

論文の内容の要旨

論文題目

A Study on the Relationship between Informal Rules and Morphological Evolution of Urban Village in China

(中国の「城中村」におけるインフォーマルルールと形態変化の関連性に関する研究)

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1. Introduction

1.1 Urban Village as an Issue

As the high-speed economic growth and super-rapid urbanization in China, many traditional villages are forced to become urban villages, which are unique phenomenon of landscape that city and village co-exist attributing to the urban-rural dual institutional system. Traditional village gradually evolved to the cluster of rental house that shielding indigenous villagers and migrants of the low incomes from other cities and rural area. Most of municipal governments are their best trying to upgrade or reconstruct them, but difficult to carry forward as the contradictoriness between formal institution and informal institution. Formal regulations fail to guide the land and property development in urban village. Informal rules are the effective rules guiding the villager's construction behavior in urban village.

1.2 Research Purpose

The research purpose is to uncover the informal rules that influence the morphological evolution of urban village. It would try to make clear that: (1)Social characteristic and physical-social characteristic of urban village in China. (2)The common process of the evolution of urban village. (3)What kinds of informal institutions exist in urban village. What kind of informal settling institutions are there supporting the land and property development, and what specific informal rules are there referring the housing construction. (4)How those informal institutions(rules) affect the morphological evolution of rental house in urban village.

1.3 Research Methods

The study involves the disciplines of sociology, social management, urban planning, urban geography, architecture and so on. It is an interdisciplinary research. The research methods are including: information collection by internet, literature survey, field survey, information processing and graphic analysis.

1.4 Composition of the Dissertation

The dissertation is composed of the following contents. Chapter-1 is introduction. Chapter-7 is the conclusion.

Chapter-2 is a literature survey to examine the rural social composition and behavior logic in China, which are socio-cultural institution as the basement for the derivation process of informal rules in the following study.

Chapter-3 is another literature survey to examine the

informal settlement in other developing countries and why urban village are deemed as informal settlement according to the specific formal institutions in China.

Chapter-4 elaborated the field survey which has been done basing on those literature surveys mentioned above. Four items of informal settling institutions, which dominates the land and property development in urban village, are deduced as field survey findings in this chapter.

Chapter-5 is information processing and graphical analysis to elaborate the morphology of urban village within the scope of village scale. A theoretical outline of the morphology of urban village was drawn in this chapter. Via this analysis method, the social-physical character and developing process of urban village in Beijing, Guangzhou and Shenzhen were illustrated.

Chapter-6 is graphical analysis of the morphology of urban village in the scope of building scale to illustrate the effect of the informal settling institutions and specific informal rules. Eleven specific informal rules are deduced from the villagers' visible behavioral results. They are verified by facts of the graphic analysis and numeral evidence.

1.5 Research Flow

Research flow is showed in the figure-1.

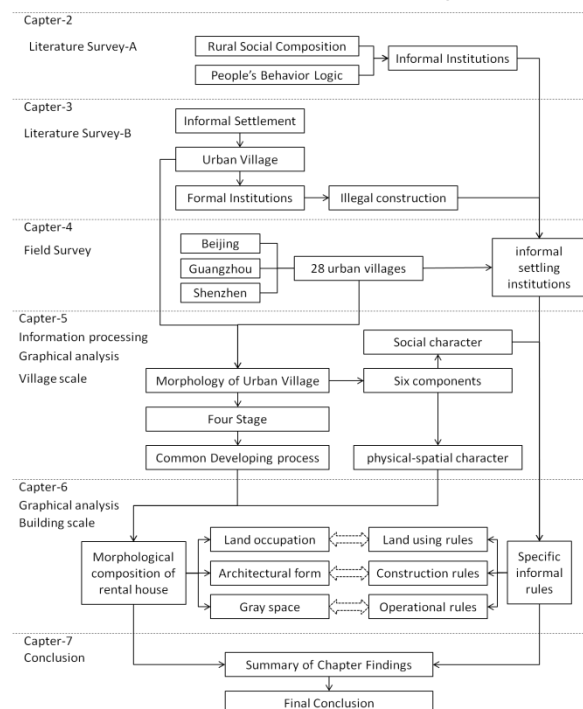


Fig. 1 Research flow

2. Literature Survey-A: Rural Social Composition and Behavior Logic in China

Rural society in China is clan-village society established upon consanguinity(血緣) and territorial relation(地緣), which is the basement of the social organization principal of ChaXuGeJu(差序格局), the differential mode of association. The villagers hold dual-identification, core family(核心家庭) and the clan(宗族) or the natural village(自然村) combined by relevant clans. That dual-identification is the starting point of behavior logic of the villagers. In that social pattern of ChaXuGeJu, the tradition of “GongSiBuFen”(公私不分) and “NeiWaiYouBie”(内外有別) are the main behavior logic for the villagers. “GongSiBuFen” is the elasticity between public and private. The boundary between the public(公) and private(私) sphere is relative, even say ambiguous. “NeiWaiYouBie” is to use different rules when interact the inners and the outers. Favor(RenQin 人情), face (MianZi 面子) and the local code are for the people inside the group, while the common rules and the national law are for those outside the group. The social and economic state in China has undergone tremendous changes since 1978. But, the kinship and territorial relationship is still the dominant interpersonal relationship among the villagers in the semi-urbanized village society, such as urban village. The boundary between public and private, between self and group, still holds the characteristic of elasticity. However, the villagers’ behavior logic has become benefit-oriented as the development of market oriented economy.

3. Literature Survey-B: Urban Village as Informal Settlement in China

As one kind of informal settlement, urban village in China has similar characteristics with informal settlements in other countries. First, they are low-cost residence for the low-incomes even mid-income groups in urban, responding to urgent need for shielding the large migrants flowing into the city as the rapid urbanization. Second, they are spontaneously developed out of the state land administration system, violating the regulation of land use and development. Third, they are dense settlements full of sub-standard buildings, which do not comply with the legal and regulatory requirements.

However, different from the informal settlement, urban village in China has its specialties due to the urban-rural dual structure of the formal institutions. First, rural land tenure system allows the villagers in urban village have the right to occupy the homesteads and dominate them. The villagers are not belongs to the urban low-income group. Second, as the independent land tenure system of rural land and urban land, it is difficult for the municipal government to incorporate the land of urban village into the administration system of urban planning. The villagers hold more autonomy to build private houses on their homesteads. Third, the storeys of

the most of rental houses in urban village are over the official standards, but lead by the market force. According to the official standards, the plot coverage and floor area ratio for the village is the same, whether is located in the high cost land or low cost land. That is less realistic to respond to the land value. The illegal buildings in urban village are attributed to the inappropriate formal regulations.

4. Field Survey: Urban Village in Beijing, Guangzhou and Shenzhen

In order to verify the results of the previous studies by other researchers and obtain first hand information and graphic data for the morphological analysis, two field surveys on 28 urban villages in Beijing, Guangzhou and Shenzhen were made by author in 2012 and 2013. The findings of the field survey are as following.



Fig. 2 28 urban villages of the field survey

The plot coverage and the floor area ratio of those urban villages in Beijing are much lower than those in Guangzhou and Shenzhen. Comparing to the cases in Guangzhou and Shenzhen, the cases in Beijing are still in the beginning stage. The cases in Shenzhen city are the most developed among those three cities.

The village committee administrating urban village is actually the organization representing the villagers’ common interest, which determines that it is not effective enough to enforce the government’s formal regulations. The village committee covers the villagers’ activities of illegal construction.

Informal settling institutions: A)the tradition of inhabiting with consanguinity and territorial relationship; B)the custom of mixing the boundary of common space and private space, C)the tradition of rural self-building and construction team, D)the social psychology of “laws cannot be used to punish the majority” and conformity.

5. Social-physical Character and Spatial Developing Process of Urban Village

In order to induce the social-physical character and spatial developing process of urban village, a theoretical outline of the morphology of urban village has been

drawn in this chapter. The morphology of urban village is decomposed as six components (static aspect) and four developing stage (dynamic aspect). Via this analysis method, the social-physical character and developing process of urban village in Beijing, Guangzhou and Shenzhen were illustrated both by information and graph which obtained from the field survey and other relevant literatures.

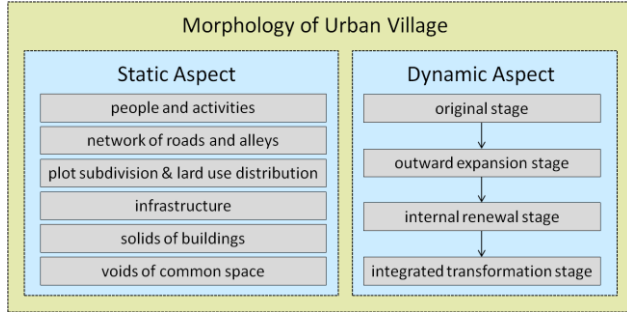


Fig. 3 Theoretical outline of the morphological composition of urban village

Social-physical character: The people in urban village are including the group of indigenous villagers and the group of floating people. The indigenous villagers play a dominant role in urban village. The activities of illegal construction and informal business in urban village are quite active. The road network in the old area of the village tends to be irregular and complex, while regular planned a simple grid pattern in new developed area. Land use in urban village is actually mixed with residence and commerce, leading the vivid atmosphere of daily life. The infrastructure in most village is lag behind other common urban spaces. The buildings in urban village are gradual evolved from private self-living houses into multi-storey rental houses. The voids of common space in urban village are commonly occupied and compressed by the villagers' house, while the open space in front of the ancestor hall is well reserved.

Common developing process: As the rapid urban sprawl, many traditional villages in suburbs are forced to become urban village. The farm land of the village is deprived by the municipal government. Villagers seize the time to expand their field of actual possession before the arrival of official urban development. Although the total amount of their territory becomes less and less squeezing by urban space, the built-up area of urban village always gradually expands outward. Besides outward expansion, the internal renewal also occurs inside the village. Small size self-living houses were gradually rebuilt as big volumes of rental houses. The plot coverage and floor area ratio of the village dramatically rise. Finally, most of urban villages are forced to face the fate to be transformed by the government.

No matter outward expansion or internal renewal, it is the behavioral result of rental houses construction made by each individual of villager guiding by the informal

settling institutions. From this study, it can confirm that the construction process of rental house has most impact on the morphological evolution of urban village. Leaving aside the spatial structure of the whole village to observe in its components, it could be considered that the essence of the morphological evolution of urban village is actually a construction process of rental houses implemented by each individual of indigenous villager.

6. Informal Rules and Morphological Evolution of Rental House in Urban Village

The morphological composition of rental house here is observed as three aspects, the land occupation of rental house (LO), the architectural form of rental house (AF), and the gray space of rental house (GS). LO and AF refer to the constructing process, GS refer to operation stage. The relationship between those informal settling institutions and the morphology of rental house are illustrated in the table as following.

Table - 1 Relationship between morphological composition of rental house and informal settling institutions

		Informal Settling Institutions			
		A Consanguinity & Territorial Relationship	B Ambiguity of Boundary between Public and Private	C Self-building & Construction Team	D Mentality of "FaBuZeZhong" and conformity
Morphological Composition of Rental Houses	Land Occupation	○	○	○	○
	Architectur al Form	○	○	○	○
	Gray Space	△	○	×	○
Remark		○ correlated, △ basically correlated, × uncorrelated			

Corresponding to three morphological composition of rental house mentioned above, more specific informal rules were deduced from the villagers' visible behavior results. They were classified as three categories, such as land using rules, construction rules, and operational rules. Those specific rules and their visible results are showed in the table as following.

Table - 2 Informal rules and its corresponding visible results

Informal Rules			Results
Land using rules	one family not only one homestead		illegal land occupation
	site extension when rebuilding		informal land occupation
	entrance steps extending outside homestead		informal land occupation
Construction rules	overhanging	reserve accessing space in the alley	most of rental houses are heavy box with light foot, outline of floor plan out offsetting from second floor
		overhangs beyond the common land	
		overhangs as wide and high as possible	
	vertical expansion	the later constructing the higher can build	most of rental house are illegal building, much higher than the official standards constrained
		build loft or implicit floor	
		adding on the top of existing house	
Operational rules	private in public: gray area can utilized as private owned		business intruding to common space
	public on private: public facilities can set on private walls		street lamp, cables, signal transfer set on private walls

The morphological evolution of rental houses in urban village is an evolution that the self-living private houses less than 3 storeys are gradually expands both on horizontal direction and vertical direction and become as multi-layers even high-rise rental apartment. On one hand, the horizontal expansion of overhanging could be considered as informal because there is no clear formal regulation as constraint. On the other hand, the vertical

expansion is illegal behavior as the municipal government of each city has its own technical indicators to control the floor number of villagers' house. However, as "the law cannot be used to punish the majority", illegal behavior of vertical expansion becomes a tacit approved phenomenon in urban village.

A set of specific informal rules is spontaneously evolving as the guidance for housing construction in the village. The specific informal rules are identified by graphic analysis and numeral evidences of rental houses in urban villages in Beijing, Guangzhou and Shenzhen. Those specific rules are actually the behavior guidance for the villagers to solve the social interaction problem-how to deal with the common land and space in the village. Instead of the formal regulations, the informal rules are the actualized and effective rules in urban village.

7. Conclusion

The findings of the study are concluded in those aspects as following.

1) Social characteristics of urban village

Like traditional village, urban village in China is still a clan-village society established upon consanguinity(血緣) and territorial relation(地緣), which is the basement of the social organization principal of ChaXuGeju(差序格局). The elastic character of interpersonal relationship still remains, and elastic boundary between private(私) and public(公) is also reserved. The indigenous villagers play a dominant role in urban village. The land and property development in urban village is dominated by indigenous villagers, rather than by floating people.

2) Physical-spatial characteristics of urban village

A theoretical outline to decomposing the morphological composition of urban village has been drawn to observe the social-physical structure and character of urban village, and its spatial developing process. The morphological characteristics of rental house in urban village are illustrated both by graphic evidence and numeral evidence. Five physical-spatial characters of the urban villages in Beijing, Guangzhou and Shenzhen are found by author in this study, such as high-density, spontaneity, accessibility, centrality and expansivity.

3) Informal settling institution and specific informal rules

Four informal settling institutions and eleven specific informal rules, which influence the morphological evolution of urban village, especially the morphological evolution of rental house in urban village, are deduced and identified by the facts of the graphic analysis and numeral evidences.