Building Socialist Shanghai: Workers' New Villages and the Socialist Right to the City

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Abstract

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This dissertation uses changes in Shanghai's urban geography as a lens to study the processes and meanings of urban revolution for the daily lives of workers in the 1950s. Using a large body of archival documents, I focus especially on the construction of so-called Workers' New Villages, and particularly Caoyang New Village in Shanghai's Putuo District, which in 1951 became the first such model socialist community constructed in China. These New Villages were ambitious plans to provide industrial workers and their families with comfortable, hygienic, and modern housing with easy access to services such as food markets, schools, and cultural centers, as well as transportation services to the factories where they worked. These projects were intended to use spatial reorganization as way of serving both the daily needs of workers and the new industrial goals of the People's Republic of China—two projects which the political rhetoric of the time suggested were inextricable from each other. While by most accounts the construction of New Villages in Shanghai failed to solve Shanghai's housing shortages in the

1950s, they represented a self-conscious effort to use a combination of material construction and ideological training to shape an idealized notion of the working class that would loyally contribute to national goals for industrial production. I demonstrate that during the Maoist period the Chinese revolution was constantly vacillating between models of building socialism that highlighted the importance of state planning and those that emphasized the bottom-up mobilization of the masses. Despite claims to the contrary, neither of these approaches ever truly encouraged the poor and working classes to organize their own communities.

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Introduction

When the French historian Marie-Claire Bergère had the opportunity to visit Caoyang New Village in Shanghai in 1957 she seems to have been unimpressed by the experience. "Thirty thousand people are living in these small gray cubes, linked by paths bordered by young trees. We visited one apartment: three tiny rooms, inhabited by a family of six. On the landing, there was a communal kitchen used by three housewives in the building."[1] Caoyang was the first of the so-called "Workers' New Villages" (*gongren xincun*) that were constructed across Shanghai in the 1950s as part of an effort to improve the housing conditions of the scores of destitute Shanghai residents living in unsanitary, ramshackle slums at the time of liberation in 1949.

When I first visited Caoyang while on a research trip in the spring of 2016, I was struck by how distinctive it appears from the rest of Shanghai. To be sure, the two and three-story apartment buildings appear as "small gray cubes." But they are also built along winding roads leading to a central park where residents—some of whom are retired workers whose families have lived in Caoyang since the 1950s or 1960s—exercise and chat every evening. This layout serves to create a sense of a distinctive, self-contained community in a sea of high-rises, especially to a foreign observer such as I myself. While Shanghai is full of both old housing stock and apartment complexes that feel isolated from each other (indeed this type of segmentation is a defining element of twentieth-century Chinese urbanism[2]), Caoyang stands out by combining copious green space with a winding layout that evokes the airy layout of planned

[1] Marie-Claire Bergère, *Shanghai: China's Gateway to Modernity* (Stanford: Stanford University Press, 2009) 380.
[2] Post-1949 housing in urban China has been defined by the "work unit" (*danwei*) where housing was arranged according to peoples' places of employment. Under this system, work units were assigned funding to construct blocks of housing, though rarely as spacious or with as many services as Caoyang. Post reforms, developers have continued to build apartments in segmented blocks, though the construction process has become increasingly privatized and driven by real estate speculation and is less tied to employment. This process will be discussed in much greater detail throughout, especially in the conclusion. See: David Bray, *Social Space and Governance in Urban China* (Stanford: Stanford University Press, 2005); and Duanfang Lu, *Remaking Chinese Urban Form: Modernity, Scarcity and Space, 1949-2005* (Taylor and Francis, 2006).

communities in American (inner) suburbs. Its "gray cubes" are situated in an environment that I can only describe as "pleasant." Its geography presents an interesting contrast to Shanghai's other urban forms, whether remnants of the colonial period or the ever-growing, steel and glass monoliths of China's new urban order. In other words, Caoyang and other New Villages appear to be distinctively from the 1950s and 1960s. They are something different, of a time when urban development meant improving the housing conditions of the poor and working classes, not displacing those groups in favor of luxury housing complexes and shopping malls.

Reflecting on her visit and the impact of the New Villages in 2008, Bergère argued: "they [the New Villages] formed a belt of gray and gloomy suburbs. But they did at least fulfill the purpose for which they were intended: they housed as many families as possible at the lowest possible cost."[3] While Bergère might have been unimpressed by their appearance, she acknowledges that these New Villages represented the main spatial transformation of Shanghai in the period of high socialism under Mao.

In this dissertation, I provide the first, English-language study of the New Villages as a revolutionary urban project. I use their planning, construction, and experience as a window onto the processes and meanings of a particular moment of socialist revolution in the formerly colonial space of Shanghai.

From Decolonization to Building Caoyang

When the Communists came to power in Shanghai in 1949 they faced the task of governing a city whose geography had been shaped by over one hundred years of colonialism. Shanghai had been "opened up" at the end of the first Opium War in 1842, when Britain forced the Qing Dynasty to grant foreigners rights of extraterritoriality in Shanghai (as well as four

[3] Ibid. 381.

other port cities) with the signing of the Treaty of Nanjing. Shortly thereafter, imperialist powers such as Britain, France, the United States, and eventually Japan would directly control sections of the city—the so-called International Settlement and French Concession. At the time of the Treaty of Nanjing, Shanghai was a relatively important port and market town with a population of about 200,000. (For comparison's sake, in 1882 Beijing's urban area had an estimated population of 1,085,155).[4] Though Shanghai had not directly traded with the West prior to the opium wars (that trade had been monopolized by Guangzhou), it had been a center of trade between the Jiangnan region—which produced cotton and woven fabrics—and Japan and Southeast Asia. As such, even before it was "opened up" by the opium wars, it was already connected to regional and, ultimately, global trade networks.[5]

Foreign imperialism would transform the city from a key local port for the lower Yangzi region into an important node in global capitalism. In the late-nineteenth and early-twentieth centuries, Shanghai became the major hub for the circulation of commodities in between China and the rest of the world, with half of all China's imports and exports going through the city by the 1930s.[6] In addition to becoming a transport hub, Shanghai during the colonial period also became China's first center of industrialization, especially after the 1895 Treaty of Shimonoseki formally allowed foreign capitalists to establish factories in the concession areas. Both transnational companies such as the British-American Tobacco Company and Chinese capitalists like the Guo family who owned the Wing On Department Store and the Wing On cotton mills helped turn Shanghai into China's preeminent industrial center. This industrialization drove

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[4] Han Guanghui 韩光辉, *Beijing lishi renkou dili* 北京历史人口地理 (Beijing: Beijing daxue chubanshe, 1996) 120.

[5] Marie-Claire Bergère, Janet Lloyd, trans., *Shanghai: China's Gateway to Modernity* (Stanford, CA: Stanford University Press, 2009) 2-27.

[6] Jeffrey N. Wasserstrom, "Is Global Shanghai "Good to Think"? Thoughts on Comparative History and Post-Socialist Cities," *Journal of World History* 18, no. 2 (2007): 209.

massive population growth through both reproduction and the influx of people from the countryside coming to Shanghai to seek their fortunes, or at least a marginally better life, by working in Shanghai's developing economy. Migrants settled in both the foreign concessions and, increasingly, the Chinese-administered parts of the city located around those regions. By 1910, the concessions held 616,000 people and the Chinese city, 672,000. On the eve of the communist takeover in 1949, the population of the entire city had further expanded to around 5 million, all under control of Chiang Kai-shek's Nationalists. (Extraterritorial rights formally ended in 1943). By that time, Shanghai had transformed into China's preeminent center of urban industry, society, and culture.

Figure 1: A map of Shanghai in 1937. The colored regions indicate the foreign concessions of the International Settlement in pink and the French Concession in Yellow. The Chinese-administered city is the region surrounding the shaded areas (Source: Virtual Shanghai).[7]

[7] Christian Henriot and Nicolas Bozon, "The City of Shanghai in 1937," *Virtual Shanghai*, 2006, https://www.virtualshanghai.net/Maps/eAtlas?ID=300.

Shanghai's history of imperialist influence produced a unique colonial situation that shaped the lives of its residents. Much scholarly attention has been paid to the hybrid cultural and social forms created through the experience of "colonial modernity" or "semicolonialism" in Shanghai.[8] These scholars have unpacked how the Chinese experience of colonialism in Shanghai shaped a unique "Shanghai style" (*haipai*) in cultural forms, but also in modes of production and consumption, where Chinese people shaped distinctive forms of modernity through interaction with the foreign. Writers like Mu Shiying and Shi Zhecun experimented with new modernist literary styles to represent the rhythms of urban while "modern girls" window-shopped along the famous Nanjing Road and labor activists struggled to organize for better conditions in factories.

Imperialism did not just reshape Shanghai's cultural and social life, but also the production of urban space. The colonial administrations of the International Settlement and the French Concession—the Shanghai Municipal Council and the Municipal Administrative Council, respectively—oversaw the development of Shanghai into a "modern" city defined by a capitalist real estate market where housing was treated as a commodity.[9] They also instituted civic administrations to oversee infrastructure development, policing, cultural institutions, and public health. Even the parts of the city outside of the foreign concessions could not help but be

[8] For outstanding studies of colonial modern Shanghai see: Leo Ou-fan Lee, *Shanghai Modern: The Flowering of a New Urban Culture in China, 1930-1945* (Cambridge, Mass.: Harvard University Press, 1999); Meng Yue, *Shanghai and the Edges of Empires* (Minneapolis: University of Minnesota Press, 2006); Yeh Wen-Hsin, *Shanghai Splendor Economic Sentiments and the Making of Modern China, 1843-1949* (Berkeley: University of California Press, 2007).

[9] Here I am drawing on David Harvey's arguments about the connection between capitalism, urbanization, and real estate speculation as well as the vast theoretical and historical literature connecting the condition of modernity to capitalism. Among many others, the following works make all of these connections: David Harvey, *Rebel Cities: From the Right to the City to the Urban Revolution* (New York: Verso, 2012); David Harvey, *The Condition of Postmodernity: An Enquiry into the Origins of Cultural Change* (Cambridge, Mass.: Blackwell, 1990), Marshall Berman, *All That is Solid Melts into Air: The Experience of Modernity* (New York: Simon and Schuster, 1982); Samuel Liang, *Mapping Modernity in Shanghai: Space, Gender, and Visual Culture in the Sojourners' City 1853–98* (New York: Routledge, 2010).

shaped by the impact of imperialism. For instance, when Chinese authorities first established public health authorities, they modeled them after those in the concessions.

While from British or American imperialists' perspectives such contributions might be presented as "progressive," colonial Shanghai was ultimately a city defined by vast gaps between rich and poor. As imperialist and capitalist elites sipped cocktails in opulent buildings built with funds made in the opium trade, millions of Shanghai's working poor lived in squalid slums (an estimated 1.15 million in 1949 to be precise).[10] The Chinese Communists saw overturning these unequal legacies of imperialism as one of its primary aims. For Mao Zedong, China had "fallen behind" in the world "due entirely to oppression and exploitation by foreign imperialism and domestic reactionary governments."[11] In response to this oppression, the Communists set to work destroying the institutions and symbols of foreign imperialism as well as the pre-1949 Nationalist regime. This was not just a process of decolonial destruction, but also one of constructing a new society that was on the road to socialism. This dissertation takes this aspect of construction quite literally by focusing on "building socialism" as a project that entailed the reshaping of urban (and non-urban) space as well as the reshaping of urban residents.[12]

In Shanghai, this dual process of decolonial destruction and socialist construction was especially visible because of the direct colonial control that had shaped its urban geography as well as its social relations and culture industry. Party cadres and government bureaucrats sought to transform Shanghai, socially and politically, from a colonial powerhouse that had been extoled

[10]Luo Gang 罗岗, "Kongjian de shengchan yu kongjian de zhuanyi" 空间的生产与空间的转移：上海工人新村与社会主义城市经验, *Huadong shifan daxue xuebao (zhixue shehui kexue ban)* 华东师范大学学报（哲学社会科学版) 36, no. 6 (2007): 93.

[11] Mao Zedong, "The Chinese People Have Stood Up," *Marxists Internet Archive*, Accessed March 31, 2020, https://www.marxists.org/reference/archive/mao/selected-works/volume-5/mswv5_01.htm

[12]Here I owe a debt to Stephen Kotkin, who discusses the construction of "Stalinism as a civilization" through projects that included the construction of workers' housing complexes in the industrial city of Magnitogorsk. See: Stephen Kotkin, *Magnetic Mountain: Stalinism as a Civilization* (Berkeley: University of California, 1997).

as "The Paris of the East" prior to 1949 to a socialist city. Shanghai's socialist urbanism aimed at restructuring the lives of workers. This process unavoidably involved repurposing former colonial spaces for new symbolic and practical socialist purposes. For instance, the grounds of the colonial race track intended for use by the colonial elites were transformed into People's Square and People's Park in the heart of the city, designed for use by everyone.

Those seeking to build socialism in Shanghai faced two major obstacles. The first consisted of the general conditions of economic scarcity and political turmoil in the wake of years of war. The second was the central government's political and strategic decision to deemphasize development in major coastal cities like Shanghai in favor of focusing on distributing resources to smaller cities and the countryside. For example, the First Five Year Plan initiated 156 large-scale industrial projects with Soviet assistance, but none were planned for Shanghai.[13] These economic conditions and political orientations meant that there was no grand redesign of Shanghai to transform it into a visually obvious monument to Chinese socialism. Instead, government officials and city planners turned to the seemingly humbler goal of providing Shanghai's residents with more sanitary living conditions. This project was realized in the 1950s and 1960s through the construction the Workers' New Villages, which were housing complexes designed to provide industrial workers and their families with comfortable, hygienic, and modern housing with easy access to services such as food markets, schools, and cultural centers, as well as transportation services to the factories where they worked.

This dissertation focuses on the construction and development of new residential housing complexes generally, and the Workers' New Villages—especially Caoyang—more specifically as a lens to analyze the processes and meanings of urban revolution for the daily lives of workers in the 1950s. I assert that these projects reorganized the formerly colonial space of Shanghai to

[13] Marie-Claire Bergère, *Shanghai: China's Gateway to Modernity*, 368.

serve both the daily needs of workers and the new industrial goals of the People's Republic of China. Through this reorganization they helped shape a model of state-centered socialist revolution that emphasized the role of the state in "serving the people" (*wei renmin fuwu*). This "service" did not just move from the state to the people, however. Instead, the rhetoric and practice of the New Villages were designed to show residents that their interests intersected perfectly with state goals of industrial production, which in turn Maoist theory framed as deriving from studying the needs of revolutionary classes. As Rebecca Karl argues, to "serve the people" meant both a class alliance between workers and intellectuals as well as "a materialist-ideological problem of producing a new social formation altogether."[14] This "serve the people" framework suggested that the more people threw their energies into production, the more New Villages could be built and the more people could enjoy improved standards of living. At least according to party propagandists, the goals of the state, individuals, and "the people" all fused into one at sites such as Caoyang.

Of course nothing ever goes according to plan (if that cliché is correct). This dissertation will unravel how even at the height of their construction, the model of revolution embodied at New Villages like Caoyang was always under threat from shifting political winds—for instance, the struggle between Maoist calls for mass mobilization through adherence to the "from the masses, to the masses" dictum of the "mass line" (*qunzhong luxian)* and efforts to use the developing state and party bureaucracy to carefully manage economic development. The New Villages sat at the uneasy tension between these two strands of revolutionary thought and would at times be celebrated as an example of how the new state served the people and at others criticized as a dangerous and inefficient strand of bureaucratism. In addition to addressing these

[14] Rebecca Karl, "Serve the People," in *Afterlives of Chinese Communism : Political Concepts from Mao to Xi,* eds.Christian P. Sorace, Ivan Franceschini, and Nicholas Loubere, (New York: Verso Books, 2019), 250.

theoretical debates, this dissertation explores how the New Village model was constantly contested and thrown into question by the differing ideas and actions of interested parties from city planners, to party cadres, to the residents themselves.

While by most accounts the construction of New Villages in Shanghai failed to solve Shanghai's housing shortages in the 1950s, I examine the promises and problems of state-sponsored efforts at urban planning in China and how those projects of spatial organization were constitutive of ideas of socialist modernity.[15] Taking ideas from modernist planning discourses around the world, the construction of New Villages was a self-conscious project to use a combination of material construction and ideological training to shape an idealized notion of the working class that would loyally contribute to national goals for industrial production. I show that this project reached its zenith in the 1950s when Caoyang hosted numerous foreign delegations from both socialist and capitalist countries including the Soviet Union, India, Britain, and the United States. During this period, the community was represented in popular media as being populated by contented workers and their families, all committed to the cause of constructing socialism. At the same time, within a context of economic scarcity in the 1950s and 1960s, conditions in the New Villages never matched expectations and residents often acted as

[15] Though there has not been a comprehensive study of the New Villages conducted in English, my work builds on the burgeoning literature in Chinese that has identified them as unique revolutionary spaces. Both Yang Chen and Luo Gang have argued that Caoyang and the other New Villages were attempts to use urban space to shape more collective lives. I agree with this general argument, but also attempt to assess the ultimate efficacy of these attempts at spatial collectivization. I diverge from Yang and Luo in my efforts to compare the New Village-model of socialist construction with other projects to both "build" socialism and to solve Shanghai's housing crisis. Specifically, I compare them with efforts that highlighted the importance of a bottom-up, "mass line" approach to urban as opposed to direct state-led housing construction. See: Yang Chen 杨晨, "Shehui zhuyi chengshi de kongjian shijian (1949-1978)" 社会主义城市的空间实践：上海工人新村（1949-1978), *Renwen dili 人文地理* 26，no. 3 (2011): 37-40; Yang Chen 杨晨, "Richang shenghuo kongjian de zhiduhua—20 shiji 50 niandai shanghai gongren xincun de kongjian fenxi kuangjia"日常生活空间的制度化— 20 世纪 50 年代上海工人新村的空间分析框架, *Tongji daxue xueban (shehui kexueban)* 同济大学学版（社会科学版）20, no. 6 (2009): 38-46; Luo Gang 罗岗. "Kongjian de shengchan yu kongjian de zhuanyi" 空间的生产与空间的转移：上海工人新村与社会主义城市经验. *Huadong shifan daxue xuebao (zhixue shehui kexue ban)* 华东师范大学学报（哲学社会科学版) 36, no. 6 (2007): 91-95.

not quite model socialist subjects. Furthermore, there was constant tension between the state-centered model of socialist construction and planning represented by the New Villages and calls from opposing voices in the party and government to rely more heavily on the energies of "the masses" to further socialist revolution from the bottom up.

Analyzing the New Villages as a Revolutionary Process

My research makes two interventions. First, I use the lens of urban planning to argue that the 1949 revolution did not mark a clean break from China's past experience of modernization under capitalism and imperialism. In so doing, I will build on scholarship on how early-twentieth century Shanghai came to exist within a formation of colonial modernity, meaning the creation of new economic and cultural forms within the context of colonial domination.[16] Important as this pioneering scholarship is, it has failed to address the fate of colonial modernity under socialism. As such, this scholarship has sometimes suggested that the communist revolution was not itself a modernist process that was formed by "colonial modernity" at the same time that it was explicitly anticolonial. Following the call of scholars such as Zhang Jishun to reevaluate 1949 as a boundary for Shanghai's history, I will focus on how aspects of colonial modernity continued to haunt the new social and political forms of socialism.[17] These consistencies should not be taken to mean that socialist modernity was indistinguishable from colonial or capitalist modernity. While both these social forms embraced similar notions of linear progress, Chinese communists followed other Marxists in critiquing the way that capitalism put the tools of

[16] Joshua Goldstein, *Drama Kings: Players and Publics in the Re-creation of Peking Opera, 1870-1937* (Berkeley: University of California Press, 2007); Shu-mei Shih, *The Lure of the Modern: Writing Modernism in Semicolonial China, 1917-1937* (Berkeley: University of California Press, 2001); Tani E. Barlow, ed. *Formations of Colonial Modernity in East Asia* (Durham: Duke University Press, 1997).
[17] Zhang Jishun, "Shanghai around 1949: Continuity or Rupture?" *Journal of Modern Chinese History* 10, no. 1 (2016): 100-05.

modernist development, such as technological advances, in the service of exploiting workers so as to further the expansion of capital. Communists from at least Marx on have never shunned the technological, social, and cultural advancements of capitalism; instead, their revolutionary project has been to create a world where the exploited of the world were in control of the means of economic production and, thus, their own futures.[18] In China, New Villages like Caoyang exemplified these tensions because their planners designed them as distinctive socialist urban forms befitting a revolution that served the poor and working classes at the same time that they drew on global discourses of architecture and urban planning.

China's communist revolution was explicitly anti-colonial; but the PRC's project was not merely a negative critique of the preceding colonial period with its rich forms of experimentation and cultural cosmopolitanism, forms which followed on the heels of the material, spiritual, and intellectual colonial violence. I show that the planners of Caoyang and other New Villages adopted ideas from global discourses of modernist planning common to both capitalist and communist states in the post-WWII world at the same time that they participated in an effort at socialist construction in the midst of an anticolonial revolution. I show that it is difficult to disarticulate threads of modernist and socialist planning, in either the capitalist or the communist worlds. Shanghai's urban planners and government emphasized "studying the Soviet experience" as they adopted planning ideas that might have been articulated in the Soviet Union, but had more complicated genealogies stretching across the world. For instance, Caoyang's chief designer, Wang Dingzeng, suggested his ideas were inspired at once by Soviet models of the "Super Block," the British "Garden City," and the American "Neighborhood Unit"—concepts which themselves all had related origins. Building socialism in Shanghai did not emerge out of

[18] David Harvey argues that if Marx's project was to be successful then "the progressive side of bourgeois history (particularly its creation of enormous productive powers) had to be fully acknowledged and the positive outcomes of Enlightenment rationality fully appropriated. See: Harvey, *The Condition of Postmodernity*, 15.

nothing, but was situated within global discourses of modernity, modernization, and modernist planning.

To what extent the New Villages can be interpreted as a revolutionary effort to use the technical tools of modernity to further human emancipation is a question that shapes my second intervention. Specifically, I build on recent works that use the production of space as a theoretical vantage point from which to analyze the nature of revolution in China. Discussing the meanings of student activism in modern Chinese history and revolutionary practice, Fabio Lanza has drawn on Henri Lefebvre's assertion that the production of space exists in the tension between the abstract space of the (capitalist) state—which includes the designs of urban planners and architects—the lived practices of its subjects.[19] David Bray has similarly used Lefebvre's analysis of space to discuss the formation of the Work Unit, or *danwei*, system as a peculiar form of Chinese urbanism during the Maoist and reform periods.[20] I also adopt Lefebvre's idea that while state planners might see themselves as the arbiters of the layout and function of different spaces, the spaces of cities will always actually be the product of a combination of the dreams of planners, the activities of individuals, and the wider social relationships of a given society. In this

[19]Fabio Lanza, *Behind the Gate: Inventing Students in Beijing* (New York: Columbia University Press, 2010) 7. See also: Henri Lefebvre, *The Production of Space* (Maiden, MA: Blackwell Publishing, 1991).

[20] Though Bray acknowledges Lefebvre as a starting point, he ultimately argues that Lefebvre's analysis is too "simplistic" for focusing on the state. Instead, he embraces Michel Foucault's concept of governmentality for its focus on the "complex interests involved in the development and implementation of spatial interventions." Throughout his work, Bray emphasizes the importance of various spatial discourses in shaping socialist subjectivities. I agree with and build on many of Bray's arguments, but I disagree with his assertion that Marxist analyses of space in relation to the state are "too simplistic," and instead am of the opinion that Foucault's concept of governmentality flattens out power relations in his efforts to avoid causality. In general, I am skeptical of "postmodern" theory's disavowal of causality and the possibility of pointing to material forces when analyzing society. Though attention to the meanings and power of urban planning "discourses" is crucial to my project, I take the position that it is important to search for the sources of such discourses—the representations of reality that was the work of modernist planning—in wider social changes across the world. In the absence of such materialist explanations, Marxist or otherwise, one is left with the disturbing and ironic conclusion that the representations that postmodernists claim define modern governmental and disciplinary power emerged *ex nihilo*, creating an oddly godlike view of figures like urban planners. See: David Bray, *Social Space and Governance in Urban China* (Stanford: Stanford University Press, 2005) 12-13; Michel Foucault, *Security, Territory, Population: Lectures at the College de France, 1977-78* (New York: Palgrave Macmillan, 2007).

framing, space itself becomes an object of analysis that reveals the social and political relationships of a given society, serving, as it does, both to facilitate particular modes of production and as a tool of political control and domination.[21] For Lefebvre, "social relations, which are concrete abstractions, have no real existence save in and through space. Their underpinning is spatial. In each particular case, the connection between this underpinning and the relations it supports calls for analysis."[22] This dissertation analyzes the spaces of the New Villages as not merely creations of planners or engineers, but rather as both the product and the producer of relationships between the state and the people it purported to serve in socialist Shanghai.

Bray's work in particular is part of the burgeoning literature on the post-1949 history of Chinese urban planning and architecture. Many of these works take a long view of Chinese urbanism in the twentieth century and discuss how the Maoist period was one where most urban planning was done by individual work-units.[23] In this scheme, city-level plans were ultimately always undercut by a system where work-units did much of the actual urban construction. Samuel Liang, for one, has identified how this program shifted in the reform period, when cities such as Shanghai began to produce plans to attract both state and private investment and development.[24]

These works have done much to sketch out the history of China's urbanization since 1949. I seek to combine these analyses of shifting planning practices with an attention to contestations in the production of space at the micro-level in order to analyze the construction of

[21] Lefbvre, 26.
[22] Lefebvre, 404.
[23] Duanfang Lu, *Remaking Chinese Urban Form;* Peter G. Rowe, and Seng Kuan, *Architectural Encounters with Essence and Form in Modern China* (Cambridge, Mass.: MIT Press, 2002); Shuishan Yu, *Chang'an Avenue and the Modernization of Chinese Architecture* (Seattle: University of Washington Press, 2013); Samuel Y. Liang, "Planning and Its Discontents : Contradictions and Continuities in Remaking China's Great Cities, 1950-2010," *Urban History* 40, no. 3 (2013): 530-53.
[24] Samuel Y. Liang, *Remaking China's Great Cities* (New York: Routledge, 2014) 23-26.

Shanghai's New Villages—and especially how this process played out at Caoyang—as a revolutionary process that embodied many of the tensions in the revolution more generally. After years of imperialism and war, Chinese communists faced questions of how to build socialism in a country that had only experienced capitalism as a result of imperialist invasion in coastal cities like Shanghai. Was this to be an urban, proletarian revolution or a rural, peasant one? Should private industry be immediate expropriated or exploited to develop the "productive powers?" Should the focus be on technocratic, state planning or unleashing the energies of the masses? In addressing these questions, I analyze Maoism in relation Marxist and Marxist-Leninist theory.[25] Interpreting the New Villages as a form of revolutionary urbanization that also de-emphasized the building of dense, industrial cities has proved particularly revealing in thinking through both the theory and practice of Maoist thought, which were often in contradiction with each other.

I demonstrate that during the Maoist period the Chinese revolution was constantly vacillating between models of building socialism that highlighted the importance of state planning and those that emphasized the self-reliance of the masses. My focus on the specific processes of socialist urbanization allows me to show that it was at moments when state-directed political campaigns were their most intense, such as the Great Leap Forward, that the focus of urban planning in Shanghai pivoted from an emphasis on state-planning to encouraging residents to remake their own homes. These two models of Chinese socialism can be generally characterized as: 1) a Stalinist-influenced approach emphasizing central planning and heavy industry and 2) a more specifically anti-urban approach emphasizing the "mass line" and the will of the impoverished masses as the motive force of revolution. The tensions between these

[25] Specifically, I build on the well-established work of Marxist (broadly defined) scholars such as Maurice Meisner and Arif Dirlik as well as new trends in the study of the history of the People's Republic of China that attempt to examine the history of Chinese communism with an eye to it role within global communist and revolutionary thought. The volume of essays *Afterlives of Chinese Communism: Political Concepts from Mao to Xi* provides an introduction to the scholars pioneering these approaches.

methods marked approaches towards technical and scientific knowledge during the Maoist period more generally. According to Sigrid Schmalzer, party cadres worked to reconcile the knowledge of technocratic experts with a revolution that was ostensibly driven by mass mobilization. "They would overturn 'technocratic' approaches promoted by scientific elites and the 'capitalist roaders'; instead, they would place 'politics in command.'"[26] In terms of urban planning and architecture, this process meant critiquing—and then ultimately abandoning during the Cultural Revolution—efforts to rely on government resources to build new housing complexes. Despite claims to the contrary, both state-led housing construction and calls to "rely on the masses" failed to either solve the housing crisis or allow the poor and working classes to organize their own urban communities.

Maurice Meisner, among others, characterized Maoist mass mobilization as more "utopian" in its emphasis on the energies of the people as a driver of revolution over the inexorable processes of history emphasized in "orthodox," and "scientific," Marxist-Leninism, which emphasized the role of the state in guiding transitions to first socialism and then, eventually, communism.[27] However, I advance the argument that even state-centered socialist construction should be considered utopian in the sense of imagining new visions of the future, and then attempting to realize those visions in the world. According to anthropologist David Graeber, this type of utopianism is the foundation of modern bureaucracies and has often only been realized through coercion and the threat of violence.[28] Adopting these concepts, I term the

[26] Sigrid Schmalzer, *Red Revolution, Green Revolution: Scientific Farming in Socialist China* (Chicago: The University of Chicago Press, 2016) 4.
[27] Maurice J. Meisner, *Marxism, Maoism, and Utopianism: Eight Essays* (Madison: University of Wisconsin Press, 1982).
[28] David Graeber, *The Utopia of Rules: On Technology, Stupidity, and the Secret Joys of Bureaucracy* (New York: Melville House, 2015) 92-93.

building of the New Villages as a "bureaucratic utopian" mode of constructing socialism that existed in tension with (equally utopian) calls to "rely on the masses" in the 1950s and 1960s.

Ultimately, I define the production of Chinese socialist space as a process that had begun to do the work of erasing the legacies of colonialism, but in its state-directed nature was doomed to fail to deliver on the theoretical promises of Maoist socialism. Specifically, Maoist Shanghai never became a place where the poor and working classes truly became "the masters of the country." To return to Lefebvre's terms, the Chinese revolution never entailed a transformation of society that presupposed "a collective ownership and management of space founded on the permanent participation of the 'interested parties', with their multiple, varied, and even contradictory interests."[29] Even the model worker residents of Caoyang never controlled both the means of production and the means of producing space. This failure ultimately allowed for the quick reemergence of the speculative real estate market that has defined post-economic reform-era Shanghai.

Chapter Outline

Chapter 1 provides a genealogy of planning ideas that were circulating globally in the late-nineteenth and early-twentieth centuries and then goes on to analyze key documents written by Wang Dingzeng, Caoyang's planner, about the construction of Caoyang in relation to this narrative. Thus, I will begin to place urban planning in 1950s Shanghai in relation to its contemporaneous relatives, theoretical and actual, from around the world. This chapter will also place the development of revolutionary planning thought within the historical context of a socialist revolution that transformed Shanghai from a colonial city to a socialist one ostensibly designed to serve the workers.

[29] Lefebvre, 422.

Chapters 2 and 3 use sources from the Shanghai Municipal Archives to provide a narrative of the construction of residential housing complexes throughout the 1950s. Chapter two focuses on the construction of Workers' New Villages in Shanghai's near suburbs—especially the first and most celebrated of these, Caoyang—during the early 1950s as embodying the emergence of particular notions of urbanization that emphasized the role of the state in providing workers with housing. Chapter three analyzes the mid to late-1950s as a time that saw the rise of cellular, "work unit urbanism" at the same time that municipal authorities produced extensive plans for redesigning all of Shanghai as a socialist city. These chapters cover the shift from building New Villages in Shanghai's inner suburbs to focusing on building "Satellite Towns" in more far-flung locations such as Minhang. Both chapters focus on the 1950s as the high point of government-directed, bureaucratic utopian housing construction during the Maoist period. It would not be until after Mao's death and the economic reforms of the late-1970s that housing construction would recover the pace set in the 1950s.

Chapter 4 addresses representations of Caoyang in propaganda sources of the 1950s and early 1960s as well as the daily experiences of residents. It demonstrates that the symbolic meanings for Shanghai's New Villages and their residents existed in a complicated and often contradictory relationship with the material circumstances of life in those model communities. Here my focus is specifically on Caoyang because, as the first New Village constructed, it generated the widest array of propaganda representations and archival sources. This chapter argues that propaganda representations of the New Villages to construct ideological values were analogous to using rational, bureaucratic planning to create a new socialist urban geography. Both these processes had undeniable material and ideological successes; however, just as building New Villages and satellite towns did not fully solve Shanghai's housing crises;

representing those sites as utopian model communities could not actually make those representations reality. This was not a failure of propaganda, but was reflective of wider contradictions in Maoist revolutionary thought that at once called for complete egalitarianism and immediate revolution, but then sought to carefully bureaucratically manage that process.

Chapter 5 returns to the gaps between propaganda and reality to discuss the period from the Great Leap Forward until the start of the Cultural Revolution as one that saw the state constantly shifting its approach to urbanization and Shanghai's continued housing crisis. During this period, the state continued to focus on solving Shanghai's housing crisis and clearing the slums, but less resources were directed towards building new communities. Instead, party cadres and government officials advocated making the best possible use of available housing as well as mobilizing residents to repair and build their own homes. I argue that the contradictions between calls to rely on the energies of the masses and the desire to manage bureaucratically those energies appear especially clear during the 1960s. Analyzing the contradictions in the production of socialist space serve to illuminate how by, the mid-1960s, the bureaucratic mechanisms of socialist revolution—i.e. state-managed development of both industry and people—were perceived to have reached a dead end in their ability to actually achieve their stated goals of building an egalitarian communist society with politically committed subjects.

In my conclusion, I examine the reemergence of urban planning, housing construction, and eventually a speculative, for-profit real estate market after the end of the Cultural Revolution and in the post-reform era. I argue that many of the concerns over the housing crisis that reemerged in the 1970s were virtually the same as in the 1950s. Though the methods to solve that crisis would initially remain similar to those used in the 1950s, policies would quickly shift and a private real estate market for luxury housing would begin to emerge in the 1980s. This

section will comment on how urban space in Shanghai has shifted from being intended to serve the working classes, however inadequately, to being intended to serve the wealthy and a thriving real estate market.

Throughout this dissertation I assume that New Villages like Caoyang were ultimately sites of revolution. More specifically, they were sites of a type of revolution that emphasized the role of the state in delivering services to those that had previously been denied them in the old order. The New Villages as state-constructed spaces did transform the lives of residents, though of course never precisely in the ways that party propagandists hoped for and depicted. They were a model for non-capitalist urban space where housing was not a commodity, but would "serve the people." Despite this promise, shifting political winds and economic scarcity ensured that the New Villages would only ever serve a relatively privileged group of industrial workers and their families. While post-reform policies have certainly provided better housing conditions for more people than Maoist policies ever did, they have also produced shocking income inequality and redefined which groups can claim the "right to the city.

Chapter 1

Modernist Planning in Communist China: Shanghai's New Villages in the Genealogy of International Planning Thought

Walking around Caoyang Workers' New Village today, its two and three-story apartment buildings are dwarfed by the recently-built high-rise apartment buildings that are ubiquitous across Shanghai. Compared to these new buildings, Caoyang's drab dormitories appear hopelessly backwards and destined to be destroyed soon, regardless of the wishes of the current residents. However, when Caoyang was originally built between 1951 and 1953, it was an ambitious experiment in providing 20,000 workers and their families with comfortable, hygienic, and modern housing with easy access to services such as food markets, schools, and cultural centers, as well as transportation services to the factories where they worked.

Caoyang's chief designer, Wang Dingzeng, claimed that "with the guiding principle of serving production and serving the workers, starting in 1951 this city [Shanghai] began building large quantities of workers' residencies, Caoyang New Village was built as an integrated residential area for the working class."[30] With such goals, Wang's plans for Caoyang suggest a goal of using spatial reorganization as way of serving both the daily needs of workers and the new industrial goals of the People's Republic of China—two projects which the political rhetoric of the time suggested were inextricable from each other.

This effort of spatially defined social engineering was presented as the socialist project of a new society that was throwing off the bonds of imperialism. This legacy was still readily

[30]Wang Dingzeng 汪定曾, "Shanghai caoyang xincun zhuzhaiqu de guihua sheji"上海曹杨新村住宅区的规划设计, *Jianzhu xuebao* 建筑学报 3, no. 2 (1956): 1.

apparent in a 1950s Shanghai whose built environment was defined by art-deco high-rises and neoclassical French villas built with foreign capital to serve the colonial elite.[31] By contrast, if foreign influence in urban planning and architecture was to continue after 1949, it would come solely from the Soviet Union. Wang's writings on Caoyang are full of references to the need to "study the prior experience of the Soviets."[32]

At the same time that Wang claimed Caoyang as a socialist project and disavowed planning or architectural influences from the capitalist world, his designs for Caoyang—and indeed even the name "Workers' New Village"—belied the influence of trends in urban planning thought common across the Americas and Western Europe in the early-twentieth century. Specifically, his design of Caoyang as a self-contained community slightly outside of the city center with lots of green space in between residential housing units calls to mind Western planning concepts such as the Garden City, developed by the Englishman Ebenezer Howard in his 1898 book *To-morrow: a Peaceful Path to Real Reform* (better known by its 1902 title, *Garden Cities of To-morrow*), or the "Neighborhood Unit," developed in 1920s in the United States by planners such as Clarence Perry.[33] These influences are not surprising given that Wang Dingzeng completed a Master's degree at the University of Illinois at Urbana Champaign in 1938 and went on to study briefly in Europe in 1939.[34] Caoyang might have been a socialist project for the building of a socialist society, but it used tools developed by modernist urban planners working under capitalism (though as will be explained below, many of these modernist

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[32] Wang (1956) 6.

[33] Duanfang Lu points out these similarities in the article: Duanfang Lu, "Travelling Urban Form: the Neighbourhood Unit in China," *Planning Perspectives* 21, no. 4 (2006): 369–392.

[34] "Chongdu Wang Dingzeng xiansheng jiuwen yougan—ji wo he caoyang xincun de yi duan qing 重读汪定曾先生旧文有感（二） ——记我和曹杨新村的一段情," November 4 2013, https://www.douban.com/note/314288177/ (accessed October 28, 2018).

planners themselves saw their project as one of changing the capitalist world, even if they did not necessarily advocate socialist revolution).

This chapter seeks to place the design and construction of Caoyang, as well as the "Workers' New Villages" built in Shanghai more generally, within the context of modernist urban planning thought in the West, the Soviet Union, and China. Going further, the experience of Caoyang, complicates the notion that it is possible to clearly disarticulate threads of modernist and socialist planning, in either the capitalist or the communist worlds. As will be shown below, planning thought in the Soviet Union itself derived from the influence of ideas developed initially in Western Europe and the United States. Ultimately, modernist thought around the world was shaped by similar impulses of industrial modernity. As Susan Buck-Morss explains, in the nineteenth and twentieth century, ideas emerged that it might be possible to create utopian societies that used technological advances to provide for all. She writes that these ideas defined both capitalist and socialist thinking, and were marked by "the belief that the industrial reshaping of the world is capable of bringing about the good society by providing material happiness for all."[35] I call this a utopian project because it meant first imagining a better world and then trying to realize that world. To be sure, the nature of this reshaping of the world differed greatly in capitalist and socialist states. Yet, industrial modernity and its faith in the power of technological progress can be generally described as a force that defined twentieth century quests for "development" and "modernization" around the world.[36] Modernist urban planning, and specifically the use of uniform housing complexes such as Caoyang to reshape lives of the

[35] Susan Buck-Morss, *Dreamworld and Catastrophe: The Passing of Mass Utopia in East and West* (Cambridge, MA: The MIT Press, 2000) ix.
[36] In the contemporary Chinese context, constant references to the importance of "development," 发展（*fazhan*), show that these modernist dreams are far from dead.

disadvantaged, was an expression of these modern desires, encompassing all their revolutionary hopes and contradictory realities.

This chapter will provide a genealogy of planning ideas that were circulating globally as well as in Shanghai during the late-nineteenth and early-twentieth centuries and then go on to analyze key documents written by Wang Dingzeng about the construction of Caoyang in relation to this narrative. Thus, I argue that urban planning in 1950s Shanghai should be placed in relation to its contemporaneous relatives, theoretical and actual, from around the world. This chapter also argues that the development of planning thought in post-1949 China is inextricable from the historical context of a socialist revolution that transformed Shanghai from a colonial city to a socialist one ostensibly designed to serve the workers.

Modernist Urban Planning and Utopianism

What is modernist urban planning? Generally speaking it can be described as an effort to use state intervention to shape a radically new urban geography that will in turn create—or at least facilitate the creation of—a new social order. It is premised on the belief that building a new city can help create a new set of social practices and, subsequently, build a radically new and better society.[37] The place of urban planning vis-à-vis wider social transformation has varied in its capitalist and socialist forms. For one, some Marxists have highlighted that urban planning would belong to the ideological "superstructure" of a society and thus follow revolutionary social transformation rather than drive radical social change itself. Still, almost every modernizing society of the twentieth century, revolutionary or reactionary, has at some point

[37] James Holston, *The Modernist City: An Anthropological Critique of Brasilia* (Chicago: The University of Chicago Press, 1989) 4-5.

emphasized the need for urban planning to work in tandem with wider social changes to build a new world.

Taking a step back, modernist urban planning's drive to use spatial realignment as part of wider social transformation speaks to its general relationship with modernism as an aesthetic movement and modernity as a more general social condition. It is important to clearly define these terms and their relationships. David Harvey, expounding on the words of the nineteenth-century French poet Charles Baudelaire, argues that the experience of modernity involved the joining of the "ephemeral and the fleeting with the eternal and the immutable" that defined (and to some extent still defines) life under industrial capitalism.[38] Modernism can be defined as the effort across fields such as philosophy, literature, art, architecture, and the sciences to deal with the new sense of ephemerality created by the social conditions of modernity, which notably included rapid urbanization and the ensuing struggles to come to terms with the pace and trials of urban life as shaped by the contradictions of industrial capitalism. For our purposes, Harvey's discussion of what he terms the "project of modernity," as carried out by various different disciplines, is particularly useful. He writes, "the idea was to use the accumulation of knowledge generated by many individuals working freely and creatively for the pursuit of human emancipation and the enrichment of daily life."[39] This definition describes modernist urban planners' confidence that space could be rationally organized to play a role in the wider construction of a social project. Modernist planners emerged in a time of rapid industrialized transition and accelerating urbanization—the condition of modernity—and they responded by trying to use technological advances to create enduring spatial formations that would help create a better world and reveal the capacities of humanity. To use the words of Baudelaire, modernist

[38] David Harvey, *The Condition of Postmodernity* (Cambridge, MA: Blackwell, 1990) 10.
[39] Harvey, 12.

planners were attempting to use planning to "distil the eternal from the transitory" and create order amidst the chaos of modern life.[40]

Though the modernist project was one of construction, it was also one of creative destruction. Given a world where, to quote Marx, "all that is solid melts into air," it perhaps could not be otherwise. To be more specific, modernist urban planning required the destruction of previous urban forms to make way for its transformative spatial revolutions. This creative destruction should not be confused with the replacement of "tradition" with "modernity." Rather, it often involved the use of the tools of modernity—for example, certain aspects of technological development—as a way to deal with problems caused by modernization, by which I mean the spread of certain specific social processes that have been tethered to an ever-expanding and ever-fluctuating capitalist economy. When planners such as Ebenezer Howard or Le Corbusier developed their ideas for utopian cities, they were not seeking to replace "pre-modern" forms of spatial organization, but instead were responding to what they saw as the social ills of the industrial cities that developed under capitalism in the nineteenth century in Europe and America. They hoped to use the tools of modernity to solve the problems of modernity. Marshall Berman discusses this seemingly contradictory stance when he writes, "it is ironic and contradictory, polyphonic and dialectical, denouncing modern life in the name of values that modernity itself has created, hoping—often against hope—that the modernities of tomorrow, and the day after tomorrow will heal the wounds that wreck the modern men and women of today."[41] Following Berman, this dialectical stance applies not just to architecture or urban planning, but also to all modernist projects of transformation. What was the Chinese revolution if not an effort to use newly developed tools, i.e. Marxist-Leninist ideas of revolution, to overcome newly

[40] Charles Baudelaire, Jonathan Mayne, trans., "The Painter of Modern Life," *The Painter of Modern Life and Other Essays* (London: Phaidon Press, 1964) 12.
[41] Marshall Berman, *All That is Solid Melts into Air* (New York: Penguin Books, 1982) 23.

developed problems, i.e. the social turmoil and oppressions brought on by years of war and foreign imperialist impositions and a changing economy?

To get into historical specifics, modernist urban planning developed as a reaction to the perceived problems of the industrial cities that initially emerged in Europe and the United States. In the nineteenth century, industrial capitalism's need for cheap labor brought millions of the poor into cities across Europe and North America to work on factories. The new urban working poor crowded into slums and tenements in industrial cities such as Manchester, London, Berlin, and New York. At the same time, the bourgeois and capitalist classes accumulated unprecedented wealth while new advances were being made in science, technology, and medicine. These benefits of the project of modernity stood in stark contrast to the squalid drudgery experienced by the poor. While poverty itself was not new, its visibility and proximity to wealth was. The poor were no longer confined to the countryside, but lived in the same cities that the wealthy did, and the contradictions were ever more visible. This situation helped produce a deep fear that cities were places of social evils and were on the brink of political insurrections carried out in the name of overturning the inequalities of capitalism.[42] As a result, social reform movements of all stripes developed in the late nineteenth century. Modernist schools of urban planning thought emerged directly from this milieu. Planners like Ebenezer Howard, Frank Lloyd Wright, and Le Corbusier saw urban planning and architecture as one means to fix the ills of the nineteenth century city and create utopian societies that expressed, in Robert Fishman's words, "the power and beauty of modern technology and the most enlightened ideas of social justice."[43]

[42] Peter Hall, *Cities of Tomorrow: An Intellectual History of Urban Planning and Design in the Twentieth Century* (New York: Basil Blackwell, 1988) 45-46.
[43] Robert Fishman, *Urban Utopias in the Twentieth Century: Ebenezer Howard, Frank Lloyd Wright, and Le Corbusier* (Cambridge, MA: The MIT Press, 1982) 1.

This strand of thinking goes back to the early-nineteenth century, when utopian socialists like Robert Owen and Charles Fourier reacted to the social costs of the industrial revolution by developing models for socialist communities that relied on a new spatial order that would provide the working class with equitable access to housing, education, medical care, food, and places of entertainment and worship. Owen, for one, imagined a socialist society built around model factory towns built as square communes. The sides of the square would contain apartments for adults, dormitories for children, warehouses, and a hospital. The central area would contain communal facilities such as a school, cafeterias, and churches. In this way the focus of the community would be the communal areas.[44] Owen's ideas for a new cooperative socialist society emerged out of his experiences in managing the model factory town of New Lanark, near Glasgow, in the early nineteenth century and he would go on to found another model community at New Harmony, Indiana in 1825. Though Owen's experiments failed, they represented attempts to use planning to radically reconstruct society along more equal and cooperative lines through the creation of new, seemingly more rational spaces based on geometry and symmetry.[45]

The utopian socialists planned out their socialist paradises while still living under capitalism. They saw themselves as scientifically providing the formula for a new, more equitable and rational society that might be able to be realized without revolution. To Marx and subsequent leftists, such views were anathema. Marx saw efforts to prematurely plan a socialist society as naïve for their utopian presumptions that it would be possible to create a model for a socialist society while still living under capitalism.[46] Such assumptions flew in the face of

[44] David Bray, *Social Space and Governance in Urban China: The Danwei System from Origins to Reform* (Stanford: Stanford University Press, 2005) 77.
[45] Ibid.
[46] Ibid. 66.

Marx's intervention that intellectual possibilities (the "superstructure") are delimited by historically determined social and material conditions; namely, the ideological superstructure is shaped by the inevitable conflict between the means of production (how things are produced) and the relations of production (the antagonistic relationship between social classes). Marxism and other strands of radical thought are based on the idea that historical changes are determined by class struggle "ending either in a revolutionary reconstitution of society at large, or in the common ruin of the contending classes."[47] This philosophy of history precludes the utopian socialist proposal that it might be possible to build socialism without revolution, but instead through the rational expertise of people like planners.

While utopian socialism might have conflicted with Marxist ideas of revolution, its ideas of spatial reorganization would go on to influence later socialists, including Mao Zedong. Yang Chen identifies the influence of utopian socialism on a young Mao's thinking in Mao's 1919 essay *"The Work of Students"* (学生之工作) . In this early essay Mao argued that the only way to overcome the alienation of students and intellectuals from agricultural work was to establish "New Villages" in the countryside that would incorporate intellectual, family, and social life with physical labor. The citizens of these new villages would be representatives of a new socialist society. These ideas clearly bear clear similarities with those of utopian socialists like Robert Owen. Though of course Mao never embraced the utopian socialists' desires to avoid violent revolution, Yang (among others) argues that his ideas would continue to reflect utopian socialist thinking throughout his life. Specifically, Mao's post-1949 desires to "eliminate the differences between cities and the countryside," which tended to prioritize developing the countryside over cities like Shanghai showed a continued desire to turn China into a utopian

[47] Karl Marx and Friedrich Engels, *The Communist Manifesto (1848)* (New York: Signet Classic, 1998) 50.

socialist society that would combine the best elements of rural areas with modern industrial development.[48] This contradiction between the celebration of rural life and a desire for rapid industrial development would shape the experience of urbanization in socialist China, not to mention the experience of Chinese socialism more generally. As will be argued more extensively below, Workers' New Villages such as Caoyang would serve to embody these contradictions of the Chinese revolution.

Garden Cities for Managing Revolution

The ideas of the Utopian Socialists influenced twentieth-century planning thought through the Englishman Ebenezer Howard. Howard was not a professional architect or planner, but rather an amateur "inventor" who fell in with middle-class London Radicalism in the 1870s and 1880s. These Radicals believed that Victorian England had become a dangerously unequal society where political power was concentrated in the hands of the few and the masses had been forced off of their farmlands in the countryside to toil in factories and live in slums. Still, neither they nor Howard were Marxists, seeing violent revolution as leading to only more destruction.[49] Instead, Howard developed plans for a radically new type of society that would combine an idealized vision of communal country life with the advances of industrial capitalism. In his influential 1898 book, *Garden Cities of To-Morrow,* he called for the creation of new "Town country" communities, the garden city, where:

> Equal, nay better opportunities of social intercourse may be enjoyed than are enjoyed in any crowded city, while yet the beauties of nature may encompass and unfold each dweller therein; how higher wages are compatible with reduced rents and rates; how abundant opportunities for employment and bright prospects of advancement may be secured for all; how capital may be attracted and wealth created; how the most admirable

[48]Yang Chen 杨晨, "Shehui zhuyi chengshi de kongjian shijian (1949-1978)" 社会主义城市的空间实践：上海工人新村（1949-1978), *Renwen dili 人文地理* 26，no. 3 (2011): 37.
[49] Fishman, 30.

> sanitary conditions may be ensured; how beautiful homes and gardens may be seen on every hand; how the bounds of freedom may be widened, and yet all the best results of concert and cooperation gathered in by a happy people.[50]

Here, Howard proposes a vision of a radically different society that is not unlike that proposed by the Utopian Socialists. It would incorporate the technological advances of urban life with the health and aesthetic advantages of the countryside. Notable is Howard's focus on garden cities' potential to provide more sanitary conditions by keeping population smaller and always incorporating gardens and other green spaces into the community. These plans spoke to a concern over the unsanitary nature of industrial cities and would shape efforts to build garden city-influenced communities around the world, including in Shanghai.

To be more specific, Howard's garden cities would consist of urban centers of 30,000 people arranged in a circular fashion with a park and public facilities such as libraries, theaters, museums, hospitals, and town halls at its center. The city would be divided up into six wards of 5,000 people by avenues running from the central park to the circumference. Facilities would be laid out along concentric rings, including a "Grand Avenue" dotted with schools and an outer ring of factories.[51] These plans immediately bare comparison to those of utopian socialists like Charles Owen, but with Howard embracing circles and arcs instead of right angles. Howard imagined a utopian society composed of garden cities dotting a countryside of farms and parks and completely devoid of large industrial cities. And how would this utopian society be achieved? Not through revolution, but through this town-country spatial form acting as a "magnet" for people dissatisfied with life in existing urban centers. Thus, despite drawing heavily on the ideas of the revolutionary anarchist Peter Kropotkin, Howard believed a new

[50] Ebenezer Howard, *Garden Cities of To-Morrow (Originally: To-Morrow: A Peaceful Path to Real Reform)* (London: Swan Sonnenschein & Co., Ltd., 1902) 19.
[51] Ibid. 20-26

society could be built on free and rational choice as soon as garden cities began to rise to prominence as attractive living options.[52]

Howard's was a community-centered modernism that stood in contrast to the authoritarian rationality of other planners like the influential Le Corbusier, who, writing in the 1920s imagined building a more rational society through the authoritarian use of space. Like Howard, Le Corbusier sought to prevent social revolution by providing state of the art living conditions for workers. However, he abandoned the hopes for using planning to create the framework for communal and decentralized socialism that had guided the work of utopian socialists and influenced Howard for a rational city designed by a centralized state that would serve the needs of both workers and capitalism. Le Corbusier's plans exemplify what James Scott has called "high-modernist ideology," or the belief in the ability to effect "the rational design of social order commensurate with the scientific understanding of natural laws."[53] For Le Corbusier, this meant conceptualizing his ideal city, "The Radiant City," as an efficient and productive "machine" of skyscrapers designed and imposed through bureaucratic authoritarianism.[54]

Neither Howard's or Le Corbusier plans for creating new societies through revolutionary spatial formations were ever realized as they were imagined, but both would prove influential around the world throughout the twentieth century. Though not as dramatic as the visions of Le Corbusier, Howard's ideas of garden cities quietly gained influence in locations as diverse as England, Continental Europe, the Soviet Union, the United States, and, I would argue, China. Contrary to Howard's vision, developments inspired by Howard were most often built as satellite towns to major cities (not designed to replace those cities) or "neighborhood units" in the midst

[52] Fishman 36-39.
[53] James Scott, *Seeing Like a State* (New Haven: Yale University Press, 1998) 3.
[54] Fishman. 163-164.

of larger cities.[55] This latter idea was developed by Clarence Perry in the United States in what was a move to incorporate Howard's ideas into the fabric of pre-existing industrial cities. Perry's neighborhood unit would consist of a relatively spacious community in the midst of a city with arterial streets for boundaries and its own internal street network. It would be designed to facilitate internal circulation, but keep out unwanted heavy traffic. Its features would include a local school, an associated park or playground, shops, and a central area for the community institutions.[56] These public facilities were to be located on the periphery of groupings of apartment buildings, but within walking distance of all residents. Neighborhood units were designed to create discrete communities within the wider city that fostered a sense of safety and convenience amongst residents.[57] Historian of architecture Duanfang Lu has argued that this idea of a neighborhood unit—which traces its genealogy back to Howard's utopian garden cities—would become a "global form" that would be adopted to local circumstances and employed as a key measure of twentieth-century urban planning around the world, including in China.[58]

Howard's ideas reach back to those of the utopian socialists and were partially inspired by the writings of Peter Kropotkin. However, where Marxists and Anarchists saw the need for the complete upheaval of society through violent revolution carried out by the proletariat, even at their most "radical," modernist urban planners and architects planners hoped that they could use technological expertise to supersede capitalism's ills and create new more equitable society

[55] Hall, 86-135. Hall provides an overview of Howard's plans for garden cities and their afterlives. Notable is the British New Towns movement after the Second World War. In 1946, the New Towns Act was passed and thirteen developments inspired by Howard's ideas were planned for construction across the United Kingdom by 1950. Of these, eight were built around London and would ultimately absorb 400,000 people.
[56] Ibid. 125-136.
[57] Duanfang Lu. "Travelling Urban Form: the Neighbourhood Unit in China." *Planning Perspectives*, vol. 21, no. 4, 2006, pp. 369–392: 372.
[58] Duanfang Lu, *Remaking Chinese Urban Form: Modernity, Scarcity, and Space, 1949-2005* (New York: Routledge, 2006) 24.

based on cooperation.[59] They presumed that societal changes for the better (though all the planners discussed here would have likely disagreed about what a "better" society would mean) could be scientifically managed through spatial transformations without massive social conflict.

The Bolshevik Revolution and Modernist Planning

When designing Caoyang in the 1950s, Wang Dingzeng disavowed the influence of figures like Ebenezer Howard and Clarence Perry at the same time that he highlighted the need to learn from the experience of the Soviet Union. These types of disavowals obscure the connections between planning under the Bolsheviks and the global planning thought outlined above.

Despite the ambivalence towards revolution of figures like Howard and Le Corbusier, modernist urban planning, and certainly the modernist impulse more generally, was not inherently counterrevolutionary. After all, both modernist planning and revolution can generally be described as projects of "creative destruction" that defined the experience of modernity. This synchronicity between modernist planning and revolution is historically revealed through the spatial experiments conducted in the world's first society created through socialist revolution, the Soviet Union. Their victory in the 1917 October Revolution presented the Bolsheviks with the opportunity to dramatically reshape Soviet society along socialist lines. Lenin and the Bolsheviks saw themselves as the vanguard party representing a "dictatorship of the proletariat," which led them to believe they were justified in carrying out a grand remaking of society in the name of (what was at least assumed to be) advancing socialism. As many critics have argued, Marxist-Leninist theory's call for a strong and well-organized party to lead the revolution can be easily seen to lead into the creation of a bureaucratic state that sought to closely manage Soviet society,

[59] Fishman 24.

all in the name of the proletariat.[60] Such bureaucratic statism is of course a perfect compliment to modernist urban planning, as examples like Baron Haussmann's reconstruction of Paris in the 1850s along lines that would hamper revolutionary uprisings and Le Corbusier's dreams of the Radiant City demonstrate.[61]

In any event, many Russian (and foreign) architects and planners saw the forming of a socialist state as an opportunity to realize the dreams of modernist urban planning; namely, to use the reconstruction or social space to help create a new type of society. After passing through periods of civil war and economic instability, Soviet society was ready for architects to begin working on their plans in earnest. Architects such as Moise Ginzburg drew on the theoretical ideas of A.A. Bogdanov and his notion of Proletarian Culture, or *Prtekul't*, which argued that the revolution could only truly be achieved with the establishment of new cultural forms and a new proletarian way of life.[62] Using these ideas, Ginzburg and others developed the school of "constructivist" architecture organized as the Association of Contemporary Architects, or OSA. According to historian Hugh Hudson, the constructivists both drew on international modernist theory and believed, "the architect, by helping to mold a new society and new men and women, emerged as the genuine 'constructor' of socialism, a socialism freed from the evils of the capitalist city and feudal marriage."[63] Though perhaps more radical in their critique of bourgeois culture, these architects harkened back to the dreams of utopian socialists and Ebenezer Howard

[60] See for instance, Neil Harding, *Leninism* (Durham, N.C.: Duke University Press, 1996) 262-263.
[61] See David Harvey, *Paris: Capital of Modernity* (New York: Routledge, 2003) for a discussion of how Emperor Napoleon III enlisted Haussmann to redesign Paris after the revolutions of 1848. In a related critique, Leon Trotsky, though of course supportive of Lenin's ideas, would come to criticize Stalin for distorting the revolution into an autocratic bureaucracy that reeked of bourgeois "Bonapartism." It was of course the Bonapartism of Louis Napoleon that allowed Haussmann to carry out his plans for Paris. As will be discussed in more detail below, to take Trotsky's critique seriously leads to the conclusion that bureaucratic statism with an authoritarian bent might be a perfect bedfellow with a particular vein of urban planning. See: Leon Trotsky, *The Revolution Betrayed,* trans. Max Eastman (Mineola, N.Y.: Dover Publications, 2004).
[62] Bray 84.
[63] Hugh D Hudson., Jr. *Blueprints and Blood : The Stalinization of Soviet Architecture, 1917-1937* (Princeton, New Jersey: Princeton University Press, 1994) 52.

with their faith in the possibility of using new spatial formations facilitated through advances in technology to further a more cooperative society that unleashed the bounds of human potential. The OSA developed experimental forms such as working-class housing projects known as "social condensers." These buildings were intended to reflect and shape the values of socialist society with designs that encouraged communal interaction through worker dormitories, collective cafeterias, and public recreation areas. The social condensers were even meant to undo the repressive ties of the bourgeois family by grouping residents by age as opposed to family relations.[64]

For a time the radical ideas of the constructivists in OSA appeared to point towards an alignment between revolutionary political and architectural goals. However, these ideas never came to be mainstream and were attacked by architects, planners, and, importantly, party officials with more "traditional" conceptions of the use of space. In the 1920s, as efforts were made to stabilize the Soviet economy by returning to limited capitalism under the New Economic Policy (NEP), emphasis had again been placed on the importance of the traditional family structure. By the time the OSA began advocating the social condenser in 1928, Stalin was in the process of launching the First Five-Year Plan, which sacrificed avant-garde hopes of new cultural formations in its drive for mass collectivization and industrialization. Indeed, Stalin and his supporters viewed cultural change as secondary to economic change, repeating the orthodox Marxist critique that planning and architecture are part of the cultural "superstructure" that is determined by the economic "base" and that efforts to rapidly reformulate social space were utopian attempts to put the cart before the horse (repeating the Marxist attacks on the Utopian Socialists described above).[65] The OSA responded to these charges by arguing that true socialist

[64] Bray 86-89.
[65] Bray, 90.

revolution called for the radical transformation of all social relations of society and that Stalinism had merely changed the political superstructure. In other words, *they* claimed to be the true bearers of Marxist theory and socialist revolution in the face of Stalinist cultural conservatism.[66] Correct applications of Marxist theory aside, the OSA lost its battle with the Stalinist architecture and in 1932 the government declared that separate family apartments would be the standard for housing, thus repudiating the dreams of communal housing.[67] Hudson lays out in great detail how the debates over modernist architecture of the early 1930s ultimately came to be superseded by a Stalinist neoclassicism that emphasized grand monuments, wide avenues, tall buildings, and renaissance fountains to celebrate the glorious successes of the revolution.[68] In this model, all dreams of using space to create new social formations were destroyed in favor of monuments commanding loyalty to the party and state. As Hudson writes, "such a concept of proletarian architecture was one in which the people were disempowered, removed from control, "outside in general, mere objects of revolution to be kept in a state of awe."[69]

The story of modernist architecture and planning in the Soviet Union does not end with the repudiation of the radical schemes of groups like OSA. Though under Stalin's leadership there was an official turn towards monumental neoclassicism, there were also efforts in the 1930s to build "company towns" that were clearly influenced by modernist principles. These towns consisted of new housing complexes being built in close proximity to both factories and social facilities such as schools, with the factories separated from living facilities by green belts.[70] Such plans fulfilled the practical goal of focusing life around places of industrial labor, which were shaped by the realities of the Stalinist push towards industrialization and

[66] Hudson, 69-70.
[67] Bray, 91.
[68] Hudson,, 146.
[69] Ibid., 78
[70] Lu, 34.

collectivization while also bearing the influence of modernist principles about the use of space to organize life and work. Indeed, the Soviets even drafted the German modernist architect Ernst May, who was influenced by Howard's idea of the garden city and built satellite towns around Frankfurt in the 1920s, to design one of the most famous company towns, Magnitogorsk, in the early 1930s.[71]

May's presence in Magnitogorsk further points to the lasting influence of modernist planning under Stalin.[72] This influence can also be seen in perhaps the most enduring architectural form of the Stalinist period, the "super block," which consisted of a group of apartment buildings arranged in a linear fashion around courtyard with shared facilities such as shops, schools, and cultural centers. Super blocks were built in limited numbers during the chaotic 1930s, but then were to serve as the basis for urban development and reconstruction following the wholesale destruction of WWII.[73] These arrangements easily fit with a genealogy of modernist planners including Le Corbusier, Howard, and Owen. Though the more drastic plans of OSA architects might have been rejected, aspects of modernist planning thought were put to use to serve the goals of the Soviet state in more limited ways. It was these modified modernist plans that Wang Dingzeng and other Chinese planners were referring to when they called to study the Soviets.

The failure of the revolutionary Soviet Union to wholeheartedly adopt the most radical aspects of modernist architecture and planning techniques points to some of the contradictions of modernism. Modernist architects and planners around the world saw themselves as serving

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[71] Hall, 117-119.
[72] On May's experience in Magnitogorsk, see Stephen Kotkin, *Magnetic Mountain: Stalinism as a Civilization* (Berkeley: University of California, 1995) 109-123. On modernism in Soviet company towns more generally, see also: *Sotsgorod: Steden Voor De Heilstaat = Cities for Utopia*, directed by Anna Abrahams et al. (First Run/Icarus Films, 1995), DVD.
[73] Bray, 92.

various social visions. These visions developed out of the contradictions of the rise of global capitalism and have often been tied to some notion of "revolution," regardless if that meant a class-based, violent revolution along socialist lines, an authoritarian capitalist revolution as planned by figures like Le Corbusier, or a voluntary (and utopian) social and cultural revolution of the type hoped for by Ebenezer Howard. Susan Buck-Morss is correct to locate dreams of using industrial technology to create "mass utopia" as easily within socialism as within capitalism. The problem was that the success of these dreams was always limited. Whenever a Le Corbusier or a Howard got the chance to construct something they had planned, they were forced to contend with social and political forces that immediately constricted their hopes.

The story of modernist planning in colonial and then socialist Shanghai is similarly one of piecemeal plans developing out of complex historical situations and then both shaping and being shaped by those same situations in their execution, however incomplete and haphazard.

Colonialism, Capitalism, and Modernity in China

The story of modernist planning in China begins after the Treaty of Nanjing in 1842 and the creation of the treaty ports of Guangzhou, Fuzhou, Xiamen, Ningbo, and Shanghai (in addition to Hong Kong).[74] In the foreign concessions of these treaty ports, Western imperial powers held extraterritorial jurisdiction and began to construct buildings and infrastructure along lines influenced by planning trends in Europe and America. To call such importations of architectural and planning practices as the origin of modernist planning in China immediately raises questions of modernity and its relation to imperialism and colonialism. There has been much discussion of

[74] Before this time, Qing emperors such as Kangxi and Qianlong had brought European planning styles to China in limited capacity. For example, the Jesuits Giuseppe Castiglione and Michel Benoit helped to design the Western Mansions (Xiyang Lou) in the Old Summer Palace (Yuan Ming Yuan) in Beijing, which were constructed in the mid-18th century.

the problem of assuming that modernity is a European construction that was imported from Western Europe to China (and the rest of the world).[75] This problematic interpretation assumes that modernity is somehow prior to colonialism, which further suggests that the colonies are then less advanced than the colonial core. Such a stance takes colonized societies to be static and passive in comparison to the West's supposed dynamism. However, critical scholarship has long argued that, as Tani Barlow writes, "colonialism and modernity are indivisible features of the history of industrial capitalism."[76] According to this stance, which I adopt, because colonial exploitation is inseparable from the historical development of capitalism—which almost all definitions associate as intrinsic to the cultural conditions of modernity—it is impossible to discuss modernity as in anyway native to the West. Instead, modernity, colonialism, and capitalism are all forces whose historical development is intertwined. Though the nineteenth-century planners who initially developed modernist planning might have been largely Western European, their own social milieus were shaped by forces of colonialism and capitalism in which societies like imperial China were active (if not necessarily "willing") participants.

Furthermore, the western planners who came to China did not merely import modernist planning into China. Rather, they brought a set of ideas—that had not at the time coalesced into a cohesive notion of "modernist planning"—that would be shaped by intellectual, cultural, and social forces endogenous to China. It was only under the influence of such local conditions that modernist planning in China developed. Duanfang Lu has argued that the transmission of

[75] In the China field for instance, there is Paul Cohen's well-known critique of the "impact-response paradigm" of writing Chinese history. Originally written in 1984, in *Discovering History in* China, Cohen argues that too much of English-language scholarship on China had been concerned with how a dynamic West had changed a passive China and put it on the path to modernization and industrialization along Western lines. See: Paul A Cohen, *Discovering History in China: American Historical Writing on the Recent Chinese past*, Studies of the East Asian Institute (New York: Columbia University Press, 2010).

[76] Tani E. Barlow, ed., *Formations of Colonial Modernity in East Asia* (Durham: Duke University Press, 1997) 1.

planning ideas to China should be viewed through the lens of "travelling theory" as advanced by Edward Said in *The World, the Text, and the Critic.* Lu summarizes:

> First there is the 'point of origin': the location at which the idea first entered discourse. Second, there is 'a passage through the pressure of various contexts as the idea moves. Third, there is a set of conditions which allows the introduction of toleration of the transplanted idea. Fourth, the now fully or partly accommodated idea occupies 'a new position in a new time and place.'[77]

According to this framework, theories about topics such as urban planning might be developed in one place, but they are revised by forces that allow them to travel—notably imperialism—and then come to be further revised in different contexts until they are thoroughly changed from their original context. In other words, planning in Europe and planning in China came to be modified and take on new meanings as it traveled through different contexts. As Lu argues, planning concepts came to be domesticated through "a continual process of translating, taking, selecting, combining and reinventing."[78] Thus, it is not that modernist planning was transported to China from the west, but that modernist planning in China was a historical construction determined by the process of cultural transmission and the interaction between foreign, Western and local, Chinese, ideas, individuals, and social situations. Importantly, these negotiations were all shaped by the context of Western imperial power and the semicolonial situation of nineteenth and early-twentieth century China.

Lu's use of Said's notions is useful for calling attention to how concepts developed in one context might change and be negotiated as they are transferred to another context. However, as critics such as Shu-mei Shih have pointed out, Said's formulation still assumes that modernist ideas travel unilinear fashion from West to East. In Shih's study of literary modernism in "semicolonial" China, she argues that at least literary modernism cannot be said to have merely

[77] Lu, 19.
[78] Ibid., 20.

travelled from West to East, but that modernism's origin point is itself ambiguous and that European modernist writers like Ezra Pound were influenced by Chinese and Japanese poetry (and exploited and appropriated those forms). This ambiguous and global origin point came to be erased by the very real material and discursive power differentials between the colonies and the metropole, which tended to enforce the narrative that modernism only spread from West to East. Furthermore, Shih is quick to point out that—beyond bearing the influence of non-Western cultures in its specific forms—the opportunity for the formation of modernism was the concentration of wealth and power in the imperial centers of Western Europe and eventually the United States in the 18th and 19th centuries. This wealth had of course been only achieved through imperial plunder.[79]

Shih is of course concerned specifically with literary modernism and as such has a number of well-studied "smoking guns" such as Ezra Pound that clearly point to the ambiguous origins of modernist aesthetic forms. On the other hand, it is less clear how the European "founders" of modernist urban planning and architecture were influenced by developments around the world. However, from the historical development of modernist planning outlined above, it is clear that these methods of shaping cities only developed as a response to industrial capitalism and its influences on the city. Once it is assumed that the formation of capitalism in Europe would have been impossible without imperial expansion and exploitation, then we can at least draw connections between the development of modernist planning and global historical developments in the nineteenth century, suggesting that it is far too simplistic to argue that planning trends merely moved from "West to East."

[79] Shu-mei Shih, *The Lure of the Modern: Writing Modernism in Semicolonial China, 1917-1938* (Berkeley: University of California Press, 2001) 7-16.

As much as modernist planning might have developed to some extent in critical response to the ravages of capitalism, the colonial context at times proved an ideal testing ground for efforts at rationally reordering society. What is more colonial than efforts—however ultimately unsuccessful and compromised—to reshape the very spatial structures of society without clear input from the population of that society? Of course, any efforts to build along lines laid out by architects and planners were compromised by material, political, and cultural forces. This was as true for Chinese planners who had studied in American universities attempting to redesign Chinese cities as it was for Ebenezer Howard. Ultimately, modernist planning in China and elsewhere was a historical construction that was initiated as a product of global forces. In its execution, it was only carried out through a process of negotiation and compromise with local contexts. All of this is to say that when we speak of modernist planning in China we should not assume that this mode of designing cities and reshaping societies was "brought" to China by foreign imperialists. Instead, it was a construction of China's relationship to the development of global capitalism, which was intertwined with the context of colonialism, or "colonial modernity," in China before 1949. It was constructed only through the constant interplay and interaction between foreign and local individuals and ideas.

Planning in Colonial Shanghai

On August 29, 1842, the Qing government was forced to sign the Treaty of Nanjing at the end of the first opium war. Among other stipulations, this treaty forced five Chinese cities—Guangzhou, Fuzhou, Xiamen, Ningbo, and Shanghai—to be opened to the residence of British subjects who would be protected from Qing law under grounds of extraterritoriality. The Americans and French soon followed with their own treaties granting them similar privileges as

the British, which would lay the groundwork for other imperialist nations such as Russia, Germany, and Japan to sign their own "unequal treaties" with China throughout the end of the nineteenth century and even into the twentieth century. In effect, the treaty stipulations of "extraterritoriality" led to the creation of the infamous foreign concessions that dominated Shanghai's social, cultural, political, and physical geography for so long. They continue to serve as some of the most expensive and "fashionable" areas of the city.

Foreign rule in the concessions would transform the existing urban geography of Shanghai as well as its administration. The pre-colonial "Chinese City" consisted of commercial quarters located directly on the banks of the Huangpu River as well as a circular walled city. According to Marie-Claire Bergère, "there was no sign of any town planning reflecting a political will or any ritual or ideological preoccupations, such as are suggested by the regular grid pattern of the cities of northern China."[80] While such a statement is unfair to Chinese planning during the Qing (what form of spatial organization would not reflect some political, ritual, or ideological preoccupation?), Bergere's point does highlight that the Chinese City of Shanghai stands in contrast with the forms of urban planning and architecture that would come to define "modern Shanghai."[81]

These modern forms of planning came to develop in the International Settlement and French Concession, which were located to the north and west of the Chinese city. The initial legal framework for the concessions were laid out in the "Land Regulations" of 1845. In this document, the Qing government granted the British the right to a zone of land on the banks of the Huangpu and laid out rules for how the British could acquire land and buildings from Chinese proprietors as long as they paid proper compensation. The 1845 "Land Regulations"

[80] Ibid. 23.
[81] Bergère's statement also reveals that she herself is writing from a relatively uncritical western, "modernist" position. She does not stop to question why she finds it impossible to identify any structure to Chinese planning.

initially only provided rules for a British concession (in an area along the banks of the Huangpu that would become the famous Bund), but the French soon negotiated their own concession immediately to the south of the British settlement, and the Americans began to settle in a de facto concession in the Hongkou area to the north of Suzhou creek from the British settlement. (They never negotiated for an exclusive American settlement).[82] This *de facto* American area would join with the British in 1863 to form the International Settlement, and both the International Settlement and the French Concession would expand their boundaries over the course of the late-nineteenth and early-twentieth centuries, but negotiations of the 1840s and the Land Regulations laid the legal framework for creation of the foreign concession that would come to define colonial Shanghai.

One important early stipulation of the Land Regulations was that no Chinese people could settle in the foreign concessions. As a result, these areas were initially very sparsely populated by a few hundred government officials, merchants, missionaries, and adventurers, especially in comparison to the densely populated Chinese city of 200,000 people. Early development in the concessions consisted mainly of the construction of simple, but grand, colonial villas and warehouses along the Huangpu. Shanghai's developing social geography would change greatly through the tumult of rebellions in the 1850s. In 1853, the Chinese city fell to a secret society called the Small Swords and in 1860 and 1862 the city was attacked by the Taiping rebels that had ravaged so much of southern Qing China. These events, combined with the general unrest that struck the lower Yangzi region throughout the period of the Taiping Rebellion, drove Chinese refugees to seek shelter in the newly established concessions, with their privileges of both extraterritoriality and foreign gunboats. Though the Chinese authorities made some efforts to staunch this flow of refugees, by 1854 some 20,000 were already seeking

[82] Bergere,, 28-32.

shelter in the concessions and at least some reports suggest that this number reached half a million by 1860-1862. (This very likely is an overestimate). It quickly came to be accepted that the concessions were to become sino-foreign spaces as the new foreign landholders of semi-colonial Shanghai saw Chinese refugees as potential sources of revenue.[83]

A speculative real estate market quickly developed and foreign merchants worked with Chinese contractors to construct cheap housing for Chinese tenants in the form of so-called *lilong* (lane and alley) housing developments. This system of foreign landlords renting *lilong* to Chinese tenants came to be a defining feature of Shanghai's social, political, and spatial geography until the communist revolution (and most *lilong* housing was preserved through the Maoist period, though it is currently under threat from rapid development). Indeed, in 1854, an amendment was made to the Land Regulations that provided the foreign community of "land renters" the right to self-government, which would take the form of the British-dominated Shanghai Municipal Council in what became the International Settlement (the French Concession remained independent). From its very formation, the political administration of Shanghai was closely tied to the control of land and the creation of a real estate market that was dominated by foreigners.[84]

According to Lu Hanchao, the foreign construction of *Lilong* "marked the beginning in China of a modern real estate market" both spatially—because the units were all identical—and financially—because they were built for a speculative market. Lu points out that these characteristics were distinct from previous Chinese practices of small-scale house purchasing and leasing on an individual basis. Instead of individuals building, renting, or selling their own houses, the construction of *lilong* was solely an effort by foreigners to create a profitable real

[83] Lu Hanchao, *Beyond the Neon Lights: Everyday Shanghai in the Early Twentieth Century* (Berkeley: University of California Press, 1999) 139.
[84] Ibid., 44-58.

estate market.[85] That the start-up capital for many of these foreign real estate speculators came directly from profits made in the opium trade only serves to further highlight the interconnections between the forces of global imperialism and capitalism and spatial organization in Shanghai.

The importance of the development of a speculative real estate market should not go understated as theorists such as David Harvey have argued that it is one of the prime motors of both capitalist urbanization and even capitalism itself. Harvey argues that such markets serve as investments to absorb the surplus value produced through the exploitation of labor by capitalists—here the foreign imperialists of Shanghai's concessions—and provide opportunities, though fraught with crisis, for the further expansion of capital.[86] If we are looking to historicize Shanghai's colonial modernity, then the creation of a capitalist real estate market through the construction of the *lilong* seems like an important place to start.

Though *lilong* were built in identical styles and financed by foreign capital for a speculative market, they did not merely represent the importation of the latest, most "modern," housing styles from Britain or France. Instead, the actual construction of *lilong* housing was conducted by Chinese contractors acting on behalf of foreign financiers using Chinese labor. According to Li Jie's *Shanghai Homes*, these construction arrangements meant that:

> Most housing compounds still retained the traditional courtyard lay- out, south-facing orientation, and local decorative motifs. Such a housing compound was called *li* 里 or *fang* 坊, its main alley *long* 弄, and its branch alleys *longtang* 弄堂, which also functioned like a court (*tang* 堂) or communal space. From the street to the alley *long*, the branch alley *longtang*, the individual houses, and the rooms inside each house, the architecture maps out a gradation from the most public to the most private spheres, with porous rather than strict boundaries.[87]

[85] Lu, 140.
[86] David Harvey, *Rebel Cities: from the Right to the City to the Urban Revolution* (New York: Verso, 2012) 5.
[87] Li Jie, *Shanghai Homes: Palimpsets of Private Life* (New York: Columbia University Press, 2015) 7.

Here Li emphasizes that even if *lilong* represented the advent of a modern housing market and were built in uniform styles, those uniform styles were themselves reminiscent of traditional Chinese housing construction. The modernity of *lilong* housing in Shanghai was one that combined a capitalist real estate market with traditional Chinese spatial practices.

Even with the incorporation of traditional styles, Samuel Liang has argued that—even beyond their role in creating a modern real estate market—*lilong* housing still represented the advent of a particular form of spatial modernity. Liang argues that these spaces differed from traditional Chinese urban forms in both their designs and their uses. The emphasis on longer, straighter streets with a less clearly delineated mix of both residencies and commercial establishments ran against Confucian emphases on the importance of spatial interiority and separation through the use of walls and courtyards. For Liang, the use of these new cheap, uniform structures also reflected the commercial means of their construction. Just as the structures themselves were commodities serving the ends of real estate speculators, they also served as spaces for the development of a new type of material culture serving Shanghai's recent immigrants through courtesan houses, restaurants, trading houses, and other businesses. In the late-nineteenth century, these commercial establishments served Shanghai's rootless population with opportunities for pleasure and the exchange of commodities. Liang argues the new spatial, economic, and cultural forms of the *lilong* served as sites of capitalist discipline, where the circulation of people and commodities—and importantly the circulation of people as commodities in the form of courtesans—indoctrinated the population of Shanghai's foreign concessions into a new and alienating modern urban experience where traditional bonds and boundaries, both spatial and otherwise, were dissolving.[88]

[88] Samuel Y. Liang, *Mapping Modernity in Shanghai: Space, Gender, and Visual Culture in the Sojourners' City, 1853-98* (New York: Routledge, 2010).

If the cheap and simple structures of the *Lilong* were the bearers of a new type of capitalist culture after the establishment of Shanghai as a treaty port in the nineteenth century, then the grand avenues of the French Concession, the neo-classical and art-deco buildings of the Bund, and the shopping arcades along Nanjing Road were the symbolic expressions of Shanghai's imperialist wealth and power in the late nineteenth and early twentieth century. Architecture and urban planning in the International Settlement and French Concession was somewhat haphazard, going through a number of phases throughout the late-nineteenth and early-twentieth century, but always reflecting the economic and ideological concerns of Shanghai's foreign imperialist masters. Most of the early buildings of the Bund were built in neoclassical and revivalist styles that were common across the British empire, from Shanghai and Bombay to Melbourne Australia.[89] This physical resemblance here is important, at it hammers home a point that is still sometimes strangely forgotten in writing on Shanghai: it was above all a colonial space. As Tani Barlow writes, "Shanghai looked like British India. Its physical architecture resembled British India's. It produced Orientalists who formulated their own "idea" of China, promoted the free trade in opium as a leverage to "open" China, and combined these with a fervent belief in the Western civilizing mission."[90]

In regards to urban planning and architecture, we should keep this notion of Shanghai as a colonial space comparable with other colonial spaces in mind when examining the "contributions" of foreigners to the design of the city. Throughout the late nineteenth and early twentieth century, the Shanghai Municipal Council in the International Settlement and the Municipal Administrative Council in the French Concession took over basic urban planning

[89] Peter G. Rowe, and Seng Kuan, *Architectural Encounters with Essence and Form in Modern China* (Cambridge, Mass.: MIT Press, 2002) 30-31.
[90] Tani E. Barlow, "Colonialism's Career in Postwar China Studies," *Positions: East Asia Cultures Critique* 1, no. 1 (1993) 245.

functions such as the construction of roads, sewers, electric lighting, public jetties, a race course and other recreational facilities (not to mention the creation of their own much-maligned police forces).[91] The councils raised money to accomplish these tasks through land-use taxes levied against both foreigners and Chinese living in the settlements. After the Treaty of Shimonoseki in 1895, Shanghai's urban space came to be increasingly dominated by newly established factories, many started by Japanese interests, as well as "facilities" (often meaning informal housing commonly characterized as slums) for their workforces. The Treaty of Shimonoseki changed Shanghai from a purely commercial center into both a commercial and manufacturing center, a character it would maintain throughout the twentieth century.[92] Once again, the colonial and imperialist nature of these arrangements should be underscored, foreign powers were shaping Shanghai to serve their own economic interests, a process that culminated in the exploitation of Chinese labor for the benefit of foreign-owned companies.

Generally speaking, foreign planning in Shanghai was somewhat haphazard and always more directed at serving economic interests than creating a cohesive city along utopian modernist lines. Still, the structuring of the city along lines to serve consumption, production, and the circulation of commodities (including the creation of a real estate market that treated land as a commodity) of course reflected capitalist modernity's rearrangement of space. Planning in the International Settlement was largely directed by private enterprises that invested in the construction of roads, lighting, and sewers; not to mention continued investment in the burgeoning real estate market. Marie-Claire Bergère draws a distinction between this privatized model in the British-dominated International Settlement and the French Concession, where the

[91] France had initially agreed to participate in the jointly-governed (though British dominated) Shanghai Municipal Council that was formed after the enactment of the 1854 Land Regulation, but pulled out in 1862 to form the Municipal Administrative Council.
[92] Rowe and Kuan, 34-35.

Municipal Administrative Council centralized the planning of the concession, employing a layout that emphasized grand, straight avenues designed to facilitate the easy transport of goods, people, and soldiers.[93] Even granting this distinction, both the international settlement and the French Concession were designed first and foremost to serve imperialist economic interests in facilitating the consumption and circulation of commodities that included opium, sex, and real estate.

Haphazardly established as they sometimes were, the concession areas established a new model for urban planning in China, in terms of form, function, and administration. The administrative bodies of the concessions were one of the ways that ideas of modernizing urban reform based on the notion of creative destruction were introduced to Chinese cities. As Kerrie L. MacPherson points out, even though the concession areas were "formally planless," foreign administrators carried with them ideas of urban reform modeled after those being carried out in cities in the West. It is unsurprising that when the Chinese city of Shanghai (the areas outside of the concessions) began to organize its own centralized municipal government in the early twentieth century it took on the same infrastructural responsibilities as those of the municipal councils in the concession areas; planning roads, bridges, waterworks, a police force, and public health concerns.[94]

The Emergence of Modernist Chinese Planning in Republican Shanghai

[93] Bergere, *Shanghai: Gateway to Modernity,* 113-125. With more than a hint of colonial nostalgia, Bergere argues this model was directly inspired by the Baron Haussmann's reshaping of Paris and positively reflected French "values" of "authoritarian universalism." For Bergere, the more centralized French model reflected a true concern to provide public goods to the French Concession's largely Chinese population. While it is true that the French Concession does appear relatively "better planned" even today, with longer, straighter roads than the areas that made up the International Settlement, it seems hasty to draw too clear a distinction between the planning style of these two colonial spaces.

[94] Kerrie L. MacPherson, "Designing China's Urban Future: The Greater Shanghai Plan, 1927-1937," *Planning Perspectives* 5, no. 1 (1990): 42-43.

In addition to providing conceptual and administrative models for modernizing urban planning reform, Shanghai's concession areas would also come to provide a playground for foreign architectural firms to operate. Shanghai's skyline is still testament to the mélange of neoclassical, beaux arts, and art deco architectural styles that were introduced by foreign firms such as the British Palmer and Turner and architects such as Laszlo Hudec, the Hungarian modernist designer of many of Shanghai's most famous art deco buildings. The grand buildings of the concessions were to serve as the symbolic heart of the city throughout the colonial era, continue in repurposed form throughout the Maoist period, and emerge as nostalgic reminders of Shanghai's status as a globalized commercial center in our current neoliberal era. For our current purposes, the height of Republican-era foreign architectural construction in the 1920s and 1930s is most important for how it coincided with, reflected, and helped influence and drive the formation of architecture and urban planning as a professional discipline.

In the early Republican era a number of Chinese architects went abroad, especially to America, to learn their craft. Many of these students were funded through the Boxer Indemnity Scholarship Program, which, starting in 1909, put indemnity funds the Qing Dynasty was forced to pay after their defeat in the Boxer Rebellion in 1901 towards the American education of Chinese people. Zhang Jun was one of the first to go abroad to study architecture, attending the University of Illinois in 1914. Zhang would go on to establish the Society of Chinese Architects in 1926. By 1931, 28 of the 51 members of this society had been trained in America and eight had been trained in other foreign countries. In addition to providing funds for Chinese architects to study abroad, American Boxer indemnity funds also went towards establishing educational institutions in China such as Tsinghua College in Beijing (founded in 1908) and Ginling College in Nanjing (founded in 1918). These foreign-founded institutions were supplemented by an

architecture program founded at Northeastern University in Shenyang (founded in 1928) and a program National Central University in Nanjing (founded in 1930). By the late 1920s and early 1930s, architecture and urban planning had become established as professional discipline in China, albeit one with heavy foreign, and especially American, influence.[95]

The Nanjing Decade (1927-1937) would present this new generation of Chinese architects with opportunities to experiment with new efforts in urban planning and architecture. These efforts would reflect principles of modernist planning that were popular throughout the world, albeit with special attention paid to adapting those principles to Chinese society, culture, and urban structure. In cities such as Nanjing, Guangzhou, and eventually Shanghai, planners attempted to create new modernist urban spaces characterized by efficient transportation networks with grand straight avenues, centralized and impressive civic centers, zoning regulations that separated residential areas from commercial and industrial districts, as well as increased investment in infrastructure such as ports and railroads.[96] Historian Jeffrey Cody argues that these efforts represented the influence of American planning standards associated with the "city functional," "city efficient," and "city scientific" movements of the early twentieth century. These movements emphasized the possibility of using planning to scientifically design a city to make them more heavily industrialized while still serving its inhabitants. Cities in this mode bear clear resonances with the high modernist visions of Le Corbusier, though without the dedication to authoritarian bureaucratic administration (that being said, the Republican Government during the Nanjing Decade certainly had more than its fair share of authoritarian aspirations). Beyond the above-mentioned emerging generation of American-trained Chinese architects, Cody also highlights how American planning advisors such as Henry K. Murphy

[95] Rowe and Kuan, 47-49.
[96] Jeffrey W. Cody, "American Planning in Republican China, 1911-1937," *Planning Perspectives* 11, no. 4 (1996): 340.

hired by Chinese politicians as well as publications on architecture and also planning came to spread American modernist planning standards to Chinese cities in the 1920s and 1930s.[97]

The Chinese city of Shanghai began experimenting with these modernist dreams in 1929 when it organized a new city planning commission with Dong Dayou, who had graduated from the University of Minnesota and worked with Henry Murphy, as its chief architectural advisor. In developing its "Greater Shanghai Plan," the city government also consulted with foreign planners such as the Americans C.E. Grunsky and Asa Phillips as well as the German Hermann Jansen. [98] The two centerpieces of Shanghai's new developments were to be a new civic center built in Jiangwan and an expanded and modernized port at Wusong, both located to the northeast of the International Settlement. The government buildings of the civic center were to be designed in a "Chinese Renaissance Style" that emphasized both modern architectural techniques such as reinforced concrete as well as colorfully-tiled, "traditional" Chinese rooflines. The absolute Center was to be a grand pagoda surrounded by an open square that would dominate the surrounding landscape. The new city would be laid out around this center with wide paved north and south arterial highways as well as a number of beltways. Residential housing was to be laid out in rectangular grids, whose monotony would be broken up by parks, open spaces, and restored streams. Areas were zoned as industrial, commercial, or residential according to the "suitability" of the ground. The planners were acutely aware of Shanghai's housing shortages and the fact that many people lived in haphazard slums, intending to create a system of public housing that would supply the impoverished with new housing at subsidized rents.[99] Though the plan would never be built because of the increasing instability of the 1930s, according to Kerrie L. MacPherson it represented an effort at redesigning a city along modernist lines that is

[97] Ibid., 359.
[98] Ibid., 366.
[99] Macpherson,, 50-59.

surpassed only by Haussmann's redesign of Paris in terms of its monumental scope. It was an effort to completely redesign the Chinese city of Shanghai and was intended to eclipse the Shanghai of the foreign concessions (that the planners figured would surely be incorporated in the Chinese city soon enough). MacPherson writes that the plan was a "statement about Shanghai, about its intellectual, political, and economic primacy in its Chinese context, about its ambivalence towards the Foreign Settlements…and about its unique and profound relationships—relations enjoyed by no other Chinese City—with the international community."[100]

The Greater Shanghai Plan was the culmination of a process of Republican-era architects adopting modernist planning conceptions to the Chinese context. While the plan—which was developed to its fullest extent by the end of 1932—would never be built because of material constraints and historical developments (for instance, Japan's 1932 attack on Shanghai), it was intended to be an expression of a new, powerful and modern China. This was to be a China of rational and efficient cities that would serve economic goals while also providing better housing conditions or the poor. That the Chinese city of Shanghai was a candidate for such a dramatic redesign was laden with symbolic meaning. Shanghai itself was to be a modern city that would impress a foreign audience on the world stage, far surpassing the "Paris of the East" that had been built in the concessions.

In the global discourse of modernist planning, the Greater Shanghai Plan was firmly in the traditions of large-scale, hierarchically-implemented urban renovation pioneered by Haussmann and expounded upon by Le Corbusier. Wide highways and grand structures were to be built through existing neighborhoods, ostensibly creating the city of the future while also disrupting the lives of residents (a trend that was also developing in the United States and would

[100] Ibid., 60.

see its culmination in Robert Moses's redesign of New York through the construction of infrastructure projects from the 1930s to the 1960s). In its' "rational" structure built around a grand central pagoda, the Greater Shanghai Plan also contained more than a tinge of Le Corbusier's designs for the radiant city and seem to fit well with his strain of "authoritarian" modernism identified above. This was not the modernism of utopian communities living in spatial and social harmony, but of powerful states redesigning society (while also of course living in spatial and social harmony). Ultimately, the unstable material conditions would ensure that the Greater Shanghai Plan never got off the ground, but this plan still reflected at least the political ambitions of the Nationalist State. This state was to be rational, efficient, and expansionist, presenting a powerful image of a "Modern China" to the world. This meant an ability to redesign both urban space and the structure of peoples' lives. That it failed in these goals should not distract in our ability to use moments such as the Greater Shanghai Plan to help understand the nature of state power and ambitions during the Nanjing Decade.

The Greater Shanghai plan is part of the genealogy of modernist planning's developments in China's context of colonial modernity. A capitalist real estate market as well as notions of a municipal government conducting "urban planning" appeared for the first time in China in Shanghai's concessions under foreign administration. Similarly, the first generation of professional Chinese architects were either trained in foreign, especially American, universities or new educational institutions set up with foreign financing and guidance. In these conditions, that the Greater Shanghai Plan had international modernist sensibilities should be no surprise. Still, this should not be taken to say that Chinese planners *simply* adopted modernist standards from the West. There were constant efforts to adapt these modernist standards to the Chinese context. The attempt to use "traditional" Chinese roof styles was one such effort at such

adaption, however surface-level it might have been. Going further, the creators of the Greater Shanghai Plan were intent on not just modeling Shanghai after western cities, but on quite literally eclipsing Western models, most specifically those of the concessions. Ultimately, it was the material and historical conditions and constraints of colonial modernity that ensured modernist planning in China would not merely mimic the West.

Even a seemingly purely colonial construction such as the capitalist housing market that developed in the late-nineteenth century only emerged from the conjunction that occurred when waves of refugees fled the Taiping Rebellion. The *lilong* housing that emerged from this conjunction were built in a uniquely hybrid Chinese-Western apartment style that were sold as commodities in a speculative real estate market. This was a clear case of the historical conditions of colonial modernity in Shanghai creating a type of modern planning that cannot be identified as "purely" Chinese or Western, but as a hybrid colonial form. The material conditions of colonialism are also reflected in the ambitions of the Greater Shanghai Plan—the impositions of foreign imperialism helped create a desire for urbanist grandeur that far surpassed the actual capabilities of the Republican state during the 1930s. Those desires were nothing if not a hybrid construction of colonial modernity.

Ultimately, the historical or material conditions that created colonial modernity would prevent any real progress from actually being made on the Greater Shanghai Plan. Full-scale Japanese invasion and the horrors of the Second World War, not to mention the ensuing Civil War, ensured that very little would be built in Shanghai until the Communists came to power in 1949. As such, the efforts to redesign Shanghai can be seen as the culmination of one stage in the genealogy of modernist planning in China. Though some of the players and many of the ideas would remain the same under the People's Republic of China, new contradictions would emerge

as efforts were made to build socialism in a colonial space. Planners would continue to negotiate the tricky path between global modernist ideas, local political ambitions (which are of course also only meaningful in the context of the circulating global discourses of capitalism and communism that were circulating in the Cold War world), and material limitations.

New Villages for a New Shanghai

In the aftermath of finally defeating the Nationalists in 1949, the new Communist administration faced an urban situation characterized by an enormous shortage of adequate housing. In Shanghai in 1949, it is estimated that around three million industrial workers and their families were living in a combination of slums, old factory housing, and old style *lilong* housing and at this time there was less than four square meters per person of housing space.[101] Of those three million, about 1.15 million people lived in areas described by historians as slums. These slums consisted of shockingly unhygienic and ramshackle dwellings. People lived in boats and makeshift stilt houses built along Suzhou Creek and other waterways that were polluted by industrial and human waste.[102] The slums lacked basic sanitary provisions such as covered sewers, toilets, and sidewalks. Garbage simply piled up and after it rained the streets would become breeding grounds for insects, and then disease.[103] These deplorable conditions had developed in the wake of years of war and political chaos, though surely the Nationalist state, not to mention the administrations of the concessions areas, also bear some responsibility for failing

[101]Yang Chen 杨晨,36.

[102] Luo Gang 罗岗, "Kongjian de shengchan yu kongjian de zhuanyi" 空间的生产与空间的转移：上海工人新村与社会主义城市经验, *Huadong shifan daxue xuebao (zhixue shehui kexue ban)* 华东师范大学学报（哲学社会科学版) 36, no. 6 (2007): 93.

[103] Wang Ruifang 王瑞芳, "Xin Zhongguo chengli zhi chu chengshi zhigong zhuzhai huanjing yu gongren xincun jianshe"新中国成立之初城市职工住宅环境 与工人新村建设, *Shi xue yue kan* 史学月刊，no. 4 (2015): 101.

to improve living conditions for millions of urban residents, despite the pretensions of grand modernizing schemes such as the Greater Shanghai Plan.

In the wake of coming to power, the Communists turned their attention to trying to address the issues of Shanghai's massive slums. The newly established city government invested money in covering up sewers, paving roads, building toilets, providing trash cans, and spraying insecticide—measures which, it is estimated, benefitted more than 300,000 residents.[104] At the same time, the city government also took measures to simply "clear" the slums, repatriating refugees and recent arrivals in Shanghai to the countryside. In what was to be a common theme, reflecting constant struggles over Shanghai's place in China's post-1949 economy, there were also efforts to restrict the number of migrants allowed to enter Shanghai, despite its established place as China's main commercial hub.[105] As the PRC's economy began to stabilize in 1950 and 1951, the city government and party committee developed plans to begin building new housing for workers. Throughout the 1950s, these plans focused on the construction of Workers' New Villages, which represented socialist Shanghai's greatest effort to actually *solve* the housing crisis, not just improve hygienic conditions or move residents around.

In their efforts to provide public housing and create cohesive communities with comprehensive services for the working class, the New Villages signaled the reemergence of modernist planning ideals in Shanghai, albeit in a very different context from that which shaped the grand visions of the Greater Shanghai Plan. Specifically, they fit firmly in the lineage of small-scale, planned communities ostensibly designed to form a comprehensive society that can be genealogically traced back through Clarence Perry's notion of the Neighborhood Unit to Ebenezer Howard's concept of society made up of garden cities, to the utopian socialist dreams

[104]Ibid. 102.

[105] Luo Gang 萝岗，93.

of Robert Owen and Charles Fourier. As much as these influences might sit uneasily with the official calls to "study the Soviet Union" and Stalinist planning models (which, as discussed above, were themselves beset by contradictions), Workers' New Villages' place in this international legacy of modernist planning begins to emerge clearly when one examines the planning of the New Villages as well as the thinking of Wang Dingzeng, the chief designer of Caoyang New Village, the first of these communities built in the PRC.

After 1949 there was much cautiousness about how to treat Shanghai and other big cities.[106] Shanghai was still a commercial and manufacturing center, but it had become so largely because of foreign imperialism. Symbolically, it had come to represent all that the revolution had been posed against, and would not be allowed to retain its place as China's most important city. The central government directed its attention at investing in other cities as well as making some efforts to erase the massive inequalities that existed between city and countryside. During the First Five-Year Plan, the central government, with assistance from the Soviet Union, invested massively in 156 large-scale industrial projects, but not one these was located in Shanghai.[107] At the same time, Shanghai of course *was* an important commercial and manufacturing hub with already well-developed industrial capacities, something China was sorely lacking in the aftermath of the revolution. Indeed, despite the government's best efforts, the city's population would continue to grow throughout the 1950s.[108]

The lack of central government attention in investing in Shanghai meant that Shanghai's redevelopment was limited, and there were few grand symbolic construction projects such as the

[106] See: Bergere, *Shanghai: China's Gateway to Modernity;* K.I. Fung, "Satellite Towns," in *Shanghai: Transformation and Modernization under China's Open Door,* ed. Yue-man Yeung and Yun-wing Sung (Hong Kong: Chinese University Press, 1996); Yang Chen 杨晨.
[107] Yang Chen 杨晨, 37.
[108] Christopher Howe, "The Spatial Development of Shanghai," in, *Shanghai, Revolution and Development in an Asian Metropolis*, ed. Christopher Howe (Cambridge University Press, 1981) 272.

massive redesign of Beijing's Chang'an Avenue along impressive (and imposing) Stalinist lines.[109] Instead, Shanghai would focus on the transformation of its spatial structure and people's daily lives through the construction of the more modest Workers' New Villages, which were to become the main method of transforming Shanghai spatially under socialism.[110] The question of whether or not they actually constituted a socially or political significant transformation is of course a central concern of this dissertation.

In 1951, Mao Zedong promulgated an instruction that building new housing to serve the needs of the working class should be made a priority during the 1950s.[111] Shanghai's new city government responded by commissioning the construction of what would become China's first Workers' New Village, Caoyang New Village, which was a form that was to spread throughout the whole country during the 1950s. Construction of Caoyang New Village in Shanghai's Putuo's District, which was then located in a northwestern suburban area (though today is considered relatively central), began in August, 1951 and was completed in May of 1952. This initial development was referred to as the "1002 Household Program" as it provided housing for 1,002 households with that number of separate units. In April of 1952, the city government submitted a plan to build housing for an additional 20,000 households for ratification by the central government in what came to be known as the "Workers' Housing for 20,000 Households" program. This project was completed in May of 1953 and it expanded Caoyang's size to provide housing for 4,000 households in total, as well as building new Workers' New

[109] See: Shuishan Yu, *Chang'an Avenue and the Modernization of Chinese Architecture* (Seattle: University of Washington Press, 2013).
[110] Yang Chen 杨晨, 37.
[111] Cited in Yang Chen 杨晨, 37.

Villages across Shanghai's suburban areas.[112] A *People's Daily* article estimated that all of these developments would provide housing for a total of 100,000 people throughout Shanghai.[113]

After the initial building wave of 1951-1953, construction proceeded in fits and starts throughout the 1950s. As mentioned above, the initial construction wave of the First Five Year Plan (1953-1957) largely neglected Shanghai in favor of interior cities and the countryside. In 1957, the political winds changed again and the central government, under Mao's direction, made new efforts to invest in coastal cities such as Shanghai. Taking advantage of this new situation, in 1957 and 1958 Shanghai's city government initiated 698 new construction projects. This included the construction of numerous new "New Villages." In total, from 1954 until 1958, Shanghai constructed a total of 129 New Villages, 40 of which were constructed in 1958.[114] A government report from the following year, 1959, estimated that at this time more than 500,000 people were housed in the New Villages.[115] The years from 1957 until 1959 were to prove a high point in the construction of Shanghai's New Villages. Soon the economic and political chaos of the Great Leap Forward, its aftermath, and the Cultural Revolution would eclipse any desires to continue building housing that would actually serve the needs of the working class. It would not be until after the end of the Cultural Revolution and Mao's death in 1976 that housing construction would begin again in earnest.[116]

While the construction of Workers New Villages to provide housing for more than 500,000 people certainly did not solve Shanghai's housing crisis, it was still a real achievement,

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[112] Luo Gang 萝岗，93.

[113] Cited in Wang Ruifang 王瑞芳，105.

[114] Yang Chen 杨晨，38.

[115] Population figure from: "上海市第一商业局关于上海市内工人新村的几种商品供应与服务形式的综合介绍材料" 1959, Shanghai Municipal Archives (SMA) B123-4-544-44.

[116] In the 20 years between 1958 and 1977, Yang Chen 杨晨 estimates that Shanghai constructed 2,850,000 square meters of housing. Compare this with the 7,600,000 square meters that were constructed just in 1958 alone.

especially considering the economic conditions of both the city and the nation in the aftermath of decades of war (not to mention that construction in Shanghai was not a national priority during this period).

So what *were* Workers' New Villages and how can they be fit into a genealogy of modernist urban planning in China? According to its designer, Wang Dingzeng, Caoyang New Village was built to redress the "lop-sided" development Shanghai suffered under both foreign imperialists and the Nationalists that left Shanghai's workers living in crowded and unsanitary conditions.[117] In terms of planning style, Wang claimed Caoyang was designed with Clarence Perry's conception of the "neighborhood unit" in mind. In a self-critical 1956 article in *Architecture Journal*, Wang writes of Shanghai's New Villages:

> We cannot deny that the overall planning of the New Village carried a neighborhood unit mindset. The New Villages' total area is 94.63 hectares and radius is about 0.6 kilometers, from the edge it takes about seven to eight minutes to walk to the center, in the center there are different types of public architecture like a cooperative, a post-office, a bank, and a cultural hall. At the edge of the New Villages is a small food market and a cooperative retail store, which makes it convenient for residents to purchase everyday products in the neighborhood of their housing, the elementary school and kindergarten are not located within the development, but are usually located in an area independent from the New Village, though it does not take the children more than ten minutes to walk from their houses to the schools, like this the residential quiet of the neighborhood will not be obstructed and at the same time the schools will also have enough space for activities. The population of New Villages is bigger than that of standard neighborhood units; actually, they are the scale of a small residential district.[118]

Wang is describing Workers' New Villages (and especially the one he himself designed, Caoyang) as discrete neighborhoods that provided necessary services for residents. The New Villages were part of the larger city, but they were also their own communities. Caoyang was built on what was then open agricultural ground in Shanghai's northwestern suburbs, a location

[117]Wang Dingzeng 汪定曾 (1956), 1.
[118] Ibid. 2.

that Wang said was chosen because the city's inner area lacked open space.[119] Planning Caoyang to be both independent from and part of Shanghai's wider urban geography reflected the "neighborhood unit mindset" Wang referred to.

The influence of the concept of the neighborhood unit on Caoyang is unsurprising given that Wang studied at the University of Illinois. However, because of the post-1949 political circumstance, in 1956, Wang felt the need to denounce these western influences in favor of Stalinist architectural principles, specifically the idea of the "super block" apartment complex. In the same article, Wang stated that a great flaw of Caoyang's design was that it did not pay enough attention to cost because it adopted the neighborhood unit idea from the capitalist west. He wrote: "if we at the time of starting planning want to change New Village planning methods into super blocks, then we need to more closely analyze production costs, it is not hard to prove the economic nature of super blocks, this way we can save in building costs for the nation."[120] While Wang's stated call for following Soviet methods is unequivocal, he does not provide much description of why super blocks are actually much different from neighborhood units, or how New Villages are distinguished from either of these forms, other than his claim that the planning of super blocks requires greater concern with low production costs.

In this 1956 article, Wang called attention to the fact that New Villages were not just connected to the ideas of the neighborhood unit, but were also not so far from Ebenezer Howard's related, yet more radical, idea of a society made up of garden cities. He wrote:

> Caoyang New Village is located in vicinity of the city proper, the planners' subjective idea was that they thought it should accord with principles of expanding the city. Other than this, New Village housing is not independent or half-independent housing, because of this there was no desire to create independent garden cities, but because the housing is low-storied, and the population density is low, there is no wonder that when the British architect

[119] Ibid. 1.
[120] Ibid. 2.

> "sijinashi" came to visit China in 1953, he wrote an article published in a British architectural magazine calling Caoyang New Village a type of "Garden City."[121]

Wang readily admitted that he understood why a visiting British architect would think of Caoyang as an independent garden city of the type that Howard hoped could provide the foundation for a new society. It was not located in the city center and was relatively low density, which combined with public services that made it self-sufficient (as well as abundant green space), created the image of an independent community. In this article, Wang supported criticisms of garden cities as a "petit-bourgeois theory" for its hope of creating idealistic independent cities, yet he also could not deny the surface similarities. Indeed, in a 2009 interview when he was ninety-six years old Wang admitted to having been influenced by the ideas of the garden city that were reemerging in popularity around the world in the 1950s.[122]

Raising the specter of garden cities pointed to the fact that Caoyang and other Workers' New Villages *were a* somewhat odd way to proceed with socialist urbanization. Such plans did seem to accord with modernist schemes to transform society through a combination of modern technological advances and pastoral settings, which can be traced back to utopian socialists such as Robert Owen. As Yang Chen points out, the name Workers' New Villages is itself telling for its fusion of the idea of an urban, industrial proletariat (the workers, *gongren*) with a countryside village (*cun*) into a form that was wholly "new," a process that he goes so far as to characterize as the "ruralization of the city" (*chengshi xiangcunhua)*.[123] This peculiar pastoral nature of New

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[121] Ibid., 4.

[122]Wang Dingzeng **汪定曾,** "Qiyu jintian de jianzhu shi, shanghai shi jianzhu xuehui wangzhan 寄语今天的建筑师，上海市建筑学会网站," September 11, 2009. Cited in: "Chongdu Wang Dingzeng xiansheng jiuwen yougan—ji wo he caoyang xincun de yi duan qing **重读汪定曾先生旧文有感（二）** ——记我和曹杨新村的一段情," November 4 2013, https://www.douban.com/note/314288177/ (accessed October 28, 2018).

[123]Yang Chen 杨晨，37.

Village urbanization is well reflected in the lyrics of a song extolling the glories of Caoyang that was published in a 1953 propaganda pamphlet titled *Caoyang's Great Scenery*:

> Caoyang New Village is great and grand/The tall western-style buildings are more than a 100/ oh the poplars/oh the poplars' green leaves/The wall ands the red roofs/the stone roads are paved evenly/ Ai Ai ya/Strolling through is truly agreeable.
> One house is like this/above and below are both beautiful/ oh the poplars/oh the poplars' green leaves/Running water/Lights like sunlight/A kitchen and a bathroom/Ai Ai Ya/So Clean and Hygienic.
> Inside the rooms is truly pretty/Glass windows and doors towering and new/ oh the poplars/oh the poplars' green leaves/Living here truly makes one happy and protects you, making you sleep peacefully/Ai Ai Ya/Sleep until the break of dawn.
> Moving oneself to the bathhouse/Men and women are separated/ oh the poplars/oh the poplars' green leaves/The changing room is truly clean/The shower heads are clear/Ai Ai Ya/After you I'll go myself.
> At the door is the co-op, nearby is the store for snacks/ oh the poplars/oh the poplars' green leaves/Buying food is truly convenient/No need to worry, no need to rush/Ai Ai Ya/Like this everything will be taken care of.
> In the middle of everything is still a small stream/Crossing the stream are three bridges/ oh the poplars/oh the poplars' green leaves/In June when the cool wind blows, small sampans sway and play/Ai Ai Ya/Spending evening in the garden.
> Everyone carefully think/How are the reactionaries at the moment?/ oh the poplars/oh the poplars' green leaves/They are still living in thatched shacks and wooden plank houses/Ai Ai Ya/They truly are afflicted.
> We are fortunate for the coming of the coming of the Communist Party/the workers' lives have changed like this/ oh the poplars/oh the poplars' green leaves/many thanks Chairman Mao!/You have built public housing on behalf of us!/Ai Ai ya, many thanks to the Communist Party![124]

These lyrics represent many of the contradictions of the type of modernist urban development embedded in the New Village format. According to the song, Caoyang was a community with modern public housing that was clean and hygienic. With kitchens, bathrooms, lights, and running water, it is suggested that the buildings were far superior to what the workers had lived in before they became the beneficiaries of the Communist Party, which were presumably the "thatched shacks" that the reactionaries still occupied. With mention of the shops, the song also

[124]Zhu Zongling 祝总临 and Zhou Daowu 周道吾 (Illustrator), *Caoyang xincun hao fengguang* 曹杨新村好风光曹杨好风光 (Laodong chubanshe, 1953), 1-3.

argues that this was a community with adequate services for its residents. Caoyang had given the workers the gift of the convenience of modern urban life. At the same time the song extolls the virtues of these modern conveniences (modest an achievement as bathrooms and kitchens may seem today), its use of natural imagery also suggests that Caoyang's *separation* from the crowded, dirty bustle of urban life is one of its main advantages. Images of swaying poplar trees and boats call to mind a peaceful, idyllic country town much more than an urban housing complex for an industrial proletariat.

By all accounts, Caoyang's green space and natural environment were one of its chief virtues. Another 1956 article in *Architecture Journal* discussed best practices for planning residential districts across China used Caoyang as an example of development that had successfully created a beautiful living environment that was in harmony with its natural environment.[125] Even in his self-criticism, Wang still argued that "making a space green (*lühua*, 绿化) is not only an important factor for an environment's hygiene, it is also important in the art of architecture, landscape designers must closely cooperate with architectural planners, that way they will be able to obtain favorable results."[126] By 1956, Wang argued that there were material limits to idyllic communities like Caoyang as a way to solve Shanghai's housing crisis, acknowledging that "out of everything, what is most important is that we lacked an economic viewpoint."[127] Even with this more "realistic" attitude however, Wang's idea of a New Village still emphasized the creation of comfortable, healthy, and quiet community that depended on the careful attention to green space.

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[125]Wang Hua 汪骅, "Guanyu zhuzhaiqu guihua sheji xingshi de taolun" 关于住宅区规划设计形式的讨论, *Jianzhu xuebao* 建筑学报 3, no. 5 (1956): 51-57.
[126]Wang Dingzeng 汪定曾 (1956), 14.
[127]Wang Dingzeng 汪定曾 (1956), 15.

At its outset Caoyang was to bring the benefits of modern, urban life, but it was also to evoke the benefits of the countryside. This was firmly in the line of modernist thought that passed through both Clarence Perry's neighborhood unit and Ebenezer Howard's garden cities—ideas that inspired Wang—on its journey back to its origins with nineteenth century utopian socialists. By 1956, Wang felt the need to criticize the design of Caoyang. These criticisms reflected the material constraints of the 1950s, which were compounded by the central government's decision to focus its development plans away from coastal cities such as Shanghai. Wang's self-criticisms also reflected the 1950s political concern to follow Soviet models as closely as possible, a process that was facilitated by the 10,000 Soviet advisors that came to China in the this decade.[128] Indeed, Wang's 1956 article is peppered with quotations on planning and architecture from Soviet sources, including one Soviet expert speaking in 1950 directly on how garden cities were not an appropriate model for improving Shanghai's housing conditions.[129] In the face of these shifting political winds, it is telling that Wang's plans for future housing developments did not involve completely scrapping the ideas that were developed at Caoyang, but actually seem to build on that framework. Wang criticized the planning of Caoyang for not paying enough attention to cost and for not making sure it was well-incorporated into the rest of the city. But in terms of design, he seemed to mostly want things to remain the same. He still emphasized the need for New Villages to be discrete housing units with their own public services and ample green space. His main suggestions were that the planning and development of public services and green spaces should strive to create a more cohesive and integrated living environment where everything worked together better and took into account prospects for future growth. Seemingly belying his focus on low costs, he even emphasized the

[128] On the intimacies between China and Soviet advisors see: Elizabeth McGuire, *Red at Heart: How Chinese Communists Fell in Love with the Russian Revolution* (New York: Oxford University Press, 2018) 257-296.
[129] Wang Dingzeng 汪定曾 (1956), 2-4.

need for more interesting color schemes and varied building styles and layouts to create more aesthetically pleasing New Villages.[130] He was not calling for scrapping New Villages—even with their connections to the "capitalist" forms of the neighborhood unit and garden city—but for building better ones.

Wang's continued adherence to the basic form of the New Village laid out at Caoyang, with its combination of the rural and the urban as a means to solve the housing crisis, points to the continued development of modernist town planning in 1950s Shanghai. As argued earlier in this chapter, it also points to the connections the Soviet super block model itself had with this international lineage. Despite the presentation of it as a dialectical materialist, Stalinist method that was not beset by the problems of utopianism, in terms of actual planning practice, super blocks bore the influence of models first developed by utopian socialists. The planning modernism that emerged in 1950s Shanghai marked something of a break with the modernism that had developed in the Shanghai of the Nanjing decade, represented most clearly by the Greater Shanghai Plan of 1929-1932. Where that plan called for a massive reshaping of the entire face of the city, including the destruction of old buildings and the construction of a grand monumental area designed to impress on the world the power of the Nationalist government, the plans for 1950s Shanghai called for the building of low density New Villages with plenty of green space in undeveloped suburban areas. This was the modernism of Robert Owen and Ebenezer Howard, not that of Le Corbusier. This was a more humble form of modernism that seemed to stick closer to its stated goals of improving the living conditions for the working class rather than making grand monumental gestures that sometimes meant the destruction of the actual homes of the working class.

[130] Wang Dingzeng 汪定曾 (1956), 8-14.

The separation of these two strands of modernism should not be overstated in 1950s Shanghai. There were a few efforts to build grand monuments to socialism, notably the Sino-Soviet Friendship Hall and People's Square, and it could easily be argued that material constraints were the main reason there was no grand effort to reshape Shanghai. This seems especially true given that Beijing did receive a socialist realist facelift in the 1950s that seemed designed to impress on the country and the world the glories of Chinese socialism. The Chinese communist party was certainly not beyond grand symbolic gestures carried out in a hierarchical fashion. Still, the socialist redevelopment of China's largest and most economically developed city in 1949 was represented most clearly by housing developments that had the symbolic value of representing the working class as the leaders of the newly established PRC. In so doing, they adopted planning schemes that in their designs were similar to the community-focused plans of the utopian socialists, not the authoritarian plans of high modernists like Le Corbusier. Despite the contradictions and constraints that would beset these developments, they do suggest that at least at times the communist government of Shanghai was trying to act as what it claimed to be, the representative of the city's previously exploited classes.

Conclusion: Urban Planning, Utopia, and the Chinese Revolution

This chapter has sketched out the origins of modernist urban planning and provided a genealogy of those ideas in China, culminating in a discussion of how they contributed to socialist planning in Shanghai through the notion of Workers' New Villages. I have argued that, at its core, modernist planning relied on a process of "creative destruction" that would use the technological tools brought by modern economic development to both diagnose and then cure the ills that had been created through this development. This core can be termed "utopian" because it meant

dreaming a new world and then trying to create it. While this utopian impulse remained the same for modernists of all political stripes, two strands of urban planning emerged around the world in the late-nineteenth and early-twentieth century, both of which were concerned with constructing new societies without the need for revolution. One strand was developed by figures such as Haussmann and Le Corbusier and emphasized the need for a hierarchical bureaucracy to autocratically reshape cities, and societies, to serve more "rational" ends (often meaning the goals of capitalist production). On the other hand, utopian socialists and those that they influenced developed the idea of small-scale, equitable communities that would be attractive to all classes and encourage people of all classes to voluntarily create new more egalitarian societies.

Projects influenced by these two strands of modernist thought would be tried out in both capitalist societies and, after the 1917 Russian revolution, socialist ones. In the revolutionary society of the Soviet Union there were experiments such as the idea of the "social condenser" to use new configurations of space to create new socialist forms of life and clearly drew on modernist planning techniques. Ultimately, Stalinism came to denigrate radical spatial experiments as utopian efforts that only focused on transforming the "superstructure" of society and not its Marxist base. However, despite such theoretical victories, in practice Soviet urban planning in the form of super blocks continued to embrace principles that were similar to those that defined modernist forms such as neighborhood units and garden cities that were developed in capitalist countries so as to build better societies without the need for revolution. Wang Dingzeng's 1956 article on the planning of Caoyang New Village—which he admitted were inspired by ideas of the neighborhood unit and garden city—further shows this reconciliation between Soviet ideas of the super block and pre-existing modernist planning ideas. It was only

because such ideas shared inherent similarities that Wang was able emphasize following the Soviet experience without drastically changing his conception of what should constitute a Workers' New Village. Ultimately, both super blocks and Workers' New Villages were conceptual bedfellows with ideas of the neighborhood unit and garden city that were common in modernist planning circles across the globe during the twentieth century.

The legacy of modernist planning in China comes out of the experience of colonial modernity that shaped the development of Shanghai. Shanghai saw the development of the first speculative housing market that residential housing as a commodity in the foreign concessions. It was also a place that saw the mixing of various strands of foreign planning ideas with architectural forms from Chinese tradition. This colonial modern environment would ultimately lead to the formation of architecture and urban planning as a professional discipline that drew inspiration from Western sources, especially the United States. One peak in this genealogy of modernist planning in China was the Greater Shanghai Plan of 1929-1932, which favored a massive restructuring of Shanghai in a grand, high modernist style that highlighted symbolic grandeur. When modernist planning was to reemerge in Shanghai after the chaos of the Japanese invasion and the ensuing civil war that brought the communists to power, it was to be in the form of Workers' New Village. Like the grand plans of the Greater Shanghai Plan, they also filled a symbolic function, but this function was to reveal that the new communist government truly represented the interests of the working class and was dedicated to improving workers' material situations. The New Villages were also directly intended as a rebuttal to the Nationalists' and foreign imperialists' neglect and exploitation of the working classes. These symbolic meanings

also served the goals of state power, but supposedly embodied a type of state power that was directly connected to workers, as the communist state claimed to be.[131]

The specific form of the Workers' New Village represented the communists' peculiar relationship with urbanization. New Villages like Caoyang fused a utopian version of rural life with the material needs of a modern industrial proletariat. In this, they again were closer to rural visions of utopian socialists than either urbanists like Le Corbusier or orthodox Marxist-Leninist visions of revolutionary urban proletariat. While of course Mao, like Lenin and Stalin, argued his revolution represented the expected result of the science of dialectical materialism, it has long been pointed out that material conditions, namely lacking an industrial proletariat, ensured that China's revolution would be voluntarist and utopian, relying heavily on will of an awakened peasantry to overthrow the exploitation China had suffered at the hands of foreign imperialism.[132] This chapter has argued that connection to utopianism can also be seen in the concept of the Workers' New Village, which was a spatial form with connections to the rural, yet rationally planned and technologically advanced communities that utopian socialists hoped would transform capitalist society without the need for revolution.

These connections with utopian socialism should not be taken as a betrayal of Marxism. Instead, utopian dreams of using technology to understand the present and then create a better world with the tools of the old are at the core of all projects of modernity, including Marxism, even with its pretensions to being a science of history. David Graeber has argued that there always existed a tension in Marx's thought between voluntarist imagination and a conception of

[131] Caoyang's symbolic power will be examined in greater detail in Chapter Three, which will examine both cultural representations of New Villages and their use as propaganda sites for both domestic and foreign visitors to Shanghai.

[132] See: Benjamin I. Schwartz, *Chinese Communism and the Rise of Mao* (Cambridge: Harvard University Press, 1951); Maurice J. Meisner, *Marxism, Maoism, and Utopianism : Eight Essays* (Madison: University of Wisconsin Press, 1982).

history unfolding in dialectical ways that are connected to revolutionary practice, but are ultimately unplanned and unknowable. Graeber argues that Marx's notion of production ultimately relied on powers of imagination: "the architect first draws up a plan, and only then starts building the foundation of his edifice."[133] It is only when Marx discusses revolution that the powers of imagination are dismissed as utopianism. This unresolved tension in Marx's thought would be carried on through the Russian and Chinese revolutions, both of which certainly relied heavily on powers of imagination, improvisation, and voluntarism. Ultimately, they depended on exactly what Marx dismissed as utopianism—meaning drawing up plans for a better world and then trying to realize that dream. According to Graeber, because Marxist revolutionaries have often neglected the role of imagination in their efforts to counter the existing order, when they have come to power they have unwittingly erected new bureaucracies to violently impose their visions on the world.[134]

Urban planning is a perfect venue to view the revolutionary fate of utopianism and its connection to development of new means of state bureaucratic administration to ostensibly build socialism. Planners like Wang Dingzeng drew up plans for Workers' New Villages and then tried to build them to create better conditions for the exploited groups the revolution purported to serve. This is what I call "bureaucratic utopianism."

Of course, the plans of bureaucratic utopianism would always be constrained both by the material limitations of China during the 1950s and shifting political winds that, though always reflecting the utopianism of revolution, often blew against dreams for the government to

[133] David Graeber, *The Utopia of Rules: On Technology, Stupidity, and the Secret Joys of Bureaucracy* (New York: Melville House, 2015) 93.
[134] Ibid 93-100. In both his theory and his hopes for a new revolutionary practice, Graeber seeks to resolve this tension without throwing out ideas of material reality shaping consciousness. He proposes the need to engage in constant imaginative labor that is shaped by practical experience that might be able to create revolutionary societies without falling into the traps of bureaucratic state socialism.

bureaucratically plan and build idealistic communities that would solve Shanghai' housing crisis. The next chapter seeks to address these constraints and shifting political narratives by providing an archival source-based narrative of the construction of Workers' New Villages around Shanghai

Chapter 2

Bureaucratic Utopianism: The Planning and Construction of Shanghai's New Villages

In the early 1950s, Shanghai's local administration, guided by Mayor Chen Yi, used the construction of public housing projects such as Workers' New Villages to "serve the people" and demonstrate the material desirability of the new socialist order. According to an internal report released by the Shanghai People's Representative Committee at the end of 1954, the construction of workers' housing in the four years from 1951 through 1954 had already made great progress in addressing Shanghai's housing shortages. The report summarized:

> When in the past Shanghai was under the control of the imperialists and counterrevolutionaries every type of government construction was malformed and housing was no exception, working people lived in unbearably crowded simple dwellings and slums…After liberation and following the nation's economic recovery and development, this city's population increased each year, because of this the housing problem became even more severe. According to an order from the higher authorities, with the aim of serving both production and the workers, starting in 1951, this city began building large quantities of workers' housing in suburban areas, making strides to solve this problem.[135]

This report repeats a narrative of redemption through revolution and post-revolutionary construction that was common both in Shanghai and around the country. Communist revolution had kicked out the imperialists and the counterrevolutionaries and paved the way for the construction of the new world. Here, this construction meant the building of new residential housing complexes around Shanghai, notably the 12 New Villages the report claims were built by the end of 1954.

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[135] Shanghai Municipal Archives (SMA) *Shanghai Shi Dangan Guan* 上海市档案馆, Archival Number 档号：B8-2-16-28, "上海市人民委员会关于上海市工人住宅历年建造概况," 1954.

In total, the 1954 report states that 2,936 new housing units were built from 1951-1954, enough to house 30,121 households.[136] While this is an impressive achievement given China's difficult economic circumstances in the 1950s, it is estimated that 1,150,000 people were living in slums at the time of liberation, or 13.6% of the city's total population.[137] Despite all efforts to build new housing as well as transform old housing during the 1950s, a 1959 report estimated that 19% of the population still lived in slums at that time, suggesting that the slums had actually *grown* over the course of the decade.[138] So what to make of the contradictions between efforts to design new communities for workers that supposedly made great strides in building a city that improved the lives of "the people" and the reality that these projects only affected a relatively small number of people? In what ways were these housing projects even particularly significant?

This chapter addresses such questions through a narrative of the construction of residential housing complexes from liberation in 1949 until the beginning of the First Five Year Plan in 1953. It focuses primarily on the construction of Workers' New Villages in Shanghai's near suburbs—especially the first and most celebrated of these, Caoyang. This chapter and the next focus on the 1950s because it was the high point of government-directed housing construction during the Maoist period. It would not be until after Mao's death and the economic reforms of the late-1970s that housing construction would recover the pace set in the 1950s. I will pay particularly close attention to the processes of planning Caoyang in 1951 because it was both China's first New Village and was specifically intended to serve as a model for future

[136] Ibid.
[137] "Di san pian jiu zhuzhai gaizao: Di yi zhang penghu jianwu gaizao 第三篇就住宅改造：第一章棚户简屋改造" *Shanghai zhuzhai jianshe zhi* 上海住宅建设志, http://www.shtong.gov.cn/node2/node2245/node75091/node75097/node75142/index.html (Accessed March 26, 2018)
[138] SMA, A60-1-25-7, 《中共上海市委公用事业办公室关于改善上海市简屋棚户居住条件的报告》 November 4, 1959.

construction projects. The issues that emerged during its planning provide a baseline for analyzing future construction projects in socialist Shanghai.

In this period, before the dramatic political shifts of the Great Leap Forward and Cultural Revolution, Shanghai's municipal government developed a particular model of housing construction that can be considered bureaucratic utopianism.[139] By this term I mean a modernist faith in the ability to draw up plans for better organizing urban space and then attempting to realize those plans through centrally coordinated efforts. Such a faith is of course inherent to most government schemes of construction, no matter a state's political leanings. What is somewhat counterintuitive, is that such bureaucratic and hierarchically carried out schemes became the initial model for socialist revolution in Shanghai. In comparison to the "mass line" policies that proceeded "from the people, to the people" which had ostensible guided Maoist revolution since Yan'an, constructing public housing did not rely on community-based efforts to transform the space of the city from the bottom up. The party-state tightly managed urban revolution through bureaucratic processes of planning, construction, and housing distribution. However, almost from the moment that construction workers broke ground at Caoyang, opposing voices from the party center in Beijing would argue that the type of bureaucratically-managed construction that rose to prominence in the 1950s was perhaps not befitting a revolutionary society. These oppositions reveal interesting contradictions about the nature of socialism in 1950s Shanghai—in addition to the country as a whole—as well as shedding some light on the twists that the revolution would later take.

On a superficial level, the construction of public housing in Shanghai looked similar to that of welfare states across the post-war world, including not only the Soviet Union, but also

[139] Using this term I draw on David Graeber's argument that bureaucracies are inherently utopian endeavors. See: David Graeber, *The Utopia of Rules: On Technology, Stupidity, and the Secret Joys of Bureaucracy* (New York: Melville House, 2015).

imperialist states such as Britain and France. However, in Shanghai these efforts had a unique political meaning due to both the city's recent colonial history and to the immediate context of the developing Chinese revolution. Legacies of colonialism shaped Shanghai's urban geography into the 1950s and beyond. Indeed, the colonial heart of the city barely changed post-liberation, with the transformation of the old horse race track into People's Square one of the only notable transformations. Neither the construction of the New Villages in the inner suburbs nor the seizure and redistribution of housing in the former International Settlement and French Concession that had belonged to foreigners or "counterrevolutionaries" actually reshaped the face of Shanghai. Still, building the New Villages was part an incremental process of transforming the city from one based on private property and the reproduction of wealth for foreign and Chinese capitalist elites to one where all land was ostensibly held and distributed by a socialist state to serve the poor and working classes. This is why the construction of the New Villages should be termed "bureaucratic utopianism." These projects were not just efforts to technocratically manage Shanghai's urban development, but served as one model for advancing towards a mode of spatial reproduction that was better suited to, and would help shape, a better and more just world.

Interpreting the New Villages

The relatively few secondary sources that directly address Shanghai's Workers' New Villages have struggled with the place of these projects within China's urban development. Duanfang Lu has characterized Chinese urban planning under socialism as being defined by a developmentalist modernity that embraced a linear notion of temporality and progress, while at the same time always being defined by both perceived and actual scarcity in relation to more

"developed" nations around the world. Lu sees this scarcity as constraining, yet also freeing in that it created the sense that the future could be shaped in any number of ways. Specifically, post-1949 there was a desire to take agency over modernity and modernist development as opposed to having modernity simply imposed on China as it had been in the pre-revolutionary, colonial era.[140] Lu discusses Caoyang and other Workers' New Villages as early experiments on the path to a model where housing construction would be directly tied to one's *Danwei*, or work unit (Caoyang and some of the other Workers' New Villages stand out from this model in that they housed workers and their families from multiple *Danwei*).[141] I build on Lu's arguments about urban planning as a method of redefining Chinese modernity in the post-colonial, revolutionary era, while also paying greater attention to how the paths taken to reshape Shanghai's urban form reveal conflicts over the nature of a revolution that was at once state-managed and directed at advancing ideas of equality and the self-reliance of the masses.

Marie-Claire Bergere describes the construction of the New Villages as a relative success in their efforts to house thousands of Shanghai's poorest, while at the same time denigrating them as a "belt of gray and gloomy suburbs."[142] In Bergere's anticommunist narrative, during the Maoist period Shanghai fell into "disgrace" and was "punished for its colonial and imperialist past."[143] In contrast to Bergere, the Chinese-language historiography of the New Villages and Maoist housing development in Shanghai tends to focus more on the promises and meanings of

[140] Duanfang Lu, *Remaking Chinese Urban Form: Modernity, Scarcity and Space, 1949-2005* (New York: Routledge, 2006) 5-11.
[141] Lu argues that "The Maoist city achieved a morphology made up in large part of a jigsaw puzzle of self-contained and spatially demarcated work units surrounding the old city core" (13). As will be discussed in greater detail in the next chapter, this model would also come to largely define Shanghai during the Maoist period. What makes Shanghai stand out from other cities is that its old city core was a constant reminder of the city's colonial past. For Lu's treatment of Caoyang see Ibid. 29-32.
[142] Marie-Claire Bergere, Janet Lloyd, trans., *Shanghai: China's Gateway to Modernity* (Stanford, CA: Stanford University Press, 2009) 380. Interestingly enough, Bergere herself visited Caoyang in 1957. Unlike other visitors, she claims to not have been impressed (Begere, 379-380).
[143] Ibid. 367.

these projects, while also being attuned to their failures. Yang Chen describes how New Village construction peaked from 1952-1954 and from 1957-1958, highlighting how building standards for New Villages fell throughout this decade as increasing production was prioritized over living standards. As a result, Yang hypothesizes that many conflicts between residents might have been produced in tight quarters, especially in shared spaces such as kitchens and bathrooms. Despite their shortcomings, for Yang the New Villages are still significant for understanding socialist revolution in Shanghai because they represented an attempt to use spatial transformations to "collectivize life" (*jitihua shenghuo*).[144] I agree with Yang's argument; however, in this and subsequent chapters I argue that the New Villages were never the only, or even preferred, model for creating more collective cities during the Maoist period.

In a more general survey of workers' housing built during the early 1950s, Wang Ruifang plays up the accomplishments of efforts to build workers housing while also highlighting the continual lowering of housing standards. Wang does not see this lowering of standards as a problem, but as an appropriate adjustment to the conditions of scarcity that defined China's economy during the 1950s. In fact, Wang argues that the first phase of housing construction was defined by an overreliance on government-directed efforts to build high-quality, aesthetically pleasing housing when the focus should have been on efficiency and economizing. According to Wang, this was because of an early lack of a "mass perspective" that would rely on the energy of the masses to improve housing.[145] Such a reliance on "the masses" to take charge of housing construction does not seem to have actually been realized in the 1950s, but this strand of thought

[144]Yang Chen 杨晨, "Shehui zhuyi chengshi de kongjian shijian (1949-1978)" 社会主义城市的空间实践：上海工人新村（1949-1978), *Renwen dili 人文地理* 26，no. 3 (2011): 37-40; Yang Chen 杨晨, "Richang shenghuo kongjian de zhiduhua—20 shiji 50 niandai shanghai gongren xincun de kongjian fenxi kuangjia"日常生活空间的制度化— 20 世纪 50 年代上海工人新村的空间分析框架, *Tongji daxue xueban (shehui kexueban)* 同济大学学版（社会科学版）20, no. 6 (2009): 38-46.

[145]Wang Ruifang 王瑞芳, "Xin Zhongguo chengli zhi chu chengshi zhigong zhuzhai huanjing yu gongren xincun jianshe"新中国成立之初城市职工住宅环境与工人新村建设, *Shi xue yue kan* 史学月刊, no. 4 (2015): 106-110.

did emerge as a critique of bureaucratic and hierarchical model of urban planning that dominated in this decade and was to become more prominent later during the 1960s.[146] In my fifth chapter, I pick up this line of argument to suggest that the "mass perspective" highlighted by Wang ultimately contributed to the wholesale disavowal of urban planning at the outset of the Cultural Revolution.

Taking the discussion of Workers' New Villages in a somewhat different direction, Luo Gang and Li Yun both acknowledge the material shortcomings of the New Villages while focusing on their, especially Caoyang's, symbolic and cultural meanings. In an analysis of Zhou Erfu's novel *Morning in Shanghai,* Li argues that despite all of their failures Caoyang had an affective value in producing a sense in residents that they were part of a socialist society that was being constructed to serve the lower classes. For Li, Caoyang continues to serve as a testimony to the lofty sentiments of the Maoist era even as it has come to be eclipsed by Shanghai's recent massive development in a changed economic, political, and cultural order.[147] In less romantic tones, Luo Gang also recognizes the symbolic value of Caoyang and other New Villages, but uses these sites as a springboard to ask important questions about the nature space produced at Caoyang and whether or not such sites had ever been close to achieving the creation of a socialist mode of the production of space—especially given that they left the old colonial core of the city essentially intact. Ultimately, Luo never answers the questions he raises and instead jumps to

[146] In making this argument Wang seems essentially to be uncritically parroting the viewpoint of a 1952 central government report that argued government-directed housing construction could never keep up with the pace of urban economic development and population growth while also criticizing such efforts for lacking a mass perspective. See Wang, 107 and Zhong gong zhongyang 中共中央 [Central Committee of the Communist Party of China], "Zhong gong zhongyang zhuanfa quanguo zonggonghui dangzu guanyu jiejue gongren juzhu wenti de baogao"中共中央转发全国总工会党组关于解决工人居住问题的报告, in *Zhong gong zhongyang wenjian xuanji,* vol. 9 中共中央文件选集, 第 9 册 （1952 年 6 月-9 月), (Beijing: Renmin chubanshe, 2013) 297-298.

[147] Li Yun 李芸 , "Gongren xincun yu shehui zhuyi chengshi xiang—cong *Shanghai de zaochen* zhong de chengshi jingguan tan qi"工人新村与社会注意城市想象—从《上海的早晨》中的城市景观谈起, Beijing daxue yanjiusheng xuezhi 北京大学研究生学志, no. 1 (2006): 105-112.

how the Workers' New Villages have faded from relevance in the era of a speculative housing market.[148]

All of these authors engage with the conflict between economic scarcity and the Workers' New Villages as housing projects with great symbolic value as representations of the revolutionary state's efforts to treat workers and their families as the "masters" of the nation. Ultimately, previous discussions of Workers' New Villages agree that these efforts were not enough to overcome material constraints and actually solve the housing crisis of the 1950s. What they disagree on is the significance of their symbolic value. Chapters two and three of this dissertation aim to go beyond this discussion of material achievements versus symbolic meanings to actually focus on what was built as well as how and why those decisions were made. At this point, I take it as conclusively proven that the efforts of the 1950s both did not go far in actually solving Shanghai's housing crisis and possessed significant symbolic value.[149] By examining the actual processes of construction, this chapter and the next aim to reveal the specific modes of urban development that rose to prominence during the first years of the 1950s. To examine these processes I will analyze documents that show how decisions about housing construction and dealing with the housing crisis were made, what principles guided those decisions, what types of housing were actually built, how housing was distributed, as well as how all of those factors changed over time. I will pay particular attention to archival documents surrounding Caoyang while also expanding my analysis to examine the changing environment of Shanghai as a whole.

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[148]Luo Gang 罗岗. "Kongjian de shengchan yu kongjian de zhuanyi" 空间的生产与空间的转移：上海工人新村与社会主义城市经验. *Huadong shifan daxue xuebao (zhixue shehui kexue ban)* 华东师范大学学报（哲学社会科学版) 36, no. 6 (2007): 91-95.

[149] Chapter four of this dissertation will carry out a more detailed analysis of these political meanings and how they interacted with the changing daily lives of workers, a project none of the existing secondary literature has yet attempted.

Ultimately, this chapter argues that what rose to prominence in the early 1950s was a bureaucratic utopian mode of managed development that emphasized efficient housing construction, improving the living conditions of Shanghai's poorest, facilitating production, and spatially managing Shanghai's population—though not always in that order. However, this state-centered model of planning and construction always existed in tension with ideas that socialism should be a project carried out through mass struggle, not bureaucratic control. Furthermore, in the early 1950s Shanghai's municipal government was struggling to carry out construction in the context of historical and contemporaneous economic and social factors that had left Shanghai's urban development severely "distorted." Such factors helped give rise to criticisms of centralized planning efforts which called for the need to "rely on the power of the masses" to solve the housing crisis. These discourses existed as a critique of bureaucratic planning methods that would eventually rise to greater prominence in the 1960s.

The First Efforts: Building Caoyang Workers' New Village

Belying any assumptions about the comprehensive nature of socialist economic planning, initial construction efforts in the years immediately following the Communist takeover in 1949—namely Caoyang Workers' New Village—did not follow a comprehensive plan for the city. Such a statement of general guiding principles was not released until September 1951 with a report titled "The Situation of Shanghai City Government Construction and the Direction for Present and Future Efforts."[150] Caoyang's planning and initial construction was completed prior to the

[150]SMA, A59-1-304-1《黎玉在上海市市政建设委员会成立大会上的报告--上海市政建设情况与今后努力的方向》 September 19, 1951. The Shanghai Index of Urban Planning (*Shanghai shi guihua zhi* 上海城市规划志) dates a similarly titled report, "上海市发展方向图," as not emerging until October of 1951. A report with that title could not be located in the archives. I assume that September report is a draft version of what the index refers to.

release of this report and was to serve as an experiment in government-directed construction efforts that would be followed, modified, and expanded upon in the future.

At the time, Shanghai's city government was led by mayor Chen Yi (1901-1972) and vice-mayor Pan Hannian (1906-1977). Chen Yi was a hero of the Red Army who had led the liberation of Shanghai and enjoyed close connections to the central authorities in Beijing, including Mao, serving on the central committee of the CPC since 1945. Chen might have been known as a dutiful servant of Mao and China's political elites, but as a native of Sichuan Province, he was an outsider to the unique context of Shanghai. In comparison, Pan Hannian, a native of Jiangsu Province, was a man of Shanghai, having spent time mingling in the city's progressive literary circles during the 1920s and 1930s and directing underground communist activities there during the Sino-Japanese War. Pan was familiar with Shanghai's local conditions and would assume many day-to-day administrative responsibilities. Together, Chen and Pan were well-suited to negotiate between local interests and national policy directives.[151]

The initial plans for Caoyang emerged in response to an order promulgated by Mao Zedong regarding Beijing's housing crisis.[152] Mao stated: "At present the greater city lacks housing, this has already given rise to great dissatisfaction amongst the people, it is necessary to have a plan to construct new housing and repair old housing in order to satisfy the people's needs."[153] Though Mao's order was directed at Beijing, it was to serve as the spark for housing construction in Shanghai, specifically in the near-suburban district of Putuo just to the northwest of the former International Settlement (at the time occupying land both on the north and south

[151] Bergère, 345.

[152] "Di er pian xin jian zhuzhai: di yi zhang: shi qu bianyuan zhuzhai jianshe 第二篇新建住宅：第一章: 市区边缘住宅建设," *Shanghai zhuzhai jianshe zhi* 上海住宅建设志, http://shtong.gov.cn/node2/node2245/node75091/node75096/node75130/node75141/userobject1ai90878.html (Accessed March 29, 2018).

[153] 建国以来毛泽东文稿》第 2 册，中央文献出版社 1988 年版，第 131 页.

banks of Suzhou Creek). In March of 1951, the Shanghai City Party Committee and the City Government organized a work group to investigate Putuo and develop a plan for addressing Shanghai's housing crisis.[154] On April 6, 1951, this work group released a report titled "Draft Plan for Important City Government Construction in Putuo District," which was to lay the groundwork for the development of China first Workers' New Village, Caoyang.[155] This report begins by presenting a survey of the district's physical and social geography. Putuo was an industrial district with two distinctive parts—the area to the south of Suzhou Creek that had been controlled by the "imperialists" as part of the concessions and the area to the north that had controlled by the "reactionary" Guomindang. The report estimated the district had more than 1,100 factories with around 100 having more than 100 employees.[156] Despite these industrial achievements, tens of thousands of people still lived in crowded slums:

> Not only is the architecture in all the workers residential areas dilapidated (and most of the area north of Suzhou Creek is slums), but the residences are also very crowded and the situation of the hygienic environment is extremely disgusting. Because there is no system of covered drains thus the garbage piles up with the sewage in the ditches and when it rains the roads become a quagmire of ooze…[157]

Like all of Shanghai, years of war, poverty, and negligent Nationalist and imperialist government had left Putuo in desperate need of improved housing and sanitation. Addressing the sanitation situation was the first task, and plans included establishing public water sources, fire hoses, streetlights, telephones, trash cans, and toilets.[158] Such efforts to improve sanitation were common both in all of Shanghai and in cities across all of China immediately after 1949.[159]

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[154] "Di er pian xin jian zhuzhai: di yi zhang shi qu bianyuan zhuzhai jianshe: di yi jie "1002 hu" zhuzhai 第二篇新建住宅：第一章市区边缘住宅建设：第一节"一千零二户"住宅," *Shanghai zhuzhai jianshe zhi* 上海住宅建设志, http://shtong.gov.cn/node2/node2245/node75091/node75096/node75130/node75141/userobject1ai90878.html (Accessed March 29, 2018).
[155] SMA, B1-2-3-18,《上海市人民政府工作组关于普陀区重点市政建设计划草案》April 6, 1951.
[156] Ibid., 2-3.
[157] Ibid., 3.
[158] Ibid., 5.
[159] Wang 汪 (1956), 101.

Improvements in sanitation were not enough to solve the housing shortage and the slums continued to grow across the city as the population expanded.[160] A 1960 report from the planning department of the Real Estate Market Management Bureau estimated that 1.39 million people still lived in slums, or 24% of the total city population, which were particularly prevalent in Caoyang's Putuo District (as well as Zhabei, Yangpu, and the south of the city). This report said that great strides had been made over the years in improving the slums' sanitary conditions by improving the water supply, paving the roads, hanging electric lights, and increasing green spaces; but still, "the dilapidated nature of the simple room slums got more serious by the day."[161]

That the slums were growing while housing conditions continued to deteriorate in 1960 suggests that some improvements to sanitation were not enough to solve the housing problem that the slums represented for post-liberation Shanghai. Already in 1951, the city party and government organs saw the need not just to improve sanitation conditions, but also actually to *build* public housing. It was to those ends that the work team sent to Putuo discussed the goal to build what would become China's first Workers' New Village. In a subsection of the April 6 report on "The Plan for Building Worker Apartments," the Putuo work team's report suggested that "in order to serve the working class, it is necessary to first make steps towards appropriately satisfying the workers' housing problem, this will also be a step towards improving and straightening out the present and future of slum areas where workers are living."[162] Building worker housing was intended to be a way of ameliorating the housing crisis and limiting the expansion of the slums. The report further commented that building housing would require

[160]SMA, A54-2-1218-26,《上海市卫生局关于苏联专家尼基金对上海市提出城市规划意见建议分别成立研究工作小组的函》July, 1957.
[161]SMA, A54-2-1218-26《上海市房地产管理局规划处关于 1959 年冬季建屋棚户维修改善工作的小结》April 1, 1960.
[162] SMA, B1-2-3-18.

organizing the powers of society and that preparations should be made for encouraging public and private enterprises to invest in improving workers' living conditions.[163]

Before getting to financing however, a new housing project would first need a location. The work team considered a number of different locations for Putuo's new housing area, but ultimately suggested that the area between North Zhongshan Road and the west side of Caoyang Road seemed appropriate. According to the report, this area had relatively more open space, was close to Great China University (what would become East China Normal University), and could be accessed by bus routes 12 and 10 if they were extended. The report suggested construction materials could conveniently be transported via the nearby waterways. This area was also desirable because it had extra space for future development.[164] The nature of these concerns reflect the planning intentions of the working group. They wanted the new workers' housing complex to be integrated with the rest of the city via public transportation, but they also wanted to build it in an area with significant open space to grow. This area was relatively close to existing factories, but was also not directly adjacent to them—which of course would improve workers' quality of life by reducing their exposure to pollution. It even had access to an existing educational institution. Even at this preliminary stage the working group report laid out plans for building basic public services such as a public bath, a food market, an elementary school, and a cafeteria. Additional land could be set aside for more services such as a post office, bank, police station, and preschool.[165] Ultimately, the model of semi-urban development described in the report called for a relatively self-contained, but not isolated environment that was clearly not far from "Euro-American," (*ou-mei*) modernist ideas such as the neighborhood unit or the new town

[163] Ibid.
[164] Ibid.
[165] Ibid.

that Wang Dingzeng, Caoyang's eventual planner, would later identify as real influences in a 2004 interview in the newspaper *Liberation Daily*.[166]

At the time that the work team produced its report on building a new workers housing project in Putuo (which would become Caoyang Workers' New Village), there was no city-wide direction for planning in Shanghai. However, the report does convey a sense that such a more comprehensive direction was being worked out in the practices of research and planning Caoyang. The report states:

> Because the city government is building the workers' housing, it will not only have implications for trends in political instructions, but at the same time will also have implications for trends in instructions about future construction. This city's population is originally densely collected in the city center area; because of this, this working group thinks that under present circumstances… between Zhongshan North Road and the west Side of Caoyang Road will be appropriate because it takes into account the above two implications.[167]

In other words, this housing project provided guidance both for future political orders about planning trends and for the content of those trends themselves. On the political organization front, this set the groundwork for central authorities—for instance party authorities in both Beijing and Shanghai—to make ultimate planning decisions that would "serve production and serve the laboring people" while also delegating surveying and planning responsibilities to more local experts. These local experts included Wang Dingzeng, who was serving as deputy director of the planning committee of the Shanghai Public Works Bureau.[168] In its roundabout way, this report also suggested a general direction for the content of planning in Shanghai. Namely, it argued that

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[166]Guo Quanzhen 郭泉真, 诉说城市那割不断的历史，《解放日报》网 2004 年 11 月 22 日, cited in: "Chongdu Wang Dingzeng xiansheng jiuwen yougan—ji wo he caoyang xincun de yi duan qing 重读汪定曾先生旧文有感（二）——记我和曹杨新村的一段　　情," November 4 2013,https://www.douban.com/note/314288177/. (accessed October 28, 2018). It is unclear if Wang was a member of the 1951 work team, but he was a deputy director of the planning committee of the Shanghai Public Works Bureau.

[167]SMA, B1-2-3-18.

[168] "Chongdu Wang Dingzeng xiansheng jiuwen yougan—ji wo he caoyang xincun de yi duan qing 重读汪定曾先生旧文有感（二）——记我和曹杨新村的一段情,"

because the city population had formerly been concentrated in the city center, or the core areas of colonial Shanghai, efforts should be made to build new housing developments in suburban or near-suburban areas, which of course would serve to disperse the city's population. Such calls for reducing population density would continue to emerge throughout the 1950s. Even if in 1951 Shanghai lacked a comprehensive plan for urban development, the April 6 report suggests that general conceptions for Shanghai's development were worked out through projects such the construction of Caoyang New Village.

The April 6 report went to the Putuo District Party Representative Committee for comments and then was submitted Shanghai's central party and government authorities. The vice-mayor Pan Hannian suggested that it should be discussed by the Shanghai City Party Representative Committee. After acquiring the Party's approval to proceed with construction along the guidelines of the report—meaning building a housing project in between North Zhongshan Road and Caoyang Road as well as working to improve sanitation conditions in Putuo's slums—the City Government preceded to establish the Putuo District City Government Engineering Construction and Implementation Committee.[169] A June 26 order signed by Chen Yi and Pan Hannian stated that this committee should be established to "strengthen the trial work of city government construction"—a reasoning that further suggested the experimental nature of building Caoyang New Village.[170] This committee included Wang Dingzeng and would be in charge of making detailed planning and construction decisions in the building of Caoyang.

[169] Di er pian xin jian zhuzhai: di yi zhang shi qu bianyuan zhuzhai jianshe: di yi jie "1002 hu" zhuzhai 第二篇新建住宅：第一章市区边缘住宅建设：第一节"一千零二户"住宅," *Shanghai zhuzhai jianshe zhi* 上海住宅建设志, http://shtong.gov.cn/node2/node2245/node75091/node75096/node75130/node75141/userobject1ai90878.html (Accessed March 29, 2018).

[170] SMA, B257-1-41-13《上海市人民政府工务局关于成立普陀区市政工程建设执行委员会的通知》June 26, 1951.

At the first meeting of this committee on July 10, 1951, members discussed appropriating land for the building of Caoyang, issues of budgeting, the general plan for what was to be constructed, as well as the responsibilities of the committee itself. Some of these details, particularly concerning land requisition, are useful to linger on to get a sense of planning concerns and processes during the 1950s. The committee recognized that land would need to be appropriated in Putuo provide space for the construction of Caoyang. Though Caoyang's site was specifically chosen because it was relatively open, there were still some agricultural workers living in the area. The committee recognized the livelihoods of these preexisting residents as concerns, but ultimately "it is clear that city lands are important for industrialization, production, and government construction [projects]."[171] The committee determined that they did need to take into consideration the livelihoods of the previous owners and pay them an "appropriate" requisition fee to provide for them without being "excessively" generous. These fees were to be based on the current value of the lands and residents' current incomes. The committee also indicated that those farmers whose land was bought by the city should be granted new land for them to build houses on.[172]

In these early debates over who should have "the right to the city," government bodies like the Caoyang planning committee favored building housing for workers, as well as facilitating "industrialization and production," over allowing existing farmers to remain on their lands. This of course meant moving those populations around, regardless of their desires to remain in their homes. It is of course somewhat ironic that building new housing meant destroying old housing, yet the fact that the government did pay real attention to the compensating those whose lands were requisitioned indicates this was not simply a case of a

[171] SMA, B257-1-11-28《上海市人民政府工务局关于普陀建设执委员会第一次会议记录》July 10, 1951.
[172] Ibid.

faceless bureaucracy conducting "creative destruction" while paying no heed to existing residents' material needs. After all, the committee knew that they would need the support of Shanghai residents for future such projects.[173]

It is hard to get a sense for what residents who had previously farmed the land designated for Caoyang's construction thought of having their land requisitioned. However, the second meeting of the committee on July 29 suggested that land requisition had begun and was proceeding basically without any problems and was mostly complete by August 23.[174] In total, 369 households of farmers growing vegetables were relocated in order to build Caoyang. [175]

Once land had been requisitioned construction could begin in earnest. The planning responsibilities fell to the Shanghai City Planning and Research Committee as well as the Public Housing Management Bureau. The funds for Caoyang's apartments, public architecture, and subsidiary engineering came from city government finances and were allocated to the Public Housing Management Bureau.[176] 32.5 billion yuan were allocated towards the construction of Caoyang out of a total estimated budget of 80 billion yuan for government construction across the district of Putuo. Of this, 22.5 billion were allocated for housing, 1.5 billion for roads, 5.5 billion for irrigation, 1 billion for requisitioning land from existing farmers, and 1 billion for the

[173] The state forcing both rural and urban residents off of their land to enable development projects is a theme that has remained consistent from the Maoist to the reform period. In post-reform Shanghai, gentrification combined with state and private sector real estate development plans has given rise to massive destruction of existing homes and the consequent shifting of populations. Though residents have always been compensated in some way, this is a process that Qin Shao has termed "domicide," which will be discussed in more detail in the conclusion. Qin Shao, *Shanghai Gone Domicide and Defiance in a Chinese Megacity* (Lanham: Rowman & Littlefield Publishers, 2013).

[174] SMA, 257-1-41-78《上海市人民政府工务局关于联终员会议记录》July 29, 1951.

[175] SMA, B257-1-41-98《上海市人民政府工务局关于联终员会议记录》August, 1951.

[176] Di er pian xin jian zhuzhai: di yi zhang shi qu bianyuan zhuzhai jianshe: di yi jie "1002 hu" zhuzhai 第二篇新建住宅：第一章市区边缘住宅建设：第一节"一千零二户"住宅," *Shanghai zhuzhai jianshe zhi* 上海住宅建设志, http://shtong.gov.cn/node2/node2245/node75091/node75096/node75130/node75141/userobject1ai90878.html (Accessed March 29, 2018).

planned public facilities.[177] The initial developments at Caoyang were to be 130 mu (21.4 acres) and include a total of 167 six-unit apartment buildings that could sleep a total of 1000 households (1002 to be precise). The public facilities that were to be built during the first stage included public showers, hot water stations, and a cooperative that would include a management office as well as a police station. For a school building, Caoyang would temporarily take advantage of a repaired pre-existing building and the plans for a medical clinic would be temporarily postponed.[178] Once planning, funding, and land requisition were determined construction proceeded quite quickly, beginning on September 16, 1951. More than 5,000 workers would ultimately work on the project. By April of 1952, the workers had completed all of the basic construction and China's first Workers' New Village was ready for residents.[179]

The Politics of Housing Conditions and Housing Distribution

The new apartment buildings intended for the workers were built according to simple standards, yet were intended to be a modest improvement over existing workers' housing in the city (not to mention the slums that many workers live in). The April 6, 1951 report states that they were to built according to the following principles:

> They [the apartments] should be a step forwards from the current level, without causing an excessive breakthrough. The architecture of this housing should not be too spacious or too crowded. The environment should be orderly and clean. Simple elements with practical use should be the principles. Where possible, we

[177] SMA, B257-1-11-28《上海市人民政府工务局关于普陀建设执委员会第一次会议记录》July 10, 1951. These numbers obviously reveal the state of inflation at the time. On hyperinflation at the beginning of the PRC see: Richard Burdekin, and C. Wang, "A Novel End to the Big Inflation in China in 1950*," *Economics of Planning* 32, no. 3 (1999): 211–229.

[178] Ibid.

[179] Di er pian xin jian zhuzhai: di yi zhang shi qu bianyuan zhuzhai jianshe: di yi jie "1002 hu" zhuzhai 第二篇新建住宅：第一章市区边缘住宅建设：第一节"一千零二户"住宅," *Shanghai zhuzhai jianshe zhi* 上海住宅建设志, http://shtong.gov.cn/node2/node2245/node75091/node75096/node75130/node75141/userobject1ai90878.html (Accessed March 29, 2018).

> can also reach for attractiveness, which will make the workers acquire the true feeling of serving as the country's masters in their real lives.[180]

The apartment buildings that were to achieve these moderate, yet still politically lofty, goals were two-stories with six units, three large and three small. The larger units had one large and one small room, while the smaller units were just one large room.[181] The large rooms were 13.38-13.86 square meters and the smaller rooms were 5.2-8.2 square meters. Three households would share one kitchen (meaning one on each floor) and each household would have its own small toilet. These toilets as well as washbasins were located in the corridors to maximize the use of space. Most of the construction was done with wood, but the walls were reinforced with copper and the ground floors used concrete. Two units of six apartments were connected to each other in such a way that a backyard was formed where they met. [182]

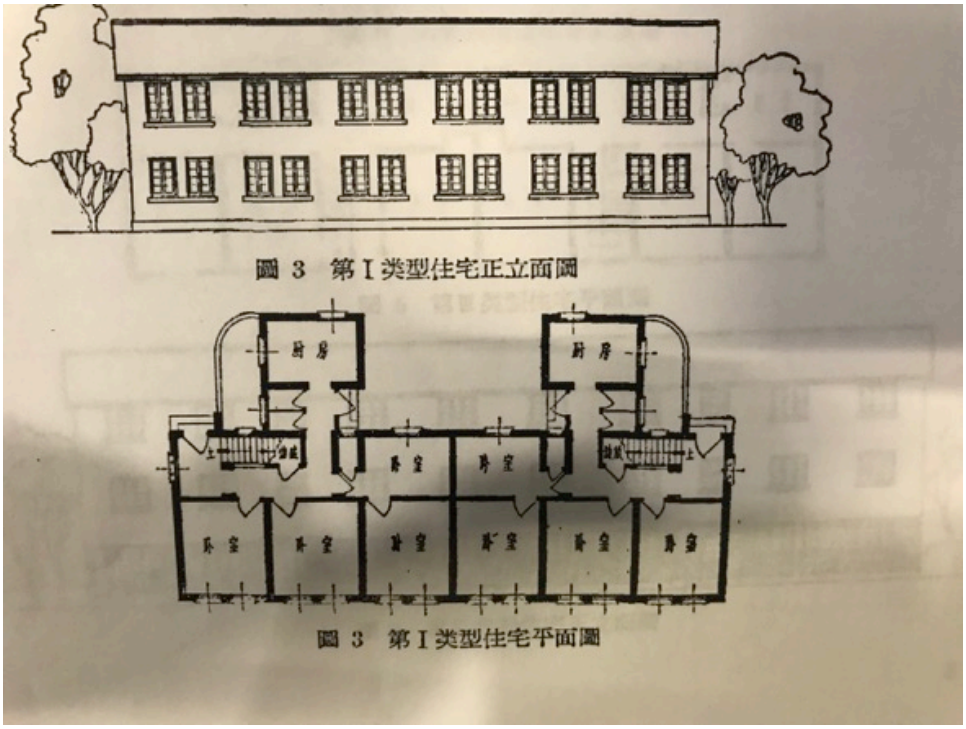

Figure 2: Blueprint of apartments built in Caoyang Workers' New Village in 1951. The image shows the first floor of two six-household units divided by a center barrier. (source: Wang, 1956)

[180] SMA, B1-2-3-18.
[181] SMA, C1-2-853-6《上海总工会关于曹杨新村房屋分配工作总结》1952.
[182] SMA, B8-2-16-28《上海市人民委员会关于上海市工人住宅历年建造概况》1954.

These apartment units were cramped and provided little private space. In 1956, Wang Dingzeng estimated that the first types of apartments built in Caoyang provided approximately 3.94 square meters per person.[183] Though precise population and household figures are hard to come by for Caoyang at this early stage, based on the square footage figures given for the different types of apartments (both the one and two-room types), this suggests that three to six-person households were living in each unit by 1956.

The residents of Caoyang's cramped apartments did not rent them on a private real estate market, but rather received them according to conditions set by the Shanghai Federation of Trade Unions. According to guidelines laid out at the 1948 Labor Congress, the role of trade unions, soon to all be subsumed into the All China Federation of Trade Unions (ACFTU) as the sole union organization, was to mobilize workers in support of the party and production goals in addition to providing for workers' welfare. After liberation, ACFTU organizations would be key to negotiating between workers, management at individual enterprises, and the party in order to keep production as stable as possible. They also worked to set up insurance and welfare programs, including housing provisions, for workers. However, local, city, and national branches of the ACTFU were not independent in their work organizing welfare as they relied heavily on individual enterprises, or work units (*danwei*) for raising funds and distributing resources to workers.[184]

The years of 1951-1953 saw a shift in the role of trade unions in China. In 1951, the vice-president of the ACTFU, Li Lisan, pushed for a more independent role for trade unions as an institution for organizing workers vis-à-vis their work unit managers. Other party elites, notably Gao Gang and Chen Boda, one of Mao's closest allies, attacked Li Lisan's position, arguing that

[183]Wang Dingzeng 汪定曾， (1956): 6. Wang estimates that at the time of writing in 1956 26,241 people were living in Caoyang. By this point, Caoyang had been expanded from its initial 1,002 households to more than 4,000.
[184] Bray, 101-106.

there should be no divergence between worker, management, and party interests once a revolution was successful and socialism had been established. They would criticize Li for "economism" and "syndicalism" and he was removed from his leadership position in the ACTFU. Starting from late 1952 and early 1953, trade unions were to continue to play a key role in helping to organize and educate workers as well as working with their work units to organize welfare programs including public housing, but their position as independent organizations was downgraded. According to David Bray, this debate over the role of trade unions was key in the eventual rise of work units as the preeminent mode of both organizing workers and distributing them resources.[185] However, at the time Caoyang was completed in 1952, this debate was still ongoing and the Shanghai Federation of Trade Unions played a key role in organizing the distribution of housing.

The Shanghai Federation of Trade Unions distributed Caoyang's apartments as what were essentially rewards to workers who met a certain number of different criteria related both to social circumstances and contributions to production. A May, 1952 report on housing distribution at Caoyang laid out the conditions for potential new residents (presumably residents only had to meet some, not all, of these conditions):

> A） Production conditions for residents: 1. They are currently outstanding lead workers in their factories, being models of human labor, 2. Those that newly invent and innovate as well as those that rationalize construction, 3. Older workers, meaning those that are older than 50 and have worked for more than 20 years, those that have been in their respective industries for more than five years, and have made special contributions to production.
>
> B）Condition of original housing: 1. Those whose production units and residences are spread across two administrative districts, and have inconvenient transportation, whose productivity and worker health will definitely be influenced; those whose commute is more than an hour, 2. Those whose original residences' area is very crowded and is less than the area to be distributed in Caoyang New

[185] Ibid. 106-110.

> Village; those whose residential area surpasses or is equivalent should not be given distribution.
>
> C）Household members should be limited to directly related members of one's immediate family.[186]

The initial apartments in Caoyang were not for everybody, but rather were specifically to be distributed to model workers making contributions to production and those who had already served as workers for a long time. Workers whose living conditions were subpar either because of space or transportation issues were also to be prioritized. While Caoyang's apartments were rewards for model workers, it is striking that units were distributed to workers *and* their families. In comparison, in the early days of the Soviet Union individual workers were distributed living space in communal apartments, which meant that one could sometimes live in the same apartment, or even same room, as a strangers.[187] In comparison to those communal arrangements, housing distribution at Caoyang seems to have focused on households made up of model workers and their immediate families. Caoyang's apartments might have been new a type of socialist spaces that included some elements of communal living (i.e. shared kitchens and bathrooms), but they did not encourage the radical restructuring of family relations.

As much as Caoyang was an experiment in solving Shanghai's city-wide housing crisis, limited resources and its limited initial size ensured that it could only serve a small number of workers. In determining what limited group was to receive new apartments, the political decision was made to prioritize those workers and their families who were both living in particularly crowded and inconvenient locations and were "models of human labor." This decision should be viewed as inherently political because it turned Caoyang from merely a public housing project

[186]SMA, C1-2-853-8.《上海总工会关于曹杨新村房屋分配工作总结》May, 1956.

[187] Jane R. Zavisca, *Housing the New Russia* (Cornell University Press, 2012) 24. While communal apartments were a norm of the Stalinist period, in 1957 Khruschev ordered that the state should strive to house every family in a separate apartment.

into a *reward* for particularly successful workers. Indeed, it is debatable whether Caoyang or other subsequent Workers' New Villages ever shed this elite status in the 1950s.

The Shanghai Federation of Trade Unions intended Caoyang's apartments to be assigned to lucky workers from Shanghai's western suburbs, with 57% coming from Putuo District, 16% coming from Changning, and 27% coming from Jiangning.[188] Quotas for housing distribution were also set for workers from five industries—textiles, metals, food, light industry, and chemicals—and were designed to reflect the distribution of workers across these industries. The following table details the distribution of housing units to workers across industries in Putuo, Changning, and Jiangning:

Industry	Number of Factories	Number of Workers	Percentage of total	Distributed Units	Distribution Percentage
Textiles	64	75005	80%	687	69%
Metals	20	5589	6%	165	16%
Food processing	7	7447	8%	69	7%
Light industry	13	3031	3%	42	4%
Chemicals	10	2735	3%	39	4%
Total	114	93807	100%	1002	100%

Source: SMA, C1-2-853-36

The distributed units were generally proportional with the number of workers in different industries in these districts, though there does seem to have been a slight preference shown to workers in the metal-working industry over the more numerous workers in food processing. One area the Federation of Trade Unions did show preference for was in strongly favoring state-

[188]SMA, C1-2-853-1《上海总工会关于曹杨新村房屋分配具体步骤与办法》 May 24, 1952.

owned and joint state-private factories over privately owned ones (private industries would not be eliminated in China until 1956). State and joint state-private industries received 65.17% of Caoyang's housing unites despite only making up 45% of factories and employing 48% of the workers in these districts.[189] These figures suggest that private industries still maintained a very strong (almost still dominant) presence in Shanghai's industrial base in 1952. However, the government showed a clear preference towards state-owned industries when distributing housing in Caoyang. These housing unit distribution figures demonstrate that Caoyang was intended to be a new socialist home for workers in heavy industry at state-owned factories, which of course were celebrated across the nation in the 1950s (and beyond) as the backbone of Chinese socialist development. Just as Caoyang's residents were to be model workers, they were also drawn from industries that served as the model for national development.

Rent, Shanghai's Urban Housing Market, and Maoist New Democracy

In addition to providing regulations for housing distribution, the Shanghai Federation of Trade Unions also provided guidelines on rent. The issue of rent in the 1950s was a tricky one for the new communist administration to make sense of for its people. At the national policy level there was a recognition that under capitalism housing was a commodity and rent was a means of exploitation. At the same time, the government argued that in the period of New Democracy following the establishment of the PRC and preceding the deepening of the revolution, property rights in the city should be protected and rent should continue to be collected.[190] While this policy was propagated as a way of maintaining order in the cities, its

[189] SMA, C1-2-853-38《上海总工会劳动保护部关于房屋分配统计表》1952.
[190]"关于城市房产，房租的性质和政策," 人民日报新华社信箱： 8/11/1949, in *Guojia fangdichan zhengce wenjian xuanbian: 1948-1981* 国家房地产政策文件选编：1948-1981（Tianjin: Fangchan tongxun zazhishe, 1982) 天津：房产通讯杂志社，1982） 6.

contradictory nature in the context of a revolutionary society carrying out violent land reform in the countryside was not lost on either landlords or renters.

An August 1950 document from the Ministry of Internal Affairs detailed how homes were not being repaired and many were being destroyed because landlords feared that their properties would be seized and were selling them off, sometimes just for the cost of their materials. Additionally, many tenants—over 50% in some of the areas surveyed—were refusing to pay rent, a situation which of course only further destabilized the housing market. In response, the Ministry of Internal Affairs reemphasized that it was necessary to protect the housing market for the time being:

> We should strengthen the propaganda and explanation work about city housing policies, explaining the current city housing policies of protecting all private housing rights and their relationship to legal renting. This is because housing possessions in cities generally are capitalist forms, renting out is also a regular capital lending method, it is essentially not the same as feudal methods of possessing and renting lands. Thus at this stage other than the [confiscated] real estate of dispossessed traitors, bureaucratic capitalists, and war criminals, all other city housing should be protected.[191]

Here the state is reiterating that property rights should be respected and rents should be both paid and collected. These claims of course get at the core of Mao Zedong's notion of New Democracy, which posed that China's status as a mixed colonial, semi-colonial, and semi-feudal country meant that the Chinese revolution would have to defeat imperialism and feudalism before progressing towards socialism. In this so-called New Democracy, the nationally-based bourgeoisie and petty bourgeoisie "retains a certain revolutionary quality" because they have also been oppressed, like the proletariat and the peasants, by imperialism and feudalism. These classes would all work together under the guidance of the Communist Party and the proletariat to eventually achieve socialism. However in the intermediate stage of New Democracy, "the

[191] "对目前城市房产问题的意见"内务部地政司 (8/1950), in *Guojia fangdichan zhengce wenjian xuanbian: 1948-1981* 国家房地产政策文件选编：1948-1981（Tianjin: Fangchan tongxun zazhishe, 1982) 11.

republic will neither confiscate capitalist private property in general nor forbid the development of such capitalist production as does not dominate the livelihood of the people, for China's economy is still very backward."[192] For the time being then the economic development facilitated by a stable real estate market would take priority over immediately jumping towards socialism. Of course, the exceptions made for dispossessing certain counter-revolutionary groups explains why landlords in the cities were allowing their properties to deteriorate—they, like tenants refusing to pay rent, surely saw the writing on the wall and believed, correctly, that greater expropriations of private property were around the corner.

In this context, the rent structure of Caoyang and other public housing projects appear as a further intermediate form on the path to a presumed socialist elimination of private property. In Caoyang, the housing administration would lease apartments out to "work units," (*danwei*) which here meant the individual factories, and those work units would sign the rental contracts and distribute the actual apartments to workers and their families. A further stipulation was that apartment buildings should be organized first by district, then by industry, and then by work unit, meaning workers from the same work unit and in the same industry all lived together.[193] It was the work units' responsibility to collect rent from individual tenants and "if a room is open or for another reason [rent] cannot be collected, then the losses are the responsibilities of the leaseholders [the work unit]."[194] The Shanghai Federation of Trade Unions recommended that actual rent prices paid by individuals should be in line with contemporary standards and should not exceed workers' economic capabilities because "Caoyang New Village's model and

[192] Mao Zedong, "On New Democracy" (January, 1940) *Marxists.org,* https://www.marxists.org/reference/archive/mao/selected-works/volume-2/mswv2_26.htm (Accessed April, 2018).
[193] SMA, C1-2-853-6, 1952.
[194]SMA, C1-2-853 "曹杨新村工人住宅租赁管理办法草案" （June, 1952)《上海市总工会劳保部关于曹杨新村工房分配问题向市长的请示和总结及二万户住宅工程检查报告》

demonstration character, [means] it is important to consider the political results."[195] It was ultimately decided that rent should be between 3.2 yuan and 5.5 yuan per month for a room depending on size.[196] This rent did not include electricity, water, or transit fees. When those costs were added to rent, tenants could end up paying more than 10 yuan a month in rent and utilities. At the time, the Federation of Trade Unions estimated that an average factory workers' salary was around 50 yuan a month.[197]

While 10 yuan was just 20% of a workers' monthly income, depending on the size of their family, this could still be an unbearable burden. Lin Chaochao cites an internal report that tells the story of a textile worker named Feng Xiuying who moved into a new apartment in Caoyang, but found it difficult to provide for her household of six on a salary of 60 yuan a month while paying her rent at Caoyang. While Feng's old slum housing might have had deplorable conditions, she still preferred it because she did not have to pay rent there (presumably because she had built it herself and "owned" it).[198] Feng's perception of comparatively high rents in Caoyang seems to not have been uncommon and there are accounts of workers either moving back to their old slums or seeing moving into Caoyang and other New Villages as being generally financially out of reach.[199][200] Furthermore, paying rent was a struggle for many workers across Shanghai in the early 1950s.[201] A November, 1951 Public Housing Management

[195] SMA C1-2-853-1, 1952.
[196] Lin Chao Chao 林超超，"Xin zhongguo gongren xincun jianshe yu shanghai dianxing" 新中国工人新村建设与上海典型, in *Xiandan shanghai yanjiu luncong 现代上海研究论丛* , edited by Yu Keming 俞克明 et al. (Shanghai: Shanghai shudian chubanshe, 2015) 293-294.
[197] SMA, C1-2-853-1；also cited by 林.
[198] Lin 林，293-294.
[199] Ibid.
[200] Yuan Jin, Ding Yuliang, and Wang Youfu 袁进，丁云亮，王有富, *Shenfen jiangou yu wuzhi shenghuo: 20 shiji 50 niandai shanghai gongren de shehui wenhua shenghuo* 身份建构与物质生活：20 世纪 50 年代上海工人的社会文化生活（Shanghai：shanghai shudian chubanshe, 2008) 41-42.
[201]SMA, B1-2-708-1《上海市人民政府公共房屋管理处关于上海市各机关单位员工租赁公共房屋统一交租办法情况的报告》November 1, 1951.

Bureau report proposed having workers pay rent through their work units—which was the policy in Caoyang—as a way to help address workers inability to pay rent because the work units could help subsidize the rent of those who were legitimately struggling.[202] Despite such measures, reports from the Real Estate Management Bureau in 1959 indicate that even at the end of the 1950s workers were still struggling to pay their rents for public housing.[203] These struggles to pay rent reveal a continuation of the problems of a private housing market into the socialist period. It was not just that there was not enough public housing to go around, it was that public housing itself was too expensive for some workers, especially in comparison to housing in Shanghai's still massive slums.[204]

According to Friedrich Engels, under capitalism, rents are extracted from tenants at ever increasing rates to both keep up with the ever-growing value of urban land—caused by the rush to the cities in industrializing societies—and to "cheat" tenants by charging them slightly above market rents so as to make extra profits for landlords. The amount of "cheating" possible for workers' housing, and the profits it entails, is of course limited by the general poverty of workers and that rising commodity prices (and housing is just another commodity) will eventually need to cause a commensurate rise in wages (or at least enhanced access to lines of credit).[205] By controlling and subsidizing rents, the government funded and directed housing construction at

[202] Ibid.

[203]SMA, A54-2-1210-16《中共上海市委关于同意上海市房地产管理局 1959 年新建卫生城镇工人住宅计租标准的意见的批复》1960.

[204] Zavisca, 33-34.

[205] Frederick Engels, *The Housing Question (1872)*, (Reprinted by the Co-operative Publishing Society of Foreign Workers; Transcribed, 1995) *Marxists Internet Archive*, Accessed: April 22, 2018 https://www.marxists.org/archive/marx/works/1872/housing-question/index.htm. Engels writes: "As soon as a certain average level of cheating has become the social rule in any place, it must in the long run be leveled out by a corresponding increase in wages." For Engels, the structural limits on profiting from workers' housing in high-ground rent city center areas is why such housing is often destroyed by real estate speculators in favor of luxury housing, retail space, and ground public housing. He identifies this tendency as originating with Haussmann and as being a general trend under capitalism.

Caoyang ostensibly eliminated the use of price manipulation (Engels' "cheating") to earn profits through rent extraction that characterizes speculative housing markets. At the same time, rent was not eliminated and was kept at levels commensurate with the wider housing market that remained out of reach for many of Shanghai's impoverished workers, even those who were "models of human labor." Perhaps eliminating the extraction of surplus value from labor and its uneven distribution across society was the ultimate goal of the PRC's new revolutionary state, but in the early-1950s (and beyond) this aim was not on the table even in new housing developments that were specifically celebrated for their political meanings in "serving the workers and serving production." Public housing projects like Caoyang operated under the concept of New Democracy and the continued protection of private property and industry as a necessary transitional phase on the (ostensible) path to the socialist elimination of private property, the complete redistribution of resources, and democratic control of the means of production by the proletariat.

Until that stage of the revolution could be achieved however, the state took over the role of real estate developers and landlords, raising funds to build housing and then charging rents in line with market rates. What was ostensibly eliminated was the ability to extract extra surplus value from workers through rent manipulation and real estate speculation. In these specifics, programs like Caoyang were strikingly similar to public housing projects launched around the world after the Second World War, including imperialist nations such as the United Kingdom and the United States, which used Keynesian economic schemes of state investment to help provide subsidized public housing that existed alongside a private market. This situation is pregnant with irony given the anti-colonial nature the Chinese revolution. In the 1950s, Shanghai was a city with a physical geography defined by colonialism. Even politically-ambitious projects

like Caoyang New Village—not to mention the expropriation of many landlords deemed counterrevolutionary—did not immediately erase that colonial legacy.[206]

What makes Caoyang stand out from public housing projects in capitalist welfare-states were its political goals as well as its material goals. Caoyang was initiated both to begin to address Shanghai's housing crisis as well as to serve as a political symbol for how the revolutionary state was making sure to treat the workers as the "masters of the nation."[207] It was an experiment in carefully-delegated, but state-centered, research and planning that showed a bureaucratic utopian trust in the ability of state actors to imagine better urban forms and then realize them in the real world. Specifically, Caoyang's construction and distribution processes prefigured a model where the general decisions about housing construction and urban planning (such as those related to funding distribution) were made by the central government, but the details of elements such as planning and the distribution of apartments would be delegated first to various bureaus and then to individual work units themselves. This model would come to be standard during the Maoist period.[208]

The state also used Caoyang to achieve revolutionary political goals by making its apartments rewards for model workers. Viewed purely through the material conditions of the time, Caoyang's exclusivity was creating a new privileged class of workers. However, viewed through an ideological lens that takes into account both the processes of its construction and its symbolic political meanings, it was creating a model for construction projects that would celebrate the values of dedication towards economic production and socialist sacrifice embodied by model workers. Presumably, both the number of housing projects and the number of model

[206] Even at the end of the 1970s, about 10% of urban housing stock in China was still private. Ya Ping Wang and Alan Murie, *Housing Policy and Practice in China* (New York: St. Martin's Press, 1999) 8.
[207] This political use stands out from the use of public housing in capitalist countries.
[208] Wang and Murie, 7.

workers would only increase with time. At the time it was built, Caoyang was a model for how such projects should be constructed and for how such workers should be treated; a model that would be expanded upon in the future. This was not just bureaucratic planning, but bureaucratic utopian planning that was slowly building the framework for a new world that would ostensibly not beset by the inequalities of housing in capitalist cities.

Bureaucratic Planning and its Critics

The model of housing construction developed through the process of planning and building Caoyang was to set the stage for future construction projects in socialist Shanghai during the 1950s and beyond. Caoyang presented a model of building low cost, relatively self-contained housing complexes in Shanghai's near suburban areas. This was part of a general direction for urban planning in Shanghai that emphasized redistributing population away from the densely populated old colonial center of the city in the former International Settlement and French Concession through new state-directed development projects that sought to address this continued housing shortage. Despite the rise to prominence of these public housing projects, the severity of the housing crisis ensured that they would never be able to accommodate all those in need, especially given their own shortcomings in terms of access and affordability. In this context, other discourses on urban planning and housing construction began to emerge that emphasized the self-reliance of the masses over the reliance on bureaucracy and state-directed construction.

At its establishment meeting in September, 1951, the Shanghai City Government Construction Committee released a report titled "The Situation of Shanghai City Government Construction and the Direction for Present and Future Efforts." This report laid out a direction

for both urban planning in general and housing construction in particular that would build on the model laid out by Caoyang New Village, which was already in the process of being constructed. Similar to the "Draft Plan" for construction in Putuo from earlier in 1951, the September report also begins by railing against Shanghai's legacy of imperial and counterrevolutionary control for leaving the city's sanitation and transportation infrastructure "in disorder." The September report stands out for very specifically attributing the chaotic state of Shanghai in 1951 to a history of divided administration that had left the city's development extremely uneven. Some areas of the city had a grand appearance with comfortable housing (presumably the former concessions) while the marginal areas where workers' lived lacked basic infrastructure[209]

> To sum up, the chaotic divisions of old Shanghai's city infrastructure meant a distortion of development and random planning, the dilapidation and disrepair were the evil result of the long counterrevolutionary political control of the imperialists and their running dog, the gangster Chiang Kai-shek. Therefore, for the transformation of the old Shanghai and the construction of the new people's Shanghai, there necessarily will have to be a long-term and arduous struggle.[210]

Shanghai's history of being controlled by a variety of different regimes working without a cohesive plan and without the concern for the city as a whole, especially not for the city's poor, had left it uneven and dilapidated, despite its pockets of extreme grandeur and wealth. Struggling against this history to create a cohesive plan for transforming Shanghai into a city that would truly "serve production and serve the workers" was the task that the Government Construction Committee set for itself in the September report.

A key aspect of this plan was to pay great attention towards construction in residential areas for workers, which was pat of a general policy shift towards prioritizing development in the near-suburban areas such as Putuo where many factory workers lived over the already

[209] SMA, A59-1-304-2, "上海市政建设情况与今后努力的方向—在市政建设委员会成立大会的报告" 《上海市人民政府市政建设委员会会议记录》 September, 1951.
[210] Ibid.

"developed" areas of the former concessions. This task involved conducting research on problems in workers' housing, researching and improving environmental hygiene and public infrastructure (i.e. water and electricity), setting "economic" and "reasonable" standards for architecture, as well as actually providing increasing leadership for the construction of workers' residential areas.[211] The municipal government's goal was not merely to improve the living conditions of Shanghai's poorest, but also to serve industrial production—a combination embodied in the common phrase "serve production and serve the laboring people (*wei shengchan fuwu, wei laodong renmin fuwu)*" adapted at this time and propagated in Shanghai by Chen Yi at the second session of the People's Representative Congress of Shanghai in April of 1951.[212] According to the "Direction for Present and Future Efforts," "first is to directly participate in the policy of serving workers in production, thus we should greatly improve the facilities in factory districts and workers' residential districts."[213] In other words, the government should prioritize improving both productive facilities and housing conditions for workers. The municipal government saw these improvements as directly contributing to the ultimate task of transforming Shanghai from a "city of consumption" to a "city of production."

The transformation of Shanghai into a city that served production and the working classes was a goal that directly spoke to the legacy of imperialism that had turned Shanghai into a playground for foreign and Chinese elites. The "Direction for Present and Future Efforts" did not just frame Shanghai's development goals in reference to China colonial past, but also in the context of contemporaneous imperialist threats. The report specifically singled out the construction that had already begun in Putuo as a project that should be prioritized in the context

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[211] Ibid.
[212] "Zhubu de you jihua jiejue gongren zhuzhai wenti"逐步地有计划地解决工人住宅问题, *Wenhui Bao* 文汇报 (8/19/1952).
[213] SMA, A59-1-304-2.

of economic limitations that had become intensified because of the Korean War.[214] The authors of the report make it clear that the plans for construction in Shanghai should take into consideration the needs of resisting American imperialism in Korea. The new imperialist threat in Korea intensified the perceived need for strong coastal cities with loyal populations living in stable housing. Just as the report framed the construction needs of Shanghai as a response to the distortions of past imperialist control, it also made it clear that future planning was still being conducted in the context of imperial impositions.

The continued influence of imperialism on Shanghai's urban development in the 1950s was not limited to framing future construction as part of the process of fighting both past and present imperialism. This lingering influence also persisted in ambiguous planning decisions such as Wang Dingzeng's explicit choice to adopt Clarence Perry's "Neighborhood Unit" as his inspiration for Caoyang, the decision to leave the colonial core of the former concessions more or less unchanged in terms of its appearance, and the reliance on technical experts and officials from the previous "counterrevolutionary" regime who proved their enthusiasm for serving the people.[215] The impositions of foreign imperialism might have been formally done away with in 1949, but they continued to cast a long shadow over Shanghai's future development into a city that served both industrial production and the workers that production relied upon.

Before the new apartments at Caoyang had even been distributed, Mayor Chen Yi and the city government initiated a new housing project that would provide housing for 20,000 households at a mayoral office meeting on April 11, 1952. This so-called "20,000 Households" (*er wan hu*) project continued the model of state-directed public housing construction designed to serve residents of the peripheral areas dominated by slums that had been developed at

[214] Ibid.
[215] Ibid.

Caoyang and solidified as city policy through meetings that produced documents like the "Direction for Present and Future Efforts." This project saw the construction of simple ten-unit, two-floor apartment buildings in New Villages located in near-suburban areas to the north, west, and south of the former colonial core. The East China Military and Political Representative Committee quickly agreed to the plans of mayor's office and ordered the establishment of the Shanghai Workers' Housing Committee to direct the construction. This committee helped determine the sites at peripheral locations that were to become know as Changbai New Village, Kongjiang New Village, Fengcheng New Village, Anshan New Village, Ganquan New Village, Rihui New Village, Tianshang New Village, as well as an expansion to Caoyang. The 20,000 units were to be spread across a total of 17 "villages" located within these eight larger sites. The Workers' Housing Committee, along with other governmental and party organs, determined that these villages should be laid out in a linear style with rows of either ten households (one unit), 20 households (two units), or 30 households (three units). Like the plan for the initial construction at Caoyang, the center of the "20,000 Households" New Villages were also to have communal areas with public services including a cooperative store, a post office, a bank, a public shower, and an elementary school—which was to be within ten minutes walk of every child's home. In addition to these services, food markets, hot water stations, and convenience stores were also to be distributed throughout the housing complexes.[216] Like Caoyang, the "20,000" Households" were designed as simple, self-contained communities within the larger city.

[216] *Di er pian xin jian zhuzhai: di yi zhang shi qu bianyuan zhuzhai jianshe: di er jie "20,000 hu"*"第二篇新建住宅：第一章市区边缘住宅建设：第二节 "二万户"住宅", *Shanghai zhuzhai jianshe zhi* 上海住建设志:,http://shtong.gov.cn/node2/node2245/node75091/node75096/node75130/node75141/userobject1ai90879.html (Accessed May 4, 2018).

Figure 3: Distribution of New Villages constructed or intended to be constructed at the end of 1954. The shaded areas on the map indicate the location of New Villages. These housing complexes were all constructed in the near-suburban periphery surrounding the more densely populated former concessions area.[217]

The East China Architecture and Planning Company took on the responsibility of planning the actual apartment buildings of the "20,000 Households" project.[218] According to a 1954 summary report by the Shanghai People's Representative Committee, the apartment units were built according to standards that were purposefully lower than those used in the initial construction at Caoyang in order to "reduce production costs and shorten construction time."[219] Each unit consisted of 10 one-household apartments, with five on the bottom floor and five on the top floor. In each apartment building, four units consisted of one large and one small room

[217] SMA，B8-2-16-14《上海市人民委员会关于上海市工人住宅建筑的概况》August 23, 1954.
[218] Ibid.
[219] SMA, B8-2-16-26《上海市人民委员会关于上海市工人住宅历年建造的概况》1954.

while six were just one large room. Because the apartments did not use copper-reinforced floorboards, all communal facilities such as kitchens and bathrooms had to be located on the bottom floor. Five households were to share one toilet and one kitchen.[220] These simple standards achieved the goal of housing as many people as possible, but they of course left something to be desired and have been maligned by subsequent historians such as Yang Chen for leading to substandard conditions that produced conflicts amongst the densely packed residents.[221] Tellingly, many "20,000 Household" units were destroyed as early as 1985 and all those that remain have been renovated numerous times.[222]

The 1951 "Direction for Present and Future Efforts," called for planners to focus on the realities of Shanghai and China's economic circumstances and not to hold the "fantasy" of building "garden cities."[223] If "garden cities" are taken to be Ebenezer Howard's original dream of idyllic communities combining the best of rural and urban life that would act as attractive magnets to all sectors of society—but especially the industrial working class—than the "20,000 Household" Workers' New Villages were certainly not that. They were simple apartments designed to hold as many people as possible for as cheaply as possible. Still, whispers of the modernist ideology behind Howard's garden cities, as filtered through Clarence Perry's neighborhood unit, can still be heard in the far from attractive housing complexes built in 1952 and 1953. The New Villages continued to reflect a neighborhood unit conception of urban planning where cities are made up of relatively autonomous communities of uniform housing stock that could provide most of the services necessary for the residents in locations separate

[220] SMA, B8-2-16-26.
[221] Yang Chen 杨晨, 39.
[222] *Di er pian xin jian zhuzhai: di yi zhang shi qu bianyuan zhuzhai jianshe: di er jie "20,000 hu"*"第二篇新建住宅：第一章市区边缘住宅建设：第二节 "二万户"住宅", *Shanghai zhuzhai jianshe zhi* 上海住建设志.
[223] SMA: A59-1-304-2, 4.

from, but close to, their places of work. Furthermore, these complexes can be seen as expansions upon, and revisions to, the initial design of Caoyang, which its main planner, Wang Dingzeng, explicitly stated was inspired by Western ideas of garden cities and neighborhood units. The "20,000 Household" New Villages were also built in the vein of government funded and planned public housing that reflected the neighborhood unit conception of urban planning, albeit while providing very simple living conditions for residents.

No matter how low their standards, the apartments built through the "20,000 Households" project continued to be reserved for a lucky group workers. By May 1953, construction had been completed and the units were ready to be distributed, a task that was again directed by the Shanghai Federation of Trade Unions. The number of units was much greater than had been built in 1951 at Caoyang. Where that housing had been reserved for "models of human labour," 20,000 Households housing was set aside for workers in state-owned factories and "living conditions were to be used as the deciding factor."[224] This meant giving priority to workers living in particularly crowded or cramped housing, unhealthy slums, hostels, housing that risked collapse, or housing that was located inconveniently far from their factories. While housing conditions were the primary determining factor for the distribution of new apartments, workers' were still expected to be making special contributions to production, have worked at their factories for a long time, or be "martyrs' and soldiers' families."[225] A limited number of apartments, enough for 1000 households[226], were also reserved for workers at privately-owned factories. For these workers, "production was to be used as the determining factor." This meant that apartments for those at private factories were to be reserved for those who were vigorously

[224] SMA, C1-2-1121-4 "上海市人民政府房地产管理局关于二万户工房配住原则及工人原住房屋管理办法" May, 1953 《上海市总工会，房地局，卫生局关于工房租赁管理办法及工房佩服原则与建造原则等文件》.
[225] Ibid.
[226] SMA, C1-2-1121 "关于私营工场一千户工房分配方案（草案）" May, 1953《上海市总工会，房地局，卫生局关于工房租赁管理办法及工房佩服原则与建造原则等文件》.

making special contributions to production, were advancing creative techniques and factory rationalization while *also* currently living in subpar housing.[227]

Unlike the initial housing construction at Caoyang, the "20,000 households" apartments were numerous enough to shift from purely serving model workers to emphasize poor conditions as the primary criteria for distribution, at least for those working at state-owned factories. Still, even housing for 20,000 households was far from enough to solve Shanghai's housing shortage when more than a million people still lived in slums located in the same near-suburban periphery where the New Villages were being constructed. In this context, the government continued to issue distribution guidelines that reflected ideological concerns of creating model communities for model workers—using improved living conditions to reward particularly productive individuals and allow them to presumably continue to further industrial production.

An interesting aspect of the Shanghai Federation of Trade Unions distribution guidelines is the attention paid to the fate of the former residencies of workers receiving new apartments. Just as the Shanghai government was not doing away with rent collection in 1953 (while still trying to control its most exploitative aspects), they also still sought specifically to preserve the private rental market that had previously housed the residents of the New Villages. For one, the Federation encouraged work units and unions to explain to residents living in relatively nice housing that they did not require new public housing. This should be done "in order to reduce housing disputes and also to make sure the city rental market does not descend into further chaos."[228] For residents who did move into newly constructed apartments, their original apartments—whether factory-constructed, rented on the private market, or even constructed by the residents themselves—were to be redistributed as long as they were not particularly run-

[227] SMA, C1-2-1121-4 "二万户工房配住原则及工人原住房屋管理办法" May, 1953《上海市总工会，房地局，卫生局关于工房租赁管理办法及工房佩服原则与建造原则等文件》.
[228] Ibid.

down. For vacated houses originally rented on the private market that were to be re-rented, "in between the re-renter and the lessor, as much as possible the original renting conditions should be maintained."[229] In laying down these guidelines, the Federation of Trade Unions argued the currently existing rental market was to be maintained with as little disruption as possible. This demonstrates a recognition that, even with efforts such as the "20,000 Households" project, the state was still far from being able to actually provide enough housing for all those in need and that the private market would still need to help play a role in filling in the gaps.

Ultimately, the "20,000 Households" project was in line with the model of bureaucratically planned and funded housing construction laid out in practice at Caoyang and then solidified as one approach to urban planning in documents such as the "Direction for Present and Future Efforts." To reiterate, this model meant building self-contained communities for workers in near suburban areas on the old colonial city's periphery. Bearing similarities to the "neighborhood unit" model of construction, these New Villages consisted of simple apartment buildings along with a minimum of services that were to provide most of the necessities of daily life for communities. The number of units built in the "20,000 Households" project was an impressive achievement for the time period, but they were still far from enough to provide for the needs of all those still living in slums. In this context, these new units continued to be intended to be for an idealized group of model workers, even if that group was expanded somewhat by 1953. In addition to ensuring the continued preference given to model workers, the severity of Shanghai's housing crisis in the early 1950s also helped shape policies that continued to protect at least some aspects of the pre-liberation private housing market as a means of making sure as many workers were housed as possible. The duration of the transition from a "New

[229] Ibid.

Democratic" society, where private property was protected and the housing market stabilized, to socialism was still unclear.

As much as the "20,000 Households" project embodied a particular model of centralized government-led construction working together with the remnants of Shanghai's preexisting housing market to "serve production and serve the laboring people"—in 1952 and 1953 there was not agreement over whether such schemes should be the future of urban housing development in either Shanghai or China in general. On August 31, 1952, the Central Committee of the CPC released a report to the National Federation of Trade Unions titled "Resolving the Issue of Workers' Housing" that celebrated the efforts of local government and party organization to address the housing crisis while also pointing out the shortcomings of a government-centered approach. The report claims that the number of industrial workers in cities had only increased since liberation and that efforts at either repairing old housing or building new housing simply could nott keep up with pace of economic development. Besides this issue:

> There is another important reason why the current workers' housing issue has not been able to obtain the proper degree of improvement. This is because some unions and government cadres lack a mass perspective and purely rely on the government while also not adopting a mass line and relying on the power of the masses to coordinate with the government to together overcome problems.[230]

The report says this type of mindset was expressed in three ways: 1) the idea that solving the housing means providing every worker with a public housing unit, which neglects that there are many ways to adjust existing housing to improve conditions; 2) the idea that the only way to solve the issue is with government spending, which neglects the experience of the masses in overcoming their own housing shortages; and 3) the idea that it's not enough just to build

[230]Zhong gong zhongyang 中共中央 [Central Committee of the Communist Party of China], "Zhong gong zhongyang zhuanfa quanguo zonggonghui dangzu guanyu jiejue gongren juzhu wenti de baogao"中共中央转发全国总工会党组关于解决工人居住问题的报告 （8/31/1952）, in *Zhong gong zhongyang wenjian xuanji,* vol. 9 中共中央文件选集, 第 9 册 （1952 年 6 月-9 月）, (Beijing: Renmin chubanshe, 2013) 298.

apartments, but that those units should also be aesthetically pleasing—which too often leads to the construction of "Western-style" units.[231]

Taken together, these criticisms are directed at exactly the type of construction model that the Shanghai city government was developing in projects such as Caoyang New Village and the "20,000 Households" project. These projects entailed city employees planning housing complexes to house workers in their own public housing units—to some extent inspired by Western planning concepts such as the neighborhood unit—and then spending government money to organize construction teams to build them. In opposition to such plans, the Central Committee report emphasized the need to "overcome the bureaucratic tendency that does not care about the suffering of the workers" by neglecting the economic realities of urban China in the 1950s.[232] According to the Central Committee, the proper way to address the housing crisis was to recognize the reality of China's economic constraints and to rely on the "power of the masses" to cooperate with government efforts to solve their own housing problems. This meant adopting such tactics as encouraging workers to use their spare time and savings to renovate houses as well as other money-saving methods such as unions forcing capitalists in private industries to spend money to build housing for their workers.[233]

It is tempting to write off such schemes as merely the rationalizations of a cash-strapped state that was unable or unwilling to provide housing for its subjects. On some level this is probably a justified assumption. However, the criticism of the Central Committee also reflected a general concern under Mao to employ the "mass line," where policies not only provided for, but also proceeded from, the masses. As with artists and writers, the party seems to have been concerned that urban planners and architects "should be fused with those of the masses of

[231] Ibid., 298.
[232] Ibid., 300.
[233] Ibid., 298-300.

workers, peasants and soldiers. To achieve this fusion, they should conscientiously learn the language of the masses."[234] In the context of urban planning, this meant not going beyond the standards of the times and "playing the hero," presuming to be able to determine what is best for the urban masses and then deliver it. Instead, the Central Committee was making the argument that the masses already had great experience in providing for their own housing in difficult circumstance and that experience should be relied on and used in conjunction with government-sponsored efforts. Doing otherwise was a "bureaucratic tendency" that had to be reformed.

Stressing a reliance on "the masses" was a practical solution to the reality that in the Shanghai of the early 1950s, as well as China more broadly, the majority of industrial workers were living in slums in simple dwellings they had built themselves.[235] Conceived more broadly however, we can also take such calls to rely on the masses as reflective of the emergence of a particular conception of socialist modernity that stood in tension with the more general "project of modernity" that had taken root across both capitalist and socialist societies by the mid-twentieth century. In Chapter One, I defined modernist planning as a response to the experience of rapid transition, the undoing of old social mores, and accelerating urbanization brought on by the rise of capitalism and imperialism. Architects and planners responded to this experience of modernity by trying to use technological advances to create enduring spatial formations that would help create a better world and reveal the capacities of humanity. In contrast, the Chinese communist emphasis on relying on the energies of the masses and expunging a trust in bureaucracy stood in specific opposition to the type of "book worship" and celebration of

[234] Mao Zedong, "Talks at the Yenan Forum on Literature and Art," (May 2, 1942) *Marxists Internet Archive*, Accessed May 7, 2018: https://www.marxists.org/reference/archive/mao/selected-works/volume-3/mswv3_08.htm
[235] For just one additional example, a 1951 inspection of housing conditions in specific districts and at individual factories found that in one slum area in Hongkou District of approximately 1,000 households, all but 30 lived in self-built thatch huts with dirt floors. More than 70% of these households had at least one member involved in industrial production. See: SMA, A59-1-306-22《上海市劳动局编印《工人住宅问题的调查材料》December, 1951.

technical expertise that much of modernist planning was premised on. A Le Corbusier, and to some extent even an Ebenezer Howard, had no interest in relying on the intrinsic energies of the masses. They thought that they could use their own rational abilities to organize society in ways that would better facilitate the potentials of those mass energies.

Conclusions

Socialism in all its varieties has always been a critique of the excesses of capitalist modernity while also of course maintaining the modernist pretenses that it is possible to both understand the world and change it for the better. In the Soviet Union, this took the form of a continued commitment to science and reason, but with a new emphasis on using centralized planning to correct for the illogical operations of the capitalist market.[236] Michael Dutton has argued that at its zenith in the Cultural Revolution, Chinese socialism under Mao espoused a heightened rejection of technocratic modernity in favor of a more "earthly" formation emphasizing the abilities of "the masses" to stand in affective solidarity against their enemies as a new path towards modernist dreams of development and a better world. Describing a Cultural Revolution-era sculpture, *The Rent Collection Courtyard*, Dutton writes:

> "Foreign frameworks and foreign dogmas" were rejected in favor of the more affective, earthly form of enmity and fraternity being cultivated in the clay soils of rural China. Born of the soil and modeled in clay, these figures forge a new form of revolutionary organization relying on its telluric qualities to produce affectivity.[237]

[236] Though contradictorily, as discussed in Chapter One, the Soviets also decried an overreliance on planning and architecture to shape social realities as a type of utopianism that ran against "scientific" dialectical materialism where it was only the relations of production and class struggle that could truly reshape society. While they took this theoretical stance, I would argue that in practice they took the stance that "planning" of various types was absolutely crucial to reshaping society. This contradiction between a theoretical belief that the mechanisms of history produce social change and a strategic belief that a vanguard party must willfully intervene in history to actual change society seems to be at the core of understanding Bolshevism, Marxist-Leninism, and Maoism.

[237] Michael Dutton, "Fragments of the Political, or How We Dispose of Wonder," *Social Text* 30, no. 1 (2012): 130.

For Dutton, this sculpture, which depicts both the oppression of the landlords and the noble peasant struggle against this oppression, embodies the creation of affective solidarity through "absolute enmity" that defined Chinese socialism. This notion of camaraderie and mass energies through enmity stood in opposition to notions that the worship of technology might produce new collectivities.

Though there is a long way to go from urging poor workers to fix their own houses in the early 1950s and the creation of "absolute enmity" at the height of the Cultural Revolution, both of these phenomena point to an emphasis on a revolutionary ideology that stands in clear tension with bureaucratic efforts to create communities of model workers through rational urban planning. Urging the masses to practice collective self-reliance was one way to create a very different model of community (which conveniently required far less of an investment) than New Villages modeled after Western neighborhood units. In the 1950s this opposition to the construction of public housing was just one discourse that emerged in response to the housing crisis. However, as will be argued below, it would continue to bubble beneath the surface as an alternative approach towards restructuring Chinese cities until urban planning and architecture would be dismissed in totality as bourgeois sciences during the Cultural Revolution.

Ironically, the alternative plan of "relying on the masses" also suggested a celebration of self-reliance that stood in opposition to goals of creating new collectivities. Workers were supposed to rely on their own energies to repair and construct their own housing, which they had already been doing under the "semi-colonial and semi-feudal" conditions that preceded 1949. During the Cultural Revolution it would later be recognized that an overemphasis on self-reliance would produce a "private mindset."[238] Even if the model of planning developed at

[238] SMA, B11-2-161-1《上海市人民委员会公用事业办公室革命造反战斗队关于组织群众改建棚户要求解决资金问题的紧急请示报告》March 9, 1967.

Caoyang and through the "20,000 Households" project relied on "bureaucratic tendencies," it did so to advance a model that might some day provide all of Shanghai's workers with public housing built to the same basic, standards. In 1950s Shanghai this mode of bureaucratic, state-directed construction would continue to be the primary method of urban planning. At the same time, China's condition of constant economic scarcity and instability ensured that alternative methods of relying on the masses would continue to propagated as critiques of bureaucratic housing projects that could never do enough to solve Shanghai's housing crisis. For the rest of the 1950s, and into the 1960s, these competing discourses about ideal methods for urban planning and would continue to exist in tension with each other.[239]

[239] For just one example of how these discourses could exist together in tension in the very same document, the conclusion of the "Direction for Present and Future Efforts," which in general espoused a very state-centered model of bureaucratic research and planning, argues that in all matters planning should follow the masses. SMA, A59-1-304-2.

Chapter 3

The Rise of Cellular Urbanism and the Last Gasps of Planning: *Danwei* Housing and Satellite Towns in the Context of Deepening Revolution, 1953-1959

The bureaucratic utopianism that emerged as a model for government-directed urban planning through projects like the construction of Caoyang New Village in the early years of the PRC always existed in tension with criticisms that it reflected too bureaucratic a mindset. As the communists attempted to stabilize their rule in the early 1950s, critics, often relying on the ideas of Mao Zedong himself, charged that relying on municipal governments and the party to build housing stood in opposition to ideas of revolution that emphasized the energies of the masses to remake their own communities. However, such criticisms of government planning did not seem much of a concern when the PRC initiated the First Five Year Plan in 1953. This was a state-led industrialization effort that came to define the "command economy" of the early PRC. In some ways, this plan can be seen as the zenith of bureaucratic utopianism. State and party officials developed plans for hundreds of industrial projects around the country and invested all available resources to see their success.

At the same time, the actual bureaucratic functioning of the time-period was defined by the delegation of many planning responsibilities to individual "work units" (*danwei*). These delegated responsibilities often included constructing housing for workers. Individual work units—for instance a state-owned factory or government office—would construct and allocate housing as well as services for their workers, creating a peculiarly segmented type of urban restructuring. This chapter charts the rise of the *danwei* as the locus of urban planning in Shanghai, arguing that it helped give shape to a particular type of "cellular urbanism" that

existed in tension both with efforts to centralize planning in the municipal government and with the previously-discussed calls for community self-organization.

Eventually, using *danwei* to distribute resources and organize urban space would become the prime mode of bureaucratic utopian thinking in the People's Republic of China, but in the 1950s other models of urban planning continued to survive. As authors such as Samuel Liang and David Bray have argued, placing the responsibility of managing housing and services on work units—as opposed to municipal governments—created a peculiarly segmented form of urbanization. Compared to earlier (and later) efforts to remake entire cities through master plans, the cellular urbanism that developed in the 1950s undercut the power and ability of city planners to develop new models for socialist cities. However, cellular urbanism did not take over all at once, and large-scale plans for redesigning all or part of Chinese cities continued throughout the 1950s. In the heart of Beijing, planners widened Chang'An Avenue and planned "Ten Great Buildings" to celebrate the tenth anniversary of the PRC in 1958-1959 (though not all of the buildings were completed).[240] In Shanghai, the municipal government retained a relatively major role in at least managing the construction of public housing throughout the socialist period, though apartments were still distributed to workers through their individual work units.[241] In the 1950s, the Shanghai Municipal Government also planned a massive urban overhaul that would use satellite towns in the outer suburbs to redistribute population away from the city center. Planners drew up plans for the first of the satellite towns, Minhang, in 1958 and created a "General Plan for Shanghai" in October of 1959. These plans emerged during the Great Leap Forward and reveal that dreams of remaking China's cities were part of that political campaign's

[240] Yu Shuishan, *Chang'an Avenue and the Modernization of Chinese Architecture* (Seattle: University of Washington Press, 2012), 27.
[241] Yanjie Bian et al., "Work Units and Housing Reform in Two Chinese Cities," in *Danwei: The Changing Chinese Workplace in Historical and Comparative Perspective,* eds. Xiaobo Lu and Elizabeth Perry (Armonk, NY: M.E. Sharpe, Inc., 1997), 234.

wider utopian dream of remaking Chinese society as a whole. The municipal government did end up funding the planning and construction of five satellite towns in Shanghai's suburbs, though they were never completed as planned. Instead of redefining Shanghai's urban geography, the satellite towns were to exist as under-populated disappointments until well into the reform period.

Despite its failures, Shanghai's 1959 general plan reveals that the 1950s were a time when the Chinese communists were very much still working out their definitions of "planning," both urban and otherwise. Was urban planning the responsibility of municipal and central government bodies, or was it up to individual *danwei*? More fundamentally, was centrally-organized planning even the best way for the revolution to "serve production and serve the working people"? How did *danwei* housing complexes organize space and what political meanings does that organization of space reveal? In addressing these questions, this chapter argues that ultimately the late 1950s were a time that represented the last gasp of bureaucratic utopianism in Shanghai's urban planning during the Maoist period. After the failure of the 1959 general plan, there was not to be another such centrally-directed effort to remake Shanghai until after the Cultural Revolution. Instead, the responsibility for solving the housing crisis fell either to individual *danwei* or city residents themselves.

Studying the role of *Danwei* in the Context of Revolutionary Urbanism

Work Units occupied a central place in the organization of urban society during the Maoist period and, accordingly, numerous scholars have analyzed their history and function from the 1950s (and before) until the present. In their introduction to the edited volume *Danwei: The Changing Chinese Workplace in Historical and Comparative Perspective*, political scientists Lu

Xiaobo and Elizabeth Perry define *danwei* as work units that have the ability to make personnel decisions; provide their members with communal facilities such as housing, dining halls, and health clinics; keep independent accounts and budgets; and have an urban or at least non-agricultural purview. According to Lu and Perry, all *danwei* in the Maoist period also served both a *political function* as the means for the state to control and organize urban workers and a *social function* as the locus for providing welfare services and creating "self-sufficient and multifunctional social communities." While all *danwei* share the above attributes, Lu and Perry also draw a distinction between "central units," which receive funding and supervision directly from central government units in Beijing, and "local units," which are organized and controlled by local governments.[242] In Shanghai, as in other cities across China, *danwei* defined individuals and urban communities as well as providing a relatively efficient and inexpensive means of reproducing labor. From the 1950s until deep into the reform period, in urban China *danwei* served as not just workplaces, but providers of social services, sites of political organization, as well as the primary frameworks for social and community life.

Some scholars have also focused on the place of *danwei* in studying urban planning, the socialist restructuring of cities, and the development of residential housing under the communists. For one example, Zhang Jie and Wang Tao have studied the impact of the *danwei* funding model described above on housing and urban development. They argue that his model created segmented self-sufficient communities, but also led to great inequalities in the services offered by well-funded and less well-funded *danwei*. They also describe how this funding model left municipal governments with insufficient funds to cover the costs of infrastructure and public

[242] Ibid. 5-9.

services outside of *danwei*.[243] Duanfang Lu has traced out the architectural and spatial development of the *danwei,* arguing that in it drew on global modernist planning ideals such as Clarence Perry's idea of the "neighborhood unit." Lu also situates the development of *danwei* in the context of "third world scarcity," arguing that the development of the *danwei* as an urban form was structured by both aspirations to modernist development and conditions of economic scarcity that limited the possibilities of urban development.[244] In contrast to these approaches that provide the institutional and spatial histories of *danwei*, David Bray employs Michel Foucault's notion of governmentality to provide a genealogy of the political and social function of these urban spaces. Bray argues that the spatial form and the politic discourses surrounding *danwei* worked at micro and macro levels—respectively—to discipline workers into productive proletarian subjects serving state goals.[245]

This chapter builds on these previous studies of *danwei* as a novel form of urban planning (though one with historical precedents) by providing a historical narrative of the development of *danwei* as the primary form of organizing urban housing, as well as urban planning more generally, in Shanghai. Adding to analyses of the social ad political functions of the *danwei* as an urban form, I argue the historical rise of the *danwei* in Shanghai reflected ideological struggles over the meaning of "planning" and the role of state bureaucracy in the Chinese revolution. In a similar vein, Samuel Liang argues that the "incongruence between city planning and urban construction betrays the contradiction between the unitary state ideology and the

[243] Zhang Jie and Wang Tao, "Housing Development in the Socialist Planned Economy from 1949 to 1978," in *Modern Urban Housing in China, 1840-2000,* eds. Lü, Junhua., Rowe, Peter G, and Zhang, Jie, (Munich; New York: Prestel, 2001) 116-117.

[244] Duanfang Lu, *Remaking Chinese Urban Form: Modernity, Scarcity and Space, 1949-2005* (New York: Routledge, 2006).

[245] David Bray, *Social Space and Governance in Urban China: The Danwei System from Origins to Reform* (Stanford, Calif.: Stanford University Press, 2005).

governance strategy of dividing urban population and their space into cellular units."[246] Liang's analysis captures the contradiction between the institutionally and spatially segmented model of cellular urbanism represented by *danwei* and hopes for consolidated urban planning united by state ideology. Liang goes on to argue that the conflict between centralized planning and constructing *danwei* compounds spatially manifested a more general dispute in the Chinese revolution between efforts to achieve socialist development through bureaucratic methods and anti-bureaucratic, grassroots social mobilization.[247]

Analyzing the general planning of residential housing compounds in Shanghai reveals that Liang is right to identify a contradiction between planning and anti-bureaucratic mobilization; however, I argue that he is incorrect to focus on the *danwei* as the locus of this contradiction. This chapter's analysis of the rise of the *danwei* as both a spatial form and institutional mechanism for solving Shanghai's housing shortage alongside competing planning schemes in Shanghai shows that building these compounds was nothing if not a bureaucratic and state-directed project, though it did undercut plans to reimagine the city a whole. The funding and construction of housing in *danwei* compounds was still organized by either municipal or central government organs and great attention was paid by city bureaucrats to how housing was organized through *danwei* compounds. Furthermore, as this chapter will show, *danwei* compounds emerged as a dominant urban form during the First Five Year Plan, a moment when bureaucratic state planning was at its most intense.

Studying the rise of the *danwei* in Shanghai in the context of shifts in revolutionary strategies indicates that state-planning was less ideologically "unitary" than Liang's analysis makes it out to be. As this chapter will show, in the 1950s there were still efforts to draw up city-

[246] Samuel Y. Liang,"Planning and Its Discontents: Contradictions and Continuities in Remaking China's Great Cities, 1950-2010," *Urban History* 40, no. 3 (2013): 532.
[247] Ibid. 536

wide plans to redesign Shanghai as a new socialist city through methods that were both bureaucratic and utopian. *Danwei* compounds were not a mass-based answer to the state-directed nature of those plans, but another state strategy that was shaped by architectural, economic, and political concerns. The ultimate rise to prominence of *danwei* compounds as the dominant form of urban planning during the Maoist period did not represent the ultimate success of mass-line politics, but the emergence of one form of bureaucratic governance. This form of state-centered governance stood in tension with more utopian plans to reimagine society as a whole through state planning as well as projects of mass mobilization—two seemingly contradictory modes of revolutionary development that would curiously coalesce in moments such as the Great Leap Forward. This chapter analyzes these tensions between urban forms, revolutionary ideology, and the role of the state by providing a narrative of the rise of the *danwei,* as well as development in the planning and construction of residential housing more generally, from the onset of the First Five Year Plan until the Great Leap.

The Rise of the *Danwei* during the First Five Year Plan

The PRC launched the First Five Year plan in 1953 in an effort to drive economic development through centralized planning and massive state investments. Though this included investment in housing projects around China, it was generally focused on developing China's interior, not already relatively developed coastal cities like Shanghai. During this period, national economic policy focused almost exclusively on developing China's heavy industry and the task for cities like Shanghai was to transform from cities of consumption to cities of production (of course since the treaty of Shimonoseki Shanghai had already been a base of industrial production). Because housing did not directly contribute to industrial production, it was

considered to be within the sphere of "consumption" and became relatively deprioritized for investment compared to industrial projects.[248] The doctrine of building Shanghai to "serve production, and to serve the laboring people" was carried out in that order.

While neither housing nor Shanghai were primary priorities of the First Five Year Plan, city government and party officials recognized that severely degraded housing conditions would themselves influence production. Additionally, China's continued economic recovery—as well as Shanghai's continued role as an industrial base—ensured that even a relatively smaller rate of investment in housing meant the continuation of urban planning and housing construction in fits and starts until the end of the First Five Year Plan in 1957. Planning in this period continued the centralized bureaucratic model developed at Caoyang and with the "20,000 Households" project, while also creating a new emphasis on the role of *danwei* in providing workers with housing. This model saw the dispersal of some construction responsibilities to individual industries, while maintaining centralized processes for the general planning and approval of new housing. This period also saw the continued standardization of housing construction and urban planning, now with a more strict emphasis, at least rhetorically, on "following the Soviets;" even if in practice this meant continuing to build housing units that looked quite similar to those constructed at Caoyang. At the same time that centralized planning and construction continued and even increased, there was also a continued recognition during this period that such state-directed efforts could not solve Shanghai's housing shortages. In this context, new solutions focused on "stimulating the power of the masses" continued to be propagated; specifically the so-called "self built, publicly supported" model where workers would apply for state assistance to construct their own housing. Ultimately then, the First Five Year plan saw both the continuation of a

[248] Peter Rowe, Zhang Jie, *Modern Urban Housing*, 111-113.

centralized model of state-directed housing construction as well as a continued tacit critique of such practices

Year	Total Investment (10,000 Yuan)	Investment in Housing	Percent change	Percent of total	Housing area built (sqm)
1950	1844	50		2.7	3.19
1951	6139	444	788%	7.2	7.06
1952	16558	2786	527%	16.8	25.77
1953	30459	7133	156%	23.4	109.84
1954	27148	3856	−45.9	14.2	53.95
1955	28658	880	−77.2	3.1	15.67
1956	31450	1890	114%	6.0	29.61
1957	43722	4605	143%	10.5	84.05
1958	110888	4479	−2.7	4.0	138.04
1959	149661	5188	15.8	3.5	94.96
1960	167552	4771	−8.0	2.8	67.04
1961	67228	2208	−53.7	3.3	43.95
1962	34296	1380	−37.5	4.0	31.32

Figure 4 1950-1962 Housing Investment (source: *Shanghai Zhuzhai Jianshe Zhi* 上海住宅建设志[Shanghai Housing Construction Index)

The first two years of the First Five Year Plan saw a continuation of government investment in building housing. According to data compiled in *The Shanghai Housing Construction Annals* (see Figure 4), investment in housing continued to increase in 1953, before declining drastically in 1954 and 1955.[249] Investment would pick back up at the end of First Five Year Plan and stay relatively steady into the Great Leap Forward, before beginning a general decline and remaining at a low percentage of total investment until the end of the Cultural Revolution in 1976. These investment trends indicate that the 1950s and the First Five Year Plan

[249] These figures are somewhat contradicted by a 1954 City Party Representative Committee summary report of public housing construction that suggests public housing construction actually began to decrease dramatically in 1953, not 1954. This report states that only 6,412 new units were built in 1953 versus the 20,000 built in 1952. These new units equaled 214,858 square meters, which stands in stark contrast to the 1,098,400 sqm of housing the *Shanghai Housing Index Claims* was built in 1953. Part of the reason for this discrepancy could be that the *Housing Index* is including some of the "20,000 Households" construction as many of these units were completed in 1953. This would help explain why the Representative Committee report gives a higher figure for 1952 construction (552,672 sqm) than does the *Housing Construction Annals* (257,700 sqm), though of course there is still an overall discrepancy between the figures for constructed housing area in both documents (Representative Committee report does not include investment figures). See: Shanghai Municipal Archives (SMA) *Shanghai Shi Dangan Guan* 上海市档案馆，Archival Number 档号: B8-2-16-26《上海市人民委员会关于上海市工人住宅历年建造概况》1954.

were a discontinuous high point of state-led housing construction during the Maoist period. The interregnum of 1954-1955 reflects the government focus on projects directly related to industrial production, not secondary consumptive phenomena such as housing. Still, outside of these the two years, during the First Five Year plan the government expanded the existing New Villages as well as constructing new ones. In total, 161 New Villages would be built from the beginning of 1953 until the end of 1958. Following the model laid out with Caoyang and the "20,000 Households" project, the state continued to focus on building most of these New Villages in Shanghai's suburban industrial areas as opposed to the former concession areas, which continued to be dominated by old *lilong* housing.

In general, the First Five Year Plan saw an intensification of state-centered economic planning. At the beginning of the plan, mixed public and private ownership of industries was allowed to continue, but after the "High Tide of Socialism" in late 1955 and early 1956 almost all private factories and shops were turned into either state-directed cooperatives or "joint public-private enterprises" (*gongsi heying*).[250] As much as general planning decisions were centralized during this period, the responsibilities of planning and overseeing Shanghai's housing construction did not purely fall on the central city government and party organizations. Instead—and in comparison to the "20,000 Households" project which had been organized from funding to completion and distribution by central municipal government organs—the government encouraged factories and other enterprises to build housing for their own employees according to standardized models. The City Representative Committee's 1954 "Summary of Public Housing Construction in Previous Years" stated that although the general planning for the location of residential areas remained the responsibility of the City Construction Committee, other than

[250] Barry Naughton, *The Chinese Economy: Transitions and Growth* (Cambridge, Massachusetts: The MIT Press, 2007), 67.

roads and public infrastructure, "the remainder of the housing and supplementary engineering inside housing districts gets its investment separately from the various work units that are constructing housing."[251] In other words, general planning continued to be conducted at the central level, but funding was becoming more dispersed across various *danwei*, meaning both different lower level government organizations and individual commercial enterprises.

Delegating the responsibility of funding and construction to various enterprises of course had its drawbacks and was criticized as "wasteful" by the Shanghai party committee almost as soon as it was implemented as a method of construction.[252] At this time, in 1954, Ke Qingshi had assumed the position of Party Committee Secretary from Chen Yi, though Chen continued to serve as mayor until 1958. Ke would dominate Shanghai's politics until 1965, succeeding Chen as mayor in 1958, because of his close connections to Mao Zedong and his support of Mao's policies. According to Marie-Claire Bergère, the connections of figures like Ke and Chen in Shanghai's administration helped create a situation where "the municipal administrators were first and foremost agents of central power."[253] These connections meant that vacillations in policies surrounding housing in Shanghai were inevitably connected to wider national debates as party elites experimented with different approaches to urban administration.

According to the *Shanghai Housing Index,* another model was contemporaneously developed in the early 1950s whereby *danwei* in already nationalized enterprises would primarily come up with a basic plan for constructing housing and then submit this to the city government for approval. If approved, then the government would appropriate funds for construction as "at the time state practice was to use a system of unified state control over expenditures." In 1953,

[251] SMA, B8-2-16-26.
[252] SMA, B8-2-33-48, "上海市建设委员会关于 1954 年兴建工人住宅的请示," October 10, 1953.
[253] Bergère, 372.

the government received commissions from 23 work units and built 5250 housing units in seven different locations under this model.[254] The various housing schemes would become more standardized again in 1955 when the municipal government appropriated 15 million yuan as a rotating fund and designated the Municipal Planning and Construction Bureau to organize the general construction of housing and the Construction and Engineering Bureau to organize the contracting of material and labor for the construction of employee housing at individual enterprises.[255]

These various housing models reflected the developing relationship between *danwei* and government and party organs that were solidifying across China in the 1950s, with the *danwei* to ultimately become the social and spatial bedrock of urban socialist China. On May 8, 1956, the State Council issued a directive for government and enterprise responsibilities in construction for newly build industrial areas. As described by historians Zhang Jie and Wang Tao:

> Under this system, each enterprise was responsible for constructing housing for its own employees in the following manner. First, housing construction was placed on the yearly agenda of capital construction, and the department, at a higher level, appropriated funds. Land was provided by a local government free of charge, and a division within the enterprise would be set up to take charge of the construction and distribution of housing. Unfortunately, local governments did not have sufficient funds to build cultural, recreational and sanitary facilities for the general public. On the other hand, each enterprise, regardless of how big or small its living quarters were, was required to construct a complete set of facilities to meet the basic needs of its employees. Consequently, in addition to being an economic entity in the city, each enterprise was also self-sufficient. Residents could get daily necessities and enjoy leisure-time activities without going out of the compound of their living quarters.[256]

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[254] "Di er pian xin jian zhu zhai: di yi zhang shi qu bianyuan zhuzhai jianshe: di san jie yi pi zhuzhai xincun 第二篇 新建住宅：第一章市区边缘住宅建设：第三节 一批住宅新村 ," *Shanghai zhuzhai jianshe zhi* 上海住宅建设志, http://shtong.gov.cn/node2/node2245/node75091/node75096/node75130/node75141/userobject1ai90880.html (Accessed May 15, 2018).
[255] Ibid.
[256] Lü Junhua., et al. *Modern Urban Housing in China, 1840-2000* (New York: Prestel, 2001), 116-117.

This system dispersed responsibilities for actual funding and construction to individual work units—which had revenue streams that came directly from the central government rather than being channeled through municipal planning bodies. As David Bray notes, because the First Five Year Plan prioritized the development of state-owned enterprises, these work units were better funded and thus able to provide superior housing and infrastructure to that received by urban residents working in other sectors.[257] While this system prioritized the agency of work units in constructing houses, local governments still maintained control over land allocation, which allowed them some control of the overall direction of urban development.

This continuance of government control was especially true in Shanghai, where the municipal government continued to exercise greater control over housing construction than in other cities. In Shanghai, national *danwei* managed their housing funds independently; however, the municipal government continued to control the housing development for local *danwei*. The government would appropriate the housing funds of local *danwei* and then make decisions about the planning, construction, and allocation of housing according to which *danwei* had contributed the most to the centralized housing fund. This system also allowed the Shanghai municipal government to use *danwei*-raised funds to build housing that would be distributed to high-ranking cadres in the city's civil service.[258] As will be seen below, municipal governments like Shanghai would also continue to develop their own plans for urban development that existed alongside construction at the *danwei* level. Ultimately the *danwei* model both dispersed construction responsibilities to different enterprises and organizations while also maintaining general party and government control, at both the central and municipal level, over the processes of development. Notably absent in the administration of housing construction and distribution

[257] Bray, 142-143.
[258] Yanjie Bian et al., "Work Units and Housing Reform in Two Chinese Cities," in Lu and Perry, eds., 234.

was the All China Federation of Trade Unions, which had become sidelined as an independent player in the provision of worker welfare ever since the 1951-1952 trade union debates and the harsh criticisms of Li Lisan discussed in the previous chapter.

Learning from the Soviets and Controlling the Population: Idealized Urban Space in Cellular Shanghai

The model of *danwei*-based urbanism came to prominence in the late 1950s and would continue to grow and remain standard until the introduction of market reforms in the late 1970s. Into the 1980s, *danwei* owned 90% of urban housing in China, with local municipal governments owning the rest.[259] For both Shanghai and cities all around the country, *danwei* housing compounds came to be built primarily in peripheral areas where industries had space to expand (as well as replace previously existing slums). In Shanghai, this created a city made up of the densely populated, colonially constructed core surrounded by a ring of suburbs made up of relatively self-contained communities where people lived closed to their places of employment. Shanghai's newly-built housing compounds shared a genealogical link with the spatial forms of global modernism. However, the goals of the Chinese revolution during the 1950s gave these complexes a specific political meaning as a bureaucratic utopian mode of reorganizing Shanghai's urban space to facilitate the eventual creation of a unique notion of an idealized socialist city.

During the mid-1950s, there were debates about what form *danwei* housing should take at the national level, many of them taking place in the pages of the *Architecture Journal*. The thousands of Soviet Advisors that came to China during the 1950s encouraged Chinese planners to adopt the "superblock" (*dajiefang*), which grouped four to six-floor apartments units in a

[259] Lu Duanfang. "Travelling Urban Form: the Neighbourhood Unit in China." *Planning Perspectives*, vol. 21, no. 4, 2006, pp. 369–392.

square pattern with public facilities at the center. Apartments were laid out in a linear fashion, with some facing arterial streets with aesthetically coordinated facades.[260] Superblocks were similar to the neighborhood unit concept that had guided construction at Caoyang in providing standardized housing organized in discrete units easy access to public facilities, but differed in their emphasis on symmetrical axes, facades facing the streets, and placing public services in a central square. In comparison, neighborhood units used a more flexible layout and tended to locate services on the periphery of rows of apartment buildings rather than in a central square consisting of apartment buildings. Comparing the layout of Caoyang (figure 5), which was essentially a neighborhood unit, and the below image of a prototypical superblock layout from the *Architecture Journal* (figure 6) reveals the fundamental differences in these two forms of spatial organization.

Figure 5 Caoyang New Village's neighborhood unit/microdistrict layout[261]

[260] Ibid. 378

[261] Wang Dingzeng 汪定曾, "Shanghai caoyang xincun zhuzhaiqu de guihua sheji"上海曹杨新村住宅区的规划设计, *Jianzhu xuebao* 建筑学报 3，no. 2 (1956): 1-15.

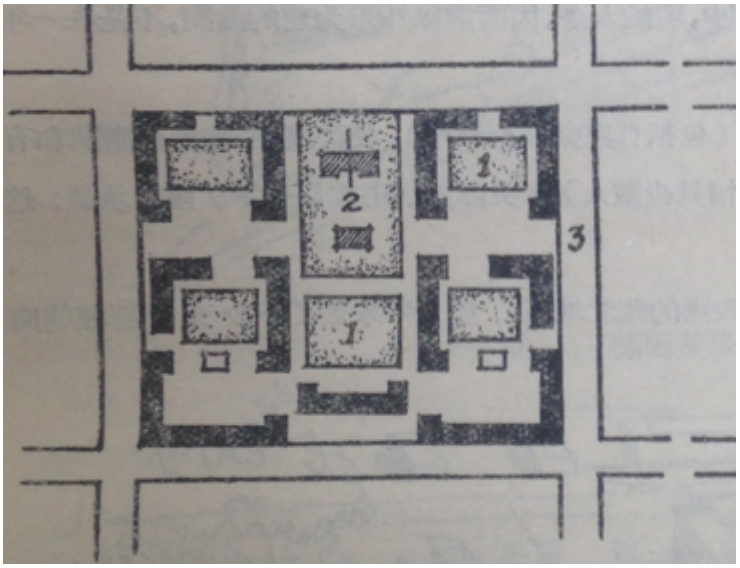

Figure 6: Prototype of "perimeter style" superblock.[262]

Comparing these images, where the prototypical superblock adopts a rigid square layout with services at the center of each square, Caoyang's buildings are grouped more flexibly in rows segmented by curving arterial streets that do not directly run through housing complexes. None of Caoyang's apartment buildings directly face the street and services are located in the center of the wider complex (represented on the map by darkly shaded buildings), but never in the middle of individual apartment groupings.

Despite the early achievements of Caoyang, in the context of "following the Soviet experience," the superblock model would come to be celebrated in the mid-1950s as the ideal form for housing construction. Wang Dingzeng, the designer of Caoyang New Village, himself wrote a self-critical article in 1956 in the *Architecture Journal* denouncing the previous influence of the neighborhood unit in the design of Caoyang and instead celebrating the superblock for

[262] Chang Youshi 常友石, "Jiefang ji zhuzhai biaojun sheji" 街坊及住宅标准设计, *Jianzhu xuebao* 建筑学报 3, no. 2 (1956): 113-121.

future construction plans because it would be better at satisfying the needs of the people and integrating the city together as a cohesive whole while also reducing costs.[263]

As argued in Chapter One, sometimes the distinctions drawn between neighborhood units and superblocks were as much a political distinction as a formal one. Both reflected relatively similar conceptions of the city as made up of a collection of separated communities close to residents' place of work. The main difference being that one was developed in the capitalist west and the other developed in the Soviet Union (though almost certainly under the influence of planning ideas from Western Europe and the United States).[264] What innovations the superblock did provide—namely, a rigid square alignment—proved unsuitable for the conditions of cities like Shanghai. Apartments in neighborhood unit-inspired complexes such as Caoyang were laid out in parallel rows oriented from north to south (*hanglieshi)*. This allowed all apartment buildings to take advantage of the sunlight in the winter while avoiding the worst of the summer sun and staying ventilated. In comparison, superblocks with their perimeter-housing orientations left some residents roasting in the summer and others receiving no sunlight in the winter.[265][266] Accordingly, almost as soon as the superblock was promoted it was also criticized for not suiting China's natural or built environment and another Soviet concept, the microdistrict, was introduced into China in 1956 and adopted for the 1957 master plan proposal for Beijing.[267] Though bearing Soviet credentials, the microdistrict concept was guided by essentially the same planning principles as the neighborhood unit. Duanfang Lu writes, "the transition from the

[263]Wang Dingzeng 汪定曾 (1956), 2.
[264] For one, Duanfang Lu notes that superblocks were "more directly influenced by the Beaux-Arts concern for formal grandeur than by Marxist theory." See: Lu, "Travelling Urban Form: the Neighbourhood Unit in China," 378.
[265] Lü Junhua., et al. 122-138.
[266] A 1957 report on the development of Caoyang and Rihui New Villages states that part of Caoyang had developed the superblock "perimeter" style for new construction carried out in 1955, but that it was "very unsatisfactory" because it was inefficient, expensive, and left the interiors hot in the summer and cold in the winter. See: SMA, A54-2-158-82《上海市规划建筑管理局关于曹杨，日辉新村住宅现状的综合调查报告》May 25, 1957.
[267] Lu, "Travelling Urban Form: the Neighbourhood Unit in China," 382.

neighbourhood unit to the microdistrict, therefore, was largely a strategic manoeuvre of reviving the old practices under a new name."[268]

All these debates over terminology reveal Chinese planners' struggles to reconcile calls to learn from the Soviets with conditions in China. On the ground in Shanghai, there were shifts in terminology, but there was not much of a concerted effort to roll out superblocks along the initial soviet model. According to the *Housing Construction Annals,* at the height of the efforts to promote superblocks in 1955 and 1956, the government continued to facilitate the construction of new three and four-story apartment buildings—a height increase implemented in 1953 to more efficiently use land and resources—in New Villages across Shanghai in diverse forms including "the parallel row style [what was employed at Caoyang], the mixed style, the perimeter style [presumably the closest to the original superblock idea], and the courtyard style."[269] By 1957, the Municipal Planning, Survey and Construction Administration had already adopted the terminology for microdistrict (*xiaoqu*) as the core mode of residential planning over the superblock. In a directive on planning regulations, the administration wrote: "residential areas should generally use microdistricts as their basic unit…in special situations, superblocks can also be used as the basic units to increase independent planning."[270] In contrast to the criticisms planners like Wang felt obligated to level against microdistricts/neighborhood units, this report suggests that it is actually those forms—when organized into larger clusters of "residential areas"—that would create a more cohesive city.

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[268] Ibid.

[269] "Di er pian xin jian zhu zhai: di yi zhang shi qu bianyuan zhuzhai jianshe: di san jie yi pi zhuzhai xincun 第二篇 新建住宅：第一章市区边缘住宅建设：第三节 一批住宅新村 ," *Shanghai zhuzhai jianshe zhi* 上海住宅建设志, http://shtong.gov.cn/node2/node2245/node75091/node75096/node75130/node75141/userobject1ai90880.html (Accessed May 15, 2018).

[270] SMA, A54-2-158-198,《上海市城市规划勘测设计院关于检送上海市城市规划定额指标修正意见的报告》 September 15, 1957.

The term "new village" appears to have coexisted with the terms superblock and microdistrict. In general, it seems that "new village" provided a geographical and political meaning rather than a formal technical architectural one. On May 25, 1957, the Municipal Planning and Architectural Management Bureau released a "Comprehensive Examination of Housing Conditions in Caoyang and Rihui New Villages," which describes how various government bureaus and work units constructed housing in the style of superblocks and microdistricts at Caoyang and Rihui, which continued to generally be referred to as "New Villages."[271] Superblocks and Microdistricts were terms for architects and planners, not for residents or even usually for party and government officials.

As discussed in Chapter One, the moniker "new village" evoked the construction of a new type of Chinese socialist urbanism that reconciled desires to construct housing for urban industrial workers with imaginings of an idealized rural society as the cradle of Chinese revolution—while at the same time revealing connections to a lineage of global modernist urbanism that included concepts such as "New Towns" and "Garden Cities." The rural utopianism of these forms fit well with Mao Zedong's stated goal of erasing the "three great differences" between worker and peasant, city and countryside, and mental and manual labor. In the 1950s (and before the Sino-Soviet split), calls to "study the Soviet experience" folded in Soviet meanings with these evocations specific to the Chinese revolution to help shape Chinese socialist urbanism. New Villages became sites made up of "superblocks" and, more predominantly, "microdistricts" (which of course was really just Soviet terminology for the Western "Neighborhood Unit"). At the same time, the quick shifts in terminology used in planning documents and *Architecture Journal* articles reveal the bricolage of meanings contained at spaces like Caoyang as well as the hybrid nature of Chinese socialist urbanism.

[271] SMA, A54-2-158-82.

The debates over ideal socialist housing forms reflected efforts to combine Soviet guidance with China's history as a predominantly agrarian society as well as Maoist goals to eliminate distinctions between the city and the countryside. In Shanghai, the history of unequal development caused by foreign domination shaped the specifics of these debates. One issue that was particularly relevant to housing construction was the past, present, and future of Shanghai's population distribution. There was a recognition amongst planners that Shanghai's history of "semicolonialism" and "semi-feudalism" had "distorted' its development and left its urban geography very uneven.[272] According to the Municipal Planning, Survey and Construction Administration, Shanghai's history shaped its geography very "irrationally," leaving architectural density in the center of the city very high, with little green space, and "unbalanced" public services.[273]

Party and government officials desired to right this unbalanced history and both control population growth and redistribute it away from the central area. These desires were tied up with both the greater aims of the Five Year Plan to develop the interior and the advice of Soviet experts. In 1956, the Municipal Hygiene Bureau presented the results of a Soviet expert's examination of key issues in Shanghai's development to the Municipal Party Committee. The Hygiene Bureau reported:

> The Soviet expert thinks it is not economical or suitable if a city's population is too high. Because of this, in terms of possessing the sites for establishing industry that will develop industrial conditions, it is not suitable to develop industry in large cities. As for the whether we should develop Shanghai's industry in the present and future? The Soviet expert thinks developing industry is a good endeavor, but placing factories in Shanghai's city area or suburbs has many inconvenient aspects. As for whether factories should be dispersed to other areas besides inside Shanghai's city perimeter? This is a complicated question;

[272] SMA, A59-1-304-2, "上海市政建设情况与今后努力的方向—在市政建设委员会成立大会的报告" 《上海市人民政府市政建设委员会会议记录》 September, 1951.

[273] SMA, A54-2-158-313,《上海市城市规划勘测设计院关于上海市城市规划方针任务的意见》August, 1957.

> therefore, construction and planning bureaus and related bureaus should establishment population work groups to specialize in researching issues of Shanghai's population.[274]

The general Soviet model was to favor industrial development in new smaller cities over already developed large cities. In this case, the Soviet experts saw the value in industrial development in Shanghai, but advised against placing those projects within either the central or suburban areas. It is notable here that the issue of population distribution was so closely tied with questions of production. The report takes for granted that dispersing industrial projects to far-flung areas will also mean dispersing Shanghai's population. If the Soviets were truly to be learned from in these instances, then that would mean building a Shanghai consisting of self-contained industrial complexes with their own residential areas and services located in Shanghai's distant countryside.

While Chinese government and party officials generally did follow Soviet models of development during the 1950s, they did not do so blindly. In the above report, the Hygiene Bureau makes clear the Soviet position, and then advises that research be conducted on issues of population distribution. At the beginning of August, 1957, the Municipal Planning, Survey and Construction Administration was established to conduct such research on Shanghai's urban planning and chart a course forward for a socialist city that would "improve the people's living standards and transform their living habits." According to a mission statement for the new planning administration:

> As for the old city that emerged from Shanghai's semi-colonial and semi-feudal social structure and development, new planning methods must be used to promote a complete transformation of its original foundation so that construction achieves a socialist city that benefits production and accords with the people's needs…In the process of planning, we must first completely understand the situation of the city's historical development as well as the particularities of the city's current circumstances. At the same time, other than just researching the city's long term

[274]SMA, A54-2-158-131《上海市卫生局关于苏联专家尼基金对上海市提出城市规划意见建议分别成立研究工作小组的函》July 14, 1957.

> plans, we must also draft a plan for different stages of construction that accords with the goals of national economic development, and is in rational agreement with national productive powers.[275]

This statement expresses a modernist belief in the ability of experts to plan for the future by studying present and historical circumstances. In the formulation of Mao's China, this did not mean planners working in isolation off of models developed from the Soviets, but testing their ideas against China's reality and then putting those planning ideas into practice. This meant a process of adjusting planning ideas to the circumstances and goals of China in the 1950s, which is well exemplified by the ultimate decision *not* to adopt the Soviet superblock when it did not serve the natural or social conditions of China's cities. In Mao's words, "the truth of any knowledge or theory is determined not by subjective feelings, but by objective results in social practice."[276]

Of course, modernist (and Marxist) relationships between theory and practice should not be romanticized as neutral or ideal forms of knowledge; Foucault—as well as a litany of other thinkers—have aptly pointed out that discourses surrounding the "reality" of society are tied to forces like governmentality, where populations are disciplined, and subsequently learn to self-discipline, through the employment of various technologies of knowledge and surveillance.[277] The Planning Administration was not merely studying society to come up with the best way to

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[275] SMA, A54-2-158-136《上海市城市规划勘测设计院关于原供应前上海市规划局有关城市规划现状及发展计划的资料仍请继续送至该院的函》August, 1957.

[276] Mao Zedong, "On Practice," (July, 1937) *Marxist Internet Archive*, https://www.marxists.org/reference/archive/mao/selected-works/volume-1/mswv1_16.htm (Accessed 5/21/2018).

[277] Michel Foucault, *Security, Territory, and Population: Lectures at the Collège de France, 1977-1978* (New York: Picador, 2004) 108-110. As influential as notions like governmentality are in academia, I question their utility in analyzing an explicitly revolutionary society like China in the 1950s and 1960s. Chinese communists might have been claiming to be able to "objectively" represent and respond to reality, but they certainly never claimed that objectivity was politically neutral. Instead, it was staked on the need to "serve the people" in opposition to the enemies of the people. Using Foucault to point out how communists were shaping certain notions of "population" does not add much to our understanding of a philosophy that was always about determining who were "the people" and who were the "counterrevolutionaries."

transform Shanghai and overcome its colonial legacy, but was advancing a particular notion of what Shanghai should become—just as the colonial and Guomindang regimes had also done. In August, 1957, this organization released a document titled "Opinion on the Tasks for Shanghai's Planning Direction," that laid out the general direction for Shanghai's future urban planning. In terms of planning for housing Shanghai's workers, this document argued that Shanghai should "limit the ceaseless increase of the city's population" and develop plans for controlling the population both in specific industries and individual districts of the city. This report listed three methods for continuing Shanghai's development: 1) using principles that economize land use and appropriately improving infrastructure; 2) economizing on expenditures for public services and rationally developing outwards from the built up and semi-built up areas; and 3) researching neighboring towns that could be taken advantage of for the construction of "satellite towns."[278] This was a plan for Shanghai that emphasized economizing as possible while also espousing continued expansions, especially into Shanghai's suburban areas.

At the onset of the Great Leap Forward, the notion of satellite towns in Shanghai's more far-flung countryside (20-40 km from the city center) was to take over as the new model of development. Controlling central Shanghai's ever-growing population was a constant concern for planners, and directing new industrial growth to more remote locations was one way of attempting to achieve this goal. Here, planners were applying their research of Shanghai's specific material circumstances and espousing a new model of urbanism made up of discrete housing complexes for various work units in the inner suburbs and a ring of newly developed satellite towns. In other word, planners in the late-1950s were working to urbanize the countryside of Shanghai's suburbs without increasing the overall population of its administrative area.

[278] SMA, A54-2-158-313.

The type of city that planners were trying to shape grew out of the experiences and experiments of the First Five Year Plan when, drawing selectively on Soviet models (and shaped by national policies that would continually downplay the importance of development in large cities), Shanghai adopted the *danwei* compound as the core of urban housing development. From its outset, this model was always a way of controlling population, in terms of growth, movement, and ideology. Just as the state came to rely on *danwei* to construct housing, in an adoption of the neighborhood unit concept, workers came to rely on them as the nucleus of their urban lives and they became the places where they both worked and lived. These compounds created a form of cellular urbanism that separated residents from each other through the segmented provision of housing and services. The *danwei* system of controlling workers, space, and social welfare by its very nature helped limit urban population growth because it limited the freedom of movement and the ability of people to migrate to the city. While this itself was a dramatic transformation of urban space under socialism, concerns over population density and growth in Shanghai's central areas also insured that most new development took place on the periphery of the old concession areas. Shanghai's urban planners were very upfront about how imperialism had distorted the city's development, but, ironically, the "socialist principles" they adopted left the areas formerly controlled by the imperialists relatively untouched. On the surface at least, the "distortions" of Shanghai's colonial past would continue into the socialist future. By the end of the First Five Year Plan, Shanghai was turning into a city whose central area continued to be defined by grand colonial architecture, which was now ringed by a large number of neighborhood-unit inspired microdistricts where residents lived and worked with their *danwei*.

Satellite Towns and Slums

In 1958, the People's Republic of China launched the massive industrial and agricultural development plan known as the Great Leap Forward. This drive was of course to end in disastrous famine in the countryside as agricultural production was put in the service of industrial production. In Shanghai, the Great Leap Forward coincided with the most ambitious effort to restructure the city since liberation in 1949. Starting in 1957, the government initiated efforts to construct five "Satellite Towns" (*weixing chengzhen*) in Shanghai's distant suburbs (20-40 kilometers from the city center) while also continuing the development of ten industrial areas (*gongye qu*) in the inner suburbs.[279] These conceptions drew on the notions of urban planning developed in Shanghai throughout the 1950s (and outlined above). During the Great Leap Forward, these visions of Shanghai as an industrial city with a population dispersed away from the old colonial core were clarified, but now with an even stronger emphasis on how urban development serving the city's population such as housing construction should be fused with the needs of industrial production. For Shanghai, the Great Leap Forward saw the reemergence of a model of urbanism focused on the ability of the government to produce a general plan for the entire city's development. However, the chaotic national context of the time as well as a history that had left at least 1/6 of the population still living in slums in 1959 ensured these plans would not be fully realized. The efforts to dramatically redesign the entirety of the city from 1957 to 1959 would be the last gasp of centralized planning in Shanghai until after the Cultural Revolution. In the interim, the responsibility for building housing and infrastructure would be firmly delegated to *danwei*.

In December of 1957, the first meeting of the Second Shanghai Representative Congress decided to establish the program of building satellite towns in order to disperse industries as well

[279] SMA, B257-1-2752-64《上海市城市建设局关于近郊工业区和卫星城镇住宅建设及公用设施配合问题的文件》August 17, 1961.

as to reduce the population density in the city center.[280] After surveying twelve potential sites, the city ultimately chose five sites for the establishment of these towns at Minhang, Songjiang, Anting, Jiading, and Wujing.[281] By January of 1958, the Municipal Planning, Survey and Construction Administration had already produced a plan for researching conditions for the establishment of new factories in the planned satellite towns. According to this report, satellite towns were planned in response to the directive Zhou Enlai issued at the third plenary meeting of the Eighth Central Committee of the CPC (September 20 to October 9, 1957) that the nation should "control population growth in cities, while also newly initiating industrial and basic construction projects, which should be appropriately distributed to middle and small-sized cities that are along railroad routes, along rivers, and are close to the countryside."[282] National planning standards emphasized the need to control the development of large cities and prioritize the construction of new industrial projects in medium and small-sized cities with desirable transportation connections. This policy placed Shanghai in a conundrum, which planners responded to by promoting the notion of satellite towns in Shanghai's still largely rural far-flung suburbs.

Minhang was the first satellite town to be planned, with the Planning, Survey and Construction Commission producing its general plan in September of 1958. Prior to the plans to convert Minhang into a satellite town, it had already seen significant development since 1949. During the First Five Year Plan, factories were built there such as a Shanghai electrical machinery plant and a steam turbine plant, which caused the population to rise from around

[280] "Di si pian weixing chengzhen he jiaoqu chengzhen guihua 第四篇卫星城镇和郊区城镇规划," *Shanghai chengshi guihua zhi* 上海城市规划志, http://www.shtong.gov.cn/node2/node2245/node64620/node64628/index.html (Accessed May 28, 2018)
[281] K.I. Fung, "Satellite Towns: Development and Contributions," in. *Shanghai : Transformation and Modernization under China's Open Policy,* eds. Yeung, Yue-man., and Song, Enrong (Chinese University Press, 1996), 325.
[282] SMA, A54-2-312《上海市建设委员会关于卫星城镇规划》January, 1958.

6,000 in 1949 to over 37,000 in 1957, of whom over 8,000 were industrial workers. Starting in 1958, Minhang was designed to be a new center for Shanghai's electronics industry.[283] The general plan for Minhang's development as a satellite town called for the construction of new factories as well as a new residential area that was to be an expansion of the preexisting housing at the "New Villages" constructed for workers at the electric machinery and steam turbine plant work units.[284] This housing was to be located close to the industrial areas, but upwind from them to protect the workers hygiene. The planners also took advantage of Minhang's location on the banks of Huangpu River to further provide residents with green space. In general, Minhang was to be laid out in a "chessboard," grid pattern, though planners did suggest that the residential areas should follow the features of the landscape (which of course was one of Caoyang's planning characteristics).[285]

As for housing standards, the highest proportion of Minhang's residents lived in one-room apartments, which were considered suitable for households of one to five residents. Households of five of more were intended to live in two-room apartments, of which there were also a large number. According with national standards, all residents received an average of around four square meters per person of living space.[286] Housing at Minhang looked much as it

[283] "Di si pian weixing chengzhen he jiaoqu chengzhen guihua: di yi zhang weixing chengzhen guihua: di yi jie minhang 第四篇卫星城镇和郊区城镇规划: 第一章卫星城镇规划：第一节闵行，" *Shanghai chengshi guihua zhi* 上海城市规划志, http://www.shtong.gov.cn/node2/node2245/node64620/node64628/node64683/node64689/userobject1ai58471.html (Accessed May 28, 2018).

[284] SMA, A54-1-72, "报送闵行总体规划红线设计及说明书的报告"《上海市基本建设委员会关于城市建设总体规划的文件》September 13, 1958.

[285] Ibid.

[286]These figures are taken from a 1962 article by Wang Dingzeng and Xu Rongchun. In the article they use data from Minhang as well as Caoyang to make their general recommendations and summations for housing standards. Though they do not provide that data specifically, I take their use of Minhang and Caoyang as models for the standards to show that these two places fit those standards. Wang Dingzeng 汪定曾 and Xu Rongchun 徐荣春, *"Juzhu jianzhu guihua sheji zhong jige wenti de tantao*" 居住建筑规划设计中几个问题的探讨, *Jianzhu xuebao 建筑学报* , no. 2 (1962): 10.

did in other New Villages and *danwei* compounds built throughout Shanghai during the 1950s; it consisted of discrete complexes of apartment buildings laid out in rows that took advantage of advantageous wind and light characteristics. These complexes were separate from, but with easy access to both places of work and public and commercial facilities.

Minhang's planning innovation as a satellite town was its central area, which would come to be known as Minhang Number One Road. The 1958 plan suggested that this area was to be the center of residents' cultural and material life. This shop and service-lined road was to be located close to residents' homes as well as transportation links to the city center while still protecting the peace and quiet of the residential areas.[287] Construction began in July 1959, with the first stage being completed by October and a second phase proceeding until the end of the year.[288] Number One Road was 555 meters long and 44 meters wide, with a 14 meter-wide section for cars, as well as a green belt and sidewalk on the side of the road. Up and down its length it was lined with four to five story buildings, some of which had various shops and cultural facilities on their ground floors, with the top floors being reserved for apartments. [289]

While of course standard in cities across the world, Minhang Number One Road's arrangement of shops and residential buildings facing a street designed for both residential and commercial facilities made it stand out in the context of China's *danwei*-composed, cellular urbanism, which tended to isolate residential areas and services away arterial streets. In a 1962 *Architecture Journal* article, Wang Dingzeng celebrated it (as well as Zhangmiao Street, built in

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[287] Ibid.
[288] Guo Shuji 郭书吉, *Da zhan minhang yi hao lu* 大战闵行一号路 (Shanghai: Shanghai renmin chubanshe, 1960), 1.
[289] "Di si pian weixing chengzhen he jiaoqu chengzhen guihua: di yi zhang weixing chengzhen guihua: di yi jie minhang 第四篇卫星城镇和郊区城镇规划: 第一章卫星城镇规划：第一节闵行，" *Shanghai chengshi guihua zhi* 上海城市规划志, http://www.shtong.gov.cn/node2/node2245/node64620/node64628/node64683/node64689/userobject1ai58471.html (Accessed May 28, 2018).

Shanghai's northern Baoshan District in 1959 and 1960) because "using their regular roads, well-integrated location, beautiful greenery, bright and clear colors, they form excellent commercial centers." In the same article, he would go on to recommend that planners should adopt the "One Street Style" used at Minhang when appropriate.[290] While Minhang still generally adopted the "microdistrict" form of independent housing complexes within easy access to their own services, the celebration of Minhang Number One Road as a model for future development indicate that planners were still innovating on this form during the Great Leap Forward, not merely "studying the Soviet experience" or continuing existing practices.[291]

The ambitions and innovations of Shanghai's planners hit their zenith when the Architecture and Engineering Bureau formed a Shanghai Planning Workgroup that produced the "General Plan for Shanghai" in October of 1959. This general plan elaborated on the planning model started with the plans for satellite towns and set ambitious goals for the future. The workgroup based the plan on the principle of "constructing satellite towns and reducing the old district's population;" specifically intending to reduce the population of the established part of the city surrounding the old concession areas from an estimated 5.5 million to around three million.[292] This population dispersal was to be carried out by reducing the number of factories in the old part of the city, sending party staff and their families to "assist other parts of the country," and then also increasing the expansion of the satellite towns to have a population of around 100,000 people each. The planners also suggested the continued development of the industrial

[290] Wang Dingzeng 汪定曾， Xu Rongchun 徐荣春， 8.

[291] And of course, the rapid development model of the Great Leap Forward was a general break from the Soviet Union, which the CPC saw as heading on the path to revisionism after Nikita Khrushchev's 1956 secret speech criticizing Stalin.

[292] SMA, A54-2-718-34《建筑工程部上海规划工作组关于上海城市总体规划的初步意见》October, 1959. The population figures in this report seem low, other documents from this period estimate Shanghai's population at around six million and an article from *The Manchester Guardian* citing Chinese sources estimates the population of Shanghai's entire administrative area (which was not necessarily all urban) was around 10 million, making it the biggest city in the world at that time. See: "Satellite Towns of Shanghai: Easing the overcrowding," *The Manchester Guardian (1901-1959);* Aug 10, 1959.

areas in the inner suburban areas, but recommended that those areas be limited to a total of a million residents as the amount of living space for each resident was already quite low.[293] In all of these plans, a great concern was the amount of "living space" (*shenghuo yongdi)* available to each resident (though that did not mean apartment space, just general population density) and the planners advocated reducing density according to a model of "great dispersal and small concentrations"—which meant shifting people from the city center to new, geographically independent residential and industrial developments in the suburbs.[294] According to the workgroup, carrying out these plans would require an investment of four to five million yuan; a figure they admitted sounded like a lot, but "if we advance our analysis, we will then discover that it is absolutely necessary because even if the [old district's] population is not reduced to three million, in any event the old districts need transformation and residents' living standards must be increased."[295]

The planners were advocating for a peculiar type of urbanism that dispersed population away from the densest areas to self-contained communities of workplaces, residencies, and services. Such plans fit in with ideas of "erasing the disparity between city and countryside" that marked Chinese socialism in its general development goals as well as its conceptions of urbanization. In so doing, city planners were envisioning Shanghai as a large administrative area with some surface similarities to Ebenezer Howard's vision of "garden cities for tomorrow" that would attract the working class away from densely populated areas to live more comfortable and convenient lives in moderately sized peri-urban communities. It is perhaps unsurprising then that a 1959 article from the British newspaper *The Guardian* claimed that "the Chinese aim is to turn

[293] SMA, A54-2-718-34, 24-30.
[294] Ibid. 30.
[295] Ibid. 25.

Shanghai into a garden city."[296] Shanghai's planners of course denied such connections to bourgeois conceptions like "garden cities," but their vision inarguably shared the same hope to use rational planning ability to design a city that would be more efficient, convenient, and hygienic by using the principle of "great dispersal and small concentrations" to build satellite towns.

Ultimately, the 1959 plan's massive ambitions for population control and redistribution were framed in terms of increasing people's living standards by reducing density while increasing infrastructure development, as well as a continued focus on advancing industrial development. Though sometimes in contradiction, the twin goals of developing production and social welfare had guided both general CPC policy and the development plans in Shanghai throughout the 1950s. The 1959 plan simply reiterates that these twin pillars of socialist development had taken on a particular *spatial* fusion through the discipline of urban planning. It states:

> Shanghai's urban planning should support industrial development moving towards high accumulation and great peaks, it should also satisfy the daily increase of all workers' material and cultural needs. "Serve production and serve the workers"—this is our county's basic principle for urban planning and urban construction. This principle reflects the requirements of socialism's basic economic laws, and also proves that Shanghai and the whole nation's route of city construction since liberation is completely correct.[297]

The goal of urban planning was to both serve industrial production and improve workers' living standards. The twin goals of serving production and serving the workers had been the object of planning since 1949 and continued to be so with the 1959 plan's call to massively redistribute Shanghai's population to suburban satellite towns. These towns were intended to be hygienic, convenient, and desirable places for workers to live and work. They were intended to fulfill the

[296] "Satellite Towns of Shanghai: Easing the Overcrowding," *Manchester Guardian (1901-1959),* Aug 10, 1959.
[297] SMA: A54-2-718-34, 4.

goals of the Great Leap Forward to massively increase industrial production, but planners also built areas like Minhang Number One Road to provide workers with commercial services and cultural activities. Planners intended that workers who moved with their families to satellite towns like Minhang would have no reason to go back to the city center as all of their work and life needs would be fulfilled in these independent communities.

David Bray has noted that the spatial and organizational form of *danwei* housing was designed to produce workers who saw how their own personal labor was tied to both the formation of new urban communities and the fate of the entire nation. He writes, "committed participation in all aspects of economic, political, and social life within the workplace thus became the central criterion by which an urban worker was judged." [298] For Bray, the *danwei* as a residential community became the way to form this fusion of work and life as they developed into "the basic unit of welfare, housing, and economic life for a great majority of urban residents."[299] Even more so than inner suburban developments like Caoyang, satellite towns were an attempt to spatially realize *danwei* residential areas as comprehensive communities. They were not well-incorporated into the social fabric of the existing city, but were intended to stand as independent developments where workers would focus on performing industrial work, living in *danwei* housing with other workers from their factories, and occasionally taking advantage of the services available at town centers like Minhang Number One Road in their leisure time. All the while, the satellite towns would be serving the wider goal of controlling and dispersing Shanghai's population, which would ostensibly raise the standard of living for the entire city.

Despite these ambitions, the history of satellite towns' development suggest that they were not actually successful at satisfying "the workers' material and cultural needs." A 1972

[298] David Bray, *Social Space and Governance in Urban China: The Danwei System from Origins to Reform* (Stanford, Calif.: Stanford University Press, 2005), 100.
[299] Ibid. 141.

report on the subsequent development of the five satellite towns argues that the main problem in the satellite towns was that "the construction of the set of residential and living services still is not appropriate for the needs of workers moving residencies."[300] This report claims that only around 13% of workers in the satellite towns had actually moved with their families from the city center, which meant that many workers were still returning to the city center as often as possible.[301] Though this 1972 report called for the improvement of services to attract more people to move their residences, a subsequent report from 1976 brings up the same problems, arguing that because of a lack of adequate housing, commercial services, public and education services, and issues with changing official household residencies (*hukou)*, still only around 15% of workers had brought their family members with them to live in the satellite towns.[302] These figures suggest that satellite towns had resolutely failed to succeed in their goals of "serving production and serving the workers." In the light of the failures of satellite towns like Minhang, the order that "production" and "workers" appear in this oft-repeated statement appears significant. The government did successfully build new factories during the Great Leap Forward, but they did not follow through on building enough housing or services to attract the family members of industrial workers to move out of the city center where they had established homes and lives.

Much of the failure of Shanghai's satellite towns can of course be explained by the chaos of the Great Leap Forward. Already in 1959 famine was beginning to hit China and the scale of the disaster and economic readjustments to follow would ensure the planners dreams for the

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[300]SMA, B257-3-109-25《上海市规划建筑设计院：上海市城市规简报 （八）：关于本市近郊工业区和卫星城镇今后发展规划的初步意见》September 23, 1972.

[301] Ibid.

[302] SMA, B246-3-171《上海市革命委员会工业交通组基建组关于基建计划，城市规划，临时建筑处理及抗震救灾，胜利水泥厂项目汇报，通知》March 10, 1976.

satellite towns were never realized. Additionally, both David Bray and Samuel Liang argue that centralized planning schemes like the 1959 plan to remake Shanghai were doomed to fail by the rise of work unit urbanism. Under this formulation, the reliance on work units to construct housing and services created administrative and spatial fragmentation that undercut comprehensive plans for entire cities. In any event, the continued lack of investment in developing Minhang's infrastructure and services into the late 1970s reflect both the political chaos of the times (the Cultural Revolution emerging in 1966) and political priorities of the times.[303]

The 1959 plan was a massive, failed reimagining of Shanghai's urban geography and an attempt to use centralized urban planning to envision a new type of socialist city. This failed vision extended to reshaping the "appearance" (*mianmao*) of a city that was still defined by its colonial core. The plan included dreams of building a "New Bund" with "architectural manners and styles that overwhelm the imperialist built Old Bund."[304] Arguably such ambitions would not be realized until the construction of Pudong in the 1990s and 2000s, though the presence of skyscrapers built by companies like HSBC that were founded on the spoils of imperialism indicate the discontinuities between contemporary China and the Maoist period. The ultimate failure of the plan for using satellite towns to redevelop Shanghai is revealed in the population figures for these towns' development. By 1965, Minhang only had a permanent population of 62,800 and all five satellite towns only had a combined population of 166,900, far short of the goal of 500,000. Ultimately, the 1959 plan for Shanghai was a pinnacle for ambitions to use centralized planning methods to dramatically reshape the city's landscape under Mao—its goals for development would not begin to be met until after the market reforms of the late-1970s.

[303] Bray, 129-130; Samuel Liang, pp. "Planning and its discontents: contradictions and continuities in remaking China's great cities, 1950-2010," *Urban History* 40, no. 3 (2013): pp. 535-539.
[304] SMA, A54-2-718-34, 8.

The 1959 plan combined elements of *danwei* compound-composed, cellular urbanism with a more utopian effort to redesign the entire city. Despite its failure, the scope of the plan suggests that, at least at the time of the Great Leap Forward, the *danwei* had not triumphed as the only model for housing construction and urban development. It also indicates the continued aspirations of municipal government like Shanghai's to remake China's cities. During this period, municipal governments and city planners continued to advocate various schemes for using state resources and bureaucratic methods to shape socialist urban development.

As much as planners were trying to reshape Shanghai in a grand fashion in 1959, they also recognized that Shanghai was still facing a severe housing crisis and was still marked by huge slums.[305] In 1960, the Municipal Real Estate Management Bureau estimated that 15.8% of Shanghai's housing stock, containing 24% of the total population, still lived in slums. Quite contrary to socialist principles, these slums were "self-produced and self-inhabited private housing."[306] In the face of such massive slums, the municipal government recognized that solely relying on *danwei* or the city government to construct new housing would not be enough to actually solve the housing crisis, especially given general tendencies to de-prioritize housing construction as a type of development that did not directly contribute to production. One method outside of building new housing used to address the housing shortage was organizing work groups of residents to "repair and improve" their own slums. Amongst other times, this model was used in 1959 just as the city was embarking on its ambitious plans to build satellite towns. The municipal government would provide some materials such as wood, bamboo, and glass, but residents were expected to use their own labor power to actually carry out the repairs, with the

[305]Indeed, the 1959 plan states that—in addition to building satellite towns and dispersing the population—eliminating the slums and improving existing housing were key elements to Shanghai's urban development. SMA, A54-2-718-34.

[306]SMA, A54-2-1218-26《上海市房地产管理局规划处关于 1959 年冬季建屋棚户维修改善工作的小结》April 1, 1960.

government subsidizing the efforts only in an extreme minority of cases when the residents had no ability to carry out the repairs themselves (for instance, only 1% of households in the Zhabei District were subsidized during the 1959 efforts). Though these efforts had some success, repairing 13203 residencies in the last three months of 1959, the Real Estate Management Bureau also indicated that they met with some resistance from residents who did not want to repair their own homes, but were instead hoping to be distributed new public housing.[307]

Unfortunately for residents hoping for newly-built apartments, the city government recognized that its own building capacities were not up to the task of providing all those in need with housing and would have to once again "rely on the masses" when approaching the housing crisis.[308] Even if only emerging out of economic necessity, such schemes represent a real alternative to the state-centered models of planning represented by both the *danwei* model of cellular urbanism and the utopian aspirations of the 1959 plan and will be explored in more detail in Chapter Five.

The story of planning during the Great Leap Forward reveals the zenith of socialist hopes to use "state" resources—whether coming directly from the municipal government or, increasingly, filtered through work units—to both solve Shanghai's housing crisis and create a new model for the city. This new type of socialist city was to be a dispersed collection of independent, yet interconnected, communities that fused life and work in the national goal to "serve production and serve the laboring people." However, the scale of the housing shortage

[307]SMA, A54-2-1218-26.

[308] In addition to efforts to repair and improve slums, another method used to address the housing crisis was the so-called "Self-built, publicly assisted" model where the government would give residents grants to build their own housing. This model was still filtered through work units, which would apply for the grants and organize their employees. Zhao Sheng, notes that this scheme faced issues because of limitations in materials, the construction abilities of many employees, and finances. See: Zhao Sheng 赵胜, "20 shiji 50-60s niandai shanghai chengshi fanghuang wenti de yingdui jucuo yu kunjing"二十世纪五六十年代上海城市房荒问题的应对举措与困境, *Zhonggong dang shi yanjiu* 中共党史研究, no. 9 (2012): 91-92.

Shanghai continued to face—combined with political turmoil and a continued lack of material resources—ensured that such plans could only proceed in haphazard, interrupted stages, especially since housing and services were often considered a secondary priority in comparison with industrial development. Moving into the 1960s, state-centered planning urban planning and housing construction was to become ever more de-prioritized, and it would take until after the market reforms of the late 1970s for Shanghai's housing crisis to truly be solved, though with very different methods and political meanings.

Conclusions

This chapter has laid out a narrative of urban planning and housing construction in Shanghai during the 1950s. This period was the high point of government-led efforts to address Shanghai's housing crisis and the continued existence of massive slums in the pre-reform, Maoist period. As this chapter has shown, the model of housing construction employed in Shanghai transformed over time from a centralized, municipal government-led effort with projects like Caoyang New Village and the "20,000 Households" project to a model that emphasized the responsibility of work units to construct housing for their workers. As David Bray and Samuel Liang have pointed out, the *danwei* model of cellular urbanism came to conflict with, and sometimes undercut, more centralized conceptions of planning led by municipal government bureaus. At the same time, documents such as the 1959 comprehensive plan indicate that during this period government planners, not just work unit officials, were still producing comprehensive visions of how Shanghai should develop, even if those visions were not actually being realized.

While the financing and administrative methods used to construct housing changed over time, the actual content of visions for socialist urbanization remained remarkably similar throughout the 1950s. It is possible to draw direct connections between the concepts behind initial construction of Caoyang New Village in 1951 and the plan to build satellite towns like Minhang in 1958 and 1959. These projects all operated with the assumption that the population of Shanghai's old colonial core should be controlled and hopefully reduced; that new housing construction should take place in suburban areas; and that the form of construction should be relatively independent communities that provided for workers' material and cultural needs close to their places of work. Whether called neighborhood units, microdistricts, satellite towns, or even garden cities, the basic vision of urbanization remained essentially the same. This vision stands out for its efforts to fuse work and life as well as to reduce the difference between life in the city and countryside. Indeed by attempting to transform Shanghai from a city of consumption to one of production, many of the basic assumptions of urbanization under capitalist modernity were undercut—i.e. the undoing of traditional social bounds in an environment of intense cultural exchange and material consumption—in favor of a model where community life was centered around one's workplace and there was little reason to leave your residential area. It is ironic then that in carrying out this vision, Shanghai's colonial core remained largely physically unchanged, as the art deco and neoclassical buildings of the concession areas continued to dominate the cityscape.

Arif Dirlik has argued that the Cultural Revolution was an effort to break with economistic notions of socialist development that "economic efficiency must take precedence over considerations of equality and democracy in the organization of work, the structure of social

relations in general."[309] The bureaucratically planned efforts, and failures, to solve Shanghai's housing crisis and redesign the city were expressions of this economistic vision of socialist development. Though these plans did imagine a new conception of socialist space, in their implementation efficiency and economy was always emphasized. Dorms were built to low universal standards, services were underprovided, and it was always clear that "serving production" took precedence over "serving the working class." After all, the first new socialist housing development built in Shanghai, Caoyang New Village, was specifically intended for model workers making outstanding contributions to production. During the 1950s, the state was willing to provide housing and address urban residents' living conditions, but always with the aim of serving production in mind. In this context, it is not surprising that Shanghai's colonial core was not destroyed or that a private housing market was allowed to coexist with publicly provided housing. Spending the resources to destroy either was not keeping with the prioritization of serving the goals of production.

While an economistic model of using bureaucratic methods to build a socialist Shanghai rose to prominence in the 1950s, the material circumstances of the housing crisis and Shanghai's legacy of distorted development helped ensure that other methods emphasizing the necessity of "relying on the masses" to solve their own housing issues would continually emerge. Furthermore, there was also a political recognition that relying on emergent bureaucracy to solve municipal problems was not in keeping with the goals of restructuring all social relations in favor of mass self reliance that the Chinese revolution had supposedly been predicated upon. The combined forces of material circumstances and political struggles against "bureaucratic mindsets" would eventually be given full expression during the Cultural Revolution when urban planning in general would repudiated as "bourgeois."

[309] Arif Dirlik, *Marxism in the Chinese Revolution* (Lanham: Rowman & Littlefield Publishers, 2005), 154.

Chapter 4 “To Serve Production, To Serve the Laboring People:” The Politics of Socialist Space and Working Class Experience in a Chinese New Village

During the 1950s and early 1960s, Caoyang New Village was celebrated in Shanghai newspapers, was the subject of songs and poetry, appeared in novels and films, and was the subject of various educational pamphlets. The 1960’s educational pamphlet “Beautiful Caoyang New Village” provides a typical example of the types of representations of Caoyang that appeared across these different mediums:

> In 1951, the first set of housing in Caoyang New Village started to be built. This information immediately spread across all of Shanghai. Shanghai’s more than a million workers heard this happy news and were all overjoyed. Everyone exclaimed: “Workers living in a New Village has never been heard of before. Now that we are liberated, workers are masters of their own house, the people’s government is making new houses to give to us, this is all the good leadership of the party and Chairman Mao; oh how do the party and Chairman Mao care for us![310]

Quotations such as these had a clear propagandistic and didactic purpose to use Caoyang New Village as an example of how the revolutionary state materially served the working classes. According to the representations in “Beautiful Caoyang,” such service, here in the form of housing construction, was intended to embody the ideological premise that workers were the masters of the nation. This pamphlet was written in simple Chinese and intended for elementary school students (or those with an elementary school-level reading ability). It ultimately reads as an effort to create in its young audience both sense of belonging to an admired community—the “we” of the working class—and a sense of trust in the party and Mao Zedong to do what is best for that community through projects such as constructing Caoyang. This chapter addresses

[310]Zhang Zhongqing 张仲清, *Meijli de Caoyang Xincu*n 美丽的曹杨新村 (Shanghai: Shanghai jiaoyu chubanshe, 1960).

representations of Caoyang in propaganda sources of the 1950s and early 1960s such as "Beautiful Caoyang" as part of a project of creating certain symbolic meanings for Shanghai's New Villages and their residents that existed in a complicated and often contradictory relationship with the material circumstances of life in those model communities. Here my focus is specifically on Caoyang because, as the first New Village constructed, it generated the widest array of propaganda representations and archival sources. I take it to be generally representative of how other New Villages were conceptualized at the time.

"Beautiful Caoyang New Village" was quite literally telling stories to children, but that should not lead us to write it off as fairytales. Studies of propaganda in China have long highlighted that the term propaganda, or *xuanchuan* in Chinese, should not be understood as the state simply lying to or misleading the people, but rather as efforts to disseminate orthodox values that one believes to be true.[311] Of course, propaganda and propagandists were not merely describing reality, but were also intending to shape it, and the masses, through processes of education that reflected the ideological values of Marxism-Leninism.[312] Texts such as the pamphlet quoted above were efforts to disseminate a certain set of ideological values—e.g. that the workers were the masters of the country and the drivers of its development and that the party and Mao served the workers through projects such as housing construction—and then hopefully convince the pamphlet's students (actual schoolchildren in this case) to uphold those values. Such propaganda efforts were part of a project of instilling shared ideological values that produced loyalty to the party, Mao, and communist development. As argued below, this process

[311] Timothy Cheek, *Propaganda and Culture in Mao's China: Deng Tuo and the Intelligentsia* (Oxford: Oxford University Press, 1997) 14; For works on propaganda in Maoist China see also: Julian Chang, "The Mechanics of State Propaganda: The People's Republic of China and the Soviet Union in the 1950s," in *New Perspectives on State Socialism in China*, eds. Timothy Cheek and Tony Saich (Armonk, NY: M.E. Sharpe, 1997), 76–124; Elizabeth J. Perry, "Introduction: Chinese Political Culture Revisited," in *Popular Protests and Political Culture in Modern China,* eds. Jeffrey N. Wasserstrom and Elizabeth J. Perry (Boulder, CO: Westview Press, 1994), 1–14.
[312] Ibid.

helped shape sometimes contradictory notions of individual socialist subjectivity, ideal socialist families, as well as productive revolutionary communities that fused daily life with the goals of furthering industrial production. Caoyang was not only used to shape these ideological values in China, but was also used to present them as an idealized model of socialist Chinese society to the outside world, as it became one of the most common sites in Shanghai for foreign delegations to visit when touring the PRC.

Propaganda often refers to textual sources, especially newspapers, as well as other cultural productions such as films and artwork, but recent studies such as those of Chang Tai-Hong have highlighted that symbolic spaces such as monuments, squares, and museums can serve similar didactic political functions. For Chang, all of the various textual, visual, and spatial sources of Chinese propaganda were instrumental in the formation of a new "political culture" designed to indoctrinate the masses with the party's socialist message.[313] Though Chang focuses on specifically symbolic sites, his general conceptions about the construction and functions of political culture are also useful in understanding the propagandistic functions of Caoyang New Village, in both its representation and material function as a symbol of the values of revolutionary China.

In this chapter, I follow the work of Luo Gang and Denise Ho in discussing how Shanghai's Workers' New Villages both became incorporated into, and themselves helped construct, Shanghai's political culture during the 1950s and 1960s. Denise Ho has discussed how renovations of Zhabei District's Fangua Lane in 1964 from a slum into a New Village was used as a "revolutionary object lesson, a socialist-realist portrayal of a future utopia."[314] In its analysis of Caoyang, this chapter builds off of Ho's arguments about the meanings and uses of Fangua

[313] Chang-tai Hung, *Mao's New World: Political Culture in the Early People's Republic* (Ithaca: Cornell University Press, 2011), 19.
[314] Denise Y. Ho, *Curating Revolution: Politics on Display in Mao's China* (Cambridge University Press, 2018), 106.

Lane as a revolutionary "model" (*dianxing*); however, I also want to go beyond just analyzing such sites for their propaganda meanings to argue that the New Villages were real efforts to produce a new type of socialist urban space. Construction at Caoyang began in 1951, 13 years before the renovation of Fangua Lane, and was the beginning of a city-wide project to house the working class in utopian socialist communities. Using literary sources, such as Caoyang's representation in Zhou Erfu's novel *Morning in* Shanghai, Luo Gang argues that this project "signaled the arrival of a new working-class spatial regime, a production of a new space in the social imaginary."[315] For Luo, Caoyang and other Workers' New Villages were ideological sites that introduced new notions of collective space into China's wider political culture while also being socialist spaces that actually produced new ideas of collectivity amongst their residents. In other words, the New Villages were both propaganda tools at the level of discourse and ideological factories whose spatial arrangement helped produce new political subjectivities.[316]

In this chapter, I put Ho and Luo's theses about the meaning and function of Workers' New Villages in Shanghai to the test. In addition to using textual and visual sources to analyze the propaganda functions of the New Villages, I also analyze the symbolic meanings of their spatial arrangements as well as using archival sources and interviews to address how Caoyang functioned as a producer of socialist space in everyday life. Representations of Caoyang and other New Villages in newspapers and other propaganda sources created images of them as utopian socialist spaces full of residents with model socialist ideological values. Of course such

[315] Luo Gang, "Socialist Shanghai, the Struggle for Space, and the Production of Space: A Reading of the Urban Text and the Media Text," trans. Christopher Connery, *Postcolonial Studies (London, United Kingdom)*, 15, no. 4 (2012): 467–484. This article has much conceptual and textual overlap with previous articles Luo has published in Chinese. See: Luo Gang 罗岗, "Kongjian de shengchan yu kongjian de zhuanyi" 空间的生产与空间的转移: 上海工人新村与社会主义城市经验. *Huadong shifan daxue xuebao (zhixue shehui kexue ban)* 华东师范大学学报（哲学社会科学版) 36, no. 6 (2007): 91-95.

[316] I agree with much of Luo's analysis, though as will be seen below, I believe he significantly overstates his case about the successes of the New Villages as sites of ideological production.

representations were intended to serve as educational examples to be achieved through the processes of revolution—not least of which was the correct use of propaganda—but how successful were they at actually producing such new socialist subjectivities and communities? What was the nature of socialist space produced at Caoyang, both in its representations and its materiality? Answering such questions is not easy, but with the use of archival sources—especially a crucial 1955 report on conditions in Caoyang—it is possible to get some sense of how the daily lives of residents existed in relation to the idealized representations of Caoyang in propaganda sources.

Unsurprisingly, the realities of peoples' lives did not always match up with those propaganda representations. Residents struggled to live up to their designation of model workers with correct ideological values. Even more telling, archival sources reveal that government officials sometimes criticized the facilities of Caoyang themselves for being less than ideal. The apartments were newly built and intended to be an upgrade from both self-constructed slums and the cramped quarters of shared rooms in poor *lilong* neighborhoods, but Caoyang's residents still lived in close quarters and amenities like kitchens, showers, and running water were rudimentary and communal. Unsurprisingly, these conditions produced conflicts between individuals and families as they struggled to live together. The New Villages might have been designed as socialist spaces, but that does not mean it was easy to achieve the goal of producing model revolutionary communities with politically correct residents.

In this chapter, I will provide many examples that reveal the distance between propaganda and daily life. However, it is not my intent to use such gaps to either fetishize resistance or merely highlight the failures of propaganda.[317] Instead, the process of building the

[317] The failure of propaganda to match people's realities and desires is a common thread amongst many studies of propaganda in China. For one example, Matthew Johnson provides an overview of how the propaganda system in

New Villages—as discussed in Chapter Two—and representing them in propaganda were part of a type bureaucratic revolutionary development that was particular to the 1950s and early 1960s. Using propaganda representations of the New Villages to construct ideological values was analogous to using rational, bureaucratic planning to create a new socialist urban geography. Both of these processes had undeniable material and ideological successes. However, just as building New Villages and satellite towns could not alleviate Shanghai's housing crises; representing those sites as utopian model communities could not actually make those representations reality. This was not a failure of propaganda, but was reflective of wider contradictions in Maoist revolutionary thought that at once called for complete egalitarianism and immediate revolution, but then sought to carefully bureaucratically manage that process. The gaps between propaganda and reality in the production of socialist space serve to illuminate how by the mid-1960s the established mechanisms of socialist revolution—i.e. bureaucratically managed development of both industry and people—were reaching a dead end in their ability to actually achieve their stated goals of building an egalitarian communist society with politically committed subjects.

Narratives of Transformation

Caoyang was used as a factory to produce a variety of political meanings that can be

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Shanghai was unsuccessful in convincing people to embrace new socialist cultural forms, partially because the system of production and distribution faced many material and organizational limitations. He highlights the overwhelming popularity of films from Hong Kong in the early 1960s to make this argument. Such "resistance" is a remarkable phenomenon and indicates the difficulties the party faced in actually creating a new socialist culture. That being said, I believe there is a danger in overemphasizing such points of resistance and mistaking them for defining the story of cultural production during the Mao years. To take films as an example, a new system of producing and distributing films with the "correct" ideological line was created during the 1950s and 1960s—whatever the systems' failures and shortcomings. See: Matthew D. Johnson, "Beneath the Propaganda State: Official and Unofficial Cultural Landscapes in Shanghai, 1949-1965," in, *Maoism at the Grassroots: Everyday Life in China's Era of High Socialism,* eds. Jeremy Brown and Matthew D. Johnson (Cambridge, MA: Harvard University Press, 2015) 199-229.

generally said to have functioned in two ways. First, Caoyang's very existence as well as its relatively superior housing conditions produced a narrative of revolution where the CPC had enabled its working class residents to go from living in destitute slums to comfortable, hygienic, and modern accommodations. Second, the representations of Caoyang's residents created an image of them as model socialist workers and their families, both as individuals and as constituents of the industrial working class. Apartments in Caoyang were initially reserved for "model workers" (*laodong mofan*) and their family members, whose household labor was represented as playing an indirect role in facilitating enhanced productivity in the factories. Everyone from the model workers in factories, grandparents and retired workers doing housework, to students in school had a role to play in serving production. Caoyang was represented as a place where daily life and industrial production had been fused as well as improved, and its residents were presented as having obtained socialist subjectivities that reflected those achievements. In all of these iterations, the symbolic functions of Caoyang were not static, but rather served as a model to be celebrated and then emulated elsewhere. At least in propaganda, Caoyang New Village became a representative for both domestic and foreign audiences of the socialist utopia that the CPC was building in Shanghai and across China.

As discussed in Chapter Two, Caoyang New Village was conceived and planned as a means to begin to address the degraded conditions of much of Shanghai's housing at the time of liberation. However, from its outset, party and government officials recognized the propaganda potential of building new housing complexes for workers. In May of 1951, as the plans for the construction in Putuo that would come to Caoyang were beginning to develop, a work team from the Shanghai Communist Party Public Utilities Committee released a report titled "Preliminary Plan for External Propaganda of Government Construction in Shanghai's Putuo District." This

report explained the propaganda relationship between raising political consciousness and improving the material conditions of daily life for workers. It argued that building housing and other such infrastructure projects could be used as a means to further disseminate an understanding of how the party worked to serve the workers by directly improving their lives.[318] Even before Caoyang New Village had been given its name, it was already being conceived of a site with specific propaganda purposes that would serve the party's interests.

Propaganda pamphlets produced in the years following Caoyang's construction were one method used to construct the basic narrative of how the revolution and the party had changed the lives of workers.[319] As discussed in Chapter One, the title song of the 1953 illustrated song booklet *Caoyang's Great Scenery* presented a clear statement of the role the party's construction of Caoyang played in improving the workers lives. Written in the voice of a worker, the song's lyrics conclude: "We are fortunate for the coming of the coming of the Communist Party/the workers' lives have changed like this/ oh the poplars/oh the poplars' green leaves/many thanks Chairman Mao!/You have built public housing on behalf of us!"[320] This opening song represents the residents of Caoyang as being overwhelmingly thankful for their new housing conditions, in the process creating a narrative where the credit for improving workers' daily lives rests squarely with the party.

Other songs in the booklet provide more specific representations of how workers living

[318] SMA，A59-1-309-27《中共上海市公用事业委员会市政工作组统一对外宣传上海市普陀区市政建设初步计划》May 8, 1951.

[319] These pamphlets appear in a variety of forms, from illustrated books of songs and poetry to the above quoted educational pamphlet that is predominately text with woodblock print illustrations. In their combinations of text and images these pamphlets are similar to the common propaganda genre *lianhuanhua*, literally translated as "linked images." These illustrated narratives were extremely popular and circulated widely during the Republican Period. After 1949, the publication of *lianhuanhua* came to be centralized in Shanghai under direction of the party and they continued to be widely published and circulated, now carrying more strictly didactic messages to inculcate their readers. For a brief history of *lianhuanhua* during the socialist period see: Julia Andrews, "Literature in Line: Picture Stories in the People's Republic of China," *Inks: Cartoon and Comic Art Studies* 4, no. 3 (1997): 17-33.

[320]Zhu Zongling 祝总临 and Zhou Daowu 周道吾 (Illustrator), *Caoyang xincun hao fengguang* 曹杨新村好风光 *曹杨好风光* (Laodong chubanshe, 1953), 1-3.

conditions have improved from pre-liberation times. The song titled, "We Have New Workers' Housing," goes as follows and was accompanied by the below image:

Previous workers' housing was cramped and dirty,
When it rained, there would be a thick liquid of mud all over the floor,
Millipedes and snails would climb the walls,
Flower snakes would sometime come and pay a visit.

Every summer would be miserable,
The rooms seemed like food steamers,
More than 20 people crowded in a room,
The mosquitoes and bedbugs were the most furious.

Now in the new workers' housing,
Four-story tall buildings are great and grand,
On the rooftops there are terraces,
Studying and activities are all convenient.

Spacious rooms with glass windows,
The rays of light brightly illuminate the air,
They enter the public housing and hearts are free from worry

Figure 7: "We Have New Workers' Housing"[321]

Think and compare the past and the present,
How can one not love the Communist Party?
As long as we increase our efforts in production,

[321] Ibid.

Then the lucky days will be long.[322]

The lyrics to this song create a narrative of party-directed *fanshen*, or emancipation, whereby workers have been able to leave the dilapidated housing provided to workers under GMD-rule. Though the relatively few workers receiving any type of public or factory-provided housing might have counted themselves lucky in comparison to the majority of workers living in makeshift slums pre-1949, the song depicts this housing as dirty, hot, bug-infested, and mercilessly crowded. In comparison, the new apartments of Caoyang are depicted as spacious, clean, and comfortable, filling inhabitants with happy feelings towards the CPC. The end of the song depicts the happy residents both feeling goodwill towards the party and possessing a new, and related, resolve to contribute towards production. The lyrics make it clear that there is a relationship between workers being satisfied with their living conditions and their resolve to contribute to industrial production goals.

To what extent songs like "We Have New Workers' Housing" described reality is a mute point; they provided narratives for residents to understand their transformed living situations that emphasized the generosity of the party. Such songs also suggested to workers the correct affective stance that they should take to such transformations; namely that they should be inspired to work even harder at increasing industrial production. These were songs that were presumably intended to be happily sung by residents and others, the act of which presumably would help turn the songs' messages into reality. A 1958 in Wenhui Bao titled "Labor, Innovation, Singing," presented just such an account of female workers coming up with ideologically correct revolutionary songs about sewing and everyone's responsibility in building the nation as they worked embroidering. "Every day, they sang while they labored. During

[322] "Women you le xin gongfang 我们有了新工房,"Ibid.

breaks everybody would sing together, the more they sang the greater their enthusiasm, the lace would also be embroidered faster and better."[323] According to this newspaper article at least, the act of singing revolutionary songs could help make the content of their lyrics materialize. In this light, encouraging residents to sing songs like "We Have Workers' Housing" would help them realize the truth of the narrative that the party and revolution had saved them from their previous destitution and provided them with a new and comfortable life that would last as long as they continued to enthusiastically contribute to production.

This narrative of party-directed salvation is reproduced in most propaganda material addressing Caoyang and the New Villages. The 1960 education pamphlet "Beautiful Caoyang New Village" quoted at the top of this chapter describes how prior to liberation workers' "blood and sweat" were exploited by imperialists and counter-revolutionaries. These workers did not have enough to eat and were forced to live in destitute slum dwellings, which often consisted of boats converted into homes floating in Shanghai's polluted waterways.

Figure 8: "Before liberation, some workers lived inside damaged boats on smelly river banks."[324]

[323] "Laodong, chuangzao, ge chang" 劳动, 创造, 歌唱, *Wenhui Bao* 文汇报, November 2, 1958.
[324]Zhang Zhongqing 张仲清, *Meijli de caoyang xincu*n 美丽的曹杨新村 (Shanghai: Shanghai jiaoyu chubanshe, 1960) 7.

Fortunately, after liberation these workers had been emancipated (*fanshen*) because the government had built numerous (34 according to the pamphlet) New Villages across Shanghai from 1951 until 1960 to achieve the goal of "serving production and serving the laboring people."[325] The 1957 pamphlet "Shanghai's Workers' New Villages"—published in Chinese, English, and Russian—expands on this basic narrative of party-guided, material emancipation from poverty by juxtaposing photographs of slum dwellings with the those of Caoyang's new apartment buildings. A caption reads, "those worn-out "residences" and deplorable lives are now historic relics of the past. Left: New dwellings spring up from the site where once stood old and rickety hovels."[326] According to such quotes, the government and party were using Caoyang and other New Villages to transform urban spaces directly from sites of destitution to those of emancipation. That this pamphlet was intended for consumption by foreign audiences makes it clear that the idea of New Villages as transformative socialist spaces was used as part of national narratives that presented the material gains of Chinese socialism to the world.

Individual and Collective Experiences of Spatial Revolution

Propaganda materials from the 1950s did not just present the transformative power of New Villages as an overarching narrative, but also provided anecdotal accounts of individuals' experiences of these emancipatory changes. The pages in *Wenhui Bao* contain numerous articles from the early 1950s describing individuals' accounts of the achievements of constructing and moving into Caoyang. One article describes how workers constructing Caoyang were elated to finally be building housing for fellow members of the working class as opposed to the "imperialists, bureaucrats, and compradors" that they had previously worked for only because

[325] Ibid. 8.

[326] *Shanghai de Gongren Xincun* 上海的工人新村 (*Shanghai: Shanghai renmin meishu chubanshe*, 1957).

they needed to eat.[327] Once construction was complete, the first residents were struck by the material accomplishments as they began to move into their new houses in June, 1952. According to another article, the cadre in charge of organizing the initial moving-in process, Dai Kedu, exclaimed: "never in my life have I seen housing like this." A worker in a textile factory, Jiang Xiuzhen, who had previously lived in a thatched hut in a slum explained in more detail the glories of Caoyang in relation to her previous dwelling: "in the past my house was small and leaky, there were so many bedbugs that it was like ants moving house, in the night it was impossible to sleep, now there are none of those worries."[328]

The residents interviewed in *Wenhui Bao* articles also made clear that it was the revolution and the party that had enabled these material transformations. One article recounts the story of one factory worker, Ju Yongkang, and his family who had gone from living on a converted boat in Suzhou Creek to living in Caoyang after he was distributed an apartment there for being a model worker. Ju recognized that "if it was not for Chairman Mao, I do not know for how long we would have lived our lives in a boat!"[329] A medical student, Chu Feng, recalled how his 17 year-old sister was even more explicit about the political processes at play when the government distributed their family an apartment: "when you come home for the summer, you will not need to go back to living in that unbearably dilapidated slum, our family has already moved into the workers' own big family—Caoyang New Village. This is the result of the party and Chairman Mao leading us workers' own emancipation (*fanshen*)."[330]

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[327] "Caoyang xincun xunli" 曹杨新村巡礼，" *Wenhui Bao 文汇报,* December 30, 1951.

[328] "Hu xi qu ge chang xianjin shengchan gongzuo zhe yi bai yu hu zuo xu qianru Caoyan xincun"沪西区各厂先进生产工作者 一百余户昨续迁入曹杨新村，*Wenhui Bao 文汇报,* June 27, 1952.

[329] "Ju Yongkang banjin le Caoyang xincun"居永康搬进了曹杨新村，*Wenhui Bao 文汇报,* June 26, 1952.

[330] "Wo de jiatin bandao Caoyan xincun"我的家搬到曹杨新村，*文汇报* , August 27, 1952.

These pronouncements were in the form of *yiku sitian*, or, "recalling the sorrows of the past and savoring the joys of the present." According to Denise Ho, writing about the propaganda uses of Shanghai's Fangua Lane in the 1960s, "with *yiku sitian,* the dual narratives of transformation—of the built environment and in working lives—gained a third overlay: the individual testimony of political consciousness."[331] As Ho, among others, points out, the type of political consciousness being stimulated by practices like *yiku sitian* legitimated the CPC's rule by presenting individual and collective desires as merging with party policies.[332] In this schema, the laboring masses desired a transformation of their material conditions, the party delivered to this, and it turn residents would serve the goals of the party—namely, increasing industrial production—with ever increasing enthusiasm because they had come to recognize that party goals were inextricable from mass goals. We see that these narratives of transformation were pioneered in the 1950s when liberation was still fresh on everybody's minds, but would be continued into the 1960s (the period Ho discusses). A 1963 *Wenhui Bao* article titled "While Welcoming the New Spring, do not Forget the Past; Remembering Old Times Makes us Love the Present More" described retired workers in Caoyang admonishing young people at a New Years celebration. to remember the struggles that had been left in the past.[333] This is the process of *yiku sitian* in action, with retired workers providing individual narratives to create collective consciousness about past indignities and present transformations.

Desiring the Future

[331] Denise Y. Ho, *Curating Revolution: Politics on Display in Mao's China* (Cambridge; New York: Cambridge University Press, 2018) 114.
[332] Ibid. 113-117. See also: Ann Anagnost, *National Past-Times: Narrative, Representation, and Power in Modern China* (Durham, NC: Duke University Press, 1997).
[333] "Huan xin chun bu wangji guoqu, yi jiushi geng ai jinchao" 迎新春不忘记过去，忆旧时更爱今朝, Wenhui Bao 文汇报, January 25, 1963.

Propaganda about Caoyang and other Workers' New Villages aimed to make socialism, in both its material and ideological goals, appear materially desirable to workers. In so doing, these representations did not just create triumphant narratives that ran from the past to the present, but also provided specific ideological frameworks for future actions. As workers moved into the new apartments that impressed on them the benevolence of the Chairman Mao and the party, they were greeted by signs that read: "Workers are the most glorious and are called the heroes of production," and "While living in the New Village, do not forget Chairman Mao; intensify production, support the volunteer army."[334] These slogans celebrated workers and suggested that their successes as "heroes of production" had earned them their new living arrangements as a reward. Workers were reminded that it was their duty to continue to make their heroic contributions to production, which was also tied to the project of defense against the imperialist impositions of the United States in the Korean War.[335]

Wenhui Bao's account of the ceremony thrown to celebrate the completion of Caoyang made especially clear the connections between the party's ability to "serve the workers" and the workers efforts to serve production. At this ceremony, the vice-mayor Pan Hannian gave a speech saying that the city government was performing "the greatest efforts to improve the lives of the workers" despite the nation's present financial difficulties. The vice-mayor then added that they should "go a step further in increasing the urgency of production and start a labor competition to struggle for a more satisfactory life." Pan Hannian's speech was followed by a speech from the vice-chairman of the Shanghai Federation of Trade Unions in which he argued that the type of "more satisfactory life" to be struggled for would include more New Villages.

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[334] "Hu xi qu ge chang xianjin shengchan gongzuo zhe yi bai yu he zuo xu qianru Caoyang xincun" 沪西区各厂先进生产工作者 一百余户昨续迁入曹杨新村， *Wenhui Bao* 文汇报 , June 27, 1952.
[335] Ibid.

"Although today is just the first time workers are moving into New Villages to live in western-style apartments, after we make great efforts at production and create even more riches, in the future there will be a second time, a third time, and countless other times when even more beautiful workers' housing will emerge."[336] These speeches argued that the way to achieve the construction of more New Villages—a goal which of course materially "served the workers" and was obviously very desirable for the scores of workers still living in slums—was through increased urgency at production. Here, the material enticements of the New Villages are used to create a sense of individual responsibility amongst workers to continue to serve party goals of production.

In the most obvious reading of the phrase "to serve production, to serve the laboring people," which appears so often in materials about Caoyang, the party and government bureaucrats can be interpreted as the subject performing the "service" to workers and production. This seems especially true when this phrase appears in documents intended for bureaucrats such as the Shanghai City Government Construction Committee 1951 "The Situation of Shanghai City Government Construction and the Direction for Present and Future Efforts" discussed in Chapter Two. However, the propaganda representations discussed here make clear that the workers were intended to associate their own material and ideological advancement with the material and ideologically advancement of the society at large. As Rebecca Karl has argued about the related and ubiquitous slogan, "serve the people" (*wei renmin fuwu*), "the objects and subjects of service are merged into the same revolutionary productive process: one is to become properly part of the people by serving and being worthy of being served."[337] This merger is embodied by figures like the textile factory worker Hang Peilan, who was not given a new

[336] "Shanghai gongren juxing qingzhu dahui"上海工人举行庆祝大会, *Wenhui Bao 文汇报,* June 30, 1952.
[337]Rebecca Karl, "Serve the People," in *Afterlives of Chinese Communism : Political Concepts from Mao to Xi,* eds.Christian P. Sorace, Ivan Franceschini, and Nicholas Loubere, (New York: Verso Books, 2019), 248.

apartment in Caoyang, but celebrated workers at their factory who were because "us members of the working class are all one big family" and "more workers' residencies will unceasingly emerge." Anyways, Hang recognized that communists should "eat bitterness first, and enjoy later."[338] Idealized workers like Hang subordinated their individual desires to the goals of the collective, knowing that they would eventually be rewarded with a new apartment of their own as the government constructed more workers' residencies. Workers like Hang demonstrated that they were part of the revolutionary "people" who was worthy of being served through their willingness to defer rewards and continuing to serve.

In the creation of this type of collective consciousness directed at the realization of the socialist future, New Villages were presented not just as rewards to inspire workers, but also as spaces that would shape that consciousness while also actually facilitating increased industrial production. Various propaganda materials describe how living in improved conditions took away workers daily worries about their living conditions, made them more enthusiastic to support the party, and thus helped encourage them to make greater contributions to production.[339] This support was not merely symbolic, but also helped to materially transform their mindsets by taking away their concerns. This relationship between material support and ideological encouragement can be seen especially clearly in the example of how Caoyang's childcare facilities eased the burden on women workers. One Mei Xiuying recalled how before liberation she had been terrified of telling anyone she was pregnant because that would mean being fired from the factory she worked at. However, her mindset had completely changed since moving into Caoyang: "now look, walking straight along towards the workshop, at a near location is our

[338] "Da jie xian zhu wo hou zhu"大家先住我后住，*Wenhui Bao* 文汇报, June 26, 1952.

[339] See for instance: "Wo de jiatin bandao Caoyan xincun"我的家搬到曹杨新村，*文汇报* , August 27, 1952; Zhu Zongling 祝总临 and Zhou Daowu 周道吾 (Illustrator), *Caoyang xincun hao fengguang* 曹杨新村好风光*曹杨好风光; Shanghai de gongren xincun* 上海的工人新村.

preschool. As we go to work, we send our children to the preschool." Women were no long afraid of having children because they knew they would be given maternity leave and that after they gave birth their children would be fed and taken care of in the preschool while they worked in factories. According to Mei, "now more people in the factory are getting married, more are giving birth, and production is also better."[340] Here the facilities of Caoyang are directly contributing to the material goal of increasing production as well as the related ideological goal of facilitating women to see themselves as participants in social production, not to mention actually helping advance a particular version of socialist gender equality.[341]

The Fusion of Life and Production in Family Life

Representations of workers' family members in the New Villages reveal the slippery divide between ideological and material encouragement in the effort to create worker subjectivities directed at the contributing to the collective project of national construction. These representations emphasized that their roles in life were also to be directed at increasing production, even if they did not themselves work in factories, further collapsing any barrier between life and production. A September 30, 1954 *Wenhui Bao* article celebrated elderly, non-working household members doing chores such as cleaning houses and clearing away rubbish and weeds along roads. "Household members unanimously express that they want to handle household tasks to let their relatives rest well, fortunately for the route of production this is a

[340] "Liang qian he ba bai: ji ben tong yi sha chang yi wei nü gong de tanhua"两千和八百：记本统益纱厂一位女工的谈话, *Wenhui Bao* 文汇报, September 24, 1953.

[341] The place of women in the socialist workplace and their ability to actually achieve gender equality is of course a complicated question. Chinese socialism did increase opportunities for female employment as well as the childcare infrastructure needed to support such employment. Women also officially enjoyed equal employment opportunities under socialism. At the same time, gendered expectations and, subsequently, gender inequality continued. Men were favored for higher-skilled, higher paying jobs and women were still expected to raise children and do housework as well as support their husbands' careers. For a brief summary see: Wang Zheng, "Gender, Employment and Women's Resistance," in, *Chinese Society: Change, Conflict and Resistance (2nd edition),* eds. Elizabeth J. Perry, Mark Selden (London/NY: Routledge Curzon, 2003) 162-164.

wonderful weapon, that will complete the annual plan, providing a wonderful base for the First Five Year Plan."[342] Here the housework of elderly household members is tied directly to the national production goals of the First Five Year Plan. By completing these tasks, non-workers will allow their worker family members to get better rest at home, thus facilitating them to more vigorously contribute to production and make sure that their factories meet production goals.

The responsibility for completing household tasks did not just fall on elderly retired family members, but also on school children. A 1955 article describes sixth-graders talking to their classmates about how they did housework when not studying. One student described how she would do household tasks so that her older sister, a factory worker, could get better rest and "go to work with 100 times the energy and produce greater wealth for the nation."[343] In both these examples, family members doing housework improved factory workers' material conditions by giving them better opportunities for rest, which would allow them to go to work with greater physical energy. At the same time, these are also examples of ideological training as the household members themselves were expected to perform these extra tasks solely due to their political consciousness. The article on the schoolchildren explicitly exhorted: "use and examine your classmates' knowledge, you're urged to obtain the most new knowledge and completely exhibit your productive spirit."[344] School children performing housework was seen as both indirectly contributing to immediate goals of national production by helping worker family members as well as allowing the students to practice correct political consciousness out of devotion to national goals of production. Presumably, once these students developed their

[342] "Caoyang xincun jia jiaban xishi" 曹杨新村家家办喜事, *Wenhui Bao* 文汇报, September 30, 1954.
[343] "He tongxuemen tantan jiawu laodong" 和同学们谈谈家务劳动, *Wenhui Bao* 文汇报, January 28, 1955.
[344] Ibid.

political consciousness they would then be able to vigorously employ it in future service to the revolution when they became workers themselves.

Connections between improved material conditions, education, and increased production were a focus of propaganda generally. Throughout the 1950s, newspapers focused on Caoyang as a community with exemplary cultural and educational opportunities, where schoolchildren and others were able to develop culturally in ways that both had intrinsic value and would enable them to make contributions to production. A 1954 article discusses that children in Caoyang initially had a tendency to be rambunctious and cause disturbances in the community because their parents were all labor models and were too busy with factory work to care for them enough. According to the article, by 1954, students at Caoyang's No. One Elementary School had improved in their behavior, their studies, and their political development—partially because of the quality of the facilities at the school. The labor-model father of one of the students, Zhang Qixiang, explained to the class, "Now you are sitting together attending class in this pretty and brand new classroom, with bright windows, good equipment, and nothing else for you to worry about. Children! You really should be so successful studying!" Here Zhang connects the improved educational facilities of the New Villages and students' ability to learn. He goes on to link the political content of that learning with the future of industrial production. "Children! Today our factory does not lack any types of materials, and we have methods, what is lacking is personnel. To complete the tasks of our nation's socialist and communist construction we will rely on you to bear the burden."[345] The children reportedly were excited by Zhang's speech and expressed their renewed desires to study hard. According to this article, Caoyang's improved conditions provided students the opportunity to study hard, which would in turn allow them to

[345] "Yi gongren jiji de guanghui xingxiang lai jiaoyu women de haizi" 以工人阶级的光辉形象来教育我们的孩子, *Wenhui Bao* 文汇报, June 13, 1954.

become model laborers contributing to socialist production in the future—a future they all enthusiastically embraced. Caoyang's schools were places that were dedicated to shaping "New Socialist People" who were ideologically committed to the project of national construction and industrial production.[346][347]

In the early 1950s, the particularities of Caoyang as China's first Workers' New Village made it a classroom even for students who did not themselves live there. A 1953 article on advancing educational method suggested that having students visit Caoyang and interviewing labor models would be one method for raising their "perceptual awareness" (*ganxing renshi)* and make real topics such as nationalism that teachers addressed in class.[348] In other words, visiting a symbol of early socialist achievement like Caoyang would help students better understand, and then contribute to, the necessity of party policies.

Caoyang was not just a place of cultural education for schoolchildren, but also for adults as well. A cultural hall (*wenhua guan*) was built in 1953 and became the site of various performance and events, from model operas to displays of comic books with revolutionary messages, *manhua*.[349][350] A 1954 article reported that on days off workers would flock to the cultural hall to watch opera performances, with many workers themselves participating.[351] Of course these cultural events were not neutral, but were designed to stimulate support for the

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[346]"Wo chubu renshi le peiyang shehui zhuyi xinren de yiyi"我初步认识了培养社会主义新人的意义, *Wenhui Bao* 文汇报, December 29, 1953.

[347] There were numerous other *Wenhui Bao* articles celebrating Caoyang's schools, see: 曹杨新村第一小学和幼儿园落成 （12/26/1952）; 幸福的童年 记曹杨新村第一幼儿园 （12/26/1952）； 曹杨新村的一所新型幼儿园 （5/29/1953）； 幸福的上海儿童 （6/1/1953；孩子们的健康是祖国最大的财富 （6/29/1953）； 在曹杨新村的学校里 （6/2/1954）; 执行了苏联专家的意见以后 （3/21）; 珍惜今日幸福， 创造伟大未来（12/13/1960; 积极争取家长合作 促使班级不断进步 （2/20/1963）

[348] "Jinxing shishi jiaoyu de yi dian tihui" 进行时事教育的一点体会, *Wenhui Bao* 文汇报, December 13, 1952.

[349] "Kaizhan renmin wenhua yishu huodong, chunjie zhong kaifang wenhuaguan san chu"开展人民文化艺术活动, 春节中开放文化馆三处, *Wenhui Bao* 文汇报 , February 12, 1953.

[350] "Manhua shi zhandou de yishu" 漫画是战斗的艺术, *Wenhui Bao* 文汇报, July 5, 1955.

[351] "Shanghai gongren de xiuxi ri"上海工人的休息日， *Wenhui Bao* 文汇报 , July 18, 1954.

revolution. In the Maoist scheme of cultural production, forms like comic books displayed in cultural halls became "sharp-edged ideological weapons in the class struggle."[352] As Matthew Johnson has described, cultural halls were part of infrastructure the party used to build a "propaganda state" that controlled and propagated all cultural production as part of its state building project.[353]

In all of these examples, Caoyang New Village was depicted as a place that fulfilled the material, cultural, and political desires of its residents. This was not all representation however, as the content of propaganda descriptions of Caoyang all highlight that its material conditions themselves played a role in stimulating political consciousness. Material and ideological encouragement appear like a type of Mobius strip in the creation of a political consciousness where productive labor would be directed towards achieving the as yet unrealized socialist future, which would surely contain more and better New Villages.

Models for Transforming Space and Subjectivity

In the service of achieving these goals, party planners and propagandists used Caoyang as a "model" (*dianxing*) in the sense that it was presented as a model that was exemplary of the achievements of socialism should be specifically emulated and expanded on in the future. Denise Ho describes how "models" in Maoist China—whether individuals like the labor models who lived in New Villages or the New Villages themselves—were used as teaching tools by way of comparison. It was only by looking to such models that individuals and society could be transformed.[354] All of the propaganda examples cited above testify to this sense of modeling,

[352] "Manhua shi zhandou de yishu" 漫画是战斗的艺术.
[353] Johnson, 199-204.
[354] Ho, 130-131.

with propaganda materials presenting Caoyang as an idealized community that should be emulated in both material conditions and revolutionary spirit.

Ho also points out that models were often so exemplary that they were exceptional to an extent that they became next to impossible to actually emulate.[355] This was certainly true for Caoyang, as indicated by its status as the first residential area in Shanghai that was open to foreign visitors suggests.[356] Delegations from all around the world would come to tour Caoyang as an example of what socialist China had been able to achieve for its workers.[357] Reports of these delegations' visits emphasized to Chinese readers just what an achievement Caoyang was on a global development scale. According to a 1952 *Wenhui Bao* article, no matter what country delegations came from; capitalist or socialist, Asian or Western; "once they visit Caoyang New Village, they all have this same feeling: '"we need to struggle so that every type of person can have this life!'"[358] Regardless of whether these foreign delegations actually reacted in this way to seeing Caoyang, it was presented as a place that Chinese people should feel proud of in the midst of a revolution that was directed at overcoming the indignities of foreign imperialist impositions. Caoyang was presented as a symbol of how China was materially overcoming that history of imperialism and creating conditions that were desirable even to those visiting from imperialist centers. A visitor from a US peace delegation reportedly said, "Chinese workers are so lucky! Today American workers still have not surpassed this type of life…I only live in a small two-

[355] Ibid.
[356] Fangua lane, the object of Ho's study, would also later be opened to visitors after it was renovated in the 1960s. See: Ho, 144.
[357] The archives have numerous images of these visits and the pages of *Wenhui Bao* provide many brief reports of delegations itineraries through Shanghai that included Caoyang. See for example: 印度尼西亚艺术团昨日离开上海 （9/22/1954）; 蒙古记者在沪参观后离沪 （9/8/1954）; 各国工会代表在上海参观访问 （5/23/1954）; 匈牙利足球队 昨天离开上海 （3/2/1954）; 世界工联和各国工会代表昨在上海进行参观 （5/24/1953）; 巴基斯坦及美国和平代表抵沪 （10/19/1952）.
[358] "Hepingdaibiao zai Caoyang xincun" 和平代表在曹杨新村," *Wenhui Bao* 文汇报，October 31, 1952.

bedroom apartment, but every month my rent is as high as $75 USD. This rent is one quarter of my total monthly income."[359]

Reading these reports of foreign visits, Chinese workers would get the impression that Caoyang had already surpassed the conditions of supposedly more "developed" countries like the United States. Of course, everyone was fully aware in the early 1950s that only a tiny minority of people lived in housing as nice as Caoyang. Even by the end of the decade after the numerous housing construction projects detailed in Chapter Two, Shanghai's slum population had barely decreased. In this context, Ho is right to identify model villages as functioning as "a piece of the future in the present" that worked like a promise that could only cover over reality for so long, even if they were substantial to their residents.[360] However, models were not merely either promises for future development or peoples' homes, they also functioned as experimental models that were emulated and expanded upon. As discussed in Chapter Two, residential housing projects constructed after Caoyang's initial completion in 1951 built on the models developed there. Even when it was criticized, its basic forms were never drastically modified and it remained as a cornerstone in the legacy of housing construction and urban planning in Maoist China.[361] When Ho's example of Fangua Lane was itself redesigned as a Workers' New Village with five-story apartment buildings and facilities for 1818 households in 1964, it was partially building on the legacy of Caoyang as the first Workers' New Village. As much as Fangua was a model, it was also built in reference to other models of housing construction, not least of which was Caoyang.

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[359] Ibid. This worker seems to be doing quite well by today's standards if they are only paying one quarter of their income in rent.
[360] Ho, 33.
[361] Caoyang's planner Wang Dingzeng exemplified this with the mild critique of Caoyang he produced in 1956. Though he admits that Caoyang had some flaws, such as not paying enough attention to "economy" or having close enough links with the inner city, he was certainly not saying that the basic framework of independent housing communities with small apartment buildings interspersed with services should be abandoned. Wang Dingzeng 汪定曾（1956).

The continuum between earlier and later models indicates that models in Maoist China did not just have symbolic value, but really were part of the processes of more general social transformations. Nicole Diamond has argued that model villages were not fraudulent "Potemkin Villages," but sometimes resembled "pilot projects one finds in a number of Third World countries."[362] They received special funding and were difficult to emulate, but were intended to be demonstrations that would be expanded upon. The processes of this type of modeling can be seen even in propaganda representations of housing development. After Caoyang was built in 1951, the party's Worker Housing Construction Committee solicited the feedback of workers on housing construction and the Shanghai Federation of Trade Unions subsequently organized workers to visit Caoyang in preparation for the1952/1953 "20,000 Households" project discussed in Chapter Two.[363] These workers reportedly provided a number of recommendations, including: that there should be collective facilities because it reduced cost and was in line with peoples' habits, that downstairs rooms should be taller, that the kitchens should be bigger, and that in general construction should proceed from what workers' established habits and save money where possible.[364] These recommendations emphasizing economy and efficiency were generally keeping with how planners were proceeding already, yet this is a key example of how Caoyang was used as an experimental model in a very real sense. Caoyang as a model was a test of a certain type of housing development that the state hoped could be emulated elsewhere, though not in unmodified form.

This function of Caoyang as a model for future New Villages added a material depth to media representations that encouraged model behavior from workers in order to collectively

[362] Norma Diamond, "Model Villages and Village Realities," *Modern China* 9, no. 2 (1983): 179.
[363]"Zhubu de you jihua de jiejue gongren zhuzhai wenti"逐步地有计划地解决工人住宅问题, *Wenhui Bao* 文汇报, August 19, 1952.
[364] Ibid.

build a better future. The same article also described how enthusiastically construction workers labored to build the "20,000 Households" project because "there is an even stronger belief that in the not distant future they themselves would move into these new types of rooms."[365] This belief does not seem an unreasonable assumption given that the Shanghai Federation of Trade Unions was soliciting feedback from workers on how to better build more New Villages. Ultimately then, it was both the actual processes of building New Villages as well as their representations that served to model Shanghai's collective advance into the socialist future.

Socialist Spaces and the Material Conditions of Everyday Socialist Life

The realities of socialist development were of course more complicated than the images presented in idealized media representations. For the rest of this chapter, I turn to archival documents to examine (as much as possible) the actual material conditions of Caoyang during the 1950s and how residents interacted with this utopian socialist space in everyday life. To what extent were these truly spaces that helped produce socialist subjectivities and enhanced political consciousness?

Without a doubt, Caoyang and other New Villages did provide improved material conditions compared to the slums that millions of Shanghai's poor and working class continued to live in throughout the 1950s and 1960s. They also provided a type of communal space that was presented as key to creating socialist values. These "socialist spaces" might have initially been reserved for labor models, but as more new villages were built throughout the 1950s they came to impact a wider range of working class lives. The actual impact they had in "serving production and serving the laboring people" is of course hard to attain, but archival documents as well as interviews with residents who grew up in Caoyang reveal that life in the new villages

[365] Ibid.

unsurprisingly did not always match up with the propaganda representations. New Villages like Caoyang might have been preferable to slums, but material limitations meant that many people were still living in cramped and simple quarters, which inevitably produced conflicts amongst neighbors. Services were also always limited and residents found that their daily needs were often not met satisfactorily. Furthermore, government officials bemoaned that residents often failed to live up to the political standards placed on them as labor models. If the new villages were partially efforts to shape ideal working class social relations and political consciousness, than their realities in the 1950s reveal that political and social project was always incomplete and always in the process of realization.

Luo Gang has described how the New Villages were part of an effort to create a socialist spatial regime that was a self-conscious break from capitalist space and capitalist ideology. He describes the layout of Caoyang and how it played into the creation of this new regime as follows:

> When the New Workers' Village was constructed, a guiding principle was to preserve and use the waterways therein in such a manner, integrated with the roadway layout, as to divide the complex into larger or smaller neighbourhoods, comprising an organic whole. To this was added a green zone of tall trees along the banks of the brook, creating a vast green space, thus giving the whole a pleasing layout. If we compare this to the single-family, private. Western-style residences that characterized old Shanghai, typical of construction for the commercial capitalist housing market, the pattern of the older residences was one of extreme liberal individualism. Buildings stood in relation to their interior gardens, and not to the streets or walkways, the rivers, or any other spaces. The surrounding environment was only to draw the gaze to the bulging residence itself Residential space in the New Workers' Villages was totally different, with an expansive and magnanimous atmosphere, the residences distributed in the space in a pleasing asymmetry, but with all the residences of one project possessing a similar exterior, thus giving the whole a unified feel.[366]

[366] Luo Gang, "Socialist Shanghai, the Struggle for Space, and the Production of Space," trans. Christopher Connery, 480.

Luo's argument that Caoyang was designed as an "organic whole" that integrated the natural environment with residencies to create a unified type of socialist space is in line with the thinking of the New Village's planner Wang Dingzeng. Even in his 1956 self-criticism, Wang still celebrated Caoyang as a place to build an "integrated residential area" for the working class that took advantage of the region's natural environment, provided standardized housing with communal facilities, and provided public services such as schools, a bank, a post office, and a culture hall.[367] Propaganda materials also suggest the New Villages were a new type of socialist space. For just one example, the school pamphlet *Beautiful Caoyang New Village*, describes the new village as a "beautiful large garden" that integrated life and work in China's first "workers' residential town."[368] This pamphlet drew connections between the material facilities of Caoyang and the establishment of a "new beautiful lifestyle" that included communal attributes such as neighbors enthusiastically helping each other if they had problems.[369]

Representations of Caoyang in cultural productions such as Zhou Erfu's novel *Morning in Shanghai*—which is the main source Luo uses to discuss the type of socialist space that was produced in the New Villages—certainly present it as creating a new type of space that fused life and production while also creating a new type of idealistic community. Those representations helped create a new socialist spatial imaginary that undoubtedly influenced how residents and observers viewed both the new villages specifically and the future of socialist urban space generally. However, the production of space is not carried out merely at the level of

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[367] Wang 汪（1956). It should also be again noted that in this self-criticism Wang saw that a major failure of Caoyang was that they had not studied the Soviet experience enough and "had not established the basic theories and principles of socialist planning. He was writing at a brief moment when pressure to adopt Soviet methods was particularly strong and anything deviating from those standards was open to criticism. At the same time, his self-criticism does seem to somewhat contradict Luo's notion that Caoyang was perceived as a successful example of socialist space from its outset.

[368] Zhang Zhongqing 张仲清, 3.

[369] Ibid. 17.

representation, but of course also depends on the specifics of what new types of spaces are produced through the social forces of society. To those ends, in assessing to what extent Caoyang represented an effort to break with the forms of capitalist and imperialist-influenced spatial production that dominated in pre-1949 Shanghai, it is useful to return to those forms, especially the residential *lilong* built in the early 20th century that continued to dominate Shanghai's housing stock until well into the socialist period.

Luo presents older Shanghai homes as being examples of "extreme liberal individualism," and this certainly holds true for many of the European-style villas built in Shanghai's concession areas during the colonial period. However, the conditions of the *lilong* housing that were built as commodified housing for much of Shanghai's working class bely simple classification as bastions of individualism.[370] As described by Li Jie in her book *Shanghai Homes*, *lilong* were built in a hybrid-style that combined elements of a traditional courtyard style with high density, uniform housing designed to maximize profits from rent. *Lilong* housing was built in discrete compounds that were accessed through alleyways that entered onto through streets. The individual units were all connected a la row houses, but were built around small courtyards with doors that opened into the alleyways.

[370] As Li Jie points out, the experience of *lilong* housing varied according to the different types of this housing produced throughout the city. In wealthy neighborhoods, spaces could reflect and enhance notions of individual privacy, while in poorer neighborhoods spaces were shared and communal. Similarly, in her novel, *The Song of Everlasting Sorrow*, Wang Anyi describes the meanings of different types of *longtang* across Shanghai. On the western side of the city, (meaning the French Concession) "the walls are soundproof so that people living in close quarters cannot hear one another. This is security of a democratic sort—trans-Atlantic style—to ensure and protect individual freedom." In the slums, on the other hand, "apartment structures are built virtually on top of one another, cheek by jowl, breathing down upon each other's necks." See: Wang Anyi, *The Song of Everlasting Sorrow,* trans. Michael Berry and Susan Chan Egan (New York: Columbia University Press, 2008) 4.

Figure 9 Sketch of Alliance Lane in Shanghai's Hongkou District, built in 1927 by a British real estate company, Metropolitan Ltd.[371]

Lilong houses were ostensibly designed as single-family homes, though often including many generations of a family, and in those cases it can be seen how they might have promoted a type of bourgeois insularity. At the same time, many of these units were occupied by three to four families at a time, or with single workers all living together. Numerous people from the working classes crammed into rooms, and in 1937 the average living space in the international settlement was reported as just three square meters per person.[372] In these cases, even if people were living in spaces built with ideas of individualistic privacy in mind, this goal was unattainable for the majority of people. Instead, *lilong* became sites of working class community and interaction.

In some ways, the conditions of Caoyang and other new villages replicated the cramped conditions of *lilong* housing where multiple families shared one unit. In the original development

[371] Li Jie, *Shanghai Homes*, 28.
[372] Ibid.

at Caoyang in 1951 (built for 1,002 households), three households would share one kitchen (meaning one on each floor) and each household would have its own small toilet. These toilets as well as washbasins were located in the corridors to maximize the use of space.[373] Later additions to Caoyang were built according to even lower standards. The apartment buildings of the 1952 "20,000 Households" project, consisted of ten units spread over two floors, four of which had one large and one small room while six were just one large room. Five households were to share one toilet and one kitchen.[374] By 1956 two new styles of apartment building were added to Caoyang's repertoire, but they were all still very simple and required at least three to four families to share kitchens and toilets. In 1957, the average living space for residents across all of the different apartment styles was only about 3.5 square meters per person, just half a square meter greater than in 1937 (and it should of course be remembered that conditions in Caoyang were better than average for Shanghai in the 1950s).[375] Living conditions in Caoyang were cramped and communal, which was similar to how many families had lived crammed into *lilong* units designed for a single family.

The difference between Caoyang's apartments and shared *lilong* units was that those at Caoyang were rationally planned for, and distributed to, a specific number of households—not rented out to ever-growing numbers of itinerant workers. Those new residents were of course told that their new apartments were a reward for their services to production and were the future of socialist urban space. The apartment buildings were standardized and residents could be fairly sure that their neighbors all shared similar conditions. According to the propaganda, this proximity should have contributed to a sense of shared community as residents both reveled in

[373] SMA, B8-2-16-26《上海市人民委员会关于上海市工人住宅历年建造概况》1954, pg. 37.
[374] Ibid.
[375] SMA, A54-2-158-82《上海市规划建筑管理局关于曹杨，日辉新村住宅现状的综合调查报告》1957.

conditions that were superior to those of the slums and embraced the collective project of national production that could help produce more new villages. Yang Chen has argued that even the low standards (relative to conditions in present Shanghai) of Caoyang's dormitories were part of a project to prioritize public over private space and to collectivize daily life.[376] If *lilong* houses inadvertently became sites of working class consciousness during the Republican Period, Caoyang was specifically designed to produce community and collective identity.

This sense of community was meant to be partially produced by the small and communal nature of the apartments themselves and, indeed, residents who grew up in Caoyang do recall fondly the sense that there were always friends and family around.[377] According to a 1954 "Report on an examination of the situation in Caoyang New Village's No. 1, 2, and 3 Villages" produced by a local district party working group, some households did possess a communal spirit and "not only mutually helped each other overcome every type of difficulty with housework, but also made sure that when workers got off of work they got adequate sleep in body and mind, making everyone concentrate on production unanimously and also raising productive energies."[378] The report provides an example of the residents from one unit working together to make dinner in the communal kitchen for a married couple who were both workers and did not have enough time to cook themselves.[379] Such examples revealed the New Villages to be delivering on their ideological promises as socialist spaces. At least some residents really were working together to help each other overcome difficulties in ways that would ultimately

[376]Yang Chen 杨晨, "Richang shenghuo kongjian de zhiduhua—20 shiji 50 niandai shanghai gongren xincun de kongjian fenxi kuangjia"日常生活空间的制度化—20 世纪 50 年代上海工人新村的空间分析框架, *Tongji daxue xueban (shehui kexueban)* 同济大学学版（社会科学版）20, no. 6 (2009): 43.
[377] Interview with resident (b. 1956), conducted by author in Shanghai, June 14, 2018.
[378] SMA, A71-2-763-180《中共上海市郊区工作委员会关于中共上海市真如区委组织部"关于曹杨新村情况调查报告的意见"的批复》December 25, 1954.
[379] Ibid.

contribute to production—regardless of whether that was the intended goal.

The same 1954 report makes it clear that relations were not always so easy between residents and that conflicts often arose at least partially as a result of the crowded conditions of the apartments. The report describes how residents often lacked unity which led to a variety of disputes, some large and some small:

> As for the reasons for these conflicts, some are over the communal water meter, some are because nightshift workers' rest times are not respected, some are because women make mischief, and wander around bickering, and some reasons are because of children squabbling. Also, marriage issues and abnormal male-female relationships give rise to problems. The small results are friends and relatives falling out and not speaking to each other, the big results are people going and committing suicide and endangering their lives, all of which seriously influence production. For example, a labor model named Zhu Fa at the No. 1 National Textile Factory said: 'in the home there are often small quarrels over water and electricity, which leads to people in the factories having worries about home…In between apartment three and apartment six of number 28, number one village, a conflict started between families because of children shoving each other down. The worker in apartment three came to resent his wife, who as a result left and took the children to the countryside. The worker then killed himself with a cleaver. Taking this year's fourth quarter for an example, there were 83 incidents of conflict, but this is much reduced from before neighborhood rectification.[380]

This report shows that neighbors in cramped residencies often, and unsurprisingly, were in conflict with each other. These conflicts were partially caused by the communal conditions of the apartment that forced residents to be in constant contact with each other and to share key facilities such as water and electricity meters (water and electricity fees were not included in rent).

As the example of the worker committing suicide shows, the human stakes of initially minor conflicts could be quite high. At least for the party work team composing the report, the political stakes were also high: conflicts between residents jeopardized the collective goal of increasing industrial production. The quote from the worker Zhu Fa indicates that problem at

[380] Ibid.

home led to anxieties at the factory and the report makes clear that all of these conflicts had a negative impact on production. Caoyang's apartments were intended as ideal socialist spaces, but their actual conditions still left something to be desired. The very sites that were held up as models for future housing construction and shown off to visitors from around the world as examples of socialist achievement were still so materially lacking that they helped produce numerous conflicts between residents. In comparison with the *lilong* of the pre-liberation years, it proved much easier to couch Caoyang's apartments in overblown rhetoric than to actually overcome the problems of limited resources and limited space.

In addressing Caoyang and the New Villages as models of a new type of socialist space, it is necessary to examine the wider social context that produced them. Henri Lefebvre has argued that a socialist society cannot merely adopt the spatial forms produced under capitalism (which of course all serve the reproduction of capital), but instead needs to actually struggle for the production of new forms of space through the reorientation of social relations of society. This does not mean merely creating communal spaces (which Lefebvre sees as mere utopianism if not connected to wider social changes), but creating a new society, and subsequently spatial regime, that values "placing appropriation over domination, demand over command, and use over exchange."[381] Using this formula Lefebvre emphasizes use values, how people use space, over exchange values, how spaces serve the circulation of commodities and the production of capital. He presumes that the productive forces of a revolutionary society will be redirected towards the creation of social needs such as housing. To achieve this transformation, Lefebvre argues that "a transformation of society presupposes the possession and collective management of space by a permanent intervention of "interested parties," even with their multiple and sometimes

[381] Henri Lefebvre, "Space: Social Product and Use Value," *State, Space, and World* (Minneapolis: Minnesota University Press, 2009) 194.

contradictory interests."[382]

To what extent China achieved, and Caoyang reflected, the type of transformation theorized by Lefebvre is debatable.[383] As previously argued, even in its spatial planning, Caoyang adopted ideas from the neighborhood unit, which were developed under capitalism. In the wider spatial context of urban Shanghai, the private real estate market persisted in the 1950s and to some extent at Caoyang, the state just took the place of landlords, continuing to charge rent that was too high for many of Shanghai's poorest. Furthermore, the extent to which Caoyang was collectively possessed and managed "by a permanent intervention of interested parties" is doubtful. All that being said, when one begins to look at the core of Lefebvre's argument—that a socialist society would transform production to serve the interests of the people as opposed to serving capital—the New Villages begin to look more accomplished. The government was not hoping to profit off of these apartments by charging rent, but was looking to improve the conditions of workers' lives. To be clear, cadres were operating under the doctrine of "first production, later life" (*xian shengchan, hou shenghuo*) and, as argued above, improving housing conditions was always intended to serve production both by making workers' lives easier, thus giving them more energy for industrial labor, and by generating goodwill and collective solidarity with party goals. Still, the construction of Coayang and other New Villages signified a shift away from using productive forces to serve the reproduction of capital towards serving the people, even if such "service" could only be achieved after production had increased and more sites could be built. In this sense then, Caoyang was a new type of socialist space that was produced under the condition of state socialism (as opposed to libertarian socialism) that was

[382] Ibid. 195.
[383] Luo Gang also cites this essay. However, he takes Caoyang as evidence that the Chinese revolution truly was transforming the production of space according to Lefebvre's meaning. I do not go so far because I do not see evidence that the "interested parties," i.e. the poor and working classes, had much say in collectively determining the production of use of space.

being built during the 1950s.[384]

The Provision of Services in the Struggle "To Serve the Laboring People"

To the ends of satisfying the material, cultural, and social consumptive needs of residents, by the end of 1954, Caoyang had 28,616 residents whose daily needs were satisfied by services that included: one consumer cooperative, four salesrooms, three vegetable markets, one public shower (with two more planned, but not yet opened), hot water stations, one culture hall, one hygiene bureau, one preschool, four elementary schools, one independent kindergarten, one middle school, and a newly built park.[385] These services were built as part of Caoyang's general project to "serve the people" by creating completely new and comprehensive communities for residents. The 1954 report advocated that the various work units involved in providing both material and cultural services "should have a plan to advance the satisfactory guarantee of New Village worker families' means of subsistence and needs for daily products."[386]

Despite initial achievements in providing services, Caoyang and other New Villages had been built from scratch isolated from more established parts of the city and providing an adequate "commercial network" (*shangye wang)* continued to be an ongoing struggle through the end of the 1950s and into the 1960s. Party officials framed this struggle to "serve the laboring people" by actually providing them with services such as schools, shops, and cultural facilities in

[384] The debate over the meaning of socialism and authoritarian versus libertarian socialism is of course an old one that goes back to splits between Marxists and Anarchists (among others) in the First International. To refresh, Marx and Engels argued in *The Communist Manifesto* for a revolution of stages where the proletariat would seize the state (the "dictatorship of the proletariat"), which would only "whither away" after class antagonisms had disappeared. Anarchists such as Bakunin criticized such a program for paving the way for the creation of a new privileged class of bureaucrats. Most liberal (not to mention Trotskyist and anarchist) analyses of both the USSR and the PRC argue that these states produced the type of privileged class Bakunin warned against. For a discussion of these debates as well as a defense of the possibility of anti-authoritarian thought within Marxism, see: Daniel Guerin, "libertarian Marxism?" (1969) *The Anarchist Library*, accessed July 29, 2018: https://theanarchistlibrary.org/library/daniel-guerin-libertarian-marxism.
[385] SMA, A71-2-763-180.
[386] Ibid.

terms of both indirectly serving production and directly playing an important role in shaping communist political mindsets. In January 1960, at the height of the great leap forward, a working meeting was held by the Shanghai Commerce Bureau to address the condition of services in New Villages and New Industrial Areas (a category which included satellite towns such as Minhang). In a summary report of that meeting, the deputy bureau chairman Xiao Lin laid out that even though improving services in these areas would not directly contribute to production:

> As for supporting the Great Leap Forward in production, [this work] has extremely important meanings. This is because completing the work of supplying these factories will make production progress smoothly; at the same time, doing like this to satisfy generously and in concentration the worker masses' commercial supplies and life services will make it so that in their lives they will have no fears of trouble in the rear. [Workers] Being able to be relaxed as they energetically enter into production in order to speed up the construction of socialism has a great stimulating purpose.[387]

Here, deputy bureau chief Xiao Lin argues that satisfying workers' material demands for commercial products as well as necessary "living services" (which included communal schools and cafeterias) would help them stop worrying about daily necessities such as providing for their families and allow them to make even greater contributions to production. Providing better services for workers ultimately would contribute to the goals of increased industrial production while also actually improving the daily lives of residents in New Villages and New Industrial Areas. That the improvement of workers' daily lives was seen as a goal to be pursued precisely because it would help further improve production—however indirectly—once again underscores to what extent these were spaces that sought to collapse daily residential life with socialist industry.

By 1960, cadres in the Shanghai government were framing providing services to workers

[387]SMA, B123-4-662-1《上海市第一商业局副局长肖林在上海市新工业区工人新村商业工作会议上的总结发言》January 16, 1960.

as a way to "organize the people's economic life" along new communal lines. Xiao Lin describes that providing socialist services in New Villages and New Industrial Areas was a method of transforming peoples' previous "one family, one household" mindsets and promoting collectivization through services such as communal cafeterias and childcare services. Specifically this meant transforming and eliminating the independent stores and street vendors that continued to exist outside the boundaries of the New Villages and Industrial areas.[388][389] These efforts were seen as part of an effort to create new communal mindsets that would help workers construct socialism and eventually pave the way to true communism. As Xiao wrote, "new industrial areas represent socialist industry and they must have socialist services."[390] Creating such new communal services would mean reorganizing peoples' economics lives in ways that eliminated the vestiges of capitalism and encouraged the development of communist mindsets.

Unfortunately for the residents of New Villages like Caoyang, the model of state socialist development that guided the development of services that served the people was always beset by the contradiction that production was to be valued over improvements in daily life. This meant that even for places like Caoyang that did directly serve workers' lives, there was always a shortage of facilities and services, at least those provided directly by the state. By 1960 it was generally recognized that there was still a lack of commercial, cultural, and social services across the nation and in that year the national commercial bureau recommended that service workers should be increased by 700,000 to help adequately fulfill the nation's service needs. However,

[388] Ibid.
[389] This project to eliminate—and eliminate the need for—the small independent vendors that served the New Villages had proceeded throughout the 1950s. For one example, see: SMA, B121-1-32-29 上海市综合贸易公司天山新村商店关于申请设立小吃部并要求吸收一批小吃摊贩的审批报告 May 24, 1956.
[390] SMA, B123-4-662-1.

the central government only approved an increase of 50,000. The Shanghai Commerce Bureau advocated that there were only two ways to make up for this shortfall: "one is advancing technological revolution, and the other is relying on the masses."[391] Essentially then, the government was advocating that more should be done with less. Such plans that emphasized "relying on the masses" of course were presented as going hand in hand with the focus on using the reorganization of economic life to promote communal, and ultimately communist, mindsets. The 1960 commerce bureau report argued that it was possible to achieve greater success at providing services in New Villages and New Industrial Areas without great increases in state provisions if people accepted the political leadership of the CPC in "strengthening political teachings and advancing mass movements" so as to eliminate remaining capitalist mindsets that led some service workers to emphasize their own profits over serving the masses. In place of state provided services, the New Villages and New Industrial Areas were to be place of state-directed political education in communal self-reliance. As with how cadres framed the problem of workers living in cramped, communal spaces, the organization of services in an environment of scarcity was also presented as an opportunity to create new models of socialist community.

There were two major, related contradictions in this turn towards communal self-reliance in what were state-constructed spaces. First, the rhetoric of "relying on the masses" still ultimately emphasized the supremacy of party leadership and eliminated non-party solutions to the continued lack of services: for instance, independent street vendors. Second, there was a real scarcity in the services available to residents. In 1964, after the push towards Great Leap-era collectivization had subsided, the New Villages continued to have relatively fewer commercial services than Shanghai as a whole. At this time, there were 493 households to every commercial establishment while across the entire city this ratio was only 78 to one (see the below table for a

[391] Ibid.

complete breakdown of the position of services in the New Villages in comparison to the rest of the city).

Industry	New Villages (ratio households to services)	Central City Area (ratio households to services)
Total	493:1	78:1
Vegetable Market	2388:1	1396:1
Food and Drink	1562:1	504:1
Foodstuff and Sundries	1458:1	192:1
Barber	2740:1	804:1
Laundry	8356:1	1628:1
Baths	33426:1	7708:1
Photoshop	13927:1	7189:1

Figure 10: Ratio of households to services in New Villages and the Central City Area, 1964[392]

The New Villages had been built as self-contained communities that would provide both improved housing conditions and adequate services for residents who had previously been living in Shanghai's crowded slums. However, they were largely built in relatively undeveloped areas on the periphery of the core and were criticized for being poorly integrated with the rest of the city.[393] While the government did invest in constructing new commercial, cultural, and social services in the New Villages, the above figures suggest that this investment was never enough to bring communities like Caoyang up to the level of previously developed areas of Shanghai's urban core.

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[392]SMA, B98-1-1438-1《上海市第二商业局关于市区工人新村副食品，饮食服务业网点情况和意见》February 1, 1964.

[393] See for instance Wang Dingzeng's criticisms of Caoyang as isolated or archival reports of how workers were unwilling to move their families to the satellite town of Minhang because of its peripheral location and lack of services. See, respectively: Wang 汪（1956); and, SMA, B246-3-171《上海市革命委员会工业交通组基建组关于基建计划，城市规划，临时建筑处理及抗震救灾，胜利水泥厂项目汇报，通知》March 10, 1976.

As much as party cadres argued political development and communal self-reliance could make up for a lack of increased investment in building up services, archival documents reveal that residents did sometimes perceive newly-built socialist communities like Caoyang and Minhang to be materially lacking. At the end of 1954, when there were likely even fewer per capita services than in 1964, the district party working group reported that the supply of daily goods in the cooperative store were not enough to fulfill the needs of the workers and their household members. The cooperative simply did not have enough of many foodstuffs and what it did have was often poor quality. It was not just food that was in short supply, but also household goods such as sewing supplies (a shortage which influenced peoples' ability to repair many other goods). The working group's report admitted that these shortages were partially due to the "simplification" of the market, which meant standardized prices on limited goods. Though the working group excused such limitations as necessary for socialist construction, they also blamed lazy and inept employees as well as "leadership thinking" that was still infected by a "bourgeois management mindset" that spent too much time thinking about appearances and not enough time studying the basic everyday needs of the people. To illustrate the effects of this attitude, the working group quoted one resident as complaining, "the cooperative spent so much money making a cafeteria to serve travelers, we will not go to the cafeteria, and also do not have interest in the food market."[394] By the end of 1954, the state had failed to satisfy the daily material needs even in China's first model workers' new village.

Caoyang did not just lack adequate consumer services in the 1950s, but also public, educational, and cultural facilities. A 1957 Planning and Architecture Management Bureau report described that six years after the start of Caoyang's construction, it had a culture hall, middle and elementary schools, kindergartens, preschools, an outpatient clinic, and a park.

[394] SMA, A71-2-763-180.

However, the numbers of these facilities had not been able to keep pace with Caoyang's expanding population in the 1950s. For instance, its culture hall had only been built to serve Caoyang's initial 1,002 household population, not the community of more than 30,000 people it had become by 1957. The report argued that such shortfalls were due to general, unplanned for increases in population during the "period of constructing socialism," limited investment capital, that Caoyang's public facilities were serving a larger area than expected, and that the constant stream of visitors to Shanghai's model workers' new village was crowding services designed for residents.[395] This last reason suggests that, ironically, Caoyang's position as a model new village used to exemplify how the socialist city could "serve the laboring people" was in fact hampering its capacity to adequately serve its laboring residents.

The 1957 report did not provide any solutions for rectifying Caoyang's material shortfalls, but the general solution during this period was to emphasize political education. On May 13, 1955, the Shanghai CPC's Suburban Working Committee responded to the 1954 examination of Caoyang with a number of "central working issues," number one of which read:

> As for work in public housing new villages, under the general principle for factories to serve industrial production, socialist education should be carried out amongst family members to serve the impetus of making life better and for public welfare. The answering of the appeals of the party through doing a good job in educating family members about family community and mutual aid; respecting the government's laws and decrees; the spirit of carrying out arduous struggle and submitting to the plans of the nation; all will help unions put into effect relevant labor discipline for workers and their family members, and help them do the propaganda work related to labor protections, safe production, etc. as well as other central tasks.[396]

The second "central working issue" addressed material shortages head on, highlighting the need of the cooperative to satisfy residents' daily needs while redressing the type of mindset that

[395] SMA, A54-2-158-82《上海市规划建筑管理局关于曹杨，日辉新村住宅现状的综合调查报告》May 25, 1957.
[396] SMA, A71-2-763-180.

"ignored the actual needs of the masses."[397] Taken together, these two central issues point to how party and government officials hoped to address material and social problems in Caoyang by combining socialist education, obedience to local and national party and government goals, and a general thriftiness. What is missing is any plan to actually increase or redesign the currently existing service provisions. Instead, the party working committee focused almost purely on the ideological side of the equation. Shortcomings could be overcome if a sense of "community and mutual aid" could be combined with tighter management. The supplies at the cooperative could be improved if the party strengthened political education amongst cooperative employees.[398] Party officials presented socialist education under the firm gaze of the party as the path for realizing the promises of newly created physical spaces like Caoyang.

Of course, the need for socialist education belied that in the mid-1950s (and beyond), ideological allegiance to the goals and attitudes of the party had still not been won amongst even the fortunate residents of model communities like Caoyang. The 1954 report begins with a discussion of how the political situation in Caoyang is "complicated" because the new residents include both workers and family members who were not workers (though the examples of strife between residents laid out above indicate that the authors acknowledged that all workers were not necessarily politically pure as a social group). From Caoyang's construction until 1954 at least 27 residents were arrested as counterrevolutionaries, but the authors of the report identified the low level of political consciousness in Caoyang as a more general problem. The authors attributed these ideological shortcomings to a lack of leadership in political education, partially because of issues in implementing proper mass organization practices in the newly constructed space of the New Village. They note that there were many meetings for party cadres in Caoyang,

[397] Ibid.
[398] Ibid.

but not many mass meetings for average residents. According to the report, family members recalled that while living in Shanghai's *lilong* they could not go half-a-month without having a mass meeting, but some had been in Caoyang for a year-and-a-half without having a single meeting.[399] Though workers themselves received political education in their factories, the report noted that the lack of meetings for family members created a situation where they lacked a socialist mindset, which was expressed through their continued desires for material goods.[400]

Caoyang in the 1950s was not a place that could easily deliver a wide-variety of material goods, so the proposals for dealing with such desires again fell back on the need for political education for family members. If family members could come to embrace the sometimes lacking living conditions in Caoyang as an accomplishment of socialism and dedicate their energies to supporting their neighbors, then presumably they would better serve production and the revolution. These calls for political education provide new depth to the representations of Caoyang as a model socialist space shaping model residents discussed in section one of this chapter. The 1954 report and other archival documents show Caoyang as a space that sometimes struggled to satisfy the material needs of residents who were not always on board with the party's socialist project. This context runs in direct contradiction with newspaper articles that celebrated how Caoyang was helping to create socialist consciousness amongst residents through material improvements. This contradiction reveals those propaganda representations to be both aspirational, in describing a socialist space that Caoyang hoped to become, and functional, in actually serving as a tool to help educate readers about the proper attitude that should be adopted towards state-constructed projects like Caoyang. These were attitudes that the residents of such projects did not always immediately adopt.

[399] Ibid.
[400] Ibid.

At the same time that propagandists were reminding their readers that the revolution was improving the lives of workers through the construction of New Villages like Caoyang, party cadres were struggling to remind the residents of Caoyang that their lives actually had materially improved. In both cases, this political education was not purely ideological, but actually did have a material basis. The trick was convincing residents and others to see Caoyang New Village as the state conceived it: a representation of the party's commitment to "serving production and serving the laboring people." This phrase continues to take on new meanings when interpreted in the context of the wide array of propaganda representations as well as snapshots of daily life provided by government reports found in the archives. Serving the people meant providing them with new housing and services, but it also meant educating them about how to perceive those socialist gifts. As always, both of these types of service were not conducted out of pure altruism, but also so that workers did not have "fears of trouble in the rear" (*houguzhiyou*) that would get in the way of serving production. Those "troubles" that could impede production included both insecure housing and family members with defective ideological mindsets who did not appreciate the material advancements of Caoyang and continued to lust after a more luxurious life.

To what extent both the construction of Caoyang and its representations in propaganda materials actually succeeded in winning peoples' loyalty to party goals and "correct" socialist mindsets is difficult to ascertain. In the archival record, the 1954 report stands out for directly commenting on the attitudes and actions of the residents, warts and all. There unsurprisingly is some evidence that residents' political development continued to be an issue. For one small example, in 1965 the city education bureau reprimanded the coach of Caoyang's middle school athletics team for cheating in a 1964 city-wide track meet and displaying a mindset of "bourgeois

prize mania."[401] Such incidents do not necessarily indicate widespread structural issues of political resistance. Rather, they reveal that political education in model socialist spaces like Caoyang was forever an unfinished project running up against the daily habits and attitudes of human beings who were not always ideal socialist subjects.

In contrast to examples of dissatisfaction, disobedience, and resistance, some residents seem to have at least embraced the New Villages as state-built material improvements in their lives. In interviews conducted in 2018, residents who grew up in Caoyang tend to look back on the Maoist period as a time when people were poor, but equal. When asked if he perceived the provision of services in Caoyang as lacking, one resident born in 1954 recalled the New Village as having a vibrant commercial and cultural life. Indeed, he was surprised when I told him that some archival documents suggested otherwise.[402] Such evidence is anecdotal and fragmentary, however it does indicate that we should not read efforts at socialist education purely for the moments of resistance that reveal their failures. In the 1950s and 1960s, the party and government in Shanghai (and across China) were making efforts to overcome the legacies of colonialism and capitalism. To those ends they initiated projects of both material and ideological construction. Caoyang combined both of those projects of construction into one space designed to reform the minds of residents and observers at the same time that it served as an actual model for socialist housing projects. The state hoped to use Caoyang to shape socialist subjects who did more with less, helped their neighbors, and served industrial production either directly as factory workers or indirectly as family members who made sure workers had nothing to worry about at home. This model for building socialism never came to dominate in Shanghai and it was never

[401] SMA, B126-1-851-25《关于曹杨新村第五小学体育教师在一九六年上海市中小学生田径运动会上指使学生冒名顶替骗取冠军名次的通报》January 27, 1965.
[402] Interview conducted by author with resident (b. 1954), 8/22/2018.

able to achieve all of its goals, but it did represent one particular paradigm of bureaucratically managed, state-directed revolution.

Conclusions

Lefebvre specifically points to the "transitional programs" of state socialism as failing to truly create socialist space through their programs of "state control of land, nationalizations, and municipalizations." For Lefebvre, such efforts failed because they did not succeed to transform space from a commodity that was owned to a resource that was collectively managed by all "interested parties."[403] The ideological uses of Caoyang as a multi-faceted socialist model discussed in this chapter were an effort at spatial and, subsequently, social and cultural transformation. This effort was state directed and relied less on the type of collective management by interested parties envisioned by Lefebvre than on using Caoyang as a means to shape narratives of a socialist state serving the workers. To be sure, party cadres hoped that these narratives would discipline residents and observers to embrace collective ideals. But these ideals were not to be the result of workers and residents self-organizing or the collective management of urban space. Rather, Caoyang in both its construction and its political uses was a prime example of a state-managed project designed at once to serve the real material needs of the workers and, subsequently, to advance national goals of industrial production.

All of the very real improvements to housing conditions provided by New Villages like Caoyang were framed in propaganda representations and government reports as ultimately being designed to produce model workers who were both loyal to state goals and better able to serve those goals because they had fewer material concerns than before they moved into government-provided housing. In Lefebvre's terms, this was a "transitional program" that used state control

[403] Lefebvre, *State, Space, World*, 194-195.

of land and ideological education to serve "production." However, the ideas of production surrounding Caoyang were not Lefebvre's (and Marx's) idea of socialist production as being solely "production for social needs," at least not at the level of day-to-day experience.[404] Party cadres hoped workers would serve national production goals, but those goals did not directly serve workers who often seem to have felt alienated from the fruits of their labors as they returned home to living situations that still left much to be desired—even in a "model village."

The ultimate political and functional uses of New Villages like Caoyang as models for mechanisms to stimulate loyalty to the party, shape model socialist subjects, and serve production (in addition to providing a model for reshaping urban space) exist in some tension with the stated goal to "serve the laboring people." Residents discovered that the New Villages could not satisfy all of their material needs and that conditions could still be cramped, noisy, and lacking in necessary services. Such dissatisfaction suggests that the state may have prioritized the New Villages political functions over their material conditions, though the very real improvements granted to poor workers and their families who had previously been living in slums should not be overlooked. The political functions of the New Villages also existed in tension with the stated goals to transition from a state-managed socialist society to a collectively-managed communist one. These were government-directed projects through and through that required relatively high investments from a financially-strapped state prioritizing industrial production. The nature of their construction also stimulated a reliance on the state that contradicted the emphasis on self-reliance and collectively making do with less that was continually emphasized in the 1950s and 1960s as the core of Chinese revolution. As we will see in the next chapter, these political contradictions helped derail the use of New Villages as a model for building socialist space in Shanghai.

[404] Ibid.,193.

Chapter 5

"Organizing the Masses to Transform the Slums Themselves:" The End of State Planning in the Construction of 1960s Socialist Shanghai

New Villages like Caoyang represented an effort to mobilize state resources in service of the material needs of workers in Shanghai. For all their inadequacies in actually delivering on those material or ideological promises, they were efforts to literally construct socialism through the reorganization of urban space and the provision of housing. The high point of this bureaucratic utopian mode of urban planning in Shanghai was during the Great Leap Forward, when the city party and government commissioned the "General Plan for Shanghai" in 1959. The failure of this plan to ever be completed took place within the wider context of the failures of the Great Leap Forward to carry out a utopian transformation of Chinese society. Instead, the policies of the GLF led to horrific famine across the countryside.[405] In the wake of this disaster, political and economic policies shifted as party leaders attempted to guide the country away from catastrophe without giving up on the revolutionary vision that, they claimed, had delivered China from the clutches of imperialism and capitalism.

[405] Recent scholarship on the Great Leap Forward and ensuing famine has focused on the role of the party leadership and Mao Zedong in radicalizing the bureaucracy and creating the conditions that led to the famine. Exemplary among this scholarship is Yang Jisheng's *Tombstone*, published first in Chinese in 2008 and then in an abridged English version in 2012. Yang's work uses newly-available archival sources to argue for a death toll of at least 36 million, which is higher than some previous estimates. He also focuses on how the dynamics of control under what he calls "totalitarianism" produced a hierarchical situation where party officials at all levels used violently repressive measures to fulfill high grain procurement quotas and squash all dissent. Another relatively recent work on the famine is Frank Dikotter's *Mao's Great Famine*, which uses similar sources as Yang and makes a similar case about the culpability of Mao and the party leadership in causing the famine, but pushes the death toll up to 45 million. However, Dikotter's work has been criticized for plagiarizing Yang and for misusing sources. In a review of both Yang and Dikotter's work, Anthony Garnaut denigrates Dikotter for mistranslating sources in order to serve his narrative of the famine as a product of totalitarian evil. Garnaut is more laudatory of Yang, but he ultimately suggests that both works are flawed because of the lack of reliable sources from the height of the Great Leap in 1958-1959. See: Yang Jisheng, *Tombstone: The Great Chinese Famine, 1958-1962* (New York: Farrar, Straus, and Giroux, 2012); Frank Dikotter, *Mao's Great Famine: The History of China's Most Devastating Catastrophe, 1958-1962* (New York: Walker & Co., 2010); Anthony Garnaut, "Hard Facts and Half Truths: The New Archival History of China's Great Famine," *China Information* 27, no. 2 (2013): 223-246.

Shanghai continued to face a housing crisis that had been shaped by years of distorted development under foreign imperialist domination, made only worse by waves of immigrants who had come to the city to work on GLF industrial projects. But in the aftermath of the famine party and government officials backed away from either planning or building new housing developments on a grand scale. Instead, party cadres focused on "relying on the masses" as the primary means for addressing the fact that what were described as slums (*penghu*) continued to house too many of Shanghai's residents. In practice, this meant using a variety of schemes of party-led political mobilization to enable "the masses to transform the slums themselves." These methods ultimately stood in refutation of the bureaucratic utopian mode of planning that created the New Villages and, more broadly, reflected competing attitudes towards the role of the party-state in guiding China's revolution during the 1960s.

More specifically, the urban planning-related campaigns from the Great Leap until the Cultural Revolution attempted to use the construction of political consciousness as the foundation for material construction. Campaigns such as the organization of urban "Peoples' Communes" (*renmin gongshe*) during the Great Leap used political education to encourage individuals to align their lifestyles with collective goals. The party suggested that this process would then lead to residents reorganizing the material conditions of urban life to serve those collective goals, most notable amongst which was the strengthening of industrial production. This three-way alignment between consciousness, urban spatial reorganization, and industrial production took on a gendered nature. Party and government sources emphasize how restructuring urban space and facilities by providing collective childcare and communal cafeterias could ease the household burdens of women and allow them to enter into the "productive" workforce. In the absence of state funds for new housing, political mobilization

campaigns emphasized that mass political consciousness and revolutionary voluntarism, especially the efforts of Shanghai' socialist women, could be the way forward for building a socialist city.

This chapter traces the shifts in Shanghai's housing and urban planning policies from their utopian height during the Great Leap to their demise at the beginning of the Cultural Revolution in 1966. In the Cultural Revolution, urban planning and architecture were wholly denounced as bourgeois enterprises and Red Guards violently seized the houses of those deemed counterrevolutionary.[406] Previous scholarship has rightfully tended to view the period leading up to the Cultural Revolution as one that was defined by a cessation of construction due to political chaos.[407] For example, the officially produced *Shanghai Housing Construction Annals* contains exhaustive entries on all stages of Shanghai's housing construction from the old Chinese city, through the colonial period, until 1998; however, it skips from describing the construction of the satellite towns during the GLF to discussing new housing construction during the 1980s, after Deng Xiaoping had initiated market reforms. The silences in the *Housing Construction Annals* reflect the political and social upheaval of the 1960s and 1970s. This disorder ensured that the provision of state resources for new construction in areas such as housing and urban planning slowed to a trickle, especially in already relatively "developed" coastal cities such as Shanghai.[408]

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[406] Kara L. Phillips, and Amy L. Sommers, "A Tragedy of the Commons: Property Rights Issues in Shanghai Historic Residences," *Penn. State International Law Review* 28, (2009): 148-157.

[407] For instance, in her survey history of Shanghai's urban development, Marie-Claire Bergère stops her discussion of Maoist housing construction (in a subsection pointedly titled "Town Planning Shelved") with the efforts to build satellite towns during the GLF. See: Marie-Claire Bergere, *Shanghai: China's Gateway to Modernity* (Stanford: Stanford University Press, 2009), 375-382.

[408] This is not to say that all construction stopped in the 1960s. In fact, a massive industrialization campaign was launched in 1965. However, it focused on developing interior regions away from the coasts. See: Barry Naughton, "The Third Front: Defence Industrialization in the Chinese Interior *," *The China Quarterly* 115 (1988): 351-86.

Though the pre-Cultural Revolution 1960s might not have seen much housing constructed, this chapter argues that housing policies during this period reflected the developing relationship between state intervention from above and mobilization from below. To analyze these tensions, I highlight three policies that characterized urban development during the period from the end of the GLF until the onset of the Cultural Revolution: 1) the brief organization of urban "Peoples' Communes" (*renmin gongshe*) at the end of the GLF, 2) efforts to control and regulate slum growth, and 3) the project to organize "the masses" to transform their own housing in the slums. All of these campaigns called for reliance on the energies of the masses as opposed to state planning and construction; however, they all also were state-directed campaigns. The contradictory nature of these projects as state-directed, bottom-up projects reflected a defining characteristic of the Chinese revolution: its effort to use a hierarchical party-state to guide ostensibly democratic, egalitarian, and bottom-up revolution. In practice, this meant that mass campaigns to improve housing were tightly managed by the state and did not necessarily reflect the needs and desires of residents themselves, especially since the conditions of economic scarcity in the early 1960s ensured that the government provided few funds to help residents improve their housing situations. I argue that these characteristics made it difficult for them to ever be widely successful in either mobilizing popular sentiment or solving Shanghai's housing crisis.

In the 1950s, Shanghai's party and government had begun to implement a bureaucratic utopian model of planning to build communities to serve the needs of some residents; however, economic scarcity and shifting political winds ensured that such methods could not solve the entire city's housing crisis. In the place of investment in new housing construction, the party and government attempted to reconcile state-led efforts at urban development with calls to rely on the

organization of urban residents to solve their own housing issues in the 1960s. Residents of Shanghai and other cities ultimately resolved this contradiction when they put party-rhetoric to the test and violently seized housing from those they designated as political enemies during the Cultural Revolution.

Urban Peoples' Communes and Building a "City of Production"

At the tail-end of the Great Leap, when China was already in the grip of devastating famine, the party launched a campaign to establish Peoples' Communes in cities like Shanghai as a means of reorganizing urban life along collective lines that would ostensibly revolutionize production and hasten socialist development. In Shanghai, Caoyang New Village was one of the sites that was reorganized into a Peoples' Commune, which in effect meant organizing residents to provide each other with communal services, such as childcare and cafeterias, and to work even harder at contributing to industrial production goals. The urban peoples' communes were to be short-lived, lasting only from 1960 through the end of the GLF in 1961, yet they acted as a model for using primarily political mobilization, and especially the mobilization of women, as a means of urban transformation.

Rural People's Communes have a notorious place in the history of the GLF and the famine it produced. As the well-known story goes, Mao Zedong and other party elites were concerned that China's revolution was losing its vitality in the late 1950s. In response, they planned a massive mobilization of China's peasants to increase agricultural and industrial production under the slogan "more, faster, better, cheaper." In the summer of 1958, this process was facilitated through the organization of the Peoples' Communes, which consolidated the landholdings of smaller peasant farming cooperatives into much larger communes. By December

of 1958, 740,000 cooperatives had been organized into 26,000 communes.[409] The basic idea behind the communes was that by creating much larger organizations it would be easier to provide collective services such as cafeterias, kindergartens, nurseries, middle schools, and medical facilities that would enable more people, especially women, to enter the workforce. A September 3, 1958 article from *People's Daily* captures well the utopian hopes placed on the communes:

> Differences between workers and peasants, urban and rural areas, mental and manual labor—left over from the old society and inevitably existing in the socialist society—as well as the remnants of unequal bourgeois rights which are the reflection of these differences, will gradually vanish, the function of the state will be limited to protecting the country from external aggression; it will play no role in domestic affairs. By that time Chinese society will enter the era of communism, the era when the principle "from each according to his ability, to each according to his needs" will be realized.[410]

This editorial promised the communes would serve as nothing less than the foundation for building the type of (almost) state-less society that communists around the world had dreamed of since the days of Karl Marx and his utopian socialist predecessors.

The problem with this utopian collective vision was that the communes did not actually produce enough grain to both fulfill state procurement quotas, which diverted grain to the cities to fuel industrialization projects as well as for export abroad, and feed the peasants. Party cadres, caught up in the revolutionary zeal of the moment, misreported grain production figures while still continuing to fulfill procurement quotas that the party refused to lower. This created a situation that left peasants to starve and the ensuing famine killed 20 million or more people.[411]

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[409] Jonathan Spence, *The Search for Modern China: Third Edition* (New York, W.W. Norton & Company, 2013) 514-523.
[410] "Hold High the Red Flag of People's Communes and March On," *People's Daily*, September 3, 1958, in, *The Search for Modern China : A Documentary Collection,* eds. Janet Y Chen, Pei-kai Cheng, Michael Elliot Lestz, and Jonathan D. Spence (New York: W.W. Norton & Company, 2014) 418-422.
[411] Spence, *Search for Modern China*, 514-523. As discussed above, Yang and Dikotter provide higher figures of 36 million and 45 million, respectively.

The urban Peoples' Communes emerged in the midst of the famine as a sign of the continued commitment of Mao and his allies to the utopian, collective values that drove the Great Leap from the outset. At the party conference held in Lushan in Jiangxi province in July 1959, army marshal Peng Dehuai confronted Mao over the problems of the leap, expressing doubts about the accuracy of the inflated harvest figures that were contributing to the famine ravaging the countryside. Mao went on the offensive and heavily criticized Peng for disloyalty, leading him to be removed from his position as minister of defense as other party elites closed ranks around Mao's leadership.[412] In the aftermath of the Lushan conference, the leap was revived at the end of 1959 and the beginning of 1960. One of the results of this revival was the spread of the commune form to the cities. These new urban communes entailed the reorganization of residential areas into communes of around 20,000-30,000 people. Just like the rural communes, the primary goal of the urban communes was to free up labor power, and especially women's labor power, through the provision of communal services such as cafeterias and childcare. Residents in urban communes were also encouraged to start small factories in their communities to produce parts to be used in regular factories as well as products for daily use.[413] In general, the urban communes were an extension of the wider goals of the leap: to use political organization to mobilize human resources ("the masses") to serve economic goals.[414] In the midst of famine, Mao and his allies doubled down on their utopian vision to use grassroots energy to transform society, even in the absence of material resources. In so doing they continued to propose that state-directed consciousness-raising could push China straight into a communist society.

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[412] Ibid. 521-522.
[413] Roderick MacFarquhar, *The Origins of the Cultural Revolution, Vol. 2: The Great Leap Forward, 1958-1960* (Oxford: Oxford University Press, 1983), 305-306.
[414] Janet Salaff, "The Urban Communes and Anti-City Experiment in Communist China," *The China Quarterly* 29, (1967): 82–110.

In Shanghai, urban communes were introduced as a mode of urban community and governance that would resolve the contradictions that had beset the introduction and development of socialist transformation. In April of 1960, Shanghai's central party committee—at that time still led by Ke Qingshi, who had close connections to Mao—reported that peoples' communes had been established in the central part of the city by National Day (October 1), 1959 and should be organized in satellite towns within the first half of 1960.[415] According to the introduction of the central committee's progress report, the communes were part of an effort to increase the powers of production and continue to advance the goals of the Great Leap:

> Urban peoples' communes are the inevitable product of a new stage of continuing the Great Leap Forward and constructing socialism…Before the Great Leap Forward, there were still many housewives and some idle laborers that had not been organized to enter into socially productive labor, there were also some independent laborers and self-employed workers who still did not walk along the route of collectivization. In addition, there still existed contradictions between socialized production and individual lifestyles; clearly, all of this was not suitable with the Great Leap Forward's type of socialist construction.[416]

When the communists had taken over Shanghai in 1949 they had inherited a city full of workers participating in a capitalist economy that had long been dominated by foreign capital. While these workers lives had been transformed to varying degrees in the decade leading up to the Great Leap, Shanghai's party's elites still sought greater change. In accordance with the national goals of the Great Leap, the party committee took aim at making sure that as many of Shanghai's residents as possible could be enabled to contribute to the goals of collective, and hence national, production. This meant establishing communes with collective services so that groups such as housewives would be freed up to enter into socialist production. What is striking here is that the report clearly delineates what type of labor is outside the purview of socialist production:

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[415]Shanghai Municipal Archives (SMA) *Shanghai Shi Dangan Guan* 上海市档案馆，Archival Number 档号：A20-1-2-18《中共上海市委关于建立城市人民公社的工作纲要（草稿）》April 4, 1960.
[416] Ibid.

reproductive labor for one's family or working for oneself. These forms of labor should either be collectivized—in the case of reproductive labor—or eliminated—in the case of independent labor. The party committee argued in the 1960 report that it is only through this process of communalization that individualism can be overcome and socialism advanced.

To achieve these goals, the Shanghai central party committee divided the planned urban communes into a number of different types depending on the geography of the city, but all with similar organizational structures. The committee's 1960 report stated that communes would consist of two types in the "old city area" (consisting of the densely populated areas in the former concession areas as well as the inner-suburban areas where Caoyang was located): 1) those organized around factories, and 2) in areas with fewer factories, those organized solely out of existing residential areas. In both of these cases, both residential committees (*jiedao weiyuuanhui*)—serving the entire commune—and neighborhood committees (*lilong weihyuanhui*—literally, "lane and alley" committees)—serving smaller communities within the commune—should be established from the existing leadership of factories, stories, hospitals, schools, and other such organizations. The residential committees would represent communes of 60,000 to 80,000 people.[417] It was up to both the residential committees to organize the "production and lives" of the commune residents while "organizing connections between factories and industries within the residential area and the neighborhoods."[418] The residential committees were also responsible for establishing communal cafeterias, childcare facilities (i.e. preschools and kindergartens, and schools). The neighborhood committees, on the other hand, were to be responsible for grassroots political education as well as setting up production teams,

[417] Ibid.
[418] Ibid.

collective welfare services, and social services.[419] Together, these organizations provided the foundation for establishing communes that would enable their residents to advance industrial production while also heightening their ideological awareness of socialist collectivism.

Much of this dissertation is concerned with how socialism was very literally *constructed* through the building of housing complexes as new socialist spaces that combined improved material conditions with ideological training, but what we see with the plans for building communes is a focus on using political organization to advance both ideological and material goals. New Villages like Caoyang started with material improvements as a means to make socialism seem appealing to the residents of Shanghai. In contrast, the communes started with political mobilization. More specifically, the party advocated for the communes because they used political organization and ideological education as a means to fuse "life" (*shenghuo*) and "production" (*shengchan*). The central party committee especially highlighted that it was the responsibility of the neighborhood committees to:

> Carry out ideological education in depth; and, using heightened consciousness as the foundation, organize all of those neighborhood residents who still had not entered into social labor according to the principle of voluntary participation, making them walk along the road of collaborative labor and collective life.[420]

The starting point of socialist transformation here was not improved material conditions, but consciousness-raising. This consciousness-raising would in turn convince residents to contribute their labor to state goals, a process presented as key to the ultimate goal of creating a collective, socialist society. Material development was still the ultimate goal, but political organization and ideological training was the means of achieving that development.

At moments like the Great Leap Forward, the Chinese revolution wholly embraced the primacy of ideology and party-directed revolutionary zeal. To be sure, communal services like

[419] Ibid.
[420] Ibid.

preschools and cafeterias did provide material services that would "completely organize peoples' economic lives" through the collective distribution of different types of labor throughout a community.[421] However, these services did not *necessarily* make anyone's lives materially easier, they just enabled certain groups, women primarily, to temporarily exchange some of the burdens of reproductive labor for types of labor more clearly celebrated by the state, especially factory work.[422] The success of this project depended on women willingly accepting that such a transformation was desirable; and on everybody accepting the state's definition of "production" as something that only took place outside of the home. Where projects such as the New Villages were to some extent efforts to make socialism materially "attractive," the revolutionary model developed through the Great Leap communes relied on the consciousness of "the masses" to be the basis for socialist construction.

Shanghai's central party committee as well as the Putuo District party committee selected Caoyang New Village as one of the sites to be transformed in an urban peoples' commune in March 1960 and, at least according to party officials, it was an immediate success at mobilizing Caoyang's previously untapped labor power for state production goals.[423] According to members of the Jing'an and Zhabei District party leaderships who toured Caoyang, by July 1960, 84.9% of the people intended to be organized for entering production were already incorporated into the great leap workforce. In July, these recently-mobilized workers were employed at 14 newly-established "residential factories" and 23 newly-established "neighborhood production teams."[424]

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[421] Ibid.
[422] To what extent socialist collectivization actually relieved the burden of reproductive labor is debatable. Many women continued to suffer the "double burden" of being responsible for both reproductive labor and participating in industrial or agricultural production. See: Gail Hershatter,.*The Gender of Memory : Rural Women and China's Collective past* (Berkeley: University of California Press, 2011).
[423] SMA, A20-1-22-55《曹杨新村街道党委关于组织城市人民公社的工作情况报告》September 16, 1960.
[424] SMA, A20-1-21-9《静安，闸北区参观普陀区曹杨新村普陀路街道关于建立城市人民公社准备工作的意见》July 4, 1960.

By September, two more residential factories had been established.[425] These small workshops were the urban corollary to the infamous "Backyard Furnaces" that had been established in rural communes to increase steel production since the beginning of the leap. In the absence of sophisticated production facilities, they relied on human labor to produce small consumer goods or simple finishing jobs for larger factories.[426] In Caoyang, these small workshops assembled 31 products including electric relays, light bulbs for cars, woolen sweaters, children's toys, and pencils.[427] According to Janet Salaff, the party viewed these workshops as "getting something for nothing" because they were able to increase production without dramatically increasing the input of capital for production facilities. Instead, they relied on exploiting the human labor of women (and other social groups) that previously had been employed outside of the sphere of state industrial production targets.[428] If the Caoyang residential committee's report is to be believed, with the establishment of small neighborhood workshops, the urban communes were fulfilling their goal of putting all life in the service of collective industrial production.

Communal facilities such as cafeterias were of course the innovation that enabled the redirection of labor towards state goals. According to the Caoyang residential committee, these services were already successful just half-a-year after their establishment. The committee reported that by September 1960 they had established 57 neighborhoods cafeterias that served 29,063 people out of Caoyang's total population of 63,301. The patrons of these cafeterias included some 3,125 of the "housewives" (*jiating funü)* who had been organized to enter production since the establishment of the commune, or 83.46% of this group in total. Beyond just freeing up more labor for industrial production, these new communal cafeterias were even

[425] SMA, A20-1-22-55.
[426] Salaff, 97.
[427] SMA, A20-1-22-55.
[428] Salaff, 98.

reported to serve food that "tasted better than people made themselves at home."[429] The only suggestion in the resident committee's report that millions were dying in a horrific famine was the suggestion that the food served in the cafeterias was also more "economical" than that cooked in homes because more attention was paid to conserving grain.[430] As Jeremy Brown has argued, such statements in official documents hid the truth that everyone in major cities from party elites to newly-mobilized workers were fully aware of the famine. They only survived by tightening their belts on the one hand, and making sure that grain-requisition policies favoring the cities did not change on the other.[431]

In addition to cafeterias, the other commune innovation that enabled more women to enter into the state-recognized labor force was collective childcare and schooling. The Caoyang residential committee reported that in September 1960 there were 28 kindergartens and preschools in Caoyang. By this time, enrollment at these schools had increased by a multiple of six since the start of the Great Leap in 1958 and 52% of children too young to attend elementary schools now had commune-provided childcare. The residential committee did not mince words about this achievement:

> The establishment of preschools and cafeterias have enabled housewives to be free of the weight of cooking food, raising children and other households tasks. Thereby, they have been able to enter into laboring and production, contributing their strengths to the construction of socialism. At the same time, this has also helped all workers, especially female workers, to resolve not a few number of issues, making them able to collect all of their energies and peacefully produce and work. This has also supported the development of production, and advanced the complete liberation of housewives.[432]

[429] SMA, A20-1-22-55.
[430] Ibid.
[431] Jeremy Brown, *City Versus Countryside in Mao's China: Negotiating the Divide* (New York: Cambridge University Press, 2012), 53-77.
[432] SMA, A20-1-22-55.

The party cadres of the residential committee were clear in their celebration of the ability of the urban communes and their collective services to liberate women from the previous gendered division of labor. Cafeterias and preschools would allow women to shed themselves of tasks that had been defined by patriarchal expectations. At the same time, the party was clear that liberation also meant accepting state-defined production goals. Constructing Chinese socialism meant starting the process of overturning the patriarchy, but the extent that women were active participants in defining the meaning of that socialism and the revolutionary processes needed to achieve it is an open question. That the residential committee continued to draw a distinction between "housewives" (*funü*) and "workers" (*zhigong*), even after those housewives were being organized to produce pencils in makeshift workshops suggests some answers.

While neighborhood workshops and communal facilities were the material innovations of the Great Leap, according to Caoyang's party officials, what ultimately drove the success of the commune was the ideological project of energizing the residents to fuse every aspect of their daily lives with the goals of collective production. The residential committee reported that the production rate had risen by 30%. A weaving workshop had previously been referred to as a "teahouse" for how much people chatted while working, but now "the masses said: the teahouse is closed."[433] A 56 year-old woman worker named A Lin said, "now in my heart I only have three things I say "long live" for: long live the communist party, long live Chairman Mao, and long live the peoples' communes."[434] The residential committee claimed that workers were voluntarily coming in on their days off and that production even occupied their (reportedly good) dreams. People said: "now, even when dreaming of the days' troubles, people wake up laughing. All other things people are not worried about, they are only worried about how complete

[433] Ibid.
[434] Ibid.

production plans even better."[435] Leaving aside the questionable veracity of these examples, what is clear is that the party's utopian vision of Caoyang was a community where everyone's primary concern was happily working to advance production.

The socialism of the Great Leap was imagined as a force that would transform the lingering remnants of bourgeois individualism into a collective drive to produce more. This would transform China so that it could both compete with the world's imperialist powers and quickly realize a communist society where, as Marx has it in *The German Ideology* "society regulates the general production and thus makes it possible for me to do one thing today and another tomorrow."[436] With this communist society on the horizon, even stress dreams about work were reimagined as happy and productive. Of course, for the moment, everybody in the commune would have to focus on doing one thing every day: meeting production targets.

The utopian hope that the Great Leap would quickly achieve communism was destroyed in the famine. The cities might have avoided the worst horrors of the period, but that was only at the cost of the countryside. In Shanghai, as with other cities across the country, Caoyang and the other urban communes were quickly dismantled. By the end of the Great Leap Forward many of the neighborhood workshops were operating at a loss and had to be disbanded. The women who had left the home to work in them were laid off and had no choice but to return to their household duties.[437] Though for a period in 1960 the government used neighborhood cafeterias as a means to manage Shanghai's grain supply in the midst of the famine, they began to close

[435] Ibid.
[436] Karl Marx, *The German Ideology* (1845), "Marxists Internet Archive," https://www.marxists.org/archive/marx/works/1845/german-ideology/ch01a.htm (Accessed April 26, 2019). This was a commonly quoted passage in China during the Great Leap Forward. See: Spence, 517.
[437] Qiu Guosheng 邱国盛，"20 shiji 50 niandai Shanghai de funü jiefang yu canjia jiti shengchan" 20 世纪 50 年代上海的妇女解放与参加集体生产, *Dangdai zhongguo shi yanjiu* 当代中国史研究 16, no. 1 (2009): 74-75.

these facilities wholesale at the beginning of 1961.[438] These closures went along with a decline in the use of communal childcare facilities—which were always suspect in their ability to provide safe and effective childcare according to historian Qiu Guosheng[439]—together ensuring the death of the urban communes' collective dreams. The communes provided women with the material foundation necessary to leave the home and enter the state-defined productive labor force. Their quick dissolution made sure that departure was short-lived for many women.

In Shanghai as with China as a whole, industrial output declined at the end of the Great Leap as resources were diverted to help pull the countryside out of catastrophe. The increased power given to local authorities at the beginning of the Great Leap was modified as central planners aimed to make the country a "single chessboard" with rational economic planning that could help pull it out of economic collapse.[440] In the countryside, the communes continued, but rural markets were revived and more income was distributed to the peasants.[441] Jumping to communism in a few years had to be deferred as people tried to survive.

In Caoyang, by the end of 1961 the residential committee had completely dialed back the utopian rhetoric of Great Leap, which it obliquely referred to as "three years of serious natural calamity."[442] In a report on "The Changing Styles and Forming Close Friendships with the Masses," the committee expressed the need to work harder at understanding the "viewpoints of the masses" by visiting residents' homes and talking with them. The report especially highlighted

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[438] Zheng Chengmin 郑承敏. "Shengchan yu Shenghuo: "Dayuejin" he jingji kunnan shiqi de shanghai lilong gonggong shitang" 生产与生活："大跃进"和经济困难时期的上海里弄公共食堂, *Dangdai zhongguo shi yanjiu* *当代中国史研究* 21, no. 1 (2014): 48-49.
[439] Qiu 邱，73-72.
[440] Christopher Howe points out that the downturn in Shanghai after the Great Leap was not as severe as in China as a whole. This was because Great Leap investment had given Shanghai the chance to reclaim its place as China's preeminent industrial center, a place it did not lose in the downturn after the Leap. Christopher Howe, "Industrialization under conditions of long-run Population Stability: Shanghai's Achievement and Prospect," in *Shanghai: Revolution and Development in an Asian Metropolis*, ed. Christopher Howe (New York: Cambridge University Press, 1981), 173-179.
[441] MacFarquhar, 325.
[442] SMA, A10-2-20-11《关于转变作风与群众交和心朋友的工作情况汇报》December 21, 1961.

the need of local party cadres to help residents solve material issues regarding food and housing, while still recognizing the goals of the party and the material shortfalls of the time period. In practice, this meant cadres should listen to residents' issues and try to find cheap and realistic solutions. For example, the report explains how one cadre went to a house and the residents complained that they had five cooking pots, but three of them were broken and the only two that were functional were too small to cook many meals. The cadre explained how the "three years of natural disaster" had caused the wider issues and then helped the residents' exchange their three broken pots for one large pot, solving the problem.[443] In place of utopian claims about the need to stimulate the energies of the masses seen in documents from the previous year, in 1961 the residential committee was advocating individual solutions that would not conflict with the wider social situation. Without mentioning public cafeterias or revolutionizing daily life, this example was a case of a low-level official simply trying to help a community member find a way to cook food in their own home.

After the Great Leap, party officials in Caoyang returned to using material incentives and transformation as the starting point of ideology. In place of emphasizing the need to use "heightened consciousness as the foundation" for building socialism,[444] the 1961 report explained that "if we want to resolve issues of the masses' consciousness, then we also need to resolve pressing needs and practical issues."[445] Here the importance of transforming consciousness and revolutionary energy is still an ultimate goal, but it is accepted that such a transformation is in a close relationship with the material conditions of "the masses." In documents such as the 1961 report, party officials seemed to recognize the extent that political

[443] Ibid.
[444] SMA, A20-1-2-18
[445] SMA, A10-2-20-11

mobilization alone could not fulfill everyone's daily needs, even in a site as privileged as Caoyang.

During the Great Leap Forward, party officials presented political mobilization and ideological consciousness as the fountainhead of building communism and building it quickly. In Caoyang, as in the rest of China, the organization of the communes did not mean allowing communities to organize themselves and determine their own goals. Instead, it meant stimulating the energies of "the masses," and especially women, to commit their labor to state-defined production targets. This scheme was seen as necessary to develop China's economy in the face of imperialist pressures and to facilitate the more rapid transition to a true communist society; however, it ultimately led to devastating famine. These developments stand out in Caoyang, which previously had been a space that had embodied how political education was fused more closely with material transformation. While Shanghai's rapid economic development during the first year of the Great Leap in 1958 actually had allowed the city to divert more resources to housing construction**,** it was the establishment of the communes in 1960 that symbolized how urban development was destined to proceed throughout the 1960s. Specifically, party-directed political organization, and not actual construction, would be the primary way that the city would attempt to deal with continued material problems.

"Downsizing," Displacement, and Controlling the Slums

In the wake of the Great Leap Forward, neighborhood workshops and public cafeterias were closed. Across China, party officials introduced a policy of "downsizing" (*jingjian*) to urban areas. In April of 1961, a five-person working group of the Central Committee released a report on the need to disperse approximately 20 million urban residents, many of whom had come to

the cities to facilitate industrial production during the GLF.[446] According to Jeremy Brown, this was a centrally-coordinated effort to fix the imbalances between urban industry and rural agriculture that had ultimately produced the famine.[447] This policy structured urbanization efforts in Shanghai during the early 1960s and helped lead to a disinvestment in developing urban infrastructure, putting on holds any serious efforts to address Shanghai's continued housing shortage. Instead, party policy moved in the opposite direction, and the government implemented policies to strictly limit any unauthorized growth, especially in the slums. Implemented in 1962 and 1963, these policies quickly met with resistance from Shanghai's residents. Party officials were quickly forced to again change direction and develop schemes that could continue addressing the housing needs of urban residents without requiring high investments in urban development. Ultimately, this section argues that the downsizing in the aftermath of the GLF was focused on urban space in addition to urban population. However, anti-urbanization policies in Shanghai in the early 1960s would always contradict the city's status as China's premier industrial center with an urban population that still had to be materially cared for if it was to serve socialist production.

In the early 1960s, Shanghai's party and government officials implemented a policy of "downsizing" to reduce the city's population. While I employ Brown's arguments about the term, *jingjian*, he translates as "downsizing," to better capture their effect on the city and its population, I also adopt the notion of "displacement" to refer to those policies. As discussed in Chapter Three, controlling the growth of Shanghai's population had been a government concern at the end of the 1950s in the lead up to the Great Leap. According to official statistics from the Public Security Bureau, migration out of the city was higher than migration into the city in all years

[446] Luo Pinghan 罗平汉, *Da qian tu: 1961-1963 nian de chengzhen renkou jingjian 大迁徙：1961-1963 年的城镇人口精简* (Nanning: Guangxi renmin chubanshe, 2003), 140-141.
[447] Brown, 79.

from 1955 until 1975 except for 1957 and 1967. This negative population change reached a high in 1958 at -326897, but was then reduced during 1959 and 1960 (the height of the GLF) to -256 and -46180, respectively. In 1961 and 1962, as displacement policies began to be implemented, out-migration increased again and the difference jumped back up to -133,048 and -177,506, respectively.[448] These figures make clear that the downsizing policies implemented in 1961 led to the government's successful removal of huge numbers of people from Shanghai.

While these figures indicate that controlling Shanghai's population was a longstanding state concern, there was a distinction between the people sent to the countryside during the 1950s and those removed from the city during the displacement period. Most of the out-migration in the first wave initiated in 1955 consisted of either extended family members of workers with Shanghai residency, those living on welfare or unemployment benefits, or workers such as street peddlers whose jobs had been "eliminated" by the socialist transformation. The government forced members of these groups to return to their home villages, which usually were relatively close to Shanghai.[449] Post-Great Leap downsizing officially began on June 16, 1961, when the party center officially released a nine-point program on the need to reduce China's urban population by 20 million, focusing on everyone who did not possess an urban household registration (*hukou*). To meet this national target, each urban district was to set its own numerical targets. A subsequent party circular on June 28, 1961, clarified that it was workers who had come to the cities since the beginning of the Great Leap in 1958 that had to leave. For compensation, these workers were to receive severance pay and stipends for their journeys

[448] Zhang Kun 张坤, "1949-1976 nian shanghai shi dongyuan renkou waiqian yu chengshi guimo kongzhi" 1949-1976 年上海市动员人口外迁与城市规模控制, *Dangdai zhongguo shi yanjiu 当代中国史研究* 22, no. 3 (2015): 41.
[449] Ibid. 49.

home.[450] Historian Zhang Kun argues that, in Shanghai, the displaced workers consisted especially of temporary workers who had come to facilitate the Great Leap industrial push and those working in neighborhood workshops that were dismantled after the Great Leap. The party focused on these groups for removal in an effort to increase efficiency in production, rather than relying on the "energies of the masses" to further development.[451] In comparison to earlier efforts at population control, the downsizing from 1961-1963 was not an effort to redress long-standing issues in Shanghai's development, but was a direct response the failures of the Great Leap. The very workers who had facilitated the utopian push of Great Leap production were also those whom the government quietly asked to from whence they came.[452]

In addition to just being a policy of population control, displacement policies in Shanghai had spatial effects on the development of the city. Zhang Kun argues that generally speaking, the Shanghai government's focus on controlling and removing population had a dramatic effect on its development because it allowed the city to spend greater funds on industrial development rather than building infrastructure. While this was in line with Maoist economic goals that emphasized "production first, life later," the lack of investment in infrastructure ultimately meant the quality of life for Shanghai's residents was much lower than its productive capacities might suggest.[453] By the end of the Maoist period, constant state efforts to reduce Shanghai's population ensured that it had not followed a path of capitalist urbanization, but instead was a city of relatively efficient production with as few residents served by as few amenities as possible.

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[450] Brown, 84-85.
[451] Zhang 张，49-50.
[452] Brown argues that this process was indeed quiet because the party did not wish to publicize its downsizing policies out of embarrassment over its retreat from Great Leap goals. See: Brown, 78.
[453]Zhang 张, 51.

One of the ways that attitudes of displacement and downsizing expressed themselves in the early 1960s was through calls to use Shanghai's existing housing capacity as "efficiently" as possible. Here, efficiency meant party and government organs ensuring that all available space was employed for housing, industry, or government purposes. In 1962, the Shanghai party committee approved the city real estate management bureau's call to "vigorously tap into the latent capacities of housing and appropriately adjust their uses." The party committee ordered all relevant organs that "other than building a certain amount of new housing each year according to national plans, it is necessary to do the work of adjusting housing and vigorously tap into its latent capacities to achieve the appropriate use of this existing housing."[454] The party committee was prioritizing the need to make full use of any potentially open housing. They were also encouraging work units to cooperate to use all available space to its maximum potential, including using public facilities for multiple purposes.[455] According to the real estate management bureau's original report, the top two reasons that there was latent housing capacity to be exploited in 1962 was because of: 1) people migrating out of the city, and 2) the reduction in the use of neighborhood production and cultural education facilities after the collapse of the Great Leap Forward.[456] In other words, the downsizing of Shanghai's population after the Great Leap had created literal space to be used by the remaining residents. The party committee made clear that, in comparison to the utopian drives toward development of the Great Leap period, this project was to be one that encouraged "the spirit of practicing strict economy, hard struggle, and overcoming difficulty."[457] If Shanghai's urban policies during the Great Leap had been defined by the formation of communes and dramatic plans to overhaul the face of the city; in the

[454] SMA, B67-1-581-1《上海市人民委员会关于批转上海市房地产管理局关于大力挖掘房屋潜力合理调整使用的报告的函》1962.
[455] Ibid.
[456] Ibid.
[457] Ibid.

downsizing period, party and government officials were stressing the need for cautiousness and taking full advantage of the urban facilities that were already available.

In addition to efficiently using the Shanghai's existing urban capacity, in the downsizing period the city government also launched efforts to reduce the amount housing space through efforts to restrict, control, and destroy unauthorized construction in Shanghai's slums. These policies were not new, but built on a public proclamation against unlicensed construction issued in 1957. In a December 27, 1962 report, the Shanghai urban construction bureau requested that the party committee authorize renewed and expanded efforts to control and stop unlicensed slum constructions. The construction bureau emphasized that these policies were necessary due to the "utterly abominable" conditions of slums made from makeshift housing. The 1962 report pointed to a number of reasons for why unlicensed constructions had continued to proliferate despite previous efforts at controlling them, paramount of which was simply the fact that the city was still too densely populated and housing was too crowded. Another reason the report cited was that rent in the slums was too high and that some residents were erecting their own dwellings to avoid having to pay rent.[458] These reasons all suggest a basic failure of the party and government to transform Shanghai into a socialist city by this point, especially when compared to revolutionary rhetoric surrounding the establishment of the communes. Instead of jumping to communism, the party and government were still trying to figure out how to handle problems inherited from the legacy of capitalism and colonialism, a densely populated city with a desperately poor underclass that struggled to survive in a real estate market with high rents. The solution to these issues being posed in 1962 was not massive investment in housing construction

[458]SMA, B11-2-17-29《上海市城市建设局关于限止无照搭建棚屋的请示报告》December 27, 1962.

or even mass mobilization, but simply a legalistic attempt to enforce the ever-changing law and clean up a downsizing city.

The construction bureau recognized that dealing with unauthorized housing was a complicated issue and recommended a program that emphasized education on the rationale of its rules as well as strict management and, ultimately, forced destruction. The December, 1962 report did provide a legal pathway for residents with severe housing difficulties to apply for a license to expand their existing dwellings only if those expansions would not impede the city's public infrastructure, influence the environment negatively, and if neighbors were in agreement. However, in general, all new construction was to be strictly limited. Temporary exceptions were to be made if the influence on the area was not exceedingly bad and destroying the structures would cause the residents' severe difficulties. Even under those conditions, the structures would only be protected temporarily and only after residents had received education on how such actions ran contrary to national land-use needs. Residents' whose constructions were set to be destroyed would receive education on why that action had to be taken and would be given a limited time period to carry out the destruction themselves. If they did not destroy the illegal structures within the proscribed period, then neighborhood officials would be sent to do so.[459] The construction bureau was advocating a controlled system for limiting new slum constructions and finding ways to reduce those that already existed.

While the regulations to limit slum construction were strict, the construction bureau advocated that they should rely on education and grassroots mobilization as much as police powers. In this, they reflected the continued effort to stimulate a "revolutionary" consciousness where everyone would work together and individually to advance state goals. The number one recommendation of the construction bureau was that:

[459] Ibid.

> In each important area we should carry out in depth publicity (*xuanchuan*) and education in order to make the broad masses understand the harm of the chaotic building of shacks so that they conscientiously observe national policies and decrees regarding architecture, submit to the general interests, protect the city's social order, and hasten the secession of the development of unlicensed shacks. Henceforth, we should constantly unite with all related central work and unceasingly carry out publicity and education, in order to feasibly be able to forestall [unlicensed constructions] in advance. For current constructions, carrying out publicity will rest on the foundation of fully mobilizing the public and relying on the masses to dissuade and prevent [these constructions] in a timely matter.[460]

Publicity about the harms of illegal constructions was at the core of the construction bureau's plan to stop expansion in the slums. The report argued that education about the rationale behind these policies would stop slum residents from even starting to build illegal constructions. Education and encouragement of residents would also be the first method to halt constructions that began. Here we see that Shanghai's party and government were continuing to employ building consciousness as its primary method of carrying out their urban policies. However, the threat of force was always real: if residents did not accept their education and comply with the restrictive policies on slum construction, then their dwellings would be destroyed.

Perhaps unsurprisingly, the construction bureau very quickly recognized that destroying slum dwellings in a city with a housing shortage would be a complicated and unpopular task. In a 1963 report, the urban construction bureau criticized work units that were "arbitrarily" (*shanzi*) carrying out destructions and that it was necessary to "prevent overly wanton destruction of housing and the situation of reducing the useful area [of housing]" because doing so would "play a role in safeguarding the current needs of production and residential housing."[461] The report posed that "for dangerous housing it is necessary to strengthen repairs, fully utilize them, and as much as possible not destroy them or only destroy a small number."[462] In comparison to

[460] Ibid.
[461] SMA, B11-2-17-1.《上海市城市建设局，上海市房地产管理局关于拆除危险房屋工作的情况报告》1963.
[462] Ibid.

recommending the widespread destruction of unlicensed structures in the previous year, in 1963 it was already shifting to focus on repairing and preserving as much as possible. In the context of a city that was not investing heavily in housing construction, government organs quickly realized that destruction alone would not solve the problems of the slums, even if the population was downsizing.

The reemphasis on a need to repair slum dwellings was likely shaped by resistance to efforts to destroy them. An October 16, 1964, report from the construction bureau provided numerous incidents when residents refused to destroy their unlicensed constructions according to the policies. In once incident, a resident in Huangpu district who worked at a glass factory named Liu Wanfu was ordered to destroy his illegal dwelling by his factory work unit. The work unit gave him until September 13 to carry out the destruction, but he refused, claiming: "I would not destroy it even if you put a knife to my head."[463] When the Huangpu party committee sent officials to carry out the destruction themselves, Liu attacked one of the cadres. In another incident, a Putuo district resident named Zhang Wenjing applied to construct a shack in an open space. When the district officials refused, Zhang claimed he would build it without authorization. He was ordered to come to the police station, where he violently attacked police officers while yelling: "in the past the government spoke reasonably, but now it does not speak reasonably and does not serve the laboring people. You have guns, but I have a knife."[464] These incidents of violent resistance reveal that many residents were unfazed by the government's efforts to sway them to urban policy goals via education. Instead, resisting residents made clear to the state that the violence of destroying slum dwellings would indeed have to be carried out violently. According to at least the 1964 report, it seems the construction bureau received the message, but

[463]SMA, B11-2-81-26《上海市城市建设局关于制止无照搭建棚屋工作的情况汇报》October 16, 1964.
[464] Ibid.

for the moment that just meant it would double down on its policies to limit unauthorized growth. Instead of advocating the repeal of those policies, the report concludes with advocating that this work be carried out with "increased safety to strictly guard against the situation of cadres being attacked from arising."[465]

While accounts of violent resistance did not lead to the repeal of policies limiting slum growth, their frank presentation in construction bureau reports do indicate that Shanghai's government recognized the complexity of the situation in the slums. At the same time that government bureaus were advocating the need to destroy dangerous housing and unlicensed structure, they were also producing more nuanced analyses of the situation and advocating a number of different methods to transform the slums. For one example, a May 25, 1962 construction bureau report argued that the slums were an inheritance from "imperialism and counterrevolutionaries," but that they continued to exist in great numbers even after all the efforts to transform them, which included the recent efforts to both repair slum dwellings and strictly limit their growth. Ultimately, the report argued:

> In the midst of resolving the housing issues of this city's residents, it is necessary to adopt a two-legged approach. Other than the Fangua Lane type of transformation where old dwellings were destroyed and their residents resettled, and at the same time as according with the policies of strictly controlling the current scale of the slum areas and preventing new slum construction, we should also open up fire lanes, construct needed underground water pipes, improve [illegible] and environmental sanitation, help repair housing, and improve the residential conditions of slum areas, advancing their transformation.[466]

Here, the construction bureau was more holistically focusing on the complicated nature of the slum situation. In the context of city policies that were defunding housing construction, the resettlement of slum residents in new housing was not a viable solution. Though this type of

[465] Ibid.

[466] SMA, B257-1-3572《上海市人委关于棚户集体用电的决定和批转居民自制煤渣砖翻房的报告及市上海市城市建设局对改造棚户区的报告，建管工作计划，报告》May 25, 1962.

renovation had recently been carried out at Fangua Lane in Zhabei district, where a shantytown had been transformed through the construction of 31 new five-story buildings, it was not seen as a viable solution for the city as a whole.[467] The report also recognized that just controlling new slum growth was not a solution. Instead, it advocated the government actually invest in improving the existing conditions in the slums. This prioritization of using government resources to make the slums more livable was to provide the background to the efforts to mobilize people to "transform the slums themselves"—though with state guidance and at least some state funding—that would mark urban policies in the mid-1960s in the lead-up to the outbreak of the Cultural Revolution in 1966.

Shanghai from the end of the Great Leap until 1964 was marked by population downsizing, which carried with it urban policies that emphasized spatial downsizing. Efforts were made to limit the growth of new slum constructions and destroy those that existed. In hindsight, these policies always seemed destined to exist in contradiction with the fact an estimated 1,280,000 people still lived in the slums in 1964.[468] Many of these people worked in Shanghai's factories and they could not all be forced to migrate if Shanghai was to maintain its place as a primary driver of industrial production. Furthermore, all the publicity and education efforts in the world could not convince people living in desperate poverty to destroy the structures they had built with their own hands. Shanghai's residents would take more convincing if they were to achieve the desired level of revolutionary consciousness necessary to embrace the party vision of a downsized city populated by efficient industrial workers living materially simple lives. In lieu of actual investment in new housing, it is unsurprising that the state would

[467] Denise Ho provides a narrative of the transformation of Fangua Lane. See: Denise Ho, *Curating Revolution: Politics on Display in Mao's China* (Cambridge University Press: New York, 2018) 111.
[468] SMA, B257-1-3572.

turn again to state-guided, mass mobilization in one more effort to resolve the perennial question of what to do about the conditions in Shanghai's massive slums.

Mobilizing the Masses

In 1965, the Shanghai party committee began to shift from advocating a policy of limiting slum growth to also encouraging efforts to organize "the masses" to remake their own communities. This soon shifted to a general campaign to organize slum residents to improve the conditions of their dwellings as well as the public services in the slums. Party and government organs did not abandon the policy of strictly limiting and destroying unauthorized construction in the slums, but they did recognize that the slums were not going away anytime soon unless efforts were actually made to remake them. In lieu of government investment in new housing construction, a policy that was explicitly denigrated as unsuitable for the conditions of the time, "relying on the masses" became the rallying cry of party and government officials. The party pushed these policies not just to improve material conditions, but also to help stimulate activist energies of Shanghai's poorest residents that were both self-reliant and loyal to party and government leadership. This renewed emphasis on centrally-orchestrated communal self-reliance emerged as Mao and the party center were pushing China towards the Cultural Revolution, a project aimed ostensibly at destroying the state-socialist bureaucratic regime that had been created since 1949.[469] In this political context, mobilizing residents to improve their own housing appears as a clear prefiguration of a central contradiction of Cultural Revolution politics: the party center's attempt to unleash the transformative energies of China's population without actually relinquishing state control.

[469] Roderick MacFarquhar, *The Origins of the Cultural Revolution, Vol. 3: The Coming of the Cataclysm, 1961-1966* (New York: Columbia University Press, 1997), 6.

On May 10, 1965, the public utilities office of the Shanghai party committee submitted a report for approval to the central party committee on their plans to further the management of slum constructions and the transformation of these areas through a renewed focus on mass mobilization. The report built on the previous efforts to limit slums constructions of 1962 and 1963 described above. The office claimed that, through education, these efforts had been relatively successful at limiting illegal constructions in the slums by creating a stricter official authorization process. However, this authorization process had brought with it massive increase in the number of applications to build structures in the slums. This increase in applications had created a situation where "each district's construction branch is not only busy to capacity with the work stalled, but also their relations with residents and the masses is tense."[470] According to the report, this increase in applications was a natural outgrowth of Shanghai's improving economy and increasing population (presumably through births, not through immigration, which was still tightly regulated), which made simply relying on limiting growth impractical. Instead, the public utilities office advocated the previous "passive" policy of relying on restrictions and instead adopting a policy of "active guidance."[471] Specifically, the report advocated for practices used in Putuo and Yangpu districts that combined organizing the masses to transform the slums with state-provided assistance in areas such as housing planning, construction power, materials, and land-use suggestions.[472] Shanghai's central party committee approved the recommendations

[470] SMA, B11-2-106-1《上海市人民委员会公用失业办公室关于处理违章搭建棚屋和改造棚户区意见的请示报告》May 10, 1965.
[471] Ibid.
[472] Ibid.

in this report, ushering in a new type of approach to the slums that highlighted community action as opposed to state investment.[473]

The goals of this policy included both improving the material conditions of the slums as well as improving the relationship between the city government and Shanghai's residents. As for the first goal, the public utilities office argued that the renovated slums would be of lower standards than newly built housing, but would be "orderly arranged, with sturdy and suitable houses" that would be a vast improvement over the "dilapidated and disordered appearance" that currently existed.[474] As for the second goal, the report advocated studying the experience of Yangpu, whose district party committee had established 86 "Private Home Safety Supervision Groups" who would hear the residents' applications for either renovating or expanding their slum housing. The district party committee would then listen to the groups' recommendations and issue licenses for construction. These "supervision groups" would publicize policies, try to dissuade unauthorized constructions, listen to residents' housing difficulties, and then provide recommendations. According to the public utilities office, this system resulted in not only reducing illegal construction (though it likely increased licensed construction) and increasing residents' comprehension of the policies, but also "strengthened the relationship between the government and the masses."[475] "Organizing the masses" to remake the slums meant creating new organizational forms that would allow the government to develop a less antagonistic relationship with residents in the slums, even as the state was continuing policies of limiting certain types of construction.

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[473] SMA, B11-2-106-32 《上海市城市建设局关于贯彻执行"处理违章搭建棚屋和改造棚户区意见"情况的报告》 November 5, 1965.
[474] SMA, B11-2-106-1.
[475] Ibid.

The May 1965 report was ratified at the 18th meeting of the mayor's office (in 1965 Cao Diqiu became Shanghai's mayor) and efforts were made to implement its recommendations across the city.[476] According to a November 5, 1965, Construction Bureau report, all districts had begun to organize relevant bureaus and work teams to carry out this work, in the process achieving some initial material successes. The report singled out Nanshi, Yangpu, and Putuo as three districts that had made the most progressing in experimenting with using supplies available on the city market and organizational practices to enable residents to renovate their own dwellings. Together, residents had already remade 1200 square feet of residential dwellings, with one neighborhood in Nanshi successfully renovating the slum dwellings of more than 80 households. "Relying on the abilities of solely the masses, [they have] already rebuilt 12 two-story buildings and have recently already prepared the logistics for rebuilding a remaining 18 buildings."[477] While numerically these were relatively minor successes, the report claimed that they already demonstrated the ability of these plans to improve living conditions in these buildings at the cheap price of 650 Yuan per building.

In addition to celebrating their material successes, party and government documents also highlighted how slum-improvement policies delivered on their promise to raise residents' political consciousness and, thus, improve their relationship with Shanghai's administration. According to the November 5 report, these policies had resulted in "the masses feeling completely grateful to the party and the government as well as completely transforming [the previous] construction management situation that was passive and tense."[478] The report claimed that by more actively working to organize residents to repair their communities, as opposed to just passively restricting slum growth, the party was helping encourage tighter connections

[476] SMA, B11-2-106-32.
[477] Ibid.
[478] Ibid.

between party officials and slum residents. Party and government organs placed transforming urban space in a tight relationship with the development of activist revolutionary consciousness that emphasized both gratefulness to state leadership and—now even more stridently than in previous schemes where the city would take the lead in building brand new public housing such as at Caoyang—the responsibility of residents in effecting their own material transformations.

As plans to implement the "organization of the masses to transform the slums themselves" expanded across the entire city, party and government documents clarified that the ideological goals of the campaign were to encourage residents to become active participants in urban transformation. According to a December 25, 1965, recommendation from the public works office that would be approved by the mayor's office:

> Proceeding this way will not only benefit the people and masses' conditions of production and life, fire prevention and control, air defense measures and the conditions of city construction; but it will also benefit stimulating the spirit of mass solidarity and mutual aid, raising their socialist consciousness and leading them to vigorously participate in urban construction and management.[479]

At least rhetorically, the government hoped that encouraging slum residents to participate in transformation efforts would turn urban renewal into a collaborative project between Shanghai's administration and its people. Doing so would once again ostensibly enable Shanghai's residents to align their own individual goals and actions with the dreams of the party. Here, the Shanghai government was working to make the slums safer and easier to manage through methods that did not require heavy state investment.

Though to some extent the slum-transformation campaign does seem intended to create a more participatory urban world, the actual mechanisms used to carry it out reveal tensions between mass mobilization and state goals. The December 25 report provided six main

[479] SMA, B11-2-106-38《上海市人民委员会关于批转上海市人民委员会公用失业办公室关于组织群众自行行改建棚屋的报告的通知》December 25, 1965.

recommendations for carrying out the campaign: 1) that propaganda efforts should be expanded; 2) that city construction and planning bureaus should coordinate investment with the conditions of each district; 3) that the people should be encouraged to voluntarily give their resources, labor, and materials to the project with the state stepping in to provide assistance in skills, some materials like cement and reinforcing bars, and planning; 4) that residents should be organized to improve infrastructure like roads, sewers, and water pipes with state assistance; 5) that after the transformations, real estate bureaus should increase their control over the renting out and sale of slum dwellings; and 6) that each district's real estate and construction bureaus should establish working groups to coordinate the planning.[480] Together, these six points indicate that the campaign was intended to be firmly state-controlled and organized at the same time that it was to rely primarily on the energies and resources of the slum residents themselves. Points four and five make especially clear that residents would not have complete control over the slum transformation process, even if their labor was at the center of the project. Residents would not just be given materials to build their own homes that they could then use as they please (indeed, they would have to supply many of the materials themselves). Instead, they would also be asked to improve the state of the infrastructure in the slums. They would also not have ultimate control over the dwellings they built, with state real estate management offices assuming those powers after construction was complete. While this policy was designed to crack down on the private real estate market and predatory landlords in the slums, it also made clear that residents transforming the slums "themselves" (*zixing*) did not mean community management over the fruits of that transformation. It was ultimately party and government bureaus that would both have ultimate oversight over what was built and how it was used, with residents bearing the brunt of the labor and costs.

[480] Ibid.

Perhaps unsurprisingly, asking residents to become urban planners and construction workers produced contradictions between their capabilities and desires, and the goal of Shanghai's administration to transform the slums as cheaply as possible. Specifically, there were always gaps between what either the government or the residents desired, and what could actually be accomplished without state-provided materials, skilled labor, and finances. According to a December 1965 report from the party public works office on the plans for transformations to be carried out in 1966, "there is a relatively large contradiction between the needs of the masses for slum transformation and the supply of materials and architectural components as well as construction abilities."[481] Basically, the party recognized that residents would not ultimately be able to meet the material needs for renovating the slums without help from the state. This was an understanding that had emerged earlier in 1965 in the trial transformation efforts in Nanshi, Yangpu, and Putuo districts. An account of the transformation of Nanshi's "Garden Alley" (*huayuan long*) reported that those efforts were hampered by lack of materials, lack of skilled workers, lack of funds, and a lack of effective leadership. To use funds as an example, the average costs of 600-700 Yuan per transformed building were to be shared between residents and their work units, but both parties saw this as an unreasonable burden.[482]

The November 1965 report from Nanshi district requested that the city government work to resolve these material shortcomings and, in response, the party made plans for providing materials while also doubling down on emphasizing the importance of self-reliance. When setting plans for slums transformations in 1966, the party public works office emphasized the principle that "it is mainly the masses who will pay themselves, who will exert themselves, and who will regenerate through self reliance; [to those ends] we will completely take advantage of

[481] SMA, B257-1-4431《上海市城建局及公用失业办公室关于处理违章搭建棚屋和改造棚户区的报告》December 25, 1965.
[482] SMA B11-2-106-32.

old materials."[483] The state would provide materials and technical assistance "as necessary," which the public works office estimated to be 150-200 tons of reinforcing bars, 1200-1500 tons of cement, and 600-1000 square meters of wood for 1966.[484] Though these numbers are not tiny, they also do not seem to have transformed the lives of too many slum dwellers, at least not in comparison to the size of the slums at the time. According to the government-produced *Shanghai Housing Annals*, all types of slum transformations efforts in 1966 succeeded at renovating 968 buildings totaling 41,840 square meters.[485] If the average living space in Shanghai's slums hovered around three square meters per person at the time, then this means that the 1966 efforts only actually transformed housing for around 13,950 people.[486] Ultimately, the slum transformation campaigns did little to improve the quality of life for the vast majority of the residents of Shanghai's slums, who still numbered well over a million people in the 1960s. Instead, it would not be until the late-1970s and early-1980s, after the Cultural Revolution, that the city would dedicate enough resources to new housing construction to begin to truly eliminate the need for the makeshift dwellings of the slums.[487]

In hindsight, the scheme to rely on political mobilization and communal revolutionary consciousness in replace of material investment in urban development seemed destined to fail; however, this campaign's wider significance is not in its material achievements, but in how it lays bare the complete shift away from carefully-managed state investment and towards Maoist voluntarism. I have characterized the way Shanghai's government and party administration

[483] SMA, B257-1-4431.
[484] Ibid.
[485] *Shanghai zhuzhai jianshe zhi* 上海住宅建设志 [Shanghai Housing Construction Annals], *Bianzuan weiyuanhui bian* 编纂委员会编 [Compiled by the Compilation Representative Committee]. (Shanghai: Shanghai shehui kexue yuan chubanshe, 1998) 214.
[486] Square footage taken from Bergere as well as estimated from the report on slum transformation in Nanshi. That report says that in the Garden Lane slum 25.9% of residents had less than two square meters of living space, 32.6% had two-three square meters, and 41.5% had more than three square meters. See: Bergere, 381; SMA, B11-2-106-32.
[487] *Shanghai zhuzhai jianshe zhi* 上海住宅建设志，214-215.

guided the construction of the Workers' New Villages in the 1950s as a type of "bureaucratic utopianism" that attempted to use careful technocratic planning to realize a new world. This project continued to exist into the 1960s, as exemplified by the renovation of Fangua Lane, but it ceased to be the dominant model for urbanization. Denise Ho may be right to point out the symbolic significance of Fangua lane as a means of narrating the revolution's successes[488]; however, by the time of its construction, the party and government were already advocating "organizing the masses to transform the slums themselves" as the main method for realistically addressing Shanghai's continued housing crisis in the slums. This shift built on the state-directed voluntarism of the Great Leap Forward and served as a precursor to the grassroots collective action that defined the (sometimes) anti-state uprisings of the Cultural Revolution. Instead of state investment in housing construction or slum renovation, urban renewal would ostensibly be left in the hands of the people.

After Mao launched the Cultural Revolution in May of 1966 as an attack on bureaucracy and revisionism, Red Guard rebels made up of students and intellectuals as well as workers in Shanghai rose up against the party establishment of the Shanghai Party Committee. As Elizabeth Perry and Li Xun argue in their groundbreaking study *Proletarian Power*, these groups rose up for a variety of different reasons. They included the "rebel" faction of Workers General Headquarters, led by Wang Hongwen, who looked to Mao and called for the removal of the established city authorities and who tended to come from the most disadvantaged groups in Shanghai's societies; the "conservative" faction of the Scarlet Guards that advocated for those authorities because they had benefitted from the order that developed since 1949; and groups of workers from all factions who were protesting socioeconomic inequalities of the command

[488] Denise Y. Ho, *Curating Revolution: Politics on Display in Mao's China* (Cambridge University Press, 2018), 106.

economy and seeking improved working and living conditions through "economistic" demands.[489] The mass uprisings of all of these groups in the "January Storm" of 1967 ultimately led to the demise of all authority and great disruption in economic production. Order only began to be restored when Mao sent his supporters Zhang Chunqiao and Yao Wenyuan (both to be later scapegoated for their roles in the Cultural Revolution as members of the so-called "Gang of Four" along with Wang Hongwen and Mao's wife Jiang Qing) to Shanghai to try to reconcile the various rebelling factions while still giving them space to express their grievances, especially when they were against the existing bureaucracy. To those ends, Zhang secured the support of Wang Hongwen and the Workers' General Headquarters and declared the Shanghai Commune on February 5, 1967, which ostensibly would govern through consultation with the various rebel organizations. This experiment was short-lived and on February 24, Zhang set up the Revolutionary Committee of Shanghai as a new administrative structure that would govern through an alliance of the masses, the People's Liberation Army, and the party. This Revolutionary Committee quickly went to the task of restoring order and making sure that the economy began to recover. Factional struggles would continue until Mao's death in 1976, though without the same bottom-up, anarchistic character that had defined the Cultural Revolution of 1966 and 1967.[490]

In the context of radicalism and disorder during the height of the Cultural Revolution, state-guided investment in building new housing in Shanghai slowed to a halt, but individuals and groups of residents continued to adjust their own housing. For one, the campaign to mobilize residents to repair their own slum housing was continued. In March of 1967, just a month after the short experiment of the Shanghai Commune, the public works office of the newly-established

[489] Elizabeth J. Perry, and Li Xun, *Proletarian Power: Shanghai in the Cultural Revolution* (Boulder, Colo.: Westview Press, 1997), 97-117.
[490] Bergère, 395-406.

city revolutionary committee argued that this program "accorded with Chairman Mao's consistent teaching of the policy of building the country with diligence and thrift as well as the method of mass line work."[491] Basically, the Cultural Revolution city authorities would continue to provide assistance to residents to renovate their own housing. Indeed, the same document lambasted the Fangua Lane renovation as an example of a type of state-built, bureaucratically managed construction that "did not rely on the masses, did not mobilize the masses, had high building costs, was too slow, and did not accord with the policy of building the country with diligence and thrift."[492] In contrast, the new Cultural Revolution administration supported the program of helping residents transform the slums as a method that was both in keeping with the anti-bureaucratic radicalism of the times and spoke to the economistic desires that drove many workers to protest.

At the same time that the campaign to mobilize residents to transform the slums continued, in terms of Cultural Revolution housing policy, it was overshadowed by rebels taking their own initiative and invading homes as well as seizing housing for themselves in an expression of what mass self-reliance truly meant. Li Jie has catalogued how rebel factions, responding to actions in Beijing, invaded Shanghai's homes to purify residents who were hiding one of the "Four Olds"—old ideas, old culture, old habits, and old customs. Based on these searches, rebel groups would catalogue certain offenders as capitalists, landlords, and other so-called "black elements."[493] Some of these home invasions resulted in Red Guards and other rebel factions occupying and seizing either rooms or entire houses from those deemed counterrevolutionary. In these cases, it was not necessarily student Red Guard activists who

[491] SMA, B11-2-161-1《上海市人民委员会公用事业办公室革命造反战斗队关于组织群众改建棚户要求解决资金问题的紧急请示报告》March 9, 1967.
[492] Ibid.
[493] Li Jie, *Shanghai Homes: Palimpsests of Private Life* (New York: Columbia University Press, 2014), 111-112.

occupied the houses themselves, but other residents and workers aligned with the Red Guards who lived in unsatisfactory housing.[494] Housing was one of the "economistic" demands that drove workers to rebel against Shanghai's authorities in late 1966 and early 1967. Many workers had long weathered Shanghai's housing crisis; living in slums while watching the party and government assign their lucky colleagues new housing in Caoyang and the other New Villages. The Cultural Revolution gave them the opportunity to finally provide themselves with desirable housing by violently seizing either the homes of others or any open housing that was awaiting allocation. In the process, they accomplished for themselves (and themselves only) what all of the city administration's various housing schemes from liberation until the Cultural Revolution had not been able to do.[495] One cannot help but wonder if people like Zhang Wenjing, who violently resisted when party cadres would not allow him to expand his housing himself, were able to finally improve their living conditions during the housing occupations of 1966 and 1967.

If the campaign to mobilize residents to transform their own housing was a state-structured attempt at grassroots action as a means to solving material problems, then the violent home searches and occupations of the Cultural Revolution pushed that contradictory logic of top-down, self-reliance past its breaking point by turning on Shanghai's administrative structures themselves. For a few months in late 1966 and early 1967 before order began to be restored, Shanghai's residents actually did mobilize themselves to improve their material conditions. However, they did so not through state-sanctioned mobilization, but by explicitly opposing existing state actors and seizing housing designated for others. Those actions reveal the failures of party and government efforts to solve Shanghai's housing crisis in the years preceding the Cultural Revolution. By not actually investing heavily in housing, Shanghai's administration had

[494] Phillips and Sommers, 148-157.
[495] Perry and Li claim that workers seized all open housing that was awaiting allocation in just five days from December 30, 1966, until January 3, 1967. See: Perry and Li, 110-111.

left many residents living in destitute slums while providing housing to privileged groups of workers and cadres. Many of those residents who felt left out by socialist development since 1949 took advantage of the upheaval of the Cultural Revolution and acted outside of bureaucratic structures and occupied better housing. Of course, these actions still did not actually solve Shanghai's overarching housing crisis. They merely shifted who was forced to shoulder its burdens.

Conclusion

In its sixth edition of 1966, the national *Architecture Journal* did not print much about architecture. Instead, it reprinted the 16-point "Decision of the Central Committee of the Chinese Communist Party Concerning the Great Proletarian Cultural Revolution" that was adopted on August 8, 1966, and solidified the Cultural Revolution as a new stage of China's revolution.[496] The only actual discussion of architecture was a criticism of architect and former Minister of Building Engineering Liu Xiufeng's 1959 speech "Creating a New Style of Chinese Socialist Architecture," which had previously been published in the journal. In this speech, Liu called for creating a new type of Chinese socialist architecture by synthesizing vernacular Chinese practices and materials—which Liu recognized as varying across China's different regions—with trends in global modernist architecture.[497] While Liu's ideas suggest an interesting way forward for Chinese architecture, in the context of the Cultural Revolution, the new editors of *Architecture Journal* criticized him for the crimes of opposing Mao's theory of continuing class

[496] Zhongguo gongchandang zhongyang weiyuan hui 中国共产党中央委员会 [Central Committee of the CPC], "Zhongguo gongchandang zhongyang weiyuan hui guanyu wuchan jieji wenhua da geming de jueding"中国共产党中央委员会关于无产阶级文化大革命的决定, *Jianzhu xuebao* 建筑学报 13, no. 6 (1966): 7-12.
[497] Duanfang Lu, "Architecture and Global Imaginations in China," *The Journal of Architecture* 22, no. 4 (2017): 652.

struggle and appealing to "Soviet revisionism."[498] Apparently these criticisms did not go far enough. In the copy of the *Architecture Journal* that I read in the Shanghai Library in the spring of 2017, there was a an added insert announcing that the journal had been given "a death sentence" (*sixing*) because its editors has limited their criticism to Liu instead of recognizing that the entire journal had long walked the "capitalist road" because it was made up of "reactionary academic authorities."[499] The journal would not be published again until 1973.

The criticisms of Liu and the elimination of China's main journal for studying architecture and urban planning signaled the rhetorical death knell of the bureaucratic utopian mode that had operated to varying degrees since liberation. Mao-inspired radicals had come to view architectural technical expertise and creative applications of modernist planning to China's context as reactionary practices. While this final blow was a product of Cultural Revolution-era factionalism, this chapter has argued that ever since the Great Leap forward, efforts to solve Shanghai's housing crisis had relied more on ideology and political mobilization than on technical expertise. This should not necessarily be viewed as a shift away from urban planning, but rather a different approach to the old problem of how to best house Shanghai's population. In the context of changing political concerns and material constraints, Shanghai's administration celebrated the ability of the city's residents to remake their own city. From the establishment of the urban communes through the plans to mobilize slum residents to renovate their own housing, efforts to solve Shanghai's material shortages hinged on stimulating revolutionary consciousness and the willingness of individuals to align themselves with collective goals, whether to contribute to production or to create more orderly shantytowns. This reversed the ideological project of spaces like the New Villages, which sought to use material enticements for lucky

[498] "Pipan: "chuangzao zhongguo de shehui zhuyi de jianzhu fengge" de zuotan jiyao"批判《创造中国的社会主义的建筑新风格》的座谈纪要, *建筑学报*, *Jianzhu xuebao* 建筑学报 13, no. 6 (1966): 30-31.
[499] "Jianzhu xuebao bei pan yi sixing" 建筑学报被判以死,刑 *Jianzhu xuebao* 建筑学报 13, no. 6 (1966): insert.

groups as a means of encouraging revolutionary consciousness. By the 1960s, such ideas had become "revisionist" and celebrating political voluntarism was the only path forward for cadres who wanted to avoid Maoist criticism.

Of course, this celebration of collective consciousness and political voluntarism to realize communism was at least as "utopian" as architecture and urban planning. While the bureaucratic utopian mode of thinking relied on the ability of technical expertise to imagine, and then create, a new world; the Maoist utopianism of the Great Leap and the 1960s argued collective imaginings, the energies and consciousness of the masses, were enough to realize a new world. Maurice Meisner, among others, has argued that one of the distinguishing characteristics of Maoist revolutionary thought was that it recognized that economic development and socialist relation of production could not by themselves realize communist goals. Instead, Meisner proposed:

> Communism cannot be achieved…unless Marxist goals are consciously pursued, embryonic forms of communist social organization implemented, and the proper social values popularized and internalized *in the process,* and for the purpose, of creating the material prerequisites for the future communist society.[500]

Meisner argues that it was the specific social values of asceticism—self-denial, economy, and thrift—that were encouraged, not for their own sakes, but because this was the mode of consciousness necessary to realize "the transformation of the world in accordance with the communist vision of the future."[501] It was precisely this type of ascetic and utopian consciousness that Shanghai's party administration was attempting to mobilize when it encouraged women to leave their children and work in neighborhood workshops, or slum residents to transform their own dilapidated homes according to government regulations.

[500] Maurice Meisner, *Marxism, Maoism, and Utopianism* (Madison, Wisc.: The University of Wisconsin Press, 1982) 121-122.
[501] Ibid. 129.

As much as the party administration celebrated the importance of collective energies, they refused to actually put agency in the hands of communities, revealing a core contradiction of the Chinese revolution. At the same time that self-reliance and revolutionary voluntarism was supposed to become the foundation for material change, the party saw itself as the ultimate guide of that process. This contradiction exploded in the first few months of the Cultural Revolution when those who would never get to live in a New Village seized their own housing in the midst of calls to "bombard the headquarters." Some semblance of order would quickly be restored, but it would not be until Deng Xiaoping and other "capitalist roaders" took power that Shanghai's housing shortage would begin to be solved, though with very different ideological and material orientations than had defined the first 17 years of the PRC.

Conclusion

Caoyang New Village not only survived the dramatic changes to Shanghai' urban geography that followed China's market reforms at the end of the 20th century, but has subsequently been recognized as historically significant. In 2004, Caoyang was judged to be an example of Shanghai's "Outstanding Historical Architecture" (*youxiu lishi jianzhu*) and in 2016 the Chinese Cultural Relics Society and Chinese Architectural Society included it on a list of architectural inheritance sites of the 20th century.[502] Across the street from Caoyang No. 1 Village, a small museum celebrates its heritage as a site of socialist architecture and the history of the Chinese revolution in Shanghai.

Such distinctions aside, Caoyang now occupies a dramatically different place in relation to the rest of the city than it did in the 1970s, much less the 1950s. It has gone from being an experiment in socialist housing located on Shanghai's periphery to being commodity housing rented through market mechanisms that now seems located relatively close to the center of a city whose population had ballooned to more than 24 million people by 2020. Indeed, Caoyang's designation as historically important architecture belies the changes in Shanghai's economy, urban geography, and social structure that have led it to become a key node in both China and the world's market economy. Shanghai's urban development, including housing construction, is now shaped by market logics and desires as opposed to experiments in building a socialist city that explicitly served the poor and working classes. Caoyang is historically significant because it

[502]"Caoyang xincun youxiu lishi jianzhu chengzai chengshi jiyi"曹杨新村:优秀历史建筑承载城市记忆, *Laodong Bao* 劳动报, September 18, 2017, http://sh.sina.cn/news/2017-09-18/detail-ifykywuc5858599.d.html. (March 30, 2020)

represents methods and ideas that are firmly in the past, not because it continues to directly influence the ideas of planners.

This dissertation has argued that Caoyang and the other New Villages emerged out of a bureaucratic utopian mode of urban development that foregrounded the ability of a state bureaucracy operating with revolutionary goals to remake urban space and shift the "right to the city." Shanghai before 1949 had been dominated by foreign imperialists and domestic capitalists, with millions of poor living in polluted slums. When future mayor Chen Yi led communist forces to liberate Shanghai in the spring of 1949, he and his new regime would find that it was neither possible nor desirable to completely transform the city over night, encouraging business leaders to keep Shanghai's factories operating.[503] However, the new communist administration would slowly begin to transform the existing economic and social order in the first years of the People's Republic. In 1951, Caoyang New Village became the first of many government efforts to address Shanghai's housing crisis and provide industrial workers with apartments that might befit their moniker of "masters of the country." Caoyang, as well as other New Village projects like the "20,000 Households" scheme of 1952-1953, were "bureaucratic" because they relied on state planning and investment and were "utopian" because they used such methods as to model the path forward for creating a different and better world. Together, such projects embodied one method of socialist development undertaken in Shanghai.

The bureaucratic utopian mode of development developed in fits and starts throughout the 1950s, drawing as much on foreign models as on elements either indigenous to China or that were emerging out of Chinese Marxists' unique theoretical innovations on socialist revolution. Architects and urban planners like Caoyang's Wang Dingzeng drew on Euro-American models

[503] Frederic Wakeman Jr., "'Cleanup:' The New Order in Shanghai," in, *Dilemmas of Victory: The Early Years of the People's Republic of China,* eds. Jeremy Brown and Paul G. Pickowicz (Cambridge, Mass.: Harvard University Press, 2007) 41.

for urban development like Clarence Perry's "neighborhood unit" and Ebenezer Howard's "garden city" that emphasized the need for the creation of self-contained communities where residents lived and work within larger cities and societies. This borrowing from the imperialist west would quickly be criticized in publications like *Architecture Journal* that pushed architects and urban planners, like other technical experts, to "study the Soviet experience" and transform "neighborhood units" into "microdistricts" and "superblocks." Nomenclature aside, all of these designs—from Shanghai's New Villages, to American neighborhood units, to the "social condensers" of the Soviet constructivists criticized by Stalin—shared a modernist sensibility in the ability to create new types of spatial and social orders through innovating planning techniques. They all also emerged out of a belief in the ability to harness the powers of new technology and expertise to confront the chaotic disorder global capitalism.

In Shanghai, New Villages would serve as an intermediary form on the path to the wholesale adoption of the work unit (*danwei*) as the bureaucratic and spatial model for distributing housing. As discussed in chapter three, work units would either directly receive funding from national ministries for housing construction or would contribute funds for housing to the municipal government, which in turn would manage the construction and distribution of housing units. Historians such as David Bray, Duanfang Lu, and Samuel Liang have noted that using work units as the locus of housing construction and distribution led to a type of "cellular urbanism" where cities were made up of self-contained residential districts that did not encourage circulation in between communities. Though work units would also come to define socialist Shanghai, during the 1950s they did not yet define the space of the city. Alternative forms continued to exist; notably New Villages, where at least initially workers from different work units resided together, as well as the redistributed units of the *shikumen*, alleyway homes

that defined residential housing during the semicolonial era (also referred to as *lilong—shikumen* refers to the buildings themselves while *lilong* refers to their lane and alley structure). The late 1950s also saw the last effort during the Mao-period to dramatically refashion the face of the city through the 1958 efforts to construct massive satellite towns on the city's periphery as well as the 1959 "General Plan for Shanghai." Through its plans to continue to redistribute population away from the old city center and build a "New Bund," the 1959 plan envisioned a socialist Shanghai that finally eclipsed the colonial architecture that still defined former concession areas. On the one hand, the failures of these alternative plans reveal in harsher light the dominance of the work unit as the primary form of socialist urban planning. On the other hand, the existence of efforts like the 1959 plan indicate that the 1950s were a period when local administrations were still experimenting with different notions of what a socialist city could and should be. Further, all of these plans relied on bureaucratic utopian notions of social change that highlighted the ability of a communist party-led bureaucracy to produce new residential spaces that would ultimately contribute to the construction of a new world.

The various designs for remaking Shanghai in the 1950s all shared a similar theoretical goal of creating urban spaces that fulfilled the dictum of "to serve production, to serve the laboring people." Starting in 1951, Caoyang New Village modeled this philosophy to the city, country, and the world through media representations that highlighted it as an example of residential housing that materially celebrated workers, its residents, as the masters of the new China. The new apartments of Caoyang made it clear that socialism would be materially *desirable* for the workers of China and that the party was guiding transformations in the conditions of daily life. Representations in news media and propaganda pamphlets depicting these transformations in the living conditions of the lucky (relatively) few model workers who

moved into Caoyang further served as a method to facilitate the wider transformation of the city and society. In this schema, model workers living in model spaces would recognize how their personal and familial goals aligned with those of the party, a recognition that would lead them to rededicate themselves to production goals. Thus, the New Villages would produce dedicated socialist subjects at the same time they, through those socialist subjects, helped produce the improved economic conditions that might facilitate the construction of more new villages. In these ways, bureaucratic utopian plans like Caoyang New Village, or the satellite towns of the late 1950s, served as a model where state actions, i.e. the construction and distribution of housing units, facilitated social mobilization and ensuing cultural and economic transformations. Building new housing was one step in the building of a new world.

1950s housing projects immediately ran into problems, not least of which were bare-bones and crowded material conditions that never matched idealized propaganda representations. Even more damning were strands of thought in the CPC, expressed by the elites of the Central Committee as early as 1952, that relying on the government to provide public housing stood in contradiction with Maoist ideas of the "mass line."[504] According to these critics, the government building housing was not in accordance with the "bottom-up and top-down" principles of the "from the masses, to the masses" mass line.[505] While it is easy to write such criticisms off as the self-justifications of a cash-strapped state struggling to survive in the midst of a hardening Cold War world, they ultimately provided the theoretical underpinning for the shift away from housing construction during the 1960s. After the disasters of the Great Leap Forward, there were

[504]Zhong gong zhongyang 中共中央 [Central Committee of the Communist Party of China]. "Zhong gong zhongyang zhuanfa quanguo zonggonghui dangzu guanyu jiejue gongren juzhu wenti de baogao"中共中央转发全国总工会党组关于解决工人居住问题的报告, in *Zhong gong zhongyang wenjian xuanji,* vol. 9 中共中央文件选集, 第 9 册 （1952 年 6 月-9 月) (Beijing: Renmin chubanshe, 2013), 298.

[505] Lin Chun, "Mass Line," in *Afterlives of Chinese Communism: Political Concepts from Mao to Xi*, eds. Christian P. Sorace, Ivan Franceschini, and Nicholas Loubere (New York: Verso Books, 2019), 121-122.

few funds available for housing construction and party and government administrators turned to encouraging mass mobilization as a means to address Shanghai's always unresolved housing shortage. This emphasis on mass mobilization culminated in the grassroots chaos of the Cultural Revolution in Shanghai and the temporary shelving of any efforts at city planning and housing construction.

Mao Zedong-inspired mass line politics represented an alternative form of socialist development to the bureaucratic utopian housing schemes of the 1950s (which had themselves always struggled to gain a foothold due to the prioritization of production over consumption—housing was deemed consumption[506]). These politics were no less utopian in that they continued to imagine humans as capable of dreaming and then building a new world in the near, not distant future. However, in lieu of the government funding and technical experts of bureaucratic utopianism, the mass line presumed that the only path to a better future was through mass mobilization and the communal struggle against counterrevolutionary enemies, both individual and material. These politics were also no less modern. Though surely drawing on older models of peasant rebellion, the Maoist mass line emerged out of the chaotic transformations of China's wrenching experience of imperialism, capitalist exploitation, and industrial warfare. However, unlike the bureaucratic utopianism that studied the experience of Soviet experts, they took the technocracy of modernity to be one of its ills. Keeping in the Marxist tradition, Maoists sought to undo the bounds of modern oppressions while continuing to struggle for both a more just and more bountiful future. It is one of the deep ironies of the Chinese revolution that those urges ended up (at least temporarily) undoing many of the tools—including urban planning and housing construction—that could immediately improve the lives of many. More generally, the

[506] Marie-Claire Bergere, *Shanghai: China's Gateway to Modernity* (Stanford: Stanford University Press, 2009), 377.

chaos Maoist mass mobilization caused would also ultimately discredit the social and political system of the Mao era and help lead to the rise of a new technocracy as China began to reengage with the world capitalist market in the late 1970s.

From the Mass Line and Bureaucratic Utopianism to a Global City

Shanghai emerged from the chaos of the Cultural Revolution and Maoist revolution slowly, but it did ultimately solve the housing shortage that had plagued it from the colonial period through the 1970s. Starting in the 1980s, government and party administrations at both the local and national level employed new techniques to facilitate a massive wave of housing construction in cities like Shanghai. These developments emerged in the midst of wider market reforms, but at least initially municipal governments continued to rely on the work units as the prime mechanism for housing construction. Still, this should not be taken as evidence for the ultimate victory of the same bureaucratic utopian strand of planning of the 1950s. When viewed in the longer course of Shanghai's history from market reforms until the global aspirations of the Xi Jinping era, housing construction appears as one more element in Shanghai's reorientation towards the world capitalist economy. The plans for Shanghai's future laid out in documents like the "Shanghai Master Plan, 2017-2035" envision a city more materially prosperous than anything imagined in the 1950s and 1960s. However, that prosperity has been premised on trends like gentrification, "domicide," and the rise of a speculative real estate market with skyrocketing housing prices that signal new compromises with inequality that were unimaginable in earlier eras. This is not utopian thinking about the creation of new worlds as much as an acceptance of the inevitability of capitalism as the driver of "development."

By the end of the 1970s, both national and local officials recognized that new strategies had to be adopted to address the severe housing shortages in cities like Shanghai. Mao-era programs like the construction of New Villages had changed the nature of housing in Shanghai from a private source of wealth for imperialist and capitalist elites to a publicly provided good, but they had never been able to provide enough housing for an ever-growing population. In Shanghai, the shortages created by population growth during the 1970s were compounded by return of many people to the city who had been "sent-down" to the countryside during the Cultural Revolution.[507] During the 1980s half of the 1,800,000 households in Shanghai suffered from shortages with 216,000 households still reporting a living space of less than four square meters (sqm) per person. Additionally, hundreds of thousands still lived in the 3,650,000 sqm of housing classified as slums.[508]

To alleviate the increasing pressures on housing space in cities like Shanghai, the government once again turned to work units, but now with new policies to encourage them to construct housing on a scale not seen during the 1950s and 1960s. During the Mao period, either central government ministries directly gave national work units funds to build housing or local municipal governments used their meager budgets to construct housing and distribute it to local work units. Starting in 1979, the central state began to allow enterprises to retain a far larger share of their profits (as opposed to sending them to the central government) and encourage them to invest these "self-raised funds" in building housing for their workers. These policies decentralized economic decision making, resulting in a shift of fiscal responsibility for tasks like housing construction from the state to the work units themselves. In 1979, national and local governments together contributed more than 90% of all funds dedicated to housing construction,

[507] Li Jie, *Shanghai Homes: Palimpsests of Private Life* (New York: Columbia University Press, 2015), 76-77.
[508]Qin Shao, *Shanghai Gone: Domicide and Defiance in a Chinese Megacity* (Lanham: Rowman & Littlefield Publishers, 2013), 6.

while by 1988 the central government contributed 16%, local governments contributed 6%, and work units contributed 52% through retained earnings.[509] These figures reveal that throughout the 1980s, government policies successfully shifted the financial burden for housing development to work units by allowing those enterprises more flexibility in how they invested their self-raised funds. In addition to work units, in the 1980s real estate development companies, both public and private, also began to construct housing to rent to individuals. In 1990, this commercial housing accounted for 872,000 sqm of the 4,219,000 sqm of constructed in Shanghai in that year. While this number was still small it did signal a shift towards the commercialized market that dominates today.

Though operating through socialist work units, the 1980s-era profit retention schemes led to a massive boom in housing construction that set the stage for contemporary Shanghai's privatized housing.[510] According to Qin Shao, they normalized processes of *chaiqian*, demolition and relocation, and *jiuqu gaizao*, urban renewal, that have reshaped the urban geography as well as the social fabric of the city.[511] In the 1980s and early 1990s, Shanghai's residents became accustomed to seeing their dilapidated neighborhoods torn down and replaced by new apartment buildings. Because much of this development was completed by work units and supplied to residents at low cost, housing still appeared to be a publicly provided good.[512] However, developing alongside this process were new policies that were restoring a housing market that treated property as a commodity, a phenomenon which had been eliminated during the Mao years. One way these policies reintroduced a commercial housing market was by allowing sitting tenants to purchase their work unit-supplied apartments at low rates. This shift was completed in

[509] Wu Fulong, "Changes in the structure of Housing Provision," *Urban Studies* 33, no. 9 (1996): 1610.
[510] In 1979, 65,000,000 sqm of housing were built across all urban areas of China. In 1990 that figure had nearly tripled to 172,000,000 sqm. See: Wu, "Changes in the Structure of Housing Provision," 1612.
[511] Shao, 5-7.
[512] Shao, 6.

the spring of 1999, when the Ministry of Construction formally legalized the sale and resale of housing that had previously been publicly subsidized.[513] This shift occurred in the longer history of the development of China's privatized "dual land market" in the 1980s. In this system, the state officially owns all of the land, but local municipalities can either allocate land to state-owned enterprises or can sell land-use rights to developers—for instance, private real estate speculators in Shanghai—for a profit.[514] Together, such policies set the stage for what Qin Shao (among others) has termed, "domicide" in Shanghai, the destruction of homes and ways of life as *chaiqian* and housing construction takes place according to the whims of the market as well as the desires of profit-hungry real estate developers and government officials.[515]

The privatization of Shanghai's housing market and the ensuing explosion of profitable real estate development occurred alongside the incredible transformation of Shanghai's wider physical geography, with its ensuing symbolism of Shanghai's newfound economic power. Perhaps most notable for its sheer scale and audacity was the Shanghai authorities' long planned development of Pudong New Area, which was approved by the State Council in 1990 and got off the ground with the groundbreaking for the iconic Pearl of the Orient Tower in July of 1991.[516] As Thomas Campanella has argued, the breakneck construction of skyscrapers in Pudong, as well as across all of Shanghai, has created a city of "photogenic monumentality—a stage-set city intended to impress from a distance, from the bund, from the air, from the pages of a glossy magazine."[517] In Pudong, as well as newly-developed areas across the city, individuals are dwarfed by colossal buildings that make the colonial architecture of the bund, much less

[513] Shao, 7.
[514] Thomas Campanella, *The Concrete Dragon: China's Urbanization and What it Means for the World* (New York: Princeton Architectural Press, 2008), 43.
[515] Shao, 9.
[516] Campanella, 73.
[517] Ibid. 81.

Caoyang New Village, seem like quaint icons of a past era. Shanghai has literally and figuratively eclipsed the legacies of its past.

Shanghai's vertical explosion provides rich symbolic imagery for how national and local authorities have sought to position the city as a key node in the global capitalist economy. Such aspirations are made explicit in The "Shanghai Master Plan 2017-2035," which emphasizes that Shanghai should become an "excellent global city" able to adapt to international trends such as "intensified globalization, marketization, and informatization."[518] In such statements, the planners borrow Saskia Sassen's notion of the "global city." In Sassen's conceptualization, such cities provide "advanced producer services" such as finance, insurance, banking, management, media, and legal services to transnational corporations.[519] The 2017 plan aims to continue to transform Shanghai's economy to provide such advanced producers to the titans of the global economy, whether domestic or foreign. Though the 2017 Master Plan references the iteration of "socialism with Chinese characteristics" laid out by Xi Jinping at the 19th National Congress of the CPC (also held in 2017), its neoliberal language and aspirations makes clear that at least Shanghai's future economy is intended to be closer to that of contemporary New York or Tokyo than the city of industrial production imagined in the 1950s.

Of course, Caoyang New Village and its residents have not disappeared. Even if its apartments have been renovated and commercialized since the 1990s, with many changing hands over the years, residents who could remember growing up during the Mao years still gathered in the village's central park to exercise and chat with neighbors on humid summer evenings when I spent time there in 2018. In informal chats, residents who had grown up in Mao-era Caoyang

[518] "Shanghai Master Plan 2017-2035, Public Reading," Shanghai Urban Planning and Land Resource Administration Bureau (Shanghai: McCann Erickson Guangming Ltd Craft, 2018), 12.
[519] Richard Hu and Weijie Chen, *Global Shanghai Remade: The Rise of Pudong New Area* (New York: Routledge, 2020), 12. See also: Saskia Sassen,*The Global City: New York, London, Tokyo* (Princeton, N.J.: Princeton University Press, 1991).

sometimes recalled this period fondly and sometimes with trepidation or disgust. However, it was lost on nobody that Shanghai had changed dramatically from being "poor and equal" to being extremely wealthy, but with many new inequalities.[520] It is perhaps ironic that residents would use the word "equality" (*pingdeng*) to refer to their youths in a community that was available only to the luckiest and most elite workers; however, those sentiments do speak to the dramatic changes undergone in Shanghai and how they have shifted the place, both symbolic and material, of the Workers' New Villages in the hierarchy of Shanghai's urban geography.

Within architectural, intellectual, and cultural discourses on changing Shanghai, the New Villages are either absent or taken as evidence for how the historical legacies of the Mao period have been neglected in favor of legacies from earlier periods that better suit Shanghai's prospective commercial future. In 2001, a new, luxury shopping district was completed by restoring old *lilong* housing in the Xintiandi neighborhood, located in what was the French Concession during the colonial period and famously the home of the site of the founding of the CPC in 1921. This project was developed by the Hong Kong-born Vincent Lo and designed by the American Benjamin Wood. Wood pushed Lo to restore some of the old *shikumen* (stone gate) houses of the existing alleys, while destroying others to clear the way for a walking mall lined with expensive stores. This project was celebrated both in Shanghai and around China, with President Jiang Zemin touring the site in 1999 (though at the time actors had to be hired to fill out the stores).[521] While framed as "historical restoration," the original residents were pushed out by the project and would likely struggle to afford to shop at the stores located in their old homes. After its completion, Xintiandi would become one of Shanghai's hippest (or at least most distinctively gentrified) shopping districts, drawing shoppers and tourists for both the museum at

[520] Author's conversation with residents, June 14, 2018.
[521] Campanella, 275-279.

the Site of the First National Congress of the CPC and expensive restaurants like the "Wolfgang Puck Bar and Grill." Such juxtapositions seem part and parcel to the contradictions of "socialism with Chinese characteristics."

In comparison with the memories contained at Caoyang, the gentrification in Xintiandi appears to more clearly embody post-reform Shanghai. In 2003, the cultural critic Zhu Dake reflected on whether Workers' New Villages or the *shikumen* were more representative of Shanghai:

> The victory of *shikumen* over Workers' New Villages symbolizes that the traditional period of working class dominance from 1950 until 1976 has already withdrawn from the center of the city's ideology, becoming a fringe stratum for Shanghai. What it has been superseded by is a stratum of city residents that is more complex and vigorous. After the coming of market socialism, city residents who tend towards seeking power and searching only for profit received the blessings of fate and advanced to become the masters of Shanghai. Everyone might be surprised to discover that "Xintiandi" narrates the renovation of memories from the urban citizenry that had already crumbled, making late comers retrieve the capitalist dreams of the colonial period in the recovered images of the *shikumen*. There are no people whatsoever who are able to prevent the changes in the study of this place's architecture and culture.[522]

Zhu is explicit that what is being recovered hearkens back to the first generations of Shanghai capitalism before the communists came to power in 1949. The complex groups of people who sought wealth in the early-20th century might have been sidelined during the Mao years, but such people are recovering their dominance through the post-reform development of the city, including in sites like the gentrified Xintiandi. For Zhu, the *shikumen* and their inhabitants, who have almost always been poor in comparison to the elites of the city, have always embodied a certain notion of competitive striving. With Shanghai's reorientation towards global capitalism,

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[522] Quoted in: Luo Gang 罗岗. "Kongjian de shengchan yu kongjian de zhuanyi" 空间的生产与空间的转移：上海工人新村与社会主义城市经验, *Huadong shifan daxue xuebao (zhixue shehui kexue ban)* 华东师范大学学报（哲学社会科学版) 36, no. 6 (2007): 95.

Luo Gang criticizes Zhu Dake for being "too blunt" (*guoyu zhibai*) in how he writes off the memory and importance of the New Villages, but agreed there ultimately was much truth to Zhu's assessment of which spaces, people, and economic systems have come to rule post-reforms Shanghai.

the original meaning of these neighborhoods is being recovered and they are once again coming to represent the city and its inhabitants' search for wealth in a competitive world.

While the above quote might be read as a celebration of wealth and power, it should be reiterated that the majority of *shikumen* were not the homes of the elites during the colonial periods. As discussed in Chapter One, the *lilong* and *shikumen* were initially built by Euro-American imperialists in the late-19th century as cheap, commodity housing for Chinese residents of the International Settlement and French Concession. The millions who came from the countryside to seek better lives by working in industries run by foreign imperialists and domestic capitalists in the late 19th and early 20th century would move into cramped and crowded *shikumen* if they were lucky, and slums if they were not. During the colonial period, some *shikumen* residents were relatively successful and some *shikumen* were relatively nice, but this type of housing contained vast class stratifications. All this is to say that describing the *shikumen* as representative of contemporary Shanghai is both to celebrate a resilient desire to strive for a better life and to acknowledge that the flipside of that capitalist attitude is inevitable inequality and poverty. It was such inequalities that the Chinese revolution in general, and Workers' New Villages in particular, were ostensibly launched to erase.

Ultimately, Shanghai's reintegration with the global capitalist economy from the market reforms of the late 1970s until the 2017 Master Plan has entailed a dramatic shift in the "right to the city." According to David Harvey, to claim the right to the city is "to claim some kind of shaping power over the processes of urbanization, over the ways in which our cities are made and remade, and to do so in a fundamental and radical way."[523] Flawed and incomplete as Mao-era housing programs like Caoyang New Village were, they did signify that Shanghai had transformed from a playground for imperialist and capitalist elites to a space where at least a

[523] David Harvey, *Rebel Cities: From the Right to the City to the Urban Revolution* (New York: Verso, 2012), 5.

minority of workers might plausibly believe that they had become the "masters of the country," especially if they were allocated a newly-built apartment. It is hard to imagine a migrant worker looking across at Pudong's glittering skyline would unquestioningly believe that such edifices to global capital had been built not only directly by them through the exploitation of their labor, but also for them.

Of course, the CPC really does claim that "high-quality development" in cities like Shanghai will serve everyone by creating a "great modern socialist country."[524] However, the meaning of this notion of "socialism" remains obscure and seems far from ideas of the "mass line" guiding the dictatorship of the proletariat on its path to creating a communist utopia governed by the notion of "from each according to his ability, to each according to his needs." If these ideas still govern, they only do so if one takes the heroic conceptual leap that oligarchs like Alibaba founder and CPC member Jack Ma (China's wealthiest person at the time of this writing) are somehow representatives of the poor and working classes. Such assumptions aside, all types of party-directed utopianism, bureaucratic or otherwise, have been left behind and all that remains is cynical rhetoric and a developmentalism that seems to accept the global condition of "capitalist realism" where it is easier to imagine the end of the world than the end of capitalism.[525] Gone is even the pretense that a housing built for workers might prefigure a different and better world.

[524] "Highlights of Xi's Report to the 19th CPC National Congress," *Xinhua News*, Accessed April 2, 2020, http://www.xinhuanet.com//english/2017-10/18/c_136688994.htm

[525] This saying is often attributed to both Slavoj Zizek and Fredric Jameson. See also: Mark Fisher, *Capitalist Realism: Is There no Alternative?* (Washington D.C.: Zero Books, 2009) 6.

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