a large number of residential buildings that incorporated a C1-B have more than six stories whereas it does not equip an elevator. According to Code of Urban Residential Areas Planning and Design Code GB 50180-93 section 5.0.5.2, if the height of a residential building exceeds six stories, it has to equip an elevator. There is only one exception: in an area with a significant topographic relief, the height a residential building stories counts from the higher residential entrance. The exterior ramps and staircases are probably meant as a way to circumvent the elevator's rule.

Figure 36: The circulation of C1-B

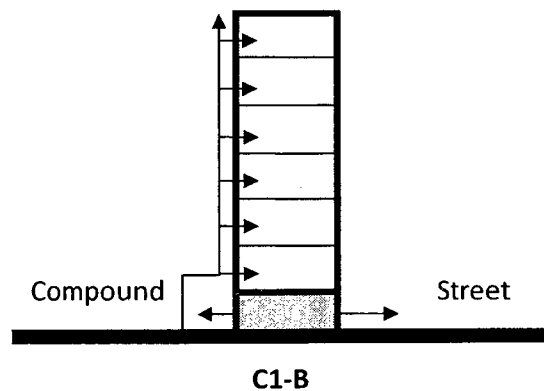


Figure 36: the circulation organization of C1-B in a section view. The bottom part represents C1-B, the upper part represents residential.

Figure 37: The outdoor corridor

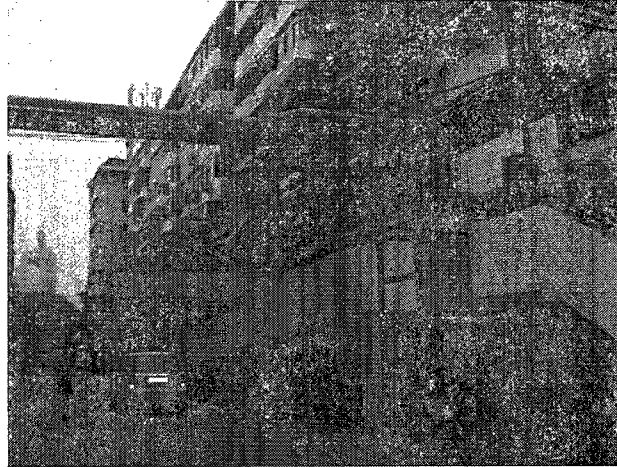


Figure 37: the corridor of a C1-B

6.4.3 Dimensions

The study found that the smallest dimension of C1-B retail space is about 15–20m² in terms of the floor area (a rough estimate based on site observation). The other C1-B spaces are often twice or multiple times the size of the smallest one. The study defines C1-B in the smallest dimension as a basic type, and C1-B that is twice the size or a multiple of the basic type as variants of the basic type. The street observation found a number of variants in various dimension. Figure 38 shows a comparison in dimension between the basic type and its variants based on an interpretation of façade.

Figure 38: C1-B's basic type and its variants

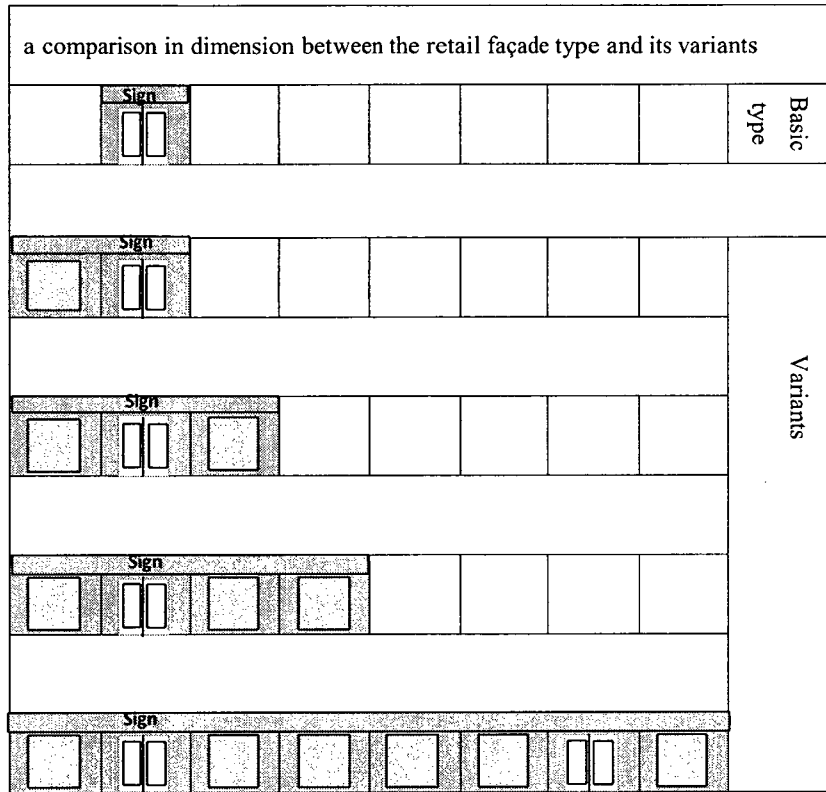


Figure 38: a comparison in dimension between the basic type and its variants

The basic type has no window and has only one entrance. Often its entrance is made of glass so that the room can have enough light even if it does not have a window (Figure 22). In a few cases, the dwelling operator replaced the entire wall with a large steel rolling door (Figure 34). A variant that is twice the size or a multiple of the basic type, usually depends on its location. The study found that the dimension of a variant relates to the geographic location as a number of wider variants are located in an important location, for example on a major street, a minor street with a busy traffic, or in a corner of either a major or a minor street. Variants accommodating

larger business scale have a greater number of openings, in congruent with an increasing in its dimension. The larger the dimension, the more windows and entrances a variant could have.

6.4.4 Spatial Distribution

Figure 39: The spatial distribution of C1-B

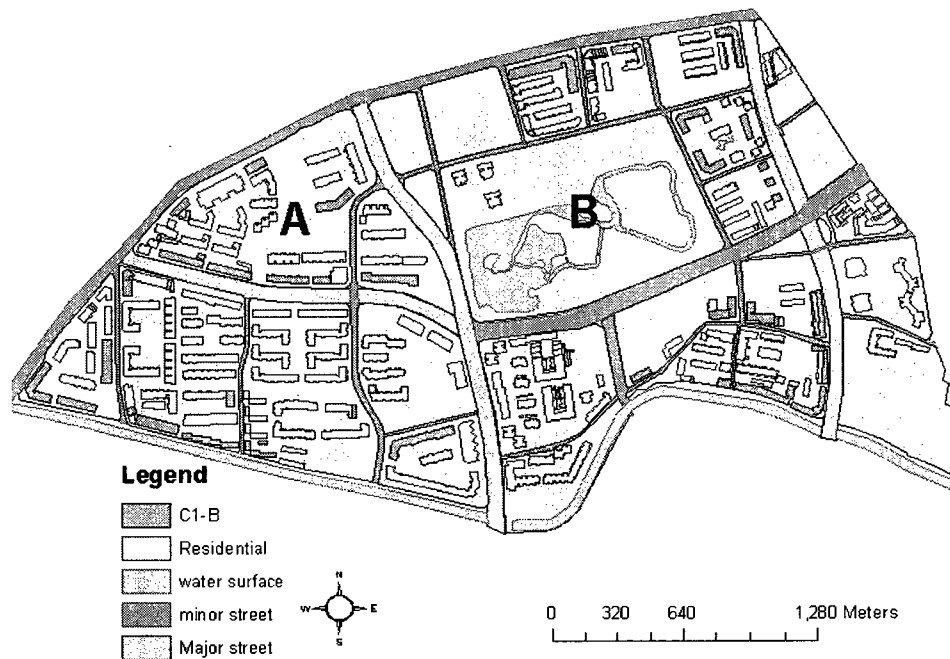


Figure 39: the spatial distribution of C1-B

The mapping shows the following characteristics:

- a. A high concentration of C1-B shops are found along two major streets: Yong'an Ave and Daganan Road. These C1-B distribute next to each other in a line and forming busy retail strips.
- b. Different from C1-A, C1-B shops rarely emerge within the residential compound. They either distribute along the major street or in a corner position of the street in a polar location.

- c. Similarly to C1–A, C1–B shops rarely appear alone. Instead, they emerge as a group arranged in a line creating a retail strip.
- d. The study found C1–B largely distributed along the river, though more than 1/3 of them shut down.¹⁸

6.4.5 Conclusion

C1–B retail type obtains a well–displayed and fixed store sign, a better defined architectural self–identity, a desirable commercial environment and a clustered spatial distribution along the major streets are evidences. However, the analysis of its spatial relationship with the residential buildings and urban tissues clearly points to the fact that C1–B is a retail form that stems from the transformation of a residential form. As such, C1–B does not display a very strong commercial architectural identity.

The study found that people often relate C1–B to a residential building when they describe it as if C1–B is a supplementary service of the residential building. In fact, the businesses located in venues of type C1–B are often serving day–to–day needs. They are hair salons, chained convenient stores, grocery stores, dry cleaners and various boutiques... they provide an essential supply of the daily good and services yet rarely accommodate a high–end or a specialized form of consumption.

The study also found that the C1–B shows pretty strong connection with C1–A. First of all, the basic type of C1–B and C1–A share similarities both in terms of dimensions and circulation. In addition, both C1–A and C1–B have a similar relation

¹⁸ A riverside location is anti-polar and is usually not well-suited for local convenience retail. According to urban morphology theory, local retail tends to be centrally located within residential neighbourhoods.

of inter-dependence with their corresponding retail building. There are differences, too. The key difference is that C1-B shows a better architectural integration to the buildings and urban fabric than C1-A based on an observation of façade and spatial distribution. Instead of as “unstable”, “low key” and “hidden” as C1-A, C1-B shows “opened” and more “stable” in material presence and architectural expression.

6.5 C1-C

Type C1-C (Figure 23) is a one-storied retail shop that is spatially attached to a residential building. It often appears in a clustered form and arranges in a layout that creates a wall or a “skirt” surrounding the residential building. The businesses accommodated are small scale and business type is similar to C1-B.

6.5.1 Façades

C1-C shows a great similarity in its façade to C1-B. Its façade consists of well-designed store sign and a number of openings that depends on the overall dimensions of the retail space. The façade is generally well maintained on major streets as were the facades of C1-B. The difference between C1-C and C1-B is that the former consists of a space on the first floor of the residential building that is expanded towards the street for commercial use as if the ground floor is projected outward. Such extension of the ground floor structure manifests a great emphasis on the commercial function within the building. A close connection between C1-C and the residential building however implies a derived relation between them as C1-C is still an inseparable part of the residential building.

6.5.2 Circulation

C1-C provides its customers a horizontal access toward the street. C1-C does not have a backdoor to allow another access so that the residential unit starts from the second floor and the stairs provides a vertical access to residents living above, from the compound side of the building.

Figure 40: The back of C1-C



Figure 40: the back of C1-C

6.5.3 Dimensions

A C1-C consists of both ground floor area underneath the residential slab-building and the part projecting towards the street, displaying larger floor area than in C1-B, where retail space is confined within the floor print of the residential building. The study found the most common dimensions of the retail space are about twice the space comprised under the residential floors as such. Similarly to the case with C1-B, the study found a basic type and corresponding variants of C1-C. Some C1-C has more than one room and is twice or multiple times larger than the most common one. I therefore define the common type as a basic type of C1-C and the rest as the variants.

6.5.4 Spatial Distribution

The study only found three groups of C1-C, and all of them are located on the west side of the major street Dagunan Road, of which they form an important component of the retail strip. Retail space belonging to the type C1-C is laid out in continuity so that they all stand in a line facing toward the street.

Figure 41: The spatial distribution of C1-C

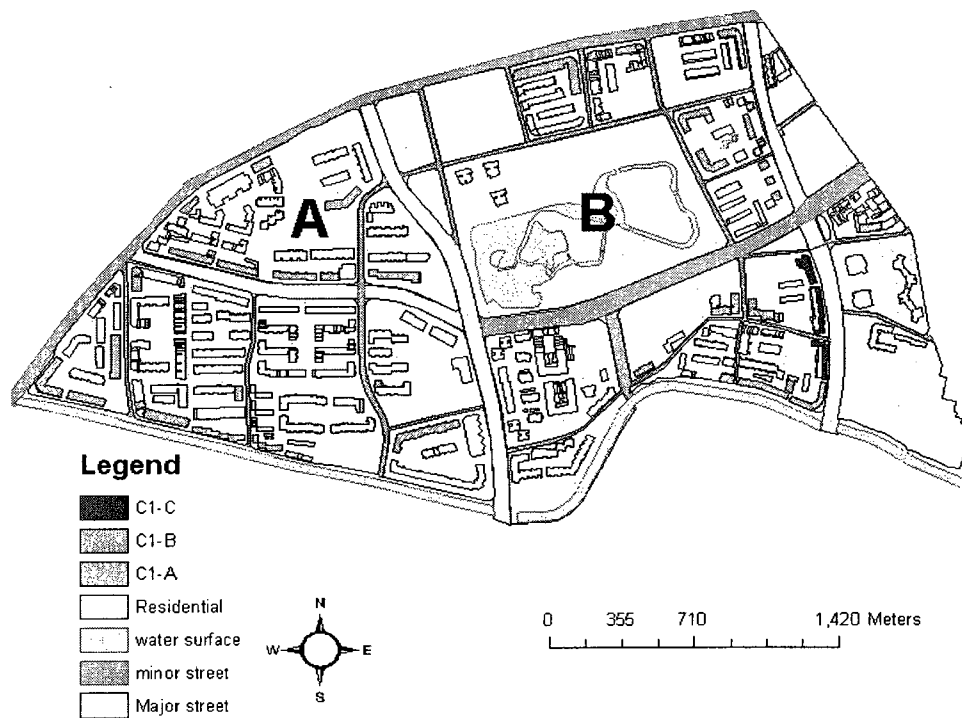


Figure 41: the spatial distribution of C1-C

6.5.5 Conclusion

C1-C is similar to C1-B, as it displays a pretty strong architectural identity. C1-C has a clearer spatial distribution of the circulation. It displays a stronger presence of its commercial function due to the protuberance of the extended structure of the retail strip. The extension as the prototype of an independent commercial shows the desire

to separate from the residential. However, its spatial relationship with the residential building remains strong.

6.6 C1-D

On first sight, C1-D (Figure 24) seems similar to type C1-C. But upon closer examination one notices that the retail space keeps a certain distance from its corresponding residential building. The retail space frames the residential building but it is spatially separated from it. C1-D often presents itself a group arranged in a line in a row in front of a residential building and facing toward the street, although some are seen within residential compounds. The business type of C1-D is similar to types C1-B and C1-C, for example bistros, convenient stores, clothing boutique, liquor stores, etc.

6.6.1 Façades

The façade of C1-D consists of a well-designed store sign and a number of openings. It appears in a row built at a short distance, as in front of a residential building. Similarly to C1-B and C1-C, it is a one-story structure usually facing toward the main street. Yet contrarily to the previous type, it keeps a clear physical separation from the residential building. Figure 42 shows how such retail spaces are somehow “isolated” from the residential building. In sum, C1-D is as well-maintained as C1-B and C1-C, and it creates commercial atmosphere by providing an independent commercial space for the commercial activities. Figure 43 shows the space between C1-D retail strip and the residential building behind it. An informal flea market operates on the back of the stores on the compound side.

Figure 42: A 3D model of C1-D

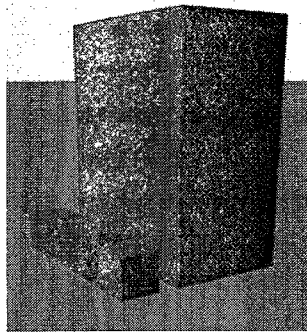


Figure 42: a 3D model of C1-D and the nearby residential building

Figure 43: The open space between a C1-D retail strip and a residential building



Figure 43: the open space between a C1-D retail strip and a residential building

6.6.2 Circulation

C1-D provides a horizontal access to the store from the street. It has a back door which is often locked and used for staff only. Although there is an open space between C1-D and the residential building, it is for private use. The study found a flea market (Figure 43 shows). In this case, C1-B replaces the residential on the first floor. Yet in other cases, residents who live on the first floor have to suffer noise and smoke of such open space. In a few cases, C1-D is so close to the residential building that residents can see the commercial activities through their windows.

6.6.3 Dimensions

The study found the most common dimensions of C1-D are similar to the dimensions of C1-B and the extension of C1-C. However, in a few cases, C1-D is in an irregular shape that is extremely difficult to estimate its dimension.

6.6.4 Spatial Distribution

The study only found a few examples of C1-D although seems to be more common in other parts of Tianjin. C1-D often appears in a line as a group. For example, C1-D found in Lot Huizhou-Dagunan-Jinhua-Xiamen (Figure 24) is a group of C1-D spatially arranged in a row, standing in front of a residential building as a rectangle-shaped extension of the residential building. It faces the major commercial street Dagunan Road as a part of retail strip. In addition to the previous example, the study found a few C1-D located within residential compounds. Such C1-D does not have a standard layout or dimension and is often located near the entrance or in the center of a residential compound. The analysis revealed that these manifestations of the type within the compounds were not well maintained than their street lining counterparts.

Figure 44: The spatial distribution of C1-D

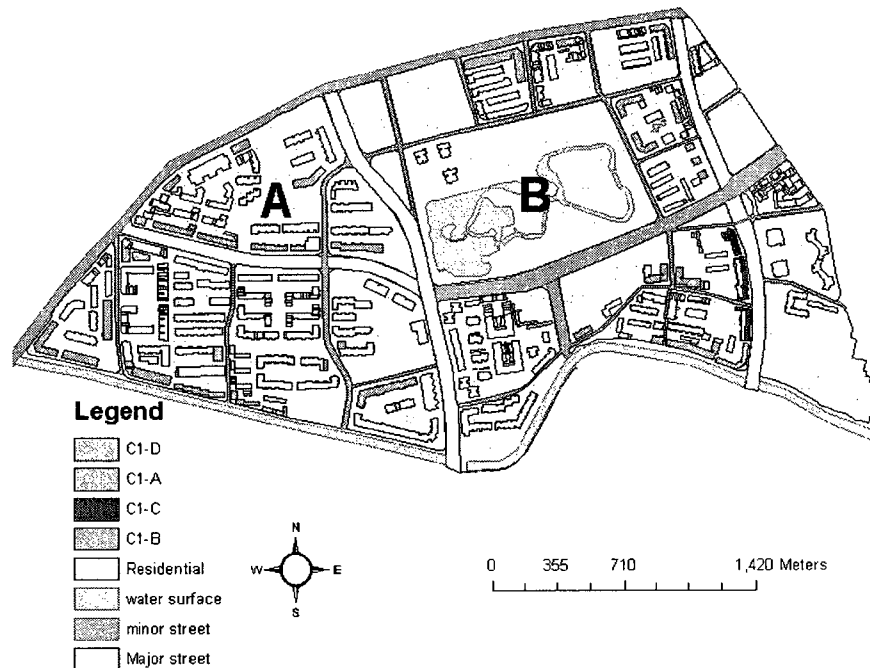


Figure 44: the spatial distribution of C1-D

6.6.5 Conclusion

Overall, C1-D shows little connection to the residential building that it accompanies. C1-D on the street shows great similarities to C1-C in many ways, and it creates a similar commercial space atmosphere. The study found that C1-D within the residential compound shows significant differences in terms of architectural quality and maintenance. The following chapter will explore why such differences exist.

6.7 C1-E

C1-E (Figure 25) is witnessed in some recently built large walled housing estates. The retail spaces are incorporated at the bottom of residential building facing outward.

The type presents two– or more commercial and retail stories. The scale of businesses ranges from medium to large and the businesses are often high–end such as fancy restaurants, law offices, clinics, large Karaoke boxes, brand stores, etc.

6.7.1 Façades

The façade of C1–E consists of a very large and colourful store sign and a number of openings. C1–E is designed with a more careful attention to the architectural detailing than the previous types. For example, the store sign of C1–E is larger in the other two types. Comparing with the other types, C1–E’s entrances are much larger and wider. The stores have more windows; the materials of the exterior walls are more luxurious and expensive. In addition, the façades are well–kept regardless of the location. The C1–E type is characterized by the projection of the retail space from the residential building and toward the street. The shape of the retail strip surrounds the residential building creates a skirt that wraps the residential building on the street side. However, in terms of the spatial relationship, C1–E is not completely separated from the residential building. It is part of the building. It should be noted that the projecting multi–storied structure creates a strong commercial presence on the street.

6.7.2 Circulation

A building belonging to the C1–E types has at least two stories and many of them have three to four stories. Thus, the circulation of C1–E provides the customers a horizontal access toward the street and an indoor vertical access to an upper level(s) of the shops. The residential building that incorporates C1–E retail usually provides another elevator for residents living above C1–E which is systematically accessed

from the compound side (rather than directly from the street). The clear division in the commercial and residential circuits for circulation ensures that the entire building tower is under the surveillance of the management among other things.

6.7.3 Dimensions

The layout of C1-E is not based on a regular shape so that it is uneasy to calculate its precise dimensions. In general, the dimension of C1-E is various depending on its business scale. The larger its business scale is, the larger a C1-E is. The dimension of C1-E also relates to the period of construction of the building. The more recently built examples of the C1-E type display larger dimensions. For example, the recently developed C1-E tends to have more stories than those developed ten years ago. In addition, the study found that in general C1-E, has a larger dimension than other types. C1-E has present much larger dimensions than the other types with a greater height and width.

6.7.4 Spatial Distribution

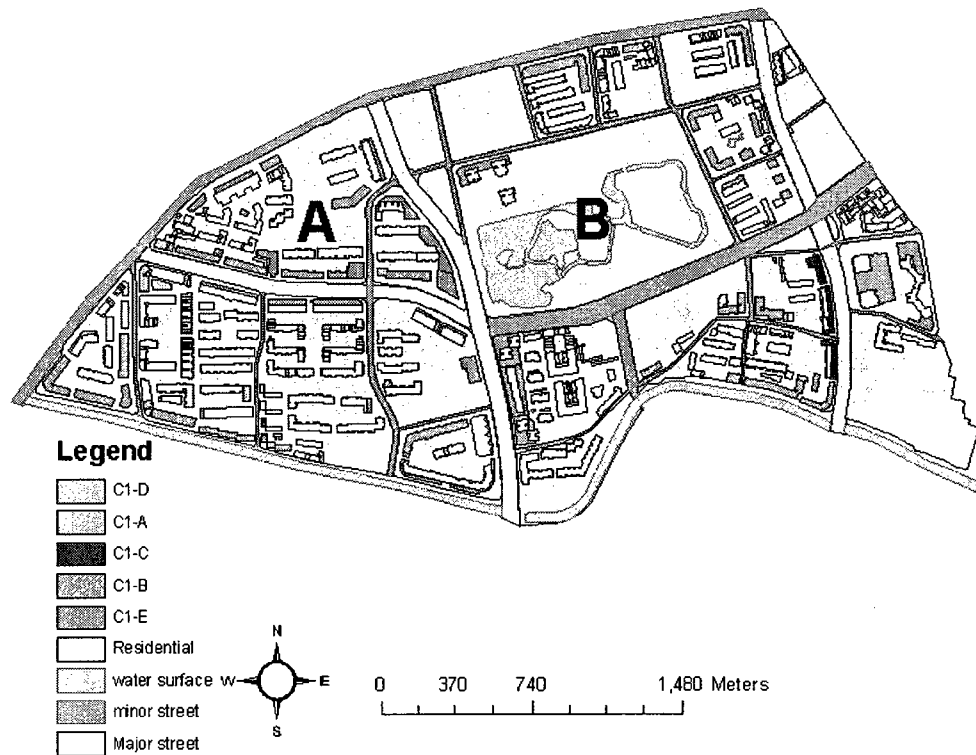
As Figure 45 shows, the spatial distribution of C1-E shows the following characteristics:

- a. C1-E plays an important role in forming the retail strip. Most C1-E shops are located along three major streets.
- b. C1-E is never found within a residential compound. Buildings are generally found along a major street or in a corner facing to streets.
- c. The study found that C1-E types often accompany manifestations of type C1-B. C1-E and C1-B are often found distributed in both sides of the major

street.

Figure 45: The spatial distribution of C1-E

Figure 45: the spatial distribution of C1-E



6.7.5 Conclusion

C1-E is a familiar retail building type that is widely distributed in many Chinese cities. When comparing C1-E with the other types, the study found that C1-E is a more “developed” in many aspects. Firstly, the façades of C1-E show a stronger confidence in its existence. The design of its projecting structure confers a more compelling physical presence of the commercial function in the streetscape. Secondly, as increasing in height allows a circulation in three-dimension as C1-E provides not only a horizontal but also a vertical access. Thirdly, the spatial distribution of C1-E

implies a preference of the important location like the major street and the corner of a street. It should be noted that in its spatial relationship with part of the residential building, C1-E is similar to C1-A and C1-B as it is a part of the residential building in nature and it is not a completely independent commercial building, although the proportion of the building that is commercial is significantly greater in C1-E.

6.8 C1-F

Type C1-F (Figure 26) is a retail facility spatially independent from any other building so that it shows no spatial relation to any residential building. For instance, this type corresponds to specialized buildings established for commercial use only. Its business type can be as various as a department store, shopping mall, super market, restaurant, cinema, etc. its height and dimensions depends on its business type so that there is no uniform standard.

6.8.1 Façades

When comparing with other types, the façades of C1-F buildings especially the restaurants and high-end brand stores are often the most elaborated among all retail types found in the study area. It often has multiple stories depends on its business scale. Comparing with other types, its commercial function is emphasized the most, as its façade is often over-reinforced with a large and bright neon store sign or with fancy and luxury building materials. In some cases, it always “shows off” its existence by maintaining a 24-hour flash light. In a few areas of the study site, such buildings are dominant in the landscape as they are standing out to bring the attention to their commercial function.

6.8.2 Dimensions

The dimensions of C1-F buildings varies a lot. The largest C1-F found in the study area is a local super market that occupies the area of an entire lot, whereas a small C1-F of a restaurant or a law office can occupy an area as small as a building of the C1-C or C1-E categories.

6.8.3 Spatial Distribution

As Figure 46 shows, the spatial distribution of C1-F in the study area shows the following characteristics:

- a) Most of the C1-F shops are located in the study area B. There is a concentration of such buildings along the Qiongzhou Avenue and Daganan Road in particular.
- b) It was observed that C1-F shops tended to be built in greater numbers in recent years.
- c) Only a few C1-F shops are located on secondary streets. Most of them face major streets.
- d) The layout of C1-F is not uniform. Some display in an irregular shape and the rest produce rectangular footprints of various dimensions.

Figure 46: The spatial distribution of C1-F

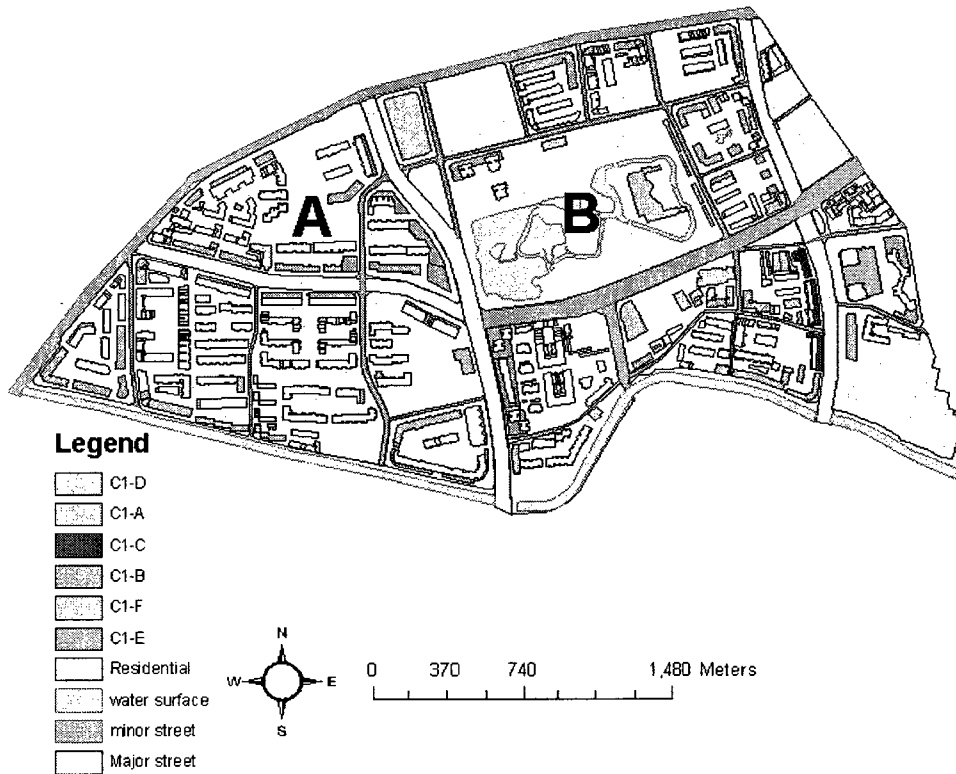


Figure 46: the spatial distribution of C1-F

6.8.4 Conclusion

C1-F is a retail type that seems to be spreading rapidly in Tianjin (as in many other Chinese cities). The buildings purposing to serve a commercial function exclusively have an impact on the urban integration of the retail spaces. There is no identifiable rule governing the spatial relationship of the retail spaces with the residential spaces (other than spatial segregation). The commercial nature of the building often translates in an architectural expression that seeks to attract the attention of potential customers.

6.9 Comparing types

Figure 47: plans of each retail building type

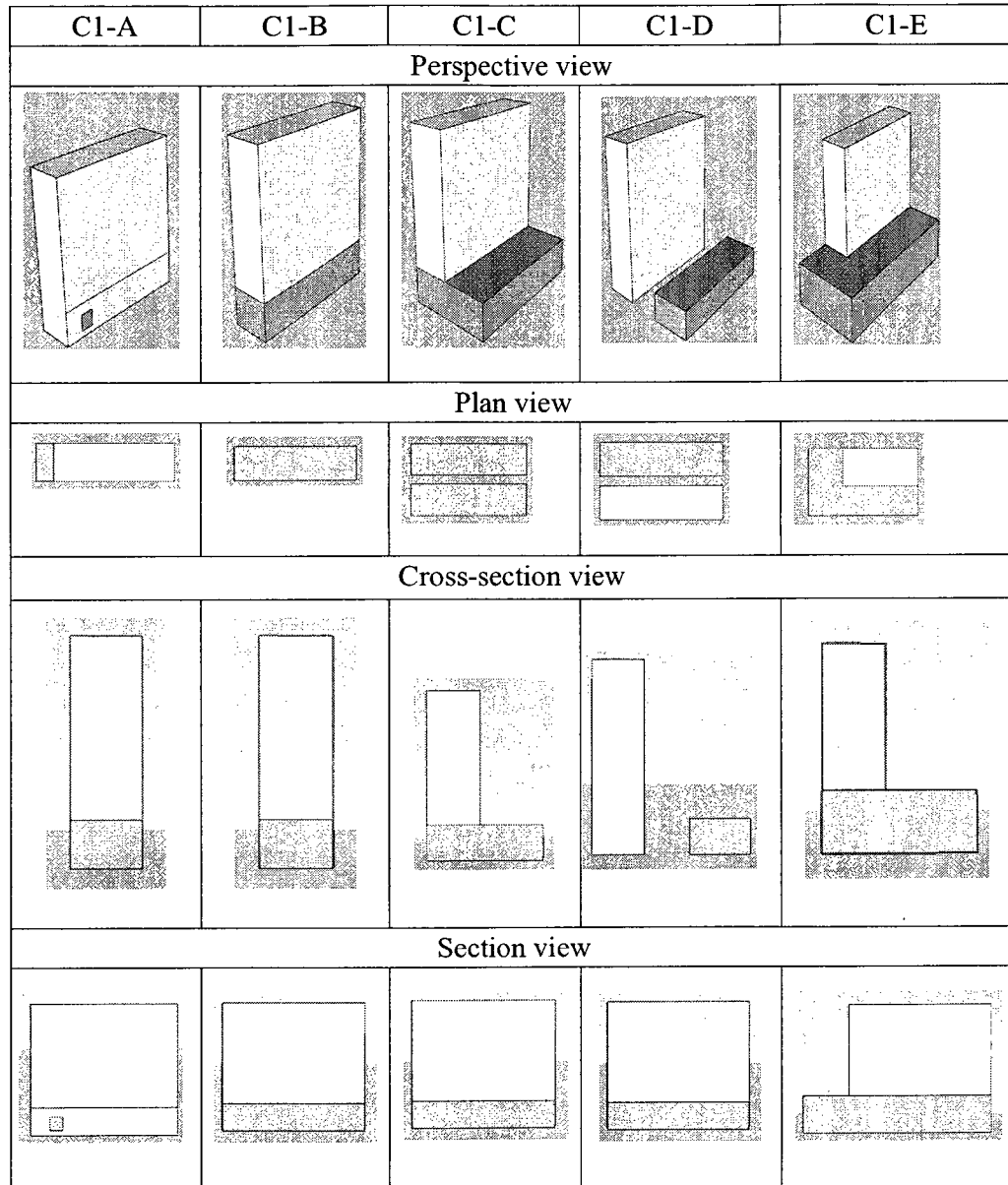


Figure 47: plans of each retail building type

Figure 47 shows a comparison of five retail buildings types that emerge on the periphery of the LHE. The study found that all of the five retail buildings types show a strong spatial relationship to the residential compound. They incorporate themselves into the residential building (C1 - A, B, E), connect to it (C1 - C) or maintain a close distance from it (C1 - D). All of them bring convenience to the local population.

The study on the spatial circulation of each type (Figure 48) found that residents of the residential building cannot access to their dwelling from the street side. Instead, residents can only access their dwelling from the residential compound side by going along the retail strip and entering the residential compound from the entrance of the compound. In other words, the surrounding retail structures play a role of the “wall” and create architectural segregation between the commercial and residential even though the two combine, as the spatial wall separates the public and domestic sphere. At this point, the demarcation between the residential compound and the retail space manifests that a spatial control maintains even though there is no “wall” in material forms.

Figure 48: the spatial circulation of each type

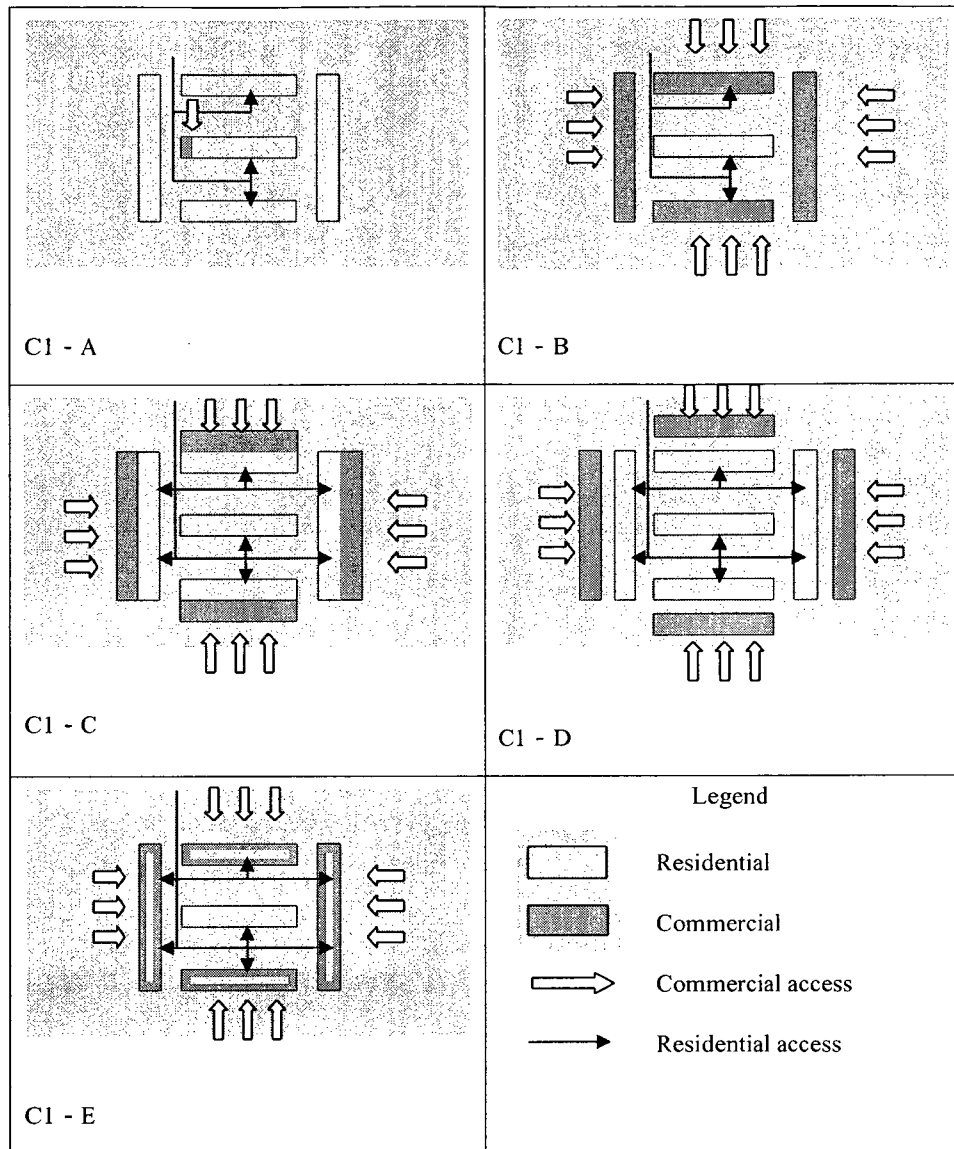


Figure 48: the spatial circulation of each type (plan view)

6.10 A morphological process

The study makes the hypothesis that a typological process of the unfolded in the area, which touched five of the six retail types identified. These types are those associated with the LHE. Our interpretation suggests that the retail building types found in the study area appeared following a three-stage sequence.

The first step sees the appearance of retail spaces created by transforming parts of residential dwellings such as a roof or a balcony. The second step in the sequence sees the construction of buildings that include or are surrounded by a series of retail spaces on the ground floor. It could be argued that C1–B, C and D are synchronic variants of the same type, as they simply manifest different spatial responses to a variety of urban conditions. The type C1–E appears later in the process as a more complex and specialized architectural form. Whereas the manifestations of the first two stages display an adaptation of a predominantly residential form to accommodate retail. The third stage shows mixed buildings that are neither predominantly residential nor commercial but rather hybrid forms that fully take into account the spatial requirement of both functions. The general evolution that is illustrated by the typological process does not imply that the emergence of a new form that derives from previous ones prevents any manifestation of previous types. Types do coexist but the overall evolution sees more rudimentary retail form is being gradually replaced by more complex ones.

The retail types identified by this study that are part of the typological process are all associated with large housing estates. As such they mark the evolution of a built landscape almost exclusively residential towards a mix-use urban form, which reflects the advent of mass-consumption that accompanies the development of a socialist market economy as it is called in China. The built forms denote as well as the social and economic dynamics that prevailed at the social production of the built environment. The next chapter will focus on such dynamics between the agents of

morphological change.

Figure 49: The morphological process of the retail building types

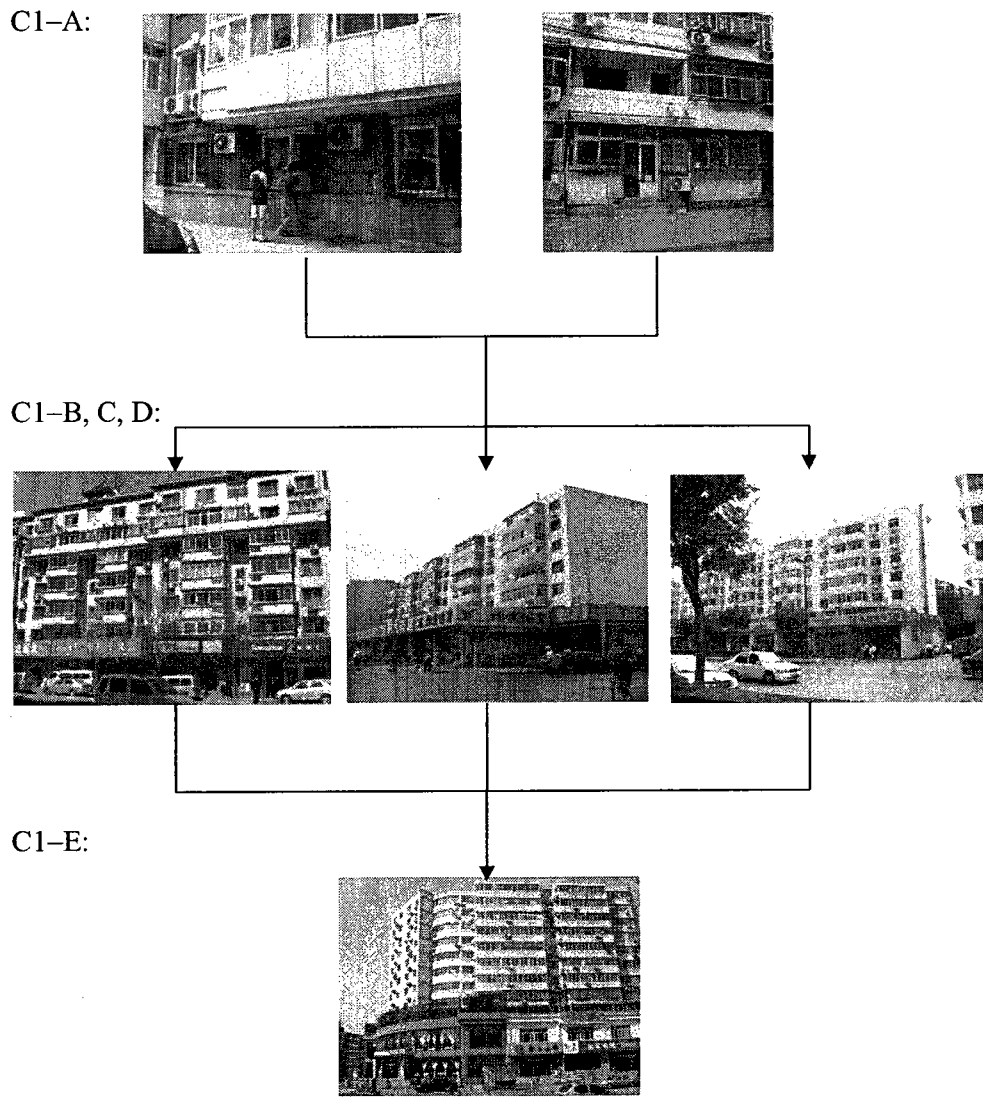


Figure 49: the morphological process of the retail building types

Figure 50: The spatial distribution of all types

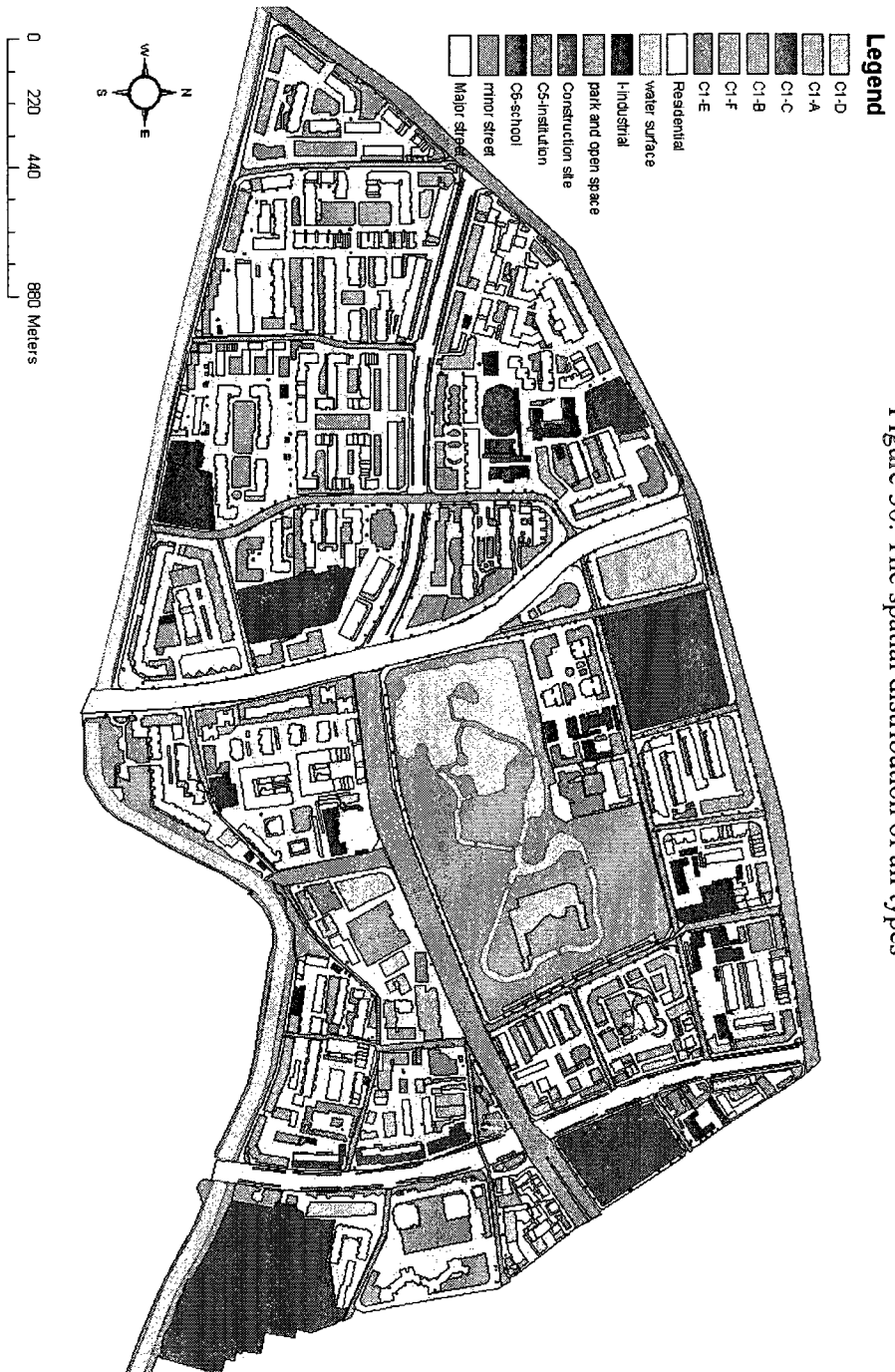


Figure 50: The distribution of all retail buildings types

Chapter 7: The Social Construction of the Retail Landscape

7.1 Introduction

The land reform is a watershed in the history of China that introduces the commodification of housing and land–use right in the contemporary period. China adopts a dual land tenure system that separates land–use right from land ownership as the 1998 Land Law clearly defines land as a scarce resource and stipulates that it should be used to generate revenue. In an era of planned economy, land was allocated to the danwei and SOEs free of charge, which lead to some extent to inefficient land use (Ding, 2003; Garnaut, Song, Tenev, & Yao, 2005). After the economic reform, the ambitious local government endeavors to build a prosperous commercial landscape and to provide a better living environment by favouring the construction of large housing estates. This chapter investigates how the ambiguous application of land–use rights manifests itself in the urban landscape, and how SOEs or danwei, land developers, and local government played their role and produced the retail landscape after 1978.

This chapter has three parts: firstly, it reviews the land reform of Tianjin in its three phases as the land reform plays an important role in producing each retail type. Secondly, it introduces division of the government of Tianjin that has an influence on the making of the built landscape. Finally, it elaborates on the production process of each retail types to understand how the interweaving groups of agents of morphological change had an impact on the retail landscape's production.

7.2 The Land Reform in Tianjin

The land management of Tianjin varied over to different historical periods. This section examines the evolution since the advent of the PRC.

7.2.1 Phase I :1949–1953

The first phase of the land management in Tianjin spans from 1949 to 1953. At the beginning of the establishment of the PRC, there were both private land and state land in Tianjin. The holder of the state land, either a danwei or a private individual was paying a rent in the form of a certain percentage of a fixed land value. The land value depends on different land–use types and the land status and nature, such as location, land–use density, and neighbourhood externalities, etc. The municipal government of Tianjin adopted a category of twenty–nine land value classes defined in 1949 and modified in 1952. From 1949 to 1952, the land holder had to pay a rent corresponding to 25% of the land value to the estate administration department (Wang, Lu, & Wang, 1993). In 1952, the land rent was renamed to the “land–use fee”. In 1953, the municipal government of Tianjin re–estimated the land value and promulgated a standard of a fixed land–use fee for each class. Overall, all the urban land use of Tianjin had been charged with a fix rate from 1949 to 1953.

7.2.2 Phase II 1954–1984

From 1950 to 1953, a land reform took place in rural China. The state allocated land to the danwei such as the city administration, army and school, and the SOEs free of charge. The constitution of China stipulates that any organization or private

individual cannot trade, rent or transfer the land. In other words, the land is free of charge, non-transferable and has an undefined use term. During the second phase from 1954 to 1984, most of the urban land in Tianjin was free. According to the statistics of Bureau of Land of Tianjin, the area of the charged land occupied only 2.11% and 3.9% in 1985 and 1987 of the actual area of the used land (Wang, Lu, & Wang, 1993). However, land was used inefficiently as much of the land taken by SOEs and danwei was underutilized or misallocated (Ding, 2003; Garnaut, Song, Tenev, & Yao, 2005).

7.2.3 Phase III: 1985–present

A reform in land–use right was initiated in 1979 according to which the central government allows to charge for land use right from joint venture enterprises. In the early 1980s, Tianjin became one of the first four special economic zones established by the central government to attract foreign investments. Tianjin Economic–Technological Development Area (TEDA) was formed on December 6, 1984 where FIEs (foreign invested enterprises) could enjoy special privileges such as tax exemptions. Since 1985, the municipal government of Tianjin had launched a land tenure system starting with the TEDA. The system is based on the principle that the land is leasable. The land user needs to pay a significant land–use right fee for accessing the land within certain time. Tianjin later became one of the experimental cities with Shanghai, Guangzhou, and Shenzhen for the commodification of the land use right. In February 1987, the municipal government of Tianjin promulgated a standard for the land–use fee to FIEs, that classified land into seven categories based

on various land-use types. This early reform in the land tenure system of Tianjin is a watershed that marked a new era of land policy in modern Chinese history. For the first time the land-use rights were separated from the land ownership (Ding, 2003).

The most significant changes in land policy occurred in the late 1980s. In order to develop the land market the Land Administration Law of 1986 legalized the access to state-owned land to private organizations and individuals. Since November 1988, a land-use right system has been adopted along with price mechanisms and a land tax policy in urban Tianjin. The taxation department of Tianjin has started to collect a land tax from all land users such as danwei and private individuals, and a land-use tax from the SOEs based on the “temporary regulation of the land-use tax in urban and town of the People Republic of China”. Later in 1991, with the releasing of “The Provisional Regulation on the Granting and Transferring of the Land Rights over State-Owned Land in Cities and Towns”, land users have been allowed to transfer, rent and mortgage land-use rights (Valletta, 2001). As a result, a land market emerged and land prices started to reflect a market-driven rationale based on land-use allocation and land use (Ding, 2003).

To sum-up, the state still maintains the land ownership and as Ding (2003) states, it controls land markets through its monopolization over the land supply, in spite of the fact that the state allowed the commodification of the land-use right. The reform in land-use rights brought a change in the role of agents who are involved in the production of the urban landscape. Private sector actors and among them real estate developers joined to play. Many danwei and SOEs transferred their land-use rights to

their employees that to some extent reduced their impact on the urban landscape.

7.3 The division of the local government

Figure 51: the division of the local government

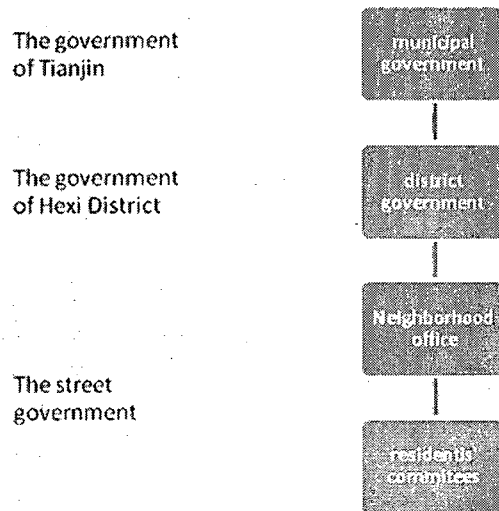


Figure 51: the division of the local government

As Figure 51 shows, the government of Tianjin is a municipal government that works under the direct control of the central government. The district governments are under jurisdiction of the municipal government, and the bureau in each district answers to its corresponding bureau in the municipal government. The street government consists of neighbourhood office and residents' committees. The neighbourhood office works underneath the district government as its subordinate arms is the lowest level of government in China; it is most directly involved in both regulating urban life and providing for city dwellers.

7.4 The Local Government Provision

Tianjin is rather careful and conservative on its economic growth policies. Maintaining social and political stability is the major objective of the municipal

government, in the context of the reconstruction effort following the 1976 earthquake in particular. The municipal government placed emphasis on improving the urban infrastructure and public goods provision in contrast to nationwide neglect of livelihood issues during 1980s and 1990s (Li & Qiu, 2004). The district governments responded by improving the living condition of the local residents and by providing a number of public services. For example, they equipped a certain number of commercial network services as a district government provision to ensure the supply of daily commodities such as coal, rice and food in every LHE. A commercial network service is a shop distributed within a LHE. Often, the district government allocated a small proportion of land free of charge within or near a LHE to the danwei that for it to build facilities providing daily life necessities. On this free land, the danwei builds and operates shops that sell rice, coal, sugar and so on, directly distributing its essential commodities to the local residents. The district government also delivered coal and cabbage¹⁹ door to door, and had the heating system of each oldest building checked and repaired during winter.

7.5 The Production of the C1–A Type

7.5.1 The Emergence of the C1–A Type

The C1–A type appeared in Tianjin after the economic reform of 1978 with a booming economy of Tianjin (various sources, 2009)²⁰. During the economic

¹⁹ Chinese cabbage was the major vegetable of winter during the era of planned economy.

²⁰ (LHE residents, personal communication, 2009; small retail owner, personal communication, 2009; large retail owner, personal communication, 2009; senior official in CACH, personal communication, 2009; senior official in CCH, personal communication, 2009; senior official in CLMCH, personal communication, 2009; senior official in municipal government, personal communication, 2009).

transition from a planned economy to a market economy, the daily commodities that were no longer scarce became more readily available due to the increasing productivity. The ration coupon, or the “liangpiao” (粮票) gradually disappeared. The changes in the economy lead to a change in the daily life. For example, in the era of planned economy, a single family could only purchase 0.4 kg sugar per month. During the planned–economy period, the local residents generally shopped in a commercial network service, or “shangyewangdian” (商业网点) near their home. Since 1978, there has been a growth in both production and consumption, and the commercial network service has not been able to sustain the daily need of the local population for several reasons. First, it failed to catch up with new patterns of consumption. For example, residents have gradually ceased to use coal in the context of gasification in 1987. As a result, the coal shops gradually vanished. Secondly, it failed to supply a varied assortment of commodities. For example, the development of the greenhouse technology and improvements in transportation and logistics ensured a greater fresh vegetable supply in winter. Cabbage was not the only fresh vegetable that one could have during winter anymore. The self–employed individual challenged the position of the food shop by providing a greater sort of vegetables. In addition, when local residents increased their consumption, the commercial network service served one or even two LHE was not close enough to many households in particular in large residential compounds. As a result, the C1–A retail shops emerged in the late 1970s as a complement to the commercial network service.

7.5.2 The development of type C1-A

Rapid economic change in the 1980s and 1990s encouraged the development of C1-A. The first boom of C1-A unfolded right after the economic reform, when the city leaders planned to develop and promote commerce (Duckett, 1998). They suggested a slogan of “empty inside, sale outside”, or “likongwaimai” (里空外卖) (senior official in CCH, personal communication, 2009). As a result, small-scale commerce began to flourish, as the senior official in CCH describes it:

“At that time, a lot of shops put their commodities on the street; street markets were everywhere. People opened windows, opened a door on the wall, or built shacks to sell things...it’s like everyone’s doing business” (senior official in CCH, personal communication, 2009)

In early 1992, after a new push in the economic reform programme, Tianjin was once again a thriving bustle of street markets and retail activity. A business fever was taking hold (Duckett, 1998).

There has been another boom of C1-A in the mid to late 1990s when the SOE reform had been dramatic in industrial sector where the number of SOEs has declined from 114,000 in 1996 to 34,000 in 2003. Since 1998, it is estimated that 30 million SOE workers have been laid off (Garnaut, Song, Tenev, & Yao, 2005). In order to make a living, some unemployed people chose to open a home-based and low-budget shop known as C1-A. The operation budget of C1-A is very low as most of its commodities are small things such as a box of matches, a bottle of soy sauce or a chocolate bar. A home-based C1-A does not require an additional rent for commercial

use. Moreover, the location within a residential compound ensures a fixed population of customers. The district government of Hexi assigned the mission to its street governments to help reallocate the unemployed population in each street and to ensure everyone is able to become self-sufficient. Some street governments thus encouraged the unemployed to open a C1-A (small retail owner, personal communication, 2009). Usually the owners of C1-A do not have an operating license, especially when they do not sell cigarettes or alcohol. Yet the district and street government tolerated the existence and rarely interrupted its commercial activities. The taxation office at the district level subsidized part of the administration fee to those having an operation license and paying taxes (small retail owner, personal communication, 2009). To conclude, the C1-A establishments are generally not recognized legally whereas are tolerated by both the government at a street and district level on “humanity” grounds as a way for some people to assure their subsistence.

The tolerance of the government accelerated the growth of C1-A. C1-A started to develop in various contexts based in part on the business potential of the location. It appeared not only within a residential compound but also along the major street facing outward. Many C1-A establishment encroached on the public space by addition of small patios for instance. Some C1-A on the major street became a part of retail strips, and enjoyed an economy of scale. The dimensions of C1-A venues also evolved over time, as window retail was gradually replaced by balcony-based C1-A, or as some owners modified their residential unit by opening a door on the wall or balcony or by turning a window into a door giving access to a private room turned

into a store. Such transformations allow the owner to operate a larger scale business such as a bistro or a clothing store, whereas still paying a smaller amount of electric and water bill charged for residential use.

At one point, the wide spread of C1-A could not be tolerated by the district government anymore. On the one hand, to build a balcony-based C1-A, one has to alter the structure of a residential building. To some extent, the modification on the structure of the building threatens the safety of the other residents. On the other hand, the district government constrained the development of C1-A and confined its spatial distribution within the residential compounds in the consideration of the city's image. C1-A, to some extent is considered downgrading the level of the retail strip and having negative impacts on the city image especially when a large number of C1-A that sell commodities at the low end of the retail market emerge along major commercial streets. The Cityscape and Landscape Management Committee on behalf of the Hexi district government banned the commercial activities of C1-A along the major streets since the late 90s and it has monitored the commercial activities of C1-A along Daganan Road more frequently during the past 5 years (senior official in CLMCH, personal communication, 2009). The balcony-based C1-A was strictly banned and the spatial distribution of C1-A on the major street is forbidden. The urban administrative inspectors charge fines to the shop owner if they found any C1-A on the major street.

4.5.3 Conclusion

C1-A spontaneously emerged after the economic reform in 1978. Its emergence

manifests shift in the product–supply chain and consumption practices, or the demand and supply of the commodity in a transitional period from planned economy to market economy. The booming of that retail form in the 1980s and 1990s denotes a policy that promotes commerce. The study found similar cases in Ming Dynasty as Chapter 3 discusses the retail shops mushroomed and largely emerged along the major street and the river when the economic policy was relaxed in the Ming’s Dynasty.

C1–A is produced mainly by the grassroot individuals who perceive the demand of the market and who could benefit from a favourable location of their residential unit for instance. It is informal according to regulations yet it is a complement to the institutionalized commercial activities by providing services of proximity and convenience goods to the local residents.

To some extent, both the street government and the district government tolerates the existence of C1–A as long as it kept at a certain distance from the major streets and that it stands out of sight of the retail strip. Such factors explain C1–A’s spatial distribution and concentration within the residential compounds. The building’s characteristics denote the informal and a potentially transitioning nature of the economic activity that they support.

The study found that C1–A emerged only within the old residential compound. In many cases, the land–use right and the ownership of the residential room that incorporated C1–A still belong to the SOE or danwei, which implies that the housing commodification has not taken place. Thus there is no transaction in either the transfer

of land-use right or the sale of the residential unit (various sources, 2009)²¹. At this point, the operator of a C1-A establishment who is at the same time a resident of the building, thus has neither the land-use right of the land nor the ownership of his residential unit. C1-A never appears in a gated community xiaoqu developed after the late 90s, instead, a rising number of the convenient store in C1-B and C1-E emerge there. I assume that C1-A will eventually disappear. The improved living conditions will gradually affect both the supply and demand sides negatively.

7.6 The Production of C1-B

7.6.1 Qiandezhuang Renovation Program

A large number of establishments corresponding to the C1-B type (Figure 23) were built during the Qiandezhuang renovation program. As Chapter 5 reveals, Qiandezhuang was well known for its unpleasant living conditions for decades. It was redeveloped respectively in 1950s, 1980s and 1990s. In 1950, the government demolished a large number of run-down dwellings and replaced them by the work residential settlement. The work residential settlement were made of several rows of one-storey dwellings facing the south. Each row had 10 to 12 dwellings standing in a line. Between each row an open space was reserved to serve as a courtyard.

However, most of the work residential settlements had ran down due to the lack of maintenance and the damage struck by the 1976 Tangshan earthquake. The earthquake caused damage to more than two-third of Tianjin's housing stock, leaving

²¹ (architect, personal communication, 2009; senior official in CCH, personal communication, 2009; small retail owner, personal communication, 2009; large retail owner, personal communication, 2009; LHE residents, personal communication, 2009)

700,000 residents homeless, and by 1980 over 100,000 residents were still housed in temporary structures erected at the immediate aftermath of the disaster (Duckett, 1998; Li & Qiu, 2004). From the late 1950s to the early 1970s, there was a decline in housing construction in Tianjin, while the city's population continued to grow. The previous number of worker residential settlements was not enough to sustain the rapid increase of the population. In 1980s, the municipal government proposed to redevelop Qiandezhuang. Yet, during the "Increase production and practice movement", or "zengchanjieyue yundong" (增产节约运动), the project funding was rather limited. Tianjin received a large injection of funds from the central government from 1980 to 1984 and renovated 27,038 m² of Qiandezhuang. However, the funding had stopped by 1984. As a result, the municipal government mobilized the public to take part in voluntary labour and spent half a year in 1987 to redevelop 320,000 m² in Qiandezhuang (Duckett, 1998). A layout of courtyard-type multi-storey house cluster, or "duocengtingyuanshi" (多层庭院式) was widely adopted during the redevelopment that was firstly applied in Xi'nanolou's renovation in 1987. The design objective is to provide a maximum floor area and thus to ensure the return of the local residents, while covering the construction cost by selling the extra residential units. The design utilized the peripheral area of the lot by arranging a cluster of multi-storey residential building in both south-north and east-west orientations, mixed with the layout of parallel multi-storey house cluster (architect, personal communication, 2009). It soon became the prevalent model for the whole city.

On July 17, 1993, the former mayor Zhang Lichang proposed to renovate all the

“slum” area within Tianjin by within 3 to 5 years. And Qiandezhuang, as one of the largest and densest slums in Tianjin had been the focus of the renovation program. The district government of Hexi proposed to renovate Qiandezhuang in 5 years. The objective of the renovation program was to replace the rough and narrowed one-storey row houses with multi-storey residential buildings. More than 7,000 families were waiting to benefit from the dramatic housing transformation (Hexi Local Chronicles Commission Office. 1998).

However, Tianjin’s fiscal resources were squeezed in the early 1990s since the most consistently rising sources of revenue fell within the central government’s fixed revenues (Duckett, 1998). Neither the municipal government nor the district government was able to support the full funding of the program. They were keen to collect funds for cooperative housing and to work with the local government who provides the land-use right and the developers who provided funds to develop the land. In a cooperative housing, the principle of equality in responsibilities, rights and benefits is emphasized according to General Principles of Civil Law of the People’s Republic of China (lawyer, personal communication, 2009). Qiandezhuang’s renovation program was about the provision of housing and claimed to improve the living condition of the local residents and to insure that they could move back. However, few real estate developers were interested to this project due to a low FAR (floor area ratio) and the small profit that it entails.

7.6.2 The Emergence of C1-B

Eventually, the district government of Hexi found a way to solve the housing

problem by launching a reform: the Qiandezhuang renovation program. On the one hand, the district government made the renovated houses a commodity by stipulating that they would be sold instead of leasing (Zhang, 2009). The government supplied a large number of allocated housing within various locations for the local residents to purchase. Alternatively, residents could get a compensation of 5,100 RMB/m² if they choose to move to somewhere else rather than in allocated housing.

The district government on the other hand allowed the real estate developers to produce residential buildings up to seven floors without equipping it with an elevator but allow them to turn the ground floor as an extra commercial space to be sold. The district government then required the developers to add a two-storey stairs outside each building for the specific use of the residents. The latter provision plays with the planning code, which stipulates that residential buildings above six floors are required to equip with an elevator. In this case six residential floors sit on top of a commercial floor making the entire building seven floor high.

Another stipulation of the district government was that if the site included a commercial network service, the developers were required to restore the commercial space at the same place to guarantee the access to daily necessities within the new LHE. Back then, the residential unit was sold at about 5,000 RMB/m², yet the C1-B retail space within the same building was sold at about 10,000 RMB/m². At this point, the developers would evidently want to build commercial spaces to increase their profit. The relocation of the commerce is a product of the planned economy and it is somehow rigid. The study found a number stores of the C1-B type located nearby a

river and far away from the population of consumers. Such commercial development seems unusual by its location. Many stores are closed, which could speak about a sub-optimal location. In fact, the study reveals that these shops are the former commercial services relocated from another project (senior official in CCH, personal communication, 2009). The reconstruction of the middle ring road in Hexi entailed the demolition of a number of commercial network services distributed on both side of the ring road. The newly constructed building did not ensure the return of every establishment. As a result, the district government relocated those C1-B stores in Qiandezhuang project in a peripheral location. To some extent, the event manifests rigidness in policy inherited from an era of planned economy. It also manifests a downward one-way interaction between the local government and the grassroots.

Qiandezhuang renovation program was completed within six years. The “for sale only instead of leasing” policy was first experimented in the Qiandezhuang project of Tianjin where 97.66% of former residents choose to purchase their housing (Hexi Local Chronicles Commission Office, 1998) A large number of C1-B establishment emerged especially along Guangdong Road and Yong’an Avenue.

7.6.3 The development of C1-B

C1-B establishments on major street Guangdong Road and the Yong’an Road provide a wide variety of commodities, making the busiest commercial strips within Hexi. A number of clothing shops, shoe shops, café shops, restaurants, tea houses, offices, book stores and other shops along the street not only satisfy the local needs but attracts also customers from outside the area. C1-B becomes more and more

popular in Qiandezhuang and as the housing market was getting more active, as a number of retail businesses were attracted to the retail strip to open chain stores. The dimension of C1-B has also expanded over time. For instance, some shop owners purchase more than one C1-B unit in the same residential building, and they connected them to create a larger shop. The real estate developers meanwhile build larger C1-B establishments in favourable locations in order to maximize the economic potential. As this point in time, more than one variants of C1-B were developed.

7.6.4 The production of C1-E

With the development of C1-B, the successful retail strip on Guangdong Road and Daganan Road attracted a number of consumers from outside the area. The demand experienced significant growth. Retail amenities of various scales, business types and qualities have developed. At this point, the real estate developers have started to build large commercial spaces but expanding it both horizontally and vertically within the residential building and a new type of retail emerges. C1-E as introduced in Chapter 6 is incorporated into the residential building. Yet it accommodates a much larger commercial space than with C1-B type. It offers a desirable commercial environment to consumers and attracts more attention with an emphasis on its projecting façade and multi-storey height.

7.6.5 The production of C1-F

C1-F is a spatially independent shop usually accommodating a large establishment with a large business. The commercial space shows little spatial

relationship to the residential buildings. Contrarily to the other types discussed so far, the building can be a shopping mall, a restaurant, a pub or an entertainment center. It is a product of market economy developed by real estate developer for profit. It manifests an emphasis on commercial development during the era of market economy. It is prevalent in many Chinese cities and its number is increasing in Tianjin.

7.6.6 The Land-use Rights

The land-use right of the establishments that relate to the types C1-B, C1-E and C1-F are tradable and transferable in the market. On the one hand, the real estate developers paid land-use right leasing fee to the local government before developing the land. Upon completion of the construction, they sell the ownership of the structure as the shop itself and at the same time transfer the lease of the land-use right to the buyer. According to Property Law, the term of leasing the land-use right for commercial use is 50 years. In other words, the consumers purchased the structure of the shop with a land-use right for 50 years²². After 50 years, the term of land-use right continues as long as the structure of the shop exists (Lawyer, personal communication, 2009; CEO of a real estate company, personal communication, 2009).

It should be noted that during a certain period, the C1-B and C1-E establishments traded fast in the second-hand market and C1-B was even more popular since its smaller scale made it more affordable. The second-hand market has become chaotic as a number of C1-B dealers emerge who buy in and sell at a profit. In addition, some

²² Usually, the leasing tenure of the land-use right is less than 50 years as the leasing tenure is started as soon as the developer obtained the land, which means that the term of land-use right has been unfolding before the resident obtained it.

retail owners lease their shops to others under the table. The absence of related regulation raised a number of conflicts and disputes (Lawyer, personal communication, 2009; small retail owner, personal communication, 2009). Soon the municipal government decided to charge a high transferring fee to the previous owner, which stabilized the market.

7.6.7 Conclusion

C1-B is the product of the cooperation of the district government with the real estate developers. C1-E and C1-F are the product of a market economy and manifest the change of demand and supply in the commercial real-estate market. C1-B, C1-E and C1-F are three different retail building types whereas all are commodities in nature. The emergence of C1-B in the context of the Qiandezhuang renovation program manifests an adaptation to the social and economic change in a transitional era brought by a domestic reform in land-use right. The development of C1-B reflects a subsequent manifestation. It manifests an action-reaction process as built forms develop that are informed by the interweaving between the municipal and district government and private developer's practices in the context of private real-estate market.

7.7 The Production of C1-C

C1-C first appears to serve as a commercial network service that is a mandatory equipment of LHEs during the era of planned economy and of early phases of the transition toward market economy (senior official in CCH, personal communication, 2009; senior official in CACH, personal communication, 2009).

In the era of planned economy, the district government developed a number of commercial network service as a government provision to satisfy the daily need of the local residents (senior official in CCH, personal communication, 2009; senior official in CACH, personal communication, 2009). The facilities and services office (住宅配套设施建设办公室) stipulated that 7% of the total floor area of a LHE should support commercial facilities, which means in every 100m² floor area of the residential area, at least 7m² floor area of the commercial space should be equipped to guarantee the daily life of the local residents. The facilities and services office also specified standards. For example, each coal store should equip a courtyard for storage. The floor area of the rice shop should not exceed 251 m². During the construction of a new LHE, the facilities and services office at a district level monitored and supervised the construction of the commercial network service facilities. After the completion of the construction, the CCH (Commission of Commerce of Hexi) would transfer the management right of each commercial network service to the regarding SOEs free of charge. For example, the Rice Bureau of the Hexi district would take over the rice store; the Coal Bureau of the Hexi district would manage the coal store, etc. In short, the commercial service network was operated and managed by SOEs yet its ownership belonged to the government as a state property. Often the housing management bureau of Tianjin on behalf of the state government would administrate the ownership of the commercial network service.

Later on, as Duckett (1998) states, the fiscal decentralization in the early 1990s has created problems for the district governments by passing on the financial burden

of the municipal government to them. Both the municipal and district governments were not able to fund new housing developments. With the implementation of the market economy, many SOEs developed LHEs for their employees on their own land that was obtained free of charge and without a specific using term. However, few would like to have commercial network services due to a serious shortage in the housing supply. Back then, employees of a SOE had to wait for years to obtain a residential unit. On the rare vacant land, the SOEs preferred to develop residential units rather than commercial amenities. The district government thus charged them an equipping fee with 85 RMB/m² of a commercial network services before the construction as a deposit to ensure the construction of the commercial network service (senior official in CACH, personal communication, 2009). For example, if a SOE proposed to construct a LHE with a floor area of 50,000 m², it should provide commercial network services of 3,500 m² (50,000 m² of gross floor area multiple 7% equipment rate). Meanwhile, it should pay an equipping fee for 297,500 RMB (3,500 m² multiple 85 RMB/ m²) to the facilities and services office. Once the facilities and services office receives the equipping fee, it would allow the SOE to submit its construction proposal to the municipal planning bureau. If the planning bureau granted a construction permit, the facilities and services office monitors the construction process to insure that the commercial network business would be constructed. As soon as the construction is completed, the facilities and services office purchases the ownership of the commercial network service with an amount that covers the exact construction costs. To some commercial network service in an urban

periphery that often has a smaller population of customers, the district government subsidized fund to sustain their daily operation.

In the post-reform era when the land-use right is transferable and tradable, some SOEs purchased the ownership of C1-D as well as the leasing land-use right. For example, Tianjin Grain Bureau purchased its commercial network services in 1999 and transformed them into Shiweitian chained fast food restaurant, achieving a great business success. Some SOE that are not willing to run the commercial network service lease the land-use right to private individuals.

The commercial network services as a product of government provision under planned economy have gradually replaced by C1-B, E, F establishments that emerged in a market economy. Yet C1-C and one C1-D found on Dagunan Road transferred from the commercial network services retained their commercial function such a function is congruent with the historical role played by that street. The commercial identity of Dagunan Road somehow determined the emergence of C1-C and of certain C1-D ensembles as rows of retail spaces separated from pre-existing residential building would be built. Dagunan Road was and is one the busiest and oldest commercial street in Hexi as was mentioned before. In the eleventh Five-Year Plan of Tianjin (2006-2011), it will be upgraded to a first class commercial street. I assume the found C1-C and C1-D will remain and continue to contribute to produce a recognizable commercial landscape in the future.

7.8 The production of C1-D

With the exception of one example of the C1-D type, the rest one or two stories

C1-D establishments are found either in the center or the entrance of a residential compound. The street government as a danwei obtained free land during the planned economy period. It used a large part of the land for office use that is often located in a polar location of a residential compound. The district government usually funds the street government as its sub-office for daily operation and management. However, tight financial budgets in the 1990s did not allow for the provision of proper budget to the street government. Many street governments were not even able to pay staff salaries. They thus had to rely on an income generated on their own to make up for these shortfalls. They sought extra-budgetary income through business activities (Duckett, 1998). In order to generate revenue, some constructed rough buildings in a form of C1-D on their vacant land and leased these to small merchants for commercial use. Some transformed half of the indoor bicycle parking space for commercial use. A few that merged with another street government rented their former office to rural migrant workers for residential use or small merchants for commercial use. It should be noted that the user of C1-D spaces did not obtain a land-use right and the ownership of the C1-D. The street government kept the land-use right without a specific using term. The construction of C1-D structures is not legally sanctioned, at the time as it does not obtain a construction permit. To some extent, C1-D is an informal retail type like C1-A, even though it was built most of the time by the street government. Many retail spaces built in the middle of the residential compound or between residential buildings had a negative impact on the daily life of the local residents. For example, some were built so close to the

residential buildings that the residents living on the first floor could not see the day light anymore. The retail activities often bring lot of noise and dirt. Not all the street government leased their office for commercial use. A number of them transformed the vacant space to accommodate a community clinic or a community entertainment center that provides mah-jongg, Chinese chess and cards to the senior citizens in the community.

Chapter 8: Conclusion

A morphological transformation of five retail building types on the periphery of LHE unfolds corresponding to a shifting political–economy framework while being informed by past experiences of building practice. As such, it is not exaggerated to say that these humble retail building types are both a cultural and social product.

- The arena

When consumerism and free market realities became rooted in Chinese daily life, the grassroots, the entrepreneurial government at different levels, the enterprises either stately–owned or privately–owned all became involved in all involved in the production of a commodified urban space. The shift towards a market economy informed the logic and the actions of agents of morphological change. However, agents who carry various strengths of capital played a different role in the production field. The central government is the dominant as it shapes both the economical and political framework and dictates the orientation of the economic and social development. Each shift in the political economy triggers a corresponding change in the built environment. If the central government is the policy–maker, then its subordinated government is the policy–deliverer who answers to its superior government and deliver “messages” to its subordinate. At this point, the capital of the central government decentralizes towards to its subordinated government for implementation and coordination. It should be noted that there is often delay in the manifestation of the local level, and such postponement often brings conflicts. The

coexisting C1–A, B, C, D, E, and F types manifest a conflict of the building forms in an era of rapid growth, and denote blurred social relations and “chains of command” in an era of transition.

In addition, the grassroots exert their power contributing to the production of the landscape although their strength is limited. As Karl Marx says, “history repeats itself in spiral form.” Resembling the emergence of the retail street in Tang and Song Dynasty, the emergence of the studied retail landscape manifests a two–way interaction between a downward power from the domination and an upward power from the grassroots. The emergence and development of C1–A manifests a struggle between the grassroots and the administration, and it marks an upward strength of the grassroots in the social production though the strength of the power is weaker than the dominant. An interesting finding of this research is that these structures are manifested in a material production that is also informed by specific cultural models pertaining to collective housing and traditional settlement patterns. The material culture and social processes analysed are part of a dialectics.

- The wall

The transformation of the built form in Tianjin shows a rather stable process over 500 years until the colonization and the prevalence of the danwei model brought sudden alterations of the traditional spatial forms. Today, it is difficult to envision the role played by the wall referring to an ancient philosophy in Tianjin since the walled city was demolished in 2004. However, the wall rooted in everyone’s mind is carried out as a spatial model in both the contemporary building form and the built

environment.

This study reveals how the culture of the wall is carried out even in the most unusual context of the creation of an ordinary post-reform retail landscape. The story of the C1-A and C1-D types may help ring the bell. The grassroots and the street government are both in the bottom of the “food chain” as they obtain the least capital within their fields. Owners of C1-A who are often unemployed and low-income breaks walls to make a living. Street governments who are often low in budget built walls (C1-D) to make a living. The wall is a medium. It manifests authority when agents reinforce their thoughts on it. C1-A owners break the wall symbol of the authority to make money but they often hide from the authority; the street governments build wall (authority) to make money in order to convert their political authority or capital into an economic capital. The two actions are the same in nature, whereas the ownership of the authority determines their subsequent behavior (hide or not hide). Thus, whose wall it is? The wall belongs to the dominant power within a certain field. In the case of retail landscape production, the wall belongs to the local authority.

Both of C1-A and C1-D successfully catch one of the key components in the inner logic of the retail form: a strong spatial relation between the residential and commercial street. Yet, if zooming out, the residential can be seen as another wall that separates the “strong” and the “weak”. Outside the residential compound, there is bustling retail street full establishments of the C1-B, C, E and F that belongs to either the POE or SOE; yet inside there is manifestations of less formal C1-A and C1-D.

On the one hand, the residential compound as an application of the abstract model somehow emphasizes the hierarchy in a retail landscape. As Chapter 2 discussed, the wall culture has been rooted in every aspect of the daily life in the urban history of China. The courtyard houses, li and ancient cities in the history, or the danwei and xiaoqu in contemporary Chinese cities are all walled. The wall manifests a hierarchy in the social relations and a control by the authority. In general, the outer wall has a position superior than that of the inner wall. In this study, the retail building types developed by agents that have either superior political or economic capital appear within or outside the wall surrounding the residential compound. The retail building types developed by the “downward power” appeared inside the residential wall are somehow subordinate.

On the other hand, the demarcation between the residential compound and the retail space manifests that a spatial control maintains even though there is no “wall” in material forms. The morphological study on the spatial circulation of each type found that all five retail building types on the periphery of LHE have no direct access from the street. In other words, residents can access their dwelling only from the residential compound. To some extent, the surrounding retail structures play a role of the “wall” and create architectural segregation between the commercial and residential as the spatial wall separates the public and domestic sphere. The morphological analysis of this study reveals that new retail façade could alter the street landscape, yet to some extent, the notion of “wall” was carried out and it converted to a spatial form in the landscape production.

The dawn of the C1–C type as a previous government provision and the raise of the C1–B, E and F types imply a decentralization of political control and a shifting emphasis from political control to economic development. In addition, it implies a raising strength of power of economic capital because of the decentralization of the central government and a wide pervasion of consumerism. It should be noted that, even if there is a decentralized political control, the central government or the bureau field still dominate within all fields. The coexistence of the variety of retail building types that manifests a multiple applied trajectories of the land–use right carried out in various era convinces that the decentralized power is diffluent into the entrepreneurial local government and the economic capital. Yet the central government maintains its dominant position within the field as it seizes the land ownership that ensures its ability to adjust the land and housing market in a macro scale.

To sum, on the one hand, a change in social, economic and political dimension has impact on the built environment as well as its corresponding spatial relations. On the other hand, an alternation in built environment manifests a shift in social, economical and political dimension as well as the corresponding change in social relations and economy. Urban morphology shows a way to understand the social change by interpreting the changing built form. It also suggests that cultural models carried out in the building practice succeeds in space and time.

- Suggestion

This study provides a general review of the transformation of the build environment in Tianjin and found a strong spatial relation between the residential and

the commercial street. Further studies on the retail development in ancient Tianjin and commercial activities during the era of colonization are suggested. The study also suggests that a detailed study on the entrepreneurial government, especially the entrepreneurial street government to understand further the struggle of street government within the field would be highly interesting. The study investigates the cooperative construction of the LHE between the government and POE, and the SOE and POE. Further studies between POEs and between POEs and private individual are suggested. In addition, the study recommends a cross-district investigation on the retail landscape as Hexi district is one of the developed districts in Tianjin and that somehow ignores the morphological characteristics of a type in a less developed area.

With respect to urban morphology, this study identifies six retail types in a two km² based on a morphological analysis of façade, circulation and spatial relation with the residential building. A study of more spatial characteristics to support identification of types is suggested. Moreover, a study on the spatial relation between the route and the retail type and a study of contrada are strongly recommended.

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APPENDIX A: A CHRONOLOGY OF CHINESE HISTORY

Xia Dynasty		2070–1600 B.C.	
Shang Dynasty		1600–1046 B.C.	
Zhou Dynasty	Western Zhou	1046–771 B.C.	
	Eastern Zhou	770–256 B.C.	
	Spring and Autumn Period	770–476 B.C.	
	Warring States Period	475–221 B.C.	
Qin Dynasty		221–206 B.C.	
Han Dynasty		206 B.C.–220	
Three Kingdoms	Wei	220–265	
	Shu Han	221–263	
	Wu	222–280	
Western Jin Dynasty		265–317	
Eastern Jin Dynasty		317–420	
Northern and Southern Dynasties	Southern Dynasties	Song	420–479
		Qi	479–502
		Liang	502–557
		Chen	557–589
	Northern Dynasties	Northern Wei	386–534
		Eastern Wei	534–550
		Northern Qi	550–577
		Western Wei	535–556
		Northern Zhou	557–581
	Sui Dynasty		581–618
Tang Dynasty		618–907	
Five Dynasties	Later Liang	907–923	
	Later Tang	923–936	
	Later Jin	936–947	
	Later Han	947–950	
	Later Zhou	951–960	
Song Dynasty	Northern Song	960–1127	
	Southern Song	1127–1279	
Liao Dynasty		907–1125	
Jin Dynasty		1115–1234	
Yuan Dynasty		1206–1368	
Ming Dynasty		1368–1644	
Qing Dynasty		1616–1911	
Republic of China		1912–1949	
People's Republic of China		Founded on October 1, 1949	

APPENDIX B: SEMI-STRUCTURED INTERVIEW QUESTIONS

Semi-structured Interview:

- 1) How has the urban planning practice in your planning department changed following the reforms pertaining to land use rights privatization?
- 2) In Hexi district, who usually are the initiators of new housing developments, the danwei, private developers or the city/district planning department?
- 3) What's the chronological order of the emergence of C1-A, B, C and D? Is the planning department aware their spatial correlations? How does the planning department perceive them?
- 4) What role do the planning department, the danwei and the private developer play from the time a housing development project is submitted until the completion of construction?
- 5) If there is, what's the regulation pertaining to control the retail activities on the periphery of housing compounds within the study area (in terms of number, location, façade, etc)? How is the regulation carried out by street, district and city government? If there isn't, why?
- 6) Can you give and discuss an example of the development of retail activity at the periphery of an existing housing development (who initiated it, who took care of what, and with what consequences for the district's form, activities and functioning)?

Interview Themes

C1-A

- 1) When did C1-A emerge?

- 2) What is the social/economical background when C1-A emerged?
- 3) Who's involved to produce C1-A? From the time a housing development project is submitted until the completion of construction, who grants the permission, who constructs and who sells or rents the land use right?
- 4) Who has the land-use right of C1-A, the owner of the retail shop, the residents, or the work unit/danwei?
- 5) What is the role of the street/district/city planning department? Does the planning department promote it, allow it, or tolerate it?

C1-B

- 1) When did C1-B emerge?
- 2) What is the social/economical background when C1-B emerged?
- 3) Was C1-B built synchronously with the residential building, or transformed from the residential unit?
- 4) Who's involved to produce C1-B? From the time a housing development project is submitted until the completion of construction, who grants the permission, who constructs and who sells or rents the land use right?
- 5) What is the role of the street/district/city planning department? Does the planning department promote it, allow it, or tolerate it? What is the provision?
- 6) What is the role of the danwei?
- 7) Who has the land use right of C1-B, the owner of the retail shop, the former residents, the work unit/danwei or the private developer? If there is a lease transferring, who's playing what role in the process?

C1-C/D

- 1) When did C1-C/D emerge? Was it built synchronously with C1-B or C1-C?
- 2) What is the social/economical background when the C1-C/D emerged?
- 3) Who's involved? From the time a housing development project is submitted until the completion of construction, who grants the permission, who constructs and who sells or rents the land use right?
- 4) What is the role of the street/district/city planning department? Does the planning department promote it, allow it, or tolerate it? What's the provision?
- 5) What's the role of the danwei?
- 6) Who has the land use right of C1-C/D?

C1-E/F

- 1) When did C1-E/F emerge?
- 2) What is the social/economical background when the C1-E/F emerged?
- 3) Who's involved to produce C1-E/F? From the time a housing development project is submitted until the completion of construction, who grants the permission, who constructs and who sells or rents the land use right?
- 4) What is the role of the street/district/city planning department? Does the planning department promote it, allow it, or tolerate it? What is the provision?
- 5) What is the role of the private developer?
- 6) Who has the land use right of C1-E/F?
- 7) Are C1-B, C, D, E and F the only retail form that one would considered? For instance, why not to promote a shopping mall instead of a retail street? Why?

APPENDIX C: CONSENT FORM TO PARTICIPATE IN RESEARCH

This is to state that I agree to participate in a program of research being conducted by Kun ZHAI of, Geography, Planning and Environment Department of Concordia University.

A. PURPOSE

I have been informed that the purpose of the research is as follows:

- 1) to investigate the production process of the studied retail landscape
- 2) to explore the interaction between social agents within the production process

B. PROCEDURES

The research will be conducted to understand the production process of the retail landscape emerging in the studied area of Tianjin. The participants will be asked several open-ended questions; the estimated approximate time is 1.5 hours. There is no risk or any discomfort involved; the voluntary participation is ensured.

C. CONDITIONS OF PARTICIPATION

- I understand that I am free to withdraw my consent and discontinue my participation at anytime without negative consequences.

- I understand that my participation in this study is (pick appropriate word):

CONFIDENTIAL (i.e., the researcher will know, but will not disclose my identity)

NON-CONFIDENTIAL (i.e., my identity will be revealed in study results)

- I understand that the data from this study may be published.

- I understand that the data from this study will not be published.

I HAVE CAREFULLY STUDIED THE ABOVE AND UNDERSTAND THIS AGREEMENT.
I FREELY CONSENT AND VOLUNTARILY AGREE TO PARTICIPATE IN THIS STUDY.

NAME (please print) _____

SIGNATURE _____

WITNESS SIGNATURE _____

DATE _____

*If at any time you have questions about your rights as a research participant, please contact
Craig Townsend, Departmental Ethics Committee(DEC) for Student Research with Human Subjects*

Tel.: (514) 848-2424 ext. 5191

Fax: (514) 848-2032 townsend@alcor.concordia.ca

APPENDIX D: CONSENT FORM TO PARTICIPATE IN RESEARCH (CHINESE VERSION)

参与研究许可表

我在此声明，我同意参加由康考迪亚大学地理规划环境系的翟坤主持的研究项目

目

A. 研究目的

我已经了解如下研究目的：

- 1) 研究零售业景观形成的过程
- 2) 研究生产过程中社会媒介的互动

B. 研究过程

此项研究旨在了解零售业景观在考察地点天津的形成过程。研究参与者会被问到一些开放式问题，采访过程预计最长为一个半小时。本研究本着自由参与的原则，不存在任何危险或令您不适的实验。

C. 参与研究条款

- 我了解我随时有权停止参加此项研究，并不会给我带来任何的消极结果。
- 我了解我在这项研究中的参与（请选合适项）

保密（例如，研究者知道但不会透露的我的身份）

非保密（例如，我的身份会在研究中透露）

- 我明白此项研究中的数据会被出版公开。
- 我明白此项研究中的数据不会被出版公开。

我已经认真读过上述条款协议。

我许可并自愿参加这项研究。

姓名 (工整) _____

签名 _____

见证人签名: _____

日期

如果您有任何关于参与研究的权利问题,请联络克里格唐森先生,涉人物类研究道德审核委员会委员,电话(514)848-242 转519,传真(514)848-2032,电子邮件townsend@alcor.concordia.ca