

博士論文（要約）

Publicness of Urban Public Space under
Chinese Market Economy Reform:

A Case Study of Yuzhong District, Chongqing

(中国市場経済改革下における都市公共空間の公共性：
重慶市渝中区を対象として)

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The political and economic reforms in China have been more than forty years and greatly changed the image of Chinese cities and the content of urban life. As one of the most important components of the city, the urban public space has experienced a profound transition with its very essence, the publicness, being reinterpreted during the reform. This thesis presents the context-setting research to observe the rapid and ongoing transformation of urban public spaces driven by a series of profound political and economic reforms in Chongqing, China. It mainly has two intentions: firstly it is going to trace the local interpretation and the evolution path of an introduced concept, 'publicness', in the Chinese society which has been deeply rooted in the 'gong' culture; secondly it is going to take historical and local contingencies and path-dependency into consideration by conducting the research in a specific context of culture, economy and politics. To this end, it proposes three sets of interrelated research questions: (1) What are the original connotations of 'publicness' and 'publicness of urban public space' in the Western context, and how did these introduced concepts interrelate with the culture of 'gong' in a transitional Chinese society? (2) How did the market-economy reforms gradually unfold in urban China, and consequently what kind of major and generic changes were brought to urban forms and urban public spaces? (3) How did the publicness of urban public space change in the ongoing market economy reform in the specific context, what were the major motivations for the transformation, what are the changes and legacies when taking its own historical and local contingencies and path-dependency into considerations?

The thesis consists of ten chapters. Chapters one and two propose the research subject and research methodology. Chapters three to nine constitute the main body of this research and can be divided into two parts. Part One includes chapters three and four, aiming to conceptualise 'publicness of urban public space' in Chinese society and seeking to answer the first and second sets of research questions. Part Two includes chapters five to nine, which addresses the third set of research questions by introducing the specific contexts of Yuzhong District, Chongqing, and analysing the transition of publicness of urban public spaces in detail by three carefully selected cases. Finally, chapter ten summarises the key findings of this research and puts forward the limitations of this research as well as important topics for further research.

Chapter One introduces the subject of the research. It contextualises the research questions by a review of relevant research and a brief introduction of the market economy reform in China. Then it concludes three sets of research questions and the aims of the research. It also points out the significance of the research to both theory and practice.

Chapter Two goes on to propose a preliminary hypothesis regarding research questions and build a research framework to guide the research. It then introduces why and how specific research methods, including history review, field survey, and case study, are applied in different stages of the research.

Chapter Three first reviews classical theories on ‘publicness’ in the Western context and concludes and discusses its three core values: openness, diversity, and commonness. Since publicness is both a phenomenon of culture, as well as a phenomenon of civilisation, there still exist some widely shared values. Therefore, it is necessary to understand the uniqueness of publicness in specific contexts, and always keep its general values—openness, diversity, and commonness—in mind. It continued to conduct theoretical research on the concept of ‘urban public space’ and demonstrates that urban public space is the materialisation of publicness in the urban environment. It shares the quality of openness (accessibility), diversity and commonness as the ‘publicness’. Moreover, as a physical object, it also contains attributes like ownerships and public activities.

By synthesising these two concepts, this research understands publicness of urban public space (PUPS) as the mechanism through which the diverse individuals or groups can build their identities by realising their differences, and at the same time establish connections and arrive at a certain consensus to foster the sense of community which is based on both individual identities and common interests during the open and real social interaction in specific and physical urban public spaces. Furthermore, it summarises three characteristics of PUPS that it is revealed by public life, can be influenced by the physical environment and is a multidimensional concept. Based on existing research on PUPS, it proposes a comprehensive analytical framework of PUPS which focuses on the concept and characteristics of PUPS. Adopting the qualitative approach and eliminating the value judgement, the researcher tries to make the framework as objective as possible and is capable of being applied by historical research methods. It includes three major dimensions: design and construction (accessibility, function, form), governance and management (responsibility, finance, control measures), and user and use (user, activity, participation).

Chapter Four tries to complete the theoretical foundation by exploring the PUPS in the Chinese context. Although this research does not regard the culture of ‘*gong*’ (the Chinese character for ‘public’) as the equivalent of Chinese publicness, it assumes that this culture has a profound influence on the interpretation and practice in the localisation process of the concept of ‘publicness’, and vice versa the Western concept also enriched the culture of ‘*gong*’ in contemporary Chinese society. The historical evolution of the character ‘*gong*’ indicates that it has three key attributes, which are very different from ‘public’ in the Western context. These three attributes are authority which reflects the deeply rooted top-down administration, morality that assumes ‘*gong*’ (here mainly refers to the collective or collective interests) is morally superior to ‘*si*’ (here mainly refers to the individual or individual interests), and ambiguity particularly referring to the ambiguous and changeable boundary between ‘*gong*’ (here mainly refers to the public realm) and ‘*si*’ (here mainly refers to the private realm).

Based on the analysis, it reviews the urban form and urban public spaces in the planned era and market eras,

and it introduces the reform policies towards the market era in order to better grasp the transformation. It finds that the reforms towards market economy can mainly be summarised into three directions: the commodification of urban land, the devolution of political-economic powers, and the development of leisure and consumer culture. These reforms brought the land finance through which local governments created rapid urbanisation rate by using urban planning as an institutional approach and dramatic GDP growth by leasing out urban land to real estate developers for commercial development. Also, alternative forms were adopted to emergent urban public spaces. The most conspicuous phenomenon was the boom of large-scale commercial districts. Consequently, the focus of public life changed from political campaigns to leisure and commercial activities.

Finally, it revisits the culture of *'gong'* and analyses its manifestation in PUPS in both eras. It finds that after the Reform and Opening-up, the culture of *'gong'* gradually absorbed certain values of *'publicness'*, especially the value of diversity, by forming a more positive attitude to private interests and desires, and a clearer boundary between the public realm and private realm. Although all traditional characteristics of *'gong'* got moderated to different degrees, several characteristics of PUPS in China still exist in the market era, including the top-down planning system, dominant public authority management, officially-organised public events, and socialist collective lifestyle. Meanwhile, significant changes include the diversified ownerships, financial management of these public spaces, and the change of public life focus from political campaigns to leisure and commercial activities.

Chapter Five tries to form a relatively comprehensive understanding of the background and contextualise the case study. First, it analyses Chongqing's history, geography and traditional urban form, culture, and economy. Chongqing experienced the leapfrog development especially motivated by political forces: the opening of treaty port city, the auxiliary capital, the Three Front Construction, the designation of the municipality, the Great Western Development Strategy, and the Belt and Road Initiative. These stimulants transformed it from a traditional military fortress to a regional commercial centre, to an industrial base, and later to a regional centre of policy, economy and culture. As a mountainous city, the traditional Chongqing city developed intimate relationships between the topography and the urban form. Also, because of the scarcity of land resources and difficulty of construction, it adopted the compact development with highly mixed land uses. Streets of various forms served as one of the most common and important types of public space and created vibrant and dynamic street life. For the cultural context, it was deeply influenced by the mountain-river culture, wharf culture, and auxiliary capital culture. In economy, while Chongqing developed as a major commercial centre along Yangtze River after becoming the treaty-port city, the Third Front Construction policy strengthened its heavy industry and weakened its commercial function. The serious unbalanced development of the tertiary industry was improved after the adoption of Reform and Opening-up policy and the designation of the municipality. However, it is very different from the other

three municipalities due to its largest administrative areas, the lowest urbanisation rate and GDP. Then it continues to focus on the main research area: Yuzhong District which is the cradle and the political, economic, and cultural centres of Chongqing. It shares main characteristics of Chongqing like the mountain-river topography, diverse and dynamic cultures, and political and economic environment. Meanwhile, it also differs from other districts by its advanced economy, extremely high density, and the ageing society.

Urban public spaces in Yuzhong District after 1949 experienced two major stages. The development of urban public spaces in the planned economy era was mainly undertaken in the 1950s and particularly represented by parks with various functions, which put particular emphasis on the greening rate. This character was in accordance with the *Ten-Year Plan* proposed by the Guomindang government in 1946, and also rooted in the high-density reality of Yuzhong District. Due to the limited land resources, Yuzhong District did not build city squares in the planned era; instead, it temporarily used the Jie Fangbei intersection as a square for gatherings like the situation before 1949. In the market economy era, the development of urban public spaces was guided by both master plans and urban designs to cover more categories of functions and forms.

Chapters Six, Seven and Eight each examine one case study including Eling Park, Chongqing People's Square Area, and Jie Fangbei Commercial Pedestrian District. These cases are selected by two principals: firstly they should cover major and typical categories of urban public spaces in Yuzhong District, namely the park, square, and commercial pedestrian district, and secondly, they should experience both planned and market economy eras. Each chapter starts with a brief introduction of the early history of the case before 1949 (except the square area case which was built after 1949), and then presents the situation in the planned economy era, and finally elaborates on the development of PUPS in the market economy era according to the framework proposed in chapter three, including Design and Construction, Governance and Management, and User and Use.

Chapter Nine draws comparisons of three cases and forms a comprehensive analysis to address the third set of research questions, including the transitions of PUPS within the specific historical and local contingencies and path-dependency, and the major motivations leading to these transitions. It finds that in design and construction dimension, all cases improved the accessibility and diversified their physical forms. While the square area and the commercial pedestrian district developed to have more functions, the park passively cancelled several functions. In the governance and management dimension, the research suggests while there were diverse kinds of ownerships, the public spaces were still mainly managed by public authorities with similar control measures, and their different financial systems (purely government finance, self-controlled finance and expenditure, public-private partnerships) made them participate in the market

unequally. In the user and use dimension, a mix of gender, age, and background was observed in all cases. The diversity of activities increased in the square and area and the commercial pedestrian district, but dropped to some degree in the park, especially before it cancelled its tickets.

The different trajectories of the PUPS transformation suggest that each case was actually motivated by different major motivations. Overall, the transformation of PUPS was fundamentally engaged with four different and common motivations in the market economy era: the economic motivation for steady growth in the economy, the environmental motivation for pollution control and sustainable development, the social motivation for social cohesion by redressing the rising inequity, and the cultural motivation for identity construction by introducing international culture as well as developing traditional culture. Specifically, the park was mainly motivated by environmental and social motivations and had little concern in the economic profits. The square area stroke a balance among economic, social, and cultural motivations. The commercial pedestrian district was mainly propelled by economic motivation with a growing concern of social cohesion, but it failed to protect and improve its cultural connotations and lost its unique spirit of place.

The case studies also indicate that during the history, the culture of '*gong*' has continued to interact with and been enriched by foreign cultures and emergent ideologies, changing the connotations of PUPS. In the planned era, the PUPS has the following characteristics. In the design and construction dimension, urban public spaces in the planned economy era were limited in types and numbers. There were mainly two kinds of urban public space, namely the square and the park. Particularly, squares were more of the open space, and sometimes wide roads or busy intersection would be temporarily used as a square for gatherings. Parks were usually walled and gated with limited openness and accessibility. In the governance and management dimension, urban public spaces were owned and managed by public institutions, and the governance focused on controlling users' behaviours. Parks were encouraged to conduct a wide range of services to generate more income to support itself. In the user and use dimension, squares were mainly used for political gatherings. Parks were usually multifunctional and actively used for various recreational activities.

In the market economy era, economic growth replaced the political campaign and became the focus of the central government, setting the tone of urban development. Therefore, the PUPS in the market economy era changed in the following aspects. In the design and construction dimension, the de-centralised administration fostered a more prosperous market to invite private capital to participate in urban construction and enriched the forms, functions and connotations of the urban public space in the market era. The openness and accessibility got improved, and new types of urban public space, such as the commercial pedestrian district, boomed in the 21st century. In the governance and management dimension, as the culture of '*gong*' became less authoritative, the financial system of urban public spaces diversified, and some of them successfully joined the market and thrived. Also, the focus of the governance gradually changed from

controlling users' behaviour to regulating the responsibility of the management departments in the case of Eling Park, and from planning, construction, and urban management to investment promotion and tourism advertising in the case of Jie Fangbei CPD. In the user and use dimension, the focus of public life shifted from political campaigns to multifarious activities based on leisure and consumer culture. People actively conducted activities in public space with greater freedom. While the government still played an important role to organise large-scale events, the contents have changed from political publicity to social, cultural and commercial activities.

Furthermore, the investigation of cases indicates both changes and legacies of PUPS in the transformation from the planned era to the market era. The transformation of the design and construction dimension and governance and management dimension was mainly characterised by changes with improved accessibility and diversity, and the user and use dimension presented both change and legacies. Generally, all three public spaces showed the tendency to have a higher degree of social cohesion to cater to more varied needs of users and support more kinds of public activities. Meanwhile, the legacies included the notion of 'universal publicness' showed in the use and management of public spaces, the form of street performance as a popular measure by the local government, and the collective lifestyle.

To sum up, compared to the situation of the planned era, the gradual and ongoing market economy reform has not obviously compromised the PUPS in Chongqing so far; indeed, it has brought a more vibrant public realm than before. Moreover, the commodification of urban space and the development of consumer culture did not necessarily result in the loss of publicness due to the effective guidance and control of the local government and public institutions. In addition, the devolution of political-economic power and the participation of private capital in urban construction brought diverse forms and restored the vitality of public life. However, this is not to say the transformation was free of problems. Trade-offs between public interest and economic profits, insufficient public participation in the construction process, GDP-oriented and homogeneous development and the loss of the local spirit of the place in certain projects constitute the major issues for further improvement.

Chapter Ten highlights the key findings of this research to answer the research questions and revise the hypotheses, and propose five specific recommendations for future design and management, including (1) establish comprehensive goals to guide future development; (2) improving the environment to encourage stationary activities; (3) conserving the historical resources to strengthen the spirit of the place; (4) inviting more public participation to protect the diversity; (5) sustaining the tolerant management to ensure social cohesion; and (6) using the virtual space to boost the publicness. Finally, it ends with a critical reflection on the limitations of this study and makes recommendations for future research.